

James Braid: Surgeon, Gentleman Scientist, and Hypnotist

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James Braid: Surgeon,
Gentleman Scientist, and Hypnotist

by

Lindsay Bertram Yeates

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation
&
Appendices

History and Philosophy of Science,
School of Humanities,
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences,
University of New South Wales, Sydney Australia

January, 2013

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Abstract


This dissertation examines the critical period and the circumstances that led Scottish surgeon James Braid (1795-1860) to produce his classic work on hypnotism, *Neurypnology* (1843). The full story of these fateful events, from his first encounter with the Swiss magnetic demonstrator, Charles Lafontaine in November 1841, to his *conversazione* at the time of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science's* Manchester meeting in June 1842, is told here for the first time. It is based on the accumulated evidence within Braid's own publications (his contributions to journals and magazines, letters, press releases, advertisements, pamphlets, and books), and a wide range of the contemporaneous literature (the majority of which has, to date, remained unknown, unidentified and unexamined) including accurate, stenographic transcriptions of Braid's public lectures, eyewitness reports of his technical demonstrations and experiments. These sources record James Braid's incremental development of his hypnotic theories and practices, how these practices were an extension of his surgical knowledge, how he dealt with positive and negative 'feed-back', how he learned from his own observations and experience, and how he performed his boundary work, defending his enterprise from the territorial claims of medical, religious, philosophical, metaphysical, mesmeric, and magnetic rivals. An extended and 'in depth' narrative of these events is essential to a correct representation of the nature and character of *Neurypnology*, and the history of hypnotism since its publication. By delivering such a narrative, the dissertation not only contributes to the rectification of the distortions (and the filling of substantial gaps) in the historical record on Braid, it also identifies and clarifies a number of misrepresentations. The consequent exhumation of a more authentic version of Braid's hypnotic practice and treatment rationale, further, holds some hope for improvement in modern practice, given the confusions that have persisted since Braid's time. This dissertation concludes that without the innovative, persistent, and surgically trained Braid, the practice of hypnotism as a complex of incremental strategic interventions may not have come into being.

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To the memory of my parents,
Leonard Alfred Yeates (1912-1991)
Norma Gwendoline Yeates, née Verran (1914-2002).
With love, respect, and gratitude.

To the memory of my teacher, mentor, and friend,
Eugene Henry Veshner (1913-2005),
With grateful thanks.

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I would not have completed this task without the kindness, insight, understanding, encouragement, and the active, patient, unwavering, and always confident support of my principal supervisor, Tony Corones, and my co-supervisor, Phil Cam; and I will be eternally grateful to both, especially for the positive manner in which they have actively supported me and guided my studies. Through their personal example, they have made a considerable contribution to my success and professional development.

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I have received invaluable (unexpected and unsought) kindness, friendship, support, and wise counsel from a number of my student colleagues, especially from Jared van Duinen, Andrew Kapos, Raiwan Keodara, Dorian Townsend, and Antje Kühnast; and I also gratefully acknowledge the continuous social support of my cousin, Stuart Smith, my dear friends, Bill and Helen Fitzgerald, and my old school-mate, Ken Ross.

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Ravi Pendse and Mary Nelson of the Wichita State University Libraries, for their valuable assistance in relation to Braid's 1842 pamphlet, *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed*, held by the Ablah Library as part of the *The Maurice M. and Jean H. Tinterow Collection of Books on Mesmerism, Animal Magnetism, and Hypnotism*.

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Antje Kühnast, a student colleague, for taking the time to check my clumsy translations from German and, also, checking the reliability my transcriptions from Fraktur script into more modern type fonts.

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For the Reader

Before beginning this dissertation, the reader should know the following:

(1) Footnotes

Of necessity, this is an interdisciplinary study; and, therefore, this dissertation covers many fields of scholarship. To assist those readers who are unfamiliar with particular matters, concepts, or terminology outside their own expertise, or to stipulate the specific, unequivocal usage of an otherwise ambiguous term, a much more prolific set of explanatory footnotes has been supplied (viz., rather than the usual "Evans, 1918, p.37", "op.cit.", "loc.cit.", etc.), with the intention that, having perused the footnote once, the now-better-informed reader will not need to consult that particular footnote ever again (see Fig.1).

¹ The term *watershed* is a place on the terrain where the flow of water is irreversible split. The Lunghin Pass in Switzerland is a *triple watershed*; the water from it flows along (a) Germany's River Rhine to the North Sea, (b) Hungary's River Danube to the Black Sea, and (c) Italy's River Po to the Adriatic Sea. In its extended, metaphorical sense, a *watershed* is a critical point in the development of some thing, prior to which its later form could not be predicted, and subsequent to which the earlier form is obsolete (Marshall and Warren's discovery that stomach ulcers were caused by the *helicobacter pylori* bacterium, rather than stress, is a classic example).

Fig.1. Example of explanatory/stipulative footnote.

(2) The "figures"

Whilst some of the 'figures' within this dissertation are photographs, images, or tables, the majority are transcriptions of text that has been taken directly from newspapers, etc. (see Fig.2); and it is intended that the reader will treat these transcriptions as if they were photographs of the particular section of the original document (see Figs.4 and 5).

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.
Mr. BRAID, Surgeon, will DELIVER ANOTHER LECTURE at the Athenæum, next Thursday evening, the 10th of March, at half-past seven o'clock, Illustrative of his Views of the NATURE and CAUSES of MESMERIC PHENOMENA, and the applicability of this agency in the cure of various intractable diseases. Three brothers, who were born deaf and dumb, and who have all been restored to permanent hearing, and two to the use of speech, by this method, will be introduced to the company:— Tickets of admission, for Gentlemen, 2s. each, and for Ladies, 1s. each, to be had at the door.

Fig.2. Braid's advertisement, *The Manchester Times*, Saturday, 5 March 1842.¹

The condition of many of the old papers is such that no 'photograph' taken of the *original* page could ever serve any sort of illustrative purpose (see Fig.3);

¹ Braid (1842c).

which has also meant that the task of transcribing was a laborious process, sometimes demanding access to copies from at least three different sources.

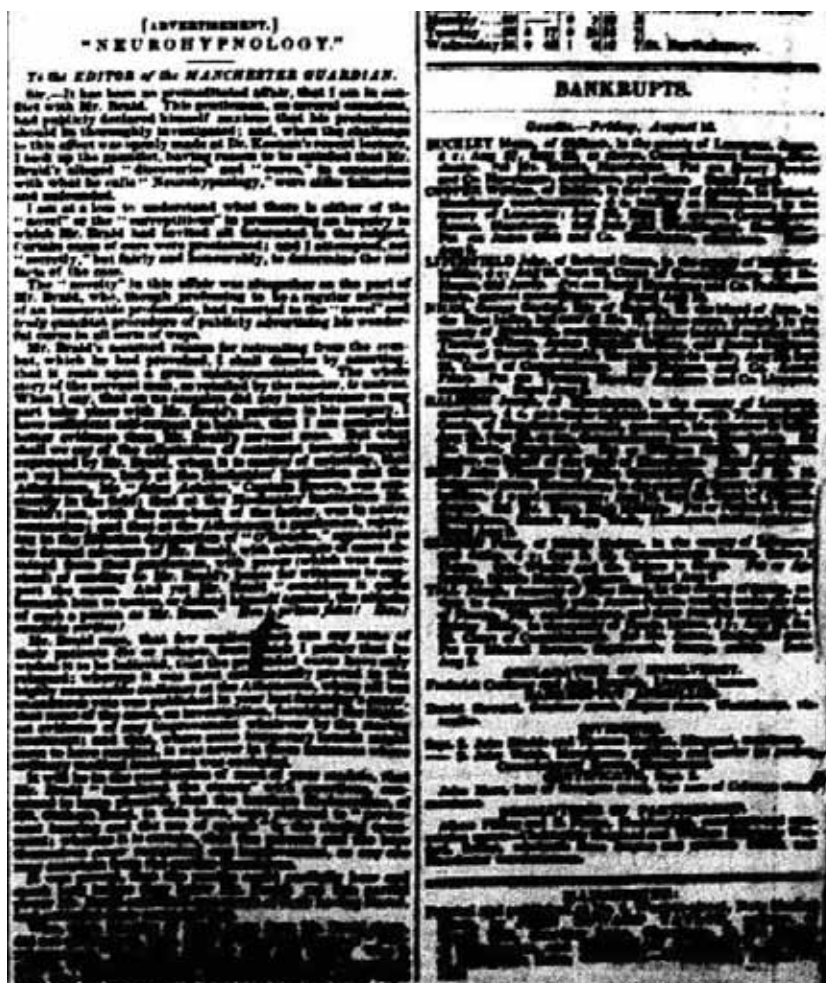


Fig.3. The first section of Dunn's letter attacking Braid (left column),
The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, 17 August 1842.²

The wide range of problems included those that could be attributed to:

(i) poor quality ink, (ii) poor quality paper, (iii) the archived newspaper being bound in such a way that up to 2 cm of text along the middle of the binding was undecipherable, (iv) the paper being folded by the printing machine when it was printed, (v) the ink running over part or all of the page, (vi) the printed ink on an otherwise good quality page having been rubbed off, due to the constant hand movements of readers over the last 170 years, and/or (vii) the text on the page having been deliberately or accidentally defaced (see Figs.4 and 5).

² Dunn (1842d).

The image shows the top half of the first page of *The Manchester Times* from Saturday, 5 March 1842. The masthead at the top reads "The Manchester Times. AND LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE EXAMINER." Below this, the date "SATURDAY, MARCH 5. 1842." is printed. The page is filled with columns of text, likely a financial or market report. Handwritten numbers are present in the left and right margins, indicating specific sections or items of interest. The left margin contains numbers 1 through 11, and the right margin contains numbers 34 through 70. The text within the columns is dense and difficult to read due to the age and resolution of the image.

Fig.4. Top half of page one, *Manchester Times*, Saturday, 5 March 1842, as marked by cataloguer.

WEDDING ROOMS.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

MR. BRAID, Surgeon, will DELIVER
ANOTHER LECTURE at the Athenæum,
 next Thursday evening, the 10th of March, at half-past
 seven o'clock. Illustrative of his Views of the NATURE
 and CAUSES of MESMERIC PHENOMENA, and
 the applicability of this agency in the cure of various in-
 tractable diseases. Three brothers, who were born deaf
 and dumb, and who have all been restored to permanent
 hearing, and two to the use of speech, by this method,
 will be introduced to the company. — Tickets of admission,
 for Gentlemen, 2s. each, and for Ladies, 1s. each, to be
 had at the door.

A CARD.

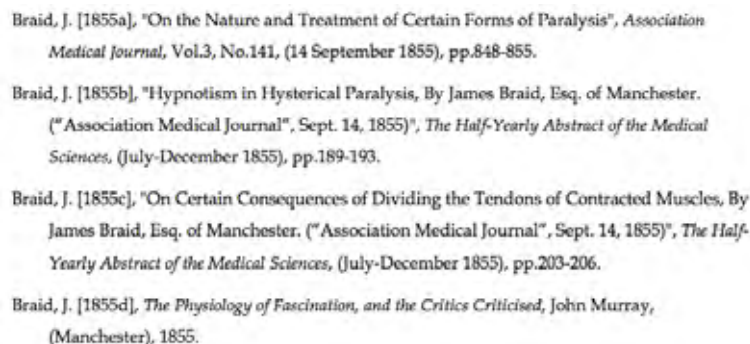
MR. BRAID, Surgeon, begs to intimate
 to his Friends that he has REMOVED from 10,
 Piccadilly, to 3, ST. PETER'S SQUARE. — His
 former PREMISES, at No. 10, Piccadilly, TO BE
 LET.

Fig.5. Braid's advertisements, top left corner, page one, *Manchester Times*, 5 March 1842.³

³ Braid (1842c); and Braid (1842d).

(3) *Bibliography*

Based upon the proliferation of items in particular years, and for the ease of reference within the dissertation's text, each item in the Bibliography has the year of publication inserted immediately after the author's name in square brackets; and, in those cases where there is more than one entry for a particular year, the year is further distinguished by letters of the alphabet (see Fig.6). The years are distinguished by a-z, then aa-zz, and then bc-bz, whenever necessary.



Braid, J. [1855a], "On the Nature and Treatment of Certain Forms of Paralysis", *Association Medical Journal*, Vol.3, No.141, (14 September 1855), pp.848-855.

Braid, J. [1855b], "Hypnotism in Hysterical Paralysis, By James Braid, Esq. of Manchester. ("Association Medical Journal", Sept. 14, 1855)", *The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, (July-December 1855), pp.189-193.

Braid, J. [1855c], "On Certain Consequences of Dividing the Tendons of Contracted Muscles, By James Braid, Esq. of Manchester. ("Association Medical Journal", Sept. 14, 1855)", *The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, (July-December 1855), pp.203-206.

Braid, J. [1855d], *The Physiology of Fascination, and the Critics Criticised*, John Murray, (Manchester), 1855.

Fig.6. Section of Bibliography (displaying insertion of year).

It is important to recognize that considerable effort has been made to assist the interested reader of both the Bibliography and *Appendix One* by providing details that allow the item to be located within seconds:

- (a) in the case of *newspaper articles*, (a) name of author (or "anon"), (b) title of article, (c) name of the newspaper (taken from the banner on page one of *that* issue), (d) the issue number of the newspaper, (e) the day and date of the newspaper, (f) the page number (or numbers) of the item in that newspaper, and (g) the column at which the item begins, and
- (b) in the case of *journal articles*, (a) name of author (or "anon"), (b) title of article, (c) name of journal (taken from the title page of *that* issue), (d) volume number, (e) issue number, (e) the date of journal issue, and (f) the article's page numbers.

The reason for this extremely valuable addition is that many of the more modern ways of citing references do not provide sufficient information for the scholar to search for (and locate) the items; and, most especially, they *do not provide enough information for an inter-library loan request* — e.g., the British Library refuses to "SEARCH" for anything, and immediately rejects any request

that does not supply all of the required details. Also, having been forced to follow such a confusing and tortuous pathway to place my hands upon each of these items from 170 years ago, I believe it is critical to facilitate the research of future scholars by giving them all of the appropriate information.

(4) The Appendices

The dissertation has been written in such a way that there is no need for the reader to consult any of the fourteen appendices; however, given that all except the first (a detailed bibliography) and the last (brief biographical details of more than 260 individuals mentioned in the dissertation) contain transcriptions of important, rare documents that have also been annotated for the first time, the appendices contain much to reward the interested reader.

(5) Appendix One

This appendix contains a detailed bibliography of Braid's writings and other associated items, with cross-references to five other earlier listings; plus a list of other relevant works, which, in many cases, prompted a response from Braid. There is also a brief description of each "Braid item", and of the relevance of each "Associated Item". Whilst every relevant item in the Bibliography appears in *Appendix One*, not every item in *Appendix One* appears in the Bibliography.

(6) Appendix Fourteen and the "‡" coding

Throughout the dissertation, from time to time, the reader will encounter a superscript "‡" following the first mention of certain individual's name (see Fig.7); this coding is to alert the interested reader to the fact that a brief biographical entry for that individual appears in *Appendix Fourteen*.

Charles Clay;‡ commercial printer and natural scientist, Richard Taylor;‡ chemistry lecturer of Hackney, Abraham Booth;‡ Manchester barometer maker, and member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Laurence Buchan;‡ Major Napier Turner Christie of Aberdeen;‡ Rev. George Eaton, M.A., J.P., of *The Pole*, Warrington;‡ Senior Canon and Vice-Dean of Manchester Cathedral, Rev. Cecil Daniel Wray;‡ former Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Nova Scotia, Alexander Fowden Haliburton;‡ banker, author, and poet John

Fig.7. Section taken directly from the text of *Chapter Nine* displaying application of the "‡" coding.

(7) Terminology: “hypnotism” & “hypnosis”

Due to the unfortunate abandonment of Braid’s precise, value-free term *hypnotism* (originally *neuro-hypnotism*) to denote *the hypnotic condition*, in favour of the misleading, value-laden term ‘*hypnosis*’,⁴ it is, unfortunately, a matter of fact that the word *hypnosis* is indiscriminately used today to label:

- (a) a subject’s state,
- (b) a hypnotist’s procedures,
- (c) the entire discipline, or
- (d) all three.

Accepting the unavoidable fact that the misleading and ambiguous term ‘*hypnosis*’ now has a life of its own, I will follow Moll (1890, p.25), Weitzenhoffer (1989a, p.6), etc., and, for the sake of unequivocal clarity, will consistently use:

- (a) *hypnotism* to denote the procedures, techniques and practices that form the therapeutic agent *and* their utilization, and
- (b) *hypnosis*, or *the hypnotic state*, to denote the *artificially* produced state (viz., ‘mental arrangement’) that is consequent upon an antecedent act of hypnotism,^{5,6}

and, in deciding to do this, it is implicitly assumed that the specific *referents* of the terms *hypnosis* (the subject’s state of mind) and *hypnotism* (the an operator’s activity) can be clearly distinguished from one another, regardless of however a reader might otherwise choose to label them.

Whilst it is true that particular individuals (heads of state, evangelists, cult leaders, politicians, psychologists, confidence tricksters, etc.) operating in many different circumstances, and at particular specific times, have been able to exercise an extraordinary degree of “mental control” over others (individually

⁴ As will be discussed later, Braid’s precise, value-free term *hypnotism* which denoted *the hypnotic condition* (with the neutral *-ism* suffix denoting a class) was later supplanted by the misleading, value-laden term *hypnosis* (with the *-osis* suffix denoting disease, infection, disorder) that had been introduced in the late 1880s by the French “Suggestion School”, centred on Nancy. Braid never, even on a single occasion, used the term “hypnosis” in his entire life.

⁵ The definite article (*the* ‘hypnotic state’) is not asserting that there is a *single* ‘hypnotic state’; in fact, a different set of arrangements is needed for each manifestation of that ‘state’.

⁶ Here ‘artificially’ indicates ‘produced by human artifice’, rather than ‘false’.

or collectively), it is also quite clear that there is no predictable, definite, and objectively systematic method that can be consistently applied in order to guarantee any such outcome in any given individual at any given time.⁷

Notwithstanding this, and whilst almost any form of interaction can, in extraordinary circumstances, provoke a relationship such that one person is apparently brought under the “mental control” of another, it does seem that there are certain patterns of regularity in the majority of the “more ordinary” circumstances of the production of such an outcome in a particular individual.

Despite the fact that there is still widespread disagreement in relation to the biophysical and mental underpinnings of ‘hypnosis’, and in relation to the mechanism through which ‘hypnotism’ operates, three things can be said with some certainty:

- (1) It is now generally accepted (from the evidence of brains scans) that there is a measurable alteration to the brain when ‘hypnosis’ is present (compared with when it is not);⁸ and, thus, the issue of whether there is (or is not) a thing called ‘hypnosis’, seems to have been settled.
- (2) It is now universally accepted that the ‘hypnotic state’, as such, “is not a state that *causes* events to occur”; but, by contrast, “is a state *in which* certain events occur” and, “in particular, the kinds of experience that characterize the domain of [hypnotism]” (Kihlstrom, 1992, p.305).⁹
- (3) It is now universally accepted that the presence of the ‘hypnotic state’

⁷ This conclusion was also reached by the CIA’s hypnosis-centred MKULTRA project in the 1950s and 1960s (see, for example, Marks, (1979), pp.182-192, especially p.186).

⁸ Such as Rainville, et al. (1999), Rainville, et al. (2002), and the meta-study of Del Casale, et al. (2012), etc.

⁹ Whilst “some of [the “features” of hypnotism] have to do with induction procedures, such as focusing attention on some object or image [and] others have to do with overt behaviour, such as response to suggestions [and] others have to do with subjective experience, such as conviction or involuntariness [and] others have to do with physiological signs” (Kihlstrom, 1992, p.305), none of them are unique or exclusive to the ‘hypnotic state’.

The manifestations universally considered ‘typical’ of the ‘hypnotic state’ include: catalepsy; time distortion; dissociation; detachment; suggestibility; ideosensory activity (positive and negative hallucinations); ideomotor responsiveness; age regression; revivification; amnesia (automatic or suggested); hypermnnesia; posthypnotic responses; hypnotic analgesia; hypnotic anaesthesia; glove anaesthesia; somnambulism; automatic writing; release of inhibitions; change in capacity for volitional activity; trance logic; and effortless imagination (Schefflin & Shapiro, 1989, pp.123-126).

(or an ability to manifest any of the 'typical hypnotic behaviours'),
is neither a sign nor a symptom of a pathological condition.

Further, there is much value in the view that was first expressed by John Kihlstrom nearly thirty years ago (1984, p.15; 1992, pp.304-305): that the quest to isolate the "physiological indices" of the 'hypnotic state' — and, in particular, continuing to prosecute "the search for singly necessary and jointly sufficient features" of that 'state' — is not just "futile", it is also "unnecessary".

Kihlstrom argued that the 'hypnotic state' was, obviously, "a natural concept" (a.k.a., a 'natural kind'); and, he said, as is the case with most of the "natural concepts", the 'hypnotic state' itself had no specific, unique, and coherent set of "defining features" (1992, p.304).¹⁰ Consequently, he argued that the 'hypnotic state' should be thought of as "a natural concept represented by a prototype or one or more exemplars consisting of features which are correlated with category membership" (1984, p.15).

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion on the categorization of populations of things that are members of *natural* kinds (e.g., cats), as distinct from those that are members of *artificial* kinds (e.g., time zones), see Guttenplan (1995), Kornblith (1999), and Dupré (2001).

Guttenplan (p.450) stressed that the critical difference between a *natural* kind and an *artificial* kind was that "the shared ...biological or physical ... properties... of a natural kind... have an independence from any particular human way of conceiving of the members of the kind".

In explanation, he speaks of the prototypical "natural kind" designated *gold*, the easily identified members of which were universally described as sharing the "properties" of "[being] yellow, malleable, and used in making jewellery".

Yet, Guttenplan argues, it is plain that, "[whilst it is true that] people [certainly] knew that this or that substance was [or was not] gold... before the atomic theory... discovered that what is crucial to this kind is that its members are atoms with atomic number 75... [it is also true that people] didn't properly know what made something a member of the kind [designated '*gold*']".

Introduction

This dissertation is centred on Scottish surgeon James Braid (1795-1860) and his crucial rôle in the invention and the development of the applications of hypnotism. It examines important formative influences, such as his professional training, and the manner in which various challenges led him along such an extraordinary pathway. It discusses the nature of his experiments, the construction of his taxonomies, the systematic reasoning behind his terminological choices, his propensity for destroying rival claims by producing evidence that was mutually exclusive of those claims, how and why he invented his hypnotic practices; and, especially, how he always understood those practices to be an extension of his surgical techniques. In particular, the dissertation that follows will concentrate on the eventful eight months — between his first observation of animal magnetism (on 13 November 1841) and the rejection of his "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neuro-hypnotism*" by the Medical Section of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* (on 25 June 1842) — that were eventually responsible for the production of his important work, *Neurypnology or The Rationale of Nervous Sleep, Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism, Illustrated by Numerous Cases of its Successful Application in the Relief and Cure of Disease*, that was published in July 1843.

This dissertation has been written from an interdisciplinary perspective with a cross-cultural medical anthropology slant.¹ It is based on the overwhelming evidence that the extensive research of this enterprise has uncovered within the

¹ Overall, based upon my interdisciplinary cognitive science studies (Yeates, 2002b; Yeates, 2004); driven by my experience as a hypnotist (my first hypnotic induction, guided by Francis Patrick Joseph Quinn (1914-2010), a.k.a. "The Great Franquin", was performed in 1960), a clinical hypnotherapist (Yeates, 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1992, 1996b, 2000, 2002a), a teacher of hypnotherapeutic practices, and the constructor of the world's first set of competency and proficiency standards for hypnotherapists (Yeates, 1996a; Yeates, 1999), my extensive studies of the works of Scottish philosopher Thomas Brown (1778-1820), French auto-suggestionist Émile Coué (1857-1926), Swiss psychotherapist, Charles Baudouin (1893-1963), and English hypnotist and psychiatrist John Heywood Hartland (1901-1977), in relation to the nature, structure and application of "suggestion", my taxonomical studies (Yeates, 2004) and my study of the philosophy of language, especially that of speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1979, etc.), and informed by my extensive cross-cultural studies of traditional Chinese medical practices, models of health, illness, and disease vectors, and therapeutic rationales over more than 20 years (Yeates, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1991; Yeates and Gospodarczyk, 1989), and further informed by the four years I spent working at Melbourne's specialist cancer hospital, the Peter MacCallum clinic, firstly as a student, and then as a qualified therapy radiographer (1963-1966).

contemporaneous literature (the majority of which has, to date, remained unidentified and unexamined) including: accurate stenographer's transcriptions of Braid's public lectures; eyewitness newspaper reports of his demonstrations and experiments; letters to the Editor of newspapers and journals; press releases; paid advertisements in newspapers; single articles or sequences of articles in peer-reviewed eminent journals, published pamphlets (many of which were the accumulations of sequential papers already published); and books specifically written to defend his views and his practices. Significantly, these resources detail the painstaking fashion in which Braid incrementally developed his theories and practices, and they provide accounts of the manner in which he dealt with, and responded to, the positive and negative 'feed-back' from his critics and how he learned from examining his own experience; all of which completely explodes the strongly held myth, that all that Braid did was 're-badge' mesmerism as 'hypnotism',² and, thus, his 'heritage' supposedly lies with Fr. Gassner,[‡] Fr. Hell,[‡] Anton Mesmer,[‡] Marquis de Puységur,[‡] Abbé Faria,[‡] James Esdaile,[‡] John Elliotson,[‡] etc. (and, therefore, with mesmerism and animal magnetism).

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, there was a great contrast between those who were familiar with Braid's work, and those who were not. At the 1880 *British Medical Association's* Annual Meeting, the psychologist and Braid scholar, William Thierry Preyer,[‡] addressed the Psychology Section as follows:

The first who investigated the matter [of mesmerism] in a scientific way, and who deserves more honour than he has yet received, was... James Braid, a Manchester surgeon.

At first a sceptic, holding that the whole of the so-called magnetic phenomena were the results of illusion, delusion, or excited imagination, he found in 1841 that one, at least, of the characteristic

² For example, Boring, (1927, pp.83-86; 1950, pp.124-128) takes this position. According to Willis and Wynne, in their *Victorian Literary Mesmerism* (2006),

Braid's valiant efforts to distinguish theoretically between mesmerism and hypnotism, and thereby to dispel any whiff of fraudulence or charlatanism from hypnotism, went largely unheeded.

When Charcot's experiments [at the Salpêtrière Hospital, Paris] revived medical interest in hypnotism in the late nineteenth century, hypnotism was linked to mesmerism by both supporters and detractors of the practice.

Historians of hypnotism have acknowledged this slippage, identifying the end of the century as the period during which "mesmerism became known as hypnotism". (p.207)

symptoms could not be accounted for in this manner: viz., the fact that many of the mesmerized individuals are quite unable to open their eyes.

Braid was much puzzled by this discovery, until he found that the “magnetic trance” could be induced, with many of its marvellous symptoms of catalepsy, aphasia, exaltation and depression of the sensory functions, by merely concentrating the patient’s attention on one object or one idea, and preventing all interruption or distraction whatever.

But in the state thus produced, none of the so-called higher phenomena of the mesmerists, such as the reading of sealed and hidden letters, the contents of which were unknown to the mesmerised person, could ever be brought about.

To the well defined assemblage of symptoms which Braid observed in patients who had steadily gazed for eight or twelve minutes with attention concentrated upon a small bright object, and which were different from those of the so-called magnetic trance, Braid gave the name of *Hypnotism*...³



Fig.8. William Thierry Preyer (1841-1897).

French neurologist Jules Bernard Luys[†] also spoke highly of Braid’s legacy:

Modern Hypnotism owes its name and its appearance in the realm of science to the investigations made by Braid.

He is its true creator; he made it what it is; and above all, he gave emphasis to the experimental truth by means of which he proved that, when hypnotic phenomena are called into play, they are wholly independent of any supposed influence of the hypnotist upon the hypnotised, and that the hypnotised person simply reacts upon himself by

³ Quoted, verbatim in the report written by Daniel Hack Tuke, joint editor of the *Journal of Mental Science*, of the Psychology Section’s discussion on “Sleep and Hypnotism” (Tuke, 1880); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

reason of latent capacities in him which are artificially developed.

Braid demonstrated that... hypnotism, acting upon a human subject as upon a fallow field, merely set in motion a string of silent faculties which only needed its assistance to reach their development.⁴



Fig.9. Jules Bernard Luys (1828-1897).

John Milne Bramwell[‡] studied medicine at Edinburgh University with Braid's grandson Charles;[‡] and was, perhaps, second only to Preyer in his wide-ranging familiarity with Braid and his works. Bramwell noted that, "[Braid's name] is familiar to all students of hypnotism and is rarely mentioned by them without due credit being given to the important part he played in rescuing that science from ignorance and superstition". He found that almost all of those students believed that Braid "held many erroneous views" and that "the researches of more recent investigators [had] disproved [those erroneous views]" (1896a, p.129). Finding that "few seem to be acquainted with any of [Braid's] works except *Neurypnology* or with the fact that [*Neurypnology*] was only one of a long series on the subject of hypnotism, and that in the later ones his views completely changed", Bramwell was convinced that this ignorance of Braid, which sprang from "imperfect knowledge of his writings", was further compounded by at least three "universally adopted opinions"; viz., that Braid

⁴ Luys (1890a, p.896); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

was English, “believed in phrenology”,⁵ and “knew nothing of suggestion”. The view that Braid knew nothing of suggestion, and that the entire ‘history’ of suggestive therapeutics began with the Nancy “Suggestion” School in the late 1880s, had been widely promoted by Hippolyte Bernheim.[‡]

The difference between Braid and the Nancy School, with regard to suggestion, is entirely one of theory, not of practice. Braid employed verbal suggestion in hypnosis just as intelligently as any member of the Nancy school.

This fact is denied by Bernheim, who says: “It is strange that Braid did not think of applying suggestion in its most natural form — suggestion by speech — to bring about hypnosis and its therapeutic effects. He did not dream of explaining the curative effects of hypnotism by means of the psychical influence of suggestion, but made use of suggestion without knowing it.”

This statement has its sole origin in [Bernheim’s] ignorance of Braid’s later works...

[Unlike Bernheim, Braid] did not consider [verbal] suggestion as explanatory of hypnotic phenomena, but... [he] looked upon it simply as an artifice used in order to excite [those phenomena].

[Braid] considered that the mental phenomena were only rendered possible by previous physical changes; and, as the result of these, the operator was enabled to act like an engineer, and to direct the forces which existed in the subject’s own person. (Bramwell, 1903a, pp.338-339)

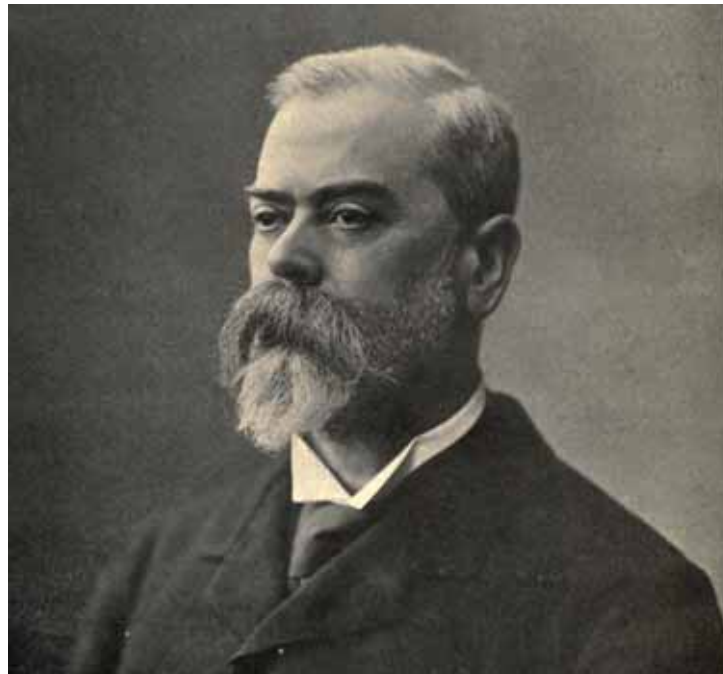


Fig.10. John Milne Bramwell (1852-1925).

⁵ Braid’s work with phrenology and phreno-mesmerism lies outside this dissertation; yet, it is important to simply note here that Braid’s own experiments proved eventually that there was no basis for either phrenology or phreno-mesmerism (see *Appendix Twelve*, and Braid, 1844b).

In 1897, Bramwell wrote on Braid's work for an important French journal (1897a). He also wrote on hypnotism and suggestion, strongly emphasizing the importance of Braid and his work (1897b). In his response, Bernheim repeated his mistaken view that Braid knew nothing of suggestion (Bernheim, 1897). Bramwell's response (1898) to Bernheim's misrepresentation was emphatic: "I answered [Bernheim], giving quotations from Braid's published works, which clearly showed that he not only employed suggestion as intelligently as the members of the Nancy school now do, but also that his conception of its nature was clearer than theirs" (Bramwell, 1913, p.28).⁶

Given the emphatic views of Preyer, Luys, and Bramwell on the significance of the 'lost Braid', it is astonishing that almost nothing has been done since that time to exhume the considerable work of the 'later' Braid, to restore Braid and his works to 'disciplinary consciousness', and reveal Braid's valuable insights and significant researches to the modern world. The most difficult aspect of trying to understand Braid's history, professional life, works, contemporary influence, transmitted legacy, etc. in the 21st century, is that the currently available literature (especially, the clinical-practitioner-oriented literature) has nothing of value for the seeker of such information; no doubt due to the proliferation of '*origin myths*' consistently offered in support of appeals to the 'legitimacy' of specific modern practices, and the '*founders' legends*' asserted about certain individuals in relation to the discovery (or the first application) of some process or technique.⁷

The consistent misrepresentation and widespread misunderstanding of both

⁶ In 1896, Bramwell spoke of perusing the collection of "800 works by nearly 500 authors", listed in Dessoir's *Bibliographie des Modernen Hypnotismus* (1888), "Bibliography of Modern Hypnotism", and finding that "little of value has been discovered [by any of them] which can justly be considered as supplementary to Braid's later work" and that "much has been lost through [their] ignorance of his researches". Moreover, he found "the Nancy theories [of "Bernheim and his colleagues" in] themselves are but an imperfect reproduction of Braid's later ones" (1896c, p.459). In 1913, Bramwell expressed the same opinion of Dessoir's later (1890) collection of "1182 works by 774 authors" (pp.274-275).

⁷ In his review of a "Whiggish" history of social psychology, Samelson remarks (2000, p.500) that — whilst a myth/legend position requires "a skillful [sic] selection in terms of the relevance of the past to the present" — in such biased accounts, "the thoughts of the forerunners [are] no longer relevant ... in the universe of discourse of the new" account ... and the objective veracity of the myths or legends presented are quite irrelevant as long as the account delivered "spells out the proper message": that "progress" (into the present) has been "remarkable".

Braid and his work, and the extensive publication of deliberately selective and actively dismissive accounts of such, means that these erroneous, historically untrue, and entirely unfounded origin myths and misleading founders' legends are now generally accepted as being true, and are actively promoted as fact; and, unfortunately, they have become the 'givens' from which today's tyros begin their studies.

The process of establishing these prevailing '*origin myths*' and '*founders' legends*' for hypnotism has involved a deliberate, intentional, and comprehensive refashioning of Braid's history; so that, for instance, to the limited extent that Braid is ever acknowledged in the modern literature, he is wrongly recognized as a proto-hypnotherapist, rather than, as this dissertation will demonstrate, as a surgeon, who employed an excitingly new and different modality to pursue the same medical goals.

Braid was different from his rivals. He was part of the medical profession;⁸ and remained within the mainstream medical system all his life.⁹ He was a 'tinkerer' and a prolific inventor; inventing hypnotism, a technique for the surgical correction of club foot, a cheap stabilizing apparatus to hasten the rehabilitation of his club foot patients, a method for reducing the impact of tsetse flies on cattle in Africa, etc. He was an 'early adopter'. Long after he had invented hypnotism (1841), and long after he had first used hypnotism to perform painless surgery (1842), he was one of the first in the U.K. to use inhalation ether anaesthesia (1847).¹⁰ He was amongst the first to provide surgical intervention for stammering, and squint.¹¹ Finally, despite his deep,

⁸ Unlike the French mesmerist, colonel (Marquis) Amand Marie Jacques de Chastenet de Puységur,[†] the Goan mystic, (Abbé) José Custódio de Faria,[‡] the Austrian exorcist, (Father) Johann Joseph Gassner,[‡] and the Hungarian magnetist, (Father) Maximilian Hell.[‡]

⁹ Unlike the medical mesmerists, John Elliotson,[‡] who was expelled from the University College Hospital in 1838 for his mesmeric practices, and W. C. Engledue,[‡] who was ostracized for his dedication to mesmerism and phrenology.

¹⁰ He first operated using inhalation ether as anaesthetic, assisted by his son, on 9 February 1847, just 52 days after the first U.K. 'ether' operation had been conducted in Dumfries.

¹¹ Although surgical intervention is very rarely used today to address either condition, it was in great demand at the time; and the fact that Braid was a leader in the surgical intervention of the time indicates that he was, so to speak, at the *leading* (rather than *following*) edge of his profession. These aspects of Braid's professional career will be discussed in Chapter Two.

long-term interest in hypnotism, he continued to publish papers on conventional scientific and medical matters. The medical profession never ‘broke’ with Braid, and Braid never ‘broke’ with the medical profession; and, regardless of the views they might have had of his ‘hypnotism’, Braid was continuously regarded with respect and deference by his individual professional colleagues, and by his profession in general.

I have exhausted the current literature, and, with extensive effort, I have found and examined a large number of contemporaneous primary and secondary sources that have not been seen for at least 150 years, in order to expose the misrepresentations, and correct the historical record, with the evidence painstakingly presented in Braid’s own writings (and within the eye-witness accounts of Braid at work) and, in particular, Braid’s efforts to maximize “the efficiency with which [his] discoveries [were] evaluated, diffused, and incorporated into the body of scientific knowledge” (Cole, 1970, p.286). This demonstrates a constant, deliberate and relentless extension, refinement and development on Braid’s part, over his lifetime.¹² It also includes the long overdue exhumation of a wide range of previously unacknowledged sources, many of which are in the newspapers and magazines of the day; and, at the same time, hopefully, reactivating the invaluable legacy of Braid, and delivering it to scholars and practitioners in the twenty-first century.

An even more important goal is to show that his development of hypnotism was extraordinary. Its appearance was *never* part of a preordained, extended, cumulative, linear progression, as happens in the case of the down-stream confluence of inevitably merging streams. It is completely wrong to suggest that whatever *might* have done — with whatever minor historical significance his activities *might* have had — was all *inevitably predetermined* by a very long sequence of ‘prior unravelments’. Not only is this view totally wrong, but it is also a powerful, and surreptitious way of making all of Braid’s claims for *priority* appear unfounded, arrogant, and nonsensical. Moreover, it denies Braid the “recognition and esteem” that Merton (1968/1942, p.610) identifies as “the

¹² At the time of his death, James Braid had acquired some 18 years’ experience of hypnotism; i.e., rather than the same month’s experience two hundred and sixteen consecutive times.

sole property right of the scientist in his discoveries".

In researching Braid's work for this dissertation, a number of the 'sought' items were extremely difficult to locate, due to errors of omission and commission in various published lists and bibliographies. Others, like his important paper on *cæsarian section*, the existence of which was 'mentioned' in the literature — "Braid is also stated to have contributed a "Case of Cæsarian Section" to one of the medical journals, but this I have been unable to trace" (Bramwell, 1896, p.110)¹³ — have also been located after painstaking searches.¹⁴ Finally, from the most extensive, thorough, and relentless foraging through the pages of contemporary newspapers, magazines, and journals, a large number of 'previously unknown' but highly relevant items have also been unearthed.¹⁵

As a consequence of this enterprise, it has become clear that the advent of hypnotism was due to the unique coincidence of the calm presence and solid physical strength of a farmer's boy, his Edinburgh education, his surgical apprenticeship, his propensity for structured thinking, his private views on the role of a gentleman, his relocation in Manchester, his possession of a private chemical laboratory, his immersion in the philosophy of Thomas Brown, and his consequent encounter with Charles Lafontaine.[‡] Moreover, in terms of Merton's (1936) characterization, Braid's (1841) decision to demonstrate in public that Lafontaine's phenomena were not due to magnetic agency presents a classic case of a *purposive social act* with an entirely *unanticipated consequence*; as Braid often remarked, "my object is to dispel mystery, and elicit truth, in the simplest possible manner".¹⁶ And, finally, Braid's "location in the social structure of science", and the "similar characteristics of his audience", would

¹³ Wink (1969, p.v) could not 'discover' the item; but noted it "[had] been quoted by others". Kravis (1988, pp.1204-1206) lists six works, the existence of which he was "unable to verify", but this work is not listed amongst them.

¹⁴ Braid, J., "Case of Cæsarian Section — Death of Patient", *London Medical Gazette*, Vol.13, (8 August 1851), pp.238-241 (Braid, 1851b).

¹⁵ *Appendix One* contains more than 120 "Braid items", cross-referenced with each other and more than 330 "associated items", with explanatory notes appended to both categories. The "Braid items" are also cross-referenced, where appropriate, against the lists in Waite (1899), 36 items, Bramwell (1913), 49 items, Wink (1969), 53 items, Kravis (1988), 53 items, and Crabtree (1988) 8 items.

¹⁶ Braid's statement during his fifth Manchester lecture, on 28 December 1841 (Anon, 1842b).

have greatly influenced the evaluation, reception, and dissemination of his discoveries (Cole, 1970, p.287). From all of this, it seems an inescapable conclusion that, in Braid's absence, the discipline of hypnotism, as a complex of incremental strategic interventions, may never have come into being at all.

From my extensive research, I am now convinced that, rather than Braid's work being a vague, imperfect, primitive, and rudimentary form of certain (supposedly highly sophisticated) modern hypnotherapeutic practices, quite the reverse obtains: the modern practices that claim to exercise Braid's legacy are so 'hybridized', so degenerate, and so marginalized, that a comprehensive exhumation of Braid's work (i.e., his *intellectual* and his *physical* technology), as well as a revival and thorough revitalization of his legacy must take place as a matter of urgency before the rich, vital, and irreplaceable resources of this increasingly moribund 'original gene pool' have been irreparably lost.¹⁷ And, it is the revitalization of Braid's legacy that is this dissertation's primary concern.

Apart from Gauld's treatment of Braid's research and legacy in his authoritative *History of Hypnotism* (1992, p.279-288) no adequate, detailed biography of Braid exists; and it seems that the only modern mentions of Braid appear in the introductory paragraphs of textbooks. Brief biographies appeared in obituaries in *The Lancet* (Anon, 1860b), *The Manchester Weekly Times* (Anon, 1860c), *The Medical Times and Gazette* (Anon, 1860d),¹⁸ and *The Times* (Anon, 1860e). Later accounts lie within discussions of his work by Preyer (1881), Bramwell (1896a, 1896b, 1903, 1906, 1913), Waite (1899), Fletcher (1929), Kravis (1988), Kihlstrom (1992), and Gauld (1992). Entries on Braid appear in both the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Sutton, 1886), and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Gauld, 2004).¹⁹

¹⁷ A recent meta-study of hypnotism-centred neuro-imaging studies (Del Casale, et al., 2012, "Neurocognition Under Hypnosis: Findings from Recent Functional Neuro-imaging Studies") concluded that "functional neuroimaging studies not only confirm Braid's (1843) first central hypothesis of hypnosis as a process of enhancing or depressing neural activity but also give objective evidence that the hypnotic phenomena occur also through changes in functional connectivity between brain areas" (p.310).

¹⁸ This obituary contained a serious factual error that was immediately challenged and corrected by a letter from Anthony William Close (1811-1863), F.R.C.S. (London), L.S.A. (London), of Grosvenor Street, Manchester (Close, 1860).

¹⁹ The 1911 *Encyclopædia Britannica* has an entry for 'Hypnotism', but none for 'Braid, James'.

Only three dissertations on Braid have ever been written; with each concentrating on a specific aspect of the practice of hypnotism: *Die Forschungen James Braids über die Hypnose und ihre Bedeutung für die Heilkunde (The Researches of James Braid and Their Significance for the Healing Arts)* (Reimer, 1935);²⁰ *The Life and Work of James Braid (1795-1860), With Special Reference to Hypnotism as an Orthodox Medical Procedure* (Wink, 1969);²¹ and *James Braid, Hypnotism and the Psyche in early Victorian Manchester: An Exploration of Romantic Philosophy, Popular Thought and Psychological Medicine* (Boardman, 2005).²² Another account, the 'long essay', *Neuro-Hypnotism, or Artificial Nervous Sleep. A Critical Examination of the mode of Induction of this Condition of the System, and of the Phenomena accompanying it, and also its importance as a Therapeutical Agent: with a brief history of its discovery by Dr. Braid, of Edinburgh* (Dwight, 1859)²³ does little more than record how Braid's work was understood by a U.S. medical student in 1859.

Although they are far from perfect, the most historically accurate accounts of Braid and his work are brief, and they tend to have been written by, for, and aimed at, medical historians (e.g., Gauld, 1992, pp.279-288, Gauld, 2004). By contrast, the historical accounts aimed at practitioners of hypnotism — i.e., those most in need of an accurate and reliable history — are inaccurate, incomplete, and misleading, and are delivered, in the main, by 'industry workers' intent on enforcing interest-driven histories of hypnotism that are far less detailed and much less accurate (Erickson, Hershman and Sector, 1961; Hartland, 1966, etc.); and, finally, those aimed at other audiences, such as that in Daniel Loeb's *Be Ye Transformed: Christianity, Hypnosis, and Behavioral*

²⁰ The published version of the M.D. Dissertation of Hans Reimer (1908-?), of the Institute for the History of Medicine at the Medical Academy at Düsseldorf, and the Medical Faculty of the University of Münster.

²¹ Charles Anthony Stewart Wink (1921-1986) M.A., B.M., B.Ch., B.Litt, medical hypnotist, executive editor of the *World Medical Journal*, and medical editor with Ciba-Geigy Scientific Publications.

²² Andrew David Boardman (1974-) M.B., Ch.B., M.Phil, is a psychiatrist. He is a Member of the Royal College of Psychiatrists. His M. Phil. studies were supervised by John Pickstone at the Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine at the University of Manchester.

²³ Richard Yeadon Dwight, M.D. (1837–1919), graduated from the Medical College of South Carolina, Charleston, in 1859, served as an Assistant Surgeon in the Confederate Army, and practiced (continuously, until his death) at various locations in Missouri and South Carolina.

Modification (2006, pp.122-123),²⁴ border on outright fantasy.

An example of this inaccuracy appears in one of the most influential training texts of the twentieth century, *The Practical Application of Medical and Dental Hypnosis*,²⁵ compiled from material presented for many years in training courses conducted by one of the most important figures in the promotion of medical hypnotism in the United States, Milton H. Erickson, in association with his colleagues, medical hypnotist Seymour Hershman, and dental hypnotist Irving Selter.²⁶ In this book, the following misleading passage appears (with my corrections in bold type):

[Following Elliotson,] in 1841, another English [**Scottish**] physician [**surgeon**], James Braid, who had originally opposed Mesmerism [**who was originally sceptical of the magnetists' claims of magnetic agency**],²⁷ became interested in the subject. He stated that animal magnetism was not involved in the cures [**was not involved in *his own* cures**]; that they were due to suggestion [**that they were due to the activation of a physiological mechanism centred on the brain and the nervous system**]. He developed the eye-fixation technique of inducing relaxation [**of inducing a particular mental 'state' (viz., 'arrangement')**] and called it "hypnosis" [**and called that state "hypnotism"**]. Since he initially thought that hypnosis was identical with sleep²⁸ [**Since he initially thought that the**

²⁴ See Google Books.

²⁵ The text, which is a distillation of material presented in teaching seminars throughout the U.S.A. (to more than 10,000 trainees over a decade), "conducted at the post-doctoral level for physicians, dentists, and psychologists" (p.v) by Milton Erickson, Seymour Hershman, and Irving Selter, was originally published in 1961. It was reprinted without correction in 1990.

²⁶ These three were most significant of those who taught during the 1950s for the *Seminars in Hypnosis Foundation*, which later evolved into the educational arm of the American Society of Clinical Hypnosis, a society which, along with others who were also teaching (William Kroger, Edward Ashton, David Cheek, Leslie LeCron, etc.), they founded in 1957.

²⁷ "Mesmerists" used Mesmer's techniques; whilst "magnetists" believed that a real, rather than metaphorical 'magnetic fluid' was the agency responsible for their phenomena.

²⁸ Braid was certain that the condition of 'neuro-hypnotism' *was as far removed from that of common sleep as it was removed from the normal waking condition*:

[I have demonstrated that] the effect of a continued fixation of the mental and visual eye in the manner, and with the concomitant circumstances pointed out, is to throw the nervous system into a new condition, accompanied with a state of somnolence, and a tendency, according to the mode of management, of exciting a variety of phenomena, *very different from those we obtain either in ordinary sleep, or during the waking condition.* Braid, *Neurypnology*, p.150 (emphasis added)

This view was later supported by the extensive clinical experience of Bramwell:

closest analogue to this 'hypnotic state' was that of "natural sleep"], he used the term *hypnos* from the Greek word for "sleep" [he used the term *neuro-hypnotism*, "nervous sleep" (as distinct from either "mesmeric sleep" or "natural sleep"), derived from the Greek word *hypnos*, "sleep"]. Later, after he recognized his error [Later, after he recognized that there were *several* substantially different qualities of hypnotic state], he tried to change the name to *monoeidism* [monoideism], meaning concentration on one idea [he tried to introduce the term "monoideism" (concentration on a single 'dominant' idea), to be able to distinguish this 'lighter' state, in which a subject was liable to respond to verbal directives, known as 'suggestions', from another, much 'deeper' state, also induced by his eye-fixation technique, within which limbs could be amputated without any sensation, which he termed "hypnotic coma"]. The term "hypnosis" has persisted despite the fact that it is technically a misnomer. [The use of the (1880s) French term "hypnosis", a term that Braid never used in his lifetime, has inexplicably persisted in English since the 1890s despite the fact that it is technically a misnomer.]

Erickson, Hershman and Senter (1961), p.6.

Despite my advocacy of the significance of Braid, and my profound respect for him, his works, and his efforts, this dissertation is not intended to be a hagiography of Braid, an institutional history of hypnotism, or an attempt to craft new myths or legends involving Braid. My careful exhumation of the extended, reliable evidence contained within the contemporaneous sources — long hidden sources, whose contents have been extensively misrepresented and thoroughly misunderstood — allows the 'authentic' Braid to be disentangled from the distorted and limited 'received account' of his life, research and work, that is routinely produced for the modern reader. From this evidence, it is immediately obvious that Braid's hypnotic practices were always an extension of his surgical techniques; and never (using modern terms) a matter of 'psychi-

...the hypnotised subject, no matter in what stage, should be regarded not only as *awake*, but also as possibly possessing *increased* activity of the special senses... (Bramwell 1913, p.149, emphasis in original).

And, later still, verified by the extensive experiments of Clark Hull at Yale University: [our experiments show] that hypnosis is not sleep, that it has no special relationship to sleep, and the whole concept of sleep when applied to hypnosis obscures rather than clarifies the situation. (Hull, 1933, p.221).

atry', 'psychotherapy', or 'psychology'. Yet, unfortunately, the modern application of the misleading terms 'mind-cure'²⁹ and 'psychotherapy'³⁰ — classic examples of *equivocation due to lexical ambiguity* (where, without being given a precise context, one can never know the intended referent of a term)³¹ — in relation to Braid's work have led to the unfounded beliefs that (so to speak):

(1) instead of using the *power of the mind* to cure a real disorder, Braid had been *correcting a deviant mind* to effect a cure, and

(2) instead of using *the psyche* as a tool to *therapize* a subject's condition, Braid had been *therapizing their psyche* in order to effect a cure,

and this very equivocation allows inappropriate claims to be made that Braid was the first real psychotherapist,³² and justifies the myriad claims that the conditions that Braid addressed were hysterical, not physical.

Of more significance, however, this exhumation also allows the 'authentic' Braid to be correctly positioned in his own time and place as an important, significant agent of innovation and change. This not only clarifies the personal and disciplinary perspectives from which Braid thought, and spoke, and wrote, but also highlights the 'watershed' significance of his work in hypnotism. I hope also that correcting the myriad misrepresentations of Braid, altering the mistaken, currently-held-against-him views so they match views he unequivocally expressed at the time of his innovations, and providing an accurate reconstruction of his work prove to be extremely useful to the ultimate betterment of modern hypnotic practice. In pursuit of these goals, I have also provided copious references so that interested readers (many of whom will have been, up

²⁹ The term, first appearing in *The Asylum Journal* (Anon, 1855b, p.161), the official organ of The Association of Medical Officers of Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane, was popularized by William James; e.g., his 1894 letter to *The Boston Evening Transcript* (1987, pp.147-148).

³⁰ Coined by Dendy in his "Psychotherapeia, or The Remedial Influence of the Mind" (1853).

³¹ These sorts of expression are usefully considered to be the equivalent of *homonyms*, different words sharing the same spelling and pronunciation — such as *bank* (a financial institution) vs. *bank* (a riparian zone). Two expressions that are *equivocal due to lexical ambiguity*, and need some sort of context to allow identification of the referent are: '*a lightning strike*' ('damage from an atmospheric electrical discharge' or 'an unexpected work stoppage?'), and '*a French teacher*' ('a teacher from France' or 'a teacher who teaches French?').

³² For example, Kravis' 1988 paper, "James Braid's Psychophysiology: A Turning Point in the History of Dynamic Psychiatry".

to now, wrongly taught and misinformed) can verify, each step of the way, the account presented here; and, for themselves, in their own time, verify the accuracy of my version of events. The bibliography lists the (almost 1,500) items that were consulted in the preparation of this dissertation.

This dissertation is constructed so that the reader will apprehend, step by step, Braid's brilliant, innovative, and courageous work. Initially, Braid was only concerned with the question of whether the effects that were allegedly manifested by Lafontaine's subjects were veridical. Next, setting aside those effects that were 'non-veridical', he sought to replicate the 'veridical' phenomena; and, having done so, he demonstrated publicly that Lafontaine's phenomena were not due to magnetic agency. At the same time, in relation to other, seemingly 'veridical' effects, he provided alternative, rational explanations; many of which he later developed into a valuable list of "sources of fallacy" (see *Appendix Twelve*). He then serendipitously discovered that his own 'upwards and inwards squint' induction technique had many unexpected therapeutic applications. And, as his enterprise began to become less and less an alternative version of Lafontaine's, and gradually became more and more a promotion of his own, idiosyncratic enterprise, Braid began to be challenged in other ways, and for other reasons, and from other quarters.

This dissertation provides, for the first time, detailed, eyewitness accounts, presented in chronological order, taken directly from the contemporaneous press (i.e., rather than from the later recollections of the participants) of the lectures, stage performances, and technical demonstrations of Lafontaine, Braid, and others,³³ so the reader can understand the extended process of the interplay between articulation, observation, innovation, challenge and response. The presentation of these contemporaneous accounts also shows just how closely Braid's early performances replicated the pattern of Lafontaine's. They also demonstrate the significance of Braid moving from his original view, that the

³³ Weitzenhoffer (2000), entirely unaware of the existence of these important contemporaneous resources, speaks of the difficulty assessing, more than a century and a half later, whether Braid's claim that he had "fully replicate[d] what he saw Lafontaine produce" (p.31) was justified; because, he says, "there does not seem to be any records of exactly what Braid saw on attending Lafontaine's demonstrations" (p.33).

phenomena induced by his own 'upwards and inwards squint' method were 'identical' to those of Lafontaine, to his later view, that they were simply 'analogous'.

The first chapter examines the personal, intellectual, and professional background of James Braid, philosopher, surgeon, and gentleman scientist, during his early years in Scotland, in order to allow the reader to understand just how well prepared Braid was to, later, during his time in Manchester, 'discharge the duties' of his unique position as inventor, innovator, protector, defender, and promoter of hypnotism.

The second chapter, centred on the time after his move to Manchester from Dumfries, also stresses his proficiency as a *surgeon* (he was never a *psychiatrist*), and explains why his experience with 'physical corrections' (squint, club foot, spinal curvature, cæsarian sections, shoulder presentations, etc.) prepared him to recognize just how and when hypnotism should be applied. It also demonstrates that, quite apart from any of his future connexions with hypnotism, Braid was already destined to be an important and influential figure in the medical profession in the nineteenth century.

The third chapter examines the consequences of (a) Braid, the not-credulous-but-sceptical philosopher, attending Lafontaine's lecture on 13 November 1841 in order to personally determine the veracity of the reported phenomena that had been supposedly attributed to magnetic agency, (b) Braid, the surgeon and gentleman scientist, on the basis of that (and several later) Lafontaine lectures, determining that some of Lafontaine's effects were veridical, (c) Braid, the structured thinker, reflecting on what he had observed, and (d) Braid, the philosopher, structured thinker, and gentleman scientist, making the 'rhetorical move' of performing crucial experiments upon himself, the results of which were mutually exclusive of Lafontaine's claims of magnetic agency.

The fourth chapter examines the emergence of James Braid, public speaker, popular educator, and scientific demonstrator, whose initial, sole purpose was to convince the public that Lafontaine's claims of magnetic agency were false. In the third and last of the lectures he conducted in Manchester between 27

November and 8 December 1841, he reported that, *per medium* of his approach, “a person previously deaf had been enabled to hear” (Anon, 1841cc). It is also significant that Braid announced that the 8 December 1841 lecture would be his last; and made it very clear that, at that stage, he considered that he had been engaged in a purely scientific pursuit (i.e., his efforts had nothing to do with medicine, surgery, or any other therapeutic application).

The fifth chapter records the efforts of two of Braid’s colleagues, Captain Thomas Brown, and Mr. Jonathan Duncan, to broadcast Braid’s findings beyond Manchester, and describes the lectures delivered by Lafontaine in Manchester, further elaborating his theories, and, also, his demonstrations of his version of Braid’s approach.

The sixth chapter examines Braid’s second set of lectures, delivered in Manchester and Liverpool, between 17 December 1841 and 22 January 1842; and how, as time progressed, he was slowly moving from an activity that was devoted to “dispelling mystery” and “eliciting truth”, to one of promoting his own induction method, investigating the application of effects elicited by his method, and sequentially expanding his understanding of the nature, scope and range of conditions to which his methods might prove efficacious.

The seventh chapter records a very substantial shift: from Braid, the philosopher and gentleman scientist, essentially a side-line observer, to that of an on-the-field participant, with Braid, the structured thinker and surgeon, observing the physiological and therapeutic consequences of his own methods, further developing his applications in the light of his observation of the practices of others, strongly defending his own position, and continuing to lecture in public, with his third set of lectures, in London, Manchester, and Liverpool, delivered between 1 March and 6 April 1842.

In the eighth chapter the narrative moves to a far more complex, abstract and philosophical level, when Braid is forced to defend himself and his work against the attack of an influential and well-connected cleric, a demagogic public speaker, infamous for his immoderate behaviour as a preacher, and his well-demonstrated propensity for inaccurate understanding of the meaning of

the scriptures upon which his diatribes were based. He attacked Braid as a scientist, threatened his professional and social position by associating him with Satan and, in the most ill-informed fashion, condemned his work as having no efficacy whatsoever. It is the account of this demagogue and his attack, made (a) from the pulpit in a sermon, and (b) in a published transcript of that sermon, and Braid's defence of himself and his work, that is the concern of this Chapter.

Finally, the ninth chapter examines the astonishing events that took place during the twelfth meeting of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* in Manchester in June 1842 and their aftermath: the last minute refusal to allow Braid to present his paper, "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*", the *conversazione* that Braid conducted to a packed house of B.A.A.S. delegates at a separate (but immediately adjacent) location, the fierce public allegations that Braid was a fraud, falsely claiming cures, and how all of these forces led to the publication of his *Neurypnology*, in mid-1843, and how the peculiar character of this important work is greatly misunderstood today.

The dissertation is based on the material within contemporaneous, but long neglected accounts; hitherto unknown contemporaneous resources; and contemporaneous resources previously thought lost. Critically, all of this material is presented in chronological order; and, to the extent to which Braid's notions have been occluded by the extent to which his actual experiments, practice, theoretical position, and contributions to medical knowledge have been so seriously misrepresented over the ensuing years, this dissertation comprehensively revises the received view of Braid and, I hope, reflects his real significance, as a surgeon, philosopher and gentleman scientist in the development of hypnotism.

Chapter One: James Braid, Surgeon

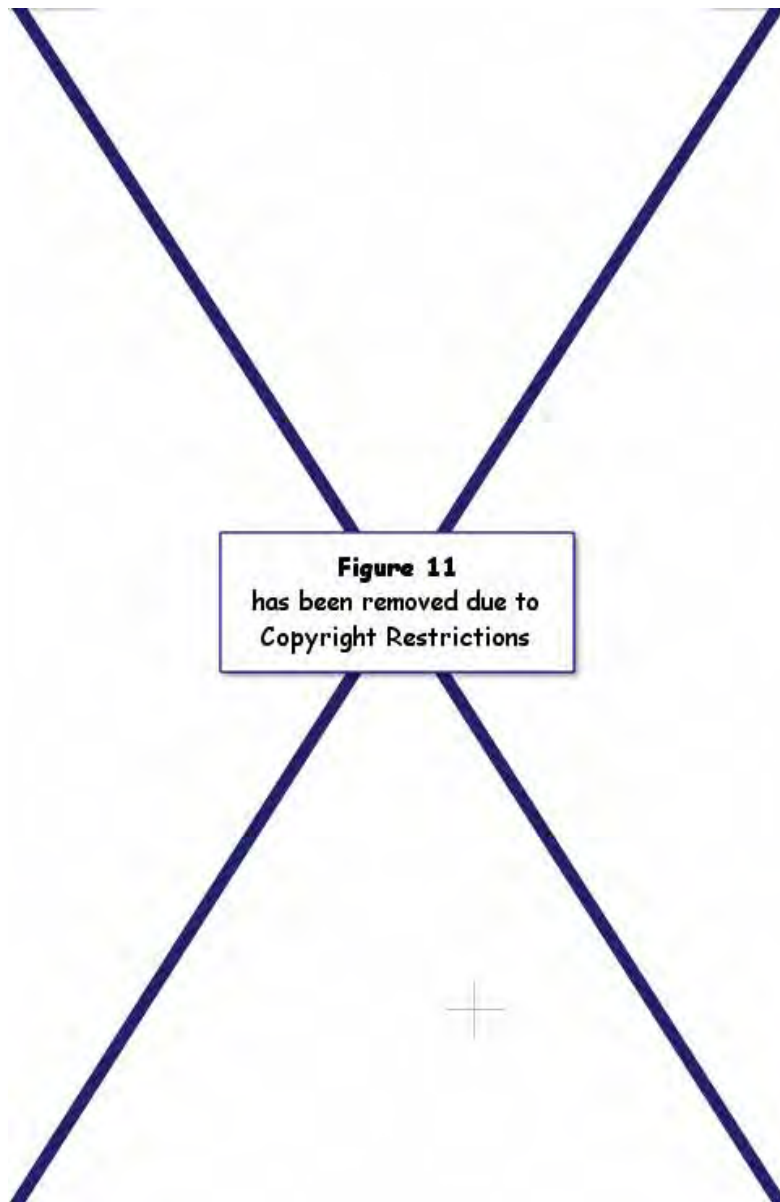


Fig.11. Lithographic portrait of James Braid in 1854, drawn from life, directly onto the stone by Edwin Cocking (1818-1892), personally autographed by Braid. Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester.¹

¹ Printed by M. & N. Hanhart, held by John Rylands Library, at University of Manchester.

This chapter, which deals with the early part of Braid's life, from his birth in Portmoak, Kinross, Scotland in 1795, his surgical training in Edinburgh, his early professional life in Scotland, and his move to Manchester in the late 1820s, sets the scene for the dissertation's detailed account, based on contemporaneous sources, of James Braid's early life, his professional training, his research, and his works — and the forces surrounding them — and the motivations for his scientific, intellectual and professional activities; hopefully, helping to restore Braid to his rightful status of an innovative and efficacious surgeon, gentleman scientist, natural historian, defender of hypnotism, and pioneer of the intentional use of structured, incremental 'suggestion'.

Once Braid has been accurately situated in his own time, as a significant agent of innovation and change, and once the disciplinary and personal perspectives from which he thought, spoke, and wrote are thoroughly clarified, the *watershed* significance of his work in relation to the *practice* of hypnotism is transparently obvious.² Yet, this important understanding of Braid as watershed has been occluded by the extent to which his actual experiments, practice, theoretical position, and contributions to medical knowledge have been seriously misrepresented and, frequently, hidden from view.

Few today are even vaguely aware that Braid expounded, promoted, and defended his views, theories and practices through a wide range of media: public lectures, press releases, paid newspaper advertisements, letters to the Editor, magazine and newspaper articles, single and multiple articles in eminent peer-reviewed professional journals, published pamphlets which were, in many cases, accumulations of his already published papers, and books.³

This dissertation is based upon the unequivocal evidence of the wide range of contemporaneous sources, which not only provide an accurate account of his

² The term *watershed* is a place on the terrain where the flow of water is irreversible split. The Lunghin Pass in Switzerland is a *triple watershed*; the water from it flows along (a) Germany's River Rhine to the North Sea, (b) Hungary's River Danube to the Black Sea, and (c) Italy's River Po to the Adriatic Sea. In its extended, metaphorical sense, a *watershed* is a critical point in the development of some thing, prior to which its later form could not be predicted, and subsequent to which the earlier form is obsolete (Marshall and Warren's discovery that stomach ulcers were caused by the *helicobacter pylori* bacterium, rather than stress, is a classic example).

³ See *Appendix One*.

development of hypnotism, but also isolate and reveal what Braid actually said, identifying just how innovative and important he was, despite the efforts of modern accounts to discredit him, his discoveries, and his works. These contemporaneous sources provide a strong contrast between those things of Braid that have been transmitted to us, and the hidden, or once-lost things that are, herewith, revealed or exhumed; and, whilst much of this has direct relevance today, a modern reader often needs considerable 'translation' to apprehend Braid. Whilst rejecting the view that the past should be studied to *justify* the present (and that alone), this dissertation also rejects demands to make the past serve the needs of a specific sub-disciplinary clique in the on-going present. Thus, Braid's 'authentic' past needs to be isolated, examined and (if required) reconstructed; i.e., rather than *prochronistically* imposing upon Braid an entirely fanciful past that meets current demands (whatever they may be).⁴ Yet, as both Butterfield (1936) and Stocking (1965) assert, this does not mean that one must strive to understand the past for the sake of the past, and that past alone.

Braid's Family

The Braid family had lived in the general area of Leslie, Fife for more than a century. The locals raised flax, wheat, barley, and oats, pastured black cattle, grazed Leicester and Cheviot sheep, and bred Clydesdale horses. Braid's parents, James Braid (c.1761-184?) and Ann Suttie (c.1761-?),⁵ were born in the Leslie area, were "Seceders",⁶ and were married in 1777. Aside from his link with Ryelaw Farm, and that he was *feuar* of the *Strathendry Bleachfield* in Walkerton c. 1811,⁷ nothing more is known of his father's background.

⁴ A *prochronism* (lit., "before its time") is a sub-set of the chronological error *anachronism* (lit., "wrong time"), where an entity (a concept, expression, perspective, philosophy, technology, understanding, etc.) appears in a temporal context *in which it could not yet be present*. A literary example is in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Act II, Scene I; Cassius remarks "the clock hath stricken three" more than a millenium before the mechanical clock had been invented.

⁵ Both were born c.1761. Ann's date of death is unknown; James died between the 1841 U.K. census and his grandson's wedding in July 1848 (when he was "the late James Braid").

⁶ Known collectively as "Seceders" (or "Dissenters"), the Braid's belonged to the group that had broken from the Established Church of Scotland because they objected to the particulars of an Act imposed upon them by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1732.

⁷ In Scotland, a *feuar* was a tenant, who had the rights to use land in return for rent that was paid in the form of money or produce, and not in the form of military service. A bleachfield was

James Braid, third son and last child of James Braid and Ann Suttie, was born on 19 June 1795, at Ryelaw House, a property of some 140 acres, in the parish of Portmoak, Kinross-Shire, Scotland.⁸ All of James' siblings were born at Leslie.⁹

On 19 September 1790, at Strathmiglo (6 miles from Ryelaw), Braid senior presented one William Braid for christening. His own William (James' eldest brother) was still alive; so this was not his natural son. It seems certain that *this* William's father, the rightful proprietor of Ryelaw and brother of Braid senior, had recently died intestate and, also, that his mother was no longer alive. Thus, it seems that the ceremony was performed to attest to the fact that Braid senior had assumed guardianship, rather than for some other religious motive.¹⁰

On 22 June 1790, the Ryelaw property was transferred to James Braid, on William's behalf.¹¹ Whilst the uncle assumed the *title* of Ryelaw on behalf of his ward, and was never lawful proprietor of the property, he certainly was the *usufructuary*¹² of Ryelaw during his time as trustee.¹³ In 1832, William married Mary Thomas. By 1841, William, Mary, and their children, Helen and Mary

a location where the cleaning and bleaching of newly woven linen took place.

⁸ Due to a diversion of the River Leven (the boundary between Fife and Kinross), the part of Kinross that contained *The Ryelaw* was officially transferred from the Parish of Portmoak in the county of Kinross to the Parish of Kinglassie in the county of Fife on 15 May 1891.

⁹ Jane (1782-?) never married, and was still alive in 1851. Ann, born in 1784 only lived for a few days. William (1786-1846), worked as a skilled craftsman in Dunfermline, married Marion Moodie, and had three children. John (1789-?) married Christian Heron (1795-?). Elisabeth (1791-?) married John Reid (1793-?), and lived in Scone. Ann (1793-?), married a James Smith.

¹⁰ This cousin William must not be confused with another cousin, also William Braid (1789-1872), who was born in Fife, and was married to Hannah (c.1800-?), who lived near Oxted in Surrey, whose mother was a sister of Ann Suttie, and with whom James Braid would later conduct experiments in table-rapping and hypnotizing farm animals (Wink, 1969, p.15).

¹¹ The entry in Register at the Sheriff Court of Fife for 22 June 1790 states that George Inglis, eldest son and heir of the deceased Andrew Inglis of Ryelaw, disposed the Ryelaw property "in favour of James Braid, feuar at Strathendry Bleachfield". It is not clear on whether George Inglis disposed of the property as a bequest from a deceased estate, or by a sale conducted in order to settle a deceased estate (downloaded from [http://www.fifefhs.org/Records/Court/fife.htm#\(item_SC20/36/15\)](http://www.fifefhs.org/Records/Court/fife.htm#(item_SC20/36/15)) on 24 December 2009).

¹² A *usufructuary* ("one who has use of the fruits") has the temporary free use of, the right to harvest the fruits of, and enjoy profits of an estate, etc. that legally belong to some other person.

¹³ Under Scottish inheritance law, the estate's trustees were neither obliged nor obligated to transfer the heritable property to William immediately he attained his "*legal majority*" of 21 years (some time in 1811).

Here, it seems, the trustees designated an alternative, more appropriate, entirely legitimate "*conventional majority*" (see McLaren, 1868, p.21, §1427), which was set, in William's case, on his attainment of the age of 25 (in 1815) — at which time his uncle James would be around 56.

Ann, were the only Braids residing at Ryelaw. William died suddenly, intestate, on 16 February 1847. Mary and Mary Ann were still living at Ryelaw in 1851.¹⁴

Because James Braid senior never *owned* Ryelaw, within all of the references to "James Braid, Esq., of Ryelaw, Fifeshire", the "*of*" must indicate "*residing at*", not "*owner of*". It also seems certain that, not only was William the legal owner, but that the same process was repeated when ownership passed directly to his own two daughters upon his own death intestate; with the provision that his widow was to be the *usufructuary* of the estate until the end of her natural life.¹⁵

Braid's Marriage



Fig.12. Register of Proclamations of Banns (17 November 1813).¹⁶

On 17 November 1813, James Braid, aged 18, married Margaret Mason (1792-

¹⁴ She was designated "Head of House", in the 1851 *Scottish Census*, and was categorized as a "Landed Proprietor", who was farming 300 acres, and employing 5 labourers. In 1862, *The Glasgow Herald* named the respondents in a legal action as (a) "Mrs. Mary Thomas or Braid", "liferentrix", and (b) "Mrs. Mary Ann Braid or Hutton" and "Mrs. Helen Braid or Smith" and, "proprietors in fee [simple] of the lands of Ryelaw..." (Anon 1862c; 1862d) — a *proprietor in fee simple* was in absolute possession of the property, and it belonged to that owner and his/her heirs for ever; and a *liferentrix* (i.e., *life-rent-rix*, not *lifer-entrix*) was a female who had a life-interest in a property, without ever having legal ownership of that property.

¹⁵ A court document relating to the settlement of his estate, dated 22 June 1849 (Reference SC22/44/3 *Kinross Sherriff Court*), confirms that William Braid died intestate on 16 February 1847, and refers to his wife as "...Mrs. Mary Thomas Alias Braid residing at Ryelaw Widow & Executrix Dative qua Relict decerned to the deceased William Braid of Ryelaw..."

¹⁶ Record of their marriage held by the Parish Church of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, *per* kind favour of Jean McKay, genealogist, of Kirkcaldy: "Register of Proclamations: Braid and Mason: 17 November 1813: James Braid Student of Medicine, Nicolsons Street 40 and Margaret Mason daughter of Robert Mason, Carpenter, residing in North Leith, gave up their names for proclamation of Banns Matrimonial". The witnesses who signed were David Mason, seaman (almost certainly, David King Mason (1794-?), Margaret's brother), and Robert Horn, carpenter.

Note that this proclamation does not necessarily imply that their marriage ceremony was conducted at that particular church (or, indeed, at any church at all).

1869), aged 21,¹⁷ in Edinburgh. Scotland was expressly excluded from the provisions of Great Britain's 1753 *Marriage Act*,¹⁸ in fact, the traditional Scottish marriage laws continued to operate until 1940.¹⁹

The Council of Trent (c.1563) decreed that, for a marriage to be valid, the ceremony must be performed before a priest and two other witnesses.²⁰ By contrast, traditional Scottish practice was centred upon a *handfasting* ritual. As long as both parties were unmarried, of legally marriageable age,²¹ not related by a prohibited degree of kinship, had freely consented to the marriage, had freely consented to the marriage whilst holding each other's hands,²² and (most specifically) had expressed their consent to that marriage using words in the present tense,²³ the marriage was entirely legal and valid. It seems the Braids

¹⁷ Meason, Masson, Masen, Mayson, Maeson, and Mason were acceptable phonetic variants. Margaret, the daughter of Robert and Hellen Mason (née Smith), was born on 4 March 1792, and was christened on at 7 March 1792 at North Leith, Midlothian, Scotland.

The 1841 U.K. Census official collector's document (Enumeration Schedule for Piccadilly, Manchester, p.25), records that within Braid's Manchester residence on 6 June 1841 were James Braid, male, 45, surgeon, born in Scotland, and Margaret Braid, female, 40, born in Scotland. The official collector's document from the 1861 U.K. Census (Return for Chorlton upon Medlock, Manchester, Lancashire, p.26), records that an occupant of 105 Portland Crescent, Chorlton upon Medlock, on 7 April 1861, was Margaret Braid, female, 60, Widow, born in Scotland, House Proprietor. Thus, it appears that she had taken 10 years off her age.

The *Manchester Times* recorded that "Margaret, relict of James Braid, Esq., surgeon, Rylaw House, Manchester" died on 26 August 1869 at Claughton, Birkenhead (Anon, 1869b).

¹⁸ Great Britain's *Marriage Act 1753*, more generally known as *Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act* (citation 26 Geo. II. c. 33), tightened the conditions required for a legally recognized marriage in England and Wales; in particular, it abolished the (previously valid) common-law marriage.

One of its innovations was that, except for Scotland (and Jews and Quakers, who were expressly exempted), all marriages had to be solemnized in a church, and all marriages had to be officially recorded. Another was that parental consent was compulsory for those under 21; and, despite parental consent, no marriage could take place until a male was 14, a female 12.

Scottish law followed ancient Roman Law: the age of puberty was 12 for a girl, and 14 for a boy (Brooke, 1989, p.138). In Scotland, a lawful *betrothal* could occur once a child was 7, and a "marriage was lawful for males at age fourteen and females at age twelve" (Brown, 2000, p.115).

¹⁹ The validity of traditional forms of marriage under the secular law of Scotland continued until 1 July 1940, when it was revoked by the provisions of the *Marriage (Scotland) Act 1939*.

²⁰ The specific requirement (obeyed by both Roman Catholics and by Anglicans) was that it must be performed *in front of a priest*; not, as many still believe today, *by a priest*. In fact, "the intervention of a priest was unnecessary"; because, "[although] marriage was indeed one of the sacraments ... it differed from the [other sacraments] in that *the parties to the marriage were themselves the ministers of the sacrament* (Anton, 1958, p.94, emphasis added).

²¹ At least 12 for a girl, and at least 14 for a boy.

²² Thus *handfasting*: lit. **hand + pledge** "to strike a bargain by joining hands". The implication is that it was the actual joining of the hands that made the agreement binding on both parties.

²³ In his article on *handfasting*, Anton stresses that it was not just the consent that made the marriage valid; it was that *the words that declared that consent were in the present tense*: "It is worth

followed the Scottish conventions: a *handfasting* ritual at the parish church door, subsequent to the anterior public proclamation of the relevant banns in the parish church, and immediately prior to the solemnization of that agreement, performed within the building of the church, before a minister. It is not clear whether they lived with the Andersons or in separate quarters after their marriage, which was some two years before Braid's graduation.

They had four children, all of whom were born at Leadhills: James, in 1816, Charles Anderson, in 1818 (neither James nor Charles survived their infancy, and may even have died at birth),²⁴ Annie,[‡] in 1820, and James,[‡] in 1822.

Braid's Early Education

Braid grew up on a working farm, surrounded by large animals, skilled craftsmen and intricate machinery. The youngest of a large family, he was spoiled by his sisters, and had his strength, courage, observations of nature, mechanical aptitude and inventiveness constantly tested by his brothers and the other farm workers.²⁵ Whilst nothing is known of his schooling, Wink (1969, p.16) is sure that, because the cost of privately educating such a large family was beyond the means of even a prosperous farmer, Braid attended the local school, where David Ireland taught him to enjoy the classics and encouraged him to pursue the wide range of intellectual interests he later displayed. Ireland was an excellent teacher. Many of his students turned into creditable scholars; and, despite his propensity for intermittent bouts of heavy drinking (during which he beat his students freely), Ireland was held in affection by his past pupils.²⁶

insisting that the essence of the marriage was the exchange of consents in words of the present tense" (1958, p.93). The significance of the demand for the present tense was that the free and willing "consent" being given was, in fact, consent to "carnal copulation" (p.94).

Anton (1958) stresses that, despite the mistaken claims of Pennant (1774, p.91-93) and Scott (1859, p.267-268), a marriage contracted with a handfasting ritual was *never* a trial marriage; *nor* was it a genuine-but-temporary marriage contracted for a set duration only.

²⁴ A *live birth* was when "a child had been born who been heard to cry" (Anton, 1958, p.90).

²⁵ His eldest brother, William (1786-1846), who later went on to work as a skilled craftsman in Dunfermline, would certainly have encouraged his brother's 'tinkering' with things.

²⁶ Wink's (p.16) source for this conclusion cited as: Beath, David, *Reminiscences of Leslie and Neighbourhood: Including Recollections of Places and People*, Fifeshire Advertiser, (Kirkcaldy), 1912.

Braid's Character

Wink believes it was the direct experience of Ireland's drunken violence that made Braid abhor "immoderation" or "brutality", and fostered the "rectitude and insistence on the truth" he later displayed in his sensitivity to any level of misrepresentation of his stated position. It would also explain his well-attested capacity to fearlessly speak his own mind (even if his views were unpopular), his refusal to be cowed or intimidated by powerful, well-connected opponents, his fearless confrontation of physically menacing individuals, and his strong intolerance of injustice. Braid consistently showed the clear-minded assurance and quiet, imposing presence that develops in those who handle large animals such as the highland cattle and Shire horses that surrounded him as a child. Speaking from his personal experience, Mumbray[†] recalled that Braid had the sort of "massive imperturbable features" that "remind[ed] one of a colossal Egyptian head", and had "a full, penetrating eye" that was "brilliantly dark".²⁷

Of average height, Braid spoke calmly, with authority, and a well-modulated, deep voice. He used the King's English clearly, without any significant Scottish burr. He could project his voice well, and was an excellent speaker; and he often spoke to audiences of more than a thousand in public halls that were far from acoustically perfect. He was a competent pianist, and was a fine singer, with a strong bass voice and a good ear for music.²⁸

The manner in which his deeply religious family engaged with society at large is reflected in the way that he dealt with the infirm, deprived, disadvantaged, and indigent.²⁹ He was renowned for his kindness, sympathy, and concern for his patients. His obituaries paid tribute to his generosity; noting that he treated

²⁷ Mumbray (1895) spoke of his knowledge of Braid in a response to an anonymous request (possibly from J. M. Bramwell) for reminiscences of Braid. In his letter he says that he had "frequent opportunities for conversation" with Braid on the subject of hypnotism.

²⁸ The report on his experiments in the presence of Jenny Lind in the *Manchester Guardian* of 8 September 1847 (Anon, 1847I), attest to his skill as a pianist and to his pleasant bass voice (also, he was confident enough in his voice to sing in her presence).

²⁹ A report in the *Manchester Guardian* of 6 February 1841 (see Fig.13) spoke of two blind beggars who "were in the habit of calling at the house of Mr. Braid, surgeon, Piccadilly, who furnished them gratuitously with medicine, and also contributed to their support".

many without charge, and often refusing fees when offered.³⁰ It may also be that his specializations in the correction of squint, club-foot, stammer, spinal curvature, etc. (far greater handicaps for the less-well-off than the better-off) were driven by such gentle motives.

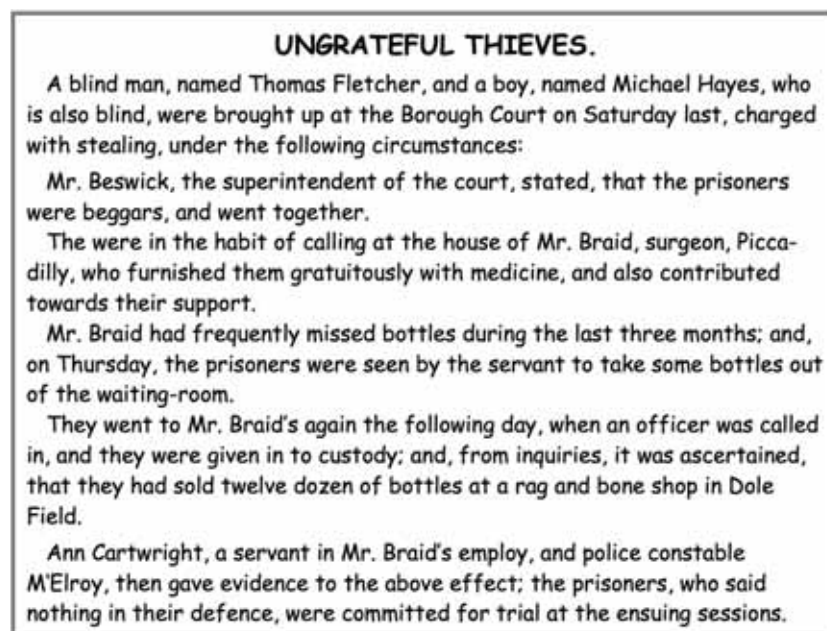


Fig.13. Evidence of Braid's charity and generosity, *The Manchester Guardian*, 6 February 1841.³¹

Given his calm, confident, and "imperturbable" manner, his clear, strong, well-modulated voice, and his powerful physical strength,³² attempts were made to attribute his hypnotic success to his perceived charisma or, *a fortiori*, his "magnetic temperament";³³ rather than, that is, to his powers of observation, his

³⁰ Gauld (2004, p.281) notes that his estate was less than £3,000; from the figures supplied by Peterson (1978), this appears to be less than a years' income of a surgeon of Braid's standing.

³¹ Anon (1841ab).

It is not clear from the newspaper account whether the bottles stolen from Braid were those he used for his medicines, or were just 'ordinary' bottles. As a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, Braid was exempt from the tax placed on medicines dispensed in England or Wales by individuals other than Licentiates of the London Society of Apothecaries. Perhaps the stolen bottles were more valuable because, in someway, they indicated that the contents were exempt from the tax.

³² In his account of a severe thunderstorm near Leadhills, Braid reports that the strength of the blustering wind was so extreme he feared he would be forced from his horse, and "at one time [the wind] was so violent as to force my horse, though very stout, several yards off the highway" (1817b, p.471). To have kept his horse on the path, and to have remained in the saddle, clearly demonstrates both skill as a horseman and considerable physical strength.

³³ The accusation that he was a deceptive, secret magnetist (or a magnetist without awareness of being so) is the same as the rhetorical move ("rationalization in the defense of paranormal belief") made by a devotee of the Israeli spoon-bender Uri Geller in May 1976, at the University of Buffalo, during a display of Geller's phenomena by the professional conjurer and active 'debunker', James Randi. The devotee accused Randi of being a secret psychic:

understanding of his craft, his technical skills, and his structured thinking in relation to their application. At his first (and only) meeting with Elliotson:³⁴

[Elliotson] told me he had read accounts of my doings and [my] remarkable success in hypnotizing patients. He then added, moreover, that, on reading the results of my experiments, he had attributed my success to the possession by me of an unusually powerful magnetic temperament; and that he had expressed himself sure that I had a large brain, a large, capacious chest, and great mental energy, *i.e.* that I possessed a determined *will*. He farther added, as a proof of his sagacity,— "And now that I see you, you are just the person I supposed, for you have them all."

I attributed my success, however, to a very different, and less mystical or special cause. (Braid, 1852a, p.37)

And that "very different", "less mystical", and "less special" cause had far more to do with Braid's surgical training and practice than anyone familiar with hypnotism might imagine.

Apprenticeship vs. M.D.

Given a desire to become a surgeon, the fact his father's *usufruct* of Ryelaw would not continue beyond late 1815 clearly explains why he trained in the manner and form he did: his father's circumstances were such that, to the extent to which his father's financial support was required, it was imperative that all of Braid's training was over by late 1815.

Geller was in his heyday, and a good part of Randi's presentation was the duplication of Geller's tricks — showing that the same effects could be produced by conjuring, without revealing how. Surpassing my considerable appreciation of Randi's legerdemain was my astonishment at the intervention made by [a Buffalo academic], who shouted at Randi after he had performed yet another Geller "miracle" and accused Randi of being a fraud. Randi shot back with "Yes indeed, I'm a trickster, I'm a cheat, I'm a charlatan, that's what I do for a living. Everything I've done here was by trickery." The interlocutor was not amused: he continued to shout at Randi, despite his wife's efforts to get him to sit down, and yelled, "That's not what I mean. You're a fraud because you're pretending to do these things through trickery, but you're actually using psychic powers and misleading us by not admitting it." This was my introduction to the powerful process of rationalization that traps even well-educated people who feel the need to defend a deeply held belief in the paranormal. (Alcock, 2001, p.53)

This claim, that Randi was a secret psychic, is the same as the claim made by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle that the successes of 'spiritualist debunker' Harry Houdini were due to his supernatural powers (Doyle, 1927a, 1927b):

³⁴ From Braid's comments at (*Magic*, etc., 1852a, p.25, p.36), it is obvious the un-named person was John Elliotson — Forrest (1999, p.204), and Waite (1899, pp.17-18) concur. Elliotson met both Braid and Esdaile in person; Braid never met Esdaile in person, although he did correspond with him, on a single occasion, in October 1851 (Braid, 1852a, pp.78-80).

As a Scot and a Presbyterian, Braid was expressly excluded from Oxford and Cambridge;³⁵ and the Napoleonic Wars had made study on the continent impossible. Edinburgh was unique; because, unlike Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow and London, it had both “a thriving university *and* an active scientific society” (Morrell, 1971, p.166): the University was founded in 1582, and the *Edinburgh Philosophical Society* (founded in 1737) had morphed into the *Royal Society of Edinburgh* in 1783. In Braid’s day, Edinburgh’s Medical School (founded in 1726),³⁶ was the pre-eminent medical faculty in the English-speaking world,³⁷ and, also, “[the] physiological theory [of Scottish medicine]... was characterized by its stress on the total integration of body function, the perceptive capacity or sensibility of the organism, and a preoccupation with the nervous system as the structural basis for these properties” (Lawrence, 1979, p.19).

By 1811, the medical faculty taught more than half of the students enrolled at Edinburgh University (Chitnis, 1973, p.173).³⁸ Collectively, Edinburgh trained surgeons made a considerable contribution to their society in the armed forces as well as to medical education, mental health, public health, and medical science:³⁹ which were “[the] four main areas of Victorian life... [and of the greatest] importance in the first industrial urban society” (p.179).⁴⁰ Unlike the

³⁵ At that time, only those who swore allegiance to the Crown, and assented to the established religion (subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church), could be matriculated in, or take a degree from, either Oxford or Cambridge Universities.

³⁶ It was the oldest medical faculty in Scotland, dating from 1726 (Kaufman, 2003, p.17). Also, the *Edinburgh Royal Infirmary*, the oldest public hospital in Scotland, closely associated with the medical faculty of the university, was opened in August 1729.

³⁷ By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Edinburgh medical faculty “was the most successful in Europe, both in terms of student numbers and in the acclaim of its teachers” (Lawrence, 1979, p.24); and its “medical program... was undeniably the primary source of the University’s international reputation” (Morrell, 1971, p.166).

Moreover, compared with, say, Glasgow students, the Edinburgh students came from a far higher strata of society; meaning that they could afford a comparatively more expensive education than those at Glasgow (Dow and Moss, 1989, p.232).

³⁸ Yet, according to evidence given to a British Parliamentary Enquiry in 1837 (Morrell, 1971, p.168), only 12% of “the total medical student body” ever went on to take the M.D. degree.

³⁹ According to Kaufman (2003, p.18), of the 8,291 British medical graduates during the period 1800-1850, 7,989 (96.4%) of them trained in Scotland.

⁴⁰ According to Chitnis (1973, p.179), “[in] the period between 1790 and 1826, there were 2,309 medical graduates of the university and 2,722 diplomas awarded by the Royal College of Surgeons. Many thousands of others studied at Edinburgh but did not graduate and many of the graduates can also be included among those taking the Surgeons’ diploma.”

situation in Europe, where the surgeons were “[expressly] excluded from the universities”, and were “[forced to create] separate educational institutions to train their students and apprentices” (Rosner, 1991, p.87), student surgeons in Edinburgh had unlimited access to all university lectures,⁴¹ including those that were delivered within the medical faculty.⁴²

By 1806, the Edinburgh Royal College of Surgeons⁴³ had a well-structured syllabus, firmly based on a strictly controlled apprenticeship, involving *four* parties: (a) the apprentice, (b) his master(s),⁴⁴ (c) his parents, *and* (d) the College (with party having specific rights, obligations and expectations). This was reinforced by instruction from university lectures, or extra-mural classes taught by College-approved experts, or in the specific in-house training the College Fellows gave to their own apprentices (see *Appendix Two*).⁴⁵ An Edinburgh apprenticeship was the best way to acquire an extensive, thorough practical knowledge, an on-the-job experience in the conduct of a surgical practice;⁴⁶ and the confidence, theoretical understanding, medical knowledge, and physical skills necessary for one’s subsequent success as both surgeon and apothecary.⁴⁷

A solid grounding was essential. Due to forces beyond Scotland, the general understanding of what constituted the surgeon’s professional domain was

⁴¹ Scottish chemist, Robert Angus Smith (1817-1884), F.R.S., Ph.D., LL.D., expressed the view that the virtue of attending Edinburgh at that time was that “[one could] study medicine and receive a university education at the same time” (Smith, 1883, p.124).

⁴² Lectures for a single course were “one per weekday for some twenty-five weeks between early November and early May”, giving a “course of about 120 hours in length, illustrated where appropriate by demonstrations of experiments, of specimens and of apparatus” (Morrell, 1974, p.48). When Thomas Ismay (1750-1772) attended Edinburgh in 1771, the first class started at 8AM and the last finished at 7PM (Anon, 1936a, p.58).

⁴³ *The Guild of Barber Surgeons of Edinburgh*, given its Charter in 1506 by James IV of Scotland, is the oldest of all U.K. medical institutions. Incorporated in 1778 as *The Royal College of Surgeons of the City of Edinburgh*, it gained independence from the Edinburgh City Council through the Charter, granted in 1851, that changed its name to *The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*.

⁴⁴ The College also specified that only College-approved surgeons who (a) were also Fellows, and (b) had been trained as apprentices themselves could be a ‘master’.

⁴⁵ According to the Index of the first nineteen volumes of the Journal (1824b, p.290), the conditions that had been specified in 1809 were still operating in 1824.

⁴⁶ Thus, he would not simply be sufficiently well equipped to be able to *commence* a practice, he would be equipped with sufficient knowledge to *sustain* an on-going professional practice.

⁴⁷ Edinburgh trained surgeons kept a well-stocked laboratory and dispensed their own drugs (Anon, 1845a, p.249).

rapidly changing;⁴⁸ and Edinburgh's students were demanding to be trained in an anatomy that was *far less* "functional and increasingly morphological or surgical", and *far more* "based on individual dissection rather than demonstration" (Lawrence, 1989, pp.265-266). Until 1831, Edinburgh had no chair of surgery separate from anatomy (Morrell, 1971, p.166);⁴⁹ and, as a consequence, whatever inadequate training in surgical practice an M.D. student *might* receive came as part of their formal anatomy and physiology lectures *per medium* of demonstrations on the corpses of recently executed criminals.^{50,51} Also, whatever extra-curricular practical clinical training that might possibly be available to M.D. students through the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary was very limited.⁵²

Although he was an apprentice surgeon, rather than M.D. student, Braid

⁴⁸ In particular, this was due to the continental influences that were encouraging Scottish surgeons to apply their efforts to *internal* as well as *external* disorders.

⁴⁹ The set-up was a consequence of a complicated series of irregular agreements, made over the years, to guarantee the anatomy and physiology lecturers a sinecure. A chair of surgery, separate from that of anatomy, was not endowed at Edinburgh until 1831, "when the Crown intervened by creating a separate chair of surgery" (Morrell, 1971, p.166).

⁵⁰ Earlier, the mandatory punishment of a wide range of offences with execution meant that many corpses were available; however, commencing with the 1808 legislative reforms of Sir Samuel Romilly (1787-1818), that removed the mandatory death penalty from minor crimes such as "stealing a handkerchief or impersonating a Chelsea pensioner" (Nash, 1997, p.612), the supply of corpses dried up, encouraging the body-snatching "resurrectionists" and, eventually, leading to the Burke and Hare murders of 17 people in Edinburgh in 1827 and 1828.

⁵¹ One of the strongest critics of the "demonstration rather than dissection" teaching was the innovative, eminent surgeon, anatomist, and illustrator John Bell (1763-1820), who conducted private, extra-mural classes for the Royal College of Surgeons in opposition to those offered by the university, maintaining that surgery should be strongly based on anatomy and pathology.

Bell was most critical of the experience of a typical "Anatomy and Surgery" student of Alexander Monro, secundus (1733-1817) — an anatomist, who "had never been an operating surgeon" (Struthers, 1867, p.37) — under whom Bell, himself, had studied (routinely, the student would be one of more than 300 in the same lecture theatre):

"In Dr Monro's class, unless there be a fortunate succession of bloody murders, not three subjects are dissected in the year. On the remains of a subject fished up from the bottom of a tub of spirits, are demonstrated those delicate nerves, which are to be avoided or divided in our operations; and these are demonstrated once at the distance of one hundred feet! nerves and arteries which the surgeon has to dissect, at the peril of his patient's life." (Bell, 1810, p.579.)

⁵² From the evidence given by John Watson to the House of Commons' Select Committee on Medical Education, on 11 June 1834 (Warburton, 1834, p.60), the circumstances of Edinburgh's M.D. students, in contrast with those training as apprentices, was that there were "at least 1,000 medical students, [and] the only means that they have of gaining practical instruction is at [the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary] in which there are about 250 patients... [and] it may be easily imagined that in an hospital, containing only 250 beds, the means of giving instruction in practical medicine to 1,000 students must be exceedingly limited indeed."

regularly attended the weekly meetings of the *Royal Medical Society*,⁵³ which had been established in 1737 by Edinburgh's medical students to support each other in their studies and professional development.⁵⁴ The Society purchased cadavers, established a library, and held regular meetings at which (with ever-increasing involvement as each student progressed through each stage of his theoretical and practical studies) its members would listen to, learn from, and criticize the theoretical and practical expositions of their peers, with the aim of developing a professional outlook, encouraging coherent expression, critical listening, and logical argument; all of which was designed to develop and polish the skills needed for the delivery (and defence) of their M.D. dissertation.

The rules of the Edinburgh medical faculty clearly stated that students must have attained 21 years by the thirtieth day of March of their graduation year. Thus, Braid would not have been able to graduate M.D. before March 1817; and, from this, he would not have been able to enter the College of Surgeons (as a *Fellow*) before November 1817.⁵⁵ By contrast, at that time, there was no age barrier of any kind for an apprentice-level-entry as a *Licentiate*.⁵⁶ Also, despite the College's '*recommendations*' that all candidates study Latin, all of its formal examinations were conducted in English.⁵⁷

Prior to the *Medical Act* of 1858 establishing a rudimentary set of standards for the entire U.K.,⁵⁸ there were many avenues through which a qualification could

⁵³ The *Royal Medical Society* was established in 1737 and was awarded its Royal Charter in 1778. It is the only student medical society in Britain to hold a Royal Charter.

⁵⁴ In 1854, *sans* M.D., Braid was honoured with his election to the *Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh* as a Corresponding Member (Anon, 1854a). A "corresponding member" was one who was intimately connected with the society, who corresponded with it by letters, but had no deliberative voice in its affairs.

⁵⁵ Thus, the problem was with the university's stipulation of a minimum age for the award of the M.D. — the possession of which was a pathway to qualify for entry to the College — it was not with any age barrier imposed by the Royal College of Surgeons.

⁵⁶ Early admission to such institutions was not unknown. George James Guthrie, M.R.C.S., F.R.S. (1785–1856), was admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons in London in May 1801, at the age of 15 (a year later, in 1802, the London College raised its minimum entry age to 21).

⁵⁷ By contrast, all of the final examinations within Edinburgh's School of Medicine were conducted in Latin, and a student's final M.D. dissertation had to be submitted in Latin.

⁵⁸ *An Act to Regulate the Qualifications of Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery* (also, the *Medical Act 1858*) took effect on 1 October 1858. It established the *General Council of Medical Education and Registration for the United Kingdom*, which published the *U.K. Medical Register* in 1859.

be gained;⁵⁹ with some of the 'qualifications' being worth little more than the weight of the paper of their testamur.⁶⁰

In fact, by 1845, the overall situation was so bad that:

[in the U.K., there were] no fewer than nineteen distinct sources of medical honours and privileges, nineteen different modes of education for attaining them, and fourteen varieties of professional rights and immunities attached to them;⁶¹ and... the training required for those who aim at the highest of all medical titles, [M.D.], varies at different institutions, from little else than access to the Archbishop of Canterbury's favour, up to a course of ten years' laborious cultivation of classical literature, philosophy, and medical science.

(Anon, 1845a, p.237)⁶²

In Braid's circumstances, an Edinburgh apprenticeship was the best way for him to become a surgeon. He would live with his master for the duration of his indenture. This would influence his evolving professional character in a very positive way: his progress would be constantly assessed in a supportive atmosphere, and his understanding would be thoughtfully questioned, accurately appraised, and expertly developed. He would have the opportunity to discuss difficulties attending his academic studies with those with greater knowledge and experience, and he would be insulated from the pitfalls and temptations of

⁵⁹ An extensive review of the profession appeared in *The Edinburgh Review* of January 1845, noting such differences in "the constitution, privileges, and government of the various medical bodies in the three kingdoms [of England, Scotland, and Ireland] which have had public rights conferred on them by charter or statute" that "it [was] no idle exaggeration" to say that "the result [of these differences] has been a mass of confusion, out of which it is vain to expect that order can ever arise without extraordinary efforts and some sacrifices" (p.236); see Anon, 1847p.

⁶⁰ The 1804 report of the Committee of the Medical Faculty of Glasgow University, stated that, at both St Andrews and Aberdeen Universities, medical degrees were awarded without any examination and, also, awarded without "any personal knowledge of the candidates", with the report describing it as "a flagrant, disgraceful, and hurtful abuse" (Dow and Moss, 1989, p.238).

⁶¹ *The Edinburgh Review* report noted that these "medical professionals" engaged in a wide range of different practices, including physicians (who gave advice, prescribed their own remedies, but did not dispense them), surgeons (in many cases surgeon-apothecaries), general practitioners, apothecaries (who gave free advice, dispensed their own medicines, and charged for their medicines and of whom it was said that "[their] physic is ordered rather to make a long bill than a quick cure" (p.248)), chemists (preservers of *material medica* and compounders of medicines), and pharmacopolists, or druggists (sellers of prepared medicines).

⁶² The report noted that "medical professionals" had a wide range of formal and informal qualifications: full University degrees, extensive University attendance without graduation, extensive apprenticeships, etc. With specific reference to those who had university training, it also reported that, in England, *there was a significant division in privileges between those who had trained at either Oxford or Cambridge University, and those who had not.*

the debauched, dissolute life of an Edinburgh student of independent means.⁶³

Also, as an apprentice, his first contact with patients would take place long before he had any medical knowledge at all. This would develop a very strong set of inter-personal skills; and, moreover, unlike the book-oriented scholars who treated their patients as little more than vehicles that brought ‘the disease’ to them, Braid would never forget that the individual suffering the disease was, most often, far more important in the scheme of things than the disease itself.⁶⁴ Finally, he would acquire a desire and a capacity for continuous, independent, self-directed professional development as well as the drive to independently pursue the individual mastery of relevant knowledge and skills.

In the process of undertaking his medical studies and pursuing his scientific and philosophical interests at Edinburgh, Braid first encountered the teachings of Thomas Brown,[‡] M.D., the philosopher who jointly held the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh from 1810 until 1820.

Braid's Medical Training.

Far from being *the least worst of a set of bad choices*, it is certain that, in Braid's case, an Edinburgh-centred surgical apprenticeship was *the best of all the possible choices*.⁶⁵ At the age of 14, he was indentured to the Leith surgeons, Charles Anderson (founding member of the *Wernerian Natural History Society* of Edinburgh),⁶⁶ and Charles Anderson, M.D., F.R.C.S.E. (1772-1855), his son. He was

⁶³ Unlike the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, which often displayed devoted paternalism and pastoral care towards their students, Edinburgh was not a residential university; and, as a consequence, the typical (non-apprentice) medical student at Edinburgh would have “tasted the freedom of a nonresidential university and learned how to provide for themselves in the classrooms, lodgings, and taverns of the expanding and sociable city” (Morrell, 1971, p.169).

⁶⁴ A similar view is attributed to Sir William Osler, who supposedly remarked to a student during a ward round of teaching, “The good physician treats the disease; the great physician treats the patient who has the disease”; or, in its more modern expression, “It is more important to know what sort of a man has the disease than what sort of a disease the man has”.

⁶⁵ No doubt, informed by Johnson (1792), Lucas (1800), and Inglis (1809; see *Appendix Two*).

⁶⁶ The *Wernerian Natural History Society*, was founded in 1808 by Robert Jameson of Leith (1774-1854), Edinburgh's Regius Professor of Natural History from 1804 to 1854. Its members included individuals (mostly from the Royal Society of Edinburgh) who were interested in the theories of German geologist Abraham Gottlob Werner (1749-1817) on the formation and classification of rocks. The Society ceased to function in 1858. The elder Anderson sponsored Braid; and, on 19 April 1823, he was admitted to the Society as a corresponding member (Anon, 1823a, p.589).

apprenticed for five years, rather than the compulsory four.⁶⁷ As an apprentice, he not only worked very long hours, but he also paid the Andersons for the privilege of doing so. He was also required to attend lectures at Edinburgh University, which he did, from 1812 to 1814, prior to undertaking his advanced clinical training at the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary.

From his earlier farm experience, Braid would have already understood the physical and emotional demands of a surgeon's life — using trocar and cannula to relieve bloat, assisting animals with difficult births, castrating cattle, sewing up wounds, splinting broken bones, reducing joint dislocations, etc. — and he would have made an easy transition to a physical involvement with the confronting practice of surgery. Similarly, from his interaction with animals and crops, and his observations of the climate and weather, he would have gained some experience in the domain of herbal medicine, as well as a general, overall understanding of health and disease.

In studying anatomy and physiology, he learned the value of mnemonics and the value of knowing the Greek and Latin roots of all the technical terms. In acquiring the ability to respond to the commercial demands of a surgery and dispensary, he would have gained many useful capacities;⁶⁸ learning how to construct, maintain, and repair an extremely wide range of surgical instruments and peripheral apparatus — and, no doubt, utilizing many of the valuable 'tinkering' skills he had developed on the farm.

In acquiring his skills as an apothecary, he would have been immersed in the *Pharmacopœia*. This meant memorizing weights, measures, dosage volumes, scientific and common names (as well as his masters' dispenser's abbreviations) for each of the *materia medica* used in his masters' dispensary, as well as the physical locations of each item within that dispensary.⁶⁹ This would have further enhanced his natural capacity to observe accurately, construct

⁶⁷ As his apprenticeship ended in May 1815 — around the time that his father's *usufruct* was exhausted — his five years would have commenced when he was just 14.

⁶⁸ For detailed accounts of the sorts of demands that would have been made upon him as an apprentice, and the sorts of curricular, extra-curricular and in-house training that he would have received, see Lucas (1800, *passim*), and Johnson (1792, *passim*).

⁶⁹ The Andersons' dispensary would have contained more than 500 items (Lucas, 1800, p.23).

representations, and accurately recall visual images. He would have learned how to identify, prepare, store, maintain, and calibrate the therapeutic strength of a particular *materia medica*; and in the process of meeting the varied demands of his duties as a prescription dispenser he would have learned how to regulate, control, and operate a laboratory with many dangerous chemicals.

In his study of the different *material medica* and their indications, he would have learned the functions of each as a simple, as well as its peculiar additive, antagonistic, or synergistic action as part of a compound; and, in the process, he would also have gained an even greater understanding of, and respect for the advantages of taxonomical representations of knowledge.

He would have been taught the principles and practice of surgery in a very structured fashion. Constantly exposed to Machian thought experiments,⁷⁰ he would have been questioned on the anatomy and physiology of the part of the body about to be operated upon, asked what sort of incision should be made (and in what direction), what he expected to find, how what-he-expected-to-find should be dealt with, what else might be there, and how that ‘something else’ might be dealt with, and how the incision should be closed. He would watch the surgeon at his work; and, once the operation was over, the surgeon would question Braid in relation to what had actually taken place — especially if there were differences between Braid’s pre-operative speculations and the events of real operation.

In the late 1970s, several important studies into *persuasion*⁷¹ — i.e., the process of convincing another to attenuate a *belief* (an implicit, *non-negotiable value*), or

⁷⁰ A constant factor in his apprenticeship was exposure to the subjunctive reasoning exercises Ernst Mach (1838-1916) used with his students: *Gedankenexperimente* (‘experiments conducted in thought’); see Mach, (1926/1976), *passim*.

Before Mach asked his students to perform a *real physical experiment*, he made them perform a *proxy imaginary experiment*. Once the physical experiment had concluded, he would quiz them on whether they had overlooked some predictable thing in their imaginary experiment. Also, if it happened that there was a discrepancy between their physical and imaginary experiments, he would demand an explanation for that discrepancy.

Elsewhere, I defined the subjunctive reasoning exercises known as thought experiments as follows: “A *thought experiment* is a device with which one performs an intentional, structured process of intellectual deliberation in order to speculate, within a specifiable problem domain, about potential consequents (or antecedents) for a designated antecedent (or consequent)” (Yeates, 2004).

⁷¹ Especially those conducted by the two independent projects centred on (a) Richard E. Petty and John Cacioppo and their colleagues, and (b) Shelly Chaiken and her colleagues.

change an *attitude* (an explicit, labile, *negotiable value*) — concentrated on the individual's *listener response*, rather than the overall *message content*.⁷² Given a suitable level of motivation, a suitable capacity to process the message, and a suitable message quality, the studies revealed persuasion could be accomplished through either rational or non-rational means (Bernstein, 1976, p.208);⁷³ and the research identified the same two *pathways to attitude change*, distinguished by the listener's response to the message:

- (1) *central route processing*,⁷⁴ involving a thoughtful consideration of issue-relevant information (i.e., considerable cognitive effort),⁷⁵ or
- (2) *peripheral route processing*,⁷⁶ involving a quick and cursory judgment based on variables peripheral to the message content (i.e., minimal cognitive effort).

They identified another factor influencing motivation to process a persuasive message: the *need-for-cognition*. *Need-for-cognition* is a stable, individual-specific "tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive endeavors", or "intrinsic motivation to engage in effortful cognitive endeavors... and exercise their

⁷² And, providing one can accept that 'ignorance' (in the non-pejorative sense of 'not knowing'), is either a case of zero-*belief* or one of zero-*attitude*, the findings of these studies can be seen to apply equally well to processes of *information acquisition* as they do to persuasion.

⁷³ Perhaps the first to recognize the difference between rational and emotional persuasion was Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). He compared the differences between the evolution of southern and northern languages, in his "*Essai sur l'origine des langues*" ('Essay on the Origin of Languages'), written around 1754 and published after his death (Rousseau, 1782).

⁷⁴ This is Petty and Cacioppo's (1981) term; Chaiken's (1980) was "*Systematic Processing*". It is significant that "thoughtful processing of the information contained in a message as well as an accurate reflection on their arguments... is cognitively demanding [and] requires attention, understanding, integration of new information with pre-existing knowledge, and evaluation of ideas" (Mason 2001, p.717).

In their studies, Benoit and Smythe found "central route persuasion" brought: (a) "greater persistence of attitude change", (b) "greater resistance to counter persuasion", and (c) "more influence of attitudes on behavior" (2003, p.111).

⁷⁵ Because it is considered axiomatic that the greater the degree of cognitive engagement and interest in a subject, the stronger the argument that is needed to promote attitude change, a key factor in the central route to persuasion's effectiveness (or non-effectiveness) must revolve upon "the quality of the argument" (p.117).

⁷⁶ This is Petty and Cacioppo's (1981) term; Chaiken's (1980) was "*Heuristic Processing*". It "concerns a process of change whose elements are not relevant to the issue, but rather are peripheral cues, such as the length and comprehensibility of the message or the pleasantness of the context in which it is produced, the attractiveness and credibility of the source" (Mason, p.717).

mental faculties" (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein and Jarvis, 1996, p.197).⁷⁷ Yet, rather than being driven by an "intellectual ability" to engage in such pursuits, a need-for-cognition is driven by the individual's "cognitive motivation": with this *cognitive motivation* being "analogous to individual differences in people's motivation to engage in effortful physical endeavors, which is related to but not the same thing as physical ability" (Cacioppo, et al., 1996, p.199).⁷⁸

As the narrative continues, the significance of Braid's natural propensity for *central route processing* of information, his high-need-for-cognition, his capacity for structured thinking, his talent for mental imagery, and his proficiency for abstract hypothetical thought, will become more and more apparent; and the reader will discover the extent to which many of these significant 'natural' attributes of Braid had been aroused, motivated, and further developed by the events of his own personal, intellectual, and vocational history.

So, long before he ever performed even the smallest parts of the simplest operation, Braid had already gained invaluable experience in both the pre-operative diagnosis and assessment of cases, and the post-operative care and treatment after particular surgical interventions; something which would have strongly encouraged the development of his bedside manner. As an apprentice, in a time without anæsthesia, he would have immediately understood the need for forethought, speed, and accuracy.⁷⁹ His detailed knowledge of anatomy and physiology, his training in midwifery, and skill as a surgeon, is clearly shown by his performance, on several occasions, of the very dangerous (due to the

⁷⁷ The concept was first proposed by Cohen, Stotland, and Wolfe in 1955: "Need for cognition can be defined as a need to structure relevant situations in meaningful, integrated ways. It is a need to understand and make reasonable the experiential world." (p.271).

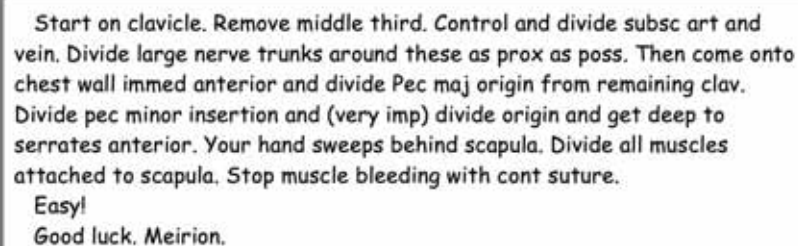
Three similar, but independently developed notions have emerged over the years: *epistemic curiosity* (Berlyne, 1954), *openness to experience* (McRae, 1987), and *typical intelligence engagement* (Goff and Ackerman, 1992).

⁷⁸ Cacioppo and Petty (1982) found "[those] who presumably engage in and enjoy thinking for a living" (such as those employed in "law, liberal arts, and education") were a "high-need-for-cognition-group" collectively; whilst "[those] who perform repetitive, monotonous tasks for a living" (such as "assembly line workers... employed in heavy equipment and automotive parts industries", etc.), were a "low-need-for-cognition-group" collectively.

⁷⁹ For example, the requisite level of skill was such that, when the eminent surgeon Robert Liston (1794-1847), F.R.S., F.R.C.S. (Edin) — a strong, tall surgeon (he was 6'2"), renowned for his physical strength, precision, and speed — performed his first operation using inhalation ether as an anæsthetic, he amputated an entire leg in 28 seconds (including the suturing).

high maternal mortality rate) and extremely rare surgical procedure, known as a *Cæsarian section* (Cæsarian sections was extremely rare prior to Kehrer's 1881 operation, the first such procedure to use a transverse incision).⁸⁰

In many senses, surgery has not changed much since Braid's time. In October 2008, British vascular surgeon, David Nott, began a 4-week stint with *Médecins Sans Frontières* in the Democratic Republic of the Congo when a 16-year-old youth presented with most of his left arm ripped off. The remaining 6 inch stump (which had already been operated on by the surgeon whom Nott had replaced) badly infected and gangrenous, and the bone exposed.⁸¹ It was clear the youth was rapidly dying and only had a couple of days to live. His only chance was a *forequarter amputation* (viz., complete removal of the arm, scapula, and clavicle). Nott, who was a 'micro' surgeon, had no experience of complex 'macro' procedures. He only had the most basic operating theatre, and only one pint of blood; but, he was the only surgeon available. He had a colleague in the U.K., Meirion Thomas,⁸² who was an expert in this procedure (a procedure so rare that it is only performed on something like 10 occasions a year in the entire UK). He contacted Thomas, by SMS, and asked Thomas to "take him through a forequarter amputation". Thomas replied; and his 10-step text was so clear to Nott, that Nott successfully performed the operation in three hours.



Start on clavicle. Remove middle third. Control and divide subsc art and vein. Divide large nerve trunks around these as prox as poss. Then come onto chest wall immed anterior and divide Pec maj origin from remaining clav. Divide pec minor insertion and (very imp) divide origin and get deep to serrates anterior. Your hand sweeps behind scapula. Divide all muscles attached to scapula. Stop muscle bleeding with cont suture.
Easy!
Good luck. Meirion.

Fig.14. Thomas' multi-part SMS to Nott (listing 10-step procedure).^{83,84}

⁸⁰ In 1851, Braid expressed his view that, whilst a *Cæsarian section* was, indeed, a "formidable" and "important" surgical operation, "it involve[d] comparatively little difficulty to those well acquainted with the anatomy of the parts, and are in frequent habit of operating" (1851b, p.239).

⁸¹ Some said he was attacked by a hippopotamus when fishing; others asserted he was caught in the crossfire from a clash between government and rebel forces.

⁸² Prof. J. Meirion Thomas, has the chair in Surgical Oncology at the Imperial College London, and works in the Sarcoma and Melanoma Unit at the Royal Marsden Cancer Hospital, London.

⁸³ Thanks to a rogue '*spell-checker*' (e.g., Gordon, 2008), most reports have "Stop muscle bleed-ing with **count** suture", rather than the original "Stop muscle bleeding with **cont** suture".

⁸⁴ The text of Merion Thomas' messages (more than one SMS transmission was needed) to

Later, Thomas explained to the press that all surgery is very, very simple: all it needs is for one to start at step one and continue working until step one is entirely finished before going on to step two (mainly because a large part of step one involves preparing the way for step two). This process of carefully moving from beginning to end, and not starting a new step until a previous step was entirely completed, is precisely how Braid was taught to work. It is certain that Braid's constant working in this fashion also refined and developed his natural propensity for structured thinking; and, also, easily explains his life-long habit of reducing complex things to simple lists.

Mr. James Braid, Surgeon

Having completed all the prescribed studies,⁸⁵ and having passed all the compulsory examinations in anatomy, surgery, and pharmacy and having been "found [to be] fully qualified to practice [those] arts", James Braid of Kinross-Shire (one of 51) was admitted to Edinburgh's Royal College of Surgeons on 11 November 1815.⁸⁶ As a *Licentiate*, he immediately became a *Member* of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh (Anon, 1845);⁸⁷ and, as a *Member*, he gained the exclusive right to practice both surgery and pharmacy in the counties of Mid Lothian, East Lothian, West Lothian, Fife, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Berwick (Rosner, 1991, p.87).⁸⁸

David Nott, taken from Gordon (2008), when expanded, reads:

Start on the clavicle. Remove the middle third of the clavicle. Control and then divide the *subscapular* artery and vein. Divide the large nerve trunks around those vessels as proximal as possible. Then come onto the chest wall, immediately anterior, and divide the *pectoralis major* muscle's origin from the remaining part of the *clavicle*. Divide the *pectoralis minor* muscle's insertion and — this is very important! — divide its origin and get deep to the level of the *serratus anterior* muscle. Your hand sweeps behind the *scapula*. Divide all of the muscles attached to the *scapula*. Stop muscle bleeding with a continuous suture [viz., rather than an "interrupted suture"]. Easy! Good luck. Meirion.

⁸⁵ He studied "The Practice of Physic" and "Institutes of Medicine" during the university's 1813/1814 sessions, and "Materia Medica", "Anatomy", "Clinical Surgery", and "Midwifery" during the 1814/1815 sessions (Wink, 1969, p.17).

⁸⁶ Public Notice, in *The Caledonian Mercury* of Thursday, 16 November 1815.

⁸⁷ Thus, whilst Braid's actual *qualification* was *Licentiate* of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh (1815), he was always correctly *designated* James Braid, Esq., M.R.C.S.E.

⁸⁸ This right of exclusive practice (a 'license to practice') was granted in 1695; "in theory only men who had received a certificate from the [Edinburgh College of Surgeons] were entitled to practice surgery and pharmacy in those areas" (Rosner, 1991, p.87). The right to practice within

Lord Hopetoun's Mines at Leadhills, Lanarkshire

A large proportion of Edinburgh trained surgeons went into the armed forces. However, November 1815 was, perhaps, the worst time for a new surgeon to emerge. In January 1815, the Anglo-American War had ended, and in June 1815 the Battle of Waterloo had ended the Napoleonic Wars (the *Treaty of Paris* was signed on 20 November 1815). These events had two immediate consequences:

- (1) no new military surgeons were being recruited, and
- (2) large numbers of already experienced military surgeons were being discharged, or placed upon the military reserve list (at half-pay), and were looking for work outside the armed forces.

Not yet 21, and recently married, Braid was appointed surgeon to the remote mining community at Lord Hopetoun's lead and silver mines, at Leadhills in early 1816.⁸⁹ He received a horse, a house, and a salary from *The Scotch Mining Company* as well as "the gains of his practice" ("J", 1823, p.27, 29). His move to Leadhills was not all that remarkable. There were many connexions between the people of Leith and the lead mines;⁹⁰ and the influential Andersons, who held Braid in high regard, would have given him a strong recommendation.⁹¹

The sole purpose of the cold, remote, and decidedly insalubrious village of Leadhills (395m above sea level, second highest village in Scotland), in the parish of Crawford, Lanarkshire, Scotland (about 50 miles south-west of Edinburgh, and about 35 miles north of Dumfries), was to accommodate miners. Leadhills was renowned for its harsh climate, annual rainfall of more than 150cm, and deep winter snow. However, the weather of 1816 was exceptionally harsh. Widely known as "the Year without summer",⁹² there were

Edinburgh City itself was restricted to the *Fellows* of the College.

⁸⁹ John Hope (1765-1823), the Fourth Earl of Hopetoun, a Privy Counsellor in Ireland, also served as the Lord Lieutenant of Linlithgowshire from 1816 until his death.

⁹⁰ Leith was the place to which the all of the mined lead was transported from Leadhills; and it was the port from which the lead was dispersed to the world.

⁹¹ It is also possible, through his wife, that he was related to Gilbert Meason, proprietor and resident general manager of the mining operations at Wanlockhead, the next village.

⁹² The extraordinary climatic conditions of 1816 resulted in massive storms, tempestuous rainfall, huge floods, as well as unseasonable frosts and snow all over the Northern hemisphere. They were attributed to a combination of unusual and extremely low solar activity, and the

world-wide crop failures (and, also, many associated food riots). The following table gives a sense of the ambient temperatures at Leadhills:

	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.
Jan.	30°	33°	32½°	23½°	30°	35½°	36°	34½°	35½°	29½°
Feb.	34½	35	36½	32	39	32	37½	32	34	35½
Mar.	41	33	40	36½	39	34½	36	35	42	38
April.	46½	37½	42	47½	43	40	42	40	44	47
May.	51½	48½	49½	46	53	48½	47	52	50½	50
June.	56	53	55½	52	56	54	57	60	53	54
July.	58	55	57½	58	56	54	55	60½	59	59
Aug.	53	54	54	55	55½	53	53	55	61½	55½
Sept.	52	51	48½	51½	51	48½	51	51	50	50
Oct.	48	41½	42	44	45	47	42	49	41	41
Nov.	41	36	36	35½	32½	35½	43	45	34	36½
Dec.	31½	32	37	32½	33	32½	32	36	29½	37
	42.25	42.46	44.25	42.83	44.42	42.92	44.29	45.83	44.54	44.42
MEAN TEMPERATURE for Ten Years, 44°.121.										

Fig.15. Mean Fahrenheit Temperature of Leadhills for Ten Years.⁹³

On his visit to Leadhills in 1772, Thomas Pennant had remarked that:

Nothing can equal the barren and gloomy appearance of the country round [Leadhills]: neither tree nor shrub, nor verdure, nor picturesque rock, appear to amuse the eye... (Pennant, 1774, p.129)

Three years later, in 1776, William Gilpin (1724-1804) found that “the mines here, as in all mineral countries, are destructive of health”, “you see an infirm frame, and squalid looks in most of the inhabitants” (1789, II, p.76). Twelve years later, things were no better:

The external appearance of Leadhills is ugly beyond description: rock, short heath, and barren [clay]. Every sort of vegetable is with difficulty raised, and seldom comes to perfection. Spring water there, is perhaps as fine as any in the world: but, the water below the smelting-[mills], the most dangerous. The lead before smelting is broke very small and washed from extraneous matter. It contains frequently arsenic, sulphur, zinc, &c. which poisons the water in which it is washed. Fowls of any kind will not live many days at Leadhills. They pick up arsenical par-

massive accumulation of volcanic dust in the upper atmosphere due to an unprecedented series of five extreme volcanic eruptions, over a short period, from May 1812 (La Soufrière in the Caribbean) to April 1815 (Mount Tambora, in Sumbawa, the largest eruption in recorded history, with an explosion that was heard more than 2,000km. away). Crops of all kinds failed, and there was widespread famine, starvation, and food riots all throughout the British Isles.

It was also a time of extreme sunspot activity. According to the table in Stetson (1937, p.198), the number of sunspots observed in January, February and March 1817 were 36.4, 57.9, and 96.2 respectively; compared with zero in the January, February and March of both 1810 and 1811.

⁹³ This report, published in *The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* of July 1821, represents the averages of the “observations of the temperature [measured in Fahrenheit, at Leadhills,] made twice a day; one at six in the morning, and another in the afternoon, at the Scots Mining Company’s counting-house” (Anon, 1821a, p.219). [Note: 23½°F = -4.75°C; 32°F = 0°C; 42.92°F = 6.067°C; 44.121°F = 6.75°C; 54°F = 12.2°C; 61½°F = 16.4°C]

ticles with their food, which, soon kills, them. Horses, cows, dogs, cats, are liable to the lead-brash.⁹⁴ A cat, when seized with that distemper, springs like lightning through every corner of the house, falls into convulsions, and dies. A dog falls into strong convulsions also, but sometimes recovers. A cow grows perfectly mad in an instant, and must be immediately killed. Fortunately this distemper does not affect the human species. (Peterkin, 1799, pp.98-99)⁹⁵

As Pennant had noted in 1772, the human counterpart was “mill-reek”:⁹⁶

The miners and smelters are subject here, as in other places, to the lead distemper, or *mill-reek*, as it is called here; which brings on palsies, and sometimes madness, terminating in death in about ten days. (p.130)

Lead attracted such high prices during the American and Napoleonic Wars, and the domestic construction boom,⁹⁷ that Leadhills was world-famous for its lead mines.⁹⁸ Yet, in earlier days, it was so famous for its gold that the area was known as “God's Treasure House in Scotland”.⁹⁹

Today, the mines are closed. The surrounding heather-covered hills provide grazing for the local Blackface sheep and constitute a valuable grouse moor (Gillanders, 1981, p.235). The area is renowned amongst mineralogists and geologists for its wide range of different mineral species found in the veins that lie deep within the (now abandoned) mine shafts;¹⁰⁰ many of which were first

⁹⁴ Literally, “lead-sickness”. It was a most horrible form of lead poisoning; and the term *lead-brash* specifically referred to a condition in animals.

⁹⁵ Rev. William Peterkin (1738-1792), a graduate of Marischal College, Aberdeen was the Minister at Leadhills (and member of its library) from 1785 until his death (Harvey, 2000).

⁹⁶ Literally “noxious fumes generated by grinding”. A detailed account of the condition and its treatment in the 18th and early 19th centuries, is at Risse, (2005, passim). One early report was that of James Wilson (Wilson, 1754), a surgeon from Durisdeer (10 km distant from Leadhills).

⁹⁷ At its peak (1809) lead was selling at £32 per ton (approx £18,500 in 2008 per 1,000kg). By 1827 the price had slumped to £12 per ton, due to the removal of import dues on foreign lead, and the significant expansion of Spanish lead production, due to the re-emergence of Spanish trade following the end of the Peninsular War (Smout, 1962, pp.152, 154).

⁹⁸ The mine operators paid one in every six bars of lead, as rent, to Lord Hopetoun. The average number of bars produced annually was around 18,000 (Chambers, 1844, p.701).

⁹⁹ During the 16th century, before the alluvial gold deposits were exhausted, 300 men worked over three summers, and took away some £100,000 of gold (probably worth considerably more than \$500,000,000 Aust. according to 2009 values): “Between 1538 and 1542, the district produced 1163 grams of gold for a crown for King James V of Scotland, and 992 grams for a crown for his queen. Much of the gold coinage of James V and Mary Queen of Scots was minted from Leadhills gold” (Gillanders, 1981, p.235). “No commercial gold mining appears to have taken place after 1620, but gold washing with a sluice box or pan was later to become a sometimes lucrative pastime of the lead miners” (p.236).

¹⁰⁰ The mines, operated by the Hopetoun family since 1638, finally closed in the 1930s.

found there, with some now recognized as unique to the Leadhills area.¹⁰¹

Like those in other U.K. metalliferous mines, the Leadhills miners in Braid's time did not work for daily wages;¹⁰² they lived rent-free, worked no more than 6 hours a day, and had no fixed working hours. Each miner belonged to an autonomous group of up to 12 (a "*partnership*"),¹⁰³ who were paid collectively on the basis of a contract (a "*bargain*") struck between one partner (the "*taker*"), and the mining company, to perform a specific task for an agreed payment.¹⁰⁴ Miners were paid for their results; not for the time spent underground. One type of bargain was "*tut-*" or "*fathom work*"; this was work with no immediate return (sinking shafts, driving levels, making excavations, etc.), for a specified "*length*", usually 12, 15, or 20 fathoms,¹⁰⁵ for a fixed amount. The other type was "*tribute work*"; this work involved raising the ore to the surface, where the miners took all the ore from a specific location, and were paid according to the total weight of the ore, at a set rate per *bing* (a "*bingtale*"),¹⁰⁶ or according to the tonnage of smelted lead that ore had produced (thus, a "*tontale*").¹⁰⁷

The individual miner's family also contributed; the sons worked on the uncovered washing platforms (exposed to the elements in all weathers) washing the impurities from the ore prior to smelting, and the wives and daughters spun wool and embroidered muslin for sale in Glasgow.

¹⁰¹ In fact, "during the first quarter of the 19th century, the Leadhills and Wanlockhead mines were making a significant contribution to the early development of mineralogy" (Gillanders, 1981, p.236). The exceptional range and scope of the extremely rare mineralogical specimens was such that, "so well known had the minerals of Leadhills become during the 1820's that the Scots Mining Company had to make a regulation preventing the miners from disposing of specimens to the growing number of collectors" (p.237). The later routine use of dynamite, rather than gunpowder, "was particularly unfavorable to the collector as many hundreds of valuable specimens that might have been [otherwise] saved were blown to pieces" (p.238).

¹⁰² Unless specified, the account that follows is taken from the extensive treatment of the miner's earnings and working conditions at Leadhills in Chapter Four of Harvey (2000).

¹⁰³ This meant that a group of twelve could work three shifts a day.

¹⁰⁴ Harvey (2000) notes that the "earnings [from these bargains] were subject to deductions for candles, powder, etc. and were paid infrequently, [with the miners often] requiring subsistence in the form of food, or cash, on credit".

¹⁰⁵ Hunt (1970). A fathom is a precise nautical measure, the equivalent of six feet (182.9cm).

¹⁰⁶ A bing was eight cwt. (hundredweight); viz., approx. 406.5kg.

¹⁰⁷ Harvey (2000) observes that *tontale* bargains had two distinct advantages for a mining company: (a) "they avoided problems of estimating the value of poor quality ore", and (b) "they also meant the smelters were prompted to work proficiently in the interests of their fellows".

The partners supplied their own tools; and were responsible for their upkeep. Many important responsibilities lay with the partners; thus, for instance, only two overseers were needed to manage more than 200 Leadhills' miners. In the absence of an overseer's constant and immediate personal supervision, the partners were totally responsible for their collective work practices and occupational safety; thus, the partners, rather than overseers, would decide how to act against threats posed by subterranean water, loose ground, earth tremors, etc. Also, obviously, *with no overseer, there was no oversight*. Often, hastily constructed passages/shafts were misaligned with those of other teams, affecting the structure of the entire mine. Also, the disposal of waste and rubbish from one team's work area often impeded the progress of another team (or teams).

Leadhills was not a cultural desert; it had the oldest subscription library in the British Isles (Foster and Sheppard, 1995, p.41).¹⁰⁸ Founded in 1741 by twenty-one miners, the local schoolteacher, and the local minister, specifically to purchase a collection of books for its members' mutual improvement,¹⁰⁹ its membership was not restricted to the miners; and several non-miners, such as William Symington (1763-1831),¹¹⁰ John Brown (1810-1882),¹¹¹ and James Braid, were full members.¹¹² In the late eighteenth century, Peterkin observed the library had "as many valuable books as might be expected to be chosen by promiscuous readers"; he found its members to be "the best informed, and therefore the most reasonable common people that I know" (1799, p.99). In 1823, "J", observing that "every miner can read, and most of them can write tolerably well", noted the library had around 1,200 volumes, all of which "have

¹⁰⁸ A similar library was founded at nearby Wanlockhead in 1756. The oldest in England is the Liverpool Subscription Library, founded in 1758.

¹⁰⁹ On his 1841 visit to Leadhills, the statistician and school inspector Joseph Fletcher was so impressed with the Leadhills' Reading Society that he included its *Articles and Laws* in his report to the *Children's Employment Commission* (Fletcher, 1842a, pp.874-878).

¹¹⁰ The engineer and inventor, Symington, was born in Leadhills, was famous for his improvements to Watt's steam engines used in mines, and development of steam-driven paddle boats.

¹¹¹ Like Braid, John Brown, M.D, LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.Ed., trained at Edinburgh University. Aside from his well respected Edinburgh practice (as physician rather than surgeon), he was known world-wide for his famous story about a loyal highland dog, *Rab and his Friends* (1859).

¹¹² Kaufman, (1969), p.165. Approaches I recently made (2010) to the current custodians of *The Leadhills Reading Society* indicate that no membership records from Braid's time remain.

been entirely chosen by [the members] themselves", and that:

As the miners work only six in the twenty-four hours in the mines, and as the barrenness of the soil affords little scope for agricultural pursuits, they have of course abundance of time for reading; and I believe they generally employ it to good purpose; for many of them can converse upon historical, scientific, and theological points so as to astonish a stranger; and even on political questions, they express their opinions with great acuteness and accuracy. ("J", 1823, p.27)¹¹³

Braid continued to pursue his scientific interests at Leadhills. On 4 March 1823, he sent a letter to the younger Anderson, reporting on his research over the preceding four years into different sorts of lead-containing mineral deposits at Leadhills, and his hypotheses on the formation of each. Anderson read his letter to the Wernerian Society on 5 April 1823 (Braid, 1823a).¹¹⁴

He displayed a wide range of surgical, clinical and diagnostic skills, as well as an interest in anticipating individual medical needs. His "*Case of Reunion of a Separated Portion of the Finger*" (1816a) displays a compassionate understanding of the circumstances of a miner, aged 63, also a weaver, who came to have his left hand dressed, having chopped off the entire fleshy tip of his index finger with a hatchet. Braid knew he was a weaver, and clearly understood the effect of the injury on his weaving and his financial circumstances. He questioned the man, discovering he left the severed tip on the ground a considerable distance from Braid's surgery, "I returned with him, and found it covered in dust. After, having washed it with warm water, I applied and retained the divided part in its former situation by straps of adhesive plaster, and covered the whole with a piece of lint, and a [small compress] of common [ointment]". Braid treated it regularly over the next few weeks; and, "[within] a month from the time he met with the accident he was able to follow his work as a miner, and in five weeks could use his finger in tying threads whilst weaving".¹¹⁵

¹¹³ "The inhabitants [of Leadhills], though chiefly employed in the severe labour of mining, are an enlightened set of people, having a pretty extensive subscription library, and exhibiting a zeal in the acquisition of useful knowledge perfectly astonishing" (Chambers, 1844, p.701).

¹¹⁴ It received a favourable review in Anon (1823b).

¹¹⁵ Braid also reported (1825a) successfully treating a woman of 44 with 6 children who had "a peculiar ulcerous affection". The ulcer appeared 14 years earlier; never larger than a 4cm x 4cm square, and absent during each of her pregnancies, and not returning until her time of nursing was over, it began on the back of the head, crept down along the neck and back, healing behind itself as it advanced, eventually (at the time she consulted Braid) lying next to her nose on her

Well ahead of his time, Braid was interested in the detection, surveillance and prevention of occupational disease as well as occupational safety and injury prevention. He paid particular attention to how an individual's predisposition (*diathesis*) or their temporary susceptibility (*vulnerability*) contributed (or might at some future time) to the onset of a specific condition, and how it might be mitigated (or anticipated and attenuated in the future). In 1823, he treated a woman with hydrothorax (Braid, 1823b),¹¹⁶ whose difficulty in breathing was so extreme she could not lie down for more than a few moments ("the only tolerable position [for her was] leaning on her knees and elbows"). He treated her 15 times over 18 days, after which she fully recovered; and was still completely well 15 weeks later. Noting, given all of the theoretically possible causes, that "[those who] have been exposed to breathe noxious or confined air" were by far the majority of his hydrothorax patients, he reported that:

[At Leadhills] the miners must sometimes work in places where there is so little circulation of air, that their candles can scarcely burn; and I have almost invariably observed, that a continuance for any considerable length of time, (although in such situations they may only work three or four hours daily), brings on pneumonia *in the young and plethoric*,¹¹⁷ and hydrothorax *in the old, if rather of spare habit of body*; and if there should happen to be any healthy middle-aged men working as hand-neighbours to these others, although of course both must breath [sic] the same impure air, these middle-aged men will remain free from any *urgent* complaint, till both their young and their aged neighbours are laid aside, perhaps never more to return. I became so fully convinced of this fact, as long ago to have induced me to recommend to the agents and overseers of this place, to avoid, as much as possible, putting thither very young or very old men into such situations.

(Braid 1823b, p.550, emphasis added, bold in original)¹¹⁸

right cheek. It took him 12 months, using all sorts of interventions, to find a way to halt its progress. He did so by changing his strategy; and, rather than attacking the creeping ulcer itself, he cauterized the healthy tissue in the area to which it was likely to advance with sticks of silver nitrate ("lunar caustic"), successfully arresting its progress.

¹¹⁶ An accumulation of watery fluid in the pleural cavity.

¹¹⁷ Yet another case of equivocation due to lexical ambiguity: it is not clear whether he intends '*plethoric*' to mean the more general, an individual with a ruddy complexion and a full, fleshy body, or the more specific, an excess of the *sanguine* humour, implying an excess of blood (which would be attenuated by blood-letting).

¹¹⁸ Christison, in his *Treatise on Poisons* (1832), defers to Braid's occupational safety knowledge, and reports his view that systematic ventilation (including high chimneys) in smelting workshops significantly reduces lead-poisoning (p.506).

From personal contact ("for I am informed by *Mr Braid*"), he cites Braid as an authority when he emphatically states that, whilst lead miners are liable to all sorts of occupational disease, they do not get lead poisoning because "the metals are not poisonous until oxidated", and that

At 7A.M. on Saturday, 1 March 1817, Braid was called urgently to the mine to alleviate the distress of a number of miners who appeared to be suffocated.

A most melancholy accident happened in the lead mines belonging to Messrs Horner, Hurst, and Co. Leadhills, on the forenoon of the 1st inst. occasioned by the air being rendered impure from the smoke of a fire engine, placed about one hundred feet underground.

As soon as the danger was ascertained, two miners and the company's blacksmith descended to the relief of their neighbours below, when unfortunately the two miners perished in the humane attempt. The smith escaped but is still dangerously ill. Many of the miners who were at work at the time were violently affected, almost to suffocation, but are now out of danger. We have since learned that in all seven lives have been lost in this accident.

Fig.16. Report of Leadhills Accident, *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 6 March 1817.¹¹⁹

It was found that noxious fumes from the faulty chimney of a coal-fired steam engine,¹²⁰ operating deep within the mine,¹²¹ combined with a dense fog pervading the entire area. The contaminated air was lethal. Two men, in the hope of finishing early, and contrary to established custom, had entered the mine before 4AM;¹²² another two, presumably from the same partnership, entered soon after. Reaching their work level (at 25 fathoms) the first two encountered the bad air, persisted, thinking they could force their way through it, began to feel dizzy, collapsed, and eventually suffocated. The next two encountered a similar fate. The accident was not discovered until some time after 6AM; by which time all four men were dead. To aid those at the 25 fathom level, who were beginning to become violently affected by the fumes, a trap-door was opened to help clear the air; unfortunately, the noxious fumes descended

only those exposed to the fumes of the smelting furnaces succumb. (He was eager to correct the widely held (erroneous) notion that *all* workers at the lead mines – i.e., both “those who dig and pulverise the ore” and “those who roast the ore” — were equally likely to succumb (p.496).)

¹¹⁹ Anon (1817a); a week later, the *Caledonian Mercury* further reported that “five of the seven miners who were suffocated by the smoke of the steam-engine at Leadhills, have left widows, and in all thirty fatherless children to deplore their loss” (Anon, 1817b).

¹²⁰ This was partly a quality control failure. High sulphur content coal should not be used underground. Sulphur, when heated, is converted into sulphurous acid (H_2SO_3): a colourless, irritating gas with the peculiar suffocating odour of burning brimstone. When concentrated, it causes suffocation and, when greatly diluted, it severely irritates the mucous membranes, producing secondary effects that have every appearance of extreme alcohol intoxication.

¹²¹ Coal-fired steam engines, were an important part of the operation at Leadhills. Leadhills had three steam engines as early as 1778 (Smout, 1967, p.106). In the winter of 1765, James Watt had been approached to design and build a steam engine for Leadhills that would raise water from 30 fathoms (approx. 55m.) below the surface. Watt did not get the contract (Hills, 1998).

¹²² The established custom was that miners began to enter the mines at 6AM.

rapidly, and another three men, at the 80 fathom level, suffocated. The other miners, many whom were affected to a considerable degree, were restored by Braid as they emerged from the mine.¹²³

Braid's account (1817a) of the accident, the condition of the miners, and its aftermath was read to the Wernerian Society on 7 June 1817. The account was published in the *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* of June 1817. Braid's account was reprinted in three medical journals;¹²⁴ and large portions of his descriptions of the effects of the sulphurous acid fumes on the miners were quoted (verbatim) in Todd's "Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence" twenty years later.¹²⁵ Braid noted that, because each miner fixed his own time for entering the mine and worked at the mine entirely without oversight, the first four deaths occurred because there was no-one else there, in the mine, when they first experienced breathing difficulties (which would not have been so if they had entered at 6AM). Having described at some length the various treatments he delivered, he also observed that:

Those [miners] of a plethoric habit were much sooner, and more violently affected, than those of a spare habit; and, from what I saw, I make no doubt but one of a spare habit might remain in some degree active, whilst one of a very plethoric habit would be irrecoverably lost.

When it becomes necessary for men to go into such situations, would it not be proper to take away a quantity of blood from those of a plethoric habit? (p.356)

Somewhat later, when the first cholera epidemic broke out in Manchester in 1832, Braid, who was responsible for delivery the medical services to one of the poorest and most squalid areas of Manchester, displayed the same preventive

¹²³ Watson (1829) reported the consequences of a steam-engine's wooden chimney having caught on fire and burning for more than 24 hours at the lead mine at nearby Wanlockhead.

¹²⁴ *The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* of 1 July 1817; *The London Medical and Surgical Journal* of October 1817; and in *The Eclectic Repertory and Analytical Review, Medical and Philosophical*, from Philadelphia, U.S.A., of January 1818.

¹²⁵ Anthony Todd Thomson (1778-1849), M.R.C.S. (Lond.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), was joint Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at the University of London with Andrew Amos (1791-1860) from 1832 to 1834, and Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in his own right from 1835 to 1849.

His series of lectures were published in *The Lancet* from 8 October 1836 to 23 September 1837. The lecture in question was Thomson (1837); and the passage from Braid is at pp.709-711 ("I cannot afford you a better account of the symptoms [of poisoning by sulphurous acid] than by reading part of the details of a fatal accident at Leadhills, published by Mr. Braid...").

orientation. The following comes from a letter Braid wrote in 1853:¹²⁶

During the epidemic cholera in Manchester, in 1832, I was one of the medical men who volunteered their gratuitous services in behalf of the poor. During the discharge of the duties which thus devolved upon me, I very soon had cause to remark that the most severe cases of cholera occurred not merely amongst the poor as might have been expected, but amongst the poor who inhabited cellars.¹²⁷

I had long been of opinion that it was quite soon enough for human beings to be buried under ground after they were dead; and here I had a most striking proof that dwelling in cellars had a fearful tendency to hasten the flight of the inhabitants to that "bourne, from whence no traveller returns"? ¹²⁸

Besides the mischievous influence of a cold and damp air and imperfect ventilation incident to such abodes, the deprivation of the benefit of light exercises a most deleterious influence on such individuals; for besides the cheering agency of light on the sight and spirits it possesses a chemical influence, without which neither plant nor animal can attain to the vigour and perfection of which they are capable.

But I ascertained that there existed another cause of disease and infirmity amongst the inmates of cellars. In the area of each,¹²⁹ and close by the door of the house, there was an open grid, in direct communication with the main sewers; so that the whole of the pestiferous emanations arising from the decaying animal and vegetable substances within the sewers were constantly being vomited forth through these open grids, and waited into the chief apartment of the family, so as to deteriorate the health and poison the blood of the inmates with every breath which they drew and with every morsel of food they swallowed.

I called attention to this at the time, and recommended the substitution of stench traps for the open grids as the most speedy and certain mode of obviating the evil... (Braid, 1853b)

By the second half of 1825, Braid had come to an amicable arrangement with Lord Hopetoun's mines to leave the mines,¹³⁰ so that (Leadhills born) military surgeon, James Martin,[†] could take over his duties. Martin was still at Leadhills

¹²⁶ In the remainder of the letter Braid complains that important modifications to the Manchester sewer system he had suggested twenty-one years earlier had still not been made.

¹²⁷ Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, based on his observations of Manchester from 1842 to 1844 (Engels, 1892, pp.65-66), states that what he had seen, at that time, was entirely consistent with the reports made by the surgeon, Peter Gaskell (1806-1841), that in 1832 there were more than 20,000 individuals living in these cellars "in Manchester proper" and, altogether, 40-50,000 living in cellars in Manchester and its "suburbs". Engels estimated that 12% of Manchester's working class resided in "cellar dwellings".

¹²⁸ Braid is quoting from Hamlet's "To be, or not to be" speech (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene I): "...death, the undiscover'd country from whose bourn no traveller returns..."

¹²⁹ An *area* was the sunken space, separated from the pavement by railings, entered by a flight of steps, which gave access to the basement levels of a house.

¹³⁰ According to Pigot (1825, p.546), Braid was at Leadhills in *early* 1825 and Martin was not.

in 1872,¹³¹ and William Watson,[‡] his counterpart at Wanlockhead, was at Wanlockhead for nearly 50 years. That these two professional surgeons chose to live, practise, and bring up their families in the general area, indicates that Braid's move from Leadhills was not made on the grounds of fears for the future health of his family.

Braid's move to Dumfries

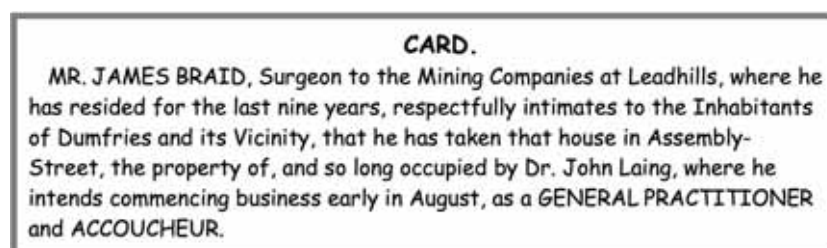


Fig.17. Braid's Dumfries Announcement, *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 2 August 1825.¹³²

In late 1825, James Braid and his family moved to Dumfries, where he took over the residence (at 4 Assembly Street) and the practice (at 14 Castle Street) of John Laing, M.D.¹³³ Whether it was arranged by a relative of Laing (the Laings and Masons were closely connected), by Laing, or by the Earl of Hopetoun,¹³⁴ it was a move of great significance. Braid met the exceptional surgeon, William Maxwell,[‡] whose practice (also in Castle Street) was, by that time, at "a very high professional level" (Findlay, 1898, p.53).¹³⁵ It is generally said that Braid '*worked with*' Maxwell, rather than '*was in partnership with*'. Given that Maxwell practised as a physician and a surgeon, *but not as an apothecary*,¹³⁶ it seems that Braid, a trained apothecary, would have been useful to Maxwell.

¹³¹ As shown by the entries — "Martin, James, Leadhills, Lanarkshire, Lic. R. Coll. Surg. Edin. 1811; M.D. Univ. Edin. 1826" — in the U.K. Medical Registers of 1859 (p.241) and 1872 (p.332) respectively.

¹³² Braid (1825b); with grateful thanks to Jean McKay, genealogist, of Kirkcaldy.

¹³³ It was also at Dumfries, at the Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary, on 19 December 1846, that surgeons William Scott M.D., L.R.C.S.E. (1820-1877) and James McLachlan (1799-1848), would later perform the first operation in the British Isles that used inhalation ether as an anaesthetic, in the process of amputating a fractured limb.

¹³⁴ The Earl of Hopetoun had strong social connexions with Dumfries (Gorton, 1833, p.490).

¹³⁵ He had, earlier, contributed three papers to the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, (Maxwell, 1824a; 1824b; and 1824c).

¹³⁶ The entry in Pigot's *Commercial Directory* for "Surgeons & Druggists" in Dumfries (1825, p.322), clearly indicates that Maxwell was a "*surgeon only*"; and it lists both Maxwell and Laing as "Physicians" in Dumfries ((1825, p.321).

Maxwell, a Roman Catholic, with an M.D. from Edinburgh University in 1787, 35 years older than Braid, with a delightful illegitimate daughter, Elisabeth, who was an important part of his Dumfries household,¹³⁷ had been extremely active politically as a young man. In late 1792, in accord with his republican sentiments, he acted on behalf of French revolutionaries, and ordered 3,000 poinards (or daggers) from a Birmingham manufacturer, to be used to execute French aristocrats who had taken refuge in England (thus, Edmund Burke's dramatic "dagger speech" of 28 December 1782 in the House of Commons).¹³⁸



Fig.18. William Maxwell, M.D. (1760-1834).¹³⁹

On Monday, 21 January 1793, he was in France and commanded the guard that led Louis XVI to the guillotine, and was close enough to clearly hear the last words addressed to the king, and was said to have acquired a handkerchief that had been dipped in the King's blood, which he kept on his person for the rest of his life (Findlay, 1898, pp.52-53). He had also been the last medical

¹³⁷ Given Braid's experience of his own father's protection of his cousin William, he would have held Maxwell in high regard for the manner in which he treated Elisabeth.

¹³⁸ Debrett (1793).

¹³⁹ Findlay (1898), facing p.51.

attendant of the famous poet Robert Burns (1759-1796).¹⁴⁰

Being associated with the principled, like-minded, and independent Maxwell as a professional colleague was a turning point for Braid. He was exposed to a far wider range of different sorts of clinical work (of a far greater complexity) and to the extensive surgical experience of one of Scotland's most able surgeons (and to the on-going '*master class*' that such circumstances offered). Not only could he discuss complicated medical issues with a true peer, he also met a technical innovation that would transform his professional future.

Maxwell's adventures in France had not just been restricted to political and social pursuits. Upon his return to Dumfries he introduced an important innovation to his surgical practice that greatly improved the efficacy of the post-amputation binding of arteries (i.e., rather than cautery) that had been introduced by the exceptional French surgeon, Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), two centuries earlier.¹⁴¹ Having observed that the conventional knotted ligature,¹⁴² where the extended length of the remaining thread was a locus for irritation, congestion, and infection, Maxwell introduced the practice of using "short-cut ligatures", where the trailing thread was snipped off as close as possible to the knot.¹⁴³ According to the eminent military surgeon John Hennen (1779-1828),¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Burns' son, Maxwell Burns, born on the day that Burns died, was named after Maxwell; and, on his deathbed, a grateful Burns presented Maxwell with a pair of pistols that had been given (c.1789) to Burns by the Birmingham gun-maker, David Blair (1755-1814), remarking that "I wish them to fall into the hands, not of a rascal, but an honest man" (Wilson, 1852, p.50).

¹⁴¹ Although some, before Paré (such as Celsus, Galen, Paul of Aegina, Avicenna, Guy de Chauliac, etc.) had used some sort of binding to restrict bleeding in the case of wounds from "accidents", Paré was the first to bind a patient's arteries after amputation (amputation being an activity which could be thought of, by contrast, as a deliberate and invited "wounding").

¹⁴² A *ligature* (Latin *ligare*, "to bind") is a knotted cord (or thread) used to tie a bleeding artery. A ligature is different from a *tourniquet* (derived from French *tourner*, "to turn", the first tourniquets were bandages tightened by twisting a rigid bar placed inside the loop of the bandage) in that a *tourniquet*, which has no knot, can be tightened or loosened at will.

¹⁴³ "Short-cut ligature" because the ends of its thread, either side of the knot, were truncated; rather than the ligature being a somewhat second-rate knot used solely to save time and effort.

¹⁴⁴ John Hennen, M.D., born in Ireland (in 1779), educated at Edinburgh University, whose first wife came from Dumfries, was an eminent military surgeon. His work introduced many significant innovations in the delivery of medical attention to the sick and wounded. He served in the Peninsular War; and, after the *Treaty of Paris* (30 May 1814) ended hostilities, he returned to Dumfries and began to establish a practice there. It was at that time he first met Maxwell. Whilst still in Dumfries he contributed a paper describing certain preliminary observations — "Hospital Gangrene" in the *London Medical Repository* (Vol.III, March 1815, p.177) — that would, eventually, become his most famous publication, *Observations on Some Important Points in the*

who had been taught the practice in 1813, and had used it to great effect in his military hospital during the Peninsular War, Maxwell had been using the technique constantly since 1798 (and had also taught others the practice) and was, very likely, in Hennen's view, the first in the British Isles to do so.^{145,146}

It is also certain that Braid's direct, extended experience of Maxwell, an extremely shy man, who had been ever so greatly handicapped by a severe, distressing speech impediment ever since childhood,¹⁴⁷ did much to generate Braid's later interest in the surgical treatment of stammering.

Braid's move to Manchester

Whilst in Dumfries, Braid treated Alexander Petty (1778-1864), a traveller for a firm of Manchester tailors,¹⁴⁸ whose ankle was badly injured when a mail-coach coach overturned.¹⁴⁹ He needed treatment, bed rest, and extra attention

Practice of Military Surgery, and in the Arrangement and Police of Hospitals; Illustrated by Cases and Dissections (1818) and, in its second edition, *Principles of Military Surgery, Comprising Observations on the Arrangement, Police, and Practice of Hospitals, and on the History, Treatment, and Anomalies of Variola and Syphilis; Illustrated with Cases and Dissections* (1820).

Almost immediately he had reached Dumfries in the autumn of 1814, he was recalled to military service and, due to his performance at the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815), was eventually appointed to Edinburgh as the principal medical officer for Scotland (in 1817). He served a time as Editor of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*. In 1820 he was appointed principal medical officer in the Mediterranean, living at Malta and Corfu. In 1826 he became principal medical officer at Gibraltar. He died in Gibraltar on 3 November 1828, of yellow fever, whilst attempting to control the epidemic that had broken out in the Gibraltar garrison in September 1828. (See Edwards, 1829; Creighton/Gates, 2004.)

¹⁴⁵ Hennen makes this clear in a letter, addressed to one of the Editors of *The London Medical Repository and Review*, dated 29 January 1816, was published at the foot of three consecutive pages of a review of Lawrence's (1815) paper (Anon, 1816, pp. 221-223).

Barnard Wight Holt (1817-1894), F.R.C.S., held the same view: when writing of his own use of short ligatures in 1864, he remarked that "the principle of cutting short the ends of the ligature and allowing them to be retained in the stump ... [seems] to have been simultaneously adopted, about 1798, by an American naval surgeon and Dr. Maxwell of Dumfries"; and, moreover, he wrote that "it was [Maxwell] who first suggested the use of hair ligatures" (Holt, 1864, p.92).

¹⁴⁶ At that time, neither Hennen nor Maxwell knew that Lancelot Haire (?-1838), a British naval surgeon, had recommended "short-cut ligatures" in 1786. However, Hennen *did* rectify his error; and recognized Haire's priority at page 182 of his *Principles of Military Surgery* (1820).

It seems Haire's paper was lost again until Pugh (1968) 're-discovered' it when preparing an exhibition for the British Orthopedic Association at the Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar, in 1967.

¹⁴⁷ Thornton (1979), p.26, 35, 45.

¹⁴⁸ He represented Scarr, Petty, and Swain, of 26 St Ann's Square, Manchester. At the time of Braid's death, he was living at 57 Grosvenor Street, Chorlton-Upon-Medlock, Manchester (where Anthony William Close (1811-1863), F.R.C.S. (London), L.S.A. (London) visited him to rectify certain errors relating to an account in an obituary for Braid).

¹⁴⁹ See the contributions by Close (1860) and Brittain (1879).

from Braid before he was fit to return home. He and Braid got on very well; and Petty eventually persuaded Braid to move to Manchester.¹⁵⁰

The reason Braid moved to Manchester is unclear (e.g., was it a move *to Manchester*, or a move *away from Dumfries*?).¹⁵¹ It seems that the accounts given after Braid's death, intimating only the briefest association with Maxwell, were motivated by the same sort of desire to produce a sanitized version of Braid's past as were the revisionist efforts of Bishop Gillis in relation to Maxwell's past.¹⁵²

Further, given the impact on Scotland and the Scottish economy of the first modern stock market crash — in London, in 1825-1826, following the stock market boom of 1824 — the near collapse of the Bank of England, and the widespread total failure of a wide range of English and Scottish Banks, it is plausible that an invitation from the well-connected Petty was a welcome offer to move from an area that was rather economically depressed to a far more opulent area of exciting commercial rejuvenation and increasing financial prosperity.¹⁵³ By

At the time of Braid's death, an anonymous obituary in the *Manchester Weekly Times* (Anon, 1860b; reprinted in the *Medical Times and Gazette* (Anon, 1860c)), erroneously claimed that (a) Petty suffered a compound fracture; (b) two surgeons were consulted before Braid was called in; (c) both surgeons recommended amputation; (d) Braid, after examining Petty, declared he could save his life without amputation; and (e) against the surgeons' advice, Petty trusted his case to Braid. Immediately after its publication, Close (1860) went directly to Petty and heard the true story; he then accused the unidentified and misinformed obituarist of *cacoethes scribendi* (usually *insanabile scribendi cacoethes*) an irresistible urge ('itch') to write in haste. Brittain (1879) reported the recollections of one of Braid's patients on the matter.

¹⁵⁰ Given that Maxwell continued in his Dumfries practice until May 1834 (Aspinwall, 1980, p.198), whatever it was that caused Braid's move, it was certainly not the imminent retirement of Maxwell. It seems that Maxwell made no sort of counter offer to Petty's proposal.

¹⁵¹ Wink is rather puzzled:

It scarcely seems credible that [Braid] should have been persuaded to leave a secure livelihood or a happy career by a chance encounter with a layman (albeit a salesman) without a very good reason; "the influence of friends" mentioned in [Braid's] obituary and his dissatisfaction with the Dumfries [sic] practice must have been strong indeed to prompt him to take a chance, but if it was a long shot at least it paid off..." Wink, 1969, pp.18-19).

¹⁵² Those connected with the posthumous reputation of Braid might have been just as eager to distance *good citizen Braid* from treasonous "dagger Maxwell", killer of the French king, as those charged with restoring the lapsed, but supposedly virtuous Maxwell to the Roman Catholic Church were eager to distance *noble surgeon Maxwell* from 'Satanic' Braid (see Chapter Eight).

¹⁵³ Manchester, just 6 years after the *Peterloo Massacre*, with its poverty, squalor, and continued civil unrest, official suppression, and military outrages, was not the enlightened scientific centre and the prosperous, healthy community it became towards the end of the century.

1828, James Braid, surgeon, was being listed as practicing, in Manchester, and residing at 67 Picadilly (Pigot, 1828, p.396).

Chapter Two: James Braid, of Manchester

This chapter examines the evolution of Braid's surgical skills, clinical efficacy and his innovative advances — from the time he came to Manchester (c.1828) until he first met Lafontaine (late 1841) — in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the development of the man who encountered Lafontaine.

James Braid was a Member of both the *Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh* and the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association*,¹ a Corresponding Member of both the *Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh* and the *Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh*, a Member of the *Manchester Athenæum*,² and the Honorary Curator of the museum of the *Manchester Natural History Society*. Despite being a Scot, a Dissenter, and having trained in Scotland (thus, a 'foreigner'), and despite his apprenticeship training (for, without a M.D. qualification, he was ineligible to have his status raised to that of a Fellow of the *Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*), he was a valuable member of the medical profession.

He was always open to receiving his professional colleagues. There are many references in the literature to visits to both his surgery and residence, by different professionals, attesting to the generosity of his hospitality and willingness to demonstrate and discuss his procedures and the effects that they produced. Over his entire professional lifetime, Braid was highly regarded as a safe, efficacious, and innovative professional surgeon. Despite his deep interest in hypnotism, he continued to work as a surgeon until his death. His obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* spoke of his widespread, rather than local reputation; which, the *Guardian* stressed, was "very greatly [due] to his special skill in dealing with some dangerous and difficult forms of disease" (Anon, 1860a).

In *The British Medical Directory for England, Scotland, and Wales* — produced in 1853 and 1854 by *The Lancet*, as part of its push for nation-wide registration, it gave "a list of the names, known qualifications, professional appointments,

¹ Anon (1855c); the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association* transformed into the *British Medical Association* in 1856, when it decided to admit London medical practitioners.

² Founded in 1835, the *Manchester Athenæum* was a society, formed in 1835, the object of which was "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge" (Bullock, 1858, p.61). In time, the society, its large lending library, and its lecture theatre became the centre of Manchester literary life.

honorary distinctions, published works, and scientific contributions of practitioners in medicine and surgery throughout Great Britain, holding qualifications recognised by law and legitimately practising medicine and surgery” — Braid is amongst those considered (collectively) to be “the Legally-authorized Practitioners resident in England, Scotland, and Wales”.

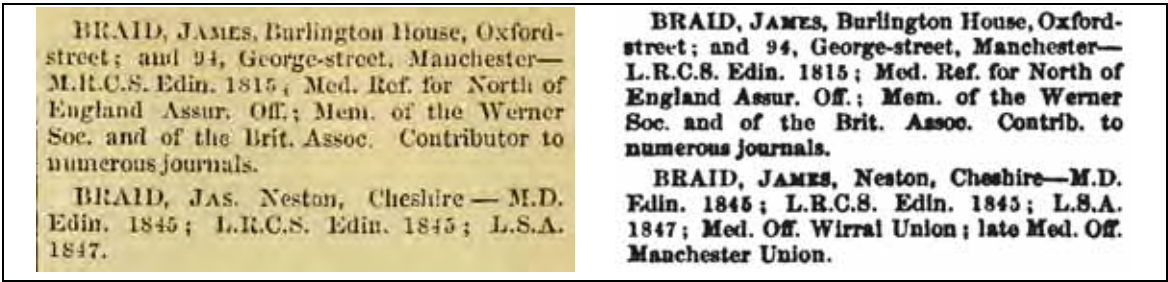


Fig.19. *The British Medical Directory for England, Scotland, and Wales* for 1853 and 1854.³

Following the commencement of the *Medical Act 1858* on 1 October 1858 — an Act specifically created “to regulate the qualifications of practitioners in medicine and surgery” and enacted because it was thought to be “expedient that Persons requiring Medical Aid should be enabled to distinguish qualified from unqualified Practitioners” — the first edition of the U.K. *Medical Register*, prepared by the first Registrar of the General Medical Council,⁴ shows that the name of James Braid was entered into the register on 1 January 1859; which was the first day possible for registration under that Act.

1850 July 18	BRADY Thomas Clarke	Staff Assistant Surgeon, Army	FULL B. & COLL. PHYS. 1850. 1850
1850 Jan 1	BRAID James	Neston, Cheshire	Mem. R. Coll. Surg. Eng. 1850.
			M.D. Univ. Edin. 1845.
			Lic. R. Coll. Surg. Edin. 1845.
			Lic. Soc. Apoth. Lond. 1847.
1850 Jan 1	BRAID James	212 Oxford street, Manchester	Lic. R. Coll. Surg. Edin. 1815.

Fig.20. The General Medical Council of the U.K.'s *Medical Register* (1859).⁵

Whilst in Manchester, Braid trained several apprentices, including David Bowman,⁶ John W. Pacey,⁷ Mordecai Anderson,⁸ his nephew David Russell,

³ *The Lancet* (1853, p.200); *The Lancet* (1854, p.131). Note these were the only two issues.

⁴ Francis Hawkins (1794-1877), M.D. (Oxford, 1823), F.R.C.P. (London, 1824).

⁵ The General Medical Council (1859, p.38).

⁶ David Bowman (1816-1895), M.D. Edin. 1839, M.R.C.S. Eng. 1839 was apprenticed to Braid c.1834 (Wink, 1969, p.20), prior to his studies in Edinburgh.

⁷ Spoken of as “one of my apprentices” in 1841 (Braid, 1841c, p.186). In the 1841 census, he was living with Braid, working as an apprentice, aged 18, name given as “Pacy” by the census taker. Pacey was also listed as a witness in one of Braid’s cases in *Neurypnology* (the case of Mr. Thomas Morris, p.210-213), as John W. Pacey (in June 1842). Can find no further trace of him.

⁸ In the 1841 census, Anderson is living with Braid, working as an apprentice, aged 18. Can

and, most likely, his own son James. Of the 52 men admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons on 11 November 1815 (Royal College of Surgeons, 1815), Braid would go on to have more than ten times more publications than the rest of that cohort put together. Further, in the two editions of *The British Medical Directory for England, Scotland, and Wales*, only Braid and two others in that cohort (John Stewart, and James Girdwood) whose highest qualification was “L.R.C.S. Edin. 1815” were listed; and, setting aside four who later gained M.D. (William Elliott; William Geddes; Robert Hamilton; and Thomas Walker), only two, Girdwood and Braid, were listed in *The U.K. Medical Register* of 1859.⁹

Braid was also happy to do all he could to assist those in allied professions. In 1895, Goodwin Mumbray,[†] an eminent pharmacist, spoke from his experience of observing Braid’s strategy of “induc[ing] a dominant idea in the patient’s mind, directed to the seat of the complaint, with the confident expectation of a cure” and how this strategy had gained the object sought. Braid had said to Mumbray, “in this particular case, the young lady is of a highly susceptible temperament; you know what remedies she has been taking, and I have seen the prescriptions,¹⁰ but the treatment is really worse than the complaint. Now if you will prepare some pills of bread, to be taken as directed, she is to expect certain results, which will follow.” Mumbray noted: “and so it proved; for after taking a few boxes of these potent pills, the patient was restored to health”.¹¹

As well as his valuable contribution as a medical officer during the cholera epidemic of 1832 (which killed more than 700 in Manchester), he was also involved in other important community matters, such as the improvement of

find no further trace of him.

⁹ Stewart had retired from practice by 1859. Others had served elsewhere; e.g., Edward Duffin Allison (1798-1861) worked for some time as an apothecary in Edinburgh, then went on to practise medicine in Ballarat, Victoria; he died there on 27 October 1861. Others, such as David de Quetteville (1798-?), L.R.C.S. Edin. 1815, M.D. Edin. 1816, achieved eminence in other fields; he was one of the twelve *Jurats* of the Royal Court of Jersey from 1851-1870, and was also President of the Chamber of Commerce.

¹⁰ From his knowledge of *material medica* and their indications, both as a simple, and as part of a compound, Braid could determine precisely what physiological changes in what physiological target functions/organs were intended by the prescriber.

¹¹ This report of Braid’s application of bread pills predates the urban myth of Emile Coué’s supposed use by at least 60 years.

sanitation,¹² and reducing the working hours of young people.¹³ He donated books to the Manchester Free Library from time to time.¹⁴ Many years later, medical historian George Fletcher,[†] said this of Braid's time in Manchester:

[Aside from his interest in hypnotism] he took an active interest in sanitary matters. He volunteered for service during the cholera epidemic of 1832, and many years later he described in a letter to the press the awful conditions of the cellar dwellings in Manchester.¹⁵ He stated that the open gratings of the sewers were close to these dwellings and opened on a level with their floors. He advocated the use of proper traps, and suggested that the air from the sewers should be passed through fires before being allowed to escape into the atmosphere.

That he kept in touch with general science may be argued from the fact that in his later years he was honorary curator of the museum of the Manchester Natural History Society.¹⁶

Personally, Braid was a striking figure. His portrait in the Manchester Medical School confirms the impression of energy and self-assurance which his writings suggest.¹⁷ One suspects him to have been a Scot "with a good conceit of himself". Orthodox medicine in the city may have fought shy of him, but he certainly did not lack friends. Accounts of him speak of his high personal character, his jovial nature, and the warmth of his friendship. They add that by his death the poor of the city lost a good friend. (Fletcher, 1929, p.777)

The eminence of the referees he supplied in support of his 1843 application for the post of surgeon at *Manchester Royal Infirmary* clearly attest to a high regard for his professional reputation, personal character, range of surgical skills, and overall level of clinical excellence (Braid, 1843b).¹⁸

Braid the surgical innovator

A series of surgical interventions by Braid in the early 1840s to correct club-

¹² For example, see Braid (1853b).

¹³ Braid was one of 600+ citizens who supported the proposition of the M.P. Michael Thomas Sadler (1780-1835) that would "prohibit young persons employed in Cotton and other Factories from being worked more than ten hours a day, or fifty-eight hours a week" (Anon, 1833a).

¹⁴ For example, see Braid (1852a).

¹⁵ Braid (1853b).

¹⁶ For example, see Binney (1859) and Braid (1859a).

¹⁷ That is, the lithographic portrait of James Braid in 1854, drawn from life (Chapter One).

¹⁸ As well as the Leith surgeon Dr. Charles Anderson (jnr.) to whom Braid had been bound during his five-year apprenticeship (who had also ensured that Braid reaped the full benefit of his formal education at Edinburgh University and his clinical training at the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary), the other referees were: Dr. John Abercrombie,[†] Dr. James Scarth Combe,[†] Dr. David Craigie,[†] (late) Professor Andrew Duncan,[†] Professor William Fergusson,[†] (late) Dr. George Kellie,[†] Dr. James Sanders,[†] and Professor John Thomson.[†]

foot and other physical conditions provide strong evidence of his professional courage as an ‘early adopter’ and his propensity for the objective, deliberate, structured, incremental examination of his on-going clinical experience as a surgeon, and his constant adapting and perfecting of his strategies and techniques. In particular, the extension of his experience of the successful correction of club foot into the most active surgical intervention in cases of stammering, squint, lateral spinal curvature, and knock knees¹⁹ — and his later application of the very same strategic principles to the hypnotic treatment of spinal curvature (see Chapter Seven) — clearly demonstrate his exceptional capacity to think by analogy.

Club Foot

“[James Braid was] the first surgeon in England to perform tendon shortening for paralytic talipes.” Elwood and Tuxford, (1984), p.192

Congenital talipes equinovarus,²⁰ more widely known as *club-foot*, from its stunted, clumpy appearance,²¹ “is a [three dimensional] deformity in which the entire foot is inverted, the heel is drawn up, and the forefoot is adducted... It may be bilateral (both feet) or unilateral (one foot)” (Hatfield, 2007, p.284). It has an even distribution across the entire population.²² Although in Braid’s day it was considered to be a skeletal deformity and, thus, inoperable — and its management, as a consequence, was left to bone-setters — it is now universally

¹⁹ For details of his treatment of “knock-knee” and “bandy legs”, which embodies the same principles as his treatment of club-foot — i.e., surgery, bandaging, and extension, supported by a splint — see Braid (1841d), pp.363-364.

²⁰ *Congenital talipes equinovarus* is a birth defect, occurring in something like one of every 1,000 births, with 50% bilateral and 50% unilateral; and, given that it does not occur otherwise, the qualifier ‘congenital’ is often omitted and it is far better known as *talipes equinovarus*. (There are also sporadic reports of hereditary transmission, but these are extremely rare.)

Talipes, derived from the Latin *talus* (ankle) and *pes* (foot), and close in meaning to *talipedare* (to walk on the ankles), refers to the twisted disposition of the foot. *Equinovarus*, is comprised of the more general *equinus* (of horses), referring to the fact that the ankle is flexed forwards and the toes pointed downwards, is further modified by the more specific *varus* (bent inwards), referring to the fact that the ankle is pointed-down and the foot is twisted inwards. There is also another form, *equinovalgus*, where the foot is twisted outwards.

²¹ The word ‘club’ is derived from the same source as the word *clump*.

²² Many famous people had club foot, including Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun (1341-1323 BCE) and Roman emperor Claudius (10 BCE-54 CE), and Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945).

In Braid’s era, the French diplomat Talleyrand (1754-1838), the Scottish novelist Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), and the English poet Lord Byron (1788–1824), all had club feet.

accepted that it is not due to defective bones at all; but is a case of deformed ligaments, muscles, tendons, etc. which are distorting the alignments of an otherwise normal set of bones.²³



Fig.21. *Talipes equinus* (left foot),²⁴ *Talipes varus* (right foot),²⁵ and *talipes equinovarus* (left foot).²⁶

The German physician Moritz Gerhard Thilenius, M.D. (1745-1808) was the first to suggest dividing the Achilles tendon; and a surgeon named Lorenz,²⁷ performed the first *tenotomy* (surgical division of a tendon) on Thilenius' behalf in March 1784, at Frankfurt (Little, 1839; Brodhurst, 1856, p.20; and Bauer, 1862). In May 1806, Johann Friedrich Sartorius (1750-1821) performed the second. In November 1809, Christian Friedrich Michaelis (1754-1814), the surgical professor at Marburg, the third.²⁸ In May 1816, Jacques Malthieu Delpech (1777-1832) the fourth: "[Delpech] recognized the practical advantages of a *smaller* opening through the integuments and *remote* from the tendon and virtually performed thus the first *sub-cutaneous* division" (Bauer, 1862, p.415).

Fifteen years later, having studied the work of Delpech at some length, the German surgeon Georg Friedrich Louis Stromeyer, M.D. (1804-1876) operated

²³ It is, however, also true that severe, long-term distortion of the entire foot and ankle structure might inhibit otherwise healthy bone growth..

²⁴ Chambers, W. & R. (1870), p.90.

²⁵ Chambers, W. & R. (1870), p.90.

²⁶ Adams (1866), p.116.

²⁷ Can't identify him further, apart from the fact that he was an employee of Thilenius.

²⁸ According to Brodhurst, "before the following October [Michaelis] had performed eight operations; namely, three for talipes equinus, one for varus, three for contracted knees, and one on a woman, thirty years of age, four of whose fingers were much contracted" (1856, p.11).

on a 19 year young man old in Hanover in February 1831.²⁹ The importance of Stromeyer's operation was not just proving that the condition was operable, but also, by operating through a very small incision, demonstrating "that tendons and muscles might be sub-cutaneously divided with impunity" (Bauer, 1862, p.415).³⁰ Also, in those times before antiseptic surgery, it is obvious that any technique using a small incision, rather than a large gaping wound, would have very significantly reduced the ever-present risk of post-operative infection.

The prominent surgeons of Germany eagerly took hold of the new operation. The observations of Stromeyer were at once and everywhere put to a practical test. Very soon the medical periodicals abounded in praise of the new orthopaedic measure, which was unanimously pronounced to be both harmless and efficacious. (Bauer, 1862, pp.415-416)

In early 1837, English surgeon W.J. Little,[‡] M.D., M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., who had trained with Stromeyer in Germany, began using the technique in London. His approach was to make a sub-cutaneous division of the Achilles tendon, and to work through a small puncture just above the ankle. This surgery was followed by immobilization with splints, and manipulation.³¹ By November 1840 Braid was announcing the development of an entirely new approach:

I intend shortly to send you an account... of an operation which I have repeatedly performed... for a variety of talipes of an entirely paralytic nature, without contractions of any of the tendons, for which the Stromeyerian operation could be of no service... My researches... have happily led me to a method of treating paralysis generally, with a [remarkable] success... and when I... have made some farther experiments, I shall... publish on this subject, as well as on the operation of talipes generally, as I am pretty certain I have had far more experience

²⁹ In an appendix to his case notes for Ehlers (which are translated at Brodhurst, 1856, pp.17-20), Stromeyer explains how an unfortunate experience of the prevailing 'surgical status quo' in Germany, five months earlier, had strongly motivated him to risk performing the surgery:

I determined the more readily to perform this operation, as, in September, 1830, whilst in Hamburg, at a meeting of the Association for the advancement of Science (*Naturforscherverein*), I was present at an amputation of the leg of a young girl afflicted with club-foot. Some of the most eminent German surgeons were present, and agreed on the necessity of amputation of the leg; yet the deformity [in the girl] was less than in my patient [George Ehlers]. (Brodhurst, 1856, p.20)

³⁰ "It is to Stromeyer we are indebted for the important discovery of a certain and safe mode of treating talipes by division of tendons and subsequent extension of the member" (Braid, 1841d, p.338).

³¹ Braid must have started soon after Little's text came out in June 1839. By November 1840, he had performed 200 *talipes* operations, "embracing every age from fifty-three years to *two days* old" (Braid, 1840a, p.446). In April 1841 (1841j, p.186), Braid reported that, by June 1840, he was "already much engaged in the practice of the Stromeyerian operation for the cure of club-foot".

in the treatment of talipes than any person in the kingdom; the operation [is] almost a daily occurrence with me. (Braid, 1840a, p.446)

If the possible range of strategic interventions is represented in the qualitative binary opposition of ‘tightening the loose’ or ‘loosening the tight’, ‘shortening the long’ or ‘lengthening the short’, ‘relaxing the rigid’ or ‘firming the flaccid’, ‘tranquillizing the excited’ or ‘activating the listless’, and ‘settling the aroused’ or ‘rousing the dormant’, Stromeyer’s method can be easily understood as one that was entirely based upon ‘the lengthening of the short’.

By contrast, Braid’s powerful innovation was to adopt the tripartite approach of ‘tightening the loose’, and ‘shortening the long’, *as well as* ‘firming the flaccid’.³² In April 1841, he also stressed that the general principles that his new approach embodied were not restricted to the treatment of talipes:³³

[In June 1840, I noticed] the peculiar gait of a gentleman who was passing along the street. Although I neither knew nor spoke to [him], I was struck with the manner in which he walked, and took more notice of it from the circumstance of being at the time much engaged in the practice of the Stromeyerian operation for the cure of club-foot.

That operation consists essentially in the division of the tendons of muscles, which act too energetically, and extending them, before the lymph which is thrown out to cement the divided extremities together has become consolidated: so that, in the end, there is a new portion actually implanted between the divided extremities of the originally contracted tendon. That this is not a speculative idea I can prove by specimens in my possession.³⁴ I observed that in the variety of the malformation referred to — evidently caused by paralysis — there was no morbid tension; but, on the contrary, a morbid relaxation.

The idea occurred to me, that if a portion of the tendon were cut out, and the divided extremities made to reunite, by being kept in contact during the healing process, it would at least improve the flapping condition of the weak member, and by retaining it in a state of greater tension, might produce a tendency to contraction in the paralysed muscles.

On my return home I explained my views to my intelligent friend and patient, Mr. Rhind, Surgeon, Edinburgh,† who was then under my care for the cure of congenital talipes varus of the worst degree in both feet. I told him that the propriety of the operation was so strongly impressed on my mind that I was determined to adopt it the first time a case of the kind referred to came under my care. He expressed himself much

³² Braid operating on several dogs before he worked on humans (Braid, 1841d, p.339).

³³ “Besides its reference to those cases of talipes, it is moreover interesting as calculated to meliorate many other infirmities arising from total paralysis, or diminished power, of certain classes of muscles.”

³⁴ He had four specimens, two from dogs, and two taken from patients who had died (unconnected with his surgery), after he had successfully operating on them, (1841d, pp.338-339).

pleased, and considered it a fortunate idea. It was not long ere I had an opportunity of testing the value of my proposed new mode of practice in the case of Miss — ... (Braid, 1841c, p.186)

It was not just that Braid, the surgeon, had developed an entirely new surgical approach, but it was that Braid, 'the tinkerer', had also constructed an entirely new, far cheaper post-operative supporting and correcting apparatus:

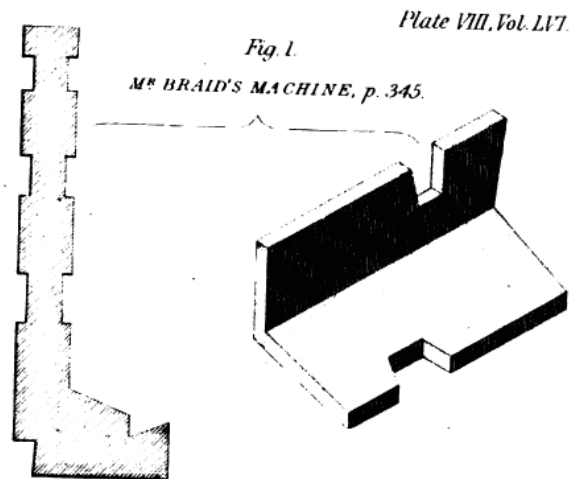


Fig.22. Braid's leg extension apparatus (for R. foot): L., the leg-piece; R., the foot-piece (notches are at the ankle and just behind the root of the big toe). The leg-piece was locked into the foot-piece and laid along the side of the leg (up to the knee). The entire leg and foot were then bandaged.³⁵

I have been enabled not only to improve the surgical part of the operation, but also to simplify the mechanical apparatus, so as to render it more effective than the Stromeyerian boards,³⁶ and Scarpa shoes, used by them.³⁷ My apparatus for extension costs only about *one shilling* for *each foot*, whereas the Stromeyerian boards, with pads and straps and Scarpa shoe, costs about *five pounds ten shillings* for *each foot* — an expense sufficient of itself to preclude the possibility of the poor being cured of that distressing and unseemly deformity.³⁸

³⁵ Braid (1841d): the diagram appears at Plate VII, figure 1 (facing page 379).

³⁶ "The foot-board of Stromeyer" ... consists of a piece of wood, shaped to the sole of the foot, and secured at the heel-axis to a wooden splint, upon which the back of the leg is kept in position by means of straps. The foot-board is flexed upon the leg by pulleys, so that, when the foot is secured sufficiently firmly to prevent uplifting at the heel, extension of the [Achilles tendon] necessarily ensues. This contrivance is, nevertheless, very crude, as it entails confinement to bed during the whole period of treatment, which is extremely irksome to the patient. Moreover, it is decidedly erroneous in action, mechanically speaking, for the centre upon which the foot-board moves, does not coincide with the axis of the malleoli, a point which should be kept strictly in view during the reduction of [club feet]." (Bigg, 1865, pp.484-485)

³⁷ Antonio Scarpa (1747-1832), author of *A Memoir on the Congenital Club Feet and of the Mode of Correcting That Deformity* (1818), was first to describe the anatomy of club-feet (in 1803). A *Scarpa shoe* incorporated steel springs, braces, and leather straps, looking rather like a sandal.

³⁸ Braid (1840a, p.446).

One Stromeyerian board cost £2/10/-, the set of straps and padding needed for each board cost 10/-, and one Scarpa shoe cost £2/10/-; thus a total of £5/10/- (i.e., 110 shillings) for each

Braid gradually identified three typical, but entirely different sorts of circumstance in the wide range of cases he had seen (Braid, 1841d, p.351):

- (A) "where one class of muscles was in constant rigid contraction";
- (B) "where there was a morbid relaxation of one or more muscles"; or
- (C) "[where] there was a morbid relaxation of the whole member, say a leg or an arm, with wasting of its substance".



Fig.23. The left foot of a boy, aged 9, before and after an operation by William Rhind (in 1840) using Braid's "division of tendon" approach.³⁹

In a manner of speaking, Braid's tripartite approach involved a complex of:

- (i) 'loosening the tight' (and 'lengthening the short') in the case of (A);
- (ii) 'tightening the loose' (and 'shortening the long') in the case of (B); and
- (iii) 'firming the flaccid' (and 'activating the listless' or 'rousing the dormant') in the case of (C);

and, fourteen years later, Braid would write a long paper on the treatment of paralysis using hypnotism as the curative agent for the annual meeting of the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association*.⁴⁰

foot (1841a, p.344). £5/10/- would have been something like *seven weeks' wages* for a Manchester labourer in 1841.

[Braid's] splint... cost only one shilling for each foot; hitherto the Stromeyer boards and Scarpa shoes in customary use for post-operative extension had cost, with the necessary straps and padding, £5.10.0 for each foot, which put the treatment beyond the means of many, and it was an endearing side to Braid's character that he should have had this aspect of his patients' welfare so near his heart.

(Wink, 1969, p.23)

³⁹ Rhind (1841), Plate VII, figures 3 and 4 (facing page 126).

⁴⁰ "On the Nature and Treatment of Certain Forms of Paralysis" (1855a; 1855b and 1855c).

Braid, the “rubber”

Braid was proud that his treatment process had been successful with (C) (i.e., “[where] there was a morbid relaxation of the whole member... with wasting of its substance”); a situation where every “approved appliance” that had been suggested by “modern science”, “including electricity and galvanism”, had failed (1841d, p.351). One extremely important, and innovative aspect of his intervention was his use of “friction”:

I had long entertained the idea that the functions of the nerves depended on a subtle fluid circulating within them; and it now occurred to me that friction over the ganglia, and gentle pressure over the course of the nerves leading to the paralysed parts, from their central to their peripheral extremities, might propel a greater quantity of nervous influence into these parts, and thus restore increased energy to them.

Moreover, I thought, from the proximity of the arteries, that the same mechanical means would, independently of the increased nervous energy, send a greater quantity of blood along the arteries, and thus also tend to rouse the dormant muscular action.

Having formed this theoretical view, I very soon had an opportunity of trying the experiment, and the results exceeded my most sanguine expectation, as a brief notice of the following cases may show.

The great sympathy which exists betwixt the muscles and tendons with which they are connected, induced me to apply the same means along their course, especially over the insertion of the tendons of the weakest muscles. Any hard smooth substance will answer the purpose, such as a strong well-made ounce phial.

This is, undoubtedly, a different view of treating such cases from that which avails itself of the aid of mesmerism or animal magnetism; and I believe is entirely new. Whether I am right or wrong in my theory, there is no mistake in the satisfactory results of the practice, as it has been witnessed by many, including professional and scientific gentlemen.

(1841d, pp.351-352).

In my view, this can only have come from the direct observation of the work of oriental bone-setters; either in person, or through the instruction of William Maxwell, who would have encountered such things when studying and working in France.⁴¹ Again, this sets Braid apart from his surgical colleagues, who

⁴¹ Braid’s “friction” is entirely consistent with the approach of the expert Chinese bone-setter, a 跌打者 (*Die-Da Zhe*) or 跌打師 (*Die-Da Shi*), whose craft is considered to be peripheral to the mainstream of traditional Chinese medicine, whose exceptional clinical work I had the pleasure of observing for a whole day in Hong Kong in 1980.

Moreover, in more conventional traditional Chinese medicine, a strong distinction is always made between the use of 按摩 (*An-Mo*), the complex traditional Chinese form of health-promoting physical therapy (in Braid’s time it was called “shampooing”, not “massaging”) and the use of 推拿 (*Tui-Na*), the brisk rubbing performed to support skeletal manipulation.

were very strongly opposed to anything connected with bone-setters. It also places an entirely different complexion on his desire to see Lafontaine from that of desiring to 'debunk' animal magnetism (as the 'standard' story goes);⁴² in part, he would have wanted (a) to observe Lafontaine's brand of "friction" at work, (b) to see whether it supported his (Braid's) notion of nerve function depending on a "subtle fluid" circulating within the nerves, and, most important of all, (c) to observe the precise means through which Lafontaine produced and removed limb catalepsy (and the *sequelæ* of such an astonishing intervention).^{43,44} Just one of the seven cases Braid wrote about, where "friction" was the sole means of treatment, will suffice:

A girl, aged twelve years of age, had been paralytic for seven years, and for the last five the case had been given up as hopeless.

The right arm was quite powerless, and the leg so uncertain in its action, that she walked very badly.

In ten minutes after my application, she walked much better, could move her fingers, and raise, bend, and extend her arm.

In three days, she had a second application.

In ten minutes after this, she could walk almost without lameness, and was so much improved in the arm, that she was able to feed herself with it from that time.

By a few more applications she was quite restored, and continues now perfectly well.⁴⁵

By 16 July 1841, Braid had operated on 262 cases of talipes (1841d, p.354); and, because "[he had] had as many as seven new cases to operate on in one day", he had been able to apply the entire range of possible interventions: viz., "from

It is clear that Braid is using a Chinese bone-setter's technique: (a) he is concerned with the warmth of the limb (a sign of the extremity's 'connectedness'); (b) he is working from the centre to the periphery (whereas, say, Swedish Massage works from the periphery to the centre), (c) he describes what he is doing as "friction", which involves much deeper sort of interaction than just 'pushing', and (d) he uses a glass instrument to increase his 'purchase' with the underlying tissues (the Chinese would often use animal shin bones or porcelain objects).

⁴² Whilst the modern version asserts that his goal was to 'debunk' animal magnetism, Braid always said he had gone as an open-minded sceptic, eager to examine the evidence and, then, form a considered opinion of Lafontaine's work. He was neither a closed-minded cynic intent on destroying Lafontaine, nor a deluded and naïvely credulous believer seeking authorization.

⁴³ Braid's interaction with Lafontaine and his work will be dealt with in Chapter Three.

⁴⁴ It would certainly have seemed possible, to Braid, that Lafontaine's production and removal of limb catalepsy might be a way of providing another, far-less-taxing-on-the-operator method for 'tightening the loose'/'loosening the tight', or 'shortening the long'/'lengthening the short', or 'relaxing the rigid'/'firming the flaccid', or 'tranquillizing the excited'/'activating the listless', or 'settling the aroused'/'rousing the dormant'.

⁴⁵ Braid (1841d, p.352); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

the division of a single tendon to that of the whole class of tendons of muscles which could bear upon malposition" (p.341). It is also important to note that his experience was not 'skewed' in any way, because, as Braid said, "I have not picked my cases, but [I have] operated on the very worst which presented themselves, even in advanced life, [and, therefore,] I am enabled to state this fact the more confidently, [I have never] met with an incurable case, where the patient had time and patience to go through the necessary treatment" (p.341).⁴⁶

Braid became so well known for his skill and expertise that people came from far and wide to consult him. In September 1848, he was consulted in the case of a child, just a few months old, which had a perfect right foot; the child not only had congenital talipes varus of his left foot, but he also had ten toes.



Fig.24. Sketch from life of an infant with congenital talipes varus of the left foot, with ten toes, whose father consulted Braid on 6 January 1848.⁴⁷

Strabismus

Discounting undoubted abuses, there is no question that many benefited from surgical intervention [for club foot]: tenotomy represented a significant advance in orthopaedic treatment. But if cripples could be cured, there was hope for those suffering other contortions. The sur-

⁴⁶ It is also highly significant that Braid's grandson, Charles Braid (also a surgeon), in his brief note to C.W. Sutton,[‡] of Manchester, commenting on Sutton's draft article for James Braid in the forthcoming *Dictionary of National Biography*, stressed his grandfather was a brilliant surgeon (Braid, 1884). He was unhappy that Sutton's draft was almost exclusively concentrated on Braid's hypnotism (see Sutton, 1886), and made no mention of his post-Dumfries surgery at all. He wrote: "I beg to thank you for sending me a sketch of my late Grand Father's life which is correct. You might mention that he was one of the first surgeons who divided the tendons in club foot and that he was a brilliant operator" (Braid, 1884). Sutton did not grant his request.

I am grateful to Jean McKay, genealogist, of Kircaldie, for a copy of Charles Braid's letter.

⁴⁷ Braid (1848a; facing page 339); the drawing of the boy's leg was made, directly onto stone, by Braid's friend and colleague, the naturalist, Captain Thomas Brown.

geons' imagination had been fired ... (Rockey, 1980, p.199)

Strabismus (Greek στραβός, *strabos*, 'squinting') is the condition where the eyes are not properly aligned with one another; and it may be a defect of one eye, or a defect of both.⁴⁸ There are three types:

(1) *convergent strabismus*: one or both eyes are turned inwards, towards the nose (being 'cross-eyed' is a case of bilateral *convergent strabismus*);



Fig.25. *Convergent strabismus* (or *esotropia*).

(2) *divergent strabismus*: one or both eyes are turned outwards, away from the nose (being 'wall-eyed' is a case of bilateral *divergent strabismus*); and



Fig.26. *Divergent strabismus* (or *exotropia*).

(3) *vertical strabismus*: one eye is turned upwards.



Fig.27. *Vertical strabismus* (or *hypertropia*).

No-one had considered using *tenotomy* for strabismus until it was suggested by Stromeyer (1838, p.22); yet Stromeyer, himself, never operated on a live subject even once (Mackenzie, 1855, p.369). Another surgeon, Friedrich Pauli, had tried it on a living subject; but the operation could not be completed due to an unexpected abnormality of the subject's eyes (Mackenzie, 1855, p.370). In October 1839, Johann Friedrich Dieffenbach performed the first tenotomy for strabismus.^{49,50} It is not clear when Braid first operated; yet, from his own

⁴⁸ Given Braid's extensive work in surgically correcting these physical defects, it seems ironic that the "double internal and upward squint" (*Neurypnology*, p.34) of Braid's signature hypnotic induction technique, is sometimes referred to as *Braid's strabismus* (or *strabisme de Braid*).

⁴⁹ Ever since 1820, the *French Academy of Science* had offered large rewards for innovation, *Montyon Prizes*, for solutions to particular medical challenges. On Dieffenbach's communication

testimony, Braid had successfully operated on more than 450 cases by November 1840 (1840a, p446), ranging from 22 months to 63 years. His 'club foot' approach was supported by Belgian club-foot expert, Jules Guérin, who considered strabismus to be "*club-foot of the eye*".⁵¹ Writing in July 1841, from the experience of nearly 700 strabismus cases, Braid (1841d) clearly spoke in terms of 'loosening the tight', 'tightening the loose', etc.:

Strabismus is another disease [closely] allied to talipes.

It arises from a loss of harmony amongst the muscles of the eye, either from increased energy and ultimate shortening of one or more muscles, which consequently draw the eye in that direction; or from loss of power, or actual paralysis of the antagonizing muscles, which thus permit those in the normal state to draw the eye into an unnatural position, in the direction of the healthy muscles.

The cure consists in the division of the tendons of the muscles which are acting too vigorously, or are contracted, and allowing the other muscles to draw the eye into the normal position; and the divided tendon thus forms a new point of adhesion, further back in the sclerotic coat than originally, which thus weakens the power of the muscle, and prevents it drawing the eye into the former malposition.⁵²

As always, the well-prepared Braid was swift, accurate, and efficacious:

My extensive practice in [surgery for strabismus] has enabled me to reduce... my mode of operating... to the utmost simplicity to which it is

of his success to the Academy, in February 1840, it decided to award half of its Prize of 6,000 francs, for a notable discovery in medicine and surgery, to Stromeyer, and half to Dieffenbach.

⁵⁰ It was later established that an American surgeon, William Gibson (1788-1868) had (unsuccessfully) attempted the surgical correction of strabismus, by tenotomy, on four patients in 1818 (Gibson, 1841, p.375); however, writing in 1841, and having not published the fact prior to that time, Gibson was more than happy for Dieffenbach to have priority.

⁵¹ The report (Guerin, 1840) was taken from the French journal *L'Experience* of 9 July 1840:

In a letter on the treatment of strabismus, addressed to the Academy of Sciences, 29th June, 1840, M. Guérin says: "I have the honour to inform the Academy that I have four times practised with success the division of the muscles of the eye, in cases of convergent strabismus. I shall briefly state the principles which have directed me in this operation. I had long and publicly professed that strabismus was the result of the contraction of the muscles of the eye; and the varieties of this deformity the necessary consequence of different degrees of contraction. It is in fact an application of my general theory of articular deformities in the skeleton, and caused one of the most eminent members of the academy to designate strabismus as *club-foot of the eye*".

M. Guérin goes on to state that in his clinical lectures he frequently proposed to extend division of the muscles to deviations of the eye in the same manner that he had applied it to deformities of similar origin, and that eighteen months since he offered to cure Dr. Pinel Grandchamp of strabismus by means of this operation...

Also, see Lee (1841, pp.70-72).

⁵² Braid (1841d, p.354); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

capable of being reduced.

For some time my average number of operations for squinting was from ten to eighteen daily; in all, nearly seven hundred cases; an extent of practice well calculated to give dexterity in the performance of an operation, which, although in itself simple, still required considerable tact to enable a person to perform it with neatness, certainty, celerity, and ease to the patient.

A scientific friend, who is a close observer of all he sees, being one day in my surgery, had noted the time occupied in operating on six patients in succession, without making me aware of the fact.

The whole time occupied for causing the patients [to] sit down in succession on the operating chair, applying the specula, securing and dividing the tendons, sponging the eyes, folding and applying [a small compress] over the eyes, securing them in that position by bandages pinned round and over the head, giving instructions for the use of the lotions, occupied for the six patients was thirteen minutes and a half.⁵³

Braid was also certain that his swiftness and accuracy significantly decreased post-operative problems:

In ordinary cases the securing and dividing the tendon does not occupy me more than from a quarter to half a minute, and so little injury is inflicted on the eye that out of all the number I have operated upon... none of my operations have been followed by consecutive inflammation worthy of notice. (Braid, 1840d, p.446)

Stammering

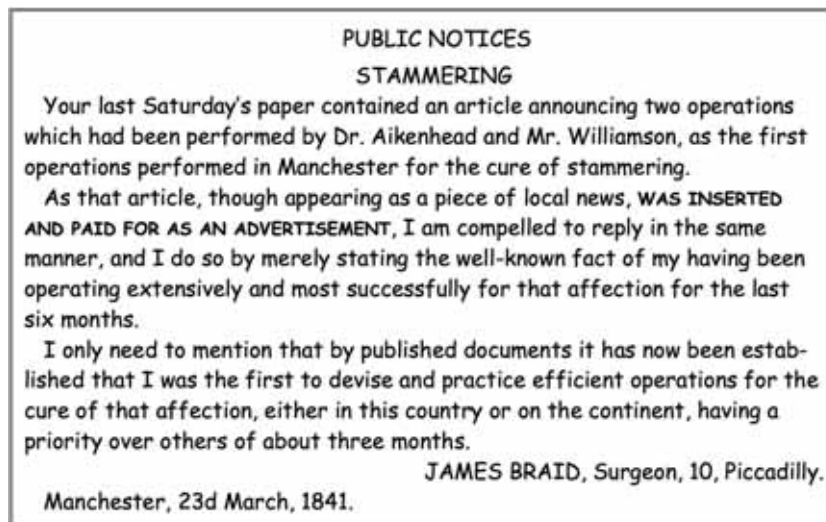


Fig.28. Braid on "stammering" priority, *The Manchester Times*, 27 March 1841.⁵⁴

⁵³ Braid (1841d, p.354); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

⁵⁴ Braid (1841b). This is a direct response to the advertorial, "Stammering" (Anon, 1841b), announcing that John Aikenhead (?-1861), M.D., M.R.C.S.(Edin), assisted by a surgeon, William Crawford Williamson (1816-1895), had performed the first operation for the cure of stammer in Manchester a week earlier; and, since then, had also successfully performed a second. Also, on Wednesday, 24 March 1841, an article in *The Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1841c) provided long extracts from articles in *The London Medical Gazette* over the previous fortnight by Dr. Augustus

By his own account (1841a, 1841d), Braid performed the first operation in the world in September 1840. He only came to consider corrective surgery when patients with “extreme stammering”⁵⁵ actively presented themselves to him, entirely unsolicited and of their own accord, due to his reputation as a safe and efficacious corrector of *talipes* and *strabismus*, and demanding that he perform surgical intervention. He always thought it to be either “a nervous affection” or an “acquired habit”; and, therefore, a condition that could only be overcome by drugs or “great care and attention to the use of the vocal cords” and, so, not amenable to surgery. However, he was now compelled to conduct his own physical examination to determine whether, in these particular cases, there *was* “some physical cause, capable of being relieved by surgical operation”.

I soon discovered they were associated with a rigid state... of the tongue, which I considered would interfere with the free opening of the glottis,⁵⁶ which would prevent that free transmission of air necessary to insure prompt and correct enunciation, and the division of the frænum [linguæ],⁵⁷ including part of the *genioglossi* muscles,⁵⁸ occurred to me as the most natural and ready mode of relieving this state.



Fig.29. *Frænum linguæ* in a 20-year-old man.⁵⁹

Franz, Prof. Johann Friedrich Dieffenbach, Mr. James Yearsley, and Braid; with Braid claiming at least three months priority over all of the others.

⁵⁵ Because Braid uses “stammering” in a generic sense — not in the precise, German technical usage, where a *stammer* is the suspended hesitancy of an utterance (“--- --- --- MINE”), and a *stutter* is the involuntary repetition of sounds before eventually proceeding with the next part of an utterance (“m’muh m’muh m’muh m’muh m’MINE”) — one is unable to usefully reconstruct his clinical cases or situate his corrective work within the disciplinary ‘scheme of things’.

⁵⁶ The opening at the upper part of the *trachea*, or windpipe.

⁵⁷ Lit. ‘the tongue’s bridle’: the thin strip of tissue that runs vertically from the floor of the mouth to the undersurface of the tongue (more commonly known as the *frænum linguæ*).

⁵⁸ The genioglossus (‘chin’ + ‘tongue’) is the muscle that runs from the chin to the tongue, and is mainly responsible for the action of sticking out one’s tongue.

⁵⁹ Photograph taken by Klaus D. Peter, Wiehl, Germany on 7 March 2011; from Wikimedia

I immediately operated accordingly, and with the most satisfactory results, as the patients, who could scarcely utter a single word without the greatest difficulty, could instantly speak with ease and freedom.

This having been done whilst my surgery was crowded with patients, their report of what they had seen and heard, induced others so affected to apply to me, so that I have had two, three, or four such patients sitting down to be operated on in succession.

I may safely say I have operated for more stammerers than I believed could have been found in this town and neighborhood.

Some cases I considered to depend upon obstruction or free opening of the glottis, arising from the pressure of enlarged tonsils; others from an enlarged and trailing uvula irritating the epiglottis, and thus producing the same effect from different causes.

The cure of the former I attempted, and successfully so, by excising a portion of the enlarged tonsils with an instrument I have for the purpose, which does it neatly in a few seconds, and with very little pain; the other by seizing the uvula by means of a pair of forceps, and excising the whole or a part, as may be judged necessary...⁶⁰

Perhaps Braid was thinking of it as a process of the ‘loosening’ of ‘tongue-tiedness’? Whilst Braid always seemed to be anxious to broadcast the number of times he performed a particular procedure, he is uncharacteristically quiet on the amount of his operations for “stammering”. In fact, there is no record of him performing any such surgery later than July 1841.⁶¹ Taking Rockey’s speculations (1980, pp.69, 212) as a bench-mark, and given that Braid says he saw many more people than could be accounted for as ‘locals’, it is reasonable to say that he might have performed more than 300 ‘minor’ operations, and some 10 ‘major’, radical operations.

The complex issue of assessing the range and scope of the developing knowledge of linguistics and the anatomy of speech production, of congenital defects and brain disorders in relation to both speech and language difficulties, as well as the considerable advances made in the recognition, differential diagnosis,⁶²

Commons (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frenulum_linguae02.jpg).

⁶⁰ Braid (1841d, p.361, emphasis added); the original piece has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

⁶¹ Although I have no evidence to support my contention, from my own experience of the work of traditional Chinese bone-setters, I very strongly suspect that Braid stopped operating because the sorts of condition that were, now, being presented to him no longer ‘looked anything like’ those that he had decided to treat in the past.

⁶² For example, in 1841, Yearsley wrote: “I do not believe it is possible to classify stammering with any exactness, the apparently varying forms being only different grades of the same

categorization, rehabilitation, treatment, and correction of speech impediments over the course of the entire nineteenth century — and the fierce territorial disputes in the domains of theory and practice between the ‘qualified’ medical professionals, the ‘unqualified’ speech therapists, and the ‘far less qualified’ elocution teachers⁶³ — is far beyond the scope of this dissertation.⁶⁴

However, given the outstanding success of the surgical correction of *talipes*, it really was a plausible analogical connexion: for, in the same way that *strabismus* could be thought of as ‘club-foot of the eye’, stammering could be thought of as ‘squinting of the mouth’. Philip Bennett Lucas, Esq. (1804-1856), a surgeon who had “performed ... every operation which came recommended by competent authority ... [as well as] others which originated with myself ... on the dead and on the living subjects”, expressed a typical view:

When the remarkable success attendant upon the division of the muscles of the human eye in strabismus was placed beyond all doubt, it was rational to suppose that the application of a similar operation to the muscles of the tongue in cases of stammer, where that organ presented deviations from its natural form, or was bound down or otherwise limited in its accustomed mobility, would be also attended with as happy results.
(Lucas, 1841, pp.247-248)

By May 1841, text-books, such as Lee’s *On Stammering and Squinting, and On The Methods For Their Removal*, were linking the two; and in 1841 Dieffenbach (1841, pp.7-8), was equating stammering with the convulsive condition of the eyes known as *nystagmus* (‘the rapid and involuntary movement of the eyeball’) because he had noticed the co-existence of the two conditions was common. This sort of view was still about 80 years later, when William Samuel Inman (1876-1968), an ophthalmic surgeon with an interest in the psychoanalytical

affection running into each other...” (p.20).

⁶³ The origins of the ‘elocutionary movement’ in the eighteenth century, involving people such as John Thelwall (1764-1834), was directed at restoring the importance of an eloquent delivery within the study of rhetoric, rather than at speech correction (Rockey, 1980, p.47).

And, as Rockey (p.216) notes, “it was difficult for the elocutionists to defend themselves [against the attacks from the medical profession] in positive terms since however qualified they may be, the fact remained that they were not physicians”.

⁶⁴ An interested reader will find the study of Rockey, *Speech Disorder in Nineteenth Century Britain: The History of Stuttering* (1980), especially Chapter Seven, “Medicine and Surgery” (pp.192-224) most useful; although her account of surgery in domains other than the alleviation of speech impediments far less reliable. For an account of the rise and fall of surgical intervention as the sole form of treatment see Burdin (1940) and Stevenson (1968).

theories of Freud,⁶⁵ suggested the co-existence of left-handedness, squint, and stammer (Inman, 1924).

According to Rockey's research (1980, p.220) seven British surgeons actually performed surgery for stammering: James Braid, Augustus Franz,⁶⁶ Alexander Lizars,⁶⁷ Philip Lucas,⁶⁸ James Yearsley,⁶⁹ Edwin Lee,⁷⁰ and an otherwise unidentified "Dr. Scott".⁷¹

Yet others, such as Dorset farmer and speech therapist, Thomas Perkins Lowman Hunt (1802–1851) — whose interventions centred on using different tongue placements, the control of breathing patterns, and alterations in the speed of articulation — were fiercely opposed to surgery.⁷² Hunt labelled all surgical intervention "the remedy by mutilation" (Hunt, 1854, p.29), and he characterized all of the surgeons involved as "slashers" (Hunt, 1841, p.494).

⁶⁵ Inman he wrote a paper, "Emotion and Eye Symptoms", in 1921.

⁶⁶ John Christopher Augustus Franz (1807-1870), M.D., M.R.C.S. of Brighton.

⁶⁷ Alexander Jardine Lizars (1804-1866), M.D. (St Andrews), was an associate of Robert Liston. He practised in Edinburgh and, then, served as Professor of Anatomy, at Aberdeen University, from 1841 to 1863.

⁶⁸ Philip Bennett Lucas, Esq. (1804-1856).

⁶⁹ James Yearsley (1805-1869), M.D. 1862, M.R.C.S.(Lond.) 1827, L.S.A.(Lond.) 1827, M.R.C.P.(Edin.) 1860.

⁷⁰ Edwin Lee (?-1870), M.D., M.R.C.S.; he was awarded the Jacksonian Prize for 1838 by the Royal College of Surgeons for his dissertation, *On the comparative advantages of lithotomy and lithotrity: and on the circumstances under which one method should be preferred to the other*.

⁷¹ The source of Rockey's listing (i.e., Bishop, 1851, p.46), speaks of the medical profession's neglect of "the investigation of the causes of those defects in articulation which are usually comprised under the general terms *stammering* and *stuttering*", and that "...surgeons have, however, at length been aroused from this state of indifference by the energetic proceedings of Dieffenbach, Scott, Yearsley, and others...". It might be John Scott (1798-1846), L.S.A., M.R.C.S., F.R.C.S. (one of the original 300 Fellows), surgeon at the Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital (credited as being the first surgeon in England to remove the upper jaw). Or, perhaps, Bishop's "Dr. Scott" was not a surgeon at all; but was William Robson Scott Ph.D., Principal of the West-of-England Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, and author of *The Deaf and Dumb: their position in Society, and the Principles of their Education, considered* (1844).

⁷² Hunt "sternly and perserveringly eschewed the knife", based upon his view that "not one case in fifty was the consequence of deficient or mal-organisation" (Hunt, 1854, p.29).



Fig.30. A side-view of Dieffenbach's procedure, showing the forceps with which the tongue is firstly drawn forward, and the wedge-shaped portion to be removed, with the posterior incision already completed. Once the anterior incision was made, and the wedge removed, the two sections would then be sutured together.⁷³

In an eerie parallel to the subject of recent movie, *The King's Speech* — in which speech therapist, Lionel George Logue (1880-1953) assisted George VI to master his speech impediment — Hunt rose to public prominence when he treated an inveterate stammerer, George Pearson,[†] in June 1842, in order to allow him to testify coherently in relation to an attempt upon the life of Queen Victoria (Hunt, 1842).⁷⁴ As an 'unqualified' practitioner, Hunt was the target of

⁷³ Dieffenbach (1841): Plate I (illustration facing title page).

⁷⁴ Not only was Hunt responsible for the training of a large number of students in his methods, he also treated many prominent people, including Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), who wrote a defence of Hunt and his work (Kingsley, 1859), and Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832-1898), a.k.a. Lewis Carroll (N.B. Kingsley and Dodgson stuttered to the end of their lives).

numerous fierce attacks by *The Lancet*,⁷⁵ which consistently held that “the treatment and cure of stammering belong to the profession of medicine”.⁷⁶

Hunt’s abhorrence of surgery was also shared by many ‘fully qualified’ surgeons. Joseph Poett, M.R.C.S. and his son J.H. Ayres Poett, M.D., were dedicated to the alleviation of speech disorders, and were strongly opposed to surgical intervention.⁷⁷ In fact, the title of Poett senior’s 1842 work (*A Practical Treatise on Nervous Impediments of Speech, Stammering, and Debility of the Vocal Organs, &c.: With Remarks on the Irrational Injudicious Surgical Operations Pursued for the Removal of these Nervous Affections, and Observations on the Different Modes of Cure Heretofore Adopted by Others*) expresses the view most strongly, whilst the entire text produced by Poett junior (*A Practical Treatise on Stammering; Its Pathology, Predisposing, Exciting, and Proximate Causes, and its Most Successful Mode of Cure, Scientifically Explained, With Remarks Upon the Principles Which*

⁷⁵ The individual responsible for the editorial attacks was William Tyler Smith (1815-1873), M.D., F.R.C.P.; e.g., ‘The Treatment of Stammering by Unqualified Practitioners’ (Smith, 1846a), and ‘Remarks on Quackery’ (Smith, 1846b). Smith was James Yearsley’s brother-in-law. Noting, “The Lancet itself has condemned his barbarous attempts to cure stuttering and stammering by severe surgical operations”, Hunt described Yearsley as “a person who has occupied public attention in his various capacities of dentist, oculist, aurist, and tonsil snipper” (Hunt, 1846).

As Rockey (1980, p.69) correctly remarks, the attack by *The Lancet* was a positive index of Hunt’s success; because “had he been inept he would have posed no threat” (p.69).

⁷⁶ This comment, presumably from Tyler Smith, is appended to a letter written by an elocutionist, Rev. Henry Butterfield, M.A. (Butterfield, 1846), the inventor of *Butterfield’s Alphabetic Speculum*, “for the Prevention and Cure of Stammering and Defective Speech”.

⁷⁷ Joseph Poett, M.R.C.S. and J.H. Ayres Poett, M.D. (respectively) was the way that Joseph Henry Ayres Poett (1784-1864), M.R.C.S., and Joseph Henry Ayres Poett (1807-1879), M.D., M.R.C.S., L.S.A. distinguished themselves from one another.

In the process of delivering an editorial corrective statement, *The Lancet*, (Vol.16, No.401, 7 May 1831, p.192) published the following from Poett senior:

I beg leave to state that I served a regular apprenticeship to my profession (as a surgeon) and have been a member of the College of Surgeons for the last twenty two years. I entered the army early in life, and served as a medical officer during the war, and was placed on half-pay in 1814, in consequence of disease contracted on the coast of Africa and at Gibraltar in 1813, during the prevalence of the epidemic fever of that year. In 1815 I was appointed resident surgeon to the Royal Military School, Phoenix Park, near Dublin, but resigned the situation in 1817, on being elected surgeon to the Rathfarnham Dispensary, which office I discharged for ten years, until increased ill health and debility rendered me unable to perform the duty any longer. ...

My son is also a regularly-educated surgeon, and a member of the College.

Poett (junior) was apprenticed to his father, and was admitted M.R.C.S. in 1827, and L.S.A. in 1831. Poett (junior) states that he commenced his work with stammering in 1828: “As far back as 1828 I commenced my professional career by devoting myself exclusively to its treatment, and for years I believe I continued to be the only British practitioner that did so, with the exception of my father, who was associated with me in this pursuit...” (1856, p.6).

Should Guide the Practitioners in the Treatment of All Purely Nervous Diseases) in 1856 has no mention of surgery whatsoever.

The tide had turned; and, after 1846, corrective surgery is seldom mentioned in the literature. By the end of the century, it was something to be forgotten:

As to the performance of surgical operations for the cure of stammering, I shall only say that they should never be had recourse to, under any circumstances. They were tried extensively about the beginning of this century, and there are few more melancholy chapters in the history of Surgery than that which gives an account of them.

(Wyllie, 1891, p.309)⁷⁸

Lateral Curvature of the Spine

In a letter to the *London Medical Gazette*, Braid (1840a) asserted he was the first in England to surgically correct lateral curvature of the spine “by division of the muscles of the back”, when he operated on a boy of 7½ on 13 November 1840.⁷⁹ Braid’s examination had found a posterior curvature of the spine, with the 5th, 6th and 7th thoracic vertebrae very prominent; and, below that, a very severe lateral curvature, with the convexity to the left. The boy had no power of movement of his legs, which were “cold” and “almost devoid of sensibility”.

He operated on the boy (who was being held by his father), using a small, moderately curved, sharp-pointed scalpel, dividing the muscles on the right (concave) side. This was to simultaneously “relieve the tendency to *lateral* curvature” and “take off part of the strain from the *posterior* curvature”. The procedure took less than half a minute, caused little pain, and left a wound smaller than a leech-bite. Its results were so dramatic “that the father instantly exclaimed, “Why the back is straight already”; and it was so, as far as the *lateral* curvature was concerned”. By the time of writing his letter, 17 days later, the

⁷⁸ In 1891, John Wyllie (1844-1916), M.D., F.R.C.P.(Edin), LL.D., Lecturer in Medicine at Edinburgh University, would be Professor of Medicine and of Clinical Medicine at Edinburgh from 1900 to 1914. The set of lectures, published by installments in *The Edinburgh Medical Journal* from October 1891 to May 1894, were published as a collection, in 1894, as *The Disorders of Speech*.

⁷⁹ In a letter immediately following Braid’s, Thomas Laycock,[‡] of York, states that he performed the first operation on 11 September 1840 (Laycock, 1841). Braid later (1841d, p.362) fully acknowledged Laycock’s priority; noting he (Braid) had performed a total of 23 operations (as at 16 July 1841), whilst Laycock had not operated once since September 1840.

lateral curvature had entirely disappeared, “the posterior curvature [was] much diminished”, and the boy, who, for the last nine months, “was entirely deprived of the use of the lower extremities”, could now walk across the room. He also reported operating on three other patients using the same approach, in the 17 intervening days.

Eighteen months later, in March 1842, with precisely the same strategic rationale, he cured Miss Collins, a young woman, in three treatments with hypnotism alone, whose head had been “rigidly fixed to her left shoulder” for six months,⁸⁰ and had resisted the best professional efforts of eminent specialist Sir Benjamin Brodie,[‡] and her local physician, Dr. Chawner.^{81,82} A little later, in September 1842, he treated lateral curvature of the spine with hypnotism alone, using the same strategies (*Neurypnology*, pp.246-248) — see Chapter Seven (Fig.79).

Although not published until three months later (on 1 October 1841), Braid completed the final version of his important paper on surgical intervention in cases of club-foot, knock knees, squint, stammering, and spinal curvature on Friday 16 July, in Manchester (i.e., Braid, 1841d).

Only three days later, on 19 July 1841, Charles Lafontaine made his first public appearance, in the United Kingdom, in London. This London lecture of Lafontaine was the first of a series of events that would change Braid’s life, and the world, forever.

Yet before dealing with the extraordinary cascade of significant events that sprang from that moment — for which Braid’s ever more emphatic assertions of priority in relation to his various surgical innovations seem to be foreshadowing — it is important to make a number of observations about Braid, who had, by this time, developed into a confident, well-established, professional surgeon,

⁸⁰ It had been so firmly fixed to her left shoulder “that no warrantable force applied to it could separate them to the extent of permitting a card to pass between the head and shoulder” (Anon, 1842t; *Neurypnology*, pp.257-260; Braid, 1855a, p.853).

⁸¹ Darwin Chawner (1799-1863), M.D. (Edinburgh 1823), M.R.C.P. (London); Braid also mentions this case in *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.69-70, and pp.257- 260.

⁸² In reporting this cure, Braid was not criticizing the performance of either Chawner or Brodie; he was emphasizing the fact that these sorts of conditions were beyond the reach of current medical technology, even in the very best of hands.

and a well-respected, 46-year-old man about Manchester's philosophical and scientific society.⁸³

Braid's Sagacity

It seems that many of Braid's discoveries were due to his astonishingly simple (i.e., *simple* in terms of it being non-*complex*) frame of mind, that was clearly driven, in many cases, by the spirit of *Occam's razor*.⁸⁴ viz., that 'entities ought not to be multiplied beyond necessity'. This personal capacity for structured thinking seems to have been significantly magnified by his *sagacious* nature. In 1754, Walpole spoke of what he termed "serendipitous discoveries" having three distinct aspects; viz., that the discoveries:

- (1) were *accidental*: because the discoverer was "not in quest of" the thing that was discovered.
- (2) could only have been made by one that was *sufficiently sagacious* to apprehend the connexion between what was, certainly, to others, a set of entirely unconnected, and insignificant facts.
- (3) were *not hidden*: they had always been there, waiting to be discovered by one who was sufficiently sagacious.⁸⁵

Throughout the narrative that follows, the reader will discover many aspects of Braid's *sagacity*; and especially notable is his ability to immediately notice things that were, apparently to all others, hidden in plain sight.

Timeliness (w.r.t. Prematurity)

There is another significant characteristic of Braid's discoveries, associated

⁸³ In 1841, the population of Greater Manchester was approx. 860,000. When Braid arrived in Manchester (c.1828) the population had been approx. 660,000; and, at the time of his death (1860) it was approx. 1,280,000.

⁸⁴ *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, an expression attributed to the Franciscan friar, William of Ockham (c.1288-c.1348) — which, despite its attribution, does not appear in any of his extant works.

⁸⁵ Walpole (1840, p.35). His first example of a discovery made "by accident and sagacity" was from a fairy tale, *The Three Princes of Serendip*, one of whom "discovered that a mule blind of the right eye had travelled the same road lately, because the grass was eaten only on the left side, where it was worse than on the right", and his second was Lord Shaftsbury, "who, happening to dine at Lord Chancellor Clarendon's, found out the marriage of the Duke of York and Mrs. Hyde, by the respect with which her mother treated her at table".

with his personal 'sagacity'; a notion that is embedded within the work of Gunther Stent on *premature discoveries*,⁸⁶ and that of Harriet Zuckerman and Joshua Lederberg on *postmature discoveries*,⁸⁷ which I will designate '*timeliness*'.

Zuckerman and Lederberg (p.629) noted that, what they termed *postmature* discoveries, are (later) thought "delayed", "evok[ing] surprise from the pertinent scientific community that [they were] not made earlier";⁸⁸ whilst, by contrast, what they (and Stent) termed *premature* discoveries, such as "Mendel's discovery of particulate inheritance in 1865", are (later) judged "ahead of their time" and "are either passively neglected or actively resisted at the time they are made".⁸⁹ Noting that *prematurity* and *postmaturity* are both the same (because they are recognized retrospectively), and are both different (because *postmaturity* results from "retrospective conjecture", whilst *prematurity* results from "actual historical observation"), Zuckerman and Lederberg (p.629) identified three defining attributes of a *postmature* discovery:

In retrospect, [the discovery] must be judged to have been technically achievable at an earlier time with methods then available.

It must be judged to have been understandable, capable of being expressed in terms comprehensible to working scientists at the time, and its implications must have been capable of having been appreciated.

When discussing the (otherwise significant) discovery of bacteriologist O.T. Avery, which, whilst widely "noticed" and thought "important", was not "appreciated in its day" (viz., 1944), Stent remarked that "no one seemed to be able to do much with it, or build upon it... that is to say, *Avery's* discovery had virtually no effect on general genetic discourse" (1972a, p.434):

Why was *Avery's* discovery not appreciated in its day?

Because it was "premature".

But is this really an explanation or is it merely an empty tautology?

In other words, is there a way of providing a criterion of the prematurity of a discovery other than its failure to make an impact?

⁸⁶ For premature discovery, see Stent (1972a, 1972b, 1973, 2002a, 2002b); Auden (1973); Carlson (1973); Carpenter (2002); Gerson (2002); Hook (2002a, 2002b); Hull (2002); Jones (2002); Löwy (2002); Munévar (2002).

⁸⁷ See Zuckerman & Lederberg (1986).

⁸⁸ Elkana (1981), p.52: "How is it possible that this... important discovery was not made earlier, since it seems that whatever was necessary for the discovery was available?"

⁸⁹ Elkana (1981), p.52: "Why was such an important idea forgotten after its emergence?" and "Why did it have to be reinvented much later?"

Yes, there is such a criterion: *A discovery is premature if its implications cannot be connected by a series of simple logical steps to contemporary canonical knowledge.*

This criterion is not to be confused with that of an *unexpected* discovery, which *can* be connected with the canonical ideas of its day but might overthrow one or more of them.⁹⁰

Zuckerman and Lederberg agreed with Stent's view that so-called *premature* discoveries were not linked (and, in most cases, *could not* be linked) with '*canonical knowledge*'.⁹¹ Stent's important *connexion-with-contemporary-canonical-knowledge* notion clearly identifies one aspect of Braid's unique significance in the development and dissemination of hypnotism: Braid sagaciously situated his antecedent ('double internal and upward squint') induction and the consequent phenomena (the 'artificial condition of the nervous system') within the established contemporary knowledge of physiology, optics, and the nervous system.

Yet, if, by chance, he *had actually verified* the magnetists' claims and if he *had*, indeed, discovered that the phenomena were due to the action of a universal 'magnetic fluid' flowing from the cosmos through the operator to the subject, *none of the available knowledge in the domains of medicine, anatomy and physiology, or physics could have explained those findings.* Braid would have had no option; he would have been forced to rely on the magnetists' mystical musings and reified metaphors. However, by contrast, Braid's act of situating his discoveries within the anatomy, physiology, and optics of the day, converted what would have otherwise been a *premature* finding into a *timely* discovery; and, thus, through this move of Braid's, it was neither *premature* nor *postmature*.

Problem vs. Puzzle

In 1965, when contrasting his own work with that of Karl Popper, Thomas Kuhn, spoke of the extremes of the *normal* and the *extraordinary* practice of

⁹⁰ Stent (1972a), p.435; the original piece has been broken into sections for ease of reading (emphasis in original).

⁹¹ Hook (2002a, p.12) reports that patent attorney Thomas N. Tarrant offered two examples of this sort of 'prematurity': an 1890 patent application (No.1,203,190) for sound on film (made before audio amplifiers were known), and a 1926 patent application (No.1,745,175) for a field effect transistor (made before silicon planar technology was available).

science (1970a, p.6),⁹² and that, whilst his (Kuhn's) work examined "normal science and the manner in which it is altered by revolutions" (1970b, p.275), Popper's was centred on "extraordinary or revolutionary episodes in scientific development" (1970a, p.11).⁹³ Kuhn argued that the goal of a practitioner of "normal science" (i.e., the sort that involves "normal research") is solving a "*puzzle*",⁹⁴ whilst that of a practitioner of "extraordinary science" (i.e., the sort that involves "extraordinary research") is solving a "*problem*" (1970a, pp.4-5).⁹⁵ Thus, *ipso facto*, because a 'puzzle' challenges the scientist's *ingenuity*, if the 'puzzle' is not solved, then it is the scientist that fails the test; by contrast, because a 'problem' challenges the prevailing *theory*, if the 'problem' is not solved, it is the theory, and not the scientist, that fails the test.⁹⁶

In the case of Braid and hypnotism, his sagacious brilliance was to convert a *problem* into a *puzzle*. He was also *timely*, using easily understood, technically achievable methods, clearly expressed in terms that were comprehensible to working scientists at the time, with implications that were well capable of being appreciated. Braid also did something extraordinary: whilst his techniques were initially "*bottom-up*" constructions, he went on to ensure *orthopraxis*,⁹⁷ by creating a set of "*top-down*" descriptions that smoothly connected these extraordinary activities to the contemporary canonical knowledge of the day.⁹⁸

⁹² Two of the colloquium's contributors, Stephen Toulmin (1922-2009) and John Watkins (1924-1999), characterized Kuhn as speaking of "Normal Science" and "Extraordinary Science" (e.g., Watkins, 1970, p.27), and expressed their own views in terms of "Revolutionary Science", rather than Kuhn's "Extraordinary Science" (e.g., Watkins, 1970, p.31).

⁹³ A member of the colloquium, historian Leslie Pearce Williams (1927-) of Cornell University, clarified this difference by making the useful distinction that Kuhn's arguments were based on Kuhn's views of "what scientists *do*", whilst Popper's were based on Popper's views of "what scientists *ought* to do" (Williams, 1970, p.50, emphasis in original).

⁹⁴ Despite the polar contrast, the notions of practitioners of 'normal science' and of 'extraordinary science' are not mutually exclusive: because, not only is "normal science" what *most scientists do all of the time*, it is also something that *all scientists do most of the time*.

⁹⁵ Popper (1970, p.54) was quite willing to accept Kuhn's distinction for the sake of the discussion (Popper was an active contributor to the 1965 colloquium).

⁹⁶ In essence, a 'puzzle' is like a crossword puzzle, where the individual's structured thought, ingenuity, education, and individual brilliance are tested; whilst a 'problem' is when the paper gives the wrong clues for that day's crossword grid (and, thus, there is no solution possible).

⁹⁷ *Orthopraxy* (correctness of doing), contrasted with *orthodoxy* (correctness of thinking).

⁹⁸ Also, in relation to his researches into *ideodynamic* effects, and his direct influence on the work of his colleagues Carpenter and Noble, his work also meets Hook's (2002a, p.15) criterion

Moreover, in the matter of linking his findings to established canonical knowledge in a systematic and coherent fashion, the importance of Braid belonging to “the right scientific community for [his discovery] to be integrated into on-going work” (Jones, 2002, p.325) cannot be overstated.

Discoveries will remain unconnected to canonical knowledge in a given field if they arise outside the field, and if the intersections that carry knowledge of the discovery into the field do not exist or do not function.
Gerson (2002), pp.284-285.

Boundary-Work

In 1983, the sociologist Thomas Gieryn coined a term, “*boundary-work*”,⁹⁹ which is an extremely productive cartographic metaphor, to denote the enterprise of settling what lies within, and without, the specific ‘territory’ of a profession or discipline.¹⁰⁰ In essence, it involves stipulating, promoting, expanding, and/or defending the territory of ‘us’ (a group of ‘insiders’) in relation to the surrounding territory of ‘them’ (a group of ‘outsiders’), which lies beyond its ‘borders’.¹⁰¹ Gieryn observed that ‘insiders’ are, thus, separated from ‘outsiders’ by the “attribution of selected characteristics to the institution of [the ‘insiders’] (i.e., to its practitioners, methods, stock of knowledge, values and work organization) for purposes of constructing a social boundary that distinguishes some intellectual activities as “non-[insiderly]”” (1983, p.782).¹⁰²

of not only being linked to canonical knowledge, but also *altering the canon in some way*.

⁹⁹ In 1999 Gieryn (1999a, p.5) stated that the “boundary” concept he introduced in his 1983 paper had been suggested by a presentation by Steve Woolgar to a meeting of the Society for the Social Studies of Science in November 1981. He attributed the mature development of his ideas to the influences of (in order of publication) Geertz (1973), Serres, (1982)], Geertz (1983), Gilbert and Mulkay (1984), Shapin and Schaffer (1985), Yearley (1988), Holmquest (1990), Reichert (1992), Abbot (1995), Silber (1995), McOmber (1996), Taylor (1996), Kerr, Cunningham-Burley, and Amos (1997), and Wolfe (1997).

¹⁰⁰ The metaphor is productive because it supports a wide range of mappings: discoverers, explorers, cartographers, developers, settlers, natives, migrants, exiles, deportees, etc. — as well as to other mappings, such as government, policing, military, international relations, border control, quarantine, passports, etc.

¹⁰¹ For example, in the case of most of the marginal ‘sciences’, the stress is mainly on the ‘*non-scientific*’ nature of ‘them’, rather than the ‘*scientific*’ nature of ‘us’.

¹⁰² Note that Gieryn’s original argument, couched in terms of “science” vs. “non-science”, has been represented, here, in this different way because:

- (a) the *insider* vs. *outsider* contrast delivers his meaning equally well in relation to
 - (i) the ‘territory’ of the domain, and
 - (ii) the inclusive/exclusive nature of the domains borders, and
- (b) it avoids the clumsy (or inadvertent) misleading conflation of the term “non-science”

Gieryn (1983) argues the issue of what is 'insiderly' (or, who is an 'insider') has considerable significance in relation to the evolution of a 'profession', and in its economic repercussions; because it affects (a) the social status of its individual practitioners, (b) the intellectual authority of their claims, (c) their access to funding, (d) their protection from political interference, (e) their ability to ostracize and impugn 'others' as 'non-insiders', and also (f) their capacity to marginalize and exclude those designated as 'outsiders' from certain rights and privileges, organizations, publications, and resources (Gieryn, 1983).¹⁰³

Unfortunately, the term "*boundary-work*" is another term that is equivocal due to its lexical ambiguity: boundary-work or, more particularly, "*work at the boundaries*", can be used as a *laudatory* term (brave pioneers opening up the 'dangerous unknown' for those that follow), or a *pejorative* term (genetically defective, uneducated drop-outs, living in the dense forest, marrying their cousins, and smoking lots of marijuana, etc.).

Overall, the question is what is their 'work at the boundary'?

In the absence of, say, any established scientific criteria, is their work on the fringes, outside the boundaries of established science?; or, is it at the 'frontier', advancing knowledge? Moreover, by contrast, is their work *within science*?; constructing a universally acceptable phenomenological, epistemological, and methodological set of standards with which their enterprise can proceed in such a way that it advances scientific knowledge and philosophical understanding and, further, expands the strategic efficacious use of their enterprise to all sorts of new areas of application, as well as increasing the overall skill of those delivering such applications.

Thus, "boundary work" in fashioning a discipline is simultaneously inclusive

(viz., something, such as 'literary criticism', that makes no claim to be a science) with the term "pseudo-science" —another case of *equivocation due to lexical ambiguity*; where, without a precise context, one does not know whether the term denotes 'something that *pretends to be* scientific, but is not', or 'something that *seems to be* scientific, but is not'.

¹⁰³ Through separation from the 'others', 'professionals' also gain certain, specific legal rights: to operate particular dangerous machinery (X-Ray machines), possess certain controlled substances (ethyl alcohol), perform certain life-threatening activities (spinal manipulations), give orders to otherwise free citizens (quarantine those with a communicable disease), have all or part of the cost of their interventions subsidized (health insurance), and so on.

and exclusive; yet there are significant differences in the extent to which the boundaries are closed/open or exclusive/inclusive. Simply put, it is a matter of *demarcation*. From Nielsen and Štrbánová's study of various European professional chemical societies (2008, pp.345-346), the question of who is included, and who is not, is constantly negotiated by those within a discipline (and, also, is constantly challenged by those excluded).¹⁰⁴ Those within a discipline constantly reflect on (and respond to) what it means to belong to that discipline,¹⁰⁵ as well as on what should (and could), be included in that discipline's scientific domain (and what should not); as well as reflecting on the question of who *should* (and *could*) be included in the profession, and who *should not*.¹⁰⁶

According to the research of Nielsen and Štrbánová's (2008, p.345), most *professionalization* efforts involve:

- (a) "*expansion* of authority or expertise into domains claimed by other professions or occupations",
- (b) "*monopolization* of professional authority and resources", and
- (c) "*protection of autonomy* over professional activities"; and, moreover,
- (d) "boundary-work is never-ending since the [discipline's] context and [its members'] expectations constantly change over time".

In time, a discipline may fragment into different communities, with the character of the 'boundaries' becoming more interfaces than barriers (e.g., hypnotism could fragment itself into a *Society of Medical Hypnotism*, a *Society of Sports Hypnotism*, a *Society of Clinical Hypnotherapy*, a *Society of Dental Hypnotism*, etc.); with various societies supplementing rather than competing with each other, and providing their various associates with different scientific, professional, and social opportunities (p.346).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Including activities such as the setting of admission rules; e.g., in the case of the chemical societies, deciding whether to include or exclude pharmacists (are they chemists or not?).

¹⁰⁵ Notions to which they respond could be generated by legislators, senior colleagues, peers, members of other scientific disciplines, interested amateurs, and the general public.

¹⁰⁶ According to Wolfram (2009), three interactive themes can be identified within the generic boundary-work process: those of "expulsion, expansion, and protection of autonomy" (p.18), or "demarcation, sanitisation, and exclusion" (p.23).

¹⁰⁷ Gieryn's paper generated particular interest in examining the *manner* in which boundary

Double Boundary-Work

In a later article (1999b), Gieryn examined the 'boundary-work' of Victorian scientist, John Tyndall, who tried to simultaneously demarcate (a) 'science' (rational knowledge) from 'religion' (superstitious faith) on one hand and (b) 'science' (the 'theories' of the physicists) from 'engineering' (the 'practice' of the mechanics) on the other.

With his *science vs. religion* contrast, Tyndall stressed the empirical, inductive, rational basis of science;¹⁰⁸ and with his *science vs. engineering* contrast, Tyndall stressed the abstract, theoretical nature of science:¹⁰⁹ and, as Gieryn remarks, "[whilst] neither is the "correct" description... they do evoke very different images of "science", especially [for one who] has never set foot in a scientific laboratory or read a scientific journal" (p.58).

Gieryn called this "*double boundary-work*"; because, even though Tyndall had the single goal of protecting the 'territory' of science, he had to do two jobs at once: he had to explain to his audience (a) what 'science' really was, as well as explaining to them (b) "how and why science [was] not-religion and not-mechanics" (p.63). With these goals, it was clear "the set of attributions [that were] effective for articulating the boundary between science and religion [were not] effective for articulating the boundary between science and mechanics, and (of course) vice versa" (p.63).¹¹⁰ This was also the case with hypnotism:

If, for example, as [Karl Anton] Ewald had suggested during [Albert] Moll's 1886 lecture to the Berliner medizinische Gesellschaft, any shepherd, shoemaker or tailor could induce hypnosis,¹¹¹ what particular claim could medical hypnotists have to expertise in this field?

features are identified, the *way* in which boundaries are drawn, the *strategies* through which boundaries are established, the *mechanisms* through which the boundaries are defended, and the *means* of monitoring the on-going relevance of current boundaries within the current context.

¹⁰⁸ That is "science as not-religion" (p.43).

¹⁰⁹ That is "science as not-mechanics" (p.51).

¹¹⁰ Wolfram (2009) studied the double-boundary-work that the (1870s/1930s) German 'parapsychologists' conducted to (a) separate themselves from the 'occultists' and 'spiritualists', and (b) link themselves with scientists and, from this, claim they were advancing the borders of science, rather than dwelling on the fringe of science, with the other pseudo-scientists.

¹¹¹ "I protest", says Prof. Ewald, "against qualifying the practice of hypnotism as a medical treatment. For a treatment to be called medical, it must be a medical art, a medical science. But that which the best shepherd or shoemaker can do, as long as they have enough confidence in themselves, does not deserve to be called a medical treatment" (Bernheim, 1891/1980, p.182).

How was hypnosis as practised by physicians different from that which astounded audiences during stage performances and spiritualist séances?

In order to answer these questions, to dissociate medical hypnosis from the practices of stage mesmerists, lay healers and spiritualists, and to ensure a medical monopoly of hypnotism and suggestion, medical hypnotists conducted an aggressive campaign against the non-medical use of hypnosis.

Their primary concern was to push for legislation that would guarantee their monopoly and criminalise or pathologise the use of hypnosis by those without medical qualifications.¹¹²

The Rise and Fall of the "Gentleman Scientist"

Expanding on 'boundary-work' notions, Valérie Fournier's research stresses the influence, and gradual demise, of the '*gentleman scientist*' of independent means, so prevalent in Braid's day; and, more significantly, the gradual shift in meaning of '*amateur* vs. *professional*' from the highly cultivated individual who pursued a pastime for its own intrinsic merit (*amateur*),¹¹³ contrasted with the far-less-cultivated individual who pursued the pastime for remuneration only (*professional*), to the superficial, incompetent dabbler (*amateur*), contrasted with the highly skilled, highly trained, highly experienced, and immensely cultivated individual who was rewarded for their expertise and insight (*professional*).

Fournier (2000, p.76) believes that the real marketplace consequence of this re-definition is that, "[today's] professional service is not *sold* but *rendered*". Noting that "education" is closely associated with "theory" ("the original sense of "profession" was a declaration of belief made upon entry into holy orders; [and] to enter into membership was to announce shared theory"),¹¹⁴ Robbins (1993) draws attention to the ambiguities within the usage of 'professional':

On the one hand, the professional is distinguished from the "amateur" by the fact that she or he earns a livelihood by the given activity.

This gives "professional" negative connotations of self-interested, mercenary motive as opposed to the desirable alternative — historically based on and limited to the leisure of certain social classes — of disinterested love of the activity or subject in and for itself.

On the other hand, professions are often distinguished from *other*

¹¹² Wolfram (2009, p.100); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹¹³ Here "*amateur*" is being used in the sense "lover of...".

¹¹⁴ Also, in relation to the ever-increasing concentration on dedicated vocational training through approved teaching institutions, one might suggest that the possibility of an "education" is being lost within the modern stampede for the provision of "schooling".

ways of earning one's livelihood — that is, from "occupation" or "trade" or "employment" in general — as possessing a superior degree of learning or skill and/or public utility and also, whether for these reasons or not, a superior social prestige.

It is this distinction, and specifically the element of education, that introduces the antithetical sense of professional as, paradoxically, *disinterested*.¹¹⁵

Fournier (2002, p.123-125) notes the importance of “the rise of the gentleman scientist” in the evolving concept of the “professional practitioner”, at a time when ‘scientific medicine’ was earnestly distancing itself from ‘folk medicine’, and how these ‘gentleman scientists’ (“driven by the disinterested calling of science, rather than commercial interests”) were genuine ‘scientists’ who were engaged in genuine ‘scientific studies’ — they were never ‘quacks’¹¹⁶ — and how the involvement of these ‘gentleman scientists’, and the consequent “gentrification” of the practice, significantly increased “the respectability and legitimacy of [the practice]”. She also notes that this sort of pioneering, scientific development work is always followed by the inevitable popularization of *that* specific practice (its technologies, apparatus, *accoutrements*, etc.) amongst the masses; with the inevitable rise of the untrained (or poorly trained) practitioner, with the “home amateur” on one hand, and the “quack” on the other:

...[and it is this] opening up of [the practice] to the ‘mass’ [which] draws upon a re-articulation of the amateur, no longer the respectable gentleman devoting his life to the calling of research, but part of an ignorant or unscrupulous mass bringing danger and disrepute to the practice. In particular, the danger is signified by conjuring up the unscrupulous supplier or practitioner, driven by profit motives, and the naive ‘home amateur’, driven by altruism... (p.124)

Yet, as Taylor observes (1995, p.503), whilst “the rise of the professional must require the decline of the influence of aristocratic amateurs, or at least of a belittling of their past contribution”, it is wrong to speak of it as “well-meaning but misguided amateurs passing on the torch of scientific knowledge to other, more qualified, recipients”. According to Fournier (2000, p.75), in Taylor’s view,

¹¹⁵ Robbins (1993, p.34); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹¹⁶ *Quack* and *charlatan*, are classic examples of archaic terms which, whilst applied pejoratively today, were once entirely value-free: a *quack* (*quacksalver*) was one who cured with home remedies (from Dutch *zalven*, ‘to rub with ointment’), and a *charlatan* was also an itinerant vendor of remedies (‘one who babbles’).

"the evolutionary thesis" (asserting that the process "[through] which trained professionals came to replace enthusiastic amateurs" is "a move towards progress and rationalization") is *highly flawed*. However, Taylor considered the retrospective construction of the 'the amateur' was essential to the distinctive self-definition of 'the professional':

Far from amateurism preceding a supplanting professional class, the notion of 'the amateur' as a pre-professional can be considered as part of the professionals' self-justification.

The process of professionalization, in this sense, requires the "invention of amateurism". (Taylor, p.504)

...in historical terms, there can be no self-defined amateurs until they can be condescended to by self-defined professionals. (Taylor, p.502)

Fournier (2002, p.125-126) observes that the "home amateur" ("driven by altruistic motives and enthusiasm") and the "unscrupulous quack" ("driven by profit motives") are equally despised by the "professional practitioners";¹¹⁷ and, that 'professionals' expend considerable effort emphasizing the "danger" of "amateurism", particularly through the 'horror stories' they tell anyone who will listen. These 'horror stories' have three goals:

- (1) *Signalling* the 'potency' of the interventions, and 'the seriousness' of the practice (this serves to position the practice itself within the field of 'medicine', rather than that of 'amusement');
- (2) *Embodying* the 'danger' within the person of the 'unscrupulous quack' (or 'naive home amateur') and their 'uncontrolled' use of the technology (this "serves to detach accusation[s] of harmful practice, misuse and abuse from [the practice] itself" and, also, emphatically stresses the significance of 'controlled' use of the technology); and
- (3) *Emphasizing* that the potential 'health benefits' can only accrue from the "correct use" in the "right hands" in the "right circumstances" (this move *grounds* the "responsible practice" of the interventions within a "body of 'knowledge'").

Fournier expands on Taylor's view that "the amateur is not a self-defining,

¹¹⁷ Fournier remarks (p.126) that, compared with the 'gentleman scientist' of that earlier time, "driven by the noble motives and calling befitting a 'gentleman'", the "home amateurs" and "unscrupulous quacks" of today clearly "seem [collectively] to lack such social credentials".

pre-existing position but is actively [and retrospectively] constructed by professional discourse". She strongly argues that, because the concepts of the 'amateur' and the 'quack' have already served their purpose in legitimating and positioning the practice itself as:

- (1) highly efficacious (thus, highly dangerous if misapplied),
- (2) scientific (thus, a serious, knowledge-based practice), and
- (3) [from the implied "corruption" of the 'amateur' and 'quack'] something that demands "purity" (thus, requiring a "responsible professional" for its delivery),¹¹⁸

the answer to the question of whether the 'amateur' or the 'quack' — "at least in the terms in which they are imagined" — were veridical or whether they were mythical is completely irrelevant (p.126).¹¹⁹

Fournier (1999, p.282) examined the way "professions [seek] to establish their autonomy and authority through the construction of various boundaries around themselves". Later (2000), Fournier proposed that "boundary work" was "central to the establishment and reproduction of the professions", and that this "boundary work" involved two central activities (p.69):

- (1) "the constitution of an "independent and self-contained field of knowledge" as the basis upon which professions can build their authority and exclusivity";¹²⁰ and
- (2) "the labour of division which goes into erecting and maintaining

¹¹⁸ The gradual movement from being the meeting of equals to that of the 'professional' and 'client' in medicine has been closely examined by Jewson (1974; 1976). In terms of Weber's analysis (1987, p.28), the importance of the 'responsible professional' increases over time; as "an indispensable feature of the professional's assertion of autonomy and authority [is] the corresponding passivity and dependence of the layperson". Thus, from Weber's perspective, the routine client-centred warning of *caveat emptor* ('Let the buyer beware!') is increasingly being replaced by the professional-centred injunction *credat emptor* ('Let the buyer trust!').

¹¹⁹ Gieryn (p.791) suggests these moves parallel the literary device of a *foil* (viz., one who enhances another by contrast); and, he argues, "just as readers come to know [Sherlock] Holmes better through contrasts to his foil [Doctor] Watson, so does the public better learn about 'science' through contrasts to 'non-science'."

¹²⁰ Abbott (1988, p.9) observes that this might involve the re-definition of the profession's "problems and tasks", and the defence of those problems and tasks "from interlopers"; and, as well, may also involve the 'seizure' of "new problems" and new territory, just "as medicine has recently seized alcoholism, mental illness, hyperactivity in obesity and numerous other things".

boundaries between the professions and various other groups".¹²¹

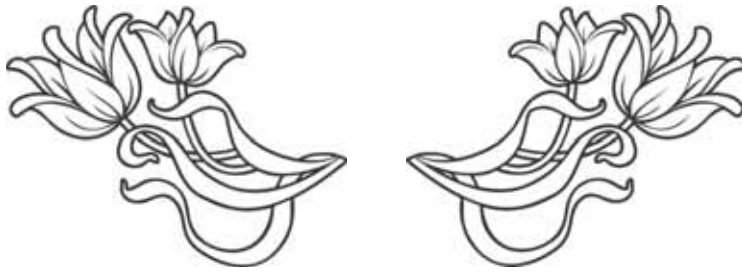
Identifying the second as *social closure* ("an occupational group appropriating a field as its exclusive area of jurisdiction and expertise"), she stressed the importance of "the making of this field into a legitimate area of knowledge of and intervention on the world". Thus, it seems, Braid's early work in relation to hypnotism is inseparable from the enterprise of 'boundary-work'.

Even today, more than 170 years after Braid's discoveries, the wide range of universally accepted hypnotic practices have neither been satisfactorily explained nor theoretically justified; yet, whilst they are presently 'unexplained', they are not thought to be ultimately *inexplicable*.

Yet, in the present day, despite this incapacity to 'explain', it is taken as a 'given' that (a) a subject's decision to present for hypnotic intervention, (b) an operator's decision to apply hypnotic induction processes to such a subject, and *a fortiori*, (c) an operator's decision to deliver a sequence of structured suggestions to a subject (in order to manipulate the psychophysical resources made available by the hypnotic state manifested by a subject), are completely rational acts; and, most of this is due to the consequences of Braid's interactions with Lafontaine, whose first London lecture was delivered on Monday 19 July 1841.

¹²¹ Fournier (2000, p.73) argued that, if Weber was correct (beyond being specialized like "the auto mechanic", services rendered by doctors, lawyers, research scientists, etc. are incommensurable), that it is "upon this incommensurability the distinctive autonomy and authority of the profession is founded" (Weber, 1987, p.26). She elaborates on "the labour of division":

Incommensurability can be understood in terms of creating boundaries between the sphere of competence of the professions and other spheres of activities. Professions may thus be better seen in terms of the labour of division than as an outcome of the division of labour; in other words, they are not the technical outcomes of the intellectual division of labour but are constituted and maintained through processes of isolation and boundary construction. (p.73)



Chapter Three: Braid's Fateful Encounter with Lafontaine

The two [disciplines of 'mental science', *mental pathology* directed at the irregularities, aberrations, and diseases of the mind, and *psychology*, directed at the soul or mind (in contrast to the material nature).] were clearly separate to the Victorians.

[On one hand] were the alienists with their asylums, on the other, the actual psychologists, busy studying the phenomena of normal consciousness.

[In] the early nineteenth century, there was, in fact, yet another discipline related to these two. Mesmerism, or animal magnetism, though largely viewed as the lunatic fringe of mental science, nonetheless aroused scholarly controversies for several decades.

Like psychology proper, but unlike mental pathology, it dealt with human consciousness in a state of basic sanity.

Like mental pathology, but unlike psychology, it focused primarily on abnormal states of consciousness, such as somnambulism, multiple personality, hallucination, and clairvoyance.¹

This chapter examines Charles Lafontaine,[‡] the Swiss *magnetic demonstrator*, the manner in which he operated and, in particular, the impact that his lectures, and public demonstrations of animal magnetism had upon James Braid.²

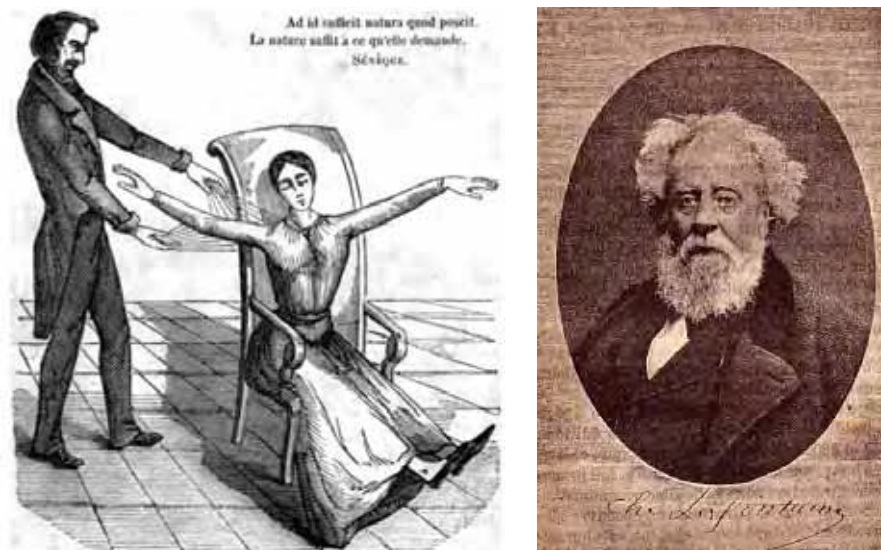


Fig.26. Charles Lafontaine in action c.1846;³ and Lafontaine in later life.

¹ Faas, *Retreat into the Mind: Victorian Poetry and the Rise of Psychiatry* (1988), p.34.

² He always called himself Charles Lafontaine (never LaFontaine); yet, he is also spoken of as Charles Delafontaine and Charles de Lafontaine. The label "*magnetic demonstrator*" comes from Gauld (1992). Whilst he sometimes 'treated' people, he was always a "*magnetic demonstrator*"; and, when he did provide some sort of 'treatment', it was always part of a magnetic demonstration, rather than it being an expression of the activities of a professional therapist.

³ Title page of Lafontaine's *L'art de magnétiser: ou, Le magnétisme animal considéré sous le point de vue théorique, pratique et thérapeutique* (1847) ('The Art of the Magnetizer; or, Animal Magnetism, considered from the theoretical, technical, and therapeutic point of view'). Seneca's aphorism: *Sufficit ad id, Natura quod posci* ('We have a sufficiency when we have what Nature requires').

“Higher” vs. “Lower” Phenomena of Magnetism; and “Rapport”

Before beginning to examine Lafontaine’s work, it is important to explain the distinctions that the mesmerists and magnetists routinely made between two entirely different classes of phenomena manifested by magnetic subjects, based on their supposed agency: the *higher* and *lower* phenomena — the embedded implication was that, whilst there might be some ‘natural’ explanation for the ‘lower’ (i.e., more ordinary) phenomena, the ‘higher’ (i.e., more extraordinary) phenomena could only be explained in terms of a metaphysical agency.

Whilst not all supposedly ‘successful’ magnetic subjects had the capacity to individually manifest all of these behaviours, those which were classed as the ‘lower’ phenomena might include displays of amnesia, double memory,⁴ loss of sense of identity, suggestibility, heightened memory, deadening of the senses, insensibility to pain, rapport with the operator, and the type of consciousness known as ‘sleep-waking’;⁵ whilst the collection of behaviours classed as ‘higher’ phenomena might include displays of transposition of the senses,⁶ physical rapport or “community of sensation”,⁷ clairvoyance,⁸ psychical rapport,⁹ and

⁴ That is, “the state of having two apparently distinct memory chains: that of the waking state and that of the somnambulistic state” (Crabtree, 1988, p.xxiv). This would now be identified as ‘state-dependent memory’. In 1830, the phrenologist, George Combe (1788-1858) reported that:

[I have been informed by my colleague] Dr Abel... of an Irish porter to a warehouse, who forgot, when sober, what he had done when drunk; but being drunk, again recollected the transactions of his former state of intoxication. On one occasion, being drunk, he had lost a parcel of some value, and in his sober moments could give no account of it. Next time he was intoxicated, he recollected that he had left the parcel at a certain house, and there being no address on it, it had remained there safely, and was got on his calling for it. The same phenomena present themselves in the state of somnambulism, produced by animal magnetism. (Combe, 1830, p.521)

⁵ “*Sleep-waking*” is a sub-set of “*sleep-walking*”. The term is not a Pope Gregory-type pun (“*Non angli sed Angeli*”, “These are not Angles, but Angles”), centred on the term ‘sleep-walking’ as a synonym for *somnambulism*: which is either *die Schlafwandeln* in “Teutonic” German, or *der Somnambulismus* in “Latin-based” German.

“*Sleep-waking*”, a *calque* of *das Schlafwachen* (coined c.1820 by Johann Karl Passavant (1790-1857)), is a different state from “artificial somnambulism”. In the “*sleep-waking*” state there is “*somnolence*”, often combined with “*somniloquism*” (‘sleep-talking’), but never with “*ambullism*” (‘walking’) of any sort (Barth, 1851, p.24). (For more on “sleep-waking”, see Ferris, 1844b).

⁶ Being able to, say, hear with the fingers, see with the stomach, sense colours with the soles of the feet, tell the time on a watch held behind the head, etc.

⁷ This term refers to subjects becoming insensible to their own body, but experiencing the operator’s physical sensations (including taste, smell, sight, and hearing), goes back at least as far as Townshend (1840, p.65); see also Melton (2001, p.319).

ecstasy¹⁰ (Crabtree, 1988, p.xxiv; 2008, p.569).

[Mesmerism's] psychological importance is far above the part which it can play in the art of healing.

When a human being can, by the operation of another human being, see without his eyes, taste without his tongue, hear without his ears, and obtain complete insight into things of which, in his waking state, he had no knowledge, the condition of his mind in that moment is worth investigating. Chenevix (1829, No.361), p.229

"Rapport"

Throughout the mesmeric and magnetic literature, subjects are constantly spoken of having been 'placed' or 'brought' *en rapport* with the magnetizer;¹¹ and, consequently, displaying the effects of a peculiar operator-centred influence, which is not manifested in relation to any other individual(s), unless the subject has been so directed by the mesmerizer (Carpenter, 1853b, p.534).¹²

[The term "*en rapport*"] is intended to express the establishment of magnetic relationship between individuals; and this relationship must be established, before the phenomena can be developed, in the same way, as there must be a connecting wire between an electrical machine, and the body which is subjected to its influence, or which is employed for the exhibition of its phenomena. Newnham (1845, pp.91-92)

⁸ Melton (2001, p.297) defines *clairvoyance* ('clear-seeing') as "the supposedly paranormal ability to see persons and events that are distant in time or place". A "clairvoyant experience" may be "spontaneous", "induced by suggestion" (as with hypnotism), or "induced by autosuggestion" (as with 'crystal gazing') (p.298). Melton identifies 4 types of perception: (i) of past events; (ii) of future events; (iii) of contemporary events happening at a distance, or (iv) of contemporary events happening outside the range of normal vision, with (iii) and (iv) being aspects of the same class (p.297). There are four subdivisions (p.298): (a) "X-Ray clairvoyance" (able to see into closed spaces, boxes, envelopes, etc.), (b) "Medical clairvoyance" (able to see into the body and diagnose illness, prescribe treatment, and deliver a prognosis); (c) "travelling clairvoyance" (able to take a mental journey to a distant location, and provide a description thereof), and (d) "platform clairvoyance" (i.e., "seeing spirits").

⁹ Being able to read the operator's thoughts, and being able to be mesmerized at a distance.

¹⁰ That is, the subject is "immersed in an elevated state of consciousness with an awareness of spiritual things" (Crabtree, 2008, p.569).

¹¹ Given the modern movements in theoretical understandings of hypnotism, the expression "*en rapport*" is now entirely obsolete in hypnotic circles.

Its only remaining vestige is in the counsellor's misleading application, where the statement "we have good rapport", denotes something like "the two of us are displaying a high degree of mutual-get-along-able-ness".

¹² Although, Colquhoun, in his introduction to *Académie Nationale de Médecine* (1833), remarks that what he terms "preparatory manipulations" were "formerly called *placing in connection or affinity (mettre en rapport, en harmonie)*; meaning that they were employed for the purpose of establishing such a sympathy between the magnetiser and the patient, as should render the subsequent operations more certain and effectual." (p.83).

With mesmerism's theoretical origins in 'animal magnetism', the term was an analogy from physics, where iron filings, 'in magnetic connexion with' ("*se mettre en rapport*") a magnet, moved as the magnet directed.¹³ Notwithstanding this, it is also important to record that whilst "*rapport*" was a widespread notion at the time of Lafontaine's lectures, it was much later than Mesmer; and, in fact, "[it was entirely] unknown to Mesmer and his immediate disciples" (Carpenter, 1853b, p.534). In the view of both Braid and Carpenter, the phenomenon so-labelled was completely explained by Braid's "dominant idea" principle.

But, it is asserted, [by the Mesmerists] the existence of some such [magnetic] influence is proved by the peculiar *rapport* between the mesmerizer and his 'subject', which is not manifested towards any other individuals, save such as may be placed *en rapport* with the 'subject' by the mesmerizer.

Nothing is more easy, however, than to explain this on our principle of 'dominant ideas'.

If the mind of the 'subject' be so yielded up to that of the mesmerizer, as to receive any impression which the latter suggests to it, the notion of such a peculiar relation is as easily communicable as any other.

Hence the commands of the mesmerizer meet with a response which those of no one else can produce...

The history of Mesmerism affords abundant evidence in support of our position; for the *rapport* was not discovered until long after the practice of the art had come into vogue, having been unknown to Mesmer and his immediate disciples; and its phenomena have only acquired constancy and fixity, in proportion as its laws have been announced and received.

Several mesmerizers, who have begun to experiment for themselves without any knowledge of what they were to expect, have produced a great variety of remarkable phenomena, and yet have never detected this *rapport*; though they have obtained immediate evidence of it, when once the idea has been put into their own minds, and thence transferred into those of their 'subjects'.

In all the experiments we have witnessed, which seemed to indicate its existence, the previous idea had either been present, or it had obviously been suggested by the methods employed to induce the mesmeric somnambulism...¹⁴

Thus, whenever A mesmerized B, magnetizers such as Lafontaine would say that B was *en rapport* with A.¹⁵ Also, they thought that, to the extent to which A

¹³ Thus, for example, "il faut se mettre en rapport magnetique avec le sujet pour lui produire un sommeil magnetique" (Dalloz, 1823, p.350), "it is necessary to be in a magnetic connexion with a subject in order to induce a magnetic sleep in him".

¹⁴ Carpenter (1853b, p.534); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

¹⁵ Whilst it is obvious that the English term "relationship" normally goes both ways, in this usage, the link is in a *subject-to-operator direction* only (and, thus, its presence or absence is

could readily “mesmerize” B with grace and ease (i.e., bring B *en rapport* with themselves), others could not. Thus, we find mesmerists and magnetists, such as Lafontaine, and Elliotson (and hypnotists such as Charcot), consistently using the same subjects (viz., those that displayed the greatest degree of *rapport*) in their public demonstrations over an extended period of time, in order to obtain the very best investigative/experimental results.

Further, with subjects diagnosing illness, prescribing treatment and delivering a prognosis in relation to the condition of others (e.g., Elliotson’s O’Key sisters), they were said to be able to do this only to the extent to which they had been ‘placed’ *en rapport* with the third person;¹⁶ i.e., a diagnosing individual describes the illness of “those who have been placed in magnetic connection (*en rapport*) with him”.¹⁷ Later, when Newnham speaks of particular phenomena being “accomplished through the established sympathy and inter-communication of the two nervous systems, viz. that of the *magnetiser* and *magnetised*”,¹⁸ he clearly indicates the polarity of the expression *en rapport*: “the *magnetiser*, or some other individual with whom the magnetised is *en rapport*” (1845, p.269).

From his own observation, Bramwell found “*rapport* does not appear unless it has been directly or indirectly suggested [and] that the condition is always an apparent — never a real — one” (Bramwell, 1903, p.344).

Bramwell also remarked that “Bernheim and Liébeault [both] believe that a real *rapport* exists between the subject and the operator, and that this follows as a natural consequence from the methods employed in inducing hypnosis. Not only does [rapport] exist [for them], but, according to [both], the operator’s power of evoking hypnotic phenomena depends on it.” (Bramwell, 1903, pp.343-344).

I have constructed a table (Fig.32, below) to give the interested reader an understanding of the manner in which the analogy, that was originally drawn

always measured in terms of subject response, rather than operator output).

¹⁶ Académie Nationale de Médecine (1833), p.160.

¹⁷ Académie Nationale de Médecine (1833), p.133.

¹⁸ Newnham himself remarks on the extent to which he stresses the “analogy” between “nervous influence” and “magnetism, galvanism, and electricity” (1845, p.429).

from the interaction between the iron filings in magnetic connexion (*en rapport*) with a real magnet, was mapped over to mesmerism — and, later, was further mapped from the domain of mesmerism to that of hypnotism (particularly by those that continue to believe that their ‘hypnotic heritage’ lies with Bernheim and Liébeault in the France of the 1890s, rather than with Braid in the Manchester of the 1840s) — to explain:

- (a) why it was claimed that subjects only responded to the designated operator, and
- (b) why it was necessary to perform peculiar rituals to transfer the subject-operator relationship to another operator, whenever such a transfer was required.

To gain the greatest understanding of the argument presented in Fig.32 (below) readers should work their way down the entire left-hand column in sequence before commencing to read the parallel, sequential, “analogical transfer” mapped out in the right-hand column.

Mesmeric application of the term "Rapport"	Analogical transfer to Hypnotism
(1) A is the mesmerist and B is the subject.	(1) A is the hypnotist and B is the subject.
(2) Given that A's actions are such that B is projected into a "mesmeric state" as a consequence of those actions, it is said that A has "mesmerized" B.	(2) Given that A's actions are such that B is projected into a "hypnotic state" as a consequence of those actions, it is said that A has "hypnotized" B.
(3) By the (prevailing) theories of "animal magnetism", this was only possible because the (charismatic) mesmerist possessed particular "magnetic" powers.	(3) By the (prevailing) theories of "hypnotism", this was only possible because the (charismatic) hypnotist possessed particular "hypnotic" powers.
(4) The degree to which the operator was "magnetic" could only be measured by the degree to which the subject was projected into a "magnetized state".	(4) The degree to which the operator had "hypnotic" powers could only be measured by the degree to which the subject was projected into a "hypnotic state".
(5) Consistent with that view, a "magnetized" subject was not <i>ferromagnetic</i> (and, therefore, did not retain the "magnetism" that had been induced within them).	(5) Consistent with that view, once "hypnotized", a subject would not remain "hypnotized" in the absence of the hypnotist.
(6) Thus, all "magnetized" subjects were <i>paramagnetic</i> (only displaying magnetic phenomena whilst they were within the influence of the magnetist's magnetism).	(6) Thus, all "hypnotized" subjects were suggestible (only displaying hypnotic phenomena whilst they were within the influence of the hypnotist's suggestions).
(7) Thus, "magnetized" subjects were only magnetized because of (a) their own <i>paramagnetic</i> character; and (b) the symmetrical relationship between the magnetizer's idiosyncratic "magnetic forces" and their own natural propensity to be magnetized.	(7) Thus, "hypnotized" subjects were only hypnotized because of (a) their own native suggestibility; and (b) the symmetrical relationship between the hypnotist's idiosyncratic "hypnotic forces" and their own natural propensity to be hypnotized.
(8) Thus, it is axiomatic that, whilst A can easily mesmerize subject B, A may not be able to mesmerize subject C, because C's natural propensity to be magnetized is inconsistent with A's "magnetic forces".	(8) Thus, it is axiomatic that, whilst A can easily hypnotize subject B, A may not be able to hypnotize subject C, because C's natural propensity to be hypnotized is inconsistent with A's "hypnotic forces".
(9) It is also axiomatic that, whilst A can easily mesmerize subject B, X may not be able to mesmerize B at all, because X's "magnetic forces" are inconsistent with B's natural propensity to be magnetized.	(9) It is also axiomatic that, whilst A can easily hypnotize subject B, X may not be able to hypnotize B at all, because X's "hypnotic forces" are inconsistent with B's natural propensity to be hypnotized.
(10) [From 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7] Whenever A "mesmerizes" B, B is said to be <i>en rapport</i> ("in relation with") with A.	(10) [From 1, 2, 3, 6, 7] Whenever A "hypnotizes" B, B is said to be <i>en rapport</i> ("in relation with") with A.
(11) Based on other theoretical considerations it was thought that, to the extent that B was <i>en rapport</i> with A (i.e., the extent to which A could "mesmerize" B with grace and ease) other mesmerists could not do so.	(11) Based on other theoretical considerations it was thought that, to the extent that B was <i>en rapport</i> with A (i.e., the extent to which A could "hypnotize" B with grace and ease) other hypnotists could not do so.
(12) Whenever mesmerist A wanted to transfer duties to an associate (Z), B would be informed that A's "powers" had now been transferred to Z and that, from now, B would only respond to the magnetism of Z.	(12) Whenever hypnotist A wanted to transfer duties to an associate (Z), B would be informed that A's "powers" had now been transferring to Z and that, from now, B would only respond to the voice of Z.
(13) To the extent that A's magnetic "powers" had been transferred to Z, A would be subsequently bereft of those "powers"; and, therefore, would no longer be able to generate alterations in B's <i>status quo</i> .	(13) To the extent that A's hypnotic "powers" had been transferred to Z, A would be subsequently bereft of those "powers"; and, therefore, would no longer be able to generate alterations in B's <i>status quo</i> .
(14) This transfer of magnetic "powers" was routinely referred to as a case of the transfer of " <i>rapport</i> "; and it was spoken of in terms of B moving from "being <i>en rapport</i> with A" to "being <i>en rapport</i> with Z".	(14) This transfer of hypnotic "powers" was routinely referred to as a case of the transfer of " <i>rapport</i> "; and it was spoken of in terms of B moving from "being <i>en rapport</i> with A" to "being <i>en rapport</i> with Z".

Fig.32. Mapping the magnetic "*en rapport*" analogy from mesmerism to hypnotism

Mesmerism, Phrenology, and Braid

Braid's interactions with mesmerism, phrenology, phreno-mesmerism,¹⁹ and mesmeric anæsthesia are directly relevant to his works and to his research into hypnotism. These were matters of considerable interest to the widespread general public of the day, and were part of an important complex of interwoven enterprises of intense scientific and philosophical interest, and were matters of heated controversy within philosophical, theological, scientific and medical circles. The challenges presented to the medicine, science, philosophy, and religion of the day by the theoretical foundations, the systematic practices, and the different values and beliefs embedded within *mesmerism* and *phrenology* are especially important in appraising the import, value, and significance of Braid's work and his interactions with both of these practices.²⁰

Situating the mesmeric and phrenological issues in Braid's time is crucial; for those practices, in that specific era, are wrongly (and *prochronistically*) dismissed today as *pseudosciences*; and, it seems, this is done in order to legitimate modern practices. In fact, rather than being *pseudoscience* or, even, *non-science*, they were considered, in Braid's time, to be far more of what Weyant has identified as *potential science*, *naïve science*, or *proto-science* (1980, p.79). This prochronistic error is compounded by the fact that few people today have any interest in (or knowledge of) either *mesmerism* or *phrenology* in general, and few study the theoretical underpinnings of either system at any length, and almost none have any direct experience of the manner in which either enterprise was practised.

Thus, the status of the 'science proper' *of the day* is critical to modern claims that, say, phrenology *was* or *was not* a 'pseudo-science' in Braid's day —regardless of whether it *would* or *would not* be considered a scientific nonsense if it suddenly appeared for the first time today. In Braid's time, there was "[no] pro-

¹⁹ Aside from the impact of *mesmerism* and *phrenology* individually, we must also note the impact of the apparent blending of these disparate practices in the *phreno-mesmerism* of Collyer[†] in 1841 (Anon, 1855c; Collyer, 1871). The principal consequence was that, to supporters of both sides, the theoretical correctness of each 'science' was now confirmed by the other; further, in *phreno-mesmerism*, many saw a long overdue return to the metaphysical domain from which Gall's materialist and mechanistic system of *organology* seemed to have diverted all and sundry.

²⁰ However, a detailed account of the origin, development, heyday, and gradual demise of these social and scientific phenomena is beyond the range and scope of this dissertation.

fessional class of scientists... clearly separated from [the] 'lay' public... who could more easily derogate a particular practice as marginal or popular"; and, moreover, "much of what would become recognizable as modern science" (i.e., "an activity broken up into demarcated disciplines such as physics, biology, and chemistry") would not really come into being, in any substantial way, until the last third of the nineteenth century (Winter, 1998, p.6).²¹

Lafontaine in London

Lafontaine came to London in June 1841.²² He spoke no English.²³ He dressed completely in black, with his dark hair brushed forward, with a "rather austere, perhaps thoughtful" countenance, and a "prodigious" beard (Anon, 1841a).²⁴

It was by invitation, as a member of the press, that I first attended a mesmeric conversazione.

The lamp-lit room in which it was held was large and lofty, and the company numerous.

An ample platform was elevated at the end and was occupied on my entrance by the experimenter, whose appearance was calculated to awaken curiosity and wonder in a high degree.

He was about middle age, slightly above middle size, with a well-set muscular frame, and was clothed in black.

His hair was dark, his eye bold, powerful, and steady; and his beard, which was very profuse, descended to his breast.

This was M. La Fontaine...²⁵

On 19 July 1841, Lafontaine made his first London appearance at the Hanover

²¹ For example, Hilgard (1980, p. xvi) speaks of Mesmer being invited to give evidence to an inquiry into the claims of Fr. Johann Joseph Gassner (1727-1779), and demonstrating that "the effects produced by Father Gassner could be explained naturally, without involving exorcism.

Hilgard remarks: "this seems a kind of reversal if one has been thought to think of Mesmer's animal magnetism as pseudo-science; yet it was here naturalism as opposed to Gassner's supernaturalism".

²² Elliotson thought Lafontaine came to England for "pecuniary" reasons, and left because he eventually "found the affair unsuccessful" (S.I.L.E., 1843, p. 93). Despite thinking he was "a less educated man" than de Sennevoy† (who had visited 4 years earlier), Elliotson felt Lafontaine's visit had not only done "great good", but also done "more ostensible good" than de Sennevoy's "because [Lafontaine] came at a period when the conviction [of mesmerism's] truth had become much more diffused, and persons were more disposed to attend to the subject".

²³ Not only did he speak no English on his arrival in the U.K., he never learned how to do so. A report in the *Leeds Mercury* in September 1842, fifteen months later, noted that "[he] cannot speak a sentence in English" (Anon, 1842bn).

²⁴ Given the prevailing fashion for clean-shaven faces, Lafontaine's beard was a subject of some considerable notoriety.

²⁵ This is the account of Spencer Timothy Hall (1812-1885) of his first meeting with Lafontaine (Hall, 1845, p. 1); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

Square Rooms, where he read a paper at “at railroad pace”, *in French*, to a small audience, “enumerat[ing] the many diseases for the cure of which the science was applicable”, claiming that a “commission which had been appointed to inquire into the merits of animal magnetism... [had established] the reality of the science... beyond the possibility of doubt” (Anon, 1841a). He began with one of his assistants, Eugene, as his subject.²⁶ Sitting Eugene in an armchair, and sitting beside him, Lafontaine placed his index and middle fingers on the ball of Eugene’s thumb, and his opposing thumb on the tip of Eugene’s thumb, and “looked him steadily and fixedly in the face”.²⁷

Lafontaine’s technique owed much to that of [Joseph] Deleuze.

It was a combination of eye-fixation and mesmeric passes from the head downward, commencing with the operator and subject facing one another, the former holding onto the thumbs of the latter...

[From his own descriptions, Lafontaine] considered the physical contact — the holding of the thumbs — to be the most crucial part of the induction method. (Edmonston, 1986, pp.83-84)

Almost immediately, “a spasmodic motion took place in the youth’s throat”.²⁸ Then, despite seeming to be “lost to all consciousness”, he did not display “the ordinary phenomena of sleep”: his face was expressionless, his neck rigid, and his arms were flaccid at his sides. The “somnambulism” now complete, Lafontaine forced several pins into his head and cheeks. Whilst impressed, most of the audience supposed some sort of ‘sleight of hand’ was involved. Lafontaine, passed a phial of extremely potent *smelling salts* around, for the audience to test its strength, and then waved it under Eugene’s nose. No response. He closed Eugene’s mouth and lit a Lucifer match under his nose.²⁹ No response. He fired percussion caps close to his ears.³⁰ No response. Commanded to sing, Eugene

²⁶ He travelled with young assistants; one of whom was identified as ‘Eugene’ (or M. Eugène), a French youth approximately 18. Another was a young woman known as ‘Mary’. There were also a number of young (English) women who assisted him from time to time.

²⁷ For an extended discussion of the complete range of Lafontaine’s induction techniques over the years, see Edmonston (1986), pp.82-87.

²⁸ This was *globus hystericus*: a psychogenic/hysterical contraction of the oesophagus that gives ‘a lump in the throat’ sensation or the sensation that something is caught in the throat.

²⁹ A *Lucifer* match was lit by friction (safety matches were not widely available until the mid-1850s); once lit, it had a very strong, offensive smell, predominantly that of sulphur dioxide.

³⁰ The *percussion cap*, a recent invention, replaced the flint-on-steel ignition mechanism of a flintlock. It was a small metal container containing gunpowder that was activated by the percussion of a hammer, rather than the spark of a flint. It made a very loud sound.

"made a low moaning noise, coming as it were from the stomach", which was "arrested" by a single motion of Lafontaine's hand.

This 'arrestation by a single motion of the hand' is strongly suggestive of the later theory promoted by the French neurologist, and associate of Jean-Martin Charcot,[‡] Jean Albert Pitres,[‡] who spoke of "*zones hypnogènes*": 'hypnogenetic zones', which induced hypnotism when stimulated — "*regions... de provoquer instantanément le sommeil hypnotique*", 'zones that provoke hypnotic sleep instantaneously' (1891, p.98). These zones had counterparts: the "*zones hypno-frénatrices*" ('hypno-arresting zones') — "*le font cesser brusquement le sommeil hypnotique*", 'that abruptly terminate the hypnotic sleep' (p.100).³¹ Although the locations of the zones varied from person to person, they were distinct and constant for any given individual — i.e., they had a "*position habituelle*" (p.497).

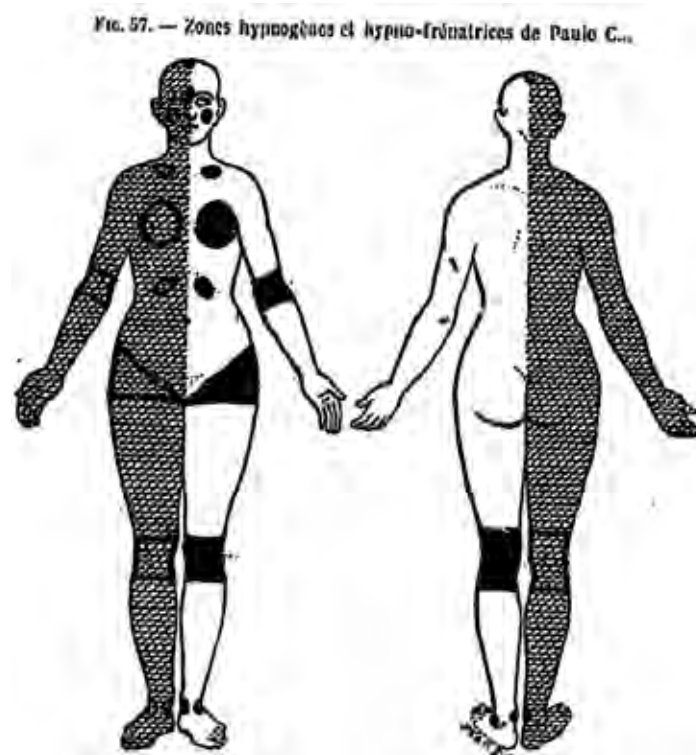


Fig.33. The 'hypnogenetic zones' and 'hypno-arresting zones' of "Paule C—".³²

Lafontaine produced catalepsy: "[Eugene's] arms were extended horizontally

³¹ Many English texts repeat the typographical error in the English version of Moll's *Der Hypnotismus* (1890), and have "*zones hypno-fénatrices*" (Moll, *Hypnotism*, 1890, p.36). The German edition of Moll (1890, p.26) has the correct "*zones hypno-frénatrices*".

³² Diagram taken from Pitres (1891), p.499. The zones are bi-lateral. In Pitres' diagram (of his patient, "Paule C—", on 13 October 1884), the 'hypnogenetic zones' for the right-hand side, and the 'hypno-arresting zones' of the left-hand side are displayed.

from the shoulders, and his legs from the chair". Audience members who tested Eugene's catalepsy found "the arm was rigid, and could not be bent", and that it "resisted like the bough of a tree". Lafontaine then produced a powerful electro-magnetic generator, sending its current through Eugene. Yet, although it "shook him dreadfully", Eugene "gave no signs of feeling". An audience member, who tested the generator, shouted loudly at the current, and could not let the wires go, verifying that it was a considerable charge.



Fig.34. A Voltaic Battery.³³

Lafontaine then produced a "voltaic battery"; and, although though the battery's current "shook his arms like rattles, [Eugene] seemed quite unconscious of suffering".³⁴ A blindfolded Eugene then displayed no reaction when pins were thrust into his hands and thighs. Lafontaine made him walk, supported by an audience member and, then, "suddenly caused him to fall by a mere motion of the hand". When Lafontaine raised him from the floor (by seizing his collar), "[Eugene's] right arm, which [formerly] had been resting for support on the gentleman's arm, was elevated and rigid, as if [it was] still in the position it [had] occupied while walking, while the left foot was raised in the

³³ This *Voltaic pile*, comprised of a series of *Galvanic cells*, is on display at the *Tempio Voltiano*, a museum dedicated to Alessandro Volta (1745-1827) in Como, Italy (Wikimedia Commons).

³⁴ The reporter was certain there was no deception on the part of Eugene; noting that, "after the lecture, a gentleman, to satisfy himself of the strength of the voltaic pile, took hold of the wires, and was so stunned by the blow, that he actually pulled the machine off the table".

act of stepping out". Once de-magnetized, Eugene "seemed perfectly in health, and declared that he did not recollect anything that had happened to him".

A typical response to the press reports of Lafontaine's display was cynicism. Noting many things once thought impossible were now quite commonplace, "A Correspondent" (1841a) suggested that "the time has arrived when no pretensions to science,³⁵ however apparently wild or visionary, can be treated with contempt",³⁶ and urged that we should "now examine into the facts of animal magnetism or Mesmerism, without any reference whatever to theory, or any appeal to reason". He argued that, whilst we could accept the evidence of the voltaic pile and generator, the other phenomena should be thoroughly investigated by "proper persons" (i.e., "men who are acquainted with the wonders of physical science") because of the similarity to the case of malingerer Phineas Adams,[‡] who had endured snuff thrust up his nostrils, electric shocks, powerful medicines, and being scalped without any apparent reaction.

"Scrutator" (1841),³⁷ who attended Lafontaine's demonstration, said none of Lafontaine's experiments (including a failed attempt to read a slip of paper on a subject's stomach) were proof of any magnetic agency. It was already known with acupuncture, he said, that long needles could be inserted without pain;³⁸ and, he noted, whenever the smelling salts approached his nostrils, Eugene's respiration ceased, and his lack of response was due to an absence of inhalation. He also recognized the female subject (which, I assume, was 'Mary') as "a well-known performer",³⁹ who had also "been frequently exhibited by M. Dupotet".[‡]

³⁵ That is, in terms of the *science* vs. *pseudo-science* debate, as represented by (Weyant, 1980, p.79), these would be the entities that should be set apart because of the prevailing uncertainty as to whether they constitute a "potential science" or a "protoscience".

³⁶ He mentions, among others, Irish philosopher/scientist Dionysius Lardner (1793-1859), who at the time of the construction of the *S.S. Great Western*, said steamers could never cross the Atlantic; or those, prior to the invention of the railway by John Blenkinsop (1783-1831), who thought locomotives would never achieve enough traction to travel along the railway tracks.

³⁷ *Scrutator* = 'one who examines' or 'one who scrutinizes'.

³⁸ It is not clear whether "Scrutator" was also making a sly reference to Elliotson's connexion with acupuncture (see Elliotson, 1827, pp.467-468, and Elliotson, 1832).

³⁹ The fact that she had previously been a subject is not evidence of trickery. It is common, even today, for those who wish to demonstrate specific manifestations of hypnotic phenomena, to ensure that their experimental subjects have the capacity to do so beforehand.

"Scrutator" concluded that, even if genuine, the 'effects' were not due to 'magnetism', but to the "condition of mind" attending "[the] state to which persons of a nervous and excitable temperament are especially liable"; and these "delusions of an excited and uncontrolled imagination" were known "to occur in numerous instances where magnetism was out of the question" — a fact which would be attested to by "all medical men of experience".

On 2 August 1841, "A Correspondent" (1841b) attended his first Lafontaine performance. Pins were stuck in Mary's hands and head without apparent pain or uneasiness. Lafontaine produced catalepsy in Eugene (verified by Mr. Jackson);⁴⁰ and Eugene was, again, the target of percussion caps, ammonia, Lucifer matches, and pins. Upon de-magnetization, it was discovered that Eugene had been secretly stabbed in the calf with a scalpel by an audience member, causing him to lose more than an ounce of blood. From the blood loss, Eugene felt ill, and Lafontaine escorted him off-stage. On his return, Lafontaine asked for volunteers. His first subject was so distressed at the onset of *globus hystericus* that Lafontaine was forced to stop; and, on de-magnetization, the subject reported that "he [had] felt as if about to be suffocated". Lafontaine successfully magnetized a second subject.

On 5 August 1841, Lafontaine wrote to *The Times*, complaining that he had not been given any opportunity to display the skills he had already demonstrated in France: that he could make the dumb speak, and the deaf hear.

⁴⁰ Mr. Paul Jackson, L.A.C. (London, 1834), M.R.C.S. (England, 1834), a Fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (1841).

Sir,—Several papers expressed their doubt as to the genuineness of my experiments on magnetism in Hanover-square Rooms; others are at a loss, they say, to perceive the utility.

My object is to prove the existence of magnetism and its utility when it is used as a means of cure; my endeavour is by means of a wide-spread publicity to induce doctors and men of science to inquire into, and by its means relieve suffering humanity. I do not pretend that magnetism is an universal panacea, that will cure every disease; but, employed with discernment, in many instances it can be of great service, and give relief in cases where ordinary medical science has been unavailing.

In order to prove the existence and utility of magnetism beyond the possibility of a doubt, when I arrived in this country I applied to an establishment of the deaf and dumb, having been fortunate enough to cure in France several deaf and dumb, whose complete deafness been duly testified by authentic proofs now in my possession, and which I am willing to submit to your inspection. I requested the committee would allow me to magnetize, in their presence, some deaf and dumb patients of their establishment; thus there could have been no deception, no collusion, and my good or bad faith might have been tested. The answer I received from the director was, that the committee had referred my demand to the medical men of the establishment, and that I should shortly receive an answer. This was a month ago; up to this time I have received no further communication.

I now appeal to the medical men, men of science and worth, those whose public character and position in the world may place them above suspicion, and beg of them to carefully examine, and in an unprejudiced manner pass their judgment on magnetism. Let seven or eight individuals, as above alluded to, assemble and present two or three persons of their own choice to be magnetized by me, and in their presence. I am in hopes of being able to convince them of the existence and reality of magnetism. The few sittings I have given have caused a sensation in your great city. Magnetism is the theme of conversation — some speak for, others are against it. But, strange to say, those who had never seen any experiments are those who most loudly condemn. In these enlightened times truth ought not to be repelled because it happens to destroy certain theories founded on sophisms, but ought to be carefully examined and repulsed, if false, or candidly acknowledged, if true — for facts must ever be facts. For the sake of truth I beg you will give publicity to this letter, and I ardently hope my proposal will be accepted.

Your most obedient servant.

August 5.

LAFONTAINE.

Fig.35. Lafontaine's letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 5 August 1841.⁴¹

Two days later (7 August 1841), in a fierce *Lancet* editorial against mesmerism in general, Thomas Wakley† listed the failures of the French mesmeric demonstrators (Wakley, 1841a) — including those of the “the profitable exhibitor” Dupotet de Sennevoy — warning Lafontaine that, in order to avoid being forced to leave England, due to “the disgrace and mortification” of being detected as a mesmeric fraud (as Dupotet had been), Lafontaine should “make preparations for feeding the credulity of a certain portion of the English public

⁴¹ Lafontaine (1841a). Lafontaine's letter was also reprinted in *The (Hobart) Courier* of Friday 31 December 1841 (Vo.14, No.840, at p.3, col.B).

by some *new* artifice or project".⁴² Wakley suggested that Lafontaine change his "policy" and, instead, "[engage] the *Windsor Ghost* for the remainder of the season",⁴³ for, "if he could get hold of such a performer, it would without doubt prove a very profitable speculation". Then, immediately beneath his editorial, to remind his readers of the issues, he re-printed the *Lancet's* account of the 1838 experiments conducted on the fraudulent Okey sisters (i.e., Anon, 1838b).

On Thursday 12 August, Lafontaine's audience was very dissatisfied with his demonstration at the Hanover Square Rooms. By way of reparation, Lafontaine offered to present another demonstration the following day, using the (deaf and dumb) son of Samuel Donaldson as his subject (Anon, 1841f; Anon 1841g; Donaldson, 1841).⁴⁴ The day before, in private, Lafontaine had vainly tried to magnetize the boy without success, and had begged Donaldson to bring his son the following day (he advertised the fact with printed announcements). Yet, those presenting for the advertised performance (including Donaldson and his young son) found a locked door and a notice from Lafontaine stating that, due to the illness of his 'subject', the demonstration had to be postponed.⁴⁵

On 9 September, Lafontaine gave another performance at the Hanover Square Rooms (again, attended by "A Correspondent" (1841c)). Once magnetized, Eugene's "eyelids were then pulled back, and a lighted candle closely applied to the eyeballs [which, then,] presented a wild and spectral appearance, and seemed fixed and immovable". He was then "made to walk around the room, being unable at the same time to bend his knees". Greatly exhausted by performing, Lafontaine could not produce any further effects on a volunteer (who was "a surgeon, a member of Trinity College, Dublin, and one of the most powerful men we have ever seen"). On 22 September, Lafontaine lectured at Brighton Town Hall (Anon, 1841f); and, on 7 October, gave his last lecture at the Hanover Square Rooms. The routine was much the same as before, but was remarkable for the constant interruptions from an audience member:

⁴² "New", in italics, is added per instructions in the erratum.

⁴³ The spectral figure of Queen Elizabeth I, supposedly seen regularly at Windsor Castle.

⁴⁴ Donaldson had offered his son as a subject following Lafontaine's letter in *The Times*.

⁴⁵ The 'subject' in question was Eugene; there was nothing amiss with young Donaldson.

Some mirth was subsequently occasioned by an elderly gentleman, who during the greater part of the exhibition continued to exclaim "Humbug", being seated in the chair to be operated upon.

But all of the attempts of M. Lafontaine to keep him either quiet or steady were unavailing, and the operator at length declared it impossible, under such circumstances to succeed.

[The gentleman] accordingly rose, and declared the whole affair an imposture. (Anon, 1841l)

According to the report, Lafontaine was unsuccessful with his next subject and most of the audience then left. The report terminated with the statement, "M. Lafontaine, we believe, proceeds immediately to Paris".⁴⁶

Given Braid's wide reading of professional and popular journals, newspapers, and his discussions with colleagues, it is certain that he would have been well aware of Lafontaine and the various controversies surrounding his lectures, demonstrations, and experiments long before the report of his London activities appeared in *The Manchester Times* on 4 September 1841 (Anon, 1841e).

Also Braid would have certainly seen this later item in *The Lancet*:

MONSIEUR LAFONTAINE, the showman in London, for a short time, of a pin and needle victim, is now baiting for flats in the shallow waters near Birmingham and other places. It is a reproach to this nation that such persons are capable of practising their devices amongst us for a single month. When will the age of humbug, credulity, and folly end? The members of the profession in London ought not to meet in consultation any man who still gives an open sanction to the monstrous delusion called "animal magnetism".

Fig.36. Anti-Lafontaine item, *The Lancet*, 6 November 1841.^{47,48}

Lafontaine in Manchester

Lafontaine's first Manchester *conversazione* was on Tuesday 9 November; his second on Thursday 11 November.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ In fact, Lafontaine did not retire to Paris at all; he simply escaped London, and went to Birmingham (Lafontaine, 1866, I, p.303). Also, his advertisement in the *Manchester Guardian* of 10 November indicates that he had recently been in Birmingham.

⁴⁷ Wakley (1841b).

⁴⁸ "Baiting for flats": "flat" was a local term for a small white fresh-water fish, such as the common roach.

⁴⁹ The *Manchester Times*' account of both *conversaciones* is at Anon (1841m). The *Manchester Guardian*'s is at Anon (1841n). Both reports appeared on the following Saturday (13 November 1841).

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.— On Thursday evening, November 11, 1841, at the request of several persons of distinction, M. LAFONTAINE, who has lately been exhibiting to highly respectable audiences in London and Birmingham, will give a CONVERSAZIONE on ANIMAL MAGNETISM, in the Lecture Room at the Athenæum, when he will exhibit a series of highly interesting experiments.

Admission, Members of the Athenæum, 1s.; Strangers, 2s. 6d.
To commence at eight o'clock precisely.

Fig.37. Lafontaine's *conversazione*, *The Manchester Guardian*, 10 November 1841.⁵⁰

In the introduction to its report of both of Lafontaine's *conversazioni* — each of which, strangely, represented mesmerism as “a German importation”, rather than a French — the *Manchester Times* (Anon, 1841m) listed references for its readers;⁵¹ and, to set the scene, it included a long passage from Romer's[‡] introduction to *Sturmer, a Tale of Mesmerism* (1841), which stressed the dangers of such a powerful tool in the wrong hands.⁵² A week later, the *Manchester Times* (Anon, 1841p), following its account of Lafontaine's third *conversazione*, with Lafontaine's approval, supplied an extensive outline of the experimental findings and theoretical views of German surgeon and mesmerist, Kluge,[‡] derived from his 1812 (German) work.⁵³

At his first *conversazione* Lafontaine followed his usual pattern: a lecture on the history and principles of animal magnetism, the outcomes of various French Commissions, demonstrations of catalepsy, pins, detonating caps, smelling salts, and electro-magnetic current on his own subjects, before attempting to magnetize volunteers. He attempted to magnetize three audience members;

⁵⁰ Lafontaine (1841b).

⁵¹ The recommended reading included: *Archives of Animal Magnetism* (1817-1824), by Kieser, Nasse, and Nees von Esenbeck; *The Sphinx, or New Archives of Animal Magnetism* (1825-); Wolfart's *Lebens-Magnetismus (Annals of Animal Magnetism)* (1818-1827); Deleuze's *Histoire critique du Magnétisme Animal* (1813); Ennemoser's *Der Magnetismus in einer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung von allen Zeiten und bei allen Völkern* (1819); Ziermann's *Geschichtliche Darstellung des thierischen Magnetismus als Heilmittel* (1824); Basevi's *Del Magnetismo animale* (1826); Colquhoun's *Isis Revelata: An Inquiry Into the Origin, Progress and Present State of Animal Magnetism, Volumes I&II* (1836); *Foreign Review* (Vol.V); *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (January 1834); and *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (No.71).

⁵² In this popular work, Romer sought to expose the perils of the intentional misuse of this most powerful tool. From her own personal observations and experiences, particularly in Germany, shewas totally convinced of the veracity of the phenomena of mesmerism.

⁵³ Kluge's work, *Versuch einer Darstellung des animalischen Magnetismus, als Heilmittel* ('Attempt at a Depiction of Animal Magnetism as a Remedy'), deals with Kluge's experiments and clinical experiences and provides details of the theories and experiments of others; it is “one of the most researched and widely read early German works on animal magnetism” (Crabtree, 1988, p.64).

failing with the first two, and only partly successful with the third.⁵⁴ There was a far larger audience at his second *conversazione* on Thursday (Anon, 1841n), including medicos and surgeons, Mr. Franklin,[‡] Mr. Holland,[‡] Mr. Ransome,[‡] Mr. Turner,[‡] and Mr. Noble[‡] (Noble also supervised Lafontaine's experiments, one of which involved the *Manchester Guardian's* reporter). According to the *Manchester Times*, the pulse rates of those Lafontaine magnetized on the Thursday ranged from 133 to 160 (normal is approx. 75).⁵⁵ One of Lafontaine's volunteers reported the headache he had been suffering prior to Lafontaine's operation had vanished by its end. Noting that the demonstrations excited much interest, the *Manchester Times's* report concluded that the phenomena Lafontaine had apparently produced were at least worthy of "deliberate examination". Lafontaine did not attempt to have his subjects read with their stomach (as he had done in London); and the *Guardian* commented "Lafontaine does not attempt, even with his own subjects, to exhibit what are termed the higher states of mesmerism, *clairvoyance* and *prevision*" (Anon, 1841n).⁵⁶

Braid and 'Animal Magnetism'

In *Neurypnology* (pp.34-35) Braid states that, prior to observing Lafontaine, he was totally convinced by the *London Medical Gazette's* earlier investigation of Animal Magnetism (Anon, 1838a); and was certain there was no substance to any claim of magnetic agency. That article's last paragraph read:

This, then, [in conclusion,] is our case.

Every credible effect of magnetism has occurred, and every incredible one *is said* to have occurred, in cases where no magnetic influence has been exerted, but in all which, excited imagination, irritation, or some powerful mental impression, has operated: where the mind has been alone acted on, magnetic effects have been produced without magnetic manipulations: where magnetic manipulations have been employed unknown to the patient, and therefore without the assistance of the

⁵⁴ The report identifies him as Mr. Lynill; noting that "previously Mr. Lynill was no believer in animal magnetism", that he was "a well-read, intelligent man", and observing that "he is of a nervous temperament, and has for a short time past been by no means in good health".

⁵⁵ This is consistent with the experiment conducted by McGarry (1987) which found that, when compared with a control group, the heart rates of those in his *hypnotism* group reduced significantly, whilst the heart rates of those in his *mesmerism* group increased significantly.

⁵⁶ It is important to note that Lafontaine never attempted to demonstrate any of these "higher phenomena" in Braid's presence; and, as will be discussed in later chapters, given that Braid's goal was to replicate Lafontaine's phenomena, they were never a subject of Braid's research.

mind, no result has ever been produced.

Why, then, imagine a new agent, which cannot act by itself, and which has never yet even seemed to produce a new phenomenon?

The London Medical Gazette, 24 March 1838.⁵⁷

Braid also indicated (in 1843) that the long-lasting impression this article had made upon him had been greatly compounded by his knowledge of Wakley's earlier exposure of the comprehensive fraud perpetrated by the Okey sisters.[‡]

Enter Braid

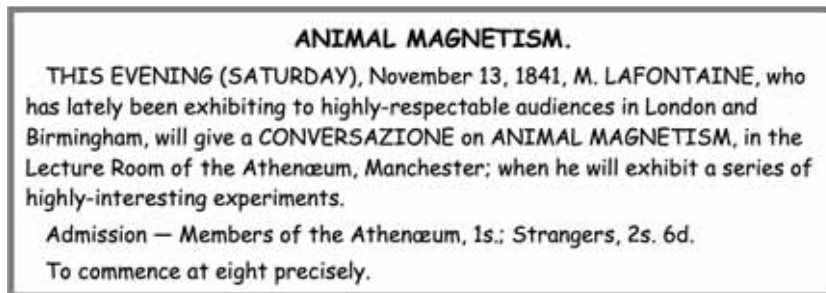


Fig.38. Lafontaine's *conversazione*, *Manchester Times*, 13 November 1841.⁵⁸

When Braid, a member of the Athenæum,⁵⁹ attended Lafontaine's third *conversazione* he had not *seen* an act of mesmerism before that evening; yet, he *had* read about it, and he *had* been told few people could be mesmerized, and that those who could be mesmerized were "in a state of disease, or naturally of a delicate constitution, or peculiarly susceptible temperament", and that the phenomena allegedly displayed by those mesmerized, seemed "so exaggerated, or of such an extraordinary nature" that, even before seeing the production of the phenomena, he had already formed a view that it was entirely due to "a system of collusion or delusion" or, possibly, even, due to "excited imagination, sympathy, or imitation" (*Neurypnology*, p.15). Twelve years earlier, Richard Chenevix[‡] had already addressed this issue:

If medical men assert that the alleged cures of mesmerism are performed by the mind, and that this is the peculiar province of imaginat-

⁵⁷ Anon (1838a, p.1037); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading. In a footnote to *Neurypnology* (p.35), Braid quotes this entire paragraph, except that he omits the last sentence.

⁵⁸ Lafontaine (1841c).

⁵⁹ It is, of course, possible that, in addition to Braid's 'private' motivation to attend, he may also have been encouraged to attend by members of the Athenæum's committee, anxious to hear the views of a reputable medical scientist on the veracity of Lafontaine's phenomena.

ive therapeutics, do they not culpably neglect the most powerful agent of mental medicine, if they do not practise mesmerism?

If imagination can cure, and if this be its most energetic exciter, then excite it thus; cure by imagination, and the sick will bless you.

Chenevix (1829), p.324.

From the wide range of phenomena Lafontaine's subjects had supposedly displayed, and given that Lafontaine held himself out to be 'a magnetist', Braid would have been anxious to determine a number of issues, such as:

- (1) Was there a substantial (rather than metaphorical) magnetic force whose power was the agent of these effects?
- (2) If there was such a magnetic force (which, as everyone knew, always radiated in all directions), how could it be directed by Lafontaine?
- (3) Did Lafontaine, as operator, have any control over the mesmeric act?
- (4) Did Lafontaine, as the operator, have any control over his initial connexion with, and, then, subsequent channelling of, the magnetism?
- (5) Did Lafontaine's power over his subjects lie within him, or was it entirely due to the magnetic force for which he was a conduit?
- (6) What sort of person should be entrusted with the exercise of this power?

Braid needed to see Lafontaine in person; so that he would no longer be forced to rely upon the second-hand reports and opinions of others. Far from credulous, he went "as a complete sceptic", determined to "to discover the source of fallacy in certain phenomena [he] had heard were exhibited [by] M. Lafontaine" (*Neurypnology*, p.2).

In 1845, "William Holbrook"⁶⁰ made a strong personal attack against Braid in a letter to *The Critic*:

To nearly all Mesmerists Mr. Braid is known as a pertinacious theorist. His first connection with the question was as an opponent, denying the facts of Mesmerism... (Holbrook, 1845, p.104)

Braid said that, whilst "Holbrook's" letter was not worth a reply as far as he was *personally* concerned, he had decided to reply because "*higher* interests"

⁶⁰ The overall atmosphere of Braid's response (1845a, p.144) this letter strongly suggests that Braid was far from certain that "William Holbrook" was the correspondent's real name.

were involved. Braid made sure that his position was unequivocally clear:

There was no occasion for ["Holbrook"] to raise as a serious charge against me, that I commenced the practical investigation of Mesmerism as a *sceptic*.

I was simple enough to think it neither a sin nor a shame for a man to acknowledge he had been in error, and that he comprehended a subject better *after* investigating it *practically* than when he relied entirely on reading or hearsay evidence for his knowledge of it;⁶¹ I therefore did not hesitate to state this fact most explicitly in my little work on hypnotism; and you also referred to it as nothing uncommon with others, where you say,

"Mr. Braid went to witness some mesmeric cases a complete sceptic; like everybody else who has seen and *tried* them, he returned a believer".⁶²

Now, whilst I readily admitted what I believed to be facts, after having taken pains to *prove that they really were facts*, still I can see no obligation I was under, on that account, to subscribe to what I *then* believed, and *still as firmly do believe*, to be an erroneous explanation of the *cause* of the phenomena...⁶³

There was a large audience, including C.D. Wray,[‡] Canon of Manchester Cathedral, Braid, three surgeons and a student surgeon: Mr. Leigh,[‡] Mr. Robertson,[‡] Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth,[‡] and Mr. Bennet[‡] — also, Tobias Theodores (1808-1886), who would later become Professor of Modern Languages at Manchester's Owens College, was Lafontaine's interpreter (Anon, 1841o).⁶⁴

When Bennet tried to insert a pin into Eugene's eyelid, many of the ladies "became so faint as to make it necessary for them to quit the place". Lynill,[‡] who had been Lafontaine's subject on the previous evening, and who had (apparently) been coached in the interim, successfully magnetized Mary. Lafontaine then announced that he would attempt to magnetize Mr. Bennet,

⁶¹ Braid's response is reminiscent of John Maynard Keynes, who, on being challenged by Winston Churchill about changing his mind on important monetary policy, is supposed to have replied: "When I am wrong, sir, I change my mind. What do you do?" Earlier, Braid had said:

"For my own part, whilst I shall always be found to make a firm stand for what I believe to be truth, no one shall ever find me *obstinately* maintaining an opinion when new facts have arisen to convince me have been in error. I consider it far more manly, and that it requires for more moral courage, to acknowledge we have been in error, than to offer an obstinate resistance when new views have enlightened our former darkness" (Anon, 1841cc).

⁶² Here Braid is quoting directly from *The Critic's* review of *Neurypnology* (Anon, 1844a, p.131).

⁶³ Braid (1845a, p.144); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶⁴ Here it is important to note the observation of one of Lafontaine's later interpreters, that Braid spoke no French (Anon, 1841mm); and, also, the comment in *The Manchester Guardian* of 17 November 1841 (Anon, 1841o), that Lafontaine spoke no English.

but, so far from being sure of success, [Lafontaine] rather thought that he should not succeed.—(Several voices, "Why")

In the choice of his subjects, he was guided by the experience he was able to gather, and which he could not explain, but which told him that certain persons were more likely than others to be sensible to the operation.

He thought Mr. Bennet not likely, but he would try.

Mr. Bennet then occupied the chair, and it was stated that his pulse was about 150 at commencing.

M. Lafontaine, after trying the operation with the thumbs and fingers for seven minutes, disengaged one hand, and made passes at the eyes and forehead; but in nine minutes he desisted altogether, and Mr. Bennet arose, and said that at one time when the operator's hand was opposite his eyes, he thought he had lost the use of one of his hands, and tried it, but found he could move it.

He felt nothing except a little in his eyes from looking M. Lafontaine so earnestly in the face.

Mr. Braid, surgeon: Have you felt any thing more than what might arise from the position of being confined, and your eyes being fixed?

*Mr. Bennet: No more.*⁶⁵

The Manchester Guardian, 17 November 1841 (emphasis added).⁶⁶

Lafontaine demonstrated on volunteers, with various degrees of success, and Braid asked the man who seemed most affected by Lafontaine's activities if he had attended such an exhibition before. He answered "Never before".⁶⁷ Finally Lynill de-magnetized the young woman who, by this time, had been magnetized for more than an hour, with her legs horizontal and cataleptiform.

Braid also attended Lafontaine's fourth *conversazione* six days later, on Friday 19 November. The auditorium was packed with an unruly crowd,⁶⁸ with those standing in the front of the hall obstructing the view of those who sat behind (Anon, 1841q; Anon, 1841r).⁶⁹ Notices reading "*It is required that none but medical gentlemen will go on the stage*" were at each side of the stage. Once order was established, Theodores, acting as interpreter, announced that Lafontaine, who

⁶⁵ This interchange, reported in *The Manchester Guardian* of 17 November 1841, was significant in the rejection of Catlow's (subsequent) claim for priority over Braid. Catlow's (unsupported) assertion was that he (Catlow) made certain statements on either 18 November or 19 November (5 or 6 days after Braid's statement, and 1 or 2 days after this newspaper report).

⁶⁶ Anon (1841o).

⁶⁷ This spoke to the question of "imitation"; or, perhaps, as Theodore Roy Sarbin (1911-2005) would later describe it, "role enactment" (e.g., Coe and Sarbin, 1966).

⁶⁸ *The Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1841r) reported that there was almost 1,000 present.

⁶⁹ *The Manchester Guardian* report (Anon, 1841r) spoke of Lafontaine complaining of "the difficulty of magnetizing any person before such a multitude".

had been asked whether animal magnetism was dangerous, held that it was just as dangerous as medicine, or fire, or water, and that it was dangerous “when employed by persons unacquainted with its effects” (Anon, 1841r).

To prove that magnetism existed independent of himself, Lafontaine asked Lynill to magnetize the subject that Lafontaine had magnetized on the previous Saturday. Braid stood immediately, proposing, “*That those who had not been magnetized before, should be done first, if they be done*”, wanting “the first selected [to be one] who had not seen the operation” because, as a medical man, he said, he knew “the power of imagination” only too well, and “wished for nothing but to see the investigation conducted with fairness and discretion” (Anon, 1841r).⁷⁰

In reply, Lafontaine said, while he knew *what* magnetism did, he didn’t know *how* it did what it did. He suspected that, with such a crowd, it might be that no effect could be obtained at all; and, he said, “if the audience would allow him to go through the programme of his advertisement”, and allow him “to show the power of this influence on those who had been magnetised before”, “whom he knew to be susceptible of its effects”, he “would afterwards allow any person to [come forward], and he would experimentalise [sic] upon that person”, warning that he “could not promise that he would magnetise him”. The report noted (1841r) that, as Braid offered himself (“Allow me to offer myself now, to be magnetized”), there were cries of “No, no”, “Sit down”, “Turn him out”; and, whilst Braid’s amendment was being seconded from the floor, there were also cries of “No interruption: sit down”. There was great applause when Theodore “put it to the good feeling of the large assembly to allow [Lafontaine] to perform, uninterruptedly, what he had promised the public in his advertisement”.

The exhibition began. Lynill magnetized his subject to Lafontaine’s satisfaction. Lafontaine said he “[would allow] two or three medical gentlemen [to] come upon the platform” and test whether Lynill’s subject was truly insensible. Braid, surgeon Mr. Miller,[†] and physician Dr. Eager,[‡] took the stage. Braid and Miller stuck pins into the quick beneath her fingernails; and, whilst not totally

⁷⁰ This demand was not made to sabotage Lafontaine, but was made in order to assist in the establishment of the truth, by eliminating what he would later describe as a “*source of fallacy*”.

insensible, her sensibility was significantly reduced. Magnetized, she seemed insensible to percussion caps; yet, was normally sensitive once de-magnetized. Her pulse rate, hard to measure due to the quivering of her arm, was considerably raised (perhaps 130 beats per minute); and, when Lynill opened her eyes, Braid noticed a contraction of the pupil whenever he brought the candle near. By this time Miller measured her pulse at 150.

At [Lafontaine's] conversazione... *one* fact, the inability of a patient to open [their] eyelids, arrested my attention.

I considered that to be a *real phenomenon*, and was anxious to discover the physiological cause of it.

James Braid, *Neurypnology*, p.16.

After heated discussions on whether Braid and Miller's tests indicated that Lynill's magnetization had been successful, Lafontaine called for volunteers. He worked with several of them with varying success. Braid again offered himself as a subject. Lafontaine said he feared Braid would not be susceptible. Braid stood down; for, he said, if Lafontaine thought he could not succeed, there was no point in him even beginning to attempt to do so. Lafontaine magnetized several others, and there was extensive discussion (even quarrels) between audience members. The final paragraph of the *Manchester Guardian's* report gives some idea of the prevailing atmosphere at the rowdy meeting:

We cannot close this account, in which we have fallen far short of conveying a just impression of the amount of confusion, and what we must call the "badgering", that M. Lafontaine was subjected to, without observing, that any rational and reflecting person present must have felt ashamed at the rude demeanour and great discourtesy shown by Englishmen to a stranger and a foreigner.

What would be our national feelings, if we were told that an English lecturer had been so received in France?

Besides, if the object be to detect imposture, is this likely to be better done by clamour, insult, impertinent interference, and obtrusive meddling, than by calm, careful, close observation, quiet watching, and pertinent inquiry?

We should be sorry to see even a *charlatan* (and he must have odd notions of the nature of evidence who applies this harsh term to M. Lafontaine) treated — we might say *baited* — as the operator was, on Friday evening.

We should regret it, even in the case of an impostor; because any thing like persecution arrays the sympathies on the side of the persecuted, and thus damages the cause of truth, whose balance should always be held even. *Manchester Guardian*, 24 November 1841.⁷¹

⁷¹ Anon, (1841r); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

At his fifth *conversazione* on the following evening, Saturday 20 November,⁷² Lafontaine began by observing that many came the night before “not to test the truth of his experiments, but with a fixed determination to prove that it was all deception”. So, he offered to stand aside, and let the “gentlemen of Manchester” conduct the evening’s experiments, for “between [them] and the subjects of the experiments no one could suppose there was the slightest collusion”. Respected obstetrician, Dr. Radford,[†] was appointed chair in the hope this *conversazione* would not descend into the chaos of that of the preceding night.

Before Lafontaine began, Braid addressed the chair from the floor, and read out the contents of a letter that he had sent to Lafontaine that morning, to which he had received no response.⁷³ The burden of Braid’s letter was that, it was almost certain that the “wonderful effects” and the “surprising phenomena” elicited the preceding evening were “attributable to sympathy” and had been produced by “the strength of the imagination alone”. Thus, he wanted Lafontaine to use only those who had neither seen, nor at any time subjected to, any of his magnetic experiments.⁷⁴ The response was a masterpiece of ‘*spin*’: happy to accept Braid’s suggestion, Lafontaine “expressed his perfect willingness to commence with a new subject”; but, he wanted it clearly understood that whatever demonstration might take place, it must not be given the status of “an experiment” and, further, “he protested against the right of any one to dictate in what mode he should conduct his experiments”. The chairman (to cheers from the audience) expressed his own view that Braid’s proposal was “a most unwarrantable interference with the rights and privileges of a public lecturer” and that, if “any one were to be at liberty to dictate to a lecturer the mode in which

⁷² Extended reports of the proceedings appear in *The Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1841s) and *The Manchester Times* (Anon, 1841t). Because each report is significantly different in its form, content, and orientation, it can’t be a coincidence that the texts of the first part (approx. 400 words) of each report (*i.e.*, the section specifically dealing with the start of the *conversazione* and Braid raising the issue of his unanswered letter with Lafontaine) are precisely identical.

⁷³ Braid remarked (to the “disapprobation” of the audience) that, perhaps, the reason his letter was ignored was due to “what they called the ‘French politeness’”. In response, Lafontaine claimed that the bearer of the letter had told him (Lafontaine) “that no answer was required”.

⁷⁴ None of the press reports supply a full transcript of the letter; they simply summarize what they term “the substance of the letter”.

he was to conduct his experiments", that would certainly be a "course of action [that could] be productive of the most serious and alarming consequences".

Braid was accompanied by a number of his surgical colleagues, including Mr. Miller, Mr. Cooper,[‡] Mr. Smith,[‡] and Mr. Williamson,[‡] and Mr. Wilson.[‡] Smith offered himself as a subject; but Lafontaine refused to use him, and went on to attempt to magnetize two members of the audience without much success.⁷⁵

Again, as Lafontaine attempted to proceed, Braid protested, demanding that another "new subject" be experimented upon. Braid was again criticized by the chairman for "interference". The chairman and the crowd were anxious for the advertised show to proceed. Braid's request was rejected. Lynill magnetized the same female subject as the previous evening in about three minutes; and, whilst magnetized, she was completely insensible to pin pricks on her hands, arms, and face. Whilst magnetized she was insensible to percussion caps fired near her ears, yet very sensitive once de-magnetized. Wilson declared that, just like the practices of Elliotson that Wakley had earlier exposed, "the whole thing was as great a *humbug* as was ever seen": and, as another of the eye-witnesses (Williamson) recalled more than fifty years later:

The audience then called upon [eye surgeon] Mr. Wilson for his opinion of the exhibition.

Of course the question was, Is this exhibition an honest one or is it a sham?

Is the girl really asleep, or is she only pretending to be so?

In reply to the call of the audience, Mr. Wilson stood up and said: "The whole affair is as complete a piece of humbug as I ever witnessed."

The indignant lecturer [Lafontaine], not familiar with English slang phrases, excitedly replied, "The gentleman says it is all *Bog*, I say it is not *Bog*; there is no *Bog* in it at all."

By this time several of us, including Mr. Wilson, had gone upon the platform to examine the girl.

I at once raised her eyelids, and found the pupils contracted to two small points.

I called Wilson's attention to this evidence of sound sleep, and he at once gave me a look and a low whistle, conscious that he was in a mess.

Braid then tested the girl by forcing a pin between one of her nails and the end of her finger.

She did not exhibit the slightest indication of feeling pain, and Braid

⁷⁵ Williamson provided a first-hand description of the part played by both Braid and Wilson at this meeting (*Reminiscences*, 1896, pp.98-99).

soon arrived at the conclusion it was not all "*Bog*".⁷⁶

Smith was certain that none of the alleged phenomena had been manifested at all. He was so incensed that he wrote a long, fierce letter to the *Manchester Times* denouncing "the Trinity of the credulous" (viz., "astrology, homœopathy, or animal magnetism"), stating that he entirely agreed with Wilson that it was "*a piece of wretched humbug*" (Smith, 1841a). Yet Braid accepted that the elevated pulse rate (164) he found in one magnetized subject could have been "[caused] by the effect of the imagination"; and, also, he was greatly impressed by the fact that one subject could not open his eyelids.

[At the last conversazione], I watched this case when again operated on, with intense interest, and before the termination of the experiment, felt assured I had discovered its cause, but considered it prudent not to announce my opinion publicly, until I had had an opportunity of testing its accuracy, by experiments and observation in private.

Braid, *Neurypnology*, (1843), p.16.

The meeting ended in a much more orderly fashion than the previous evening; and Lafontaine promised to return to Manchester within a fortnight.

Braid's private experiments and observations

By Braid's account, with his attention arrested by the (to him) established fact that the subject could not open his eyelids, he went home sure of the veracity of some of Lafontaine's effects and phenomena. In particular, he was convinced that, so to speak, the transformation from *condition*₁ to *condition*₂, and back to *condition*₁ had really taken place. He was even more certain that no 'magnetic agency' was responsible for any of these (to him, veridical) events. He also rejected the assertion that the transformation in question had "proceeded from, or [had been] excited into action by another [person]" (*Neurypnology*, p.32).

Braid then performed his *experimentum crucis*.⁷⁷ Operating on the principle of

⁷⁶ Williamson, *Reminiscences*, 1896, p.99; the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁷⁷ In his *Novum Organum* of 1620, Francis Bacon spoke of an *instantia crucis* ('crucial instance'), an experiment that proves one of two competing hypotheses and disproves the other. The term *crucis* derived from *crux* ('cross') delivers a sense of the guidepost that gives directions when a single roadway splits into two. The equivalent term, *experimentum cruces* ('crucial experiment'), was certainly used by Isaac Newton, and may have been introduced by Robert Boyle.

Occam's Razor, and recognizing that he could diminish, rather than multiply entities, he made an extraordinary decision to perform a *role-reversal* and treat the operator-subject interaction as subject-internal, operator-guided procedure; rather than, as Lafontaine supposed, an operator-centred, subject-external procedure. He rejected the notion that Lafontaine's effects were due to the 'magnetic gaze' of a 'charismatic' operator, and he emphatically proved his point by self-experimentation, with his 'upwards and inwards squint' replicating the physical arrangement of Lafontaine's subjects *vis-à-vis* Lafontaine. The exceptional success of this use of 'self-' or 'auto-hypnotism' (rather than 'hetero-hypnotism'), entirely *by himself*, *on himself*, and *within* his own home, clearly demonstrated that it had nothing whatsoever to do with the 'gaze', 'charisma', or 'magnetism' of the operator; all it needed was a subject's 'fixity of vision' on an 'object of concentration' at such a height and such a distance from the bridge of their nose that the desired 'upwards and inwards squint' was achieved. And, at the same time, by using himself as a subject, he conclusively proved that none of Lafontaine's phenomena were due to magnetic agency.

Given Sagan's view that *extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence*,⁷⁸ and given that Lafontaine's claims involved what Pyysiäinen (2002) identifies as '*counter-intuitive events attributed to counterintuitive agents*', Braid's important discovery, that a 'state' analogous to that of Lafontaine's, was generated by his "double internal and upward squint" method, demolished, *in one fell swoop*, the magnetists' claims that the transformation from *condition*₁ to *condition*₂ was contingent upon (a) the presence of a magnetist, and (b) the agency of a subject-external magnetic force.^{79,80} Braid's master-move was to convert the issue into one of 'ordinary claims'; which, *ipso facto*, only required 'ordinary evidence'.

⁷⁸ The principle in question originated with Pierre-Simon Laplace: "*Le poids de la preuve pour une affirmation extraordinaire doit être proportionnel à son degré d'étrangeté*" (The weight of evidence for an extraordinary claim must be proportioned to its strangeness).

⁷⁹ In *Neurypnology* (p.15) Braid explains that, from the success of his own method of induction, he "felt satisfied it [sc. "the impression which hypnotism induces on the nervous system"] was not dependent on any special agency or emanation, passing from the body of the operator to that of the patient, as the animal magnetizers allege is the case by their process...".

⁸⁰ And, given that Braid was a healthy, stable individual, Braid had also both anticipated and refuted the view of Charcot,[‡] and of the "Hysteria School",[‡] promoted so strongly, in Paris, half a century later, that a capacity to exhibit the hypnotic state was an index of pathology.

Braid not only provided abundant 'ordinary evidence', but, in a very short time, had been able to link his 'ordinary claims' to the current canonical knowledge of the day. Later, in 1843, and with the assistance of '20/20 hindsight' Braid explained why he had chosen this procedure:

A patient may be hypnotized by keeping the eyes fixed in *any* direction. It occurs most *slowly* and *feebly* when the eyes are directed straight forward, and most *rapidly* and *intensely* when they can be maintained in the position of a double internal and upward squint.

It is now pretty generally known, that during the effort to look at a very near object, there is produced, according to the direction of the object, a double internal squint, or double internal and downward or upward squint, and the pupils are thereby powerfully contracted.

Neurypnology, p.34-35



Fig.39: The Hypnotic Ball (c.1900): Charles Verdin's adjustable device used to facilitate the production of Braid's "double internal and upward squint" (Macdonald, 1908, p.201).⁸¹

⁸¹ Charles Verdin, of Paris, was renowned as a scientific instrument maker of great precision, and the manufacturer of the highest quality medical and psychological apparatus (he started his production about 1875). In his discussion of "psycho-physical instruments of precision", Macdonald (1908, pp.176-229) when dealing with "hypnotic instruments", he states:

The hypnotic ball [of Verdin, Paris] has been used at the Hospital Salpêtrière in Paris. It consists of a curved flat piece of metal **B**, holding a lead wire **A**, on which is fastened a nickel ball 15 millimeters in diameter, which can be changed from one position to another by bending the wire. The ball is so placed as to strain the attention; the muscles of the eye are fatigued. After concentrating the eyes upon the ball for awhile [sic] the operator can suggest heaviness of eyelids, sleepiness, and the like. There is an imitation of nature here, as when we feel sleepy our eyelids are heavy and we can hardly keep them open. (p.201)

A newspaper article, by John Elfret Watkins (1852–1903), on hypnotic induction devices, displays a photograph of a different, but extremely similar device, called an *electro-hypnotic head band* (Watkins, 1902); see also Fig.44.

Braid discussed his experimental findings and his developing views with friends over the two intervening days;⁸² and revealed them to Captain Brown† on the Monday evening. In the presence of Captain Brown and members of his family, he took his experiments to their final stage, performing the first 'hetero-hypnotic' induction upon a Mr. J. A. Walker, on Monday, 22 November 1841.

My first object was to prove, that the inability of the patient to open his eyes was caused by paralyzing the levator muscles of the eyelids,⁸³ through their continued action during the protracted fixed stare, and thus rendering it physically impossible for him to open them.

With the view of proving this, I requested Mr Walker, a young gentleman present, to sit down, and maintain a fixed stare at the top of a wine bottle, placed so much above him as to produce a considerable strain on the eyes and eyelids, to enable him to maintain a steady view of the object.

In three minutes his eyelids closed, a gush of tears ran down his cheeks, his head drooped, his face was slightly convulsed, he gave a groan, and instantly fell into profound sleep, the respiration becoming slow, deep and sibilant, the right hand and arm being agitated by slight convulsive movements.

At the end of four minutes I considered it necessary, for his safety, to put an end to the experiment.

This experiment not only proved what I expected, but also, by calling my attention to the spasmodic state of the muscles of the face and arm, the peculiar state of the respiration, and the condition of the mind, as evinced on rousing the patient, tended to prove to my mind I had got the key to the solution of mesmerism.

The agitation and alarm of this gentleman, on being roused, very much astonished Mrs Braid.

She expressed herself greatly surprised at his being so much alarmed about nothing, as she had watched the whole time, and never saw me near him, or touching him in any way whatever.

I proposed that she should be the next subject operated on, to which she readily consented, assuring all present that she would not be so easily alarmed as the gentleman referred to.

I requested her to sit down, and gaze on the ornament of a china sugar basin, placed at the same angle to the eyes as the bottle in the former experiment.

In two minutes the expression of the face was very much changed; at the end of two minutes and a half the eyelids closed convulsively; the mouth was distorted; she gave a deep sigh, the bosom heaved, she fell back, and was evidently passing into an hysteric paroxysm, to prevent which I instantly roused her.

On counting the pulse I found it had mounted up to 180 strokes a minute.

In order to prove my position still more clearly, I called up one of my

⁸² *Neurypnology*, p.16.

⁸³ The *levator palpebrae superioris* muscle ('the elevating muscle of upper eyelid').

men-servants, who knew nothing of mesmerism, and gave him such directions as were calculated to impress his mind with the idea, that his fixed attention was merely for the purpose of watching a chemical experiment in the preparation of some medicine,⁸⁴ and being familiar with such he could feel no alarm.

In two minutes and a half his eyelids closed slowly with a vibrating motion, his chin fell on his breast, he gave a deep sigh, and instantly was in a profound sleep, breathing loudly.

All the persons present burst into a fit of laughter, but still he was not interrupted by us.

In about one minute after his profound sleep I roused him, and pretended to chide him for being so careless, said he ought to be ashamed of himself for not being able to attend to my instructions for three minutes without falling asleep, and ordered him down stairs.

In a short time I recalled this young man, and desired him to sit down once more, but to be careful not to go to sleep again, as on the former occasion.

He sat down with this intention, but at the expiration of two minutes and a half his eyelids closed, and exactly the same phenomena as in the former experiment ensued.

I again tried the experiment by causing Mr Walker to gaze on a different object from that used in the *first* experiments, but still, as I anticipated, the phenomena were the same.

I also tried him *à la Fontaine*, with the thumbs and eyes, and likewise by gazing on my eyes without contact, and still the effects were the same, as I fully expected.

Neurypnology, pp.16-19.⁸⁵

Braid was certain his induction precisely replicated the arrangement into which Lafontaine projected his demonstration subjects. Braid attributed the consequent 'state' to the exhaustion of the nervous system; which, to Braid, was the natural reflex of an entirely normal human physiological system. It was Braid's view that the exhaustion came from the fixation of the subject's vision upon a specific task.

I feel confident that the phenomena are induced solely by an impression made on the nervous centres, by the physical and psychical condition of the patient, irrespective of any agency proceeding from, or excited into action by another — *as any one can hypnotize himself by attending strictly to [my] simple rules.*

Neurypnology, p.32 (emphasis added)

Not only did his eye-fixation method consistently produce the 'state', but the specific transformation from *condition*₁ to *condition*₂, was *not unique to Braid as*

⁸⁴ It was not at all unusual for Braid to have his servants oversee, or very closely observe particular aspects of his laboratory work.

⁸⁵ The original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

operator, and could be produced by *anyone* who followed his procedure.

It is important to note that, for the remainder of his life, Braid constantly stressed the significance of his having attended Lafontaine's *conversazione*.

I was led to investigate the pretensions of animal magnetism... as a complete sceptic, from an anxiety to discover the source of fallacy in certain phenomena I had heard were exhibited at M. Lafontaine's conversazioni. The result was, that I made some discoveries which appeared to elucidate certain of the phenomena, and rendered them interesting, both in a speculative and practical point of view.

Neurypnology, p.2.

At this stage, Braid had four concerns:

- (1) Were the effects that Lafontaine claimed to produce (and the sensations that his subjects claimed to experience) veridical or non-veridical?
- (2) If they were veridical, were they due to collusion, pretence, or extensive subject training?
- (3) If they were veridical, were they due to the fulfillment of a 'subjective' ('unconscious') expectation by operators, observers, or subjects?
- (4) If they were veridical, was that fact, *per se*, conclusive evidence of the truth of Lafontaine's claim of magnetic agency?⁸⁶

It was only some time later that Braid began to consider, and investigate, and experiment with the possible therapeutic consequences of his own version of Lafontaine's operation.

Although he had seen Lafontaine's effects at first hand (and found some of them to be veridical), it was plain that, because it was Lafontaine who had made the extraordinary claims of magnetic agency, *it was up to Lafontaine to prove his claim*; it was not up to Braid to prove that such an agency *did not exist*. At this stage Braid was entirely satisfied that he had replicated Lafontaine's astonishing *unable-to-open-the-eyelids phenomena*; and he was just as certain his self-experimentation had conclusively shown that no magnetic agency of any

⁸⁶ That a certain effect is objectively veridical does not also mean that a proffered explanation is *ipso facto* true.

Also, its corollary obtains: if *A* claims that Santa Claus exists, and also claims that Santa Claus brings presents to children on Xmas Eve, the fact that *B* observes the 'objective reality' of presents sitting at the feet of the childrens' beds on Xmas morning, does not constitute evidence supporting *A*'s claim for the existence of Santa Claus.

sort was involved in any of the effects that he had produced.

Having performed his first 'hetero-' induction on the Monday evening, and having successfully projected *all of his subjects* into a 'state' within which they could not open their eyelids, it was obvious to Braid that, unlike Lafontaine, he (Braid) could now rightly claim that he not only knew *what* 'it' did, but that he also knew *how* 'it' did what it did. Braid did all that he could to make his findings known immediately.⁸⁷

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.—Mr. BRAID, Surgeon, 10, Piccadilly, Manchester, will Deliver a LECTURE on the above subject in the Lecture Room of the Athenæum, on the evening of Saturday next, the 27th inst. when he will perform a number of experiments on individuals who have already been tested, and also on any of the company who may offer themselves: by which he will be enabled clearly to prove that the effects exhibited by Monsieur Lafontaine in his lectures here, can be produced *without human contact with the patient*, and therefore have no right to be attributed to the influence of animal magnetism.

Mr. B. will, moreover, account for the effects on strictly philosophical and physiological principles.

The lecture to commence at eight o'clock precisely.

Tickets, 2s. 6d. each; to subscribers to the Athenæum, 1s.

Fig.40. Braid's first lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday, 24 November 1841.^{88,89}

His first public lecture was held only 5 days later, on 27 November 1841; and, by early December, Braid and Lafontaine were in competition.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

Mr. Braid, surgeon, of this town, announces a lecture for this evening at the Athenæum, where he intends to show that the effects exhibited by M. Lafontaine can be produced without human contact with the patient.

To witness such extraordinary phenomena there will, no doubt, be a large assembly.

See advt.

Fig.41. Pro-Braid advertorial, *Manchester Times*, Saturday, 27 November 1841.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ This effort of making his findings public was a strong characteristic of Braid. In his *Neurypnology* (p.11) Braid clearly states that, by 1843:

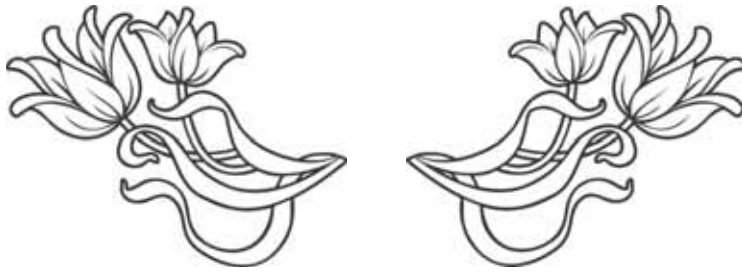
It is well known that I have never made any secret of my modes of operating, as they have not only been exhibited and explained publicly, but also privately, to any professional gentleman, who wished for farther information on the subject.

⁸⁸ Braid (1841f); also *Manchester Times*, Saturday, 27 November 1841 (Braid, 1841g)

⁸⁹ The report in *Cleave's Penny Gazette of Variety and Amusement* characterized the performance as "[an] exposé of the magnetic sleep-producing delusion" (Anon, 1841ss).

⁹⁰ Anon (1841p). The advertorial appeared on page two of the newspaper, and drew the readers attention to Braid's public notice on page one (which was identical to Fig.40).

The story of this competition, and the manner in which Braid's efforts to make his findings widely known through newspaper reports, public lectures, and practical demonstrations in Manchester, London, and Liverpool, are matters for the next chapter.



Chapter Four: Braid's First Set of Lectures (27 November to 8 December 1841)

This chapter deals with the first three public lectures delivered by Braid in order to show that Lafontaine's claims of magnetic agency were false. Although Braid was engaged in a purely scientific pursuit at this stage, his immediate success as a public speaker, popular educator and scientific demonstrator adds far greater weight to his decision to stop lecturing after his third lecture.

The "Prochronism" Problem

Although the temptation to *prochronistically* apply twenty-first century understandings of hypnotism must be avoided when examining the Lafontaine-Braid interactions, that same 'modern' knowledge, when applied in a different way, greatly facilitates an understanding of the differences between the positions of the participants. At this stage of affairs, Braid can be thought of as making a single claim: the effects produced by Braid's method are not only similar, but are precisely identical to those of Lafontaine.

Yet, unbeknown to all concerned, the issue facing Braid, Lafontaine, and all of the other actors, is what Kaufmann (2001) identified as a "deceptive problem".¹ Because, as things are now understood to be, there is not, there never was, and there never will be any *identity* between the effects of Lafontaine's procedures and those of Braid. Similarly, it would be equally wrong to claim that (severally or collectively) their procedures' obvious capacity to manipulate their subjects' vasomotor systems represent the beginning of psychosomatic medicine, etc.²

¹ "Problem" implies "a solution". A "*deceptive problem*" (Kaufmann, 2001, p.45) is a question, or puzzle, which, in the manner it is presented to the "player", has no solution. The task is presented such a way that it directs the "player" to a place in which a solution for the question, or puzzle (as given), cannot be found (e.g., crossword puzzle no.1392, for which the clues for crossword puzzle no.1932 have been mistakenly given).

² Whilst this may have been the first unequivocally clear demonstration of psychosomatic action, it could be said that the *notion* of a psychosomatic medical disorder was first raised by Johannes Hofer (1662-1752) in his 1688 doctoral dissertation, *Dissertatio medica de nostalgia, oder Heimwehe*, ('*Dissertation on Nostalgia, or Homesickness*') at Basel University (translated at Anspach (1934). Hofer described the medical condition manifested by many of the Papal Swiss Guards desperately longing for their mountain homeland, and named it *nostalgia* (from *νόστος*, *nóstos*, 'returning home', and *αλγος*, *algos*, 'ache'). See Anspach (1934); Davis (1977); Van Tilburg, Vingerhoets, and Van Heck (1996); Valis (2000); and Sedikides, Wildschut and Baden (2004).

Braid's first lecture

The Lecture Room at the Athenæum was packed; and amongst the audience, which was estimated to be 700, were the surgeons T. Radford,[‡] J.H. Bennet,[‡] J.P. Catlow,[‡] I.A. Franklin,[‡] P.H. Holland;[‡] the printer, Charles Sever (1807-1888); and the *Manchester Times* owner, Archibald Prentice (1792-1857).³ Just before Braid's entry, the Athenæum's secretary, S.E. Cottam,[‡] told the audience that Braid was donating the evening's profits to the Athenæum. Braid kept this secret until this moment, he said, because Braid did not want it to be said that he (Braid) had drawn his audience "through the adventitious aid of benefitting a public institution" (1841w).⁴

Braid entered the auditorium to loud applause; he delivered his lecture from prepared notes,⁵ carefully explaining his concerns about Lafontaine and his "mesmeric operations",⁶ remarking that he thought Lafontaine was "an honest man",⁷ and he knew that Lafontaine would be delighted to know that his (Braid's) investigations had thrown so much light on the subject so soon. Braid said he thought he had discovered the true physiological cause of Lafontaine's effects at Lafontaine's last *conversazione*; but, rather than speaking out at the time, he had chosen to test his hypothesis in private. This was, he said, a "very fortunate" decision: not only were his views verified, but his tests also revealed a means of induction that "scarcely a single individual could resist" — and, a means with which, he was certain, he could "mesmerize" the majority of that evening's audience within a few minutes.⁸

He outlined the events of preceding Monday: his successful operations, and

³ Reports of the lecture are at Anon (1841v); Anon (1841w); Anon (1841pp); (Anon, 1841ss).

⁴ Unlike the 'professional demonstrator' Lafontaine, the proceeds of every one of Braid's lectures, throughout his lifetime, were donated to one or more public or charitable institutions.

⁵ Despite differences in perspective, it is clear that *The Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1841w) and *Manchester Times* (Anon, 1841x) had unlimited access to Braid and his notes. Unless specifically indicated otherwise, the text is the exactly same in both accounts of Braid's lecture.

⁶ It is highly significant that he calls Lafontaine a *mesmerist* (i.e., the maker of particular physical movements), and not a *magnetist* (i.e., the manipulator of particular forces).

⁷ Braid was stressing a view that, whilst Lafontaine's assertions were totally untrue, he was not a liar. Later he would express a very different view of Lafontaine's ethics and conduct.

⁸ Note, again, *mesmerise*, rather than *magnetise*.

Captain Brown's view that "nothing could be more conclusive than this". He explained how, to avoid the 'contaminating influence' of *imitation* — and because it would be far more conclusive if it were successful on one who knew nothing of animal magnetism⁹ — he called for his servant, and had asked him to stare attentively at some laboratory apparatus. "In two minutes and a half, his eyes closed; his chin fell upon his breast, and he was in a profound sleep". The servant "tried to open his eyes, but could not [do so] until [Braid] had given him the power of doing so by gentle pressure over them". Braid then said that "three important facts" proved that the unable-to-open-the-eyelids response, in one who knew nothing of animal magnetism, had not been produced through the "agency" of animal magnetism:

- (1) there had been no physical contact between the two,
- (2) Braid had used no motion of any sort during the operation, and
- (3) there had been no 'intense' (or, even, 'non-intense') eye contact of any sort between the two.¹⁰

Braid asked his audience to wait until the end of the evening, by which time they could "[judge] the facts fairly and fully"; and, if he replicated his Monday evening's success, then they must admit there *was* "a physical and physiological cause" for the effects. Moreover, they would find his procedure so simple that all of them "[could] become magnetisers before they left the room".

Before continuing, it is important to stress a fundamental difference between Braid's choice of subjects and that of Lafontaine. From his days at Edinburgh University and, in particular, his experience of the *Royal Medical Society* meetings, Braid would have been well aware of the need to have his own private experiments replicated by others. Thus, *wherever possible*, at all his exhibitions, Braid always did his best to display every aspect of his 'experiments', under precisely the same conditions, with the very same subjects, and conducted in

⁹ Apart from Braid's own knowledge of the earlier French Royal commissions' views on the influence of 'imitation' and 'imagination', his audience would have been aware of the wide range of bizarre phenomena detailed in Charles Mackay's (1814-1889) immensely popular *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions* that had been published earlier that year (1841).

¹⁰ In fact, Braid had not even *glanced* in his servant's direction at any stage of the procedure.

the same sequence as he had done in private. Unlike Lafontaine, who always relied on his professional subjects, and was consistently unsuccessful with volunteers, Braid almost exclusively 'demonstrated' with volunteers, once he had replicated his 'experiments' using his (original) experimental subjects. Moreover, apart from those unable to keep still, or could not concentrate without their mind wandering, or were physiologically unable to fix their gaze for an extended time, Braid was successful with almost every volunteer. Braid had performed the first of his Monday experiments with Mr. Walker, sitting in a surgical chair; and, so his first subject for the evening was Mr. Walker, sitting in a surgical chair.



Fig.42. James Snell's operating chair (c.1830).¹¹

Requesting silence,¹² Braid sat a black wine bottle with a shiny stopper on a surgical stand a few feet in front of Walker, about 45° above his line of vision, asking him to look steadily and intently at the stopper, neither winking nor

¹¹ Frontispiece to Snell (1832); a reclining chair invented c.1830, by James Snell, M.R.C.S., to assist his work as a dental surgeon. In Braid's day, many operations took place at a patient's residence, and operating chairs were much more common than operating tables; not because they were more portable, but because they gave surgeons better access to the parts of the body to be operated upon. Also, especially in the days before chemical anaesthesia, they were often elevated, so patients could not rigidly brace themselves against the floor (and thus, dramatically increase muscle tension). Later operating chairs were designed such that their back- and leg-rests could be extended, when required, to convert the operating chair into an operating table.

¹² This was not an audience-directed device to increase the 'theatricality' of his performance, it was a subject-directed device intended to facilitate Walker's undivided concentration.

averting his gaze. Braid stood at some distance from Walker, neither touching nor looking at him. Walker's eyes closed in 4 minutes. At this early stage of his investigations, he said, he must defer to Lafontaine's greater experience (viz., that one should not "subject the patient to a high degree of the operation... on a first trial"),¹³ and he 'restored' Walker using gentle pressure on his eyelids.¹⁴ Once 'restored', Walker reported "a desire to sleep", an inability to keep his eyes open, and his eyelids falling; and, also, that "he could hear Mr. Braid, and could tell he was putting up his hands... telling the audience to be quiet".

Braid said, not only would his method would have the same effect on other subjects, but "he could produce the same effects by several different methods" and, moreover, that "no individual could resist its influence". With Franklin and Radford on stage, Braid put his servant in the chair. Placing a bottle on a stand, he asked his servant to stare at its cork and, then, Braid left the stage. The servant's eyes closed in 45 seconds. Braid re-entered the auditorium, and the servant could not open his eyes until Braid placed gentle pressure on his eyelids. Braid said that any differences between his servant and the subjects of Lafontaine was due to the shorter time his servant had been worked upon.

Satisfied that he had replicated the events of Monday evening (*with the same subjects*), Braid converted the meeting into a *conversazione*, with Radford in the chair. He would demonstrate with Mr. Williamson (a subject of Lafontaine)¹⁵ that he could effect the precisely same changes through "another means"; thus proving "his method was a principal, and not an instrument".

Catlow's interruption

Catlow asked from the audience, if Braid would allow him "to state privately

¹³ A week later (Anon, 1841w), Braid said that, whilst others had reported dangerous effects, *he had never seen them occur*. Yet, he took the 'cautious' position that, with his limited experience, and given (a) the seriousness of the supposed effects, and (b) that they "were likely to result from too long a continuance of the experiments", *he was not confident of conducting extensive experiments on any one subject*. Whilst alert to Lafontaine's experience, he doubted that *his own procedures* would produce "apoplexy, epilepsy, and even death" if "the experiments were carried too far", or if his subjects remained in this 'state' too long.

¹⁴ In response to a question from the audience, Braid said that Walker's startled response to his touch was simply explained by the fact that the tips of Braid's fingers had been very cold.

¹⁵ Can't identify this "Mr. Williamson" further.

in writing to the chairman... his theory of the effects produced by mesmerism" (Anon, 1841w).^{16,17} Catlow told the chairman he had formed this view several weeks ago, had spoken of it at the time and, also, had made it known on "the preceding evening to a respectable gentleman, in the presence of two ladies". If the chairman compared his "written theory" with Braid's "oral theory", Catlow said, he would see they were identical; thus, he could "[claim] the precedence of Mr. Braid in this as a discovery".¹⁸ Radford asked Braid. Braid's response was short, sharp and direct: did the audience think that a man (a) who was present by Braid's direct personal invitation,¹⁹ (b) who had kept his silence until now, and (c) (before speaking) had the benefit of seeing all of Braid's experiments (which "once seen, could be known and understood") "had a right to step forward, and, perhaps by vague expressions, seek to defraud him — ([Braid] begged pardon, but it was tantamount to the same thing) — of the merit of his discovery in a thing in which he had reason to be proud?"

Eventually, "it was moved and carried, that Mr. Braid proceed with his experiments, and the elucidation of his theory, without any further interruption".²⁰ At the end of the evening, the chairman granted Catlow permission to read the contents of the message he had given to Mr. Holland (Holland had left the auditorium by that time). This matter was so important that Holland sent a letter to *The Manchester Times* (whose report had not mentioned Catlow at all). Holland's final, "to the best of my recollection", sentence is *unique to this letter*; the remainder is the same as Catlow had read out at the Athenæum:

¹⁶ Though Catlow was only three years younger than Braid, he had not been admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh as a Licentiate until 1826. Thus, in a professional sense, he was very much Braid's junior (Braid had been admitted in 1815).

¹⁷ Despite the presence of Mr. Prentice, owner of *The Manchester Times*, neither Catlow nor his request are mentioned in *The Manchester Times'* report of the meeting (at Anon, 1841x).

¹⁸ A letter from Joseph Ashbury Smith, L.S.A., M.R.C.S., registrar of births and deaths for Manchester's London Road District, contested Braid and Catlow's claim for priority: "neither of those gentlemen have advanced a single step beyond my own position" (Smith, 1841b).

¹⁹ A reliable indication that, at least before his exhibition during Braid's first lecture, Braid was benevolently disposed to his junior colleague.

²⁰ At the end of the evening, the chairman allowed Catlow to read a statement. ("The whole of the *real* effects imputed to Mesmeric operations are imputable to the unique and uncomfortable continuance of the same impressions on one or more senses".) Two days later, Holland wrote to *The Manchester Times* (Holland, 1841) stating that, "to the best of my recollection", Catlow had spoken to him of such things on the 18th or 19th of November.

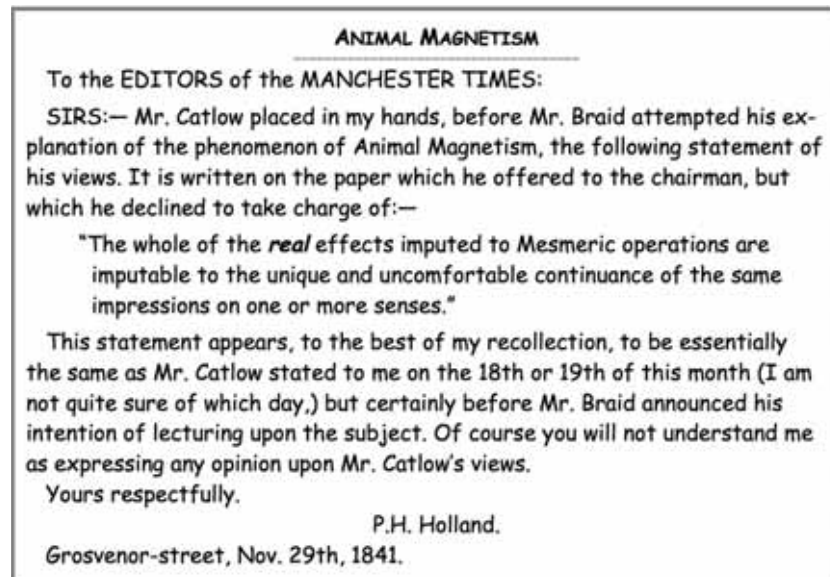


Fig.43. Holland's letter, *The Manchester Times*, 4 December 1841.²¹

Braid resumes his display

Braid's next subject was his manservant, his second subject on the Monday evening. Entirely 'conscious', and *able to answer any question addressed to him*, his servant could not open his eyes until Braid pressed on them. This time, "instead of the bottle, a long cork was fastened by one end to a linen bandage, which was tied around his head, so that the cork projected like a horn from the centre of his forehead". (Obviously, staring 'fixedly' at a cork projecting horn-like from the centre of one's forehead and, thus, no more than 4 inches from their eyes and, maybe, 60° above the line of one's vision, presents a far greater physiological and muscular challenge than staring at an object two to three feet distant, and about 45° above one's line of vision, as Mr. Walker had done).

Braid worked on the medical student whom Lafontaine had rejected, stopping after 12 minutes, attributing his lack of success to (a) excessive noise,²² and (b) the subject's failure to fix his gaze. His final subject was "Mr. Williamson", Lafontaine's last subject on Saturday. Braid stopped after nearly 16 minutes, attributing his failure to the subject constantly "working his hands together".²³

²¹ Holland (1841).

²² Catlow interrupted and said that "a person could be operated on just as successfully in noise as in silence, *provided the noise[s] were monotonous*".

²³ Braid may not have realized that, whether intentionally or inadvertently, Lafontaine's "thumbing" had kept this distracting mannerism under tight control.

Braid remarked that both were his *first* and his *only* 'failures'. Having stressed the obvious importance of eliminating those who could not "fix their gaze"²⁴ or keep still — and entirely convinced that he had produced the *unable-to-open-the-eyelids phenomena* without the thumb pressure, hand waving, or fixed operator's gaze Lafontaine had relied upon — Braid's demonstrations were now over.

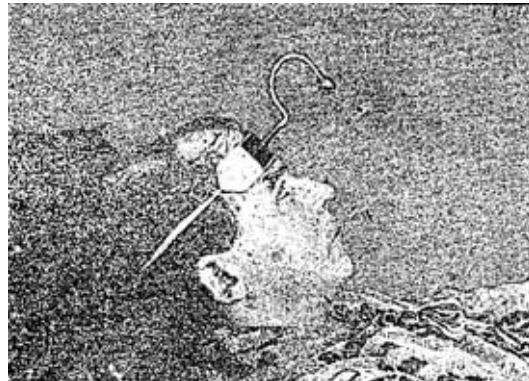


Fig.44. The "Electro-Hypnotic Head Band" (c.1902): the band is made of rubber, and the apparatus is such that the object of focus, fixed above and between the eyes, is either a nickel ball or an incandescent light bulb.²⁵

Lynill, on stage for the performance, said that Braid's 'effects' seemed different from Lafontaine's: the appearance of head and face had not changed, the top half of the body was not warmer and the bottom colder, and the pulse was the same. Lafontaine's method brought a long chain of effects, he said, the last of which was "the falling of the eyelid and the closing of the eye"; yet, with Braid, it was the first. Lynill offered himself as a future subject; with his experience of Lafontaine's work he would be a good judge of Braid's method. Braid then delivered the first-ever public exposition of his theory, displaying the exceptional detail of his structured thinking in such a short time, and the way that he seamlessly connected his new procedure with the canonical knowledge of the day:

That a person becomes giddy by looking fixedly at any object for a given length of time; that this degree of giddiness results from the exhaustion of the whole nervous energy of the eye; its excitability was exhausted, and the closing of the eyelids, and the person's inability to

²⁴ A week later, Braid reported that this "failure" was due to a single "physiological cause", which (the more experienced) Lafontaine had immediately recognized: viz., the medical student's "inability to maintain *both* eyes directed to the *same point*" (Anon, 1841bb).

²⁵ An illustration from a newspaper article, by John Elfreth Watkins (1852–1903), on hypnotic induction devices (Watkins, 1902). A search has failed to find any U.S. patent for such a device. See also fig.39.

open the eyes, which were such remarkable circumstances in all the cases he had tried, resulted in a great measure from the continued exertions of the patient to keep the eyelids open.

The eyelids were closed by a muscle which acted just like the strings of a purse in drawing it together. There was another muscle for the purpose of elevating the lid, and opening the eye. These two muscles acted antagonistically to each other; and it was at well-known law of all muscular motion, that alternate action and rest are necessary to ensure the permanent and continued discharge of the muscular functions.

By keeping the eyes long fixed on a particular object, the *levator* muscle had all its sensibility exhausted; it lost its power, and the eyelid fell. In this process, the antagonist muscle, the *orbicularis* as it was called, was brought into action; and so the eye was closed.

M. Lafontaine, in his operation, produced a greater effect, by titillating the eyelashes, which produced irritation so near the muscle on which the closing of the eye depended. And when the eyes were once closed, there was a sort of spasmodic action which made it almost impossible for the subject to open them again.

In reference to the pupil of the eye, it would dilate from the effect of the continued stare, which, with the glare of light, and the continued action upon the optic nerve, would at length render it insensible; the irritability became exhausted, and the effect described would ensue; consequently, the pupil might be less irritable or sensible to light under the influence of belladonna.

He would repeat, that the mere circumstance of exposing the eye to the light for a length of time exhausted the irritability of the optic nerve, and rendered the pupil of the eye in a very different state from that in which it existed under natural circumstances.

Whenever a person felt alarm, or in a state of insecurity, there was always a tendency to take a full inspiration; this impeded the respiration; this again acted upon the circulation of the brain; the blood became less arterialized than it ought to be; this reacted upon the heart, and consequently the heart became unable to carry the blood to the extremities so freely as it ought; then the pit of the stomach became the seat of uneasy sensations, and the whole frame was thus in turn affected.

The blood about the heart, in order to recover itself, had to increase its velocity, and that would account for the rising of the pulse.

The effect of the heart acting so vigorously, produced the further effect of exciting the brain, and then the phenomena of animal magnetism took effect in a higher degree.

That the effect of the manipulation was calculated to produce these phenomena in a higher degree was obvious, because of the gentle titillation used, which, as every mother of a child knew, was extremely efficacious in hushing it to sleep.

But the first effect was produced upon the brain by the feeling of insecurity and danger, causing the circulation to be impeded.

This was a sketch of the theory, so far as he had worked it out hitherto; but he must ask for every indulgence, as it was only since the preceding Monday night that he had discovered it.— (Applause)

The Manchester Guardian, 1 December 1841.²⁶

²⁶ Anon (1841w); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Braid fielded questions on the potential consequences of operating on a subject for a considerably longer period of time, on whether “manipulation” was necessary to produce catalepsy, and, if he were to experiment further, “what kind of operation he would then perform”. His response was forthright:

He had not [yet] made up his mind as to what would produce these further effects.

So far as he had investigated, he had told [the audience everything]; and not many men would have been ready to come before a public audience, and tell them so much [at such an early stage of their investigations].

What the effects [the questioners had] referred to might be produced by, would require a longer time to work out; but having got the key,²⁷ he considered that the rest would be comparatively easy to discover.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 December 1841.²⁸

Braid eventually succeeded with “Mr. Williamson”. Earlier, he said, his eyes had watered a lot, and his continuous blinking had “prevented the success of the operation”. With a cork on his forehead, his eyes now closed in 4½ minutes; and, despite “Williamson’s” repeated efforts to open them, he could not. Then, to show “it was not necessary to use the fingers at all, [Braid] then opened Mr. W’s eyes by stroking the lids with a [ruler]”.

During the *conversazione*’s discussion, Bennet said there were problems with a view that “the muscle which raises the eyelids” (*levator palpebrarum*) “became weakened... and lost its power through excessive action” (Braid corrected his “became weakened” to “became paralysed”), “and then the *orbicularis* muscle came into play,²⁹ and, exerting itself when the *levator* became paralysed, closed the eyelid”. If one stared at a light for 20 minutes, or looked steadily at a waterfall,³⁰ Bennet said, “it would be the *superior rectus* muscle of the eye that was acted upon;³¹ and if any thing went to sleep, it would be the iris and the eye itself

²⁷ Note the confidence in the statement: “the key”, not “a key”.

²⁸ Anon (1841w); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

²⁹ The *Orbicularis oculi* muscle is the muscle that closes the eyelids.

³⁰ In 1834, the chemist and Professor of Experimental Philosophy at the London Institution and Royal Institution, Robert Addams (1791-1875), reported what is now called the “waterfall effect”. He was at the Falls of Foyers, which drops 165 feet into the eastern side of Loch Ness. He noticed that, if he gazed steadily at the cascade for a short time and, then, moved his gaze to the rocks immediately beside the waterfall, the rocks appeared to be moving upwards “with an apparent velocity equal to that of the descending water” (Addams, 1834, p.373).

³¹ *The Manchester Guardian*, mistakenly, has “the *superior rectis* muscle”. When the eye is

before the eyelid". Further, he said, whatever it was that kept a subject's eye-balls turned upwards, staring at the cork, it was most certainly "not the *levator palpebrarum*; and therefore the first muscles to be paralysed should have been some of the muscles of the eyeball".

Braid said "the feeling of giddiness and insecurity was produced, as in looking over a precipice; and this caused a disarrangement of the nervous influence within the brain". Asked about the value of physical contact, Braid said that, although mesmerism did not require actual contact — because, as all knew, many mesmeric "manipulations" involved "waving motions of the hands", rather than direct contact — "he believed that actual contact would produce the effect more rapidly".

After three and a half hours the meeting ended. Braid announced he would repeat his lecture on the following Saturday. Most who had seen Lafontaine at work agreed that, although 'effects' such as the flushed face, elevated pulse rate, and changes in body temperature were absent, Braid's method had produced other 'effects' that were somewhat analogous to some of Lafontaine's. Yet, they were not convinced they were identical.

There is no record of Braid ever delivering a public lecture before or, ever, speaking to such a large gathering before. The passage of time would reveal he had done a marvellous job to display as much as he displayed, and to explain as much as he had explained, only four days after his *experimentum crucis*.

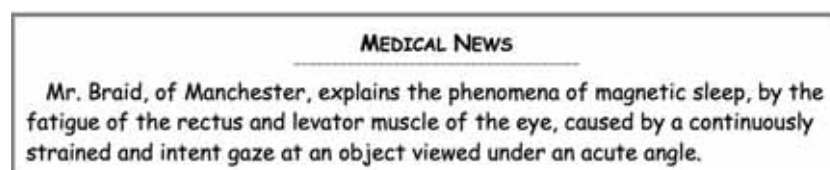


Fig.45. Brief report of Braid's first lecture, *The Medical Times*, 4 December 1841.³²

Braid's proposed lecture

Braid's 'repeat' lecture was advertised the following Wednesday.³³ Yet, by the

looking straight ahead, the *superior rectus* muscle is the muscle that raises the eyeball vertically.

³² Anon (1841aa).

³³ The advertisement for his second lecture (Braid, 1841h) was identical with that for his first, except that the first lecture's advertisement had stated (a) that he would *repeat* his first lecture ("...will REPEAT his LECTURE, etc...."), and (b) that there would be *no concession* for

Saturday, Braid had changed the advertisement. It was now to be "*a second lecture*" and, amongst the promised effects, was production of "*the cataleptiform state... without human contact with the patient*".³⁴

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.—Mr. BRAID, Surgeon, will Deliver a SECOND LECTURE on the above subject in the Lecture Room of the Athenæum, THIS EVENING (Saturday), when he will perform a number of experiments on individuals who have already been tested, and also on any of the company who may offer themselves: by which he will be enabled clearly to prove that the effects exhibited by Monsieur Lafontaine in his lectures here, *including the cataleptiform state*, can be produced *without human contact with the patient*, and therefore have no right to be attributed to the influence of animal magnetism.—Mr. B. will, moreover, account for the effects on strictly philosophical and physiological principles.

The lecture to commence at half past seven o'clock precisely.

Tickets, 2s. 6d. each

The profits of this lecture will be equally divided between the Night Asylum and the Town Mission.

Fig.46. Braid's second lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, 4 December 1841.³⁵

In relation to the advertisements, the three-day difference between them is significant: the following was published as a footnote to the *Manchester Times*' report of his first lecture:

It may be interesting to the public to learn that Mr. Braid has since [his lecture last Saturday] succeeded in producing catalepsy on the same principle, and we believe will make experiments before his audience this evening, when he repeats his lecture for the benefit of the Night Asylum and the Town Mission.

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 4 December 1841.³⁶

On that same Saturday, Lafontaine announced that he would lecture on "Animal Magnetism", in Manchester, on 9 December.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.—M. LAFONTAINE will Deliver a LECTURE on ANIMAL MAGNETISM, in the Theatre of the Athenæum, on Thursday evening next, December 9th; when he will exhibit a number of highly interesting experiments. A *Conversazione* will be held at the close of the lecture.

Doors to be opened at half past seven, to commence at eight precisely.

Admission: members of the Athenæum, 1s.; strangers, 2s. 6d.

Fig.47. Lafontaine's lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 4 December 1841.³⁷

Athenæum subscribers.

³⁴ The *Manchester Guardian*'s report of Braid's lecture first appeared on Wednesday, 1 December (Anon, 1841w), the *Manchester Times* on Saturday 4 December (Anon, 1841x).

³⁵ Braid, (1841i).

³⁶ Anon, (1841x).

³⁷ Lafontaine (1841d).

The Manchester Times

Given the omission of any reference to Catlow in the *Manchester Times*' (otherwise) detailed report of Braid's first lecture (Anon, 1841s), the presence of the owner of the *Manchester Times*, Archibald Prentice at Braid's first lecture is highly significant. A strong, pro-Braid piece, comparing that which Braid had revealed in first lecture with what Lafontaine had demonstrated at his various *conversazioni*, appeared in the Saturday *Manchester Times*, preceding its report on Braid's first lecture. The writer also displayed direct personal knowledge of developments in Braid's investigations since the preceding Saturday.

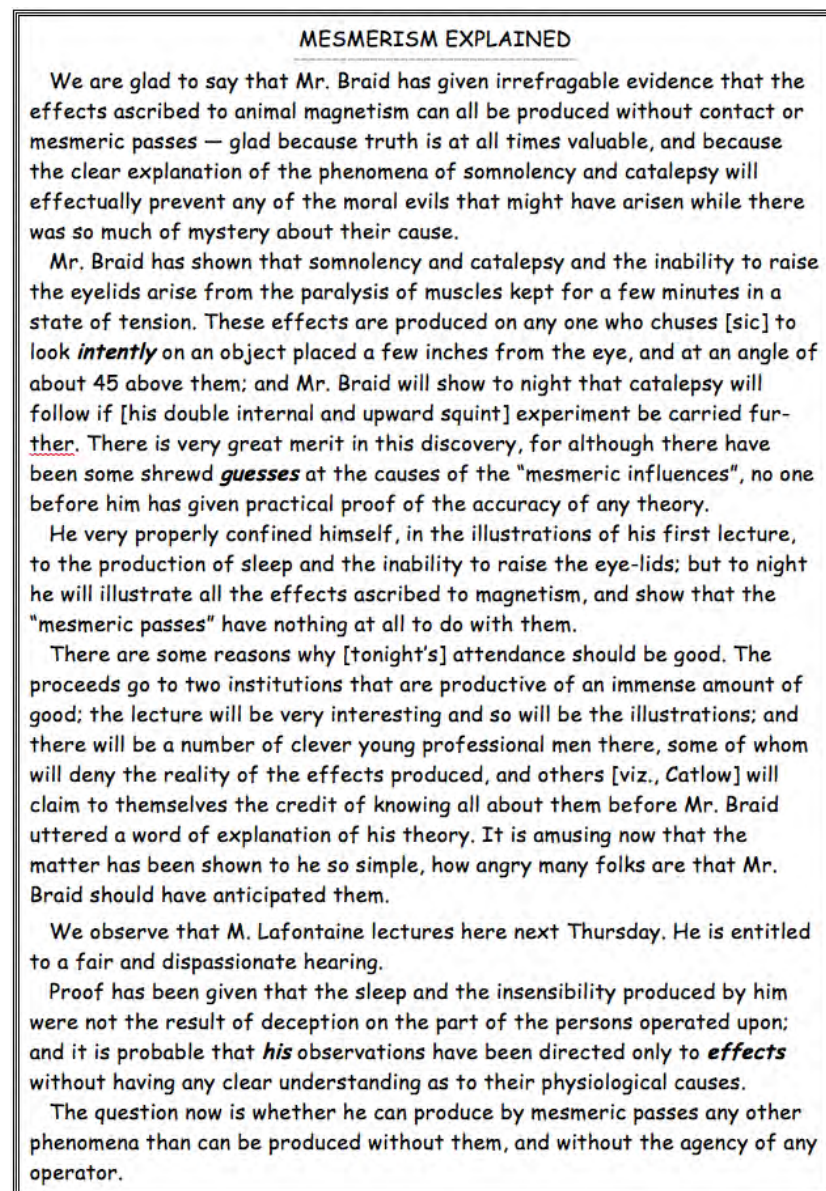


Fig.48. Editorial, *The Manchester Times*, 4 December 1841.³⁸

³⁸ Anon, (1841z). The text has "about 45 above them", rather than "about 45° above them".

Braid's second lecture

The audience for Braid's second lecture was smaller than the first.^{39,40} The wide range of matters covered in his presentation supports his statement that he had no intention of lecturing again; and, from this, it was his last chance to make *ex cathedra* statements on matters he thought important. Also, as he was investigating an item of philosophical curiosity, that was, at this stage, unconnected with his professional pursuits, a continued involvement in public exhibitions would have been as inimical to the pursuit of his true profession as would have been a sudden immersion in photography.⁴¹

He spoke from prepared notes; and, although similar to his first lecture, the second was "much more generally interesting", because it combined his "first discovery" with a second made since. He stressed that no magnetic agency was involved; and that the 'effects' of animal magnetism were "[not] attributable to any influence which one individual could exercise over another". Braid was convinced that "certain effects were produced *independently of imagination, sympathy, or imitation*" (emphasis added).

He was confident he could "mesmerize" 200 persons in 15 or 20 minutes with his own method,⁴² and, given the variety of target objects he used to "keep up a fixed stare" (empty bottle, cork, knob of a sugar basin, silver spoon, etc.), it was clear that, if the target object was at an appropriate angle, and there was "fixity of vision", the constituent nature of the target object was irrelevant.⁴³

³⁹ The only report of this lecture is in *The Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1841bb). All references are to this report. No report appeared in *The Manchester Times* (perhaps its reporter could not attend due to that evening's rather inclement weather).

⁴⁰ The reporter thought the lecture was "less numerously attended than the former" because: (a) members of the Athenæum had to pay full admission, (b) the evening was very wet, and (c) it had been announced that his lecture would only be a repetition of the previous Saturday's.

⁴¹ The *Manchester Guardian* reported that, "with this lecture [Braid] must terminate his public investigation of the subject" (with the provision that "so far as it might seem to be connected with his profession, however, he should not lose sight of it"). When responding to remarks at the close of the meeting, "Mr. Braid said, he should be glad to show Mr. Lynill any thing he could when leisure permitted; but he could not enter any further into public investigations".

⁴² Again, *mesmerise*, rather than *magnetise* (the quotes around mesmerize are in the report).

⁴³ Braid emphasized that "the individual [must] occupy the mind wholly with [the target] object". He reminded the audience that he had failed on the preceding Saturday with "Mr. Williamson", because "Mr. W had worked his hands during the first trial, and, during the second, he [had unintentionally] moved his eyes very much".

He had produced catalepsy in 40 cases in the last week.⁴⁴ He conducted a *conversazione* at his residence the night before, attended by "several of the clergy and medical men, and other individuals of scientific attainment". With each operation, subjects' pulses were initially "depressed"; yet, within a short time, their pulse "would rise with great velocity, even as high as 180 beats in the minute, with flushed face and congestion of the brain". For a time, subjects were "conscious", manifesting "a most intense desire to comply with every thing the operator might be supposed to wish". Even if "allowed to continue in that state, [and their] muscles became so rigid as to retain any position in which they were placed, while the flesh resembled the solidity of marble", he could easily "dissipate the spell" whenever he chose "in a few seconds".⁴⁵

He referred to the views of Marshall Hall,[†] whose *excito-motor principle* postulated that, "if the patient expects a different effect should be produced, then is the power of voluntary motion so far retained, that the action can be the reverse of what it should be on that principle";⁴⁶ and said he had seen a classic example of Hall's principle at work last night:

A young lady who in this state, had so exalted a sensibility as to resemble a sensitive plant.

The moment any wand or substance touched her fingers, so as to indicate the desired motion, it was voluntarily performed: and when it was stated in her hearing (for the subjects did hear until they passed into at certain state), that, by rubbing on the extensor muscle, flexion or bending ought to take place, she expected that to be required; and, consequently, when the *extensor* (which should cause the arm to extend) was rubbed, the arm was bent; and, in like manner, when the *flexor* (which should bend the arm) was rubbed, the arm was extended...⁴⁷

At the previous evening's *conversazione*, he said, he had easily projected five

⁴⁴ Note that Braid is claiming to have produced the effects in 40 different individuals, rather than in a small number of individuals, in 40 separate operations.

⁴⁵ In his third lecture on 8 December (Anon, 1841dd), Braid drew attention to the inadvertent error made in his original statement; he had said "in a few minutes", but meant to say "in a few seconds". The correction had been made, as directed, in this paragraph.

⁴⁶ In his third lecture on 8 December (Anon, 1841dd), Braid drew attention to the reporter's misapprehension of his (Braid's) description of "Dr. Marshall Hall views as to the influence of the excito-motory system". The reporter had written "if a patient expected a different motion than that which the muscles would naturally perform, that action would be the reverse of what it should be". The description given here now reads in accord with Braid's amendment.

⁴⁷ Anon (1841bb).

individuals into the cataleptiform state “in the course of a few minutes”:

[and] in this state the sensibility was prodigiously exalted, so that some were as susceptible as sensitive plants, moving in the required direction by the slightest touch, and their hearing was rendered so acute that they could distinctly hear the slightest whisper.⁴⁸

This, he felt, seemed to explain one of the mysteries of mesmerism:

a person in the mesmeric state, with the eyes bandaged, and standing with his back to the mesmeriser, their heads touching, [allegedly] could tell every liquid or substance that the mesmeriser tasted,— could distinguish between wine, tea, coffee, and other liquids, though only the mesmeriser tasted them.

This puzzled him (Mr. Braid) till he considered that all the senses were in an extreme state of exaltation; and, therefore, it was not very difficult for a person in that state to discover the liquid by the sense of smell, the effluvia being carried round the head of the magnetiser to that of the subject; so that what many would consider a perfect fiction, falsehood, or delusion, might be accounted for on natural principles.

So the eyes might be closed, and yet the subject perceive what was going on, as he [Braid] believed, owing to the degree of transparency through the eyelids, in that exalted state of sensibility, of somnambulism, or, as some wished to name it, of “Braidism”.⁴⁹

He noted that some came to his first lecture to embarrass him, rather than to elicit the truth; notwithstanding this hostility, he said, “he [would] use soft words, but hard arguments [in response]”. He also noted that, whilst Lynill and Radford’s remarks at the end of his lecture “were perfectly fair, just, and legitimate”, they “extended only to the effects [that had been] then produced, under the first stage, viz., that of depression [rather than exaltation]”.

He offered an explanation, based on his developing theory, for one of the most extraordinary claims for the existence of magnetic agency: that trees could be ‘magnetized’, and these ‘magnetized trees’ could magnetize large numbers of subjects simultaneously. The Marquis de Puységur[†] found, when he ‘magnetized’ a large elm tree on his estate, set stone benches round it, and hung cords

⁴⁸ Braid was speaking of the *paraesthesia* (abnormality of sensory function) known as *hyperaesthesia* (heightened sensory function); its opposite is *anaesthesia* (no sensory function).

⁴⁹ The original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

The use of *Braidism* here seems to provide strong evidence that Braid’s different *procedures* (often referred to as “Braid’s plan”, in direct contrast with Lafontaine’s plan”) did, indeed, produce veridical *effects*; and, also, the same *effects* as those of Lafontaine.

In his 8 December lecture (Anon, 1841cc), Braid expresses the view that none of those applying the appellation were doing it as a compliment; and those who were “sarcastically styling” it *Braidism* were specifically doing so in order to “sneer” at him and his discoveries.

from its branches, which patients held on to, he produced "numerous... cures and alleviations" in those who presented for treatment (Gauld, 1992, p.41).⁵⁰ This did not prove the tree had been 'mesmerized', Braid said, or that the tree had 'mesmerized' subjects; all one had to do was "[gaze at] a particular branch" and, even if there were 50 "under the tree, all looking intently either at different branches, or at the same branch, they would be sure to be mesmerized". Moreover, "if any one would direct their eyes to a chandelier, and fix them intently on it for a few moments, they would soon experience the first effect in a disordered state of the brain".

With Franklin and Hardy[†] closely observing, his footman and female cook had corks bandaged to their foreheads. Their eyes closed in 38 and 60 seconds respectively. Braid said "in the first stage [of mesmerism] there was a remarkable inclination on the part of the patient to follow the will of the operator, or indeed of any other person". Lafontaine was wrong, he said, in "[waiting] too long before he proceeded to fix the limbs of his subjects". Braid refused to perform a "test of sensibility" ("the pricking of a pin in the forehead and hands of the subjects"), remarking that "he could not consent to subject the patients to any cruelty, in order to satisfy the curiosity of an individual".⁵¹ Braid then demonstrated his discoveries and theoretical advances:

After fixing the arms and one leg of each subject in various postures, altering those postures at pleasure, he restored both by a few flaps in the air from an Indian wicker fan, or fly-flap, without touching [them].

He would now take M. Lafontaine's method of mesmerizing the same subjects, so that the auditory might see whether there was any visible difference or not.

The only one he knew was that, the eye being the object to be gazed at, it could more readily prevent the subject's eye from wandering, and keep it fixed.⁵²

⁵⁰ Although Braid had mistakenly attributed these events to Mesmer in his lecture, the error of fact was irrelevant to the point he was making.

⁵¹ Given that he allowed Lynill to apply a "test" once his demonstrations were over, Braid must have felt that 'testing', at this early stage, would have interfered with his ability to display the benefits of the operator operating whilst a subject was "in the first stage".

⁵² Whilst this 'prevention of the subject's eyes from wandering' is a most remarkable insight on the part of Braid, he was not yet experienced enough to realize that this method was fraught with risk: the operator could easily finish up hypnotized.

My own training is to stare fixedly at the bridge of the subject's nose; *they* think that you are staring directly into their eyes, whilst *you* are immune from engaging in 'the battle of wills' that often ensues if you attempt to engage their vision.

He said that, in fixing the limbs of the subjects in any position, he could use either his hands or a wand of wood, a stethoscope, a rod of glass, a book, or, in short, any substance, so that there was no virtue in the instrument itself.

He then succeeded in mesmerizing the man, by M. Lafontaine's method, in one minute, and the female in forty-five seconds. Having fixed, with great facility, both arms and one leg of the man in very singular positions, he said, he would allow the other leg to remain awhile, to show the different amount of effort required.

It was, in at short time, very rigid, and took a much more violent effort to move and extend it, in consequence of its greater progress in the cataleptiform state.—(Applause)⁵³

The meeting then became a *conversazione*, with Hardy chairman, surgeons Noble and Franklin, and phrenologist, Lynill, assistants. Lynill tested the cook; and though the blood flowed freely from the pinpricks in her forehead and hands, "there was no appearance of sensibility". Both subjects were then demesmerized by a few strokes of the fan. Despite the obvious differences between the two inductions, Braid said there was "fair and legitimate proof" the same "somnambulistic state" was induced with each.

Observing that Lafontaine had only mesmerized four not-before-mesmerized individuals in all of his five Manchester exhibitions, Braid then produced five subjects with corks tied to their foreheads, sitting a row ("two young women, a fine intelligent girl of sixteen, a young man, and a Mr. T.").⁵⁴ In a master-stroke, Braid had all five commence staring at the same moment. The girl's eyes closed in 12 seconds, the young women's in 40 and 50 seconds respectively, the young man's in 3 minutes and, although his eyes did not close at all "[his] stare was a fixed and apparently unconscious one, and his right arm was raised and fixed, being in the cataleptiform state, [even] though his eyes were open".⁵⁵

[they] were then placed in postures of the most singular and ludicrous character: the hands of some were uplifted as if praying; others held them forward as if blind, and seeking some one; and the remarkable ease with which every limb was raised and fixed in its position, by putting a little glass rod under it, was very striking.

⁵³ The original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵⁴ The identification of the fifth subject as "a" Mr. T. makes it clear that, whomsoever this he might have been, he was certainly not Mr. Thomas Townend (the Manchester merchant and brother of William Townend), who had moved that Dr. Hardy act as chairman for the meeting.

⁵⁵ Mr. T's pre-experiment pulse rate of 72 beats per minute had changed to 92 b.p.m. post-experiment, so some change had definitely taken place.

On the spur of the moment, Braid tried something entirely new:⁵⁶ he tested whether one of the girls would obey his verbal requests:

[He asked] her to rise.

She did so, although apparently asleep and her eyes closed.

He then, by gentle entreaties, induced her to walk along the platform, which she did, with those peculiar characteristics of caution and care which are described as displayed by somnambulists.

This was altogether a very striking experiment,—one which Mr. Braid said he had never tried before that moment, and had never seen this patient till two days ago.

He then asked her to curtsy, which she did, and, in a low voice, answered several questions which he put to her.⁵⁷

Asked if the effects were the same as Lafontaine's, Lynill said that, whilst unquestionably *analogous*, he had no proof they were *identical*. Mr. Duncan[†] asked Braid several questions: had Lafontaine ever produced walking somnambulism? (no); how long did Lafontaine work before administering the ammonia

⁵⁶ Perhaps Braid was sensing that he was 'on song'; or, that, given the presence of such a large audience (contrasted with the few observers present at his private *conversazione*), and given his subject's immersion in her 'state', that she was likely to be far more responsive to his directives.

It is common, in my in-the-field experience, that demonstration subjects, properly hypnotized, and deeply immersed in their 'state', often easily manifest phenomena that are, otherwise, quite difficult to elicit. In, perhaps, the only paper written on this matter (Barber, 1990), Joseph Barber from the School of Medicine at UCLA, reported a consistent and significant increase in the level of clinical success achieved with individual subjects in single-session work delivered during "clinical demonstrations [of hypnotic interventions] in a workshop setting" contrasted the same work conducted in a normal clinical setting.

Noting a considerable difference in the intensity of the subject-operator relationship in such cases, plus the added influence of a '*subject-operator-audience triad*', Barber identifies a number of potential causes (adapted here to this context), including: (a) the *subject*, as *the* subject, is fully prepared to comply with the operator's directives; (b) the subject, in volunteering, has agreed that effects can be produced; (c) the subject has invested the operator with the power to produce effects; (d) the subject '*must*' produce the effects as directed, specifically because the operator's transformative effectiveness has already been abundantly manifested by the context of the *location* (the prestigious Manchester Athenæum), the *event* (a public lecture), and the operator's *skill* (attested by such a large paying audience); (e) the (highly skilled) operator's acceptance of that individual as a subject implicitly attests to their capacity to produce the effects sought; (f) the operator implicitly and explicitly conveys the expectation that a single operation is all that is necessary for the production of the effects sought; (g) both operator and subject are highly optimistic; and, (h) not only do both the subject and the operator expect success, they expect *immediate* success, and expect it in a single operation.

From my experience of viewing many such demonstrations, and being astounded at the sorts of deeply private matters that individuals volunteer themselves to have dealt with, the presence of an audience seems to be an implicit guarantee that they will be safe; and, as a consequence, it seems they strongly feel they can give themselves entirely over to the operator's control without any need for any sort of on-going monitoring; this allows them to fully immerse themselves in whatever is suggested — which, in turn, given the operator is sufficiently skilled, guarantees the maximum efficacy of the intervention in question.

⁵⁷ The original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

test? (a long time). To another, Braid said he “could mesmerize an individual in a dark room... if only he would look fixedly at one point for a long time”.⁵⁸

Braid restored the young man “by a sudden and loud clap of the hands near his face”. He restored the young girl, and asked “[if] she recollected walking, or curtsying, or talking, or being asked questions”. She did not, but “had been in a dream, and [had] dreamed she was walking somewhere”. He mesmerized her using Lafontaine’s approach. Her eyes closed in 15 seconds. Another, who stared at “the blaze of the gas chandelier” closed her eyes in 10 seconds.⁵⁹

Braid spoke of Elliotson’s view that one mesmerized subject could attract another by ‘magnetic force’ (viz. “drawing”), and how he had once ridiculed that notion. However, whilst he was “quite satisfied there was no power in one person to draw another”, he had just shown that a subject, in the early stages, “had the greatest propensity to do whatever was required to be done”; thus, he knew that if they “conceived” that ‘drawing’ was required, “they would do it”. Yet, if the state continued, the limbs and muscles became fixed and rigid to such an extent that, a couple of days earlier, he, “not a weak man”, was unable to force a woman’s cataleptic arm down and, yet, “a single waft before her eyes restored her to sight and perfect freedom of muscle”. Braid presented a glass rod to girl, asking, “Do you see what I have in my hand?” “Yes.” “What is it?” “Glass.” Braid said that, in her “state of exalted sensibility”, she could perceive even “the slightest degree of light” through her closed eyelids.

Mr. Lynill: Is the power of seeing as great when the object is presented by another person?

Mr. Braid: Just as great. It does not matter whether it is you or I. If any one handles the patient rudely, then a shock is given, and probably the party wakes in fright; but treat them gently, and they will do any thing they can, if you but express the wish. Mr. Braid added, that, as the girl was beginning to perspire, he should restore her; and, after she had curtesied [sic] at his desire, he restored her by a tap on the ear.

Mr. Lynill: To the extent to which you have gone, can you always restore immediately?

Mr. Braid: Invariably; though I have often found, that, if the first loud clap of the hands did not awaken the party, the second and third would have no power, as the subject must be awakened by some thing perfectly unexpected.

⁵⁸ Jonathan Duncan gave several lectures in London on Braid’s discoveries a fortnight later.

⁵⁹ It seems that this young woman was not one of the two earlier demonstration subjects.

Harland[‡] said that, whilst the “analogies” between Braid’s effects and those of animal magnetism were “very striking and remarkable”, the only way “perfect identity” could be genuinely established was to find a subject who (a) “had been successfully operated upon in both ways”, and (b) was “intelligent enough to describe accurately his sensations under both”, and (c) “[had found] they were precisely the same”. Lynill volunteered; he wanted to experience Braid’s procedures, and would do all that he could to be a co-operative subject.

Noting that it was his view that, the more an individual was experimented on, the more susceptible they became, Braid digressed, speaking of a girl with “an affection which baffled all that had been done for it”. Without any therapeutic intent, his experiments had remedied her “affection”.⁶⁰ Lynill asked, if this was indeed true, why did he continue to state that the application of mesmerism “[was] productive of ill effects”. Braid said “he had heard of the cases of a lady and gentleman, of highly developed brain, who had been very seriously injured by it; and his notion was, that individuals having a low state of the brain were benefited by it, but those of a high state of the brain might be greatly injured by it, and, where the susceptibility was so great, could not be benefited by it”.

Citing his own successful magnetization, firstly by Lafontaine’s method and, then, without contact or gaze, Lynill questioned the need for ‘contact’ or ‘fixation of vision’ in animal magnetism. On the second occasion, Lynill said, he told his subject to keep her head still, and constantly move her eyes (viz., the very opposite of ‘fixity of vision’). She had no idea he was operating, as “he did not take her hands” (i.e., there was no physical contact). When told she had no previous acquaintance of animal magnetism, Braid said, anticipating Kirsch’s notion of “*response expectancy*”,⁶¹ “he suspected the very emotion of mind, while waiting for the commencement of the operation, would produce the effect”.

⁶⁰ This remedial outcome, independently confirmed by the girl and members of her family, seems to be the first (albeit entirely unintended) therapeutic act performed with Braid’s developing procedure.

⁶¹ *Response expectancies* as defined by Kirsch in 1985 were “expectancies of the occurrence of non-volitional responses”; and, in 1997 (p.69), he defined them as “the anticipation of one’s own automatic reactions to various situations and behaviors”.

Braid used his *cork-on-the-forehead method* on three subjects: two of them (Lynill and “a Mr. D.”) had been “frequently magnetised” and would know if Braid’s “sensations” were identical with those of animal magnetism,⁶² and a young medical student.⁶³ The medical student speedily succumbed. Braid set his arms and legs in various positions “with the greatest facility”. Despite Braid’s efforts over an extended period, neither Lynill nor Mr. D.’s eyes closed. Lynill complained of “considerable pain in the eyes” and “sickness and nausea” (after 5 minutes “his eyes became so tender and painful that he could not longer continue the process”); and Mr. D. complained of “difficulty of breathing”, “fatigue in his knees”, and a “great fatigue in his eyes, which were so strained and hurt that he would not again subject himself to the operation”.⁶⁴ A fourth subject’s “deep sunken eyes” militated against Braid’s success.

When asked of his ‘sensations’ whilst “asleep and cataleptiform”, the student (who had not been mesmerized before) thought he could “resist” and had not expected to succumb. He didn’t know his eyes closed, and had no ‘sensations’ during the experiment. Unware his arms and legs were raised, and deaf to the audience’s applause, he did not know what had been done to arouse him. Lynill tried to magnetize two subjects using Lafontaine’s approach in vain.

Rev. Jones[†] said that, to him, it seemed “it was solely and exclusively the imagination that produced the cataleptiform state”. Braid said the effects that had been displayed were produced *by physiological means alone*; yet, more importantly, whilst they *could* be produced *without the imagination*, with his own knowledge of “the power of the imagination”, he was quite certain that “with its aid” they would always “[be] produced much more rapidly and effectually”.

Braid said his methods produced “somnolency”, “insensibility to pain”, and

⁶² Given that this was “a” Mr. D., rather than “the” Mr. D. or, simply, “Mr. D.”, it is certain that this otherwise unidentified individual was not Jonathan Duncan.

⁶³ When he was pressed, a little later in the evening, this (otherwise unidentified) young man “stated that he was a medical student with a surgeon at Ashton, and that he had come over to Manchester on purpose to submit himself to the operation”.

⁶⁴ Inoring the remote possibility of it being physiologically impossible to adequately perform the ‘double internal and upward squint’ that Braid sought, my own in-the-field experience as a therapist and demonstrator offers a simple explanation: each was earnestly devoted to being a reliable witness of whatever might (or might not) take place and, from this, their attention was so ‘divided’ that they were never ‘immersed’ in the process to the required level at any time.

"the cataleptiform state", with "no differences whatever in the effects produced by these means and those produced by animal magnetism"; "precisely the same effects had been produced by the one mode as the other", "which was the only way of testing the matter". Braid said (to great applause) "no one could say that he had not endeavoured to show [each experiment] fairly and honestly". The only difference between the "effects produced by Mr. Lynill's mode" and "those produced by looking at a cork or other fixed object" was a difference of magnitude: viz., "his way was a wholesale one, and the other was only retail".⁶⁵ Cantor[†] sided with Braid, saying that, while "Lafontaine was a very powerful magnetizer", and "[Lafontaine was] exhausted after magnetising two subjects", Braid "could easily magnetise hundreds by his mode"; and, in Cantor's view, the same effects were produced.⁶⁶

Lynill noted the outward similarity of Braid's effects, regretting he had not "been thrown into the same state as Mr. Braid's subjects". Yet, "the experiments of the evening were highly interesting, and such as ought to stimulate to a careful investigation of the whole subject". Braid had not produced the "leading phenomena" of Lafontaine exhibitions: "placing an individual in such a state that there was the power of producing or destroying sensation locally, at the will of the magnetiser, so that persons could be made in a moment sensible or insensible to pain, or to noise, or to smell".

Noble said the experiments were "highly interesting"; and, if not "identical", the 'effects' were "closely analogous" to Lafontaine's. He was not "convinced of the reality of [Lafontaine's] magnetic agency", and was not satisfied that his procedures produced their 'effects' "otherwise than through the consciousness of the party operated upon". He was not sure that Braid's 'exaltation of feeling

⁶⁵ The audience would have immediately understood Braid's "*wholesale*" (the 'whole-' prefix indicating it is *undivided*) vs. "*retail*" (the '-tail' suffix indicating it is *cut*, as in *curtail*) comment.

"Wholesale" and "retail" are types of *ellipsis*: where words that are essential to the complete transmission of an expression's sense have been omitted. The full expressions are "*by the whole sale*" and "*by retail*", denoting the activity of buying in very large quantities for resale, and that of selling small quantities of goods for consumption (i.e., rather than resale), respectively.

⁶⁶ Cantor had been Lafontaine's translator at his London lectures (Lafontaine, 1866, I, p.317). Thus, he had been an observer of Lafontaine at close range (his work, subjects, results, etc.) on a number of occasions, as well as having gained an intricate knowledge of Lafontaine's ideas, theories, and commercial enterprise.

and sensibility' notion adequately explained how Lafontaine's blindfolded subjects could detect a sign given by someone they could not see (and be highly sensible *or* insensible as required), or how they could detect "passes" whilst covered with the heaviest clothing, and immediately display the desired effect in the required body part.

Braid said, he had seen a remarkable degree of exaltation of feeling and sensibility produced in the subjects; they could hear and feel with a degree of sensibility altogether unnatural, and the power of voluntary motion was so susceptible, that the slightest touch would make them move like sensitive plants. This state of high exaltation of feeling might give rise to effects of which we could have no conception, unless mesmerised ourselves;⁶⁷ and in this state the party might feel the waft of air produced by the mesmerising passes, even through the clothes.

Mr. Noble said, it would be an extraordinary inconsistency to witness at the same time such an exaltation of sensibility as should feel a waft of air through the folds of the clothes, and yet not feel the prick of a pin thrust under the finger-nail.

Mr. Braid thought this an unfair argument; because he had stated, that, if the patients thought the magnetiser wished to produce a certain effect, they would determine to produce it, and would do it; and they seemed to be endowed with an extraordinary muscular energy which enabled them to resist pain. They did feel the pain; and he had met with patients, in certain states of disease, who would bear any thing and do any thing to astonish those around them.

Lynill said that "patients, however much pricked and pinched when in the magnetic state, could never recollect any thing of it afterwards".

Whilst "many circumstances in these phenomena [were] closely analogous to those of M. Lafontaine and the magnetisers", Franklin felt the differences came from the different means of production. Given that Lafontaine's 'effects' were "more striking", there must be "some reality" in his claim "of the influence of one human being upon another". While Braid had "found a key to the production of effects *resembling those of animal magnetism*" he had failed "to identify the

⁶⁷ Braid was alluding to the interchange between biologist Ludolph Christian Treviranus (1779-1864) and poet, and mesmeric advocate, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834). Asked if he had really seen the mesmeric phenomena others said he had witnessed, Treviranus replied: "I have seen what I am certain I would not have believed on your telling; and in all reason, therefore, I can neither expect nor wish that you should believe on *mine*." (Coleridge, 1835, p.109). Braid, took this stance again in the Preface to his *Neurypnology* (p.xii):

...I fully subscribe to the propriety of the remark of Treviranus, the celebrated botanist, when speaking of mesmerism. He says, (I quote from memory,) "I have seen much which I would not have believed on your telling; and in all reason, therefore, I can neither hope nor wish that you should believe on mine".

one with the other";⁶⁸ and his theory failed "to explain what the mesmerists had produced". Braid's experiments were "interesting and highly valuable"; and "it was very possible that further investigation might throw some light upon all that had been produced by animal magnetism". Captain Brown was convinced the "cataleptiform state" in both cases was "exactly the same".

[Braid said, whilst] the human hand was a wonderful mechanical contrivance... he believed, if a mechanical hand could be made of the same material and temperature, and the same manipulations were used... the effects so produced would be identical with those of animal magnetism.

Braid said that, whilst "he did not deny the influence of one animal upon another", he was certain that, with his 'double internal and upward squint' method, "he had shown it was possible to produce [mesmeric] phenomena... independently of the imagination, or of sympathy or imitation, and independently of any effect produced by the influence of one individual over another". He also warned that, whilst "every individual could mesmerise himself, he would say to all who would try it, "Beware what you are doing"". ⁶⁹

His inability to explain the effects of mesmerism was irrelevant, he said; for "no medical man", or "physiologist", "was yet able to explain the nature of seasickness" (the existence of which was not a matter of controversy).

Terminating his lecture, Braid asked Hardy for his opinion. Remarking that the experiments and the facts "brought forward", "were of a very interesting nature, and quite surprising to him when he first witnessed them", Hardy was unsure of their *identity* with the effects of animal magnetism. Yet, there was an important question "[that] would bring the matter into a small space":⁷⁰ given Braid's view that one could 'mesmerize' oneself, was Lynill of the opinion that one could be self-magnetized? Lynill did not reply. Whilst some asserted "the magnetic condition *might* arise spontaneously" (emphasis added), Noble was

⁶⁸ Franklin said that "[the fact] that they were not identical was shown in many instances, as in those mentioned by Mr. Lynill and Mr. Noble, and also by the effect of galvanism", and asserted that, in his view, "these could not be explained by any thing that Mr. Braid had said".

⁶⁹ Another example of his boundary work.

⁷⁰ This description of bringing the issue into a smaller space is consistent with remark made, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. (1841-1935) in his 1897 commencement address: "One heard [Edmund] Burke saying that law sharpens the mind by narrowing it" (Holmes 1920, p.164).

certain "[that] "to be magnetised" necessarily implied an external influence from some other person". Hardy asked if Braid could place a limb "into a state of insensibility" and "leave it so", whilst "the other limbs were [simultaneously] in a state of sensibility".

Braid said, there was no difficulty in doing it: all that was requisite was simply to stimulate the tendons of the antagonist muscles.

Any one desirous to know his views on that subject would find them in a paper in the *Edinburgh Surgical Journal*, of the 1st October last.⁷¹

That would explain the effect of directing energy to any particular muscle; for the influence of the tendons upon muscular action was such, that the effect was to restore sensibility even to a limb paralysed for years, in the most rapid and wonderful manner.

The proceedings ended around 11:30PM. In an ante-room, and in Braid's presence, the *Manchester Guardian's* reporter set about his own experimentation. He found it easy to induce the same 'state' as Braid had induced; and unlike mesmeric subjects, who only responded to the mesmerist, his subject, a girl of 16, responded to directions given by himself, by Braid, and by her companions.

Lafontaine in Birmingham

Lafontaine delivered four demonstrations in Birmingham (Anon, 1841dd), the same as his Manchester lectures, with the same level of success with his own subjects (and limited success with others). Two unusual events occurred. At his second demonstration, he worked on Mr. Elkington.[‡] Having 'magnetized' Elkington, Lafontaine "sank down in a condition of great temporary exhaustion", unable to continue his 'passes', and "leaving Mr. E. in a state of somnolency". Eventually, Elkington opened his eyes, but "his right arm trembled very violently", and he "[could not] rise from his chair". After a time, Lafontaine was able to make the required "passes", and Elkington "recovered". Lafontaine used a deaf and dumb subject who could "distinguish sounds and articulate some syllables".⁷² An audience member 'magnetised' the subject without Lafontaine's knowledge and "threw" him "into a state of somnolency, accompanied with considerable pain". Unable to "de-magnetise" him, he needed the inter-

⁷¹ Braid (1841d). Note how he is linking his description with established canonical knowledge.

⁷² According to Lafontaine (1847, p.236), the subject, John Kirby, aged 24, was deaf and dumb as a consequence of an illness (as distinct from being deaf and dumb since birth).

vention of Lafontaine, "who [was] very indignant at the conduct of the gentleman" Anon (1841dd).

Braid's third lecture

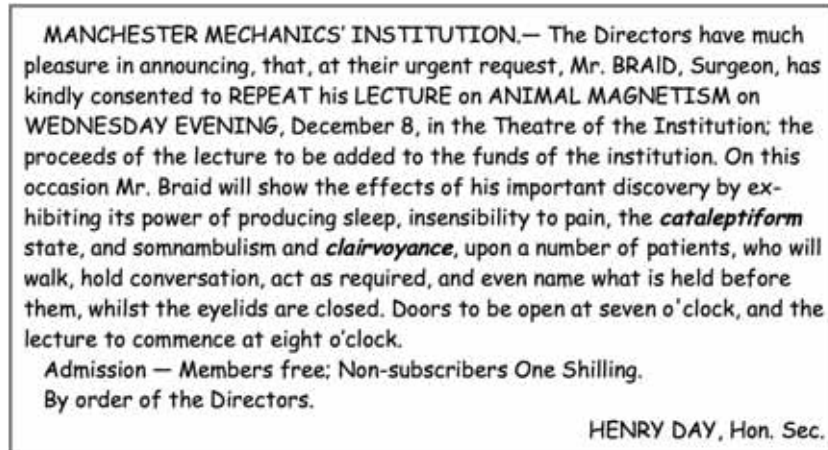


Fig.49. Braid's third lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday, 8 December 1841.⁷³

On Wednesday, 8 December, the Mechanics' Institution's theatre was packed;⁷⁴ and, although seats were available in the gallery, none were left in the hall.⁷⁵ Braid said that the Institute's directors had prevailed upon him to lecture again; and that he had only agreed from "his desire to serve the institution" and "his personal regard for the directors" (Anon, 1841dd).⁷⁶

Braid spoke of Lafontaine's *conversazioni*, the consequences of him attending and observing Lafontaine's performance, and his own experiments. He outlined his theories, emphasizing that his early failures (due to eye rolling, winking,

⁷³ Day (1841a).

⁷⁴ The lecture was advertised at Day (1841a). The *Manchester Times* (Anon, 1841cc) and *Guardian* (Anon, 1841dd) reported the third lecture. *Chambers's Edinburgh Weekly* gave a brief summary of Braid's first three lectures (Anon, 1842o). The *Courier's* report was reprinted in the *Lancaster Gazette* (Anon, 1841jj). ["Accidental circumstances" prevented the *Guardian's* reporter attending; thus, in the event of a contradiction, Anon (1841cc) should stand.]

⁷⁵ Anon (1841dd). Because members were admitted without charge to the body of the hall, but had to pay a shilling to enter the public gallery, a considerable number of the potential audience had arrived, found there were no free seat, and, then, had gone away.

⁷⁶ When moving a final vote of thanks to Braid, a director revealed that "the directors had previously engaged with M. Lafontaine [to lecture], but that gentleman afterwards declining, they went to Mr. Braid, who, *though he had on [the previous] Saturday evening expressed his intention not to lecture again, had consented to forego his own convenience and wishes, to confer a benefit on the institution in which they were assembled*" (Anon, 1841cc, emphasis added). It seems that Lafontaine and Lynill — who had entered the lecture theatre together near the end of the evening's proceedings, and sat in the front row (indicating they had been invited to attend) — were still in the lecture theatre when the director delivered this explanation.

hand wringing, inability to keep *both* eyes directed to the same point, etc.) had shown it was just as important to have “the body in subjection” as it was to have the mind kept “entirely intent on doing what I direct” (Anon, 1841cc).

[Success] depends not only on the effect produced on the eye as an organ of *sense*, but also as an organ of motion.

That the enervation, or exhaustion of the nervous energy of the muscles of voluntary motion connected with the eyelids is of paramount importance, I admit, and in fact the greater the number of muscles of voluntary motion which we can bring into play,⁷⁷ whilst there is an abstraction of the mind so as to keep it intently engaged on one object, such as keeping a steady gaze on any object placed so as to require an effort of the will to enable the subject to do so, so much the better.

With this view I generally place the subject in an upright sitting posture.

I now prefer them being in the erect posture,⁷⁸ the arms hanging by the side, which of course calls into action a number of muscles to maintain that position, and when giddiness ensues it is considerably increased by the rocking motion which follows.

The position in which I direct the eyes produces such a strain as to disarrange the natural sensibility and circulation in the globe of the eye; and from all these *combined* causes, a rapid exhaustion of nervous energy is induced, producing enervation of the brain itself, then by reflections the heart's action is diminished both in force and pungency, and a state approaching to fainting is induced by the diminished circulation through the brain.

Now, the eye-lids close, or they remain open, with an idiotic fixed stare.

The action of the heart now changes, and becomes both stronger and more rapid, and in a short time rises to an amazing velocity, such as 180 strokes in a minute, with flushed face and brain. I found it once 210.

Now all the *extreme* symptoms of mesmerism follow, and may be exhibited in compliance with the will of the magnetiser, or *any one else whom he may appoint to direct the proceedings*.

The patient, for some time, is conscious, and has a most intense desire to comply with every thing the operator is supposed to wish; and the facility of motion, and the power of maintaining any given position, is quite incredible.

If allowed to get into a deep state of sopor,⁷⁹ the muscles become so intensely rigid as to maintain the member in the position, the same as if it were a piece of solid marble or wood; and yet, when the method of dissipating the spell is known, it may be done in a few seconds, if *taken*

⁷⁷ The obvious typographical error in the original (“...with the eye-lids is of paramount im- I admit, portance, and in fact the greater...”) has been corrected here.

⁷⁸ Note the use of “now” (15 days after he performed his first ‘hetero-hypnotic’ induction on another individual), indicating a change in his procedure driven by empirical experience. Also, note that he has provided a coherent theoretical explanation for the procedural change.

⁷⁹ *Sopor*: a very deep and un-natural state of sleep.

It is derived from *somnus* (‘sleep’), which is the precise Latin equivalent of the Greek, *hypnos* (υπνος, ‘sleep’).

at a proper time.

I wish it to be distinctly understood, however, that if carried too far, apoplexy, effusion on the brain, tetanic convulsions, epilepsy and death may follow.

I have not witnessed any of these effects myself, but others have; and my views of the causes of the phenomena fully warrant me in believing one or more of these likely to result, if *the experiment be too long continued.*

You will, therefore, please to observe, that the effects result from a variety of causes — mental and corporeal, muscular and percipient; the state of the mind, the organs of sense, and the muscular and nervous system all playing an important part by turns, or in combination.

Dr. Marshall Hall's views, as to the influence of the excito-motory system, are beautifully shown; but if the patient expects a *different* effect should be produced, then is the power of voluntary motion so far retained that the action can be the *reverse* of what it should be on that principle.

It is a curious fact that at a certain stage the patient may be able to place his limbs or body into any position he is requested; but if allowed to remain so for a certain time, they become so rigid as to be quite uncontrollable, as far as his volition may go, and even offer the greatest resistance to any one else removing them from the position in which they are fixed, unless it is done by art, and not attempted by force.

I account for it thus: the sensibility is prodigiously exalted, so that some are as susceptible as the sensitive plant, moving by the slightest touch of anything; and the hearing is so acute that the slightest whisper can be heard.

The eyes may be apparently closed, and still they can know what is going on; and thus they are most apt agents for accomplishing anything the person conducting the experiments directs.

*The Manchester Times, Saturday, 11 December 1841.*⁸⁰

Whilst *he produced all of the effects he had wanted to produce* in his first lecture, Braid said, others had said he had not gone far enough. Tonight, he would extend the effects all the way to the "cataleptiform state". The differences Lynill observed between his effects and Lafontaine's were, he said, due to Lynill making his observations at the stage of the initial "depressing" effects.⁸¹ Yet, "after a certain point", he noted, "reaction sets in, and the pulse rises rapidly, and in some cases, as already observed, to an alarming height such as 180 or upwards of 200 strokes a minute". Braid knew he had clearly shown that "the effects attributed to magnetism... can be produced independently of such

⁸⁰ Anon (1841cc); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁸¹ With Braid's subjects, Lynill had commented at the previous lecture that "there was not that quickening of the pulse, and active congestion of the brain and capillary circulation, which [he, Lynill, had] observed in M. Lafontaine's successful cases" Anon (1841cc).

agency"; and that he had done so "with a certainty and frequency which has never yet been attained by any one either in this country or elsewhere" (Anon, 1841aa, emphasis added). During the evening, he questioned Holland on Catlow's (27 November) claim, asking whether, in Holland's considered view,

[everything that Catlow had said] was not implied and contained in a single question put by himself (Mr. Braid) to Mr. Bennet, the surgeon, after he had been operated upon on the 13th ult. (and reported in the *Guardian* of the 17th ult.),⁸² viz:— "Have you felt any thing more than what might arise from the position being confined, and your eyes being fixed"

Mr. Holland said, that certainly that contained the substance of Mr. Catlow's proposition; and Mr. Braid observed, that that question was asked antecedent to the time when Mr. Catlow had first intimated to Mr. Holland that he had any such theory as that to which he now laid claim. *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 11 December 1841.⁸³

Braid's 'cork-on-the-forehead' experiment on his cook and servant produced 'somnolence' and 'catalepsy'. His experiments on girls he brought with him were similarly successful. Yet, whilst strikingly successful, neither produced new phenomena. He conducted an entirely new experiment with a girl, which clearly seemed to demonstrate some level of "*clairvoyance*":

The girl of sixteen... was again placed in the sleep-waking and sleep-walking state;⁸⁴ and, with her eyes closed, she passed cautiously about the platform.

Mr. Braid then held his watch before her closed eyes, and she told him that it was a watch. It was, however, objected that she might easily do this, without any remarkable power of sight, as she could not fail to hear its ticking.

Mr. Braid then substituted his pencil-case, which she named, as if she saw it. Half-a-crown was next held up towards her closed eyes, and she said it was a shilling.⁸⁵

One gentleman held up a glove, not level with her eyes, but higher, even above the level of her forehead, the girl standing near him at the time; and she said it was a glove.

The gentleman subsequently asked her, when restored, if she could see clearly, and she replied in the negative; adding that she could see where the light was, that it was light, and any things passing between her and the light appeared like shadows.

⁸² That is, in Anon (1841o).

⁸³ Anon (1841dd); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁸⁴ "*Sleep-waking*" is a sub-set of "*sleep-walking*". In the "*sleep-waking*" state there is "*somnolence*" often combined with "*somniloquism*" ('sleep-talking'), but that "*somnolence*" is never combined with "*ambulism*" ('walking') of any sort (Barth, 1851, p.24).

⁸⁵ A shilling was a circular, silver coin with a diameter approximately 50% that of a half-crown (the half-crown was also a circular, silver coin).

If any things were held up pretty close, and she looked in that direction very earnestly, she could see the form of the object, though she could not tell minutely all it[s] peculiarities.

Similar experiments were tried on another of the girls, which was partially successful. She acknowledged that she did not see very well that evening; but she was able to distinguish and name a small pair of bellows, and a pencil-case, held up near her forehead.

On one occasion, the pencil-case was held up; and some one, at the same time, produced a bunch of keys. When asked what she saw, she immediately said, "a bunch of keys"; being apparently misled by their sound; but, almost immediately afterwards, she corrected the mistake, and said she saw a pencil-case.

In the course of these experiments, Mr. Braid held his watch before one of the girls, and desired her to follow where she heard the ticking. At first he walked away, holding the watch towards her; but afterwards he stood still, and merely moved the watch in different directions, causing her to change or retrace her footsteps instantly, as he moved the watch.

This experiment was strikingly illustrative of the greater acuteness of the sense of hearing in this state.

The Manchester Guardian, Saturday, 11 December 1841.⁸⁶

Asked if he could "produce the same effects on strangers", Braid responded, "Certainly — I am willing to take any number of ladies and gentlemen who may present themselves". Twenty volunteers rushed the stage; and, soon, fourteen were facing the audience. He had corks and bandages for nine, and asked the remaining five to look at the chandelier. He asked them to stare at their target with "a steady gaze", and "as far as possible to abstract their minds from everything going on around them" (Anon, 1841aa).⁸⁷ All started staring at the same time.⁸⁸ Within 30 seconds, two were 'somnolent', with arms 'cataleptic'. He was successful with at least ten of them (Anon, 1841bb).

As well as the audience's noise, Braid's constant movement across the stage (to 'restore' subjects or position their 'cataleptic' limbs) distracted subjects, such that they "diverted their gaze"; without this distraction, the *Guardian* felt, "[the] experiment would have succeeded to a greater extent". Braid left the stage three

⁸⁶ Anon (1841dd); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁸⁷ Braid had not met any of the fourteen subjects before, and none of them had ever been 'mesmerized' or 'magnetized' before this evening (Anon, 1841cc).

⁸⁸ According to the *Manchester Guardian*, "'such a *stare* was never seen'" (Anon (1841dd); the inverted commas and emphasis indicate a festive-seasonal pun that the *Manchester Guardian's* readers would have immediately recognized, based on the common expression "*such a star was never seen*", widely used to describe the 'Star of Bethlehem'.

times to 'restore' "self-mesmerised individuals" who, having operated upon themselves, had slumped in their seats with closed eyes (Anon, 1841dd).⁸⁹

Braid's claim, that, in certain cases, a responsive subject's eyes might "remain open", manifesting "an idiotic fixed stare", was unintentionally demonstrated by one of his subjects:

Mr. Braid here called attention to one of the patients, who, though somnolent, had his eyelids unclosed. Mr. Braid observed that though he was apparently in the same state, so far as the eyes were concerned, as usual, yet that the muscle which usually closes the eye had become spasmodically contracted, and did not act.

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 11 December 1841.⁹⁰

Braid operated on Mr. Cope,[†] a surgeon, and his eyes closed in 2½ minutes.⁹¹ Once Cope had achieved 'somnolence' and 'catalepsy', Braid was told he had earlier responded to Braid's observation that "Seeing is believing" with words to the effect that "Seeing is not believing; and I cannot believe in sensations till I feel them" (Anon, 1841dd). Braid led him forward on the stage, clearly "in the state called *clairvoyance*" (Anon, 1841cc), and told the audience of his comment. Cope interrupted, "But I believe now". Braid said: "You do believe there is a reality in it then now?", to which Cope replied "Yes, a fearful reality". Told he could be 'restored' instantly if uncomfortable, Cope said, "Oh, no; I wish to continue a while, if there is no danger". Assured there was no danger, Cope agreed to be tested with pins. Cope "walked, and was led round, speaking to different persons seated on the front range of seats" (Anon, 1841dd).

Braid operated on a mechanic,⁹² and produced 'somnolence' and 'catalepsy' such that, whilst the mechanic could "[walk] about and answer questions, his hands were cold and his arms stretched out in such a state of rigidity that we have reason to believe a 56 lb. weight might have been suspended from them

⁸⁹ The *Manchester Times* reported: "Attention was called during the proceedings to a gentleman sitting in the gallery, who had been experimenting on himself, and fallen into a complete state of somnolency. When roused from it by Mr. Braid, amidst the laughter of the audience, he looked a little disconcerted, but seemed none the worse" (1841cc).

⁹⁰ Anon (1841cc).

⁹¹ They would have closed sooner if he had not been aroused by Braid's premature attempts to raise his arms before he was fully 'somnolent' (Anon, 1841dd).

⁹² An artisan skilled in repairing mechanical devices (steam engines, factory machinery, etc.).

without weighing them down" (Anon, 1841cc).⁹³ Asked if he "could render one part of the body sensible, while the other was cataleptic", Braid made the rigid arm of the mechanic "quite supple" with a gentle tap on the elbow ("to rouse the circulation of the blood"); and, then, "released" him, "almost in a moment", "by a blast from a small pair of bellows directed at the eyes". Once 'restored', the mechanic said "he was sensible of everything going on around him", and had a tingling or prickling sensation rather like that in one's extremities after they had 'gone to sleep'. Braid was successful with at least 10 of his 14 subjects.

[They] were in a state of somnambulism, answering the voice of every one who thought proper to call them.

The scene was a most extraordinary and interesting one, and the theatre rung with the plaudits of the company.

Whilst the patients were thus walking about with closed eyes, it is a singular fact that they never came in contact, and Mr. Braid called attention in particular to the care yet ease with which they turned round, making one heel a sort of pivot on which the body could wheel about with safety.

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 11 December 1841.⁹⁴

The ten subjects (except Cope) were each "examined" and "tested" by "great numbers of the audience";⁹⁵ Lafontaine and Lynill (both had just arrived and were in the front row) had declined Braid's offer to test his subjects. Cope, "having been tested by the pricking of pins on the forehead and palms of his hands", was 'restored'. Asked to describe his experience, Cope said:⁹⁶

"Ladies and gentlemen,— I can much better endure the applause with which you have now welcomed me [to speak], than I could your noise and merriment whilst in a state of somnolency or *clairvoyance*.

I could not then bear the slightest noise without pain, and I make this remark in the hope that it will induce you to observe more silence during other experiments.

The sensation I felt from that noise, arising, I suppose, from an increased and stimulated acuteness of hearing, was so dreadful that I felt as though my whole frame would be seriously convulsed.

When I went down to submit myself voluntarily to Mr. Braid's directions I did not at first surrender my mind, and was sensible to all

⁹³ 56 lb. (pounds) = ½ cwt. (hundredweight) = 25½ kg. One hundredweight (1 cwt.) = 112 lb. (approx. 51 kg.). [A *ton*, or 2240 lb. (approx. 1,016 kg.), was comprised of 20 *hundredweight*.]

⁹⁴ Anon (1841cc); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁹⁵ Those testing Braid's subjects included co-founder of the *Manchester Guardian*, Alderman John Shuttleworth,[‡] engineers, G.W. Buck[‡] and W. Fairbairn,[‡] chemist, Henry Day,[‡] and medical men, Mr. P.H. Holland,[‡] Dr. Radford,[‡] and Dr. Cantor.[‡]

⁹⁶ The entire passage is contained within inverted commas, indicating it is quoted *verbatim*.

that was going on, which shews [sic] the necessity, as he says, of abstracting the attention and mind from everything.

I recollect afterwards that just as I was becoming sleepy Mr. Braid touched my arm with his glass baton, and that partly roused me, but soon afterwards I was unable to resist the influence, and closed my eyes.

I was then seized with a powerful wish to be at rest, and undisturbed.

After a few minutes I became more sensible to light, though my eyelids were closed.

I could not, however, see anything before me, though it is possible I might afterwards, as the sense of light seemed to become gradually more intense.

When the gentlemen tested me with pins I did not feel pain; the sensation was as though some thick, blunt instrument had been thrust against my hands and forehead.

As to the state of rigidity in which my arms were, that is attended with a peculiar sensation.

If I had been asked if I could move my arms, I think I should have said "Yes".

The rigidity seemed to arise more from an absence of will to move my arms than anything else.⁹⁷

I was asked once to move my arms, but I did not feel as though I could not; I felt as though I could not rouse my will to try to do it.⁹⁸

During the whole time I felt no unpleasantness, except from the noise — rather the contrary." (Applause)

The Manchester Times, 11 December 1841.⁹⁹

Braid wanted to apply Lafontaine's method to see if Cope "[noticed] any

⁹⁷ Here, he seems to be attempting to make a distinction between two different situations:

(a) *aboulia*: (inability to act): (an often pathological condition) where one is attempting to perform a certain action, such as turn off an alarm clock, and one's body will not 'respond' to the 'mental commands' to do so.

(b) *akrasia* (weakness of will): where an action considered necessary is not performed because the individual is not issuing the 'mental commands' to do so.

⁹⁸ The most common experience of the 'hypnotism' is that of *non-volitional responding*; subjects' actions, in response to operators' suggestions, are universally experienced as non-volitional.

Stressing that a *non-volitional* act is different from an *involuntary* act such as a knee-jerk reflex, Weitzenhoffer (2000, p.81) reports "the subject has the experience of the response taking place of its own (i.e., without his taking any part in its production in a conscious, deliberate, wilful manner)" and, often, "the subject may even be unaware that the action is taking place".

The research of Lynn, et al. (1983) into "the experience of nonvolition" indicated that "the experience of nonvolition may reflect a true difference between hypnotized and un hypnotized individuals" (p.304). Their work was extended by Blakemore, et al. (2003) with hypnotized subjects who had been previously been screened to determine that, whilst in the hypnotic state, they could display levitation of their forearm, flexing at the elbow, in response to appropriate operator suggestions. The subjects reported no subjective differences between their arm being 'raised' by hypnotic suggestion, and being raised by a system of ropes and pulleys.

It seems Cope is attempting to explain that it was not a case of *aboulia* (absence of will-power), but simply one of being completely immersed in the 'state' Braid had induced, and being fully committed to being as cooperative as he could; and, thus, he is reporting that his rigidity was a *non-volitional response* that could be reversed, by him, at any time he chose to exercise his will.

⁹⁹ Anon (1841cc); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

difference of feeling between the two states" (Anon, 1841cc). Cope agreed.

[Braid went] through the external forms of M. Lafontaine's operation and manipulations.

Mr. C. very speedily closed his eyes, in about half the time [that Braid's method had taken.]

[Braid said] this was a natural consequence of the brain not having had time to recover its tone since the previous experiment.

Mr. Braid then led him about, in a similar manner, and, after a short time, he was again restored, in a few seconds, and he again stated his sensations to the audience, to the effect that he felt not the slightest difference between those of the latter and the former operation.

The Manchester Guardian, 11 December 1841.¹⁰⁰

Given that Cope's experiences were "precisely the same", and given Braid had demonstrated that its effects could be produced "without any animal contact", Braid said that it was obvious that so-called "animal" magnetism was, clearly, a "mistaken notion". Moreover, it seemed the effects that had been produced without animal contact were considerably "better" than those produced with it (Anon, 1841cc):

Were it otherwise, indeed, he [Braid] should have been surprised: for he could not believe that the Almighty would ever have placed an accountable being so under the influence of others, as to render him incapable of resisting an influence which might be exerted for the worst of purposes, even against his consent. (Applause.)

It might be said that the same objection applied to these operations, but he would submit that in these cases the patient would be responsible for the first act. (Applause.)

He expressed his conviction that the influences now exhibited might be produced by any person upon himself, either in a light or dark room; but he cautioned the public of the danger, which he felt assured, if pursued without the superintendence [sic] of a person who thoroughly understood it, and even then if allowed to go too far, would end in death.

As a proof of the danger he said he had been told that one of M. Lafontaine's patients was twelve hours in being roused from catalepsy one night after he left the lecture room.

So singular was the fact, that it depended when a person went to bed on the position in which he placed his eyes, whether he would sleep the sleep that refreshes, or close his eyes in the sleep everlasting. (Hear, hear.)

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 11 December 1841.¹⁰¹

Cope said that, whilst Braid was applying Lafontaine's method to him, he had tried to 'mesmerize' Braid; yet, at the moment he thought he was succeeding:

¹⁰⁰ Anon (1841dd); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹⁰¹ Anon (1841cc); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Braid averted his eyes and then returned to the gaze like a giant refreshed, and [Cope] sunk under it almost immediately.

This, [Cope] observed, was a striking confirmation of Mr. Braid's theory, that averting the eye immediately relieved it from the irritability of the long-continued gaze.

Mr. Braid said, he [Braid] had felt a slight dizziness that convinced him [Braid] that he was feeling a sensation of the kind, and he immediately averted his eyes in order to counteract it.

He believed that it was perfectly impossible to mesmerise another, unless the subject was perfectly willing to undergo the operation; for, if he kept moving his eyes, and working his hands, it would be utterly impossible to produce the effect.

Indeed, he could defy all the mesmerists that existed to mesmerise him during that lecture, or prevent him concluding it.

The Manchester Guardian, Saturday, 11 December 1841.¹⁰²

During the evening "not less than twenty persons were rendered somnolent and cataleptic" (Anon, 1841cc). Asked whether "good" could be produced by the exhibited experiments, Braid said that, whilst "all the advantages of the discovery had not yet probably been ascertained", he *could* say with certainty that one important "good" had already been demonstrated: "an instance in his surgery where a person previously deaf had been enabled to hear". Finally, he made it clear that he was engaged in a "purely scientific pursuit", and that this was his last public lecture:¹⁰³

"I trust the experiments performed here this evening have satisfied the company who have honoured me with their presence. I can honestly avow they have been done fairly, and simply with the view of eliciting truth.

I consider they have been conclusive in establishing the fact I undertook to prove, namely, that the phenomena produced *by* animal contact; and *without* animal agency, farther than that exercised by the individual to be magnetised, are one and the same.

Those who would maintain a contrary opinion can only be considered as contending to make a distinction without a difference, or they must admit that I have discovered a still more efficient and universal mode of producing effects even beyond that of the supporters of animal magnetism; that there is a mode of disarranging the centres of the nervous and circulating system, as well as the muscular and mental functions, to an extraordinary extent, by the method I have been so fortunate as to discover and develop to you, no one can deny.

The universality of the application of this agency is far more general, and therefore, if the other, as applied by the professors of animal mag-

¹⁰² Anon (1841dd); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹⁰³ The entire passage that follows appears in quotation marks in the *Manchester Times*' report (Anon, 1841cc); and, so, it must be treated as Braid's speech *verbatim*.

netism, were good for any thing, this must be far more useful. I have been asked what is to be achieved by the discovery?

I have to reply it is capable of being turned to great good or great evil, as all other powerful agents are, according to the use that is made of it.

One of these [subjects] exhibited here to-night has derived great good from it already; but I again repeat the caution formerly given — that it ought only to be attempted by those who have a thorough knowledge how to control its operations, as the consequences may be of the most disastrous nature.

In as far as the study of the subject may be calculated to throw light on the treatment of disease, I shall not lose sight of it; but my professional engagements are too numerous to permit me to devote much time to the investigation as a mere toy or pastime.

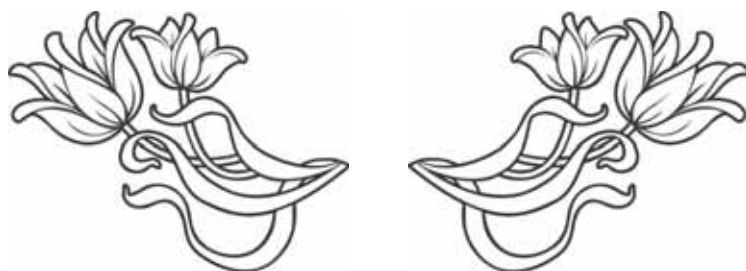
I know there may be much discussion, and, judging from what I experienced last Saturday night, much unfair endeavour by a few to misrepresent and invalidate the importance of what I claim as my discovery, but my views now go forth to the world, and I feel so confident they are based on truth, that I fear not that the verdict of the scientific world will yield me the satisfaction that I have not altogether laboured in vain.

It is not my present intention to take up more time in delivering public lectures on the subject for, as already named, I cannot do so without encroaching on my professional engagements; and I have too much devotion to my profession, and too deep a sense of the responsibilities which it involves, to suffer mesmerism or any other purely scientific pursuit, to abstract my mind from what is, and ought to be, the great object of my life — the study of what means can best alleviate the ills that flesh is heir to." (Great applause.)

The Manchester Times, 11 December 1841.¹⁰⁴

The *Manchester Guardian's* report had the following appended to it: "We understand that Mr. Braid's subjects have since [this lecture] not only walked and talked, but *danced*, in the sleep-waking state", Anon (1841dd).

¹⁰⁴ Anon (1841cc); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.



Chapter Five: The Interval

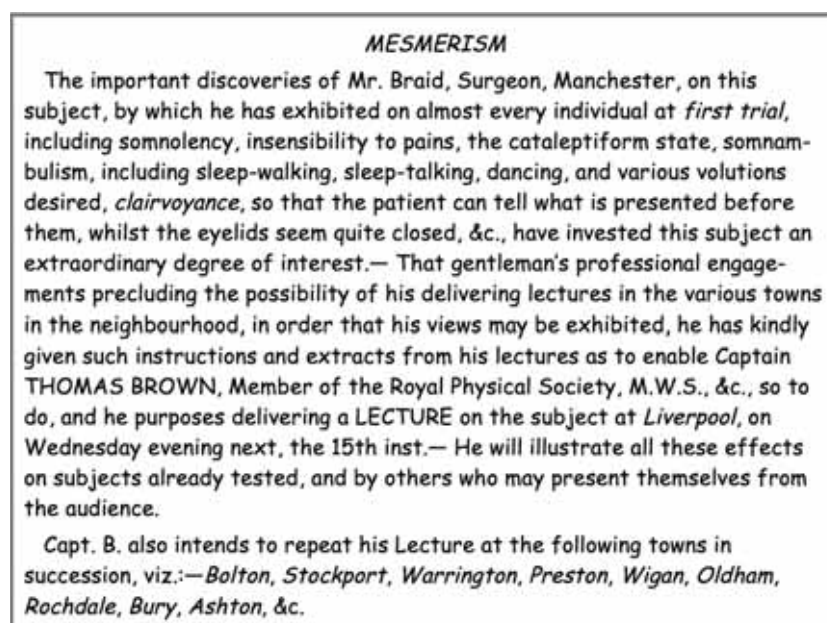


Fig.50. Captain Brown's Lectures, *Manchester Times*, 11 December 1841.¹

Whilst Braid had given his last public lecture (so he thought), his colleagues, Captain Thomas Brown, and Mr. Jonathan Duncan, began to broadcast his discoveries. Captain Brown lectured at various places near Manchester; and, although I have been unable to isolate any reports of his lectures, the following item seems to indicate that Captain Brown had made his point in Liverpool:

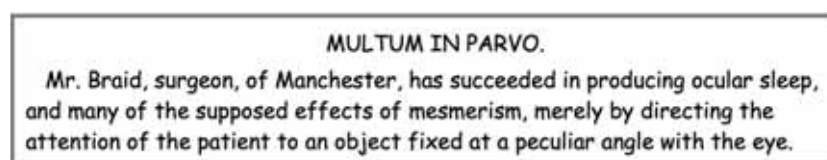


Fig.51. Miscellaneous news item *The Liverpool Mercury*, 17 December 1841.²

Duncan lectured in London on Braid's discoveries at least four times: on 21 December 1841 (at London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street),³ on 31 December (at

¹ Brown (1841a); also in the *Manchester Guardian* of the same date (Brown, 1841b). A further notice in *The Manchester Times* on Saturday, 18 December 1841 (p.1, col.B), announced that he would also speak at Little Bolton (on 20 December), again at Liverpool (on 21 December), at Warrington (on 22 December), and at Oldham (on 23 December), with further announcements to be made in the near future.

² Anon (1841ii). *Multum in parvo* ('many things in a few words'; lit. 'a great deal in a small space'), was a title that was widely used in British newspapers at the head of a lengthy collection of very brief news items, trivia, comments, etc., such as this one.

³ Duncan (1841a).

Hanover-Square Rooms),⁴ on 6 January 1842 (at Hanover-Square Rooms),⁵ and on 7 January (at The Horns Tavern, Kennington).⁶

MESMERISM.— THIS EVENING, the 21st of December, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, Mr. JONATHAN DUNCAN will deliver a LECTURE illustrating the phenomena usually attributed to animal magnetism, but which he will, for the first time, explain on strict physiological and anatomical principles. The assumed existence of a magnetic fluid will be demonstrated to be untrue, and the various states of somnolency, somnambulism, catalepsy, and clairvoyance will be produced without personal contact or any manipulation whatever. The great object of the lecturer will be to strip the subject of the mystery in which it has hitherto been veiled. Admission, 2s. 6d. The lecture will commence at precisely half-past 7.

Fig.52. Duncan's first lecture, *The Times*, Tuesday, 21 December 1841.⁷

Duncan's first lecture did not go well. The experiments and demonstrations were badly received (Anon, 1841qq); and Duncan's audience reacted to Braid's *cork-on-the-forehead* method with "roars of laughter". According to *The Times*, "the whole exhibition was farcical in the extreme, but had not the slightest claim to be considered as a scientific investigation" (Anon, 1841kk).

MESMERISM.— On Friday, the 31st December, at 2 o'clock, p.m., at the Hanover-square Rooms, Mr. JONATHAN DUNCAN will deliver a LECTURE on the PHENOMENA of ANIMAL MAGNETISM, which he will produce without personal contact or any manipulations whatever. He will exhibit the experiments performed by Mr. James Braid, the discoverer of the new system, as witnessed by thousands of persons in Manchester, and faithfully recorded in the truthful and ungarbled reports of all the Manchester newspapers of the current month. At the close of the lecture experiments will be performed on the audience, provided the conditions of the lecturer are honourably fulfilled. Admission, 2s. 6d. Tickets may be obtained at the Hanover-square Rooms.

Fig.53. Duncan's second lecture, *The Times*, Wednesday, 29 December 1841.⁸

Duncan's second lecture was of a different nature, at a different venue, and at a different time of day. The changes were productive; no doubt assisted by the presence of Sir Charles Forbes,[†] Lord Rector of Marischal College.⁹ Delivered to

⁴ Duncan (1841b).

⁵ Duncan (1842a).

⁶ Duncan (1842a).

⁷ Duncan (1841a).

⁸ Duncan (1841b).

⁹ All of what follows is taken from an extensive report of the meeting, which appears in London *Morning Chronicle* of 1 January 1842 (Anon, 1842a). The report incorrectly attributes the original Manchester lectures (and the "considerable sensation" they created) to Duncan, rather than Braid. Duncan's letter, written on 3 January (Duncan, 1842b), corrected this error.

large audience, his second lecture had none of the chaos of the first. Almost all of Duncan's experiments were completely successful; and Duncan said the experiments at his first lecture had failed, not "because the principle upon which they were conducted was false", but "because extraneous and unavoidable circumstances rendered their successful termination next to impossible". He was Braid's "forerunner", he said;¹⁰ and, as soon as Braid could be spared from his busy practice, he would come to London and conduct "a full discussion upon the merits of his discovery", and "explain physiologically and anatomically its consequences, results, and bearings".¹¹ Duncan gave a brief outline of the origins, doctrines, and 'fluidic' beliefs of mesmerism, explaining that, whilst "Mr. Braid's theory" was significantly different, "its results [were] the same". He then systematically described the foundation principles of Braid's theories.¹²

Duncan rendered a girl of fourteen 'somnolent' and 'cataleptic' in less than 2 minutes. He asked her to sit, raise her forefinger to about eye level, and gaze at it intently; then, after an interval of 10 minutes, he 'restored' her instantly, by blowing twice upon her eyelids. Again, he rendered her 'somnolent'. This time she was standing, staring at a pencil case held between her eyes. Duncan had her walk from one end of the stage to another as directed by himself, or by an audience member. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to have her identify objects held before her closed eyes. The failure was, Duncan said, due to "the period of *clairvoyance* ... [supposed to immediately follow 'somnolence'] ... having passed". Duncan asked for volunteers. Two men presented, and sat with their backs to the audience "[so] that their attention might not be diverted from the object in view". Failing with one, he succeeded with the other, inducing 'somnolence' and 'catalepsy' within 10 minutes (his 'cataleptiform state' was much stronger than the girl's). Duncan then placed a heavy chair on

¹⁰ The allusion to John the Baptist, the *prodromos* (πρόδρομος, 'forerunner [of Christ]') in Christian tradition — "John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I [viz., Christ] cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire" (Luke III.16) — would have been immediately recognized by all present.

¹¹ It is clear that, by the time of this lecture (31 December 1841), Braid had already realized he would need to lecture some more, and would need to lecture outside of Manchester proper.

¹² For the complete text of Duncan's lecture, see Anon (1842f).

his fully extended arm. The subject supported the chair in this fashion “for several minutes, without exhibiting any signs of fatigue”.

Sir Charles Forbes then rose and addressed the meeting, firmly asserting “his full and conscientious belief in the truth of the theory advanced by Mr. Duncan”. He knew Jonathan Duncan as a young man, he said, and he had acted as his guardian. Duncan certainly came from “a most respectable family”; his father was a Governor of Bombay, and he (Forbes) “was convinced that [Duncan] was incapable of advancing any theory in which he was not personally a full believer”; and, as further evidence of *bona fides* on Duncan’s part, he knew that “his exertions were, at all events, disinterested, for he did not derive one farthing profit from them”.

In the meantime, back in Manchester, Catlow announced he was preparing to deliver a set of lectures.

MESMERISM.—Mr. CATLOW is preparing LECTURES, in which he will explain his theory of the effects producible by Mesmeric operations, and reduce them to an elementary fact in the philosophy of sensation, which he will show to be a counterpart to another elementary fact, on which is based the principle of natural medicine.
Mr. Catlow will illustrate his theory by a reference to rudimentary and complete Mesmeric operations and effects that occur in nature.

Fig.54. Catlow’s announcement, *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1841.¹³

Lafontaine’s First Lecture (second season)

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.—M. LAFONTAINE will Deliver a LECTURE on ANIMAL MAGNETISM, in the Theatre of the Athenæum, on Thursday evening next, December 9th; when he will exhibit a number of highly interesting experiments. A *Conversazione* will be held at the close of the lecture.
Doors to be opened at half-past seven, to commence at eight precisely.
Admission: members of the Athenæum, 1s.; strangers, 2s. 6d.

Fig.55. Lafontaine’s lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, 8 December 1841.¹⁴

Lafontaine lectured at the Manchester Athenæum, on Thursday, 9 December (the evening after Braid’s third lecture), to a good audience.¹⁵ The chairman and interpreter was Mr. Greaves,[†] surgeon. Lafontaine successfully demonstrated

¹³ This announcement (Catlow, 1841a) appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* a week after Braid’s third lecture.

¹⁴ Lafontaine (1841e).

¹⁵ The *Manchester Guardian*’s report of the evening’s proceedings is at Anon (1841ee).

his methods on 'Mary'. He introduced Elizabeth Wilcock, a young woman, deaf since the age of 5. He had 'magnetized' her four times during the week, and this had improved her hearing. He shouted loudly at her ears, and she signaled she heard (Anon, 1841cc). Lafontaine said he felt "magnetism was effected by the communication of a fluid, through the nerves, from the magnetiser to the magnetised". He had no success with the solitary volunteer from the audience.

Asked "[if he thought] the effects of his own operations to be analogous or identical with those of Mr. Braid", Lafontaine stated that, because he had only briefly seen Braid in action, on a single occasion (the night before), *he was not inclined to express an opinion at that time* (Anon, 1841ee).¹⁶

Lafontaine's Second Lecture (second season)

Lafontaine lectured at the Athenæum the following night (Friday 10th).

This lecture of Lafontaine's was not advertised.

Much of the evening's proceedings were expressly directed at Braid; of whom, 24 hours earlier, Lafontaine said he had little knowledge.¹⁷ Given that Braid was absent,¹⁸ it seems that this was an opportunistic and commercial (rather than 'scientific') move to make a pre-emptive strike against Braid.¹⁹ Lynill, as Lafontaine's interpreter, said that Lafontaine could *now* "state what he considered to be the difference between animal magnetism and the phenomena exhibited by Mr. Braid"; and that Lafontaine "would exhibit experiments, which his audience could compare, showing the two states produced by these different means". Lynill read a carefully prepared statement (see *Appendix*

¹⁶ *The Manchester Guardian* reported that, in the last part of the evening's proceedings, "a great deal of time was wasted in questions to which no satisfactory answers could be obtained" (Anon, 1841ee).

¹⁷ Unless otherwise specified, this entire section is based on the *Manchester Guardian's* report of the lecture (Anon, 1841gg). There was no corresponding report in the *Manchester Times*.

¹⁸ During Braid's fourth lecture he says, "neither he nor his friends could attend [Lafontaine's lecture] to see whether it was delivered fairly or not" (Anon, 1841nn). Braid, mistakenly, says that the lecture was on Saturday evening. As Braid and his associates did attend the third, Saturday lecture (see below); Braid must be referring to this second lecture (on the Friday).

¹⁹ This view is supported by the report in *The Manchester Guardian*: "one great object of this *soirée* [was] to state and exhibit the difference between the phenomena of animal magnetism, and those recently exhibited by Mr. Braid" (Anon, 1841gg).

Three), the burden of which was that, whatever Braid might have done had no connexion whatsoever with the limited range of magnetic phenomena that Lafontaine had demonstrated whilst in Manchester;²⁰ or, indeed, with any of the wider range of “higher phenomena” that others reported.²¹

In relation to *his* work, on *this* visit, Lafontaine said, because he was denied access to medical facilities, he could only demonstrate the *existence* of ‘animal magnetism’ as an *agent*; he could not demonstrate “the power of animal magnetism as a curative agent”. He was highly critical of Braid’s claim “[to have solved], in a few days, a mystery which, for more than half a century, has occupied the attention, and baffled the powers, of some of the men of the greatest scientific eminence in Europe”. He was critical of Braid’s *somnambulism* (“the somnambulism of Mr. Braid is nothing more than the power of walking about and conversing with the eyes shut”, etc.), and *clairvoyance* (“[his clairvoyance] consists in making out a few objects, placed directly before the eyes, in a strong light”). Not only did Lafontaine dismiss Braid’s claim of producing an *identical* ‘state’ to his own, but he also very strongly rejected the notion that the two ‘states’ were even *analogous*.

As soon as Lynill finished, Lafontaine set to work. He produced ‘somnolence’ in Eugene; and, when tested, Eugene manifested a considerable insensitivity to various stimuli and manipulations. After considerable effort, Lafontaine declared him to be “cataleptic and completely insensible”. He bandaged his eyes and “alternately mesmerised and demesmerised [his] leg, which accordingly showed insensibility or sensibility to the prick of a pin”. Catlow, whose interruptions greatly irritated most of those present, protested that it was not right that Lafontaine was the sole arbiter of whether or not insensibility was present.

Rev. Scholefield[‡] suggested Lafontaine perform experiments on a complete

²⁰ In the context of Lafontaine’s remark, it is important to recall that Braid was solely concerned with replicating Lafontaine’s effects; and, so, it is highly significant that Lafontaine never attempted to produce (let alone actually produce) any of the so-called “higher phenomena” in any of his Manchester lectures, exhibitions, demonstrations or *conversazioni*.

²¹ Lafontaine promised he would return to Manchester in six months with a new set of subjects, with whom (unlike the subjects he presently had at his disposal) he would not only be able to easily demonstrate the effects known as “somnambulism” and “clairvoyance”, but would also be able to demonstrate the full range of all of these “higher phenomena”.

stranger, and was told these were reserved for later in the evening. Lafontaine experimented with Isabella, sitting beside her, and holding her thumbs. He asked her to move her eyes, but not look at him. Her respiration became laboured, her chest heaved, and in a minute her eyes closed. He spoke of Braid's demand for fixity of vision, emphasizing that, here, "effects were not produced by similar means".²² Mr. Whitehead,[†] a surgeon, measured her pulse at 120. Lafontaine demonstrated various aspects of 'somnolence', 'catalepsy', and 'insensibility'. He crammed her nostrils with a large amount of very pungent snuff. She did not respond, although it was evident she was inhaling through her nostrils. Yet, once de-magnetized, she responded normally. Also, whilst 'magnetized', her foot had been continuously "cataleptiform"; and, when asked if she could bend it, she had responded "No, I cannot; it seems quite dead".²³

Lafontaine then produced Elizabeth Wilcock, who not only "distinguish[ed] articulate sounds", but "imitate[d] them by her own long-dormant organs of speech".²⁴ This was great progress, he said, a few days ago "she could only hear a noise"; now was distinguishing between different sounds. The words "*Bon tems, bon jour, popo, maman, pantalon, &c.*"²⁵ were written on a card; and, asked to point to each word Lafontaine uttered, she performed almost perfectly. She then showed that, not only could she "distinguish" the sounds he uttered, she could also repeat them in a fashion that was "sufficiently distinct to enable any one to recognize the same words".

Mr. Catlow was again about to interrupt M. Lafontaine, but was prevented by calls of "order" and "shame".

He said the shame was rather on those who would swallow every thing without testing it.— ("Shame".)

...A gentleman said he considered Mr. Catlow's conduct as most ungentlemanly, both in his interruptions, and in the unfair advantage he had taken of M. Lafontaine's attention being engaged elsewhere, to test

²² This was a strange observation for Lafontaine to have made. Braid constantly asserted the same thing: that he could produce precisely the same effects whilst using a different procedure.

²³ The reporter observed that, "in some recent, private experiments, witnessed by the writer, in which the operator, a gentlemen of this town, rendered the arms of a female cataleptic, she was asked if she could move them; and she replied, in a sleepy tone, "I have no arms".

²⁴ Before Lafontaine had begun working with her, "she could [only]... hear the noise made by tapping on a hat, or by shouting near the ear".

²⁵ The report observed, "[these] French words [were] part of a series by which M. Lafontaine tests and educates his patients in the newly-restored power of articulate speech".

one of the subjects: he deserved to be bundled out of the room.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.²⁶

Lafontaine's *conversazione* began with Braid's procedure. He produced five young female subjects, each with a cork on her forehead. Lafontaine said that he had tried 48 such experiments ("in not one of which had he found any thing like either catalepsy or insensibility"); and all except four subjects *remembered everything that took place once their eyes had closed*. In the four cases, "the subjects fell into perfectly natural sleep". They were "very fatigued", "having been employed laboriously all day", and it was very late at night. He could not wake the 'natural sleepers' by hand clapping, and each "had to be well shaken [to be 'restored']". A 'cork-less' subject whom, unknown to Lafontaine "had [been independently looking] up steadfastly at the ceiling" *à la* Braid, "appeared to be sound asleep". She was one of the 'natural sleepers'. They tried waking her. She seemed to manifest "peculiar symptoms", which Lynill thought "[indicated] a third state, differing from either that had been before produced". When Lafontaine held pungent snuff under her nose, she turned her head away. Lafontaine could not "arouse" her; having attempted to do so, *à la* Braid, "by repeatedly blowing on her closed eyelids" and "by a smart and unexpected shock". Mr. Whitehead reported that her pulse had fallen from 130 to 100.

...the patient, who appeared hysterical, and complained of her head, opened her eyes. She was asked, Did you feel the pricking of the pin?

No; where was it?

Did you feel the snuff?

No. I have not been conscious of any thing since I closed my eyes.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.²⁷

She had been staring at the ceiling. Remarking on the "peculiar state of somnolency" produced by Braid's method, Lafontaine said he had not yet been able to produce insensibility using Braid's method; yet, "[if] he could produce insensibility in this way quicker than by magnetism, in cases where insensibility was wanted, it would be much more simple than magnetism, and he should be very glad to see it".

Up to that time, he said, he had seen no effects from Braid's procedures that

²⁶ Anon (1841gg).

²⁷ Anon (1841gg).

were "at all analogous to those of animal magnetism"; and, yet, whilst "a state of sleep" had just been induced, in which his subject had displayed "partial insensibility", he was certain that her 'state' would vanish immediately he applied a galvanic battery ("to which his own subjects were quite insensible"). He said that, whilst "all magnetisers" did not use the same means to produce the same effects, it was also true that the application of "different means" could produce "different effects"; he then told the audience that,

Mesmer employed a stage, a machinery of rods, a staff, &c.; and the magnetisers of that day produced convulsions.

Subsequently, the object had been to simplify the magnetic operation; and now, instead of seeking to produce convulsions, it was sought to avoid them, and to make animal magnetism a curative agent as far as possible.

It was for Mr. Catlow, as a medical man, and for the medical profession generally, to apply it to the cure of diseases; and it would be found especially to cure deafness, nervous attacks, and epilepsy.

If M. Lafontaine had access, as many medical men here had, to the public hospitals, he could have shown them something of its curative effects; but he had shown them what he was able in the cases of the deaf and dumb, who had been to some considerable extent restored to hearing after a few operations of animal magnetism.

The great bulk of his experiments here had not been so much to show the object of animal magnetism, as simply to prove its truth; that having been done, and when the public were satisfied of that, he trusted that its benefits would be made extensively available as a curative agent, and that animal magnetism would then only be used when there was occasion for it.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.²⁸

Catlow volunteered to be a subject for both Lafontaine's method and the 'cork-on-the-forehead'. Lafontaine declined. Catlow was not "a susceptible subject", he said, and he did not want to waste the audience's time. He asked (to "applause and laughter"), why would a person who was about to lecture on animal magnetism require any "further conviction"?:

Catlow: I believe M. Lafontaine would succeed in magnetising me: I believe I am a susceptible subject; I dispute M. Lafontaine's judgment on the matter.— (Laughter.)

I expect he knows that I am rather too crafty for him.— ("Order.")
... He only wishes those to try who are easily bamboozled.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.²⁹

²⁸ Anon (1841gg); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

²⁹ Anon (1841gg).

Lafontaine attempted several other experiments without much success. He 'restored' Isabella from "the cataleptic state in which one leg had been kept for nearly two hours". Asked to use Braid's procedure on either Isabella or Eugene, Lafontaine said he would not for fear that some effect induced by the procedure might cause them to lose their "magnetic susceptibility". The evening's proceedings terminated shortly after 11 PM.

A notice appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* the next morning, advertising that Lafontaine would lecture that evening at the Athenæum.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.— THIS EVENING (SATURDAY, December 11), MONSIEUR LAFONTAINE will give another LECTURE on ANIMAL MAGNETISM, in the Theatre of the Athenæum, when he will have the pleasure of presenting two young persons, previously Deaf and Dumb, in whom he has succeeded in effecting considerable improvement.
Doors to be opened at half-past seven; to commence at eight precisely.
Admission: members of the Athenæum, 1s.; strangers, 2s. 6d.

Fig.56. Lafontaine's lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1841.³⁰

Immediately beneath it was an announcement that Braid would deliver a fourth lecture, at the Mechanics' Institution, on the following Friday:

MANCHESTER MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.— The Directors have much pleasure in announcing, that, owing to the disappointment experienced from the short notice given of Wednesday evening's lecture, Mr. BRAID, surgeon, has kindly consented, at their urgent request, to REPEAT his LECTURE on ANIMAL MAGNETISM on FRIDAY EVENING, Dec. 17, in the Theatre of the Institution; the proceeds of the lecture to be added to the funds of the institution. On this occasion Mr. Braid will show the effects of his important discovery by exhibiting its power of producing sleep, insensibility to pain, the *cataleptiform* state, and somnambulism and *clairvoyance*, upon a number of patients, who will walk, hold conversation, act as required, and even name what is held before them, whilst the eyelids are closed. Doors to be open at seven o'clock, and the lecture to commence at eight o'clock.
Admission — Members free; Non-Subscribers One Shilling.
By order of the Directors. HENRY DAY, Hon. Sec.
Dec. 10, 1841.

Fig.57. Braid's fourth lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 11 December 1841.³¹

Lafontaine's Third Lecture (second season)

Lafontaine clearly intended this Saturday lecture to be the last he delivered in Manchester. The audience, much smaller than the previous evening's,³² in-

³⁰ Lafontaine (1841f).

³¹ Day (1841b).

³² Unless otherwise specified, this entire section is based on the *Manchester Guardian's* report

cluded Lynill (acting as his interpreter),³³ Dr. Cantor, Captain Brown, Mr. Walker (Braid's first-ever subject), and the surgeons, Greaves, Noble, Holland (and, of course, Catlow). This time, Braid was present at Lafontaine's performance from start to finish. The evening began with Lynill reading Lafontaine's prepared statement (of the previous evening) to the audience,³⁴ during the course of which Catlow "repeatedly interrupted [Lynill]",

crying "incorrect", and once by Mr. Braid (who was present from the commencement) making some remark, to which M. Lafontaine replied, that, at Mr. Braid's lecture, he (M. Lafontaine) had observed perfect silence; he had paid the greatest attention to all that was said; he had make no remarks and no experiments himself; and he thought that the present interruptions were quite out of place, and hoped that the same courtesy would be extended to him which he had shown to Mr.

Braid.— (Applause)

Mr. Lynill added, that he must say he had never before heard of a lecture being interrupted in this way.

In the July or August of [1842], it was the intention of M. Lafontaine to return to Manchester, when he hoped to be able to show that what he had described in the lecture as to *clairvoyance*, was quite as real as what he had hitherto shown them. (Applause.)

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.³⁵

Lafontaine said that he "had tried about 80 experiments on the plan of Mr. Braid" before last night with "precisely the same results" each time.³⁶ Yet, last night, whilst three subjects "[went] to sleep under the influence of the cork", another "had [independently] gone off... without looking at the cork". She was one of those who had done so on the Thursday evening. He assumed she had "fallen into a natural sleep". But, on closer examination, it wasn't "natural sleep". He offered a tentative explanation. He had attended one who had 'fallen' into "that state" last night, who experienced "a violent hysterical attack" this morning, and discovered that she regularly suffered these attacks:

He believed that the state she was in last night was the normal state which existed after an attack.

She was in a profound sleep, from which they had found themselves

of the lecture (Anon, 1841hh). There was no corresponding report in the *Manchester Times*.

³³ It is significant that the *Manchester Guardian's* explicitly stated that Lafontaine spoke no English, and that Braid spoke no French (Anon, 1841hh).

³⁴ The full text of the statement appears at *Appendix Three*.

³⁵ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³⁶ At the previous evening he had claimed that he had tried 48 experiments (see above). Overnight the number had nearly doubled.

incapable of awaking her; and there was decided insensibility of the hand.

He believed that this state might be thus induced in persons subject to those attacks; but he had never seen any thing of the sort, except in these three cases out of the sixty.

In six experiments he had tried with the cork that day [Saturday], he had found no such effects produced.

The consideration of the cases of last night, added to what he had before heard and seen of Mr. Braid's cases, did not still, however, in the slightest degree, shake his in conviction, that there was not any analogy between the two; that their phenomena were decidedly different; that the insensibility and sleep produced in three cases, the preceding evening, were only the effects produced upon certain constitutions in a certain state, and totally different from the phenomena of animal magnetism; nor was it like the state produced by Mr. Braid, for the persons in that state always recollected everything that passed; they never lost their consciousness or memory of what had passed, and they never said they had been asleep.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.³⁷

Lafontaine produced two young females: Isabella, and another whom he had not seen until the day before (identified only as "No.2").³⁸ They sat with all three facing the same way. The women were asked "to move their eyes and eyelids as much as they pleased", in order to show that "the operator and the subject looking at each other, or the subjects looking steadily at any thing, was unnecessary".

[Isabella's eyes] closed in two minutes; and those of ["No.2"] ... in four minutes.

As Isabella showed symptoms of an hysterical attack, M. Lafontaine demesmerised her, and said it was *an effect which sometimes followed from magnetising two persons at once, always affecting the person most frequently magnetised*.

Isabella shivered, and showed evident signs of unpleasant sensations; and she shortly afterwards retired.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.³⁹

"No.2" was an excellent subject. Lafontaine raised her legs until almost horizontal, made them cataleptiform, and "tried to force [her] feet down till they touched the ground; but the moment he removed the pressure, the feet sprang up again, with great apparent elasticity". Insensible to pins in her hands,

³⁷ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³⁸ The *Manchester Guardian's* report referred to her as "No.2" throughout (Anon, 1841hh).

³⁹ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading (emphasis added to original).

face, forehead and neck, she “started” when a percussion cap was detonated,

shortly afterwards [she] had a slight hysterical attack, which seemed to be removed, however, by demesmerising the stomach.

M. Lafontaine said, that hearing was generally the last sense to be overcome by insensibility in animal magnetism; and, until it was rendered insensible, it was generally exceedingly acute.

After some further magnetising of the head and ears, No. 2 was rendered insensible to the report of the percussion cap; Mr. Braid declaring aloud, that there was no sensibility.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁴⁰

“No.2” was insensible to noxious fumes from a strong solution of ammonia. However, immediately following the ammonia’s application, tears trickled from her eyes; which, according to Lafontaine, was an indication “that sensibility had not [yet] left the eyes”.

Under a slight shock from the galvanic battery, she remained motionless, except the movements in the arms, caused by the electro-magnetic current; while a gentleman who tried the strength of the shock, by the contortions of his face and limbs, showed that it was sufficiently powerful to affect any one considerably, under ordinary circumstances.

A second and stronger shock was administered to No.2, who seemed very differently affected. Her whole body seemed for the moment convulsed, and an indistinct cry escaped her, as if she felt it severely.

She was immediately asked if she had any pain: she shook her head.

“Are you asleep?”

She again shook her head; and M. Lafontaine said that she was now in a state of somnolence; before, she had been in a profound sleep.

After having remained magnetised upwards of 40 minutes, M. Lafontaine demesmerised her, except leaving the legs partially rigid; and she opened her eyes.

He desired her to rise.

She made several ineffectual efforts, and then said,— I have no pain; but I cannot get up.

Do you remember having suffered any pain? No, sir.

Are you quite sure? Yes, sir.

You made a noise; a cry. How was it, if you have not suffered any pain? I don’t think so; I don’t think any one has touched me.

Do you feel anything now? Nothing, except a slight pain in the head.

She was again desired to get up, and tried, but was unable; though she repeated that she had no pain. M. Lafontaine again magnetised one of her legs, rendering it rigid; and fixed it, so that the foot was about fourteen inches from the floor.

He desired her to use all her efforts, not only with the limb itself, but by applying her hands to it.

She did so; and, with the most active efforts, she succeeded in gradually depressing the limb a little; but she desisted before she had got it to the floor, saying she could do no more.

⁴⁰ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

M. Lafontaine observed that he had never seen this subject but in the presence of several other persons; so that any opportunity for collusion was out of the question.

He tried both arms, but said he was unable to produce catalepsy in them. The influence entered by them [sc., the arms], and passed through the body, and down into the legs, and that was the reason why the rigidity remained longest in the legs.

M. Lafontaine then pricked one of the legs, through the stocking, till each prick was marked by the blood, staining the white stocking: this she never felt, and looked surprised at seeing the blood.

A percussion cap being discharged behind her, she started in some alarm. M. Lafontaine then re-magnetised both legs, and left her sitting; those limbs being fixed in a nearly horizontal position.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁴¹

Lafontaine said he would produce limb catalepsy “without at all acting on the brain”. The, by pressing a muscle near Isabella’s hip,⁴² he made both of her legs cataleptic “almost immediately”; and, with a few “passes”, he produced “insensibility”. He rendered the foot insensible, and she did not notice a pin left in its sole. Blindfolded, she could not tell which leg was pricked; and, when he pricked both, she said neither had been. He de-mesmerized one leg. She regained immediate sensation; and, yet, after a few “passes”, her leg was, once again, insensible. He wanted to give her a galvanic shock, but desisted, due to the audience’s cries of “No”. Noticing that “No.2’s” legs were beginning to lower, he re-magnetized them, “and left them fixed horizontally”. Challenged by Catlow, he successfully conducted precisely the same sensibility/insensibility test on “No.2” as he had with Isabella.

[With] Catlow still continuing to press the trial of various things, amidst hisses from the auditory generally, M. Lafontaine said, he had repeatedly and continually done his best to answer Mr. Catlow’s questions; and had further told him, if he wished for information, and would come to his hotel, at any time, he would give him every explanation in his power.

He thought that, by this time, having attended on so many evenings, Mr. Catlow ought either to believe or disbelieve; surely he had made up his mind; and if so, it was, he thought, exceedingly wrong of him to come night after night, and place himself in opposition to a whole audience in the way he did.— (Loud and continued applause.)

⁴¹ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁴² In response to a question, later in the evening on “whether [he] regarded the pressure upon the muscle as acting by the transmission of any particular fluid, or by a mechanical stimulus”, “Lafontaine said he believed the action to be magnetic, and not mechanical” (1841hh).

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁴³

Lafontaine repeated the previous evening's demonstrations on Elizabeth Wilcock. When he pretended to shout in her ear — i.e., doing nothing more than "[agitating] the air with his voiceless breath" — she 'heard' nothing. Lafontaine said that this proved that she had heard his voice earlier (and displayed "distinct hearing"), rather than just responding to "the waves of air". She reacted with a good deal of alarm to the sudden, unexpected sound of a percussion cap. It was 10PM.

Lafontaine intimated that the conversazione might commence. There were several calls for "Mr. Braid", who rose and said he should be very glad to avail himself of the opportunity of making a few remarks, as his name had been brought forward in connection with this subject. While he acknowledged M. Lafontaine's perfect right to make a comparison between the two methods,—

M. Lafontaine said, he could not permit any discussion on this subject; he had given a lecture and experiments; and he had to repeat that, if any person wished now to put any question to him, or to make any observation on those experiments, he was ready to answer.

Mr. Braid: You made an assertion in that statement which was read, that my experiments produced nothing but somnolency; and that they did not produce insensibility.

Lafontaine (through Mr. Lynill) would appeal even to Mr. Braid himself, whether it was right for him to enter upon a discussion there upon the remarks made by M. Lafontaine. He (M. Lafontaine) had preserved silence at Mr. Braid's lecture. *Besides, Mr. Braid not speaking French and M. Lafontaine not speaking English, whatever passed between them would have to be transmitted through his (Mr. Lynill's) interpretation;*⁴⁴ and this might lead to cross-understandings, and in short was not practicable. If Mr. Braid wished to make any remarks on M. Lafontaine's experiments, he was ready to hear him.

Mr. Braid: Very well; then I shall next Friday evening produce all the effects I have seen here to-night; and I am ready to do it now, if it is wished. I have subjects here in readiness. You, Mr. Lynill, know that perfect insensibility has been produced on my subjects. You and Mr. Noble saw the blood drawn from one of my subjects, and she did not show the least sensibility.⁴⁵

Mr. Lynill: I have not, in the statements of last night and to-night, made any remarks of my own; *I have simply read that which has been put into my hand by M. Lafontaine, who, not having opportunities himself of seeing the greater number of Mr. Braid's operations, made inquiries from*

⁴³ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁴⁴ Emphasis added.

⁴⁵ The newspaper report has "did not show the least insensibility"; given the context of this passage, it must be a typographical error. This is also supported by Mr. Noble's own statement later that evening (see below), which appears in the very same newspaper report (1841hh).

*others who had witnessed those experiments.*⁴⁶ M. Lafontaine was only able to be present at one lecture of Mr. Braid, and then he saw what he could, and he saw no test of insensibility applied. Amongst other friends, he asked myself and Mr. Noble; and I must declare, that what Mr. Braid now speaks of was totally unsatisfactory to myself, and I told Mr. Braid so at the time.

M. Lafontaine, in reply to Mr. Braid's announcement for Friday next, said he should be exceedingly glad to see Mr. Braid perform what he had now pledged himself to do. On the preceding evening, [Lafontaine] had declared the result of all the experiments he had made on Mr. Braid's plan to be that no insensibility was produced; but, during that lecture, he had seen a kind of sleep and insensibility produced, and he had this evening declared his convictions on that subject. If beyond this Mr. Braid could produce effects like than exhibited this evening, M. Lafontaine would have great pleasure in acknowledging the fact.— (Applause.) All he sought was the truth, which it was the duty of all to seek; he acknowledged that he had seen sleep and insensibility produced under Mr. Braid's method, in certain cases: when he saw more, he would state it as candidly.— (Applause.)

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁴⁷

Lafontaine shifted to the next phase of the evening; and began experimenting with his version of Braid's procedure on one of the previous evening's subjects.

A girl was then operated on by the cork. Her eyes closed in half a minute; but her arms, when raised, instead of remaining fixed, dropped to her side. She was raised by the hands; and, on being asked if she were asleep, she replied "No; but I feel a dizziness in my head".

Can you open your eyes? No.

She was led about, and attempted to walk; but complained of pain at the back of the head. She was shortly afterwards restored by puffs of breath on her eyelids.

She was asked— Had you the same giddy sensations in your head last night? Not quite so bad.

Do you feel any disposition to sleep? Oh dear no; but my head is very dizzy.

What effect had the operation upon you? It made me close my eyes.

Did you feel disposed to go to sleep? No.

The experiment was repeated on the same subject, and with similar results...

Another girl was about to be subjected to the cork; when Mr. P.H. Holland submitted that she ought to have an easy chair, and be allowed to go through the operations in the same times as the magnetised patients, in order to test the experiment fairly.

M. Lafontaine's magnetised subjects were not operated upon to produce catalepsy, for five minutes; those under the cork were tried in two minutes. He thought the circumstances as to time and ease of position should be precisely the same.

⁴⁶ Emphasis added.

⁴⁷ Anon (1841hh).

M. Lafontaine said that, as to the position of the subject, and the time occupied, he had endeavoured to follow the directions given by Mr. Braid; his object being to produce the same results as that gentleman.

Mr. Lynill had heard Mr. Braid say, that the subject was not to touch the back of the chair; and he had also said it would not do to allow the subjects to remain too long in that state.

Mr. Braid here rose, and said, he would appeal to every one present, who had seen his experiments, if these [viz., Lafontaine's] were fair experiments. He could not remain to hear such mis-statements.

Capt. Thomas Brown said, Mr. Braid always touched his subjects gently and with great caution; but M. Lafontaine had touched these subjects roughly, and pulled them about.

Mr. Braid: I have stated repeatedly, that every thing abrupt or violent would dissipate the spell; and I say that these subjects have not been touched with care and gentleness. I say, these are a complete caricature upon my experiments, and I will not remain in the room to see such conduct: I will leave it.⁴⁸

Captain Brown [then] said, that Mr. Braid had several subjects present, and he was ready to try his experiments upon them.

Mr. Walker (the first subject operated upon by Mr. Braid, and subsequently magnetised by M. Lafontaine) said he thought Mr. Braid had a right to try his experiments.

Mr. Lynill said, that, when M. Lafontaine saw Mr. Braid profess to magnetise subjects, after his (M. Lafontaine's) manner, whatever he might think, he made no remark. He had, however, expressed his opinions, in private, on Mr. Braid's supposed imitation of his magnetising passes; and, whatever Mr. Braid might think about his performance of that operation, those who were at all accustomed to the operation of animal magnetism knew better what it was, than to suppose it was any thing like the operation of M. Lafontaine.— (Hear.)

M. Lafontaine thought it very possible that he might not perform Mr. Braid's operation so well as that gentleman himself; but he could not help that: he did his best.

Captain Brown again suggested, that Mr. Braid should perform his experiment himself; and Mr. Braid named two gentlemen present to test the experiment, as he wanted nothing but fair play.

Mr. Lynill said, M. Lafontaine would not permit any one to perform experiments that night but himself: it was his lecture and experiments they had come to witness.

A gentleman said, that, as M. Lafontaine had said his object was to instruct medical men, he surely would not throw any obstacles in the way of Mr. Braid.

Mr. Holland hoped Mr. Lynill would explain to M. Lafontaine, that all that was wanted was a companion experiment — (hear) — one that should be tried in every circumstance, except the one in which both plans were said to be alike. That would be the *experimentum crucis*.

In order to test that question, not as partisans but as seekers after truth, they must have all the circumstances as nearly as possible exactly alike. He must therefore request, that the subject to be operated on by

⁴⁸ The reporter notes that, at this moment, "Mr. Braid and Captain Brown rose, to quit the room; but there were loud calls of "No, no", and "Stop", and they resumed their seats".

the cork should be put in as easy a position as possible, and placed in precisely the same circumstances as those of M. Lafontaine.—(Hear.)

Mr. Lynill replied for M. Lafontaine, that his object had been to show Mr. Braid's experiments in the way in which Mr. Braid had directed them to be made. Mr. Holland had asked that the subjects should be placed in an easy chair, and be allowed to remain a long time. Did Mr. Braid so place them, or allow them to remain in that state half an hour or an hour? If Mr. Braid aroused and restored all his subjects in five or ten minutes, why did Mr. Holland ask that they should be kept for half an hour?

Mr. Catlow suggested that Mr. Braid should himself dictate the manner of performing the experiment.

M. Lafontaine replied, that, when he saw Mr. Braid, he allowed Mr. Braid to make the experiments, as he said, on his (M. Lafontaine's) method without interference.

Mr. Braid: I said the hands of the subject were to be put down by the side, but in your subject the hands were crossed.

Mr. Holland said there was a misunderstanding of his request.

Mr. Lynill said, there was no misunderstanding; M. Lafontaine perfectly understood, but would not comply with it.

Mr. Catlow again caused considerable confusion by persisting in addressing the audience; and when they very unequivocally expressed their dissatisfaction, he told them it was no matter their hissing like geese; he was insensible to any thing of that kind. (Laughter)...

Mr. Braid, after saying that Mr. Lynill had stated that Mr. Noble thought there was no insensibility in a case exhibited by him (Mr. Braid), appealed to Mr. Noble if he had not produced insensibility in one subject to the pricking of a pin.

Mr. Lynill said, that he had not meant to say that Mr. Noble had expressed any opinion on the subject; he thought he was only speaking for himself, and he had not thought there was sufficient proof of insensibility in that case, and had wished to carry the experiment further, which Mr. Braid declined.

Mr. Noble said, that, in justice to Mr. Braid, he must state, that, after certain tests he had been allowed to apply himself, he saw no indication of sensibility in the case referred to. The test was certainly slight; but, so far as it went, there was no sensibility manifested.

Mr. Lynill said, if he had used Mr. Noble's name, which he had no authority to do, he must beg his pardon; but he thought he had only spoken for himself.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁴⁹

Dr. Cantor then addressed the audience:

I have seen the cases of Mr. Braid, and I have seen certainly an insensibility produced.

But it appears to me, with all due respect to Mr. Braid, that to a very considerable extent he has mistaken the great importance and true value of his investigations, by making their value to rest upon the similarity or identity of their effects with those of animal magnetism.—(Hear.)

⁴⁹ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Whatever may be adduced in favour of animal magnetism, either as to its effects or their cause, it cannot by any means diminish the great and intrinsic value of Mr. Braid's discoveries — (applause) — because they have opened to us, altogether independently of animal magnetism, a wide field of interesting inquiry, both as far as the government of the body and the government of the mind are concerned.

Even if it were proved, that the phenomena produced by animal magnetism were altogether different, that would not in any degree diminish the value of Mr. Braid's discoveries.— (Hear.)

As far as we have gone hitherto, I may say, that the effects produced by Mr. Braid's plan are certainly to a very considerable extent analogous to those produced by animal magnetism.

As far as M. Lafontaine has produced insensibility, somnolency, and rigidity of muscle, these phenomena have to a considerable extent been produced by Mr. Braid's plan.

But if you were, therefore, to jump at once to the conclusion, and say that the effects produced by Mr. Braid and M. Lafontaine are owing to the same cause, you would be coming to a rash and premature decision; for the effects may be the same, and yet the causes be entirely different.

If a person puts his finger into a fire, a certain sensation is felt, and the skin is blistered.

Let him put his hand into a freezing mixture and the same effects would be produced; but the causes would be widely different. Therefore it would be an insufficient and unsatisfactory conclusion — even assuming the effects of Mr. Braid's plan and of animal magnetism to be identical — to assume that they proceeded from the same cause.— ("Hear" and applause.)

I do not by any means say that the effects are identical; that they are to a certain extent analogous, no one will question; but, in the present state of the inquiry, it would be premature to say that they are identical, and too rash to say that the effects are the same.—(Hear.)

To a certain extent they seem to differ; but, in the course of these inquiries, we may find that all these effects may turn out to be the result of the very same cause.

I think, however, Mr. Braid ought not to look at his discoveries with respect to any necessity for their overturning the theory of animal magnetism. He has acquired sufficient renown by having opened to us these new and interesting phenomena.

One fact Mr. Braid has shown us, that should not be lost sight of,— that the phenomena of animal magnetism are not "humbug", but real phenomena.—("Hear, hear", and loud applause.)

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁵⁰

Late in the evening, a volunteer had no success with the cork on his forehead and stopped trying after a few minutes. Lafontaine demonstrated that Isabella and "No.2" were still totally insensible to pin pricks on their legs. Reminding the audience that "No.2's" legs had been "in the cataleptic state" for 2¼ hours,

⁵⁰ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Lafontaine doubted that Braid could produce 'catalepsy by the cork' for that length of time. Lafontaine gradually de-magnetized "No.2", one leg at a time. She reported that, as sensation began returning to her legs, it felt as if her feet were "asleep". This soon turned into "pricking or tingling sensations as [the] sensation returned". Fully "restored", she reported neither pain nor tenderness in any of the parts of her body that had been pricked with pins. In the case of Isabella, however, Lafontaine then did, and said, something rather unusual:

[Lafontaine demagnetized Isabella using] his pocket-handkerchief, somewhat like the lashing of a whip.

Mr. Greaves, surgeon, asked if this was a magnetic or mechanical action.

We understood M. Lafontaine to reply, that it was the latter; that he should have to re-magnetise the girl, and then demagnetise her in the usual way, or there might be danger of paralysis.

He also said that the chair in which she sat had become magnetised, and she might even be re-magnetised, only by sitting in it.

The Manchester Guardian, 15 December 1841.⁵¹

When taking his leave (about 11 PM), Lafontaine promised to return to Manchester in the following July, "with *clairvoyant* subjects, who would be able to distinguish an object placed in an opaque box, on that box being brought in contact with the forehead of the subject" and, he said, this mysterious object "might be supplied, unseen to the magnetiser or the subject, from the pocket of any of the audience". Lafontaine made no mention of engaging in any further Manchester-centred activity before July; i.e., other than attending Braid's lecture on the following Friday.

Yet, on the Wednesday, the following notice appeared:⁵²

⁵¹ Anon (1841hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵² This is the first time that Braid and Lafontaine were in direct opposition.

Given that, at his lecture, Lafontaine gave every indication that (a) he would attend Braid's lecture, and (b) would not lecture again in Manchester until the July, it can not be by accident.

It is not immediately clear whether the driving force behind it was *Lafontaine vs. Braid*, or *The Manchester Athenæum vs. The Manchester Mechanics' Institution*, or some mixture of each.

LAST TIME.— ANIMAL MAGNETISM. On FRIDAY EVENING, December 17th, Mons. LAFONTAINE will Deliver a LECTURE, in the Theatre of the Athenæum, when he will endeavour to explain, and demonstrate by experiments, the difference between the phenomena produced by *Animal Magnetism*, and those lately exhibited by *Mr. Braid*.
Doors to be opened at half-past seven, to commence at eight precisely.
Admission — Members of the Athenæum, 1s.; Strangers, 2s. 6d.

Fig.58. Lafontaine's lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday, 15 December 1841.⁵³

I have been unable to locate any reports of this lecture.

Immediately below Lafontaine's notice, the Mechanics' Institution advertised Braid's fourth lecture, also for Friday, 17 December (Day, 1841c). Unlike the earlier notice (Day, 1841b), the Institution's members were now told they must pay sixpence each (whereas the earlier notice said they were to be admitted free of charge).

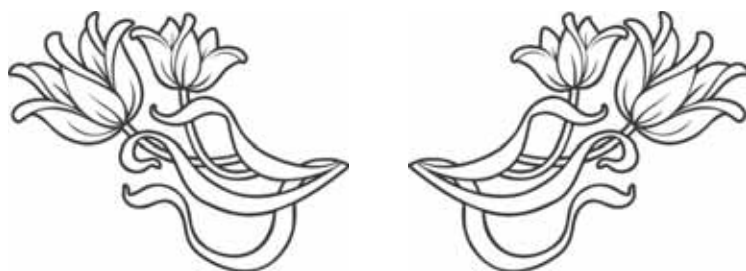
Given the extraordinary size of the potential audience that presented for the 17 December lecture (see next chapter), rather than directed at raising revenue, this step was obviously taken to control crowd numbers.

MANCHESTER MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.— The Directors have much pleasure in announcing, that, owing to the disappointment experienced from the short notice given of Wednesday evening's lecture, Mr. BRAID, surgeon, has kindly consented, at their urgent request, to REPEAT his LECTURE on ANIMAL MAGNETISM on FRIDAY EVENING, Dec. 17, in the Theatre of the Institution; the proceeds of the lecture to be added to the funds of the institution. On this occasion Mr. Braid will show the effects of his important discovery by exhibiting its power of producing sleep, insensibility to pain, the *cataleptiform* state, and somnambulism and *clairvoyance*, upon a number of patients, who will walk, hold conversation, act as required, and even name what is held before them, whilst the eyelids are closed. Doors to be open at seven o'clock, and the lecture to commence at eight o'clock.
Admission — Members 6d. each on showing their tickets; Non-Subscribers One Shilling.
By order of the Directors.
Dec. 13, 1841. HENRY DAY, Hon. Sec.

Fig.59. Braid's fourth lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 15 December 1841.⁵⁴

⁵³ Lafontaine (1841f).

⁵⁴ Day (1841c).



Chapter Six: Braid's Next Set of Lectures (17 December 1841 to 22 January 1842)

Braid's fourth lecture

The auditorium at the Mechanics' Institution was "crowded to excess" on the evening of 17 December 1841; and many of those wishing to attend had been sent away.¹ Braid began with the same address as his last lecture: Lafontaine was wrong, he said, in saying that "a certain fluid" issued from himself and "enveloped the body of his patients", and Lafontaine's method (which was "*a tedious, laborious, and diluted one, producing effects only now and then*"), was far less efficacious than Braid's own (which was "*a wholesale and concentrated one, and always, at least with very few exceptions, successful*").

Braid promised the audience that he would produce effects "[that] were identical with those produced by M. Lafontaine; the only difference being in the mode of producing them". Mesmerism, he said, "was, not a mere speculation, but a subject of great practical importance". He said that he had come to understand that "the well-directed application of mesmerism was of vast importance to suffering humanity", and was certain that "[mesmerism] would be found [to be] one of the most important accessions yet made to the therapeutical agencies employed by the medical profession".

He produced evidence of his claims in the form of "a man from Stockport",² aged 62, "who exercised himself [before the audience] for a few minutes, running in a circle". First seen 12 days earlier, the man had been unable to work for 13 years due to the "torture" of "severe attacks of rheumatism, which extended from his haunches downwards".³ At Braid's next lecture, a more

¹ Unless otherwise specified, all of this section is taken from the report in the *Manchester Guardian* of 22 December (Anon, 1841nn); the *Manchester Times* did not publish a report of either Braid's lecture delivered on 17 December (or that of Lafontaine).

² The man later identified himself (at Braid's fifth lecture, in response to a question from the audience) as Joseph Barnard, living in Heaton Norris (in today's Stockton, Greater Manchester), near the Hope Inn (Anon, 1842b).

³ From Braid's comments during his fifth lecture, it is obvious the reason for identifying his subject as, "a man from Stockport", was not to keep the man's identity a secret, but to prevent public exposure of those responsible for his medical treatment. Further, given Braid's position, that 'mesmerism' was a significant, new, and entirely different 'therapeutic agency', the fact

complete history of the man's condition emerged:

[He presented] about three weeks ago. He was then an utter stranger to me.

He told me he had been suffering most grievously from rheumatic affection for the last 13 years; and such was the extent of his sufferings, that he was incapable of doing any thing in order to procure subsistence.

He was entirely dependent on the exertions of his wife for his support.

He came to me a miserable wretch, leaning over his staff; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, by the agency of what I am showing you tonight, he was enabled to stoop, walk, or run, without any feeling of uneasiness. He is 62 years of age.

Such is the history he gave to me.— (applause)

I ask you now, before this company, if that is true? Quite true, sir. ...

I brought him here to satisfy every gentleman present that this is not an idle speculation.

I believed it was all fancy when I first began to practise it; but, finding its utility, I feel it my duty to bring forward a remedy which can cure those diseases which have hitherto been the opprobrium of the faculty.

...

[Catlow:] The question I wish to ask is, whether, during the 13 years he has been affected with rheumatism, he has never had any momentary or occasional relief; whether, during that period, he has never been able to walk in the manner he has [now demonstrated]?

Braid (to the man): Do you mean to say, you were never as well as you are now? Yes. I never earned 2s. during all that time.

Catlow: Have you ever been able, during that time, to walk as we now see you?

I have been sometimes better, and sometimes worse.

When the weather was damp, the rheumatism affected me more than

that all previous treatment had failed *was an indictment of the medical discipline itself* (not a deficit in the skills of its particular practitioners); so, knowledge of the identity of its practitioners would be an irrelevant distraction. Further, introducing this man, with a disorder upon which all available therapeutic agencies and interventions had proven inefficacious, was part of his endeavour to extend the legitimate therapeutic boundaries of his discipline.

In his fifth lecture, Braid told his audience that, after the 17 December lecture, a Liverpool surgeon had asked him whether the man could produce any evidence of (a) having previously been in the state he had described, and (b) having been under medical treatment for it.

Manchester Times: "two hours after [the man] had left the [lecture] room a surgeon, very unfairly, he thought, asked if the man had any certificates of having been under medical treatment? He (Mr. Braid) could now answer that question. He was in possession of the names of several medical men, both in Manchester and Stockport (where the man lived), under whose hands he had been without effecting a cure; but he did not wish to mention names, because it might be said that he wished to raise his own fame at the expense of others." (Anon, 1841qq).

Manchester Guardian: "two hours after the man was gone, a professional man from Liverpool got up to ask whether I had got certificates from any medical man to show that the patient had been previously in the state which he represented to me. Now, he should have put those questions to the man himself. The poor man was not likely to go to the expense of coming to me, if he had not been as he had represented. I do not think it right to mention who his medical men were. I will do nothing that tends to deprecate others." (Anon, 1842b).

at other times; but in fine weather I was rather better.

But this last winter, I was worse than ever.⁴

I heard in a paper, that I should come to him [Braid].

I did so; and he had done me good. I have been with other doctors, and they did me no good. ...

Braid (to the man): Have you ever been so well as you have been since you came to me? No. ...

Catlow: I wish to ask this man whether, when he came to Mr. Braid, he had been taking medicine, and if, since he came to Mr. Braid, he has entirely declined taking medicine.

Braid: There are many persons here who may not understand why you ask that question.

The man then answered for himself as follows:— "I never have had no medicine from no person — not this month past, until I come to him, and I have got such medicine from him as done me good." —

(Applause and laughter.)

Braid: Did not you walk, sir, before ever you left my surgery, without taking any medicine?

"I did, and run too."

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁵

When "restored" after that *one operation*, he was free of discomfort until the previous night, "when he complained of a slight return of the uneasiness"; but, "on undergoing a second operation, he was made quite well once more".

But that was not a solitary case: he (Mr. Braid) saw, on Thursday night, a woman, who had not stood on her legs for three years before, made, by such an operation, capable of standing and walking, with no other assistance than merely holding her by the hand.

Those were facts which he did not want to conceal; but, on the contrary, as a member of a liberal profession, he wished to make it known to his medical brethren.

The class of diseases likely to be benefited by those remedies were mostly those for which no efficient remedy had hitherto been provided, and were therefore considered as the *opprobrium medicorum* — as the very disgrace of the medical profession.

But it was his belief, that no disease ever existed for which the Almighty had not sent a remedy; but we did not always succeed in finding it out.—(Applause).

The Manchester Guardian, 22 December 1841.⁶

Braid said, "it was of great importance that people's minds should be disabused of the idea that one person had a mysterious power which he could exercise over another". At his last lecture, Braid said, his experiments began with "mesmerising without contact", and had finished "with contact"; yet

⁴ The Manchester winter of 1841 was exceptionally cold and very wet.

⁵ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶ Anon (1841nn); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

tonight, he would reverse the order, starting "with contact" and ending "without contact".

Braid then introduced his female cook, footman, and five young girls. He commenced with the cook by contact and passes, which were made in such apparent mockery of M. Lafontaine's, that considerable laughter was produced.

In 30 seconds the cook closed her eyes, and passed instantaneously into a state of catalepsy. Her arms became extended, and assumed such a degree of rigidity that they could not be pressed down.

In this state she walked about for several minutes, always directing her footsteps to whatever person called "Cook!"

Having, at Mr. Braid's request, taken her seat, her legs were placed in a horizontal position.

Mr. Braid then observed, that as there was no connection whatever between the subject and the operator, as was erroneously supposed, any gentleman present might demagnetise her.

A gentleman then came forward; and having gently pressed her eyelids, she was instantaneously restored to her former state.

The footman was then similarly operated upon, and made somnolent in 30 seconds.

A gentleman inquired of Mr. Braid why it was that he was not magnetised instead of the footman, since both were in contact, and staring at each other.

Braid: The reason assigned by the animal magnetisers is, that the person who has the greater magnetic power will overcome the person having the lesser; but I will explain that by and bye.

The footman's arms were then raised; and, a chair having been placed in his hand, he walked about as the cook did, always turning towards the direction whence any noise proceeded.

Braid said, that, at his own house, a few days ago, he magnetised him, hung a chair on his arm, and placed a young gentleman on the chair; and, notwithstanding that weight, the arm retained its horizontal position.

Mr. Braid then gave the footman's cheek a smart touch with his finger, and then desired him to rub his eyes. He did so, and immediately restored himself.

One of the girls was then rendered somnolent in twenty seconds, by looking at the point of her finger; and another, by looking at the chandelier, was put in the same state in five seconds.

While in this state, she sang the "Troubadour"⁷ in tolerable style, and afterwards waltzed for about three minutes.

A gentlemen inquired why she put down her arm, when she commenced waltzing. Braid said, it was the effect of the shock she received when she commenced dancing. "But", said the querist, "why did she put her arm up again?" Braid: To balance herself. If you had been accustomed to dancing, you would very soon find that out. ...

Mr. Braid then desired the girl to kneel down on a cushion which he had prepared for her, and fixed her hands in the attitude of prayer.

⁷ "Song of the Troubadour", by Julius Freudenthal (1805-1874). The seventh song in the *Gems of German Song: Book IX*, published by J.J. Ewer & Co., of 69 Newgate Street, London.

He next desired her to open her eyes. She contracted the lids, but did not succeed in opening them. He then restored her by breathing quickly in her ear.

The footman, cook, and five or six girls, were then put into a state of somnambulism, in less than half a minute, by looking at the bottom of the chandelier.

Two of them commenced waltzing to the sound of the violin; the cook and footman were a little moved at first by the music; but, being heavy sleepers (as Mr. Braid then observed), they preferred repose.

When the waltzing concluded, one of the girls sang, at Mr. Braid's request, "We have lived and loved together";⁸ and another, a portion of a French song.

The Manchester Guardian, 22 December 1841.⁹

Braid then displayed "increased sensibility" in his 'somnambulistic' subjects by holding his watch several yards away from one girl. That she consistently followed the watch in each direction it moved, the audience felt could be explained by the loud noise of Braid's feet moving from place to place.

[Three of the girls were asked] to kneel; and, their hands being joined as if in the attitude of prayer, several gentlemen, at the request of Mr. Braid, tried in vain to separate them.

Mr. Braid then observed, that these facts would tend to relieve the Earl of Shrewsbury¹⁰ from the imputations cast on him on account of his published narrative¹¹ respecting the *Estatica* of Caldara,¹² and the *Addolorata* of Capriana.^{13,14}

That nobleman merely related what he had seen, and the facts which he described might be referred to mesmerism.

The young girls, being desired, then arose; and each stood upon one foot. Mr. Braid said, that, while in a state of somnambulism, they had a wonderful power of balancing themselves. They possessed a voluntary

⁸ "We have lived and loved together", by Charles Jeffreys (1807–1865) c.1835, was originally an aria, *Dans un Délire extrême*, in the 1814 French opera *Joconde ou Les coureurs d'aventures*, written by Nicolò Isouard (1773-1818). Jeffreys had used the words of Charles Guillaume Etienne's (1778-1845) libretto, as the basis for his English poem.

⁹ Anon (1841nn); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹⁰ John Talbot (1791-1852), 16th Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford.

¹¹ The 44 page work, Talbot, J., *Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Philipps, Esq. Descriptive of the Estatica of Caldaro and the Addolorata of Capriana*, Charles Dolman, (London), 1841. Talbot also published a second edition (of 143 pages) in 1842, "being a second edition, revised and enlarged; to which is added the relation of three successive visits to the Estatica of Mont Sansavino, in May 1842".

¹² The stigmatic Maria von Mörl (1812-1868) of the South Tyrol, known as the *Estatica* (i.e., "female ecstatic").

¹³ The stigmatic Maria Domenica Lazzari (1815-1848) of the Italian Tyrol, known as the *Addolorata* (an allusion to the Roman Catholic Mariologists' construct, *Madonna Addolorata*, "Our Lady of Sorrows").

¹⁴ For a more detailed elaboration of the Earl of Shrewsbury's account of the *Estatica* and the *Addolorata*, see M'Neile's Sermon (below) at *Appendix Nine*.

power for a certain time; but, if they were fixed in any one position for a length of time, their power was involuntary. ...

In answer to an inquiry as to how the *stigmata*, on the hands and feet of the *Estatica*, were produced, Mr. Braid observed, that long-continued pressure on the hands and feet would produce irritation, inflammation, and discoloration of the parts affected, as those who had friends long confined in bed could testify.

The pressure of the beads usually worn across the brow would account for the marks on the forehead of the *Estatica*. A very slight degree of pressure would be sufficient to produce marks on that part of the body, particularly on a person who lived almost on air.

Mr. Braid believed that a person would remain in a state of somnambulism for eternity, if not aroused.

[He then] dissipated the effects produced on his subjects by pressing the pupils of their eyes, tapping them on the cheeks, and other sudden impulses... *The Manchester Guardian*, 22 December 1841.¹⁵

Braid asked for volunteers. Fourteen (12 male, 2 female) rushed on stage. He successfully used his 'cork-on-the-forehead' method on his first female subject; and she displayed 'catalepsy' within 4 minutes. The second female subject refused to use the cork. He held a stick at a 45° elevation, three feet from her eyes; and, in 2 minutes, her eyes seemed closed. When Braid tried to induce 'catalepsy' in her arm, "[she] opened her eyes and laughed". He tried again with, to no avail. After 4 minutes he stopped altogether, declaring "the lady was in a state of so much excitement that it was useless to carry the experiment any further". He then applied his 'cork-on-the-forehead' technique to the male volunteers (all of whom were standing throughout); and, as far as could be seen, all had complied with Braid's request for the concentrated fixity of vision. Eventually Braid was successful with all of them. Some became 'somnolent' and 'cataleptic' without ever closing their eyes. Braid announced that he would give another lecture, on the following Friday (24 December).¹⁶ and, in the process,

complained of an unfair advantage which, he said, M. Lafontaine had taken of him, by lecturing [that night] in the Athenæum, when he knew that he (Mr. Braid) could not be present.¹⁷

M. Lafontaine had been present at his (Mr. Braid's) previous lecture, and was invited to test the patients.

¹⁵ Anon (1841nn); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹⁶ The lecture was later shifted from the scheduled Friday evening (24 December 1841) to the following Tuesday (28 December 1841).

¹⁷ Surprisingly, Braid does not make the additional point that, at Lafontaine's last previous lecture, not only had Lafontaine asserted that he would not lecture in Manchester for at least another six months, but he also clearly said that he would attend this evening's lecture by Braid.

He [Lafontaine] had since lectured at the Athenæum; and, when asked to state his opinion respecting the two modes of magnetising, he declined giving an opinion.

"He [Lafontaine] voted it [viz., his opinion] to be read that day six months: he could not give an opinion sooner than that."

His (Mr. Braid's) announcement of [this evening's lecture] appeared on Saturday morning; and neither he (Mr. Braid) nor his friends could attend [Lafontaine's lecture],¹⁸ to see whether it had been given fairly or not.

However, he would give that day week a lecture in the Athenæum, not with the view of pocketing money, for the proceeds of it he would give to the public charities,¹⁹ but in order to explain the phenomena produced on physiological principles.—(Cheers.)

The Manchester Guardian, 22 December 1841.²⁰

Braid was asked by Peter Royle,[‡] a medical student, in relation to his assertion that, "it was indispensably necessary that the patient should fix his eye on one particular point, and neither wink, nor make any movement calculated to distract his attention". Braid corrected Royle, stating he was specifically speaking of "the mode necessary to produce *rapid* effects", and nothing else. Braid experimented on his manservant,

[whose] eyes were then bandaged; and, in few seconds, he became somnolent, but had no rigidity in the arms.

Mr. Braid then observed, that it mattered not whether the eyes were open or not, if directed at a particular point; that the imagination might produce similar results.

He knew a person, who was thrown into a state of catalepsy from mere emotion of mind, produced by seeing a person operated upon.

¹⁸ Braid seems somewhat confused here. The facts are as follows:

- (1) This is Braid's fourth public lecture, his second lecture at the Mechanics' Institution; his third lecture was delivered at the Mechanics' Institution on Wednesday, 9 December;
- (2) Lafontaine, in the company of Mr. Lynill, attended a portion of the latter part of Braid's third lecture (on Wednesday, 9 December);
- (3) Lafontaine's statement that he had no opinion on Braid's work, and would not express any opinion until six months had elapsed was made, in public, in response to a question from his audience, during Lafontaine's first lecture (on Thursday, 9 December);
- (4) Lafontaine's lengthy, prepared (English language) statement, expressing his opinion of Braid and his work, was read to the audience during Lafontaine's second lecture (on Friday, 10 December) by Mr. Lynill;
- (5) Neither Braid nor any of his associates were present at either Lafontaine's second lecture (on Friday, 10 December) or any of its associated demonstrations; and
- (6) Braid and a number of his associates were, indeed, present at Lafontaine's third lecture (on Saturday, 11 December) and its associated demonstrations (and, moreover, Braid was present for the entire evening, from start to finish).

¹⁹ An extremely unsubtle reference to Lafontaine and his decidedly commercial orientation.

²⁰ Anon (1841nn); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Having observed that persons were affected, in various ways, according to the variety of their constitutions, he concluded by expressing his thanks to the assembly for the courtesy they had shown him, during the evening. *The Manchester Guardian*, 22 December 1841.²¹

The following day, a notice in the *Manchester Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* announced that Braid would lecture on his recent discoveries and “their extraordinary efficacy in the cure of diseases of the most intractable nature” on Friday, 24 December.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.
MR. BRAID, Surgeon, Manchester will deliver another LECTURE on the above subject, in which he will exhibit the whole phenomena elicited by his recent discoveries, including their extraordinary efficacy in the cure of diseases of the most intractable nature. The Lecture will be given at the Athenæum, on the evening of Friday the 24th instant, at half-past seven o'clock.— Tickets two shillings and sixpence each.— The profits to be given to Public Charities.

Fig.60. Braid's fifth lecture, *The Manchester Times*, Saturday, 18 December 1841.²²

Preceding each of these notices was one from Lafontaine announcing that he would give one more Manchester lecture; and would do so that very evening.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM. THIS EVENING (SATURDAY, Dec. 18), Mons. LAFONTAINE, having been urgently requested to remain and give one more lecture, will have the honour of REPEATING his EXPERIMENTS THIS EVENING, in the Theatre of the Athenæum, positively for the last time; when he will explain and demonstrate the difference between the phenomena produced by Animal Magnetism, and those lately exhibited by Mr. Braid.
Doors to be opened at half-past seven, to commence at eight precisely.— Admission:— Members of the Athenæum, 1s.; Strangers, 2s. 6d.

Fig.61. Lafontaine's lecture, *The Manchester Times*, Saturday, 18 December 1841.²³

²¹ Anon (1841nn); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

²² Braid (1841j); Braid (1841k). The proposed lecture was eventually transferred to the following Tuesday (28 December 1841).

²³ Lafontaine (1841g); Lafontaine (1841h).

Lafontaine's Fifth Lecture (second season)

Lafontaine's fifth lecture, on Saturday 18 December 1841, began with repeated efforts to magnetize Eugene.²⁴ Apparently, Eugene had "lost his susceptibility" in the preceding three weeks, due to "an indisposition". Eventually, Eugene retired, and Isabella appeared. Asked if he could magnetize subjects without looking at them (because "looking steadfastly might be the same operation as Mr. Braid's"), he began to magnetize Isabella without looking at her. He sat beside her; and their only contact was between the fingers and thumb of his right-hand and her left.

In three minutes her eyes closed; her head rolled about from side to side, till she sunk back upon the chair, when it rested upon the back.

There was complete insensibility to pain, in four minutes from the commencement of the operation.

A quantity of snuff... was thrust into one of the nostrils; without appearing to affect her in the slightest degree.

After the usual trials of pinching, &c., the girl was gradually demesmerised, and began to manifest the first sensations from the snuff, which had been in her nostril perhaps a quarter of an hour.

She was not able to sneeze, but the snuff having penetrated to the throat, she coughed a good deal (though she said she was not aware of having any cold), and the nostril seemed to be irritated and inflamed by the action of the snuff.

Her right-hand [sic] still remained insensible; her left sensible;²⁵ and Mr. Catlow said, that the pulse was fuller in the left than in the right arm!²⁶

The Medical Times, 25 December 1841.²⁷

He produced Elizabeth Wilcock, and demonstrated her capacity to hear, provided the sounds were "sufficiently grave and near the ears". He produced Margaret Whitworth, aged 20 years 10 months, who had been deaf since 2½, following an accidental fall. She entered the Manchester School for the Deaf-and-Dumb aged 11, and was there for 5 years. She was brought to him by her mother and surgeon, Mr. Lacy.[†] Prior to operating, she was totally deaf in the left ear, and could only "hear a little with the right". Yet, after his operating on

²⁴ The advertisements for the lecture were at Lafontaine (1841g; 1841h); and, unless otherwise specified, this is taken from the report in the *Medical Times* of 25 December (Anon, 1841rr).

²⁵ In this context, we can assume that "right-hand" denotes "right hand side of her body", rather than just "right hand"; and, similarly, that "left" denotes "left hand side of her body".

²⁶ On the previous evening, she had informed Catlow "that she was subject to a palpitation of the heart (Anon, 1841rr).

²⁷ Anon (1841rr); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

her (for an unspecified number of times), she could hear equally well with both ears.

When asked for verification of her impairment, "Mr. Mordacque, jun.",[‡] Lafontaine's interpreter, asserted that Mr. Lacy's word "was a sufficiently respectable reference on this point". A member of the audience also attested, from personal knowledge of Margaret, that she was indeed deaf and dumb. Finally, Lafontaine failed to magnetize two volunteers.

On 24 December 1841, The *Manchester Guardian*, published an editorial piece supporting the lectures, experiments, and researches of Lafontaine and Braid, and without apparently supporting either Braid or Lafontaine, advocating that, rather than the testing of one abstract theory against another, those involved should be concentrate their efforts on the practical applications of the phenomena, and suggested certain new avenues of research.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.— During the late lectures and experiments of M. Lafontaine and Mr. Braid, we confined ourselves to the recording of facts and statements; and now only break our rule so far as to suggest, that those who take interest in pursuing these investigations further, should rather seek for facts than theories.

It seems to us, that, whatever be the nature of the influence on the "subject", whether purely physical or otherwise, if it be the result of any quality or state inherent to man, or even possessed in greater or less degrees of intensity by a particular class of temperaments, which we may term "susceptible", nature herself must, in many instances, have performed the operation, which now is artificially tried by man in various ways.

In other words, if man can be "magnetised" by man, he must, ere now, have been so magnetised, in cases where neither operator nor subject had any such intention. Possibly such cases may not have been recorded with that degree of care and accuracy which would enable us to identify them with the phenomena of animal magnetism; but still they would present such striking similarities and analogies as to lead to further inquiry, investigation, and experiment. If, again, the effects of what we have heard called "corkism" (and we want a better term for the operation) be strictly physiological and natural, nature must have produced them many times before the discoveries of Mr. Braid have made them known, and established the reality of their existence. The past annals of medical science ought, and most probably do, contain such cases; though the peculiar symptoms may be only found accompanying various forms of disease.

All we desire at present is to point attention to this mode of inquiry; and, by way of stimulating it, we venture to suggest that some results such as those of animal magnetism, or corkism, should be sought in cases where a profession or occupation requires a long and fixed gaze at the same object.

Watch-makers, engravers, and other trades, look for a long time on minute objects; but it is chiefly with one eye only, and that aided by a powerful lens. Sailors at sea on the look-out often strain their eyes for a long time, to discern some distant vessel; but the motion of their own ship may destroy the effect. The influence of a monotonous colour upon vision might be tested; as, for instance, the effect of long gazing on snow, or on a sandy waste. The accounts of travelers in the snow, and the drowsiness which overpowers them and weighs down their eyelids, should be examined, with a view to see whether any and what portion of the soporific effect is due to the action of the snow upon the eye and eyelid, beyond the universally acknowledged influence of cold to benumb and render torpid the whole frame.

As to experiments, they need not be confined to the human being; they might be extended to the lower animals and this would obviate the objection as to the power of imagination. We have heard that a book has been published on the power of mesmerising the brute creation [Wilson (1839)]. The experiments on human beings might be varied; the two experiments might be tried under every variety of position, or they might be assimilated in various ways.

If it be asked to what end should all this be done, we reply, that both Mr. Braid and M. Lafontaine, differing widely as they do on so many points, would in all probability agree in answering, "That this new influence may be received and adopted amongst medical men; as a powerful curative agent."

If M. Lafontaine has succeeded in restoring hearing, and, consequently, speech also, to the deaf and dumb, he has done so either by animal magnetism (as he himself believes), or by some less mysterious agency, as some others avow. But in either case he has succeeded in curing what has hitherto been deemed irremediable; and it seems to us a part of the duty of the medical profession to endeavour to discover what these means are, and, having ascertained them, to adopt them.

This would be to render the late inquiries, experiments, and discoveries subservient to that great end,— towards which the Author of all science has willed that it should tend,— the enjoyment, improvement, and happiness of his creatures.

Fig.62. Editorial, *The Manchester Guardian*, Friday, 24 December 1841.²⁸

On 24 December, Braid advertised the postponement of his next lecture from the Friday (24 December) to the Tuesday (28 December).

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.— MR. BRAID, Surgeon, Manchester will Deliver another LECTURE on the above Subject, in which he will exhibit the whole phenomena elicited by his recent discoveries, including their extraordinary efficacy in the cure of diseases of the most intractable nature. The Lecture to be given at the Athenæum, on the evening of Tuesday the 28th instant, at half-past seven o'clock.

Admission: Gentlemen, 2s.; Ladies, and members of the Athenæum, 1s. each. The profits to be given to Public Charities.

Fig.63. Braid's fifth lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Friday, 24 December 1841.²⁹

²⁸ Anon (1841mm).

²⁹ Braid (1841l). Braid's earlier (18 December) notices advertising the 24 December lecture (Braid, 1841j, 1841k) stated that admission was two shillings and sixpence for all, whilst this later notice, clearly states "Gentlemen, 2s.; Ladies, and members of the Athenæum, 1s. each".

Lafontaine's "Phantom" Lectures (second season)

In the on-going interaction between Braid, *gentleman scientist*, and Lafontaine, *commercial demonstrator of animal magnetism*, it is significant that the following account, in the prestigious *Medical Times* of 1 January 1842 (Anon, 1842c), incorrectly has Lafontaine delivering two lectures: one on Friday, 24 December (Xmas Eve) and the second on Saturday 25 December (Xmas Day).³⁰

Mons. Lafontaine again lectured on Friday evening, 24th ult., at the Manchester Athenæum, and entered into a long explanation of the points of difference between Mr. Braid's experiments and his own.

According to his opinion the animal magnetizer has the power,

1st, of producing a state of somnolence;

2nd, perfect sleep, marked by total unconsciousness and insensibility;

3rd, of destroying and reproducing at will consciousness;

4th. of producing or removing catalep[s]y at will, and of removing or producing convulsions, and these various phenomena are marked by others of accelerated pulse, perspiration, and augmented difficulty of breathing.

Mr. Braid's subjects, however, close the eyes, but do not sleep; obey instructions they may receive, walk, and talk as in the normal state; the moved limbs retain the position given them, and that position may be varied by an impulse of the subject, and then all the sensations amount to a mere aching of the eyes, inability to keep up the eyelid, occasional sickness of the stomach, and stunning in the head.

The lecturer renewed his experiment on the young man he operated on when in London, and with apparent success.

The English girl, Isabella, then followed, and was magnetized and bore the consequent tests much apparently to the satisfaction of the meeting.

Elizabeth Wilcock, the deaf and dumb girl, then took the chair, and gave satisfactory proof of improvement in her powers of hearing and speaking; and the lecturer declared that another patient not present, who had been recently operated on, showed an equally remarkable amelioration; her friends, who were present and highly respectable, offered no dissent to the lecturer's assertion.

On the following day (Saturday,) M. Lafontaine exhibited the same experiments, the only novelty was the production of a fresh subject — a girl whom the lecturer had never seen, except in the presence of many

³⁰ The lectures were given on 10 and 11 December (the second of which Braid had attended). This blatant misrepresentation reeks of 'the Lafontaine camp' providing false information to the *Medical Times* — which had already published a very comprehensive report of Lafontaine's 18 December lecture (Anon, 1841rr), a week after the 'true' lectures had been delivered, and a week before the 'phantom' lectures — rather than it being a mistake by the Journal's reporter.

This is supported by the fact that, at his 28 December lecture (Anon, 1841tt; Anon, 1842b), Braid spoke in some detail of Lafontaine's 10 December lecture, and of his attendance at the 11 December lecture. Braid made no mention of any lecture by Lafontaine on 25 December (which the *Medical Times* asserts). Even more significantly, Lafontaine, who was present at Braid's 28 December lecture, did not assert any such thing during or after Braid's lecture.

witnesses; she bore the tests, proving her total insensibility with an indifference which, if there be collusion in the matter, prove in her more than Spartan powers of endurance.

Mr. Braid, who was present, acknowledged the success of the experiments, and Dr. Cantor made a luminous review of the whole proceedings, giving in his acquiescence to the truth of the phenomena exhibited by both Mr. Braid and M. Lafontaine.

Mr. Braid has been delivering lectures illustrative of his "discoveries", and satisfying large audiences of the power of mere mechanical agencies of producing sleep, insensibility, and the other remarkable phenomena usually connected with that occult something, by some called the magnetic fluid. We have not space for the lecture.

The Medical Times, 1 January 1842.³¹

Braid's fifth lecture

On Tuesday, 28 December, Braid lectured to a packed house. Surgeons Noble, Lacy, and Catlow, several medicos (including Radford) and other professionals were also present. Lynill and Lafontaine came late and "sat on one of the upper benches at one end of the lecture room" (Anon, 1841tt).³² Seated on stage were Rev. Dr. Munro, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in England,[‡] Very Rev. Dr. Herbert, Dean of Manchester,[‡] Sir Charles Shaw, Chief Commissioner, Manchester Police,[‡] Colonel Wemyss, military commander, Manchester region,[‡] C.J.S. Walker, Esq., Manchester alderman,[‡] and Mr. Stanley, Braid's subject at his fourth lecture. Taking the stage (to a warm reception), it was obvious Braid and his discoveries were held in high regard by those in a position to make informed judgements upon such things; and, in particular, the eminent clerical support would have also dispelled any doubts that Braid's work might have had any 'satanic' aspects.

The *Manchester Times* had not reported Braid's fourth lecture or Lafontaine's two subsequent lectures; but, it felt obliged to warn its readers, in a somewhat exceptional manner, of the relevance and significance of certain aspects of the account they would go on to read:

It may be remarked, prefatory to a detail of the proceedings, that some few persons in the meeting appeared to think Mr. Braid's

³¹ Anon (1842c); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³² Lafontaine did not take his seat until Braid had completed his entire opening address and was half way through the first demonstration with his cook (Anon, 1842b). Given that Lafontaine had no English, his absence was not significant. Also, from the text of his letter to Braid (see below), it seems that Lynill was also absent during Braid's entire address.

references to M. Lafontaine's statements were harsh, but we perceived nothing in his observations which did not appear to be warranted by what had before transpired.

Attacks, whether right or wrong, had been made on Mr. Braid, and statements made which he seemed to feel were not correct and fair, and he had a right to repel them in a manner not to be misunderstood.

M. Lafontaine's friends, in their anxiety to prevent this, reminded one of the school boy who having hit his antagonist when sparring in jest, a left-hander on the nose, cries out in fear of retaliation—"mind: no hitting in the face!"

The Manchester Times, 31 December 1841.³³

According to the *Manchester Guardian*,

On Tuesday evening [viz., 28 December], Mr. Braid delivered, in the lecture rooms of the Athenæum, a fifth lecture on animal magnetism.

The object of the lecturer, on this occasion, was to prove, that the effects produced by his mode of operating, and that of M. Lafontaine, were remarkably analogous, if not identical. *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January 1842.³⁴

Braid first read a carefully prepared address to the assembly,³⁵ the burden of which was that, given the recent behaviour of Lafontaine at his lectures on 10 and 11 December (the first given in Braid's absence), he no longer thought Lafontaine honest.

Lafontaine had misrepresented his experiments and views, he said, when only the day before, he said he could not comment. Instead of demonstrating Braid's procedures correctly, he indulged in "buffoonery", presenting "over-drawn caricatures" of them.

Drawing attention to factual errors in Lafontaine's statement, Braid cited evidence from a wide range of newspaper reports; and, given Lynill's explicit claim that Lafontaine was entirely responsible for whatever Lynill had read out, Lynill had not dissociated himself from the statement's content. He was also deeply critical of Lafontaine's selection of subjects, and the manner in which Lafontaine conducted his demonstrations. He concluded:

My object is to dispel mystery, and elicit truth, in the simplest possible manner; and I pledge my word of honour, as a gentleman, that there shall not be a single attempt at illusion, or delusion, in any experiment I shall adduce to the company who have honoured me with their

³³ Anon (1841tt); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³⁴ Anon (1842b); emphasis added.

³⁵ The entire text of Braid's response, annotated for the interested reader, is at *Appendix Four*.

presence this evening.—(Loud applause.)

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.³⁶

Braid began his demonstrations with his cook. She stood and looked at the ceiling. In 55 seconds her eyes were closed. At Braid's request, she raised her arms; "they instantly assumed the cataleptiform state". The Dean and Colonel Wemyss tested her catalepsy; her arms were "perfectly rigid". Braid then asked, "Where now is the veracity of the man who says, that the cataleptiform state cannot be produced by my mode of operating?" Braid then de-mesmerized one arm by gently fanning it; and, as soon as he pressed certain muscles, "the arm resumed its natural flexibility". He had her sit and, to much applause, did the same with one leg; then, reluctantly, demonstrated ("deprec[at]ing" such experiments as cruel, as well as injurious to the subject, who would certainly feel their effects after sensibility was restored") that she had no sensation:

[Her] head, face, and hands were then punctured with pins, and there was no evidence of sensibility to pain.

Mr. Dancer,[†] (of the firm of Messrs. Abraham and Dancer, opticians) was then directed to give the patient a shock by means of an electro-magnetic current [from the same voltaic battery that Lafontaine had used] passed along wire grasped by the hand of the patient, and this was done without apparent sensibility, amidst loud cheers.

Mr. Braid then demesmerised the head of the patient, or partially restored sensibility, when the shock was repeated, and she now gave evident symptoms of feeling, by movements of the head and contortions of the face.

To prove that there was no deception, the shock was tried by a gentleman in the audience, who expressed his satisfaction that it was a fair test.

Mr. Dancer, in answer to a question by Mr. Braid, said the shocks he had given were of the same intensity as those he had given to M. Lafontaine's patients, and the effects as far as he was able to judge, were the same in both cases. *The Manchester Times*, 31 December 1841.³⁷

The cook's insensibility was further demonstrated by inserting some very pungent snuff into her nostrils. Although she was breathing heavily — and, thus, must have inhaled a copious quantity of snuff — she showed no reaction. Also, an application of very strong ammonia elicited no response at all:

When she had been twenty-four minutes the mesmeric state, Mr. Braid restored one of her legs to sensibility; observing, as he fanned it

³⁶ Anon (1842b); emphasis added.

³⁷ Anon (1841tt); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

that perhaps some of the magnetic influence had proceeded from the eastern coast, alluding to that part of the room in which M. Lafontaine, who had just entered, had taken his seat.

Mr. Braid afterwards raised her leg with a glass rod (for he never touched this or any other subject with his hand), and it became quite rigid, and remained in a horizontal position. He desired her to put it down again, which she essayed to do, but failed.

Mr. Braid then appealed to the meeting if his experiments did not produce somnolency, insensibility, catalepsy, and all the other effects produced by M. Lafontaine. But he could do more — he could make his subjects walk and talk.—(Applause.)

To show the advantage of doing a thing scientifically and not empirically, he would restore sensibility to her leg in another way. He then tapped it gently above the knee with the glass rod, which he held in his hand, and it instantly resumed its natural position.—(Applause.)

She was then walked about the platform; and some further tests having been applied to manifest the rigidity of her arms, Colonel Wemyss, at the request of the lecturer, restored her by the fan, she having been then 39 minutes and 25 seconds in the magnetic sleep.

"Where", said Mr. Braid, "is the magic power now? I can render any limb in the patient's body rigid by stimulating the proper muscle."

He then asked the cook if she were sensible of what had passed, and she said she did not recollect any thing that was done.

"If any person", said Mr. Braid, "has a question to put, let him put it now, or ever after hold his tongue."—(Applause.)

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.³⁸

Braid operated on his servant; the servant was 'somnolent' in 29 seconds, and walked around with arms cataleptic and extended. Two young girls were then mesmerized in under 30 seconds; and, with arms extended and cataleptiform, moved around the stage, following the sound of Braid's watch, moving towards anyone who called out to them (Anon, 1841tt). One waltzed and sang. Braid introduced a far more persuasive 'follow the watch' experiment:³⁹

A watch was suspended by the lecturer from the chandelier; and, a long string being attached to it, he was thus enabled, without altering his own position, to move it in different directions. The ticking of the watch was heard at a considerable distance by one of the girls, who followed in whatever direction it was moved.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁴⁰

After 10 minutes in that state, the footman was showing signs of distress, and Braid 'restored' him:

³⁸ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³⁹ His earlier 'follow the watch' demonstrations were not conclusive, as many thought that Braid had 'telegraphed' the watch's position by the sound of his feet moving across the floor.

⁴⁰ Anon (1842b).

His face was then covered with profuse perspiration: a fact to which the lecturer directed the attention of the meeting; as indicative of the analogy that existed between his system and that of M. Lafontaine.

A gentleman asked if it would not be well to invite M. Lafontaine to the platform.

Mr. Braid: I will not allow him. M. Lafontaine did not use me so well the last time he lectured; and therefore I will allow him fair play, and nothing more.— (Applause, and "Shame, shame".)

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁴¹

One girl knelt on a chair; as she did so, Braid moved her into a "praying posture" ("the power which she possessed, of balancing herself while in this state was very great"). Another, when tested with pins, displayed no sensibility.

Mr. Braid then proposed to try the hearing of the same patient, by the detonating caps.

M. Lafontaine had not tried that experiment at his last lecture, until the patient had been 47 minutes in a state of somnolency; and he (Mr. Braid) thought his patient had not been quite so long in that state however he would try the experiment.⁴²

He would mention one circumstance which struck him, as a man-œuvre on the part of M. Lafontaine.— (Cries of "Shame, shame", and "Less of personality".)⁴³

I say (continued Mr. Braid) that most of the persons here must be aware, that they generally heard M. Lafontaine's pistol miss fire for the first time — was that the case or not? ("Yes, yes" and applause.)

I tell you distinctly that the impressions produced on the patients by those reports become less and less every time they hear them.

Mr. Braid then fired off two detonating caps; but the subject exhibited sensibility each time. She was now 26 minutes in the somnolent and cataleptiform state, and, becoming slightly convulsed, the lecturer restored her to conscious existence; observing, at the time, that he would show no experiment inconsistent with the safety of the patient.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁴⁴

Braid spoke of "the curative effects of these experiments", bringing the "man from Stockton" on stage. Despite Braid's wish, the man revealed his identity when asked to do so by Mr. Beswick.⁴⁵ After several interchanges between Braid and Catlow, centred on Catlow's disruptive behaviour,

⁴¹ Anon (1842b).

⁴² The *Manchester Guardian's* reporter noted that Braid's subject, at this moment, had only been "in the mesmeric state" for 25 minutes (Anon, 1842b).

⁴³ Here, "*personality*" is used in a special (and rare) sense, to denote the activity of referring to a particular person in an offensive and disparaging fashion.

⁴⁴ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁴⁵ Richard Beswick (1812-1855) was the Chief Superintendent of Police in Manchester. At the time of his death he had spent almost 23 years involved in police work in Manchester.

Mr. Lacy, surgeon, inquired if Mr. Braid had any more cases to produce, illustrative of the benefit of mesmerism.

Mr. Braid: I have; and Mr. Walker,⁴⁶ who is present, can state, that he saw a patient come to me yesterday week,⁴⁷ who had been deaf and dumb for twenty-two years, and in the Manchester Deaf and Dumb Institution four or five years, and I enabled her to hear the tick of the watch when laid to her ear, and also to speak.

Is that so, Mr. Walker?

Mr. Walker: Yes

Mr. Braid: I am sorry to see gentlemen coming forward with captious questions.

Mr. Lacy: You answer me as if I asked the question in some ill spirit.

I beg to state that I came here as a medical man on account of having seen it stated on your placards, that you would produce evidence of the curative effects of mesmerism on diseases hitherto considered incurable.

I should not have come here tonight, unless for the purpose of receiving that information which you stated you were ready to impart on this subject; and I think you have answered such questions as have been put rather hardly — rather rashly, I might say. I want to know now if there are any other cases by which you may show me, or any other medical man, any thing by which we may be benefited in our profession?

Mr. Braid: I have other cases to produce; but, if you call on me any time when I have leisure, I shall be most happy to give you any instruction you may require as a medical man.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁴⁸

Braid produced five young women, and they were “put into the cataleptic state in five seconds”. Braid was then distracted by heated exchanges between himself and Peter Royle, concerning Royle’s interference with one of Braid’s demonstration subjects during his previous lecture:

Mr. Braid stated, that at his previous lecture a gentleman offered himself to be operated upon, and a medical student tried to frustrate the experiment by telling the gentleman to resist it as far as possible.

However, in defiance of those instructions, the gentleman became affected, his arms gradually ascended, and became rigid without any one touching them; and the gentleman was honourable enough to tell the company how he felt while in that state.

So that, in this instance, the opposition given by the medical student did him (Mr. Braid) good by producing an individual who, even under such unfavourable circumstances, became affected.—(Applause.)

Mr. Royle said he had no doubt that he was the person alluded to as having made the attempt to frustrate the experiment; but such was not

⁴⁶ Identified as alderman and magistrate Charles James Stanley Walker, Esq. (Anon, 1841tt).

⁴⁷ Identified as “Ann Mills”. Braid had fully expected her to be present, and said that could not account for her absence (Anon, 1841tt).

⁴⁸ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

the fact. He told the gentleman to act honourably as a man ought to act, but to resist, as far as was consistent with the required conditions.

Mr Braid: I have got one of the reporters here who heard you telling the gentleman not to comply with the conditions.

Mr. Royle: My word is as good as the reporter's.

Mr. Braid: Here [handing a gentleman on the platform]⁴⁹ is the person (Mr. Stanley), and he will state to the meeting what were Mr. Royle's instructions.

Mr. Stanley: I believe Mr. Royle had no bad intention in what he stated to me. He did not intend to frustrate the object of Mr. Braid; but he told me to resist, so far as was consistent with the conditions required for the experiment, and I did so.

Mr. Braid: I state distinctly, that any such resistance was unfair. Mr. Royle rose to make an observation, but was interrupted by Mr. Braid, who said, I will not hear another word, from you, sir. This gentleman (Mr. Stanley) has stated what is the fact, and I will not hear one word more from you. — (Applause and hisses.)

Mr. Royle: Will there be a *conversazione* to-night?

Mr. Braid: If there were, I would show you that "a little learning is a dangerous thing". — (Hisses.) He had no right to come forward here after what he did on a former night.

Mr. Royle: On that principle I had no right to come to the meeting at all.

Mr. Braid: You had no right to come here to give such impudence;— you are a young puppy! — (Much disapprobation.)

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁵⁰

Braid 'restored' the girls after they were 'somnolent' for 14 minutes.

[At this stage of the proceedings,] a gentleman in the company also came forward, and said he had been experimented upon several times by Mr. Braid for deafness, and [had] received much benefit.

The Manchester Times, 31 December 1841.⁵¹

Four young women volunteered, and Braid successfully operated upon all of them. At the same time, Catlow offered himself as a subject:

Braid expressed his willingness to do so, although M. Lafontaine had refused; Mr. Catlow not being considered a favourable subject. —

"Though you and I", said Mr. Braid, "have had a little sparring, we will be good friends for all that." (Applause.)

Mr. Catlow professed his willingness to fulfil any conditions that might be required of him, as far as it was in his power to do so, except standing. He wished to sit; and in every other respect he would endeavour to conform to the will of the lecturer.

In 10½ minutes Mr. Catlow's eyes were closed.

Mr. Braid then raised one arm and a leg, and they remained in the

⁴⁹ The remarks within the square brackets are those of the reporter (1842b). "Handing", indicating *per medium* of pointing the hand.

⁵⁰ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵¹ Anon (1841tt).

position in which he placed them.

Mr. Catlow continued in this position for 22 minutes, during which time several attempts were made to press down his arm and leg: but they appeared as rigid as those of any other subject.

Mr. Braid in a low voice said— "Mr. Catlow, how do you feel? Is it not a comfortable thing to be in this state?"

Mr. Catlow said it was far from it. He felt himself in a rather uncomfortable position, but he could alter it at any time.

"I can give Mr. Braid my word of honour, that I have complied with his conditions to the best of my power."

"I am quite satisfied of that", said Mr. Braid, "but how could you hold your arm and leg so long in the position in which they are now, unless you have been affected?"

Mr. Catlow said he could do it for an hour.

Dr. Radford then stated that Mr. Catlow's pulse was at 120.

Mr. Braid stated it as his opinion that Mr. Catlow could not continue so long in the position in which he was placed, unless he were in the cataleptiform state.

In answer to a question, Mr. Catlow stated, that he was not sure whether or not an attempt was made to depress his arm.

He afterwards stated, that he was conscious of a depressing power having been exerted on his arm and leg, which he did not attempt to resist.⁵²

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁵³

Braid's attention, diverted by his dispute with Lynill (see below), returned to Catlow, who had remained seated:

Braid: It should be mentioned, that Mr. Catlow's foot was twice pressed without his knowledge.

Mr. Catlow: I did know it.

Mr. Braid: Then your leg did not lose its cataleptiform appearance.

Mr. Catlow then observed, that he closed his eyes at the request of Mr. Braid, who told him, at the beginning of the experiment, that it was better to do so if he felt pain, but to keep them still directed towards the same point. He also kept his arm and leg in the position in which Mr. Braid had placed them, as he (Mr. Catlow) wished to comply in every respect with the will of the operator.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁵⁴

Braid then informed the audience that Catlow had told him that, "he had a

⁵² The reporter noted, as an aside, that: "This shows that Mr. Catlow must have been affected; for those who attempted to depress the arm, found they could not do so. Mr. Catlow continued speaking for about three minutes after Mr. Braid addressed him; and, during the most of that time, his arm and leg remained extended; and some suppose that he talked himself out of his somnolency. A case similar to this occurred at Mr. Braid's previous lecture, where a young man, whose eyes had not closed during the experiment, denied having been affected, until Mr. Braid called his attention to his arm, which was elevated and rigid at the time" (Anon, 1842b).

⁵³ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵⁴ Anon (1842b).

difficulty in fixing the pupil of the eye steadily upon any object". Braid's last subject for the evening was a young woman,

[who had been] previously "magnetised" by M. Lafontaine, and who declared her sensations under the operations of M. Lafontaine and Mr. Braid to be precisely alike!

The effect of this statement, too, had great additional weight from the fact that there had been an attempt to deter the girl from remaining in the lecture room.

Mr. Braid stated this publicly, and Mr. Lynill said it was he that had sent for the girl out of the room; and he did so because he had felt surprised at seeing her there whilst she was under an engagement to himself.

Mr. Lynill was asked what engagement? but he refused to state.

Mr. Braid said he thought it very ungentlemanly and unjustifiable in [sic] any one to tamper with his patients. (Applause.)

The Manchester Times, 31 December 1841.⁵⁵

The Manchester Guardian provided a more detailed account:

...the introduction of [his last patient] occasioned some altercation between the lecturer and Mr. Lynill.

The latter gentleman said, the young girl was under an engagement to him; and he was surprised to find, that she had first been induced to come to the meeting as a spectator, and afterwards to come on the platform to be mesmerised.

She was a subject of his, and under an engagement that she would not allow herself to be mesmerised.

Mr. Braid said he wanted to do nothing but what was fair.

She had been already experimented upon by the animal magnetizers, and he wished on that account to have her tried by his plan. He thought it a very disingenuous thing to attempt to take her away.— (Applause.)

Mr. Lynill: Will Mr. Braid say, that if he had a servant he would consider her justified in breaking an engagement?

Mr. Braid: Is she your servant — is she under pay as a servant?

Mr. Lynill: She is under an engagement to me which she ought not to be encouraged to violate. — (Applause.)

Mr. Braid: Well; she is also engaged to me for the night.— (Applause.)

...The girl then commenced staring; and, in two minutes and three seconds, she was in the cataleptiform state.

Mr. Braid then asked if any gentleman who had seen the girl magnetised by Mr. Lynill or M. Lafontaine, could point out any difference in the effects produced by both plans of operating....⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Anon (1841qq); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵⁶ The next sentence in the newspaper report, "*Every one who had seen his (Mr. Braid's) mode must be persuaded, that his/experiments were mesmerised by M. Lafontaine*", is meaningless. The simplest explanation is that the typesetters omitted a line of text (the break between the two consecutive lines in the report is shown here as "/"). A search throughout that entire edition of the newspaper for a corresponding 'orphan' line of text has been fruitless. The brief *Manchester Times* account (Anon, 1841qq) of the same section of the lecture provides no extra assistance. The sentence is provided here, in a footnote, for the sake of completeness.

Mr. Catlow: I think, Mr. Braid, M. Lafontaine has done enough to show that your experiments have furnished a key to certain facts.

I do not give you credit Mr. Braid, for understanding the theory of the thing — (laughter) — but you have certainly hit upon a mode of experimenting for which you deserve credit.

In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Braid stated, that he cared nothing about proving the identity of the effects produced by the two plans: all he wanted to establish was their analogy,⁵⁷ which he thought he had satisfactorily done in the present instance. — (Applause.)

Mr. Catlow requested permission to test the rigidity of the patient's leg.

Mr. Braid: You may do so, but M. Lafontaine would not allow it to be done until the subject was longer in that state.

Mr. Catlow: I have no confidence in M. Lafontaine's method of holding up the leg at all. I think it a piece of legerdemain, and the wizard of the north⁵⁸ is the proper person to investigate it. — (Laughter.)

Mr. Braid: This lady was engaged to come here this afternoon; and the moment a certain gentleman came to the Albion Hotel, a certain gentleman sent word that she was unwell; but I sent and fetched her.

M. Lafontaine: Before you assert a thing, you should be sure of it. You have told a lie. — (Applause and hisses).

Braid: I do not accuse him (M. Lafontaine), but another gentleman.

The patient was then restored, and the proceedings terminated immediately afterwards; it being then about half-past eleven o'clock.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁵⁹

The *Manchester Times* was most anxious that its readers were given the full facts of this matter, and it included the following in a later issue:

In our notice of Mr. Braid's last lecture we were hardly explicit enough respecting the means which had been employed to prevent the experiments he was desirous of making to prove the identity of the phenomena he produced, with those attributed to animal magnetism.

In order to effect this proof satisfactorily, he had engaged two girls to be present who had been "magnetised" by M. Lafontaine, taking it for granted that all reasonable men, when they saw him produce the same effects by his method, would be willing to trust their own senses.

We stated [in our article] that means had been adopted during the lecture to get one of these girls away, but we should have said an attempt had been made to prevent the experiments being tried upon either of them.

One of them was induced to leave the Athenæum during the early part of the lecture: the other, though she ultimately came to the lecture, was induced, at first, after promising to be present, to send an excuse, saying that she had been taken ill.

⁵⁷ In view of his previous position, this significant statement seems to indicate that Braid's opinion of the status of the consequences of his own experiments and demonstrations is somewhat different from what it was when he commenced his investigations a month earlier.

⁵⁸ John Henry Anderson.[‡]

⁵⁹ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

This was the girl from the Albion, and the one who, on reflection, got sufficiently well to attend the lecture! — and who submitted to an experiment, which, as we stated [in our article] was entirely successful.

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 8 January 1842.⁶⁰

Apart from his mixed success with Catlow, all of Braid's experiments were successful, and most of the audience were "highly gratified" with what they had witnessed (Anon, 1841tt). On leaving the stage, Braid went into an anteroom, where he 'magnetized' more than a dozen people, simultaneously, "in a few seconds".

Below its report on Braid's lecture (1842b), the *Manchester Guardian* published the following editorial statement:

We have received a letter from M. Lafontaine, on the subject of the offensive expression which he used, as above stated.

In conformity with the rule we have laid down, not to publish any letter on the subject of animal magnetism, we cannot give insertion to this; but we can have no hesitation in stating, that its object and purport are to apologise to the public of Manchester, for the use of the expression referred to; into which, M. Lafontaine states, he was provoked, in a moment of irritation, on hearing the assertion of what he deemed an unfounded imputation of dishonourable conduct to himself.

Ed. Guard.

The Manchester Guardian, 1 January 1842.⁶¹

Braid inserted a public notice in the *Manchester Guardian*, on 5 and 8 January 1842, in response to a request for unequivocal clarification by Lynill;⁶² and, perhaps, an additional motivation for doing so was the fact that they were both active members of the Athenæum.

⁶⁰ Anon (1842e); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶¹ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶² Although it may have facilitated a speedy insertion, one must not suppose that paying to have a letter inserted in the form of an advertisement (something that Braid did on a number of occasions) automatically and absolutely guaranteed its publication in the *Manchester Times*.

For example, on 26 February 1842, *The Manchester Times* carried the following *Editorial Notice* (Anon, 1842s):

On carefully perusing the letter signed "AN ELECTOR" we find that we cannot give it insertion. The party who forwarded it to our office, and paid the charge for it as an advertisement, may have the money returned on application at our office.

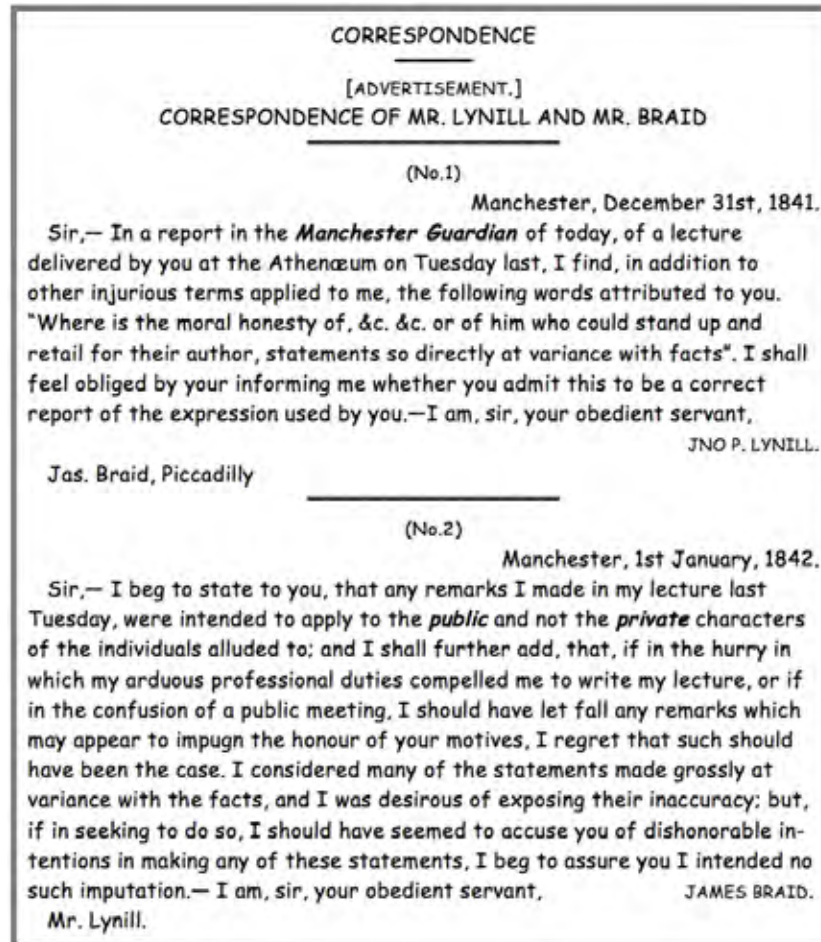


Fig.64. Correspondence between Lynill and Braid, *The Manchester Guardian*, 5 January 1842.⁶³

On 8 January, the *Manchester Times* reported that Braid's investigations had been continuing. In particular, with two brothers, deaf and dumb since birth, whose conditions were "greatly relieved" by Braid's treatment (Anon, 1842e). The reporter met one of the youths and determined that, prior to Braid's treatment, he was totally deaf. The lad could now hear a watch within eight inches of his ear, and hear and understand speech. Whilst he could utter certain words distinctly, he could not pronounce certain others; this was attributed to lack of practice. The *Manchester Times* noted that Braid's reputation was growing:

We are glad to hear that the [medical profession] at a distance, rising superior to all mere professional jealousies, are anxiously turning their attention to this new, and, as it is likely to prove, wonderful agent in the cure of disease; which have hitherto defied all human power.

A deputation from a distant city, including some of the most eminent practitioners, were to wait upon Mr. Braid last night, with a view of witnessing some experiments at his own house, and satisfying them-

⁶³ Braid (1842a). At that time, "JNO." was a conventional abbreviation for John, and "JAS." for James.

selves on the subject.⁶⁴

Responses to Duncan's London Lectures

On 8 January 1842, *The Medical Times* carried an account of Duncan's second London display (Anon, 1842e), including, *inter alia*, a description of Braid's "upwards and inwards squint". The same issue also published a letter from one "E.B., m.d." (1842a),⁶⁵ who had attended Duncan's lecture and had examined his subjects. In his view, whilst "the phenomena... were certainly akin to those exhibited by M. Lafontaine and Dr. Elliotson" (both of whom "E.B." had seen operate in person), he felt that Duncan's demonstrations were inconclusive.⁶⁶ He also spoke of what he thought were the differences between what Duncan had demonstrated and *mesmerism proper*:

...the mere circumstance of putting a child to sleep by *monotonising* the mind is not new.

Boys at school are in the habit of putting each other to sleep by much the same process ...

As Mr. B.'s theory is given in the last [issue of this Journal],⁶⁷ we shall say no more about it, but proceed to notice what we consider the difference between mesmerism so called, and what we shall term, for want of a better word, *monotonism*.

In the mesmeric state, it is claimed that the patient not only does not see, but cannot hear; in the *monotonismic*, though he cannot see, he hears, as was exemplified in the interesting little girl who was the subject of the experiment of Thursday.

Under the influence of mesmerism, the patient may be roughly handled; be pricked with pins; noises may be made in his ears; he can be subjected to the electro-magnet, and the voltaic pile; the most pungent odours may be applied to his nose; snuff may be thrust into his nostrils; burning matches may be put to his finger; yet he neither wakes, feels, starts, shrieks, averts his head, nor indicates the slightest sense of suffering.

⁶⁴ *The Manchester Times*, Saturday, 8 January 1842 (Anon, 1842e); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶⁵ Allowing for the difference in subjects, the entire article on Duncan's lecture is so similar in style and content to that of "A Correspondent's" article on Lafontaine's lecture (1841a), that this "E.B., m.d." and that "A Correspondent" may well be one and the same individual.

⁶⁶ It is difficult to determine the extent to which this 'inconclusiveness' was due to the (otherwise) 'conclusive' demonstrations of Braid being, so to speak, sabotaged by Duncan's inept performance as Braid's *locum tenens*, or whether Braid's representations were, in themselves, 'inconclusive' *at that stage of their development*. Braid's later appearance in London, successfully delivering a performance that represented at least another ten weeks' development of his theories, representations, and demonstrations, provides equal support for either case.

⁶⁷ Anon (1842c); whilst there is considerable mention of Braid and his ideas, it is a report of Lafontaine's 24 December and 25 December lectures (Braid attended the 25 December lecture).

Now none of these tests of absence of sensation, we might almost say of *being*, were made; and we would have been very sorry to see any attempt to make them on the little girl.

We write, of course, of only what we saw. The report of others, and of Mr. Duncan among the rest, goes to prove that many of the tests we have enumerated have been applied to *monotonismic* patients without their indicating the slightest sensation.

We have no right to doubt their statements, and, therefore, give them the full benefit of the testimony, but, until we have fully, in our own person, seen and tested the *monotonised*, as we have the *mesmerised*, we shall continue to think, that the former is but an enhanced [sic] condition of reverie, which has been called a "brown study", and differs as much from Mesmerism as coma from sleep, or somnambulism from pedestrianism.

It is not, however, because we have thus expressed our opinion that we would discountenance an examination into the theory of Mr. Braid; on the contrary, we are of opinion that it merits every inquiry, but that that inquiry should be conducted in an impartial manner. ...

The Medical Times, Saturday, 8 January 1842.⁶⁸

In 1850, a news item in an American newspaper also spoke of 'monotonism':

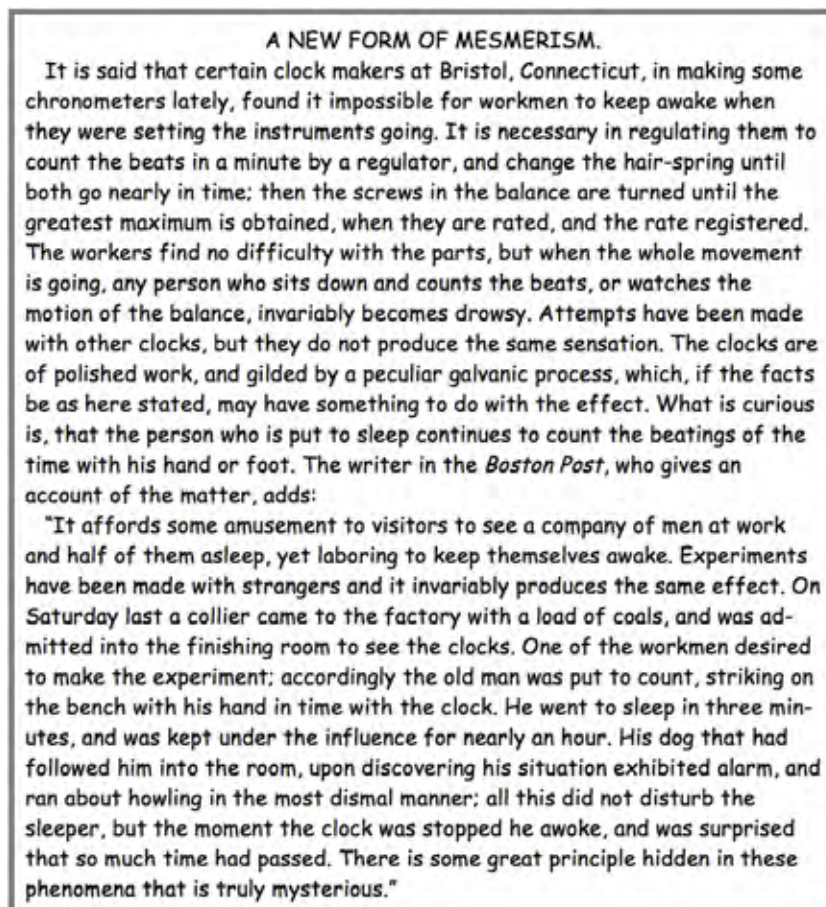


Fig.65. News item, *The Charleston Mercury*, 21 June 1850.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ E.B. (1842a); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶⁹ Anon (1850a).

The *Medical Times*' account of Duncan's lecture generated correspondence from Mr. Barrallier.[‡] Whilst expressing doubts on the accuracy of Braid's preliminary, speculative theories, he reported the effects produced with Braid's 'cork-on-the-forehead' technique: an excellent example of what Merton (1936) described as the *unanticipated consequences of a purposive action*:

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

To the Editor of the 'Medical Times'.

Sir,— The theory of Animal Magnetism, as produced on the plan so recently discovered by Mr. Braid, is yet evidently as unsatisfactory as that heretofore suggested by Mesmer and his successors up to the present date.

I last Friday purposed magnetising a youth aged nineteen, born deaf and dumb, on Mr. Braid's plan, by means of a cork. This was secured on his forehead, and he was given to understand the absolute necessity of maintaining a steady gaze on the cork, without any motion of the eyes or eyelids. He made three successive attempts, each averaging about twenty minutes; which failing to produce any effects beyond mere fatigue of the eyes, I brought forward my servant, with a view of practically showing the method to this youth. About one minute after the cork was secured on her forehead, she was in a state of magnetic sleep, accompanied with catalepsy, having winked four times in the space of that one minute, as well as having moved the entire eye-ball frequently, actually winking and rolling the entire eye simultaneously with its closure on the accession of the magnetic state. I immediately restored her, removed the cork, and again placed her in a state of magnetism, (her eyes being in motion and winking), by about ten mesmeric manipulations.

The deaf and dumb youth again made the attempt, but could neither maintain a steady gaze nor refrain from winking; nevertheless, in twenty minutes, he was effected [sic] with the eyes open, winking once every two or three seconds for a further space of fifteen minutes, when they closed.

The ensuing night, after winking, moving the eyes, and staring, either at the cork or vacantly in the room, he fell into the magnetic state after an interval of ten minutes, his eyes remaining open and continuing the same movements for the succeeding twenty minutes, when they closed as in the preceding night. After a lapse of ten minutes from first placing a cork on his forehead, I raised and extended one arm; this remained in that position half an hour, when it slowly fell to his side. I raised the same arm again, which remained extended forty minutes, when I restored him.

Thus, then, the monotony of a steady gaze is not even necessary to produce rapid effects, as is exemplified in the case of my servant. Two successive cases being sufficient to confute the supposed truth of any theory, these circumstances prove that the phenomena of Mr. Braid are not yet satisfactorily accounted for.

It has been stated to me, that a gentleman in this town has, for a number of years past, been in the habit of inducing a state to him as refreshing as his usual sleep, by steadily fixing both eyes in one direction for a few minutes, when he immediately falls asleep. Until he adopted that method, he scarcely slept at all. Whereas, since he has followed his own method, he can produce a state of sleep, in a few minutes, at any time.

I have much pleasure in adding, that the deaf youth, after being magnetised only twice, after Mr. Braid's plan, was enabled to hear the ticking of a watch at a distance of six inches from his ear, when previously he could but just discern a vibrating noise of the report of a gun. The said youth could not be mesmerised by long-continued manipulations; therefore, but for the ingenious discovery of Mr. Braid, he would not have been enabled to have his hearing the least improved, being apparently unsusceptible to mesmeric manipulations.

My servant has remained one hour and a half in the magnetic state, produced on Mr. Braid's plan, with the arms extended. Apparently the same effects are induced, whether she be magnetised on Mr. Braid's plan, or by manipulations.— I remain, Sir, your's most obediently,

J. L. Barrallier.

Milford, South Wales, January 9th, 1842.

Fig.66. J. L. Barrallier, *The Medical Times*, 15 January 1842 (emphasis added).⁷⁰

In a letter, written on 8 February 1842, Barrallier clarified the above:

SIR,—Will you allow me to correct an error in my first statement on Animal Magnetism, wherein I asserted that perfect quietude of the eye and its appendages were not absolutely requisite to produce rapid effects.

In first experiments [with Braid's plan], perfect quietude of the eyes are actually necessary to produce, in the first instance, rapid effects; after any patient has once been [operated upon] by means of the stare, such individuals can then be acted upon, whether quietude of the eyes be observed or not; in short, they can be affected by different methods — by varied mesmeric manipulations, by acting upon any of the senses, or by the imagination alone.

Fig.67. J. L. Barrallier, *The Medical Times*, 19 February 1842.⁷¹

On reading "E.B.'s" observations, Barrallier immediately wrote a second letter to the *Medical Times* (1842b), stating that, by 15 January, he had already read the journal's accounts of Duncan's second London lecture (Anon, 1842f), Lafontaine's Manchester lectures (Anon, 1842c), and various newspaper accounts of the recent lectures delivered by Braid in Manchester (as well as those of Captain Brown, in Liverpool, on Braid's behalf). Barrallier also reported that he had conducted further valuable experiments, and that he had reflected upon them to some length. By way of introduction (and using "E.B.'s" term *monotonism*), he spoke of how Cantor, speaking at Lafontaine's (11 December) lecture,⁷² contrasted Lafontaine's "animal magnetism" ("the phenomena as producible by mesmeric manipulations") with Braid's "monotonism" ("those [phenomena]

⁷⁰ Barrallier (1842a); in speaking of "a gentleman in this town, etc.", he is referring to the "sleep at will" methods of the Belfast watchmaker, Henry Gardner,[†] known as *the hypnotologist*.

⁷¹ Barrallier (1842c).

⁷² See above for discussion of the "phantom lecture" on 24 December to which Anon (1842c) mistakenly refers. The lecture in question was, in fact, delivered on 11 December.

arising on adopting the "stare"), and how Cantor had expressed the (informed) view that, whilst they were "to a very considerable extent, analogous", it was almost certain that "[their] causes [were] widely different". Barrallier also reminded the reader that,

Mr. Catlow stated at Mr. Braid's last lecture, that "M. Lafontaine has done enough to show that your experiments have furnished a key to certain facts".⁷³ Mr. Catlow considered M. Lafontaine's method of holding up the leg a piece of legerdemain, and that he did not give Mr. Braid credit for understanding the theory of the thing, although he admitted that Mr. Braid had certainly hit upon a mode of experimenting for which he deserved credit.

Barrallier then uses a pun, based on Catlow's view, to leap to Braid's defence:

Instead of M. Lafontaine having furnished a key by showing the experiments after the manner of Mr. Braid, I think the latter gentleman has unpicked the lock of "Animal Magnetism", and that "Othello's occupation" is now nearly gone.⁷⁴

Barrallier reminded the journal's readers that, when Lafontaine had displayed his own version of Braid's technique (i.e., "the stare") in Manchester, he had refused to use his own subjects, for fear that 'monotonisation' might reduce their susceptibility to his (Lafontaine's) own "manipulations"; or, even, alter or modify the quality of any "magnetic state" that he (Lafontaine) could possibly produce with his "animal contact" and his "passes". Barrallier made a well-structured argument, extending "E.B.'s" observations, which he felt could provide a plausible explanation (supported by empirical evidence from his own experiments) for Duncan's apparent reluctance to expose his young subject to a number of the tests that were (otherwise) habitually applied to display the effects of animal magnetism. When Barrallier's complex argument is teased apart, it can be understood to be asserting the following:

(1) Apart from *natural sleep*, there are three different kinds of 'somnolence':

(a) the *mere somnolent state*: produced by the subject's imagination alone;

⁷³ Here, he is quoting Catlow directly, as reported in Anon (1842b).

⁷⁴ The final clause of this sentence, centred on a passage from a speech by Othello, from Shakespeare's *Othello*, Act 3, Scene 3, which ends "Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone!", seems to have the overall implication, in this context, of something rather like: "And, I strongly suspect, that the investigation has, herewith, come to a close; and that Braid is correct".

- (b) the *magnetic somnolent state*: produced by the "mesmeric manipulations" of the operator (i.e., the 'animal contact', such as 'thumbing', and the 'mesmeric passes'); and
- (c) the *monotonistic somnolent state*: produced by "the stare".
- (2) The *monotonistic somnolent state*, produced by "the stare", has the capacity to activate a subject's *latent susceptibility* to 'magnetization', by arousing their *otherwise dormant capacity* to respond to "mesmeric manipulations".
- (3) Whenever a subject is determined "to be non-susceptible to Animal Magnetism", because a *magnetic somnolent state* can not be produced *per medium* of "mesmeric manipulations", the operator should not give up hope; because his (Barrallier's) experiments show that such subjects can be successfully placed in the *magnetic somnolent state*, after they have experienced three to four operations of 'monotonism'.
- (4) [From (2)] he is certain that it will be shown, in due course, that a *magnetic somnolent state*, produced from a subject's exposure to "the stare", is identical with a *magnetic somnolent state* produced without any exposure to "the stare".
- (5) [From (2) and (4)], he is certain that Lafontaine's "animal magnetism" and Braid's "monotonism" are "very analogous".
- (6) Whilst he is able to assert (5), he is not yet certain whether the "animal magnetism" of Lafontaine and the "monotonism" of Braid are *identical*.
- (7) He is also certain that the *mere somnolent state*, produced by imagination alone, is distinct from the other two 'somnolent states', regardless of whether those two states eventually prove to be *analogous* or *identical*.

His plausible explanation can now be readily understood:

[I feel it will be ultimately admitted] that a state of mere somnolency can be produced by the force of the imagination alone, differing from "Animal Magnetism", and the state as called by your contributor of last week "the monotonistic".

The [mere somnolent] state, entirely the result of an active imagination, was, I think, the only one produced on the interesting little girl at Mr. Duncan's lecture, and satisfactorily accounts for the non-subjection of the various severe tests that real magnetic patients are enabled to

resist, for the best of all reasons — that they are entirely insensible.

Mr. Duncan's patient was probably not even monotonised, but from fatigue occasioned by the stare most possibly closed her eyes, previous to the proper effect, that is, the monotonistic state taking place, when what resulted was from the mere force of imagination; where the rigidity of the muscles are less, ammonia produces more than its usual effects, where there is, in fact, increased exaltation of all the five senses — accounting for the readiness with which such patients obey any commands.

That a third or mere somnolent state exists, I hope to be enabled to prove as well as that the "monotonistic" state as discovered by Mr. Braid, is capable of bringing into active play the latent susceptibility that most possess, of being magnetised by mesmeric manipulations, which otherwise might have remained dormant.⁷⁵

Barrallier described another four experiments conducted with a nineteen-year-old deaf and dumb subject since he had sent his first letter detailing his first two operations, which involved a range of different circumstances:

On the third attempt of monotonising my mute patient, he was affected in ten minutes, both eyes closing at the time when he was affected.

At the fourth trial, I discarded the cork, taking hold of his left thumb, the ball of which I placed in contact with the right of my own, retaining it in this position for thirty seconds, when I commenced the passes close to and extending over the entire face.

In two minutes his eyes closed, I raised one arm, which maintained a given position half an hour, when as before it fell to his side. On being extended again, it maintained a given position for the space of forty minutes, when I restored him.

On the fifth trial, I directed the youth to close his eyes, after which I seized his left thumb, and proceeded as on the last occasion, in two minutes and thirty seconds he was affected.

The muscles were as rigid as usual, capable of the same continued acting, and the countenance assuming the same peculiar expression, whether he was acted upon by the stare, or by the effect of mesmeric manipulations.

Up to this time his hearing improved.

On the sixth evening, being eight days from the first trial, I directed the youth to close both eyes.

I stood opposite to him at a distance of near a yard, I neither touched him, nor made any passes. In two minutes he appeared asleep; there was not any change in his countenance. I extended one arm, which fell to his side in eighteen minutes. I again extended the same arm and one leg; the former fell in five minutes, the latter in eight.

I now found that he could not maintain any given position longer than three minutes. The head approximated his chest, and his appearance was that of being asleep.

I seized one arm and shook it violently; I rotated his head very sharply, without awaking him.

⁷⁵ Barrallier (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

When he had been an hour this way, I put a bottle of [a very strong solution of ammonia]⁷⁶ under his nose; he immediately turned his head to one side, but it soon resumed its former position; both eyes watered freely.

He deliberately felt in his pockets for his handkerchief, with which he blew his nose. After the application of the ammonia the nose was of an intense scarlet, as if suffering an attack of acute inflammation.

Fifteen minutes after the application of the ammonia I restored him.

He stated that his hearing was worse than before this last trial, and the sensation this last time was merely like his ordinary sleep, to which it certainly had a great resemblance.

This last effect was clearly from the force of imagination.

The muscles were scarcely rigid, and incapable of maintaining a continued action for any length of time as compared to previous trials.

The effects successively developed in this youth clearly show that, in the first instance, he could not be magnetised until after he had been several times "monotonised"; that the latter produced the latent susceptibility of the former; and lastly, that the imagination produced another state, differing from the preceding two.⁷⁷

In closing Barrallier also reported that, after three successful trials of 'monotonising', he could easily 'magnetise' two female subjects by "passes"; which made him all the more convinced "that the real "monotonistic state" and "Animal Magnetism" are very analogous".

Braid's Liverpool Lecture

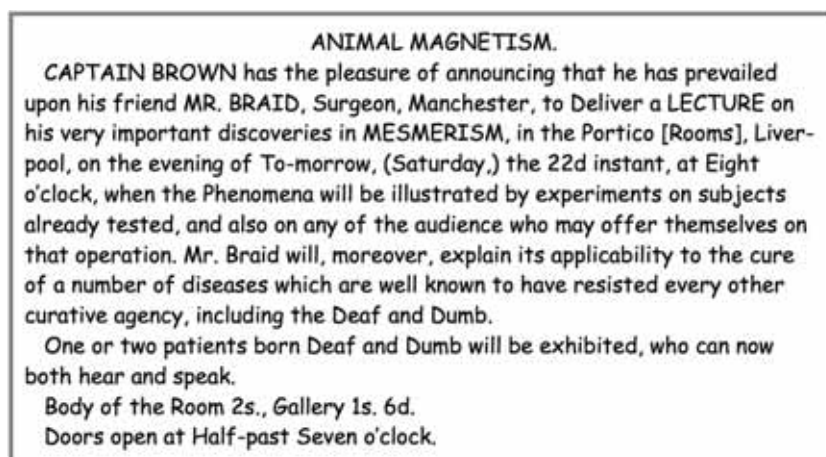


Fig.61. Braid's Liverpool lecture, *The Liverpool Mercury*, 19 February 1842.⁷⁸

On Saturday, 22 January 1842, nine weeks after he had conducted his first

⁷⁶ That is, *Liquor Ammoniae Fortior*; Barrallier's letter has a typographical error and, mistakenly, has "Lig. Ammon. F." instead of "*Liq. Ammon. F.*".

⁷⁷ Barrallier (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁷⁸ Brown (1842c).

experiments, James Braid was in nearby Liverpool (35 miles distant), delivering a public lecture on his discoveries at the Portico Rooms, in Newington (Anon, 1842i; Anon, 1842j; Anon, 1842l).⁷⁹ The lecture was notable not only for Braid's announcement that he had successfully mesmerized some dogs and a lion, but also "that he [had] found it impossible to affect a tiger, from the habitual restlessness of that animal" (Anon, 1842i).⁸⁰ Braid began with a summary of his current, increasingly mature position:

[Earlier experimenters had excited] the phenomena of Mesmerism in so few individuals, and those few generally in a state of disease, that men were strongly urged to the conclusion that in the cases where they were produced, they were to be attributed to illusion or delusion, or to imagination, sympathy, or imitation.

But while others had only succeeded now and then, his method scarcely ever failed on any one, however strong, provided they agreed with his instructions, both mentally and corporeally.

Any person might mesmerize himself; but no man could mesmerize another, without the concurrence of the individual himself.

The various theories on this subject might be reduced under the following heads:—

1. That of those who look upon the whole as a system of collusion and delusion.⁸¹
2. That of those who believe that the phenomena are real, but that they are produced by imagination, sympathy, and imitation.
3. That of the animal magnetisers, who believe in the existence of some subtle fluid, set in motion by magnetic agency.
4. His own theory, which attributed the effects produced to a peculiar physiological state of the brain and the spinal cord.

He had no doubt that imagination, sympathy, and habit, might produce the effects in some cases, solely by themselves, and materially heighten them in others; and he had no doubt that the mesmeric phenomena might arise from a peculiar state of the system, or, in fact, spontaneously.

The theory of the animal magnetisers he considered to be unfounded in fact.

Mr. Braid then explained his own theory at considerable length. He attributed the extraordinary and rapid rise of the pulse, during the mesmeric state, to the stoppage of the flow of blood through those members in the cataleptiform state; and its rapid fall after de-mesmerisation to

⁷⁹ In reading this account, it is essential to remember that, at the time of Braid's lecture, only Barrallier's first letter had been published.

⁸⁰ When researching for his B. Litt. Dissertation, C.A.S. Wink[‡] interviewed Braid's great-great-nephew, who reported that his mother had often been in the company of Braid (her great-uncle) and her grandfather, his cousin, William Braid (1789-1872), who lived near Oxted in Surrey, and that, for the remainder of Braid's life, he and his cousin took great delight in hypnotizing farm animals, whenever he was able to visit (Wink, 1969, p.15).

⁸¹ The reporter noted that Braid had indicated that, in his view, "a great majority of society may be ranked under this head" (Anon, 1842i).

the rush of blood into its ordinary channels. He had proved the truth of this by the application of a tourniquet to the legs and arms of a person experimented upon; and the same effects had resulted.

One of the most important features of his system was its applicability to the cure of a number of diseases which had resisted every other curative agency, with present immunity from pain and the absence of any bad result.

He had, by means of it, extracted teeth without the patient suffering any pain; he had removed rheumatic pains, which had tortured the patient for months and years; he had in eight minutes cured a case of tic dolooureux, under which a person had been suffering for eight weeks; he had restored paralytic limbs, which had been useless for twenty-four years; he had given hearing to the deaf, and the power of speech to the dumb; and even in cases where the persons had been born deaf, he had caused them to hear the tick of a watch in the space of ten or twelve minutes.

From experiments that he had for a short time been engaged in, he trusted to be able to show that by a modification of his method the use of opiates might be dispensed with.

He would give his word of honour that in the experiments which would be exhibited to the audience, there should be no attempt at collusion or delusion. (Cheers.)

His wish was not to mystify, but to elicit truth.

The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 5 February 1842.⁸²

Braid's first subject was his cook. She fixed her gaze on the end of a glass stick held by Braid; and, within 25 seconds of commencing the "inward and upward squint" she closed her eyes (Anon, 1842i). Braid produced catalepsy in each arm, and then in each leg. Her pulse rose to 160. Braid demesmerized one leg; it dropped from the horizontal, and her pulse dropped to 80. He raised the leg again; it was cataleptic within a minute. Her pulse had risen to 152. She was subjected to the galvanic current without any apparent sensation, although her body shook with the current. Three medical observers examined her eyes⁸³ and reporting "the sensibility of the retina seemed to be annihilated" (Anon, 1842i). Her legs were made cataleptiform. She felt no pain when pins were thrust into her legs, even though the blood it produced stained her stockings. Complete sensation returned to her leg when it was demesmerised with three passes of a fan. Her mouth was covered, and she proved insensitive to both snuff and ammonia, even though she continued to breathe through her nose.

⁸² Anon (1842i); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁸³ The report named them as Dr. M'Culloch, Dr. M'Intyre, and Dr. Sutherland; I have been unable to establish their identities.

Braid next operated on his manservant. He rendered him 'somnolent', had him follow him around the stage, and then 'restored' him.

Braid's next subject, a young woman, Miss Sarah Connor, was "quickly thrown into a somnolent state", and said she could hear the ticking of Braid's watch three or four yards distant. Braid then bandaged her eyes and directed her to follow him, wherever he went, from the sound of the ticking of his watch. Despite the girl's hearing obviously being greatly enhanced, the experiment was not a success because so many of those on stage also had watches, and she became confused about which specific sound was Braid's watch. She was then seated, made cataleptic, and underwent the pin thrusting ritual without flinching. She was also given several shocks from the galvanic battery; and, once she was 'restored' said that she had felt nothing.

Braid then spoke of the curative effects of mesmerism. He produced brothers James (nearly 15) and Edward Shelmerdine (16), deaf and dumb since birth,⁸⁴ explaining that, "by [his] having operated on them, they had both been enabled to hear and to imitate sounds". He produced a certificate, from the headmaster of the Manchester Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, attesting, "that before Mr. Braid had operated on the brothers Shelmerdine, they had been unable to hear or articulate, but that they could now do both". Braid said that, after just 13 minutes of treatment, James could hear a watch ticking, and Edward could hear a watch three inches from his left ear, and one inch from his right.

Remarking that he had similar success with the third Shelmerdine brother, and one William J. Smith, "a clerk in the office of Mr. Lingard, attorney, of Stockport", "he considered this one of the most important discoveries which had been made in the healing art for the last century".

Braid noted that another surgeon, working independently, who was personally unknown to Braid, had reported in the last edition of the *Medical Times*, that he, too, "had restored a person to hearing" using Braid's cork-on-the-forehead

⁸⁴ A third, younger, brother, Frederick Shelmerdine, aged approx eight, who was not present, had also been deaf and dumb since birth (Anon, 1842j). The report, mistakenly, has their family name as Shelmadine.

method.^{85,86}

Braid then had the brothers demonstrate their newly acquired powers of articulation to the audience, with certain words, spoken close to their ears being uttered more accurately than others. Braid then tested their hearing. James indicated he could hear the watch ticking at distances of 7 inches (left ear) and 7½ inches (right); Edward at 2 inches (left) and 2½ inches (right). Both were operated on by Braid, and both were “somnolent” in about half a minute. Edward awoke after three minutes or so, looking sleepily around “at which some of the audience laughed derisively” (Anon, 1842j).⁸⁷ James, who had been operated on more frequently, was a very good subject. His face became flushed, his forehead began to perspire, and his pulse went from 80 to 148. Braid ‘restored’ him immediately with a loud clap of his hands; and, within half a minute, Dr. M’Intyre reported that James’ pulse had dropped to 100, “and was quite of a different character”. Braid then retested the boys’ hearing; and, to the astonishment and delight of the audience, James could now hear the watch ticking at distances of 9½ inches (left ear) and 10½ inches (right), and Edward at 6 inches (left) and 3½ inches (right).

Braid operated on an audience volunteer with mixed success; mainly due to his attempts to resist. Braid ‘restored’ him and, then, operated upon him a second time, producing both ‘somnolence’ and ‘catalepsy’. Braid ‘restored’ him once more. It was a quarter to 12 o’clock, and Braid decided to finish, even though there were several more volunteers. Whilst most of the audience had left, there were still 40 to 50 people left milling around the stage; and, “after some desultory conversation”, Braid placed bandages over the eyes of his first-ever subject, Mr. Walker, demonstrating that the “double internal and upward squint” was just as rapidly effective in the darkness. Walker was soon ‘cata-

⁸⁵ This refers to Barrallier (1842a).

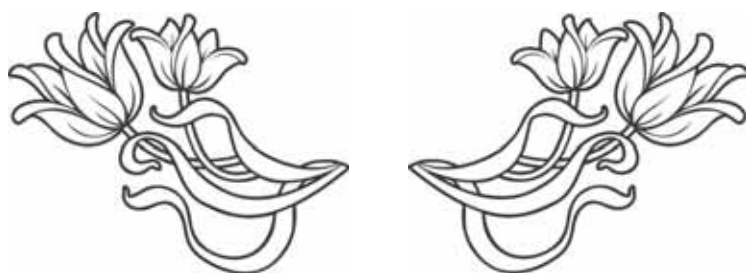
⁸⁶ In his third lecture, delivered on 8 December 1841, Braid had “mentioned an instance in his surgery where a person previously deaf had been enabled to hear” (Anon, 1841cc). Thus, this represents Barrallier’s experiments as *a confirmation of Braid’s own work*, rather than its origin.

⁸⁷ The reporter commented parenthetically that, those in the audience who laughed derisively at Edward’s apparent awakening were, obviously, “forgetting that if he had been simulating, he would most probably continued to do so for the required period” (Anon, 1842j).

leptic'; and, as he began "to exhibit symptoms of an approaching convulsion", Braid immediately tried to "rouse" him. The "magic fan" was useless; and Braid called out his name loudly, rubbed his eyeballs, and it took some time to 'restore' him. The company dispersed around twelve-thirty.⁸⁸

Braid's next lectures would be in London, six weeks later; however, before dealing with those lectures in the next chapter, some attention must be paid to Catlow's lectures, and to his invention, the *mesmeric and soporific machine*.

⁸⁸ It is significant that an extended, sympathetic report of Braid's first series of Manchester lectures, based on the accounts that had appeared in the Manchester newspapers, was published in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* of Saturday, 19 February 1842 (Anon, 1842i).



Chapter Seven: Braid's Later Set of Lectures (1 March 1842 to 6 April 1842)

Catlow delivered three lectures in Manchester — on 3 February, 17 February, and 3 March — and, whilst “the attendance [at the second, 17 February lecture] was numerous and respectable” (Anon, 1842q), the first and the third lectures were poorly attended. The *Guardian's* reporter felt that the first lecture's small turnout could have been due to the extremely popular *Anti-Corn Law Bazaar*, at Manchester's Theatre Royal, “being open and crowded” on that particular night (Anon, 1842m).

The underlying message of Catlow's coherent, well-planned trio of lectures (the first two of which Braid attended in person), was Catlow's (eventually unsubstantiated) claim of having discovered a definite, over-arching principle beneath which all of the ‘effects’ of Braid and all of the ‘effects’ of the magnetists were subsumed: the exclusive attraction, isolation, and monopolization of the subject's attention to impressions that were made on one or more of the senses.¹ From this, Catlow argued, the debate was over: the ‘effects’ of Braid and the magnetists were both analogous and identical:

Based as these methods were on one general principle, it would be the height of absurdity to regard them as essentially different, and equally absurd, therefore, to deny the philosophical identity of their effects.

The Manchester Guardian, 5 February 1842.²

Whilst Catlow's ‘theories’ seem to have been held by none but Catlow himself, his lectures, experiments, and demonstrations *did* force Braid to consider certain propositions. Also, many of his observations (e.g., that Lafontaine's subjects always had the upper part of a cataleptic limb supported by the chair in which they sat) and many of the ‘effects’ he displayed in his demonstrations provided valuable items for Braid to contemplate; and, of course, there was also his *mesmeric and soporific machine* (more of which later).

¹ He attributed this insight to the earlier suggestion of Dr. Satterthwaite,[†] that the ‘efficacy’ of Lafontaine's ‘thumbing’ (or his ‘gaze’) was not in his thumbs (or his eyes), but in the consequent attraction, isolation, and monopolization of the subject's attention (Anon (1842hh).

² Anon (1842m).

Catlow's first lecture

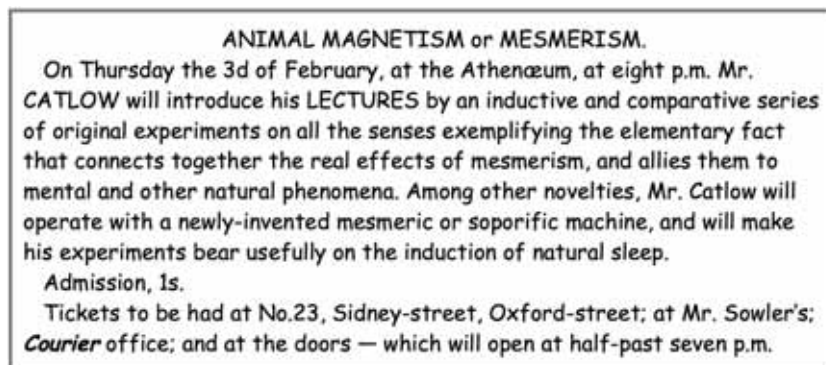


Fig.69. Catlow's first lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 January 1842.³

At his first lecture, the demonstrations that Catlow presented involved each sense in turn; with the goal of proving that, despite subjects initially directing their attention elsewhere, the consistent, repetitious, total overload of the target sensory domain induced 'sleep'.⁴ Moreover (aside from the issue of distinguishing between the "real" and "supposed effects" of mesmerism), Catlow thought that (given sleep was the natural analogue of mesmerism), if the induction of 'somnolence' was "the cardinal problem of mesmerism", then the "impressions on the senses" were "the cardinal means" of that induction (Anon, 1842m).

The following is a representative sample of the variety of operations that Catlow directed at each of sensory domain (sight, touch, taste, hearing, smell) as a unique entity in the process of his first evening's proceedings:

- (1) *Sight*: waving an object from side to side, in continual motion, an inch or two from the subject's face.
- (2) *Touch*: stroking the subject's forehead backwards and forwards with a soft shaving brush; stroking the hair; brushing the back of the hand with a soft shaving brush; rubbing the palm of the hand with a smooth pebble; fanning the subject with a large fan, etc.
- (3) *Taste*: having a subject place a favourite sweet on each side of their mouth, and having them continue to suck that sweet, replenishing when

³ Catlow (1842a). The notice of the lecture is at Catlow (1841a).

⁴ The *Manchester Guardian's* account of the lecture is at Anon (1842m). Anon (1842p), in the *Medical Times* of 19 February, is an edited version of Anon (1842m); despite it commencing "on Thursday evening last", it is a report on Catlow's first lecture on 3 February, and it is not the second, delivered on 17 February (i.e., the Thursday immediately preceding 19 February).

necessary, until they were 'somnolent'.⁵

(4) *Hearing*: stopping the subject's ears with his fingers.

(5) *Smell*: repeatedly applying a strong smelling substance (such as *oil of lemon*) alternately to each of the subject's nostrils, etc.

Catlow also demonstrated 'induction by articulation': a subject repeated specific words or phrases, whilst Catlow beat time with a stick. One subject was asked to repeat the word "cup"; it took "456 monosyllabic utterances... [before] all was silent [and] the boy was asleep" (Anon, 1842m).⁶ "[Catlow's] subjects either awoke of themselves, or were roused by a pinch of the hand" (1842m). Overall, Catlow's demonstrations were a little 'contaminated'; because almost all his subjects had been previously operated on by Braid's method or Lafontaine's (or, in many cases, both).⁷

Barrallier's further correspondence

After reading of Catlow's first demonstrations,⁸ Barrallier wrote a third letter:

In Mr. Catlow's experiments, the boy Green was, in the first instance, operated on by means of a cork, afterwards he could be put to sleep by rubbing a shaving-brush over his forehead several minutes — another had been magnetised by M. Lafontaine: doubtless all Mr. Catlow's subjects had the latent susceptibility developed, in the first instance, by Mr. Braid's method.

Any candid and impartial observer can only perceive in Mr. Catlow's experiments a confirmation and extension of Mr. Braid's.

It appears clear, then, that had not Mr. Braid discovered a method by which the latent magnetic susceptibility can be brought into active play, Mr. Catlow and others might have rubbed a shaving-brush over any one's forehead (excepting a few peculiarly susceptible magnetic subjects) indefinitely, without producing any effects.

If Mr. Catlow were aware of the practicable merits of his plan years

⁵ Either a "drop" or a "lozenge". Catlow spoke of using the subject's "favourite *dulcifier* and *soporiser*" (*dulcifier* = 'sweetener', and *soporiser* = 'sleep inducer'). The reporter noted that sugar candy was the favourite of one subject, and "acid drops" the favourite of the rest (1842m).

⁶ In his second lecture, Catlow spoke of how he had made a subject "talk himself asleep". He had him say "sleep" 45 times, in the hope that, "by habituating him", he could, later, "put him asleep", by "pronouncing the word once" (Anon, 1842q) — in part, this seems to be an analogue of the modern use of post-hypnotic "trigger words" to facilitate future rapid inductions.

⁷ In most, although not all of these cases, Braid's method or Lafontaine's method had been applied to the subject by Catlow himself.

⁸ It seems he had read the account in the *Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1842m). Barrallier lived 200 miles from Manchester; so, it is unlikely he had seen Catlow in person.

ago, why did he not, prior to Mr. Braid, practically illustrate his method? The answer doubtless is, that unless first monotonised, neither Mr. Catlow's discoveries (I hardly like to call these facts discoveries), nor those of any other person, would be, in practice, effective.

J.L. Barrallier, *The Medical Times*, 5 February 1842.⁹

Assuring the editor he was "an entire stranger to Mr. Braid" Barrallier concluded with the following heart-felt tribute:

Mr. Braid has sacrificed a deal of time and money in maturing his discoveries, and honourably and without reserve disclosed all to the profession.

As a slight return the profession might present a suitable acknowledgment, in the shape of a piece of plate.

In Manchester the profession numbers near three hundred; a subscription commenced there, would no doubt be responded to elsewhere: there is no necessity for its being confined to the profession.¹⁰

A week later, Barrallier gave a detailed account of experiments which proved that Catlow's 'effects' were the consequence of them having been previously "monotonised" by Braid's method, that there was no foundation for Catlow's claims, and that his *soporific machine* would contribute nothing of value.

To the Editor of the 'Medical Times'

SIR,— Will you have the goodness to accord the following communication a corner in your valuable periodical? I will confine myself as near as possible to a detail of a series of "monotonistical" experiments, tending to show that I and others have been premature in regard to the results of magnetism and monotonism.—I remain, Sir, your most obliged

J. L. BARRALLIER

Milford, Feb. 12, 1842.

Experiments on Miss—, No. 1, on Saturday Eve, February 12, 1842.

1. I rubbed a small-sized paintbrush over the forehead; in two minutes she became somnolent with as great rigidity of muscle as at any former experiment.
2. I rubbed the same brush over the back of the hand, the latter lying on the table. In this and the succeeding experiments, one minute only elapsed before the monotonistic state ensued, except a longer time be mentioned.
3. A small bottle containing [oil of cinnamon] was given her to smell at. She held the bottle herself; succeeded.
4. I stopped both ears with my index fingers; successful.
5. I took hold of her right thumb; successful.
6. She placed the back of her hand on a table; I touched the palm of the same hand at intervals of a second or less with my index finger; successful.
7. A small strip of lead was given her to hold with the thumb and index finger; successful.
8. A shilling was placed on the palm of the hand, the latter being extended; non-successful.

⁹ Barrallier (1842c); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹⁰ Barrallier (1842c); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

9. A piece of [gilded] lead was similarly placed; successful.
10. A half sovereign in the same way; successful.
11. The shilling again repeated; successful in *three minutes*.
12. Requested to sit still and only close the eyes; successful.
13. Requested to sit still, extend the hand, and keep both eyes open, and refrain from keeping them fixed in any one position; successful.

Experiments on M. T., No. 2, who had been only twice "monotonised", but hitherto could not be "magnetised".

1. I made "mesmeric" passes close to the face for five minutes; unsuccessful.
2. Rubbed the paint-brush over the forehead; unsuccessful.
3. Gave her the [oil of cinnamon] to smell at; unsuccessful.
4. Requested her to fix both eyes on the ceiling, according to Mr. Braid's directions; *monotonised* in two minutes.
5. After having been *monotonised* three times, she was affected in one minute or less, by all the experiments as severally tried on No. 1.

Experiments on J. T., No. 3. She had neither been "magnetised" nor "monotonised" since the 22nd of last December.

1. She was requested to sit down and extend one hand, but not to look at it; to resist as far as she could, and keep both eyes in motion; in one minute she was affected.
2. No. 2 was magnetised. No. 3 took hold of her hand and she became affected.
3. All the experiments tried on No. 1 were successfully repeated on No. 3. In fact, she became affected on my making "mesmeric" passes before any of the other two.

Miss—, No. 1, had not read or been told the results of Mr. Catlow's experiments, and ridiculed the idea of being affected by the application of the paint-brush, or smelling at the [oil of cinnamon], and felt assured that experiments Nos. 7, 8, 11, and especially 12 and 13, could not possibly produce any effect.

Nos. 2 and 3 were two female domestic servants, sisters, and were ignorant even as to the possibility of being affected in any way, as well as what that effect might be, on the first attempt to *monotonise* or magnetise either.

The experiments on No. 2 show that in the first instance she could not be "magnetised" until she had been several times *monotonised*, as well as that she could not be affected by acting on the four senses until the latter process had been repeated several times. The *finalé* proves, that after "*monotonism*" has been produced a sufficient number of times, that magnetic passes, acting on the *five* senses, including lollipop-sucking, are one and all, if not humbug, assuredly most perfectly useless, and satisfactorily to *me* explains M. Lafontaine's assertion, that the chair on which one of his magnetised patients had been occupying for an hour or thereabouts, would, on the patient being demesmerised, become affected by again resuming the same chair. I am mistaken if the above experiments will not throw a little light as to the way in which Dr. Elliotson was imposed upon by two imbecile, though designing girls.

Mr. Catlow did not give Mr. Braid credit. Credit for what? Can Mr. Catlow for one moment be serious in asserting that he has devoted his entire life to the development of certain facts? Does he believe that his experiments are independent of those discovered by Mr. Braid? Can he for one moment believe that his experiments were the result of sticking his fingers in Tony Green's ears? Had the scent been applied to Tony's ears instead of his nose, the same effects would have been produced: when, in fact, after the susceptibility has been fairly developed by "monotonism", according to Mr. Braid's plan, the same state, the same insensibility to pain, stimulants, &c., accompanied with more muscular rigidity, is produced, apparently without any obvious cause, if we except that of telling the individual to become "monotonised". The increased susceptibility and greater muscular rigidity is attributable to the subjects being so often affected.

The foregoing will explain my former assertion, true to a certain extent, that a fixed stare is not necessary to produce rapid effects. The first attempts to "monotonise" are with difficulty produced if the patient cannot attend to the simple directions of Mr. Braid.

The soporific machine will now be estimated at its proper value. The thanks of the profession and something more are due to Mr. Braid for disclosing his ingenious discoveries to the profession without any soporific reserve. The value of Mr. Catlow's discoveries may be estimated, inasmuch as all his subjects had first either been "monotonised" by the cork, or magnetised by Lafontaine. I hope Mr. Braid will confirm my experiments, as his own female cook appears a very eligible subject. In fact, all that I have stated has been confirmed by Mr. Braid's experiment on his man-servant, who became monotonised when his eyes were bandaged. That fact did not strike me until after my sixth experiment on my deaf mute patient. I attributed that to the effects of the imagination, which farther experiments then strengthened.

Fig.70. J.L. Barrallier, *The Medical Times*, 26 February 1842.¹¹

Braid strongly supported Barrallier's view:

The remarks of your talented correspondent, Mr. Barrallier, relative to Mr. Catlow's experiments, are quite in accordance with my own views.

I had made experiments to prove this, and had come to the same conclusion as Mr. Barrallier before I was aware of his experiments, and have confirmed them many times since on different subjects.

Mr. C.'s cases on the sense of hearing, touch, taste, smelling, and muscular motion, were nothing beyond natural sleep, at any rate totally different from *mesmeric* sleep, *unless in those cases where the patients had been repeatedly operated on in my way, or through the eye.*

After a certain time, and frequency of being operated on in this way, the brain has an impressibility stamped on it which renders the patient subject to be acted on entirely through the *imagination*, and this is the grand source of the fallacy which has misled Mr. C. and the animal magnetisers.

I feel most confident of this, and shall feel obliged by your publishing this letter to record what I believe to be the fact.

James Braid, *The Medical Times*, 12 March 1842.¹²

¹¹ Barrallier (1842d).

¹² This is the text of part of Braid's letter published in the *Medical Times* of 12 March (1842f, p.283), and amended by the erratum published in the 26 March issue (1842f, p.308); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

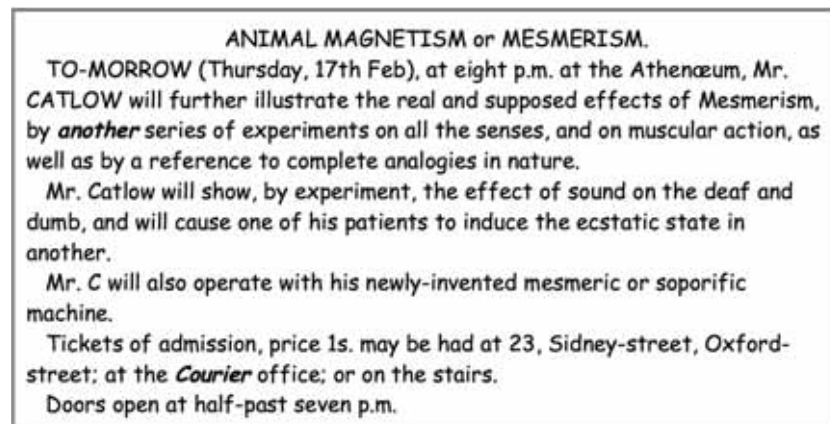
Catlow's second lecture

Fig.71. Catlow's second lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 February 1842.¹³

At his second lecture, Catlow outlined his 'theory', and presented the same demonstrations. He also conducted some remarkable additional experiments (Anon, 1842m). He asked a subject to fix his "*mental attention*", but *not* his gaze, on his (Catlow's) finger.¹⁴ Despite the subject's effort, Catlow said, his eyes would soon "turn towards the object on which his attention was fixed". This is precisely what occurred.

Braid said that he, too, "produced somnambulism by getting a person to look side-ways at an object; and in such cases the patient, when mesmerised, always turned towards the object at which he squinted before". Catlow sat behind his subject, asking him to "*imagine*" that he (Catlow) was pointing his finger at his eyes. During this time, *Catlow spoke frequently to him*, and he was 'somnolent' and 'cataleptiform' in 8 minutes. After 'restoration', Catlow said that the subject was so "susceptible" that, earlier on, his 'imagining' had produced such a strong *after-image* of Catlow's finger that he "could not believe that Mr. Catlow had not been pointing at him" (Anon, 1842m). Catlow also demonstrated how 'magnetised water' and 'magnetised coins' could produce "mesmeric effects" through the sense of "feeling" and the compound action of "muscular action and feeling" respectively.

¹³ Catlow (1842b). The *Guardian's* account of the lecture is at Anon (1842l).

¹⁴ Braid would have immediately recognized this activity of the subject turning his "*mental attention*" to his finger, as being identical to Thomas Brown's notion of a "suggesting idea" *per medium* of the idiosyncratic "suggestive principle" being converted to an activity by the "suggested idea"; and, in fact, Catlow's demonstration was an ideal example of the "dominant idea" principle that Braid would later expound.

Catlow introduced a new subject, a deaf and dumb female aged 32, and mesmerized her, using his newly invented “soporific machine”:¹⁵

This instrument, which is wound up like a clock, was placed on the patient’s stomach; and, when allowed to run down, it made a rattling noise, resembling, in some respects, that produced by a watchman’s rattle.

The sense of hearing was powerfully acted upon by means of two brass cups, which covered the patient’s ears, and were attached to the sides of the instrument by metallic rods.

The rattling was thus brought to bear with concentrated force on the organs of hearing; and, in less than a minute, the patient was asleep.

While in this state, she uttered several involuntary ejaculations.

[Catlow], having observed that the sense of hearing was never completely lost in any individual during life, stated, that this patient was peculiarly susceptible of impressions produced on her in this way.

She could not sleep properly in consequence of a deficiency of sound; and he was persuaded, that her hearing, and also her general health and intellect, would be materially improved by the daily repetition of the experiment.—(Cheers.)¹⁶

On 23 February, Catlow announced that a third lecture was imminent:

ANIMAL MAGNETISM or MESMERISM.
Mr. CATLOW will, during the ensuing week, further illustrate the Real and
Supposed Effects of Mesmerism, in a third Series of Experiments on all the
Senses, and on Muscular Action.

Fig.72. Catlow’s Announcement, *The Manchester Guardian*, 23 February 1842.¹⁷

Braid’s London Lectures

The *Times*’ notice, announcing Braid’s forthcoming London lectures is, most likely, the first time that the term “*neurohypnology*” ever appeared in print.

¹⁵ An exhaustive search within Woodcroft’s *Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions from March 2, 1617 to October 1, 1852* (1854) indicates that neither Catlow nor anyone else made any attempt, at any time, to patent this device.

¹⁶ Anon (1842m); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹⁷ Catlow (1842c).

NEUROHYPNOLOGY; or, The Rationale of Nervous Sleep.— Hanover-square Rooms and the London Tavern.— Mr. JAMES BRAID, surgeon, of Manchester, the discoverer of the system which refers the phenomena popularly attributed to mesmerism or animal magnetism to physical and anatomical principles, intends to deliver TWO LECTURES, explanatory and illustrative of his theory, in the metropolis. On these occasions, male adults, born deaf and dumb, and who have been restored to permanent hearing by Mr. Braid's mode of treatment, will be introduced to the audience. The application of Mr. Braid's system to the cure of various diseases will be explained, as well as a plan for producing refreshing sleep without the use of opiates. Each lecture will be illustrated by various experiments, on different subjects of both sexes. The Lectures will be delivered at the Hanover-square Rooms, on Tuesday, March 1 at 2 o'clock; and at the London Tavern, on Wednesday evening, 8 o'clock. Tickets, 3s. 6d., may be obtained at the Hanover Rooms, or the London Tavern.

Fig.73. Braid's London lectures, *The Times*, 28 February 1842.¹⁸

Braid gave the same lectures and displays on the Tuesday afternoon and the Wednesday evening.¹⁹ The following is a reporter's summary of his lecture:

[Neurohypnology] is but another name for the much-disputed science, if it maybe so termed, of Mesmerism. In the introductory part of his discourse, Mr. Braid assigned, as his reasoning for adopting the novel title of Neurohypnology, that the system is founded altogether upon nervous action, consequent upon a peculiar state of the brain and spinal column.

To produce the sort of cataleptic condition in which the patient is said to be mesmerised, Mr. Braid asserts that it is only necessary that the attention should be fixed upon some particular object, and confined strictly to it.

That the powers of the brain become wearied with the object upon which the mind is compelled to dwell for a short space, and that the optic nerve becoming similarly tired by the fixing of the eyes in an upward squint, or by merely setting them unmovedly upon any object above the head, produces additional weariness, and finally partial congestion of the brain.

The patient then becomes at first so sensitive that the slightest touch is painful, and the least noise intolerable. In fact, Mr. Braid asserts that the powers of all the senses are increased twelve-fold. As the effect proceeds, the senses become diminished, whilst the pulse increases, until total insensibility, accompanied by a pulse so rapid that it can scarcely be counted, is produced.

The system, as explained by [Braid], differs in no respect from Mesmerism, except that he does not pretend to have any special power over his patients in the production of the cataleptic state.

The uses of the science, supposing it to be brought to perfection would be to deaden all sensation during painful operations, to cure

¹⁸ Braid (1842f).

¹⁹ The following is based on Anon (1842t), Anon (1842w), and Anon (1842y). No account of the lectures appeared in *The Times* (or *The Lancet*). Braid's account is at Braid (1842f, p.283). Anon (1842w) has the text of Anon (1842t) plus extra information relating to Braid's private *conversazione* on 1 March. Anon (1842v) is a slightly condensed version of Anon (1842t).

deafness and dumbness, and to produce sleep at will.

The Manchester Times, 5 March 1842.²⁰

Braid performed experiments with his cook, manservant, the two deaf boys, and a female subject of Duncan's (who could walk about the platform, kneel at Braid's request, and identify objects held in front of her eyes). Braid worked with another female subject who, having shown most of the effects the others displayed, finished by singing, "Off, Off, Says the Stranger!" (Anon, 1842y).²¹

Braid also held an exclusive private *conversazione* on the Tuesday evening for medical colleagues.²² He briefly described his theory to them, and was about to operate with his own subjects, when it was suggested that it would be far more persuasive if he demonstrated on strangers. Braid agreed. A man (aged 32), deaf and dumb since birth, volunteered. Within 8 minutes, Braid "[had] evinced to all present the most incontestible proof of hearing being restored". Having demonstrated a range of phenomena on one of his own subjects *and* a stranger, he operated on Herbert Mayo, Esq.[‡] (whom he had never seen before). He then displayed a wide range of "mental and corporeal" phenomena with his own subjects; and, finally, operated on 18 volunteers. Within 10 minutes, all except two (who did not follow his instructions) were 'somnolent', and most were 'cataleptic', and 'insensible to pain'. Their 'insensibility' was tested by Braid, Mayo, and Dr. Billing.[‡] Braid was confident he had demonstrated that:

there is a law of the animal economy by which a continued fixation of the visual organ, and a constrained attention of the mind to one subject, which is not of itself of an exciting nature, the patient rather favouring than resisting the feeling of stupor he will soon experience creeping over him; a state of somnolency is induced, with a peculiar mobility of the whole system, which may be directed so as to exhibit the whole or greater part of the mesmeric phenomena.

James Braid, *The Medical Times*, 12 March 1842.²³

Mayo wrote to Braid on 8 and 9 March.²⁴ In his second letter he declared that

²⁰ Anon (1842w); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

²¹ "Off, Off, Says the Stranger!"; a poem by Agnes Mahony, published in Mahony (1825).

²² Braid (1842f, p.283).

²³ This is part of Braid's letter published in the *Medical Times* of 12 March (Braid, 1842f, p.283), as amended by the erratum published in the 26 March issue (Braid, 1842f, p.308).

²⁴ Mayo gave Braid permission to publish his correspondence, on the sole condition that he published the whole text. Braid published the two letters (Mayo, 1842a, 1842b) in *The Manchester*

Braid's method, which "[allowed one] in five minutes to throw susceptible persons into the trance", was a "great practical step". The first letter thanked Braid for his lecture, public demonstrations, and private conversations.

Mayo was certain that Braid had produced the same "condition of the nervous system [as] the mesmerisers"; which, Mayo said, should be designated with the term that he (Mayo) had coined, "*exoneural trance*".²⁵ Whilst greatly impressed by the techniques and practical applications that Braid had demonstrated, he also knew that, like the magnetic compass, despite its widespread beneficial usage, it could take many centuries before an adequate explanation for Braid's 'effects' eventually emerged. Mayo also observed that,

the extent to which you and others have already shown, that certain nervous disorders may be put an end to, or mitigated, by inducing the exoneural state artificially, enable one confidently to hope, that we shall soon be in possession of new and compendious means of benefiting this class of maladies more effectually than our art has hitherto accomplished.

The same cures which you effect have, indeed, before been made by the ordinary process of mesmerising; but that process is so extremely tedious, occupying for the first sittings in general from half to three-quarters of an hour, as, joined to the uncertainty of producing any effect after all, practically to wear out the patience of experimenters, and to prevent the method advancing, either as a subject of inquiry, or its being brought into general use as a curative means.

It took up too much time.

What you appear to have done is to have found out a method, by which, in five minutes, the susceptibility of any given individual towards the exoneural trance may be determined (or, at all events, by the repetition of the same brief process, a few successive days).

The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, 16 March 1842.²⁶

Guardian of 16 March 1842. Only the first was re-printed in in the *Medical Times* of 2 April 1842.

²⁵ *Exoneural*, a term coined by Mayo (1838a), means 'phenomena of the mind', (lit., 'operating outside the nerves'), in contrast, Mayo said, to *esoneural*, 'phenomena of the nervous system', (lit. 'operating within the nerves').

Mayo said that the term *exoneurism* denoted two sorts of phenomena: (a) "the change produced in the nervous system of a living being by a peculiar influence *from without*, or (looking to the cause instead of to the effect) the action of the nervous influence of a living being *beyond* the limits of its frame", and (b) "the action of the mental principle independently of or *without* its usual organs".

²⁶ Mayo, (1842a), reprinted in the *Medical Times* of 2 April 1842; the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Catlow's third lecture

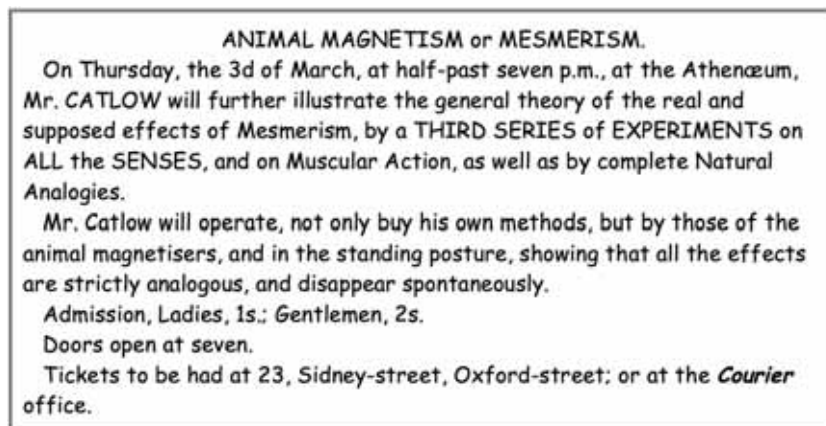


Fig.74. Catlow's third lecture, *Manchester Guardian*, 26 February 1842.²⁷

Braid was not at Catlow's third lecture; But Braid's friend and colleague, Captain Brown, *did* attend.²⁸ The lecture was essentially the same as before. Having no real success with his first subject, Catlow operated on the second with his *soporific machine*:

[His second subject was] subjected to the action of the soporific machine, which, by means of an escapement, produced a vibrating noise, communicated to his ears by two brass cups affixed to the instrument.

The vibration also caused the waving before his eyes of a small address card, so as to produce a slight fanning; and, at the same time, alternate light and shadow.²⁹

With his fists clenched, to induce monotonous muscular action, sugar candy to monotonise his taste, a bottle of oil of lemons suspended at his nostrils to overcome the sense of smell, and Mr. Catlow gently brushing his forehead to affect the sense of touch, the lad sunk to sleep; monotonous thus assailing and wearying every sense.

The Manchester Guardian, 9 March 1842.³⁰

A series of heated arguments arose between Catlow and Captain Brown. Brown stated that, in his view, in every case, Catlow's procedures had induced a natural, rather than mesmeric 'sleep' and that, Catlow had not, even in a single case, produced the rigidity of limbs that characterized true 'catalepsy'.

²⁷ Catlow (1842d). The *Guardian's* account of the lecture is at Anon (1842x).

²⁸ Having already lectured in London on the Tuesday afternoon, and Wednesday evening, Braid was in Birmingham on this Thursday evening, delivering a lecture there (Braid, 1842f).

²⁹ The newspaper account of the first public appearance of the *soporific machine* on 17 February (Anon, 1842m) does not mention any "small address card". Therefore, it must have been an innovative addition to the mechanism of his original machine, developed in the interim.

³⁰ Anon (1842x); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Catlow's reply was odd, in that it spoke past Brown's criticism, rather than addressing it: Catlow said that, to him, "the dispute as between natural and mesmeric sleep appeared to have no basis whatever", because he (Catlow) "believed there was no sleep in nature but natural sleep; that every mode of sleep of a living being was natural, under whatever circumstances produced, all the difference was in the circumstances inducing it" (Anon, 1842x). In another demonstration,

[Catlow's subject] was monotonised by passing a common horse-shoe magnet gently up and down his arm.

He fell asleep, his hands being clasped together; and by rubbing gently down the fingers and knuckles of each hand, Mr Catlow succeeded in separating them, the boy remaining asleep.

The Manchester Guardian, 9 March 1842.³¹

Towards the end of the evening Catlow made a most provocative assertion about Braid and his method:

Mr. Catlow said...

it was his intention to show that *it was by chance observation, rather than induction, that Mr. Braid had got first to the stare, and then to closing the eye; he had literally taken these leaps, omitting the intermediate points.*

Of course, if a man stared, the fixing the eye universally occurred before sleep ensued.

If you make a man stare, he is almost certain afterwards to go to sleep.

If you make him close his eyes, he would do the same.

These were only parts of the natural induction of sleep; but there were individuals who could not go to sleep with their eyes shut at all, but only while the eyes were open.

The Manchester Guardian, 9 March 1842 (emphasis added).³²

Braid's First March Lecture in Manchester

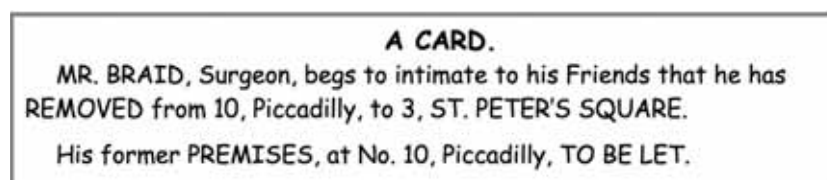


Fig.75. Braid's move to St. Peter's Square, *Manchester Times*, 5 March 1842.³³

In early March 1842, the Braid family moved from 10 Piccadilly to 3 St. Peter's Square (1842eb): "The houses in this square, which were built around St. Peter's

³¹ Anon (1842x); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³² Anon (1842x); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³³ Braid (1842d).

Church, were very elegant, and this change of address seems to reflect [Braid's] increased prosperity at this time" (Wink, 1969, p.95).

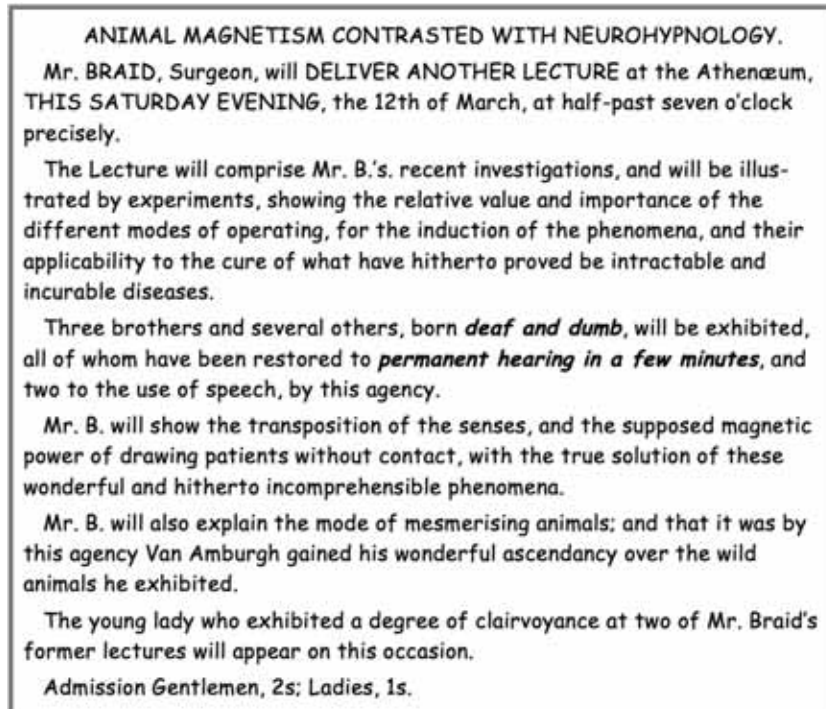


Fig.76. Braid's first Manchester (March) lecture, *Manchester Guardian*, 9 March 1842.³⁴

Braid's next lecture, "on animal magnetism contrasted with *neurohypnology*",³⁵ which was originally planned for Thursday 10th March (Braid, 1842c), was later moved to the Saturday. Braid had a good audience.³⁶ In his preamble, Braid said he would describe his early research, his theoretical development since his last lecture, and would identify numerous "sources of fallacy" that had been misleading other researchers. He would also display several useful applications of *neurohypnotism* "in the cure of hitherto intractable or incurable diseases". Given the "circumstances" that had prompted his earlier discoveries and later experiments, "[he] had every reason to consider his [conclusions] correct, as their accuracy might at any time be verified by experiment". Thus, the audience "[could evaluate] the justice and value of the statement made in his absence [by Catlow], that [his (Braid's) discovery] was made by chance observation, rather

³⁴ Braid (1842c).

³⁵ In his introduction, the reporter noted that Braid's term *neurohypnology* was "constructed from the Greek words, *νευρον* (nerve), *πνοζ* (sleep), and *λογος* (discourse or *rationale*)" (Anon, 1842z). It is significant that the Greek words appeared in the newspaper, in the Greek alphabet, without any English equivalent spelling being given to the *Manchester Guardian's* readers.

³⁶ Unless otherwise indicated, everything in this section is taken from Anon (1842z).

than induction, that he [Braid] got first to the stare, and then to the closing of the eye; and that he [Braid] had "literally taken these leaps, omitting the intermediate points". As [Catlow] had the same chance as himself of observing the fact referred to, he (Mr. Braid) might ask, why did not [Catlow] take these leaps himself?".

Braid began his lecture by stating that,³⁷ from Catlow's position that there was "no sleep but natural sleep", it really seemed Catlow could not distinguish between 'common sleep' and other forms of 'sleep' (e.g., due to stroke, opium, narcotic drugs, or alcohol ingestion); or, alternately, Catlow must have a very "strange conception" of "analogy and "ideality". On the basis of experiments that he had made since attending Catlow's first lecture, Braid was convinced that, except where a subject had been previously operated upon with Braid's or the magnetizer's methods, everything that Catlow produced was just 'sleep'.

His (Braid's) procedure, while not yet adequately explained, he said, brought uniform, efficacious and beneficial results in all subjects, and this proved that certain mesmeric 'effects' were "real", and not due to collusion or delusion; and, so, weren't "humbug" at all. His method produced phenomena independently of "magnetic fluid or medium"; thus, the magnetist's doctrine was clearly "a gratuitous assumption, unsupported by fact". And, although his phenomena were independent of imagination, sympathy, or imitation, those agencies could, in many cases, *heighten the effects* of his method.

There was a clear need for a distinctive name, he said; and, "[given that] sleep [was] the most constant attendant and natural analogy to the primary phenomena of Mesmerism" Braid had "adopted" *neurohypnology*,³⁸ "the rationale or doctrine of nervous sleep", with "the prefix "nervous" distinguishing it from natural sleep".³⁹ And, from this, he had further extended his terminology such

³⁷ See *Appendix Six* for the entire text of Braid's lecture.

³⁸ The distinction, between "adopted" and "coined", is highly significant. Braid's statement "I have adopted the term *neurohypnology*" (not "I have coined the term *neurohypnology*") strongly indicates that he took the word, more or less unaltered, from a foreign language, as a loan word. (See Gravitz and Gerton (1984) for more information about the French magnetists' uses of a considerable number of words with the *hypn*- prefix prior to 1842).

³⁹ Braid is emphatically stipulating that "sleep" is a metaphor that must *never* be reified; reification (lit., 'thing-ifying') being the process of treating something abstract as if it were real.

that (a) *hypnotism* would now stand in place of magnetism/mesmerism, and (b) *hypnotised* would now stand in place of magnetized/mesmerized.⁴⁰

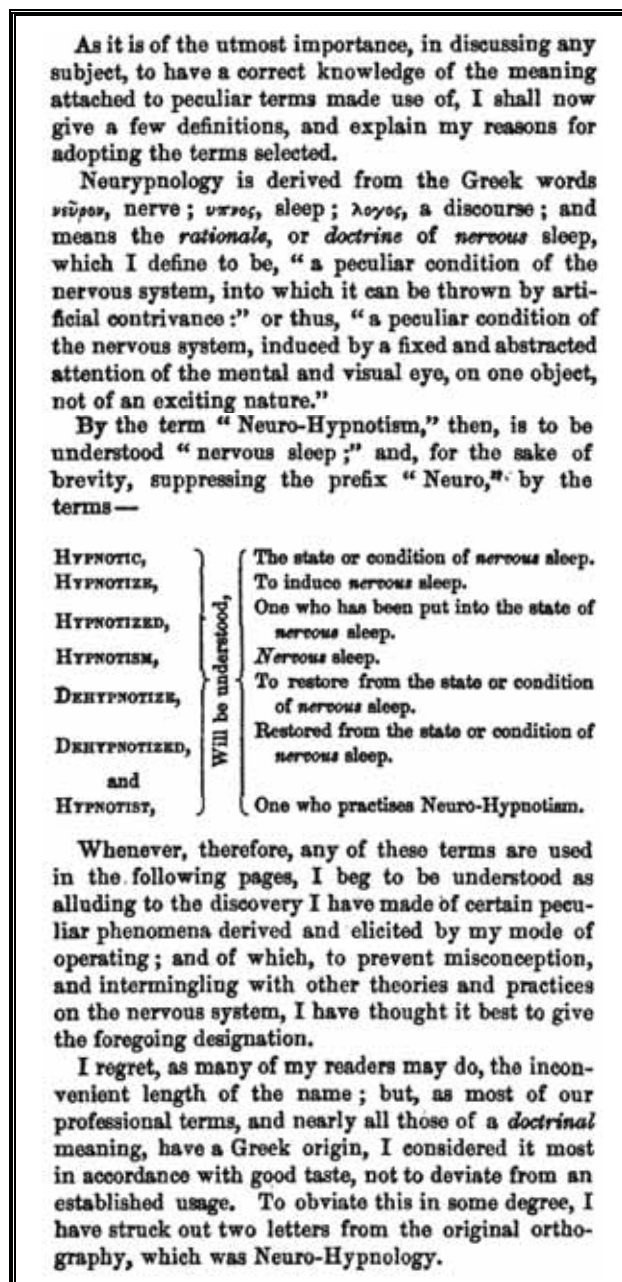


Fig.77. Terminological definitions — from the text of *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.12-13.

As Kihlstrom (1992, p.302) remarked, the insightful 'boundary work' that was performed by Braid in "bestowing a new name on certain phenomena he [had] encountered in his studies of animal magnetism and mesmerism ...was both a

⁴⁰ "There are only two other words I propose by way of innovation, and those are hypnotism for magnetism and mesmerism, and hypnotised for magnetised and mesmerized"; thus, by contrast with "adopted" ("I have adopted the term *neurohypnology*"), he uses "coined": "and, by way of innovation, rather than adoption, I have *coined* the terms *hypnotism* (for *magnetism* and *mesmerism*), and *hypnotised* (for *magnetised* and *mesmerised*)".

scientific and a political act"; and, moreover, it was designed to "[clearly and unambiguously] delineate a special domain of phenomena, communicate his understanding of their nature, to alter the perception of them by his colleagues and the public at large, and basically control the reception of his work".

Braid then spoke of his developing theoretical explanation, based on neurology and physiology, of just how "the fixed stare" and "the continued effort of the will, to rivet the attention to one idea", went on to produce 'somnolence' and "almost complete... docility and obedience". Also, despite the procedure rendering its subjects "both able and willing to comply with every proper request of those around him", it was also important to note that, "while consciousness lasts, [a subject's] judgment is sufficiently awake to enable [him] to refuse compliance with whatever he may consider particularly improper".

Braid then described a number of cases at considerable length, listing the sorts of condition, many of which had defied the very best medical intervention of the day, to which his methods had brought relief "from present suffering, or ulterior bad consequences"; and that, in his view, none of the results could be "attributed to mere chance, or the effects of imagination". It was not a universal remedy, he said, and none but "a professional man, well versed in anatomy, physiology, and pathology" should apply it. It was "such a powerful agency" he said; and, therefore, it was always "powerful either for good or for evil, according as it is managed and judiciously applied". He ended his lecture, emphatically stressing that all of the elicited phenomena were 'consecutive':

[First, an] increased sensibility and mobility, and after a certain point this merging into the most total insensibility and cataleptiform rigidity.

Experience has taught me, that different ideas occur to the minds of different individuals, and that it is quite a common occurrence for the tests for the opposite conditions to be requested by the company, to be exhibited at the same time.

This, of course, arises from them overlooking the fact that the different states (e.g. insensibility and exalted sensibility, or the cataleptiform state and increased mobility), are quite incompatible, and consequently that they cannot be exhibited at the same instant.

Although this is the case, after a certain period, by what is called mesmerising and demesmerising; the opposite states may be exhibited in very rapid succession, but still it must be in succession, and not at the same instant of time.

In applying tests of insensibility, I wish it to be especially borne in mind, that whilst the patients may be totally insensible of the inflictions

at the time, their consequences may be felt afterwards. Thus, a drunken man may be maimed and bruised, and his bones broken, without his evincing pain at the time; but the consequences will be felt when he becomes sober. On this ground, I shall object to use any test which I know would inflict a permanent injury on the patient.— (Applause.)

The Manchester Guardian, 16 March 1842.⁴¹

Before commencing his experiments, Braid said he had hypnotized 16 out of the 18 subjects in the *conversazione* he had conducted in London (the other two had not followed his instructions); and that, the subjects' "hearing in this state was about twelve times more acute than in the natural state".

His first experimental subject was his cook. She stood, held a finger in front of her eyes, and stared at it. Her eyes closed in less than 30 seconds. Braid demonstrated that her raised arm was now rigid, whilst her other arm, still by her side, "was perfectly limber". If he wanted to produce rigidity in a finger, he said, all he had to do was to place it a position, and "it would retain that position, and become stiff". Braid then had her sit, raise her legs to the horizontal, and keep them there; in a short time they were quite rigid. He then told the audience that, provided he could 'fix' their eyes, "he could hypnotise wild animals":

Indeed he had hypnotized two lions, two leopards, and a striped hyena, in the course of a few minutes — (laughter), — and the day before he hypnotised a parrot that annoyed him with its prating— (more laughter), — and the bird spoke no more for six hours.⁴²

Braid hypnotized a young deaf and dumb man using his silver lancet case. A second deaf and dumb subject appeared, whom Braid had not seen until three days before; and "had never heard any thing in his life, save once or twice the scraping of a violin laid against his head (which in fact was felt rather than heard)". Both subjects' eyes were soon closed, their arms raised, and legs horizontal. Braid demonstrated the strength of their catalepsy:

These limbs they raised themselves on Mr. Braid tapping them with his finger. The legs of both were shown to be so rigid, that by pressing the ankles it would have been possible to force the subject off the chair, where his position may be described by the letter L.⁴³

Despite her total insensibility to the pricking, Braid said, "the sensibility of

⁴¹ Anon (1842z).

⁴² *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 March 1842 (Anon, 1842z).

⁴³ *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 March 1842 (Anon, 1842z).

[cook's] skin was so exceedingly exalted, that a broad and sudden impression would instantly reduce the rigidity [she now manifested]".

The second deaf and dumb subject, after his face became flushed and turgid, was awaked by Mr. Braid dragging him suddenly by the arm. He repeated "go" and "no" after Mr. Braid, and showed his great delight in listening to a musical box pressed against his ear, and some of the notes of which he could even hear when the box was an inch or two distant.⁴⁴

Braid woke the first deaf and dumb boy by fanning with a paddle; but, even though he removed the cook's catalepsy by fanning her, she remained asleep:

Braid adverted to one instance where she was hypnotised lying down, and said that she slept upwards of three hours, her limbs being all the while perfectly limber, and the pulse considerably *below* the natural state the whole time; and that important difference was caused by the simple circumstances resulting from the position of the eyes for relaxing or contracting the pupil.

She was then electro-magnetised, the currents shaking her arms violently, but no effect was produced on her face; nor did she appear at all sensible of the effect.

He said she had been tested with ammonia and snuff in London, one person having blown snuff up her nostrils. Fanning her knees and feet with the [paddle], the limbs gradually sunk down, and he said the pulse fell with rapidity.

He then awoke her.⁴⁵

His next subjects were two young girls; and, standing on the platform, the eyes of both closed within 15 seconds. Braid then bandaged their eyes.

He held the mouth [of "a tulip-shaped tube of glass"] near the skin of one arm, and, drawing the tube rapidly away, caused currents of air to rush after it; and in this way the subjects were led to walk in any given direction. He also raised the arms by the same means.

This he exhibited as explanatory of what had been shown as animal-magnetic attraction, but which was solely due, he said, to the great docility and increased sensibility of the subject.

Using a glass funnel, he produced a still more decided effect, and, by drawing the air from parts of the fore-head, chin, and back of the neck, he led the subject to raise or depress her head, or to walk backward.

He added, that the hearing was so acute, that the subject could hear the wafting made through the air, by the sudden withdrawal of the instrument.

To any broad impression on the skin, one of those girls was as sensitive as the sensitive plant; but the pricking of a pin was another affair.

Mr. Braid next tried her powers in what he termed *clairvoyance*, by

⁴⁴ *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 March 1842 (Anon, 1842z).

⁴⁵ *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 March 1842 (Anon, 1842z); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

holding a glass tube, with a bulb at one end, close to her skin, at the back of the neck. At first, she said it was paper, and next that it was glass, and when asked its shape, when held lengthwise she said "**long**"; when the bulb was presented, she said "**round**".

Mr. Braid said, she felt the approach of a cold substance, in that exalted state of sensibility.

Mr. Walker, an intelligent gentleman, upon whom the experiment had been tried, told him distinctly that he could judge of the shape by the feeling. He believed, then, that the patients of the mesmerisers could feel the shapes of articles presented to them, and that in certain stages of the operation they could see through the eye-lids.

The tube was then held close to, but not touching, the crown of the head; the subject said it was long, and round and cold, and that she knew because she felt it. Another round glass tube she said was square; and Mr. Braid said, "No, you are quite mistaken there".

At his direction she knelt down; and he placed her in the attitude of prayer, and said he had no doubt that the Grecians got such beautiful sculptures by mesmerising their subjects of study, and then placing them in the desired position and attitude.

Though her hands were clasped, this subject rose, but with some caution; and Mr. Braid said he had never seen one of these waking somnambulists fall; they all seemed to have the power of poisoning themselves in great perfection.⁴⁶

The other sister's arms, being limber, were speedily rendered rigid by simply raising them; and he said the most remarkable thing was, that, however long this apparently uncomfortable position was maintained, no fatigue was afterwards felt from it.⁴⁷

His man-servant could not hold up his arms in that way more than two or three minutes when awake, and if he put his legs up also, his arms fell; but asleep he could preserve that position a very long time.

One of the sisters then, at the request of Mr. Braid, sang a verse of a song, "The Troubadour"; and he observed that there was always a little difficulty in getting out the first note.

One of those sisters, he said, had been labouring under a disease of the heart, previously to his operating on her; but, after the very first operation, this neuralgic affection of the heart went, as she was now very much improved in health.

The girls were then waked and dismissed.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Originally *flexibilitas cerea* (lit., 'waxen flexibility'), often called *cerea flexibilitas* in the U.S.A. This capacity to maintain limbs in the position they are placed is considered to be a sub-set of *catalepsy*. The implication is that, in this state, the subject's limb is 'waxen' because it can be easily manipulated, by an operator, into a particular configuration and it will remain precisely so until it is manipulated again into a different position. It is one of the attendant features of the condition known as *catatonic schizophrenia*.

⁴⁷ In his medical hypnotism text, Mason reports: "[it was the habit of] Rasputin, late of the Romanov Royal Court of Imperial Russia... to arrange a corridor of 'living statues' outside his chamber at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. These human statues stood in strange poses in which they could remain for hours on end, and all this was done, so it is claimed, by the production of cataleptic trance states in carefully selected hypnotic subjects" (1960, p.138).

⁴⁸ *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 March 1842 (Anon, 1842z); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Braid next demonstrated the improvement in hearing and articulation of sounds of the two younger Shelmerdine brothers.⁴⁹ He hypnotized both with his lancet case, and, then, de-hypnotized them by a loud clap of the hands. He next presented a middle-aged man, whom he had first seen on the preceding Wednesday, who had complained of “having been paralytic for nine months”: “the patient showed [the audience] by various motions of his limbs, waving the arms and raising the legs, that he had regained considerable muscular power”. He introduced a young woman, who had also presented on that Wednesday,

with a spasmodic affection of the hand;⁵⁰ the fingers were drawn up, and the face was also contorted.

A respectable surgeon had ordered blistering, a liniment, &c.

The pain became more severe in the course of the evening; and, as the surgeon was out, she was brought to him (Mr. Braid), when her hand was so much clenched that he found it impossible for him to move a finger.

He immediately hypnotised her, and in two minutes her hands unclenched, and the pain ceased.

He awoke this subject by blowing on her forehead.

The Manchester Guardian, 16 March 1842.⁵¹

Braid announced that Mr. Carbutt,[‡] a brother of Dr. Carbutt,[‡] was present, and could “speak to the effects of neurohypnology on his rheumatism”. Braid produced several subjects. One who was relieved of an attack of *tic-doloureux* in one treatment. Another, whose facial paralysis disappeared in one hypnotic treatment, “moved the muscles of the face to show the power and control he [now] had over them”. A labourer whom Braid had (conventionally) treated for a paralysis in his arms that had kept him from his work of pushing a wheelbarrow for 13 months (and, whilst able to return to work, still could not flex his wrists), and who had the power of flexibility restored when Braid hypnotized him, “swung his arm, and moved his hand, to show the power he had regained”. Another who presented a few days earlier with “the shaking palsy”,⁵²

⁴⁹ The eldest was absent, due to illness.

⁵⁰ The original has “the head”; from the context it seems that this is a typographical error.

⁵¹ Anon (1842z); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵² A term coined by surgeon and palaeontologist James Parkinson (1755-1824), M.R.C.S. in 1817 (see Parkinson, 1817). The term *Parkinson's Disease* was coined by Charcot, in Paris, in 1876. In the same way that almost none of the original cases described by Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866) in 1832 would be classified today as Hodgkin's Disease, this designation by Braid does

"[who] could not bend his arm at all, or hold it still for a moment". In a couple of hypnotic treatments, Braid restored his ability to bend and extend his arm; which he now ably demonstrated. Braid produced two brothers, one he had never seen before; the other, "an inveterate stammerer", he had only seen twice. The second answered questions without any stammer, and both were hypnotized using his lancet case. Braid demonstrated several 'effects' on his footman and on Mr. Walker. Then, an innovation:

Mr. Braid next placed a number of his subjects, *en rapport*,⁵³ as he called it — namely, a girl took hold of Mr. Walker's shirt; another took hold of a button on the footman's coat; and several other girls held by other's sashes or ringlets; and in this way, one after another, they were hypnotised. *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 March 1842.⁵⁴

Having hypnotized a girl by either touching the back of her head, or one side of her mouth with a glass tube,

Braid said she would not be sent to sleep if he put the tube on the other side of the mouth; and such was the result. He then directed her to look at, or think of, a particular curl, and she would soon be asleep; and her eyes soon closed. He said another curl (pointing it out) would not produce the effect; nor did it. In every case when successful, as the eyes closed, a deep sigh escaped the subject.

The Manchester Guardian, 16 March 1842.⁵⁵

Braid said that these 'effects' had been "produced by the subject in each case expecting a certain result" (c.f., Kirsch's '*response expectancy*'); and, moreover, that they were "the effects of imagination and docility united". He read Mayo's two letters to the audience (see above), and announced he would lecture again on Thursday, 24 March, where he hoped to display the same effects on animals.

On Thursday, 17 March, Braid wrote to the Editor of the *Medical Times*, describing his further experiments and theoretical development:

The supposed power of seeing with other parts of the body than the eyes, I consider, is a misnomer, so far as I have yet personally witnessed. It is quite certain, however, that patients can tell the shape of what is

not necessarily mean that, according to today's nosological conventions, his patient would be identified as having *Parkinson's Disease*.

⁵³ The magnetists' term. A subject is *en rapport* *with* another individual — the complete term (without the *ellipsis*) is *ce mettre en rapport* (lit., "in magnetic connexion with") — in precisely the same way a piece of iron is in magnetic connexion with a magnet.

⁵⁴ Anon (1842z).

⁵⁵ Anon (1842z).

held at an inch, or an inch and a half from the skin, on the back of the neck, crown of the head, arm, or hand, or other parts of the body, but it is from *feeling* they do so; the extremely exalted sensibility of the skin enabling them to discern the shape of the object so presented, from its tendency to emit or absorb [heat].

This, however, is not *sight*, but *feeling*.

In like manner, ... patients are drawn, or induced to obey the motions of the operator, not from any peculiar inherent magnetic power in him, but from their exalted state of feeling enabling them to discern the currents of air, which they advance to, or retire from, according to their direction.

This I clearly proved to-day to be the case, and that a patient could feel and obey the motion of a glass funnel passed through the air at a distance of *fifteen feet*.

To remove all sources of fallacy, as to the extent of influence exercised by the patient herself, independently of any personal or mental influence on my part, whilst I was otherwise engaged, my daughter requested the patient to go into a room by herself, and when alone, try whether she could hypnotise herself.

In a short time I was told the patient was found fast asleep on a chair in my drawing-room. I went to her, bandaged her eyes, and then, with the glass funnel, elevated, or drew up her arms, and then her whole body.

I now retired fifteen feet from her, and found every time I drew the funnel towards me, she approached nearer me, but when it was forced from me sharply, she invariably retired; and if it was moved laterally, she moved to the right or left accordingly.

I now continued drawing the funnel so as to keep up the currents towards the door, and in this way, her arms being extended, and eyes bandaged, she followed me down stairs and up again — a flight of twenty-two steps — with the peculiar characteristic caution of the somnambulist.

After arriving at the top of the stair, I allowed her to stand a little, and again began the drawing motion.

She evidently felt the motion, and attempted to come, but could not.

I now endeavoured to lead her by the hand, but found *the legs had become cataleptiform, so that she could not move*.

I carried her into the drawing-room, and after being seated on a chair awoke her.

She was quite unconscious of what had happened, and could not be made to believe she had been down stairs — said she was sure she could have done no such thing without falling — and to this moment believes we were only hoaxing her, by saying she had had such a ramble.

I had repeated this experiment with this patient and others before, with the same result in all respects but walking up and down stairs; and proved their readiness to be drawn by others equally as myself when in that state, so that I consider it quite evident to any unprejudiced person, that a patient can hypnotise himself independently of any personal influence of another; and that it is by extreme sensibility of the skin, and docility of the patients, they are drawn after an operator, rather than by magnetic attraction; and that the power of discriminating objects held

near the skin in different parts of the body, is the result *of feeling*, and not of *sight*.

I have been thus particular in noticing these points, because they may tend to remove the prejudice which must ever prevail against the introduction of this as a curative agency, whilst invested with so much mystery.

The moment I witnessed the attempts of a celebrated professor to *draw a patient*, I formed my opinion of the *cause*, that it arose from the currents of air produced by his hand, with the extreme sensibility of the skin, and docility of the patients when in that state; and my experiments have clearly proved this, *the patients acknowledging the fact...*

[to which he added the following postscript]

...whilst passing up and down the stairs the door-bell rang, which produced such a tremor through the whole frame, as nearly to have caused the patient to fall — a fact quite in accordance with the effect of any abrupt voice on natural somnambulists.

James Braid, *The Medical Times*, Wednesday, 26 March 1842.⁵⁶

Braid's Second March Lecture in Manchester

Braid's lecture, originally planned for 24 March at the Athenæum, was shifted to Thursday, 31 March at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution.

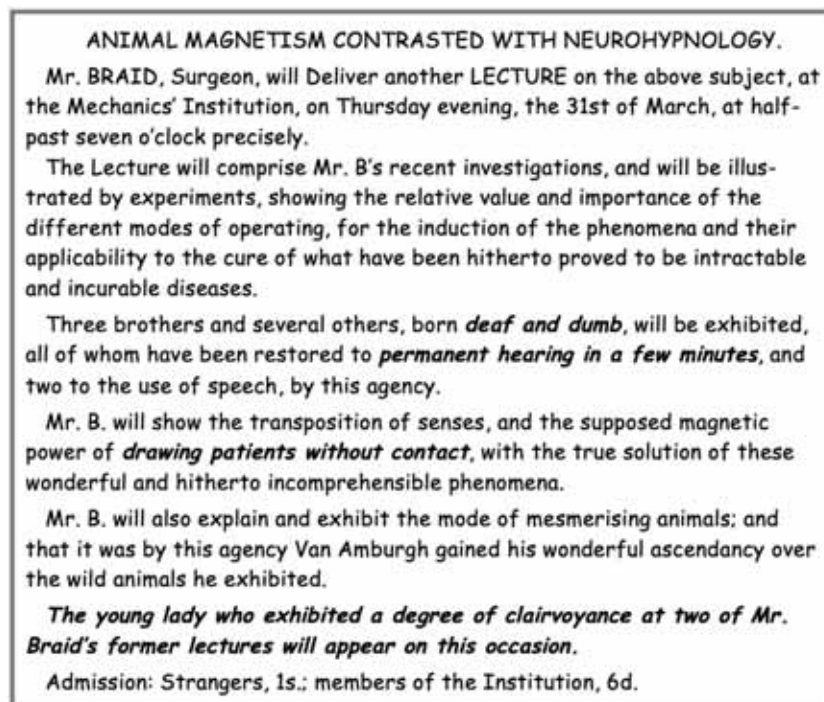


Fig.78. Braid's second Manchester (March) lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 March 1842.⁵⁷

By the time Braid took the stage,⁵⁸ there was a large audience.⁵⁹ Dr. Alexander

⁵⁶ Braid, (1842h); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵⁷ Braid, (1842i); note that the Mechanics' Institution's admission prices were half those that had been charged by the Athenæum.

⁵⁸ The advertisement for the lecture, in *The Manchester Times* of Saturday, 26 March 1842, is at

Munro, Captain Thomas Brown, Dr. Hibbert,⁵⁹ Mr. J.P. Catlow, and "several other medical men" attended the proceedings (Anon, 1842cc). The evening was remarkable for a matter that Braid raised in the second half of his presentation:

[Braid said he must address the "unfounded report" that had been] circulated about him, that he had driven a patient mad by this agency.

Now he would explain the ground on which the report was based.

A gentleman had one day bled himself very much, and had become extremely excited. Indeed, he was in a state of madness.

He (Mr. Braid) was sent for to [sic] him, and in order to give repose made use of this agency.

He only used this agency, however, for the purpose of inducing common sleep, which he effected, and left the patient in that state, requesting that he might be sent for again when the patient awoke.

When the patient awoke, however, his friends sent for another professional man, and the patient relapsing into a state of great excitement again, a report was circulated that it was caused entirely by means of his having been hypnotised.

Now he begged pardon for troubling the audience with this seemingly personal matter, but the fact was he did not consider it personal merely, or he should not have troubled them about it: but here was a valuable curative agency discovered, and he was anxious that the benefit which might be conferred on suffering humanity might not be checked by an unfounded prejudice.

He did not care about himself, but he was anxious that the valuable agency he had discovered should not be belied. (Applause.)

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 9 April 1842.⁶⁰

His lecture, lasting 45 minutes, was identical with that which he had delivered three weeks earlier, minus the references to Catlow.⁶¹ In his first demonstration, he hypnotised his footman using his lancet case. With a large sigh, the footman was 'somnolent' in seconds; and, at Braid's direction, he walked up and down, displaying great 'docility'. Yet, once the 'cataleptiform state' was attained, his muscles became so rigid, that no movement was possible. Braid removed and restored sensibility, and created and removed rigidity from various limbs. He used an artificial hand and a glass wand to ensure the absence of any sort of

Braid (1842i). Except where otherwise indicated, the following account is taken from *The Manchester Times* of Saturday, 2 April 1842 (Anon, 1842bb); note that particular, significant, additional information (for which there had been no room in the earlier account) was also supplied in *The Manchester Times* of Saturday, 9 April 1842 (Anon, 1842hh).

⁵⁹ "The meeting was very numerous and respectably attended. The lower part of the theatre was densely crowded, and a considerable portion of the gallery was occupied" (Anon, 1842cc).

⁶⁰ Anon (1842hh); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶¹ See *Appendix Six* for the text of that section of Braid's earlier lecture.

magnetism or personal contact:

[It] was made of glass, and a non-conductor, so that there could be no magnetic fluid passed from him to the patient, as was held by the (so-called) animal magnetisers.

It was true, while he was in London the animal magnetizers accounted for his extraordinary success, compared with their own, in rendering persons somnolent, that he had a great deal of the magnetic fluid in himself.⁶² (Laughter)⁶³

Braid demonstrated a wide range of insensibilities on his footman: to a voltaic battery, pins, ammonia, etc. After 16 minutes "in the hypnotic condition", Braid 'restored' him with a sudden stroke of the "artificial hand".

After [his footman] had walked a few paces... Mr. Braid called him back, placing him in the chair again, and desired him to elevate his legs.

He did so; and, although he was now awake, his legs became insensible, and so rigid that he had no power to bend them. *In this way, Mr. Braid observed, a patient might sit for an operation, and look on with indifference while a leg or an arm was amputated.* [emphasis added]

The passes made by Lafontaine, which he (Mr. Braid) at one time ridiculed, were very effective; and he now confessed that he was in error when speaking of them as mere by-play.

The sensibility of the subject was so exalted that the passes made over his limbs were felt like the trailing of a feather along the skin while in the natural state. *The Manchester Guardian*, 6 April 1842.⁶⁴

Braid was most anxious to disabuse his audience of the mistaken notion,

that this agency might be employed by the designing for indecent and improper purposes.

Now he would call in two girls differently educated, who being outside could not now know what were the experiments he was about to perform, and the audience should have an opportunity of judging for themselves.

Mr. Braid then sent for the patients.

One was a delicate neatly-dressed girl: the other evidently of coarser habits.

They were desired to gaze at an object raised before them, and in a very short time were somnolent.

They were both in a standing position, and could walk or do anything that was required, much the same as persons in the ordinary state of somnambulism.

Mr. Braid asked the girl we have last described to take off her shoe and stocking, and she stooped down instantly to commence the operation, but was stopped.

⁶² In particular, John Elliotson also made similar accusations at his meeting with Braid.

⁶³ *The Manchester Times*, 2 April 1842 (Anon, 1842t); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶⁴ Anon (1842cc); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

He then repeated the same request to the other, who hesitated as though unwilling, and when the request was repeated, positively refused.

She also refused to remove her hand-kerchief.⁶⁵

Mr. Braid remarked that this was just the difference which existed between the two girls in a natural state.

They had different notions of propriety when awake, and the fact of being hypnotized made not the slightest difference.

He exhibited this experiment not to show that this audience would make an immoral person more moral, because it would not, but to show that it would not have the contrary effect, and consequently was an agency which could not be used for an improper purpose.

The Manchester Times, 9 April 1842.⁶⁶

He read his (17 March) letter to the *Medical Times* (1842h; see above) to the audience, and produced the young female subject with whom he demonstrated the effects he had written about.⁶⁷ He went on to stress the importance of experiments upon animals:

As he had observed that it was a law of the animal economy, that the effects exhibited should follow the compliance with certain conditions, it was important that he should prove that to be the case by experimenting on inferior animals. It was in this way comparative anatomy had reached its present state of perfection. Indeed, all who had advanced the science of physiology in the slightest degree had done so by making experiments on the lower animals.

Having stated that he had mesmerized a lion, tiger, and leopard at the [Manchester] Zoological Gardens,⁶⁸ in the presence of Captain Brown and Mr. Looney,⁶⁹ a Scotch terrier was introduced; and placing him on his back, [Braid] made a few passes, *à Lafontaine*, before the eyes, in order to arrest the animal's attention, and in a few seconds [it] was cataleptic.

The Manchester Guardian, 6 April 1842.⁷⁰

He repeated the experiments he conducted with the young female subject with Mr. Walker, whom he had previously treated for a "nervous affection" with hypnotism. Mr. Walker displayed the same effects as the young woman. Braid then read the contents of third letter from Herbert Mayo; from which the

⁶⁵ Here, the term *handkerchief* is being applied in a, now, obsolete fashion to denote what would now be termed 'a *neckerchief*'.

⁶⁶ Anon (1842hh).

⁶⁷ It is not at all certain whether this young female was the same as that described in his letter.

⁶⁸ The Zoological Gardens was a business venture of a group of Manchester businessmen. It opened in 1838. The venture was a financial loss. The Gardens were permanently closed in 1842.

⁶⁹ At that time, Mr. Francis Looney, a natural historian, and an avid amateur geologist, was the Secretary of the Manchester Zoological Gardens.

⁷⁰ Anon (1842cc).

reporter extracted the following:⁷¹

You know what you observe of the pulse is very curious *and important to note*, but it does not make your phenomena different from those of common mesmerism.

If I were you, I would, in showing the phenomena, only show them well, and tell all you know of the way in which you produce them.

The mesmerists have done themselves a world of harm by talking about a fluid and all that, of which they know nothing, and of which jargon the public see the absurdity.

The mesmerists know no more than you what they do.

You may conjecture, and make sure indeed, that this and that condition, like the upturned eyes, favour the production of the trance. But you can really go no *further*, yet *accumulate* facts, *show* facts, *simplify and abbreviate your method*, *turn* it to practical account, *make use of it*, but do not try to explain *how it acts*.

I am sure I may venture to give you this advice.

I am only an observer of what is passing. You are one of the discoverers, and one whose labours will have most tended to the advancement of this curious subject.

The *trance* is the condition first obtained: during it some exhibit the higher phenomena; and it is by inducing it that good is done in nervous ailments. I really should apologize for presuming to suggest this to you. But a looker-on sometimes sees most of the game.

You, a discoverer, cannot see so clearly as others, that the subject is quite, *must be quite, in its infancy*, and that every attempt to explain, unless put as mere conjecture, only furnishes occasions for cavilling, and is sure to prove unsuccessful.

The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, 6 April 1842.⁷²

Braid produced a large number of patients who had gained benefit from his hypnotic interventions: “twelve or thirteen deaf mutes, three of them were females, were experimented upon [by Braid], nearly all of whom had obtained their healing in a greater or less degree, and one of whom could distinctly articulate a number of words as they were pronounced by [Braid]”. Braid then spoke of an “extraordinary case of cure” by hypnotism:

...a gentleman of the name of Collins, of Newark, had a daughter labouring under a severe spasmodic affection which drew her head down upon one shoulder, and she was incapable of moving it.

After submitting to the treatment of a medical man of high repute in their own neighbourhood, who adopted the most approved modes of treatment, she was sent with a written statement of her case, and the means which had been in vain adopted to relieve her, to Mr. Benjamin Brodie,[‡] London, but still she was not relieved.

Her father, at length, despairing of medical aid, had brought her to

⁷¹ There is no record of the entire contents of Mayo's letter extant.

⁷² Anon (1842cc); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

him (Mr. Braid) in order that neuro-hypnology might be tried; and he had the satisfaction of saying that she was relieved in the course of five minutes. (Applause)

It was gratifying now to state that she was [sic] gone home perfectly recovered. *The Manchester Times*, 2 April 1842.⁷³

Then, as his second last demonstration of the evening,

[He] mesmerized a fowl, by simply holding its bill against the ground. In a few minutes its eyes became fixed, and chanticleer⁷⁴ remained as motionless as the floor, to which he seemed to be nailed, until released by a waft from the artificial hand.

Mr. Braid also mesmerised him by putting him on his back, and holding a piece of chalk over his head for him to stare at.

Mr. Braid stated it as his opinion that the power which Van Amburgh[†] possessed over wild animals was acquired by getting them to fix their eyes, and thus to experience mesmeric effects, even though the lion-tamer might not himself be aware of the fact; and [Braid] gave some instances of cases where he had mesmerised some mischievous dogs who previously used to bark at him, but afterwards became much attached to him. *The Manchester Guardian*, 6 April 1842.⁷⁵

He ended with an exhibition of "the power of the imagination": he had 22 persons stand on stage with each connected to the other by holding on to different parts of their neighbour ("[they] took hold of each other's garments, hands, or hair, according to the fancy of each individual"). He directed them to concentrate their attention upon whichever part of their neighbour they had laid hold. "They were all asleep in a few seconds" (Anon, 1842tt).

The importance of Braid's hypnotic intervention with Miss Collins — whose head had been so "rigidly fixed to her left shoulder" for six months "that no warrantable force applied to it could separate them to the extent of permitting a card to pass between the head and shoulder" (Anon, 1842bb; *Neurypnology*, pp.257-260; Braid, 1855a, p.853) — was that, in curing a condition in three treatments with hypnotism alone, which had resisted the professional efforts of both the eminent specialist Sir Benjamin Brodie,[‡] and her local physician, Dr. Chawner,^{76,77} Braid had used the same approach he had used to surgically

⁷³ Anon (1842bb); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

⁷⁴ An alternative, by metonymy, for "the rooster". *Chanticleer* was the cockrel in the fables of *Reynard*, the fox (also mentioned in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*, c.1386).

⁷⁵ Anon (1842cc); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

⁷⁶ Darwin Chawner (1799-1863), M.D. (Edinburgh 1823), M.R.C.P. (London); Braid also mentions this case in *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.69-70, and pp.257- 260.

correct a case of lateral curvature of the spine in November 1840 (Braid, 1840a). A little later, in September 1842, he treated lateral curvature of the spine with hypnotism alone, using the same strategic approach (*Neurypnology*, pp.246-248).

Hypnotism may be applied with great success in the treatment of various distortions, arising from weakness of certain muscles, or inordinate power or contraction of their antagonists; and I feel convinced, that by this means, we may rectify many of those cases which have hitherto been treated by section of the tendons or muscles. The success which I have already had, by this means, of treating *lateral curvature* of the spine, warrants me to speak very confidently on the subject, in most cases. ***I feel convinced, there are very few recent cases which may not be speedily cured by hypnotism, without either pain or inconvenience to the patient.*** Patience and perseverance will of course be necessary where the disease has been of long standing, and though in such cases the cure may not be perfect, the patient may be greatly improved by hypnotism.

The method of treating such cases is, first to induce the sleep, and then to call such muscles into action as are calculated to bring the body into the most natural position. By bringing these muscles into play during this condition, they acquire increased power, and ultimately are permanently strengthened. As one side of the chest is enlarged, and the other collapsed, I endeavour to restrain the enlarged side, by applying compression to it during the sleep, whilst the patient is directed to take deep inspirations, so as to expand the ***opposite*** side. I also endeavour to make the patient stand in a position ***the very reverse of that which I consider to have been the chief cause of the curvature.*** As already remarked, I feel convinced this method will prove very speedily successful, more decidedly so than any other mode of treatment I know of, and ***especially in such cases as are accompanied with spinal irritation.***

Case LIII. The following is a case of its remarkable success with a young lady, 14 years of age, who had had the advice of some of the most eminent members of the profession in the provinces, and also in Dublin and London. She was first observed to become malformed when four years old. When brought to me on the 12th September, 1842, her chin rested on her breast, and there was no power of raising it, from the weakness of the recti muscles of the back, and contraction of the sterno-cleido-mastoid muscles. The dorsal part of the spine and shoulders were thrown backwards, the lumber [sic] vertebræ and pelvis were thrown forwards, so that the deformity was very great, and the vigour of the mind, as well as of the body, was greatly impaired. She had no medicine nor external application, but was hypnotized night and morning, and treated in the manner referred to, and the result was, that in six weeks she could hold herself so much better, that when the outline was taken, it was found that her spine was three inches nearer the perpendicular than when I first saw her. During this period, no mechanical means had been used, nor throughout any part of the time she was under my care were any resorted to, with the exception of a support for the chin, by way of remembrancer, till the habit of attention was acquired of supporting the head by mere muscular effort, which she now had the full power of doing. Nor should I omit to add, there was also a great improvement in the mental faculties.

Fig.79. Braid's use of his surgical strategies in his hypnotic interventions.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ In reporting this cure, Braid was not criticizing the performance of either Chawner or Brodie; he was emphasizing the fact that these sorts of conditions were beyond the reach of current medical technology, even in the very best of hands.

⁷⁸ Braid, *Neurypnology*, pp.246-248.

Catlow's Brace of Lectures at Chorlton-on-Medlock

Catlow gave two lectures to the *Christian Institute for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*,⁷⁹ in April 1842, at the Town Hall of Chorlton-on-Medlock. Neither Braid nor any of his circle attended,⁸⁰ but they would have read the reports of Catlow's proceedings.⁸¹ Perhaps the most notable feature of the two lectures was the complete absence of his *soporific machine*.⁸²

Catlow began, saying that, while many knew of the earlier lectures, "[which were] at all times candidly and, in general, correctly reported in the *Guardian*",⁸³ he would briefly summarize them. Overall, the lecture was no different from the earlier ones; except that, instead of "the induction of sleep", he spoke of "the *artificial* induction of sleep". He made extended references to aspects of Lafontaine's demonstrations, and to several aspects Braid's; also, in the process, he cited a number of Townshend's[†] case studies.⁸⁴ Once his lecture ended, he performed a number of demonstrations for his audience, and his subjects were examined by a number of medical men including Dr. Aikenhead.[‡]

The second lecture, delivered to a somewhat larger audience, was essentially the same as the first; and, whilst the demonstrations presented were quite different from those presented at his first lecture, they were essentially the same as those delivered during his three Manchester lectures.

⁷⁹ The Christian Institute for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Chorlton-on-Medlock, was founded in 1840, "to furnish an opportunity for moral and intellectual improvement to those young persons who are connected with the surrounding Sabbath schools" (Love, 1842, p.179).

⁸⁰ In 1838, Chorlton-on-Medlock, an independent township, was absorbed into the *Borough of Manchester*. Today, it is one of the innermost suburbs of the City of Manchester, and shares a boundary with the inner city. Its Town Hall was less than a mile from Braid's residence; thus, it would have been an easy matter for Braid to attend, had he chosen to do so.

⁸¹ A report of the first lecture, delivered on Friday, 1 April 1842, is in the *Manchester Guardian* of 6 April 1842 (Anon, 1842dd); and, a report of the second lecture, delivered on the following Friday, 8 April 1842, is in the *Manchester Guardian* of 20 April 1842 (Anon, 1842oo).

⁸² A transcript of Catlow's first lecture is in the *Guardian* of 6 April 1842 (Anon, 1842dd). From the *Guardian's* report of 20 April 1842 (Anon, 1842oo), it is clear the second lecture presented no new concepts, and his experiments elicited no new effects (this 'sameness' may also account for the 12 days' delay in the report of the second lecture).

⁸³ Unless otherwise indicated, everything in this section is taken from Anon (1842dd).

⁸⁴ The cases Catlow cited were taken directly from Townshend's *Facts in Mesmerism, With Reasons for a Dispassionate Inquiry Into It* (1840), pp.88-90, and 139-140.

Lafontaine's conversazione at the Liverpool Medical Institution

Lafontaine conducted a *conversazione* at the Liverpool Medical Institution on Friday, 1 April 1842.⁸⁵ In part, due to its late notice, and in part due to Braid delivering a lecture elsewhere at the same time, Lafontaine attracted a rather small audience. To complicate matters further, the entire proceedings were conducted in French, with various parts being intermittently ‘interpreted’ by various members of the audience. The meeting was far from orderly, with Lafontaine constantly appealing for a fair hearing, and many of the audience continuously disrupting the proceedings with “unseemly and rude laughter”. Using his own subjects, Lafontaine gave several simple demonstrations of his usual nature; however, he was forced to abandon an attempt to magnetize an audience member after 15 minutes of trying in vain. Towards the end of the evening, “a gentleman, who appeared in a great bustle and excitement attempted to move a resolution, the effect that the meeting considered the subject a humbug, but it was rejected unanimously” (Anon, 1842cc).

Braid's two Liverpool Lectures

Braid gave two lectures to large audiences in Liverpool on Friday, 1 April, at Templar's Hall, and on Wednesday, 6 April, at the Music Hall.⁸⁶ The first of these lectures was notable because — just as Lafontaine experienced, when lecturing elsewhere in Liverpool that evening — in what seemed to be a well-orchestrated campaign by members of the Liverpool medical profession, Braid suffered many disruptions to his presentation:

Mr. Braid intended to have shown some experiments on animals, but the lecture was unreasonably protracted, in consequence of the very unbecoming interruption to which the lecturer was subjected by some gentlemen of the medical profession, who seemed to have little desire to inquire into the true merits of the case, and quite as little inclination to allow the rest of the audience an opportunity of judging.

They jumped to conclusions long before the lecturer had explained what he meant, and, by their repeated interruptions, quite unhinged the audience, and prevented them from dispassionately judging of the

⁸⁵ The notice, which appeared on 1 April, the same day as the *conversazione*, is at Lafontaine (1842a); and the *Liverpool Mercury's* account of the *conversazione* is at Anon (1842ee).

⁸⁶ The *Liverpool Mercury's* account of the lecture Braid delivered on Friday, 1 April, is at Anon (1842ff); and its account of the lecture delivered on Wednesday, 6 April, is at Anon (1842gg).

matter.

We forbear mentioning names, which we could do; but as a proof that the conduct of some was any thing but what it should have been, we may mention that one gentleman afterwards apologized for what he had said; and the Rev. Dr. Raffles,[†] who was present, appealed to the audience to give the lecturer a fair hearing.

The Liverpool Mercury, 8 April 1842.⁸⁷

Braid's second lecture went smoothly "[due to] the absence of several parties who disturbed the previous meeting". Having finished his lecture, and before starting his demonstrations, he spoke to the audience and "was listened to, with one or two exceptions, in a manner which indicated that the audience had a desire to acquire information, and [had entered] there with a spirit of inquiry":

[He began with] a few observations on the conduct of some parties at his last lecture, and in defence of the manner in which he was bringing this subject before the public, to which objection had been taken by many of the profession.

He stated that he did not adopt the present plan until he found that the faculty paid no attention to the matter,⁸⁸ and would not attend either a lecture or *conversazione*, to which he had sent them free tickets of admission.

The Medical Gazette, too, had refused to insert a letter of his, in reply to an attack on the science made by the editor;⁸⁹ and, therefore, nothing was left but to bring it before the public in the form he at present did.

All his desire was to promote truth, and, if possible, do good to his fellow creatures.

He had succeeded in curing chronic rheumatism, and in extracting a tooth from a lady without complaint of pain, although on former occasions of extraction the same individual had suffered much.

He had restored a case of paralysis from birth in a patient twenty-four years of age.

He then cited ...[the case of a female] labouring under an incipient *amaurosis*...⁹⁰ upon which he had operated that day in Manchester.

She could scarcely see the title of a newspaper, of the same size as the title of this paper [viz., *The Liverpool Mercury*]; after she was hypnotized, in five minutes she could read the words very plainly, in another minute she could read the word of the second title, similar in size to the

⁸⁷ Anon (1842ff); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

⁸⁸ *Faculty*, as employed in this context, denotes 'the members of the medical profession severally and collectively'.

⁸⁹ The 'official reason' for the rejection of Braid's letter was that the editors considered it to be beyond the scope of the journal: "Notice: Mr. Braid's paper on Mesmerism can only be inserted in the *extra limites* department" (Anon, 1842d).

The *Gazette* forwarded Braid's paper on to Duncan: "Notice: Mr Braid's paper on Mesmerism was addressed by post (as we understand he wished it to be) to Mr. Duncan: having, however, obtained it from the Dead Letter Office, it was sent by post (Feb. 24th), addressed to him [viz., Braid] at Manchester — and here our proceedings with regard to it must end" (Anon, 1842r).

⁹⁰ A monocular loss of vision; often a precursor to a stroke.

words "Lancashire General Advertiser", at the top of the first page; and before ten minutes had elapsed she could read the date.

[Braid] produced a written statement of this cure, attested by the lady herself and three witnesses. *The Liverpool Mercury*, 8 April 1842.⁹¹

Braid successfully performed a range of his customary experiments on his servant and several young women as subjects, and displayed 'somnambulism', 'catalepsy', and 'living statues', he demonstrated the effectiveness of his 'eye fixation' procedure on a small poodle dog.

[Then, John Cook, a railway station newspaper vendor, of 17 Fleet-street, Liverpool, came on stage], having previously had no conversation with Mr. Braid, who was not aware of his coming.

He had been afflicted for nine years with a paralyzed arm. He had been for a long time under the care of surgeons, but never could lift his right hand higher than his chest, till about five months ago, when Mr. Braid, happening to see him at the Railway Station, rubbed it for him, after which time he could raise it an inch or two higher.

When this man was brought forward, the only question he was asked by Mr. Braid was how long he had been affected; the other particulars we afterwards learned from the man himself.

Cook was told before the audience to raise his hand as high as he could.

He did so, and with a great effort succeeded in raising it up to his chin. He submitted to be hypnotized, and in the course of a few minutes he could lift his hand much higher than his head, amidst the loudest applause of the audience.

[A woman,] who for eight months had been labouring under the effects of a severe paralytic stroke, was brought upon the platform by her son.

She had nearly lost her speech, and the use of the right leg and arm was nearly gone. Her arm was laid hold of by [Braid], and she seemed to suffer great pain.

She was soon hypnotized, and whilst in that state Mr. Braid stretched out the patient's right arm, which before seemed to be fastened to her side.

After rubbing it for a few seconds, she was de-hypnotized, and found she could use her right arm and leg freely, as well as speak much better.

The poor woman seemed so much overjoyed, that she went up and down the few steps leading to the platform by herself, to show the audience how she could walk, and stated that for eight months previously she had not been able to walk in that manner.

We afterwards learned that the woman had been in the Northern Hospital for several weeks, during which time she had received great benefit, but, according to the statement of the son, not so much as she had during the few minutes she was under the operation of Mr. Braid.

The Liverpool Mercury, 8 April 1842.⁹²

⁹¹ Anon (1842gg); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

⁹² Anon (1842gg); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

As a final demonstration, Braid operated on a fowl. In his last letter (1860b), written just before his death, Braid spoke of the experiments that he had conducted with fowls over an 18 year period — along the lines suggested by Daniel Schwenter (1585-1636) [see Schwenter, 1636], and Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) [see Kircher, 1646] — and emphasized that, in doing so, he was further investigating the claims of the magnetists; i.e., rather than trying to develop his own hypnotic theories further.



Fig.80. A transfixed rooster displaying cataleptic immobility (Kircher, 1646, p.155).⁹³

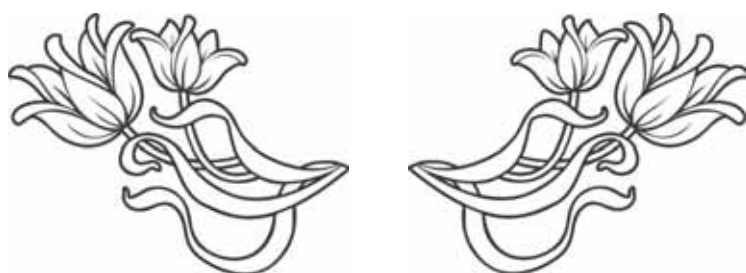
Given the nature of "*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*" sermon that M'Neile preached two days later (see Chapter Eight), the newspaper reporter's closing comments are most interesting:

As we before stated, we offer no opinion on this subject. The above is only a fair statement of what occurred, and all we would add is that Mr. Braid, whether he be correct or not in his views, acts in the most straightforward manner; he seems to have no desire to mystify, or in the least degree to keep back any thing from his audience.

The Liverpool Mercury, 8 April 1842.⁹⁴

⁹³ Kircher's technique involves holding its head against the ground, extending its neck, and drawing a line continuously along the ground, starting at its beak. It might stay in this state for up to 30 minutes; a great assistance if one desires to chop off its head with a minimum of fuss.

⁹⁴ Anon (1842gg).



Chapter Eight: M'Neile's Sermon

The Rev Hugh M'Neile + Malignity × Agitation = Mischief

Fig.81. Headline of *Liverpool Mercury* article condemning M'Neile's immoderate preaching.¹

Having examined Braid's ground-breaking work and his painstaking efforts in defining hypnotism's unique identity, establishing hypnotism's territory, and extending its unique borders, the dissertation now moves to a different aspect of his boundary work: Braid's defence of himself, rather than of his ideas.

On 10 April 1842, Rev. Hugh Boyd M'Neile,² an Anglican cleric, preached a sermon in Liverpool that attacked Braid as a man, a scientist, a philosopher, and a medical professional. He also threatened Braid's professional and social position by associating him with Satan; and, in the most ill informed way, condemned Braid's important therapeutic work as having no clinical efficacy whatsoever.

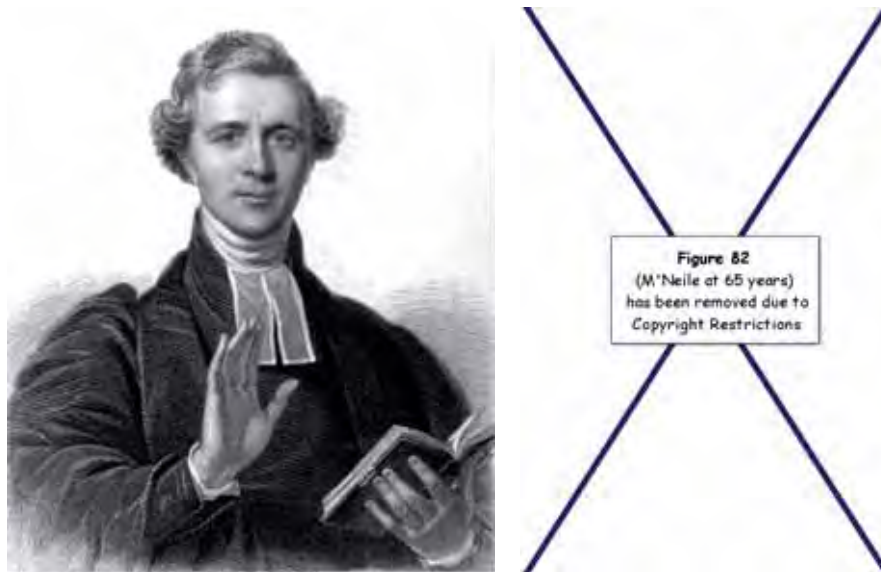


Fig.82: M'Neile at 43 years; and at 65 years.³

¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 March 1845 (Anon, 1845c).

² Various sources have Hugh Boyd M'Neile; others, simply, Hugh M'Neile.

M'Neile, with conventional *inverted comma*, like a filled in "6" — not *M'Neile*, with *erect comma*, like a filled in "9" — was M'Neile's preferred orthography. Despite the modern 'myth' that "Mac" and "Mc" indicate names of Scottish and Irish origin respectively, *M'Neile*, *McNeile*, and *M^{ac}Neile* were 100% equal in M'Neile's day. In some places, his name appears as *M'Neille*; and, according to the "personal reminiscence" of a friend, others in his extended family used *M'Neill* (Anon, 1879b). "M'Neile" is used throughout this dissertation, unless when taken directly from a source that offers an alternative; then, a reader should assume that "[sic]" follows each entry.

³ M'Neile circa 43 years: engraving by Richard Smith from painting by T.C. Thompson, R.H.A. (Royal Hibernian Academy), *The Church Magazine* (Anon, 1839b, facing p.193). M'Neile circa 65 years: steel engraving by D.J. Pound, after a photograph by J.J.E.P. Mayall, used by permission from Bridgeman Art Library.

This was far from an idle threat.

M'Neile was an influential, well-connected demagogue, a renowned public speaker, an evangelical cleric, and a relentless opponent of "Popery", who was permanently inflamed by the ever increasing number of Irish Roman Catholics in Liverpool.⁴ He was infamous for his stirring oratory, his immoderate preaching, his prolific publications,⁵ and his inability to accurately construe the meaning of the scripture upon which his diatribes were based. He was just as deeply loved, admired and respected by some,⁶ as he was an object of derision and scorn for others.⁷ To draw a recent sporting analogy, there were at least two M'Neile's: "Good M'Neile" and "Bad M'Neile";⁸ and the following account of M'Neile and his interactions with Braid are, of necessity, centred on the "Bad

⁴ In a private letter to Queen Victoria in 1869, advocating M'Neile's elevation to Dean of Ripon, Benjamin Disraeli, mentioned that "[M'Neile] is a great orator, and one of those whose words, at periods of national excitement, influence opinion". The response, written on the Queen's behalf, by Major General Sir Thomas Myddleton Biddulph, joint *Keeper of the Privy Purse*, spoke directly of the Queen's reluctance: "But before sanctioning the appointment of Dr. McNeile to the vacant Deanery, the Queen would wish you to consider well what the effect may be of appointing so strong a partisan to a high dignity in the English Church. However great Dr. McNeile's attainments may be, and however distinguished he may be as speaker, the Queen believes he has chiefly rendered himself conspicuous by his hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. The Queen would ask whether his appointment is not likely to stir up a considerable amount of ill-feeling among the Roman Catholics, and in the minds of those who sympathise with them, which will more than counter-balance the advantage to be gained by the promotion of an able advocate of the Royal supremacy..." (Buckle (1926a, pp.533-534).

⁵ Whilst none of them are considered to have even the slightest theological value today, more than 100 of his works are listed, for the interested reader, in this dissertation's biography.

⁶ "Unquestionably the greatest Evangelical preacher and speaker in the Church of England during this century" (Stock, 1899, p.376); "universally known... as one of the most powerful instruments ever raised up to arm the church in troublous days... No man living has been so grossly, so impudently, calumniated in the face of all evidence; no man is so notoriously dreaded by the workers of seditious evil in church and state; and perhaps no man on earth is so ardently, so extensively loved by all classes of right-minded people. (Tonna, (1840), p.143),

⁷ "A bold bad Irishman"; "this politico-religious firebrand"; "the factitious bigotry [evoked by] this dangerous man" (Bradley, 1852, p.393). "Probably the most eloquent, the most able and the most consistent religious agitator of his day" (Murphy, 1959, p.51). "A bigoted divine, who enjoys unfortunately a very extensive popularity" (North, 1845, I, p.174).

⁸ During a press conference at the 1999 U.S. Open Tennis Championships, Croatian tennis player Goran Ivanisevic explained there were three "Goran's", *Good Goran*, *Bad Goran*, and *In-Between Goran*; and, he said, he never knew which "Goran" would turn up on the day. One would turn up unexpectedly and take over his game, requiring *Good Goran* to take over (if *he* won that year's U.S. Open, he joked, he would buy replica trophies for the other two).

On Monday, 9 July 2001, he defeated Australian Pat Rafter, 6-3, 3-6, 6-3, 2-6, 9-7, on the Centre Court of the *All England Lawn Tennis Club* to win the 2001 Wimbledon Men's Championship. He played superb tennis; and, to date, he is the only un-seeded, "wild card" entrant to win the Championship. It is beyond dispute that only *Good Goran* took the court on that day.

M'Neile". An American travel writer, David W. Bartlett (1828-1912), described "Bad M'Neile", in his fifties:

The whole of [his] life has been spent at war with the Catholics.

He is a member of the Established Church, and as a minister of that church in Liverpool, where the Catholics are exceedingly numerous, he has received many provocations, and we dare say himself given some.

At any rate he has fought for fifteen years without any respite, and is as ready for battle to-day as he was fifteen years ago.

He is fond of excitement, partly perhaps from habit, but would die a martyr to his faith, readily, if the sacrifice were required.

In the pulpit he looks more like a son of Vulcan than a minister of the Prince of Peace, and one is reminded while looking at him of the celebrated Methodist Minister, Peter Cartwright, of Illinois,⁹ who often left his pulpit to silence disturbances with his brawny fists.

When [M'Neile] rises to speak, you are awed by his powerful physical appearance; he is tall and stout, with broad shoulders and muscular arms, while his great, sloping forehead, white as snow, contrasts finely with his dark hair.

His eyes are expressive of genius, while his whole face has the look of a man whom all the powers of Europe could not drive from a position he had taken conscientiously.

He speaks best extemporaneously, and then when roused and excited he pours forth a torrent of fiery eloquence, lashes his victim without mercy, and generally carries his audience with him.

While speaking, his gesticulation is always stately and in keeping with his character, for although a man of great enthusiasm, yet he always wears a look of dignity.¹⁰

No biography of M'Neile exists; and none of the encyclopædic treatments of M'Neile ever mentions either his "*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*" sermon or any of his interactions with Braid.¹¹

It is the account of this demagogue, his attack upon Braid, the publication of a transcript of his flawed sermon, and Braid's strong defence of himself and his work that is the concern of this Chapter. Yet, before dealing with the content and impact of M'Neile's sermon — and in order to understand the motivation

⁹ Peter Cartwright (1785-1872), the tough, menacing, travelling Methodist Episcopal Church Minister, "The Backwoods Preacher", renowned for his physical strength and aggression, who operated over vast frontier areas in Kentucky and Tennessee, before moving to Illinois in 1824.

¹⁰ Bartlett (1853, pp.275-276); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

¹¹ Apart from one M.A. Dissertation (Wardle, 1981), there has been no academic treatment of M'Neile's life and works, in the form of dissertation or publication). Encyclopædia-style treatments, some written whilst he was alive, some after his death, are at: Anon (1839b); Roose (1842); Milner (1847); Anon (1847i); Francis (1847); Gilbert (1851); Dix (1852); Bartlett (1853); Fish and Park (1857); Anon (1860m); Crockford (1868a); Wills and Wills (1875); Anon (1879a); Anon (1879b); Anon (1879c); Anon (1879d); Anon (1879f); Anon (1879g); Boase (1893); McNeile (1911); Macneil (1923); Hylson-Smith (1988); Rennie (1995); Wolffe (2004); McDonnell (2005).

for M'Neile's attack upon Braid, and the manner in which M'Neile's position, reputation, personality, and character determined the nature of the wide range of responses to that sermon (from Braid and others)¹² — it is critical to situate, at some length, M'Neile within the U.K., within the Anglican Church, and within Liverpool, as an orator, a preacher, and a social force.

The Very Rev. Hugh Boyd M'Neile, A.B., A.M., B.D, D.D.

Hugh Boyd M'Neile (1795-1879), A.B. (Dublin, 1815), A.M. (Dublin, 1822), B.D. (Dublin, 1841), D.D. (Dublin, 1841),¹³ an Evangelical,¹⁴ anti-Tractarian churchman,¹⁵ a millenarian,¹⁶ and a firm believer in the entire host of '*pandæmonium*',¹⁷ was ordained into the Anglican Church in 1820. He then served as a Curate at Stranorlar, County Donegal from 1820 to 1821; as the Rector of Albury, Surrey from 1822 to 1834; as the Perpetual Curate of St Jude's; Liverpool from 1834 to 1848;¹⁸ as the Honorary Canon of Chester Cathedral from 1845 to 1868;¹⁹ as

¹² Braid's response to the sermon, annotated for the interested reader, is at *Appendix Ten*; and twelve other responses, annotated for the interested reader, are at *Appendix Eleven*.

¹³ M'Neile's two Divinity degrees were awarded on the basis of published work (Anon, 1847j): the equivalent of Oxford's *Bachelor of Divinity and Doctor of Divinity by Accumulation*.

Also, on 16 June 1860, an *Incorporate D.D.* — i.e., a doctorate *ad eundem gradum* ("to the same degree") — was conferred upon him at Cambridge University (Anon, 1860g).

¹⁴ The Protestant, Evangelical (lit., "of the Gospel"), Calvinist "Low Church", stressed personal conversion, Bible reading — thus, *sola scriptura*, "by scripture alone", the view that scripture, and scripture alone, was the perfect, infallible authority and the sole source of revelation — adherence to the *Book of Common Prayer*, and preaching; this provided a very strong contrast with the Anglo-Catholic "High Church", and its reliance on tradition, vestments, liturgy, and ritual.

¹⁵ The Anglo-Catholic *Tractarians* were High Church Anglicans who advocated using Roman Catholic rituals, practices, vestments, etc. in the Church of England, and advocated the views set out in Newman's *Tracts for the Times* (1833-1841), thus "Tractarians". Many later converted to Roman Catholicism, rather than reforming the Church of England, as was their original goal.

¹⁶ A "millenarian" believed that, on Christ's return to earth, peace would reign for 1,000 years. In the early nineteenth century, most "Low Church" Anglicans, M'Neile included, believed that the second coming of Christ was imminent (thus M'Neile's constant reference to "later times"). And the approaching second advent of Christ "was closely associated in McNeile's mind with a strong interest in missions to the Jews and an intense anti-Catholicism" (Wolffe, 2004).

¹⁷ "*Pandæmonium*", a name, coined by John Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, for the capital of Hell, the abode of Satan and all his demons.

¹⁸ St. Jude's Anglican Church, Hardwick Street, Low Hill, Liverpool, erected by subscription in 1831, could comfortably hold 1,500 persons (Anon, 1843f, p.130). It was demolished in 1966.

¹⁹ Once installed at St. Jude's, M'Neile's eloquence attracted the attention of the Bishop of Chester, who appointed him as honorary Canon of his Cathedral. The next Bishop of Chester, John Graham, also held the important and influential ecclesiastical position of Clerk of the Closet to Queen Victoria. He was equally impressed with M'Neile and, no doubt, used his connexions to facilitate the conferral of the *Incorporate D.D.* upon M'Neile in 1860.

Perpetual Curate of St Paul's, Princes Park from 1848 to 1867;²⁰ and, finally, as Dean of Ripon from 1868 to 1875. He was a member of the *London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews*,²¹ *Church Missionary Society*,²² *Irish Society*,²³ and *Protestant Association*.²⁴

Roman Catholicism and the Anglo-Catholics

For M'Neile, Roman Catholicism endangered "Britain's providential mission to defend and propagate reformed Christianity", a mission of 'nationalism':²⁵ a concept "contain[ing] an inherent conviction of objective national superiority", rather than 'patriotism' (Wolffe, 1991, pp.308-309):

The impelling force behind [M'Neile's] actions and utterances was two basic propositions, the truth of which he believed in totally.

First that the Roman Catholic Church was the enemy of Christianity and the Pope the Antichrist.

He had difficulty in bringing himself even to use the word "religion" when referring to Roman Catholicism.

Thus, in his view, it was the duty of a Christian to oppose the Roman

²⁰ St. Paul's Church, Belvidere Road, Princes Park, Toxteth, which could easily seat more than 2,000, was built especially for M'Neile, after almost £12,000 (£16,000,000+ in 2009) was raised by subscription. M'Neile laid the foundation stone on 9 September 1846. It was consecrated on 2 March 1848, by John Bird Sumner (1780-1862), Archbishop of Canterbury elect. It closed in 1974.

²¹ The Society, founded in 1809, emerged from a committee formed by the *London Missionary Society* two years in 1807 to work exclusively amongst London's Jews. M'Neile delivered the Society's Annual Sermon in both 1826 and 1846, as well as publishing a number of lectures and sermons related to Jews and Jewish matters: e.g., his *Popular Lectures on the Prophecies Relative to the Jewish Nation* (1830), revised and reissued as *Prospects of the Jews; or, Popular Lectures on the Prophecies Relative to the Jewish Nation* (1840). A letter written to his future wife (on 28 September 1841), by William Ballantyne Hodgson (1815-1880), describes M'Neile's position:

"Bigotry, encouraged by the want of opposition, speaks out more and more boldly [here in Liverpool]. "Every Jew, dying as a Jew, is irretrievably lost", said the Rev. Hugh McNeile the other day; "it is godlike love to tell them of their miserable condition; godless liberalism to conceal it from them". The tyranny of the priesthood is said to be great in Scotland, but really I think it is much worse here." (Meiklejohn, 1883, p.36)

²² M'Neile preached its "Annual Sermon" in 1845 (M'Neile, 1845d).

²³ The *Irish Society for Promoting the Scriptural Education and Religious Instruction of Irish Roman Catholics, Chiefly Through the Medium of Their Own Language*.

According to an advertisement placed by the Society in the end papers of Crockford (1868), the Society was established in 1818 and, in 1868, M'Neile was one of its Vice Presidents.

²⁴ Inactive since Lord George Gordon's (1751-1793) "No Popery" riots in London in 1780, the Protestant Association re-emerged as an active force in 1835. M'Neile, one of its most active clerical participants, founded its Liverpool Branch in 1837 or 1838 (Paz, 1992, p.200).

²⁵ M'Neile was one of the first to use the term *nationalism*. He did so when he delivered a key-note speech, "*Nationalism in Religion*", to the England Protestant Association at the Exeter Hall, in London on Wednesday, 8 May 1839 (see M'Neile, 1839b).

Church at all times and in all places.

Individual Roman Catholics were not to be persecuted, because, in his view, they were victims of a cruel deception who needed the love and compassion of Christians to help them find true religion.

Second was his belief that the Roman Catholic Church was engaged in a political conspiracy.

It did not, in his view, recognise the supremacy of temporal rulers and would, whenever possible, grasp political power and use it to crush heresy.

Any political concessions to Roman Catholicism had to be opposed because, in his view, the Roman Church was evil and, to the extent that it obtained political power and influence, true religion would suffer.²⁶

The *Roman Catholic Relief Act*, enacted in 1829, principally to avert the threat of religious civil war in Ireland, abolished many of the restrictions on Roman Catholics that had operated in the U.K. for more than a century. This distressed many Anglicans like M'Neile, who were already fighting tenaciously against the disturbing influence of the Anglo-Catholics within the Church of England. His monarch, Queen Victoria, shared his view:

The Queen feels, *more strongly* than words *can* express, the duty which is imposed upon her and her family, to maintain the *true* and *real principles* and spirit of the *Protestant* religion; for her family was brought over [from the Netherlands] and placed on the throne of these realms *solely* to maintain it; and the Queen will not stand the attempts [that are being] made to... bring the Church of England as near the Church of Rome as they possibly can.

Queen Victoria, Friday, 23 November 1866.²⁷

In late 1850, the Pope issued a *bull*, *Universalis Ecclesiae*, unilaterally reviving the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, and appointing twelve bishops and, also, the first English cardinal since the Reformation. This generated strong anti-Catholic sentiment amongst English Protestants. There were widespread "No Popery" processions and tumultuous anti-"Papal Aggression" meetings, many of which were addressed by the firebrand M'Neile, protesting against this perceived attack on British sovereignty.²⁸

In late 1873, Queen Victoria expressed alarm at the increase of the "Roman-

²⁶ Neal (1988, pp.45-46); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

²⁷ From a letter written to Gerald Valerian Wellesley (1809–1882), Dean of Windsor, nephew of the Duke of Wellington, her resident chaplain, and one of her most valued advisors, on 23 November 1866 (Buckle (1926a), p.877, emphasis in original).

²⁸ See M'Neile (1850e); Ralls (1974).

ising tendencies" in the Church of England. She declared that, in the absence of "a *complete Reformation*" (her preferred solution), the only remedy seemed to be for the British Parliament to give the Archbishop of Canterbury "the *power...* to *stop all* these Ritualistic practices, dressings, bowings, etc. and every thing of that kind and, *above all*, all attempts at *confession*". Further, she lamented "the terrible amount of *bigotry*, and *self-sufficiency* and *contempt* of all *other Protestant Churches...* [shown by the Church of England, and felt] the English Church should stretch out its arms to other Protestant Churches ... and bethink itself of its dangers from *Papacy*, instead of trying to widen the breach with all other Protestant churches, and to magnify small differences of form".²⁹

The growing ritualism of the Anglo-Catholics, and the rise of the *Oxford Movement* became so intolerable that, on behalf of the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury introduced a Bill to the House of Lords on 20 April 1874, to limit the use of ritual, vestments, ornaments, etc., and to ensure all ceremonies were conducted according to the *Book of Common Prayer*. Once enacted, many Anglo-Catholic clergymen were charged with breaches of the *Public Worship Regulation Act* (1874); a number were placed on trial, and at least five were imprisoned.

M'Neile's Immediate Family

M'Neile, was a well-connected, Irish-born, Calvinist Anglican of Scottish descent.³⁰ He was the son of Alexander and Mary M'Neile (née McNeale). He was born in the seaside town of Ballycastle in County Antrim, the most north-east of all the Irish counties, on 17 July 1795, a month after Braid, and three years before the Irish Rebellion of 1798.³¹ His father, Alexander (?-1839), who was "a man of considerable means" (Wardle, 1981, p.1), owned considerable property (e.g., the large farm at Collier's Hall), was a Justice of the Peace, and

²⁹ From a letter written to Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881), Dean of Westminster, on 13 November 1873 (Buckle, 1926, II, pp.290-291, with the emphases in original).

³⁰ He was descended from the Scots who had gone to Ireland with Randal MacDonnell, the First Earl of Antrim, in 1610, to settle in King James I's *Plantation of Ulster* (Anon, 1847i, p.462; Macneil, 1923).

³¹ His mother took him from Ballycastle to Scotland in an open boat to escape the dangers and atrocities of "the troubles" associated with the Irish Rebellion of 1798 (Boyd, 1968a). No doubt his family's experience during that time influenced his view of Irish Roman Catholicism.

served as High Sheriff of Antrim County. Hugh's older brother John[†] made his fortune in South America; and, on his return to Ireland was a founding member of the Northern Bank, the first bank in Belfast.

In 1822 Hugh M'Neile married Anne (1803-1881), the daughter of William Magee,[†] Archbishop of Dublin.³² They had sixteen children (four of whom died early in life):³³ three daughters, two of whom remained unmarried, and thirteen sons. The eldest son, Hugh (1827-1842), was killed, aged 14, in an accident with a loaded pistol.³⁴ As a testament to his influence, at least six of his other sons went on to have distinguished careers: Colonel William M'Neile (?-1870), the Commissioner of Punjab,³⁵ Daniel James M'Neile,[†] of the Bengal Civil Service, Rev. Edmund Hugh M'Neile,[†] Rev. Hector M'Neile,[†] Captain Malcolm McNeile,[†] R.N., Governor, Royal Naval Prison at Lewes, and Rev. Norman Frederick M'Neile (1846-1929),[†] "the blind vicar".

M'Neile's Early Life

He was educated privately, and at Dublin University. When he was 20, his father's unmarried brother, Lieutenant-General Daniel M'Neile (1754-1826), returned to Ireland following distinguished service with the East India Company. His uncle, who settled in Bath, delighted in his company, and it was generally thought that his uncle had "adopted" him, and that he was "heir-presumptive to his uncle's affluent fortune" (Anon, 1847i, p.463).

Whilst a student, M'Neile loved the theatre even more than the fashionable society in which he moved. He attended the theatre in Dublin, London and Bath as often as he could. In those days, thespians Sarah Kemble ("Mrs.

³² Francis (1847, pp.408-409) alleges M'Neile had been Anne's tutor. The anonymous M'Neile biographer (Anon, 1847i, p.471), stresses that "Mr. M'Neile never was... tutor in the family of *Dr. Magee*, the Archbishop of Dublin, or any other family...".

³³ Wardle (1981); McDonnell (2005).

³⁴ He died on 12 January 1842, seven days after receiving the wound to his groin. See Rivington and Rivington (1843), and the report in *The Times* (Anon, 1842h).

³⁵ William had distinguished himself by his bravery and his "brilliant services in the [Sepoy] mutiny of 1857", and had died in Dalhousie, India, in 1870 (Wardle, 1981).

Siddons"),³⁶ her brother John,³⁷ and Eliza O'Neill, later Lady Wrixon-Becher,³⁸ all favourites of M'Neile, were at their peak; and his later platform and pulpit performances drew heavily on their example:

[and] it might also be considered whether much of that grace and elegance of enunciation and manner for which he has always been remarkable, may not be owing to impressions unconsciously stamped upon a plastic mind, by the contemplation of those brilliant models...
Anon (1847i), p.463.

His uncle encouraged him to pursue a legal career, because success at the bar would be a "stepping-stone into Parliament, where his [uncle's] wealth and influence would easily have procured [M'Neile] a seat, and where [M'Neile's] own talent and assiduity must certainly have assured his success" (Anon, 1847i, p.464). He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, taking B.A. in 1815, and began his legal studies in Dublin at The King's Inns; and, then, having served all of his terms at The King's Inns, he transferred to London's Lincoln's Inns in 1814, and almost completed his terms there as well.

Most of his time between 1815 and 1819 was spent with his uncle in Bath. In 1816 he and his uncle travelled extensively on the continent, enjoying the social advantages of his uncle's influence. In the summer of 1816, whilst staying with his uncle in a Swiss village inn, M'Neile fell very seriously ill. His life was saved by the medical intervention of Henry Brougham,[†] a stranger to M'Neile at the time, who had called at the inn for refreshment (or a change of horses).³⁹

³⁶ The eldest daughter, and first of the 12 children of Roger Kemble (1721-1802), the famous actor and actor-manager, known as "Mrs Siddons" after her marriage in 1773. Sarah Kemble (1755-1831), who first appeared on stage at 3, was an outstanding *tragedienne*, "lionized as the most eminent actress of the age", and was the paramount star of London theatre at Drury Lane, and then at Covent Garden, over a period of more than thirty years (London, 2003).

³⁷ The eldest son, and second child of Roger Kemble (1721-1802), John Philip Kemble (1757-1823), having abandoned training for the (Roman Catholic) priesthood for the stage, became the most famous Shakespearian actor of his time, with his renown second only to his sister's. "No actor is for all time, but Kemble was the supreme actor for an age" (Thomson, 2004).

³⁸ Following her success in Ireland, Eliza O'Neill (1791-1872) moved to London in 1814, and triumphed in a Covent Garden performance of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. She was hailed as "a younger and better Mrs Siddons". With "a deep mellow voice and possessed [of] classical beauty" she excelled at comedy and tragedy. She retired on her marriage in 1819 (Clarke, 2003).

³⁹ A typically hagiographic account of the matter appears in the *Englishwoman's Magazine and Christian Mother's Miscellany* of February 1847 (Milner, 1847, p.67):

...in the summer of 1816, Mr. M'Neile having with his [uncle] taken up his abode at a [Swiss] country inn, was suddenly taken ill; and *that*, so severely, that

Upon his return to England, a changed M'Neile began reading the Bible daily; and, around 1819, he experienced a conversion to the Evangelical Anglican Church. To his uncle's dismay, he hinted he might give away law and politics and dedicate his life to the Church. According to most accounts (e.g., Anon, 1847i, p.464), when he finally announced he was embracing the Church as a profession, his greatly disappointed uncle "partially disinherited him".

Rector of Albury

Following his divinity studies, M'Neile was ordained in 1820,⁴⁰ and served as a Curate at Stranorlar, County Donegal from 1820 to 1821. Early in 1822, his preaching in London so impressed parliamentarian Henry Drummond† that Drummond appointed M'Neile to the rectory at Albury Park, Surrey, from where M'Neile's first collection of sermons were published (M'Neile, 1825b).

Between 1826 and 1830, Drummond hosted 'the *Albury Conferences*', annual conferences at Albury for the *Union of the Students of Prophecy* moderated by M'Neile. Each conference involved days full of close, laborious study of the prophetic books of the Bible; seeking out as-yet-unfulfilled prophecies within them. As they progressed, "[their] prophetic speculations became more and more extreme" (Carter, 2001,p.179). It was at Albury that M'Neile first met Edward Irving (1792-1834), a Minister in the Church of Scotland, who would become a most important influence on the foundation of what is generally known as the Catholic Apostolic Church. Irving was a devoted advocate of the extraordinary 1,260 year for a day principle,⁴¹ as well as being a strong believer

his life was deemed to be in jeopardy. In this emergence, Henry Brougham, Esq., now Lord Brougham, who happened to be in the house, is said to have been, humanly speaking, the preserver of his life. Hearing that a young stranger, and a fellow-[British]-subject, was seriously ill, Mr. Brougham, who, it seems, had paid considerable attention to the study of medicine, offered his skill as a physician, and prescribed with such success, that the patient was restored to health.

⁴⁰ He was ordained by his future father-in-law, William Magee (1766–1831), who, at that time, was the Church of Ireland's Bishop of Raphoe.

⁴¹ A bizarre prophetic belief based upon a complicated method of calculation, the '*year for a day principle*', grounded upon particular interpretations of scripture, in which Revelation 12:6 ("And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days"), spoke of one thousand two hundred and threescore (1,200 + 3x20) days — and, elsewhere ("And there was given unto

in the 'gifts' of 'speaking in tongues' (*glossolalia*),⁴² and spiritual healing.

Also, it was through Irving that M'Neile first encountered the Okey Sisters.[‡] His experience of the Okey Sisters' so-called 'glossolalia' with Irving,⁴³ and his knowledge of their later association with Elliotson and his mesmerism, and their well-attested fraudulent deception of Elliotson,⁴⁴ must have strongly informed his later views of the activities of magnetists such as Lafontaine.

In relation to the 'gifts' of prophesy, glossolalia, and healing, M'Neile became increasingly torn between his own developing view that the 'gifts' were not of the Holy Spirit, and his desire to remain loyal to Drummond, who thought they were (Carter, 2001, p.184). In the early 1830s, whilst still within the "Prophetic Circle", M'Neile had dabbled with spiritual healing and 'speaking with tongues' himself (Stunt, 2000, pp.247-248); yet, his dalliance was extremely short-lived:

[M'Neile] embraced some of the leading views of Mr. Irving; and, what may appear a curious coincidence, he also suddenly abjured his new creed, and re-adopted the principles from which he had departed. I have been assured... that so very sudden was his re-conversion, if that be the correct term, to the faith which he had abandoned, that he

him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months" Revelation 13:5) as 42 months of the Jewish calendar of 30-month days (42x30 = 1260) — was converted to years, according to the principle embodied in, say, Numbers 14:34 ("After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year..."), that each of the 'days' in the prophecy was the equal of a 'year'. This meant that, depending upon whether one began counting at 606 CE or 610 CE, and there were 'arguments' for each, Christ's second advent would occur in either 1866 CE or 1870 CE.

⁴² Recent, well-structured research with healthy, and genuine (rather than simulators) 'practitioners' of *glossolalia* involving brain scans (Newberg, Wintering, Morgan, and Waldman, (2006), has clearly shown that the 'volition' and 'speech' areas of the brain close down, and the 'emotional' areas of the brain become active: all of which is consistent with the claim that the speech comes from 'somewhere else', and just 'happens to' the genuine practitioner. And, of course, the research also clearly indicates that it is an explicable, brain-internal event, rather than a phenomenon attributable to an external 'supernatural' agency.

⁴³ Clarke (1874), p.164:

It was at a meeting at [Irving's] Islington Green [Chapel] that Elizabeth O'Key first developed her powers as an enunciator of the "unknown tongues". There was an epigram published at the time, and now all but forgotten. It is not altogether unworthy of being repeated here, to show of what kind of jargon the "unknown tongues" consisted. A literary man, of some repute at the time, was present at one of these exhibitions. The only words he could clearly make out were "Bowley Bum". He wrote: —

"The meaning of Bum I know very well,
But the meaning of Bowley I cannot tell;
But it seems to me a regular 'hum'
To listen to girls singing 'Bowley Bum'."

⁴⁴ For an extensive account of the Okey sisters and Elliotson, see Clarke (1874), pp.155-194.

preached one Sunday in favour of the notion that the gift of speaking with tongues and the power of working miracles, is still possessed by the church, and preached the next against it; and that in his sermon on the subject, on the one Sabbath-day, he exposed with a masterly hand and in an unsparing manner, the fallacies he had made use of in his sermon on the other. (Grant, 1839, p.16)

By July 1832, M'Neile was "preaching publicly at Albury against the "gifts "" , and was protesting about Drummond's private prayer meetings, because (equating Drummond's residence to a church) he "would not suffer laymen to pray in his presence". Further, he most strongly objected "[that] it was not of God" when a female at one of Drummond's prayer sessions (which M'Neile had "attended reluctantly") spoke in tongues — and, thus, "contradicting the biblical injunction against women teaching in church" (Carter, 2001,p.186). This caused such a rift that Drummond said "if [M'Neile] persisted in preaching against the work of the Lord and against all who believed in it" he would be unable to remain within the Church of England (Carter, 2001,p.186). Soon after, Drummond ceased attending services at Albury. Their relationship became so unworkable that M'Neile resigned his post in June 1834. In October 1834, at the suggestion of his friend, Rev. William Dalton (1801-1880), he was appointed to St. Jude's Church, Liverpool (which had been built expressly for Dalton in 1831).

M'Neile the Liverpool Cleric

At St. Jude's, M'Neile had "a handsome salary" and "a very large and opulent congregation" (Grant, 1841, p.239). Later, at St. Paul's (a 2,000+ seat church specifically built for him), he enjoyed a large income; and, over time, became a rich man.⁴⁵ His financial independence meant that he answered to none:

McNeile was a fighter by instinct and a political parson by principle and, supported by a confidence derived from considerable personal wealth, he was his own man. Neal (1988), p.45.

His stipend at St. Paul's was £1,000 p.a., more than twelve times that of an average curate.⁴⁶ He also received £1,500 p.a. in pew rents (Wardle, p.455);⁴⁷

⁴⁵ On his father's death in 1839, he inherited the greater of his father's estate (his older brother had convinced their father to do so). In the latter part of the 1870s, Rev. Hugh M'Neile of Ripon, an 'absentee landlord', was registered as owning 699 acres in County Antrim, Ireland.

⁴⁶ In 1842, Pridham (1842, p.580) noted that the preponderance of curates' stipends did not

which tends to explain his propensity for preaching (otherwise outrageous) sermons that clearly served the needs of his permanent subscribers, who were securely sitting, enraptured, so to speak, in their 'platinum reserve seats'.

He had a large following, and his capacity to imbue popular prejudice against Roman Catholicism with the dignity of a spiritual crusade gave him enormous and explosive influence on Merseyside. Wolfe (2004).

And it was this sort of receptive congregation that was his audience for his "Mesmerism and Satanic Agency" sermon at St. Jude's.

M'Neile the Politician

A "big, impetuous, eloquent Irishman with a marvellously attractive personality and a magnificent voice", he had a considerable influence on the developing religious and political life of Liverpool:⁴⁸

When he came to be Curate-in-charge of St. Jude's in 1834, the Town Council had just decided that the Corporation schools should no longer be opened with prayer, that the Bible should be banished, and a book of Scripture Extracts substituted, taken largely from the Douay Version,⁴⁹ and that no further religious instruction should be given during school-hours.

McNeile flung himself into the fray, and led the opposition.

At a great meeting in the Amphitheatre⁵⁰ he boldly appealed for funds to open rival schools, and £3000 was promised on the spot — an amount which in a few days increased to £10,000.

exceed £81 p.a. (according to some measures, M'Neile's £1,000 p.a., would exceed £600,000 p.a. in 2010 values; according to others, it might have exceeded £1,000,000).

⁴⁷ In such churches, particular pews, in the best position to view events, hear proceedings and, of course, "be seen", were available for the exclusive use of the subscriber, at an annual fee. Not only did the subscriber have a guaranteed seat, in a fixed location (and, therefore, under no pressure to arrive early in anticipation of a packed house), the renter could also furnish their hard pews with upholstered cushions for comfort. Given M'Neile's propensity for 90-minute sermons, these pews would have brought great relief; and, conversely, M'Neile would have had a commercial interest in continuing to deliver his longer, rather than shorter sermons (thus, increasing the attractiveness of whatever rental pews were still on offer). Churches that did not follow the practice of privileged seating for a price designated themselves as "free churches".

⁴⁸ In a political speech in 1834, he expressed his opinion on the oft-expressed view that clerics should stand aside from politics: "It was said that ministers of religion should not mingle in politics; but God, when he made the minister, did not unmake the citizen" (Anon, 1834a).

⁴⁹ Unlike the *King James Version*, the *Douay-Rheims Bible* was a Roman Catholic Bible. It was a translation, produced by the Catholic seminary in Douai, France, from the Latin of the *Vulgate* (rather than from the original Hebrew or Greek) into English.

⁵⁰ Cooke's *Royal Amphitheatre of Arts*, in Roe Street, Liverpool. It was also where M'Neile was often the keynote speaker at the annual meetings of the *Liverpool Protestant Association*; a caustic account of one of these annual meetings 'starring' M'Neile was published in *The Bengal Catholic Herald* under the heading "*Liverpool Amphitheatricals*" (Vol.4, No.6, (11 February 1843), pp.81-82).

A circular to the parents next persuaded them to withdraw their children; and north and south the Corporation schools were left almost empty, while the temporary buildings which the Churchmen had taken were crowded to the doors.

New schools began to arise as fast as sites could be found, and the Town Council with its great majority had to own itself defeated by one who was almost a perfect stranger to the city.

From that moment his power in municipal life was absolute.

No Town Council again dared to dispute his will...⁵¹

M'Neile the Orator

According to one observer, he was "the most brilliant and highly-polished compound of natural and artificial advantages which I have ever beheld"; and, "as a specimen of appropriate action, refined oratory, stern, judicious argument, and commanding talent, all combined in one majestic whole, I may say M'Neile is incomparable and perfectly unique" (Anon, 1838d). He was a tenacious, dogged, relentless, and formidable foe. And, along with his extreme verbal aggression, he was a man of the most imposing physicality; he was at least 6'3" (190.5cm), thick-set, broad shouldered, and walked with a slight stoop:

He has all the appearance of a man of surpassing muscular power. The very aspect of his countenance bespeaks a person of great mental decision, and of unbounded confidence in his bodily strength. He is just such a person as, were a stranger meeting him in the streets, would be at once set down as a man who could, should ever the occasion arise, distinguish himself in any physical-force exhibition. No footpad would ever think of encountering the reverend gentleman, lest he should come off second best in the scuffle that would be sure to ensue.

Grant, (1841), pp.244-245.

M'Neile the Preacher

But with all our respect and admiration for [M'Neile], we do not consider him to be a deep thinker: there is great talent, but little profundity, in his verbal discourses; and, popular as he is, we venture to say that he shines less in the pulpit than on the platform.

Dix (1852), pp.93-94.

There were several extraordinary aspects of his preaching, and of the pulpit from which he preached. His sermons routinely lasted 90 minutes.⁵² Never

⁵¹ Balleine (1908, pp.201-202); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵² The contemporary standard was something like 25-30 minutes at most; and never more than 40 minutes, even on some extraordinary special occasion.

measured, structured appeals to reason, they were outright, impassioned histrionic performances intentionally directed at the emotions of his audience.

"I shall never go to hear Mr. M'Neile again", said a religious friend of ours, returning from St. Jude's.

"Why not?", we inquired.

"Because", replied he, "if I *agree* with him, I must come away with feelings of ill-will against parties he has been assailing and who are quite as respectable and intelligent as himself; or, otherwise, I must come away with sentiments of anger towards himself for his intolerance, if I do *not* agree with him; and I do not choose to go to a place of worship with the liability of leaving it in such an unchristian-like state of mind in either case."

Liverpool Mercury, Friday, 14 March 1845.⁵³

With his "impetuous temper" and propensity to "[launch] forth the thunderbolts of his eloquent indignation against the Romish Church" (Dix, 1852, p.93), M'Neile was at least the equal of other impassioned platform persuaders, such as Adolf Hitler and Billy Graham:⁵⁴

[His church] is closely packed, even to the aisles and pulpit stairs.

The number present must be nearly four thousand.

The prayers have been said, the anthem has been sung, the immense audience is waiting in breathless stillness.

The preacher rises in the little pulpit, tall and graceful, apparently about fifty years of age; of fresh complexion, his abundant hair prematurely almost white.

He has a small pocket-Bible in his hand — Hugh McNeile is one of the very few preachers in the Establishment who do not read their sermons,⁵⁵ though the canons of his church require it.

He reads his text from the small Bible, and commences his discourse in a style of the utmost simplicity and directness, his countenance radiant with intelligence, his voice of remarkable sweetness, and his whole manner so easy and natural that attention is fixed and riveted at once.

He glides gracefully on through an exposition at once evangelical and lucid, with occasionally a passage of unusual force and beauty, holding his great audience breathless for the instant.

By degrees he grows warm and earnest, his rich voice becomes fuller and more sonorous, and his action more varied and energetic; until, at

⁵³ A section of an article on M'Neile's immoderate preaching, which appeared under the headline "The Rev Hugh M'Neile + Malignity x Agitation = Mischief" (Anon, 1845c); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵⁴ For example, see Hitler's histrionic performance and voice modulation in a 1933 speech, most likely his first speech as the newly elected Chancellor of Germany, in which he emphasizes that he is speaking of those who are "Volk" — ethnically (rather than just geographically) German — at YouTube http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Q-6H4xOUrs; and Graham's superb Hitler-style histrionic delivery during his "crusade" in New York City in 1957, at YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7i95RxDyY70>.

⁵⁵ M'Neile always preached extemporaneously, entirely without notes (Grant, 1841, p.247).

length, he finds himself fully launched upon some great principle of evangelical protestantism, or its antagonistical popish dogma, when he pours forth a torrent of indignant patriotism or scathing invective, which would make the vast concourse shout aloud, if the occasion and the place did not restrain them.

The Boston Review, July 1863.⁵⁶

Another extraordinary aspect was his propensity for “[being] carried away into confessedly injudicious acts and words, which many would wish unsaid, undone” (Arnold, 1875, p.307). On 28 February 1847, he preached that the Irish Famine was an act of God’s retribution, punishing the Irish for their collective sins and their tolerance of Roman Catholicism.⁵⁷ It seems likely that M’Neile, who spoke *ex tempore*, felt he became imbued with the spirit of God as he rose to speak — justified by the metonymical act of straightening significantly as he grasped the front of the pulpit, and his stooped shoulders becoming level once more — when the truth seems to clearly be that this former ‘speaker in tongues’, actually moved into a trance state; of which, on returning to ‘normal’, he would have no memory, and, within which, he had no responsibility for whatever he might utter. On the morning of 8 December 1850, when throwing “thunderbolts” at one of his favourite targets, the evils of the Roman Catholic confessional,⁵⁸ M’Neile made a series of outrageous statements of which, immediately after his sermon had been delivered, he denied any knowledge of ever having uttered; and, for which he specifically apologized at the evening service, and withdrew without reservation, as the following newspaper account relates:

The Anti-Popery Agitation — Dr. M’Neile

The frenzied vehemence of bigotry has reached its climax. At Liverpool, the Rev. Dr. M’Neile, the notorious platform orator, uttered a sentence last Sunday morning, in the pulpit in St. Paul’s Church, Prince’s Park, which, we are sure, was never surpassed by the cruel ferocity of Popish intolerance, in the worst days of the Inquisition. To be sure, Dr. M’Neile did not mean it,— he would shudder to be taken at

⁵⁶ Anon (1863a, p.422); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵⁷ The sermon (see M’Neile, 1856a), was published privately by M’Neile in 1847 and was widely distributed throughout his network of admirers.

⁵⁸ M’Neile’s issue was that, unlike the “general confession”, that was part of every standard Anglican service, where each individual confessed silently and privately, *direct to God*, followed by a general “absolution” or “remission of sins” by the officiating cleric, the Roman Catholic practice was that of “auricular confession”, audibly addressed directly to the ear of a priest. M’Neile strongly criticized the conflation, within the “Romish Confessional”, of spiritual sins and criminal acts. Perhaps, his last ever communication was on this topic (M’Neile, 1874a).

his word; but why does he, a Christian minister, not bridle his tongue, unruly evil that it is?

Here is the sentiment, at which [Edmund Bonner, 'persecutor of heretics'] might have blushed, in the bloody reign of persecuting [Queen Mary I]:—

"I would make it a capital offence to administer the confession in this country. Transportation [to the colonies] would not satisfy me; for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to the other. *CAPITAL PUNISHMENT ALONE WOULD SATISFY ME. DEATH ALONE WOULD PREVENT THE EVIL.* That is my solid conviction."

No, thank *GOD*, it is not your solemn conviction, Dr. M'Neile nor is it the conviction of any English mind, however narrowed by sectarian jealousies, in this age of mild humanity!

No bigot, no fanatic, now exists in England, who would, in deed and in fact, erect the gallows or the stake, for the punishment of an erring act of religious custom.

Dr. M'Neile, on the same Sunday evening, went into his reading desk, and pronounced before his congregation the following apology:—

"In the excitement of an extemporaneous discourse delivered by me this morning, I used, I believe, a most atrocious expression. That expression I have already withdrawn in the sight of God; I have, I trust, made my peace with him; and I now beg to withdraw that expression in the sight of this congregation, and to make my peace with you. I will not repeat the expression which I have referred to; for those who heard it will sufficiently well remember it; whilst I will not grieve (or indict pain upon) those who did not hear it by repeating it."

The Manchester Examiner and Times, 14 December 1850.⁵⁹

Another aspect was his notoriously inaccurate interpretation of Biblical texts.⁶⁰ He was renowned for both his inaccurate *exegesis*,⁶¹ and his astounding *eisegetical* projections of Biblical texts onto current events.⁶² In his "Every Eye Shall See Him"⁶³ sermon — "[a] most melancholy, wretched, and most degrading composition" (Anon, 1847h)⁶⁴ — he moved from his theme to speak of

⁵⁹ Anon (1850c). A more detailed account of M'Neile's retraction, etc. is at M'Neile (1850f).

⁶⁰ In the language of biblical scholarship, the interpretation of texts is known as *hermeneutics*, "the study of interpretation" — from the Greek word for "an interpreter", and is based on the name of Hermes, the Greek deity of speech, writing, and communication.

⁶¹ *Exegesis* ("drawing out"); *exegetical* interpretation brings out the "real" meaning of a word or passage through an examination of the spiritual/literary heritage, and the textual, allegorical, historical, and cultural context of the word or passage by going beyond its literal meaning.

⁶² *Eisegesis* ("reading into"); an *eisegetical* interpretation involves the deliberate imposition of one's own idiosyncratic impression of the moment upon the word/passage entirely on its own, and in complete isolation from the actual context of the chosen word or passage.

⁶³ Revelation 1:7: "Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him..."

⁶⁴ The sermon was immediately published as: "*Every Eye Shall See Him*"; or *Prince Albert's Visit*

"The Prince in all his beauty", mapping Prince Albert's laying of a foundation stone onto a text from Isaiah (33:17) "Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty..." (Anon, 1853c, pp.292-293).

There were many protests at his equation of "the Saviour of the world" with a "colonel of hussars", and his implicit assertion that Albert held "title-deeds to... divinity" (Anon, 1847h). It was clear his "fearful irreverence" — implying that "an earthly prince" visiting Liverpool had some link to "the awful coming of the Prince of Heaven and Earth to Judgment" — was something that "must be [immediately] apparent to every reverent mind"; and, further, that a "piece of gross and rank blasphemy [was perpetrated] by making the third Person of the Holy Trinity a type of Prince Albert" (Anon, 1847b).⁶⁵

ASTOUNDING IRREVERENCE.— We were [shocked] on reading the title of Mr. M'Neile's recently published sermon. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we saw such language as the following:— "Every eye shall see Him, or Prince Albert's visit to Liverpool, used in illustration of the second coming of Christ". Many excellent persons have pronounced this as something worse than astounding irreverence, and are of the opinion that it would be just as proper to make use of the Prince of Wales's [later, King George IV] visit to Liverpool, in 1806, as an illustration of the first coming of our Saviour. We never met before, the equal of this perversion of all propriety. "To illustrate", be it remembered, is "to throw light upon."

Fig.83. Response to M'Neile's "Every eye shall see him" sermon, *Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, Friday, 14 August 1846.⁶⁶

M'Neile's Pulpit

In addition to its sounding board — designed to amplify and project M'Neile's voice — the pulpit from which he preached had two unusual characteristics. One who had often seen him in action, said "his pulpit was cut

to Liverpool used in Illustration of the Second Coming of Christ, etc., (M'Neile, 1846e).

⁶⁵ "[Its title] has been universally condemned; because no critic has yet been able to discover that the Prince's visit to Liverpool can in any way be regarded as a type of the Second Coming, or even, in the remotest degree, as an 'illustration' of that great mystery" (Anon (1847c).

"The words "every eye shall see him" were applied to Prince Albert, and to those Liverpool-dians who should stare at him. "From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but one step", and from the sublime to the blasphemous we fancy there is about the same distance. The Press, with one voice, protested against the selection of such a text on such an occasion, and the Prince himself was not flattered by it. Doubtless the doctor's loyal enthusiasm led him astray in this instance, as his Orange predilections have hurried him into opinions and observations, which, a few hours after he uttered them in the pulpit, he publicly retracted, and properly stigmatised as "atrocious"..." (Dix, 1852, p.95).

⁶⁶ Anon (1846a).

low" and, so, when-ever he stood erect, at his full height of 6'3", "[a towering M'Neile] stood as much out of it as in it" (Anon, 1879f). Yet, he was always safe:

McNeile was credited with having a contrivance in his pulpit at S. Paul's, Liverpool, for sitting upon or against, so adjusted with springs and cranks as to enable him when preaching to fling himself forward and from side to side without effort. Baring-Gould (1914), p.141.⁶⁷

These two unusual characteristics gave M'Neile the freedom, the room, and the space to use his arms and body in whatever exaggerated gesture, posture, or movements his theatre of the moment might demand. It also kept him safely within the pulpit whilst in his habitual imbued-with-God 'trance state'.

M'Neile's Statue

Dr. William Goode, D.D., Dean of Ripon,⁶⁸ died suddenly on 13 August 1868. M'Neile was hurriedly appointed to the vacancy,⁶⁹ and was installed on 29 October 1868. On 4 November 1868, he made his last speech in Liverpool; and, the next day, a group of his friends and parishioners, "having resolved to erect a full-length marble statue of him in Liverpool, in commemoration of his many valuable and long-continued services in the cause of religion and religious education", announced they were accepting donations to the Statue Fund, the maximum contributions to which were fixed at £5 (Anon, 1868c).

Commissioned in 1869,⁷⁰ eminent sculptor, George Gamon Adams[†] took 18 months to finish the 6'9" (225cm), three ton statue, which he carved from a pure white, 8-ton block of Italian Carrara marble (the same marble as Michelangelo's *David*).⁷¹ The sculpture was finished in mid-October. The Liverpool Council

⁶⁷ The Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, M.A. (1834-1924), the author of the popular hymn "Onward, Christian Soldiers" in 1865, was no fan of M'Neile; he had been particularly offended when that "blustering Irishman" M'Neile, "had the effrontery to send about an advertisement of a book of his as by "that great and good man Dr. McNeile"" (Baring-Gould, 1914, p.49).

⁶⁸ The Dean of Ripon Cathedral is the senior Anglican cleric in Diocese of Ripon, second only to the Bishop of Ripon.

⁶⁹ "The deanery of Ripon has been offered to and accepted by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, incumbent of St. Paul's, Liverpool" (London *Morning Post*, Thursday, 27 August 1868, p.4, col.D).

⁷⁰ A news item in the *Liverpool Mercury* of 11 May 1869 (Anon, 1869a), reported that the statue committee's target amount had been collected, and that Adams had already started work, and, during the preceding week, had already had several sittings with M'Neile.

⁷¹ Eight tons = 8x2,240 lbs = 17,920 lbs = 8,128kg; three tons = 3x2,240 lbs = 6,720 lbs = 3,050 kg.

considered a request from the McNeile Statue Committee on 28 October 1870, “that the statue be accepted for placement in St George’s Hall” (Cavanagh, 1997, p.281). The suggestion it should place a statue of M’Neile in such a conspicuous place of honour, “produced an acrimonious discussion”; and, given the fierce objections by a considerable number present, the subject was deferred (Anon, 1870a), for the simple reason that every statue that had been placed in St. George’s Hall up to that time, had been accepted by a unanimous vote.

At the next meeting, on 9 November 1870, the first chaired by the new Lord Mayor, Joseph Gibbons Livingston, a strong supporter of M’Neile,⁷² various motions were put, various amendments were proposed, and a number of very strongly held views were expressed, based on arguments such as:

- (1) His entire 34 years in Liverpool had consistently stirred up such ill-will among the classes, and such division between different sections of the Liverpool community, that any suggestion that he had a national or local claim to such a high honour simply beggared belief;
- (2) He was a clergyman of high status and pre-eminent in one of the Church’s largest divisions;
- (3) He had no national significance as a clergyman, because he only served the interests of one section of the Church of England;
- (4) He was an earnest, conscientious, zealous Christian, of the highest principles whose integrity was beyond question;
- (5) His extreme anti-Catholicism had insulted, antagonized, and alienated at least a third of the population of Liverpool;
- (6) His vicious attacks on those who did not share his religious views (Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics within the Church of England, non-Evangelicals, non-Conformists, and Dissenters, etc.) were so offensive that, if a statue *must* be placed in St. George’s Hall, it was better to allow considerable time to pass and the offence he had caused to dissipate; and
- (7) He was a well-published author on divinity and theological subjects, and a measure of his excellence was that his works had been reviewed in

⁷² The following account is based Wardle (1981, pp.440-446), and Cavanagh (1997, pp.280-282).

prestigious publications such as *The Edinburgh Review* and *The Times*.

Despite the convention requiring a unanimous vote, it seems the majority (the final vote was 36 "aye" to 16 "nay") were prepared to take the view that, whatever divisive conduct M'Neile may have displayed, he deserved recognition as a writer and orator, and agreed to place the statue amongst the other eleven local and national dignitaries.⁷³

The established Liverpool custom was a public unveiling, with "the most prestigious guest available invited to officiate". These were great popular occasions,⁷⁴ wherein "extended eulogies [were] delivered by the succession of committee-members and honoured guests", reports of which were "invariably peppered with the parenthetic "cheers", "hear-hears", "applause" and, even, "loud and extended applause" from crowds that attendant reporters frequently emphasized "encompassed all classes and creeds" (Cavanagh, 1997, p.xvi).

Yet, in the case of M'Neile's statue, it was brought to Liverpool and placed on its pedestal on the dark of night, and was unveiled "without any ceremonial" in St. George's Hall, three days later, on the evening of Monday, 5 December, in the presence of the Mayor, the chairman, secretary, and other several members of the Statue Committee, several "ladies", M'Neile's son, Rev. Edmund Hugh M'Neile (who took over St. Paul's, Princes Park from his father), and Rev. Dyson Rycroft, Honorary Canon of Liverpool.

Often, according to the established Liverpool custom, the sculptor would be present; and, on occasion, the sculptor might even deliver a short speech. In the case of M'Neile's statue, the sculptor was the only one to speak; and, moreover,

⁷³ The twelve dignitaries were Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), twice Prime Minister, founder of the Conservative Party; William Roscoe (1753-1831), Liverpool patron of the arts; Sir William Brown (1784-1864), Liverpool cotton merchant, politician, benefactor of the Free Public Library; Edward Smith-Stanley (1799-1869), 14th Earl of Derby, three time Prime Minister; William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), four time Prime Minister; Samuel Robert Graves (1818-1873), merchant, ship owner, Mayor of Liverpool, M.P.; Edward Whitley (1825-1892), Mayor of Liverpool, M.P.; Frederick Stanley (1841-1908), 16th Earl of Derby, politician, Governor-General of Canada; Rev. Jonathan Brooks (1775-1855), Senior Rector and Archdeacon of Liverpool; George Stephenson (1781-1848), inventor and pioneer of railways; M'Neile; and Joseph Mayer (1803-1886), goldsmith, antiquary, collector, principal founder of Liverpool Museum.

⁷⁴ Although the Queen and the Prime Minister were absent, when the *Equestrian Statue of Queen Victoria* was unveiled in 1870, some 200,000 people lined the processional route, and more than 20,000 witnessed the actual unveiling (Cavanagh, 1997, pp.xvi-xvii).

Adams had to unveil M'Neile's statue himself.⁷⁵



Fig.84. An artist's impression of the Statue of the Rev. Dr. M'Neile, Dean of Ripon, in St. George's Hall, Liverpool.⁷⁶

The final irony is that, of all the statues, "the only statue in St George's Hall to cause offence because of the character of its subject, is also the only statue to have received unanimous acclaim as a work of art" (Cavanagh, 1997, p.282):⁷⁷

Mr. G.G. Adams, the artist who has given us the one good statue in St George's Hall. ... People may quarrel with the objects of the promoters of the memorial, but no one can withhold a tribute of admiration to the rare ability of the sculptor.

Liverpool Daily Post, Thursday, 15 December 1870.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Cavanagh's reasonable view (1997) is that "McNeile, with his vituperative anti-catholicism, was perhaps such a controversial figure that even those councilors who had forced through his commemoration thought it wiser to abstain from such an open declaration of affinity" (p.xvii).

⁷⁶ From *The Graphic: An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, Vol.4, No.95, (23 September 1871), p.304.

⁷⁷ As my friend and colleague Andrew Kapos remarked, the fact of the brutish and offensive M'Neile being, indirectly, the cause of such a beautiful and gracious work of art, is no less ironical than the fact of the hostile act of the mistaken, illogical, and extremely belligerent M'Neile "motivating Braid to articulate his brilliance".

⁷⁸ Cited by Cavanagh (1997, p.282).

M'Neile's Death

Resigning as the Dean of Ripon in 1875, due failing health, M'Neile moved to Bournemouth, where he died on 28 January 1879. He was interred in the midst of a severe snowstorm, at Bournemouth New Cemetery. The ceremony was performed by his nephew, William Connor Magee (1821-1891), Bishop of Peterborough, and his son, Rev. Edmund M'Neile (1840-1893). Earl Cairns (1810-1885), Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885), and many others were present. Throughout that day, the muffled bell of Ripon Cathedral was tolled, and its lectern and pulpit were each covered with a black cloth (Anon, 1879a).

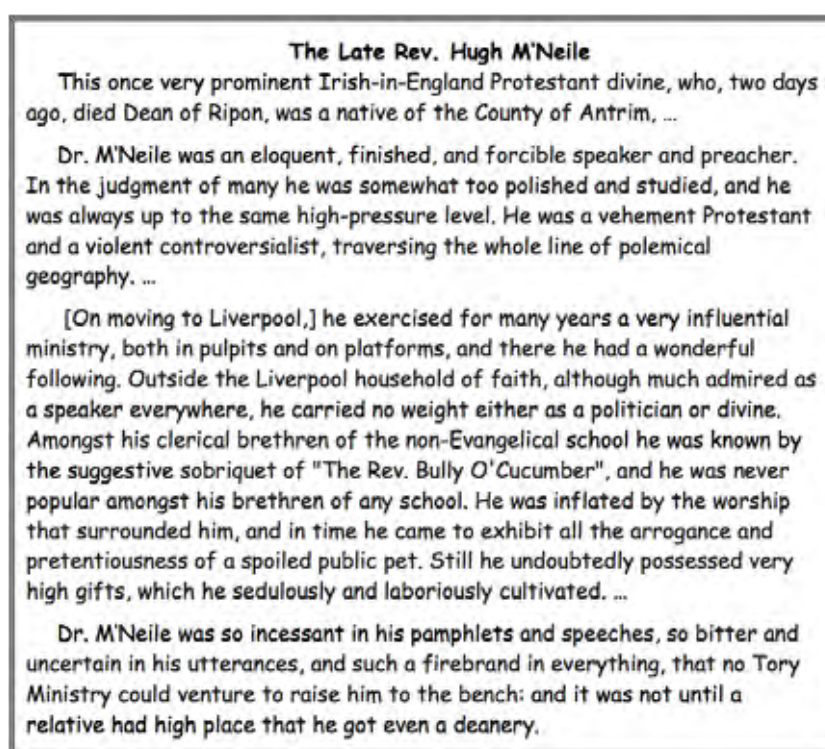


Fig.85. Obituary, *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin), 30 January 1879.^{79,80}

⁷⁹ Anon (1879b). Also, this obituary was reprinted, entirely as written, in the U.S. (Roman Catholic) *Donahoe's Magazine*, under the title "Rev. Bully O'Cucumber" (Volume I, 1879, p.507).

⁸⁰ Bully O'Cucumber was a character in the very popular satirical work, *The Commissioner: or, De lunatico inquirendo* (1843) written by George Payne Rainsford James (1799-1860), the prolific author, historian (the last Historiographer Royal), and diplomat. (A *writ de lunatico inquirendo*, "a writ issued to inquire into the state of a person's mind, whether it is sound or not", having been issued, and that inquiry having found that the individual was not of sound mind, meant that the individual and his/her affairs came under the control of the *Commissioners in Lunacy*.)

The work was presented as "the first part of the Travels of the Chevalier de Lunatico". It opens with a description of a tumultuous meeting of the moon's parliament at which "one of the members for the great volcano", one Bully O'Cucumber, rose to speak of "the treatment which the volcano had received at the hands of the rest of the planet", and describes him as "foaming at the mouth for some time" and "gesticulating with infinite vehemence towards various parts of the house". In 1879, the allusion would have been as immediately familiar to its readers as an allusion to either "Dirty Harry" or "Make my day!" to a reader in 2012.

M'Neile's "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism" Sermon

I have tried to keep my account of M'Neile as brief as is compatible with conveying an understanding of the malevolence and seriousness of his attack on Braid. Having done so, I now examine his sermon and its aftermath. On the evening of Sunday, 10 April 1842, M'Neile preached against Mesmerism to a capacity congregation 'prepared' with an extensive recital of scripture passages that morning. He began, speaking of "latter days" — following which, Christ would return to Earth, and peace would reign for 1,000 years — and how, as the second advent neared, "satanic agency amongst men" would become ever more obvious; and, then, moving into a confusing admixture of *phillipic* (against Braid and Lafontaine),⁸¹ and *polemic* (against animal magnetism), where he concluded that all mesmeric phenomena were due to "satanic agency".⁸²

M'Neile's sermon presents the paradox of a high-ranking cleric making an *ex cathedra* statement, literally, about a matter upon which he was not entitled to make any sort of *ex cathedra* statement, in a metaphorical sense, at all.

Lafontaine's Third Liverpool Conversazione of 12 April 1842

Two days later, Lafontaine conducted his third Liverpool *conversazione*, with a small audience, at the Templar's Hall (Anon, 1842kk). There is no record of a response to M'Neile's sermon.⁸³ His demonstration with one 'prepared' subject was successful, but unsuccessful with three volunteers. When questioned on his views, Lafontaine's interpreter, Mr. Nottingham,[†] a local surgeon, replied that,

If he were asked did he believe in mesmerism he would say no, although there was a class of young hysterical females whom he believed would be operated upon in that way; but he was induced to examine into the matter in consequence of a certain Rev. Gentleman [viz., M'Neile] having denounced all mesmerizers, as deserving to be ranked among witches and those acquainted with the black art. He had also quoted the law, stating that a witch should not live; and as he (Mr.

⁸¹ In the fortnight preceding M'Neile's sermon, Braid and Lafontaine had each delivered two of their lecture/demonstrations, in various locations in Liverpool proper.

⁸² The only eyewitness account was in *The Liverpool Standard* of Tuesday, 12 April 1842 (Anon (1842ii)). For this, plus a number of other 'derivative' reports, see *Appendix Seven*.

⁸³ In his *memoirs*, Lafontaine speaks briefly of the sermon (1847, p.354; 1866, I, p.341-343); of it causing "a great stir" in Liverpool (1866, I, p.342), the accusation of being "an agent of Satan, if not the devil himself" (1866, I, p.342), and magnetism being "the devil's work" (1847, p.354).

Nottingham) had taken some interest in the matter, he did not know how far he might be liable.

The Liverpool Mercury, 15 April 1842.⁸⁴

Perhaps because of the sermon, Lafontaine's subsequent lecture tour of the north was a complete financial failure, and he was forced to send a letter to a supporter in Leeds requesting funds (Anon, 1842ze; Anon, 1842zd; Fig.62). Soon after, Lafontaine left for France, never to return.

M. LAFONTAINE.— We are sorry to learn from a letter received within the last few days by a gentleman of this town from M. Lafontaine, who recently lectured on animal magnetism in Leeds, that he is at the present time in much distress in Edinburgh, from which we fear he will have considerable difficulty in releasing himself. It appears that owing to some cause or other, probably the season of the year, when the University is nearly deserted, his visit to Scotland has been very unsuccessful, in consequence of which his funds have failed, and he is placed in the embarrassing position of a foreigner, who cannot speak a sentence in English, being in danger of incarceration for debt. Believing, as we do, from our own personal observation of M. Lafontaine's conduct when in Leeds last winter, and from all we have heard of him in other places, that he is firmly convinced not only of the reality of the phenomena of animal magnetism, but of their beneficial practical application, we should be glad if this notice were to induce any parties to contribute something towards helping him out of his painful position. We shall be happy to take charge of any subscriptions, and would merely add the importance on this occasion of the old maxim — *bis dat qui cito dat* — he who gives quickly gives twice. The following is a translation of M. Lafontaine's letter:—

TO MONSIEUR ———, LEEDS:—

"After many mischances, at length I find myself at Edinburgh, upon the point of imprisonment for debt. I am unable to lecture, for no one has come, so that I have lost even the expenses of the lectures. The idea of a subscription in those towns which I have visited has been suggested to me. I have sacrificed my interest to the propagation of magnetism. I have endeavoured to establish its efficacy as a curative agent. I have cured many sick without ever charging them. I have established many magnetic societies, and have rendered some service to humanity.

"Should you succeed in the attempt, you will confer upon me an immense benefit, for, in truth, I do not know where to put my head, and there appears no alternative left, but either, in a fortnight, to go to prison, or to destroy myself, for I see no other chance.

"I trust you will pardon my thus importuning you, but since I visited Leeds I have not found a single place where I have made any money; everywhere I have lost, or barely covered my expenses, &c.

"LAFONTAINE."

Fig.86 Lafontaine's begging letter, *Leeds Mercury*, Saturday, 17 September 1842.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Anon (1842kk). In 1866, a long way from Liverpool, Lafontaine presented another of his fanciful stories. He wrote that, "to Mac Neil's great mortification", the Liverpool public (in particular women) flocked in droves to his 12 April lecture; that Nottingham was extremely caustic in his ridicule of the credulity, superstition and ignorance displayed by M'Neile, and "to the audience's delight", loudly demanded M'Neile's presence, along with official church documents attesting that Lafontaine's magnetic practices were damnable (1866, I, p.342).

⁸⁵ Anon (1842bn); a slightly edited version of the *Mercury's* commentary (commencing "we learn...", rather than "we are sorry to learn...") along with the entire text of Lafontaine's letter

Lafontaine disappeared from the picture, and was never heard of in the U.K. again. In one of the many fanciful stories that he related in his *memoirs* (1866, I, pp.342-343), Lafontaine claims that “a few years later” (viz., later than 1842), he was dining in Paris with “baronet sir Richard Dennis” [sic], who introduced him to M’Neile.⁸⁶ M’Neile, who was “outraged by [Lafontaine’s] presence”, allegedly calmed down a little when “Dennis” explained that Lafontaine was “the rescuer of the baronet’s two nieces”. Lafontaine conducted several experiments on a somnambulist (whom he had ‘conveniently’ brought with him); and the success of his experiments “removed the blindfold from poor Mr. Mac Neil”, and, at last, allowed him to see the truth of animal magnetism.

Braid’s Macclesfield Lecture of 13 April 1842

On Wednesday, 13 April, Braid lectured to a large, appreciative audience at Macclesfield Town Hall (Anon, 1842we).⁸⁷

Braid carefully demonstrated the effects of *neuro-hypnotism* on his own subjects and a number of volunteers, including “a woman, who had been paralytic for fifteen years”, and impressed the audience with “his success with five deaf and dumb adults belonging to the town, who were never seen by Mr. Braid until introduced to him on the platform” (Anon, 1842we).

This otherwise unremarkable lecture is historically significant because an extensive report of the evening’s proceedings, including the verbatim text of Braid’s entire lecture, and the reporter’s detailed eyewitness account of his demonstrations and experiments, was published in the *Macclesfield Courier* of Saturday, 16 April 1842 (Anon, 1842mm), and, in due course, was sent to M’Neile by Braid.⁸⁸

was published in *The Lancet* three weeks later (Anon, 1842bo).

I have been unable to determine whether the newspaper actually received any subscriptions.

⁸⁶ I have been unable to identify “baronet sir Richard Dennis”; I have not been able to isolate the time/location of this dinner; and I have been unable to find any independent evidence supporting any aspect of this fanciful anecdote.

⁸⁷ Macclesfield was 17 miles (28km) from Manchester, and 45 miles (72km) from Liverpool.

⁸⁸ The entire newspaper article has been transcribed, for the interested reader, at *Appendix Eight*.

Braid's Private Letter of 16 April 1842

Apart from addressing the issues that the various brief newspaper reports indicated might have been raised in M'Neile's sermon, the greatest problem that Braid faced was in the person of his opponent: as a rich and well-connected man, M'Neile had an influential social position; as a public orator at Exeter Hall, M'Neile was renowned for his polished, theatrical performances; as a political figure in Liverpool, M'Neile was feared by his opponents as a powerful enemy; as an Anglican, M'Neile clearly 'out-ranked' Braid, a 'dissenter'; as a preacher, M'Neile's fans regularly filled his (1,500+ seat) church in Liverpool to hear his 'message', despite his arguments being incoherent, and his interpretations inaccurate; and, finally, M'Neile was from Liverpool, and Braid was a visitor.

Whilst M'Neile's sermon was 'noticed' in the press,⁸⁹ it was not reported in any great detail;⁹⁰ and, given the obvious fact that M'Neile's audience had a well-developed propensity for *peripheral route processing*, was incapable of structured thought, and had an extremely *low need for cognition* (see Chapter One), there was no point in Braid attempting to disabuse *them* of their false notions. Assuming that M'Neile was an honourable man, the simplest remedy was to correct each of M'Neile's errors and misapprehensions, and to relieve M'Neile of his ignorance; and, then, of course, the 'improved M'Neile' would broadcast these 'revised views' to his captive, enthralled audience.

On Saturday, 16 April Braid wrote a polite, private letter directly to M'Neile, asking M'Neile if he did, in fact, preach such a sermon, and the extent to which the various statements that had been attributed to him were accurately reported, and, if so, whether, on 'cooling down', he still held those views.⁹¹ Braid hoped to clarify the matters upon which M'Neile was mistaken, and also hoped to re-orient M'Neile's thinking on a number of philosophical, medical, and scientific

⁸⁹ A sample of the 'mentions' in the press of M'Neile's sermon have been transcribed, for the interested reader, at *Appendix Seven*.

⁹⁰ There is no evidence that any of Braid's friends/colleagues attended the evening service at St. Jude's, saw M'Neile's performance, or heard his sermon. It is not strange, because there is no record of the sermon being advertised in the press; yet, it would certainly have been announced to M'Neile's 'flock' — and, it is also a matter of record that M'Neile preached to a 'full house'.

⁹¹ "Though he never repaid spite with spite, he was quick to reply to critics, firm in asserting his priority, [and] sometimes incensed by the injustice of attackers..." (Gauld, 1992, p.281).

issues that he had, obviously, misapprehended.

According to the press reports, Braid noted, M'Neile had (a) ascribed Braid's phenomena to "satanic agency", (b) *positioned* the notion that Braid and Lafontaine were of the same kind, and (c) stigmatized Braid and Lafontaine as "necromancers" and other sorts of satanic miscreant. The reports also represented M'Neile as having said that Braid was dishonest, that he had not provided explanations for his phenomena, that he had not demonstrated in public, and that he had not experimented on strangers.

To prove M'Neile's accusations were groundless, Braid enclosed a copy of the *Macclesfield Courier's* report of his recent explanatory lecture and public demonstrations. Finally, he invited M'Neile to attend his 21 April Liverpool lecture (enclosing a free ticket). Braid was certain that the lecture would confirm the accuracy of the *Macclesfield Courier's* report, and would allow M'Neile to hear Braid's explanations for the "uniform success" of his method at first hand, observe his demonstrations, meet him, speak with him, address his questions directly to him, in person; and, perhaps, even volunteer himself as a subject.

Braid's Liverpool Lecture of 21 April 1842

M'Neile neither acknowledged nor replied to Braid's letter. Braid was rather surprised to find that M'Neile was not present in the large audience, which included "several of the clergy"; yet, it *was* reasonable to think that 'M'Neile sympathizers', who would report back to M'Neile, were in the audience. Braid felt his lecture ("*Animal Magnetism compared with Neurohypnology*"), a subject which, the reporter noted, "has been agitating the minds of the professional men of this town for some time past", would address M'Neile's concerns. He lectured and successfully conducted a number of his usual demonstrations:

In his introductory remarks [Mr. Braid] took occasion to notice the sermon lately preached by a noted Rev. polemic on the subject, and in the course of his observations, in allusion to the assertion that the mesmerizers were under the influence of Satanic agency, Mr. Braid said the best answer he could give was to quote the scriptural text— "By their works ye shall know them".

The devil, he (Mr. Braid) had been taught to believe in Scotland, was always trying to blind man, and to keep him ignorant; but they had before heard, that by taking advantage of this law of animal economy,

he had been enabled to restore sight to a lady after a few minutes of hypnotic sleep, and her memory was so much strengthened, that was enabled to recollect what she read.

She was then enabled to read her Bible, which had hitherto been a closed book to her.

Was it likely the devil would do any such thing — was it likely to be the work of the devil?

Was it not more likely that men who opposed any thing that was likely to become a blessing to mankind were actuated by Satanic agency? (Loud applause.)

He recommended as the next text to be preached for the statement of Gamaliel— "If it be the work of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, fight not against it, lest ye fight against God".

The Liverpool Mercury, Friday, 29 April 1842.⁹²

M'Neile's Publication: "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism"

On 28 April Braid delivered the same lecture, although with different experiments; he informed his audience that it was to be his last Liverpool lecture (Anon, 1842tt). He made no mention of M'Neile or M'Neile's sermon. It seems that, having made an 'oral' reply a week earlier to M'Neile's 'oral' attack, Braid was satisfied that, having responded in kind, the matter was closed. But it was not closed. On Wednesday, 4 May 1842, a transcript of M'Neile's sermon was published in James Paul's popular weekly, *The Penny Pulpit*,⁹³ and an offprint was immediately disseminated widely as a pamphlet.⁹⁴ The transcript and pamphlet were not issued with the authority or consent of M'Neile.⁹⁵ He never acknowledged them as his own; and never took any steps to deny them.

M'Neile's core argument was that scripture asserts that "satanic agency"

⁹² Anon (1842ss); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁹³ In full, the title was *The Penny Pulpit: A Collection of Accurately Reported Sermons by the Most Eminent Ministers of Various Denominations*. Published by the religious publisher James Paul, this very popular weekly sold all over the U.K. in weekly issues, monthly parts, and in cloth-bound annual volumes. The sermons were numbered sequentially; and M'Neile's characteristically long sermon (of approximately 7,500 words) was given two numbers: 599 and 600.

⁹⁴ Whilst M'Neile spent most of the morning service bombarding his congregation with scriptural passages upon which his evening sermon and its embedded arguments would be based, the published version of the sermon did not publish the text of (or even identify) these passages. The entire text of M'Neile's sermon, discussed, analysed, and annotated for the interested reader at *Appendix Nine*; and, as well, a 'reverse engineering' reconstruction of the Biblical texts upon which the sermon was based is also transcribed at *Appendix Nine*.

⁹⁵ No copies of the original *Penny Pulpit* issue remain today; and, perhaps, the only copy left of the pamphlet is in the set of four "Mesmerism" scrap-books of Theodosius Purland[†] held by the U.S. Library of Medicine: Purland, T., *Collection of Materials on Mesmerism, 1842-1854, Volume I*, (not dated) (ID: 2931171R); a photocopy is held at Cambridge University Library (no. 2442970).

exists, and he provided examples of the various *instantiations* that “satanic agency” might manifest (observing times, divination, necromancy, etc.), and idiosyncratically stipulated that these were all forms of “*witchcraft*” (“*witchcraft*” was M’Neile’s own term);⁹⁶ and, further, he asserted that, because scripture asserts that, as “latter times” approach, more and more evidence of “satanic agency” will appear, the exhibitions of Lafontaine and Braid, in Liverpool, at that very moment, were concrete examples of those particular instantiations.

He turned his attention to the effects displayed in the exhibitions. Admitting he had never attended one — *the diabolical power involved, he said, was of such magnitude that he, an ordained individual, could not withstand it!* — he argued that, in the absence of misrepresentation, collusion, fraud, or sleight of hand, the *reported* phenomena were either entirely “beyond the course of nature” (thus, attributable to “satanic agency”), or were, alternately, attributable to some “latent power in nature”, “the discovery of which is now being made for the first time”. If so, the discoverers should “state the laws of nature by the uniform action of which this thing is done”.

Yet, he said, whilst we *are* shown “experiments” (by those who “confine themselves to experiments in a corner upon their own servants, or upon females hired for the purpose”), we are *not* given any explanation of “the laws on which they proceed”. Moreover, given its concentration on the material substances of the body, it was obvious that the medical profession was entirely unsuitable to investigate ‘super-natural things’. He recited a report of a painless mastectomy performed on a mesmerized woman, made to the French Royal Academy of Medicine, arguing that, even if the account were true — given that the performance of such an act was “beyond human power”, and given the scriptural evidence that the devil could relieve ‘possessed’ people of pain in normally painful situations — it *must* be ‘satanic’. Finally, he warned his congregation to avoid lectures, and experiments, and demonstrations, which were all “latter day” diabolical traps, through which “learned men”, although posing

⁹⁶ M’Neile is coercing his docile and willing listeners into believing that such practices were, indeed, “witchcraft” *as it was defined by the Witchcraft Act of 1735* (an interested reader will find further discussion on M’Neile’s flawed reasoning and inappropriate use of the term “witchcraft” in *Appendix Nine*).

as “philosophers”, but were really “necromancers”, would entice them into investigating this false “science”.

Despite Braid having raised his substantial concerns in his private letter and its attachments, M'Neile's original sermon was published on 4 May 1842, without the slightest correction. It was this ‘most ungentlemanly’ act that forced Braid to publish his own response, which he did on 4 June 1842.

Braid's Publication: “Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed”⁹⁷

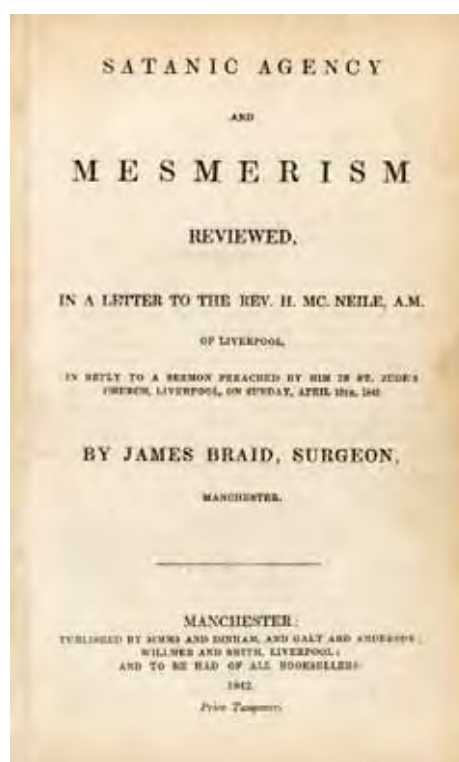


Fig.87. Braid's publication: *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed* (1842)

Crabtree's assertion (1988)⁹⁸ that this small, 12-page pamphlet is “Braid's first published work containing his historic theory of the cause of mesmeric phenomena” is a little misleading; for, whilst it was Braid's first self-published work, it was not the first time that such things had appeared in print:

In short, the whole of my experiments go to prove, that there is a law of the animal economy by which a continued fixation of the visual

⁹⁷ The text of this pamphlet, annotated for the interested reader, appears at *Appendix Nine*.

For a long time it was thought that no copies of this pamphlet remained. Today, two copies are known; one in private hands, the other in *The Maurice M. and Jean H. Tinterow Collection of Books on Mesmerism, Animal Magnetism, and Hypnotism*, in the Special Collections Division, of the Ablah Library, at Wichita State University.

⁹⁸ At one time, Crabtree was the owner of the one copy of the pamphlet held in private hands.

organ, and a constrained attention of the mind to one subject, which is not of itself of an exciting nature; a state of somnolency is induced, with a peculiar mobility of the whole system, which may be directed so as to exhibit the whole or greater part of the mesmeric phenomena...

I beg leave further to state, that as I have operated successfully on the blind, it is evident it is not the optic nerve so much as the ganglionic or sympathetic systems and motor nerves of the eye, and state of the mind, which influence the system in this extraordinary manner...

James Braid, letter written on 7 March 1842.⁹⁹

Crabtree's assertion that the pamphlet "[contains] his new nomenclature for [mesmeric] phenomena: "hypnotic sleep", "hypnotise", and "neurohypnotism"" is also a little misleading; the terms had already appeared in print.¹⁰⁰

Despite Crabtree's accurate appraisal of it being "a work of the greatest significance in the history of hypnotism", the work itself is often misrepresented. It is not an objective, well-structured exposition of Braid's thoughts in isolation, especially crafted for publication. Its specific content, manner, and form had been dictated by issues raised in M'Neile's published sermon, and that alone.¹⁰¹ Further, for a thorough historical understanding, it must be read in conjunction with its counterpart, the article in the *Macclesfield Courier* (Anon, 1842mm);¹⁰² a significant point that no-one has ever remarked upon in any of the literature.

It is an open letter to M'Neile, reminding him that he had not acknowledged Braid's letter, nor attended the lecture (where he would have learned his fears 'utterly foundless'). The publication of the transcript of his sermon uncorrected, despite Braid's letter, proved that M'Neile was not 'mis-led', not 'misinformed', and was not 'ignorant'; and, most certainly, was not 'innocent'. It was, therefore, an inescapable conclusion that the embedded lies, errors, and insults had been

⁹⁹ A letter to the Editor of *The Medical Times*, written on 7 March 1842, and published in *The Medical Times* of 12 March 1842 (Braid, 1842f).

¹⁰⁰ Apart from the terms appearing within the earlier newspaper accounts of his lectures, and in the copy of his own advertisements, *neurohypnology* appeared in a review of Braid's London lectures of 1 and 2 March in *The Medical Times* of 12 March 1842 (Anon, 1842y), and *hypnotise* appeared in a letter Braid wrote to the Editor of *The Medical Times*, on 17 March 1842, published in *The Medical Times* of 26 March 1842 (Braid, 1842h), etc.

¹⁰¹ The pamphlet was aimed squarely at those who had either (a) heard M'Neile deliver his sermon in person, or (b) read its published text, and no-one else.

It was never intended to meet the needs of those unfamiliar with the fine detail of the sermon; and, so, one cannot understand the significance of Braid's response in isolation from the text of M'Neile's original sermon.

¹⁰² The text of this article, annotated for the interested reader, appears at *Appendix Eight*.

intentionally published, and the charges M'Neile had levelled against Braid were well considered and deliberately made. This 'ungentlemanly' conduct was "altogether without excuse", and had forced Braid to publish a formal response, based upon an expanded and extended version of his original private letter.

Braid describes the newspaper report, confirming his detailed exposition of his discoveries, his physiological and psychological explanation for the phenomena, and his scientific explanation of the natural laws responsible for the uniform production of such phenomena (that they are attributable to a particular physiological state of the brain and spinal cord, and nothing else). He also describes a number of applications; e.g., the restoration of sight, relief of chronic pain, restoration of hearing, removal of paralysis, removal of sensation to allow painless teeth extraction, etc. He demands that M'Neile examine the 'fruits' of his work, asking rhetorically how something of such benefit to all of the human race could be attributed to satanic agency, remarking that it would be extraordinary for Satan to assist him to restore sight to a blind woman, and, through this, allowing her to read the Bible for the first time in many years. He addresses M'Neile's charge, that "medical men" know nothing of the human mind, reminding him that the eminent philosophers Locke, Brown, and Abercrombie, were all "medical men".

In closing, Braid says that, whilst he is not promoting *neurohypnotism* as a "universal remedy", it is clearly obvious that, whenever his method is correctly and appropriately applied, "it is a means... of rapidly curing many diseases which resisted all other known remedies". Also, because it operates according to a "natural law", it is indisputable that this capacity "[was] implanted for some wise purpose". Finally, if there is some thing that remains still unrevealed, Braid *can not be held responsible for its hidden-ness*; for he has honestly and openly shared all of his rationale, all of his thoughts, all of his experiments, and all of his operations with everyone, and he has done so in public.

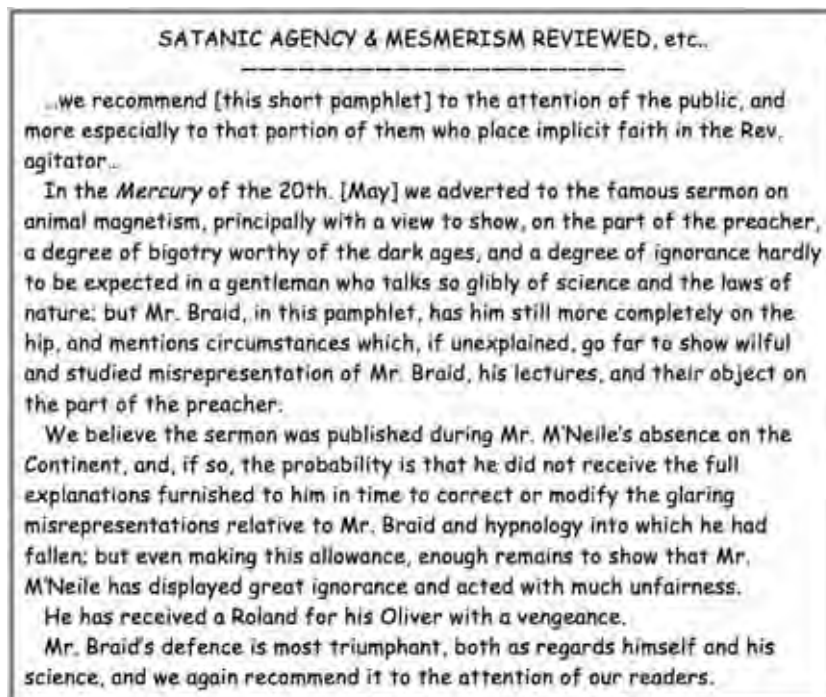


Fig.81. Book Review, *The Liverpool Mercury*, Friday, 10 June 1842.^{103,104,105,106}

Turning forty-six on 19 June 1841, Braid was a diligent, conventional medical professional with a number of influential articles published in prestigious medical journals on important medical topics.

Four months later, having discovered an entirely new therapeutic principle, he had begun to lecture in public, explaining his principles and demonstrating his techniques to large general audiences at various self-improvement institutions and, privately, to groups of interested medical professionals, with an ever-increasing level of precision and confidence. Now, within the last ten weeks, he had moved into an entirely new domain, in an entirely new rôle, and had been forced to become engaged in a far more complex defence of himself,

¹⁰³ Anon (1842yy).

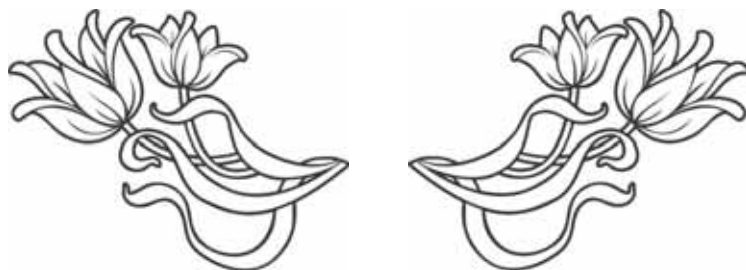
¹⁰⁴ "On the hip", a phrase from wrestling: where the wrestler now has his opponent at an extreme disadvantage, from which he will certainly throw him, and soundly defeat him.

¹⁰⁵ Given that the source of this information ("We believe the sermon was published during Mr. M'Neile's absence on the Continent, and, if so, the probability is that...") seems to have been a M'Neile supporter, rather than M'Neile himself, and given that this is the only place in any of the literature that such potentially mitigating circumstances are mentioned, the explanation must be taken 'with a grain of salt'.

¹⁰⁶ Legendary hero Roland, recklessly courageous in battle, and legendary knight, Oliver, always poised in battle, chosen as champions, fought each other to settle an extended dispute. After a protracted battle, in which neither prevailed, each recognized the outstanding qualities of the other, became the best of friends, and brokered a peace between the two sides. "M'Neile has received a Roland for his Oliver" means "M'Neile has been given as good as he gave".

of his work, and of his therapeutic principle, in an entirely new arena, against a far higher and far more malevolent level of opposition than ever before.

Yet, as the next chapter will reveal, his carefully considered act of publication and his apparent neutralization of M'Neile's onslaught, was not the end of this phase of his boundary work; for, rather than defending against a single rogue cleric, he would be compelled to hold his ground against what seemed to be the concerted weight of the entire *British Association for the Advancement of Science*.



Chapter Nine: Braid and the B.A.A.S.

For several reasons Braid was not subjected to the persecution and vituperation that were given so abundantly to [John] Elliotson.

First, he rejected the fluidic theory and the miracles.

Second, he proposed a new name for the state produced in his subjects and proceeded to explain it by established or plausible physiological concepts. For a long time neither Braid nor the medical profession was certain that hypnotism and mesmerism were the same.

Third, his articles were not rejected, because *The Medical Times* was competing with *The Lancet*, which angrily opposed Elliotson, and the spirit of competition made Braid less unacceptable to the [*Medical*] *Times* than he might otherwise have been.

Fourth, Braid was ignored by Elliotson and fought by the mesmerists in general, and therefore he stood apart from the main targets of the wrath of the orthodox.

Fifth, he was of milder temperament than Elliotson.

Sixth (and very important), he was self-employed and held no academic or hospital appointments from which he could be separated.

Fig.82. Elliotson vs. Braid.¹

Whilst it is true to say that Braid was 'more acceptable' than Elliotson, he was also, from time to time, subjected to abuse, denigration, misrepresentation and professional jealousy. Less than a month after M'Neile's challenge, Braid was prevented, at the very last moment, and in the most controversial of circumstances, from giving a paper entitled "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*" to the Medical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science's meeting in Manchester. Braid was immediately compelled to launch himself into an even higher level of self-defence and proactive boundary work four days later, when he delivered a highly successful *conversazione* to a packed house of B.A.A.S. delegates, the *crème de la crème* of British scientists; and, then, only five days later, in a public forum, a medical colleague accused Braid of being fraudulent and falsely claiming cures. These events amplified M'Neile's challenge such that the combined pressure represented the most severe trial that Braid had ever been forced to endure.

The extent to which Braid's enterprise (and Braid himself) was rigorously tested by these events — in the absence of which Braid may not ever have been obliged to deliver a detailed response (and, in consequence, systematically set out his ideas) — and the extent to which the tensions of these forces were

¹ Frank A. Pattie, "A Brief History of Hypnotism", (1967), p.32.

responsible for generating Braid's systematic and articulate responses, is the subject of this chapter. Consequently, the story needs to change from one of Braid 'evolving', to one of him being purified by this 'test by fire': to borrow from Shakespeare, it is clear that he has well and truly cast his humble slough, and is now beginning to be revealed in his full glory — and, moreover he truly has had greatness thrust upon him.² This chapter concludes with an account of how all of these forces led to the publication of Braid's *Neurypnology* in mid-1843, and how the extraordinary and peculiar character of this important work is greatly misunderstood today.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.A.S.)

The B.A.A.S. was founded in York in 1831.³ "Members of the Association would meet for a week every year, at one or other of a circuit of provincial centres, under an annually elected president" (Orange, 1981, p.43). The B.A.A.S. continued to meet at different cities each year (e.g., Oxford, 1832; Cambridge, 1833, etc.). It provided a location "in which data were scrutinized, theories debated, and information and ideas exchanged [between scientists, academics, and the public]",⁴ and it commissioned reports and assessments of "the current situations in the separate sciences" (Orange, 1981, p.51). By 1835, it had seven distinct divisions: **Mathematical and Physical Science** (*Section A*); **Chemistry and Mineralogy** (*Section B*); **Geology and Geography** (*Section C*); **Zoology and Botany** (*Section D*); **Medical Science** (*Section E*); **Statistics** (*Section F*); and **Mechanical Science** (*Section G*).

² Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, Act 2, Scene V: "...be not afraid of greatness: some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em. Thy Fates open their hands; let thy blood and spirit embrace them; and, to inure thyself to what thou art like to be, cast thy humble slough and appear fresh..."

³ It was modelled on the German interdisciplinary society, *Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte*, "Society of German Natural Philosophers and Physicians", founded by the naturalist Lorenz Oken (1779-1851) in Leipzig in 1822.

⁴ And, in a sort of halfway house, were "the female audience" (Higgitt and Withers, 2008).

This included the holders of a female ticket (25% of the tickets sold in 1842 were female tickets (Morrell and Thackray (1981), p.548)); the female counterparts of 'local' organizers (or those who offered accommodation to 'visitors'); those hoping to exploit "the association's [reputed] role as a space for courtship or even as a marriage market" (Higgitt and Withers, p.23); those whose main "interest [was] in the social side of the gatherings" (p.5); or those "[playing] their supportive role toward male family members, acquaintances, and speakers" (p.5).

The 1842 B.A.A.S. Medical Section

The 12th Annual Meeting of the B.A.A.S. was held at Manchester from 22 to 29 June 1842. The *Medical Section* was administered by Edward Holme[‡] (President); James Lomax Bardsley,[‡] Charles James Blasius Williams[‡] (Vice-Presidents); Richard Strong Sargent,[‡] and Gustavus Adolphus Chaytor[‡] (Secretaries).⁵ Its committee was William Pulteney Alison,[‡] William Fleming,[‡] Thomas Hodgkin[‡], James Davenport Hulme,[‡] Edmund Lyon,[‡] Daniel Noble,[‡] Joseph Atkinson Ransome,[‡] John Robertson,[‡] Peter Mark Roget,[‡] Michael Satterthwaite,[‡] Thomas Turner,[‡] William Crawford Williamson,[‡] and William James Wilson[‡].⁶ Several of the committee were not Mancunians; and those that were, whilst seeming to be Braid's medical peers, were really his commercial rivals.

The *Medical Section* of the B.A.A.S. was already in decline. Unlike scientists in the other sections (geology, statistics, etc.), it seems that medical professionals were reluctant to travel, reluctant to interact with their peers, and reluctant to discuss their work. By 1847, the *Medical Section* had lapsed completely; due to (a) lack of interest within the profession, and (b) the increasing influence of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association as a means for disseminating medical knowledge and improving medical practice (Orange, 1981, p.51).⁷ Also, when compared with those delivered in other sections, the medical section's papers clearly held little interest for 'outsiders'. In 1842, given the overall lack of interest within the medical profession, a concerted effort was made to encourage contributions from Manchester medical men. Yet, whilst this effort produced extra papers, including one from Braid, there were still not enough papers on offer to have a session on each of the scheduled seven days.

Braid's proposed presentation

On 18 May 1842, Braid "intimated" he was preparing a paper;⁸ and, on 18

⁵ B.A.A.S. (1843), p.xi.

⁶ Anon (1842bc), p.594.

⁷ The Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, founded in Worcester in 1832, went on to become, through a series of merges, the British Medical Association in 1856.

⁸ Braid (1842l); *Neurypnology*, p.2.

June, he confirmed he would contribute a paper. On Wednesday, 22 June, he dispatched his paper, "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*", for transmission to the Medical Section. In order to facilitate his production of the physical evidence of people he had treated (so his audience would not need to rely on his word alone), he asked to be informed of his presentation time as soon as possible, so he could arrange for his patients' presence. He also said that, if the committee thought his proposed lecture and its associated demonstration would take too long, he was prepared to present a truncated version.

On the Thursday evening (23 June), S.E. Cottam,[†] the Assistant Local Secretary, confirmed that he had delivered Braid's paper to the Medical Section. That evening, Braid asked a committee member for his allocated presentation time, and was told that he would be informed on the Friday. He received no notification. He asked two other committee members on Saturday. He was told that they had no answer; and that he must ask the secretaries.

He immediately wrote to the secretaries, but received no reply. Within two hours, his paper was returned, with no covering note or explanation, in a plain envelope, the outside of which was conspicuously endorsed to the effect that his paper had been rejected as "*unsuitable*".⁹ Given the marked lack of interest in the Medical Section's papers, and the audience at his *conversazione* four days later (perhaps, five times all of the section's audiences combined), it seems the committee did not want this upstart to steal the show.¹⁰ In Braid's view, clearly expressed in his letter to the editor of *The Medical Times*, written on 25 June 1842, the reason was far more sinister: it was professional jealousy.

[I offered to read an essay to the Medical Section of the B.A.A.S.] on the curative agency of neuro-hypnotism, as I practise it.

I offered to produce patients, whose cases were referred to that they might have an opportunity of judging facts for themselves, free from all partiality, or bias of me as an operator.

They were pleased to reject the essay as unsuitable, although many of

⁹ It is as though Braid's paper did not exist. It is significant that his paper was not listed in any of the official documents, then or later, or in any of the newspaper reports (i.e., prior to the 'controversy' erupting), as even having the status of having been '*offered*' to the Medical Section.

¹⁰ Another view: "...in 1842 [Braid] offered to read a paper on the subject for the British Association (for the Advancement of Science) which was meeting in Manchester. Needless to say his offer was rejected and his paper branded as ridiculous, together with his reports of cures of contractures and disorders of sensibility such as deafness" (Hartland, 1966, p.7).

the cases referred to had been speedily cured by this agency, after resisting the best endeavours of what I have no doubt, on the old plan, was orthodox treatment, by the very gentlemen who pronounced the paper explaining this new and successful mode, as unsuitable for their consideration...¹¹

The Medical Section's programme

The issue of the 'suitability' or the 'unsuitability' of Braid's proposed paper must be rated against the apparent value of the papers that were actually presented: "On the Construction and Application of Instruments used in Auscultation" (Charles James Blasius Williams);[‡] "Observations on the Therapeutic Application of Air-tight Fabrics" (C.J.B. Williams); "On the Influence of the Coronary Circulation on the Heart's Action" (John Eric Erichsen);[‡] "On some Peculiarities in the Circulation of the Liver" (Alexander Shaw);[‡] "On the Relation of the Season of Birth to the Mortality of Children under two years of age, and on the probable duration of Life, as it is affected by the Month of Birth solely, and by the Months of Birth and Death conjointly" (Joseph Peel Catlow);[‡] "On the Uses of the Muscular Fibres of the Bronchial Tubes" (James Carson, jun.);[‡] "On a general Law of vital Periodicity" (Thomas Laycock);[‡] "On the period of Puberty in Negro Women" (John Robertson);[‡] "Notice of Dr. Martin Barry's[‡] Researches on Fibre, published in the Transactions of the Royal Society" (Richard Owen);[‡] "Observations on the best Mode of expressing the Results of Practice in Therapeutics" (Richard Fowler);[‡] "Further Particulars respecting a Young Woman Deaf, Dumb and Blind, of whom a full Account was given last Year at Plymouth" (R. Fowler); "On Cases of enormous Hydropic Distension of the Abdomen, and of sudden Death from the Rupture of an Aneurism of the Thoracic Aorta" (David James Hamilton Dickson);[‡] "Abstract of the Case of a Diver employed on the Wreck of the Royal George who was injured by the bursting of the Air-pipe of the Diving Apparatus" (John Richardson);[‡] "On a Case of unusual Paralysis" (J. Carson, jun.); "Observations on the Evils arising from the Use of Common Pessaries" (Charles Clay);[‡] "On a Case of Monstrosity" (James Lomax Bardsley);[‡] "On Diabetes mellitus" (C. Clay); "On Lithotomy and Lithotripsy" (William James Wilson);[‡] and "On Mr.

¹¹ (Braid, 1842n); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

[Joseph] Fleming's† Plans for Ventilation" (Robert Chambers).‡

The *Manchester Guardian* published extensive daily reports of the meeting; and, especially, provided detailed accounts of the presentations that had been made in every section of the 1842 meeting. Yet, each of its daily reports of the meeting's proceedings said that preceding day's papers of the Medical Section were either of a "purely professional character" — and, thus, not "generally interesting" — or were "far too technical [for the general newspaper reader]" (with no further details given by the reporter).

Response to the Rejection of Braid's Paper

In a late edition, published in the afternoon of the Saturday in question, the *Manchester Times* expressed concern at Braid's treatment, astonishment that Braid's subject was thought *unsuitable*, and disquiet that the matter had apparently been kept secret from the majority of other members.

We have learned with some astonishment, that a paper communicated by our townsman, Mr. Braid, has been returned to him under peculiar circumstances, and in a manner which, appearing to us as requiring some explanation, induced us to apply to Mr. Braid, to ascertain the facts of the case.

It is desirable that the members of the Association, generally, should be made acquainted with this unprecedented act of discourtesy before they separate, and it may be worth their while to inquire why the Committee took it upon themselves to declare that a subject which had occupied the attention of many of the highest intellects in Manchester, was "unsuitable" to the deliberations of a body met for "the advancement of science".

We understand that Mr. Braid intends to bring it before the members in a *Conversazione*, to be held in a day or two.

Manchester Times (Second Edition), 25 June 1842.¹²

The letter which the *Manchester Times* had 'solicited' from Braid, containing Braid's personal account of the matters detailed above, immediately followed this editorial comment.

¹² Anon (1842bf); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

To the EDITORS of the MANCHESTER TIMES.

GENTLEMEN,— In reply to your request I have to state, that on the 18th ultimo I sent a notice to the Secretaries of the British Association that it was my intention to present a paper to the meeting here, on Neurohypnology.

On the morning of last Wednesday I sent in my paper, entitled "Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism, by James Braid". This was accompanied with a letter requesting an early intimation of the day on which it was to be read, as it was my wish "to bring up as many of the patients referred to as possible, that all present might have an opportunity of being satisfied as to the facts not being exaggerated from the too sanguine expectation or bias of the operator". I also intimated that, if they deemed it too long, it could easily be curtailed if they signified their wish for me to do so.

On Thursday evening I was informed by Mr. Cottam that it had been duly delivered to the Medical Section. I also inquired of a member of Committee respecting it, but all I could learn was that I should have an official announcement about it next day. However none came. I therefore inquired of two other members of committee on Saturday, but both said they could not tell, but I must apply for information from the secretary.

I thereupon addressed a note to the secretaries requesting to know when my paper was to be read.

The only answer to this was, that, in about two hours after, my Essay, and the letter which accompanied it, were sent to me by a porter, in an *open* envelope, not even accompanied by a note, but having an announcement on the outside of the cover, IN PENCIL, so that the porter who had carried it, or any, or all he might meet, might read the superscription — "**Rejected by the Committee as UNSUITABLE**".

Such conduct, I presume, requires no comment of mine to prove the *animus* of the Committee, or to point out their conduct in more glaring and odious colours than the mere recital of the facts are calculated to excite in every honourable mind.— I remain, Gentlemen, yours truly,

JAMES BRAID

3, St. Peter's, Manchester, 25th June, 1842.

Fig.90. Braid's letter to the Editor, *The Manchester Times*, 25 June 1842.^{13,14}

Further editorial comment appeared immediately after Braid's letter:

We are almost afraid to trust ourselves with any comment on the conduct pursued towards Mr. Braid at present, because in doing so we know not how far we might be throwing that blame upon a *whole* Association, professing to have in view aims the noblest and purest which could possibly activate mankind, which perhaps after all belongs merely to a clique.

We should be doing injustice to the Association as a body were we to keep this out of view.

It is proper that it should be known that the Committee of the Medical Section consists purely (with the exception of three names) of local men in Mr. Braid's profession.

The conduct of many members of that profession to Mr. Braid, during his recent lectures, will be too fresh upon the minds of a disinterested

¹³ *The Manchester Times (Second Edition)*, Braid (1842).

¹⁴ "Neurophypnology" which appeared in the first paragraph of the Saturday (second edition) version of Braid's letter, was corrected in that of the following Saturday (Anon, 1842bj). The 'typo' in the original publication is valuable evidence of the haste that was involved in the letter's insertion into the second, later edition of the newspaper.

public to be mentioned here; but it is impossible to avoid feeling and saying that *professional jealousy* had *something* to do with that treatment, and it is equally impossible to dismiss from one's mind, under the peculiar circumstances we have now mentioned, that *professional jealousy* may also have had *something* to do with the extraordinary circumstances under which Mr. Braid's paper has been returned to him.

What are the facts?

The object of the British Association (we were told the other night [by its President, during the meeting's official opening ceremony]) in holding its meetings in the various large towns of the kingdom, was, that by the opportunities of mutual discussion thus given between persons from different parts of the country, and different countries of the globe, an opportunity should be given to men labouring apart and in private, and unknown to the great societies, of making known to each other the paths in which they were directing their inquiries.

Mr. Braid has been directing his attention to the investigation of phenomena which have puzzled the medical profession throughout the world we may say, and, till he engaged in it, set their inquiries at defiance. Under the title of Neurohypnology, if he has not *fathomed to the very bottom* the causes of those phenomena, is there a man who has witnessed [Mr. Braid's] experiments will deny that [Mr. Braid] has thrown great light upon them — to say the least of it, a light which was never known before?

[Mr. Braid] offers it to an Association professing to be established for the purpose of advancing science, and which by its very title professes to have for its object an inquiry into or an elucidation of truth — and what is the answer? that it is "rejected by the committee as *unsuitable*".

Will the public be satisfied with this answer?

We say we are unwilling that the blame should yet rest upon the Association generally. It seems to us that at present its rules are at fault in allowing the decisions of its Committee to be swayed by local influence when prudence and justice would recommend that the majority of its members should at least be free from the suspicion of an improper motive by a more catholic choice.

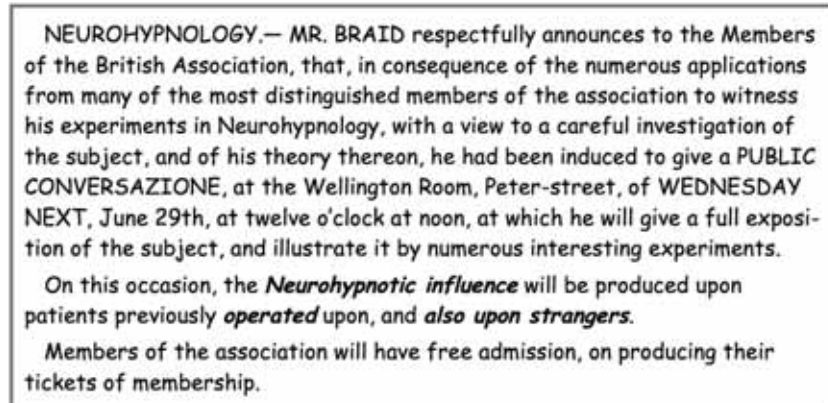
Mr. Braid's letter, however, will go forth to the members of the Association at large, and it will be seen by the steps taken by the general body to correct the mistake of a part how far they deserve the reproach to which such unfair treatment of our townsmen (as it seems to us) has laid them open, and how far they can justly lay claim to the title which they have assumed, of being an "Association for the advancement of Science".

It should be known that Mr. Braid's paper was not a theoretical treatise on animal magnetism, but a "practical essay on Neurohypnology as a *curative* agency".

What subject could have stronger claims upon the attention of this Association we are at a loss to conceive: and we are told that he offered to produce patients who had been restored by its means after their cases had resisted all the ingenuity of some of the very men who have rejected his paper. *The Manchester Times (Second Edition)*, 25 June 1842.¹⁵

¹⁵ Anon (1842bg); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

So, rather than quarrelling with the B.A.A.S. organizers, Braid immediately launched into the next phase of his boundary work: (a) writing the letter to the *Manchester Times*, and (b) arranging for a *conversazione*. His *conversazione* was not only advertised in the local press (see Fig.91), but also with placards that were displayed at each of the various meeting venues, to ensure that all of the delegates knew that they were cordially invited to attend and participate.



NEUROHYPNOLOGY.— MR. BRAID respectfully announces to the Members of the British Association, that, in consequence of the numerous applications from many of the most distinguished members of the association to witness his experiments in Neurohypnology, with a view to a careful investigation of the subject, and of his theory thereon, he had been induced to give a PUBLIC CONVERSAZIONE, at the Wellington Room, Peter-street, of WEDNESDAY NEXT, June 29th, at twelve o'clock at noon, at which he will give a full exposition of the subject, and illustrate it by numerous interesting experiments.

On this occasion, the *Neurohypnotic influence* will be produced upon patients previously *operated* upon, and *also upon strangers*.

Members of the association will have free admission, on producing their tickets of membership.

Fig.91. Notice of Braid's B.A.A.S. *conversazione*, *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 June 1842.¹⁶

The magnitude of the malevolent hostility of Braid's enemies was soon revealed when his opponents went into each of the rooms and tore the placards down, soon after they went on display.

Braid's conversazioni

On Saturday 2 July, the *Manchester Times* reprinted its supportive editorial comments and Braid's letter for those who had missed the previous Saturday's second edition, under the over-arching headline "*Extraordinary Conduct of the Medical Section Towards Mr. Braid*".¹⁷

It also printed further editorial comment, which argued that, regardless of whether the rejection was "justifiable" (or not), all but three of the committee-men involved were "townsmen"; and, regardless of the facts, "the rules of the [B.A.A.S. were clearly] at fault in rendering these gentlemen liable to the *suspicion* of selfish and unworthy motives". It noted that there was "no such *local* preponderance" in any of the other committees. So, until the Medical

¹⁶ Braid, (1842m).

¹⁷ Anon (1842bj).

Section produced concrete evidence that proved its view to be wrong, the *Manchester Times* said, it was certain the public would share its opinion. Also, it was already clear that “a great portion” of the B.A.A.S. members shared the paper’s view; for, “whilst the doors of the [medical] section itself were closed to Mr. Braid, the *élite* of the distinguished strangers¹⁸ were daily crowding his drawing rooms and *conversazioni* with the most anxious curiosity to witness and to judge for themselves respecting the merits of his discovery”.

Many of the most eminent and influential members of the Association, however, had already witnessed and investigated my experiments in private [viz., before the 'rejection'], and [had] expressed themselves highly gratified and interested with them.

In compliance with the repeated desire of these gentlemen, and many other eminent members of the Association to whom I could not possibly afford time to exhibit my experiments in private, and who were anxious to have an opportunity afforded them of seeing, hearing, and judging of the phenomena for themselves, I gave a gratuitous *conversazione*, when I read the "Rejected Essay", and exhibited the experiments in a public room, to which all the members of the Association had been respectfully invited.

The interest with which the subject was viewed by the members of the Association generally, was sufficiently testified by the number and high respectability of those who attended on that occasion: in reference to which the chairman [viz., George Clarke, Esq.] requested the reporters to put on record, "that he had been in the habit for many years of attending public meetings, and he had never in his life seen a more unmixed, a more entirely respectable assembly in Manchester".

It was also manifested by their passing a vote of thanks at the conclusion of the *conversazione*, for my having afforded an opportunity to the members of the British Association of witnessing my experiments, to which they had previously borne testimony as having been "highly successful".

Fig.92. Braid's later (1843) account of his 1842 B.A.A.S. *conversazione*.¹⁹

The *conversazione*'s audience was never less than 500;²⁰ rising, at its peak, to almost 1,000.²¹ The *Manchester Times* listed 60 eminent individuals (eight of which were either physicians or surgeons) the reporter had noticed at Braid's proceedings,²² many of whom had left and returned more than once to the

¹⁸ The original, mistakenly, has "*élite*".

¹⁹ Braid, *Neurypnology*, pp.3-4.

²⁰ The *Manchester Times* also provided a detailed, lengthy report of Braid's *conversazione* under the headline "Mr. Braid's Public Appeal to the Association" (Anon, 1842bk). Unless otherwise indicated, all in this section was taken from Anon (1842bk).

²¹ This is indicative of the very great interest of the B.A.A.S. attendees in Braid's work, given that "members of the association [were given] free admission, on producing their tickets of membership", and given the total attendance for the entire meeting was 1,283 individuals: 952, male, and 331, female (based on the ticket sales: Morrell and Thackray (1981), p.548).

²² I have been able to identify all 60 mentioned (James Alexander Knipe appears twice).

conversazione and its associated discussions and demonstrations. Those the reporter named were: natural philosopher, scientist, and B.A.A.S. co-founder, Sir David Brewster;[‡] Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the King of Sardinia, the Marquis Francesco Maria Sauli;[‡] the military commander of the entire Manchester region, Colonel Thomas James Wemyss;[‡] two official members of the Medical Section;²³ those connected in some other official way with the B.A.A.S. (members, committee-men, etc.);²⁴ important local identities;²⁵ six engineers;²⁶ six geologists;²⁷ four officials of high

²³ Physician, social reformer, co-founder of the Ethnological Society of London, and honorary secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, Thomas Hodgkin;[‡] and physician, taxonomist, natural theologian, and lexicographer, Peter Mark Roget.[‡]

²⁴ Professor of Botany at St. John's College, and president of the Cambridge Etymological Society, Charles Cardale Babington;[‡] stockbroker, natural scientist, astronomer, and co-founder of the Royal Astronomical Society, Francis Baily;[‡] geologist, Dean of Westminster, and former president of the B.A.A.S., the Rev. Professor William Buckland;[‡] chemist, geologist, and botanist, Charles Giles Bridle Daubeny;[‡] secretary, *Chemistry and Mineralogy* Committee, and chemist, John Graham, Esq.;[‡] Professor of Chemistry in University College, London, founder of the Chemical Society of London, Thomas Graham;[‡] professor of Botany at Cambridge University, Rev. John Stevens Henslow;[‡] poet, classical scholar, natural scientist, linguist, former barrister, former M.P., and the Dean of Manchester, the Honourable and Very Reverend William Herbert;[‡] naturalist and ornithologist Sir William Jardine;[‡] natural historian, public health reformer, and president of the Microscopical Society, Edwin Lankester;[‡] second president of the Royal Statistical Society, and President of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, Sir Charles Lemon;[‡] Leamington physician and geologist, George Lloyd;[‡] politician and author, Sir Oswald Mosley;[‡] geologist and geographer, President of the Royal Geographical Society and the British Association, Roderick (later Sir Roderick) Impey Murchison;[‡] surgeon, natural historian, and Arctic explorer, John (later Sir John) Richardson;[‡] natural historian and geologist, Hugh Edwin Strickland;[‡] scientist, mathematician, and photographic pioneer, M.P. and High Sheriff of Wiltshire, William Henry Fox Talbot;[‡] and the Manchester cotton manufacturer and dealer, and M.P. for Kendal, George William Wood.[‡]

²⁵ Manchester barometer maker, and member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Laurence Buchan;[‡] local philanthropist, manufacturer, cotton mill owner, inventor, and merchant George Clarke, Esq.;[‡] physician and Manchester paper dealer, James Davenport Hulme;[‡] Manchester silk manufacturer, William Joynson;[‡] surgeon, later Lord Mayor of Preston and President of the Lancashire and Cheshire branch of the British Medical Association, Lawrence Catlow Spencer;[‡] Manchester merchant, Thomas Townend;[‡] and the Manchester merchant, Paul Ferdinand Willert.[‡]

²⁶ Military engineer, Sir Howard Elphinstone;[‡] military engineer, Lieutenant Sampson Freeth;[‡] structural engineer, professor of the mechanical principles of engineering at University College London, Eaton Hodgkinson;[‡] military engineer, Commissioner of Public Works in Ireland, Lieutenant (later Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir John) John Graham M'Kerlie;[‡] Scottish textile industrialist, inventor, and agricultural engineer, James Smith;[‡] and Hull civil engineer James Oldham;[‡] and Manchester-based military engineer, Captain Rutherford (could not identify any further).

²⁷ Geologist, archaeologist, numismatist, and eminent surgeon, Charles Clay;[‡] physician, geologist, naturalist, and associate of Charles Darwin, Johann Karl Ernst Dieffenbach (a.k.a. Ernest Dieffenbach);[‡] geologist and antiquary, Samuel Hibbert-Ware;[‡] cartographer and geologist, James Alexander Knipe;[‡] geologist, statistician, and surveyor, Captain John Watson Pringle;[‡] and African explorer, geologist, and surveyor, William Stanger.[‡]

rank;²⁸ three clerics;²⁹ three natural scientists;³⁰ and several others.³¹

Braid's presentation

On Wednesday, 29 June 1842, Braid entered the Wellington Rooms to great applause, from "one of the most respectable audiences... ever witnessed in Manchester".³² The applause grew even louder as he pulled his "rejected essay" from his pocket, waving it dramatically. Before reading his "essay", he gave an account of his initial investigations of the phenomena, and of circumstances surrounding the rejection of his paper by the medical section, observing that:

the animosity of the *committee* of the medical section, or those members of it who had influenced its decision in respect to his communication, was shewn in the suppression of all allusion to it in their list of "papers offered to the sections", which was published on the first day of meeting.

He had sent in his paper on the Wednesday morning: on the following morning they issued a publication professing to name *all* the papers *offered* to the Association to be read during its session; but though his announcement was given a month before, not only was his paper designed from the very first to be rejected, but the very mention of it among those offered was suppressed. (Hear, hear.)

His opponents had not been content with that; for when he made known his intention to give this *conversazione* to the members of the Association, they carried their discourtesy and hostility so far as to *tear down his placards (which had been sent for the various section-rooms) in which the invitation was conveyed*. (Cries of "Shame".)

When he (Mr, Braid) first offered his paper to the medical section he was aware that one of its most influential members would be influenced

²⁸ Major Napier Turner Christie of Aberdeen;† former Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Nova Scotia, Alexander Fowden Haliburton;† High Sheriff of Cheshire, James Heath Leigh, Esq.;† and Wigan coal merchant and M.P., Ralph Anthony Thicknesse.†

²⁹ Oxted cleric, Rev. William Bentley;† Rev. George Eaton, M.A., J.P., of *The Pole*, Warrington;† and Senior Canon and Vice-Dean of Manchester Cathedral, Rev. Cecil Daniel Wray;†

³⁰ Naturalist and friend of Braid, Captain Thomas Brown;† ornithologist, Arthur Strickland, Esq.;† and commercial printer and natural scientist, Richard Taylor;†

³¹ Including the chemistry lecturer from Hackney, Abraham Booth;† eminent mediaeval scholar, Robert Thomas Hampson;† journalist, newspaper proprietor, and antiquary, William Jerdan;† Boston (Lincolnshire) architect, Jephtha Pacey;† Irish natural historian and zoologist, Robert Patterson;† and the banker, author, and poet John Roby;†

³² There were more than 500 present when Braid took the stage (Anon, 1842bk). It is also significant that only the *Mathematical and Physical Science Section* had sessions on that day.

Robertson (2009b, p.8) has made two serious chronological errors: (a) based on a total misunderstanding of Braid's account in *Neurypnology* (p.2) Robertson asserts that Braid's offer to present his paper to the B.A.A.S. was in November 1841 (rather than its "intimation" on 18 May, or actual dispatch on 22 June 1842, as Braid states at the foot of that page), and (b) based on sources that he has not disclosed, and confusing it with Braid's Fifth Manchester Lecture (28 December 1841), Robertson asserts that Braid's B.A.A.S. *conversazione* was on 27 December 1841.

by no friendly motives towards him,³³ because from what had passed between them he (Mr. Braid) had refused for six years to meet him professionally in consultation; but he had hoped there would be sufficient honesty of purpose at the board to stifle private resentment and defeat private pique.

To say his paper was *unsuitable* because of anything in its form, was a misnomer, because he had offered to shape it in whatever way the committee thought most suitable: the only ground of rejection to be assumed, then, was that the *subject* was unsuitable.

But would the public believe this?

What, could it be believed, for a moment, that a subject which professed to develop [sic] a new and important curative agency was unsuited to the inquiries of a body of the faculty professedly met in their peculiar section for the advancement of the truth? (Hear, hear.)

If its pretensions were just, why should they not be heard and acknowledged, in order that suffering humanity might, as widely as possible, be benefitted by its being brought into the most extensive practice?

If its pretensions were unfounded, why should they be afraid to put them to the test? (Hear, hear.)

It was as much the duty, he contended, of an association professing to have for its object the advancement of science to repudiate and put the Public on their guard against false impressions and assumed discoveries, if any such were offered to them, by thoroughly investigating the facts, as it was their duty to acknowledge real discoveries, and send them forth with the stamp of their approbation. (Applause.)

The Manchester Times, 2 July 1842.³⁴

He then read his "essay" to the audience.³⁵ He spoke of his cures, especially that of Miss Collins ("a spasmodic affection had drawn her head down close upon her shoulder, and she had been unable to move it for six months"), and spoke of a letter from her father that verified her sustained recovery. On the issue of 'unsuitability', he asked the audience (to great applause), given that the exceptional professional skills and renowned expertise of Sir Benjamin Brodie had proved useless in her case, and given that his own *neurohypnotism* had fully restored her in a few days (so that "she was now as well as any lady in the room"),³⁶ how could it be that it was "a subject unfit to engage the attention of

³³ I have been unable to identify the identity of this hostile "influential member".

³⁴ Anon (1842bk); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³⁵ Its contents were identical to those of his recent lectures.

³⁶ During his public lecture at Liverpool on Thursday, 28 April 1842, Braid had spoken in some detail of his successful treatment of Miss Collins. Immediately, "a gentleman rose up in the room and stated that he came from within a few miles of Newark, and he would vouch for the accuracy of the statement of Mr. Braid; the cure was very well known in the neighbourhood, and there were many who would vouch for its accuracy" (Anon, 1842tt).

medical men?" (Anon, 1842bk).

It was time for his demonstrations. In the very front seats, watching his every move (and providing a very positive, silent witness to the 'non-diabolical nature' of Braid's procedures!) were Dr. Herbert, Dean of Manchester, the Rev. C.D. Wray, the Rev. N.W. Gibson,[‡] the Rev. H. Ethelston,[‡] Colonel Wemyss, several surgeons and several other V.I.P.s.

Local philanthropist George Clarke, Esq. took the chair. Clarke had visited Braid's home, and had observed Braid's operations at first hand, and had found the phenomena involved "very powerful". Yet, he said, whilst the question of possible deception should be considered, "he never was more certain of the honesty of purpose of any gentleman in his life than he was of Mr. Braid's" (Anon, 1842bk).³⁷ Catlow, who had been in the audience for Braid's lecture, immediately rose and demanded that Braid read Collins' letter to the audience. Although Braid had the letter with him, the chairman ruled it should not be read. Catlow raised other issues, each of which Clarke "declined", and things were "proceeding to a personal altercation with the chairman, when [Catlow] was put down by the general disapprobation of the company" (Anon, 1842bk).

Braid began to demonstrate, producing 'somnolence' and his usual effects with his manservant. On examination, surgeons Lawrence Spencer and Charles Clay verified 'somnolence' and 'insensibility'. Spencer noted that, on 'arousal', the subject's pupils were dilated. Braid remarked that a characteristic of *neurohypnotism* was that "the pupil [was] always dilated, and not contracted, as in natural sleep". Braid's next subject had come to his Macclesfield lecture, totally unable to use his arm "owing to a spinal affection [which] had had resisted every application of the ordinary medical description to afford relief". Braid said he "had received relief from this agency in the course of five minutes".

Catlow interrupted with many irrelevant interjections. Called to order by the chair, Catlow still interrupted several times, until, to great applause, Clarke

³⁷ In 1879, William Hindshaw (1817–1888), headmaster of Egerton Boys' School, Salford had often seen Braid at work during the early years of his development of *neurohypnotism*, and said that "I believe [Braid] to have been utterly incapable of humbug or imposture or any kind. Enthusiasts deceive themselves first before unwittingly deceiving others. But there was not the semblance of deception about Mr. Braid's performances" (Hindshaw, 1879).

said: "If Mr. Catlow thinks we are met here merely to gratify any personal feeling of his towards Mr. Braid, he is mistaken. His conduct is really very unbecoming, and I hope, if he cannot conduct himself better, he will see the necessity of leaving the room." (Anon, 1842bk). An audience member remarked that "[he thought that] Catlow's conduct was a very good illustration of that which seemed to have actuated some of Mr. Braid's other professional brethren in the medical section" (Anon, 1842bk).

Braid next hypnotized a standing subject, who was 'somnolent' in seconds. As her arms were raised and slightly extended, 'catalepsy' ensued immediately. He had Clarke, Townend, and several others test her "insensibility of hearing".

Clarke clapped his hands near the right ear, but it produced no effect. He then breathed upon the ear, so as to restore sense, and on repeating the clap of his hands, the patient heard and started from him in evident terror.

Mr. Braid said that all these results accorded with his explanation of the phenomena.

At first the senses, whether of smell, of hearing, or of touch, were so greatly exalted as almost to be beyond belief; but as the sleep continued, the feelings, deadened, and approached more and more towards insensibility, unless partially roused again by a current of air being communicated to some particular part of the body.

The Manchester Times, 2 July 1842.³⁸

Having drawn attention to the "exaltation" of her sense of smell, Braid asked Clarke and Townend to conduct another experiment, involving a rose. With her eyes bandaged and the rose (firstly) held beneath her nose, she followed its fragrance wherever it went — "standing on tiptoe to reach it when held aloft", "bending herself forward with the most graceful ease till her face came almost in contact with the floor", and "darting after it across the platform (notwithstanding her eyes being bandaged) with unerring aim as to the direction in which it was moved", etc. Then Clarke threw the rose to Townend, five yards distant. Once she had turned her face towards Townend, and had "caught the scent, [she] darted towards it with unerring precision, and appeared almost to revel with delight in its fragrance" (Anon (1842bk)).³⁹

³⁸ Anon (1842bk); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

³⁹ As Braid would later remark, when discussing an entirely different case, this experiment was also mutually exclusive of a claim for 'clairvoyance'; for, in her tracing the rose "through the air by smell" and "following the exact track [the rose] had taken", it was clearly not a case of

Braid experimented with exaltation of the sense of *feeling*. She correctly identified the form (long, round, etc.) of objects (pencil case, eye glass, etc.) held near to, but distant from her skin, without difficulty. Whilst this *replicated* the magnetists, Braid said, it was not because she could see with the back of the head (or other body parts) as the magnetists claimed; it was because her 'exalted sense of feeling' noted a temperature difference. The coldness of the pencil case and eye glass was '*thrown*' onto her skin and, it was from this she "received an impression of their form".

Catlow tried to interrupt and was, again, threatened with expulsion.

...for petty jealousy and professional spite, [Braid's treatment is] as pretty a commentary on poor human nature, even amongst those who profess the most enlarged and liberal views, as the history of such bickerings can furnish. [Braid] sent in a paper to the Medical Section, offering to prove his statements by experiments in public; but it was returned through the hands of a common porter, open, and without even the civility of an envelope or a reply, except a remark in pencil, on the outside, "Returned as unsuitable", which any body might read, and the paper too in transit, "And this", he said, "from medical men on that committee whose patients I restored, whom they had pronounced incurable"....

Mr. Braid hardly gets fair play from his brethren in the profession; and I was much disgusted with the behaviour of several who seemed determined not to allow him a proper hearing.

Fig.93. Observations of Alfred Stubbs, C.B.M.I.⁴⁰

Braid performed various experiments with different subjects, but he was unsuccessful with Townend's son, attributing his failure to the lad's "excitement" and failure to maintain the 'double internal and upward squint' once his eyelids were closed. Braid sought audience volunteers. The only offer came from local surgeon, Dr. Hulley.[‡] Braid, who was acquainted with Hulley, rejected his offer because "[his] mind... would be actively engaged in studying the phenomena, instead of becoming passive". Braid then asked Mr Roby and Mr Haliburton to go outside and bring back six strangers. Soon, Roby returned with two men, and Haliburton with two youths. Braid induced 'somnolence' in one of the

'clairvoyance', for "had it been by clairvoyance [rather than an exalted sense of smell], she of course ought to have gone to [the rose] direct, and by the shortest way" (*Neurypnology*, p.140).

⁴⁰ Stubbs (1842); given the mood of the (rather lengthy, often satirical) impressions of a regional haberdasher at the entire week's proceedings in the *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, it is certain that this "Alfred Stubbs, C.B.M.I.", viz., *Committee-man, Bloomsbury Mechanics' Institute*, is a *nom de guerre* (I have been unable to determine Stubbs' true identity).

men. Although Catlow contended it was “natural sleep”, subsequent close questioning by Roby and Clarke satisfied both of them that it was not “natural sleep”. The experiments with the two youths were successful, with Braid producing ‘catalepsy’ in one of them.

Braid then produced a number of patients who had benefitted from his ‘curative agency’. An elderly female who had worn spectacles for 22 years whose sight had been fully restored with one hypnotic operation could now do needlework without spectacles, and easily thread needles. Her daughter, who had worn spectacles for the last two years, and whose eyesight had been restored, emphasized “she had also been entirely and speedily cured by this agency of a complication of diseases, pronounced incurable by one of the highest in office in the medical section”. A man confined to bed, and “suffering violently from rheumatism”, had “received great relief in a few minutes from this agency, and in a few days was entirely well”. A man “who had been subject to paralysis [for] 15 years”, such that “he could not move without two sticks”, was “considerably better” after just one treatment, and had “walked across the room without support in a few minutes after the first operation”. A woman “who had suffered severely from a contraction of the legs”, said that, for the nine months “before Mr. Braid attended her she had to be lifted about or use crutches”; yet, thanks to him, “she was now so far improved as to be able to walk, and was gradually recovering”. Braid then dramatically asked the audience if “an agency [such as this] was one to which it was unbecoming a medical section to direct its attention?” (great applause).

At the conclusion Mr. Clarke paid a high compliment to Mr. Braid, for the candid and straightforward manner in which he had conducted his experiments, appealing to the company in support of his opinion that they were highly successful — an appeal which was answered by loud applause; and Mr. Spencer and Mr. Clay having similarly borne testimony to the reality of the phenomena he had undertaken to produce, a vote of thanks was given to him, on the proposition of Mr. Knipe (for having afforded the British Association this opportunity of witnessing his experiments), and the company separated.

The Manchester Times, 2 July 1842.^{41,42}

⁴¹ Anon (1842bk).

⁴² The reader will now recognize the exquisite linguistic precision displayed within Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*’s entry for *Animal Magnetism*, which states: “Braid read a

The Dean of Manchester's closing address

That same evening, William Herbert, Dean of Manchester, who was in the front row at Braid's *conversazione*, delivered the Meeting's closing address. He spoke of the high standard of presentations, and the personal motivation he had received from the wide range of talented people. In closing, he reflected on the overall productivity of the meeting, and the benefit brought to Manchester and its industrial enterprise. In the process, Braid got a mention:

Your president of the last year,⁴³ in his address to you when he gave up the chair, seemed to advise that the British Association should lie by for a time, and recruit its strength by a temporary quietus. He seemed to think that, like the giant Antæus, it would be re-invigorated by falling to the ground.⁴⁴ (Applause and laughter.) But I confess it seems to me that if the British Association should ever fall into a mesmeric trance — (laughter) — or, I believe, I should call it by the more scientific name of a Braid-ish hypnopathy — (laughter) — and if it ever should awake again, it would be a somnambulist for the rest of its existence. (Loud applause and laughter.) ...

The Manchester Times, 2 July 1842.⁴⁵

Whilst Braid had achieved great success with his *conversazione*, his satisfaction would not last long; because, in just five days time he would be forced to respond to an even greater challenge of a far more malevolent nature.

Keenan's Lecture

Campbell Brown Keenan, M.D.[†] announced that he would lecture on the lungs and respiratory functions in Manchester on the following Monday.⁴⁶

paper AT a meeting of the British Association in Manchester on 29th June 1842, entitled *Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism ...*."

Unfortunately, many other 'authoritative' versions (e.g., Drayton, 1889, p.15), have used (without any acknowledgement) the entire *Britannica* entry, and have (incorrectly) assumed that the *Britannica's* text contains a grammatical error; thus, we find their version altered, so that it, now, mistakenly states that "Braid read a paper BEFORE a meeting of the British Association..."

⁴³ Rev. Dr. William Whewell, B.A., M.A., D.D., F.R.S. (1794-1866).

⁴⁴ In Greek mythology, Antæus was a half-giant, the son of Poseidon and Gaia.

He would challenge passers-by to wrestling matches, kill them, and collect their skulls. As long as he kept contact with the ground ('mother earth') he was invincible; yet, once lifted into the air, he was as weak as other men. Hercules fought Antæus. He made no headway throwing Antæus to the ground (because this allowed him to refortify his strength); eventually Hercules beat him by lifting him off the ground and crushing him in a bear-hug.

⁴⁵ Anon (1842bi).

⁴⁶ He also lectured at the Belfast Museum on 19 July. A report of that lecture, in the 22 July 1842 edition of Presbyterian newspaper, *Banner of Ulster*, was later reissued as a pamphlet.

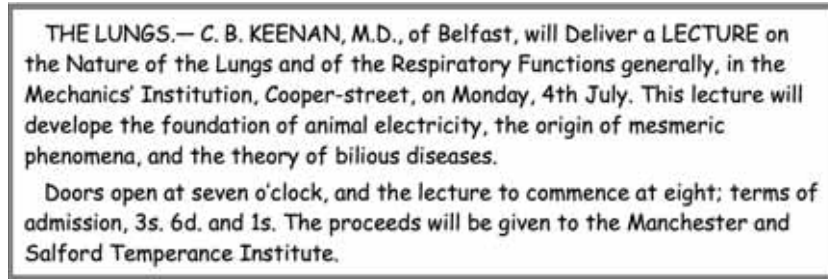


Fig.94. Notice of Keenan's lecture, *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 2 July 1842.⁴⁷

Surgeon Patrick Gordon Dunn[†] took the chair, and Keenan lectured to a large audience.⁴⁸ He came to Manchester, Keenan said, to place his views before the “distinguished members of the British Association”, but, unfortunately, they had left; hence his decision to publicly divulge his thoughts. As his lecture converted into a *conversazione* an (otherwise unidentified) person asked why Braid had not been allowed to read his paper before the B.A.A.S.⁴⁹ The fierce malevolence of the response from Dunn — who later became renowned as a debunker of clairvoyance, phrenology, mesmerism, etc. (and a considerable irritant to Braid) — was extraordinary:

I regret that an erroneous impression has gone abroad respecting Mr. Braid.

He has laid claim to views, to which, in my opinion, he is not entitled; and, from what I know of several cases reported as cured, those cases were not faithfully detailed to the public.

On this account, had I been a member of that section, I should have considered myself justified in rejecting his paper.

I have made this statement publicly; I have made it advisedly; and I shall feel myself bound, if called upon, publicly to substantiate its correctness.

The Manchester Guardian, 6 July 1842.⁵⁰

Braid, who had been absent during Keenan's lecture, had just entered the hall, and responded to calls of “Is Mr. Braid here?”, as follows:

I shall tell you what Mr. Dunn has been doing.

He has gone about with another person, trying to get up false statements of what I have done.

I am prepared to prove this.

⁴⁷ Keenan (1842).

⁴⁸ Unless otherwise indicated, everything in this section is taken from Anon (1842bl).

⁴⁹ It seems most unlikely that this was an ‘innocent’ question; it was almost certainly a pre-arranged “*Dorothy Dix*” question. From the highly polarized (and well prepared) interchanges that follow, it is impossible to speculate upon at whose behest the question was asked.

⁵⁰ Anon (1842bl); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

I think, Mr. Dunn, you would be deserving of more credit if you attended to your own business, instead of interfering with other men's patients.—(Hear, hear.)

If any thing has been wrong in my conduct, let it be exposed.

No person has a right, in a place like this, to say that investigations which are going forward should be smothered.—(Hear, hear.)

I have the satisfaction of being able to prove by incontestible evidence, that even on last Saturday a gentleman, 65 years of age, was brought to me by a respectable surgeon; and, in the presence of his daughter and two other respectable persons, he was mesmerised; and, in the course of a few minutes, he could see with an eye with which for a year and a half before he could not even see a lighted candle.

He was also feeble in his right arm and leg, and they were considerably strengthened by the operation.

Excuse me gentlemen for making these statements.

It is necessary that I should do so, not only for my own vindication, but for the cause of humanity.—(Loud cheers.)

When any person presumes to make such an attack on me, I must defend myself.

A lady who has been under the treatment of some gentlemen of the first medical practice in the kingdom, and who for 4½ years could only speak in a low whisper, I have restored to her speech in all its original power and fullness, by means of mesmeric agency.

Is that a matter that ought not to be investigated?

In regard to my stating things untruly and falsely, I say the charge is untrue.

I stated things fairly; but, if certain parties will go sneaking into private families, after other men's patients, and, if they try to get young ladies into a private room, unknown to their father and mother, and even without any introduction, to bamboozle them and use unfair means, for the purpose of misrepresenting my experiments,— that is not conduct excusable in gentlemen of any profession.—(Laughter.)

I am prepared to prove that this have been done by the connivance of that gentleman who stands there [the reporter notes that, as Braid said this, he was "pointing to Mr. Dunn"].

Has he not endeavoured to prejudice another gentleman's mind, so as to get from him a statement which might detract from the value of my experiments?

I am ready for a public investigation — I am always ready for it.—
(Applause)

The Manchester Guardian, 6 July 1842.⁵¹

Rather than retreating, Dunn continued his assault:

Allow me thus publicly to state what I seriously pledge myself, in the face of this respectable audience, to substantiate. It is this:—

Mr. Braid lays claim to discoveries to which he is not entitled; that is the first proposition.

And the second is, that some cases reported by him as cured, were not faithfully detailed to the public.— ("Hear", from Mr. Catlow.)

⁵¹ Anon (1842bl); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

On this ground, had I been a member of the British Association, I should have acted as the medical section did.

If Mr. Braid feels himself aggrieved, he knows the remedy.

But this is apart from the business of this meeting.

Mr. Braid shall have my address; and, if he can prove that I have stated what is false, I shall display a degree of humility and contrition which, perhaps, no other man would do.

I speak from a thorough conviction that what I say is true. (Cheers.)

Remember this is a serious matter — it is a charge before a public audience of what I would call deceit.

It is a serious matter, therefore; but I feel myself so connected with the medical profession, that I am anxious to have the honour of that profession maintained.

Although I am Mr. Braid's countryman, and ought on that account to have a leaning towards him, and not being a member of the British Association, and therefore not prejudiced in its favour, still I feel myself bound to come forward, and thus vindicate the association, as well as the profession to which I belong.

The Manchester Guardian, 6 July 1842.⁵²

Dunn and Catlow's opposition

Catlow gave public lectures on "Animal Magnetism or Mesmerism" in 1842,⁵³ and on phreno-mesmerism and "Rational Mesmerism" in 1843.⁵⁴ Although Catlow continued to directly attack Braid for a long time;⁵⁵ he eventually mellowed, proposing a vote of "thanks" for Braid's "*electro-biology*" lecture at the Manchester's Royal Institution on 26 March 1851 (Anon, 1851b, p.248).

Dunn did not let matters rest with the comments and accusations made at Keenan's lecture. He began a series of lectures in which he not only denigrated Braid's work but, more specifically, attacked Braid's professional reputation. Dunn's first lectures were advertised as follows:

⁵² Anon (1842bl); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁵³ Catlow (1842a; 1842b; 1842c; 1842d; 1842e); and Anon (1842m; 1842p; 1842q; 1842x; 1842dd; 1842oo; 1842uu).

⁵⁴ Catlow (1843a; 1843b; 1843c); and Anon (1843a; 1843b; 1843d).

⁵⁵ "We were present on Tuesday evening at what was announced as a lecture, by Mr. Catlow, on mesmerism; but which we found, in the course of the proceedings, to be rather an exhibition of the lecturer's animosity against our worthy townsman, Mr. Braid. ... After passing a very florid panegyric upon himself, and claiming certain facts as being exclusively his own discovery, Mr. Catlow commenced a most virulent attack upon Mr. Braid..." (Anon, 1842bm), etc.

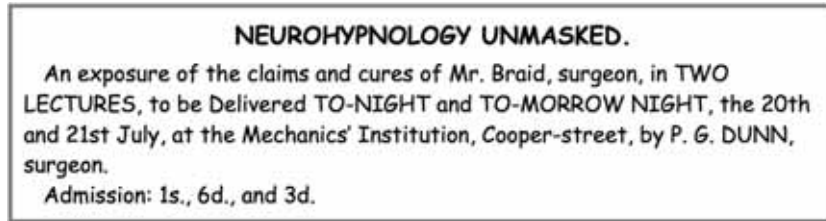


Fig.95. Dunn's first set of lectures, *The Manchester Guardian*, 20 July 1842.⁵⁶

Dunn then advertised that another set lectures were close at hand:

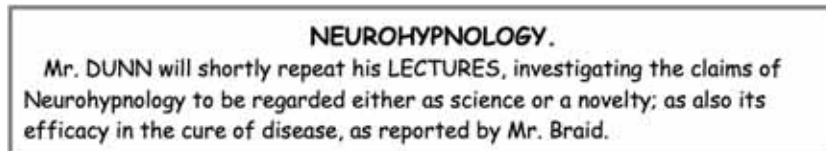


Fig.96. Dunn's announcement, *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 July 1842.⁵⁷

And, then, Dunn advertised a second set of lectures:

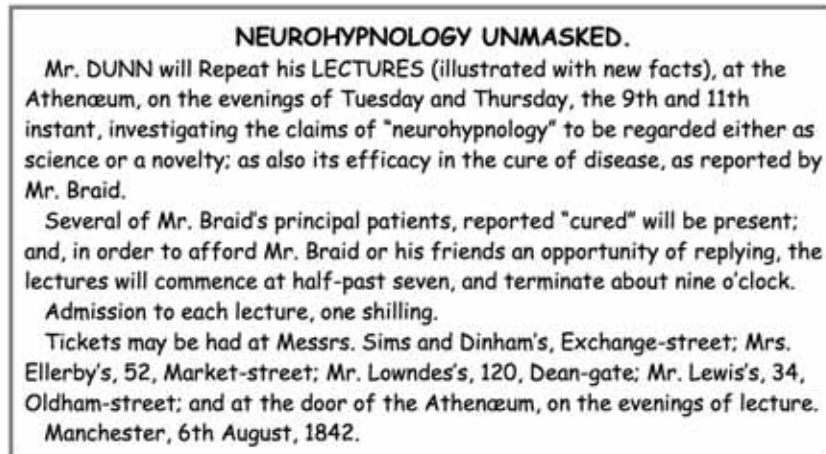


Fig.97. Dunn's second set of lectures, *The Manchester Guardian*, 13 August 1842.⁵⁸

Although I cannot find any press reports of Dunn's meetings,⁵⁹ two items indicate the overall direction taken. First, in a notice lodged by Manchester surgeon, Mr. I. A. Franklin,[†] which asserted that, to the satisfaction of a majority of those attending his 11 August lecture, Dunn had demonstrated to his audience that Braid's claims of cure had been unfounded.

⁵⁶ Dunn (1842a).

⁵⁷ Dunn (1842b).

⁵⁸ Dunn (1842c).

⁵⁹ This is not surprising. From the content of Dunn's 16 August letter to the Editor of the *Manchester Times* (Dunn, 1842d), it appears that Dunn's lectures received no press coverage of any kind in any of the Manchester newspapers.

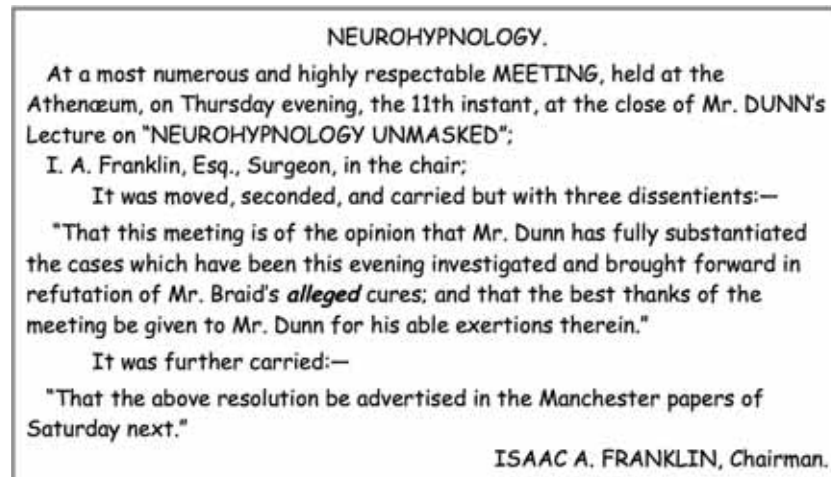


Fig.98. Anti-Braid advertisement, *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 13 August 1842.⁶⁰

Second, in letters to the Editor from Braid, that were lodged as advertisements (to ensure publication in a newspaper of limited size) in the *Manchester Times* and *Manchester Guardian* of 13 August 1842 (Braid, 1842o; 1842p) directly addressing Dunn's "work of slander and defamation", which show that the tension between Dunn and Braid was not of recent origin:

When Mr. Dunn had settled in Manchester he got introduced to me as a *Glasgow* surgeon, who was anxious to see some of my operations.

After professing to leave my house he went into my waiting-room, and interfered with my patients, in such a manner as to induce my servant to come and inform me of it, that I might instruct him how to act.

I, of course, desired him to turn Mr. D. out, and never to allow him again to enter my premises, as has been declared by my servant in public; and I had stated the fact to two friends the night after the transaction, who bore public testimony to the same.

Knowing this, and other circumstances in Mr. Dunn's conduct, I of course could never meet him in public discussion; and I beg my friends also to adopt the same line of conduct towards him in future, as far as I am concerned.

I have exhibited and explained my views and practice on the subject of Neuro-Hypnotism quite sufficiently in public already.

Had a person of eminence and standing in the profession assailed me I might have attended to it, but consider it quite beneath me to notice, or defend myself against the attacks of such a person as Mr. Dunn.

James Braid, written on 12 August 1842.⁶¹

Dunn's response, also lodged as an advertisement,⁶² asserted "Braid's alleged

⁶⁰ Franklin (1842).

⁶¹ *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 13 August 1842 (Braid, 1842p); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶² This letter did not appear in the *Manchester Times*. In 1842, the *Manchester Times* was published on Saturdays only; the *Manchester Guardian* was published on Wednesdays and

"discoveries" and "cures", in connection with what he calls "Neurohypnology", were alike fallacious and unfounded" and that the condition of the profoundly deaf Shelmerdine brothers had never been improved by Braid's intervention.

There was also an new accusation: that, "[although] professing to be a regular member of an honourable profession, [Braid] had resorted to the "novel" and *truly quackish* procedure of publicly advertising his wonderful cures in all sorts of ways" (Dunn, 1842d).⁶³ Dunn's protest is rather odd, given that he very clearly knew that Braid had been denied the 'professional pathway' of presenting a paper to the *Medical Section* of the B.A.A.S., and was, from this, prevented from having his work and his explanations examined by his professional peers.



Fig.99. Two samples of Captain Thomas Brown's non-conchological works.⁶⁴

Part of the response from Braid's friend Captain Brown (again, lodged as an advertisement) revealed new facts about Dunn:

It is not a little amusing that Mr. Dunn, at a lecture which he himself gave at Stockport, in January last, on Neurohypnology, in which he lauded Mr. Braid, and also illustrated his lecture by his theory, should now turn round and denounce both.

[Mr. Dunn] boasted of cures which he had performed by this agency,

Saturdays. The *Manchester Times* of Saturday 20 August, had no "correspondence" section.

⁶³ Dunn would also have known that, in Braid's second Liverpool lecture on 6 April 1842, he had stated that he was compelled to lecture because journals, such as *The Medical Gazette*, had refused to publish his correspondence (Anon, 1842gg); and, therefore, public lectures and demonstrations were the only way in which he could bring his discoveries to notice.

⁶⁴ Brown (1829), and Brown (1845).

and now he denies its effects.

He was more than usually fortunate in hypnotising six cases out of twelve who stood up, all of which were of the most decided and even remarkable character: and two of whom he roused from the hypnotic condition with very *great difficulty*, and yet he now denies the influence of Mr. Braid's mode of operating.

Let any one compare the report of that lecture, published in the Stockport Chronicle of the 4th of February,⁶⁵ with what he now says, and I am sure they would laugh at Mr. Dunn's inconsistency.

Mr. Dunn afterwards delivered three or four lectures on Neuro-hypnology at the White Hart Inn, London-road, Manchester, when he adopted the same views as at his Stockport lecture, and even produced one or more of the Stockport patients to illustrate his subject.

The first of Mr. Dunn's late lectures was to disprove certain discoveries which he said Mr. Braid had claimed.

I distinctly denied that he had made such claims, and defied him to point out in any printed report of his lectures where he had done so; but Mr. Dunn could not adduce a single fact.

So that this lecture was a useless tirade of nonsense, where the vulgarity of contemptible ridicule was substituted for the gravity of philosophy...

Thomas Brown, 26 August 1842.⁶⁶

Braid also made a detailed response to Dunn, in a letter dated 1 September 1842,⁶⁷ citing strong supportive evidence from reputable, reliable, informed witnesses verifying that Braid's hypnotism had significantly improved the condition of several of Manchester's deaf and dumb students (thus, rebutting Dunn's allegations). Braid also cited sworn evidence from a specific, informed individual,⁶⁸ that Dunn had changed *that particular individual's* attested account (which verified the efficacy of Braid's treatment) into an alternative form, which intimated the precise opposite of what that individual had originally testified.

Braid on the back foot

Thus, within three short months Braid has had to endure (and respond to) a wide range of significant 'boundary' attacks:

- (1) a bizarre attack from a high-ranking clergyman (M'Neile), who not only declared both Braid *and* his practices diabolical, but also *positioned* him as

⁶⁵ See *Appendix Five*.

⁶⁶ *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 27 August 1842 (Brown, 1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁶⁷ Braid's letter was lodged as an advertisement in both the *Manchester Guardian* (Braid, 1842q) and, with slightly different content, in the *Manchester Times* (Braid, 1842r).

⁶⁸ The individual's evidence was published as part of Braid (1842r).

- being of one and the same kind as Lafontaine,
- (2) a renewed and prolonged attack from a professional junior (Catlow) who claimed priority over Braid for the discovery of hypnotism,
 - (3) a sinister, unethical, concerted, and corrupt act of commercial sabotage and professional defamation from the medical committee of the U.K.'s second most prestigious scientific organization, and, finally,
 - (4) a series of venomous public accusations of falsehood, intentional deceit, out-right professional misconduct, and blatant academic fraud, from a fellow Manchester surgeon (Dunn), alleging:
 - (a) on scientific grounds, that, despite Braid's claim of 'discovering' *neurohypnotism*, there was no such thing — and, so, according to Dunn, there was nothing for Braid to have 'discovered',
 - (b) on medical grounds, that, despite Braid's claim of 'curing' specific individuals with *neurohypnotism*, a thorough investigation revealed there was no evidence of improvement in any of them at all,⁶⁹ and
 - (c) on professional grounds, that, despite Braid claiming to belong to the medical profession, he was acting like a *quack*, parading his 'cures' in public, and lecturing in public to tout for trade and to advertise his surgical practice.

And even as his conflict with Dunn began to fade from the scene, the legacy of the events continued. Braid felt, in August 1842, that he was tired of endless squabbling and that he should engage himself in different, and more productive boundary work: "I intend shortly to publish a work on the subject of Neurohypnology, illustrated with cases of successful practice" (Braid 1842p). In his introduction to *Neurypnology*, he expanded a little:

It was my intention [in mid-1842] to have published my "Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neuro-Hypnotism", exactly as delivered at the *Conversazione* given to the members of the British Association in Manchester, on the 29th June, 1842.

⁶⁹ It is important to note that this was not claiming that Braid made a temporary improvement in a condition from which his patient suffered a subsequent relapse, or that his patient was misdiagnosed, and never had the disorder Braid treated in the first place; this was claiming that (a) the patient really had the disorder and (b) it was entirely unaltered by Braid's intervention.

By so doing, and by appending foot notes, comprising the data on which my views were grounded, it would have conveyed a pretty clear knowledge of the subject, and of the manner in which it had been treated... (pp.1-2)

Professional Consequences

A year later, despite the furore surrounding *neurohypnotism*, Braid was still well-regarded as a citizen and as a medical professional. On 21 April 1843, Thomas Fawdington, surgeon to the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* died. The Infirmary's Board of Trustees sought a replacement, to be elected on 18 May 1843 (Radford, 1843). Six candidates nominated, including Braid;⁷⁰ and, following established principle, each candidate published his qualification, experience, and fitness for election for the voters' information.⁷¹ The eminence of Braid's referees attested to his professional reputation, personal character, range of surgical skills, and overall level of clinical excellence.⁷²

Whilst Braid may have thought his performance as a Manchester surgeon was sufficiently well known (or, perhaps, the size of his advertisement was already excessive), it seems remarkable, in contrast to the detailed sequential account the other five candidates supplied, detailing different stages of their careers, that Braid made no mention of the time spent as the resident surgeon at Lord Hopetoun's mines at Leadhills, or of the time spent with Dr. William Maxwell in Dumfries.⁷³

⁷⁰ The candidates were: William Watson Beever, L.S.A., M.R.C.S. (1810-1872), John Boutflower, L.S.A., F.R.C.S. (1797-1889), James Braid, M.R.C.S.E., C.M.W.S. (1795-1860), Ashton Marler Heath, L.S.A., M.R.C.S.E. (1803-1876), Joseph Atkinson Ransome, L.S.A., F.R.C.S. (1805-1867), and William Smith, F.R.C.S. (1817-1875).

⁷¹ Braid's notices appeared in the *Manchester Times* on 26 and 29 April, and 6 May 1843, and *Manchester Guardian* on 29 April and 6 May 1843 (Braid, 1843b).

⁷² As well as eminent Leith surgeon Charles Anderson, M.D., F.R.C.S.E. and his late father, to whom Braid had been bound during his five-year apprenticeship, and ensured that he reaped the full benefit of his formal education at Edinburgh University, and training at the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary, his referees were: John Abercrombie,[†] M.D., F.R.C.S.E., M.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E. of Edinburgh; James Scarth Combe,[†] M.D., F.R.C.S.E., F.R.S.E. of Leith; David Craigie,[†] M.D., F.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E. of Edinburgh; Professor Andrew Duncan,[†] M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E. of Edinburgh; Professor William Fergusson,[†] F.R.C.S.E., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.E., F.R.S. of London; George Kellie,[†] M.D., F.R.S.E. of Leith; James Sanders,[†] M.D. of Edinburgh; and Professor John Thomson,[†] M.D., D.C.L., F.R.C.S.E., M.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E. of Edinburgh.

⁷³ Given there is no evidence that Braid had any connection with any sort of professional incompetence, malpractice, malfeasance, or any other sort of professional or personal misconduct, and that there is no evidence of either himself or any member of his family perpetrating any act

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE MANCHESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY.
My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen:—

A Vacancy having occurred in the office of surgeon to your valuable charity, by the lamented decease of Thomas Fawdington, I beg respectfully to offer myself as a CANDIDATE.

I venture to claim your support on the following grounds: Having served a five years' apprenticeship with Dr. Charles Anderson, of Leith, and his late father; having pursued an extended course of study at the University and Hospital of Edinburgh; having undergone an examination, and obtained the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; having been engaged in the practice of my profession for the last eight and twenty years; and having published various papers on my mode of treating certain diseases, which have received the favourable testimony of a number of most eminent members of the profession.

My diploma and testimonials on these points from Drs. Anderson, Abercrombie, David Craigie, Professor John Thomson, Professor Fergusson, Drs. Sanders, Combe, late Professor Duncan, Dr. Kellie, &c. have been submitted for examination to the board and medical officers of the institution.

In conclusion, permit me to add that, should I be honoured with the appointment, I pledge myself to endeavour to discharge the duties of the situation with the utmost fidelity, care, and attention.— I have the honour to remain, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES BRAID, M.R.C.S.E., C.M.W.S., &c.
3, St. Peter's Square, Manchester, 24th April, 1843.

Fig.100. Notice of Braid's candidature, *The Manchester Times*, 6 May 1843.⁷⁴

Braid inserted another notice, two weeks later, stating that he was withdrawing his candidature.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE MANCHESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY.
My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen:—

Having ascertained from the state of the canvass for the appointment of Surgeon to your valuable charity, that a majority of the trustees is favourable to candidates who offered themselves at former elections, I beg respectfully to intimate my intention of withdrawing on the present occasion; but should another vacancy occur, it is my intention again to come forward as a Candidate, and solicit the honour of your suffrages and support. To those friends who have evinced so much interest in my behalf, I beg to return my best thanks.— I have the honour to remain, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES BRAID, M.R.C.S.E., C.M.W.S., &c.
3, St. Peter's Square, Manchester, 12th May, 1843.

Fig.101. Notice of Braid's withdrawal of candidature, *The Manchester Times*, 13 May 1843.^{75,76}

of social impropriety, it may well be that the omission of the details of his time Leadhills and Dumfries was simply due to those facts being common knowledge at the time, rather than them being connected with some shameful period of his life that needed to be concealed.

⁷⁴ Braid (1843b). This notice appeared five times: in the *Manchester Times* on 26 and 29 April, and 6 May 1843, and in the *Manchester Guardian* on 29 April and 6 May 1843.

⁷⁵ Braid (1843c).

⁷⁶ Along with Braid, William Smith inserted a similarly worded public notice of withdrawal. No notice of any kind whatsoever appeared in relation to Ashton Marler Heath at this or any later time. Beever, Boutflower, and Ransome re-published their earlier advertisements.

There was nothing sinister in this; two other candidates also withdrew at the same stage, and for the same reason. J.A. Ransome,[‡] was elected by 450 of the total 836 votes, and served as a surgeon from 1843 until 1866 (Brockbank, 1965, p.18). On the election day, James Davenport Hulme,[‡] M.D., of medical board chairman, made it unequivocally clear that Braid was completely qualified and entirely suitable to have filled the vacant position (Anon, 1843d).

The next phase of Braid's boundary work, the publication of *Neurypnology*, was about to begin.

Neurypnology: the Publication

Braid had done everything possible, while lecturing in public, and responding to the questions and suggestions from audiences and colleagues, to construct and polish a coherent set of explanations for the phenomena he elicited by his 'double internal and upward squint method'.⁷⁷ It was now time to share his experience of *neuro-hypnotism*-centred therapeutic interventions in as plain and thorough fashion possible; and, having done so, retire from 'public life':

In now submitting my opinions and practice to the profession in the following treatise, I consider myself as having discharged an imperative duty to them, and to the cause of humanity.

In future, I intend to go on quietly and patiently, prosecuting the subject in the course of my practice, and shall leave others to adopt or reject it, as they shall find consistent with their own convictions.

James Braid, *Neurypnology* (1843), p.12.

On 17 May 1843, Braid wrote to John Churchill asking him to become *Neurypnology's* London publisher,⁷⁸ noting that "it is a mode of acting on the nervous system with *general success*, by a simple process", and "a subject not yet generally understood, but daily becoming more interesting from the extraordinary power we thus require of curing many diseases which have hitherto been "the opprobrium medicorum"". ⁷⁹ Churchill accepted; and the

⁷⁷ Braid never made any secret of his "modes of operating"; and always lectured to "mixed audiences", rather than "confining them to the [medical] profession only" (*Neurypnology*, p.76).

⁷⁸ Hunter and Macalpine, (1963), p.908. Both Macalpine and Hunter, mother and son, were well-respected psychiatrists (at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the National Hospital, Queen Square, respectively), and eminent medical historians, specializing in the history of psychiatry. [It is not clear whether Braid's letter was held privately by Hunter and Macalpine.]

⁷⁹ *Opprobrium medicorum* (latin, 'the disgrace of physicians'); said of the diseases that defy

work, *Neurypnology or The Rationale of Nervous Sleep, Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism, Illustrated by Numerous Cases of its Successful Application in the Relief and Cure of Disease* was released in July 1843, and dedicated to Charles Anderson of Leith, who, with his father, had overseen Braid's apprenticeship.

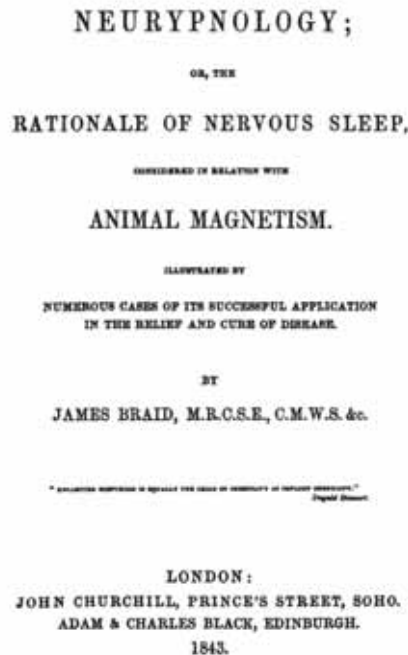


Fig.102. The title page of *Neurypnology* (1843)

It was first advertised on 8 July 1843 (Churchill, etc., 1843a). The second quoted an *Edinburgh Evening Post* review of unknown date:

It deserves to be studied and carefully examined by every member of the medical profession, and by every man having the slightest pretensions to a knowledge of natural science, or the laws by which mind and matter reciprocally act and react on each other.

He has conferred an incalculable benefit on the public by explaining so clearly the "Rationale of Nervous Sleep".

The Manchester Times, Saturday, 15 July 1843.⁸⁰

It is important to recognize that, whilst *Neurypnology* seems to be a detailed, considered, formal account of Braid's work and his theoretical position, it is a 'specific response', and not a 'universal statement': it is a hurriedly prepared, public defence of his views and his work against the combined threat posed by forces such as Catlow's priority claims, M'Neile's sermon, the behaviour of the B.A.A.S., Dunn's attack, etc.

their medical skills, implying a disease for which no cure has yet been found.

⁸⁰ Churchill, etc. (1843b).

From my own study, I fully agree with Weitzenhoffer's observation that *Neurypnology* is an aggregate of "[separate] parts that Braid may have written at different times as he progressed in his experimentation", and had hoped to "publish [individually] as he went along" (Weitzenhoffer, 2000, p.34). Yet, these items were never published individually; and Braid used them, unaltered, as separate chapters. This fact is responsible for the inconsistencies between the presentation of similar notions in different chapters, as well as the muddle of the work's second half (*Neurypnology*, Part II, pp.161-260); the contents of which were taken from Braid's clinical records of particular individual cases.

And, further, these 'interim documents' of Braid's were clearly created to serve as notes for the delivery of 'oral' (viz., mouth to ear) arguments to a live audience, rather than for the delivery of 'literary' (viz., printed word to eye) arguments to a solitary reader. This also accounts for the constant (modern) criticism of Braid's works as being and dull, rambling, and poorly written, by those who have no knowledge of the extent to which Braid's style of writing was consistent with that of the medical literature of his day. Wink, who had also made an extensive study of Braid's publications, remarks that, whilst finding much that was "vivid, fascinating, instructive and entertaining" in Braid's work (1969, p.120), he had also found that,

Braid was often immensely repetitive and verbose,⁸¹ and hence did not always present his arguments to the best advantage — indeed, he may well have lost many a potential supporter through the daunting welter of words he sometimes poured out — but throughout nearly everything he wrote the persevering reader can detect the same immutable enthusiasm, conviction and open-mindedness.

Even his most lengthy and involved passages could never quite drown his characteristic zest for his subject.

However bad his powers of expression occasionally were, it would seem that his labours were indeed a constant source of pleasure to him (if not always to others) and people close to him often seemed to become infected by his zeal. (Wink, 1969, pp.120-121)

⁸¹ A positive, valuable characteristic for one constantly delivering hypnotic suggestions.

Neurypnology: the Pharmacopœia

Although Braid always hoped to write a far more coherent, and carefully considered account of his researches, his therapeutic experiences, and his theories towards the end of his life, this hope was never realized. Despite its outstanding historical importance, *Neurypnology* is not a general theoretical text wherein extensive discussions of models of disease and therapy are undertaken. It is immediately obvious to one familiar with the contemporaneous medical works that it is modelled on the structure of a standard nineteenth century *pharmacopœia* entry for a specific *material medica*.

Neurypnology: the contents

The following description, whilst not exhaustive, will provide the reader with an overall sense of the nature, form, scope, and content of the work as a whole.

Braid begins with a brief history of the process through which he discovered his remedial agent, *neurohypnotism*, which he then describes in two ways (p.12):

- (1) "a peculiar condition of the nervous system, into which it can be thrown by artificial contrivance"; and
- (2) "a peculiar condition of the nervous system, induced by a fixed and abstracted attention of the mental and visual eye, on one object, not of an exciting nature".

The circumstances which led me to engage in the investigation of hypnotism, are detailed in the introduction to this little work; in the first part of the treatise I have endeavoured to give the results at which I arrived, in most instances sketching the route by which I travelled, and stating the inferences drawn from the various incidents which occurred in the course of my progress. Having furnished the data from which I drew my conclusions, the reader is thus prepared to determine, whether, on any occasion, I have come to these conclusions without what he would consider sufficient evidence, and in such case can institute additional experiments to any extent he may judge requisite. ...

The results I now submit to the public, and to the kind and candid consideration of my professional brethren, whom I should wish to investigate the subject coolly, and with an honest desire to arrive at truth. Having myself been sceptical, I can make every reasonable allowance for others. On this point I fully subscribe to the propriety of the remark of Treviranus, the celebrated botanist, when speaking of mesmerism. He says, (I quote from memory), "I have seen much which I would not have believed on your telling; and in all reason, therefore, I can neither hope nor wish that you should believe on mine"...

Fig.103. James Braid, Preface to *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.xi-xii.⁸²

He then responds to claims that his "mode of hypnotizing" was not novel, and that his work on *neuro-hypnotism* was "an unacknowledged plagiarism... of the opinion and practice of [Alexandre] Bertrand and Abbé Faria†" (p.6). Braid stressed that, whilst the work of Bertrand and Faria centred on the imagination, his own centred on physiology; also, he says, there was no similarity between his 'physiological' induction methods and the 'imaginary' methods of Faria (pp.6-8). He also notes that prominent mesmerist and phrenologist, Mr. Henry Brookes had recently acknowledged that "[Braid was] the original discoverer of *a new agency*, and not of a mere modification of an old one" (pp.8-9). Convinced of the reality of its phenomena, Braid distinguishes his remedial agent from others (mesmerism, animal magnetism, etc.)⁸³ — with which he now considers *neuro-hypnotism* to be analogous rather than identical (his original view) — and stresses that the 'hypnotic state' is different from "ordinary sleep"

⁸² Braid was alluding to the interchange between the German biologist Ludolph Christian Treviranus (1779-1864) and the English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834). A committed advocate of mesmeric, Coleridge asked if Treviranus had really seen the mesmeric phenomena that others had reported that he had witnessed, and Treviranus replied: "I have seen what I am certain I would not have believed on *your* telling; and in all reason, therefore, I can neither expect nor wish that you should believe on *mine*." (Coleridge, 1835, p.109).

⁸³ Also, "I have also had the state of the patient tested before, during, and after being hypnotized, to ascertain if there was any alteration in the magnetic or electric condition, but although tested by excellent instruments, and with great care, no appreciable difference could be detected." (pp.32-33)

or "the waking condition" (p.150). He mentions Henry Gardner's⁸⁴ "sleep at will" method (pp.75-78), and asserts that his own method of inducing "*natural* or common sleep" (pp.58-60) is far superior.

In the first place, we will suppose a person moderately sleepless. He has retired to bed and cannot rest. He tosses and tumbles about. Turns first on one side and then on the other. Shifts his pillow, pulls the bed-clothes over his shoulders; draws his knees up to his abdomen; places his right arm under his head; in short, exhausts the resources usually put in requisition on these occasions, and yet has failed to procure nature's sweet restorer — balmy sleep.

What is then to be done?

Rabelais tells a story of some monks, who, oppressed with wakefulness, resolutely addressed themselves to prayer, and before they had concluded half a dozen aves, or pater-nosters, we forget which, they all fell asleep. Macnish repeated some lines of poetry; Sir John Sinclair counted, and Franklin took his air-bath — that is, walked about his chamber "sans-culottes".

All these resources seem at times to have produced the desired effect, but never to have been always successful.

The following plan has never failed, so far as we are aware, but in two instances, and they are remarkable cases, as both the parties move in very different spheres of life — the one being an ornament to the House of Lords, the other the talented Editor of a morning journal.

We then suppose all these attempts have failed, and the patient, for he is indeed a "sufferer" who cannot sleep, still awake.

Let [the patient] turn on his right side, place his head comfortably on the pillow, so that it exactly occupies the angle a line drawn from the head to the shoulder would form and then slightly closing his lips, take rather a full inspiration, breathing as much as he possibly can through the nostrils.

This however is not absolutely necessary, as some persons breathe always through their mouths during sleep, and rest as sound as those who do not.

Having taken a full inspiration, the lungs are then to be left to their own action — that is, the respiration is neither to be accelerated nor retarded.

The attention must now be fixed upon the action in which the patient is engaged.

He must depict to himself that he sees the breath passing from his nostrils in a continuous stream, and the very instant that he brings his mind to conceive this apart from all other ideas, consciousness and memory depart; imagination slumbers; fancy becomes dormant; thought subdued; the sentient faculties lose their susceptibility; the vital or ganglionic system assumes the sovereignty; and as we before remarked, he no longer wakes, but sleeps.

This train of phenomena is but the effort of a moment.

The instant the mind is brought to the contemplation of a single sensation, that instant the sensorium abdicates the throne, and the hypnotic faculty steeps it in oblivion.

Fig.103A. Gardner's system of procuring Sound and Refreshing Sleep at Will.⁸⁴

Stressing "the utmost importance" of terminological precision, he specifies a set of unequivocal, precise distinctions for the user, systematically isolating the

⁸⁴ Binns (1842), pp.390-391.

Braid was certain the brain was the organ of the mind,⁸⁷ and that “the soul and the brain are essentially quite distinct, and stand much in the same relation to each other as the musician and the musical instrument” (p.87).

Although he wrote in some length (Chapter VI, pp.79-149) on the earliest stages of his study of the recently identified phenomena of phreno-mesmerism, or mesmero-phrenology, he would soon declare (Braid, 1843f; 1844b, etc.) that there was no basis at all for *any* of the phreno-mesmerists’ claims (he would, in fact, later prove that any veridical effects were due to other agencies). Also, he would, later, develop and expand the notion of “sources of fallacy” (see *Appendix Twelve*) of which he was already speaking about in *Neurypnology*.



Fig.105. Braid's demand for the correction of the erroneous allegations that he believed in both magnetism and phrenology, *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1843.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ "I look upon the brain simply as the *organ* of the mind, and the bodily organs as the instruments for upholding the integrity of the bodily frame, and for acquiring and extending its communion with external nature in our present state of existence" (p.81).

⁸⁸ Braid (1843a). This letter from Braid demands that misrepresentations in the *Manchester Guardian's* (8 March 1843) report of a lecture given by Spencer T. Hall on Phreno-Magnetism (Anon, 1843c) — specifically, the allegations that Braid, who had attended the lecture in person, believed in both magnetism and phrenology — be corrected.

Braid describes both natural and artificial techniques for inducing *neuro-hypnotism*, and his 'double internal and upward squint method' at length (pp.27-33).⁸⁹ He also describes various techniques for de-hypnotizing, and mentions that, on 1 May 1843, he had begun experimenting with having subjects rouse themselves (p.xix).

He anticipates Albert Moll, noting a wide range of hypnotic behaviour, with differences varying significantly from individual to individual, from moment-to-moment, and context-to-context for a particular individual. Both said there was an extended series of "different states [that] are included in the idea of hypnosis" (Moll, 1890, p.25); with the unique arrangement constituting each "state" responsible for the phenomena manifested by that subject, in that context, at that time. The "phenomena" inevitably ensue from the "state" because "it is a law of the animal economy that such effects should follow such [a] condition of mind and body", and that "this [was] a *fact* which cannot be controverted" (p.31). He constantly stresses that, despite variations in the speed of subject responses to his induction procedure, all of the subsequently elicited phenomena are consecutive (p.xiii).

[Also] the oftener patients are hypnotized, from association of ideas and habit, the more susceptible they become; and in this way they are liable to be affected *entirely through the imagination*.

Thus, if they consider or imagine there is something doing, although they do not see it, from which they are to be affected, they will become affected (p.36).

He gave a tentative account (sufficient for therapeutic orthopraxy) of the physiological means through which the physical, emotional, and cognitive changes are induced in the normal subject.

Braid then explained his crucial "dominant idea" concept (viz., the mind being kept "riveted" to a single idea) in relation to the delivery of efficacious hypnotic suggestion. Apart from his stress that (a) any 'suggestion' was only suggestive to the extent to which a subject was concentrating on a single

⁸⁹ Despite being extremely rapid and efficacious, Braid has decided to abandon his 'cork-on-the-forehead' technique as he has found that many subjects could not maintain the requisite 'fixity of vision' on an object so close to their eyes and, so, "to obviate this, I caused them to look at a more distant point, which, although scarcely so rapid and intense in its effects, succeeds more generally than the other, and is therefore what I now adopt and recommend" (pp.27-28).

‘dominant idea’,⁹⁰ and that (b) a ‘suggestion’ was effected through a particular ‘principle’, he refused to speculate any further on the nature of the mechanism through which hypnotism acted; and, drawing a direct analogy to the philosopher Thomas Brown (1820, Vol.I, Lecture IX, I, p188), he alluded to Newton’s “*hypotheses non fingo*”,⁹¹ he remarked:

as to the *modus operandi* we may never be able to account for that in a manner so is to satisfy all objections; but neither can we tell why the law of gravitation should act as experience has taught us it *does* act.

Still, as our ignorance of the cause of gravitation acting as it is known to do, does not prevent us profiting by an accumulation of the facts known as to its results, so ought not our ignorance of the *whole* laws of the hypnotic state to prevent our studying it practically, and applying it beneficially, when we have the power of doing so. (pp.42-43)

He discusses the efficacious application of hypnotism as a ‘simple’ and as a ‘compound’, as well as discussing issues of ‘dosage’, ‘dosage volumes’, ‘treatment intensity’, and ‘treatment duration’.⁹² He discusses who may and who may not safely apply the remedial agent (“it ought not to be trifled with by ignorant persons for the mere sake of gratifying idle curiosity” (p.52)); and not only describes the remedial agent’s peculiar virtues, ‘indications’,⁹³ and ‘contra-

⁹⁰ Here it is important to remember that:

- (1) ‘suggestion’ is an *explanatory* term; it is not a *descriptive* term;
- (2) an idea is ‘*suggestive*’ if and only if it has suggested something, rather like things spoken of in Rudyard Kipling’s *Just So Stories* (things are that way because things just happen to be that particular way),
- (3) in the absence of any thing actually being *suggested*, an idea is not a *suggestion*; and
- (4) in the absence of any knowledge of a specific subject’s idiosyncratic response, it is significant that there is no intrinsic, objective, discernable *a priori* difference “between the suggestive idea and any other idea” (Titchener, 1910, p.450).

⁹¹ In his concluding “*General Scholium*” to Book III of the 1713 edition of his *Principia*, Newton said that, although he had gone to some length to “[explain] the phenomena of the heavens and of our sea by the force of gravity”, he “[had] not yet assigned a cause to gravity” because:

I have not as yet been able to deduce from phenomena the reason for these properties of gravity, and I do not feign hypotheses [*hypothesis non fingo*]. For whatever is not deduced from the phenomena is to be called a hypothesis; and hypotheses, whether metaphysical or physical, or based on occult qualities, or mechanical, have no place in experimental philosophy. (Newton, 1999, p.943)

N.B. Whilst Newton had systematically *described* what was happening, he offered no causal *explanation* of any kind in relation to whatsoever the mechanisms might have been that underpinned any of the regularities that he had so painstakingly described.

⁹² For example, Case XVI (pp.202-204), unable to use her legs, was hypnotized twice daily, in 5-minute doses, for nearly a month. Within two months she could walk daily several miles in steep country. He treated Case LII (pp.247-248), spinal curvature, twice daily for 6 weeks.

⁹³ An *indication* is the activity of a *condition* ‘pointing to’ a *remedy*, not the reverse (viz., it is not

indications',⁹⁴ but also draws attention to its potential dangers:

Whenever I observe the breathing very much oppressed, the face greatly flushed, the rigidity excessive, or the action of the heart very quick and tumultuous, I instantly arouse the patient, which I have always readily and speedily succeeded in doing by a clap of the hands, an abrupt shock on the arm or leg by striking them sharply with the flat hand, pressure and friction over the eye-lids, and by a current of air wafted against the face. I have never failed by these means to restore my patients very speedily. (p.52)

He also warned against thinking of it as a *panacea*:

Whilst I feel assured... that in this we have acquired an important curative agency for *a certain class* of diseases, I desire it to be distinctly understood, as already stated, that I by no means wish to hold it up as a universal remedy.

I believe it is capable of doing great good, if judiciously applied. Diseases evince totally different pathological conditions, and the treatment ought to be varied accordingly.

We have, therefore, no right to expect to find a universal remedy either in *this*, or *any other* method of treatment. (pp.73-74)

Yet, rather than arguing for *neuro-hypnotism's* overall efficacy, he simply lists a selected series of 'classic' cases of its efficacious application (in the classic pattern of a standard *pharmacopœia*),⁹⁵ that were taken from his own case records, at the end of the work (Part II, pp.161-260):

The extraordinary effects of a few minutes hypnotism, manifested in such cases (so very different from what we realize by the application of ordinary means) may appear startling to those unacquainted with the remarkable powers of this process.

I have been recommended, on this account, to conceal the fact of the rapidity and extent of the changes induced, as many may consider the thing *impossible*, and thus be led to reject the *less* startling, although *not more* true, reports of its beneficial action in other cases.

In recording the cases, however, I have considered it my duty to record *facts as I found them*, and to make no compromise for the sake of accommodating them to the preconceived notions or prejudices of others. (p.71)

He reports on the successful treatment (many by hypnotism alone) of 66

a remedy 'pointing to' *a condition*).

⁹⁴ A *contraindication* is an additional factor that is 'pointing away from' *a remedy* that was (otherwise) *indicated* by *a particular condition*, and not the reverse.

⁹⁵ Kuhn (1970c) would characterize these 'classic' cases as *exemplars*, or "exemplary past achievements" (p.175); viz., "achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice" (p.10).

different individual patients,⁹⁶ who presented with 75 different complaints over the 18 month interval since he delivered his first clinical (rather than experimental) treatment on 10 December 1842,⁹⁷ “all of which showed responses varying from the gratifying to the outright astonishing” (Wink, 1969, p.81):

I could easily adduce many more interesting cases, but [I] trust those already recorded may be sufficient to prove that hypnotism is an important addition to our curative means, and a power well worthy the attentive consideration of every enlightened and unprejudiced medical man. (*Neurypnology*, p.260)

Most of his reported cases had more than one treatment. His case studies were grouped according to the clinical symptoms they had manifested, rather than by their speculated pathology, or their chronological order (which would have documented his incremental acquisition of expertise). Some of the cases have sworn statements appended, verifying the accuracy of the facts recorded. Although many of the conditions that Braid treated are hard to identify, it is certain that his success was spread over a wide range of disorders:

⁹⁶ Given its *pharmacopœia* style, it is not surprising there are no mentions of outright treatment failures; yet, as with Case XVIII (pp.205-206), a male, 58 years, suffering “a paralytic affection of two and a-half years’ standing”, he did report any abandonment of a course of treatment:

Stated by his friends that he had had an apoplectic seizure two years and a-half before, which was at first accompanied with total loss of consciousness, and of sense and motion of the right side for six weeks. He then gradually recovered, so as to be able to walk a little in the course of four or five months. When he called on me 3d June, 1842, his gait was very feeble and insecure, always advancing the right side foremost, his arm had always been supported in a sling, he could raise it with an effort as high as the breast, had not the power of opening the hand, the thumb was much and rigidly flexed. Had little or no feeling in that hand. After being hypnotized for five minutes, feeling was restored, he could open the hand and grasp much firmer, and *raise it to his forehead*. His speech, which had been very imperfect, was also much improved. This patient was operated on for some time with partial improvement, so that he could manage his arm without a sling, and the feeling continued improved, and there was also slight improvement in his gait, but I was of opinion, that there was organic mischief in the brain which would prevent a perfect restoration, and therefore discontinued farther trials.

⁹⁷ It is certain that he treated considerably more individuals with hypnotism over that time. The cases he published were, therefore, fulfilling his promise that his work was “illustrated with cases of successful practice”, rather than being an exhaustive list of his entire case load.

Analgesia in painful surgical dressing	1
Analgesia in surgery for talipes	1
Anosmia	1
"Anxiety"	1
Aphonia	1
Deaf (only)	1
Deaf Mute	4
Fits, epilepsy	4
Headache, nervous headache, migraine	7
Hump back	1
Hysterical spasm	1
Palpitations, pain in heart, valvular disease	5
Paralysis, including stroke	15
Poor or failing vision	6
Poor or failing vision due to corneal opacity	1
Rheumatic fever	1
"Rheumatic" pains	9
Sequelæ of injury	3
Singing out of tune	1
"Spinal Irritation"	1
Tic douloureux	3
Toothache	1
Torticollis	1
Trismus	1
Various skin conditions	4

Fig.106. List of conditions treated in Braid's case studies.⁹⁸

After Neurypnology

By November 1843, *Neurypnology* was selling rapidly, and Braid had already sold nearly 800 copies of the work at five shillings a copy (Braid, 1843). The first edition was exhausted in 1846.

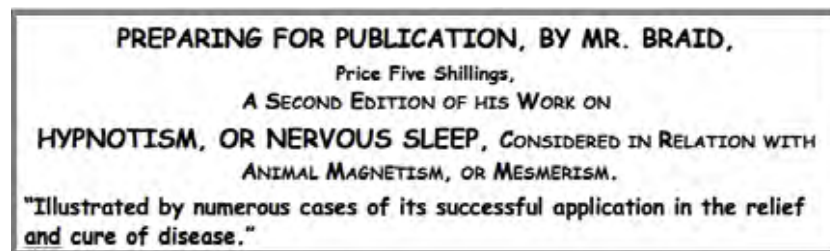


Fig.100. Braid's (1846) notice of his intention to publish a second edition of *Neurypnology*.⁹⁹

Neurypnology was never reprinted;¹⁰⁰ and the anticipated second edition never

⁹⁸ Using the categorizations suggested by Wink (1969), p.81.

⁹⁹ A replica of the foot of errata slip, inserted in *The Power of the Mind over the Body, etc.* (Braid, 1846e), announcing that a second edition was imminent. In the prefaces to his *Observations on Trance; or, Human Hybernation* (1850, p.vi) and *Magic, Witchcraft, Animal Magnetism, Hypnotism, and Electro-Biology, etc.* (1852, p.2), he speaks of working to produce a new edition of his "work on hypnotism, which has long been out of print, and so frequently called for."

¹⁰⁰ The text also appears in a much later work, but with different pagination, and the text

materialized. Despite Braid's sporadic, 'occasional' publications (letters, articles, pamphlets, etc.) over the remaining years of his life, "a really sustained and systematic exposition of his revised views" was never published (Gauld, 1992, pp.283-284).

Braid conducted no formal training courses of any sort, he had no 'hypnotic apprentices', he had no 'school' centred on himself and Manchester, and he had no 'disciples'; he just got on with his professional life and his surgical practice, and continued to undertake his own private investigations of the phenomena and therapeutic applications of hypnotism. Apart from the occasional address to a professional body (e.g., Braid 1851a), he exclusively used prestigious professional journals or self-published pamphlets to disseminate his ever-developing views on hypnotism.

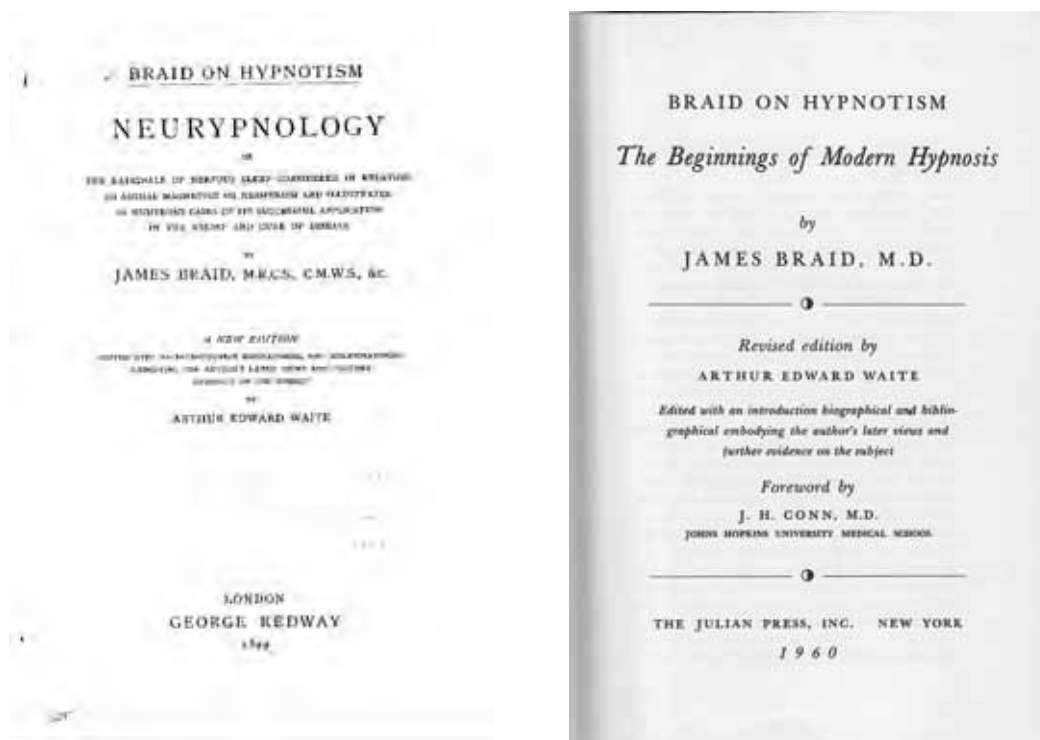


Fig.108. Title pages of *Braid on Hypnotism* (1899), and *Braid on Hypnotism* (1960).¹⁰¹

corrected according to Braid's original (1843) *Errata et Addenda*; between pages 67 and 319 of Waite's *Braid on Hypnotism: Neurypnology. A new Edition, Edited with an Introduction, Biographical and Bibliographical, Embodying the Author's Later Views and Further Evidence on the Subject by Arthur Edward Waite* (1899).

¹⁰¹ Waite's *Braid on Hypnotism* contained the entire text of Braid's 1843 work, corrected as demanded by the original's *Errata et Addenda*, plus an introduction by Waite, and a series of appendixes providing explanatory notes and extracts from some of Braid's later works.

In 1960, the centenary of Braid's death, Julian Press reissued Waite (1899) under the title, *Braid on Hypnotism: The Beginnings of Modern Hypnosis [sic]*, with a foreword by the eminent medical hypnotist, J.H. Conn. The title page, hard cover, and dust jacket of the book all misleadingly

Influenced, firstly, by Carpenter's (1852) notion of the *ideo-motor* principle of action, and, then, by Noble's (1853) suggestion that his term, *ideo-dynamic*, had a far wider and more useful application, by 1855 Braid was speaking of the "*mono-ideo-dynamic*, or unconscious muscular action from a dominant idea possessing the mind" in order to explain "table turning" (Braid, 1856a, p.120).

Then, following his extensive experience of a wide range of mind-body interactions, Braid became aware of the need for a far more representative set of technical terms, and he began speaking of *psycho-physiology* and, eventually, he spoke of two sorts of *hypnotism*: (a) *hypnotic coma*, wherein painless amputations can be performed,¹⁰² and (b) *monoideism*, the 'hypnotic state'.

In *Neurypnology* (p.21), Braid had said, "it may have been to hypnotism... the Fakirs ... were indebted ... for their power of performing their remarkable feats".

Ten months later, when his attention had been drawn to a letter in *The Medical Times* and, also, to two important works on Eastern mystical practices,¹⁰³ Braid was convinced that these items had "*[corroborated] the fact, that the eastern saints are all self-hypnotisers, adopting means essentially the same as those which I had recommended for similar purposes*" (Braid, 1844c, p.203); and, in his last letter, Braid clearly displayed the same sentiment:

Now, setting aside the absurdities and extravagances of these [Fakirs and Yogis] regarding their assumed higher phenomena as endowments flowing from the alleged higher sanctity of the devotees after they have submitted themselves to certain practices and endurances, still we have the undoubted fact of the general success of their *personal* processes for throwing themselves into their trance-sleep; and I think this is one of the strongest proofs that could be adduced in support of my *subjective* theory; or, in other words, both their method and my hypnotic processes incontestably prove that the trance-sleep can be induced by in-

represent Braid as "*James Braid, M.D.*", despite the fact that there is a facsimile reproduction of the 1843 title page, displaying "*James Braid, M.R.C.S.E., C.M.W.S., ETC.*", on page 67.

¹⁰² Once again, reminding the dissertation reader that his '*sleep*' in a metaphor that should not be reified, Braid said "[I now hold the view that] the term *hypnotism* ought to be restricted to the phenomena manifested in patients who actually pass into a state of sleep, and who remember nothing on awakening of what transpired during their sleep" (Braid, 1855d, p.8).

¹⁰³ "Practice of Hindoo Mesmerism", written by "A Retired East India Surgeon" (1844), the second edition of William Ward's three-volume *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos* (1822), and the three-volume work by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, *The Dabistân; or, School of Manners, Translated from the Original Persian* (1843).

fluences entirely *within*, and *not without* the patient's own body.

James Braid, *The Critic*, 10 March 1860.¹⁰⁴

He continued to contribute his opinions as a scientist; e.g., his discussion of a case of poisoning (the "Rudgeley Poisoner"),¹⁰⁵ and his suggestion of arsenic to reduce the impact of the tsetse fly on European cattle in Africa to the African missionary David Livingston.¹⁰⁶ He made substantial contributions to the advance of conventional medicine. He was one of the first thirty in the U.K. to conduct surgery using inhalation ether as an anæsthetic,¹⁰⁷ successfully performing a mastectomy on 9 February 1847.¹⁰⁸ A week later, *The Medical Times* published the first paper examining, from his unique experience as hypnotist *and* surgeon, the relative merits of mesmerism, hypnotism, and ether to the mitigation (or total prevention) of pain during an operation.¹⁰⁹

Following a post-operative death from ether,¹¹⁰ Braid wrote an important paper, "Observations on the Use of Ether for Preventing Pain during Surgical Operations, and the Moral Abuse which it is Capable of Being Converted to" (Braid, 1847b), in which he made many important recommendations for the

¹⁰⁴ Letter to the Editor, written on 21 February 1860 (Braid, 1860b).

¹⁰⁵ Braid (1856b); Anon (1856a); Anon (1856b); and Anon (1856a).

¹⁰⁶ Braid (1858a); Braid (1858b); Livingstone (1858). Braid's suggestion was adopted with great success.

¹⁰⁷ On Saturday, 19 December 1846, at the Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary, William Scott (1820-1877) and James McLachlan (1799-1848) performed the first ever operation using inhalation ether as an anæsthetic in the U.K., when they amputated a fractured limb. Apart from it being the first application of ether for this purpose, it was also the first occasion upon which an anæsthetic agent was inhaled, rather than ingested.

¹⁰⁸ 9 February 1847 was just 60 days after Scott and McLachlan's operation. Braid was assisted by Daniel Noble.† His son, James Braid, M.D.,‡ administered the ether (Anon, 1847a, 1847d).

¹⁰⁹ "Facts and Observations as to the Relative Value of Mesmeric and Hypnotic Coma, and Ethereal Narcotism, for the Mitigation or Entire Prevention of Pain during Surgical Operations" (Braid, 1847a). The second instalment was published a fortnight later.

¹¹⁰ Mrs Ann Parkinson, aged 21, died on 11 March 1847, 40 hours after the application of inhalation ether administered by a Mr. Dibben to facilitate the painless surgical removal of a malignant tumour from her left thigh by Mr. William Robbs. A coroner's inquest was held; and given a number of possible causes of death — the tumour's malignancy, the patient's health, the surgery itself, post-surgical shock, the decision to use ether, the ether's administration, and the patient's peculiar or idiosyncratic response to the ether, etc. — the jury's verdict was: "That the deceased Ann Parkinson died from the effects of the vapour of ether, inhaled by her for the purpose of alleviating pain during the removal of a tumour from her thigh, and not from the effect of the operation, or from any other cause" (Anon, 1847f; Anon, 1847g).

"safe and efficient use of ether in surgical practice".¹¹¹

Finally, in terms of the progress of his on-going and continual empirical research, and the consequent expansion of his understanding of 'hypnotic phenomena', the further development of his theories, the refinement of his techniques, and his overall knowledge of a far wider range of applications for his methods that his research had generated, it seems almost catastrophic that his first 'stand alone' volume, as he had promised in 1855, never eventuated.

It is my intention shortly to publish a volume entitled *Psycho-Physiology: embracing Hypnotism, Monoideism, and Mesmerism*.
This work will comprise in a connected and condensed form, the results of the whole of my researches in this department of science, and it will, moreover, be illustrated by cases in which hypnotism has been proved particularly efficacious in the relief and cure of disease, with special directions how to regulate the processes so as to adapt them to different cases and constitutions.

Fig.109. James Braid, *The Physiology of Fascination, and the Critics Criticised* (1855).¹¹²

By 1855, Braid's induction methods had progressed several stages beyond his 1841 'cork on forehead' technique; with each stage having slightly less 'power', but a far wider application than its predecessor (see Braid, 1855d; Bramwell, 1913, pp.40-41; Braid/Purcell, 1969c/1860, passim, etc.). And, as Braid's understanding, knowledge and experience increased, his explanations had developed well beyond his original 'exhaustion of the nervous system' theory. From the evidence within his published works and his unpublished manuscripts, it is certain that, at the time of his death, he still actively rejected "suggestion" as an explanation for the 'act of hypnotization'.

In his landmark text book, *A System of Medical Hypnosis* (1960), and speaking from his accumulated wisdom, intelligent observation, and extensive clinical experience, the Australian psychiatrist and medical hypnotist Ainslie Meares noted (p.51) that, whilst Braid's induction technique was historically significant ("it served a very valuable purpose in helping to remove the aura of occultism

¹¹¹ In a letter written just before his death, Braid (1860a) suggested testing the comparative anaesthetic efficacy of hypnotism in those who had already experienced chemical anaesthesia and those who had not, promising to write on the similarities and differences between the use of hypnotism and ether and chloroform for surgical anaesthesia. He died before he could do so.

¹¹² James Braid, *The Physiology of Fascination, and the Critics Criticised* (Braid, 1855d). This was not the first time he had promised a new work that was, at least, a revised, second edition of *Neurypnology*.

which had grown around the use of [hypnotism]”), and simple (“probably one of the easiest methods for the student to learn in his first studies”), and widespread (“for a hundred years this became the most generally used method of inducing hypnosis”), in his view, “the very ease with which this method provides in inducing hypnosis has in more recent years [viz., c.1960] become a stumbling block, as it were, to the investigation of the more psychodynamic aspects of hypnosis”.

Thus, from Meare’s insight, it follows that, in the view of many modern actors, Braid’s views, his strategies, and his techniques, had to be quarantined by those advocating the ‘modern’ hypnotherapeutic practices that tended more to the secular exorcism style, or to the secular shamanic (‘trust the unconscious’) style, or whose ‘appeals to a higher power’, addiction-centred approaches were based on the beliefs of one or more of the modern religious healing cults.¹¹³

Postscript

It is fitting to close with the statement, written a month before Braid’s death, following the successful use of his hypnotic technique for surgical anaesthesia by Azam and Broca in France in December 1859,¹¹⁴ and his presentation of most

¹¹³ As I noted elsewhere (Yeates, 2002a, pp.10-11), speaking of Baudouin’s representation of the work of Émile Coué as health promotion rather than disease banishing:

...much of today’s hypnotherapy is conducted along the lines of a secular exorcism; an approach that can be traced back to Johann Gassner (1727-1779), a priest, whose curative methods were based on the formal Catholic rites of exorcism. The situation has been further encouraged by the concentration of conventional Western medicine on disease elimination — rather than health promotion — and the over-all influence of the idiosyncratic theories of Freud on the practice of psychotherapy. The current, almost exclusive concentration on uncovering-technique-based-hypnotherapy indicates that the trend continues; and, it seems, hypnotherapy has once again become a ritual of secular exorcism, with the hypnotherapist — like an exorcist, who must discover the name of the demon in order to cast it out — needing to identify “the true cause” in order to banish the disorder...

Baudouin thought that this approach to therapy was ridiculous. Using the analogy of an exorcism — and, on the basis that “God” obviously out-ranked “Satan” — Baudouin asked why such an effort was made to *banish* Satan, when all that seemed necessary was to *invoke* the presence of God; something which would (by definition) exclude the presence of Satan.

“*Veni Creator is, in all respects, a far more potent exorcism than Vade retro Satanas. We get rid of evil by filling its place with good.*” (Baudouin, 1920, p.180)

¹¹⁴ Weitzenhoffer (2000, p.35) describes Azam and Broca’s operations as follows:

of his publications (including *Neurypnology*) to the French Academy of Science:

I feel assured that, if my recorded [methods] are strictly followed out by those who have acquired the requisite dexterity of manipulating, they may readily prove most of my assertions to have been rigorously exact, as M. Azam did.

Some of the phenomena, however require very [careful] management to demonstrate them satisfactorily to those who have not previously been familiar with such inquiries, as different phenomena are developed at *different stages*, and one merges so into the other, that those who do not clearly comprehend this are very liable to think they discover discrepancies which arise entirely from their imperfect knowledge of the subject.

According to my experience, although it is an undoubted fact that some patients can, even in this country, be reduced to such a deep state of hypnotism as to enable them to undergo severe surgical operations entirely without pain, I do not expect that hypnotism will ever become so generally available for such purposes in European institutions as chloroform.

This has been my recorded opinion, in several of my works, for the last seventeen years, and such seems to have been the experience of its powers for such purposes [recently] in Paris — in some patients the anaesthesia having been quite complete, but in the majority not so.

For curative purposes, however, for curing various disorders little amenable to ordinary medical treatment, hypnotism is far more valuable, when skilfully applied *in suitable cases*, as my almost daily experience of it during the last eighteen years has proved beyond all manner of doubt.

Still I do not pretend to recommend it as a panacea, or universal remedy.

Indeed, I believe in no universal remedy whatever.

James Braid, written on 26 February 1860.¹¹⁵

[Knowledge of Braid's work on neurohypnotism was] pretty much limited to England [in the 1850s]. Then in 1859, a French physician and surgeon, E. Azam, came across an encyclopedia article by William Carpenter (1859) in which Braid's neurohypnotism was discussed. Intrigued, Azam went on to... essentially duplicate Braid's findings. There was a specific reason behind Azam's interest. Braid had reported that neurohypnotism was accompanied by a general insensibility and to a surgeon like Azam this was promising. Chloroform was the primary general anesthetic in use and it had many bad side effects. Azam saw neurohypnotism as a potentially ideal substitute. He shared his thoughts and findings with another French surgeon, Paul Broca, who immediately proceeded to look into the matter, not only also replicating Braid's findings, but doing surgery on a few hypnotized patients. *Keep in mind that no suggestions of anesthesia or analgesia were used. As a matter of fact, the patients had no idea regarding what was actually going on for Broca cleverly used Braid's induction method in the guise of doing an ophthalmologic examination as part of his physical examination of the patient* (emphasis added). Broca's first experiences were so encouraging that he immediately proceeded a few weeks later to present his results before the *Societe de Chirurgie de Paris*.

¹¹⁵ Letter to the Editor of *The Critic*, published 10 March 1860 (Braid, 1860b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Having been in cheerful good health, and actively in his practice all week, according to *The Lancet's* obituary (Anon, 1860a), on the morning of Sunday, 25 March 1860, Braid complained of back pain along his spine and coldness. He asked for a cup of tea. He finished the tea, "breathed heavily several times, and died almost immediately". His death certificate stated "natural causes"; and Wink's direct enquiries (1969, p.86) to the Manchester coroner indicated that no autopsy had been conducted in 1860.

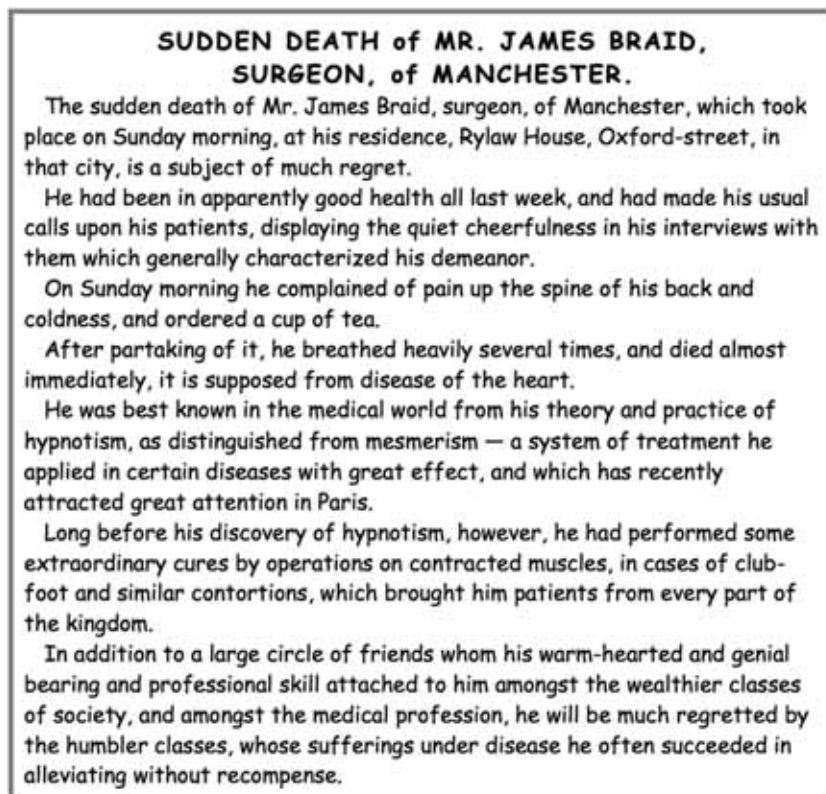


Fig.110. Braid's Obituary, *The Lancet*, Saturday, 31 March 1860.¹¹⁶

Braid was buried at an unknown location, in an unmarked grave, as was the custom of Scottish Dissenters.

According to Wink (1969, p.135), a small inscription, reading "Sacred to the memory of James Braid, surgeon, Rylaw House, Manchester, who died on 25th. March 1860, aged 61 years [sic]",¹¹⁷ was affixed to the (1866) grave of his grandson, James Alfred Braid, who was born in 1860, and who had died at the age of six. No other memorial exists.

¹¹⁶ Anon (1860a).

¹¹⁷ Whilst Braid, born on 19 June 1795, was in his sixty-fifth year, he was aged 64 at his death.

Conclusion

This dissertation, which is based on the evidence uncovered by the extensive, meticulous, and exhaustive research of this enterprise in contemporaneous newspapers, professional journals, magazines, pamphlets, and books, offers a fresh, accurate, and entirely new understanding of James Braid's life and works. It also positions Braid as a significant agent of innovation and change, and argues that he deserves far better treatment from that which appears in the standard modern accounts.

Having worked as a full-time professional clinical hypnotherapist for more than 30 years and having developed and conducted intensive (200 hours in 28 days) training courses for emerging clinical hypnotherapists in the 1990s, and from what I had been taught, and what I had read in the hypnotherapeutic textbooks and histories of medicine, I thought I knew all that there was to know about James Braid. I most certainly did not. Working on this dissertation and engaging in the arduous task of identifying hitherto unknown contemporary resources, exhuming and studying resources once thought lost, gaining access to extremely rare publications, and then reading, in order of their delivery, all seventy-three of Thomas Brown's lectures on "Mental Physiology",¹ plus all of the material from Braid's public lectures and publications, their associated contemporary criticisms, and the newspaper accounts of his exhibitions and public demonstrations, in their chronological order, I was often surprised and, in many cases, even shocked, by what I found. And the more material that I unearthed, and the more that I studied these contemporaneous accounts, the more saddened I became by the poverty of modern scholarship on Braid.

Given that, prior to commencing this enterprise, I could justly claim to have a strong accumulated knowledge of the history of hypnotherapeutic practices, especially those practices based on the application of incremental "suggestion", as represented in the recent literature, I must now assert that, from gaining access to previously unobtainable sources, I have been astounded to find that,

¹ Of the remaining twenty-eight (Lecture LXXIII deals with two topics) of the one hundred lectures that were posthumously published in Brown's *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1820), eighteen were on 'Ethics', and the final nine were on 'Natural Theology'.

as well as discovering hypnotism, and the first to apply a series of structured incremental hypnotic suggestions to a hypnotized subject, Braid was a 'leading edge' scientist, a surgical innovator, a brilliant structured thinker, and the author of a wide range of important publications, in a number of scientific domains. Amongst his other achievements, the 'authentic' *Mr. James Braid* was a keen scientist, inventor, and active philosopher (especially interested in the philosophy of mind). A student of Edinburgh University, he was an eminent surgeon, a member of the *Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association*, and the *Manchester Athenæum*, he was a corresponding member of the *Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh* and *Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh*, and was the honorary curator of the *Manchester Natural History Society's* museum. He was also one of the very first surgeons in the U.K. to operate using inhalation ether as an anaesthetic.

I must stress that, to the extent to which I now claim to be conversant with Braid's mind-set, my 'breakthrough' came after an extended period of reading of Braid's accounts of his surgical work, item after item, in chronological order: his concern with the occupational health of the miners at Leadhills,² his restoration of a miner's lopped finger-tip, his treatment of spinal curvature, etc. When I began to read about his approach to the correction of club foot, all I had been taught during my training in traditional Chinese physical therapy leapt out of the page:³ the 'tightening the loose' opposed to the 'loosening the tight', the 'shortening the long' opposed to the 'lengthening the short', the 'relaxing the rigid' opposed to the 'firming the flaccid', the 'tranquillizing the excited' opposed to the 'activating the listless', and the 'settling the aroused' opposed to the 'rousing the dormant'. From that moment on, everything that Braid did

² Reminiscent of traditional Chinese physicians, more than 2,000 years ago, developing special diets for those working in cinnabar mines, operated by a widow, the particulars of which were presented by Prof. Dr. Erhard Rosner, of Gottingen University, at the Second International Conference on Traditional Asian Medicine at Surabaya, Indonesia, in September 1984 (Rosner, 1984).

³ I was trained to such a level of expertise and proficiency that, when I was legally permitted to perform spinal manipulations, etc. in virtue of being registered under the Australian Capital Territory's spinal manipulation regulatory act, known as the Chiropractor and Osteopaths Registration Act (1985), whilst in the process of conducting my clinical operation at the Sports Centre of the Australian National University, I believe I was the only person in Australia to ever be registered under such legislation, based on traditional Chinese medical training alone.

(later) with his hypnotism made perfect sense.

The more I read the previously 'hidden' Braid literature, the more obvious it became that Braid has been, and still is, misrepresented, misunderstood, and misidentified in modern accounts. Thus, it seemed crucial to tell the 'authentic' Braid's true story; and, in particular, reverse the process *per medium* of which the prevailing views of Braid and his work have been so badly skewed by the distorting lenses placed, by various actors and various enterprises, for various purposes, between Braid and the modern viewer. Drawing an analogy with the once unknown (and, even, when it had been revealed for all to see, for a time, 'mysterious') Antikythera mechanism,⁴ it is plain that the modern ignorance of the 'authentic' Braid is due to this crucial literature having been hidden for many years from scholars, practitioners, students, and their teachers.



Fig.111. The Antikythera mechanism.⁵

So, to continue the analogy, I believe that, once the existence of this long hidden

⁴ It is an analogue astronomical computer, unknown to scholars (no references to it exist) discovered c.1900 when a group diving for sponges off the island of Antikythera found the wreck of a Roman ship. It was one of a number of artifacts (mainly works of art) retrieved from the wreck (sunk c.50 BCE). Although a 'curiosity', it was dismissed as a primitive clockwork device until Derek de Solla Price, of Yale University, an expert on clockwork mechanisms, announced that, from his calculations, it was a calendar computer (de Solla Price, 1974). Later X-Ray assisted research revealed the mechanism — constructed c. 100 BCE, of a level of engineering and complexity not attained in Europe until fifteen centuries later — was an astronomical analogue calculator used to predict the position of various celestial bodies.

⁵ Taken from Wikimedia Commons.

‘Braid mechanism’ has been revealed, and once its structure, form, and true function has been clearly understood, its significance will be recognized; and the current, widespread misunderstanding of veridical history will be comprehensively corrected and rectified. And, from this, the reader will also come to appreciate that, whilst Braid’s researches in relation to hypnotism certainly lay outside the accepted domain of medical science, they were always undertaken with the most fastidious medical scientific precision.

Because this dissertation rests so heavily on contemporaneous evidence, readers are also supplied with copious supporting references; so that, instead of relying on the writer’s say-so (the cause of so much misunderstanding about Braid and his works in the first place), they can verify matters, for themselves, in the original sources. A considerable effort has been made to reduce the complexity of the story of Braid and his work into a reader friendly form; so, rather than continuously referring to the proliferation of the errors of omission and commission, the evasive obfuscations, and the deliberate misrepresentations in almost all of the modern accounts, the reader is given an authentic, ‘mutually exclusive’ account that simultaneously tells the ‘truth’ and removes the error. This is a critical feature of the dissertation, because it is not so much that the modern accounts of Braid and his work are confused, inaccurate or incomplete, it is that they are plainly wrong. If my prose has seemed somewhat emphatic in places, I hope the reader can forgive me for expressing the frustration and outright exasperation I have experienced, time and time again, whilst uncovering the hidden Braid; this epic tale of the ordeals, and the testing trials and distressing tribulations that one of the last torch-bearers of the Scottish enlightenment was forced to endure — in the process of seeking truth, dispelling mystery, advancing science, crushing superstition, and promoting a new and extremely beneficial healing agency — at the hands of his peccant professional rivals, the purveyors of oppressive superstition, the believers in the supernatural, and those bent on denying him his legitimate claims for priority.

This dissertation has taken the reader, step by step, through an examination of Braid’s formative influences, his personal, and intellectual background, and his training as a philosopher, gentleman scientist, and surgeon. In particular, the

reader has been introduced to long-ignored descriptions of Braid's surgical rationale, and his actual surgical practices; many of which readily explain his approach to the therapeutic application of hypnotism, and his identification of the sorts of condition that might usefully indicate hypnotic intervention.

The reader has also been exposed to the contemporaneous accounts of the incremental development of Braid's rational (rather than mystical) theories and practices, from his first encounter with Lafontaine until the publication of *Neurypnology*. Braid's story began with his examination of whether the effects manifested by Lafontaine's subjects were veridical. Then, Braid's extraordinary decision to perform a *role-reversal*, and treat the entire interaction as a subject-internal, operator-guided procedure; rather than, as Lafontaine had supposed, an operator-centred, subject-external procedure. He rejected the notion that the effects were generated by the 'magnetic gaze' of an exceptionally 'charismatic' operator; and he proved his point by self-experimentation, with his 'upwards and inwards squint' replicating the situation of Lafontaine's subjects *vis-à-vis* Lafontaine.

The outstanding success of this *experimentum crucis* unequivocally demonstrated it had nothing to do with the 'gaze', the 'charisma', or the 'magnetism' of the operator; all it needed was the subject's 'fixity of vision' upon an 'object of concentration' at such a height and such a distance from the bridge of their nose that the desired 'upwards and inwards squint' was achieved. His insightful *experimentum crucis* also proved that none of Lafontaine's phenomena were due to magnetic agency. At this stage, Braid also serendipitously discovered that his own 'upwards and inwards squint' induction technique had many unexpected physiological and therapeutic applications. He began to lecture in public, firstly offering an alternative version of Lafontaine's demonstrations; and, then, as he learned more about the physiological and therapeutic consequences of his own methods, and modified his applications in the light of his observation of the techniques and practices of others, he used lectures, stage performances, technical demonstrations, journal articles, pamphlets, and books to disseminate his own views, to share his technical developments, and to actively promote hypnotism as a therapeutic intervention (i.e., rather than just

as some sort of isolated and interesting phenomenon).

The reader has also been taken, in considerable detail, through the extended process Braid's boundary work, both in the sense of him identifying, naming, establishing and expanding a territory, and that of him defending its borders from a wide range of individual (or groups of) marauders of different levels of organization, coherence, malevolence, ferocity, influence, and power. These challenges were varied in the magnitude of the 'tension' that they caused; and it was this tension which, in turn, was the measure of the extent to which of each of them 'tested' Braid — often in some new way. The complicated interplay between the different participants' various articulations, observations, innovations, challenges and responses have been a constant aspect of the narrative which began with the simple experiment Braid conducted in his own home on 20 November 1841, and ended with the publication of *Neurypnology* in July 1843. Moreover, the reader has been given a well-grounded understanding of precisely how and why the nature and purpose of important publications, such as Braid's *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed* (1842), and his *Neurypnology* (1843), have been misunderstood; and how, rather than 'stand alone' works, they are responses that were specifically written to defend his views and his practices against certain specific challenges, which can only be understood in the context of the specific circumstances that prompted that response.

A number of reputable scholars, Pierre Janet (1925a), André Weitzenhoffer (1963, 2000), and Theodore Sarbin and Milton Andersen (1967), have argued that earlier workers, such as the Marquis de Puységur (1751-1825), Alexandre Bertrand (1795-1831), Joseph Deleuze (1753-1835), and Jules Charpignon (1815-1886) observed particular phenomena (in the process of their own dalliance with 'mesmerism', 'animal magnetism,' 'artificial somnambulism', etc.) that would be later designated 'hypnotic phenomena'. From this, they agree that, "all the phenomena observed by [Braid] had already been admirably described in the writings of Puységur, Bertrand, Deleuze, and Charpignon" (Janet, 1925a, p.156). Yet, on closer examination, and when compared with Braid, these events all seem to have been somewhat 'accidental', rather than as a consequence of a structured, intentional, and deliberate intervention; and, anyway, it seems quite

clear that Braid was the first to experiment with the systematic induction of these hypnotic phenomena and establishing (and harnessing) the systematic regularities between the incremental 'suggestive' activities of the operator and the consequent effects manifested by the subject. Further, it seems that Braid's true innovation was fourfold; through his activities of:

- (1) inventing the simple and highly efficacious 'double internal and upward squint' induction technique (Sarbin and Andersen, 1967, p.321),
- (2) proving, "in an exemplary application of the scientific method... [that the production of the hypnotic state] did not depend upon the existence of any animal magnetism" (Weitzenhoffer, 2000, p.31),
- (3) introducing the term "suggestion" (Janet, 1884, p.103; 1925a, p.156), and
- (4) "making the first real attempt to scientifically investigate [hypnotism] and giving scientific hypnotism its start" (Weitzenhoffer, 2000, p.31),

From all of my research, it seems to me an inescapable conclusion that, in the absence of Braid, and, in particular, in the absence of his surgical training and time at Edinburgh University, the discipline of hypnotism, as a complex of incremental strategic interventions, may never have come into being at all.

To firmly establish that conclusion, however, further work needs to be done in relation to certain of the unexplained mysteries alluded to obliquely in this dissertation; such as, 'why did Braid go to Dumfries, rather than elsewhere?', 'what did he do whilst there?', 'what was the nature of his interaction with Maxwell?', 'what were the true circumstances of Petty's injury?', 'what were the true circumstances Petty's invitation to assist Braid to move to Manchester?', 'when did Braid leave Dumfries?', 'when did Braid arrive in Manchester?', 'who was the Manchester-based "influential member" of the B.A.A.S. medical section, who had "no friendly motives" towards Braid, and what had taken place between that individual and Braid six years earlier?'.

Finally, given the understanding of Braid, his work, and his significance that I have developed through this enterprise, and given the large amount of contemporaneous material that I have had to set aside relating to the period between the rejection of his "essay" at the 1842 B.A.A.S. meeting and his death eighteen

years later, in 1860 — with, no doubt, far more waiting to be revealed — I earnestly hope to have the opportunity and resources to continue this project and produce a further, second account, of the same scope, range, and depth, and consistent with the form of this dissertation, that covers Braid's subsequent development of hypnotism and his later contributions to medical science.

Having become so familiar with this wonderful man, such that I can almost hear his voice when I read the transcripts of his lectures, I believe that the world deserves to know all about this later, and even more fascinating phase of his work, and I also believe that he would smile quietly, and he would be ever so grateful to know that his earnest and relentless efforts to promote hypnotism had not been in vain, and that the legacy that he thought he had left to the world, once so well concealed that it was almost lost, had been exhumed in the distant antipodes, by one who understood and respected the value and the immense significance of his bequest.

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APPENDIX ONE: “BRAID ITEMS” & “ASSOCIATED ITEMS”

The Listing that follows is divided into two sections:—

A. *Braid Items* (coded **B.1**, etc.): this significantly expands, corrects, amends and revises the lists of Braid’s works presented by:

- (i) Arthur Edward Waite[†] in 1899 (36 items) in his *Braid on Hypnotism* (**X.316**, pp.364-375);
- (ii) John Milne Bramwell[†] in 1913 (49 items in “books and articles by Braid”) in the third edition of his *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory* (**X.321**, pp.460-463);
- (iii) Charles Anthony Stewart Wink[†] in 1969 (53 items) appended to *The Life and Work of James Braid (1795-1860), With Special Reference to Hypnotism as an Orthodox Medical Procedure* (**X.328**, pp.i-v);
- (iv) Nathan Mark Kravis[†] in 1988 (53 items) in his paper *James Braid’s Psychophysiology: A Turning Point in the History of Dynamic Psychiatry* (**X.330**, pp.1204-1206) — although aware of Waite and Bramwell’s publications, he was unaware of Wink’s dissertation; and
- (v) Adam Crabtree[†] in 1988 (8 amongst 1905 items) in *Animal Magnetism, Early Hypnotism and Psychical Research, 1766-1925: An Annotated Bibliography* (**X.331**).

N.B. *Whenever relevant, individual Braid items are cross-referenced to these lists.*

B. *Associated Items* (coded **X.1**, etc.): items that are associated with Braid items in different ways, including anonymous works, accounts of Braid’s lectures, works possibly by Braid and published under a *nom de guerre*, direct observations of Braid at work, and biographical accounts of Braid.

It also lists items that provoked a rejoinder from Braid.

Whenever possible, the items are cross-referenced to the list of 27 “principal references to Braid’s work” supplied by Bramwell in 1913 in the third edition of his *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory* (**X.321**, pp.463-464), and the 1905 items that were listed by Crabtree in 1988 (**X.331**, *passim*).

A. BRAID ITEMS

Please note:

- (1) The items in this list are coded as "**B.1 [1816]**", etc.; "**B**" identifying that it is a "Braid item", plus a sequential number, plus the year of publication by Braid — or, in the case of an item remaining unpublished in Braid's lifetime, the year of its creation by Braid.
- (2) Whenever relevant, the items are cross-referenced against the lists of Waite (1899), Bramwell ("books and articles by Braid", 1913), Wink (1969), Kravis (1988) and Crabtree (1988), with **[Wa: 01]**, **[Br: 01A]**, **[Wi: 01]**, **[Kr: 01]**, and **[Cr: 01]**, displaying the sequential numbers of the item in the lists of Waite, Bramwell, Wink, Kravis, or Crabtree respectively.
- (3) In specific instances of specific items, one or more of the authors (Waite, Bramwell, Wink and Kravis) had good reason to suppose the existence of such an item, but could not locate it; and, so, to him, the item's existence remained unverified. These items are cross-referenced against the lists of Waite, Bramwell, Wink and Kravis, as in (2) above with an additional coding of "**CNF**" ("could not find"); and, depending upon whether they were numbered sequentially or not, they are listed as either **[Wa: (04)-CNF]/[Kr: (45)-CNF]** or **[Br: CNF]/[Wi: CNF]** respectively.

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- B.1 [1816]:** Braid, J., "Case of Reunion of a Separated Portion of the Finger. By Mr JAMES BRAID, Surgeon at Leadhills. Communicated by CHARLES ANDERSON, M.D. Leith", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.12, No.48, (1 October 1816), pp.428-429.
- B.2 [1817]:** Braid, J., "Account of a Thunder Storm in the Neighbourhood of Leadhills, Lanarkshire; By Mr. James Braid, Surgeon at Leadhills. Read before the Wernerian Society 7th June [written on 3 May 1817]", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol.1, No.5, (August 1817), pp.471-472. [German scientist, Hermann Joseph Klein (1844-1914) cites Braid's experience as a classic description of St. Elmo's fire (Klein & Thomé, 1881, p.366).]
- B.3 [1817]:** Braid, J., "Account of the Fatal Accident which happened in the Leadhills Company's Mines, the 1st March, 1817. By Mr. James Braid, Surgeon, Leadhills. Read before the

Wernerian Society 7th June [written on 3 May 1817]", *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, Vol.79, (June 1817), pp.414-416; *The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.13, No.51, (1 July 1817), pp.353-356; *The London Medical and Surgical Journal* (October, 1817), and in *The Eclectic Repertory and Analytical Review, Medical and Philosophical*, Vol.8, No.1, (January 1818), pp.125-128.

- B.4 [1823]:** Braid, J., "*Case of Hydrothorax, successfully treated by Blood-letting, with Observations on the Nature and Causes of the Disease.* By James Braid, Corresponding Member of the Wernerian Society, Surgeon at Leadhills", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.19, No.77, (1 October 1823), pp.546-551.
- B.5 [1823]:** Braid, J., "Observations on the Formation of the various Lead-Spars", pp.508-513 in *Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society, Vol.IV (For the years 1821-22-23), Part II*, (Edinburgh), 1823. [Wi: 01]
- B.6 [1825]:** Braid, J., "*Case of a peculiar Ulcerous Affection, successfully treated, with Observations.* By James Braid, Corresponding Member of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh, and Surgeon at Leadhills [written on 1 September 1824]", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.23, No.82, (1 January 1825), pp.42-49.
- B.7 [1825]:** Braid, J., "Public Notice: Card", *The Dumfries Weekly Journal, and Nithsdale, Annandale, and Galloway Advertiser*, No.2493, (Tuesday, 2 August 1825), p.1, col.B. [Announces that "Mr James Braid, Surgeon to the Mining Companies at Leadhills" intends to commence practising in Dumfries as a "general practitioner" and "accoucheur" in August 1825.]
- B.8 [1840]:** Braid, J., "Lateral Curvature of the Spine — Strabismus", *The London Medical Gazette*, Vol.27, No.680, (11 December 1840), pp.445-447. [Br: 42A] [Wi: 02] [Kr: 01]
- B.9 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Stammering [Letter to the Editor, written on 8 March 1841]", *The London Medical Gazette*, Vol.27, No.694, (19 March 1841), pp.949-951. [Br: 43A] [Wi: 03] [Kr: 02] [Bramwell, mistakenly, has p.445.]
- B.10 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Public Notice: Stammering", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.652, (Saturday, 27 March 1841), p.1, col.B. [Lodged by Braid (in response to the "advertorial" (at X.13) stating that he (Braid) had "been operating extensively and most successfully for that affection for the last six months", etc.)]
- B.11 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Cure of Stammering", *London Medical Gazette*, Vol.28, No.697, (9 April 1841), pp.116-118. [Br: 44A] [Wi: 04] [Kr: 03]
- B.12 [1841]:** Braid, J., "On the Operation for Talipes", *London Medical Gazette*, Vol.28, No.699, (23 April 1841), pp.186-189. [Br: 45A] [Wi: 05] [Kr: 04]
- B.13 [1841]:** Braid, J., "*Observations on Talipes, Strabismus, Stammering, and Spinal Contortion, and the best methods of removing them.* By James Braid, Surgeon, Manchester", *Edinburgh Medical*

and Surgical Journal, Vol.56, No.149, (1 October 1841), pp.338-364. [Wa: 01] [Br: 41A]
[Wi: 06] [Kr: 05]

- B.14 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Talipes [from *The Edinburgh Journal*]", *The Lancet*, Vol.37, No.949, (6 November 1841), pp.202-203. [Br: 39A] [Wi: 07] [Kr: 06] [Abbreviation of part of B.13.]
- B.15 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1344, (Wednesday, 24 November 1841), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's first (27 November 1841) lecture.]
- B.16 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.687, (Saturday, 27 November 1841), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's first (27 November 1841) lecture.]
- B.17 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.687, (Saturday, 27 November 1841), p.2, col.I. ["Advertorial" for Braid's first (27 November 1841) lecture posing as a news item.]
- B.18 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism—Mr. Braid", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1346, (Wednesday, 1 December 1841), p.2, col.B. [Announcing Braid's 4 December lecture.]
- B.19 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.688, (Saturday, 4 December 1841), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's 4 December lecture.]
- B.20 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Mr. Braid's New Operation for Club-Foot [from *The Edinburgh Journal*]", *The Lancet*, Vol.37, No.953, (4 December 1841), p.326. [Wi: 12] [Br: 11R] [Summary of part of B.13.]
- B.21 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Public Notice: Mesmerism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.689, (Saturday, 11 December 1841), p.2, col.C. [Announcing that Captain Brown's lecture tour would commence in Liverpool on 15 December.]
- B.22 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.690, (Saturday, 18 December 1841), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's proposed 24 December "recent discoveries" lecture.]
- B.23 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1351, (Saturday, 18 December 1841), p.1, col.B. [Announcing Braid's proposed 24 December "recent discoveries" lecture.]
- B.24 [1841]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1353, (Friday, 24 December 1841), p.1, col.B. [Announcing Braid's 27 December lecture (N.B. it was originally scheduled for 24 December).]

- B.25 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Correspondence of Mr. Lynill and Mr. Braid", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1356, (Wednesday, 5 January 1842), p.3, col.H; No.1356, (Saturday, 8 January 1842), p.4, col.A. [Advertisement lodged by Braid. Displays a letter of complaint from Lynill to Braid relating to "injurious" remarks attributed to Braid in a newspaper report, along with the text of Braid's letter of response and clarification to Lynill.]
- B.26 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Observations on Talipes. By James Braid, Esq., Manchester", *The Retrospect of Practical Medicine and Surgery*, No.4: July 1841-January 1842, pp.80-86. [Slightly edited version of pp.338-353 of **B.13**.]
- B.27 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Public Notice: Neurohypnology; or, The Rationale of Nervous Sleep", *The Times*, No.17918, (Monday, 28 February 1842), p.1, col.B; *The Morning Chronicle*, No.22551, (Monday, 28 February 1842), p.1, col.B. [Announces Braid's two London lectures, on 1 and 2 March 1842.]
- B.28 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.701, (Saturday, 5 March 1842), p.1, col.A; *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1372, (Saturday, 5 March 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announces Braid's 10 March 1842 Manchester lecture.]
- B.29 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: A Card", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.701, (Saturday, 5 March 1842), p.1, col.A; *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1372, (Saturday, 5 March 1842), p.2, col.A. [Announces Braid's move from 10 Piccadilly to 3 St. Peter's Square.]
- B.30 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism Contrasted With Neurypnology", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.702, (Wednesday, 9 March 1842), p.1, col.A; No.703, (Saturday, 12 March 1842), p.1, col.A ; *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.702, (Saturday, 12 March 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's 12 March lecture ("Mr.B. will also explain the mode of mesmerising animals").]
- B.31 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Letter to the Editor [written on 7 March 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.129, (12 March 1842), p.283; plus "Errata in Mr. Braid's Letter, page 283", No.131, (26 March 1842), p.308. [Wa: 02] [Br: 10A] [Wi: 08] [Kr: 07] [Bramwell (p.461) and Kravis (p.1024) list it as an *article*, "Animal Magnetism", confusing this (untitled) item with the immediately preceding anonymous report (**X.79**). Also, Bramwell, mistakenly, has p.238. Braid quotes the letter at length in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.37-39.]
- B.32 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Mr. Braid", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1377, (Wednesday, 23 March 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announcing postponement of lecture proposed for 26 March until 31 March (no explanation given).]
- B.33 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Animal Magnetism [Letter to the Editor, written on 17 March 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.131, (26 March 1842), p.308. [Wa: 03] [Br: 11A] [Wi: 09] [Kr: 08]

[Description of experiments that had identified certain "causes of fallacy" (see *Appendix Twelve*).]

B.34 [1842]: Braid, J., "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism Contrasted With Neurypnology", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.704, (Saturday, 26 March 1842), p.1, col.A; *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1379, (Wednesday, 30 March 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's 31 March lecture; almost identical to **B.32**.]

B.35 [1842]: Braid, J., "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism Contrasted With Neurypnology", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.709, (Saturday, 30 April 1842), p.2, col.A. [Announcing Braid's 5 May 1842 Manchester lecture.]

B.36 [1842]: Braid, J., *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed, In A Letter To The Reverend H. Mc. Neile, A.M., of Liverpool, in Reply to a Sermon Preached by Him in St. Jude's Church, Liverpool, on Sunday, April 10th, 1842, by James Braid, Surgeon, Manchester, Simms and Dinham; Galt and Anderson, (Manchester), 1842 [pamphlet].* [Wa: (04)-CNF] [Br: 01A] [Wi: 10] [Kr: 09] [Cr: 450] [Made aware of M'Neile's sermon, Braid wrote privately to M'Neile on 16 April 1842, addressing matters reportedly raised by M'Neile. M'Neile made no response. The entire text of his sermon was published on 4 May 1842 (**X.96**), and widely circulated. In response, Braid published this expanded version of his original letter on 4 June 1842. It must be read in conjunction with the newspaper report (**X.91**, see *Appendix Ten*) that accompanied Braid's original letter. An annotated version of the complete text of Braid's letter to M'Neile appears at *Appendix Ten*.]

B.37 [1842]: Braid, J., "New Publications: Satanic Agency & Mesmerism Reviewed", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.714, (Saturday, 4 June 1842), p.1, col.F. [Notice of the publication "this day" of Braid's response to M'Neile's sermon, priced 2d., "to be had at all Booksellers".]

B.38 [1842]: Braid, J., "[Advertorial]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.714, (Saturday, 4 June 1842), p.3, col.I. [Announces "It will be seen that our eminent townsman, Mr. Braid, surgeon, has replied, in a pamphlet, to the Rev. Hugh M'Neile's absurd ascription of mesmerism to "Satanic agency". Mr. Braid has been forced into the arena by Mr. M'Neile's personal attacks on his public and private character.— See advt.".]

B.39 [1842]: Braid, J., "Letter to the Editor [written on 25 June 1842]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.717, (Saturday, 25 June 1842), p.2, col.D. [Written at the newspaper's request. Braid's account of the last minute rejection of his (previously accepted) paper, "Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism", by the Medical Section of the B.A.A.S.'s twelfth annual meeting in Manchester that morning.]

B.40 [1842]: Braid, J., "Public Notice: Neurohypnology", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1405, (Wednesday, 29 June 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's 29 June *conversazione*.]

- B.41 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Neuro-Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 4 July 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.6, No.146, (9 July 1842), p.239. [Wa: 05] [Br: 12A] [Kr: 10] [Wi: 11] [This letter, reporting on two recent successful cases, and accompanied by a copy of the article in *The Manchester Times* of 2 July (X.106) for the Editor's perusal, alludes to the success of his B.A.A.S. *conversazione*. Bramwell, mistakenly, has p.230.]
- B.42 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: To the Editors of the Manchester Times [Letter written on 12 August 1842]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.724, (Saturday, 13 August 1842), p.4, col.C. [Written day after Dunn's public meeting. Inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Observes "A Mr. Dunn has been inundating the streets with slanderous attacks upon me, and delivering lectures to those who could be attracted by such means to hear him retail the same". Braid remarks that "his work of slander and defamation" — "by secretly visiting other men's patients", etc. — against a fellow Scot, and a fellow surgeon is a disgrace, and relates the circumstances of Dunn's one and only encounter with Braid, at Braid's residence. Provides details of the appallingly rude and un-professional conduct of Dunn whilst there. States that Braid would never allow Dunn to enter his premises again. And, as well, "knowing this, and other circumstances in Mr. Dunn's conduct, I of course could never meet him in public discussion". Braid concludes: "I intend shortly to publish a work on the subject of Neurohypnology [sic], illustrated with cases of successful practice".]
- B.43 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Neurohypnology [Letter to the Editor, written on 12 August 1842]", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1419, (Saturday, 13 August 1842), p.3, col.H. [Letter, inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Identical to B.42.]
- B.44 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: To the Editors of the Manchester Times [written on 1 September 1842]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.727, (Saturday, 3 September 1842), p.4, col.F. [Br: 35A] [Kr: (11)-CNF] [Bramwell (p.462) mis-identifies this item as "*Manchester Times*, September 1st, 1842. Account of a case of total deafness successfully treated by hypnotism" (there was no 1 September edition!). Neither Wink (1969, p.v) nor Kravis (1988, p.1204) could locate the item. It is a letter, inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. It is not an article (as Bramwell represents it). It is not an account of a treatment regimen: it is a letter quoting excerpts from various documents, identifying each of the reliable, eminent men who wrote them. Each verified that Braid's hypnotism had, indeed, significantly improved the condition of several of Manchester's deaf and dumb students; thus, completely rebutting allegation made by Dunn, during his 11 August lecture, that Braid's treatment had brought no benefit to them whatsoever. It also provides evidence (from the specific individual concerned) that Dunn had changed an original attested account (verifying the efficacy of Braid's treatment), to an alternative that was the precise opposite of what had been given to Dunn to read out at his lecture.]

- B.45 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Addendum", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.727, (Saturday, 3 September 1842), p.2, col.D. [An important addition to **B.44** which, due to its late arrival at the newspaper, could not be appended to the text of Braid's letter on page four. Braid states he has evidence from three separate witnesses that Dunn, himself, used Braid's method to hypnotize a patient experiencing intractable pain "last winter". Dunn's patient was immediately relieved of his pains; and, furthermore, Dunn's patient's pains "have never returned". Dunn's patient had also been hypnotized (by Dunn) on several occasions since that time; once during a public lecture.]
- B.46 [1842]:** Braid, J., "Advertisement: Neurypnology: Letter to the Editor of the Manchester Guardian [written on 1 September 1842]", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1425, (Saturday, 3 September 1842), p.4, col.D. [Letter, inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Identical to **B.44**; however, unlike **B.44**, which precedes **X.115**, this item follows **X.116**.]
- B.47 [1843]:** Braid, J., "Neurohypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 21 December 1842]", *The Phreno-Magnet, and Mirror of Nature*, Vol.1, No.1, (1 February 1843), pp.25-26. [On the differences between Animal Magnetism and Neurohypnotism, inviting editor to visit him in Manchester. Editor notes "[Braid] is a highly respectable medical gentleman in Manchester, [who] is preparing an important work descriptive of his researches [viz., *Neurohypnology*]" and that "though widely differing from Mr. B. in some of his views, we cannot but admire his candour and generosity, and shall always be glad of his correspondence" (p.26).]
- B.48 [1843]:** Braid, J., "Phreno-Magnetism [Letter to the Editor of the Manchester Guardian [written on 8 March 1843]", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1479, (Saturday, 11 March 1843), p.5, col.F. [Letter from Braid, demanding that misrepresentations in the report at **X.118** be corrected, especially allegations that Braid believed in both magnetism and phrenology.]
- B.49a, B.49b, B.49c, B.49d, B.49e [1843]:** Braid, J., "Public Notice: To the Trustees of the Manchester Royal Infirmary", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1492, (Wednesday, 26 April 1843), p.1, col.B; *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, Vol.14, No.760, (Saturday, 29 April 1843), p.1, col.B; *Manchester Guardian*, No.1493, (Saturday, 29 April 1843), p.1, col.C; *Manchester Times*, No.761, (Saturday, 6 May 1843), p.1, col.B; *Manchester Guardian*, No.1495, (Saturday, 6 May 1843), p.1, col.C. [Identical notices (except for the correction of a typographical error) from Braid in support of his application for the post of surgeon. The other candidates also inserted similar advertisements.]
- B.50a, B.50b [1843]:** Braid, J., "Public Notice: To the Trustees of the Manchester Royal Infirmary", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, Vol.14, No.762, (Saturday, 13 May 1843), p.1, col.B; *Manchester Guardian*, No.1497, (Saturday, 13 May 1843), p.1, col.B. [Announcement by Braid (prior to election date) that he had withdrawn as a candidate.]
- B.51 [1843]:** Braid, J., "Letter to John Churchill, publisher, written on 17 May 1843", facsimile of first and last page at p.908 of Hunter, R. & Macalpine, I., *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry*,

1535-1860: A History Presented in Selected English Texts, Oxford University Press, (London), 1963. [Letter offering Churchill the opportunity to become his London publisher. It is not clear whether the original was held privately by the authors or another person/institution. Further, unfortunately, it only displays the first and last pages of Braid's letter: "Sir, I have a work now in the press entitled *Neurypnology*, or the *Rationale of Nervous Sleep*, illustrated by numerous cases of its successful application in the relief & cure of disease. It is a subject not yet generally understood, but daily becoming more interesting from the extraordinary power we thus require of curing many diseases which have hitherto been "the opprobrium medicorum". It is a mode of acting on the nervous system with general success, by a simple process, thereby effecting al that is valuable ... [missing page(s)] ... of it generally into medical practice, I remain, Sir, your obedt servt, James Braid, surgeon"]

- B.52 [1843]:** Braid, J., *Neurypnology; or, The Rationale of Nervous Sleep, Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism, Illustrated by Numerous Cases of its Successful Application in the Relief and Cure of Disease*, John Churchill, (London), 1843. [Wa: 06] [Br: 02A] [Kr: 12] [Wi: 14] [Cr: 465] [The book was privately printed by Braid (also contains an "Errata et Addenda"). It sold for five shillings (Hunter & Macalpine, 1963, p.908). Note the significant clauses: "Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism...", and "Illustrated by Numerous Cases of its Successful Application in the Relief and Cure of Disease". Whilst, at first glance, *Neurypnology* seems to be a detailed, considered, formal account of Braid's work and theoretical position, it is a serious mistake to treat it as if Braid intended it to be a *neutral* "stand-alone" account (in the sense being an objective exposition of his thoughts in isolation). In fact, it is a 'specific response'; not a 'universal statement'. It is a public defence of his views, driven by a need to protect himself from the threat posed by recent attacks on himself and his discoveries (e.g., Catlow's priority claims, M'Neile's sermon in April 1842, the behaviour of the B.A.A.S. in June 1842, and the attacks by Dunn). Braid always hoped to be able to write a far more carefully considered account of his researches, therapeutic experiences and his theories (his hope was never realized). It is highly significant that, in its structure, this work is far more like a standard *pharmacopœia* entry for a specific *material medica*, than a general theoretical text: it describes natural and artificial techniques for the production of the remedial agent (hypnotism), clearly specifies an unequivocal set of precise terminological descriptive distinctions, produces a tentative theoretical explanation of the physical means through which physical, emotional, and cognitive changes are induced (in the normal subject) by the remedial agent (sufficient for the needs of therapeutic *orthopraxy*) — "as to the proximate cause of the phenomena, I believe the best plan in the present state of our knowledge, is to go on accumulating facts, and their application in the cure of disease, and to theorize at some future period, when we have more ample stores of facts to draw inferences from" (pp.153-154) — carefully explains his crucial concept of a "dominant idea" in relation to efficacious hypnotic suggestion, clearly distinguishes the remedial agent

(hypnotism) from other similar entities (mes-merism, animal magnetism, etc.) to which he now is considering hypnotism to be *analogous* rather than *identical* (which was his original view), discusses its application of hypnotism both as a 'simple' and a 'compound', discusses 'dosage', 'dosage volumes', 'treatment intensity', and 'treatment duration', reports on the "[demonstrated] efficacy of hypnotism as a curative agent", and discusses who may and who may not safely apply the remedy; and, finally, not only describes the agent's peculiar virtues and its 'indications' (an *indication* is a *condition* 'pointing to' a *remedy*, not the reverse), its 'contra-indications' (a *contraindication* is an *additional factor* 'pointing away from' a *remedy* that was (otherwise) *indicated* by a *particular condition*, not the reverse), but draws attention to the potential dangers of its application. As well as the detailed descriptions of his experiments with hypnotism, he also reports on the earliest stages (viz., May 1843) of his experimental investigations into the phenomena of phreno-mesmerism (or mesmero-phrenology) which he had commenced in December 1842. He would later determine, from his experiments, that there was no foundation of any kind for any of the claims of the phreno-mesmerists; and he would go on to completely develop his formulation of the notion of "sources of fallacy" (see *Appendix Twelve*) which he had already begun to introduce in this work.]

B.53 [1843]: Braid, J., "Observations on the Phenomena of Phreno-Mesmerism, *The Medical Times*, Vol.9, No.216, (11 November 1843), pp.74-75. [Wa: 07] [Br: 13A] [Wi: 15] [Kr: 13]

B.54 [1844]: Braid, J., "Observations on the Phenomena of Phreno-Mesmerism", *The Phrenological Journal, and Magazine of Moral Science*, Vol.17, No.78, (January 1844), pp.18-26. [Reprint of B.53.]

B.55 [1844]: Braid, J., "Mr. Braid on Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor, written on 16 December 1843]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.9, No.224, (6 January 1844), p.203. [Wa: 08] [Br: 14A] [Wi: 16] [Kr: 14] [Arguing that, regardless of disputes over the agency of the effects, the reality of the phenomena of hypnotism is beyond dispute, and that it will turn out to be "eminently useful in the cure of disease".]

B.56 [1844]: Braid, J., "Observations on Some Mesmeric Phenomena", *The Medical Times*, Vol.9, No.225, (13 January 1844), pp.224-227. [Wa: 09] [Br: 15A] [Wi: 17] [Kr: 15] [Bramwell, mistakenly, has p.225. Reports of Braid's recent experiments and therapeutic successes.]

B.57a, B.57b [1844]: Braid, J., "Observations on Mesmeric and Hypnotic Phenomena", *The Medical Times*, Vol.10, No.238, (13 April 1844), pp.31-32, No.239, (20 April 1844), pp.47-49. [Wa: 10] [Br: 16A] [Wi: 18] [Kr: 16] [Response to issues raised by "A Subscriber" at X.127.]

B.58 [1844]: Braid, J., "The Effect of Garlic on the Magnetic Needle", *The Medical Times*, Vol.10, No.241, (4 May 1844), pp.98-99. [Kr: 17] [Experiments prompted by recent claims "that the application of the juice of the onion would destroy the polarity of the magnetic needle". The thorough examination exemplifies Braid the structured thinker. See *Appendix Thirteen*]

- B.59 [1844]:** Braid, J., "Physiological Explanation of Some Mesmeric Phenomena", *The Medical Times*, Vol.10, No.258, (31st August 1844), pp.450-451. [Wa: 11] [Kr: 18] [Response to X.135.]
- B.60 [1844]:** Braid, J., "Remarks on Mr. Simpson's Letter on Hypnotism, published in the Phrenological Journal for July 1844", *The Phrenological Journal, and Magazine of Moral Science*, Vol.17, No.81, (October 1844), pp.359-365. [Wa: 12] [Reprint of B.59].]
- B.61a, B.61b, B.61c [1844]:** Braid, J., "Case of Natural Somnambulism and Catalepsy, Treated by Hypnotism; With Remarks on the Phenomena Presented During the Spontaneous Somnambulism, as Well as That Induced by Various Artificial Processes", *The Medical Times*, Vol.11, No.266, (26 October 1844), pp.77-78, No.267, (2 November 1844), pp.95-96; No.269, (16 November 1844), 134-135. [Wa: 14] [Br: 17A] [Wi: 19] [Kr: 19] [Bramwell, mistakenly, cites this as "Cases", rather than "Case".]
- B.62 [1844]:** Braid, J., "Experimental Inquiry, to Determine whether Hypnotic and Mesmeric Manifestations can be Adduced in Proof of Phrenology", *The Medical Times*, Vol.11, No.271, (30 November 1844), pp.181-182. [Wa: 13] [Br: 18A] [Wi: 20] [Kr: 20] [Describes a series of experiments conducted on 3 August 1844, that clearly demonstrated that phreno-mesmeric phenomena were a consequence of "[excitement] by *auricular* suggestion, [or] by muscular suggestion, or [by] manipulating either the head, trunk, or extremities". Also, Braid is beginning to formulate his notion of "sources of fallacy" (see *Appendix Twelve*).]
- B.63a, B.63b, B.63c, B.63d, B.63e, B.63f, B.63g [1844/1845]:** Braid, J., "Magic, Mesmerism, Hypnotism, etc., etc. Historically and Physiologically Considered", *The Medical Times*, Vol.11, No.272, (7 December 1844), p.203-204, No.273, (14 December 1844), p.224-227, No.275, (28 December 1844), pp.270-273, No.276, (4 January 1845), pp.296-299, No.277, (11 January 1845), pp.318-320, No.281, (8 February 1845), pp.399-400, No.283, (22 February 1845), pp.439-441. [Wa: 15] [Br: 19A] [Wi: 22] [Kr: 21] [Braid always said that X.5 *plus* X.166 (and, to a lesser extent, X.177) made a significant contribution to his later, more developed views expressed in both this item and B.94.]
- B.64 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Experimental Inquiry to determine whether Hypnotic and Mesmeric Manifestations can be Adduced in Proof of Phrenology. By James Braid, M.R.C.S.E., Manchester", *The Phrenological Journal, and Magazine of Moral Science*, Vol.18, No.83, (April 1845), pp.156-162. [Reprint of B.61.]
- B.65 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Case of Natural Somnambulism and Catalepsy, Treated by Hypnotism; With Remarks on the Phenomena Presented During the Spontaneous Somnambulism, as Well as That Induced by Various Artificial Processes", *The Medical Times*, Vol.12, No.295, (17 May 1845), pp.117-119. [Wa: 16] [Br: 20A] [Wi: 21] [Kr: 22] [A follow-up report on B.60a, B.60b, and B.60c. Bramwell, Kravis, and Wink list the item separately (N.B. whilst Kravis and Wink clearly identify this item as a continuation of the earlier article, they still follow Bramwell's lead and list it separately). Also, Wink (1969, p.v) reports that, despite his best

efforts, he could not locate an item "[that others had cited as] "Braid on Bowel Function"... said to have been published in the Medical Times in 1845". Given the specific content of Braid's work with one Martha Scott, it is clear that this is the article that Wink sought.]

- B.66 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Letter from Mr. Braid [Letter to the Editor, written on 8 May 1845]", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.21, (24 May 1845), p.85. [Details of aspects of Braid's research, especially his demonstrations that there was no foundation for 'phreno-mesmerism', nor for the mesmerist's claims for 'clairvoyance'.]
- B.67 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor written on 19 May 1845]", *The Lancet*, Vol.45, No.1135, (31 May 1845), pp.627-628. [**Kr: 23**] [Identical to **B.59**.]
- B.68 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Letter to the Editor [written on 7 June 1845]", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.24, (14 June 1845), p.144-145. [Braid's response to **X.139**; strongly suggests Braid thought "William Holbrook" was *not* the correspondent's real name. Braid strongly refuted the accusation he had first attended Lafontaine's lecture with a closed mind. Also deals with flaws in the experiments of the mesmerists.]
- B.69 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Letter to the Editor [written on 9 June 1845]", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.24, (14 June 1845), p.145-146. [Postscript to **B.68**, producing "additional proof... of the incompetency of mesmeric patients to read through opaque bodies".]
- B.70 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Mr. Spencer Hall and Mr. Braid [Letter to the Editor written on 8 July 1845]", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.30, (26 July 1845), pp.262-263. [Braid's strong response to **X.186**.]
- B.71 [1845]:** Braid, J., "The Fakeers of India [Letter to the Editor written on 22 August 1845]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.12, No.310, (30 August 1845), pp.437-438. [**Wa: 17**] [**Br: 21A**] [**Wi: 24**] [**Kr: 24**] [Asking for information, observations, references, personal experiences from the journal's readers about the live burials, states of suspended animation (*zoothapsis*) and trance of the Indian yogis and fakirs.]
- B.72 [1845]:** Braid, J., "Queries Respecting the Alleged Voluntary Trance of Fakirs in India [Letter to the Editor written on 22 August 1845]", *The Lancet*, Vol.46, No.1151, (20 September 1845), pp.325-326. [**Br: 29A**] [**Wi: 23**] [**Kr: 25**] [Identical with **B.71**.]
- B.73a, B.73b, B.73c [1845]:** Braid, J., "Dr. Elliotson and Mr. Braid [Letter, written on 16 October 1845]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.13, No.318, (25 October 1845), pp.99-101, No.319, (1 November 1845), pp.120-121, No.320, (8 November 1845), 141-142. [**Wa: 18**] [**Br: 22A**] [**Wi: 25**] [**Kr: 26**] [Lengthy letter, published in three parts, responding to Elliotson's criticism of Braid and his work at **X.189a**, **X.189b**.]
- B.74 [1845]:** Braid, J., "On the Distinctive Conditions of Natural and Nervous Sleep", unpublished manuscript, dated 17 December 1845. [**Br: 34A**] [**Wi: 49**] [**Kr: 27**] [According to

Bramwell (1913, pp.27-28), Braid left the manuscript to his daughter who, at her death, bequeathed it to her brother. Preyer visited James Braid Jnr in Sussex in August 1881, and was given the original English manuscript (which no longer exists). It was translated into German ("*Über die Unterschiede des nervösen und des gewöhnlichen Schlafes von James Braid 1845*") by Preyer (1890, pp.177-208) (X.251). Preyer's translation (X.251) has been translated into English (see B.120).]

B.75a, B.75b, B.75c [1846]: Braid, J., "The Power of the Mind over the Body: An Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Phenomena Attributed by Baron Reichenbach and Others to a "New Imponderable". By JAMES BRAID, M.R.C.S. Edin., &c., Manchester", *The Medical Times*, Vol.14, No.350, (13 June 1846), pp.214-216, No.352, (27 June 1846), pp.252-254, No.353, (4 July 1846), pp.273-274. [Wa: 19] [Br: 23A] [Wi: 26] [Kr: 28]

B.76 [1846]: Braid, J., "The Power of the Mind over the Body: An Experimental Inquiry into the nature and cause of the Phenomena attributed by Baron Reichenbach and others to a "New Imponderable". By JAMES BRAID, M.R.C.S.E., C.M.W.S., etc.", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.66, No.169, (1 October 1846), pp.286-312. [Br: 31A] [Wi: 27] [Kr: 30]
[Note that this version is slightly different from the *Medical Times* version (B.75a, B.75b, and B.75c). According to *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Vol.25, (January 1847), p.231, this article "is one of the most important contributions to mental physiology and pathology that has for a long time been presented".]

B.77 [1846]: Braid, J., *The Power of the Mind over the Body: An Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Phenomena attributed by Baron Reichenbach and others to a "New Imponderable"*, John Churchill, (London), 1846. [Wa: 20] [Br: 03A] [Wi: CNF] [Kr: 29] [Cr: 532] [Kravis (p.1205) identifies this item as "Mr Braid on hypnotism".]

B.78a, B.78b [1847]: Braid, J., "Facts and Observations as to the Relative Value of Mesmeric and Hypnotic Coma, and Ethereal Narcotism, for the Mitigation or Entire Prevention of Pain during Surgical Operations [Written 30 January 1847, plus postscript written 13 February 1847]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.15, No.385, (13 February 1847), pp.381-382, Vol.16, No.387, (27 February 1847), pp.10-11. [Wa: 21] [Br: 24A] [Wi: 28] [Kr: 31] [Braid, one of the very first in the U.K. to use inhaled sulphuric ether as an anæsthetic agent (see, X.155) speaks of pain-free surgery, and compares and contrasts the use of mesmerism, hypnotism, and sulphuric ether to allow pain-free surgery. At that time, he may have been the only individual to have experience of the surgical application of all three methods.]

B.79 [1847]: Braid, J., "Facts and Observations as to the relative Value of Mesmeric and Hypnotic Coma, and Ethereal Narcotism, for the Mitigation or Entire Prevention of Pain during Surgical Operations. By James Braid, M.R.C.S.E., &c. [Written 30 January 1847, plus postscript written 13 February 1847]", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.67, No.171, (1 April 1847), pp.588-594. [Br: 32A] [Wi: 29] [Kr: 32] [Despite assertions by Waite (p.372)

and Kravis (p.1205) that **B.78** and **B.79** are *identical*, the combined contents of **B.78a** and **B.78b**, whilst extremely similar in scope, are significantly different in detail from those of **B.78** (perhaps **B.78** had been edited).]

- B.80 [1847]:** Braid, J., "Observations on the Use of Ether for Preventing Pain during Surgical Operations, and the Moral Abuse which it is Capable of Being Converted to [Written 26 March 1847]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.16, No.393, (10 April 1847), pp.130-132. **[Wa: 22]** **[Br: 25A]** **[Wi: 30]** **[Kr: 33]** [Prompted by reports (see **X.159** and **X.160**) of a death caused by ether anæsthesia. Quite in favour of inhalation anæsthesia, Braid writes at some length on issues of dosage and patient preparation (he always tested his patients prior to surgery, regardless of whether he used hypnotism or ether), attributing the death to the medical personnel not adequately doing so. He also writes of the moral danger of ether, remarking that, whilst he had never seen a single "libidinous manifestation... during hypnotism, [he had seen] the most intense manifestations of erotism arise spontaneously on several occasions during the primary or exciting stage of etherization, and that even in a patient of high respectability, and of the most modest and virtuous conduct, and pious disposition, in her general deportment when awake". Using his wide experience of the applications of hypnotism and ether, Braid ended with a valuable, detailed list of ten precautions to be observed for the safe administration of inhalation ether for surgical anæsthesia.]
- B.81 [1847]:** Braid, J., "Letter to the Editor [written on 28 September 1847]", *The Lady's Newspaper*, No.40, (Saturday, 2 October 1847) p.325, col.C. [Clarifies particular ambiguities in **X.166**, as well as supplying further information.]
- B.82 [1847]:** Braid, J., "[Letter to Dr. Storer, written on 28 September 1847]", *The Critic: A Journal for Readers, Authors, and Publishers*, Vol.6, No.145, (9 October 1847), pp.238. [Letter from Braid to Henry Storer† (see **X.167**), providing details of his demonstrations to Jenny Lind.]
- B.83 [1847]:** Braid, J., "Mr. Braid and Dr. Elliotson [Letter to the Editor, written 13 November 1847]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.17, No.425, (20 November 1847), pp.106-107. **[Wa: 23]** **[Br: 26A]** **[Wi: 31]** **[Kr: 34]** [Braid clarifies misapprehensions and corrects several errors in an article in a recent issue of *The Zoist* relating to the incident reported at **X.153** and **B.77**.]
- B.84 [1847]:** Braid, J., "Mr. Braid and Mr. Wakley [Letter to the Editor, written 27 November 1847]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.17, No.428, (11 December 1847), pp.163-164. **[Wa: 24]** **[Br: 27A]** **[Wi: 32]** **[Kr: 35]** [Braid clarifies misapprehensions and corrects certain errors in an article in a recent issue of *The Lancet* relating to the incident reported at **X.153** and **B.77**.]
- B.85 [1848]:** Braid, J., "Dr. Stokes on Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor, written 24 February 1847]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.17, No.444, (1 April 1848), pp.449-450. [Positive review of a paper delivered by William Stokes† to the Dublin College of Physicians on 4 February 1847, "On the Light which the Study of Nervous Diseases throws upon Mesmerism". Braid concludes, "[Eminent] Dr. Stokes... is re-echoing and confirming... views which I have so strenuously

contended for during the last seven years, as to the nature, cause, and extent of mesmeric phenomena, and which I have contended for in opposition to the whole body of the mesmerists, as well as anti-mesmerists — the latter, because they did not clearly comprehend wherein my views and pretensions differed from those of the mesmerists; and the former, who could not patiently tolerate any remarks tending to refute their mystical and extravagant notions about a special occult influence, and supernatural gifts and graces of their patients, as the results of their alleged magnetic fluid.”]

B.86 [1848]: Braid, J., "Case of Congenital Talipes Varus of a Foot with Ten Toes [with Illustration; written on 11 September 1848]", *The British Record of Obstetric Medicine and Surgery for 1848*, Vol.1, (1848), p.339. [Br: 46A] [Wi: CNF] [Kr: (37)-CNF] [Bramwell (p.462) mistakenly has this item appearing in *The London Medical Gazette*. Given Bramwell's error, Kravis (p.1206) could not locate the item.]

B.87 [1848]: Braid, J., "On the Use and Abuse of Anæsthetic Agents, and the Best Modes of Rousing Patients who have been too intensely affected by them. By James Braid, M.R.C.S., Edinburgh, C.M.W.S., &c.", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.70, No.177, (1 October 1848), pp.486-491. [Wa: 25] [Br: 33A] [Wi: 33] [Kr: 36] [Reprint of B.80.]

B.88 [1849]: Braid, J., "To the Editor of *The British Record of Obstetric Medicine and Surgery*", *The British Record of Obstetric Medicine and Surgery*, Vol.2, (1849), pp.55-59. [Kr: 38] [Braid attacks Tyler, who, in a lecture on the obstetric applications of chloroform and ether, strongly advocated the "[use] of anæsthetic agents for the purpose of annulling the pains of labour", and fiercely dismissed mesmerism as "arrant humbug" (X.171a-d), especially because Tyler had no specific knowledge of B.80 and, implicitly, of B.78a, B.78b, B.79, or B.87; and, also, because he has no understanding of either mesmerism or hypnotism. Whilst noting "that, strictly speaking, I am not a mesmerist" (p.56), Braid says "I readily yield the palm to ether and chloroform for *surgical* and *obstetric purposes*" (emphasis in original), and goes on to state that "I feel quite confident that they will never prove so extensively useful as mesmerism and hypnotism for the cure of a large class of diseases in which this mode of treatment has been proved to have been eminently successful; and that in diseases, too, which are most obstinate, or altogether incurable by ordinary medical means" (p.57). Tyler's response at X.172.]

B.89a, B.89b, B.89c [1850]: Braid, J., "Observations on Trance, or Human Hybernation", *The Medical Times*, Vol.21, (1850), No.554, pp.351-353; No.557, pp.401-403; No.558, pp.416-417. [Wa: 26] [Br: 28A] [Wi: 34] [Kr: 39]

B.90 [1850]: Braid, J., *Observations on Trance; or, Human Hybernation*, John Churchill, (London), 1850. [Wa: 27] [Br: 04A] [Wi: CNF] [Kr: 40] [Cr: 591] [Expanded version of B.89a, B.89b, and B.89c. In the preface (p.vi), Braid says that, in the absence of "the higher phenomena of the Mesmerists", and by contrast with the "*Transcendental* [i.e., "metaphysical"] *Mesmerism*"

of the *Mesmerists* — supposedly “induced through the transmission of an occult influence from [the body of the operator to that of the subject]” — his process of *Hypnotism* (the “peculiar condition of the nervous system, into which it can be thrown by artificial contrivance... [entirely] consistent with generally admitted principles in physiological and psychological science”), would be aptly designated “*Rational Mesmerism*”.]

- B.91 [1851]:** Braid, J., “Electro-Biological Phenomena Physiologically and Psychologically Considered, by James Braid, M.R.C.S. Edinburgh, &c. &c. (Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, Manchester, March 26, 1851)”, *The Monthly Journal of Medical Science*, Vol.12, (June 1851), pp.511-530. [Wa: 28] [Wi: 36] [In particular, Braid argues that the “electro-biology” of Grimes[†] and Dods[†] is nothing more than an unacknowledged form of his own “hypnotism” (for additional information on Braid’s presentation see X.177 and X.178).]
- B.92 [1851]:** Braid, J., *Electro-Biological Phenomena Considered Physiologically and Psychologically*, by James Braid, M.R.C.S.E., M.W.S., &c. &c.; *From the Monthly Journal of Medical Science for June 1851, with Appendix*, Sutherland and Knox, (Edinburgh), 1851. [Wa: CNF] [Br: 05A] [Wi: CNF] [Kr: 41] [Cr: 607] [Reprint of B.91.]
- B.93 [1851]:** Braid, J., “Case of Cæsarian Section — Death of Patient”, *London Medical Gazette*, Vol.13, (8 August 1851), pp.238-241. [Br: CNF] [Wi: CNF] [Bramwell (1896, p.110) refers to this item: “Braid is also stated to have contributed a “Case of Cæsarian Section” to one of the medical journals, but this I have been unable to trace”.]
- B.94 [1852]:** Braid, J., *Magic, Witchcraft, Animal Magnetism, Hypnotism, and Electro-Biology; Being a Digest of the Latest Views of the Author on these Subjects By James Braid, M.R.C.S., Edin., C.M.W.S. &c.; Third Edition, Greatly Enlarged, Embracing Observations on J. C. Colquhoun’s “History of Magic”, &c.*, John Churchill, (London), 1852. [Wa: 29] [Br: 06A] [Wi: 37] [Kr: 42] [Cr: 631] [Written in response to X.179A. Braid always maintained that X.16 plus X.166 (and, to a lesser extent, X.177) made a significant contribution to his later, more developed views as expressed in both this item and B.63a-g. Although clearly marked “third edition”, the existence of either a first or second edition of this work has never been verified, and such a thing was never suggested by Braid. This may well be Braid’s third revision of a private manuscript, rather than a third revision of two earlier publications. It is far more likely to be a final revision of his earlier articles at B.63a-g. It also contains (pp.78-80) the text of the Letter Esdaile wrote to Braid in October 1851 (which is the only record of any direct interaction between the two men at any time).]
- B.95 [1853]:** Braid, J., “Entire Absence of Vagina, with Rudimentary State of Uterus, and Remarkable Displacement of Rudimentary Ovaries and their Appendages, in a Married Female, Seventy-Four Years of Age. By JAMES BRAID, M.R.C.S. Edin., M.W.S., etc.”, *Monthly Journal of Medical Science*, Vol.7, No.39, (March 1853), pp.230-233. [Wa: 30] [Br: 40A] [Wi: 39] [Kr: 43]

- B.96 [1853]:** Braid, J., "Dr. Carpenter on Physiology. Manchester Royal Institution", *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, Vol.5, No.464, (Wednesday, 13 April 1853), p.5, col.F. [From a study of its form and content, it is certain this account of Carpenter's fourth and fifth lectures was written by the same individual as the two-part "Analysis of Dr. Carpenter's Lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System" of 30 April and 7 May. Given that Preyer authoritatively identified Braid as the author of that two-part work, Braid must have written this article as well. A thorough check of the intervening local newspapers between the announcement of 26 March and this edition failed to reveal any mention of Carpenter's first three lectures.]
- B.97 [1853]:** Braid, J., "Mysterious Table Moving", *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, Vol.5, No.469, (Saturday, 30 April 1853), p.5, col.B. **[Wa: 32]** [Waite (p.375) identifies this as "Letter on "Table Turning" in illustration of the Muscular Theory, published anonymously in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, April 30, 1853, and subsequently acknowledged [by Braid as his own]".]
- B.98a, B.98b [1853]:** Braid, J., "Analysis of Dr. Carpenter's Lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System", *Supplement to The Manchester Examiner and Times*, Vol.5, No.469, (Saturday, 30 April 1853), p.3, col.D; No.471, (Saturday, 7 May 1853), p.2, col.E. **[Br: 36A]** **[Wi: 40]** **[Kr: (44)-CNF]** [Although not cited by Bramwell in 1896, it *did* appear in the first edition of his *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory* (1903, p.462). Whilst no author is given for, it is entirely reasonable, given Preyer's connexion with Braid's family, to accept Preyer's identification of Braid as the author. Bramwell (1913, p.462) copied Preyer's (1890, p.167) entry precisely: "Abstract Report of a Course of Six Lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System — with particular reference to the States of Sleep, Somnambulism (natural and induced), and other conditions allied to these — delivered at the Royal Manchester Institution, in March and April, 1853, by William B. Carpenter", *Manchester Examiner and Times*, of April 30th, 1853. By James Braid.]
- B.99 [1853]:** Braid, J., "The Late "Table-Moving" Experiments at the Athenæum [Letter to the Editor of the *Examiner and Times*, written 15 June 1853]", *Manchester Examiner and Times*, No.484, (Wednesday, 22 June 1853), p.3, col.A. **[Br: 37A]** **[Wi: 38]** **[Kr: (45)-CNF]** [Response to **X.190**. In Braid's view, the otherwise unidentified "D.T." was either too ill-informed and too dense to apprehend what Braid had spoken of, or he had deliberately set out to misrepresent Braid. Braid clarified certain errors, corrected certain misapprehensions, reiterated his confidence in the power of a "dominant idea" to generate ideo-motor actions, and wrote, at some length on the extent to which his own views were supported by other eminent researchers, and other important written works.]
- B.100 [1853]:** Braid, J., "Table Moving (Letter to the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* written on 18 June 1853)", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.2552, (Wednesday, 22 June 1853), p.8, col.A. **[A**

shorter, but similar response to **X.191** as **B.99**; in particular, Braid was astonished that "A Physician", whose patients had claimed to have seen bright lights emanating from his fingers when he mesmerized them, was not aware that, some seven years earlier (**B.77**), Braid had proved such claims had no foundation, and were entirely due to suggestion.]

B.101 [1853]: Braid, J., "Hypnotic Therapeutics, Illustrated by Cases. By JAMES BRAID, Esq., Surgeon, of Manchester", *The Monthly Journal of Medical Science*, Vol.17, (July 1853), pp.14-47. [**Wa: 31**] [**Br: 30A**] [**Wi: 41**] [**Kr: 46**] [Expanding on the ideas presented in **B.91**, describes the effective application of hypnotism in curing diseases.]

B.102 [1853]: Braid, J., *Hypnotic Therapeutics, Illustrated by Cases: With an Appendix on Table-Moving and Spirit-Rapping. Reprinted from the Monthly Journal of Medical Science for July 1853*, Murray and Gibbs, (Edinburgh), 1853. [**Br: 07A**] [**Wi: CNF**] [**Kr: 47**] [**Cr: 656**] [Essentially identical with **B.101**, Braid describes the effective application of hypnotism in curing diseases. He mentions that whilst so-called "magnetic passes" might improve treatment efficacy, there is no such thing as "magnetic fluid". In an appended section, he produces strong argument against the notion that "table moving" is the work of "spirits".]

B.103 [1853]: Braid, J., "Letter to Michael Faraday on the phenomenon of "Table Turning"" (written on 22 August 1853). [Braid's letter is reprinted at James (1999) pp.560-561.]

B.104 [1853]: Braid, J., "Letter to the Editor of the *Examiner and Times* [re: Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association's Meeting of Tuesday, 8 November 1853, written on 15 November 1853]", *Manchester Examiner and Times*, No.527, (Saturday, 19 November 1853), p.6, col.F. [**Br: 48A**] [**Wi: 42**] [**Kr: (48)-CNF**] [Fletcher, in his biographical note (**X.270**), mentions this letter: "[Braid] took an active interest in sanitary matters. He volunteered for service during the cholera epidemic of 1832, and many years later he described in a letter to the press the awful conditions of the cellar dwellings in Manchester. He stated that the open gratings of the sewers were close to these dwellings and opened on a level with their floors. He advocated the use of proper traps, and suggested that the air from the sewers should be passed through fires before being allowed to escape into the atmosphere."]

B.105 [1855]: Braid, J., "On the Nature and Treatment of Certain Forms of Paralysis", *Association Medical Journal*, Vol.3, No.141, (14 September 1855), pp.848-855. [**Wa: 34**] [**Br: 09A**] [**Kr:49**] [Waite (p.375) cites this as "'On the Treatment of Certain Forms of Paralysis", 1855".]

B.106 [1855]: Braid, J., "Hypnotism in Hysterical Paralysis, By James Braid, Esq. of Manchester. ("Association Medical Journal", Sept. 14, 1855)", *The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, (July-December 1855), pp.189-193. [Slightly edited version of **B.105**, pp.851-854.]

B.107 [1855]: Braid, J., "On Certain Consequences of Dividing the Tendons of Contracted Muscles, By James Braid, Esq. of Manchester. ("Association Medical Journal", Sept. 14, 1855)", *The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, (July-December 1855), pp.203-206. [**Br: 09A**] [**Kr: 49**] [Slightly edited version of **B.105**, pp.848-849.]

- B.108 [1855/1856]:** Braid, J., "The Physiology of Fascination" (Miscellaneous Contribution to the Botany and Zoology including Physiology Section), *Report of the Twenty-Fifth Meeting of the British Association; Held at Glasgow in September 1855*, John Murray, (London), 1856, pp.120-121. [Comparing and contrasting the phenomenon of 'fascination' in animals with that of hypnotism in human beings.]
- B.109 [1855]:** Braid, J., *The Physiology of Fascination, and the Critics Criticised*, John Murray, (Manchester), 1855. [Wa: 33] [Br: 08A] [Wi: 44] [Kr: 50a, 50b] [Cr: 738] [Two-part pamphlet, consisting of **B.108**, plus some additional comments directed at the criticisms of his work Sandby[†] and Townshend[†] (both of whom were advocates of a 'magnetic fluid').]
- B.110 [1855]:** Braid, J., "The Critics Criticized", unpublished manuscript, dated 23 October 1855. [The original English manuscript no longer exists. It was never published. The original English manuscript was translated into German by Karl Fromann as "Kritik der Kritiker", and appears as Chapter VIII (pp.265-275) of Preyer's (1882) set of eight translated works of Braid (viz., **B.119**). The German text has been translated into English (at **B.123**). Despite the date of this item being, also, 23 October 1855, it is quite clear that its content is significantly different from that of the "The Critics Criticised" at the second half of **B.108**.]
- B.111 [1856]:** Braid, J., "Chemical Analysis — The Rudgeley Poisoning", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.3051, (Saturday, 31 May 1856), p.5, col.C. [In the context of the trial of poisoner William Palmer (1824-1856), Braid reports from evidence of his own experiments that the actions of tartar emetic, when present, affects the accuracy of the (then standard) colour test for the presence of strychnine, due to it introducing antimony.]
- B.112 [1858]:** Braid, J., "The Bite of the Tsetse: Arsenic Suggested as a Remedy [Letter to the Editor, written on 6 February 1858]", *British Medical Journal*, Vol.1, No.59, (13 February 1858), p.135. [Offers a suggestion to explorer and medical missionary David Livingstone (1813-1873), soon to return to Africa, for the protection of his livestock. Editor noted: "Dr. Livingstone has assured us that he will, if possible, attend to the suggestion of our correspondent when an opportunity offers in his forthcoming expedition".]
- B.113 [1858]:** Braid, J., "Arsenic as a Remedy for the Bite of the Tsetse, Etc. [Letter to the Editor, written in March 1858]", *British Medical Journal*, Vol.1, No.63, (13 March 1858), pp.214-215. [Br: 47A] [Wi: 45] [Kr: 51] [Further elaboration on **B.112**.]
- B.114 [1859]:** Braid, J., "The Manchester Geological and Natural History Societies [Letter to the Editor, written in November 1859]", *The Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (26 November 1859), p.11, col.C. [Br: 49A] [Wi: 46] [Kr: (52)-CNF] Bramwell (p.463) calls it "a controversial letter in the *Manchester Courier* of November 26th, 1859". Kravis (p.1026), unable to locate the item, calls it "Letter to the editor, *Manchester Courier*, Nov 26, 1859". Braid addresses and refutes serious allegations made by Edward William Binney F.R.S. (1812-1882), honorary curator of the collection of the *Manchester Geological*

Society, against the conduct and character of Braid (and others) in discharging his (Braid's) duties as honorary curator of the collection of the *Manchester Natural History Society*. The dispute was over access to keys for display cases that were shared by both societies. The letter mentions that the *Manchester Courier* had recently published a report containing the allegations (a complete set of the allegations appears at **X.208**, pp.1-6). Braid's counter-accusation, that Binney's conduct in refusing to surrender the keys to their rightful custodian was "contumacious", is entirely consistent with Secord's (2004) description of the pugnacious Binney: "Binney was a large and imposing man, whose remarkable outspokenness was considered 'ungentlemanly & disgusting' by his enemies".]

B.115 [1860]: Braid, J., "On Hypnotism", unpublished manuscript, dated 7 January 1860.

[Br: 38A] [Wi: 47] [Kr: 53] [The original English hand-written manuscript no longer exists. It was never published. It was sent to Azam, for forwarding on to the French Academy of Science, as a consequence of the announcements in **X.215**, etc. that Azam and his colleagues were making presentations to the French Academy of Science on their use of hypnotism for painless surgery in Paris. Noting that Azam, etc. had gained their knowledge of hypnotism from **X.185** (pp.695-697), Braid sent this to Azam, along with "a copy of most of my publications to [be given to] M. Velpeau for presentation to the Institute" (**B.118**), including a copy of (by then very rare) his own *Neurypnology* (in English) with a note written in English attached: "Presented to M. Azam as a mark of esteem and regard by James Braid, surgeon, Manchester, 22nd March 1860.". Later, the manuscript was given to Beard[†] in New York by a relative of Azam. Beard loaned it to Preyer[‡] in August 1880 (Braid's son later confirmed it was his father's manuscript, and that it was written in his father's own hand). Preyer translated it as "Über den Hypnotismus" in 1881 (**X.246**). The German translation has been translated back into English at **B.123**. Braid's manuscript is quite unpolished (in modern terms, it is essentially an assemblage of items following a "cut and paste" operation from a wide range of earlier publications). Hastily written, specifically to transfer information to a relatively informed audience, it was not meant for publication. It is in two entirely separate parts: (a) a description of the state of affairs at the time of the publication of *Neurypnology* (for those who had not read the work); and (b) an account of the consequences of his researches and theoretical developments from that time. As with other items by created by Braid, this was never intended to be a "stand alone" definitive statement of his final position in such matters (something upon which he was intending to publish in the near future).]

B.116 [1860]: Braid, J., "Mr Braid on Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 28 January 1860]", *The Medical Circular*, Vol.16, (8 February 1860), pp.91-92. [Replying to Kidd's confused letter (**X.271**), he writes, "it is very obvious that Dr. Kidd has a very imperfect knowledge of the subject he discourses about". Upset by Kidd conflating hypnotism with mesmerism (in particular, his "making hypnotism responsible for what [he, Braid] has

always viewed as unfortunate extravagances of the mesmerists”), when it was clear Braid had done everything possible — including using the distinctive term “hypnotism” — “to separate [his] results from similar conditions induced by mesmeric processes”, he speaks strongly of his daily experience of applying hypnotism continuously for nineteen years, and also refers to the support of his procedures published in, for example, **X.253** and **X.260**. He also indicates some serious errors of fact in Kidd’s letter.]

B.117 [1860]: Braid, J., “Mr Braid on Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 21 February 1860]”, *The Medical Circular*, Vol.16, (7 March 1860), pp.158-159. [Response to Kidd’s second, even more confused letter (**X.274**), which seems to be asserting the polar opposite of his first, written five weeks before Braid’s death. Again Braid clarifies misapprehensions, corrects outright errors, distances himself from the mesmerists, and explains his experience of the hypnotic state and the power of a dominant idea. Braid suggests testing the comparative anæsthetic efficacy of hypnotism in those who had already experienced chemical anæsthesia and those who had not. Braid ends his letter with an offer to write, at some future date, on the similarities and differences between the use of hypnotism and ether and chloroform for surgical anæsthesia that he has observed (as a highly experienced operator, over a long period of time). Braid died before he could do so.]

B.118 [1860]: Braid, J., “Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 26 February 1860]”, *The Critic*, Vol.20, No.505, (10 March 1860), p.312. [Written 4 weeks before his death, *it is the last piece ever written by Braid* (not, as some assert, **B.115**). Comments on **X.219** (of 31 December 1859, not 31 January 1860) and **X.224**. He speaks of Azam, Broca and Velpeau with approval, and remarks (in relation to Guerry’s comments) that he did not know of the work of Schwenter (**X.1**) and Kircher (**X.2**) until “some time after I had promulgated my hypnotic theory and hypnotic processes”. He says his own experiments proved chalk lines were unnecessary and that a strip of white paper was equally effective; and, especially, that there were no ‘magnetic’ forces responsible. Refers to the practices of the Fakirs and Yogis (of which he had no knowledge “until three years after I had devised and practiced my own methods”), with their concentration of the tip of their nose, etc. *In the last sentence he ever wrote*, he states that he is fully satisfied that all of these “subjective” effects are entirely generated “by influences residing entirely *within*, and *not without*, the patients own body”.]

B.119 [1882]: Braid, J. (Preyer, W., ed.) *Der Hypnotismus. Ausgewählte Schriften von J. Braid. Deutsch herausgegeben von W. Preyer*, Verlag von Gebrüder Paetel, (Berlin), 1882. [I have not been able to locate or view a copy of this item, “*On Hypnotism; Selected Writings of J. Braid, Edited in German by W. Preyer*”: provides German translations of eight items by Braid: “The Power of the Mind over the Body, etc.” (**B.77**); “Observations on Trance, etc.” (**B.90**); “Electro-Biological Phenomena, etc.” (**B.92**); “Magic, Witchcraft, etc.” (**B.94**); “Hypnotic Therapeutics, etc.” (**B.101**); “On the Nature and Treatment of Certain Forms of Paralysis,

etc." (B.105); VII. "The Physiology of Fascination, etc." (B.108); and "The Critics Criticized" (B.110).]

- B.120 [1883]:** Braid, J. (Simon, J. trans.), *Neurypnologie: Traité du Sommeil Nerveux, ou, Hypnotisme par James Braid; Traduit de l'anglais par le Dr Jules Simon; Avec preface de C. E. Brown-Séguard*, Adrien Delhay et Émile Lecrosnier, (Paris), 1883. ["*Neurypnology: Treatise on Nervous Sleep or Hypnotism by James Braid, translated from the English by Dr. Jules Simon, with a preface by C. E. Brown-Séguard*": Complete French translation of Braid's *Neurypnotism* (B.52), and Preyer's German version of B.116. Despite the misleading impression given by the title page, Simon's introduction (pp.xi-xv) is *unequivocally clear* that Simon translated Preyer's German text, *not* the original English text of Braid's English manuscript.]
- B.121 [1969/1845]:** Braid, J. (Purcell, S.A.J. trans), "On the Distinctive Conditions of Natural and Nervous Sleep [unpublished manuscript, dated 17 December 1845]", pp.xvi-xliii in Wink, C.A.S., *The Life and Work of James Braid (1795-1860), With Special Reference to Hypnotism as an Orthodox Medical Procedure*, (unpublished B. Litt. Dissertation), Oxford University, 1969. [Purcell's[†] accurate and faithful translation of Preyer's German translation of B.74.]
- B.122 [1969/1855]:** Braid, J. (Purcell, S.A.J. trans), "The Critics Criticized [unpublished manuscript, dated 23 October 1855]", pp.vi-xv in Wink, C.A.S., *The Life and Work of James Braid (1795-1860), With Special Reference to Hypnotism as an Orthodox Medical Procedure*, (unpublished B. Litt. Dissertation), Oxford University, 1969. [Purcell's accurate and faithful translation of Preyer's German translation of B.110.]
- B.123 [1969/1860]:** Braid, J. (Purcell, S.A.J. trans), "On Hypnotism [unpublished manuscript, dated 7 January 1860]", pp.xliv-lxviii in Wink, C.A.S., *The Life and Work of James Braid (1795-1860), With Special Reference to Hypnotism as an Orthodox Medical Procedure*, (unpublished B. Litt. Dissertation), Oxford University, 1969. [Purcell's accurate and faithful translation of Preyer's German translation of Braid's B.115. Note that, according to Sarbin and Andersen (1967, p322), from a project commenced in 1964, Milton Lawrence Andersen (1931-?) and William Saul Kroger (1906-1995) were close to completing a translation of Preyer's text; however, there is no evidence that Andersen and Kroger's task was ever completed.]

B. ASSOCIATED ITEMS

Please note:

- (1) The items in this list are coded as "**X.1 [1815]**", etc.; "**X**" identifying that it is an "Associated item", plus a sequential number, plus the year of its publication.
- (2) Wherever possible, the listed items are cross-referenced against Bramwell's list of 27 items ("principal references to Braid's work", 1913), and Crabtree's list of 1905 items (1988) with [**Br: 01R**] and [**Cr: 01R**] displaying the sequential numbers of the items listed by Bramwell and Crabtree respectively.
- (3) Many of the listed newspaper items not only provide wonderfully valuable eye-witness accounts of Braid's lectures, experiments and demonstrations, but also contain unique, lengthy verbatim passages either directly recorded at the time by a stenographic reporter, or taken directly from Braid's extensively prepared speaking notes.

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- X.1 [1636]:** Schwenter, D., "16:13: Eine ganz wilde Hännen/so zaam zu machen/daß sie von sich selbst/unbeweglich still und in grossen Forchten sitze", p.563 in Schwenter, D., *Deliciae Physico-Mathematicae: oder Mathemat[ische] und Philosophische Erquickstunden, etc. [Volume One]*, Jeremias Dumlers,(Nuremburg), 1636. ["To make a very wild hen so tame that, by herself, she will sit still [as if frozen] in great fear": the first description of the induction of catalepsy in a hen by drawing a line on a table top. (Daniel Schwenter (1585-1636) was a mathematics professor at Atldorf University).]
- X.2 [1646]:** Kircher, A., "II.I.X: Experimentum Mirabile: De Imaginatum Gallinæ", pp.154-155 in Kircher, A., *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae in decem Libros digesta, etc.*, Hermann Scheus, (Rome), 1646. ["A miraculous experiment on the imagination of chicken": as with many of the items in Kircher's volume, Kircher's item was taken directly from Schwenter's work (**X.1**).]
- X.3 [?1705]:** Clarke, S., *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, etc.*, (edition unknown; ?1705) [A collection of Sermons; Braid cites this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]
- X.4 [1730]:** Jackson, J., *A Vindication Of Humane Liberty: In answer to a Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity; written by A. C. Esq, J. Noon*, (London), 1730. [Braid cites this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]

- X.5 [1792]:** Johnson, J. [pseud.], *A Guide for Gentlemen Studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh*, G.G.J. & J. Robinson, (Edinburgh), 1792. [This somewhat controversial work, expressed a number of strong opinions relating to the comparative worth of the lectures delivered at Edinburgh to medical students by various academics in the university's formal lectures. Although there were strong suspicions that the work was written by Dr. Alexander Hamilton and his son Dr. James Hamilton Junior (who jointly conducted the midwifery classes), and there were a number of threats and counter-threats of legal action, the true identity of "James Johnson, Esquire" was never revealed.]
- X.6 [1799]:** Smellie, W., "Of Ominous Dreams", pp.381-383 in Smellie, W., *The Philosophy of Natural History: Volume II*, The Heirs of Charles Elliot, (Edinburgh), 1799. [Braid quotes from this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.105.]
- X.7 [1800]:** Lucas, J., *A Candid Inquiry into the Education, Qualifications, and Offices of a Surgeon-Apothecary; the Several Branches of the Profession Being Distinctly Treated on; and Suitable Methodical Forms Annexed; Besides Various Other Topics Connected with the Principal Office are also Subjoined*, S. Hazard, (Bath), 1800. [In its day this work was very highly regarded. In addition to describing in great detail the peculiar rights and obligations of each of the parties to a surgical apprenticeship, and the duties, rights and obligations of the apprentice, it also made many well-informed recommendations in relation to the best and most productive way for the apprentice to conduct his studies.]
- X.8 [1800]:** Willich, A.F.M., *Lectures on Diet and Regimen: Being a Systematic Inquiry into the Most Rational Means of Preserving Health and Prolonging Life: Together with Physiological and Chemical Explanations, Calculated Chiefly for the Use of Families, in Order to Banish the Prevailing Abuses and Prejudices in Medicine (Third Edition)*, T.N. Longman and O. Rees, (London), 1800. [Anthony Florian Madinger Willich (?-1804). Braid quoted from the section "A concise Theory of Sleep" (pp.473-476) in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.59.]
- X.9 [1800]:** Davy, H., *Researches, Chemical and Philosophical; Chiefly Concerning Nitrous Oxide: Or Dephlogisticated Nitrous Air, and Its Respiration*, J. Johnson, (London), 1800. [Braid quotes this work in the Introduction to his *Neurypnology* (1843).]
- X.10 [1809]:** Inglis, A. [1809], "Regulations to be Observed by Candidates, Previous to Their Being Taken Upon Trials for Obtaining Diplomas from the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.5, No.19, (1 July 1809), pp.387-388. [Published by Andrew Inglis (?-1834), M.D. (Edinburgh), President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh from 1808 to 1810. Regulations for Licentiates' entry to the College that prevailed at the time of Braid's studies (see also **X.12**). Reprinted at *Appendix Two*.]
- X.11 [1815]:** Parish Church of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh: "Register of Proclamations: Braid and Mason: 17 November 1813".

- X.12 [1815]:** Anon, "Advertisement: Surgeons' Hall, Edinburgh", *Caledonian Mercury*, No.14659, (Thursday, 16 November 1815), p.1, col.A. [Official notification of the admission of James Braid into the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh.]
- X.13B [1819]:** Armstrong, J., *Practical Illustrations of Typhus Fever, of the Common Continued Fever, and of Inflammatory Diseases, &c. &c. (Third Edition)*, Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, (London), 1819. [John Armstrong (1784-1829), M.D.. Braid quotes a long passage (pp.478-480) from the "Insanity" section in his *Neurypnology* (1843) pp.85-86.]
- X.14 [1820]:** Brown, T., *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind (in Four Volumes)*, W. & C. Tait, (Edinburgh), 1820. [Thomas Brown,[†] Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University (1810-1820), and whose lectures Braid had attended, made an extensive study of the formation of trains of thought, and the regularities and patterns these trains of thought seemed to display, and eventually produced an intricate taxonomy of these patterned regularities. His study of these trains of thought, and the manner in which the sequences of "suggested ideas", which, *per medium* of an otherwise unidentified "suggesting principle", had been generated by their respective antecedent "suggesting ideas", formed almost three quarters of the extremely popular series of 100 lectures he delivered during each academic year. Immediately following his death, this collection of his teaching notes were published in their entirety (edited only to the extent that particular embellishments, corrections, more precise explanations, and other interlineations that Brown had accumulated over his years of teaching were inserted into the text by the editor). The *Lectures* were best sellers over a long period of time, going into more than 20 editions. Braid quotes a passage from Brown's Lecture XCVIII in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.89-90.]
- X.15 [1820]:** Colton, C.C., *Lacon: or, Many Things in Few Words; Addressed to Those Who Think (Third Edition)*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, (London), 1820. [Charles Caleb Colton (1780-1832). Braid quotes from this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.81-82, 87.]
- X.16 [1822]:** Ward, W., *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos: Including a Minute Description of Their Manners and Customs, and Translations from Their Principal Works, in Three Volumes (Second Edition)*, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, (London), 1822. [Braid said this item *plus* **X.123** (and, to a lesser extent, **X.133A**), made a significant contribution to his later, more developed views as expressed in both **B.63a-g** and **B.94**.]
- X.17 [1823]:** Anon, "List of Members of the Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh", pp.587-589 in *Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society, Vol.IV (For the years 1821-22-23), Part II*, (Edinburgh), 1823. [Records that "James Braid, Esq., Surgeon, Leadhills" was admitted as a "Corresponding Member" on 19 April 1823.]
- X.18 [1824]:** Hibbert, S., *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, An Attempt to Trace Such Illusions to their Physical Causes*, Oliver & Boyd, (Edinburgh), 1824. [Braid cites this work on several occasions in his Introduction to *Neurypnology* (1843).]

- X.19 [1825]:** Pigot, J., *New Commercial Directory for Scotland for 1825-1826*, James Pigot and Co., (London), 1825. [At page 546, lists "Braid Mr. surgeon, Leadhills" as one of five people in the category of "Resident Gentry and Professional Persons" in Leadhills, Lanarkshire.]
- X.20 [1827]:** Thomson, J. (ed.), *The Works of William Cullen: Containing his Physiology, Nosology, and First Lines of The Practice of Physic; with numerous Extracts from his Manuscript Papers, and from his Treatise of the Materia Medica in Two Volumes: Volume I*, William Blackwood, (Edinburgh), 1827. [Braid paraphrases the item "Attention to a single sensation" (pp.121-122) in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.58.]
- X.21 [1828]:** Pigot, J., *National and Provincial Directory for Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland (1828-1829)*, James Pigot and Co., (London), 1828. [At page 396, lists "Braid James, 67 Piccadilly" as one of ninety-seven people in the category of "Surgeons" in Manchester, Lancashire.]
- X.22 [1828]:** Stewart, D., *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man, Volume II*, Adam Black, (Edinburgh), 1828. [Braid quotes from this work (p.125) in his *Neurypnology* (1843) p.90.]
- X.23 [1830]:** Macnish, R., *The Philosophy of Sleep*, W. R. M'Phun, (Glasgow), 1830. [Braid quotes from this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843) pp.49-50, 58-59, citing "Macnish" by its perfectly acceptable alternative form of "M'Nish".]
- X.24 [1831]:** Anon., "Animal Magnetism", pp.204-208 in Lieber, F., Edward Wigglesworth, E. & Bradford, T.G. (eds), *Encyclopædia Americana, First Edition, Volume Eight*, Carey and Lea, (Philadelphia), 1831. [The first edition of the *Encyclopædia Americana*, published in thirteen volumes between 1829 and 1833, was based on the Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexicon's* Seventh Edition (1827). Most of its entries were either direct translations or summaries of the corresponding German entries. Displaying a thorough, detailed understanding of the work of Kluge,[†] it is not known if this item was written by the senior editor, expatriate German scholar, Francis (Franz) Lieber (1798-1872), or by some other scholar. However, it is so different from the corresponding *Magnetismus (thierischer)* in the Seventh Edition of the Brockhaus (p.35-37) that it is, very obviously, an original contribution.]
- X.25 [1831]:** Drew, S., *An original Essay on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Human Soul, Founded Solely on Physical and Rational Principles (Fifth Edition)*, Fisher, Son, and Co., (London), 1831. [Braid cites this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]
- X.26 [1832]:** Abercrombie, J., *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth (Third Edition)*, Waugh and Innes, 1832. [Braid quotes from this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.90, 91, 94-95, p.194.]
- X.27 [1833]:** Anon., "Public Notice", *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, No.226, (Saturday, 9 February 1833), p.2, col.D. [Lists "James Braid, surgeon" as one of the more than 600 Man-

chester citizens demanding that a public meeting be held in order to produce a petition in favour of the law proposed by the reformist M.P. Michael Thomas Sadler (1780-1835) that would "prohibit young persons employed in Cotton and other Factories from being worked more than ten hours a day, or fifty-eight hours a week".]

- X.28 [1833]:** Andral, M., "Observations on Animal Magnetism", *The London Medical Gazette*, Vol.11, No.276, (16 March 1833), pp.792-795. [Br: 21R] [Bramwell, mistakenly, has Vol.1.]
- X.29 [1833]:** Anon., "Animal Magnetism", pp.764-766, Partington, C.F., *The British Cyclopædia of the Arts and Sciences, Volume I*, Orr & Smith, (London), 1835. [Almost 100% identical with **X.24**. Slightly adapted, very large section (viz., pp.765-766) published in *The Manchester Times* of 20 November 1841 (**X.26**) with its report on Lafontaine's Third *Conversazione*. Almost inevitably given to the newspaper by a supporter of Lafontaine, it presents a far more favourable account than that given by the piece from Romer (**X.43**) that appeared with its 13 November 1841 account of Lafontaine's first and second *Conversaciones* (**X.51**).]
- X.30 [1833]:** Colquhoun, J.C., *Report Of The Experiments On Animal Magnetism, Made by a Committee of the Medical Section of the French Royal Academy of Sciences: Read at the Meeting of the 21st and 28th of June, 1831; Translated, and Now for the First Time Published, with an Historical and Explanatory Introduction, and an Appendix, by J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., Robert Cadell*, (Edinburgh), 1833. [In his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.6, Braid quotes a passage from Colquhoun's "Introduction" (p.94).]
- X.31 [1833]:** Bakewell, F.C., *Natural Evidence of a Future Life, Derived from the Properties and Actions of Animate and Inanimate Matter*, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, (London), 1835. [Braid cites this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]
- X.32 [1833]:** Brougham, H.P., *A Discourse of Natural Theology, Showing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study*, Charles Knight, (London), 1835. [Braid cites this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]
- X.33 [1835]:** Prichard, J.C., "Somnambulism and Animal Magnetism", pp.21-39 in Forbes, J., Tweedie, A. & Conolly, J. (eds), *The Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine: Comprising Treatises on the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, Medical Jurisprudence, etc., etc., Volume IV*, Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, and Baldwin and Cradock, (London), 1835. [In his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.6-7, Braid quotes from this article.]
- X.34 [1836]:** Colquhoun, J.C., *Isis Revelata: An Inquiry Into the Origin, Progress and Present State of Animal Magnetism, Volumes I&II*, MacLachlan & Stewart, (Edinburgh), 1836. [see **X.134**.]
- X.35 [1837]:** Warburton, S., *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated (New Edition in Two Volumes), Volume I*, Thomas Tegg and Son, (London), 1837. [Braid cites Book III of this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]

- X.36a, X.36b, X.36c, X.36d [1838]:** Anon, "On Animal Magnetism", *The London Medical Gazette*, Vol.21, No.533, (17 February 1838), pp.824-829, No.534, (24 February 1838), pp.856-860, No.537, (17 March 1838), pp.986-991, No.538, (24 March 1838), pp.1034-1037. [Braid refers to these articles in his *Neurypnosis* (1843), pp.34-35, complaining that a poorly informed "an author" (whose identity I have not been able to identify) "has made it appear that [the writer of these four articles on Animal Magnetism, *written in 1838*] was well acquainted with my mode of operating". He also quotes them at pp.59-60. Note: *The London Medical Gazette's* index (p.1042) identifies the four items as "Exposé of animal magnetism" (rather than as "On animal magnetism", which appears at the head of the article.)]
- X.37 [1838]:** Mayo, H., "New Name Proposed for Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor, written on 24 August 1838]", *The Lancet*, Vol.30, No.783, (1 September 1838), p.814. [Suggests the term "animal magnetism", "[which] is objectionable, from its suggesting an affinity, which does not exist, between these phenomena and common magnetism", should be abandoned and that, in its place, the term *exoneurism* be adopted to denote this class of phenomena: with *exoneural* being equally appropriate for "the change produced in the nervous system of a living being by a peculiar influence *from without*, or (looking to the cause instead of to the effect) the action of the nervous influence of a living being beyond the limits of its frame"; and, in contrast, by the same convention, "the ordinary phenomena of the nervous system may [now] be classed as *esoneural*".]
- X.38 [1839]:** Adams, S., "Psycho-Physiology, Viewed in its Connection with the Mysteries of Animal Magnetism and Other Kindred Phenomena", *The American Biblical Repository; Devoted to Biblical and General Literature, Theological Discussion, The History of Theological Opinions, etc.*, Vol.1, No.2, (April 1839), pp.362-382. [Note that this is the first recorded use of the term 'psycho-physiology'; see also **X.48**.]
- X.39 [1839]:** Wilson, J., *Trials of Animal Magnetism on the Brute Creation*, Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper, (London), 1839. [**Cr: 419**] [Refutes claims of deception, collusion, and delusion, with experiments using animal magnetism on the "brute creation" ('lower animals'), cats, dogs, fish, hens and roosters, goats, macaws, horses, pigs, male and female elephants, etc.]
- X.40 [1841]:** Anon, "Ungrateful Thieves", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1261, (Saturday, 6 February 1841), p.3, col.A. [Attests to Braid's kindness and charity over an extended time to two blind beggars.]
- X.41 [1841]:** Anon, "Local Intelligence: Stammering", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.651, (Saturday, 20 March 1841), p.2, col.G. ["Advertorial" stating that Mancunians Dr. Aikenhead and Mr. Williamson had performed the first operation for the cure of stammer a week earlier; and, since, had also successfully performed a second.]
- X.42 [1841]:** Anon, "Cure of Stuttering or Stammering", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1274, (Wednesday, 24 March 1841), p.4, col.H. [(Perhaps to correct error in **X.41**, and anticipate

Braid's **B.10**), contains lengthy extracts from articles over the previous fortnight in *The London Medical Gazette* by Dr. Franz, Prof. Dieffenbach, Mr. James Yearsley, and Braid, with Braid claiming at least three months priority over each of the others.]

- X.43 [1841]:** Romer, I.F., *Sturmer, a Tale of Mesmerism: To Which are Added Other Sketches from Life*, Richard Bentley, (London), 1841. [Isabella Frances Romer (1798-1852) had traveled extensively in France and Germany; and, from her own experiences and observations, she was totally convinced of the veracity of the phenomena of mesmerism. The main goal of this work was to alert readers to the dangers of this most powerful tool in the wrong hands. The *Manchester Times*' report on Lafontaine's first and second Manchester *Conversazioni* (**X.22** of 13 November 1841) includes a long passage from her introduction (pp.7-8), in which Romer speaks as herself (rather than in the voice of either the story's narrator or one of the book's characters) of the dangers of mesmerism in the wrong hands.]
- X.44 [1841]:** A Correspondent, "Animal Magnetism", *The Times*, No.17731, (Saturday, 24 July 1841), p.5, col.E. [Critical report on Lafontaine's theories, as described at his London lectures and demonstrations.]
- X.45 [1841]:** A Correspondent, "Animal Magnetism", *The Times*, No.17739, (Tuesday, 3 August 1841), p.5, col.A. [Critical report on Lafontaine's theories and, in particular, his London lecture and demonstrations of 2 August 1841.]
- X.46 [1841]:** Anon, "Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.675, (Saturday, 4 September 1841), p.2, col.D. [Report from *London Morning Chronicle* of Lafontaine's 31 August 1841 London lecture. Most likely the first mention of Lafontaine in the Manchester Press.]
- X.47 [1841]:** A Correspondent, "Mesmeric Phenomena", *The Times*, No.17772, (Friday, 10 September 1841), p.3, col.E. [Favourable report on a successful private demonstration of "animo-magnetic phenomena" by Elliotson, in London, on 10 September; and a critical report of Lafontaine's unsuccessful demonstrations on the same day.]
- X.48 [1841]:** Adams, S., "Psycho-Physiology, Viewed in its Connection with the Mysteries of Animal Magnetism and Other Kindred Phenomena", *The American Biblical Repository; Devoted to Biblical and General Literature, Theological Discussion, The History of Theological Opinions, etc.*, Vol.6, No.12, (October 1841), pp.323-349. [Adam's second paper; essentially the same ideas as **X.38**, except for an example (p.331) of rectifying distressing emotional situations by directing the mind to a mutually exclusive 'imaginatum'.]
- X.49 [1841]:** Lafontaine, "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, (Wednesday, 10 November 1841), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Lafontaine's first Manchester *Conversazione*.]

- X.50 [1841]:** Lafontaine, "Advertisement: Public Notices: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, (Saturday, 13 November 1841), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Lafontaine's third *Conversazione*; the first that Braid attended.]
- X.51 [1841]:** Anon, "Mesmerism, or Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, (Saturday, 13 November 1841), p.3, col.D. [Account of Lafontaine's first and second *Conversazioni*; the report includes a long passage from **X.43**.]
- X.52 [1841]:** Anon, "Lectures on Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, (Saturday, 13 November 1841), p.3, col.E. [Account of Lafontaine's first and second *Conversazioni*.]
- X.53 [1841]:** Anon, "Mesmerism — M. Lafontaine's Third *Conversazione*", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1342, (Wednesday, 17 November 1841), p.3, col.F. [Includes brief account of Braid's participation in Lafontaine's third *Conversazione*.]
- X.54 [1841]:** Anon, "Lafontaine's Third *Conversazione* on Mesmerism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, (Saturday, 20 November 1841), p.3, col.E. [Includes brief account of Braid's participation in Lafontaine's third *Conversazione*; also provides a long passage from **X.29**.]
- X.55 [1841]:** Anon, "Last Night's *Conversazione*", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.686, (Saturday, 20 November 1841), p.3, col.G. [Brief account of Lafontaine's fourth (19 November) *Conversazione*, including rejection of Braid as a subject.]
- X.56 [1841]:** Anon, "Lafontaine's Fourth *Soiree Mesmerique*", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1344, (Wednesday, 24 November 1841), p.3, col.A. [Account of Lafontaine's fourth (19 November) *Conversazione*, including the participation of Braid and Lynill.]
- X.57 [1841]:** Anon, "Fifth *Conversazione*", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1344, (Wednesday, 24 November 1841), p.3, col.C. [Account of Lafontaine's 20 November 1841 *Conversazione*. Before it started, Braid read the contents of an unanswered letter sent to Lafontaine earlier that day, suggesting that the "wonderful effects" Lafontaine elicited were produced by "the strength of the imagination alone"; and, so, Braid asked that Lafontaine only use subjects who had neither seen nor at any time been subject to any of his experiments.]
- X.58 [1841]:** Anon, "Lafontaine's Fifth *Conversazione*", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.687, (Saturday, 27 November 1841), p.3, col.H. [Account of Lafontaine's 20 November 1841 *conversazione*, including the matter of Braid's letter.]
- X.59 [1841]:** Smith, J.A., "Animal Magnetism at the Manchester Athenæum [Letter to the Editor]", *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, Vol.12, No.687, (Saturday, 27 November 1841), p.4, col.D. [Letter from Joseph Ashbury Smith, L.S.A., M.R.C.S., critical of Lafontaine's 20 November 1841 *conversazione*.]

- X.60 [1841]:** Anon, "Mesmerism and Somnambulism", *The [London] Morning Chronicle*, No.22475, (Wednesday, 1 December 1841), p.3, col.D. [Eye-witness account of Braid's 27 November lecture and experiments.]
- X.61 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lecture", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1346, (Wednesday, 1 December 1841), p.3, col.C. [Report of Braid's 27 November lecture.]
- X.62 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lecture on Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.688, (Saturday, 4 December 1841), p.2, col.I, p.3, col.A. [Eye-witness account of the experiments Braid performed at his 27 November lecture.]
- X.63 [1841]:** Anon, "Mesmerism Explained", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, Vol.12, No.688, (Saturday, 4 December 1841), p.2, col.F. [A more general, quite favourable account of Braid's initial theories, as expounded during his first lecture, encouraging readers to attend his second lecture.]
- X.64 [1841]:** Smith, J.A., "Advertisement: Letter to the Editor [written on 1 December 1841]", *The Manchester Guardian*, (Saturday, 4 December 1841), p.3, col.H. [Letter from Joseph Ashbury Smith challenging Braid and Catlow's priority claims.]
- X.65 [1841]:** Holland, P.H., "Animal Magnetism [Letter to the Editor]", *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, Vol.12, No.688, (Saturday, 4 December 1841), p.4, col.E. [Letter containing details of Catlow's priority claim.]
- X.66 [1841]:** Anon, "Medical News: Magnetism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.115, (4 December 1841), p.120. [Very brief report of Braid's first lecture.]
- X.67 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Discoveries: Second Lecture", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1348, (Wednesday, 8 December 1841), p.3, col.C. [Report of Braid's second (4 December) lecture. A paragraph from this report is quoted in X.72.]
- X.68 [1841]:** Anon, "M. Lafontaine's Conversazione", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.689, (Saturday, 11 December 1841), p.3, col.G. [Report of Lafontaine's 9 December 1841 *conversazione*, at which he was asked questions about Braid's work.]
- X.69 [1841]:** Anon, "Lafontaine at Birmingham", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.689, (Saturday, 11 December 1841), p.3, col.G. [Report on Lafontaine's four lecture/*conversaciones*.]
- X.70 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lectures on Animal Magnetism — Extraordinary Scene at the Mechanics' Institution", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.689, (Saturday, 11 December 1841), p.3, col.D. [Eye-witness account of Braid's (8 December) lecture and experiments. Braid said he would no longer lecture, and would devote his energies to his surgical practice.]

- X.71 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Discoveries: Lecture at the Mechanics' Institution", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1349, (Saturday, 11 December 1841), p.3, col.E. [Report of Braid's third (8 December) lecture; the first Braid lecture that Lafontaine attended.]
- X.72 [1841]:** Anon, "M. Lafontaine — Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1349, (Saturday, 11 December 1841), p.3, col.F. [Report of Lafontaine's 9 December *conversazione*.]
- X.73 [1841]:** Anon, "M. Lafontaine — Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1350, (Wednesday, 15 December 1841), p.3, col.A. [Report of Lafontaine's 10 December *conversazione*.]
- X.74 [1841]:** Anon, "The Last Lecture — Saturday", *The Manchester Guardian*, (Wednesday, 15 December 1841), p.3, col.C. [Report of Lafontaine's 11 December *conversazione*, Braid was in the audience.]
- X.75 [1841]:** Αλφα, "Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor]", *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, No.7255, (Thursday, 16 December 1841), p4, col.B. [Argues Braid's procedure is identical with that of "hypnologist" Henry Gardner — see **X.135**, pp.351-394 (his method at pp.390-392) — and, also, as it is identical with the procedures that Wilson applied to the "brute creation" (see **X.39**), he suggests (?sarcastically) it might be efficaciously applied to hydrophobia.]
- X.76 [1841]:** Anon, "Advertisement: Mesmerism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.690, (Saturday, 18 December 1841), p.1, col.B. [Announcing Captain Thomas Brown will lecture on Braid's behalf at "various towns in the neighbourhood".]
- X.77 [1841]:** Lafontaine, C., "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.690, (Saturday, 18 December 1841), p.2, col.C. [Announcing Lecture wherein Lafontaine will "explain and demonstrate" the differences between the "phenomena" of animal magnetism and those produced by Braid.]
- X.78 [1841]:** Anon, "Animal Magnetism — The Trick Discovered", *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmorland, &c.*, Vol.31, No.1597, (Saturday, 18 December 1841), p.1, col.E. [Report of Braid's 8 December lecture, reprinted from *Manchester Courier*.]
- X.79 [1841]:** Duncan, J., "Public Notice: Mesmerism", *The Times*, No.17858, (Monday, 20 December 1841), p.1, col.B, No.17859, (Tuesday, 21 December 1841), p.1, col.B. [Announcing Duncan's 21 December lecture on Braid's discoveries at London Tavern.]
- X.80 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Discoveries", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1352, (Wednesday, 22 December 1841), p.4, col.H. [Report of Braid's 17 December lecture.]
- X.81 [1841]:** Anon, "M. Lafontaine — Animal Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1352, (Wednesday, 22 December 1841), p.3, col.A. [Description of Lafontaine's 17 December lecture, with Lynill as his interpreter.]

- X.82 [1841]:** Anon, "The Last Lecture — Saturday", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1352, (Wednesday, 22 December 1841), p.3, col.C. [Report of Lafontaine's 18 December lecture, attended by Braid; the account records the fact that *Braid could not speak French* and that *Lafontaine could not speak English*.]
- X.83 [1841]:** Anon, "The Mystery of Mesmerism and Somnambulism Explained", *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, No.1530, (Friday, 24 December 1841), p.4, col.F. [A re-print of **X.63**.]
- X.84 [1841]:** Anon, "Mesmerism Exploded", *Cleave's Penny Gazette of Variety and Amusement*, Vol.5, No.11, (Saturday, 25 December 1841) p.2, col.D. [Hostile description of Lafontaine's work. Quotes extensively from the *Manchester Guardian* on Braid's first public experiments. Characterizes Braid's lectures as "[an] exposé of the magnetic sleep-producing delusion".]
- X.85 [1841]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lecture on Animal Magnetism at the Athenæum", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.692, (Saturday, 31 December 1841), p.3, col.B. [Eye-witness account of Braid's 28 December lecture.]
- X.86 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Discoveries", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1355, (Saturday, 1 January 1842), p.3, col.C. [Report of Braid's 28 December 1841 lecture.]
- X.87 [1842]:** Anon, "Animal Magnetism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.119, (Saturday, 1 January 1842), p.168. [Report of Lafontaine's 24 December and 25 December lectures. Braid attended the 25 December lecture.]
- X.88 [1842]:** Duncan, J., "Public Notice: Mesmerism", *The Times*, No.17866, (Wednesday, 29 December 1841), p.1, col.B; No.17867, (Wednesday, 30 December 1841), p.1, col.B. [Announcement for Duncan's 31 December 1841 lecture at the Hanover Square Rooms on Braid's discoveries.]
- X.89 [1842]:** Anon, "Somnambulism", *The Morning Chronicle*, No.22502, (Saturday, 1 January 1842), p.4, col.B. [Description of Duncan's 31 December 1841 lecture (correction in **X.90**).]
- X.90 [1842]:** Duncan, J., "Letter to the Editor", *The Morning Chronicle*, No.2250, (Tuesday, 4 January 1842), p.3, col.G. [Correction of a mistake in **X.89**: it was Braid, not Duncan, who had lectured in Manchester.]
- X.91 [1842]:** Duncan, J., "Public Notice: Mesmerism", *The Times*, No.17871, (Tuesday, 4 January 1842), p.1, col.B. [Announcing Duncan's London lectures to be delivered on 6 and January 1842.]
- X.92 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Discoveries", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.693, (Saturday, 8 January 1842), p.2, col.H. [Clarification of certain errors and ambiguities in **X.85**, especially in relation to attempts rivals made to sabotage his work.]

- X.93 [1842]:** Anon, "The New Theory on Animal Magnetism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.120, (8 January 1842), p.175-176. **[Br: 01R]** [Account of Duncan's 31 December London lecture (Bramwell, mistakenly, has "The New Theory *of* Animal Magnetism").]
- X.94 [1842]:** E.B., M.D., "Mr. Duncan's Lecture on Animal Magnetism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.121, (15 January 1842), p.187. [From style and content of this report, it seems "E.B." is the same the "Correspondent" of **X.44**, **X.45**, and **X.47**. The author, who had seen both Elliotson and Lafontaine in person, and had (himself) examined Duncan's subjects, thought that Duncan's demonstration was "inconclusive"; and he also felt that, rather than demonstrating "mesmerism" Duncan had demonstrated something that ought to be called "*monotonism*".]
- X.95 [1842]:** Barrallier, J.L., "Animal Magnetism [Letter to the Editor, written 9 January 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.121, (15 January 1842), pp.187-188. [Praises Braid, dismisses Catlow's claims of priority, and reports hitherto unknown effects from Braid's technique.]
- X.96 [1842]:** Brown, T. [1842c], "Advertisement: Animal Magnetism", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1602, (Friday, 21 January 1842), p.1, col.A. [Advertisement announcing Braid's (22 January 1842) Liverpool Lecture.]
- X.97 [1842]:** Anon, "Mesmerism in Liverpool", *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, (Thursday, 27 January 1842), p.4, col.D. [Account of Braid's 22 January 1842 Liverpool lecture in a Dublin newspaper.]
- X.98 [1842]:** Barrallier, J.L., "Animal Magnetism [Letter to the Editor, written 15 January 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.123, (29 January 1842), pp.212-213. [Readily adopting the term "monotonization", Barrallier speaks of the work of Catlow and Lafontaine. Also describes some innovative experiments he conducted using Braid's technique.]
- X.99 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Catlow's Discoveries", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1365, (Saturday, 5 February 1842), p.3, col.G. [Report of Catlow's first lecture (Manchester, 3 February 1842), which Braid attended.]
- X.100 [1842]:** Barrallier, J.L., "Animal Magnetism [Letter to the Editor, written 8 February 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.126, (19 February 1842), p.248. [Corrected certain misleading descriptions in **X.67**, plus further criticism of Catlow, and further praise of Braid.]
- X.101 [1842]:** Anon, "Recent Experiments at Manchester", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Vol.11, No.525, (19 February 1842), pp.38-39. [Includes eye-witness description of the experiments that Braid performed during his 27 November lecture; quotes a paragraph from **X.67**.]
- X.102 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Catlow's Discoveries", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.126, (19 February 1842), pp.249-250. [Edited version of **X.100**.]

- X.103 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Catlow's Discoveries", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1369, (Wednesday, 23 February 1842), p.4, col.G. [Report of Catlow's second lecture.]
- X.104 [1842]:** Barrallier, J.L., "Experiments in Animal Magnetism — Monotonism [Letter to the Editor, written 12 February 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.127, (26 February 1842), p.256. [Includes a description of Barrallier's experiments on three different subjects, and his further rejection of Catlow's claims and his support of Braid's.]
- X.105 [1842]:** Anon, "Neurohypnology — Mr. Braid's Lecture at the London Tavern", *The Morning Chronicle*, No.22554, (Monday, 28 February 1842), p.3, col.B. [Report of Braid's 2 March London lecture.]
- X.106 [1842]:** Anon, "Neurohypnology — Mr. Braid's Lecture at the London Tavern", *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, (Saturday, 5 March 1842), p.4, col.D. [Slightly condensed version of **X.105**.]
- X.107 [1842]:** Anon, "Neurypnology.— Mr. Braid's Lecture at the London Tavern", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.701, (Saturday, 5 March 1842), p.2, col.F. [Eye-witness account of Braid's 2 March London lecture. Extra information (i.e., additional to **X.76**) on private *conversazione* conducted by Braid, in London, on 1 March.]
- X.108 [1842]:** Anon, "Animal Magnetism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.5, No.129, (12 March 1842), p.283. [**Br: 02R**] [Includes eye-witness account of Braid's London lectures and experiments on 1 and 2 March 1842 respectively. Bramwell, mistakenly, has p.238.]
- X.109 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lecture on Neurypnology", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1375, (Wednesday, 16 March 1842), p.4, col.D. [Account of Braid's 12 March 1842 lecture reporting the results of his investigations since his last Manchester lecture on 28 December.]
- X.110 [1842]:** Mayo, H., "[Letter to James Braid, written on 8 March 1842]", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1375, (Wednesday, 16 March 1842), p.4, col.D. [Letter published by Braid, with Mayo's permission, written by Mayo, in response to a request made by Braid for Mayo's views of Braid's London lecture. In part, Mayo alludes to **X.37** and his neologism *exoneural*. Braid quotes from this letter in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.9, 23.]
- X.111 [1842]:** Mayo, H., "[Letter: Herbert Mayo to James Braid, written on 9 March 1842]", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1375, (Wednesday, 16 March 1842), p.4, col.D. [Mayo declines Braid's request that Mayo write a review of Braid's work for *The Medical Gazette* (sic), because, in Mayo's view, the medical press was, at that time, hostile to these matters.]
- X.112 [1842]:** Mayo, H., "On Mr. Braid's Experiments [Letter, directed at Braid, written on 8 March 1842]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.6, No.132, (2 April 1842), pp.10-11. [**Br: 03R**] [Reprint of **X.110**.]

- X.113 [1842]:** Anon, "Neurypnology.— Mr. Braid's Lecture at the Mechanics' Institute", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.705, (Saturday, 2 April 1842), p.3, col.G. [Eyewitness account of Braid's 31 March Manchester lecture and demonstrations. By now Braid had developed his theory considerably more, and was using the term *neurypnology*. [See also **X.118**.]
- X.114 [1842]:** Anon [1842tt], "Mr. Braid's Lecture on Neurohypnology", *The Manchester Guardian*, (Wednesday, 6 April 1842), p.4, col.F. [Eyewitness account of Braid's 31 March Manchester lecture and demonstrations.]
- X.115 [1842]:** Mayo, H., "[Fragment of Letter: Herbert Mayo to James Braid, of unknown date]", *The Manchester Guardian*, (Wednesday, 6 April 1842), p.4, col.G. [No copy of the complete text of Mayo's letter remains extant, and no record remains of any of its contents except this newspaper report.]
- X.116 [1842]:** Anon, "Lectures on Neurohypnology", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1613, (Friday, 8 April 1842), p.111, col.B. [Eyewitness account of Braid's first (1 April) Liverpool lecture and demonstrations. It went for 4 hours; and, unfinished, was adjourned until the 6 April.]
- X.117 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Second Lecture on Neurohypnology", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1613, (Friday, 8 April 1842), p.112, col.E. [Eyewitness account of Braid's second (6 April) Liverpool lecture and demonstrations, including an attempt to hypnotize "a small poodle dog" and "a fowl".]
- X.118 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lecture", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.706, (Saturday, 9 April 1842), p.3, col.E. [Continuation of eye-witness account of Braid's 31 March Manchester lecture, already partially reported at **X.113**.]
- X.119 [1842]:** "The Rev. Hugh M'Neile on Mesmerism", *The Liverpool Standard*, No.970, (Tuesday, 12 April 1842), p.3, col.G. [The only eye-witness account of M'Neile's (10 April) sermon. Sections of it were reprinted in a number of U.K. newspapers. See *Appendix Seven*.]
- X.120 [1842]:** Anon, "Mesmerism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.6, No.134, (16 April 1842), p.47. [**Br: 04R**] [Bramwell (1913, p.463) describes this as "[an] editorial account of two lectures delivered by Braid"; includes references to the lectures described in **X.118**.]
- X.121 [1842]:** Anon, "Lecture by Mr. Braid at Macclesfield", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.707, (Saturday, 16 April 1842), p.3, col.I. [Brief account of Braid's (13 April) Macclesfield lecture.]
- X.122 [1842]:** Anon, "Neurohypnology: Mr. Braid's Lecture at Macclesfield", *The Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser*, No.1781, (Saturday, 16 April 1842), p.3, col.A. [Braid considered this detailed, eye-witness account to be such an accurate representation of his current theories, experiments and demonstrations

as delivered at his (13 April) Macclesfield lecture that he enclosed it with his letter to M'Neile (see **B.36**). The entire text is transcribed and annotated at *Appendix Eight*.]

- X.123 [1842]:** Anon [1842], "Mr. Catlow's Experiments", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1385, (Wednesday, 20 April 1842), p.3, col.D. [Description of Catlow's second (8 April) lecture.]
- X.124 [1842]:** Anon, "To Correspondents", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1615, (Friday, 22 April 1842), p.130, col.C. [The Editor, responding to a suggestion from "A Subscriber", states that M'Neile's "devil's agency" sermon was "not worth the notice which *A Subscriber* has bestowed upon it".]
- X.125 [1842]:** Anon, "The Rev. Hugh M'Neile on Mesmerism", *The Bristol Mercury*, No.2719, (Saturday, 23 April 1842), p.6, col.D. [Brief report of M'Neile's "Satanic Agency" sermon of 10 April. Records that it lasted for a eighty minutes.]
- X.126 [1842]:** Anon, "Animal Magnetism Compared With Neurypnology", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1616, (Friday, 29 April 1842), p.138, col.D. [Brief report of Braid's 21 April lecture, to which he had invited M'Neile (see **B.36** and *Appendix Ten*), and in which he addressed all the issues that had been raised by M'Neile in his sermon.]
- X.127 [1842]:** M'Neile, H., "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism; A Sermon Preached at St Jude's Church, Liverpool, by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A., on the Evening of Sunday, April 10, 1842", *The Penny Pulpit: A Collection of Accurately-Reported Sermons by the Most Eminent Ministers of Various Denominations*, Nos.599-600, (1842), pp.141-152. [**Cr: 460**] [Published on 4 May 1842. The sermon, which attributed the effects of animal magnetism and mesmerism to Satan, and attacked both Braid and his work, had been transcribed by a stenographer present at the time. An annotated version of the published text of this sermon appears at *Appendix Nine*. Braid's response (**B.36**) was published on 4 June 1842.]
- X.128 [1842]:** Anon, "Neurypnology", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1617, (Friday, 6 May 1842), p.146, col.E. [Account of Braid's last Liverpool lecture.]
- X.129 [1842]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Lecture", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.710, (Saturday, 7 May 1842), p.3, col.B. [Extended description of Braid's (5 May) Manchester lecture.]
- X.130 [1842]:** Paul, J., "Public Notice: The Rev. H. M'Neil on Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", *The Times*, No.17978, (Monday, 9 May 1842), p.1, col.A. [Advertisement for *The Penny Pulpit* Nos. 599 and 600 (containing the text of M'Neile's sermon).]
- X.131 [1838]:** Mayo, H., *The Nervous System and its Functions*, John W. Parker, (London), 1842. [Braid cites this work (p.27) as a reference in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.64, and quotes a passage (pp.6-7) at pp.86-87.]

- X.131 [1842/1843]:** Collins, A.T., Testimonial letter, written on 11 May 1842. [Braid published the entire letter in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.258-259.]
- X.132 [1842]:** Anon, "The Rev. Mr. M'Neile and Animal Magnetism", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1619, (Friday, 20 May 1842), p.163, col.A. [Humorous description of the recent behaviour of "our eccentric townsman, the Rev. Mr. M'Neile", Strongly condemns him for his stance.]
- X.134 [1842]:** Müller, J. (Baly, W. trans), *Elements of Physiology, Volume II (Containing Ciliary motion, Muscular and the Allied Motions, Voice and Speech, Mind, Generation, and Development)*, Taylor and Walton, (London), 1842. [Johannes Peter Müller (1801-1858). Braid quotes from this volume in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.47-48, 92, 103-104.]
- X.135 [1842]:** Binns, E. [1842], *The Anatomy of Sleep; or, the Art of Procuring Sound and Refreshing Slumber at Will*, John Churchill, (London), 1842. [Aside from being an extraordinary compendium of phenomena associated with sleep — four modes of death, sleep itself, drowsiness, trance, hybernation, premature interments, capacity to endure extremes of heat and cold, dreams, somnambulism, catalepsy, fainting, asphyxia, syncope, suffocation, drowning, hanging, hallucination, monomania, mesmerism, mental phenomena, sleeplessness, arterialization, narcotism, etc. — and a wide range of other medical miscellenia, including recipes gained from the West Indies for removing tan and freckles from the face, this first edition was remarkable for an entirely different reason. It was the first book ever typeset by a mechanical compositor: the Young-Delcambre Composing Machine, designed by James Hadden Young and Adreien Delcambre (the mechanism of which was significantly improved by their friend, engineer Henry Bessemer), and patented by Young and Delcambre as a "Machine for Setting Type" (US patent no.2,139) on 22 June 1841. This item contains a complete, detailed description (pp.390-392) of the "sleep at will" procedure taught by "hypnologist" Henry Gardner, to which Braid refers on a number of occasions (e.g., *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.75-78).]
- X.136 [1842]:** Anon [1842], "Mr. Braid and the Rev. Hugh M'Neile", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1399, (Wednesday, 8 June 1842), p.4, col.B. [Review of **B.36**; noting that, "It seems that the Rev. Hugh M'Neile has published his notable sermon on the Satanic Agency, in which he has made some observations that Mr.Braid deems so offensive and injurious to himself as require a reply, and he has accordingly published a letter in answer to the sermon..."]
- X.137 [1842]:** Anon, "Literary Notices: Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed, etc.", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, Vol.32, No.1622, (Friday, 10 June 1842), p.187, col.A. [Review of **B.36**; noting that, in the 20 May report (**X.133**), "we adverted to the famous sermon on animal magnetism, principally with a view to show, on the part of the preacher, a degree of bigotry worthy of the dark ages, and a degree of ignorance hardly to be expected in a gentleman who talks so glibly of science and the laws of nature", reviewer

remarks "Mr. Braid, in this pamphlet, ...mentions circumstances which, if unexplained [by M'Neile], go far to show wilful and studied misrepresentation of Mr. Braid, his lectures, and their object on the part of the preacher', concluding that "Mr. M'Neile has displayed great ignorance and acted with much unfairness".]

X.138 [1842/1843]: Mullard, A.T., Testimonial, written on 21 June 1842. [Braid published the entire testimonial in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.201.]

X.139 [1842]: Anon, "Second Edition", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.717, (Saturday, 25 June 1842), p.2, col.D. [Brief news item reporting the last minute rejection of Braid's paper by the Medical Section of the British Association that morning.]

X.140 [1842]: Anon, "[Editorial Comment on the Rejection of Mr. Braid's Paper by the Medical Section of the B.A.A.S.]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.717, (Saturday, 25 June 1842), p.2, col.D. [Strongly supportive of Braid, condemns the actions of the B.A.A.S. Suggests the most likely reason for the "extraordinary circumstances under which Mr. Braid's paper has been returned to him" was the "professional jealousy" of his Manchester colleagues who had influence over the Medical Section committee.]

X.141 [1842]: Anon, "British Association for the Advancement of Science", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1625, (Friday, 1 July 1842), p.207, col.A. [Records "a paper sent to the medical section, entitled "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*, by James Braid", was rejected by the committee as unsuitable, and that under circumstances of great discourtesy, which has led to the publication of an indignant protest on the part of Mr. Braid".]

X.142 [1842]: Anon, "Extraordinary Conduct of the Medical Section Towards Mr. Braid", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.718, (Saturday, 2 July 1842), p.3, col.D. [Reprints news item **X.140** and Braid's letter (**B.39**). Once again, "expressing our fear that the rejection of Mr. Braid's paper by the medical section of the British Association was in some measure the result of jealousy on the part of his professional brethren", describes the highly successful *conversazione* conducted by Braid on 29 June, detailing his lecture, his experiments, and lists the names of many of the eminent figures amongst the audience (which at its peak neared 1,000). Reports that not only did his opponents reject his paper, but they also tore down the placards he had erected in the various Section Rooms advertising the time and place of his *conversazione*.]

X.143 [1842/1843]: Atkinson, A.T., Testimonial letter, written on 4 July 1842. [Braid published the entire letter in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.220-223.]

X.144 [1842]: Anon, "Correspondence: Notices to Correspondents", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1406, (Saturday, 2 July 1842), p.3, col.H. ["Our columns, this week, are too much occupied to insert the communication of J.B.". Because there is nothing in the next few

issues (articles, correspondence, or advertisements) from a "J.B.", one can only assume that the "J.B." was James Braid, and that the newspaper (and Braid) were of the opinion that the matters he had wanted to raise were adequately dealt with by the publication of X.145.]

X.145 [1842]: Anon, "Mr. Keenan's Lecture on the Lungs", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1407, (Wednesday, 6 July 1842), p.3, col.B. [Contains details of heated discussion during the delivery of a lecture on 4 July involving Braid, Catlow, and Dunn (the chairman at the lecture) relating to the exclusion of Braid's B.A.A.S. paper.]

X.146 [1842]: Anon, "Correspondence: Notices to Correspondents", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1408, (Saturday, 9 July 1842), p.3, col.H. [Contains correction to statement attributed to Dunn in X.145; viz., he was speaking about newspapers in general, rather than *The Manchester Guardian*, in particular, as had appeared in the earlier report.]

X.147 [1842]: Anon, "Salford Mechanics' Institution", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.720, (Saturday, 16 July 1842), p.2, col.F. [Eye-witness account of the extreme animosity towards Braid that Catlow expressed during his 12 July lecture at Salford — which Braid did not attend.]

X.148 [1842]: Brown, T., "To the Editors of the Manchester Times", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.721, (Saturday, 23 July 1842), p.4, col.C. [Written by Captain Brown, accompanied by a supporting letter from John Roby, addresses the behaviour, conduct, and veracity of Catlow at two recent lectures given by Braid.]

X.149 [1842]: Dunn, P.G., "Advertisement: Neurohypnology Unmasked", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1417, (Saturday, 6 August 1842), p.1, col.B; *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.723, (Saturday, 6 August 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announcing lectures by Dunn challenging Braid's claims of cure, with certain of Braid's "cured" patients present at the lectures, on 9 and 11 August 1842.]

X.150 [1842]: Franklin, I.A., "Advertisement: Neurohypnology", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.724, (Saturday, 13 August 1842), p.1, col.A. [Announcing that, at the close of Dunn's 11 August 1842 lecture, "it was moved, seconded, and carried but with three dissentients", that: "this meeting is of the opinion that Mr. Dunn has fully substantiated the cases which have been this evening investigated and brought forward in refutation of Mr. Braid's *alleged* cures; and that the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Dunn for his able exertions therein."]

X.151 [1842]: Dunn, P.G., "Advertisement: "Neurohypnology" [Letter to the Editor, written on 16 August 1842]", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1420, (Wednesday, 17 August 1842), p.4 col.H. [Inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Accuses Braid of being a self-promoting quack, and accuses both Braid's servant and Captain Brown of lying, and

accuses Braid of falsely claiming particular cures. Concludes by asserting that his (Dunn's) recent lectures were the "antidote" to the "poison" administered to the public by Braid.]

- X.152 [1842]:** Brown, T., "Advertisement: To the Editors of the Manchester Times [written on 26 August 1842]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.726, (Saturday, 27 August 1842), p.4, col.D. [Letter, inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Complains of both Dunn and Catlow's behaviour towards Braid.]
- X.153 [1842]:** Stubbs, A., "Meeting of the British Association at Manchester", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, Vol.26, No.153, (September 1842), pp.361-376. [Account of the treatment of Braid (pp.375-376) at the B.A.A.S. meeting. Stubbs, an eye-witness, was "much disgusted with the behaviour of several [of Braid's professional brethren] who seemed determined not to allow him a proper hearing" (see also **X.140** and **X.142**).]
- X.154 [1842]:** Dunn, P.G., "Advertisement: "Neurohypnology", and the Gallant Captain Brown! To the Editors of the Manchester Times [written on 2 September 1842]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.727, (Saturday, 3 September 1842), p.4, col.F. [Letter, inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Main claim is that Brown's recent letter (**X.152**) was, in fact, written by Braid and submitted under Brown's name.]
- X.155 [1842]:** Dunn, P.G., "Advertisement: "Neurypnology", and the Gallant Captain Brown!! To the Editors of the Manchester Guardian [written on 2 September 1842]", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1425, (Saturday, 3 September 1842), p.4, col.D. [Letter, inserted as an advertisement to ensure publication. Content is identical to **X.154**; however, unlike **X.154**, which follows **B.44**, this item precedes **B.45**.]
- X.156 [1842]:** Curtis, J.H., "On the Cure of the Deaf and Dumb [Letter to the Editor written on 17 September 1842]", Vol.30, No.773, *The London Medical Gazette*, No.1425, (Friday, 23 September 1842), pp.981-983. [As with most items connected with Curtis, this letter was almost certainly written by some other individual on Curtis' behalf. John Harrison Curtis (1784-1852) was a very controversial figure. At one stage he was very rich, then he was destitute for the remainder of his life. He died insane. Trained as a naval surgeon, he promoted himself as "eminent aurist". Braid quotes from this letter in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.184-184.]
- X.157 [1843]:** Wakley, T., "Editorial", *The Lancet*, Vol.39, No.1014, (4 February 1843), pp.685-688. [Braid quotes the section dealing with mesmerism (p.686) in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.33.]
- X.158 [1843]:** Falkner, G., "Phreno-Magnetism [Letter to the Editor]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.752, (Saturday, 4 March 1843), p.2, col.D. [Letter from George Falkner, editor of *Bradshaw's Journal*, and avid phreno-mesmerist. Evidence of Braid experimenting with Phreno-mesmerism in 1843.]

- X.159 [1843]:** Ramsay, G., *An Enquiry into the Principles of Human Happiness and Human Duty: In Two Books*, William Pickering, (London), 1843. [Braid cites this work in his *Neurypnology* (1843), p.95.]
- X.160 [1843]:** Anon, "Phreno-Magnetism", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.1478, (Wednesday, 8 March 1843), p.5, col.E. [Description of lecture given by Spencer T. Hall, includes an erroneous mention of Braid (who attended the lecture in person). See also **B.48**.]
- X.161 [1843/1842]:** Elliotson, J., "[Letter to W.C. Engledue on Mesmeric Phrenology and Materialism written on 1 September 1842]", pp.27-32 in Engledue, W.C., *Cerebral Physiology and Materialism, with the Result of the Application of Animal Magnetism to the Cerebral Organs: An Address delivered to the Phrenological Association in London, June 20, 1842, by W. C. Engledue, M.D.; With a Letter from Dr Elliotson, On Mesmeric Phrenology and Materialism*, J. Watson, (London), 1843. [This is the "published letter" from Elliotson which Braid quotes in his *Neurypnology* (1843), pp.98-99; Braid, mistakenly, gives it date as 11 September.]
- X.162 [1843]:** Radford, J., "Public Notice [Election of a Surgeon]", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, Vol.14, No.761, (Saturday, 6 May 1843), p.1, col.B. [Joshua Radford, Secretary to the Board of Trustees of *The Manchester Royal Infirmary, Dispensary, Lunatic Hospital, or Asylum*, announces an election to fill the vacant position of surgeon would be held on 18 May. Braid was originally an applicant. He withdrew his application when he realized that he had no chance of realizing a majority of votes (see **B.49a**, **B.49b**, **B.49c**, **B.49d**, **B.49e**, **B.50a**, and **B.50b**).]
- X.163 [1843]:** Anon, "Manchester Royal Infirmary: The Election of a Surgeon", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1499, (Saturday, 20 May 1843), p.4, col.F. [Unequivocally states that Braid was well qualified for the position.]
- X.164a, X.164b, X.164c [1843]:** John Churchill; Adam and Charles Black, "Publications: Mesmeric Sleep", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.770, (Saturday, 8 July 1843), p.8, col.A; "Publications: Mesmeric Sleep", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.771, (Saturday, 15 July 1843), p.8, col.B; *The [London] Examiner*, No.1857, (Saturday, 2 September 1843), p.560, col.B. [The first advertisements for *Neurypnology*.]
- X.165 [1843]:** Carpenter, W.B., "Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor, written on 8 June 1843]", *The Bristol Mercury, Western Counties, Monmouthshire, and South Wales Advertiser*, No.2788, (Saturday, 17 June 1843), p.6, col.A. [Signed "An Inquirer" (Carpenter was later identified as author). The letter speaks of recent demonstrations of mesmerism in Bristol by a Mr. Brookes — with Carpenter ("I wish it to be distinctly understood... that I am not an advocate for Mesmerism") arguing for a careful, scientific examination of the entire matter. It is noted for a oft-quoted passage: "I may commence by remarking that there is a very natural dislike, on the part of medical men — on whom, as a branch of physiology, this

subject [sc. Mesmerism] has a natural claim for attention —to enter upon an examination of it. So long as public opinion is such that to uphold Mesmerism is to expose oneself to the imputation of being either credulous or unprincipled, it cannot be expected that those who depend for their livelihood on the estimation in which they are held should be very ready to place themselves in the way of thus "losing caste" among their brethren and the public."]

- X.166 [1843]:** Shea, D. & Troyer, A., *The Dabistán; or, School of Manners, Translated from the Original Persian, with Notes and Illustrations by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, in Three Volumes*, Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, (London), 1843. [Braid said this item *plus* **X.6** (and, to a lesser extent, **X.177**) made a significant contribution to his later, more developed views as expressed in both **B.63a-g** and **B.94**.]
- X.167 [1843]:** Anon, "*Neurypnology; or, The Rationale of Nervous Sleep, Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism*. By James Braid's [Book Review]", *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol.10, No.66, (August 1843), pp.540-541. [Caustic review: "The author of this book with the queer name, appears to be a medical practitioner in Manchester. He imagines that, while studying the phenomena of *Animal Magnetism*, in which he does not believe, he has discovered the real cause of the Mesmeric trance..." , etc.]
- X.168 [1843]:** Anon, "Literary Notices: *Neurypnology...*", *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1688, (Friday, 15 September 1843), p.2, col.C. [Short favourable review by a reviewer with private knowledge of the clinical efficacy of Braid's techniques.]
- X.169 [1843]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid's Work on Hypnotism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.780, (Saturday, 16 September 1843), p.6, col.B. [Short favourable review, by a reviewer who has seen Braid work on numerous occasions. He defends Braid against the misrepresentations of his character, work and theories that appeared in **X.167**.]
- X.170 [1844]:** A Subscriber, "Question in Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.9, No.232, (2 March 1844), pp.392. [Addresses two questions to Braid through the journal: (a) if an imbecile is hypnotized, would "his mind exhibit a lucidity which would appear to be independent of organic structure in the brain"? and (b) "what is the effect of nitrous oxide on persons in the hypnotic state"? Braid's response is at **B.56a** and **B.56b**.]
- X.171 [1844]:** Anon, "*Neurypnology; or, the Rationale of Nervous Sleep Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism* [Book Review]", *The Critic of Literature, Art, Science, and the Drama*, Vol.1, No.6, (April 1844), pp.131-133. [Lengthy, sympathetic review.]
- X.172 [1844]:** Royal Manchester Institution, "Public Notice: *Coversazioni*", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1592, (Wednesday, 10 April 1844), p.1, col.A; No.1593, (Saturday, 13 April 1844), p.1, col.B; No.1595, (Saturday, 20 April 1844), p.1, col.A. [Notice of several *converazioni*, including Braid's "Hypnotism" on 22 April.]

- X.173 [1844]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid at the Royal Institute -- Conversazione on Hypnotism", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.812, (Saturday, 27 April 1844), p.6, col.E, p.7, col.A. [Description of Braid's 22 April *conversazione*. Includes Braid first detailed explanation of his "sources of fallacy" (see *Appendix Twelve*).]
- X.174 [1844]:** Anon, "Manchester Royal Institution Coversazione: Mr. Braid on Hypnotism", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1598, (Wednesday, 1 May 1844), p.6, col.B. [Another description of Braid's 22 April *conversazione*.]
- X.175 [1844]:** S., "Hypnotism, or Mr. Braid's Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.10, No.241, (4 May 1844), p.98. [**Br: 05R**] [Prompted by the first instalment of Braid's two-part article (**B.56a**), praising Braid for his work to date in distinguishing hypnotism from animal magnetism.]
- X.176 [1844]:** Anon, "Conversazione on "Hypnotism" -- At the Royal Manchester Institution", *The Medical Times*, Vol.10, No.243, (18 May 1844), pp.137-139. [**Br: 06R**] [Another description of Braid's 22 April *conversazione*.]
- X.177 [1844]:** A Retired East India Surgeon (pseud.), "Practice of Hindoo Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor, written on 24 June 1844]", *The Medical Times*, Vol.10, No.250, (6 July 1844), pp.292-293. [Braid always said **X.16 plus X.166**, (and, to a lesser extent, this article) made a significant contribution to his later, more developed views as expressed in both **B.63a-g** and **B.94**.]
- X.178 [1844]:** R.S.S., "Animal Magnetism and Neurhypnotism [sic]", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, Vol.29, No.174, (June 1844), pp.681-699; *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, Vol.3, No.1, (September 1844), pp.71-86. [Extensive review of Colquhoun's *Isis Revelata* (**X.30**) and Braid's *Neurypnology* (1843).]
- X.179 [1844]:** Simpson, J., "Letter from Mr. Simpson on Hypnotism, and Mr Braid's Theory of Phreno-Mesmeric Manifestations", *The Phrenological Journal, and Magazine of Moral Science*, Vol.17, No.80, (July 1844), pp.260-272. [Describes Simpson's experience of visiting Braid at Manchester, observing Braid at work in his own practice using neuro-hypnotism, and discussing their various points of view. See also **B.58**.]
- X.180 [1844]:** Anon, "Funeral of the Late Dr. Dalton", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1628, (Wednesday, 14 August 1844), p.6, col.A. [Report of funeral of the eminent Manchester scientist, John Dalton. Records that Braid travelled in the cortege in his own carriage.]
- X.181a, X.181b, X.181c, X.181d, X.181e, X.181f, X.181g, X.181h, X.181i, X.181j, X.181k, X.181l, X.181m, X.181n [1845]:** Hall, C.R., "On the Rise, Progress, and Mysteries of Mesmerism in All Ages and Countries: No.I", *The Lancet*, Vol.45, No.1118, (1 February 1845), pp.112-118; "No.II", No.1119, (8 February 1845), pp.149-152; "No.II (Continued)", No.1120, (15 February 1845), pp.179-182; "No.III", No.1121, (22 February 1845), pp.206-208; "No.III (Continued)",

No.1122, (1 March 1845), pp.233-236; "No.IV", No.1123, (8 March 1845), pp.256-259; "No.IV (Continued)", No.1124, (15 March 1845), pp.281-283; "No.V", No.1125, (22 March 1845), pp.309-312; "No.V (Continued)", No.1126, (29 March 1845), pp.345-347; "No.VI", No.1127, (5 April 1845), pp.369-372; "No.VII", No.1128, (12 April 1845), pp.403-406; "No.VIII", No.1129, (19 April 1845), pp.435-437; "No.IX", No.1130, (26 April 1845), pp.459-462; "No.X", No.1131, (3 May 1845), pp.493-495. [Series of thirteen articles completed in late 1844, later published as a single work (**X.188**), written by Charles Radclyffe Hall (he became President of the British Medical Association in 1860). Best understood as a "literature survey" of the *status quo* at the time of the complete emergence of *hypnotism* as we understand it today, and its practical and theoretical separation from the techniques of mesmerism and the theories of animal magnetism. Hall had personally seen Lafontaine and Braid at work.]

X.182 [1845]: Anon, "Journal of Mesmerism", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.18, (3 May 1845), pp.17-19. [Announcing that *The Critic* would, henceforward, regularly contain a section specifically devoted to mesmerism; also announcing *The Critic's* promotion of "The Society for the Investigation of Mesmerism", which, at that time had sixteen "town members" and nine "country members".]

X.183 [1845]: Holbrook, W., "Mr. Braid, Mr. Spencer T. Hall, and Mesmerism [Letter to the Editor]", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.22, (31 May 1845), p.104. [Braid was certain that "William Holbrook" was a *nom de guerre*. Written by someone who had seen both Hall and Braid at work, the letter is highly critical of Braid. Accuses Braid of attending Lafontaine's demonstrations with a closed mind.]

X.184 [1845]: E.A.A., "Mr. Braid's Theory", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.24, (14 June 1845), p.146. [Describes certain experiences and reports of mesmerized subjects that seem at odds with Braid's explanations.]

X.185 [1845]: R.S.S., "Animal Magnetism and Neurhypnotism [sic]; Glimpse the Second: Throwing a Few Rays of Light upon Witchcraft, Demonology, &c.", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, Vol.32, No.187, (July 1845), pp.1-19. [Essay review of (a) Forbes' *Mesmerism True—Mesmerism False*, (b) Colquhoun's *Seven Lectures on Somnambulism*, (c) Braid's *Magic, Mesmerism, Hypnotism, &c.*, (d) Shea and Troyer's *Dabistán*, Ward's *View of the the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, and (e) Pott's *Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (of 1615).]

X.186 [1845]: Hall, S.T., "Mr. Braid, Mr. Holbrook, and Mr. Hall [Letter to the Editor]", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.2, No.27, (5 July 1845), p.206. [Attack on Braid. Braid's response is at **B.70**].

X.187 [1845]: "[Announcement]", *The Critic*, Vol.2, No.32, (9 August 1845), p.308. [*The Critic* will no longer publish letters from Braid or Hall, because "correspondence of this nature neither forwards our knowledge of Mesmerism, nor can be amusing to our readers".]

- X.188 [1845]:** Hall, C.R., *Mesmerism: Its Rise, Progress, and Mysteries, in All Ages and Countries. Being a Critical Enquiry into its Assumed Merits, and History of its Mock Marvels, Hallucinations and Frauds*, Burgess, Stringer and Company, (New York) 1845. [**X.181a**, **X.181b**, **X.181c**, **X.181d**, **X.181e**, **X.181f**, **X.181g**, **X.181h**, **X.181i**, **X.181j**, **X.181k**, **X.181l**, **X.181m**, and **X.181n** combined in one volume.]
- X.189a, X.189b [1845/1846]:** Elliotson, J., "Case of Contracted Foot with severe Pain, cured with Mesmerism", *The Zoist*, Vol.3, No.11, (October 1845), pp.339-379; No.12, (January 1846), pp.446-485. [**Br: 17R**] [Bramwell describes this as "article by Elliotson, referring to Braid" (1913, p.464). Braid's response is at **B.73a**, **B.73b**, and **B.73c**.]
- X.190 [1845]:** Anon, "Dr. Elliotson and Mr. Braid", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.890, (Saturday, 8 November 1845), p.6, col.D. [Contains extracts from Braid's letter to *The Medical Times* (**B.73a**).]
- X.191 [1845]:** Anon, "Dr. Elliotson and Mr. Braid", *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No.891, (Saturday, 15 November 1845), p.6, col.A. [Contains extracts from Braid's letters to *The Medical Times* (**B.73a**, **B.73b**, and **B.73c**).]
- X.192 [1846]:** Anon, "Manchester Natural History Society", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1783, (Saturday, 7 February 1846), p.9, col.E. [Records that Braid had donated a "a snake and a lizard from Africa" to the Manchester Natural History Society during the preceding year.]
- X.193 [1846]:** Anon, "Unfounded Suspicion", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1794, (Wednesday, 18 March 1846), p.5, col.C. [Record of Braid being consulted in the case of the suspicious death of a six year old girl, and initially Braid having the view that the death (from convulsions) was suspicious, and then, removing the suspicion from the accused (a household servant, who had been taken into police custody on the strength of Braid's initial view) when his own *post mortem* examination indicated that the girl's death was from natural causes.]
- X.194 [1845]:** Anon, "Extraordinary Faculties: Professor Rabbi Dannemark", *The Manchester Times*, Vol.17, No.934 (Friday, 11 September 1846), p.3, col.A. [Reprint of *Manchester Courier* (date unknown) account of Braid's testing of Hungarian Professor Rabbi Dannemark's supposed clairvoyance at a public exhibition on Monday, 7 September 1846.]
- X.195 [1846]:** Anon, "Extraordinary Faculties", *The Critic: Journal of British & Foreign Literature and the Arts*, Vol.4, No.90, (19 September 1846), pp.357-358. [Taken from the *Manchester Courier* account of Braid's testing of Dannemark.]
- X.196 [1846]:** Anon, "Lord Morpeth", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1858, (Wednesday, 28 October 1846), p.4, col.F. [Account of visit to Braid's home on 22 October 1846 of George William Frederick Howard (1802-1864), Viscount Morpeth, member of Parliament for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and later the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ("[who] was much interested in witnessing some striking instances of mesmeric influences exhibited to him by Mr.

Braid") and Sir Benjamin Heywood, F.R.S. (1793-1865), a founder of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, William Gregory, M.D., F.R.S.E. (1803-1858), Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh University, author of *Letters to a Candid Inquirer on Animal Magnetism* (1851).]

- X.197 [1846]:** Anon, "Magical Effects of a Portmanteau Key", *The London Journal, and Weekly Record of Literature, Science, and Art*, Vol.4, No.96, (26 December 1846), p.255. [A report based on the account in **B.77**.]
- X.198 [1847]:** Anon, "Application of Sulphuric Ether in Surgical Operations", *The Manchester Examiner*, Vol.2, No.57, (Saturday, 6 February 1847), p.5, col.B. [Report by James Bower Harrison (1814-1890), M.R.C.S.E. of first Manchester operation using inhalation ether as an anæsthetic on 31 January 1847. Operation performed by surgeon Thomas Turner (1793-1873), on behalf of physician James Lomax Bardsley (1801-1876). Ether was administered by surgeon George Bowring (1818-1902) using the apparatus of Boott and Robinson. The report notes: "the influence of the ether lasted four minutes and a half".]
- X.199 [1847]:** Anon, "Removal of a Cancerous Breast Without Pain", *The Manchester Times*, Vol.18, No.956, (Friday, 12 February 1847), p.5, col.B. [Implies this was not the first ether operation for Braid. Also reports he was already testing his patients prior to surgery: "the judicious precautions used by Mr. Braid, on this and other occasions of testing the effects of ether once or oftener before the day of operation, so as to ascertain precisely how far the influence requires to be carried out in each individual case... is a precaution which we can easily perceive is of the utmost benefit both to operator and patient, as the ether is found to affect the patient very differently both as respects the nature and extent of its influence".]
- X.200 [1847]:** Anon, "Removal of a Cancerous Breast Without Pain", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1889, (Saturday, 13 February 1847), p.7, col.E. [Report of Braid's 9 February surgery.]
- X.201 [1847]:** Anon, "Painless Surgical Operations", *Weekly Supplement to The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, No.1868, (Friday, 19 February 1847), p.6, col.B. ["Last week, Mr. James Braid, surgeon, Manchester, removed the cancerous breast of a lady, under the influence of ether, without her manifesting any symptom of pain".]
- X.202 [1847]:** Anon, "Bank of Manchester", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1891, (Saturday, 20 February 1847), p.3, col.A. [Notice from the "Registrar of Bank Returns", in relation to *The Bank of Manchester*, listing "James Braid, Manchester, surgeon" as one of the "persons of whom the company... consists".]
- X.203 [1847]:** Anon, "Fatal Effects of Ether: Coroner's Inquest", *The Times*, No.19501, (Friday, 19 March 1847), p.8, col.F, p.9, col.A. [Mrs Ann Parkinson, aged 21, died of the effects of ether poisoning on 11 March 1847, 40 hours after the application of ether to facilitate the painless surgical removal of a malignant tumour from her left thigh; see also **B.80**.]

- X.204 [1847]:** Anon, "Fatal Effects of Ether: Coroner's Inquest", *The Medical Times*, Vol.16, No.391, (27 March 1847), pp.105-106. [Account of the Parkinson case; see also **B.80.**]
- X.205 [1847]:** Lafontaine, C., *L'art de magnétiser: ou, Le magnetisme animal considéré sous le point de vue théorique, pratique et thérapeutique*, Germer Baillière, (Paris), 1847. [**Br: 552**] ["The Art of Magnetizing: or, Animal Magnetism Considered from a Theoretical, Practical, and Therapeutic Point of View": as part of Lafontaine's fanciful accounts of his time in England, he speaks briefly of Braid (pp.258-263), and of the sermon preached by "Mac Neil" (p.354) (see also **X.290**)]
- X.206 [1847]:** Anon, "Jenny Lind at the Manufacturing Establishments", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1947, (Saturday, 4 September 1847), p.7, col.C. [Brief report of Jenny Lind's^t movements on 31 August. Amongst other places, she visited "the phrenological gallery of Mr. Bally", as well as "a *séance* at Mr. Braid's".]
- X.207 [1847]:** Anon, "Jenny Lind and the Hypnotic Somnambulist", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1948, (Wednesday, 8 September 1847), p.5, col.F. [Drawing attention to Lind's famous portrayal of the heroine of Bellini's opera *La sonnambula*, this report of her attending a private *séance* at Braid's on 3 September, remarks that "Mr. Braid, surgeon, whose discoveries in hypnotism are well known, having invited the fair impersonator of a somnambulist to witness some of the abnormal feats of a real somnambulist, artificially thrown into that state". The report includes **X.208.**]
- X.208 [1847]:** "R", "[Mr. Braid's *Séance* [Letter to the Editor, written on 6 September 1847]", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1948, (Wednesday, 8 September 1847), p.5, col.F. [Appended to **X.207**, gives a detailed description of Braid's *séance* written by one of those present]
- X.209 [1847]:** Anon, "Jenny Lind and the Manchester Somnambulists", *Newcastle Courant*, No.9015, (Saturday, 17 September 1847), p.2, col.E.
- X.210 [1847]:** Anon, "Jenny Lind and Hypnotism", *The Medical Times*, Vol.16, No.416, (18 September 1847), p.602. [**Br: 07R**]
- X.211 [1847]:** Anon, "Jenny Lind and Mesmerism", *The Lady's Newspaper*, No.39, (Saturday, 25 September 1847) p.294, col.A. [Braid clarified particular ambiguities in this report, and supplied some further information at **B.81.**]
- X.212 [1847]:** Storer, H., "Jenny Lind and the Somnambulist", *The Critic: A Journal for Readers, Authors, and Publishers*, Vol.6, No.145, (9 October 1847), pp.238. [Introducing a Letter from Braid to Henry Storer, written on 28 September 1847 (**B.82.**)]
- X.213 [1848]:** Anon, "Manchester Natural History Society", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1991, (Saturday, 5 February 1848), p.10, col.A. [Records Braid donated a "specimen of a chameleon" to the Manchester Natural History Society during 1847.]

- X.214 [1848]:** Anon, "Bank of Manchester", *Manchester Guardian*, No.1991, (Saturday, 5 February 1848), p.11, col.F. [Notice from the "Registrar of Bank Returns", in relation to *The Bank of Manchester*, listing "James Braid, Manchester, surgeon" as one of the "persons of whom the company... consists".]
- X.215 [1849]:** Anon, "Bank of Manchester", *Manchester Guardian*, No.2097, (Saturday, 10 February 1849), p.8, col.E. [Notice from the "Registrar of Bank Returns", in relation to *The Bank of Manchester*, listing "James Braid, Manchester, surgeon" as one of the "persons of whom the company... consists".]
- X.216a, X.216b, X.216c, X.216d [1849]:** Tyler, A., "A Course of Lectures on Practical Obstetrics", *The British Record of Obstetric Medicine and Surgery*, Vol.2, (1849), pp.1-8, 25-33, 61-69, 89-100, 113-116. [Strongly advocates the "application of anæsthetic agents for the purpose of annulling the pains of labour", and fiercely dismisses mesmerism as "arrant humbug" (particularly so in **X.216a**). Braid's response is at **B.88**.]
- X.217 [1849]:** Tyler, A., "Dr. Tyler's Reply to Mr. Braid [Written February 1849]", *The British Record of Obstetric Medicine and Surgery*, Vol.2, (1849), pp.84-86. [Response to Braid's **B.88**.]
- X.218 [1849]:** Anon, "The Scotch Church, St. Peter's Square — Induction", *Manchester Guardian*, No.2187, (Saturday, 22 December 1849), p.8, col.E. [Reports Braid was one of the sixteen most important of "between 50 and 60 gentlemen" who attended an afternoon "collation" to celebrate the induction of the new incumbent of the Scotch Church earlier that morning. The guest included Braid, his friend Captain Thomas Brown, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the moderator of the presbytery of England.]
- X.219 [1850]:** von Reichenbach, K. (Gregory, W. trans.), *Researches on Magnetism, Electricity, Heat, Light, Crystallization, and Chemical Attraction, in Relation to the Vital Force, by Baron Karl Von Reichenbach, Ph.Dr., Parts I and II*, Taylor, Walton, and Maberly, (London), 1850. [**Br: 18R** [**Cr: 583**]]
- X.220 [1850]:** Anon, "Mr. Braid on Trance or Human Hybernation. The Zoo-thapsis of the Faquirs", *The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.74, No.185, (1 October 1850), pp.421-443. [**Br: 14R**] [*Zoo-thapsis* = lit. "buried alive".] Wink (1969, p.iii) gives sequential number [**Wi: 35**], having apparently (a) mistaken this anonymous book review (which quotes large slabs of Braid's text) for Braid's original text, and (b) mistakenly attributed its authorship to Braid. (At the review's head is: *Observations on Trance; or, Human Hybernation*, by James Braid, M.R.C.S., Edinburgh, C.M.W.S., &c. &c. London and Edinburgh, 1850. pp.72.) Bramwell (1913, p464) describes this as "a critical article on Braid's "Observations on Trance; or, Human Hybernation"".]
- X.221 [1851]:** Anon, "Royal Institution Conversazione: Mr. Braid on Electro-Biology", *Manchester Guardian*, No.2319, (Saturday, 29 March 1851), p.7, col.D. [Account of Braid's delivery of a

paper, "Electro-Biological Phenomena Physiologically and Psychologically Considered", at the Royal Institution, Manchester, March 26, 1851. Later published as **B.91**.]

X.222 [1851]: Bennett, J.H., *The Mesmeric Mania of 1851, With a Physiological Explanation of the Phenomena Produced*, Sutherland and Knox, (Edinburgh), 1851. [**Cr: 606**] [In two parts: (a) a proposed physiological explanation for animal magnetism, and (b) a lecture on issues that were raised by the craze for mesmerism that swept Edinburgh in late 1850/early 1851. Mentions Braid and his work favourably. Parts of the 'lecture' re-appear in the text of **X.253**. It is unclear whether Bennett[†] ever delivered this 'lecture' to a live audience.]

X.223 [1851]: Anon, "Abstract of a Lecture on Electro-Biology, delivered at the Royal Institution, Manchester, on the 26th March 1851. By James Braid, M.R.C.S., Edinburgh, C.M.W.S., &c. &c.", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.76, No.188, (1 July 1851), pp.239-248. [**Br: 15R**] [Another account of Braid's delivery of a paper, "Electro-Biological Phenomena Physiologically and Psychologically Considered", at the Royal Institution, Manchester, March 26, 1851 (Later published as **B.91**). Contains a detailed description of Braid's presentation, including a number of additional remarks by individuals who had (otherwise) seen Braid in action. Also reports that Catlow, who now seems to be on Braid's side, "propose[d] a vote of thanks to Mr. Braid for his paper" (p.248).]

X.224 [1851]: Dods J.B. (Darling, H.G. ed), *Electrical-Psychology: or the Electrical Philosophy Of Mental Impressions, Including a New Philosophy of Sleep and of Consciousness, from the Works of Rev. J.B. Dods and Prof J.S. Grimes, Revised and Edited by H.G. Darling*, John Griffin and Company, (London), 1851. [**Br: 22R**] [Bramwell (p.464), mistakenly, lists this as *Electrical Psychology* (two words).]

X.225 [1851]: Colquhoun, J.C. [1851], *An History of Magic, Witchcraft, and Animal Magnetism*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, (London), 1851. [Generated a lengthy rejoinder from Braid in the form of **B.94**.]

X.226 [1851]: Laycock, T., "Odyle, Mesmerism, Electro-Biology, &c.", *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*, Vol.8, No.16, (October 1851), pp.378-431. [**Br: 19R**] [Boardman (**X.219**, p.13, p.169), incorrectly attributes authorship to Braid; perhaps because the journal's index (p.563) shows "Braid, Mr., on electro-biology" (the prevailing custom of the day was that *all* review articles were anonymous). Thomas Laycock[†] (1860, p.54) identifies this review as "my paper"; and, on p.474, records he had been invited to contribute by the Journal's editor, W.B. Carpenter. Bramwell (1913, p.464), without identifying the author, describes this review as "an article on Mesmerism, Magnetism, and Hypnotism, with favourable reference to Braid and his views". The article reviews six works: Reichenbach's *Researches on Magnetism, Electricity, Heat, Light, Crystallisation, and Chemical Attraction, in their Relations to the Vital Force* (1850), Gregory's *Letters to a Candid Inquirer on Animal Magnetism* (1851), Mayo's *On the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions; with an Account of Mesmerism* (1851),

Wood's *What is Mesmerism? An Attempt to explain its Phenomena on the admitted Principles of Physiological and Psychological Science* (1851), Bennett's *The Mesmeric Mania of 1851* (1851), and Braid's *Electro-Biological Phenomena Physiologically and Psychologically considered* (1851).]

- X.227 [1851]:** Wilkinson, J.J.G., *The Human Body and Its Connexion with Man, Illustrated by the Principal Organs*, Chapman and Hall, (London), 1851. [Contains a passage, written by Wilkinson (pp.472-481) that Braid described (**B.98**) as "a beautiful description of [my system of] hypnotism".]
- X.228 [1851]:** Gregory, W., "Letter IX", pp.151-168 in Gregory, W., *Letters To A Candid Inquirer On Animal Magnetism*, Blanchard and Lea, (Philadelphia), 1851. [**Cr: 617**] [Contains Gregory's personal observations of Braid at work.]
- X.229 [1851]:** Esdaile, W., "[Letter to James Braid, written in October 1851]", quoted by Braid at (**B.94**), pp.78-80. [Braid had sent "some of my publications" to Esdaile. Esdaile wrote back to Braid in October 1851, informing Braid that (a) he had already read *Neurypnology* some time ago, and (b) he would not delay replying until he had read all that Braid had sent him. Most of Esdaile's letter is a summary of his experience in India. This is the only recorded interaction between the two men.]
- X.230 [1852]:** Carpenter, W.B., "On the Influence of Suggestion in Modifying and directing Muscular Movement, independently of Volition", *Royal Institution of Great Britain, (Proceedings)*, 1852 (12 March 1852), pp.147-153. [Introduces concept of an "ideo-motor principle of action", based on observations of Braid's demonstrations of "hypnotism".]
- X.231 [1852]:** Anon, "Manchester Free Library — General Committee", *Manchester Guardian*, No.2463, (Saturday, 14 August 1852), p.6, col.E. [Reports that Braid donated "five tracts on medical and philosophical subjects" to the library.]
- X.232 [1852]:** Carpenter, W.B., "Sleep", pp.677-697 in Todd, R.B. (ed), *The Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology: Vol.IV (PLA—WRI)*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, (London), 1852. [Azam (see **X.269**) consulted this work for its (English language) description (pp.695-697) of Braid's technique. Braid's 1843 text, *Neurypnology*, would have been extremely hard to obtain in France in 1859.]
- X.233 [1853]:** *The Lancet* [1853], "Braid, James", p.200 in *The Lancet, The British Medical Directory for England, Scotland, and Wales for 1853*, The British Medical Directory Office, (London), 1853. [First edition of this directory. Lists Braid as one of (in the view of *The Lancet*) "the Legally-authorized Practitioners resident in England, Scotland, and Wales".]
- X.234 [1853]:** Noble, D., *Elements of Psychological Medicine: An Introduction to the Practical Study of Insanity Adapted for Students and Junior Practitioners*, John Churchill, (London), 1853. [At p.71 argues Carpenter's "ideo-motor" was far too narrow a term. Suggests "ideo-dynamic" is far better because it could be applied to a "far wider range of phenomena". This convinced

Braid to amend his own terminology from Carpenter's *ideo-motor* to Noble's *ideo-dynamic*: as in Braid's "*mono-ideo-dynamic* action of the muscles" (**B.108**, p.120).]

- X.235 [1853]:** Royal Manchester Institution, "Public Notices: Lectures", *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, Vol.5, No.459, (Saturday, 26 March 1853), p.1, col.A. [Announcing "Course of Six Lectures, "On the physiology of the nervous system"... [by] Dr. W. B. Carpenter..." to be given on 28 March, and 1, 4, 8, 11, and 15 April 1853 at the Royal Manchester Institution.]
- X.236 [1853]:** Anon, "Table Turning at the Athenæum", *Manchester Examiner and Times*, No.479, (Saturday, 4 June 1853), p.5, col.D. [Account of a set of experiments and demonstrations, conducted by the members of a committee appointed by the Manchester Athenæum, into "table turning". Braid — identified in the newspaper as "Dr. Braid (the "hypnotist")", rather than Mr. Braid (surgeon) — was one of those appointed. He made a number of important contributions, including his final observation on the influence of ideo-dynamic action; viz., that "a key... to the solution of the mystery" at hand was in the "reciprocal action of mind upon matter, and matter upon mind".]
- X.237 [1853]:** D.T., "The "Table-Moving" Experiments at the Athenæum [Letter to the Editor]", *Manchester Examiner and Times*, No.482, (Wednesday, 15 June 1853), p.7, col.B. [Identity of "D.T." is unknown. It may have been the "Mr D. Thorpe" who was one of the investigating committee. "D.T." is critical of the structure of Braid's experiments, his conclusions, and his ideo-motor explanations. Braid's response is at **B.99**.]
- X.238 [1853]:** A Physician, London, "Table Moving [Letter to the Editor, written on 14 June 1853]", *Manchester Guardian*, No.2551, (Saturday, 18 June 1853), p.9, col.F. [Written after reading the *Guardian's* account reprinted in the *London Times*, refusing to accept Braid's ideo-motor explanation, arguing that "the moving power in these interesting experiments [is] what is called "animal electricity, or magnetism"". Braid's response is at **B.100**.]
- X.239 [1853]:** Carpenter, W.B., "Electro-Biology and Mesmerism", *Quarterly Review*, Vol.93, No.186, (September 1853), pp.501-557. [Review of 12 works (including four works on "table-turning" and Braid's *Neurypnology*). Reprinted at pp.707-735 of *Littel's Living Age*, Vol.39, No.500, (17 December 1853). With a detailed, well reasoned argument, Carpenter explores various theoretical positions, and explodes various claims for the veracity of a wide range of phenomena, such as *rapport*, clairvoyance, etc.]
- X.240 [1853]:** Anon, "Curious Effect of 'Expectant Attention'", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, No.519, (10 December 1853), p.384. [Reprinted from **X.239**, p.532: "A lady, who was leaving off nursing from defect of milk, was hypnotized by Mr Braid, and whilst she was in this state, he made passes over the right breast to call attention to it. In a few moments her gestures showed that she dreamt that the baby was sucking, and in two minutes the breast was distended with milk, at which she expressed, when awakened, the greatest surprise. The flow of milk from that side continued abundant, and to restore symmetry to her figure,

Mr Braid subsequently produced the same change on the other side; after which she had a copious supply of milk for nine months.”]

- X.241 [1854]:** *The Lancet* [1854], "Braid, James", p.131 in *The Lancet, The British Medical Directory for England, Scotland, and Wales for 1854*, The British Medical Directory Office, (London), 1854. [Second and final edition of this directory. Lists Braid as one of (in the view of *The Lancet*) "the Legally-authorized Practitioners resident in England, Scotland, and Wales".]
- X.242 [1854]:** Anon, "Reports of Societies: Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh", *Association Medical Journal*, Vol.3, No.65, (31 March 1854), p.291. [Records that Braid was elected a Corresponding Member of the *Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh* at the previous meeting of that organization.]
- X.243 [1854]:** Noble, D., "Three Lectures on the Correlation of Psychology and Physiology: I. General Remarks on the Physiology of the Brain and Nervous System, etc.", *Association Medical Journal*, Vol.3, No.79, (7 July 1854), p.586-588; "II. Of Emotional Sensibility, and its Reactions", No.80, (14 July 1854), p.615-616; "III. On Ideas, and Their Dynamic Influence ", No.81, (21 July 1854), p.642-646. [Lecture III, p.642, Noble suggests that " *Ideo-dynamic* would probably constitute a phraseology more appropriate [than Carpenter's *ideo-motor*], as applicable to a wider range of phenomena".]
- X.244 [1854]:** Dods, J.B., *Spirit Manifestations Examined and Explained: Judge Edmonds Refuted, or an Exposition of the Involuntary Powers and Instincts of the Human Mind*, De Witt & Davenport, (New York), 1854. [Br: 23R] [Cr: 711]
- X.245 [1855]:** Anon, "Association Intelligence", *Association Medical Journal*, Vol.3, No.110, (9 February 1855), pp.132-134. [Evidence that Braid was a member of the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association* (which transformed into the *British Medical Association* in 1856 when it decided to admit London medical practitioners).]
- X.246 [1855]:** Anon, "Health: Its Laws, and How to Preserve It", *Manchester Guardian*, No.2730, (Wednesday, 7 March 1855), p.9, col.E. [Report on Braid's two lectures at Chorlton-upon-Medlock on 20 and 27 February.]
- X.247 [1856]:** Anon, "The Rudgeley Poisoner: Chemical Analysis", *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, No.2284, (Saturday, 7 June 1856), p.3, Col.C. [Reprints the text of Braid's letter to *The Manchester Guardian* (B.111); it was also reprinted in *The Glasgow Herald*, No.5617, (Monday, 9 June 1856), p.6, col.B.]
- X.248 [1856]:** Anon, "The Convict Palmer", *The Times*, No.22391, (Wednesday, 11 June 1856), p.5, Col.D. [Report of a tumultuous meeting at St. Martin's Hall, London, on 10 June 1856, held "to consider the propriety of arresting the execution of the convict Palmer, on the ground of doubtful and conflicting testimony produced at the trial, and to give time for medical investigation". The number in favour was not much greater than those opposed. Feelings ran so high that, at one stage, a policeman had to intervene when, "in defiance of all order and of the remonstrances of the chairman", "a well-dressed, portly man, named Bridd...

jumped upon the platform and insisted... upon addressing the meeting while another speaker was in possession of the chair". Bridd was strongly opposed to any stay of execution, and he attempted to take the stage and speak at least twice during the meeting.]

X.249 [1856]: Anon, "The Convict William Palmer", *The [London] Examiner*, No.2524, (Saturday, 14 June 1856), pp.379-380. [Just one of the many reports printed in U.K. (no doubt because of **B.111** and, also, the repeats of **X.247** in a multitude of U.K. newspapers) that spoke of a "Mr. **Braid**", rather than a Mr. **Bridd** (the individual concerned) disrupting the meeting.]

X.250 [1856]: Manchester Church Institute, "Mr. Braid's Lectures on Mental Physiology, Hypnotism, and Mesmerism", *Manchester Guardian*, No.3189, (Saturday, 8 November 1856), p.1, col.A. [Announcing Braid's 10 and 17 November 1856 lectures.]

X.251 [1856]: Anon, "Manchester Church Institute Lectures", *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, No.765, (Saturday, 15 November 1856), p.4, col.A. [Brief report of the lectures on "Mental physiology" Braid delivered at the lecture room of the Athenæum on 10 November 1856.]

X.252 [1856]: Anon, "Manchester Church Institute", *Manchester Guardian*, No.3198, (Wednesday, 19 November 1856), p.3, col.A. [Report of Braid's 17 November lecture on "Mesmerism and Hypnotism"; also noted Braid had "illustrated his observations by some interesting experiments on the human frame, and upon domestic fowls".]

X.253 [1858]: Bennett, J.H., *Clinical Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Medicine (Second Edition)*, Adam & Charles Black, (Edinburgh), 1858. [The section, "Principles of Medicine: The Influence of Predominant Ideas on the Healthy and Disordered Functions of the Body" (pp.289-300) is an expanded development of the ideas Bennett first offered in **X.222**. He speaks well of Braid's ideas and is aware of Braid's recent "monoideism" innovation. Also provides a number of exceptional examples of "the strong influence of predominant ideas even in healthy persons" (pp.292-294).]

X.254 [1858]: Livingstone, D., "Arsenic as a Remedy for the Tsetse Bite [Letter to the Editor, written (at sea) 22 March 1858]", *British Medical Journal*, Vol.1, No.70, (1 May 1858), pp.360-361. [Livingstone thanks Braid (for **B.112** and **B.113**) and remarks that, although he does not hold out much hope, he will experiment with Braid's suggestion.]

X.255 [1859]: The General Medical Council, "Braid, James", p.38 in *The General Medical Council, The Medical Register*, General Medical Council, (London), 1859. [Name of James Braid, 212 Oxford Street, Manchester, qualification "Lic. R. Coll. Surg. Edin. 1815", was entered into the first edition of the register of qualified U.K. medical practitioners on 1 January 1859.]

X.256 [1859]: Binney, E.W., "Report of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting, held 27th October, 1859: Curator's Report", *Transactions of the Manchester Geological Society*, Vol.2, Part 1, (October 1859), pp.1-6. [Matters relating to **B.114**.]

X.257 [1859]: Dwight, R.Y., "*Neuro-Hypnotism, or Artificial Nervous Sleep. A Critical Examination of the mode of Induction of this Condition of the System, and of the Phenomena accompanying it, and also its importance as a Therapeutical Agent: with a brief history of its discovery* by Dr. Braid, of Edinburgh. An Inaugural Essay. By R.Y. Dwight, M.D., of Colleton, S.C.", *Charleston*

Medical Journal and Review, Vol.14, No.5, (September 1859), pp.585-610. [This is Dwight's^t M.D. dissertation. Of little practical use, other than providing an insight into how Braid's works were understood by a medical student in the United States in 1859.]

- X.258 [1859]:** Broca, P., "Physiologie: Note sur un nouvelle méthode anesthésique", *Compte Rendus Hebdomadaires des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, Vol.49, No.23, (5 December 1859), p.902-905. ["Physiology: Note on a new anæsthetic method": A brief description of Braid's method and its consequences, plus a description of several operations using hypnotism as an anæsthetic performed by Broca and his colleagues.]
- X.259 [1859]:** Broca, P., "Sur l'anaesthésie chirurgicale provoquée par l'hypnotisme", *Bulletin de la Société de Chirurgie de Paris*, Vol.10, (7 December 1859), pp.247-270. ["On surgical anæsthesia caused by hypnotism": describes a brief history of the practice, gives priority to Braid and then describes the recent experiences of himself and his colleagues.]
- X.260 [1859]:** Dechambre, A. & Verneuil, "De l'anaesthésie hypnotique", *Gazette Hebdomadaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie*, Vol.6, No.49, (9 December 1859), pp.769-771. [Reports the use of Braid's hypnotism by the eminent French surgeons Azam,[†] Broca,[‡] Denonvilliers,[‡] Follin,[‡] and Velpeau,[‡] as an anæsthetic agent. Emphatically states that Azam learned Braid's technique from Carpenter's 1852 account (i.e., **X.232**, pp.695-697); a fact to which Braid alludes in **B.115**. Reports (p.770) that Azam had successfully experimented on a natural cataleptic subject. Also Azam had such success using Braid's anæsthetic technique with 30 experimental subjects that "he proved that most of the assertions of Mr. Braid were rigorously exact" ("Il reconnut que la plupart des assertions de M. Braid étaient rigoureusement exactes").]
- X.261 [1859]:** Broca, P., "Note sur une nouvelle méthode anesthésique, par M. Paul Broca, agrégé à la Faculté de Médecine, chirurgien des hôpitaux de Paris", *Cosmos: Revue Encyclopédique Hebdomadaire des Progrès des Sciences et de Leurs Applications aux Arts et à l'Industrie*, Vol.15, (9 December 1859), pp.645-651. ["Note on a new anaesthetic method, by Paul Broca, of the Faculty of Medicine, surgeon, Paris Hospital": Speaks of dangers of chemical anæsthesia, and reports (influenced by the studies of his colleague Azam) on the safe application of Braid's hypnotic procedure as an anæsthetic on a number of occasions (producing a chloroform like insensibility for up to 20 minutes). Broca was confident this would prove to be a far safer method for surgeons to use than chemicals.]
- X.262 [1859]:** Broca, P., "[Rectification]", *Cosmos: Revue Encyclopédique Hebdomadaire des Progrès des Sciences et de Leurs Applications aux Arts et à l'Industrie*, Vol.15, (16 December 1859), pp.675-677. [Long piece, clarifying once and for all that the priority for the use of hypnotism for surgical anæsthesia lay with Braid, and as early as 1842, and emphasizing that Broca had never claimed priority.]
- X.263 [1859]:** Anon, "A Revolution in Anæsthetics", *The Lancet*, Vol.74, No.1894, (17 December 1859), pp.620-621. [Reports on the French use of hypnotism as an anæsthetic agent.]
- X.264 [1859]:** Anon, "Hypnotism in Paris", *The Lancet*, Vol.74, No.1895, (24 December 1859),

pp.650-651. **[Br: 12R]** [More on the French application of hypnotism as an anæsthetic agent: speaks of "Azam's importation of hypnotism, by the method copied from Dr. Braid of Manchester"; and how "Azam's proceeding is precisely that which we have seen practised a hundred times at provincial athenæums and institutes. The patient is directed to look fixedly at a brilliant object, held within an inch of the base of the nose: this produces a double convergent squint; it fatigues the eyes very greatly, and is slightly painful."]

X.265 [1859]: Anon, "Operations Under Hypnotism in Paris", *The Medical Times*, Vol.19, No.495, (24 December 1859), p.646-647. **[Br: 08R]** [Reports on the French use of hypnotism as an anæsthetic.]

X.266 [1859]: Anon, "Foreign Intelligence: France: French Academy of Sciences", *The Irish Times*, Vol.1, No.206, (Friday, 30 December 1859), p.4, col.B. [Reports reports that Pierre Adolphe Piorry (1794–1879), inventor of *pleximetry* (tool for diagnosis using percussion comprised of a small plate and a hammer) had written to the French Academy of Sciences claiming priority over Braid for the discovery of hypnotism (claiming he had been using it since 1816). He claimed to be entitled to consider himself a father of hypnotism ("conséquent en droit de se considérer comme un des pères de l'hypnotisme"). The article expresses the view that there appears to be no solid foundation for Piorry's claim.]

X.267 [1859]: Anon, "New Method of Producing Anæsthesia", *The Critic: Weekly Journal Literature, Art, Science, and the Drama*, Vol.19, No.495, (31 December 1859), p.659. [Reports on the work of Azam, et al. in France. In his comment (**B.118**) on this article, Braid mistakenly gives its date as 31 January 1860.]

X.268 [1860]: Anon, "Neuro-Hypnotism as an Anæsthetic", *American Journal of Insanity*, Vol.16, (January 1860), p.367. [Records that hypnotic phenomena were "receiving the attention of the medical faculty of Paris as a possible anæsthetic in surgical operations.]

X.269 [1860]: Azam, E., "Note sur le sommeil nerveux ou hypnotisme", *Archives Générales de Médecine*, Vol.15, (January 1860), pp.5-24. ["Note on Nervous Sleep, or Hypnotism": General overview, descriptions of surgical applications, and clearly separating hypnotism from Animal Magnetism.]

X.270 [1860]: Anon, "Anæsthesia", *The Birmingham Daily Post*, No.541, (Monday, 9 January 1860), p.3, col.D. [Records Dr. Pertussio, Hospital of the Mauritian Order in Turin, operated on a young woman on 26 December 1859, using Braid's technique for anaesthesia.]

X.271 [1860]: Kidd, C., "Dr Kidd on Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 30 December 1859]", *The Medical Circular*, Vol.16, (25 January 1860), pp.112-113. [A most confusing letter. Kidd[†] was an authority on chemical anaesthesia. He reports a mesmeric experiment of his own that ended badly. He is extremely critical of what he (incorrectly) imagines hypnotism to be. Braid's response to this item is at **B.115**.]

X.272 [1860]: Anon, "Hypnotism, or Nervous Sleep", *The Critic*, Vol.20, No.503, (25 February 1860), p.245. [Report that one "M. Guerry" — most likely lawyer and amateur statistician André-Michel Guerry (1802-1866) — had recently written to the French Academy of

Science stating that the “hypnotism, or nervous sleep” of such current interest was well known to Schwenter (X.1) and Kircher (X.2) two centuries before Braid’s ‘discovery’. He says Kircher proposed this was effected by the transmission of ‘thought rays’ through a process he designated *actinobolism*, (lit., ‘irradiation’; viz., ‘the sending forth of rays’).]

- X.273 [1860]:** Anon, "[*Correspondance: M. Velpeau*]", *Compte Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, Vol.50, No.9, (27 February 1860), p.439. [On 27 February 1860, prompted by correspondence from Braid generated by the recent French use of hypnotism for anæsthesia, Velpeau presented a report to the French Academy of Science on Braid’s behalf, handwritten by Braid, of Braid’s most recent researches (viz., **B.115**). Velpeau presented a copy of *Neurypnology* and several other pamphlets forwarded by Braid. The Academy invited Velpeau to read all the material and, wherever appropriate, report on their contents.]
- X.274 [1860]:** Kidd, C., "Mr Braid and Dr Kidd on Hypnotism [Letter to the Editor, written on 11 February 1860]", *The Medical Circular*, Vol.16, (15 February 1860), pp.112-113. [Another confusing letter about mesmerism, hypnotism, ether, and chloroform. Response to Braid’s rejoinder (at **B.116**) to Kidd’s **X.271**. So different from **X.271** in its orientation, that it seems to be driven by an entirely different set of beliefs. Braid’s response to this item is at **B.117**.]
- X.275 [1860]:** Anon, "Hypnotism — its application to Production of Anæsthesia", *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*, Vol.25, No.50, (April 1860), pp.441-451. [Along with additional details of the work of Azam, etc. it also examines the work of Braid, and speculates on potential future applications of hypnotic anæsthesia.]
- X.276 [1860]:** Anon, "Sudden Death of Mr. James Braid", *The Manchester Guardian*, No.4243, (Monday, 26 March 1860), p.2, col.F. [Brief obituary]
- X.277 [1860]:** Anon, "Sudden Death of Mr. James Braid, Surgeon, of Manchester", *The [London] Daily News*, No.4328, (27 March 1860), p.6, col.F. [Brief obituary]
- X.278 [1860]:** Anon, "The Late Mr. James Braid, Surgeon", *The Manchester Weekly Times — Supplement*, (Saturday, 31 March 1860), p.4, col.B. [More detailed obituary. Contains a misleading claim (corrected in **X.284**) that the Mr. Petty who was responsible for Braid’s move to Manchester from Dumfries had such a serious leg injury (a compound fracture) from his carriage accident near Dumfries that several surgeons (other than Braid) who first attended Petty had proposed amputation of his entire leg.]
- X.279 [1860]:** Anon, "Sudden Death of Mr. James Braid, Surgeon, of Manchester", *The Lancet*, Vol.75, No.1909, (31 March 1860), p.335. [**Br: 13R**] [Part of this obituary reads: “He was best known in the medical world from his theory and practice of hypnotism, as distinguished from mesmerism — a system of treatment he applied in certain diseases with great effect, and which has recently attracted great attention in Paris. Long before his discovery of hypnotism, however, he had performed some extraordinary cures by operations on contracted muscles, in cases of club-foot and similar contortions, which brought him patients

from every part of the kingdom. In addition to a large circle of friends whom his warm-hearted and genial bearing and professional skill attached to him amongst the wealthier classes of society, and amongst the medical profession, he will be much regretted by the humbler classes, whose sufferings under disease he often succeeded in alleviating without recompense."]

- X.280 [1860]:** Anon, "Death of Mr James Braid, Surgeon, of Manchester", *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, Vol.5, (1859/1860), pp.1068. **[Br: 16R]** [Brief obituary.]
- X.281 [1860]:** Anon, "Sudden Death of a Surgeon of Manchester", *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, No.906, (Sunday, 1 April 1860), p.9, col.B. [Brief obituary.]
- X.282 [1860]:** Anon, "Obituary: Mr. Braid, of Manchester", *The Medical Times and Gazette*, Vol.1, No.510, (7 April 1860), p.355. **[Br: 09R]** [This contains an identical passage to that of **X.278**.]
- X.283 [1860]:** Anon, "Deaths: James Braid, surgeon", *The Times*, No.23590, (Tuesday, 10 April 1860), p.1, col.A. [Brief death Notice.]
- X.284 [1860]:** Close, A.W., "The Late Mr. Braid [Letter to the Editor]", *The Medical Times and Gazette*, Vol.1, No.510, (14 April 1860), p.386. **[Br: 10R]** [Letter, from Anthony William Close (1811-1863), F.R.C.S. (London), L.S.A. (London), of Manchester (seemingly well-disposed towards Braid), correcting a substantial error in **X.278**: Whilst Petty sustained a rather severe ankle injury, there was never a question of either a compound leg fracture or an amputation; and, further, Braid was the only medico consulted by Petty. Close states that, upon reading the (incorrect) statement in **X.278**, he went direct to Petty's house, and determined the true facts of the matter from Petty himself, in person.]
- X.285 [1860]:** Anon, "Medical News: Braidism in France", *The Lancet*, Vol.76, No.1925, (21 July 1860), p.74. [Records the emergence of the term "Braidism" in France.]
- X.286 [1860]:** Philips, J.P. [pseud. of Durand de Gros, J.P.], *Cours Théorique et Pratique de Braidisme, ou Hypnotisme Nerveux, Considéré dans ses Rapports avec la Psychologie, la Physiologie et la Pathologie, et dans ses Applications à la Médecine, à la Chirurgie, à la Physiologie Expérimentale, à la Médecine légale, et à l'Education. Par le Docteur J. P. Philips, suivi de la relation des expériences faites par le Professeur devant ses élèves, et de élèves, et de Nombreuses Observations par les Docteurs Azam, Braid, Broca, Carpenter, Cloquet, Demarquay, Esdaile, Gigot-Suard, Giraud-Teulon, Guérineau, Ronzier-Joly, Rostan, etc., J. B. Baillière et Fils, (Paris), 1860. [Cr: 821] [A Theoretical and Practical Course of Braidism, or Nervous Hypnotism considered in its various relations to Psychology, Physiology and Pathology, and in its Applications to Medicine, Surgery, Experimental Physiology, Forensic Science, and Education. By Doctor J.P. Philips, based on experiments conducted by the Professor in front of his pupils, and by his pupils, and the numerous observations by the Doctors Azam, Braid, Broca, Carpenter, Cloquet, Demarquay, Esdaile, Gigot-*

Suard, Giraud-Teulon, Guérineau, Ronzier-Joly, Rostan, etc. The first 23 pages are translated at **X.329.**]

- X.287 [1860]:** Anon, "Braidism [Book Review]", *The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology*, Vol.13, No.20, (1 October 1860), pp.516-525. [Review of **X.286**; overview of the importance of Braid and his work, and comments upon Braid's significance in France.]
- X.288 [1860]:** [1860g] Anon, "Hypnotism", *Scientific American*, Vol.3, No.16, (13 October 1860), p.241. [Reports an amputation in France (not by Azam, et al.) using Braid's technique for anaesthesia.]
- X.289 [1862]:** Bulwer-Lytton, E.G.D., "On the Distinction Between Active Thought and Reverie", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol.92, No.563, (September 1862), pp.314-319. [Includes an eye-witness observation of one of Braid's demonstrations (at p.316).]
- X.290 [1866]:** Lafontaine, C. [1866], *Mémoires d'un magnétiseur: suivis de l'examen phrénologique de l'auteur, (2 Volumes)*, Germer-Baillière, (Paris), 1866. [**Cr: 894**] ["Memoirs of a Magnetizer; plus a Phrenological Examination of the Author": as part of Lafontaine's fanciful accounts of his time in England, he speaks of the sermon of "Mac Neil" (I, pp.341-343), and makes an (otherwise unsubstantiated) claim of meeting "Mac Neil" in Paris in the 1850s, having a meal with him, and converting him to his view (I, pp.342-343) (see also **X.205**).]
- X.291 [1866]:** Catlow, J.P. [1867], *On the Principles of Æsthetic Medicine, or The Natural Use of Sensation and Desire, in the Maintenance of Health and the Treatment of Disease, as Demonstrated by Induction From the Common Facts of Life*, John Churchill and Sons, (London), 1867. [This (325 page) work was published posthumously by a benefactor. The dedication in the book is dated 1853, but the 'side notes' to the text only appear in work up to the end of the first chapter (p.70), indicating that, perhaps, the work, as published, may not be what Catlow had intended to publish. Catlow died in 1861, and it seems that he, impecunious for his entire professional career, died penniless. Mainly dealing with what we would term 'psychology' today, it deals with desire and volition, holistic medicine, aesthetics, and infant psychology. It is also significant that it does not mention Braid, mesmerism, hypnotism, phrenology, or any of Catlow's researches in that domain.]
- X.292 [1876]:** Dods, J.B. (Burns, J. ed.), *The Philosophy of Mesmerism and Electrical Psychology, Comprised in Two Courses of Lectures (Eighteen in Number) Complete in One Volume*, Progressive Library, (London), 1876. [**Br: 24R**]
- X.293 [1876]:** Medico, "Dr. James Braid [from No.29, (19 July 1879)]", p.172 in Nodal, J.H. (ed.), *City News Notes and Queries: Reprinted from The Manchester City News, Volume II: 1879*, Manchester City News, (Manchester), 1879. [Item 1,172, seek information from readers on a matter raised in J.T. Slugg's recent *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (p.51) that Braid had "made a great stir at one time by his lectures on and practice of animal magnet-

ism"; asks: "Can anyone say whether [Braid] believed the power was communicated by the operator, or it was merely the imagination, in action, of the patient?"]

X.294 [1879]: Brittain, T., "Dr. Braid and Animal Magnetism [from No.31, (2 August 1879)]", p.179 in Nodal, J.H. (ed.), *City News Notes and Queries: Reprinted from The Manchester City News, Volume II: 1879*, Manchester City News, (Manchester), 1879. [Item 1,197, in partial reply to **X.293**, Thomas Brittain (1806–1884), eminent Manchester naturalist and promoter of science, speaks of visiting Braid in the company of Spencer Hall, and the two having a lengthy discussion, and conducting a number of successful experiments on Braid's patients. He also reports that one of Braid's patients had told him (Brittain) that, although Petty's Dumfries' injury was not life-threatening, it required him to have several weeks of bed rest; and it was during this time that he and Braid became friends, and that Petty was eventually able to convince Braid to move to Manchester.]

X.295 [1879]: Jones, J.H., "Dr. Braid and Animal Magnetism [from No.31, (2 August 1879)]", pp.179-180 in Nodal, J.H. (ed.), *City News Notes and Queries: Reprinted from The Manchester City News, Volume II: 1879*, Manchester City News, (Manchester), 1879. [(Also Item 1,197), in partial reply to **X.293**, John Henry Jones, a Manchester dentist, speaks of the differences between Electro-Biology and Induced Reverie, and Braid's Hypnotism, and comments on the effectiveness of Braid's use of 'dominant idea' suggestions. Recommends that "Medico" read some of Carpenter's work praising Braid and his insights.]

X.296 [1879]: Hindshaw, W., "Dr. Braid [from No.33, (16 August 1879)]", pp.195 in Nodal, J.H. (ed.), *City News Notes and Queries: Reprinted from The Manchester City News, Volume II: 1879*, Manchester City News, (Manchester), 1879. [Item No.1,230, in partial reply to **X.293**, and in response to **X.294** and **X.295**, William Hindshaw (1817–1888), a Salford schoolmaster stressed that all three were wrong in calling him "Dr. Braid"; he was always "Mr. Braid". He recalled being "of [Braid's] audience often when he enthusiastically developed what he first called neurhypnology, the doctrine of nervous sleep". Hindshaw was present when the hearing of a deaf man had been restored to him. Speaking of Braid's procedures for hypnotizing multiple subjects at once, he states that, in his view, Braid was "utterly incapable of humbug or imposture or any kind"; and that "there was not the semblance of deception about [any of] Mr. Braid's performances".]

X.297 [1881]: Preyer, W., *Die Entdeckung des Hypnotismus. Dargestellt von W. Preyer ... Nebst einer ungedruckten Original-Abhandlung von Braid in Deutscher Uebersetzung*, Verlag von Gebrüder Paetel, (Berlin), 1881. [**Cr 1047**] [*The Discovery of Hypnotism, presented by W. Preyer, together with a hitherto unpublished paper by Braid in its German translation*: Detailed summary of Braid's work, plus a German translation of Braid's 1860 "On Hypnotism" (at pp.59-96).]

X.298 [1884]: Braid, C. [1884], "Letter to C.W. Sutton, re entry of James Braid in *The Dictionary of National Biography*", (4 August 1884). [Written by Braid's nephew, Charles Braid (copy in

my possession, per kind favour of Jean McKay). Upset that Sutton† almost exclusively concentrated on Braid's hypnotism, and made no mention of his post-Dumfries surgery at all, Charles wrote: "*I beg to thank you for sending me a sketch of my late Grand Father's life which is correct. You might mention that he was one of the first surgeons who divided the tendons in club foot and that he was a brilliant operator*". It is obvious from the content of the article at **X.300** that Sutton did not grant his request.]

X.299a, X.299b, X.299c, X.299d [1884]: Janet, P., "De la suggestion dans l'état d'hypnotisme: I", *Revue Politique et Littéraire*, (26 July 1884), pp.100-104; "II", (2 August 1884), pp.129-132; "III", (9 August 1884), pp.179-185; and "IV", (16 August 1884), pp.198-203. [Janet recognized (**X.299a**, p.103) that Braid had appropriated Thomas Brown's term "*suggestion*" (**X.14**) and used it to denote the act of presenting an idea to a hypnotized subject with the intention of converting *that* particular idea into a *dominant idea*.]

X.300 [1886]: Sutton, C.W., "Braid, James (1795?–1860)", pp.198-199 in Lee, S. (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. VI: Bottomley—Browell*, Smith, Elder, & Co., (London), 1886. [First considered piece on Braid's life and works to appear in English. The work of an expert biographer, who most likely had some direct physical experience of Braid himself in Manchester (he was nearly 12 at the time of Braid's death), as well as having connexions with other Mancunians who had directly known Braid, his works, and had experienced the efficacy of Braid's activities as both surgeon and hypnotist.]

X.301 [1888]: Anon, "Ephémérides de l'Hypnotisme", *Revue de l'Hypnotisme Expérimentale & Thérapeutique*, Vol.2, (1888), pp.276-278. [**Br: 26R**] [Time-line displaying six important events (five of Braid, and one of Charcot) with brief explanation of their nature and significance.]

X.302a, X.302b [1890]: Luys, J., "The Latest Discoveries in Hypnotism", *Fortnightly Review*, Vol.47, No.282, (June 1890), pp.896-921; No.284, (August 1890), pp.168-183. [Especially **X.302a**, which has a detailed account of Braid's role in the evolution of hypnotism, told from the perspective of one of the world's foremost hypnotic experts in the 1890s.]

X.303 [1890]: Preyer, W., *Der Hypnotismus: Vorlesungen gehalten an der K. Friedrich-Wilhelm's-Universität zu Berlin, von W. Preyer. Nebst Anmerkungen und einer nachgelassenen Abhandlung von Braid aus dem Jahre 1845*, Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1890. [**Cr: 1275**] [*Hypnotism: Lectures delivered at the Emperor Frederick William's University at Berlin by W. Preyer. With Notes and a Posthumous Paper of Braid From the Year 1845*: As well as containing the material of Preyer's lectures, also contains a German translation, "*Über die Unterschiede des nervösen und des gewöhnlichen Schlafes von James Braid 1845*", of Braid's (now lost) English manuscript of 17 December 1845, "On the Distinctive Conditions of Natural and Nervous Sleep" (**B.74**). It also provides a list of 25 of Braid's works (at pp.163-169). Note that this is a *substantially different* work from Preyer's earlier (1882) collection of translations of Braid items (see **B.119**) which was also entitled *Der Hypnotismus*.]

- X.304 [1893]:** Anon, "Obituary: David Russell, M.D. St.And., L.R.C.S. & L.M. Edin., L.S.A. Lond.", *The Lancet*, Vol.142, No.3657, (30 September 1893), p.847. [Obituary of Braid's nephew, son of Braid's wife's sister, who was apprenticed to Braid. For a time he practiced jointly at Wirral, Cheshire with Braid's son James.]
- X.305 [1894]:** Un Initié, *Mystères des Sciences Occultes*, Librairie Illustree, (Paris), 1894. [**Br: 25R**] [*Mysteries of the Occult Sciences*, by An Initiate: Contains a short account of Braid's hypnotic techniques (pp.296-300). Many think "The Initiate" is "Papus", or Gérard Encausse (1865-1916); others think it is "Plytoff", or Gabriel Dallet (1858-?).]
- X.306 [1895]:** Mumbray, R.G., "Animal Magnetism and Dr. James Braid [Letter to the Editor]", *Manchester City News*, (16 February 1895). [Mumbray's[†] response to an anonymous request for reminiscences of Braid (maybe from Bramwell, who was writing on Braid at that time).]
- X.307 [1896]:** Axon, W.E.A. (ed), *The Annals of Manchester: A Chronological Record From the Earliest Times to the End of 1885*, John Heywood, (Manchester), 1886. [Note at p.264 of Braid attending a *conversazione* in 1853 for "table turning". Contains brief biographical entry on Braid at p.280. The editor, William Edward Armytage Axon (1846-1913), says it is based on Sutton's entry in the 1886 *Dictionary of National Biography* (**X.300**).]
- X.308 [1896]:** Bramwell, J.M., "James Braid: His Work and Writings", *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, Vol.12, Supplement, (1896), pp.127-166. [At pp.127-128, Bramwell provides a list of 33 books and articles by Braid.]
- X.309 [1896]:** Bramwell, J.M., "James Braid: Surgeon and Hypnotist", *Brain*, Vol.19, No.1, (1896), pp.90-116. [At pp.107-110, Bramwell provides a list of 40 books and articles by Braid.]
- X.310 [1896]:** Williamson, W.C. (Williamson, A.C., ed.), *Reminiscences of a Yorkshire Naturalist*, George Redway, (London), 1896. [Account (pp.98-99) of Braid's first encounter with Lafontaine (at which Williamson[†] was also present; also see Hartog, 1900). Also gives Williamson's observations of Braid's method of de-hypnotizing: "Braid always awoke his subjects from their hypnotic condition by sharply clapping his hands close to the sleepers' ear, which at once aroused them" (p.100). Also, relates his own direct experiences of Braid's experimentation with post-hypnotic amnesia (p.101).]
- X.311 [1896]:** Bramwell, J.M., "On the Evolution of Hypnotic Theory", *Brain*, Vol.19, No.4, (1896), pp.459-568.
- X.312a, X.312b, X.312c [1897]:** Bramwell, M., "James Braid: son œuvre et ses écrits", *Revue de l'Hypnotisme Expérimentale & Thérapeutique*, Vol.12, No.1, (July 1897), pp.27-30; No.2, (August 1897), pp.60-63; No.3, (September 1897), pp.87-91. [*James Braid: His Work and Writings*: Bramwell (1913, p.28), mistakenly, has Vol.11.]
- X.313 [1897]:** Bramwell, M., "La Valeur Therapeutique de l'Hypnotisme et de la Suggestion", *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, Vol.12, No.5, (November 1897), pp.129-137.

[*The Therapeutic Value of Hypnotism and Suggestion*: Bramwell (1913, p.28), mistakenly, has Vol.11.]

X.314 [1897]: Bernheim, H., "A propos de l'étude sur James Braid par le Dr. Milne Bramwell, et de son rapport lu au Congrès de Bruxelles", *Revue de l'Hypnotisme Expérimentale & Thérapeutique*, Vol.12, No.5, (November 1897), pp.137-145. [*With Regard to the Study of James Braid by Dr. Milne Bramwell, and his Report Read to the Congress at Brussels*. Bramwell (1913, p.28) reports that his November 1897 article on Braid (viz., **X.313**) "attracted the attention of Professor Bernheim, who wrote a reply to it... in which he attempted to show that Braid was unacquainted with suggestion". Bramwell (1913, p.28), mistakenly, has Vol.11.]

X.315 [1898]: Bramwell, J.M., "James Braid et la Suggestion: Réponse à M. le Professeur Bernheim (de Nancy) par M. le Dr. Milne-Bramwell (de Londres)", *Revue de l'Hypnotisme Expérimentale & Thérapeutique*, Vol.12, No.12, (June 1898), pp.353-361. [*James Braid and Suggestion: A Response to Professor Bernheim (of Nancy) from Dr. Milne-Bramwell (of London)*: Bramwell (1913, p.28) says "I answered [Bernheim's] article (viz., **X.314**), giving quotations from Braid's published works, which clearly showed that he not only employed suggestion as intelligently as the members of the Nancy school now do, but also that his [sc. Braid's] conception of its nature was clearer than theirs [sc. the Nancy school]". Bramwell (1913, p.28), mistakenly, has Vol.11.]

X.316 [1899]: Waite, A.E., *Braid on Hypnotism: Neurypnology. A new Edition, Edited with an Introduction, Biographical and Bibliographical, Embodying the Author's Later Views and Further Evidence on the Subject by Arthur Edward Waite*, George Redway, (London), 1899. [**Br: 27R**] [**Cr: 1453**] [Includes brief account of Braid, his life and his publications, written by Waite.† The entire text of Braid's 1843 *Neurypnology*, as corrected in accordance with Braid's original *Errata et Addenda*, is presented (but with different formatting and pagination), with additional notes, mainly extracts of Braid's later works, a brief summary of Braid's **B.115** (at pp.362-363), and a bibliography of 34 of Braid's works. According to Bramwell (1906, p.29): "Apparently... Mr Waite himself believes in animal magnetism, metallo-therapeutics, phrenology, and clairvoyance, but when he attributes to Braid a belief in these things, he shows that he has absolutely failed to grasp the spirit and significance of [Braid's] teaching."]

X.317 [1903]: Harte, R., *Hypnotism and the Doctors, Volume II: The Second Commission; Dupotet And Lafontaine; The English School; Braid's Hypnotism; Statuvolism; Pathetism; Electro-Biology*, L. N. Fowler & Co., (London), 1903. [**Cr: 1504**] [Of the three projected volumes, only the first two were ever published. The first volume dealt with Mesmer and Puységur. The principal section on Braid in the second volume is from pp.114-152.]

- X.318 [1903]:** Bramwell, J.M., *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory*, Grant Richards, (London), 1903. [Cr: 1517] [At pp.460-463, lists 49 books and articles *by* Braid. At pp.463-464, lists 27 "principal references to Braid's work".]
- X.319 [1906]:** Bramwell J.M., *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory (Second Edition)*, De La More Press, (London), 1906. [At pp.460-463, lists 49 books and articles *by* Braid. At pp.463-464, lists 27 "principal references to Braid's work".]
- X.320 [1907]:** Bramwell J.M., *Hypnotism and Treatment by Suggestion*, Cassell & Co., (London), 1909. [Cr: 1624]
- X.321 [1913]:** Bramwell, J.M., *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory (Third Edition)*, William Rider & Son, (London), 1913. [At pp.460-463, lists 49 books and articles *by* Braid. At pp.463-464, lists 27 "principal references to Braid's work".]
- X.322 [1929]:** Fletcher, G., "James Braid of Manchester: An abstract of an address delivered to the History of Medicine Section at the Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association, Manchester, 1929", *British Medical Journal*, Vol.2, No.3590, (26 October 1929), pp.776-777. [Fletcher's† item is one of the intermittent articles that have appeared over many years in *The British Medical Journal* under the rubric "*Nova et Vetera*" (lit. "New and Old").]
- X.323 [1929]:** Anon, "British Medical Association, Annual Meeting in Manchester, Section of History of Medicine: James Braid", *The Lancet*, Vol.214, No.5540, (2 November 1929), p.929. [Brief summary of Fletcher's Manchester presentation (see X.322).]
- X.324 [1935]:** Reimer, H., *Die Forschungen James Braids über die Hypnose und ihre Bedeutung für die Heilkunde*, Wilhelm Postberg, (Bottrop), 1935. [*The Researches of James Braid and Their Significance for the Healing Arts*: Reimer's† formal, published M.D. Dissertation]
- X.325 [1952]:** Volgyesi, F.A., "James Braid's Discoveries and Psycho-Therapeutic Merits", *British Journal of Medical Hypnotism*, Vol.3, No.4, (1952), pp.2-10. [Lecture delivered by Volgyesi† at Westminster School, London on 13 August 1948, as part of the *International Congress on Mental Health*, London. It is a reprint of Volgyesi, F.A., "James Braid's Discoveries and Psychotherapeutic Merits", *Medicine Illustrated*, Vol.3, (1949), pp.217-222.]
- X.326a, X.326b, X.326c [1955/1956]:** Volgyesi, F.A., "Discovery of Medical Hypnotism:— J. Braid: "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", etc. Preface and Interpretation by Dr. F. A. Volgyesi (Budapest). Part I", *The British Journal of Medical Hypnotism*, Vol.7, No.1, (Autumn 1955), pp.2-13; "Part 2", No.2, (Winter 1955), pp.25-34; "Part 3", No.3, (Spring 1956), pp.25-31. [Part 2 is his transcription of Braid's response (B.36) to M'Neile's sermon. See *Appendix Ten*.]
- X.327 [1959]:** Weitzenhoffer, A.M., Gough, P.B. & Landes, J., "A Study of the Braid Effect: Hypnosis by Visual Fixation", *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, Vol.47, (January 1959), pp.67-80. [Report of a set of experiments testing the consequences of Braid's "double internal and upward squint" procedure.]

- X.328 [1969]:** Wink, C.A.S., *The Life and Work of James Braid (1795-1860), With Special Reference to Hypnotism as an Orthodox Medical Procedure*, (unpublished B. Litt. Dissertation), Oxford University, 1969. [Wink had a special interest in medical hypnotism.]
- X.329 [1970]:** Tinterow, M.M., *Foundations of Hypnosis: From Mesmer to Freud*, Charles C. Thomas, (Springfield), 1970. [Includes (pp.317-330) Tinterow's transcription of Braid's 1842 response to M'Neile (**B.36**) plus a translation (pp.390-405) of the first 23 pages of Philips' *Course* (**X.286**).]
- X.330 [1988]:** Kravis, N.M., "James Braid's Psychophysiology: A Turning Point in the History of Dynamic Psychiatry", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol.145, No.10, (October 1988), pp.1191-1206. [Appendix (pp.1204-1206) provides a sequentially numbered list of 53 works by Braid, cross-referenced with Bramwell's list (at **X.320**) which was (then) the most complete list. He added new items, "revised", and "newly chronologized"[sic] Bramwell's 1913 list. His list ignores Bramwell's list of 27 "principal references".]
- X.331 [1988]:** Crabtree, A. [1988], *Animal Magnetism, Early Hypnotism and Psychical Research, 1766-1925: An Annotated Bibliography*, Kraus International Publications, (White Plains), 1988.
- X.332 [1992]:** Gauld, A. [1992], *A History of Hypnotism*, Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge), 1992. [Includes section, "James Braid and his Followers" (pp.279-288).]
- X.333 [2004]:** Gauld, A., "Braid, James (1795–1860)", pp.280-281 in Matthew, H.C.G. & Harrison, B.H. (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: In Association with the British Academy: from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, Oxford University Press, (Oxford), 2004.
- X.334 [2005]:** Boardman, A.D., *James Braid, Hypnotism and the Psyche in early Victorian Manchester: An Exploration of Romantic Philosophy, Popular Thought and Psychological Medicine*, (unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation), University of Manchester, 2005. [see Boardman†]
- X.335 [2009]:** Robertson, D., "'On Hypnotism' (1860) *De L'Hypnotisme*", *International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis*, Vol.57, No.2, (April 2009), pp.133-161. [Attempt to reconstruct English text of Braid's "On Hypnotism" (**B.116**), with the assistance of Hilary Norris-Evans. Unlike the translation of Sally Anne Jane Purcell (**B.123**), this reconstruction is based upon the 'derivative' French text (at **B.120**); i.e., rather than the 'original' German text (at **X.297**). The 'original' German text, which is printed in the standard *fraktur* script, was translated directly from the original English by the bilingual Preyer. Moreover, the 'derivative' French text is unequivocally clear that it has been translated from the "original" German text. It is *not* a copy of a much earlier French text that had been written, by Braid, especially for Azam. Braid could not speak French.]
- X.336 [2009]:** Robertson, D. (ed), *The Discovery of Hypnosis: The Complete Writings of James Braid, The Father of Hypnotherapy*, National Council for Hypnotherapy, (Studley), 2009. [Privately published work containing a selection of passages from some of Braid's works (N.B. In

several places Robertson cites passages from *Neurypnology* that have not been edited according to the instructions appended in Braid's *Errata et Addenda*). Apparently intending to highlight the presence (at pp.64-77) of his own translation of the French version of Braid's "On Hypnotism" (see **X.335**), the selected items (confusingly) appear in the reverse chronological order of their original creation.]

Appendix Two: Regulations for Obtaining Diplomas from the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh

By Edinburgh tradition and apprenticeship training, a *surgeon* was also an *apothecary*; apothecaries gave free advice, dispensed their own medicine, and charged for their medicines,

A *surgeon-apothecary* was very different from (a) a *physician*, who gave advice, prescribed his own remedies, but did not dispense them, (b) a *chemist*, who was a preserver of *material medica*, and a compounder of medicines, and (c) a *pharmacopolist* or *druggist*, who was a seller of prepared medicines.

The following regulations were the culmination of a concerted effort at the start of the nineteenth century to position the Edinburgh College as the pre-eminent professional association in its field, to promote the status of its Diploma, to publicize the excellence of its prescribed training course, to justify its emphasis on the importance of apprenticeship and, finally, to stress the significance of its extraordinary practice of independently examining the competence and proficiency of *all* candidates, regardless of where they might have trained.

This very important criterion meant that a *testmur* from a training institution never became a *de facto* ticket of admission to the College.

In 1806, William Farquharson, (1750-1823), the President of the College, stressed that, in the College's view, the practice of Medicine in Scotland "is, at present, in all its branches, on a more respectable footing, and its practitioners better educated, than in any former period"; and, further, that "the College have had much satisfaction in observing, for a series of years, the gradually increasing knowledge and acquirements of those who present themselves to the College as candidates for surgical diplomas".

He appended the following to his letter, stating that they were the "regulations already adopted by the College":¹

¹ For the complete text of Farquharson's letter and its appendix, see Farquharson (1807).

"A candidate for a Surgeon's Diploma, having served an apprenticeship to a regular practitioner, of three or more years, must also have attended lectures and demonstrations on anatomy and surgery, and lectures on the practice of medicine, and on chemistry, in any University of reputation for two or more years; or lectures and demonstrations on these subjects by any teacher of reputation, who is a member of the College of Physicians or Surgeons of London, Dublin, or Edinburgh, or other reputable college. But, if the candidate has not served an apprenticeship, he cannot be taken on trial, till he has attended the above lectures and demonstrations for at least three years, and also lectures on materia medica and pharmacy, and the practice of medicine and surgery, in a public hospital for one year."

*Regulations to be observed by Candidates, previous to their being taken upon trials for obtaining Diplomas from the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh.*²

Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol.5, No.19, (1 July 1809), pp.387-388.

In enacting and publishing the following Regulations, respecting the course of study to be followed by Candidates for Surgical Diplomas, the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh are anxious to evince to the public how desirous they are of adopting, from time to time, such measures as appear to them to be calculated to improve the education of those who are hereafter to have the care of the health of their fellow-citizens. They are, at the same time, fully aware how much the success and extent of the education of candidates must necessarily depend on those who have the direction of their early studies. Under this conviction, the College cannot omit the opportunity which now offers of impressing it on the minds of parents and others, how necessary it must be for the interest of the public, and of what importance for the future comfort and respectability of the individual, that every one who applies to the study of Surgery should, in a competent degree, have obtained the benefit of a liberal education.

The Royal College of Surgeons wish farther to remind the public, that the profession of Surgery is a practical art, which cannot be acquired without a long continued and personal intercourse with the sick; they have to regret, therefore, the very general neglect of that practical education, which can best, perhaps only, be obtained by serving an apprenticeship in early youth to a regular practitioner, under whose inspection young men have frequent opportunities of being conversant with the sick, and of assisting in preparing and applying the means used for their recovery.

The College have had much satisfaction in observing, for a series of years, the gradually increasing knowledge and acquirements of those who present themselves to the College for Surgical Diplomas; and they are inclined to hope that medical practitioners in every part of the country will be disposed to concur with the views of the College, by using all their endeavours to recommend the study of the Latin language, and of the elementary parts of mathematics, to the young men, who, in being placed under their care, are destined to follow the practice of Surgery.

² According to the "Index to the First Nineteen Volumes of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*", *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.20, (1824b, p.290), these regulations were still in force in 1824.

The Royal College are inclined to hope that the observance of the Regulations now enacted, will prevent any candidate from offering himself for examination, until he has made himself acquainted with the principles of his profession; and, on this account, they have now given orders to have them published, that the parents and relatives of all young men who are educating to the profession of Surgery, may be apprised of the extent of the course of study requisite to be pursued, and enabled in some measure to direct the education of their young friends according to a systematic plan ; and likewise for the satisfaction of the public at large, who, from a perusal of the Regulations, will be able to determine the degree of confidence which they can with prudence repose in the professional attainments of a practitioner, who must possess all the qualifications which an observance of these Regulations necessarily implies.

Course of Study.

Candidates for Surgical Diplomas must have followed their studies in some university of reputation, or under teachers who are members of the Colleges of Physicians or Surgeons of London, Dublin, or Edinburgh.

Every candidate who has not served an apprenticeship of three or more years to a regular practitioner, must produce certificates of his having attended the instructions of the above-designed teachers, for a period of three or more winter sessions, in the course of which time he must have attended lectures on Anatomy, Chemistry, Institutions or Theory of Medicine, Practice of Medicine, Principles and Practice of Surgery, Clinical Surgery, Midwifery, Materia Medica.

The candidate must likewise have attended a Public Hospital for at least one year.

As young gentlemen who are apprentices to regular practitioner possess many opportunities of improvement, from which other students are precluded, the Royal College have abridged to them the duration and extent of the academical studies requisite to obtain a diploma; and have therefore enacted, that

Every candidate who has served an apprenticeship to a regular practitioner, of three or more years, must produce certificates of his having attended the instructions of the above designed [sic] teachers, for a period of two or more winter sessions, during which time he must have attended lectures on Anatomy, Chemistry, Institutions or Theory of Medicine, Practice of Medicine, Principles and Practice of Surgery, Clinical Surgery, Midwifery.

The candidate must likewise have attended a Public Hospital for at least one year.

Regulations.

The days of examination are the first and third Tuesdays of every month.

No candidate will be admitted to examination before the third Tuesday of March, of his last year's course of study.

Applications for examination must be made to the President of the Royal College, two days previous to the day of examination.

The fees payable to the funds of the College, must be lodged in the hands of the Treasurer before examination.

The fees will be returned to unsuccessful candidates, whose names will be concealed.

Unsuccessful candidates will be remitted to their studies, for a period to be determined by the judgment of the examiners.

Gentlemen who have received a diploma may, on applying to the President, receive a certificate of their being qualified to serve as assistant-surgeon in the royal navy.

The President, if he judges it proper, can order a meeting on any day, at the request of a candidate, but, in that case, every candidate so requesting must pay two guineas in addition to the customary fees; and this money is not returned to him in the event of his being rejected.

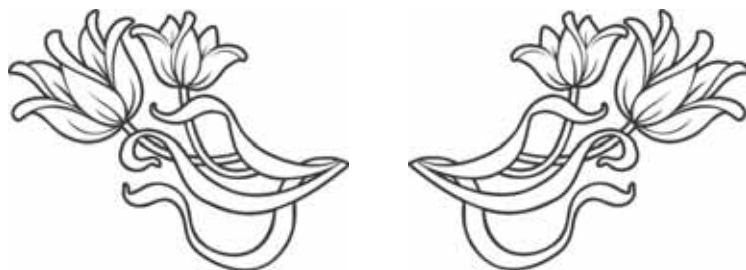
Apprentices of Fellows of the Royal College pay no fees to its funds for diplomas.

Fees paid to the Funds of the Royal College.— For a diploma, the sum of one hundred merks Scots, or five pounds eleven shillings one penny $\frac{1}{3}$ Sterling.

Fees payable to the Clerk.— For a diploma to a country student or apprentice, ten shillings and sixpence Sterling.

Fees payable to the Officer.— For a diploma, three shillings.

By authority of the Royal College, ANDREW INGLIS, *President*.



Appendix Three: Lafontaine's (10 December) Statement

On the evening of Wednesday, 8 December 1841, Charles Lafontaine and his Manchester associate, John Preston Lynill, briefly attended Braid's third lecture at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution.

The two men arrived quite late in the proceedings, and arrived well towards the end of Braid's demonstrations for that evening (Anon, 1841cc). Apart from observing Braid at work from their seats in the front row, neither of them took any part in the evening's proceedings, despite being cordially invited to do so by Braid (notwithstanding the apparent rudeness of their late arrival).

At Lafontaine's own *conversazione*, which he conducted at the Manchester Athenæum on the next evening (Thursday 9th), the following interchange took place:

A gentleman inquired [of Lafontaine] whether he considered the effects of his own operations to be analogous or identical with those of Mr. Braid?— M. Lafontaine said he had seen Mr. Braid's operation only on one occasion (the night before), and was not therefore prepared to give an opinion on the subject at present.¹

On the following evening (Friday 10th), Lafontaine delivered another of his exhibitions at the Manchester Athenæum; this time, Lynill was acting as his interpreter. Before the events scheduled for the evening's proceeding began, Lynill stepped forward and read a carefully drafted statement to the assembled audience on Lafontaine's behalf; and, to facilitate his delivery, the statement was written in English.

The following, transcribed directly from the *Manchester Guardian* of 15 December 1841,² is the complete text of Lafontaine's statement (with extra paragraph breaks for ease of reading), as delivered by Lynill (**note:** for some unexplained reason, the word *clairvoyance* is always in bold and italics in the original).

¹ *The Manchester Times*, Saturday, 11 December 1841 (Anon, 1841ee).

² (Anon, 1841gg).

Lafontaine's Statement

As delivered, on his behalf, by J.P. Lynill on 10 December 1841

In announcing my intention to explain and to demonstrate the differences which I conceive exist between the phenomena produced by animal magnetism, and those lately exhibited, as identical, by Mr. Braid, I must beg to disclaim all intention of entering into competition with that gentleman, or of wishing to provoke or to encourage any discussion, in a place so unsuitable as a lecture room.

I had the pleasure of attending Mr. Braid's lecture, at the Mechanics' Institution, on Wednesday the 8th; and I took an opportunity of watching, carefully and attentively, his experiment, without, however, expressing any opinion upon what I witnessed. I conceived that it would be better to continue to offer my experiments in animal magnetism, without the least reference to those of Mr. Braid, and to leave it to the world to form its own conclusions as to any supposed analogy between the two, but their *identity* having been constantly and so strongly insisted upon, I feel bound, on further consideration, to attempt to demonstrate to you their difference; and in assuring the friends of Mr. Braid, should there be any present, that it was a sense of this duty, not any personal feeling towards that gentleman which induced me to notice his experiments here. I must claim from them the same attention, and the same absence of interference, which, on a former occasion, was shown by myself.

My object in first visiting Manchester was to offer to the public at large, and to the members of the medical profession in particular, such a series of experiments as would convince them of the existence of a power to which we have given the name of animal magnetism, and, by proving the efficacy of that power as a curative agent, to induce medical men to accord it their serious and impartial attention. Not being in a condition, at the outset, to offer to you any facts demonstrative of the power of animal magnetism as a curative agent, I was compelled to content myself with showing you a few experiments upon my own subjects, as well as upon gentlemen resident in Manchester, which, though simple, proved satisfactory, and sufficient to attest the existence of a new agent, as was acknowledged both by members of the medical profession and others.

I have since had the pleasure of presenting to you two patients, formerly deaf and dumb, upon whom, as you have seen, a favourable effect has been produced: and I now conceive I have proved to you the possibility of using animal magnetism as a

curative agent, and have demonstrated that the phenomena first exhibited were not the end to be obtained by the use of that agency, but were presented simply as a means of proving to you its existence.

It would, indeed, be an ignoble occupation to go about exhibiting such experiments for themselves alone, and without demonstrating or even asking what ulterior beneficial results were to be obtained by the agency whose existence they were simply intended to prove.

It has been to me a source of great satisfaction to see so many persons, particularly gentlemen of the medical profession, occupying themselves in making experiments in order to confirm their conviction, and to qualify themselves to make use of animal magnetism, should they deem it necessary to do so. It was not to be expected that every one would be convinced, nor should I hope that experiments made by novices frequently at hazard,³ would always lead to the same conviction, or to the same results: for this would be in opposition to all our previous experience.

I must, however, acknowledge, that I have been somewhat surprised to find persons denying the truth of phenomena which they had not rigorously examined — which they had, indeed, scarcely seen: and I have been more astonished to find, as in the case of Mr. Braid — a gentleman whose profession must have accustomed him to such investigations — first denying, or at least strongly doubting, the reality of the phenomena witnessed; then, after a careful examination, admitting their truth; and, as a close, after a week's consideration and experimenting, presenting to the world phenomena so different from those supposed to have resulted from animal magnetism, asserting their absolute identity, and claiming the merit of having discovered, that their cause was altogether different from the one assigned to them.

I am at a loss to understand how states so different as the catalepsy, somnambulism, and clairvoyance induced by animal magnetism, are from those lately exhibited at the Mechanics' Institution, should ever have been called by the same names; and I cannot but regret, that phenomena, curious and interesting perhaps in themselves, should have been thus hastily thrust before the public, when so little time had been given to their consideration, that even their discoverer had so far mistaken them as to declare them to be identical with phenomena with which, when closely examined, they are found to have scarcely one feature in common.

³ "at hazard" = without any plan or design.

As, however, many persons who have witnessed these experiments from a distance have supposed a greater resemblance to exist between the two than can really be found, and as greater numbers out of doors,⁴ misled by names and assertions, imagine a perfect identity, I have considered it better to place the two classes of phenomena side by side, and to explain and demonstrate the difference that exists between them.

On examining the phenomena induced by animal magnetism, we shall see that the magnetiser possesses, first, a power of producing a state of somnolence, in which the subject, though conscious, and capable of hearing and speaking to any person, may yet be utterly insensible to pain, and incapable of motion; secondly, a power of producing perfect sleep, in which the subject shall be utterly and totally insensible and unconscious; thirdly, a power of destroying and reproducing sensibility, locally and at will, the subject being either in the normal waking state — the state of somnolence — or that of perfect sleep; fourthly, a power of producing and removing, locally and at will, catalepsy in any of the three states (and here I must beg to remark, that, in speaking of the catalepsy induced by animal magnetism, I speak always of a rigidity of muscle preventing the limb from being bent, either by an act of volition on the part of the subject, or by the application of external force, and capable of being immediately removed by demagnetising action only); and fifthly, a power of producing and removing convulsions; to which may be added the general phenomena of acceleration of the pulse, increase of heat through the whole frame, perspiration, and increasing difficulty of respiration.

The effects I have noticed are such as you have witnessed, and such as will be exhibited to you again to-night. Of some of the higher phenomena, recorded as produced by animal magnetism, I shall speak presently; in the meantime, let me compare these with the phenomena exhibited by the subjects of Mr. Braid. These subjects, after looking in a given direction for a certain time, close the eyes, but never sink into sleep. They obey the instructions of any one who chooses to direct them; walk and talk as they would do in the normal state, supposing the eyes to be closed; the limbs, when moved, retain the position given them by the operator; but this position may be varied, either by the operator, or by an act of volition on the part of the subject. There has been no proof of insensibility, nor, except in one or two cases, of any thing resembling the cata-

⁴ "Out of doors" = outside the confines of this lecture room. (Originally the "doors" referred to the doors of British Parliament; and, thus, "out of doors", denoted something external to, or beyond, the Houses of Parliament.)

lepsy of animal magnetism; and, in these cases, the resemblance is slight, the rigidity being such only as would resist pressure applied gently; the operator declaring, that the least shock would dissolve the charm, and dissipate the effect.

If we except the so-called *clairvoyance*, of which I shall speak bye and bye, I believe I have faithfully described all the effects produced, and have only to add, that a slight shock is sufficient to restore the subject, in a few seconds, to his ordinary state. We have here no general increase of heat, no checking of the respiration, no perspiration, no sleep, no destruction of sensation local or general, no loss of consciousness, no local or general catalepsy that will bear a shock; in short, not one of the remarkable features exhibited by persons under the influence of animal magnetism.

Let us now contrast the sensations in the two states. When under the influence of animal magnetism, the subject experiences titillation of the pulses, slight shocks in the arms, and often through the whole frame, as of electricity, increase of heat in the whole body, numbness, disposition to asleep, dimness of vision, and extreme sensibility of hearing, until sleep ensues, and consciousness is lost. On the other hand, the whole of the sensations described by the subjects of Mr. Braid amount to nothing more than aching of the eyes, inability to keep up the eyelid, with occasional sickness in the stomach, and swimming in the head. In the sensations experienced, as in the phenomena exhibited, there appears to be nothing that can justify, for a moment, the use of the term identity; nothing which can, without great violence, be called analogous.⁵

Mr. Braid having asserted that he produces somnambulism and *clairvoyance*, it becomes necessary to speak of these states: not being, however, in a condition to exhibit them to you, I must describe them as recorded, promising myself, however, the pleasure of returning to Manchester in the month of July or August next year to prove to you, by the presentation of other subjects, that the states I am about to speak of are as real as those you have witnessed. Magnetic somnambulism is a third condition, following the somnolence and perfect sleep. In this state, as in the other two, we have the power of inducing insensibility and catalepsy; but the subject in addition, though unconscious of every thing else, can see, hear, and converse with the magnetizer, or with any one placed "*en rapport*" (i.e., "*en rapport*" with the subject). The subject will walk, or dance, at the bidding of the magnetizer, who possesses a power of transmitting his sensations, and even his thoughts; that is to say, when the magnetiser eats

⁵ "without great violence" = without improperly twisting the true meaning of the word to excess.

or drinks, the subject tastes the food; when the magnetiser smells to a flower, the subject is conscious of the odour; and when the magnetiser thinks intently, with the will that the subject shall share his thought, the transmission is found to take place. Lastly, in the somnambulic state we have *clairvoyance*, or the power of seeing, without the aid of the eyes, through opaque bodies, of all which powers and actions the subject, when demagnetised, is found to be utterly unconscious.

When we remember, that the somnambulism of Mr. Braid is nothing more than the power of walking about and conversing with the eyes shut, the subject not being even in a state of sleep, but conscious of the presence of every one who will take the trouble to speak to him, and capable of being roused in a moment, by a smart clap or two of the hands; and that the *clairvoyance* consists in making out a few objects, placed directly before the eyes, in a strong light, it becomes a matter of surprise that Mr. Braid could gravely present such states as bearing any resemblance to magnetic somnambulism and *clairvoyance*; and we are compelled, in charity, to suppose, either that his knowledge of the latter must have been derived from hearsay, or that he must altogether disbelieve in their existence as recorded.

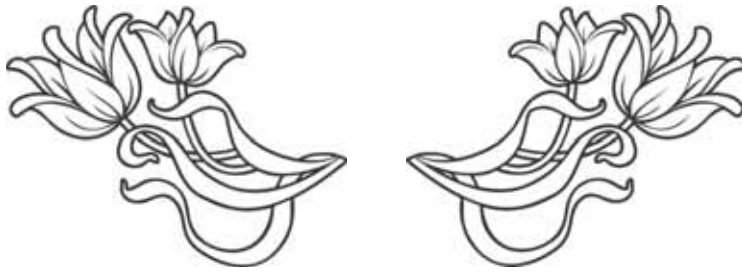
In the cases presented by Mr. Braid, it would appear, that, by fixing the eye and eyelid, and fatiguing the retina, an effect is produced upon the brain something analogous to the condition we call mazziness;⁶ and whatever occurs in the limbs is clearly attributable to this condition of the brain; for, excite the brain by any sudden shock, and all the effects you have produced are dissipated. In animal magnetism, on the contrary, you may affect the limbs without affecting the brain, or you may act upon the brain without affecting the limbs; in other words, any portion of the frame may be acted upon by a local application of magnetic power to the part.

I think I have advanced sufficient to prove, as far as words can do so, that there is from first to last a wide difference between the phenomena of animal magnetism, and what has lately been offered to you as identical. Before proceeding to confirm what I have advanced by experiments. I must remark that throughout, in comparing the effects he produces with those produced by animal magnetism, Mr. Braid appears to have confined himself to the simple experiments which I have had the honour to present to you; leaving out of sight the vast mass of phenomena of a higher order, whose manifestations have been so satisfactorily attested.

⁶ "Mazziness" = the 'state' of being mazy (i.e., giddiness, dizziness, or mental confusion).

Now you are well aware, that there are conditions of the human frame which, though strongly resembling each other in their first manifestations, as in the cases of measles and small-pox, are yet found, in their more perfect development, to be distinctly and widely different: and nothing can be more unphilosophic than to conclude that, because, to a certain extent, there may be resemblance of phenomena, a further examination will prove either analogy of cause or identity of effect.

Had Mr. Braid, by his experiments, elicited all the phenomena which I have presented to you, I conceive he would still have been quite unjustifiable in assuming, as he did, that he had discovered, by his experiments, a means of correctly accounting for the phenomena of animal magnetism as a whole; but, when we reflect upon the wide difference between the two classes of phenomena, and the impossibility of reducing them to the same cause, we cannot but feel some surprise that any one should have produced them before the public as identical, and should have set up, upon such a slight foundation, a claim to the having solved, in a few days, a mystery which, for more than half a century, has occupied the attention, and baffled the powers, of some of the men of the greatest scientific eminence in Europe.



Appendix Four: Braid's Response to Lafontaine

Prior to delivering his fifth Manchester lecture on Tuesday 28 December, Braid made a detailed response to the attack Lafontaine had made upon him and his discoveries during a lecture on 10 December. The following is a direct transcript of the rejoinder Braid delivered at the start of the proceedings on the evening of 28 December. It has been taken directly from the *Manchester Guardian* of 1 January 1842 (Anon, 1842b).¹

Although neither Lynill nor Lafontaine were in the Athenæum audience at the time that Braid spoke, they did arrive some time after Braid had finished speaking, and was half way through his first demonstration (Anon, 1842b). Yet, given that Lafontaine had no English, it was not significant that he was absent, because he would not have understood anything that Braid said.

The *Manchester Times* had not reported Braid's fourth lecture or Lafontaine's two subsequent lectures; however, it felt obliged to warn its readers, in a somewhat exceptional manner, of the relevance and significance of certain aspects of the account they would go on to read:

It may be remarked, prefatory to a detail of the proceedings, that some few persons in the meeting appeared to think Mr. Braid's references to M. Lafontaine's statements were harsh, but we perceived nothing in his observations which did not appear to be warranted by what had before transpired.

Attacks, whether right or wrong, had been made on Mr. Braid, and statements made which he seemed to feel were not correct and fair, and he had a right to repel them in a manner not to be misunderstood.

M. Lafontaine's friends, in their anxiety to prevent this, reminded one of the school boy who having hit his antagonist when sparring in jest, a left-hander on the nose, cries out in fear of retaliation—"mind: no hitting in the face!"

The Manchester Times, 31 December 1841.²

¹ The contents of the *Manchester Guardian's* report are entirely consistent with the summary published in the *Manchester Times* of 31 December 1841 (Anon, 1841tt). The text is precisely the same as the *Manchester Guardian's* article; and, for ease of reading, the section of the article that follows has been split into many more paragraphs than the original version.

² Anon (1841tt); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Braid's Response

*The Manchester Guardian, Saturday, 1 January 1842.*³

When I last had the honour of delivering a lecture in this room, on the subject of animal magnetism [two and a half weeks ago], I stated that it was not my intention to deliver any more lectures on the subject; but that, as far as it might be found applicable to the cure of disease, I should not lose sight of it. Since that time, circumstances have arisen to induce me to alter my intention; for I have realised in this agency a power of successfully combating diseases which have hitherto been considered incurable, after the most zealous and well directed application of all other known remedies. It, therefore, became a duty I owed both to my profession and to the cause of humanity, to prosecute the inquiry with a zeal and industry commensurate with the importance of the subject. The result is, that I shall be enabled to exhibit before you successful practice in cases which have resisted every means resorted to for many years, but which have yielded to this agency with a celerity and completeness all but miraculous. So that I have speedily enabled "the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak".⁴ (Applause.)

In my former lectures, I furnished a short sketch of what had been my sentiments and feelings in regard to mesmerism, also my reasons for afterwards believing that there were real phenomena, independently of the efforts of imagination, sympathy, and imagination. I explained also the mode by which these could be induced without human contact, or the volition of others, and the *rationale* which had occurred to my mind as to the physiological causes of the phenomena. Whether I am right or wrong as regards my *theory*, it is impossible for any one capable of observing facts, and comparing two ideas together, to deny, that, by my method, phenomena of a very extraordinary and interesting nature are induced; and such phenomena as cannot be fairly denied to be analogous to, if not identical with, those produced by what is called animal magnetism.

I am perfectly aware, that M. Lafontaine, on the evening of last Friday week, when he knew I could not possibly be present, as I was publicly pledged to deliver a lecture at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution that evening, perpetrated a lecture in this room,

³ Anon (1842b); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

⁴ Newton (1825), p 114:

Multitudes came unto [Jesus], and he healed them all; he gave sight to the blind, enabled the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.

and performed experiments, which he was pleased to say were meant as a comparison between the systems of the animal magnetists, and what I had lately promulgated on the subject. The very circumstance of his choosing that subject led me to suspect that he did not mean to give me fair play; for, two nights before his lecture was announced, he had publicly declared himself quite incompetent to form an opinion on the subject, and would not do so till he returned six months hence. When, however, he found that I was to be engaged on the next Friday evening, he announced his intention of giving the comparative lecture in this room on the same evening. I felt convinced that this was done, either as a clap-trap to draw a few extra half-crowns,⁵— and that M. Lafontaine was not altogether indifferent to that part of the affair was to be inferred from the manner in which he behaved towards the Mechanics' Institution of this town,— I say I felt convinced that this was done, either as a clap-trap to draw a few extra half-crowns, or with the intention of instituting an unfair representation of my experiments.

He repeated the lecture the following evening when I was present; and such a tissue of false statements, and overdrawn caricatures of experiments as he produced, it is difficult to conceive any one should have had the presumption to perpetrate on any respectable and intelligent audience. Up to this transaction, I gave public testimony of my belief of M. Lafontaine's honesty of intention; but I am sorry to be compelled to say his conduct on Friday and Saturday week has completely altered that opinion. On reading the report of his lecture, I thought my countryman Burns might have had it in view when he wrote the line—

"Some books are lies from end to end."⁶ (Applause)

Suspecting M. Lafontaine and his satellites did not intend to act fairly by me from the circumstances already referred to, I announced a lecture for this evening;⁷ and, before I leave this room, I shall endeavour to convince those gentleman that "honesty is the best of policy"—(applause); and that he who deviates from truth gives a mighty advantage to his opponent.— (Applause)

I am perfectly aware, that it has been said I did not perform the Lafontainian passes

⁵ *Clap-trap*: a device designed to elicit applause (lit., a trap designed to catch applause).

⁶ Braid is quoting from the poem, *Death and Doctor Hornbook*, written by Robert Burns (1759-1796) in 1785, and first published in 1798, which commences,

Some books are lies frae end to end,
And some great lies were never penn'd...

⁷ This is not correct. Braid had originally announced (and advertised) that he would lecture on Friday, 24 December. The lecture was transferred to the evening of Tuesday, 28 December somewhat later on.

with all that grace and elegance required and expected. It may not be at all surprising that I did not perform those mystic passes with the elegance and ease of a Frenchman; and especially as he had never explained, in my hearing, the reason why he made such manœuvres. It was, however, very different with mine; I explained the reason for every thing I did; and the whole was so simple and easy, that a child could understand and perform my experiments. Why, then, did M. Lafontaine so grossly misrepresent them? Simply because he wished to do so, that he might mislead the unwary, by drawing false conclusions from his false facts.—(Hisses and applause.)

However, the tinsel shall this night be stripped off,⁸ and truth exhibited in its native simplicity.—(Applause.) It might be easy for me to do this, simply by quoting from reports of former lectures, as published in our public journals. And I now beg leave to return my thanks to the gentleman who has so amply and so faithfully recorded the experiments and lectures of both parties, and who throughout, is but fair to state, has done justice to both parties.—(Applause.)

I shall now quote from the *Guardian*; and, since five columns of last Wednesday's *Guardian* are devoted to the reports of M. Lafontaine's two last lectures, this ought to be deemed sufficient proof, that there is every wish on the part of the editor to do M. Lafontaine full justice. In the *Guardian* report of my second lecture the following passages occur, as part of my statements, and which were fully corroborated by the experiments which I exhibited:—

“The patient for some time was conscious, and had a most intense desire to comply with every thing the operator might be supposed to wish. If allowed to continue in that state, the muscles became so rigid as to retain any position in which they were placed.”

The facility and pliancy of the patient are thus attested.⁹ Up to a certain point, they comply with the wishes of others; but, after this, rigidity ensues, and they become fixed in their position. “While the flesh resembled the solidity of marble, yet he could, in a few moments, dissipate the spell at the proper time”.¹⁰ M. Lafontaine, on Friday evening, afforded ample proof of that; for, by allowing his subjects to remain so long in

⁸ Braid is paraphrasing Bentham's *Defence of Economy Against the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*: “My object is to present [Burke's arguments] to the reader in their genuine shape and colour, stripped of the tinsel and embroidery with which they are covered and disguised”.

⁹ Note the constant use of ‘my *patient*’, in contrast to ‘Lafontaine's *subject*’.

¹⁰ An obvious reporter's error has been corrected here; this account has “...the *pulse* resembled the solidity of marble...”; the original newspaper article read “...the *flesh* resembled the solidity of marble...”.

this state, he had so much difficulty in restoring them, that the audience became greatly alarmed.

"If the experiments were carried too far, apoplexy, epilepsy, and even death, might ensue. Though he (Mr. Braid) had seen no such effects, others had; and his views of the phenomena warranted his belief, that they were likely to result from too long a continuance of the experiments."

"Mr. Braid observed, that the subjects had the greatest propensity to do whatever was required to be done, so that if they conceived the thing was wished to be done they would do it. This had been strikingly evinced in the case of the girl, both at a private *conversazione* and on the present evening. If, however, the state were allowed to continue, the limbs and muscles became permanently fixed in the cataleptiform state. The female he had first mesmerized this evening, a few days ago became so fixed and rigid that he could not force her arm down, though he was not a weak man."

"Mr. Lynill said, he should be glad to hear the sensations of those who had been asleep and cataleptiform under Mr. Braid's operations described by themselves."

Let it be observed, that this was fairly admitting the fact of their having been asleep and cataleptiform; and what rational and honest man could deny it, after witnessing the experiments of that evening, especially on my cook and man servant, and the young medical student from Ashton, who was an entire stranger to me, and who acknowledged publicly, he had never been mesmerised before; and thought, when he sat down, he could resist it?

"The youth said, he did not feel any sensation at all.— Mr. I.A. Franklin: Did you know your eyes were closed? Yes. Did you hear the clapping of hands? No; I heard nothing at all. (There had been much applause at the success of the operation.)— Mr. Lynill; Have you any peculiar sensation, when sinking asleep, different to those you ordinarily experience? No.— Did you know that your legs were sticking up! No.— Or your arms? No.—Mr. Braid: What caused you to arouse? I don't know.— Mr. T. Townend: Were you ever mesmerised before? No, sir.— Mr. Franklin: you did not expect any effect to be produced when you sat down? I thought I could resist it. [This youth then stated, that he

was a medical student with a surgeon at Ashton, and that he had come over to Manchester, on purpose to submit him-self to the operation.]”¹¹

After such remarks as these, and such facts as I have adduced, in confirmation of them, I would ask, where is the moral honesty of the man who could write, or of him who could stand up and retail, for their author, statements so directly at variance with facts; and facts which had been still further proved, at another public lecture?— (Applause.) At the second lecture, already referred to— I quote from the *Guardian* again—

“Mr. Harland, being asked to state whether he saw any difference between the effects now produced, and those of animal magnetism, said he considered the analogies very striking and remarkable, but that he could not see how the perfect identity could be established, till some subject should be found who had been successfully operated upon in both ways; and who should be intelligent enough to describe accurately his sensations under both, and to state that they were precisely the same.”

This was speaking as a man of caution, candour, and intelligence ought to do. I believe it would be difficult to meet with a more fit subject to have fulfilled those requirements than Mr. Cope, who subjected himself to my mode in the first instance, at the Mechanics’ Institution; and who avowed, when he came down, that, with him, “seeing is not believing”. He had seen much of my success that evening, and yet he would not believe without feeling. M. Lafontaine had refused trying him, as being an unfavourable subject for becoming affected by his (M. Lafontaine’s) plan: on my plan, however, he was affected, as accurately stated in the *Guardian*. He acknowledged he *now* believed; and, when asked if there was any reality in it, he answered, “an awful reality”. He was tested by pricking him with a pin, both on the hand and forehead, but said he felt no pain. When demesmerised, he described his feelings so accurately and so luminously, that I thought I had now met with the very sort of gentleman Mr. Harland had said would be so capable to throw light on the subject, if tested, by being now thrown into the state by contact. I, therefore, proposed it; and he willingly assented, and afterwards declared that he experienced no difference. I have since subjected the same gentleman to both modes, in private, beginning by contact first; and still he, as well as others who have been affected in both ways by myself and by others who

¹¹ The square brackets and the passages within them are in the original newspaper account.

have tried in my presence,— all avowed that they experienced the same sensation from both.—(Approbation.)

The phenomena are so strictly analogous that I have been unable to discover wherein they differ, except in this respect, that, by the non-contact system, I can produce the effects more rapidly and more intensely, as shall be experimentally demonstrated to you this evening. In the report of my second lecture, it is stated—

“Mr. Braid asked Mr. Lynill his opinion of these experiments, and whether they were not identical with the effects exhibited by M. Lafontaine's experiments.— Mr. Lynill said, that unquestionably the effects were decidedly analogous to those of animal magnetism, but he thought there was not sufficient evidence to prove their identity.”

With all these facts before him, bearing on the subject, I again repeat, what are we to think of the moral honesty of the man who would write, or of him who could read, as a veracious statement, such a document as M. Lafontaine's lecture on the evenings of Friday and Saturday week!

It is there broadly stated, that my patients never sleep — that they never lose consciousness — that they never evince the state of insensibility to pain — that no cataleptiform state has been induced — that they always recollect every thing that passed — that they never said they had been asleep, &c. — and, of course, there is no analogy. He also says, that there is no acceleration of pulse, no increase of heat, no perspiration, and no increasing difficulty of respiration. Now all of those statements are proved to be untrue by the reports referred to, and the experiments adduced at my lectures.

I say that to me it is perfectly surprising, that any individual could have the presumption to try to palm such palpable falsehoods upon any audience. I consider it was a gross insult to the audience, for any one to attempt to gull them, and make them swallow as truth what was so palpably untrue. It appears to me but a very sorry excuse for one individual to say, as Mr. Lynill did at M. Lafontaine's last lecture, when I openly denounced the mis-statements I had heard advanced respecting my experiments and opinions, that he was not to be held responsible for what he read, and he was only the translator — M. Lafontaine was the writer. Had he made this avowal before he commenced reading the lecture, in a manner similar to the notices appended to the transactions of scientific societies, “that the society does not hold itself responsible for the opinions advanced by any individual writer of the papers they published”, it might have availed him.—(Applause and laughter.)

Or if, when he found such statements were advanced as he knew to be untrue, and at variance with the facts adduced, he had put in this *caveat* of his own accord, it might have availed him; but, as he did not do so till I publicly denounced the principle he was adopting, it seems to me but too plain, as far as I can judge, that he was acting in concert with M. Lafontaine to misrepresent me and my experiments, and thus im-pose upon his audience.

When at another point he found it necessary to vindicate M. Lafontaine from this charge, he then let out something of great importance, which to my mind proves this very strongly. He said, M. Lafontaine had only seen my experiments once, and had framed his lecture in part from what he then saw, and in part from information received from friends, and amongst these were himself (Mr. Lynill) and Mr. Noble. Here, then, he stood distinctly responsible for what was advanced in the lecture. Mr. Noble, however, stated, that it was an error to say, there was no sign of insensibility in my patients.

So much for sayings: we come now to doings.

And what fairness and candour were evinced in this way? None. M. Lafontaine avowed that he wished to exhibit his experiments and mine, side by side. But did he do so? No. He did them all on one side only, and that side a miserable deformity. The fair way was to have done as I did — to operate in both ways on the same individual. Did he do this? No such thing. When called on by Mr. Holland to adduce what he called companion experiments,— that is, experiments on the same parties in every respect similar both as to time and circumstances, only differing in the one circumstance of the *contact* or *non-contact* mode of inducing somnolence,— he refused to do it. He acknowledged that he knew perfectly well what Mr. Holland meant; but added, that he would not do it. He also refused to operate on any patient I had operated on in either way. Did this not clearly prove, that he determined the experiments should not be fairly exhibited?

Then, as to his exhibition of my experiments. Were they exhibited, in the most remote manner, as I had recommended? Quite the contrary. They were so outrageously caricatured, that I protested against them being exhibited as my experiments; and, moreover, proposed to leave the room in disgust, at his audacity in offering to represent, in my presence, experiments which were so wantonly and grossly perverted; as my injunctions had not been complied with in a single particular.

Had he said that he was going to exhibit Lafontainised Braidism, he might have ex-

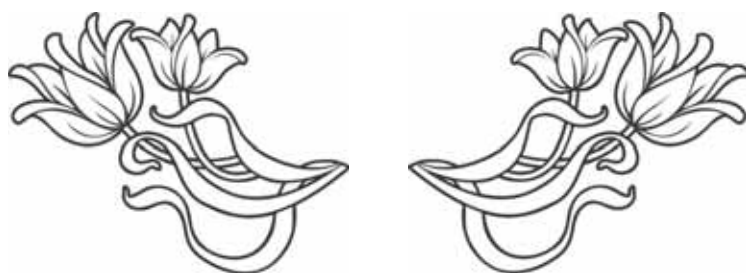
exercised his buffoonery and caricature of my simple and quiet way of experimenting, till both he and the audience had gone to sleep, without my interfering; but, when he wished to impose on the company, by representing what he did as legitimately my experiments, it was a duty I owed to myself, as well as those present, to expose the impudent attempt to deceive and misrepresent. And again, in respect to his thumbing and screwing his face, to squeeze out sufficient magnetic fluid to overpower "Isabella", and Miss No.2 — (laughter) — they being allowed to move their hands and eyes — what did he prove? He meant to prove, that they could be affected without his looking at their eyes, and without their holding their eyes still.

What, then? As to the first part, I shall prove that my patients can be affected in the dark, as well as in the day or gaslight — when their eyes are bandaged, as when they are exposed, by their simply complying with my injunctions, to keep their eyes fixed, their bodies still, and their minds abstracted. Imagination alone, or long-continued or unpleasant impressions on the other senses, may induce a similar state; but the mode I recommend is all but certain to do so, in every case, if sufficiently long continued.

But what was the real state of the case in respect to the two patients referred to? Unfortunately for M. Lafontaine and the ladies, I have got too sharp an eye to be deceived by either or all of them when seated, as I was, within ten feet of them. The ladies most certainly moved their heads and eyes, in the beginning of the operation; but it did not escape my notice, that the head and eyes were fixed, in both cases, for at least a minute before the eyelids closed. I can adduce at least half a dozen witnesses to prove this fact; and I therefore hold, that the experiment was rather a confirmation of my theory than a refutation of it.

I presume enough has been stated to prove, that M. Lafontaine made a most unfair attempt to misrepresent my views and my experiments. But what I have done, I feel convinced I can do again; and, without further preface, I shall now proceed to exhibit such experiments as cannot fail to convince every candid mind of the truth of my position, and the gross falsehood of what was advanced by M. Lafontaine, as to the effects capable of being produced by my mode of operating.

My object is to dispel mystery, and elicit truth, in the simplest possible manner; and I pledge my word of honour, as a gentleman, that there shall not be a single attempt at illusion, or delusion, in any experiment I shall adduce to the company who have honoured me with their presence this evening.—(Loud applause.)



Appendix Five: Mr. P.G. Dunn's Stockport Lecture

Patrick Gordon Dunn (1813-1849) was a Manchester surgeon; and, from the early 1840s until his death in 1849, he was renowned as an active debunker of mesmerism, phrenology, clairvoyance, etc. ELGAR notes that he was listed as a surgeon practising in Manchester in a commercial directory in 1847. There is no description of his surgical training. In the absence of M.D., it is reasonable to suppose he trained as an apprentice; and, in his letter of 12 August (Braid, 1842p), Braid states that Dunn had been “introduced” to him as “a *Glasgow* surgeon”. His only obituary provides no further assistance in this regard.

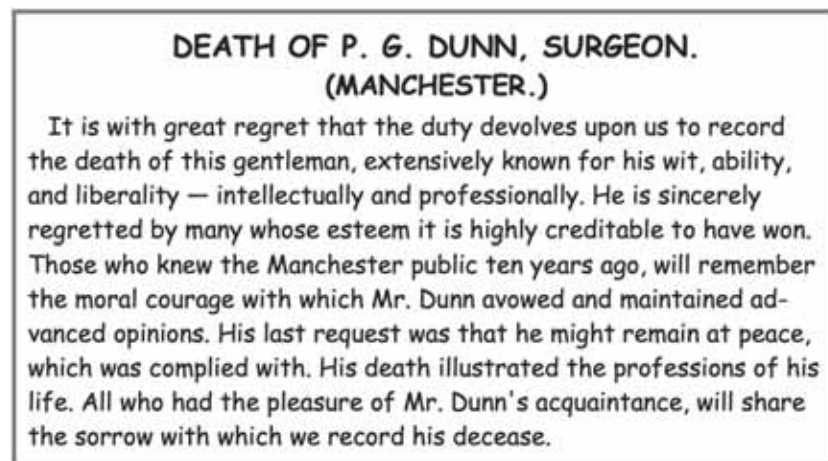


Fig.112. Dunn's Obituary, *The Reasoner*, 15 August 1849.¹

On Monday, 4 July 1842, whilst acting as chairman at a lecture delivered at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution by Campbell Brown Keenan, Dunn made the first of a number of astonishing, serious, and defamatory allegations about Braid and his work. Braid responded, and Dunn replied; and Dunn and Braid went on to engage in a series of heated interchanges over an extended period, centred on Dunn's accusations of Braid's falsehood, intentional deceit, outright professional misconduct, and blatant academic fraud. Dunn's principal allegations were that:

- (a) Despite Braid claiming to have 'discovered' *neurohypnotism*, there was no such thing — thus, there was nothing for him to have “discovered”;
- (b) Despite Braid claiming to have 'cured' specific individuals with *neurohypnotism*, a thorough investigation revealed there was no evidence of

¹ Anon (1849a).

- any improvement in any of those individuals at any time at all; and
- (c) Despite Braid claiming to belong to the medical profession, he was acting like a *quack*, parading his 'cures' in public, and lecturing in public in order to tout for trade and to advertise his surgical practice.

Not content with confining his attacks on Braid to correspondence in newspapers (see Chapter Nine), Dunn began a series of public lectures, specifically denigrating Braid's work and professional reputation ("*Neurypnology Unmasked: An exposure of the claims and cures of James Braid*", etc.). He delivered the first lectures in late July, and the second, three weeks later, in mid-August.

Braid's colleague, Captain Thomas Brown, who had attended one of Dunn's July lectures — which in his view, was nothing but "a useless tirade of nonsense, where the vulgarity of contemptible ridicule was substituted for the gravity of philosophy" (Brown, 1842b) — wrote a letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* on 26 August, protesting that Dunn had actually publicly supported Braid, his discoveries, and his methods in a number of public lectures, given six months earlier:

It is not a little amusing that Mr. Dunn, at a lecture which he himself gave at Stockport, in January last, on Neurohypnology, in which he lauded Mr. Braid, and also illustrated his lecture by his theory, should now turn round and denounce both.

[Mr. Dunn] boasted of cures which he had performed by this agency, and now he denies its effects.

[Mr. Dunn] was more than usually fortunate in hypnotising six cases out of twelve who stood up, all of which were of the most decided and even remarkable character: and two of whom he roused from the hypnotic condition with very *great difficulty*; and yet he now denies the influence of Mr. Braid's mode of operating.

Let any one compare the report of that lecture, published in the Stockport Chronicle of the 4th of February, with what he now says, and I am sure they would laugh at Mr. Dunn's inconsistency.

Mr. Dunn afterwards [also] delivered three or four lectures on Neurohypnology at the White Hart Inn, London-road, Manchester, when he adopted the same views as at his Stockport lecture, and even produced one or more of the Stockport patients to illustrate his subject.

Thomas Brown, (written 26 August 1842).²

² *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, 27 August 1842 (Brown, 1842b); the original has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

I have done everything possible to obtain the original newspaper report. It seems that the only location that currently holds any copies of the *Stockport Chronicle*, which was only published for a few years c.1842, is the British Library. Enquires directly addressed to the British Library have revealed that the 4 February 1842 issue of the *Stockport Chronicle* is not held in any physical form by that institution; and that its holding, which is in the form of a "negative microfilm", is in a format that can not be copied, and I would be required to buy an entire roll of microfilm myself, in order to view it (the cost of which is far beyond my means).

Obviously, the newspaper report on what Dunn actually said during his lecture, the answers he offered to audience questions, the experiments he conducted, and the demonstrations he performed, have great relevance to the quest of gaining some understanding of Dunn's apparent *volte-face*.

All is not lost, however.

There are two references to that specific newspaper article in Braid's *Neurypnology*: one is in the text (pp.23-25, as amended according to the instructions in the Addendum), and the other in a lengthy footnote (pp.49-52).

Whilst it is clear that large sections of the newspaper article, dealing with the details of his actual lecture, have been overlooked (because they were irrelevant to Braid's task at hand), the sections which have been alluded to in the text of *Neurypnology*, and those sections which have been reprinted verbatim in the footnote, whilst not actually naming Dunn directly, certainly indicate that Captain Brown's account of the newspaper's report is accurate.

The following passages are taken from the 1843 edition of *Neurypnology*, amended as instructed in the addendum.

In each case the text (comprised of extremely long paragraphs) has been broken into sections for ease of reading.

Neurypnology Text (pp.23-25)

{23}

Whatever I advance, therefore, in the following remarks, I wish to be distinctly understood as strictly in reference to my own mode of operating, and distinct from that of all others. The latter I shall merely refer to in as far as is necessary to point out certain sources of fallacy by which the phenomena of the one may be confounded with those of the other. {24} In proof of the general success of my mode of operating, I need only name, that at one of my public lectures in Manchester, fourteen male adults, in good health, all strangers to me, stood up at once, and ten of them became decidedly hypnotized.

At Rochdale I conducted the experiments for a friend, and hypnotized twenty strangers in one night.

At a private conversazione to the profession in London, on the 1st of March, 1842, eighteen adults, most of them entire strangers to me, sat down at once, and in ten minutes sixteen of them were decidedly hypnotized.

Mr Herbert Mayo tested some of these patients, and satisfied himself of the reality of the phenomena.

On another occasion I took thirty-two children into a room, none of whom had either seen or heard of hypnotism or mesmerism: I made them stand up at three times, and in ten or twelve minutes had the whole thirty-two hypnotized, main-taining their arms extended while in the hypnotic condition, and this at mid-day.

In making this statement, I do not mean to say they were in the ulterior stage, or state of torpor; but that they were in the primary stage, or that of excitement, from which experience has taught me confidently to rely that the torpid and rigid state will certainly follow, by merely affording time for the phenomena to develop themselves.

At the conversazione given on the 29th June, 1842, to the Members of the British Association, two men and two youths were brought off the street. One man and both youths were operated on; all the three were hypnotized, and one of the youths reduced to the rigid state.³

In the Stockport Chronicle of 4th February, 1842, there is a report of a lecture delivered in that town a few days before.

A dozen male patients were made to stand up at once, and treated according to my

³ The underlined sentences have been inserted according to the Addendum's instructions. Braid (*Neurypnology*, 1843, "Errata et Addenda", page facing p.265) requested these sentences to be inserted "as further proof of the success of hypnotism".

method, six of them became hypnotized, and two of them so deeply, as to cause the lecturer very considerable trouble to rouse them.

With one named "Charlie", all the usual {25} means, including buffetings and frictions before a fire, did not succeed in restoring speech until he had been made to swallow nearly half a tumbler glass of *neat gin*.

I consider this important as being the testimony of an enemy...⁴

Relevant Text (pp.48-49)

It is on this very principle, of over-exerting the attention, by *keeping it riveted to one subject or idea which is not of itself of an exciting nature*, and, over-exercising one set of muscles, and the state of the strained eyes, with the suppressed respiration, and general repose, which attend such experiments, which excites in the brain and whole nervous system that peculiar state which I call Hypnotism, or nervous sleep. The most striking proofs that it is different from common sleep, are the extraordinary effects produced by it. In deep abstraction of mind, it is well known, the individual becomes unconscious of surrounding objects?, and in some cases, even of severe bodily inflictions. During hypnotism, or nervous sleep, the functions in action seem to be so intensely active, as must in a great measure rob the others of that degree of nervous energy necessary for exciting their sensibility. This alone may account for much of the dulness of common feeling during the abnormal quickness and extended range of action of certain other functions.*

Associated Footnote

{49}

* It was certainly presuming very much on the ignorance of others for any one to attempt so to pervert the meaning of an author, as to twist what M'Nish has written on the article "Reverie", and represent it as the basis of my theory.

How does M'Nish define it?

"Reverie", he says, "proceeds from an unusual quiescence of the brain, and inability of the mind to direct itself strongly to any one point; it is often the prelude of sleep. There is a *defect* in the *attention*, which, instead of being fixed on *one* subject, *wanders over a thousand*, and even on these is feebly and ineffectively directed."⁵

Now this, as every one must own, is the very reverse of what is induced by *my plan*, because *I rivet the attention to one idea*, and the eyes to *one point*, as the *primary* and *imperative conditions*.

⁴ Braid's "testimony of *an enemy*", inescapably, confirms that he is speaking of Dunn.

⁵ Braid is referring to Scottish surgeon, physician, and philosopher Robert M'Nish (1802–1837), a.k.a. Macnish; and Braid has quoted from Chapter 16, "Reverie", of M'Nish's work, *The Philosophy of Sleep* (1830).

Then, as to another [M'Nish] passage, "That kind of reverie in which the mind is nearly divested of all ideas, and approxi- {50} mates nearly to the state of sleep, I have sometimes experienced while gazing long and intently upon a river. The thoughts seem to glide away, one by one, upon the surface of the stream, till the mind is emptied of them altogether. In this state we see the glassy volume of the water moving past us, and hear its murmur, but lose all power of fixing our attention definitively upon any subject; and either fall asleep, or are aroused by some spontaneous reaction of the mind, or by some appeal to the senses sufficiently strong to startle us from our reverie."

Now, I should have read this passage a thousand times without discovering any analogy between it and my theoretical views.

They appear to me to be "wide as the poles asunder".

Instead of ridding the mind of ideas "one by one, till the mind is *emptied* of them *altogether*", I endeavour to rid the mind *at once* of all ideas *but one*, and to fix *that* one in the mind *even after passing into the hypnotic state*.

This is very different from what happens in the reverie referred to, in which M'Nish confesses the difficulty "of fixing our attention definitively upon *any* subject".

Again, so far from a reaction of the mind being sufficient to rouse patients from the hypnotic state, as in the reverie referred to, I can only state, that I have never seen patients deeply affected come out of it without assistance; and I heard Lafontaine say, he had been unable to restore the Frenchman who was with him for twelve hours on one occasion, when a surgeon operated on him; and I have read the report of another, who operated on a patient at Stockport, "Charlie", according to my method,⁶ and, from having allowed him to go too far, experienced no small difficulty in rousing him, nor {51} could he be restored to speech after much manipulation, and buffetting, and friction, till he had swallowed nearly *half a tumbler glass of neat gin*.

To prevent misrepresentation, I shall quote the case as reported in the Stockport Chronicle of 4th February, 1842.

To the final instance the lecturer [viz., Dunn] now drew particular attention.

It was that of a young man, recognized by many in the room by the familiar name of "Charlie".

He was just entering upon the state of somnolence, and the attention of the audience was directed to the fact, that it was so indicated, by the different members becoming rigid.

⁶ N.B. "who operated on a patient... according to my method", another confirmation that it is referring to Dunn.

Presently his eyelids closed, and he became as though apparently under the influence of catalepsy.

It was tried to make him sit down, but his whole frame was perfectly rigid, and that object could not therefore be accomplished.

He was then laid on the floor, and the usual means, with cold water added, were employed in order to bring him to a state of consciousness.

After a time these partially succeeded, his limbs became once more supple, and he was set in a chair, apparently conscious, though his eyelids were not yet open.

He was several times requested to open them, and as often made the most vigorous efforts to do so, but was unable; at last they were opened, and it was discovered that the operation had so far influenced the entire functions of his body, that he had for a time lost the power of utterance, the muscles of the throat and tongue still remaining in a state of the most perfect rigidity.

In this state, and being affected by a tremor which seized every part of his person, the patient was conducted into an ante-room, and placed before a fire, while the operator continued to rub the parts, in order to excite them to renewed action, and to restore animation.

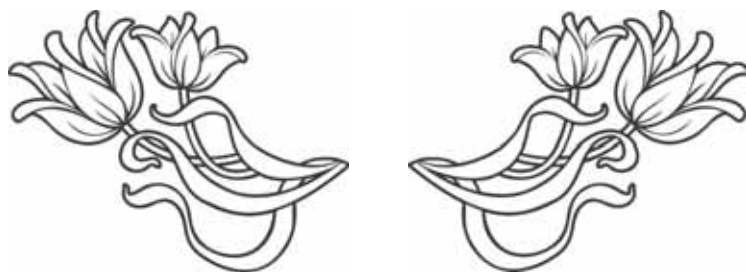
All {52} this, however, had not the desired effect for some time, during which the patient evinced feelings of considerable surprise at his condition; but nevertheless was exceedingly lively, and made several efforts to speak, but could not.

At last half a tumbler glass of neat gin was brought, the greater portion of which he drank off, and this partially restored the power of utterance, for he was afterwards able to articulate a little, and asked, though only in a whisper, for his hat; and also requested that some water might be mixed with the remaining portion of the gin.

He complained also of a sense of excessive fulness of the stomach; and said, in answer to inquiries, that although not feeling cold, he was yet unable to resist the tremor which had seized him.

Was not this a beautiful illustration of the facility with which patients might be roused from this condition "*by a reaction of the mind*"?

Nor was this the only case that evening, in which great difficulty had been experienced in rousing patients from the hypnotic state.



Appendix Six: Braid's March Lecture in Manchester

At the beginning of his presentation on Saturday 12 March 1842, Braid gave a brief account of his earlier research and the circumstances under which he began his initial inquiries, as well as providing a detailed exposition of his far more developed theoretical position; with seventy-five days having elapsed since his last Manchester lecture, on Tuesday 28 December.

The *Manchester Guardian's* reporter set the scene as follows:

Mr Braid, surgeon, delivered a lecture on Saturday evening, in the lecture theatre of the Athenæum, to a tolerably numerous audience, "on animal magnetism, contrasted with *neurohypnology*"; the latter term being constructed from the Greek words, *νευρον* (nerve), *ιπνοξ* (sleep), and *λογος* (discourse or *rationale*).¹

Mr Braid commenced by stating that his object was to give a condensed view of his researches in mesmerism, more particularly the results of his investigations since he last delivered a lecture on the subject in that room.

He would also endeavour to point out the sources of the fallacy which had misled so many other researchers engaged in these investigations; and, above to prove by what means this agency could be turned to useful purposes, in the cure of hitherto intractable or incurable diseases.

He then adverted to the circumstances which first led him to make his experimental inquiries and discoveries, which have already been recorded at length in the *Guardian*.

He followed up his first by other experiments, and had every reason to consider his inductions correct, as their accuracy might at any time be verified by experiment.

Such being the fact, [the audience] might estimate the justice and value of the statement made [by Catlow] in his absence, that [Braid's discovery] was made by chance observation, rather than induction, that he [Braid] got first to the stare, and then to the closing of the eye; and that he [Braid] had "literally taken these leaps, omitting the intermediate points".

¹ It is significant that the Greek words were published in the Greek text alone, without any Roman alphabet equivalent being given to the *Manchester Guardian's* readers.

As the author of these remarks [viz., Catlow] had the same chance as himself of observing the fact referred to, he (Mr. Braid) might ask, why did not he [Catlow] take these leaps himself?"

The Manchester Guardian, 16 March 1842.²

The following is a direct transcript of the entire exposition Braid delivered as a lecture at the start of the evening's proceedings; it has been taken directly from the *Manchester Guardian* of 16 March 1842 (Anon, 1842o).

Note: the text is precisely the same as the newspaper article; however, for ease of reading, it has been split into many more paragraphs than appeared in the original.

² Anon (1842z); the original has been broken into sections for the ease of reading.

Braid's Manchester Lecture

The various theories at present entertained regarding the phenomena of mesmerism may be arranged thus:—

First, those who believe them to be owing entirely to a system of collusion and delusion; and a great majority of society may be ranked under this head.

Second, those who believe them to be real phenomena, but produced solely by imagination, sympathy, and imitation.

Third, the animal magnetists, or these who believe in some magnetic medium set in motion as the exciting cause of the mesmeric phenomena.

Fourth, those who have adopted my views, that the phenomena are solely attributable to a peculiar physiological state of the brain and spinal cord.

I expected to have had to add a fifth, that an undue impression on any of the senses was capable of inducing all the mesmeric phenomena; but the author of this doctrine [Catlow], having found out his error, now declares there is no such thing as what he announced he was to give lectures to prove he could so readily induce; and concludes with the strange assertion, that he knows of no sleep but natural sleep. He who could not discriminate betwixt common sleep and the apoplectic sopor;³ or who considers the hysteric and cataleptic trance and sleep induced by opium and other hypnotic and narcotic drugs, and over dose of intoxicating liquor, as the same, must, indeed, in my opinion, have strange conceptions of analogy and ideality.⁴

After that gentleman's [Catlow] first lecture, I tried some experiments, and very soon found, that the sleep induced by his mode of operating, excepting on the eye, was nothing but common sleep, excepting in those cases where there had been an impressibility given to the brain, by having been operated on in my way, or that of the animal magnetisers, previously.

When I had ascertained this fact, all the ingenuity or value of his speculations, or "inductions", went for nought; as every one knows, that the most common modes of putting babies to sleep is by sucking, by stroking the head or other part of the body, by

³ A term in general use in Braid's day, *apoplectic sopor* denotes a constellation of symptoms: like the paralysis, lack of consciousness and insensibility, etc. observed following a stroke.

⁴ In this context, 'he must have strange conceptions of analogy and ideality' denotes something rather like 'he must have a very strange understanding what constitutes resemblance, correspondence, and identity, and he must have some very confused notions about how the mind operates in the formation of concepts.'

patting them on the back or elsewhere, by hushing them, or rocking them, and by absolute repose; then as to smell and the eye, the experiments were strictly mesmeric. Every one knows also how readily animals may be induced to sleep by gently stroking their hair; and how readily many people fall asleep when under the operation of the hairdresser; or a patient, by gentle friction over a painful part, may be set to sleep. And, again, the hum of bees, the dashing of a waterfall, or the purling of a brook, the strains of soft music, an uninteresting discourse, delivered in a monotonous tone, and counting or repeating uninteresting words, have long been generally and familiarly known to induce sleep; but whoever called such mesmeric sleep? It was always considered as common or natural sleep; and therefore, when the fact of it not being magnetic sleep, or any way different from common sleep, is known and admitted, all the apparent ingenuity of the "inductions" falls to the ground, "like the baseless fabric of a vision".⁵

I consider my experiments clearly prove, that it is a law in the animal economy,⁶ that, by the continued fixation of the mental and visual eye on any object in itself of an unexciting nature, they become wearied; and, provided they rather favour than resist the feeling of stupor, there is induced a state of somnolency, which they feel creeping over them during such experiment, and that peculiar state of [the] brain, and mobility of the nervous system, which renders the patient liable to be directed so as to manifest the whole, or the greater part, of the mesmeric phenomena.

I consider it not so much the optic, as the motor and sympathetic nerves, and the mind, through which the impression is made.

Such is the position I assume; and I feel so thoroughly convinced that it is a law of

⁵ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act IV, Scene I: "These our actors, as I foretold you, were all spirits, and are melted into air, into thin air; and, like the baseless fabric of this vision, the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, the great globe itself, yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve, and, like this insubstantial pageant faded, leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep."

⁶ In its earliest English usage the word *economy* indicated something like "housekeeping", the management of a household. The (now obsolete) term *animal economy* is perhaps best represented by the definition provided by Ménuret on page 362 of his *Encyclopédie* (i.e., Ménuret de Chambaud, Jean-Joseph. 1765. "Economie Animale (Médecine)." *Encyclopédie*. XI:360–366. Paris: Briasson), as translated by Huneman (2008, p.618):

"This term [sc. *animal economy*], taken in the most exact and common sense, refers only to the *order, mechanism, and overall set* of the functions and movements which sustain life in animals, the perfect, universal and constant exercise of which, performed with ease and alacrity, is the flourishing state of *health*, the least disturbance of which is itself *illness*, and the full ceasing of which is the extreme, diametrical opposite of *life*, that is, *death*."

the animal economy, that such effects should follow such condition of mind and body, that I fear not to challenge the whole world to beat me from this position.

As to the *modus operandi*, we may never be able to account for it so as to satisfy all objections; but neither can we tell why the law of gravitation should act, as experience has taught us it does act. Still, as our ignorance of the cause of gravitation acting as it is known to do, does not prevent us profiting by an accumulation of the facts known as to its results; so ought not our ignorance of the whole laws of the *modus operandi* of the exoneural state [sic],⁷ to prevent us studying it practically, and applying it beneficially, when we have the power of doing so.

In answer, to the first [theoretical position], or those who believe the whole to be a system of collusion and delusion — or, in plain terms, a piece of deception — the uniformity and general success of the results by my method must be sufficient to prove that the mesmeric phenomena are not "humbug", but real phenomena.

In answer to the second, I have already stated, that I by no means deny that imagination, sympathy, and imitation, are capable of producing the phenomena; that I believe they do so in many cases, and may heighten their effects in others; but my experiments clearly prove, that they may be induced, and generally are induced, independently of any such agency.

In answer to the third, I have to state that I consider the theory of the animal magnetists as a gratuitous assumption, unsupported by fact; and that it is far more reasonable to suppose, that an exaltation of function in natural organs of sense is the cause of certain remarkable phenomena, and a depression of them the cause of others, than that they arise from a transposition of the senses, or are induced by a silent act of the will of another.

We know the exercise of the will is not adequate to remove sensibility to pain and hearing, &c. in our own bodies; and it would be passing strange if it could exercise a greater effect on the bodies of others, whilst inoperative in our own. I may further remark, that the votaries of this system are not at all agreed as to the nature or mode of action of this magnetic fluid or medium.

⁷ Here, Braid uses Mayo's term. Mayo (Mayo, 1838a) advocated the use of *exoneural*, 'phenomena of the mind', (lit., 'operating outside the nerves') contrasted with *esoneural*, 'phenomena of the nervous system', (lit. 'operating within the nerves'). Mayo said *exoneurism* could denote two sorts of phenomena: (a) "the change produced in the nervous system of a living being by a peculiar influence *from without*, or (looking to the cause instead of to the effect) the action of the nervous influence of a living being *beyond* the limits of its frame", and (b) "the action of the mental principle independently of or *without* its usual organs".

Some suppose it to be a fluid existing, or generated in all living beings, and capable of being extruded from their bodies, into or upon the bodies of others, by the exercise of their will, and by certain corporeal gestures or manipulations; that this fluid entering into or enveloping the bodies of others, produces all the phenomena of mesmerism. This is evidently an idea analogous to the Newtonian theory of light, as a continuous stream of a peculiar matter of fluid from the sun.

Others of this class imagine the fluid similar to the galvanic; and a third class represent it as a subtle and thin or universal fluid, which pervades all space and all matter; that its harmony or equal distribution can be deranged, or exerted to action, by the volition or gestures of individuals, and thus made to act in such places and such manner as the magnetizer may incline. This is evidently an approximation to the modern or oscillatory theory of light.

I have already disclaimed my belief in such doctrine, and again repeat, that I consider it a gratuitous assumption unsupported by facts. The small number of individuals capable of being influenced by this method, is sufficient proof of its inadequacy. The advocates of a magnetic medium shield themselves under the guise, that there must be a certain sympathy or relation as regards temperament, strength, &c. between the magnetiser and magnetised, to ensure success; and also a certain degree of activity on the one part, and of passiveness on the other. In musical language, they must either be unisons, the one active, the other passive, or they must be in the relation of one of the chords to the fundamental note, or no harmony [is] elicited.

Until the animal magnetists prove their assumption, that there really is a magnetic fluid or medium, I consider myself warranted in denying its existence, as I can produce the phenomena independently of any such agency.

I therefore think it desirable to assume another name for the phenomena, and have adopted neurohypnology⁸ — a word which will at once convey to every one at all acquainted with Greek, that it is the rationale or doctrine of nervous sleep; sleep being the most constant attendant and natural analogy to the primary phenomena of mesmerism; the prefix "nervous" distinguishing it from natural sleep. There are only two

⁸ The distinction, here, between "adopted" and "coined" — both had been widely used in English for several centuries before the 1840s — is highly significant. Braid's statement "I have adopted the term *neurohypnology*" (rather than "I have coined the term *neurohypnology*") strongly indicates that he took the word, more or less unaltered, from a foreign language, as a loan word. (See Gravitz and Gerton (1984) for more information about the French magnetists' uses of words with the *hypn*- prefix prior to 1842).

other words I propose by way of innovation, and those are hypnotism for magnetism and mesmerism, and hypnotised for magnetised and mesmerised.⁹

Phenomena are attributable to a peculiar physiological state of the brain and spinal cord.

It is admitted on all hands, that the sensibility and irritability of the body, and the state of the mind, are intimately connected with the state of the brain and spinal cord, and that they are much influenced by the state of the circulation, being exalted when the circulation is in a state of activity, and depressed when it is slow and languid.

Now, as it is generally believed that this energy is dependant on a nervous fluid or aura generated in the brain and spinal cord, why not believe that an increase or diminution of this fluid may be the cause of the exalted or depressed phenomena exhibited during a state of mesmerism?

This seems to me far more reasonable than endeavouring to enlist into our service another ally concerning the nature, origin, existence, or mode of operation, of which we know nothing.

I have already explained my theory to a certain extent, namely, that the continued effort of the will, to rivet the attention to one idea, exhausts the mind; the continuance of the same impression on the retina exhausts the optic nerve; and that the constant effort of the muscles of the eyes and eyelids, to maintain the fixed stare, quickly exhausts their irritability and tone; that the general quiet of body and suppressed respiration, which take place during such operation, tend to diminish the force and frequency of the heart's action; and that the result of the whole is a rapid exhaustion of the sensorium and nervous system, which is reflected on the heart and lungs; and a feeling of giddiness, with slight tendency to syncope [sic], and feeling of somnolency, ensue; and thus the mind slips out of gear.

The diminished force and frequency of the heart's action which now ensue [sic], produce still farther depression of the functions of the brain and spinal cord; and the enfeebled heart, being unable to propel the blood with its usual force, consequently it accumulates in the large blood vessels in the region of the heart.

The patient now generally sighs and closes the eyelids, which evince a spasmodic state of the orbicularis [oculi], or a rapid vibratory motion of the lids, from the in-

⁹ Note that, by contrast with his use of "adopted" ("I have adopted the term *neurohypnology*"), here he is using "coined": "and, by way of innovation, rather than adoption, I have *coined* the terms *hypnotism* (for *magnetism* and *mesmerism*), and *hypnotised* (for *magnetised* and *mesmerised*)".

effectual efforts of the exhausted levators to overcome the efforts of the orbicularis [oculi]. This vibratory motion of the eyelids very rapidly increases the effects both on the mind and body.

This I consider to have been induced in the first place by the impression made on the branch of the third pair of nerves sent to the iris, being reflected to the muscles of the eyelids; and from these, by reflection, a spasmodic tendency is communicated to the whole muscular system.

My experiments to induce refreshing sleep without the use of opiates, is a satisfactory proof of the correctness of this view; and the experiments were instituted strictly in accordance with this theoretical now, and have proved most successful and satisfactory.

At this period there is apparent somnolency, and that state of mobility of the whole system, now so well known to arise from a state of exhaustion of the brain and spinal cord; and thus the patient is rendered both able and willing to comply with every proper request of those around him. Indeed docility and obedience is rendered almost complete.

It is, however, most interesting, and most important to know, that during the somnambulistic state, while consciousness lasts, the judgment is sufficiently awake to enable the individual to refuse compliance with whatever he may consider particularly improper.

At this stage, the patient is as susceptible, in many cases, as a sensitive plant, moving by the slightest touch, or even before being touched, he can discern the hand or any other instrument approaching him, and thus the desired movement may be effected without actual contact.

The limbs, which are so extremely light and flexible at this stage, if placed in such a state as to call muscles into action to maintain them in such position, very speedily assume a state of cataleptiform rigidity, when the patient can no longer exercise any control over them.

This is the case equally when the limbs are brought into such position by an effort of the will, or have been placed so by another person. Hitherto the circulation and respiration are slow and oppressed, the skin and extremities cold; but, very speedily, the pulse rises in frequency, and in a short period may reach 140, or even 250, in a minute.

With the increase of the heart's action, all the phenomena of mesmerism are exhibited in turn; first manifested in the exaltation of function of all the organs of sense; and, after a certain stage, a gradual blunting, and at last total suspension of them, the hearing being the last to disappear.

In this stage, the patient may be pricked, pinched, maimed, or cut, or teeth extracted, or other surgical operations performed, or submitted to the electro-galvanic operation, without pain; and yet, by fanning, or in any way producing a shock on the part, in two seconds the sensibility may be abnormally exalted.

However incredible it may appear, yet it is perfectly true as I shall immediately demonstrate to you; whilst the whole limbs may be in a state of rigidity and firmness, resembling marble both in solidity and in sensibility, yet by any thing which shall, at the proper time, produce a shock, the whole may be dissipated, and the limbs rendered perfectly limber, in a few seconds.

If allowed to go too far, however, one set of muscles after another assume the cataleptiform state; and, when the abdominal and respiratory muscles have become implicated, the oppression of breathing, and convulsive tendency induced, are quite frightful.

I have no doubt but that, in a very short time, such interruption to the function of respiration might cause the patient to die asphyxiated [sic] from the muscles of the larynx becoming implicated.

The great tendency to convulsions, manifested in [Eugene] the first night I was at M. Lafontaine's lecture, was stated by [Lafontaine] to have been induced in consequence of this — the patient having been magnetised by a surgeon in town, who could not succeed to demagnetise him, nor could M. Lafontaine restore him for twelve hours.

This, however, is from the folly of carrying matters too far, and shows the great caution which ought to be exercised in conducting such experiments.

From the peculiarity of the circulation within the cranium, it is generally admitted that no very sudden change in the actual quantity of blood in the brain can take place, whilst the vessels are in a state of integrity. It is well known, however, that the quantity in the venous or arterial system may vary, and that the mental and corporeal feelings may be very much influenced according to the predominance of venous or arterial blood, and also according to the velocity of the circulation through the brain.

There is another circumstance, which has been wholly overlooked, but which, to my

mind, is of great importance, namely, the degree of pressure to which the brain may be subjected, by changes in the barometrical pressure of the atmosphere, and from the force and frequency of the heart's action, and in the interruption to the passage of the blood through its usual channels in other parts of the body.

We know the remarkable difference in the state of sensibility in the erectile tissues when in the relaxed or distended state; we know it also in an inflamed part, which is so much more painful in the dependant¹⁰ than in the horizontal or erect position; and why should not the brain be greatly influenced by this, as well as the increased velocity of the heart's action during the cataleptiform state?

Every one must have observed the difference both in the mental and corporeal energies, according to the state of the weather; being so much more energetic in [sic] a dry, clear day, than on a wet, dull day; and this, I believe, is mainly owing to the greater barometrical pressure during the former than the latter. A little wine or other stimulus, by quickening the circulation compensates for this depression. In elevated situations, the increased cold, by its effect on the capillary circulation, may compensate in a great degree for the low barometrical pressure.

I have fully satisfied myself, that the cause of the sudden rise of the heart's action and determination¹¹ of blood to the head, during the cataleptiform state, is due to the accumulation of blood in these parts unaffected directly by the rigid state of the muscles. This is clearly proved by the fact, that the moment the cataleptiform state is reduced in the extremities, instantly the pulse falls; so that a pulse, which had been upwards of 200 a minute, shall, in half a minute, fall to 70 or 80.

I shall read you the notes of one out of many similar experiments to prove this fact. Sarah Connor, 18th January, 1842; pulse before operation, 94; eyelids closed in 22 seconds, accompanied with a deep sigh. In two minutes, the pulse was 90; at three minutes, placed legs and arms so as to become cataleptiform; and, in one minute after this, the pulse was at 118, in another minute it was 148, in another minute and a half demesmerised both legs and one arm, and, in one minute after, the pulse had fallen to 98; replaced the legs and arm in the cataleptiform state again, and found that, in one minute after, the pulse was mounted up to 160; in one minute and a half, after the whole extremities were demesmerised, the pulse fell to 90.

¹⁰ From the context it seems "*dependant*" was mistakenly used by Braid (or mis-heard by the reporter) for "*pendant*"; i.e., 'hanging down like a tassel attached to the hem of a garment'.

¹¹ "*determination*" = 'a tendency of the blood to flow to a particular part of the body'.

Replaced the extremities once more, so as to assume the cataleptiform state, and one minute after began to reckon the pulse, when, next half minute, it was 125 or 250 in the minute. I immediately demesmerised all the extremities, and, half a minute after, began counting; next half minute it was only 48, that is 96 in the minute. At the end of an hour, the last three quarters of which she had been sleeping in the recumbent posture, the pulse kept steadily at 96.

After making one leg and arm cataleptiform, she being still in the recumbent posture, in two minutes it was raised to the rate of 150 a minute. At sixty-five minutes, reduced the cataleptiform limbs, and in half a minute found the pulse reduced to 92. After being finally roused at the end of an hour and ten minutes, the pulse was 96, whilst in sitting posture.

To prove still more clearly that the difficulty of forcing the usual quantity of blood through the cataleptiform extremities was the cause of the rise in the pulse, I applied a tourniquet round the arm and leg of the same patient, tightening and slackening it alternately, and noting its effects on the frequency of the heart's action.

The results were quite conclusive; the frequency and force of the pulse being increased immediately after the free circulation was interrupted by tightening the tourniquet, and immediately falling again on its being slackened. I should not omit to add, that mere muscular contraction required to keep the legs and arms up, has the tendency to raise the pulse, independently of the patient being mesmerised; but, in such case, the average rise in the pulse is only twenty per cent; whereas it is equal to 114 per cent in the same individuals after being mesmerised.

Such being the case,— although, during the cataleptiform state, the brain may not be in a state of congestion, strictly so called,— it appears to me quite evident, that it must be in a state of high excitement, from the increased pressure it is subjected to, and the increased velocity of the circulation; and it is, therefore, easy for us to discern why the whole of its functions may be exalted up to a certain point, and why a continuance of such a state may exhaust and paralyze its functions.

That the effects may be so speedily dissipated, I account for thus: any sudden shock instantly produces a gasp, or sudden inspiration, which has the effect of suddenly taking off pressure from the brain, by affording more ready transit for the blood through the lungs; and concurrently there is a rush of blood into the limbs, and the blood resumes its wonted course through the extremities, as well as the nervous fluid. Thus the force and frequency of the heart's action are reduced, the cause of the cerebral

excitement being at an end; its effects quickly cease, the senses assume their wonted functions, and the muscles are restored to their normal state, or are left with increased power.

It is gratifying to know, that the extraordinary power we thus possess of altering the circulation, and concurrently the state of the nervous centres, as not merely an idle speculation, but that it is capable of being converted to the most important purposes, in the cure of diseases which have hitherto bid defiance to every other known remedy; and that important and painful operations may be performed whilst in this state, with perfect safety to the patient, with the most complete immunity from present suffering, or ulterior bad consequences.

Of this I have already had ample proofs, in my own practice, to decide the question. By this agency, I have been enabled to extract teeth in the most sensitive subjects, without pain; I have performed other very important operations, with present ease and future advantage; in a few minutes, have entirely removed rheumatic pains, which had resisted every remedy, and tortured the patient for months and years — in one case for thirteen years; have completely overcome the pain of a violent *tic-doloureux* in a few minutes, which had tortured the patient for eight weeks before I saw him, in defiance of the most approved remedies; have restored use to the paralytic limbs, when they had been useless for twenty-four years — from the day of birth — and resisted every other treatment, both by myself and others; have restored hearing to the deaf; and, even in cases of those who have been born deaf and dumb, have been enabled to make them hear the tick of a watch, and to imitate articulate sounds in the course of eight and twelve minutes, the improvement being permanent. Nor should I omit to state, for the consolation of the fair sex, that, at the most trying and interesting period of their existence,¹² I have realized in this agency a resource so efficient and satisfactory, that nothing but having witnessed the facts could have induced me to believe it possible.

I am aware, such may appear astounding statements to some; but there are so many cases to refer to, that they cannot be controverted, or attributed to mere chance, or the effects of imagination.

¹² From a wide search over a large range of medical and semi-medical works of the time, it seems inescapable that this most unusual phrase "at the most trying and interesting period of their existence" is referring to the period of *parturition*, viz., the period that is the culmination of the *gestation* process (rather than just the moment of birth). The implication, certainly based on various references that Braid made here, and at later times, is to his intervention in various ways, including painless childbirth, and, in one case, inducing labour two months early to prevent the complications of a breech birth (Braid, 1853a, pp.42-43).

You will have examples this evening of imagination. You will have examples this evening of two deaf and dumb brothers, who never heard in their lives before I operated on them. There were three brothers, all restored by this means. They knew nothing of what I was about, and saw nothing to alarm them; but both were restored to hearing, and one to the power of imitating articulate sounds, in a few minutes.

By a modification of my usual mode of operating, which shall be explained in exhibiting the experiments, I have, moreover, ascertained what is an object of the greatest consequence to many patients, that by this agency refreshing sleep may be induced without the use of opiates.

I must beg, however, that it be particularly understood, that I by no means hold up this agency as a universal remedy. Whoever talks of a universal remedy, I consider must either be a fool or a knave; for, as diseases arise from totally opposite pathological conditions, all rational treatment ought to be varied accordingly.

I must also warn the ignorant against tampering with such a powerful agency. It is powerful either for good or for evil, according as it is managed and judiciously applied. It is capable of rapidly curing many diseases for which, hitherto, we knew no remedy; but none but a professional man, well versed in anatomy, physiology, and pathology, is competent to apply it with general advantage to the patient, or credit to himself, or the agency he employs.¹³

My experiments, moreover, open up to us a field of inquiry equally interesting, as regards the government of the mind as matter. I have already stated, that they clearly prove the important fact, that, in the somnambulistic state, whilst consciousness lasts, the judgment is sufficiently active to shield the patient against compliance with whatever may be considered particularly improper or indelicate.

(After stating the particulars of several experiments, Mr. Braid said,) I have been thus particular in detailing these cases to you, because I am aware a great degree of prejudice has been raised against mesmerism, as having an immoral tendency.

I feel most confident, that this is an erroneous impression; and that any individual, with habitually correct feelings, will be fully as tenacious of correct conduct during the somnambulistic as the natural state.

[...here, the *Guardian's* reporter parenthetically noted that "Mr. Braid, after refuting the idea (arising out of some remark used at a former lecture having been misunderstood), that he could

¹³ Note: the entire preceding section, from "*It is gratifying to know...*" to "*...or the agency he employs*", was repeated verbatim by Braid at his next lecture on 31 March (Anon, 1842bb).

suppose that in this way any of the gospel miracles could be accounted for, continued" ...]

Most of those who have made exhibitions of mesmeric phenomena seem to have laboured rather to astonish than to instruct, to surprise than to convince, and have exhibited whatever was calculated rather to excite aversion than to assure the spectators of its real value and practical utility. My course shall be quite the contrary. I shall endeavour to exhibit the phenomena which are comprehensible and available for practical purposes; and shall explain by what means any intelligent medical man may apply this agency to the melioration of suffering humanity.

Before commencing the experiments, I wish it to be particularly understood, that the whole phenomena are [consecutive];¹⁴ that is, first increased sensibility and mobility, and after a certain point this merging into the most total insensibility and cataleptiform rigidity.

Experience has taught me, that different ideas occur to the minds of different individuals, and that it is quite a common occurrence for the tests for the opposite conditions to be requested by the company, to be exhibited at the same time.

This, of course, arises from them overlooking the fact that the different states (e.g. insensibility and exalted sensibility, or the cataleptiform state and increased mobility), are quite incompatible, and consequently that they cannot be exhibited at the same instant.

Although this is the case, after a certain period, by what is called mesmerising and de-mesmerising; the opposite states may be exhibited in very rapid succession, but still it must be in succession, and not at the same instant of time.

In applying tests of insensibility, I wish it to be especially borne in mind, that whilst the patients may be totally insensible of the inflictions at the time, their consequences may be felt afterwards. Thus, a drunken man may be maimed and bruised, and his bones broken, without his evincing pain at the time; but the consequences will be felt when he becomes sober.

On this ground, I shall object to use any test which I know would inflict a permanent injury on the patient.— (Applause.)

[At this point, Braid began his first experiment for the evening.]

¹⁴ The original has "*consequative*".

Appendix Seven: Press Reports of M'Neile's Sermon

The account in *The Liverpool Standard* of 12 April 1842 (Anon, 1842ii), transcribed in full below, seems to be the only 'eyewitness' account of M'Neile's sermon published in the U.K. press; and it was the report that generated Braid's initial private letter to M'Neile.

Despite my best efforts, I have been unable to locate any other 'eyewitness' account in any of the secular *or* religious contemporaneous literature; or, for that matter, in any of the later autobiographies, biographies, or 'reminiscences', or accounts of earlier times, etc.

I have also appended a representative sample of 'derivative' accounts of the sermon from a number of British and overseas newspapers: *The Manchester Guardian*; *The Bury and Norwich Post*, and *East Anglian*; *The Bristol Mercury*; *The Newcastle Courant*; and *The Nelson Examiner*, and *New Zealand Chronicle*.

Whilst the reports in this Appendix relate to versions of an 'eyewitness' account of M'Neile's actual performance as a preacher, delivering the sermon, others, dealing with responses, criticisms, or accounts to the text of M'Neile's sermon, as it was published in the *Penny Pulpit* on 4 May 1842 (M'Neile, 1842a; see *Appendix Nine*), have not been included here.

A representative selection of eleven of those responses to M'Neile's sermon, in the form that it was published — i.e., apart from Braid's response (Braid, 1842j; see *Appendix Ten*) — appear at *Appendix Eleven*.

THE REV. HUGH M'NEILE ON MESMERISM

The Liverpool Standard, Tuesday, 12 April 1842.

The mesmeric exhibitions which are taking place here and elsewhere came under the review of the eloquent minister of St. Jude's, in his sermon on Sunday last. The view which he takes of Mesmerism has so much justice in it, and the objection he urges against it, in its present state, at least, is put forward with so much plainness, that we readily accede to the request of several readers to report that part of the gentleman's discourse. Whether he be right or wrong we shall not stop to enquire; but we must say that the position he has assumed displays the sincerity of his ministerial character in a new and prominent light.

The text selected was the 2d chapter of St. Paul's 2d epistle to the Thessalonians, verses 9 and 10 — "Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish."

The reverend gentleman gave first a short digest of the scriptural evidence for Satanic agency among men; and then a brief exposition of the kinds of agency which we have reason to expect from the devil in these latter times till the second coming of Christ; and he applied these scriptural authorities to some exhibitions now going on.

The Rev. Gentleman having, with his usual power, discussed the first two topics, proceeded to the consideration of the third nearly as follows:—

With this scriptural state of things before us, appealing to these facts, knowing by the sure word of God that such a power (as Satanic influences over the bodies of men) is abroad in the world, and that we are liable to be assailed by it — knowing that many signs and wonders, some true and some lying, may be exhibited by this power along with men who deal with familiar spirits — I say, with all these before us, we come as furnished Christians to examine into one particular work or power or pretence, or sign or wonder. For this purpose I have drawn out this scriptural information for you; and I ask you to consider what is now going on, in this very town, and occupying within the last few days, as I perceive, a portion of the public press, which is put into all your hands to read. First I institute the enquiry — is there any real power, any supernatural power, in this Mesmerism, or is it nothing but fraud? Is it nothing but human fraud for gain-sake, or is there anything in it beyond the power of unassisted man to accomplish?

In forming a judgment of this, I go of course on what I have read. I have seen nothing of it, nor do I think it right to tempt God by going to see it. I hold in my hand a very remarkable article from a late number of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, which professes to give an account of some circumstances which the writers themselves beheld. The reverend gentleman then read a description of the exhibition of animal magnetism, by Mons. Lafontaine, on the young gentleman who appeared with him on the occasion of his last visit to Liverpool, the phenomena in which we described fully at the time. Here, he proceeded, one of the cases set forward by apparent authority. I do not vouch, of course, for the facts of this case, as here stated: there may have been some misrepresentation, there may have been some collusion. But supposing that the effect took place as it is here stated, then, beyond all question, it is beyond the course of nature. It is not in nature, so far as we have yet learned, (and I shall speak of this a little further presently), for any one to be so tortured in sleep without being awake out of that sleep. Here is some power then. It may be lodged in nature: there may be some secret operation, the discovery of which is now being made for the first time; something like the power of compressed steam, which did exist in nature long before its discovery took place; or like electricity. But if there be, those who pretend either to have made the discovery, or are making it, will ascertain the laws upon which those operations of nature are carried on; for it is a part of all nature's laws that they shall act uniformly. And I would say to the professors of this science, if they call it a science, that they should come boldly forward, and state the law of nature by the uniform action of which this thing is done, and not confine themselves to experiments in a corner, upon their own servants, or upon females hired for the purpose. The uniform action of the properties of matter can be stated, and it becomes the philosophers who are honest men, and make discoveries of this kind, to state the law — to state its uniform action. But this is not done at present.— Mr. M'Neile then read another paper extracted from the report of the magnetic experiments made by the Committee of the Royal Academy of Paris, detailing an operation for cancer upon an old lady, aged 64, whilst under magnetic influence.¹ Not only was cancer, which was upon the breast, removed whilst she was in this state, but it was dressed and redressed without her feeling any pain, and what is equally singular,

¹ The report is the *Rapport sur les Expériences Magnétiques faites par la Commission de l'Académie Royale de Médecine [à Paris], lu dans les Séances des 21 et 28 Juin, 1831, [à Paris], lu dans les Séances des 21 et 28 Juin, 1831, par M. Husson, Rapporteur*, ("Report upon the Magnetic Experiments conducted by the Royal Academy of Medicine [in Paris] on 21 and 28 June 1831"); the eminent physician, and early vaccination pioneer, Henri-Marie Husson (1772-1853), was the Committee's secretary.

whilst she was calmly conversing. The operation lasted ten minutes.— If this be a falsehood, Mr. M'Neile proceeded, then certainly there is something almost supernatural in the effect, and we have a whole academy joining to tell and publish this lie. If it be the truth, if the fact be so, then here, beyond all question, is something out of the range of nature, out of the present power of man, unless this is a new science. We know what sleep is, and we know what pain is. We do not know all the properties of matter certainly, and there may be some occult property in matter which these men have discovered, and which may have the effect, when applied to the human frame, of rendering it insensible to pain. If there be such a property in matter, it will act uniformly, for that is the characteristic of nature's acts. There is no caprice in nature. All the laws of nature act uniformly. Let these scientific gentlemen remember this — if this be a science, let us have the laws upon which these properties of matter act. When the science of compressed steam was sent forth among men, the laws of its acting was given, and its power always appears in proportion to the pressure or to the compressure. It is the same in every science. Every physical science is subject to a rigid examination of its law; it can be stated as well as the uniformity of its action. So the shock of the battery is always proportioned to the charge. Observe, I am not running down, as they accuse us who take the Bible for our standard, of running down science. We are not running down science at all. We ask, if it be a science, for the law, the uniformly acting law. Let it be remembered that until this is given, we are at liberty to reject it as a science.

The Rev. Gentleman then proceeded to express his belief in the pretended miracles related by Lord Shrewsbury, as having been seen by him on the continent, [the stigmatics,] the *statica* [sic] and the *adolorata* [sic] were nothing but exhibitions of mesmerism. They were entirely explained by it. In conclusion, he cautioned his hearers against occult science. Science, said he, if open and above board, I would examine it; it courts examination; but not so long as it is kept secret, so long as it is a passing of the thumb, and a movement with the fingers, and signs, and talismanic tokens, without any intelligible law laid down, without stating some property in matter, and stating how it acts, the nature of its action on human flesh, how it stops the circulation of human blood, how it arrests the sensibility of the human frame, stating how it prevents the delicate touch being felt in the cutaneous veins. Let them put forth a scientific statement with regard to the nature of the operation of matter upon human flesh, the laws by which it operates; and, if it be in nature, it will operate uniformly and not capriciously. If it operates capriciously, then there is some mischievous agent at work;

and we are not ignorant of the devices of the devil.

The discourse of the reverend gentleman occupied an hour and twenty minutes, and was listened to with profound attention.

The Manchester Guardian, 13 April 1842 (Anon, 1842jj).

The Rev. Hugh M Neile on Mesmerism.—The *Liverpool Standard* of yesterday contains a curious article under the above head, from which we learn that "the eloquent minister of St. Jude's" has been threatening to denounce poor M. Lafontaine as a sorcerer — in league with the enemy of mankind — unless he comply with the modest request of the reverend orator, and, "put forth a scientific statement of the laws" by which the mesmeric phenomena are produced. It appears from the report in the *Standard*, that Mr. M Neile feels so deep an interest in the subject of animal magnetism, as to have actually delivered a lecture on it last Sunday, which "occupied an hour and twenty minutes, and was listened to with profound attention". In this discourse, after proceeding to show "that such a power as Satanic influence over the bodies of men is abroad in the world, and that we are liable to be assailed by it", he quoted from *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, and other publications, a number of highly interesting particulars relating to mesmerism, and wound up the whole by cautioning "his hearers against occult science. Science (said he), if open and above board, I would examine — it courts examination; but not so long as it is kept secret — so long as it is a passing of the thumb, and a movement with the fingers, and signs, and talismanic tokens — without any intelligible law laid down — without stating some property in matter, and how it acts — the nature of its action upon human flesh — how it stops the circulation of human blood — how it arrests the sensibility of the human frame — how it prevents the delicate touch being felt in the cutaneous veins. Let them put forth a scientific statement with regard to the nature of the operation of matter upon human flesh — the laws by which it operates; and, if it be in nature, it will act uniformly, and not capriciously. If it operate capriciously, there is some mischievous agent at work, and we are not ignorant of the devices of the devil." As to now far the reverend gentleman has a right to boast of knowing "the devices of the devil" in natural magic, we shall not attempt to determine. We rather think the "eloquent minister of St. Jude's" would act as prudently to leave the profane sciences to other men. His essays on political economy last summer were not very much to his credit, and it does not appear that he is a whit more at home in animal magnetism.

This article, citing the *Guardian* as its source was repeated without change (except for the "of yesterday" in the first sentence) in *The Nelson Examiner*, and *New Zealand Chronicle* of Saturday, 10 December 1842 (Anon, 1842br),

The Bury and Norwich Post, and East Anglian, 20 April 1842 (Anon, 1842pp).

The Rev. Hugh M Neile on Mesmerism.—It appears from the *Liverpool Standard* of that this eloquent preacher, in a sermon of an hour and twenty minutes, denounced the Mesmeric system as the work of *Satanic* influence:— "Science, (he said), if open and above-board, I would examine — it courts examination; but not so long as it is kept secret — so long as it is a passing of the thumb, and a movement with the fingers, and signs, and talismanic tokens — without any intelligible law laid down — without stating some property in matter, and how it acts — the nature of its action upon human flesh — how it stops the circulation of human blood — how it arrests the sensibility of the human frame — how it prevents the delicate touch being felt in the cutaneous veins. Let them put forth a scientific statement with regard to the nature of the operation of matter upon human flesh — the laws by which it operates; and, if it be in nature, it will act uniformly, and not capriciously. If it operate capriciously, there is some mischievous agent at work, and we are not ignorant of the devices of the devil."

The Bristol Mercury, 23 April 1842 (Anon, 1842qq).

The Rev. Hugh M Neile on Mesmerism.—The *Liverpool Standard* contains a curious article under the above head, from which we learn that "the eloquent minister of St. Jude's" has been threatening to denounce poor M. Lafontaine as a sorcerer — in league with the enemy of mankind — unless he comply with the modest request of the reverend orator, and, "put forth a scientific statement of the laws" by which the mesmeric phenomena are produced. It appears from the report in the *Standard*, that Mr. M Neile feels so deep an interest in the subject of animal magnetism, as to have actually delivered a lecture on it last Sunday, which "occupied an hour and twenty minutes, and was listened to with profound attention". In this discourse, after proceeding to show "that such a power as Satanic influence over the bodies of men is abroad in the world, and that we are liable to be assailed by it", he said "Let them put forth a scientific statement with regard to the nature of the operation of matter upon human flesh — the laws by which it operates; and, if it be in nature, it will act uniformly, and not capriciously. If it operate capriciously, there is some mischievous agent at work, and we are not ignorant of the devices of the devil."—*Manchester Guardian*.

The Newcastle Courant, 29 April 1842 (Anon, 1842rr).

Multum in Parvo ['many things in a few words (lit., 'a great deal in a small space').—
The Rev. Hugh M 'Neile of Liverpool, the other day preached a sermon on Mesmerism,
which he denounced as the work of satanic influence.

Appendix Eight: The Macclesfield Courier's Report

In Braid's published response to M'Neile's sermon (*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed*, p.3; see *Appendix Ten*) he states, "I thereupon addressed to you a letter, accompanied by a copy of the *Macclesfield Courier*, containing an ample report of a lecture which I had delivered a few days before"; and, as a consequence, it is obvious that his published response can not be accurately understood without also reading the text of that report.

The newspaper was *The Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser* of Saturday, 16 April 1842; and the article (Anon, 1842mm), published on page three, appears below.

Note that, whilst the text itself is precisely the same as that of the newspaper's article, it appears here split into many more paragraphs than that of the original version, for ease of reading.

NEUROHYPNOLOGY

MR. BRAID'S LECTURE AT MACCLESFIELD

On Wednesday evening last, Mr Braid delivered a Lecture at the Town Hall, Macclesfield, on Neurohypnology, or the Rationale of Nervous Sleep. The audience was highly respectable, though not numerous; and evinced considerable interest in the statements and experiments introduced by the Lecturer on this marvellous subject.

Mr Braid proceeded as follows:— The object of the following lecture is to submit to your consideration a condensed view of my researches in Neurohypnology, or, as it has hitherto been called, Mesmerism, or Animal Magnetism. I shall also exhibit a series of experiments calculated to illustrate the various modes of inducing the phenomena, and the sources of fallacy which have misled so many who have engaged in these interesting and curious investigations. I shall, moreover, defend Neurohypnotism from some erroneous prejudices which have been raised against it; and, above all, shall endeavour to prove how this agency can be converted to useful purpose, in the cure of what have hitherto proved to be intractable or incurable diseases.

Mr. Braid then proceeded to detail the manner in which his attention had been directed to the subject. Some lectures were delivered in Manchester, on Animal Magnetism. He thought he would go, and hear and see for himself. The first night he had seen nothing but what he could account for. In the second lecture, however, he had seen one fact for which he could not account. It was the case of a gentleman who became unable to move his eyelids. He had soon, however, come to the conclusion that this case was to be accounted for, by the principle which forms the basis of his system, viz., that it was occasioned by the over-exertion of the muscle in consequence of the continued gaze. He had then tried the effect upon himself with success, in the presence of Mrs. Braid, who was surprised at the result. He then desired her to sit down and keep her eyes fixed on an object, and the result was the same. He then considered the principle as established, but was willing to try whether the imagination was not the principal cause of the effect; and he had then tried it on his man servant, without informing him of his object. This he effected by desiring him to keep his eye fixed on the end of a spoon till he should see a spark of fire issue from it, intimating to him merely that it was some chemical experiment, which it was necessary to watch very closely. In the course of three minutes he was asleep, and began snoring. He (Br. Braid) then reprimanded him for his carelessness, and dismissed him from the room, telling him he ought to be ashamed of himself; and he went out of the room no doubt really

ashamed of himself; but he (Br. Braid) called him in again and set him again to watch the spoon, when, in the course of three minutes, he was again asleep. He had since succeeded in hundreds of cases. Mr. Braid then continued:—

The various theories at present entertained regarding the phenomena of mesmerism may be arranged thus:— First, those who believe them to be owing entirely to a system of collusion and delusion; and a great majority of society may be ranked under this head. Second, those who believe them to be real phenomena, but produced solely by imagination, sympathy, and imitation. Third, the animal magnetists, or those who believe in some magnetic medium set in motion as the exciting cause of the mesmeric phenomena. Fourth, those who have adopted my views, that the phenomena are solely attributable to a peculiar physiological state of the brain and spinal cord. I expected to have had to add a fifth, that an undue impression on any of the senses was capable of inducing all the mesmeric phenomena; but the author of this doctrine,¹ having found out his error, now declares there is no such thing as what he announced he was to give lectures to prove he could so easily induce; and concludes with the strange assertion, that he knows of no sleep but natural sleep. He who could not discriminate betwixt common sleep and the apoplectic and epileptic sopor; or who considers the hysteric and cataleptic trance and sleep, induced by opium and other hypnotic and narcotic drugs, and over doses of intoxicating liquor, as the same must, indeed, in my opinion, have strange conceptions of analogy and identity.

After that gentleman's first lecture,² I tried some experiments, and very soon found, that the sleep induced by his mode of operating, excepting on the eye, was nothing but common sleep, excepting in those cases where there had been an impressibility given to the brain, by having operated on in my way, or that of the animal magnetisers previously. When I had ascertained this fact, all the ingenuity or value of his speculations, or "inductions",³ went for nothing; as every one knows that the most common modes of putting babies to sleep is by sucking, by stroking the head or other part of the body, by patting them on the back or elsewhere, by hushing them, or rocking them, and by absolute repose; then as to smell and the eye, the experiments were strictly mesmeric. Every one knows also how readily animals may be induced to sleep by gently stroking their hair; and how readily many people fall asleep when

¹ J.P. Catlow is "the author of this doctrine".

² Charles Lafontaine is "that gentleman".

³ Here, *induction* refers to the activity of inferring a general principle from the observation of particular instances, rather than one of producing some thing (as in "hypnotic induction").

under the operation of the hair-dresser; or a patient, by gentle fiction over a painful part, may be set to sleep. And, again, the hum of bees, the dashing of a water-fall or the purling of a brook,⁴ the strains of soft music, an uninteresting discourse, delivered in a monotonous tone, and counting or repeating uninteresting words, have long been generally and familiarly known to induce sleep; but who ever called such mesmeric sleep? It was always considered as common or natural sleep; and, therefore, when the fact of its not being magnetic sleep, or any way different from common sleep, is known and admitted, all the apparent ingenuity of this gentleman's "inductions" falls to the ground, "like the baseless fabric of a vision".⁵

In answer to the first, or those who believe the whole to be a system of collusion and delusions — or, in plain terms, a piece of deception — the uniform and general success of the results by my method must be sufficient to prove that the mesmeric phenomena are not "humbug", but real phenomena. In answer to the second, I have to state, that I by no means deny that imagination, sympathy, and imitation, are capable of producing the phenomena; that I believe they do so in many cases, especially in cases where the impossibility has been determined by operating as I direct; and may heighten their effects in others; but my experiments clearly prove, that they may be induced and are generally induced in the first instance, independently of any such agency. In answer to the third, I have to state that I consider the theory of the animal magnetists as a gratuitous assumption, unsupported by fact; and that it is far more reasonable to suppose, that an exaltation of function in natural organs of sense is the cause of certain remarkable phenomena, and a depression of them the cause of others, than that they arise from a transposition of the senses, or are induced by a silent act of the will of another. We know the exercise of the will is not adequate to remove sensibility to pain

⁴ Tennyson's famous lines "Myriads of rivulets hurrying thro' the lawn, the moan of doves in immemorial elms, and murmuring of innumerable bees" were not written until 1847.

⁵ The quote is from Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Act IV). Prospero is speaking of a just completed performance: "Our revels now are ended. These our actors, as I foretold you, were all spirits and are melted into air, into thin air; and, like the baseless fabric of this vision, the cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, the great globe itself, Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve, And like this insubstantial pageant faded, Leave not a rack [viz., trace, vestige]. We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep."

Braid may not have been misquoting Shakespeare at all; he may have been quoting from the inscription on Shakespeare's memorial statue in Westminster Abbey:

*The cloud-capp'd Towers, the gorgeous Palaces,
The solemn Temples, the great Globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherits, shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind.*

and hearing, &c., in our own bodies; and would it not be passing strange if it could exercise a greater effect on the bodies of others, whilst inoperative in our own?

I have already disclaimed my belief in such doctrine, and again repeat that I consider that it is a gratuitous assumption unsupported by facts; and, therefore, until the animal magnetists prove their assumption, that there really is a magnetic fluid or medium,

I consider myself warranted in denying its existence, as I can produce the phenomena independently of any such agency. I, therefore, think it desirable to assume another name for the phenomena, and have adopted neurohypnology — a word which will at once convey to every one at all acquainted with Greek, that it is the rationale or doctrine of nervous sleep; sleep being the most constant attendant and natural analogy to the primary phenomena of mesmerism; the prefix “nervous” distinguishing it from *natural* sleep. There are only two other words, I propose by way of innovation, and those are hypnotism for magnetism and mesmerism, and hypnotised for magnetised and mesmerised.

Having explained my theory so fully at former lectures, and the public press having repeated them, I shall not occupy your time by entering into details. I shall, therefore, merely add, that my experiments go to prove that it is a law in the animal economy,⁶ that, by the continued fixation of the mental and visual eye on any object in itself not of an exciting nature, with absolute repose of body and general quietude, they become wearied; and provided the patients rather favour than resist the feeling of stupor which they feel creeping over them during such experiment, a state of somnolency is induced, and that peculiar state of brain, and mobility of the nervous system, which renders the patients liable to be directed so as to manifest the mesmeric phenomena. I consider it not so much the optic, as the motor and sympathetic nerves, and the mind, through which the impression is made. Such is the position I assume; and I feel so thoroughly convinced that it is a law of the animal economy, that such effects should

⁶ The term *animal economy* is perhaps best represented by the definition provided by Ménéuret on page 362 of his *Encyclopédie* (i.e., Ménéuret de Chambaud, Jean-Joseph. 1765. “Economie Animale (Médecine).” *Encyclopédie*. XI:360–366. Paris: Briasson), as translated by Huneman (2008, p.618):

“This term [sc. *animal economy*], taken in the most exact and common sense, refers only to the *order, mechanism, and overall set* of the functions and movements which sustain life in animals, the perfect, universal and constant exercise of which, performed with ease and alacrity, is the flourishing state of *health*, the least disturbance of which is itself *illness*, and the full ceasing of which is the extreme, diametrical opposite of *life*, that is, *death*.”

follow such condition of mind and body, that I fear not to state, as my deliberate opinion, that this is a fact which cannot be controverted.

As to the *modus operandi*, we may never be able to account for it so as to satisfy all objections; but neither can we tell why the law of gravitation should act, as experience has taught us it does act. Still, as our ignorance of the cause of gravitation acting as it is known to do, does not prevent us profiting by an accumulation of the facts known as to its results;⁷ so ought not our ignorance of the whole laws of the *modus operandi* of the hypnotic state, to prevent us studying it practically, and applying it beneficially when we have the power of doing so.

I have already explained my theory to a certain extent namely, that the continued effort of the will, to rivet the attention to one idea, exhausts the mind; that the continuance of the same impression on the retina exhausts the optic nerve; and that the constant effort of the muscles of the eyes and eyelids, to maintain the fixed stare, quickly exhausts their irritability and tone;⁸ that the general quiet of body and suppressed respiration, which take place during such operation, tend to diminish the force and frequency of the heart's action; and that the result of the whole is a rapid exhaustion of the sensorium and nervous system,⁹ which is reflected on the heart and lungs; and a feeling of giddiness, with slight tendency to syncope, and feeling of somnolency, ensue; and thus and then the mind slips out of gear. The diminished force and frequency of the heart's action which now ensue, produce still farther depression of the functions of the brain and spinal cord; and the enfeebled heart being unable to propel the blood with its usual force, consequently it accumulates in the large blood vessels in the region of the heart. The patient now generally sighs and closes the eyelids, which evince a spasmodic state of the orbicularis,¹⁰ or a rapid vibratory motion of the lids,

⁷ Although the natural laws of gravitation could be described in great detail — as they had been by Newton — they were, at the same time, *unexplained*; yet, it was always understood they were not, ultimately, *inexplicable*.

⁸ *Irritability*, denotes the condition of being excitable or responsive to stimuli; *tone*, as in 'muscle tone', refers to the degree of firmness (or tension) appropriate to a strong and healthy bodily organ (or bodily tissues).

⁹ *Sensorium* ('seat of sensation'), the brain as the organ of the mind. Pioneer Czech neuro-physiologist Georg Prochaska (1749-1820) investigated reflex action. He proposed a *vis nervosa* ('nervous force') within the nerves, and a *sensorium commune*, the place where the impressions of the sensory nerves are reflected to the motor nerves. He also showed that reflexes operated without a brain, but not without a spinal cord, concluding that voluntary action was brain-based, whilst reflex action was spine-based.

¹⁰ The *orbicularis oculi* is the muscle that closes the eyelids.

from the ineffectual efforts of the exhausted levators¹¹ to overcome the efforts of the orbicularis. This vibratory motion of the eyelids very rapidly increases the effects both on the mind and body. This I consider to have been induced in the first place by the impression made on the branch of the third pair of nerves sent to the iris,¹² being reflected in the muscles of the eyelids; and from these, by reflection, a spasmodic tendency is communicated to the whole muscular system.

My experiments to induce refreshing sleep without the use of opiates,¹³ is a satisfactory proof of the correctness of the view; and the experiments were instituted strictly in accordance with this theoretical view, and have proved most successful and satisfactory.

At this period there is apparent somnolency, and that state of mobility of the whole system, now so well known to arise from a state of exhaustion of the brain and spinal cord; and thus the patient is rendered both able and willing to comply with every proper request of those around him. Indeed docility and obedience is rendered almost complete. It is, however, most interesting, and most important to know, that during the somnambulistic state, while consciousness lasts, the judgment is sufficiently awake to enable the individual to refuse compliance with whatever he may consider particularly improper.

At this stage the patient is as susceptible, in many cases, as a sensitive plant, moving by the slightest touch, or even before being touched, he can discern the hand or any other instrument approaching him, and thus the desired movement may be effected without actual contact. The limbs, which are so extremely light and flexible at this stage, if placed in such state as to call muscles into action to maintain them in such position, very speedily assume a state of cataleptiform rigidity, when the patient can no longer exercise control over them. This is the case equally when the limbs are brought into such position by an effort of the will, or have been placed so by another person. Hitherto the circulation and respiration are slow and oppressed, the skin and extremities cold; but, very speedily, the pulse rises in frequency, and in a short period may reach 140, or even 250, in a minute. With the increase of the heart's action, all the phenomena of mesmerism are exhibited in turn; first manifested in the exaltation of

¹¹ The *levator palpebrae superioris* is the muscle that raises the upper eyelid.

¹² The left and right *nervus oculomotorius* (oculomotor nerve), or third cranial nerve.

¹³ The motivation for this research was the emergence of self-titled "*hypnologist*" (professor of the art of teaching people how to bring on sleep at will), Henry Gardner (1777-1842). Braid elaborated on these researches in his *Neurypnology* (1843, pp.75-78).

function of all the organs of sense; and, after a certain stage, a gradual blunting, and at last total suspension of them, the hearing being the last to disappear.

In this stage, the patient may be pricked, pinched, maimed, or cut, or teeth extracted, or other surgical operations performed, or submitted to the electro-galvanic operation, without pain; and yet, by fanning, or in any way producing a shock on the part, in two seconds the sensibility may be abnormally exalted. However incredible it may appear, yet it is perfectly true, as I shall immediately demonstrate to you; whilst the whole limbs may be in a state of rigidity and firmness, resembling marble, both in solidity and insensibility, yet by any thing which shall, at the proper time, produce a shock, the whole may be dissipated, and the limbs rendered perfectly limber, in a few seconds. If allowed to go too far, however, one set of muscles after another assume the cataleptiform state; and, when the abdominal and respiratory muscles have become implicated, the oppression of breathing, and convulsive tendency induced, are quite frightful. I have no doubt but that, in a very short time, such interruption to the function of respiration might cause the patient to die asphyxiated, from the muscles of the larynx becoming implicated.

The great tendency to convulsions manifested in the young Frenchman the first night I was at M. Lafontaine's lecture, was stated by him to have been induced in consequence of this — the patient having been magnetised by a surgeon in town, who could not succeed to demagnetise him, nor could M. Lafontaine restore him for twelve hours. This, however, is from the folly of carrying matters too far, and chose the great caution which ought to be exercised in conducting such experiments.

From the peculiarity of the circulation within the cranium, it is generally admitted that no very sudden change in the actual quality of blood in the brain can take place, whilst the vessels are in a state of integrity. It is well known, however, that the quality in the venous or arterial system may vary, and that the mental and corporeal feelings may be very much influenced according to the predominance of venous or arterial blood, and also according to the velocity of the circulation through the brain. There is another circumstance, which has been wholly overlooked, but which to my mind, is of great importance, namely, the degree of pressure to which the brain may be subjected, by changes in the barometrical pressure of the atmosphere, and from the force and frequency of the heart's action, and the interruption to the passage of the blood through its usual channels in other parts of the body. We know the remarkable difference in the state of sensibility in the erectile tissues when in the relaxed or

distended state; we know it is also in an inflamed part, which is so much more painful in the dependant¹⁴ than in the horizontal or erect position; and why should not the brain be greatly influenced by this, as well as the increased velocity of the heart's action during the cataleptiform state?

Every one must have observed the difference both in the mental and corporeal energies, according to the state of the weather; being so much more energetic on a dry, clear day, than on a wet, dull day; and this, I believe, is mainly owing to the greater barometrical pressure during the former than the latter. A little wine or other stimulus, by quickening the circulation, compensates for this depression. In elevated situations, the increased cold, by its effect on the capillary circulation, may compensate in a great degree for the low barometrical pressure. I have fully satisfied myself, that the cause of the sudden rise of the heart's action and determination of blood to the head,¹⁵ during the cataleptiform state, is due to the accumulation of blood in the those parts unaffected directly by the rigid state of the muscles. This is clearly proved by the fact, that the moment the cataleptiform state is reduced in the extremities, instantly the pulse falls; so that a pulse, which had been upwards of 200 a minute, shall in half a minute, fall to 70 or 80.

I should not omit to add, that the mere muscular effort to support the uplifted hands and arms has a tendency to produce a rise in the pulse, but, in such cases, the average rise in the pulse in five minutes does not exceed 20 percent, whereas, after being hypnotised the same length of time, the rise in the pulse is about 114 per cent. Such being the case — although, during the cataleptiform state, the brain may not be in a state of congestion, strictly so called — it appears to me quite evident, that it must be in a state of high excitement, from the increased pressure it is subjected to, and the increased velocity of the circulation; and it is, therefore, easy for us to discern why the whole of its functions may be exalted up to a certain point, and why a continuance of such a state may exhaust and paralyze its functions. That the effects may be so speedily dissipated, I account for thus: any sudden shock instantly produces a gasp, or sudden inspiration, which has the effect of suddenly taking off pressure from the brain, by affording more ready transit for the blood through the lungs; and concurrently there is a rush of blood into the limbs, and the blood resumes its [normal] course through the extremities, as well as the nervous fluid; nor should the effect of the shock on the

¹⁴ *Dependant*, derived from the same source as *pendant*, means 'hanging down'.

¹⁵ The *determination of blood to the head* is "the flow of blood towards the head"; the implication in the expression is that the head is the '*terminal point*' of the blood flow.

imagination be overlooked, as a new direction may thereby be *instantaneously given* to the whole mental and bodily functions. Thus the force and frequency of the heart's action are reduced, the cause of the cerebral excitement being at an end; its effects quickly cease, the senses assume their wonted functions, and the muscles are restored to their normal state, or are left with increased power.

It is gratifying to know, that the extraordinary power we possess in this agency, is not merely an idle speculation, but that it is capable of being converted to the most important purposes, in the cure of diseases which have hitherto bid defiance to every other known remedy; and that important and painful operations may be performed whilst in this state, with perfect safety to the patient, and the most complete immunity from present suffering, or ulterior bad consequences. Of this I have had ample proofs, in my own practice, to decide the question. By this agency I have been enabled to extract teeth in the most sensitive subjects, without pain; I have performed other very important operations, with present ease and future advantage; in a few minutes, have entirely removed rheumatic pains, which had resisted every remedy, and tortured the patient for months and years — in one case for thirteen years; have completely overcome the pain of a violent *tic-do[u]loureux*¹⁶ in a few minutes, which had tortured the patient for eight weeks before I saw him, in defiance of the most approved remedies; have restored use to paralytic limbs, when they had been useless for twenty-four years — from the day of birth — and resisted every other treatment, both by myself and others; have restored hearing to the deaf; and, even in cases of those who have been born deaf and dumb, have been enabled to make them hear the tick of a watch, and to imitate articulate sounds in the course of eight and twelve minutes, the improvement being permanent. Nor should I omit to state for the consolation of the fair sex, that, at the most trying and interesting period of their existence,¹⁷ I have

¹⁶ The painful condition of *tic douloureux* (French, 'painful twitching'), sometimes called *prosopalgia* (Latin, 'pain in the face'), *Fothergill's Disease* (after John Fothergill (1712-1780), who first described the disorder in 1773), and more widely known as *trigeminal neuralgia* (after the nerve involved) is considered by many to be the most intolerably painful condition known.

Trigeminal neuralgia, pain in the fifth cranial nerve (called trigeminal because it has three branches serving different parts of the face), is "a syndrome [fixed set of symptoms not from the same cause] of paroxysmal [sudden and violent] excruciating [extremely agonizing] lancinating [piercing] unilateral [one side only] facial pain" (Prasad and Galetta, 2009, p.87)

¹⁷ From a wide search over a large range of medical and semi-medical works of the time, it seems inescapable that "at the most trying and interesting period of their existence" refers to the period of *parturition*, viz., the period that is the culmination of the *gestation* process (rather than just the moment of birth). The implication, based on various remarks that Braid made here and at later times, is to his intervention in various ways, including painless childbirth, and, in one case, inducing labour two months early to prevent the complications of a breech birth

realized in this agency a resource so efficient and satisfactory that nothing but having witnessed the facts, could have induced me to believe it possible. I am aware, such may appear astounding statement to some; but there are so many cases to refer to, that they cannot be controverted, or attributed to mere chance, or the effects of imagination. I operated on three deaf and dumb brothers, who were all restored to hearing by this means. By a modification of my usual mode of operating, which shall be explained in exhibiting the experiments, I have moreover, ascertained what is an object to many patients, that by this agency refreshing sleep may be induced without the use of opiates.

I must beg, however, that it be particularly understood, that I by no means hold up this agency as a universal remedy. Whoever talks of a universal remedy, I consider must either be a fool or a knave; for, as diseases arise from totally opposite pathological conditions, all rational treatment ought to be varied accordingly. I must also warn the ignorant against tampering with such a powerful agency. It is powerful either for good or for evil, according as it is managed and judiciously applied. It is capable of rapidly curing many diseases for which, hitherto, we know no remedy; but none but a professional man, well versed in anatomy, physiology, and pathology, is competent to apply it with general advantage to the patient, or credit to himself, or the agency he employs. My experiments, moreover, open up to us a field of inquiry equally interesting, as regards the government of the mind as of matter. I have already stated, that they clearly prove the important fact, that, in the somnambulistic state, whilst consciousness lasts, the judgment is sufficiently active to shield the patient against compliance with whatever may be considered particularly improper or indelicate.

[After stating the particulars of several experiments, Mr. Braid said,] I have been thus particular in detailing these cases to you, because I am aware a great degree of prejudice has been raised against Mesmerism,¹⁸ as having an immoral tendency. I feel most confident, that this is an erroneous impression; and that any individual, with habitually correct feelings will be fully as tenacious of correct conduct during the somnambulistic as the natural state. Another source of vehement hostility against Mesmerism, has been its supposed tendency to [undermine] the foundation of the Christian creed, by representing the Gospel miracles as having been wrought by this

(Braid, 1853a, pp.42-43).

¹⁸ With no explanation given, Mesmerism now, and for the rest of the article, has a capital "M". It may have been a sub-editor's decision, rather than something in Braid's notes.

agency,¹⁹ I have particularly examined into the validity of this grave charge and feel assured it is quite erroneous. There are, certainly, two or three of the miracles which might be account for, were the animal magnetiser's doctrine proved to be correct; but, as I maintain that the existence of a magnetic fluid is a mere delusion, my mode of accounting for Mesmeric phenomena, does away entirely with the objection formerly raised on this supposition, and therefore renders the validity and importance of the Gospel miracles stronger than ever. (Loud cheers.) With the views I entertain as to the causes of Mesmeric phenomena, I feel assured the validity and importance of the Gospel miracles has nothing to fear from Mesmerism, or any other ism with which I am acquainted.

Another great prejudice it has to contend with is the fact of its being **NEW**. Now, in reply to this, I beg to observe, that all the old now admitted facts in science were once new, and were disbelieved and opposed accordingly; for example— It was not till the discovery of our immortal countryman, Newton, that the law of gravitation was known, but who doubts it had existed from the creation of the world? It was not till the days of another of our countrymen, Harvey, that the circulation of the blood was discovered, but who doubts that the blood flowed in the same way it does now from the day of man's creation? Who doubts that the earth travelled round the sun from the creation of the world, and yet who does not know it was not understood until the days of Galileo, and that when he disclosed his important and interesting views, he was rewarded by being comfortably lodged in a dungeon for his supposed audacious presumption or mendacity. Who doubts but the polarity of the needle — a discovery of vast importance, had existed from the creation of the world? Yet we know it was thousands of years after, before it was known or believed, or turned to advantage. Who doubts that steam had the same power of moving machinery six thousand years ago as it has now? It was only a few years ago, however, that its application to this purpose was known. And who doubts but ink and types were capable of conveying the same imprecision and valuable interchange of sentiments, and feelings, and instruction, thousands of years before the art printing was discovered?

If we turn from the facts of the recent dates of these discoveries, to the obstinate

¹⁹ By Lafontaine's own account, whilst in Naples in 1849, having "[been] very successful in curing cases of blindness and deafness", the highest religious authorities complained to King Ferdinand II that his act of curing the blind and the deaf "was a blasphemous imitation of the miracles of Christ" (Harte, 1903, p.64); and it was only with the direct personal intervention of the French ambassador, and an agreement that he made no more blind people see nor deaf ones to hear, that Lafontaine was able to avoid expulsion from the kingdom.

resistance of individuals, and even of learned bodies, to the admission or introduction of them, we shall have a curious and instructive lesson. It is recorded in history, that not a single medical man in England, who had attained the age of forty, would believe Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood to be true; and the scientific Parisian academicians threw it over-board and resisted its validity for fifty years.— Again.— Let us view the contempt with which Fulton's announcement was met,— that he would construct a vessel to sail by steam.²⁰ Thousands came to view his discomfiture, and laugh him to scorn. When they saw the vessel move they were surprised; but when they saw her speedily come to a stand still, their shout of joy and derision was great. But let us see the triumph of science over ignorance and prejudice in this instance. He calmly went down, discovered and removed the cause of the machinery being interrupted in its movements,— calmly came upon deck again, and addressed the company thus: "You have had the laugh against me; not now the laugh shall be turned against yourselves." Having said this, he set his engine to work, and gallantly, and gentlemanly, bade them adieu, and accomplished this voyage within the time he had prescribed himself.

I believe it will be generally known to those present, that much ink was shed to demonstrate the impossibility of constructing a steam vessel to sail from Britain to America; however, the enterprise of British merchants and British capital was otherwise directed, and now, I believe, he would be very wonderful man who would have the boldness to undertake to prove to you the impossibility of such an achievement.

Such has been the fate of Mesmerism hitherto, and whilst it could be praised by so few, and, even with them, prove successful in so few cases, this is not to be wondered at. But now that my researches prove it to be a law of the animal economy, which may be turned to so much practical advantage, and practised by any one — and, you may depend upon it, nature has made no general law from which some practical advantage cannot result — I feel most confident it will and *must* prevail, in spite of every opposition.

The public may not be able to discriminate the scientific causes of certain things, but public opinion very soon determines what is *practically* useful. The most simple individual, who has been suffering agonising pain for months and years, in defiance of

²⁰ Robert Fulton (1765-1815) was an American inventor, engineer, artist, and steamboat pioneer. He developed the first commercially successful steamboat, and, whilst living in France, was commissioned by Napoleon to design the world's first practical submarine, the *Nautilus*, which was first tested in 1800.

all that has been done for him, can have no difficult in perceiving the simple fact, that in a few minutes after a certain experiment, his pains are gone; and, when he discovers others similarly afflicted relieved in the same manner, and by the same means, he readily arrives at the conclusion, that if, he is so afflicted again, he will try the same experiment, which proved so successful with him and others before. The same may be said of restoring hearing to the deaf or of any of the other maladies for which it is successfully applied. The beneficial results of my mode of applying the agency is so remarkable, and so rapid, that no one who is willing to believe the truth of what he sees and feels can possibly doubt them.

Most of those who have made exhibitions of mesmeric phenomena seem to have laboured rather to astonish than to instruct, to surprise than to convince, and have exhibited what was calculated rather to excite aversion than to assure the spectators of its real value and practical utility. My course shall be quite the contrary. I shall endeavour to exhibit the phenomena which are comprehensible and available for practical purposes; and shall explain by what means any intelligent medical man may apply this agency to the melioration [viz., betterment] of suffering humanity.

Before commencing the experiments, I wish it to be particularly understood, that the whole phenomena are consecutive,— that is, first increased sensibility and mobility, and, after a certain point, this merging into the most total insensibility and cataleptiform rigidity. Experience has taught me, that different ideas occur to the minds of different individuals, and that it is quite a common occurrence for the test for the opposite conditions to be requested by the company to be exhibited at the same time. This of course, arises from their overlooking the fact, that the different states (e.g. insensibility, and exalted sensibility, or the cataleptiform state and increased mobility), are quite incompatible, and consequently that they cannot be exhibited at the same instant. Although this is the case, after a certain period, by what is called mesmerising and de-mesmerising; the opposite states may be exhibited in rapid succession, but still it must be in succession, and not at the same instant of time.

In applying tests of insensibility, I wish it to be especially borne in mind, that whilst the patients may be totally insensible of the inflictions at the time,²¹ their consequences may be felt afterwards. Thus, a drunken man may be maimed and bruised, and his bones broken, without his evincing pain at the time; but the consequences will be felt

²¹ Braid is emphasizing that, whilst patients may be totally pain-free at the time of testing, they may possibly experience pain and suffering from the experiment, once it is over.

when he be-comes sober. On this ground, I shall object to use any test which I know would inflict a **PERMANENT** injury on the patient.—(Applause.) In regard to the experiments, I give you my word and honour as a gentleman, that whatever you see shall be real and not feigned phenomena; and before commencing them I have but one word more to remark, and that is, that my object is not to mystify but to dispel all mystery, and to make that comprehensible and available to practical purposes, which has hitherto been so inoperative, from its complexity and want of general applicability.

Mr. Braid thus proceeded to exhibit his experiments, observing, that he preferred operating at first upon those who had been operated upon before; and he would recommend to experimentalists who might repeat them, not to push the experiments to the greatest length at first, as it might lead to dangerous consequences.²²

The first subject was his man-servant — the same upon who he had stated that he had performed the experiment of causing him to look at the end of a spoon until he should see a spark of fire issue from it. The mode in which Mr Braid produced hypnotism²³ was by directing the patient to look at the end of some object which held in his hand at a distance from a foot to 18 inches, and at an angle probably of 45 degrees above the horizontal line from the eye. The patient in this instance soon had the appearance of sleep, and of laborious breathing. Mr. Braid invited any medical man present to examine him, and Mr. Firth went on the platform and examined the patient.²⁴ Mr. Braid, as soon as the hypnotic state²⁵ appears to be produced, placed the arms in an elevated position, in which they are seen as it were rightly fixed; and he stated that in some cases great strength might be employed to depress them without any effect being produced, or the patient's being aware of the attempt to do so, and that a patient had in one case carried a boy in this way upon his arms. Mr. Braid also stretched out his patients' legs in a similar way, raising them from the ground, where he stated that they remained of themselves in the same position. In all the cases the arms and legs remained nearly as he put them, though not without a nervous tremor, and in some cases a slow depression. Mr Firth did not consider the muscles of the arm in this, and in the succeeding case, to have been rigid. Mr. Braid stated that the pulse was raised to an extent equal to what he had stated in his lecture. Mr Firth did not

²² Here, Braid is repeating the warning given by Lafontaine.

²³ Note the use of "*hypnotism*".

²⁴ Mr. John Firth (1808-1871), M.R.C.S.(Eng), L.S.A., was a highly respected surgeon who practised for 34 years in Macclesfield, where he also served as magistrate and alderman.

²⁵ Note the use of "*hypnotic state*".

consider that it was so high as was stated by Mr. Braid, by 40 in the minute; and is of opinion that it is impracticable to count 180 in a minute. Mr Braid, in reply to Mr. Firth's observations respecting the pulse, remarked, that during his experiments in London, a similar observation had been made by Dr. Billing,²⁶ namely, that the number of pulsations in a minute in a particular case, was, in his opinion, less than that stated by Mr. Braid, but Dr. Billing afterwards, on further examination, pronounced Mr. Braid's statement to be correct. Some smelling salts were tried upon the first patient without producing any visible effect; and a pin was obtained by Mr. Braid for the purpose of pricking his leg — the application of which by Mr. Braid did not elicit any mark of sensation.

The second experiment was performed on a gentleman, who had come with Mr. Braid, and was stated by him to possess the uncommon faculty of being conscious of the progress of the phenomenon through its different states, while they were going on within himself. In this case Mr Firth, and the Rev. W.A. Osborne, of the Free Grammar School,²⁷ were upon the platform. The gentleman placed himself outside the rail in front of the platform with his back against the rail, so that his arms were just within reach of the gentlemen on the platform. The patient was in this case desired by Mr. Braid to mesmerise himself.²⁸ He fixed his eyes steadfastly for a short time; after which the appearance of sleep took place, with laborious breathing, and a considerable swelling in the countenance. Mr. Firth again differed with Mr. Braid as to the number of pulsations in a minute, but admitted that a considerable acceleration had taken place; and he inquired of Mr. Braid whether the oppression of the breathing and the acceleration of the pulse might not arise from the position of the extremities? Mr. Braid said that he had always stated in his lecture, that the position of the extremities would accelerate the pulse, but added that it would not do so to the extent that was witnessed in patients during the hypnotic state. Mr. Firth was not of opinion, from his examination, that the muscles of the arm in this patient were in a very rigid state. On the

²⁶ Archibald Billing, B.A., M.B., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S. (1791-1881), lecturer, physician, medical innovator, connoisseur, and amateur artist. Born in Ireland, he had studied medicine at a wide range of institutions in Ireland, Britain, and on the continent. Author of medical texts (e.g., Billing, 1828; Billing, 1841), and art texts (Billing, 1867), Billing's clinical teaching activities had great influence. A strong and intelligent man, Billing is thought to be amongst the last of the London physicians who visited their patients on horseback.

²⁷ The Rev. William Alexander Osborne (1814-1891), M.A., headmaster of the Macclesfield Free Grammar School, would later serve as headmaster of the Northern Church of England College, Fleetwood, Lancashire from 1849 to 1870.

²⁸ Note the use of "*mesmerise*", rather than "*hypnotise*".

patient being subjected to the operation stated to be necessary for de-hypnotising (which is merely a sudden impression on the body of any kind) his face assumed its ordinary expression, and Mr. Braid proceeded to the next experiment.

In the third experiment, it was understood that the patient was in a more advanced state of the experiment. She was a young lady of perhaps 14, and she was first seen by the audience in rather a theatrical manner, as already hypnotised, and with a bandage round her eyes, in what is called the Grand Jury room, one entrance of which is by a door into the Assembly Room, where the lecture was delivered. Mr. Braid then took a funnel-shaped glass vessel of some size, which said he used in order to shew that in the performance of his experiments no magnetic influence passed from his body to that of the patient.²⁹ On his moving this vessel forward and withdrawing it rapidly backward, the patient advanced in the direction of the withdrawing motion by a cautious sort of movement, the appearance of which in the limbs could not of course be seen on account of her dress. By this means she was brought out of the room and stepped up the steps on to the platform, with her eyes closed. Various experiments were shown — making her arms move by blowing upon them suddenly — causing her to kneel down — making her join her hands in the attitude of prayer — a causing her to assume different picturesque attitudes, by telling her to do so; and de-hypnotising the nape of her neck by blowing upon it suddenly, and causing her to state the form of a glass vessel which was placed near it, and of course behind her. She answered the question of what its form was by saying, in a scarce audible whisper, "Round". Mr. Braid said she was enabled to state the form the extreme sensibility of the skin, which caused her to be aware of the form of an object brought within a short distance of it. All the phenomena which they witnessed in this subject, Mr. Braid explained by the extreme sensibility of the skin. This patient was almost constantly moving the arms, an appearance which Mr. Braid explained by the same extreme sensibility. It may be observed in general that Mr. Braid moved the arms and legs of his different patients to different positions without any sensible alteration in their state in other respects.

While this patient was still on the platform, a fourth, also a young lady, but apparently a year or two younger than the former, was placed in a state which exhibited the hypnotic appearances. This patient did not exhibit the same appearances of the extreme sensibility as the former; but she appeared, nevertheless, sufficiently sensible to external impressions to be led by the expressed desire of Mr. Braid to sing the

²⁹ It was well-known that glass was an insulator.

"Troubadour", in a low pleasing voice.³⁰ If we recollect right, both these patients were on the platform when Mr. Braid caused the former to assume a picturesque attitude, observing that he had no doubt that the superior excellency of Greek Statuary was owing to the living models which they copied having become hypnotized in the attitude in which they were placed.³¹ This might, he thought, have happened without any of the parties being aware of the principles which he had been explaining to the audience. He had no doubt that the extraordinary length of time that some of the Fakirs [viz., Hindu ascetics] in the East held their arms and limbs in constrained attitudes, arose from their becoming hypnotised.³² Both the last two patients being still on the platform, and not close by each other, Mr. Braid, by means of the quick backward and forward motion of the glass vessel, caused the former of the two (the other not exhibiting at the time any sensibility to its influence, although nearer the operator) to descend from the steps; and both having been divested of the hypnotic appearance the experiments with them concluded. Mr Braid remarked that, with respect to the movements of his hypnotised patients, it was very remarkable that they always pivotted upon the heel.

The next subject operated upon was a deaf and dumb boy, of the name of James Shelmerdine, who had been some time in the Deaf and Dumb School, at Manchester, and who was stated by Mr. Braid to have derived great benefit in the improvement of his hearing, by being subjected to the hypnotizing process. He repeated the beginning of the Lord's prayer in English and in Latin, i.e. the words "Our father which art in heaven", and "Pater noster qui es in". On Mr. Braid's saying "cælo" [sic],³³ he shook his head, intimating that he could go no farther. The words were pronounced separate-

³⁰ The popular ballad, *Gaily the Troubadour*, first published in 1833, was composed and written by Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797-1839), the most popular song writer of his day.

³¹ *Flexibilitas cerea* ('waxen flexibility'), the capacity to maintain limbs in the position they are placed is considered to be a sub-set of *cataplexy*. The implication is that the subject's limb is 'waxen' because it can be easily manipulated by an operator into a particular configuration and it will remain precisely so until it is manipulated again into a different position. It is, also, one of the attendant features of the condition known as *catatonic schizophrenia*.

³² In his textbook on medical hypnotism, Albert Abraham Mason (1917-?) reports that "[it was the habit of] the monk, Rasputin, late of the Romanov Royal Court of Imperial Russia... to arrange a corridor of 'living statues' outside his chamber at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. These human statues stood in strange poses in which they could remain for hours on end, and all this was done, so it is claimed, by the production of cataleptic trance states in carefully selected hypnotic subjects" (Mason, 1960, p.138).

³³ If accurate, the report poses a question: Was the lad confused by Braid's use of "cælo" instead of "cælis"? The correct Latin of the prayer is "*Pater Noster, qui es in cælis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cælo, et in terra*", with "cælo" appearing later, in the expression "*sicut in cælo, et in terra*" ('on earth, as it is in heaven').

ly, near his ear, by Mr. Braid; and the boy also pronounced them separately after he had pronounced each. Mr. Braid observed, on his not repeating the word "cælo", that he had not learned any farther, it being necessary to learn to speak the words, even after he could hear them. Shelmerdine, in the course of the proceedings, observed among the audience a deaf and dumb man, resident in Macclesfield, called Ralph Earl, a silk dyer, in the employ of Mr Gould, with whom he immediately established a communication by the fingers, which they kept up with great rapidity.

Mr. Braid then invited any deaf and dumb persons present to come forward; and the individual just mentioned, immediately went on the platform, and made signals to a deaf and dumb couple (man and wife), also to advance — which they did. Two other deaf and dumb females also came upon the platform, and Mr. Braid proceeded to test the extent of their hearing powers before the operation, by means of a musical box. Mr. Braid intimated that his chance of success was greater with those who had never known the sensation of hearing, having been born deaf and dumb, than with those who had become so through disease.

All of them, except one or two of the females, made signs of not hearing until the box touched the ear; and Mr. Braid stated that the sensation which they then had was not that of hearing, but of touch. He placed the box on different parts of the body — the shoulder, the breast, the leg, the back of the hand of those patients — and they made the same signs of hearing as when it was placed at their ears. He also stopped the tune, and applied it at a distance from the ears of those who had signified that they heard it at a distance, when they made the same sign of hearing as they had done when the tune was playing. The process for hypnotizing was then gone through, and the appearances took place in all of them. Earl was the last to be subjected to the process, and he was placed on the table below, and in front of the platform, with his legs, like those of the rest, stretched out without support, and his arms elevated in the usual way. He continued in this way for a very considerable time, not, however, without a good deal of nervous tremor in the limbs.

After this state of things had continued with all the patients as long as was deemed necessary by the operator, an end was put to it in his usual way; and all of them, with the exception of one, who, it had been previously stated, had not been born deaf and dumb, made the same signs of hearing the tune of the musical box, when it was at a distance from the ear, as they had previously done on its being applied close to their ears. This seemed, to the greater part of the audience, to be conclusive, as to the partial

restoration of their hearing; and that circumstance, with the hypnotising of Earl, who was well known to be very intelligent, having been educated in London, and able readily to communicate his ideas by writing, as well as the observations which he conveyed to different persons by means of his slate, appeared now to have completely overcome the scepticism of the audience; and the facts of Mr. Braid were considered, from this moment, to have completely triumphed. In the case of Earl, we must observe that a considerable perspiration was excited, implying, seemingly bodily exertion, or some other cause, for such an appearance. Mr. Braid pointed it out as a proof of his system producing this also, as well as other effects of the alleged Animal Magnetism.

This triumph was immediately after increased by a girl of the name of Hannah Brooks, daughter of John Brooks, silk weaver, resident in Beach-lane, and suffering under paralysis, being brought upon the platform. She was, with some difficulty, brought to exhibit the same symptoms as the others, after being tried as to the power which she possessed in her arm and hand. She was able with some difficulty, to raise her arm to her head, but had no use of her hand, and could not pick up a pin with it, which in fact she had repeatedly tried to do unsuccessfully at home. While she exhibited the symptoms of hypnotism, Mr. Braid moved the arm about, opened the hand, rubbed the tendons, and put it behind her head several times. When the symptoms were removed, she was able to pick up a pin with some facility; and her mother, who was present, expressed great delight on seeing it. We are sorry, however, to learn that the improvement has not been permanent, although she thinks her foot is better than before the hypnotising symptoms were produced.

Another paralytic, a male was brought upon the platform, and subjected to Mr. Braid's process; but it was unsuccessful. This, however, was not regarded as at all invalidating the force of the previous experiments, as Mr. Braid stated that it was always in the power of any individual to resist the hypnotising force at his will.

The experiments concluded with a very striking display, formed by collecting together on the platform all those who had been operated upon, with the exception of the subject of the second experiment and Ralph Earl, who refused to be again hypnotized.

It must be observed that in experiments with parties belonging to Macclesfield, the hypnotic symptoms had hitherto only been exhibited upon them while in a sitting posture — all of the patients, with the exceptions which we have made, were now hypnotized in a standing position, in front of the platform, by a general operation, all

being directed to look at the same object, which Mr. Braid held in his hand. The symptoms were exhibited by all, and the females in particular presented a striking theatrical display, seeming to realise some Arabian tale of enchanted sleepers or petrified living beings, or a band of sleep-walking Lady Macbeths. The only person who exhibited any gesticulation was, as before, the female subject of the third experiment. She still seemed to feel every motion around her.

During this state of things Mr. Braid made his parting address, thanking the meeting, and the medical men in particular, for the gentlemanly manner in which they had treated him. His address was received with great applause, which appeared to produce much effect upon the patient to whom we have before alluded.

The meeting were generally impressed with the truth and importance of Mr. Braid's principles. The writer of this may be permitted to observe that he was out-stripped in the race of hypnotic faith by most of those present; and that his mind has not yet gone beyond the acataleptic state, as to this doctrine.

This will, however, be no bar to the effect which will be produced on the public by the almost unconditional surrender of their faith by the many intelligent many intelligent gentlemen present — particularly as facts are since stated to have taken place in Macclesfield which seem to show that the possibility of inducing some species of torpor, under certain circumstances, by Mr. Braid's method, with the aid of the will and the imagination, is not doubtful.³⁴

The point is, therefore, one which deserves the strictest inductive investigation which can be applied to it, without prejudice either for or against it; but we must take the liberty of saying that we never can surrender our faith unconditionally to glaring instances exhibited before public meetings, whether in matters of politics or philosophy. Experiment (*modo hæreamus in experimēte*)³⁵ is the only test of truths in nature; but it proves nothing beyond itself.

It does not follow, because the appearance of torpor can be induced in certain cases, that it can also be so in others. Nor does it follow that all the rest of Mr Braid's doctrines are true, because this is true.

Sufficient however has appeared to shew that no scientific man need be ashamed of devoting his attention to the strict inductive investigation of this subject; for parties in

³⁴ This implies that at least one member of the audience had successfully experimented with Braid's method, in Macclesfield, subsequent to Braid's lecture.

³⁵ "In this way, we ought to adhere to experiment(ation)" (per kind favour Geoff Nathan).

Macclesfield, for whose judgment the writer of this notice cannot but entertain the greatest respect, and who are entitled to respect in any literary or scientific quarter, are, we understand, disposed to go a good deal further than he is in his belief.

We conclude by giving the address of the individuals in and near Macclesfield, who were operated upon by Mr Braid.— Ralph Earl, silk dyer, (in the employ of Mr. Gould,) Park-lane; William Richardson, weaver, Hurdsfield, and Martha, his wife; Mary Ann Carter, Bollington; Elizabeth Stanway, Gawsworth; Joseph Norbury, tailor, Church-street; Charles Lomas, Beach-lane; Samuel Hodgkinson, Wellington-street; Hannah Brooks, Beach-lane.

A great desire has been expressed in the town, both by many who were present, and others who had not that opportunity,— that Mr. Braid may be induced at any early period to deliver another Lecture here; and we believe there is a probability that their wish will be gratified.

Appendix Nine: M'Neile's "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism" Sermon of 1842

To assist the interested reader, this appendix is divided into four sections:

- (1) *The publication*: the history of the rare document;
 - (2) *Texts from scripture*: the particular passages from the Bible that M'Neile read to his congregation on the Sunday morning, and upon which his evening sermon was based (annotated for the modern reader);
 - (3) *The sermon's structure*: an analysis of the 'mechanics' of his sermon; and
 - (4) *The sermon*: the sermon as published (annotated for the modern reader).
-

The Published Sermon

The origin of the published text remains a mystery; thus, Braid's "...a Sermon on the subject of Mesmerism *which you are alleged to have delivered...*" (p.2, emphasis added).

Given the sermon's proliferation of long quotations, it was certainly not delivered *ex tempore*, as was M'Neile's custom. Yet, it has never been established if the published text was taken entirely from the transcription of a stenographer (plus the original sources), or if it had been supplemented directly from M'Neile's notes. Fourteen months later, the situation was slightly less mysterious than it had been in May 1842:

You are aware that my attention has lately been directed to a Sermon, published in the *Penny Pulpit*, and actively circulated through the country, entitled "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", and alleged to have been preached in Liverpool by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile.

This sermon is not published under the authority, or with the consent of Mr. M'Neile, and so far he is not responsible; but inasmuch as its publication and sale are matters of general notoriety, and that application having been made to him from a highly respectable quarter for a disavowal of its contents,¹ though he did not acknowledge them, as he took no steps to deny them; and as we are informed that the short-hand writer, from whose notes this sermon was printed, is prepared to make an affidavit of the accuracy of his report, I am led to believe that some such a sermon, in the same, or nearly similar language, was *actually* preached by Mr. M'Neile. (Sandby, 1843, p.3)

The passage of time would show that there was great wisdom in this move of creating the appearance of considerable distance between M'Neile and the printed sermon, so that issues of its content could be laid squarely at the feet of the stenographer, possibly amplified by the unbounded enthusiasm of those who had ever-so-precipitately disseminated the stenographer's complete version without either M'Neile's permission or oversight.

For example, in a review of Sandby's *Mesmerism the Gift of God, etc.*, in the September 1843 issue of *The Christian Observer* (Anon, 1843h), the reviewer avoided dealing with M'Neile's "alleged sermon" — even though Sandby's reviewed work was inextricably linked with it — because, although M'Neile was "stated to have preached a sermon...", the published work was only that of "the reporter of M'Neile's sermon":

[Here,] we say the reporter, for Mr. M'Neile has not published the sermon

¹ It is an inescapable conclusion that the "application for a disavowal of its contents" to which Sandby refers came from the "highly respectable quarter" of James Braid (see *Appendix Eight*).

himself, and we know not whether the [published version of his sermon] is correct; or whether, if he had written the sermon for the press, he might not have expressed some things differently; though it would be affectation to make it a question whether some such sermon was preached. We would not, however, do Mr. M'Neile the injustice to review what he has not himself set forth in print; and we therefore have not included his alleged discourse in our [books under review here]; and wish only to advert to the question, "Is this the work of God, of Satan, or of man", without making Mr. M'Neile responsible for the statements quoted as his. (p.540)

Yet, it is quite clear from the discrepancies between the parts of the sermon quoted directly in the eye-witness account in the *Liverpool Standard* of 12 April 1842 (Anon, 1842ii), and their counterparts in the published text of pages 148, 149, and 152 (indicated in the respective footnotes), that the sermon was edited before publication.

It is also significant that M'Neile *never* acknowledged the accuracy of the published version; yet, even more significantly, he *never* denied saying such things either. Yet, no claim has ever been made that M'Neile *did not* preach such a sermon; and it has never been asserted that the *Penny Pulpit's* published text differs in any substantial way from the sermon that M'Neile originally delivered.

His sermon was almost immediately released in the publisher James Paul's serial publication, *The Penny Pulpit: A Collection of Accurately Reported Sermons by the Most Eminent Ministers of Various Denominations*.² *The Penny Pulpit* sold weekly. It usually contained a single sermon, priced at a penny a sermon (thus its title). The sermons, identified by sequential numbers, rather than date of issue (for ease of reference), were also reissued in monthly parts (priced a shilling) and in cloth-bound annual volumes (priced 10s. 6d.). Often, they would also appear in a special volume dedicated to a particular topic or a specific preacher. With a circulation of thousands, and circulated by post to subscribers and over-the-counter sales in bookshops, it was distributed all over the U.K. from the mid 1820s until, at least, the late 1880s.

In the extreme, *The Penny Pulpit* served the needs of two entirely different readers:

- (a) conscientious, unimaginative, and far from talented clerics,³ crushed by the demand of delivering at least three sermons each week, who sought a fresh,

² *The Penny Pulpit* issue of M'Neile's long sermon (approximately 7,500 words) was given two sequential numbers (599 and 600), and it cost twopence.

³ "It is a remarkable fact, that evangelical preachers in the Establishment — at least in large towns — have almost always full congregations, even though they be men of limited intellectual power, and feeble eloquence" (Anon, 1863b).

topical, well structured, and forceful address to deliver to their congregation, as their own work, with minimum textual alteration (Davies, 1873), and
 (b) earnest and devoted 'lay' individuals, who were privately seeking spiritual inspiration, and were hoping to immerse themselves in the vicarious experience of the best preachers in the churches and the chapels in the land.

Given that Paul offered a set of four M'Neile sermons on 4 May 1842 (Paul, 1842b, 1842c), including "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", for a shilling, the original *Penny Pulpit* issue must have been on or before 4 May 1842.⁴ Despite my best efforts, I have been unable to trace a single copy of the original *Penny Pulpit* issue; which, according *The Zoist* of July 1843, sold at least 3,000 copies.⁵ Fortunately, the entire sermon was reprinted unchanged, with the same page numbers, as a post-publication offprint.⁶ This post-publication offprint was also circulated in the form of a pamphlet that was privately distributed at least twice by M'Neile and his supporters in the U.K. The pamphlet is extremely rare today; no original copies are held by the British Library, Library of Congress, or the Oxford or Cambridge University Libraries.⁷

The off-print pamphlets were published privately by someone other than M'Neile. That M'Neile had not consented to that publication either, allowed him to distance himself even further from the entire affair. It seems clear that, once he had 'positioned' the idea that the *phenomena* of "Mesmerism" were *attributable* to "satanic agency", his work was done; in offering up the simple slogan "*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*" he had simplified things for 'the great unwashed': mesmerism was a diabolical practice.

It seems that the post-publication offprint in the first of four scrapbooks assembled on the theme of "Mesmerism" by Theodosius Purland, Ph.D., M.A. (1805-1881), held in the U.S. Library of Medicine,⁸ is the only surviving original copy.⁹ The inscription,

⁴ The case for 4 May 1842 is significantly strengthened by a public notice inserted in the *London Morning Post* of Tuesday, 3 May (Paul, 1842a), advertising Nos. 597 and 598; whilst the next day, Paul (1842b, 1842c), advertised both "Nos. 597, 598, Rev. H. Melvill on Confirmation" and "Nos. 599, 600, Rev. H. McNeil, Satanic Agency and Mesmerism" of the *Penny Pulpit*.

⁵ "The abominable matter published under the name of M'Neile has sold to the amount of 3,000..." (S.I.T.O., 1843, p.217).

⁶ Although Crabtree (1988, item 460) clearly identifies M'Neile's pamphlet as "an offprint", he seems to have been unable to identify its original source (viz., *The Penny Pulpit*).

⁷ Although the *First Supplement* (General Library) of the 1861 *Catalogue of the New York State Library* (p.506), clearly shows that an (undated) American edition of M'Neile's sermon was held by the New York State Library in 1861, it is no longer held by that institution.

⁸ The scrapbook is catalogued as "Purland, T., Collection of Materials on Mesmerism, 1842-1854, Volume I, (not dated)" (ID: 2931171R). M'Neile's pamphlet is no. 227 (4 in the scrapbook's sequence), immediately following 226 (3), *Medical Report of the Case of Miss H— M* (i.e., Green-

written in Purland's own hand, on the first page of the item in his scrap-book, says: "This Copy was sent to me anonymously, & was the first cause of my taking up the enquiry".

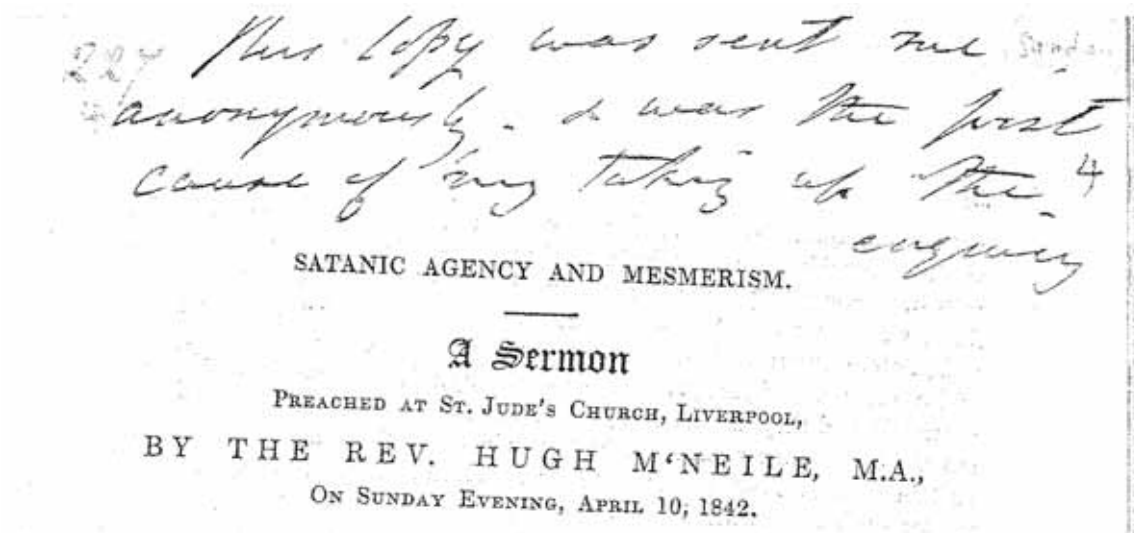


Fig.113. Purland's handwritten inscription.¹⁰

Purland was a surgeon dentist, and the great-grandson, grandson, son, and the nephew of dentists. He practised as a dentist in Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, London, from 1830 until his death, specializing in the treatment of children. An eminent numismatist, he gained both M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Geissen, in Hesse, for his treatise on numismatics. He was also a librarian, literary collector, curator, and an antiquarian. By his mid-30s, he was also a mesmerist— although very cynical prior to his first meeting with John Elliotson (in 1843), he had been almost immediately 'converted' to mesmerism through the evidence of his own successful experiments on various subjects (Bowdler-Henry, 1965b, p.127).

Up to 1843, I was myself a sceptic as to the power of Animal Magnetism. I was induced to witness a case at which I was much surprised, but not convinced. I determined to try experiments quietly and philosophically. I did so, and soon satisfied myself that Mesmerism was a great fact, and I do not hesitate in declaring my conviction that any one may in like manner satisfy himself of its truth by experimenting in his own family circle.

Purland (1859), p.236.

Purland was "a powerful and enthusiastic mesmerist, and had given his services for

how, 1845), and immediately preceding 228 (5), Sandby's *Mesmerism the Gift of God*.

⁹ A photocopy of the U.S. Library of Medicine's pamphlet is held in the Cambridge University Library (catalogue no. 2442970). The sermon is not in any of the collections of M'Neile sermons.

¹⁰ Purland (1854).

many surgical operations" (Wallace, 1905, pp.75, 81-82),¹¹ serving as the surgeon-dentist to the Mesmeric Infirmary, first projected in 1846, that Elliotson eventually opened in London in 1850. Aside from dental publications,¹² a letter to *The Zoist* on the extraction of teeth in the mesmeric state (Purland, 1845), and an address to the College of Dentists on mesmeric anaesthesia (Purland, 1859), he is most famous for his scrapbooks (Bowdler-Henry, 1965a, 1965b; Winter, 1998, p.156-158; Giovanopoulos, 2002). There are at least 11 of his scrapbooks still extant (Bowdler-Henry, 1965a). One, "Alsatian Eccentricities",¹³ is discussed in Giovanopoulos (2002). Another set of four (on "Mesmerism") are held by the U.S. Library of Medicine. Apart from the eleven, all of the others "have been [either] scattered or destroyed" (Bowdler-Henry, 1965a, p.83). Each book contained anything that Purland had thought relevant, and its contents were slowly accumulated in various ways over quite an extended period:

[Purland] began a scrapbook of his [mesmeric] experiences and acquaintances in 1843.¹⁴ He filled it with broadsheets, letters from magnetic acquaintances, serious and satirical visual depictions of magnetic phenomena, handwriting samples of mesmeric celebrities, and other ephemera. Individuals throughout the "mesmeric world" contributed to it, sending their calling cards, advertising sheets, and offprints of their publications, broadsheets, and portraits. Visitors to the London Mesmeric Infirmary read it when they attended demonstrations or lectures or came to receive therapeutic treatment.

Winter (1998), p.157.

Given that the specific theme of Purland's collection was "*Mesmerism*", it is not at all surprising that the collection does not include a copy of Braid's response.

¹¹ The eminent British naturalist, explorer, biologist, and prolific author, Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913), F.R.S., is perhaps best known today for his proposing a theory of evolution due to natural selection that prompted Darwin to publish his own theory.

¹² Such as, *Remarks, Critical and Explanatory on the Mode of Preserving the Teeth* (1829); *Practical Directions for Preserving the Teeth* (1831); *Two Minutes' Practical Advice to Those who Value Their Teeth* (1833).

¹³ *Alsatia* was a slang term for the precinct of White Friars in London.

¹⁴ Prompted by his receipt of M'Neile's offprint pamphlet from an anonymous source; and, apparently, some time before he met Elliotson and began to practice mesmerism himself.

M'Neile's Texts from Scripture, etc.

On the morning of Sunday, 10 April 1842, M'Neile's congregation was bombarded with a long series of passages from scripture, upon which he would to base his evening sermon: "I read to those among you who were here this morning, a variety of scripture proofs of..." (below, p.142).

According to the manner in which such Old Testament passages are produced, even today, by those who argue such things (e.g., Morton, 1980; Bobgan and Bobgan, 1984; Court, 1997), and based on specific indications within the sermon and, also, upon some 'reverse engineering' on my part, it is not too difficult to reconstruct the sequence of texts recited that morning. Several other important, elaborative passages from other 'theological' sources have also been added, rather than inserting them as footnotes. The items appear in the same order as their associated passages appear in the published version of the sermon.

A. *The text M'Neile selected as the theme of his exposition...*

2 Thessalonians 2:9-10:

Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

The Greek, from which the King James' Version was translated, has τερασιν ψευδους (*terasin pseudous*), "false wonders". According to Easton (1893, p.467), in this text, the term *wonder* denotes a wonder-inducing event; i.e., *an event that induces astonishment in the beholder*. In this context, deceivableness means the "power to deceive", rather than "the liability of an individual to be deceived".

B. *The textual basis of "latter times"...*

Revelation 20:1-6:

And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I *saw* the souls of

them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had they received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

As a typical Evangelical ("of the Gospel") "Low Church" Anglican, M'Neile held the *sola scriptura* ("by scripture alone") view: that scripture was the perfect, infallible authority and the sole source of revelation.

In the early 1840s, the majority of English Anglicans were evangelical *and* millenarian, believing that the second coming ("advent") of Christ was imminent; thus the references to 'latter times'. They also believed, from their peculiar interpretation of particular Biblical texts (in Daniel, Isaiah and, especially, Revelation), that, at Christ's second Advent, God's kingdom would be established on Earth, and the consequent peace would reign for a thousand years (thus, the label "*millenarian*").

C. "*kept not their first estate*"...

Jude 1:6:

And the angels which kept not their first estate [viz., "their original dwelling place"], but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.

D. "*angels that sinned*"...

2 Peter 2:4, 9:

For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast *them* down to hell, and delivered *them* into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment... The Lord knoweth how... to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished...

E. "*made a show of them openly*"...

Colossians 2:15:

And, having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it.

Here, "*spoiled*" essentially means "disarmed"; "*principalities and powers*" stands for "Satan and his (evil) angels"; and "*he made a shew of them openly*" denotes "he made a public spectacle of them".

F. "...*unnumbered worlds*"...

"Hymn to God the Father" (1734), by Samuel Wesley Jr. (1691-1739):

Hail, Father, whose creating call
Unnumbered worlds attend,
Jehovah, comprehending all,
Whom none can comprehend!

In light unsearchable enthroned
Which angels dimly see;
The fountain of the Godhead owned
And foremost of the Three.

From thee through an eternal now,
The Son, thine offspring, flowed;
An everlasting Father thou,
As everlasting God.

Nor quite displayed to worlds above,
Nor quite on earth concealed:
By wondrous, unexhausted love
To mortal man revealed.

Supreme and all-sufficient God,
When nature shall expire
And worlds created by thy nod
Shall perish by thy fire.

Thy name Jehovah be adored
By creatures without end,
Whom none but thy essential Word
And Spirit comprehend.

G. "'*Cursed*', said God, '*is the ground for thy sake*'"...

Genesis 3:17-19:

And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.

H. *Leviticus 19:26, 31, 20:6, 27...*

[And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.] Ye shall not eat *any thing* with the blood; neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times...

Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them...

And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people...

A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones; their blood *shall be* upon them.

To "go a whoring after [wizards]" = "to seek the assistance of wizards"; an activity which, in itself, was considered, by the Jews, to constitute an act of infidelity to God.

I. *Deuteronomy 18:9-14*...

When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you *any one* that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, *or* that useth divination, *or* an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things *are* an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee. Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God. For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners: but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so *to do*.

Almost all of the twenty-first century Evangelical Christians who object to hypnotism centre their arguments on this passage from Deuteronomy; and, especially, claim that hypnotists, etc. are "charmers" or "enchanters". In doing so, they display their ignorance of hypnotism and prejudice towards it, as well as their faulty understanding of the passage from scripture. It is clear, to all but themselves, that they have made the outrageous *hermeneutical*¹⁵ error of mistaking *eisegesis* ("reading into")¹⁶ for *exegesis* ("drawing out");¹⁷ and, in terms of *exegesis*, their claim is inaccurate and entirely wrong

¹⁵ *Hermeneutics*, "the study of interpretation" comes from the Greek word for "an interpreter", and is based on the name of Hermes, the Greek deity of speech, writing, and communication.

¹⁶ *Eisegetical* interpretation involves the deliberate imposition of one's own impression of the moment upon the word or passage entirely on its own, and in complete isolation from the actual textual/historical/cultural/literary/allegorical/spiritual context of the chosen word or passage.

¹⁷ *Exegetical* interpretation involves bringing out the "real" meaning of a word or passage through examining the spiritual (or literary) heritage, and the textual, allegorical, historical, and cultural context of the word or passage by going above and beyond their literal meaning.

(see discussion of "charmer" and "enchanter", below). Ancient Eastern language expert, Fred Bush, of the Fuller Theological Seminary says that "to use these passages as a reference to hypnosis is exegetically indefensible" (Court, 1997, p123); and Richard B. Morton, author of *Hypnosis and Pastoral Counseling*, is quoted as saying, "To find otherwise highly intelligent men speaking of the subject out of a warehouse of ignorance and in the authoritative manner is an inexcusable affront to integrity. Thousands of people have been influenced to disregard hypnosis as a viable therapeutic modality by such inaccurate and prejudiced writing" (Court, 1997, p123).

I.1. There are at least a dozen scriptural references to children being made to "pass through the fire" connected with the worship of *Molech*, the Ammonite principal deity. Given that each text is ambiguous, it can not be reliably determined whether a passage such as "and he made his son pass through the fire" (2 Kings 21:6) means that (a) the boy was cast into a blazing fire and burnt to death as a sacrifice, or (b) there were two blazing fires and the boy in question had passed, unburnt, but purified, through the gap between the two fires.

I.2. According to Easton (1893), p.200:

"*Divination* of false prophets, of necromancers, of the Philistine priests and diviners, of Balaam. Three kinds of divination are mentioned in [Ezekiel:]... by arrows, consulting with images (the teraphim), and by examining the entrails of animals sacrificed. The practice of this art seems to have been encouraged in ancient Egypt. Diviners also abounded among the aborigines of Canaan and the Philistines. At a later period multitudes of magicians poured from Chaldea and Arabia into the land of Israel, and pursued their occupations. This superstition widely spread, and in the time of the apostles there were "vagabond Jews, exorcists", and men like Simon Magus, Bar-jesus, and other jugglers and impostors. Every species and degree of this superstition was strictly forbidden by the law of Moses.

"But beyond these various forms of superstition, there are instances of divination on record in the Scriptures by which God was pleased to make known his will.

"(1.) There was divination by lot, by which, when resorted to in matters of moment, and with solemnity, God intimated his will. The land of Canaan was divided by lot; Achan's guilt was detected, Saul was elected king, and Matthias chosen to the apostleship, by the solemn lot. It was thus also that the scape-goat was determined.

"(2.) There was divination by dreams. This is illustrated in the history of

Joseph and of Daniel.

"(3.) By divine appointment there was also divination by the Urim and Thummim, and by the ephod.

"(4.) God was pleased sometimes to vouch-safe direct vocal communications to men. He also communed with men from above the mercy-seat, and at the door of the tabernacle.

"(5.) Through his prophets God revealed himself, and gave intimations of his will."

Further, according to Easton (1893, p.640):

"*Soothsayer*, one who pretends to prognosticate future events. [Balaam] is so called... In [Isaiah] and Micah (Heb. *yonenim*, i.e., "diviners of the clouds") the word is used of the Chaldean diviners who studied the clouds. In [Daniel] the word is the rendering of the Chaldee *gazrin* — i.e., "deciders" or "determiners" — here applied to Chaldean astrologers, "who, by casting nativities from the place of the stars at one's birth, and by various arts of computing and divining, foretold the fortunes and destinies of individuals.", Gesenius, *Lex. Heb.*"

I.3. An *observer of times* was one who maintained (a) that certain days were auspicious and others inauspicious, and (b) that their occurrence, and their degree of auspiciousness or inauspiciousness could be foretold. Amongst the modern questionable pseudo-scientific practices, such as "biorhythmics", most religious scholars would hold that, by this definition, the *astrologer* of today is an "observer of times".

I.4. Easton (1893, p.227) says that "*enchantment*" denotes one or more of these:

"(1) The rendering of Hebrew *latim* or *lehatim*... "something covered", "muffled up"; secret arts, tricks, by which the Egyptian magicians imposed on the credulity of Pharaoh.

"(2) The rendering of the Hebrew *keshaphim*, "muttered spells" or "incantations",... i.e., the using of certain formulae under the belief that men could thus be bound.

"(3) Hebrew *lehashim*, "charming", as of serpents.

"(4) Hebrew *nehashim*, the enchantments or omens used by Balaam; his endeavouring to gain omens favourable to his design.

"(5) Hebrew *heber*, "magical spells." All kinds of enchantments were condemned by the Mosaic law."

I.5. Easton says that "*witch*" only occurs twice in the King James Bible: in "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exodus 22:18), and in Deuteronomy 18:10 (above). In each case, the translations are wrong. The correct translations of the Hebrew are

"enchantress", and "enchanter" respectively (1893, p.694). Easton says the *witch of Endor* (1 Samuel 28:7) was a *necromancer* ("one who feigned to hold converse with the dead"); and, "in the [1893] sense of the word no mention is made either of witches or of witchcraft in Scripture" (Easton, 1893, p.694). Whilst "legal prohibitions and the prophetic attacks on various forms of magic, sorcery, divination, and necromancy indicate that they were a perennial aspect of popular religion in ancient Israel", it is obvious that "Biblical references to witches reflect a category of ritual specialist whose status and function are now virtually unknown" (Setel, 1993, p.805).

1.6. Today's *sola scriptura* advocates impose their own meaning on this text, and wrongly claim that the "charmners" are *hypnotists* (see Morton, 1980, *passim*). They are not; a *charmer* was "a dealer in spells, especially one who, by binding certain knots, was supposed thereby to bind a curse or a blessing on its object" (Easton, 1893, p.138).

1.7. According to Easton, a *necromancer*, is "'one who interrogates the dead", as the word literally means, with the view of discovering the secrets of futurity" (1893, p.496):

Sorcerers or necromancers, who professed to call up the dead to answer questions, were said to have a "familiar spirit". Such a person was called by the Hebrews an '*ob*', which properly means a leathern bottle; for sorcerers were regarded as vessels containing the inspiring *dæmon*. This Hebrew word was equivalent to the *pytho* of the Greeks, and was used to denote both the person and the spirit which possessed him. The word "familiar" is from the Latin *familiaris*, meaning a "household servant," and was intended to express the idea that sorcerers had spirits as their servants ready to obey their commands. (Easton, 1893, p.252)

1.8. According to Easton, a *wizard* is "a pretender to supernatural knowledge and power,— "a knowing one", as the original Hebrew word signifies. Such an [sic] one was forbidden on pain of death to practise his deceptions." (1893, p.695).

1.9. On the subject of *exorcists*, Easton (1893, p.246) had this to say:

"In that sceptical and therefore superstitious age professional exorcists abounded. Many of these professional exorcists were disreputable Jews, like Simon in Samaria and Elymas in Cyprus ([Acts] 8:9; [Acts] 13:6)."¹⁸ Other references to exorcism as practised by the Jews are found in Matt. 12:27; Mark 9:38; Luke 9:49, 50. It would seem that it was an opinion among the Jews that miracles might be wrought by invoking the divine name. Thus also these "vaga-

¹⁸ Easton is citing part of the footnote on Acts 19:13 at Lindsay (1884, p.93).

bond Jews" pretended that they could expel dæmons.

The power of casting out devils was conferred by Christ on his apostles, and on the seventy, and was exercised by believers after his ascension; but this power was never spoken of as exorcism.

J. 2 Kings 21:1-9...

Manasseh *was* twelve years old when he began to reign, and reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name *was* Hephzi-bah. And he did *that which was* evil in the right of the Lord after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel. For he built up again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I put my name. And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord. And he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke *him* to anger. And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house, of which the Lord said to David, and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever. Neither will I make the feet of Israel move any more out of the land which I gave their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them. But they hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do more evil than did the nations whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel.

Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, reigned as the King of Judah for 55 years (698-643 BCE). He ascended the throne at 12, and reinstated the pagan religious practices in the Jerusalem Temple that had been banished earlier by Hezekiah.

K. 2 Chronicles 33:6...

And [Manasseh] caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom; also he observed times, and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, and with wizards: he wrought much evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.

"The son of Hinnom" was an (otherwise un-named) ancient hero; and "the valley of the son of Hinnom" was "a deep, narrow ravine separating Mount Zion from the so-

called "Hill of Evil Counsel"" (Easton, 1893, p.331-332).

L. *Isaiah 47:8-14...*

Therefore hear now this, thou *that art* given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I *am*, and none else beside me; I shall not sit *as* a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children: But these two *things* shall come to thee in a moment in one day, the loss of children, and widowhood: they shall come upon thee in their perfection for the multitude of thy sorceries, *and* for the great abundance of thine enchantments. For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness: thou hast said, None seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee; and thou hast said in thine heart, I *am*, and none else beside me. Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, *which* thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from *these things* that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them; they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame: *there shall not be* a coal to warm at, *nor* fire to sit before it.

M. *Jeremiah 27:9...*

Therefore hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers, nor to your enchanter, nor to your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon: For they prophesy a lie unto you, to remove you far from your land; and that I should drive you out, and ye should perish.

N. *Numbers 22:4-6...*

And Balak the son of Zippor *was* king of the Moabites at that time. He sent messengers therefore unto Balaam the son of Beor, to Pethor, which *is* by the river of the land of the children of his people, to call him, saying, Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me: Come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they *are* too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, *that* we may smite them, and *that* I may drive them out of the land: for I wot that he

whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.

Balaam, was a man of rank amongst the Midianites and lived at Pethor in Mesopotamia. He was highly successful magician, who had gained a wide reputation for the supernatural power of his blessings and his curses. Although, at Balak's urging, he tried all that he could to curse the Israelites, who were camped at the time on the plains of Moab; but, "by the remarkable interposition of God he was utterly unable to fulfil Balak's wish, however desirous he was to do so" (Easton, 1893, p.76).

O. *2 Kings 9:22...*

And it came to pass, when Joram saw Jehu, that he said, *Is it* peace, Jehu?
And he answered, What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts *are so* many?

Jezebel, a Phoenician princess from Tyre, married King Ahab, seventh king of Israel. Under their reign, pagan religious practices received royal approval. They had two sons, King Ahaziah (who had died a short time after ascending the throne), and King Joram (or Jehoram). Jehu was a General. He was eventually successful in a revolt he led against Jehoram. He was anointed King of Israel in 884 BCE, and reigned for 28 years.

P. *"I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven"...*

Luke 10: 1-9; 17-20:

After these things the Lord appointed other seventy [apostles] also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come. Therefore said he unto them. The harvest truly is great, but the labourers *are* few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest. Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way. And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace *be* to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest it: if not, it shall turn to you again. And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. And into whatsoever city you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: And heal the sick that are therein; and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you...

And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents

and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.

From the context, it appears quite certain that the observation "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" is metaphorical (based on the *rapidity*, *sudden-ness*, and *short duration* of a lightning strike); and is not literal (as is often asserted).

Q. *John 3:18-21...*

He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God.

R. *Judges 16:4-9...*

And it came to pass afterward, that he loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah. And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said unto her, Entice him, and see wherein his great strength *lieth*, and by what *means* we may prevail against him, that we may bind him to afflict him: and we will give thee, every one of us, eleven hundred pieces of silver. And Delilah said to Samson, Tell me, I pray thee, wherein thy great strength *lieth*, and wherewith thou mightest be bound to afflict thee. And Samson said unto her, *If* they bind me with seven green withs that were never dried [withs = new bowstrings made of gut], then shall I be weak, and be as another man. Then the lords of the Philistines brought up to her seven green withs which had not been dried, and she bound him with them. Now there *were men* lying in wait, abiding with her in the chamber. And she said unto him, The Philistines *be* upon thee, Samson. And he brake the withs, as a thread of tow [the unworked fibre of flax] is broken when it toucheth the fire: so his strength was not known.

An account of Delilah's first attempt to restrain Samson for her Philistine masters.

S. *"I am married to you"...*

Jeremiah 3:14-15:

Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord; for I am married unto you: and

I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion:
And I will give you pastors according to mine heart, which shall feed you with
knowledge and understanding.

T. *"Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft"...*

I Samuel 15:10-23:

Then came the word of the Lord unto Samuel, saying, It repenteth me that I have set up Saul *to be* king: for he is turned back from following me, and hath not performed my commandments. And it grieved Samuel; and he cried unto the Lord all night. And when Samuel rose early to meet Saul in the morning, it was told Samuel, saying, Saul came to Carmel, and, behold, he set him up a place, and is gone about, and passed on, and gone down to Gilgal. And Samuel came to Saul: and Saul said unto him, Blessed *be* thou of the Lord; I have performed the commandment of the Lord. And Samuel said, What *meaneth* then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear? And Saul said, They have brought them from the Amalekites: for the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen, to sacrifice unto the Lord thy God; and the rest we have utterly destroyed. Then Samuel said unto Saul, Stay, and I will tell thee what the Lord hath said to me this night. And he said unto him, Say on. And Samuel said, When thou *wast* little in thine own sight, *wast* thou not *made* the head of the tribes of Israel, and the Lord anointed thee king over Israel? And the Lord sent thee on a journey, and said, Go and utterly destroy the shiners the Amalekites, and fight against them until they be consumed. Wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the Lord, but didst fly upon the spoil, and didst evil in the sight of the Lord? And Saul said unto Samuel, Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the Lord, and have gone the way which the Lord sent me, and have brought Agag the king of Amalek, and have utterly destroyed the Amalekites. But the people took of the spoil, sheep and oxen, the chief of the things which should have been utterly destroyed, to sacrifice unto the Lord thy God in Gilgal. And Samuel said, Hath the Lord *as great* delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, *and* to hearken than the fat of rams. For rebellion *is as* the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king...

Samuel, as the messenger of God, had instructed Saul to totally and utterly destroy the Amalekites and as a condition of anointing Saul as the King of Israel: "Now go and

smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass..." (1 Samuel 15:3).

Saul returned to Samuel, anticipating his anointing, reported that he had done precisely what he had been asked to do. Samuel, however, was well aware that, despite having "utterly destroyed all the [Amakelite] people with the edge of the sword", Saul had disobeyed his orders (thus making it impossible for Samuel to anoint him); he had only captured Agag, their king, and had not executed him. Also, he had "spared... the best of the sheep, and of the oxen, and of the fatlings, and the lambs, and all *that was* good, and would not utterly destroy them".

U. "the case of a lady... afflicted with ulcerated cancer of the right breast"...

A case from the 1831 *Husson Report*,¹⁹ as translated by John Campbell Colquhoun²⁰

You have all likewise heard of a case, which, at the time, attracted the attention of the Surgical Section, and which was communicated to it at the meeting of the 16th of April 1829, by M. Jules Cloquet. Your committee have thought it their duty to notice it here, as affording one of the most unequivocal proofs of the power of the magnetic sleep. The case is that of a lady, P—, aged sixty-four years, residing in the street of St Denis, No. 151, who consulted M. Cloquet, upon the 8th of April 1829, on account of an ulcerated cancer on the right breast, of several years' standing, which was combined with a considerable swelling (*engorgement*) of the corresponding axillary ganglions. M. Chapelain, the ordinary physician attending this lady, who had magnetized her for some months, with the intention, {237} as he said, of dissolving the swelling (*engorgement*) of the breast, had obtained no other result than that of producing a most profound sleep, during which all sensibility appeared to be annihilated, while the ideas retained all their clearness. He proposed to M. Cloquet to operate upon her while she was plunged in this magnetic sleep. The latter having deemed the operation indispensable, consented. The two previous evenings, this lady

¹⁹ *Rapport sur les Expériences Magnétiques faites par la Commission de l'Académie Royale de Médecine [à Paris], lu dans les Séances des 21 et 28 Juin, 1831, [à Paris], lu dans les Séances des 21 et 28 Juin, 1831, par M. Husson, Rapporteur*, ("Report upon the Magnetic Experiments conducted by the Royal Academy of Medicine [Paris] on 21 and 28 June 1831"); eminent physician, and early vaccination pioneer, Henri-Marie Husson (1772-1853), was the Committee's secretary.

²⁰ Like other sections taken directly from *The Achill Missionary Herald*, it is obvious that the source of M'Neile's account of this operation was Nangle's article in *The Achill Missionary Herald* (Nangle, 1842a, p.13). Nangle was quoting directly from Colquhoun's *Isis Revelata: An Inquiry Into the Origin, Progress and Present State of Animal Magnetism, Volume I* (1836, pp.236-239), rather than Léger's *Animal Magnetism; or, Psycodunamy*, (1846, pp.129-131). Whilst Léger's translation reads better in English than Colquhoun's, for the sake of accuracy, Colquhoun's version is given here. It is assumed that M'Neile read the entire passage published by Nangle.

was magnetized several times by M. Chapelain, who, in her somnambulism, disposed her to submit to the operation,— who had even led her to converse about it with calmness, although, when awake, she rejected the idea with horror.

Upon the day fixed on for the operation, M. Cloquet arriving at half-past ten in the morning, found the patient dressed and seated on an elbow-chair, in the attitude of a person enjoying a quiet natural sleep. She had returned about an hour before from mass, which she attended regularly at the same hour. Since her return, M. Chapelain had placed her in a state of magnetic sleep, and she talked with great calmness of the operation to which she was about to submit. Every thing having been arranged for the operation, she undressed herself, and sat down upon a chair.

M. Chapelain supported the right arm, the left was permitted to hang down at the side of the body. M. Pailloux, house pupil of the Hospital of St Louis, was employed to present the instruments, and to make the ligatures. A first incision, commencing at the arm-pit {238} was continued beyond the tumour as far as the internal surface of the breast. The second commenced at the same point, separated the tumour from beneath, and was continued until it met the first. The swelled ganglions (*ganglions engorgés*) were dissected with precaution on account of their vicinity to the axillary artery, and the tumour was extirpated. The operation lasted from ten to twelve minutes.

During all this time, the patient continued to converse quietly with the operator, and did not exhibit the slightest sign of sensibility. There was no motion of the limbs or of the features, no change in the respiration nor in the voice, no emotion even in the pulse. The patient continued in the same state of automatic indifference and impassibility, in which she was some minutes before the operation. There was no occasion to hold, but only to support her. A ligature was applied to the lateral thoracic artery, which was open during the extraction of the ganglions. The wound was united by means of adhesive plaster, and dressed. The patient was put to bed while still in a state of somnambulism, in which she was left for forty-eight hours. An hour after the operation, there appeared a slight hemorrhage, which was attended with no consequence. The first dressing was taken off on the following Tuesday, the 14th, — the wound was cleaned and dressed anew — the patient exhibited no sensibility nor pain — the pulse preserved its usual rate.

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After this dressing, M. Chapelain awakened the patient, whose somnambulatory sleep had continued, from an hour previous to the operation, that is to say, for two days. This lady did not appear to have any idea, any feeling, of what had

passed in the interval; but upon being informed of the operation, and seeing her children around her, she experienced a very lively emotion, which the magnetizer checked by immediately setting her asleep.

In these two cases, your committee perceived the most evident proof of the annihilation of sensibility during somnambulism; and we declare, that, although we did not witness the last, we yet find it impressed with such a character of truth, it has been attested and repeated to us by so good an observer, who had communicated it to the Surgical Section, that we have no fear in presenting it to you as the most incontestable evidence of that state of torpor and insensibility which is produced by Magnetism.

V. "Popery" or "Romanism"...

The anonymous author in *The Bulwark* of August 1851 describes the rationale behind the choice of words as follows (p.22):

It is our intention to call the religion of the Church of Rome by the name of *Popery*, or *Romanism*, and not of Catholicism, and to designate the subjects of the Pope as *Papists*, or *Romanists*, and not as Catholics.

As we reckon this a topic of some importance, and as it is one on which Papists are much in the habit of complaining and declaiming, we think it proper to explain, once for all, the grounds of the course we mean to pursue in this matter.

The adherents of the Church of Rome always call themselves *Catholics*, and refuse this designation to all other professing Christians, while they resent it as an insult and an injury when they are styled *Papists* or *Romanists*.

The grounds of the course we mean to follow in this matter of names may be embodied in these two positions:—1st, The adherents of the Church of Rome have no right to the designation of Catholics, they insult and injure Protestants by assuming it, and therefore it ought never to be conceded to them; and, 2d, Protestants do not insult and injure the adherents of the Church of Rome by calling them Papists or Romanists, but, on the contrary, employ, in doing so, a perfectly just, fair, and accurate designation...

W. "there is no light in him"...

John 11:10-11:

Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world. But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him.

The Structure of the Sermon

On Sunday evening, 10 April 1842, the Rev. Hugh M'Neile "was listened to with profound attention" by a capacity congregation of 1,500 at St Jude's Church, Hardwick Street, Low Hill, Liverpool (Anon, 1842ii). He preached a typically long sermon, that was part *phillipic* against Braid and part *polemic* against animal magnetism. M'Neile's sermons routinely lasted an hour and a half ("The Church-Goer", 1847, p.232), whilst the contemporary standard of his colleagues was less than 25 minutes (and no more than 40 minutes on an extraordinary occasion).

His sermons never pretended to be measured, structured appeals to reason; they were outright, impassioned histrionic performances. This sermon is a classic example.

The sermon is almost never spoken of in the modern hypnotism literature; and, if mentioned, it is only in an extremely ambiguous way, in the context of provoking a response from Braid. It seems that no modern scholar has read the entire sermon, let alone studied it; that is, apart from Alison Winter (1998), who *did* examine it, in the context of it being one of the earliest and most influential attacks on *mesmerism*, and as a classic example of the British, Evangelical, pre-millenarian condemnation of "mesmeric phenomena" as "diabolical" (pp.260-261).²¹

The first point to make is a simple one: despite M'Neile's most earnest belief, grounded in what he perceived to be unequivocally literal Biblical prophecies and, also, in the alleged 'predictions' that had been extrapolated from particular scriptural passages by himself and others, it is a matter of historical fact that Jesus Christ *did not* manifest his presence in the British Isles in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Even though I have read M'Neile's sermon many times, his main purpose still eludes me; it could have been either, or both, of the following:

(1) *Isolating "Mesmerism" as an intrinsic evil*: a distinct possibility, given that the introduction of Elliotson's fraudulent O'Key sisters as 'speakers in tongues' into the Albury Group was the initial cause of M'Neile's disaffection with, and eventual separation from, Edward Irving;²² or

(2) *Frightening his congregation*: For M'Neile, who strongly believed that the "latter

²¹ Winter's focus is exclusively on mesmerism. She makes no mention of Braid at all, except on p.292, where she speaks of Braid (1846a, 1846b, 1846c, 1846d, 1846e) as a critic of the 'odyle' theories of Baron Dr. Carl Ludwig von Reichenbach (1788-1869). Also, whilst dealing with the sermon itself, she does not mention the attacks on either Lafontaine or Braid at all.

²² See Clark (1874), pp155-194.

times" were imminent (and ever more rapidly approaching), the recent appearance of the 'diabolical practice' of Mesmerism constituted a reliable and concrete index of the closeness of that proximity.

Reading M'Neile's convoluted sermon from the distance of the twenty-first century is a real challenge, especially for one who does not share his extraordinary beliefs, who does not tremble under the oppressive burden of the same web of superstition, and is not prone to confuse displays of dazzling theatrical oratory with the production of well-structured, coherent rhetoric.

Yet, we must also charitably recognize that, from his congregation's perspective, not having a detailed knowledge of the scriptures in their original languages or, even, in some cases, being unable to read at all (let alone apprehend the meaning of scriptures in the English of the King James' version),²³ and unable to apprehend the breadth and magnitude of the errors enmeshed within M'Neile's distorted theology, it would have been very difficult to avoid the temptation to adopt the '*Peripheral route processing*' strategy, and entirely surrender to the power, majesty, and strength of M'Neile's performance, and accept his extraordinary points of view at face value; and simply allow their emotion (rather than intellect) to be ever so deeply moved by yet another magnificent display of his notoriously flawed reasoning and theatrical flamboyance.

M'Neile was a demagogue, and a tenacious, relentless, and formidable foe. Some felt he was "unquestionably the greatest Evangelical preacher and speaker in the Church of England during [the 19th] century" (Stock, 1899, p.376). Francis included M'Neile in his 28 distinguished *Orators of the Age*, because "this... remarkable man... stands out in such bold relief from his contemporaries, both for his talent and his success" (1847, p.407) and "[provides an example of how], in the Church, as well as at the bar or in the senate, eloquence will raise an unknown man to fame and fortune. Mr. M'Neile's elevation is almost wholly due to his ability as a preacher and public speaker" (p.408). Remarking on his "strong political feelings, and his intense hatred, as an Orangeman, of the Roman Catholics", Francis observed that:

[His] eloquence is more distinguished for its power, energy, and declamatory vehemence, than for the more refined and graceful... qualities of oratory...

But as it is, his language is more forcible than choice; his imagination is too prone to that luxuriance which is the common fault of his countrymen; and

²³ So-called *mass education*, driven by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which would make schooling compulsory for children between 5 and 12, was still a long way off; and, even when the Act as passed, its provisions were not really enforced in the U.K. until the early 1880s.

that torrent-like enthusiasm, which unfortunately is too often allied to political passions and sectarian hatred, carries him on, as if by an overpowering impulse, in a heat of declamatory vehemence, till he forgets to observe those nicer graces of style and language which form one chief charm in the masterpieces of more cool, collected, and self-restrained orators. But, on the other hand, it is this abandonment of the mental powers to his absorbing ideas this ready yielding to ungovernable impulses of deep feeling that gives to the eloquence of M'Neile its originality, its grandeur, and its irresistible power.

Francis (1847), pp.414-415.

His sermon's text was taken from the Second Letter to the Thessalonians,²⁴

[the primary thrust of which was] teaching about the return of Christ, [and was specifically] directed against people who were claiming [for themselves] Paul's authority for asserting that the day of the Lord had begun and that the return of Christ could be expected immediately [and, in the passage from which M'Neile took his text),] Paul replies by stating that a period of Satanic opposition to God on an unparalleled scale must first happen, and then Christ will come to bring it to an end; meanwhile, the church must hold firm.

Marshall (1993), p.741.

M'Neile opened in a calm fashion, promising that he would do three things:

- (1) Produce "scriptural evidence" that "satanic agency amongst men" was, indeed, *possible*;
- (2) Describe the *particular instantiations* of "satanic agency" that, according to "these scriptural authorities", *would appear* in "latter times";²⁵ and
- (3) Identify specific "exhibitions" that were "going on amongst ourselves" at that moment, as *concrete examples of these particular instantiations*.²⁶

M'Neile began, speaking of "angels" and how, whilst "glorious", they lacked the "absolutely unchangeable perfection" of God; because they were *created* entities. And, as they were "creatures", change was *always* "possible"; and, it was also "a matter of

²⁴ See above, at (A).

²⁵ M'Neile held the strong view that the "second coming of Christ" was imminent, and was strongly convinced that the "prophecy" within Paul's Epistle applied directly to current events, rather than to those living in the far distant past of the first century C.E.

²⁶ Due to M'Neile's confused arguments, it is never clear whether his main point was:

- (a) that these exhibitions of "satanic agency" were reliable indexes of the actual proximity of the imminent commencement of the "latter days", or
- (b) given that the "latter days" were almost here, these self-evident and specific instances of "satanic agency" were quite "unparalleled" in their diabolical magnitude.

fact" that "some of them did change".

Yet, rather than exterminate *those-who-had-sinned* without a trace (as was entirely within his power), God satisfied himself by banishing them from heaven (whilst continuing to sustain them in their on-going suffering), *in order to provide a permanent lesson to the 'as-yet-unfallen' of "the fearful consequences of rebellion" and the universal requirement for total "allegiance" to God.* Further, and to provide further instruction to the 'as-yet-unfallen', God not only allowed these "fallen spirits" to persevere in their own self-destroying sin, but also permitted them to attempt to destroy others. The first victims of these destructive actions were the changeable "creatures" known as Adam and Eve, who being tempted, transgressed, were cursed by God, and banished forever from the Garden of Eden. So impressed was God by Satan's capacity as a tempter, however, God continued sustaining him, on the proviso that he (Satan) would continue to be an ever-present "tormenter" of the entire human race.

Alluding to the various forms of satanic agency prevailing "among the heathen" (familiar spirits, wizards, enchanters, diviners, necromancers, etc.), against which the Jews were warned, M'Neile asserted that they were all forms of *witchcraft*.

It is important, here, to note that the term "*witchcraft*", which appears 15 times in the sermon, is M'Neile's own term; *it is not a scriptural term.*²⁷

Given his putative authority to make such statements, based on his legal training, scriptural studies, attainment of clerical office, etc., M'Neile is coercing his far less informed listeners into forming a view that these practices are, indeed, witchcraft, *as defined by the Witchcraft Act of 1735*; and from his training, and his experience of attitudes to such practices in England, Ireland, and the Continent, he would have clearly known the wide-ranging religious, secular, legal, and social ramifications of making such a characterization.

The *Witchcraft Act (1735)* — with its embedded assertion that "witchcraft", as it had been 'traditionally' understood, was absurd and impossible — had significantly altered the legal state of affairs. By contrast with the earlier Elizabethan *Witchcraft Act (1563)*, which condemned all of those "fantastical and devilish persons [who] have devised and practised invocations and conjurations of evil and wicked spirits, and have used and practised witchcrafts, enchantments, charms and sorceries, to the destruction of

²⁷ The two times that *witch* occurs in the Bible, Exodus 22:18 and Deuteronomy 18:10, it is a mis-translation of the original Hebrew. The correct translations are "enchantress", and "enchanter" respectively (Easton, 1893, p.694).

the persons and goods of their neighbours and other subjects of this realm, and for other lewd intents and purposes contrary to the Laws of Almighty God to the Peril of their own Souls and to the great infamy and disquietness of this Realm" to death without benefit of clergy (Seth, 1969, p.27), the *Witchcraft Act (1735)*, under George II, which repealed the Elizabethan Act, was promulgated for the specific purpose of "punishing such persons as pretend to exercise or use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration" (Gibson, 2006, pp.8-9).²⁸

It was no longer a case of whether one *was* a witch or *not*; it was a case of whether one *held oneself out to be able to* call up spirits, foretell the future, cast spells, discover the whereabouts of stolen goods, etc. However, although the authorities now treated breaches of the Act as if they were instances of vagrancy or fraud, a number of alleged "witches" still lost their lives subsequent to the Act's promulgation and enactment.²⁹

To M'Neile, the most dangerous issue with "witchcraft" was that it involved active "resistance against the proper authority of God": just as "rebellion is the raising up a power among the people against the constituted power of the king", he argued, "witchcraft is a raising up a power amongst the fallen angels against the revealed power and truth of God".

M'Neile recounted a series of events ranging all the way from Moses to the Apostle Paul, with the 'added bonus' of the obligatory (for Evangelicals) set of 'prophecies' from Revelation, that demonstrated the deviousness, deception, and power of Satan. He spoke of Christ's encounter with a possessed man, and how only he (Christ) could detect the hidden presence of Satan. Returning to his chosen text, he spoke at some length about how, "in these latter times", satanic influence was becoming increasingly

²⁸ According to Gibson (2006, p.8), the new legislation which "redefined starkly what was and was not considered to be humanly possible", was driven by a strongly embedded view "that witchcraft, as traditionally constituted, did not exist", and "replaced [the Elizabethan] penalties for the actual practice of witchcraft with penalties for the pretence of witchcraft".

The Act remained in force until it was repealed by the *Fraudulent Mediums Act (1951)* — the last successful prosecution was as recent as September 1944 against the "medium" Jane Rebecca Yorke (1872-?). The crime had been positioned as essentially one of *fraud* and *pretence*: "People who claimed to be conjurors, dealers with spirits and so on would be prosecuted [under the 1735 Act] solely for their pretence and for the financial fraud usually believed to be involved, and not because they were believed to have real powers or traffic with Satan" (Gibson, loc. cit.).

²⁹ In 1751, John and Ruth Osborne were attacked by a mob. Tried by ducking school, Ruth drowned; John, taken from the water alive, died shortly after. In 1808, Alice Russell was frightened to death by a mob that turned on her for providing assistance to an alleged witch (evidence of her being a witch). In 1809, Mary Bateman was executed by hanging for poisoning, fraud, and witchcraft. In Essex, in 1863, "Old Dummy", a deaf mute, was attacked by a drunken mob, was beaten severely and thrown in the river; he died from pneumonia. In 1875, Ann Tennant was killed with a pitchfork because she was alleged to be witch.

evident, and how, as the second advent of Christ approached, his listeners should be (and must become) ever more actively aware of the ever-increasing efforts of Satan, in ever more devious ways, with ever more seductive innovations, to lead them all astray.

M'Neile tells them that, as diligent Christians, they must never examine "any one particular work, or anyone particular power, or pretence, or sign, or wonder" without, first of all, being "properly furnished" with the pertinent "scriptural information"; and, with his listeners now co-conspirators, he reminds them that, on that very morning, he had supplied and drawn out all the relevant scriptural information for them, and had helped them "trace" their way through an otherwise convoluted pathway — stating that, collectively, all of them were now in a position to examine "what is now going on in this very town"; a thing that, "within the last few days", has been "occupying ... a portion of the public press": namely, "Mesmerism".³⁰

[N.B., *It has taken M'Neile at least 35 minutes to finally 'get to the point' and reveal, to his credulous congregation, the true target of his polemic!*]

He then poses a strange question, which seems, in the parlance of those times, 'to have already admitted the facts of mesmerism': '*Is "Mesmerism" a fraud perpetrated for the sake of financial gain,*³¹ *or an expression of a real, supernatural power?*'³² In his next breath, he seems to confirm its reality, when he tells his congregation that he has never been to one of these exhibitions, because, in his view, the supernatural power involved was so strong *that he knew he would not be able to withstand it*. Thus, he says, in the absence of his own direct observation, he has no option but to rely on the hearsay of others, and the perusal of the written accounts others. Given that the brief reports in the local papers were far from satisfactory, he said, he would now turn to a thoroughly reliable source: *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*.

He read out the report of Lafontaine's demonstrations. Most confusingly, he then stated that, not having been present in person, he could not vouch for the accuracy of

³⁰ In using "Mesmerism", he seems unaware that all of Lafontaine's recent exhibitions at Liverpool (and elsewhere) were of "Animal Magnetism" (e.g., Lafontaine, 1842a), and that all of Braid's were of either "Neurypnology" or "Neuro-Hypnotism" (e.g., Braid, 1842j).

³¹ Not an impossible circumstance, given Lafontaine's constant stress of his financial returns from his lectures, and Elliotson's characterization of Lafontaine choosing to come to England for "pecuniary" reasons (S.I.L.E., 1843, p.93).

³² This much the same as the supposed interchange between George Bernard Shaw and a society matron, during which Shaw asked if she would have sex with him for a million pounds. She replied, "Perhaps". He then he asked if she would have sex with him for five pounds. She protested, "What do you think I am? A common prostitute?" To which Shaw is supposed to have replied, "We have already established that; all I'm doing now is haggling over your fee!"

what he had just read. Yet, he said (apparently turning, instantaneously, yet another 180°), in the total absence of misrepresentation, collusion, fraud, or sleight of hand, one could only conclude “beyond all question” that, if the events had actually taken place as reported, “it is beyond the course of nature”.

Yet, if it was truly a “latent power in nature”, “the discovery of which is now being made for the first time”, it was incumbent upon those “discoverers” to “ascertain the laws upon which these operations of nature are carried on”; and, moreover, those “discoverers” should immediately “come boldly forward, and state the laws of nature by the uniform action of which this thing is done”.

Yet, he said, this is not happening; and, whilst we *are* being shown “experiments”, we are *not* being given an explanation of “the laws on which they proceed”.

He then read a lengthy account of a painless mastectomy that had been performed on a mesmerized patient by eminent French surgeon Baron Jules Germain Cloquet (1790-1883), the veracity of which had been verified by the President of the French Royal Academy of Medicine. Now, says M’Neile, if this was a fraud, “then certainly there is something almost supernatural in the fact”, *what fact?*, “the fact... that we have a whole [French] academy joining to tell the public this lie”. Yet, on the other hand, if it did come to pass that the account was actually true, and *if this was not some “new science”*, then, undoubtedly, it was “something out of the range of nature” and completely “out of the present power of man”. Once again, M’Neile appeals for a public statement of “the laws of the science”, stressing to his congregation that, until the time that such laws are produced, “[all of us] are at liberty to reject it as a science”.

Then, unmoved by the report’s evidence, M’Neile keeps attacking, claiming that only two things are possible: either that “[the] whole academy have connived at a wilful falsehood”, or that “[some] supernatural thing has taken place”.

Further, if it is, indeed, *beyond human power* to perform such ‘supernatural things’, *who might it be that has the power to produce such an absence of pain in situations that are normally so painful?* Obviously, *Satan!*: the one who had placed the possessed man in a state such that, whilst possessed, he “felt no pain whilst he smashed iron chains”.

Then, because we know that the same phenomena had been manifested by two stigmatics — descriptions of which had been recently offered by “a popish writer” (which he relates in detail to the congregation) as evidence “that Popery is the true version of Christianity” — they can only come from the devil. What should one think when faced with amazements of this sort being claimed as evidence of the existence of

a "science" on the one hand, and as proof of the truth of "Popery" on the other? They are both avenues through which Satan acts; by possessing men, not in the usual way (which leads to the lunatic asylum), but in enticing them, "in a way more suitable to the curiosity of the age", with his "devices" and "cunning", to mix with "learned men" who, despite masquerading as "philosophers", are really "necromancers", and are working to encourage them to immerse themselves in this false "science".

He condemns the medical men who gather to witness these experiments; "[who seem] so busy in their profession, that they seldom have time to come to the house of God" which, in itself, "is an exploit worthy of the devil"! He further attacks the medical profession collectively, for concentrating so much on the preservation of life that, that it seems to M'Neile, as a consequence of the profession being so concerned with such things, its members are coerced into the view that "when a man is dead, there is an end of him". Also, from their concentration on the study of matter, it is obvious that the entire medical profession is completely unsuited to the examination of supernatural matters; and, even more, there is nothing in their professional armamentarium (and, particularly, says M'Neile, there is no surgeon's knife) that has the ability to locate and expose the devil — because the devil "works unseen".

He then warns his congregation to refrain from "tampering with these men" and from "witnessing these experiments" ("[designed] to cater for your idle curiosity" and are, very likely, "snares of the devil") until, at least, "the laws of the science" have been explained, and "published to the world".³³ He further warns against "go[ing] near any of these meetings" or "hear[ing] any of these lectures".

He then leaps ahead, with a cunning *non sequitur*, arguing that, due to the "scriptural exhibitions" of "satanic power" he delivered that morning, and his strong suspicion (formed without any direct observation) "that these experiments are wrought by satanic power", that "a wise, prudent, and Christian man [must therefore] set his face against them altogether" and "keep away", thus "disappoint[ing] the men who are carrying forward these experiments for present gain or for idle curiosity".

Noting that the recent Liverpool experiments, as reported, were far from convincing,

³³ In the passage "till the laws of the science are made plain, and published to the world", the word "*published*" is ambiguous due to its lexical equivocality.

Obviously, it could mean either (a) 'made generally known', or (b) 'printed in a book or journal article'; and, from this, the reader is unable to determine whether M'Neile is demanding the revelation of something previously hidden, or the production of a printed work.

Moreover, as the sermon meanders relentlessly onwards, M'Neile's precise, intended meaning is never revealed to the resader.

he leaps again, stating that, even if it was that particular experiments were found to be entirely fraudulent — “which would be the work of the devil in one way” (i.e., the results were falsely reported, or the subject was an accomplice of the operator) — one “should not on that account dismiss the subject altogether as one of mere fraud everywhere”; *because*, “if such facts as I have read to you be really facts”, it would be the work of the devil in another way. He challenged Lafontaine (identified by name) and Braid (identified by inference) to reveal the hidden secrets of their “science”, explain the phenomena they had elicited, and demonstrate that the phenomena in question were produced with uniform regularity; *because*, if they were not subject to uniform natural laws (i.e., they operated “capriciously”), then they would be one of the “devices of the devil”.

As he moves towards delivering his closing blessing to a submissive, captive congregation that had been listening to him for nearly ninety minutes, as the ‘shepherd’ of this ‘flock’, he makes sure that that they all finally ‘get his point’:

Behold, I warn you; and believing as I do about it, feeling as I do about it, with the Bible in my hand, and loving all legitimate science, but hating all mockery and deceit ... I have felt it my duty to utter this solemn warning this day in my place. My dear brethren, I beseech you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to consider it carefully for yourselves; and if any of you have felt the slightest inclination to tamper with these scenes of morbid curiosity and: idle vanity, refrain, I beseech you, from them. Clasp your precious Bible; rest on your dear Saviour; rejoice in the Lord your God, who has given his dear Son to die for you; and ere you go after all the vain, and idle, and foolish novelties, that are heard of on every side, to gratify your curiosity, consider your souls, consider your sins... and that whatever science you may know, whatever learning you may acquire, whatever character you may assume, without Jesus Christ, without his precious blood to cleanse you from sin, without his all-sufficient obedience imputed to you, and the Holy Spirit dwelling in your hearts by faith, you must perish for ever. No science can save a soul; no natural knowledge can restore you to God: no acquaintance with the physical world can root out of your souls the enmity against the Father’s Spirit... etc., etc. etc.

Finally, in relation to the published sermon, whilst none of those listening to M’Neile deliver his sermon that Sunday evening — whom had already been alerted to the proximity of Satan and his works by the proliferation of Biblical texts he had read to them that morning — could have possibly detected any such distinction, it is highly

significant that, within this, the final published version, the term "satanic" does not use "S"; which would have indicated 'of, or pertaining to, Satan'. In the published sermon, the term always has "s", denoting 'extremely wicked', 'extremely cruel', or 'evil'; e.g., the essay written by "M. Sturtz", in Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1800, p.153):

I once happened to see a criminal condemned to the wheel, who, with satanic wickedness, had murdered his benefactor, and who yet had the benevolent and open countenance of an angel of [the Italian master] Guido [Reni].

The following is the complete text of M'Neile's sermon, as published in *The Penny Pulpit* and later collected in the form of an off-print by Purland.

The original has no footnotes, and no references.

All of the footnotes are those of the author of this dissertation; and all of the biblical texts have been taken from the King James' Version.

The page numbers (e.g., {141}) are those of the original off-print.

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SATANIC AGENCY AND MESMERISM.**A Sermon**

Preached at St. Jude's Church, Liverpool,
by The Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A.,
On Sunday Evening, April 10, 1842.

"Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish."

2 Thessalonians ii. 9, 10.³⁴

I shall first give you a short digest of the scriptural evidence for satanic agency among men; I shall, secondly, by a brief exposition, of the prophecy from which our text is taken, show you the kind of agency which we have reason to expect from the devil in these latter times,³⁵ till the second coming of Christ; and, thirdly, apply these scriptural authorities to some exhibitions now going on amongst ourselves.³⁶ And I pray God to guide us into truth, and give us victory both in mind and in practice against so great an adversary; and may the Lord have mercy upon us, for Jesus Christ's sake.

The angels that God made were glorious beings, high and heavenly; but still they were creatures,³⁷ and as creatures they were not, absolutely unchangeable. Absolutely unchangeable perfection belongs only to God himself; it cannot belong to any creature as such. Those creatures, high in gloriousness as they were, still being creatures, were within the possibility of change. Some of them did change, as a matter of fact. They "kept not their first estate". This is one expression used by an apostle.³⁸ Another says they sinned — "Angels that sinned".³⁹ When they sinned — when they transgressed — against their Creator, he did not annihilate them, he did not put an end to their existence, and blot them out of creation altogether, as he might have done. Such annihilation would have been a speechless judgment.⁴⁰ It would have left a blank behind it,

³⁴ See above, at (A).

³⁵ See above (Revelation 20:1-6), at (B).

³⁶ That is, in the City of Liverpool, rather than St. Jude's Church.

³⁷ Literally, 'a created thing', 'the product of a creative action', etc.

³⁸ See above (Jude 1:6), at (C).

³⁹ See above (2 Peter 2:4, 9), at (D).

⁴⁰ "Speechless judgement" means something like "an action, which constitutes a complete

giving no instruction; it would have left no warning beacon, no open book wherein truth might be read by other intelligent creatures. But God, who is infinite in wisdom, accomplishes all his works in such a way as to instruct, that his intelligent creatures may grow in his knowledge, and that he may be honoured in their praise. He did not then annihilate the fallen angels, but he "made a show of them openly";⁴¹ he sustained in existence, but now in misery; and by the exhibition of that misery, he teaches to all the unfallen creation — to unnumbered worlds⁴² — what a deadly thing rebellion against God is; so that hell is an open book wherein all creation may read allegiance to the Great King, and the fearful consequences of rebellion. Thus a sustained devil is a {142} witness for God. To make this lesson complete, God allowed these fallen spirits to manifest those particular malignities of sin, that not content with self-destruction, they aim at the destruction of others. The first victims, as far as we learn, were the first man and woman. They were happy and holy and glorious creatures too; but they were creatures, and as such they were within the reach of change. Under the temptation of the devil they were changed; and they also tran[s]gressed. Neither did God annihilate them. He sustained the fallen man, as he had sustained the fallen angels; and by the sustained man a new lesson was taught, derived from man's connection with matter — primarily with the matter of his own body, and secondly with the matter of the earth around him. A curse came upon both in consequence of the sin of man's spirit. Death came upon his body: a curse attended with all the evil consequences of sin came upon the earth. "Cursed", said God, "is the ground for thy sake".⁴³ The devil was allowed to be his tormentor, having been so successful a tempter. This state of things has been allowed to continue, God sustaining fallen man, and gathering to himself, through the purpose in his mind, people unto him; and God sustaining the fallen angels, allowing those fallen angels to be tempters to fallen man. This is the state of things revealed in the Bible — the state of things under which we are now living.

I read to those among you who were here this morning,⁴⁴ a variety of scripture proofs of the particular agency of those fallen spirits among the heathen, against which the

destruction of them, performed without any explanation or justification being given".

⁴¹ See above (Colossians 2:15), at (E).

⁴² An allusion to the first verse of the hymn, *Hymn to God the Father*, see above at (F).

⁴³ See above (Genesis 3:17-19), at (G).

Given that M'Neile's sub-theme is the conduct of two men (Lafontaine and Braid) it is interesting that he ignores the curse upon the woman ("in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children", etc., in v.16) and upon the snake ("upon thy belly shalt thou go", etc., in v.14).

⁴⁴ See above (*M'Neile's Texts from Scripture, etc.*, p.627).

Jews were warned; they were warned against familiar spirits, against wizards, against enchanters, against diviners, against necromancers;⁴⁵ and I showed you what this witchcraft signified.⁴⁶ I pointed out to you, in the instance of Balaam, how he had been practising enchantments and divinations, and so successfully as to acquire a great character for the same; so that he was sent for by the king of Moab, to practise these enchantments and divinations against Israel, in order to deliver Moab from the children of Israel.⁴⁷ Balaam is not the only person, of whom we read as having practised witchcraft. It is written also concerning queen Jezebel, that she practised witchcraft. Her wickedness was not exclusively human wickedness; she was in league with some of the fallen spirits, for the carrying on of her craft; and Jehu said there could be no peace in Israel while the witchcrafts of Jezebel continued.⁴⁸ Manasseh also practised witchcraft, concerning which you may read in 2 Chron xxxiii. 5: "He built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord; and he caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom; also he observed times,⁴⁹ and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, and with wizards; he wrought much evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger."⁵⁰ And the prophet Isaiah reproved those who had connection with evil spirits. He said, "When they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter;⁵¹ should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead? To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."⁵² So far there can be no doubt about the matter, under the Old Testament.

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But it has been alleged, that since the incarnation of Christ, the power of the devil is

⁴⁵ See above (Deuteronomy 18:9-14) at (I): familiar spirits (at I.7), wizards (at I.8), enchanters (at I.4 and M), diviners (at I.2 and M), and necromancers (at I.7).

⁴⁶ Note that "witchcraft" is M'Neile's own term; see above (pp.645-646, and I.5, and I.4).

⁴⁷ See above (Numbers 22:4-6), at (N).

⁴⁸ See above (2 Kings 9:22), at (O).

⁴⁹ See above (Deuteronomy 18:9-14); pass through fire (I.1, K, L); observer of times (I.5).

⁵⁰ See above (2 Kings 21:1-9), at (J).

⁵¹ That is, *peep* as in "the chirp of a bird", rather than "a glance". Rather than "mumble", *mutter* is a low, barely audible, rumbling sound, consistent with the speaker being distant, dead, and buried beneath the soil. It was thought that departed spirits made these sounds when they spoke. This belief was well-founded in practice; most who pretended to converse with spirits were, in fact, ventriloquists. A voice of this quality would certainly sound as if it had come from a dead person and, even more, have been filtered by all of the soil piled on top of their grave.

⁵² Directly quoting Isaiah 8:19-20.

restrained in this world; and our Lord's own language has been quoted in supposed proof of this — the language he uses as recorded in Luke x. 18: "Jesus said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven."⁵³ Consider what he said — he beheld him fall from heaven. Is this any proof that he has less power on the earth than he had before? Not so. Compare this with what you read of him in the book of Revelation: "There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him, And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."⁵⁴ Christ saw him "as lightning fall from heaven"; but it was to come to the earth for the present, and there to exercise his great power, and "with great wrath", because his time is short. When we look into the possessions of some of our poor fellow-creatures as recorded in the Gospel, it is plainly the sort of possession that Satan took of men. And why do we see it plainly in that history more than elsewhere? Because the devil, who desires to keep his works in the dark, was then brought face to face with the light.⁵⁵ Jesus knew him, and he knew Jesus; he could not conceal his knowledge. It is not because he possessed men at that period more than he does now, that we find him so plainly in the gospel, but because the light of God's truth flashed in his face, and compelled him to reveal himself; and also we have no such light to flash upon him now. It forced him to reveal himself. "We walk by faith, not by sight";⁵⁶ but Jesus saw him. Take one specimen. Mark v.2-5: "And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an

⁵³ From the context of the scripture it appears quite certain that the observation "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" is metaphorical, not literal. See above (Luke 10: 1-9; 17-20), at (O).

⁵⁴ Directly quoting Revelation 12:7-12. Michael is an angel of the highest rank (an *archangel*) in the Book of Daniel. In the New Testament, he fills a number of functions, including the protector and the advocate of the people of Israel, and the dedicated opponent of Satan.

⁵⁵ Most likely alluding to John 3:18-21; see above, at (Q).

⁵⁶ Directly quoting 2 Corinthians 5:7.

unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones." Here was a poor creature whom we would now call a maniac, whom we would now secure and take into a lunatic asylum, and by means of a straight waistcoat prevent him injuring his own body. Our philosophy goes no farther than this. Our medical practitioners would say, that, there was some disorganization of the poor creature's brain; and their philosophy goes no further than organized or disorganized matter. But if Jesus met such a man, if he who can see into the spiritual world entered one of our lunatic {144} asylums, he would see what our doctors cannot see, what we cannot see, that the devil is there. The devil has possession of many in the very same manner as he had before. When this man met Jesus he could no longer deceive him. The devil is glad to keep out of his sight. None of us can detect him, and expose him: but when Jesus met the man, when he saw him afar off, he ran and worshipped, him, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, most high? I beseech thee, torment me not."⁵⁷ It was not a loving happy worship; it was a constrained worship. He knew him; he had felt his power in heaven. Jesus had seen him fall like lightning from heaven, and when he met him again on earth he knew him. See how he took possession of that man's body; see how he had power not only to influence his mind, not only to suggest an influence to him whereby he might induce him to commit a sin, but he had power to seize upon his flesh, to influence the organs of his body, to give him supernatural strength, so that iron chains gave way like strings of tow.⁵⁸ Here was satanic strength put into the man's bones, into the man's sinews; and this was the sort of possession that the devil took of that poor man.

Now it is further alleged that since the resurrection — that since, through Christ's death, he has overcome him that had the power of death, that, is, the devil — the devil has not been permitted to take such actual possession of men, but that he is restrained to mere moral or immoral temptations. Is this so? Let us turn to the Acts of the Apostles, and see. One instance shall suffice at present. Acts xix. 13: "Then certain of

⁵⁷ Directly quoting Luke 8:28.

⁵⁸ *Tow* is an archaic word for the unworked fibre of flax. Here M'Neile is referring to the account of Delilah's first attempt to restrain Samson for her Philistine masters; see above (Judges 16:4-9), at (R).

the vagabond Jews, exorcists." Exorcists! what are they?⁵⁹ Men who pretended to put evil spirits out of those who had them; it was a trade. There, were vagabond Jews, who pretended to be exorcists, and made money by it. "Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits in the name of the Lord, Jesus, saying, We abjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth.⁶⁰ And there were seven sons of one Sceva,⁶¹ a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so."⁶² These were respectable men in society as to their stations; they were the sons of the chief of the priests, who were practising as exorcists. "And the evil spirit answered"; here is plain possession after the resurrection of Christ. "And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped upon them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded."⁶³

Now what event has taken place, since the period of which I have now been reading, to prevent possession by the devil? This was after Christ was born, after he had lived, after he had died, after he had risen again, after he had ascended into heaven, after he had sent forth the Holy Ghost. What has been done since to alter the state of things? Nothing. Accordingly under this state of things, the apostles wrote concerning the "devices" of the devil. "We are not ignorant of his devices."⁶⁴ They write and tell us that we have to "wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."⁶⁵ The devil, then, still has power; {145} there are still familiar spirits; there are still wizards, who deal with familiar spirits; there are still necromancers and enchanters, who deal with incantations,⁶⁶ and by means of the assistance of those evil spirits do what unassisted man cannot do. I read from the writings of a man of laborious research in the Scriptures, and entirely free from anything like enthusiasm or fancy.⁶⁷ He says, "That witchcraft may be, and that it still is in some parts of the world

⁵⁹ See above (Deuteronomy 18:9-14; exorcist), at (1.9).

⁶⁰ That is, Saul of Tarsus.

⁶¹ The identity of this individual "Sceva" has never been satisfactorily determined by Biblical scholars. There was no high priest with anything like this name.

⁶² Directly quoting Acts 19:13-14.

⁶³ Directly quoting Acts 19:15-16.

⁶⁴ Directly quoting 2 Corinthians 2:11.

⁶⁵ Directly quoting Ephesians 6:12.

⁶⁶ The word "*incantation*" does not appear in the King James' Version of the Bible at all.

⁶⁷ Rev. Thomas Scott (1747-1821), Rector of Aston Sandford, Buckinghamshire, founding

actually practised, is capable of proof, were any collateral evidence necessary to confirm the truth of the divine testimony. Its outward features will entirely change; for as by certain degrees of cultivation wild beasts are vanquished, so in some stages of civilization the grosser acts of witchcraft are excluded." The truth is this, in such circumstances it no longer answers Satan's grand purpose of deception and destruction. Here, therefore, he changes his grounds, and varies his attack. Nor is he any loser; for what he seems to lose by the rejection of witchcraft, he more than gains on the other side by the prevalence of scepticism.⁶⁸ A celebrated traveller in the Niger⁶⁹ mentions several sorts of what he calls occult science, secret science,⁷⁰ extant among the Arabs. Some he ascribes to sleight of hand only; others, to enthusiasm; others, charms against evil; and, lastly, he says there is a science which was described to him as witchcraft or sorcery. It is said to be employed only or chiefly in hurting others, and, therefore, those dedicated to it are hated by every honest Arab. The nature of this sin of witchcraft, is strikingly exhibited in some of the portions of Scripture I read here this morning, particularly that passage which commanded the Jews not to have communication with familiar spirits, or to "go a whoring after them".⁷¹ I referred to this verse to shew you the nature of the sin. It has reference to the relationship in which God Almighty placed himself to

Secretary of the *Church Missionary Society*.

⁶⁸ The closing quotes are in the wrong place. Slightly abbreviated by M'Neile, it is part of the commentary on Exodus 22:18 "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" — see above at Deuteronomy 18:9-14; witch (I.5). In full, the quotation reads:

"That witchcraft may be, that it hath been, and that it still is in some parts of the world, actually practised, seems capable of proof, were any collateral evidence necessary to confirm the truth of the divine testimony. But as, by certain degrees of cultivation, wild beasts are banished or extirpated; so, in some stages of civilization, the practice of witchcraft is nearly excluded. The truth is this; in such circumstances it no longer so well answers Satan's grand purpose of deception and destruction: he therefore changes his ground, and varies his attack; nor is he any loser, by exchanging the practice of witchcraft for the prevalence of skepticism" (Scott, 1828, p.272).

⁶⁹ Because the 'travelling' of this 'traveller' will have been earlier than 1842, it could be Mungo Park (1771-1806), Hugh Clapperton (1788-1827), Richard Lemon Lander (1804-1834), or John Lander (1807-1839). However, given M'Neile's links with the Church Missionary Society, it is most likely to be the German linguist and missionary, Rev. Jacob Friedrich Schön (1803-1889), a.k.a. James Frederick Schon, who served the C.M.S. in the Sierra Leone from 1832 to 1847 (and correspondence from whom appeared, from time to time, in *The Achill Missionary Herald*).

⁷⁰ As the sermon progresses, M'Neile employs the typical appeal that *sola scriptura* people routinely make to scripture in support of their view. The trick involves *switch-referencing*, based on a case of equivocation due to lexical ambiguity.

The argument exploits the equivocation of the term *occult* ("not known", "hidden", "secret" vs. "black arts"): that, because the mechanism of Mesmerism is *unknown*, Mesmerism is '*occult*', and because 'the occult' is the domain of Satan, Mesmerism is obviously '*satanic*'.

⁷¹ See above (Leviticus 19:26, 31, 20:6, 27), at (H).

that people. "I am married to you, saith the Lord."⁷² He also calls himself "a jealous God"; and, on the ground of jealousy, forbids them to worship any other: "For I the Lord thy God am a *jealous* God".⁷³ Exclusive worship of him was as faithfulness in a married woman; but any seeking out another power than him, going to familiar spirits or necromancers,— this was like the infidelity of the harlot. And this explains that remarkable passage which you may all remember; what Samuel says to Saul — "Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft."⁷⁴ How is rebellion the sin of witchcraft? Resistance to the proper authority — the king or government. So is witchcraft, which was a similar kind of resistance against the proper authority of God. Rebellion is the raising up a power among the people against the constituted power of the king, so witchcraft is a raising up a power amongst the fallen angels against the revealed power and truth of God.

Thus, then, I have placed before you, as briefly as I could, some of the scriptural evidences of satanic agency amongst men, together with the nature of that agency.

Now I want to show you, in the next place, the sort of agency we have reason to expect in these latter times, till the coming of the Son of Man; and I shall endeavour to do so by a very brief exposition of this prophecy. St. Paul says to the Thessalonian Christians, that before the day of the Lord {146} come, "there shall come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work."⁷⁵ It was at work even in St. Paul's time. "Only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way;⁷⁶ and then shall that wicked one be revealed."⁷⁷ The principle of it was at work even in the days of the apostle, but there was a hindrance in its development, in its manifestation.

Let me instruct you for a few minutes about this. Whilst God's church in the world

⁷² See above ("*I am married to you*") at (S).

⁷³ Quotes directly taken from Exodus 20:4-6.

⁷⁴ See above ("*Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*"), at (T).

⁷⁵ Directly quoting 2 Thessalonians 2:3-7.

⁷⁶ "Only he who now letteth will let" = "Only he who now restrains has the capacity to restrain [and will continue to restrain until his restraining influence is removed]".

⁷⁷ Directly quoting 2 Thessalonians 2:7.

was in the form and outward aspect of the Jewish nation, the devil's power was exercised correspondingly by nations. The Egyptian nation, the Assyrian nation, the Babylonian nation, and then the Grecian and Roman nations were the great agencies of Satan, and one after another they oppressed the Jewish nation. But when the aspect of God's church was changed from being a nation under geographical limits, and within its government, when it took the aspect of a people amongst all nations, to whom they gave their hearts' allegiance, and to whom they made their hearts' confessions; when the church ceased to wear a geographical aspect, then the great agency of the devil against the church ceased. It also assumed an aspect of ubiquity, proclaiming one king, who should be head over all: a priest upon a throne, a temporal monarch, and an ecclesiastical head. Those were the characters of the head of the true church, and those were the assumed characters of the power that professed itself as God in the world; Christ's vicar in the world,⁷⁸ usurping Christ's office to be king of kings, Christ's office to be a priest, to whom all hearts should be opened, and commanding universal confession to his vassals, usurping Christ's omniscience of the heart. But there was a hindrance in the way of the development of this, so long as the Roman nation stood. Whilst the Roman empire stood in its integrity as a nation, this "mystery of iniquity" could not manifest itself, though it was already at work. But when the Roman empire was broken up, then opportunity was given for the benefit of this king-priest, or priest-king. So he that hindereth the Roman empire, will hinder until it is taken out of the way; and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, (that is, real power,) and signs and wonders, and lying wonders. There is mixture in it; there is a real power, and there is a lying pretence to power. "And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish."⁷⁹ This is the description of that wicked one, "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming."⁸⁰

Now I think it is fairly and scripturally proved, not only that there did exist such a thing as satanic agency, but that it continued to exist after the incarnation of Christ; that it continued to exist amongst men after the resurrection of Christ; that it is predicted to exist until the second coming of Christ; and that here until his second coming it shall be found with powers and doing signs, and mingling lying wonders indeed, (for

⁷⁸ "Christ's vicar" = "the Bishop of Rome", known to some as "the Pope".

⁷⁹ Directly quoting 2 Thessalonians 2:9.

⁸⁰ Directly quoting 2 Thessalonians 2:8. The four passages quoted in sequence, with this being the last of the four, immediately precede the passage containing his chosen text.

if there be some {147} real necromancers, there will be some pretenders who are not real,) but that it will come "with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish",⁸¹ and that it would, if it were possible, deceive even the very elect.

Now, my brethren, with this scriptural state of things before us, apprised of this fact, knowing from the word of God that there is such a power abroad in the world, that we are liable to be assailed by it, and that many signs and wonders, some true and some lying, may be exhibited by this power working along with men who deal with familiar spirits; I say, with all this before us, we come as furnished Christians, to consider any one particular work, or any one particular power, or pretence, or sign, or wonder. It is not fitting that we should come to the examination of anything of the kind, without being properly furnished with scriptural information. For this purpose I have drawn out this scriptural information for you, inviting you to trace the operation for yourselves; and now with it before us, I ask you to consider what is now going on in this very town, and occupying within the last few days, as I perceive, a portion of the public press, which is put into all your hands to read. And first I institute the inquiry, is there any real power — any supernatural power, in this Mesmerism, or is it nothing but fraud? Is it nothing but human fraud for gain sake, or is there anything in it beyond the power of unassisted man to accomplish? In forming a judgment of this, I go of course on what I have read; I have seen nothing of it; nor do I think it right to tempt God by going to see it. I have not the faith to go in the name of the Lord Jesus, and to command the devil to depart;⁸² I am not called by scriptural precept to do it, and I will not do it. I must judge by hearsay. In judging by hearsay and by reading, I do not confine myself to the very brief and very unsatisfactory accounts, that have been published of what has taken place in this town, but I hold in my hand a very remarkable article from a late number of Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*,⁸³ which professes to give an account of some circumstances which the writers themselves beheld.⁸⁴ "At his private exhibitions,

⁸¹ Repeating the last part of his chosen text (viz., 2 Thessalonians 2:10).

⁸² Here, M'Neile seems to be implying something like, "And, if I, an ordained man, am absolutely certain that I neither have the capacity within myself, nor have the ability to summon up, from Jesus Christ, the capacity to resist such an overpowering force, then each of you — all of whom collectively are "miserable offenders", "who have erred and strayed from God's way like lost sheep" — will, by definition, be even less able".

⁸³ It is almost certain that M'Neile did not hold an issue *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* in his hand, but held an issue of *The Achill Missionary Herald*, which had reprinted the particular extract from the *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* that M'Neile went on to quote.

⁸⁴ M'Neile is referring to the anonymous article, "Recent Experiments in Animal Magnetism", that appeared in the 4 December 1841 issue of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*.

M. Lafontaine" — who I understand is now in this town⁸⁵ — "operated principally upon a youth about sixteen years of age, his own servant."⁸⁶ That is suspicious to begin with; but still much was done apparently of an extraordinary kind upon this young man. "This youth generally became magnetised — that is to say, he was thrown into a state of insensibility — after a very brief period, say two or three minutes. The effect was produced by a few mesmeric passes, over the head, or by the contact of the thumb. The sleep produced seemed like the sleep of death. There was a perfect rigidity of limb, and a total insensibility, or at least an apparent insensibility, not only to what was passing around, but to pain, and to the influence of very potent agents — for instance, the application of electricity. On one occasion, this youth held the wires of the voltaic battery for nearly ten minutes without exhibiting the least movement or sign of sensibility. M. Lafontaine repeatedly urged those present to test the force of the electric shock; but no one would try the experiment. Pins were also thrust into the hands and temples of the patient, and other very vulnerable parts, all without producing the slightest external symptom of suffering. The professor had {148} the power of rendering one particular limb rigid and insensible, while the other remained in its accustomed state. On one occasion we saw the patient covered with a thick cloth, and at the wish of any particular person, either the right or the left arm was rendered insensible at will, by a sign which the youth had no apparent means of perceiving.⁸⁷ In the public exhibitions at the Hanover-square Rooms, the same youth was the principal patient, but M. Lafontaine also operated upon one or two females, whom he sent to sleep in a very few minutes. The young man, on these occasions, as in the private experiments, had pins thrust into his hands and temples, and one of the company actually made a very severe wound in the thigh, from which much blood issued. Still he did not move. This last test was as unexpected as it was severe, and appeared anything but reconcileable [sic]⁸⁸ with the idea put forward by some, that the youth, by dint of training, was able to accustom himself to make no outward manifestation of the existence of pain, although in point of fact, suffering from it to a very great extent."

⁸⁵ The parenthetical remark, "who I understand is now in this town", is M'Neile's.

⁸⁶ Both the original *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* article and Nangle's article (1842b) have "his servant", rather than M'Neile's "his own servant".

⁸⁷ Both the original *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* article and Nangle's article (1842b) have a paragraph break here.

⁸⁸ It is "reconcilable" in the *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* article as well; an indication that the stenographer (or the *Penny Pulpit's* publisher) may have had access to M'Neile's notes (although it may just be that they had independent access to the *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*).

Here is one of the cases set forward by apparent authority. Now I do not vouch, of course, for the facts of this case, as here stated. There may have been some misrepresentation, there may have been some collusion, and some fraud, and some appearance of blood, when there was none in reality; but supposing that the fact took place as it is here stated,⁸⁹ then beyond all question it is beyond the course of nature. It is not in nature, so far as we have yet learned, (and I may speak of this a little further presently,) for any one to bear to be so treated in their sleep without waking, or without been awoke out of their sleep.⁹⁰ Here is some power then, it may be alleged, in nature;⁹¹ there may be some secret operation, the discovery of which is now being made for the first time; something like the power of compressed steam, which did exist in nature, long before it was so discovered as to be able to be applied by man; or like electricity.⁹² There may be some latent power in nature which is now being discovered; and let those who preside over this discovery, those who have made or are making it, ascertain the laws upon which these operations of nature are carried on, for it is a part of all nature's laws that they shall act uniformly. And I would wish that the professors of this science, (if they call it a science,) should come boldly forward, and state the laws of nature by the uniform action of which this thing is done, and not confine themselves to experiments in a corner upon their own servants, or upon females hired for the purpose. Let them put forward, if it be a science, the elements of the science in a scientific manner; for if it be a science, derived from properties in matter which have hitherto escaped observation, and which are now brought under the attention of examining philosophers, it will I say be open to a rule, it will be open to a law, and the uniform action of its properties can be stated; and it belongs to philosophers who are honest men, and who make any discovery of this kind, to state the uniform action. But this is not done at present; we hear of these experiments, but we hear nothing of a scientific statement of the laws on which they proceed.

I wish to read to you another fact — I suppose a fact — recorded in a report of the

⁸⁹ Instead of "that the fact took place as it is here stated" (as appears here), the (earlier) report in the *Liverpool Standard* has "that the effect took place as it is here stated" (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹⁰ Instead of "any one to bear to be so treated in their sleep without waking, or without been awoke out of their sleep" (as appears here), the (earlier) report in the *Liverpool Standard* has "any one to be so tortured in sleep without being awoke out of that sleep" (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹¹ Instead of "power then, it may be alleged, in nature" (as appears here), the (earlier) report in the *Liverpool Standard* has "power then. It may be lodged in nature;" (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹² Instead of "exist in nature, long before it was so discovered as to be able to be applied by man; or like electricity" (as appears here), the (earlier) report in the *Liverpool Standard* has "exist in nature long before its discovery took place; or like electricity" (Anon, 1842ii).

magnetic experiments, made by the committee of the Royal Academy of Paris, and signed by the President of that Academy; and this is much {149} more remarkable than the fact I have already read. [Here the preacher read a statement of the case of a lady residing in France, afflicted with ulcerated cancer of the right breast, on whom an operation was performed without her feeling the slightest pain during its progress.]⁹³ Now if this be a falsehood, then certainly there is something almost supernatural in the fact,⁹⁴ that we have a whole academy joining to tell the public this lie.⁹⁵ If it be a truth,⁹⁶ if the fact be so, then here beyond all question is something out of the range of nature, out of the present power of man, unless this is a new science. Here is a lady put into such a state that she sits in a chair, has the operation for cancer performed, and is utterly unconscious that anything is going on. She converses quietly with the operator all the while: she is put to bed after the operation, kept in this state till the wound is dressed, cleaned, and dressed again, and after forty-eight hours awakened, and does not know that anything has happened to her. We know what sleep is, and we know what pain is. We do not know all the properties of matter certainly, and there may be (as I have said) some occult property in matter which these men have discovered, and which may have the effect, when applied to the human frame, of rendering it insensible to pain. If there be such a property in matter, it will act uniformly, for that is the characteristic of nature's actings; there is no caprice in nature; all the laws of nature act uniformly. Let our scientific gentlemen remember this in examining this point. If this be a science, let us have the laws on which these properties of matter act. When the science of compressed steam was set forth,⁹⁷ many of the laws of its acting were given, and its power always bears the same proportion to the pressure or to the com-

⁹³ The parenthetical remarks between “[” and “]” are in the original text. The report of the case is translated at Colquhoun (1833), pp.149-152, and Léger (1846), pp.129-131.

Nangle (1842a, 13), quoted directly from Colquhoun's translation (1836, II, p.236ff, which Nangle mistakenly identifies as p.286ff). See above (“*the case of a lady... afflicted with ulcerated cancer of the right breast*”), at (U).

⁹⁴ Instead of “then certainly there is something almost supernatural in the fact” (as appears here), the (earlier) report in the *Liverpool Standard* has “then certainly there is something almost supernatural in the effect” (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹⁵ Instead of “to tell the public this lie” (as appears here), the (earlier) *Liverpool Standard* report has “to tell and publish this lie” (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹⁶ Instead of “If it be a truth” (as appears here), the (earlier) *Liverpool Standard* report has “If it be the truth” (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹⁷ Instead of “When the science of compressed steam was set forth” (as appears here), the (earlier) *Liverpool Standard* report has “When the science of compressed steam was sent forth” (Anon, 1842ii).

pression.⁹⁸ It is the same in every science, and every physical science is subject to a rigid examination, and the laws of it can be stated, and the uniformity of its action. So the shock of the battery is always proportioned to the charge. Let us have the laws of the science, if it be a science; and if it be not a science, then what is it?

Observe, I am not running down science, as we, who take the Bible for our standard, are accused of doing. We are not running down science at all; we ask, if it be a science, for the laws — the uniformly acting laws. Let this be remembered; and until these are given, we are at liberty to reject it as a science. But, at the same time, I am compelled by the statement of facts, either to suppose that a whole academy have connived at a wilful falsehood, or else, that a supernatural thing has taken place. Then what is it? Who is it? A man cannot perform it. Who has done it? Who has power over the flesh of man's body, to place it in such a condition, as that the ordinary applications which cause pain produce no pain? Of whom have we ever read, as having taken possession of man's flesh? I read you one instance of a man who was possessed of a devil, so that he felt no pain whilst he smashed iron chains. And now what leads me to suspect that this pretended science — I must call it so till its laws are published — what leads me to suspect that this is of the devil, is this: it is precisely the thing which is pleaded now in defence of falsehood; it is precisely the thing that my Lord Shrewsbury⁹⁹ has put forth to prove that Popery is the true version of Christianity.¹⁰⁰ What is his Ecstatica [sic] which he has written such a book¹⁰¹ about? {150} You have heard of the Ecstatica and Addolorata¹⁰² — the two young women whom he saw on the continent; they were Mesmerised. His description of them exactly corresponds with the description we have of these Mesmerised persons. He tells of a young woman, who was in a state of ecstasy, wrapt in

⁹⁸ Instead of "compression" (as appears here), the (earlier) *Liverpool Standard* report has "compressure" (Anon, 1842ii).

⁹⁹ John Talbot (1791-1852), 16th Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford.

¹⁰⁰ At the time of M'Neile's sermon, and unlike at the time of the Gordon Riots (1780), the term *Roman Catholic* was now in common use.

The earlier descriptive term, *Papist*, in generally use at the time of the Gordon Riots was now, more or less exclusively, being uttered by "those who used it with deliberate polemic intent" (Wolffe, 1991, p.15). See above (*Popery*, or *Romanism*), at (V).

¹⁰¹ The 44 page work, Talbot, J., *Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Esq. Descriptive of the Estatica of Caldaro and the Addolorata of Capriana*, Charles Dolman, (London), 1841. Talbot also published a second edition (of 143 pages) in 1842, "being a second edition, revised and enlarged; to which is added the relation of three successive visits to the Estatica of Mont Sansavino, in May 1842".

¹⁰² Maria von Mörl (1812-1868) of the South Tyrol, the *Estatica* (i.e., "female ecstatic"). Maria Domenica Lazzari (1815-1848) of the Italian Tyrol, the *Addolorata* (an allusion to the Roman Catholic Mariologists' construct, *Madonna Addolorata*, "Our Lady of Sorrows").

prayer, devoted to the Virgin; her eyes were open, but she had no natural sensibility of what was going on without. He says, that a fly was seen to walk across her eyeball, and she never winked;¹⁰³ she was totally insensible of everything that was going on, except one thing: he says, that she manifested consciousness at the approach of the consecrated host. Now, here is a state of things in this *Ecstatica*[sic] — a state resembling exactly the state of the Mesmerised young woman — pleaded by a popish writer as a proof of divine influence, as a proof of divine origin of his creed; and the only thing that raised her out of her ecstasy, the only external object that she had a consciousness of the approach of, was the consecrated host. Now, this belongs to the "mystery of iniquity". And when I see wonders of this kind on the one side, pleaded as a science, though the laws of the science are not given, and when I see, on the other side, wonders of this kind pleaded as proofs of God's bearing testimony to Popery, what am I to think? Is not this an exploit worthy of Satan? Is it not worthy of Satan to put forward such a power? Is it not worthy of him, to lay bold of men who are covetous, like Balaam, and whether they design to be his dupes or not, to take advantage of their covetousness? Is it not worthy the skill of his devices and his cunning, to walk with men who would be philosophers, but who, in this instance, are necromancers? Is it not worthy of the devil, to walk with such men, to put forth the power which it is permitted him to exercise in men's bodies, and to exercise it not in the common way of madness, so as to have men put into a lunatic asylum, but to exercise it in a way more suitable to the curiosity of the age, to exercise it in a way that may seem to be scientific, and may call attention from learned men, and may gather together a group of professional gentlemen to witness these experiments — gentlemen who are so busy in their profession, that they seldom have time to come to the house of God? This I say, is an exploit worthy of the devil.

But having given this scriptural testimony, which I think it right that a minister of Christ's gospel should give on such occasions, I shall draw to a conclusion, with only a notice connected with what I have just now spoken of — the profession, as it is called. I see from the account given of what passed in this town, that the experiments were not such as quite satisfied the profession, and therefore they were to be repeated on another evening. Now, my brethren, the medical profession (for which no man has a

¹⁰³ Talbot, (1842), p.15:

"When M. de la Bouillerie visited [Maria von Mörl] on his way to Rome, whither he was going to receive ordination, he found her kneeling in a state of ecstasy, when he saw a fly walk quietly across the pupil of her eye when wide open, without producing the slightest sensation upon her."

higher respect, in its proper place, and for its proper work, than I have) is a very unsuitable profession for the examination of such a matter as this. If there be anything connected with the spiritual world in it, it is wholly out of the cognizance of those gentlemen, whose whole professional study is connected with matter. They consider man entirely as regards this life; their habit is to look on death as the end of a man; when a man is dead, there is an end of him, as far as their profession goes; and this induces in them a habit of considering man with reference to the life of his body, and in spite of themselves, even when they are personally Christian men, there must be a great difficulty in getting over this habit — a habit of mind induced by their profession, to look upon death as the end of a man because is the end of him as far as their profession is concerned. And if, as judge, there be anything supernatural in this work, they are, I say again, as unfitted as any men can be for the examination of it; for neither the knife of the anatomist, nor the prescription of the physician, can reach the seat here. The devil cannot be found by the searching knife,¹⁰⁴ that separates the veins, or opens the arteries, or divides the {151} joints; neither can the devil be found by way of the searching medicine, which divides itself through all the pores and alleys of the body; he works unseen. I would respectfully suggest to the gentlemen of the profession, as it is called, that there are "many things between heaven and earth which are not dreamt of" in their profession, nor in their philosophy.¹⁰⁵ I would have them, if they would be fully satisfied of these things, to ask light from God, to ask God Almighty to show them the spiritual world. If these things will not bear the comparison of Holy Scripture, it is because "there is no light in them."¹⁰⁶

Now, my dear brethren, I pray you, to attend to the warning against this, which I am giving you. I ask you to refrain from tampering with these men, till the laws of the science are made plain, and published to the world. I do not ask a bigotted[sic] rejection of any scientific book or account that may be published; on the contrary, I would rejoice to see a scientific account of the uniformly acting laws of matter, whatever the matter may be, by which such effects are produced on the human frame, and would carefully read it when once it is given to the public. But I entreat you, until an open and candid statement of this kind, worthy of a philosopher, is given to the public, to refrain

¹⁰⁴ An argument directed at Braid, the surgeon.

¹⁰⁵ Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene V:

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

¹⁰⁶ See above (*there is no light in him*), at (W).

from witnessing these experiments, made to cater for your idle curiosity; for they may be — at least they *may* be — the snares of the devil. Refrain from them; disappoint the men who are carrying forward these experiments for present gain or for idle curiosity; keep away from them. Hearken not to their sayings, nor behold their doings; but separate from them altogether. I consider that no Christian person ought to go near any of these meetings or hear any of these lectures, until a statement shall be made, grounded on a scientific assertion, at least, of the laws by which this thing is said to act. With such a scriptural exhibition as I have now given you of satanic power, with a possibility that these experiments are wrought by satanic power, it is the part of a wise, prudent, and Christian man to set his face against them altogether, in the present state of the question. I said I would not blind my judgment; but you observe, the report I have seen of what has taken place in this town, is brief and unsatisfactory. There may have been nothing but fraud here, there may have been no real success here; there may have been no such operation as would bear the test of a scrutinizing stranger, who was not already a willing accomplice; there may have been nothing of the kind here; I know not. But suppose it is fraud here; suppose they have failed here; suppose the wonder here has been a lying wonder; yet it does not follow that it has been so everywhere: there may have been real power somewhere else; there may have been no such power exhibited here; and therefore any of you who may have been present on some of the occasions in the last week, and who may have themselves fancied there was nothing but fraud in it, should not on that account dismiss the subject altogether as one of mere fraud everywhere. It may be worse than that. Fraud in men pretending to science would be bad enough; it would be of the devil in one way; but this may be of the devil in more ways than one, if such facts as I have read to you be really facts. Beware then, my dear friends, beware. Be upon your guard, and join with me in waiting until some statement shall be put forward worthy the name of science. Let these professors — let M. Lafontaine, or the other who is in the town at this time, of whom I have read something,¹⁰⁷ but whose name I forget at this moment¹⁰⁸ — let those gentlemen, if they

¹⁰⁷ Note that M'Neile's statement is equivocal; it can mean either:

- (a) "I have read something about a particular Mr. X's activities in Manchester: and this is the same Mr. X who is presently in Liverpool" or
- (b) "I have read something about the activities of Mr. X whilst he is here in Liverpool".

If he meant (a), he was speaking of Braid's first three exhibitions at the Manchester *Athanæum* in late November/early December 1842 (Anon, 1842a). If he meant (b), he was speaking of the reports in the *Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser* of 8 April 1842, of the two public lectures Braid had delivered in Liverpool on 1 and 6 April (Anon, 1842b, 1842c).

¹⁰⁸ This 'man whose name was momentarily forgotten' is most definitely James Braid.

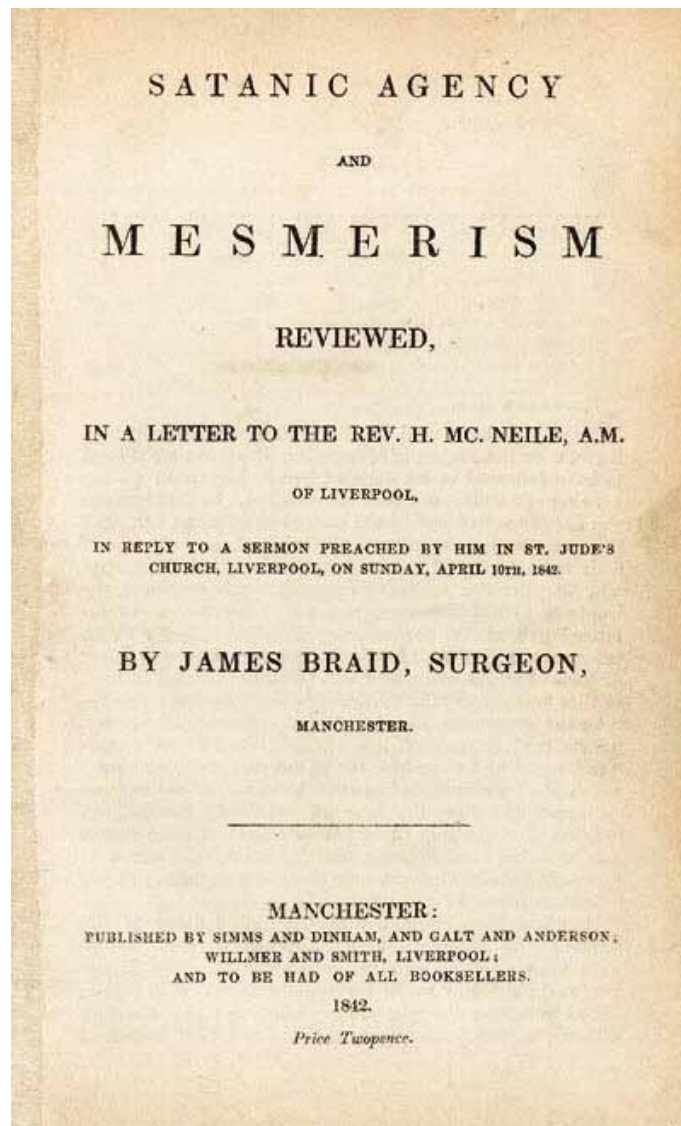
believe it to be a science indeed, put forward a scientific statement which will stand the test of examination. Let them say what the matter is, and what the property of that matter is. Let there be no more occult science. Science is open and above-board to all who will examine it; it courts examination. Let us not listen to it, so long as {152} they keep it secret and hide the nature of it; so long as there is nothing but a pass of the thumb or a movement of the fingers, and signs, and talismanic tokens, without any intelligible law laid down, stating some property in matter, and stating how it acts — stating the nature of its action on human flesh — stating how it stops the circulation of human blood, so as to resist the strengthfulness[sic] of the human frame¹⁰⁹ — stating how it prevents the delicate touch being felt in the cutaneous veins. Let them put forward a scientific statement, whereby we shall see the nature of the matter, the operation of the matter, its operation on human flesh, the laws by which it operates. If it be in nature, it will operate uniformly and not capriciously. If it operates capriciously, then there is some mischievous agent at work; and "we are not ignorant of the devices" of the devil. Behold, I warn you; and believing as I do about it, feeling as I do about it, with the Bible in my hand, and loving all legitimate science, but hating all mockery and deceit — (I am quite alive to the deceivableness of many things which may be put forward as science) — I have felt it my duty to utter this solemn warning this day in my place. My dear brethren, I beseech you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to consider it carefully for yourselves; and if any of you have felt the slightest inclination to tamper with these scenes of morbid curiosity and: idle vanity, refrain, I beseech you, from them. Clasp your precious Bible; rest on your dear Saviour; rejoice in the Lord your God, who has given his dear Son to die for you; and ere you go after all the vain, and idle, and foolish novelties, that are heard of on every side, to gratify your curiosity, consider your souls, consider your sins. Behold, I preach to you again the Lord Jesus. Before you separate to-night behold, I tell you that in Adam you are all ruined, that when Adam sinned, he cut you all off from natural communication with God; that the whole mass fell when he fell; that you are ruined in him; that you have no recovery in yourselves; that Jesus Christ the Son of God took your nature as the second Adam, to wing his way back in all that belongs to your nature to the throne of heaven; that in him there is recovery and in him alone; that in his blood there is cleansing from your sins; that by his Spirit there is renewal of your minds; that by his power, there is holiness again conveyed to your souls, and happiness in God for ever; and that whatever science you may know,

¹⁰⁹ Instead of "so as to resist the strengthfulness of the" (as appears here), the (earlier) the *Liverpool Standard* report has "**how it arrests the sensibility** of the" (Anon, 1842ii).

whatever learning you may acquire, whatever character you may assume, without Jesus Christ, without his precious blood to cleanse you from sin, without his all-sufficient obedience imputed to you, and the Holy Spirit dwelling in your hearts by faith, you must perish for ever. No science can save a soul; no natural knowledge can restore you to God: no acquaintance with the physical world can root out of your souls the enmity against the Father's Spirit. It is only in the Son of God there is safety. Believe in the Lord Jesus and ye shall be saved. Look to him; rest yourselves upon him; and ye shall have the peace of God, through his dear Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

May God in mercy grant his blessing upon you all; teaching the careless, awakening the slumbering, collecting the wandering, and cheering and camforting[sic] the desponding, for his glorious name's sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Appendix Ten: Braid's Published Response to M'Neile



Once Braid became fully aware of the newspaper reports of the conglomeration of matters that were reportedly raised in M'Neile's sermon, and the misrepresentations and outright errors of fact that it allegedly contained, as well as the vicious nature of the insults, and the implicit and explicit threats which were levelled against his own personal, spiritual, and professional well-being by M'Neile, he sent a detailed letter to M'Neile (almost certainly on Saturday, 16 April). As well as the letter, he sent a newspaper account of a lecture he had delivered on the preceding Wednesday evening (13 April) at Macclesfield, and a cordial invitation (plus a free admission ticket) for M'Neile to attend his next Liverpool lecture, on Thursday, 21 April.

Thus, when examining the nature of Braid's response to M'Neile's sermon it is imperative that his pamphlet is not read in isolation; it must be read *in conjunction with its counterpart*, the article (Anon, 1842fog) in the (once a week) *Macclesfield Courier &*

Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser of Saturday, 16 April 1842 (see *Appendix Six*).

Braid was certain that, by attending the lecture in person, M'Neile would not only be able to identify and correct his many errors, but would, also, be able to verify the accuracy of the *Macclesfield Courier's* report. He would see Braid's demonstrations and experiments (on both *selected subjects* and *volunteers*) at close range; and, perhaps, M'Neile might even volunteer himself.

It would also allow M'Neile to hear physiological and psychological explanations for the "uniform success" of Braid's "mode of operating" first hand; and, also, allow him to meet Braid, and address his own questions to directly Braid, in person. Hearing Braid's case studies, and seeing and hearing the personal testimonials of actual patients would convince him that Braid's "new agency" had many important and efficacious applications in a very wide range of distressing, chronic conditions that had, until that time, resisted the best conventional medical intervention. This would, Braid thought, convince M'Neile that Braid had discovered "a law of the animal economy which had not hitherto been found out"; and he would instantly recognize the potential of these interventions in the relief of human suffering.

Yet, despite Braid's courtesy, in raising his deeply felt concerns directly to M'Neile, in private correspondence, M'Neile did not acknowledge Braid's letter nor did he attend Braid's lecture. Further, in the face of all the evidence Braid had presented, and seemingly, *without the slightest correction of its original contents*, M'Neile allowed the entire text of his original sermon to be published on Wednesday, 4 May 1842.

It was this 'most ungentlemanly' act of M'Neile towards Braid, that forced Braid to publish his own response as a pamphlet; which he did on Saturday, 4 June 1842.

In his extensive bibliography of nearly 2,000 works on animal magnetism, hypnotism, etc., Crabtree says this pamphlet is "a work of the greatest significance in the history of hypnotism, and of utmost rarity" (1988, p.121).

In 1899, Waite,[‡] reported that, "[unlike most of] Braid's minor publications... [it was not] a reprint from the columns of some medical periodical" (p.365). Totally unable to locate a copy, Waite also found "no trace of this pamphlet in the periodicals of [Braid's] time".

Preyer,[‡] who had "made an intensive search for all of Braid's contributions to the field of hypnotism" in the late nineteenth century, was unable to locate a single copy in

England or in the U.S.A. (Tinterow, 1970, p.317). By the 1880s, Preyer had read all of Braid's works that he could lay his hands on; and, as well, he had been given access, by Braid's family, to Braid's private papers almost 20 years after Braid's death.

The fact that Preyer could not *locate* a single copy, and that there was no German translation of this work in any of Preyer's collections of Braid's writings, is very strong evidence that Braid also had no copy himself, at the time of his death.

For many years, it was universally accepted that no copies of the pamphlet had survived into the twentieth century.

In 1955/1956, the Hungarian neurologist, Francis Volgyesi,[†] published a three-part article on Braid in the *British Journal of Medical Hypnotism*.



Fig.114. Volgyesi using Braid's "eye-fixation method" on a lion at the Budapest Zoo in late 1936.¹

The second part (1955b) was a direct transcription of Braid's pamphlet, taken from Volgyesi's own personal copy.

Yet, until he located a copy in 1939 under what he describes (without elaboration) as "romantic circumstances" (1955a, p.7), Volgyesi, himself, was also under the

¹ Völgyesi (1966), Fig.82, between p.82 and p.83.

impression that *all* copies of Braid's pamphlet had been destroyed.² There seem to be four possibilities:

- (1) Volgyesi serendipitously acquired it from the Berlin book dealer to whom Albert Moll,³ a Jew, had delivered his entire hypnotism library for sale (hoping it would be saved for posterity), when the Nazis began confiscating and destroying the libraries of Jewish professionals.⁴
- (2) Given his level of interest in Braid's work (especially his interest in Braid's procedure for hypnotizing animals),⁵ he had sought out Moll and had been able to inveigle him into handing over the pamphlet.
- (3) Volgyesi was given the pamphlet by the Gestapo as part payment for his valuable work in training Nazi interrogators.
- (4) Volgyesi had simply found the pamphlet somewhere in Hungary.

By the late 1960s, almost certainly alerted to its existence by Volgyesi's article, Maurice Tinterow⁶ had acquired the copy of the Braid pamphlet that had once been in the private library of the Albert Moll.

Tinterow never revealed the source of his copy. But, given *all available books from Moll's professional library* were bought for the Vanderbilt University Medical Library in 1935,⁷ it seems inevitable that it came to Tinterow *via* Volgyesi in some manner.⁸

² Thus, obviously, Volgyesi was not seeking to obtain a copy.

³ One of a handful of scholars who continued to study Braid's 'hypnotism', the eminent German psychiatrist Albert Moll (1862–1939), had also studied in Nancy with Bernheim. He agreed with Braid that there was an extended series of "different states [that] are included in the idea of [hypnotism]" (1890, p.25); with each of these arrangements creating a particular "hypnotic state", that was uniquely responsible for the hypnotic phenomena manifested by that hypnotic subject, in that hypnotic context, at that particular moment.

Born a Jew, but baptized as a Christian, the Nazis revoked his license to practice medicine in the late 1930s. Ironically, as a fierce long-time opponent of Freud, whom he despised as a medical charlatan, he died (of natural causes) on the same day as Freud (23 September 1939), thus avoiding a hideous death in a concentration camp.

⁴ Given it has Moll's *Ex Libris* bookplate affixed to it (photograph at Tinterow, 1970, p.322), it must have been in Moll's possession for some length of time. It was definitely in Tinterow's possession by 1970, when he published his *Foundations of Hypnosis*.

⁵ The first German edition of Volgyesi's *Menschen- und Tierhypnose (Hypnosis Of Man And Animals)* was published by Orell Füssli, in Zürich, in 1938. It was a translation of the Hungarian *Ember-és állat-Hypnózis*, published by Rudolf Novák, in Budapest, also in 1938.

A translation of the second German edition (1963) was translated into English in 1966.

⁶ The anaesthetist, university lecturer, medical researcher, medical hypnotist, and scholar of hypnotism, Maurice Meyer Tinterow, M.D. (1917-1993). His extended personal collection of important works on mesmerism, animal magnetism, and hypnotism, was donated to the Wichita State University c.1983.

⁷ This collection of more than 900 items was bought for \$US200 on behalf of the Vanderbilt

Eventually given to the Wichita State University by Tinterow (who thought it was the only remaining copy), along with the rest of his "approximately 640 volumes on hypnosis and related subjects" (Bousfield, 1983, p.4,5), this extremely fragile 'Tinterow Copy', is now in *The Maurice M. and Jean H. Tinterow Collection of Books on Mesmerism, Animal Magnetism, and Hypnotism*, in the Special Collections Division, Ablah Library, Wichita State University.⁹ In 1988, Crabtree said that "a second copy, not previously known to exist, has become known to [myself] and is privately owned", noting that "this copy contains a notation apparently written in Braid's own hand" (p.121).

In 1969, Wink completed a B.Litt. dissertation at Oxford University on Braid and his work.¹⁰ In the section dealing with Braid's response to M'Neile, Wink reports that he (Wink) visited the Liverpool Public Library (on an unspecified date pre-1970) and, whilst there, viewed a copy of the pamphlet, clearly amended in Braid's own handwriting (which Wink was well qualified to recognize):¹¹

In [Braid's] introductory paragraphs he quotes quite without rancour the passage about "the other, whose name I forget", assumes that it refers to himself, and later points out its inconsistency, since M'Neile quoted part of an article about Lafontaine in Chamber's [sic] Journal, which served his [M'Neile's] own point, but gave no mention to a description of one of Braid's demonstrations, in which his neuro-physiological theory had been set out, in this very same issue [of Chamber's] and which would have made nonsense of the sermon. Braid said with acidity, "This was rather curious, if he had wished to act honestly". A little further on, he asked, "Had you taken pains to be correctly informed on the subject, or was it 'Satanic Agency' which blinded your bodily eyes that you could not see it, or your mental eye that it might be wilfully dismissed?" He concluded that M'Neile had displayed a degree of ignorance on this subject of medical philosophy which could hardly be credited any man of education. *An amendment of this sentence, in his own*

University Medical Library, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1935. It remained in storage until 1973 (Shelley and Teloh, 1977; Gravitz, 1985).

⁸ Although Bousfield (1983, p.30) notes that it carries the "bookplate" of Alfred Moll, she makes no further comment about the work's provenance.

⁹ Its call number is 2800 77.

¹⁰ Medical historian Charles Anthony Stewart Wink (1921-1986) M.A., B.M., B.Ch., B.Litt. had a special interest in medical hypnotism. At the end of his life he was the executive editor of the *World Medical Journal*, and medical editor with Ciba-Geigy Scientific Publications.

¹¹ Given the fastidious nature of Wink's research, I am certain he did see Braid's writing, on the page of the actual pamphlet, at the Liverpool Public Library, at the (unspecified) time of his visit. Wink had originals (or photographic copies) of a number of other samples of Braid's handwriting; so his assessment that it was, indeed, in Braid's hand must be reliable.

*handwriting, appears in the Liverpool Public Library copy of this pamphlet, which he no doubt insisted should be available there so that he would remain vindicated before posterity; and he was right.*¹²

Wink, 1969, pp.93-94 (emphasis added).

A recent approach to the Liverpool Public Library, requesting permission to view the amended pamphlet revealed that, whilst the pamphlet was certainly listed in the library's pre-war catalogue, the specific work could not be located amongst the library's current stock, despite a thorough search.¹³

In 1998, Christies of New York auctioned a copy of Braid's pamphlet; with an estimated value of \$3,500-\$4,500, its provenance was "Adam Crabtree, author of *Animal Magnetism, Early Hypnotism and Psychical Research 1766-1925* (1988)", and was described as FIRST EDITION of Braid's rare first exposition of his theory of hypnotism, written in response to a sermon delivered against him by the Rev. Hugh McNeile; *with a holograph revision (partially cropped) by the author on p.3*" (emphasis added).¹⁴ It realized \$10,925.00 (including buyer's premium).¹⁵ It is significant that the 'Tinterow copy' at the University of Wichita has no such hand-written amendment.

Given that Wink is an impeccable source, and that the 'Tinterow copy' was not amended, one can suppose that Braid only revised the few pamphlets remaining in his possession after 4 June 1842 in this way. Further, if Wink's notion is correct, and if *that* particular copy had been *intentionally* lodged with the library *for posterity*,¹⁶ it would have been amended by Braid, post-publication, upon somewhat carefully considered reflection. Thus, the "holographically amended" copy, once in Crabtree's possession, must have been amended in the same fashion as the copy that Braid had originally presented to the Liverpool Library.

¹² See below, at page 3 of Braid's pamphlet.

¹³ The approaches were made on my behalf by the Inter-Library Loans division of the University of New South Wales Library in November 2009.

¹⁴ There is no evidence that Crabtree's copy was once held in Liverpool Public Library.

¹⁵ Lot 951, Sale 8976, New York, Park Avenue, 29 October 1998. Downloaded from http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=1339655 on 23 January 2010 (go to page; and then click on the "8976" of Sale 8976).

¹⁶ And, despite a number of donations of books made by Braid, over the years, to its equivalent library in Manchester, there is no record of a copy of the pamphlet being lodged in Manchester. This adds support to Wink's view that Braid lodged the copy at Liverpool with particular intentions; and, as a consequence, the content of his hand-written amendment, whatever it was, would seem to have quite some historical significance.

Finally, in December 1951, the Manchester based Glaswegian, George Fletcher,¹⁷ presented a typewritten copy of an original (but otherwise unidentified) pamphlet to the Victoria University of Manchester, Medical Library.¹⁸

This copy, the 'Fletcher Copy' (Braid & Fletcher, n.d.),¹⁹ records an amendment that is entirely consistent with Wink's description, which unequivocally clarifies Braid's intended meaning in the passage in question.

The transcribed text of Braid pamphlet in this Appendix has been altered in accordance with the 'Fletcher Copy' (see below, p.3).

It will be seen [from his advertisement on page one] that our eminent townsman, Mr. Braid, surgeon, has replied, in a pamphlet, to the Rev. Hugh M'Neile's absurd ascription of mesmerism to "Satanic agency".

Mr. Braid has been forced into the arena by Mr. M'Neile's personal attacks on his public and private character.

Fig.115. Advertorial, *The Manchester Times*, Saturday, 4 June 1842.²⁰

¹⁷ Medical historian George Fletcher, Dip. Pub. Health, M.A., M.B.Ch.B., M.D., M.R.C.P. (London), F.R.C.P., (1885-1963), who retired from his practice in 1950, had a profound knowledge of the medical history of Manchester. He had certain specific and particular knowledge of Braid, and wrote a brief biography of Braid in which he noted, "his writings appeared for the most part in the form of small paper-backed pamphlets, which are now not easy to come by" (1929, p.776).

¹⁸ Given that Braid died in 1860, and the first standard QWERTY-keyboard typewriter did not appear in the U.K. until somewhere around 1910, the copy certainly has no connexion with Braid's original manuscript. It is a much later copy, made by Fletcher (who first arrived in Lancashire in 1914), and transcribed from a published version, and it may even have been made from the copy that Braid had earlier lodged with the Liverpool Public Library.

¹⁹ Held in the special collection known as *The Manchester Medical Collection*, No.**A213318**.

²⁰ Braid (1842ka).

The Structure of the Response

The extended contents of this rare pamphlet are almost completely ignored today. Whilst transcriptions of the pamphlet's text have been available in the professional journals since 1955 (Volgyesi, 1955b), and the wider literature since 1970 (Tinterow, 1970), the work is seldom studied. Consequently, in the absence of direct knowledge, the inaccurate, misleading, and almost universal (seemingly unequivocal) depiction of it as 'Braid's first publication', is conveniently accepted today at its face value.²¹

Yet, despite the prevalence of this characterization, there are two points to make:

- (a) the pamphlet is only *part of Braid's response to M'Neile's sermon*, the other part is the 8,500+ word report from the *Macclesfield Courier* (see *Appendix Six*).
- (b) the pamphlet plus the *Macclesfield Courier* article in combination is *not*, and was *never intended to be* a polished, 'stand-alone', well-structured exposition, especially crafted for publication, and must never be treated as such.

It was originally a private letter, including the newspaper article, from one gentleman to another, with the goal of disabusing the second from his errors, and inviting him to attend a lecture where the first would detail his theories and display his experiments.²² The earlier, private letter was only adapted and expanded for publication when the sermon, with all of its outrageous errors and misinformation, without any correction, had been widely broadcast.

Braid's pamphlet only became a document for public perusal *by default*. Any close examination of the publication immediately reveals it was aimed squarely at those who had heard M'Neile deliver his sermon in person, or had read its published text, and no-one else. It was never intended to meet the needs of those unfamiliar with the fine detail of M'Neile's original sermon; and, so, it is clear that one cannot apprehend Braid's intentions in publishing the pamphlet, nor understand the significance of his response, in isolation from the text of M'Neile's original sermon.

Appendices Nine and Ten of this dissertation represent the first time the works have

²¹ For example: "His first book is a brochure entitled: "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism Reviewed, ..." (Boring, 1950, p.127); and Gauld (1992) speaks of M'Neile's publication as "one of a small crop of pamphlets by evangelicals [that] ascribed mesmeric phenomena to diabolical agency" (p.209) noting its "drew forth Braid's first work on mesmerism" (p.217).

²² Although the date of Braid's original letter is unknown, given Braid's propensity for rapid responses to newspaper reports, journal articles, and private letters, it is very likely that his original letter had already been dispatched to M'Neile by the evening of 16 April (i.e., the Saturday following M'Neile's sermon, and the date of the publication of the newspaper article), and five days before the next Braid lecture in Liverpool (on 21 April).

appeared within the same covers; and, also, it is the first time that either text has been annotated for a modern reader.

Preyer (1881, pp.1-2), who had read all Braid's available works, and had seen many of his unpublished manuscripts, described this as *a fulminating pamphlet against a clergyman* ("ein fulminantes Pamphlet gegen einen Geistlichen"). In terms of a formal response to M'Neile's, Preyer felt this "*highly informative and readable small work*" was "*a powerful Quos ego!*" ("Eine sehr lesenswerthe kleine Schrift, ein mächtiges Quos ego!"),²³ because Braid had left many of his thoughts about M'Neile (and his views) unsaid, and seemed to have halted in mid-argument, Preyer thought it was a classic example of *aposiopesis* (i.e., "becoming silent"); a rhetorical strategy where a speaker, in the midst of reproach, suddenly halts in mid-sentence.

Whilst he addressed the issues raised by M'Neile's flawed and irrational diatribe, step by step, a constant theme throughout is that Braid was deeply perplexed, greatly astonished, and highly insulted at the extent to which M'Neile (who had never met Braid, knew nothing about him, his beliefs, his status as a surgeon, his diagnostic and clinical skills, his reputation for dealing with difficult cases, or his precise, structured, ordered approach to all of his experimentation) could stoop to such a relentless barrage of *ad hominem* arguments: 'How could such an attack be actuated by a sense of honesty, truth, or justice?'; 'Why attack me, who has never done you wrong?'; 'It appears that your own conduct in this matter savours strongly of you, yourself, being influenced by "*Satanic agency*"?', etc.

Braid begins by stating that he has read reports of a sermon M'Neile is "alleged" to have delivered.

This '*alleged to have been delivered*' is not a rhetorical move. From his own experience of being misreported in the press (both errors of omission *and* commission), *and* that M'Neile was well-known for outrageously mistaken interpretations of scripture, *as well as* his well-attested propensity for uttering extraordinarily offensive statements in the heat of delivering his fierce diatribes (even calling for the execution of particular individuals, statements of which, immediately after 'cooling down' from his trance-like, excited state, M'Neile would claim no awareness), *and* given the irrational nature

²³ The term *Quos ego* ("That which I am") comes from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I.135), where *Neptune* (the God of the seas), having been distracted from his task, breaks off a stern reproach in mid-sentence to, once again, resume the task of quietening the storm that had been raised by *Aeolus* (the God of the winds): "*quos ego — sed motos praestat componere fluctus*" ("That which I am — but it is more important to calm the wild waves").

of the entirely unsubstantiated claims that M'Neile had made within this particular sermon (*as it had been reported in the press*), Braid could be thought of as implying something like the following:

- (1) 'I am writing to you privately on a matter of mutual concern.'
- (2) 'Firstly, I ask, "Did you, in fact, make the statements that have been attributed to you in the newspaper reports of your sermon?"'
- (3) 'If the answer to (2) is "Yes", was the context of the statements, within your sermon, precisely as that reported in the newspapers?'
- (4) 'If the answers to (2) and (3) are "Yes", did you, in fact, deliberately intend to make those particular statements in that particular context?'
- (5) 'If the answer to (4) is "Yes", do those specific statements, upon your calm and quiet reflection, still represent your considered opinion?'
- (6) 'If the answer to (5) is "Yes", then you are greatly mistaken in many important matters of fact, and you have seriously misapprehended many important philosophical, medical, and scientific issues.'
- (7) 'I cordially invite you to my next lecture on Thursday, 21 April, and I have enclosed an admission ticket for your convenience.²⁴ I assure you that your presence, and any questions that you may care to address directly to me, will be treated with the utmost courtesy.'

Braid felt that his lecture would be an appropriate response to M'Neile's sermon. Although he discovered, on the night of the lecture (Thursday, 21 April), that M'Neile was absent, it was still entirely reasonable to suppose there was more than one 'M'Neile sympathizer' planted in the audience, who would report directly back to M'Neile. A local newspaper, noting that the subject of the lecture, *Animal Magnetism compared with Neurohypnology*, "has been agitating the minds of the professional men of this town for some time past", briefly reported the evening's proceedings as follows:

Mr. Braid... had a very crowded and respectable auditory, amongst which were several of the clergy.

In his introductory remarks he took occasion to notice the sermon lately preached by a noted Rev[erend] polemic on the subject, and in the course of his

²⁴ In the absence of any advertisement in the *Liverpool Mercury* of Friday, 15 April 1842, a weekly publication, it is not at all clear whether a lecture had been scheduled for Thursday, 21 April *before* Braid became aware of the newspaper reports of the sermon, or whether it had only been arranged on the actual Saturday upon which he wrote to M'Neile (viz., 16 April).

observations, in allusion to the assertion that the mesmerizers were under the influence of Satanic agency, Mr. Braid said the best answer he could give was to quote the scriptural text—"By their works ye shall know them". The devil, he (Mr. Braid) had been taught to believe in Scotland, was always trying to blind man, and to keep him ignorant; but they had before heard, that by taking advantage of this law of the animal economy, he had been able to restore sight to a lady after a few minutes of hypnotic sleep, and her memory was so much strengthened, that she was enabled to recollect what she read.

She was then enabled to read her Bible, which had hitherto been a closed book to her. Was it likely that the devil would do any such thing — was it likely to be the work of the devil? Was it not more likely that men who opposed any thing that was likely to become a blessing to mankind were actuated by Satanic agency? (Loud applause.)

He recommended as the next text to be preached from the statement of Gamaliel—"If it be the work of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, fight not against it, lest ye fight against God."

Mr. Braid operated on a number of individuals, and gave great satisfaction to the audience, who frequently testified their approbation by loud applause.

The Liverpool Mercury, 29 April 1842.²⁵

In the later 'pamphlet' version, published after M'Neile's complete sermon had appeared in print, Braid elaborated further, effectively saying:

- (1) 'I wrote to you in private, as a gentleman, to determine whether you stood by particular statements attributed to you in the press reports; some of which were inaccurate, many of which were entirely untrue, along with some of which were extremely offensive and injurious to me as a professional man.'
- (2) 'I also wrote to correct your misunderstandings and errors of fact.'
- (3) 'I supplied a detailed newspaper account of the theoretical explanation I had delivered during a lecture at Macclesfield, and invited you to attend my next lecture in Liverpool (which would have been an excellent opportunity for you to ascertain the "utter foundlessness" of each of your criticisms!), and I provided you with a free admission ticket.'
- (4) 'You did not acknowledge receipt of my letter or its contents verbally or in writing, and you did not attend my lecture in person.'
- (5) 'It is not just that you refused to acknowledge my letter, but that you totally

²⁵ Anon (1842ss).

ignored its contents and the evidence provided within the material I sent along with it; and, most inexcusably, you either published or agreed to the publication of the stenographic transcription of your sermon, precisely as it had been delivered, and without the slightest modification or correction.'

(6) 'By this act (of publication), you have proved you are no gentleman'.

(7) "[Also, within the text of your publication] you have displayed a degree of ignorance of [physiology] and of medical philosophy which can hardly be credited of any man of education" (p.3).

(8) 'If you had done nothing except preach your sermon, I would have been satisfied that my recent Liverpool lecture was an adequate response, and I would have simply left it at that; but, your subsequent publication of that same sermon, and the wide dissemination of its contents to such an extended audience, has escalated matters considerably.'

(9) "[Therefore,] I consider that I have no course left for the proper vindication of my professional character, other than that of adopting the same medium for giving publicity to my statements which you have yourself adopted" (p.3).

Braid refers to newspaper reports that M'Neile ascribed the phenomena exhibited during recent lectures on "animal magnetism" (Lafontaine) and on "mesmerism" (Braid) to "Satanic agency". They said M'Neile had stigmatizing them as "necromancers", and other sorts of evil, wicked, and satanic types of miscreant.

The reports also represented M'Neile as saying Braid (a) was dishonest, (b) had not explained the mechanism that produced his phenomena, (c) had not conducted his demonstrations in public, and (d) had not performed any experiments on strangers.

Braid says his first response to the reports was to "adopt the most charitable view"; and, as it was immediately obvious that M'Neile knew nothing at all of physiology or "medical philosophy", he assumed he had been misinformed or misled (or both). It seemed to be a simple matter of clarifying the entire situation, rectifying errors, correcting misapprehensions, and allaying 'foundless' fears. To that end, Braid sent M'Neile a private letter, along with its enclosures. Yet, despite this politeness and "gentlemanly courtesy", M'Neile made no response and did not attend the lecture, where he would have been able to test the accuracy of Braid's views.

To Braid's surprise, the text of M'Neile's sermon was widely distributed, *without any*

subsequent amendment, in a double issue of *The Penny Pulpit*. This move completely changed Braid's view of M'Neile's supposed 'innocence'. He had thought that his post-letter 'oral' lecture was an appropriate response to M'Neile's 'oral' sermon, and had no wish to engage M'Neile further; but, he now felt that he had "no course left for the proper vindication of [his] professional character, other than that of adopting the same medium for giving publicity to [his] statements which [M'Neile had] adopted", and he immediately set about expanding and extending his original letter into a formal response, which was eventually released on 4 June 1842.²⁶

For the edification of his (Braid's) reader, Braid then describes the newspaper report he sent to M'Neile; which included descriptions of the effects he had elicited in both selected subjects and volunteers, the physiological and psychological explanations he offered for the observed phenomena, his successful operation on subjects for the relief of conditions that had formerly resisted all conventional medical interventions, and his assertion that this proved the value of his approach as a 'curative agency'.

Then, having possession of all of the information, explanation and clarification he had given to M'Neile, there was no question of M'Neile continuing to be '*ignorant*'. Consequently, all the lies, errors of fact, and insults within the sermon had been published intentionally; and the false and injurious charges M'Neile levelled against Braid were well-considered and deliberate — and, consequently, M'Neile's conduct was "altogether without excuse".

Then, in proof of his claim that M'Neile was far from '*ignorant*', Braid quoted five relevant items from the *Macclesfield Courier's* article, which attested to Braid making a detailed public exposition of his discoveries, providing a physiological and psychological explanation for the effects he had produced, and delivering a scientific explanation of the (previously unknown) natural laws that were responsible for the uniform production of such phenomena. In brief, the five passages dealt with:

- (1) Braid's explanation for his effects (they are "attributable to a peculiar physiological state of the brain and the spinal cord"), contrasted with the competing theories; viz., that they were due to (a) fraud ("collusion and delusion"), (b) imagination, or (c) "some magnetic medium" (p.4).
- (2) Braid's dismissal of each view on the grounds that (a) the phenomena he

²⁶ It was only a fortnight later (18 June 1842) that Braid informed the administrative officers of the Medical Section of the *Twelfth Meeting of The British Association for the Advancement of Science*, to be held in Manchester from 22 June to 29 June 1842, that he intended to contribute a paper on his discoveries, entitled "*Practical Essay on the Curative Agency of Neurohypnotism*".

displayed were “real phenomena”, (b) he could induce them “independently” of imagination, and (c) all of the assumptions of the “animal magnetists” were “supported by fact” (p.4).

(3) The inevitable physiological consequences of the correctly application of his ‘eye-fixation’ induction technique (p.4).

(4) The inevitable psychological consequences of the state generated by his ‘eye-fixation’ technique (pp.4-5).

(5) Neurohypnotism is a powerful tool. As a tool, it is neither good nor evil. It is not a “universal remedy”. If “[well] managed and judiciously applied... it is capable of rapidly curing many diseases for which, hitherto, we know no remedy”. An appropriate operator “[can] apply it with general advantage to the patient”. His experiments also pose some “interesting” questions on the physiological functions of the body and the psychological functions of the mind (p.5)

Then (p.5), given the above, Braid goes on to refer to M’Neile’s sermon:

Now, Sir, in the face of all this evidence to the contrary, with what propriety could you publish the following remarks:— “It belongs to philosophers *who are honest men*, and who make any discovery of this kind, to state the uniform action. But *this is not done at present; we hear of experiments, but we hear nothing of a scientific statement of the laws* on which they proceed”

He then remarks that M’Neile’s accusation of dishonesty, in his own (Braid’s) case, was entirely groundless.

Braid had produced a thorough, scientific exposition of the natural laws through which particular effects, in all cases, uniformly followed particular operations and, also, he had provided M’Neile with reliable documentary evidence of his having done so; and, yet, despite all of this, M’Neile had steadfastly continued to flatly deny that he had done any such thing. He then asks M’Neile:

“Is there any proof here that you were actuated by a sense of honesty, truth, or justice, in making such an attack upon me, a person who had never done you wrong? I, therefore, beg leave to ask, does not your conduct, in this instance, savour strongly of being influenced by “*Satanic agency*”?” (p.5).

Braid then charges M’Neile with selectively quoting from *Chambers’s Journal*; quoting passages critical of Lafontaine, whilst deliberately ignoring an entire passage sympathetic to Braid’s own position immediately preceding the first, at the head of the same article (which Braid reprints in full in his reply).

Given the obvious plagiarism from *The Achill Missionary Herald* (at p.10, below), this may have been an early move by Braid (with tongue in cheek) to highlight the fact that the passage M'Neile quoted had been reprinted in *The Achill Missionary Herald*, whilst the section that Braid quoted came directly from the *Chambers's Journal* of 4 December 1841 itself.

He asks (perhaps, again, tongue in cheek): 'Why did M'Neile deliberately ignore the *Chambers's Journal* of 19 February 1842 containing a sympathetic review of my first Manchester lectures?' Braid asks the reader to consider whether it was honest or fair for M'Neile to cite the *Chambers's Journal* of 4 December 1841 as an impeccable authority and, then, publish an extended series of outrageously untrue statements relating to his work which were the *complete opposite* of the unequivocal evidence, presented in the *Chambers's Journal* of 19 February 1842, that was reported from the direct observation of the journal's correspondent.

Moreover, *if this was not the case*, then it was even less honest or fair on M'Neile's part to have made any such statement at all, without being certain that he was correctly informed. He addresses M'Neile:

...it is rather curious, if you wished to act honestly in this matter, that you should have quoted from that work [i.e., 4 December] what would answer your purpose in respect to Lafontaine, but should have overlooked the fact that, in the same work [i.e., 19 February], they had referred to my having attended his *Conversazioni*, and discovered the cause of the phenomena, and had given lectures and successful courses of experiments, to prove its true nature to be neither in the operator nor in the Devil, but solely in the individuals operated on keeping their mind and eyes rivetted to one idea, and in one fixed position. I may reasonably ask, were you ignorant of this when you penned your notable sermon?— or had you taken pains to be correctly informed on the subject?— or was it "Satanic agency" which blinded your bodily eyes that you could not see it, or your mental eye that it might be wilfully dismissed? (pp.5-6).

He then speaks of the successful hypnotic operations conducted on various patients in Liverpool (referred to in his letter) and, also, those conducted on various patients at Macclesfield, were described in the unbiased newspaper account of the Editor of the *Macclesfield Courier* (included with his letter); a man whom Braid had not met prior to the 13 April lecture.

Braid emphasizes that, in demonstrating his own method of operation, he was not doing so to promote either himself or his practice; his aim was to convince his audi-

ence and, particularly, the ‘intelligent medical men’ within it, of its importance as a “curative agency” with a wide range of applications.

So, given this, how can M’Neile accuse him of (a) not revealing “the laws of nature” responsible for his effects, and (b) conducting his experiments in private and only on selected subjects?

Braid reminds M’Neile that he went to London at “great personal inconvenience” and “pecuniary sacrifice” in order to explain his views, demonstrate his method, and have its “uniformity of action” examined, both in public and private, by some of “the most learned men” in the medical profession.

Yet, even if he could not immediately explain *everything*, as often happens in scientific matters, he should be allowed to proceed with “beneficial application” of the already established (but incomplete) knowledge without being stigmatized, *from a pulpit*, as a *necromancer*, or as one who has produced his effects by means of *satanic agency*. (“Is it not lamentable that the sacred and important duties of the Sabbath ministration of the pulpit should be so degraded, and perverted to such unworthy purposes?” (p.8).)

Braid also addresses M’Neile’s claim that *if* a process operates “capriciously”, rather than “uniformly”, it goes against the laws of nature — and must, therefore, be due to satanic agency — by reminding him that, even though it is a fact that, regardless of whatever precautions the captain of a ship might take, some passengers get sea-sick and others don’t. And, moreover, even the best medical men can’t explain why this happens.

Braid then remarks that, in contrast to the beliefs of the animal magnetists, who assert that the effects are due to the exercise of the *irresistible force of their will* over their subjects, he has proved that the effects are entirely due to the subject’s “voluntary compliance”; and, therefore, *neurohypnotism* has no “*immoral tendency*”.

Further, even though it is entirely true that, through the application of his method, he has “restored hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, smell to those who had been deprived of it; restored the crooked to proper form; calmed the irritable, and roused the desponding; restored the mind from imbecility to intelligence, and the memory from the listlessness and torpor to activity” (pp.10-11), *neurohypnotism* does not challenge the basis of Christianity by “by making the Gospel miracles appear as

wrought by this agency";²⁷ and, given his own rejection of the 'magnetic theories', in Braid's view, "the Gospel miracles are rendered more invulnerable than ever". He also explains that the behaviour of the two Papist stigmata, described by M'Neile, can be explained as self-hypnotism by eye-fixation.

He asks M'Neile to examine the 'fruits' of his (Braid's) work, and provides examples of the successful application of his method — confident that he could teach the method to "any intelligent medical man" without "having any more to do with the devil than yourself, when, in the exercise of your vocation, you are composing and delivering your sermons" (p.10) — and, asking how something that is obviously of such great benefit to the entire human race could be attributed to satanic agency, reminds M'Neile, that it would be extraordinary for Satan to assist him to restore sight to a blind woman, allowing her to read the Bible herself for the first time in many years.

He successfully answers M'Neile's charge that "medical men" know nothing of the human mind, whilst also reminding M'Neile that the eminent philosophers Locke, Brown, and Abercrombie, were all "medical men".

In closing, Braid remarks that, whilst he is not promoting *neurohypnotism* as a "universal remedy", it is transparently obvious that, whenever his method is correctly applied, to an appropriate condition, in the right context, "it is a means... of rapidly curing many diseases which resisted all other known remedies"; and, moreover, because it operates according to a "natural law", it is certain that this capacity "[was]

²⁷ This sort of accusation, that particular effects are 'a blasphemous imitation of the miracles of Christ' persists into the twenty-first century; and is often made by fundamentalist Christians against hypnotism.

One of the first to speak of this was Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, a follower of M'Neile, who wrote as "Charlotte Elizabeth". She attributed (1845, p.52) all the superhuman and super-natural manifestations of mesmerism to "diabolical" agency. Citing Mark 3:22-30, she said that "the most prominent characteristic of this devilish device" is that "it amounts to the one unpardonable sin that cannot be blotted out,— blasphemy against the Holy Ghost" (p.55).

And the scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, He [Christ] hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils. And he called them unto him, and said unto them in parables, How can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand. And if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end. No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house. Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation: because they said, He hath an unclean spirit. (Mark 3:22-30)

Lafontaine visited Naples in 1849; and, having restored sight and hearing to some, he was accused of blasphemously replicating the miracles of Christ (Lafontaine, 1866, II, p.272).

implanted for some wise purpose". Finally, if there is some thing that remains still to be revealed, Braid is not responsible for its hidden-ness; for he has honestly shared all of his rationale, all of his thoughts, all of his experiments, and all of his operations with everyone.

I consider the uniformity of its action, as I apply it, is sufficient to prove it to be a law of the animal economy; and after the explanations I have given of it in the public lecture room, to which I invited you that you might investigate the subject for yourself, where I stated my object was "*not to mystify, but to dispel all mystery*", it has no right to be stigmatised as an "*occult* science", or the device of the Devil. I have always understood the Devil to be actively engaged in inflicting disease, blindness, and ignorance on mankind. But here we have works the very contrary — the cure of diseases which have resisted all other known remedies; the restoration of sight, hearing, and intelligence to the benumbed mind. (pp.11-12)

He then finishes in mid-thought, expressing some sadness at M'Neile's overall dishonesty and his inadequate knowledge of the subject.

The following is the complete text of Braid's private response to M'Neile, as it was subsequently published by Braid in pamphlet form.

There has never been any assertion, at any time, by any person, that the relevant sections of Braid's pamphlet, as they were published, differ in any significant way from his original letter to M'Neile.

The original has no footnotes, and no references.

All footnotes are those of the author of this dissertation; and all biblical texts have been taken from the King James' Version. The page numbers (e.g., {1}) are those of the original.

SATANIC AGENCY AND MESMERISM REVIEWED,

In A Letter To The Reverend H. M^c. Neile, A.M. of Liverpool,
in Reply to a Sermon Preached by Him in St. Jude's
Church, Liverpool, on Sunday, April 10th, 1842,
by James Braid, Surgeon, Manchester (1842).

{2}

To the

Reverend Hugh Mc. Neile, A.M.

Reverend Sir,

I have read in the newspapers a report of a Sermon on the subject of Mesmerism which you are alleged to have delivered in St. Jude's Church, Liverpool, on the evening of Sunday, the 10th of April last. In that Sermon you are pleased to ascribe the various phenomena exhibited in certain lectures then recently delivered, or in course of delivery, in Liverpool, on the subject of Animal Magnetism and Mesmerism, to Satanic agency, and to brand the lecturers as necromancers, and with other terms characterized neither by the gentle spirit of the Master [viz., Jesus Christ] whose precepts you²⁸ profess to inculcate, nor even by the ordinary dictates of gentlemanly courtesy. You are pleased further, in that Sermon, to refer to myself in the following terms:— "Or the other who is in the town at this time, of whom I have read something, but whose name I forget at this moment": and to include me in the charge of dishonesty which you have preferred against those who "refuse to come forward and state the laws of nature by the uniform action of which this thing (Mesmerism) is done"; and also as being one of those who "confine themselves to experiments in a corner, upon their own servants, or upon females hired for the purpose".

Had you been content with the oral delivery of the Sermon which contained these attacks upon myself, I should have been satisfied with my own reply as given in the lecture delivered by me in Liverpool on the 21st of April; but as you have thought proper to publish that Sermon, without, as it appears to me, the slightest modification of your {3} strictures, notwithstanding the subsequent opportunity which I afforded you of ascertaining their utter foundlessness;— I consider that I have no course left for the proper vindication of my professional character, other than that of adopting the same medium for giving publicity to my statements which you have yourself adopted.

²⁸ Tinterow (p.319) mistakenly transcribed *you* as "your".

Without pausing to inquire into the motives which could have induced you, in this instance, to abandon the sacerdotal office²⁹ for the discussion of simple physiological questions in your pulpit, (in which discussion, I may venture to remark, you have displayed a degree of ignorance of this subject and of medical philosophy which can hardly be credited of any man of education,)³⁰ I proceed at once to the main subject of this letter.

On perusing³¹ the report referred to, I was inclined to exercise towards your proceeding that "charity which thinketh no evil".³² I was inclined on that occasion, as I am in all cases, to adopt the most charitable view which could be taken as to the motives of action which swayed you; and I thereupon addressed to you a letter, accompanied by a copy of the Macclesfield Courier, containing an ample report of a lecture which I had delivered a few days before, in which I explained the nature and causes of the phenomena on physiological and psychological principles, proving, from the *uniform* success of my mode of operating, that the whole arose from a law of the animal economy³³ which had not hitherto been found out. I referred to what had been done in

²⁹ With its implications of "one who offers sacrifices", Braid's "*sacerdotal offices*" denotes far more than just "priestly duties". Braid implies that, given M'Neile was ordained— something verified by his performance of particular rituals and sacraments — his decision to bring all of the supernatural powers that had been invested in him at the time of his ordination (i.e., powers that had been transmitted by the 'laying on of hands' by the already-ordained elders that were present at the ceremony) down upon such a mundane matter, to the exclusion of his *real task* of ministering to the spiritual needs of his flock, was a serious lapse of judgement and an abdication of his true responsibility as an ordained member of the Anglican Church.

³⁰ This passage, "You have displayed a degree of ignorance of *this subject and of* medical philosophy which can hardly be credited of any man of education" is the text as it was finally amended by Braid, in the 'Fletcher Copy' (p.1). The text, as it was originally published, read "you have displayed a degree of ignorance of *mental as well as* medical philosophy which can hardly be credited of any man of education". It is also obvious that this amendment is entirely consistent with Wink's observation (p.94) that "He [Braid] concluded that M'Neile had displayed a degree of ignorance on this subject of medical philosophy which could hardly be credited any man of education".

³¹ Tinterow (p.319) mistakenly transcribed *perusing* as "persuing".

³² 1 Corinthians 13:4-7:

"Charity suffereth long, *and* is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

³³ The term *animal economy* is perhaps best represented by the definition provided by Ménéuret on page 362 of his *Encyclopédie* (i.e., Ménéuret de Chambaud, Jean-Joseph. 1765. "Economie Animale (Médecine)." *Encyclopédie*. XI:360–366. Paris: Briasson), as translated by Huneman (2008, p.618):

"This term [sc. *animal economy*], taken in the most exact and common sense, refers only to the *order, mechanism, and overall set* of the functions and move-ments

this respect in the case of strangers, who had presented themselves to be operated upon, at my lectures; some from mere curiosity,— others to test the accuracy of my statements, and many others with the view of benefiting from the application of this new agency to cure diseases from which they had suffered much and long, in defiance of all other remedies which had been tried. I also appealed to the value of this agency from its success in curing such cases; and concluded by respectfully inviting you to attend my next lecture [on 21 April], for which I enclosed a free admission ticket, at which lecture you were to have an opportunity of testing the accuracy of what I had stated. What has been your conduct in this respect? First, you never had the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of my letter either by note or verbally; nor to acknowledge it by attending the {4} lecture; and, finally, in the face of all the evidence I had thus adduced, you publish, or suffer to be published, with your sanction, the said Sermon, which contains a number of statements which are utterly untrue, and most offensive and injurious to me as a professional man. There might have been some shadow of excuse for this when you could plead ignorance; but, after the documentary evidence with which I had *personally* furnished you, it is altogether without excuse. I shall give an extract or two from the report referred to in proof of this:

"The various theories at present entertained regarding the phenomena of mesmerism may be arranged thus:— First, those who believe them to be owing entirely to a system of collusion and delusion; and a great majority of society may be ranked under this head. Second, those who believe them to be real phenomena, but produced solely by imagination, sympathy, and imitation. Third, the animal magnetists, or those who believe in some magnetic medium set in motion as the exciting cause of the mesmeric phenomena. Fourth, those who have adopted my views, that the phenomena are solely attributable to a peculiar physiological state of the brain and the spinal cord."

* * *

"In answer to the first, or those who believe, the whole to be a system of collusion and delusion — or, in plain terms, a piece of deception — the UNIFORM and general success of the results by my method must be sufficient to prove that the mesmeric phenomena are not "humbug", but real phenom-

which sustain life in animals, the perfect, universal and constant exercise of which, performed with ease and alacrity, is the flourishing state of *health*, the least disturbance of which is itself *illness*, and the full ceasing of which is the extreme, diametrical opposite of *life*, that is, *death*."

ena. In answer to the second, I have to state, that I by no means deny that imagination, sympathy, or imitation, are capable of producing the phenomena; that I believe they do so in many cases, especially in cases where the impressibility has been determined by operating as I direct; and may heighten their effects in others; but my experiments clearly prove that they may be induced, and are generally induced in the first instance, independently of any such agency. In answer to the third, I have to state that I consider the theory of the animal magnetists as a gratuitous assumption, unsupported by fact; and that it is far more reasonable to suppose, that an exaltation of function in natural organs of sense is the cause of certain remarkable phenomena, and a depression of them the cause of others, than that they arise from a transposition of the senses, or are induced by a silent act of the will of another. We know the exercise of the will is not adequate to remove sensibility to pain and hearing, etc., in our own bodies; and would it not be passing strange if it could exercise a greater effect on the bodies of others, whilst inoperative in our own?"

* * *

"I shall merely add, that my experiments go to prove that it is a law in the animal economy that, by the continued fixation of the mental and visual eye on any object in itself not of an exciting nature, with absolute repose of body and general quietude, they become wearied; and, provided the patients rather favour than resist the feeling of stupor which they feel creeping over them during such experiment, a state of somnolency is induced, and that peculiar state of brain, and mobility of the nervous system, which render the patient liable to be directed so as to manifest the mesmeric phenomena. I consider it not so much the optic, as the motor and sympathetic nerves, and the mind, through which the impression is made. Such is the position I assume; and I feel so thoroughly convinced that it is a law of the animal economy, that such effects should follow such condition of mind and body, that I fear not to state, as my deliberate opinion, that this is a fact which cannot be controverted."

* * *

"I have already explained my theory to a certain extent, namely, that the continued effort of the will, to rivet the attention to one idea, exhausts the mind: that the continuance of the same impression on the retina exhausts the optic nerve: and that the constant effort of the muscles of the eyes and eye-

lids, to maintain the fixed stare, quickly exhausts their irritability and tone; that the general quiet {5} of body and suppressed respiration which take place during such operation, tend to diminish the force and frequency of the heart's action; and that the result of the whole is a rapid exhaustion of the sensorium and nervous system, which is reflected on the heart and lungs; and a feeling of giddiness, with slight tendency to syncope, and a feeling of somnolency, ensue; and thus and then the mind slips out of gear."

* * *

"I must beg, however, that it be particularly understood, that I by no means hold up this agency as a universal remedy. Whoever talks of a universal remedy, I consider must either be a fool or a knave; for, as diseases arise from totally opposite pathological conditions, all rational treatment ought to be varied accordingly. I must also warn the ignorant against tampering with such a powerful agency. It is powerful either for good or for evil, according as it is managed and judiciously applied. It is capable of rapidly curing many diseases for which, hitherto, we know no remedy; but none but a professional man,³⁴ well versed in anatomy, physiology, and pathology, is competent to apply it with general advantage to the patient, or credit to himself, or the agency he employs. My experiments, moreover, open up to us a field of inquiry equally interesting, as regards the government of the mind as of matter."

Now, Sir, in the face of all this evidence to the contrary, with what propriety could you publish the following remarks:—³⁵ "It belongs to philosophers *who are honest men*, and who make any discovery of this kind, to state the uniform action. But *this is not done at present; we hear of experiments, but we hear nothing of a scientific statement of the laws* on which they proceed".

In this paragraph you would brand me as being dishonest for not stating the nature or uniformity of its action, although I had most unequivocally stated that my mode of operating, from its uniform action, proved it to be a law of the animal economy that certain effects shall follow certain compliances, mentally and bodily. And, moreover, in the fact of the elaborate details into which I had entered as to the scientific explanation of the laws on which they proceed — you publish your discourse flatly denying I had done any such thing. Is there any proof here that you were actuated by a sense of

³⁴ Tinterow's transcription (p.322) omitted the "a" from "*but none but a professional man*".

³⁵ Tinterow's transcription (p.322) has an addition: "...following remarks (?):—"It...".

honesty, truth, or justice, in making such an attack upon me, a person who had never done you wrong? I, therefore, beg leave to ask, does not your conduct, in this instance, savour strongly of being influenced by "*Satanic agency*"?

But I must not omit another important point. You have quoted from Chambers' [sic] *Journal*; now, it is rather curious, if you wished to act honestly in this matter, that you should have quoted from that work what would answer your purpose in respect to Lafontaine, but should have overlooked the fact that, in the same work,³⁶ they had referred to my having attended his *Conversazioni*, and discovered the cause of the phenomena, and had given lectures and successful courses of experiments, to prove its true nature to be neither in the operator nor in the Devil, but solely in the individuals operated on keeping their mind and eyes rivetted to one idea, and in one fixed position. I may reasonably ask, were you ignorant of this when you penned your notable sermon?— or had you taken pains to be correctly informed on the subject?— or was it "*Satanic agency*" which blinded your bodily eyes that you could not see it, or your mental eye that it might be wilfully dismissed?

The talented editors of that work introduce the article from which you quote, with the following pertinent remarks:

"There appears to us to be too great an inclination in the public to regard these phenomena as something out of the common course of nature.

Ordinary sleep-walking, catalepsy, and some of the diseases of extreme nervousness, are not less wonderful — yet they occur every day. Why, then, may not mesmerism be only an artificial means of bringing on, in susceptible natures, conditions of a like remarkable kind? This we say, without wishing it to be understood that we are either believers or disbelievers in animal magnetism, and the subject is not yet ripe for either full belief or full rejection. It only appears to us that, in this art, (so to call it,) laying out of view some of the more extraordinary effects attributed to it, there is nothing, judging before hand, more wonderful, than in some conditions of the nervous system with which medical men are familiar. The vulgar disposition to look upon such things as supernatural, is one of the causes why sound thinkers and philosophical inquirers are deterred from them. **THE MORE REAL KNOWLEDGE**

³⁶ Braid seems to be (or is pretending to be) unaware that M'Neile was quoting the *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* indirectly, rather than directly. M'Neile was quoting directly from the article in *The Achill Missionary Herald* of 31 March 1842 (p.19); he did not quote from the *Chambers's Journal* of 4 December 1841 (*The Achill Herald's* source, which did *not* mention Braid) or the later *Chambers's Journal* of 19 February 1842 (which *did* mention Braid).

THAT ANY ONE POSSESSES OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM, THE LESS, WE BELIEVE
WILL HE BE DIS-POSED TO BE STARTLED BY THE ALLEGED WONDERS OF
MESMERISM, AS OUT OF THE ORDINARY COURSE OF NATURE."³⁷

As these judicious remarks immediately precede the paragraph you quoted, it cannot be supposed you were ignorant of it.³⁸ Now, if you wished mesmerism to be fairly tried, why not have given the above quotation? — And if you wished to do justice either to me or the subject, why deny that the laws by which it acted attempted to be explained? Is it not distinctly stated in the number of the same work for the 19th February last,³⁹ that I had done so, where they say — "It is proper, however, to state Mr. Braid's own notions as to the physiological causes of both his own and Mesmer's phenomena.⁴⁰ It is, briefly, that by an individual keeping up a steady gaze, or fixed stare at an object", etc., after which follows a condensed view of my theory. Now, Sir, was it fair or honest conduct to have promulgated such statements as you have done, in *direct opposition to evidence published in the very work from which you quoted*; or to have done so at all without taking pains to be correctly informed?

Besides the numerous cases referred to in my letter as {7} having been operated on successfully at Liverpool and elsewhere, on individuals whom I had never seen before, that presented themselves on the platform in the public lecture-room, and which were reported in your own papers, you had an opportunity of observing, in the report of my [13 April] lecture at Macclesfield, that five deaf and dumb patients and one paralytic, all adults, and who were strangers to me, were operated on successfully as regarded bringing them under the Hypnotic influence,⁴¹ and that four of the deaf and dumb patients acquired the power of hearing in consequence of the operation; and the patient who had been paralytic of the right leg and arm was enabled to walk much better, and acquired the power of picking up a pin with that hand, which she could not do at any time for fifteen years previously. These facts were seen and borne testimony to by the talented editor of the paper, a stranger to me until I met him that evening in

³⁷ Anon (1841y), p.365. This entire section, which sat at the head of the article, was contained within square brackets, to emphasize it was an editorial comment, preceding the reporter's account that followed. The emphasis in the last sentence was added to the original by Braid.

³⁸ As this section does not appear in Nangle (1842b), Braid can be understood to say, "That is, if you really were quoting directly from *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*".

³⁹ Anon, (1842i).

⁴⁰ Volgyesi's transcription (p.29) has "as the physiological causes of", and Tinterow's (p.324) has "as the the physiological causes of" for "*as to the physiological causes of*".

⁴¹ The original has "Hypnotic influence", with a capital "H", and a lower case "i".

the lecture-room; and by individuals who *might* be known to him, but who were utter strangers to me. It was also particularly remarked that my attention was chiefly devoted to the investigation with the view of rendering it comprehensible and available as a curative agency, and that I explained how any intelligent medical man might apply the agency to the amelioration of suffering humanity. Moreover, various maladies, in which it had been eminently useful where other means had failed, were enumerated, in order to induce other professional men to engage in this important investigation.

Now, Sir, with all these facts plainly laid before you, with what propriety could you implicate me in the charge of "refusing to come forward and state the laws of nature by the uniform action of which this thing is done"; or that I was one of those who "confine themselves to experiments in a corner upon their own servants, or upon females hired for the purpose"? Had I not, moreover, stated the fact, that impressed with the importance of the subject, I had, at great personal inconvenience as well as pecuniary sacrifice, gone to London, that my views might be subjected "to a rigid examination" of the most learned men in our profession, to propound to them the laws by which I consider it to act, and, above all, to prove to them "the uniformity of its action", and its practical applicability {8} and value as a curative agency, by my mode of operating? I would therefore ask upon what principle, either of honour or candour, were you warranted in implicating me in such charges?

But even supposing the statements which were put forth could not explain the whole of the phenomena in a manner to satisfy all objections, and that various theories were adduced — as has happened on many scientific questions — surely, when beneficial application could be made of the extent of knowledge we had acquired, we ought to be at liberty to do so without being stigmatised from the pulpit as necromancers, or producing our effects by "Satanic agency", etc. Supposing a hundred passengers start in one of your packets, and twenty or thirty of them become seasick, and the others escape, would it be fair to implicate the captain in the charge of acting by Satanic agency because the whole were not sick, and because, according to Mr. Mc. Neile, "if it be in nature, it will operate uniformly" and not capriciously? If it operate capriciously, then there is "some mischievous agent at work; and 'we are not ignorant of the devices' of the Devil" Would any man but Mr. Mc. Neile say, that, because the captain gave the signal to heave anchor, to spread the sails, and other "talismanic tokens" for steering the vessel, and because only part of the passengers became sick, he was consequently affecting them through Satanic agency;— or that it would alter the matter one whit

because medical men could not assign the true cause of this, or why any one should be so affected? Is it not lamentable that the sacred and important duties of the Sabbath ministration of the pulpit should be so degraded, and perverted to such unworthy purposes?

I also vindicated Neurohypnotism⁴² against the erroneous prejudices excited against it as having an immoral tendency. I prove by experiments, both in public and in private, that during the somnambulistic state, whilst consciousness lasts, the patients are more sensitive and fastidious in their feelings of strict propriety than in the natural condition. I did not, and do not, claim for it the power of implanting a principle. I do not say it will make a vicious person virtuous; but I am most confident it will not make a virtuous person vicious. On the contrary, I feel assured that a person of habitually correct feelings {9} will, during the somnambulistic condition, whilst consciousness lasts, manifest fully as much delicacy and circumspection of conduct as in the waking state. And again, even supposing the contrary were the case, I have clearly proved that the animal magnetisers are in error, in supposing they had the power of *irresistibly* overpowering any one by mere volition and secret passes. In proof of this, I have challenged the whole of them to exert their combined influence to prevent me, by such secret means from delivering my lectures, in which I was exposing the fallacy of their assumptions; but hitherto I have felt no lethargic influence brought into operation to retard my proceedings. Moreover, I have proved that no one can be affected at all *unless by voluntary compliance*, and consequently it has no right to be held as an agency which could be converted to immoral purposes, as many have supposed. If any one would say it may have this tendency because in the state of torpor, insensibility, and cataleptiform rigidity, the party is unconscious, immovable, and incapable of self-defence,⁴³ I beg to remind such individuals that the same argument might be urged against the proper use of wine, spirits, or opium, because excess in the use of either might be followed by like results. Had the mesmerisers' notions been true, that any individual could obtain such irresistible power over others by mere volition and secret passes of the operator, most assuredly it would have been a dangerous agency, and might be used for most improper purposes. And, did I believe any such dangerous power could thus be obtained by one individual over others, I would be as ready to denounce it, as I am now desirous of defending a valuable agency against what I know

⁴² The original has "Neurohypnotism", with a capital "N".

⁴³ Volgyesi (p.31) has "self defence", and Tinterow (p.327) has "self-defense".

to be unmerited obloquy. Of the truth of these statements I shall furnish ample proofs in a small work on the subject which I intend to publish shortly.

I also defended Neurohypnotism against the charge of having a tendency to sap the foundation of the Christian creed, by making the Gospel miracles appear as wrought by this agency. I explained that were the animal magnetisers views correct, there were a few of the Gospel miracles the importance of which might be invalidated; but, as I distinctly deny the existence of a magnetic fluid or medium, according to my views the {10} Gospel miracles are rendered more invulnerable than ever. I explained also that the phenomena of insensibility at one time, and exalted sensibility at another, were real phenomena, arising from the peculiar condition of the brain and spinal cord at different times. Now, I would ask any rational man, was there anything in all this like a wish to conceal, or savouring of Satanic agency? As to your remarks about the Estatica and Adolorata, I fully explained, and exhibited experiments to prove, that their exhibitions resulted entirely from the individuals hypnotizing themselves by their fixed gaze and deep contemplation. This I did at one of my early lectures, and it has since been done in the *Achill Herald*^{44,45} by some one else;⁴⁶ so that your remarks on this subject are *not* only *not* original, but bear strong marks of being an *unacknowledged plagiarism*.

As you appeal to Scripture, I have no objection to do so too, and I consider the best plan is to take the Scripture rule, "By their works ye shall know them".⁴⁷ Now, I shall adduce a few cases in illustration of what I *have* done and *can* do, and *can teach any intelligent medical man to do*, without being a "necromancer", or having any more to do with the devil than yourself, when, in the exercise of your vocation, you are com-

⁴⁴ Achill Island, County Mayo, is an island off the northern west coast of Ireland. A mission to convert the Roman Catholic population was established there in 1834 by Edward Nangle (1799-1883), under the patronage of Power Le Poer Trench (1770-1839), the Church of Ireland archbishop of Tuam (Yates, 2006, p.274). At its peak, the mission owned about two-thirds of the island, including a church and various enterprises: a printing press, a farm, a school, a dispensary, and a tourist hotel. The mission closed in 1886 (Sheehan & Levy, 2002, p.458).

⁴⁵ *The Achill Missionary Herald, and Western Witness*; also *The Achill Missionary Herald, and Western Witness* (1837-1869); *The Irish Church Advocate and Achill Missionary Herald* (1870-1875); *The Irish Church Advocate and Missionary Herald* (1875); *The Irish Church Advocate* (1876-1879); and *The Church Advocate* (1879-1891). According to The Protestant Association (1839, p.18):

"*The Achill Missionary Herald, and Western Witness* is a monthly newspaper, printed and published at the Missionary Settlement, in the Island of Achill. Being stamped it circulates free of cost through the Post-office. Subscriptions (four shillings per annum) will be received by Mr. Nisbet, Berners-street, London; Mr. A. Newling, Ranelagh-street, Liverpool; Mr. Gidwin, Milson-street, Bath; and Mr. W. Carson, Grafton-street, Dublin."

⁴⁶ Nangle (1841; 1842a). Note that the original, indeed, has "by some one else".

⁴⁷ Braid has slightly misquoted Matthew 7: 20, "by their fruits ye shall know them".

posing and delivering your sermons.

By the aid of this agency I have extracted teeth from most sensitive patients without pain; I have performed many other important operations with present ease and future advantage; in a few minutes have removed rheumatic pains which had resisted every other remedy, and tortured the patients for months or years — in one case for thirteen years; have completely overcome the pain of a violent *tic douloureux* in a few minutes, which had tortured the patient for eight weeks before I saw him, in spite of the most approved remedies — and other cases in like manner; have restored strength and feeling to paralytic limbs in a few minutes — in one case of a patient twenty-four years of age, and who had been so from birth, in defiance of every other remedy; have restored hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, smell to those who had been deprived of it; restored the crooked to proper form; calmed the irritable, and roused the desponding; restored the mind from imbecility to intelligence, and the memory {11} from the listlessness and torpor to activity. Thus, those who could not for years read their Bible, or remember, or profit by what others have read, have been enabled, after a few minutes' hypnotic sleep, to do both. Now, I would ask any rational person, was it likely the Devil would have assisted me in doing any such thing? Is it not far more like Satanic agency for him to inspire any one to become the active agent in preventing the dissemination of what, when properly understood and applied, is calculated to prove such a vast blessing to mankind?

At page 149 you make a strange charge against the medical profession. You there say, "it is a very unsuitable profession for the examination of such a matter as this. If there be anything connected with the spiritual world in it, it is wholly out of the cognizance of those gentlemen, whose whole professional study is connected with matter". In answer to the sweeping charge and insulting remarks contained in the above extract and what follows, I must tell you they are sufficient to prove that you know very little of medical men, or of their habits and pursuits. I must take leave to tell you that the medical man who has not studied the laws of *mind* as well as *matter*, and how they act and react on each other, is very unfit for practising his profession, either with credit to himself or advantage to his patient. Let such individual only attend to these studies, and the advantages will soon become apparent, both to himself and others. But I will go farther, and claim for the honour of the medical profession some of the brightest characters who have appeared to illuminate the dark domain of metaphysical science. Need I do more to prove this than name the fact, that Locke, Thomas Brown, and

Abercrombie, etc., were medical men?⁴⁸

I by no means wish to laud Neurohypnology as an universal remedy. But that it is a means, when properly applied, of rapidly curing many diseases which resisted all other known remedies, there can be no doubt; and being a law of the animal economy — and, as such, no doubt implanted for some wise purpose — it is certain to prevail in defiance of all opposition.

I consider the uniformity of its action, as I apply it, is sufficient to prove it to be a law of the animal economy; and after the explanations I have given of it in the public {12} lecture room, to which I invited you that you might investigate the subject for yourself, where I stated my object was "*not to mystify, but to dispel all mystery*", it has no right to be stigmatised as an "*occult science*", or the device of the Devil. I have always understood the Devil to be actively engaged in inflicting disease, blindness, and ignorance on mankind. But here we have works the very contrary — the cure of diseases which have resisted all other known remedies; the restoration of sight, hearing, and intelligence to the benumbed mind.

In reference to *your* profession, I may, with great propriety, quote the words you apply to mine — "For which no man has a higher respect in its proper place, and for its proper work, than I have"; but, unless by those who can bring to bear on it more extensive knowledge of the subject, or more candour than you have displayed on this occasion, I must be excused for saying that *yours* is not a profession which peculiarly fits its disciples for "the examination of such a matter as this". I would, therefore, recommend you to consider Gamaliel's advice,⁴⁹ and should you wish to preach another sermon on the subject, that you should adopt it for your text— "Take heed what ye do, for if this work or this counsel be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."⁵⁰

3, St. Peter's Square, Manchester., 4th June, 1842

Cave and Sever, Pool Fold, Manchester.

⁴⁸ The philosopher John Locke had a Bachelor of Medicine. Thomas Brown, M.D. and John Abercrombie, M.D., D.CL., F.R.S.(Edin.), F.R.C.S.(Edin.), F.R.C.P.(Edin.) also were medicos.

⁴⁹ According to Christian tradition, Gamaliel persuaded the Jews not to kill certain Apostles for preaching in defiance of the law expressly prohibiting such behaviour. His argument was that two prominent Jews had claimed to be the messiah and, whilst influential at the time of their deaths, no longer had followers. Thus, he argued, if the claims of these men were bogus, time would prove that fact; and, if they were not bogus, nothing that the Council did would prevent the will of God prevailing. The Council, swayed by his argument, released the men.

⁵⁰ Citing Acts 5:34-40.

Appendix Eleven: Others' Responses to M'Neile

Braid's published response to the attacks made on his person, reputation, and work by M'Neile's sermon was a step-by-step rebuttal of whatever coherent arguments M'Neile might have advanced, plus a clear demonstration that other aspects of his onslaught were based on outrageous assertions, ignorance of established fact, theological error, or fallacious reasoning (or based on entirely false premises).

If Braid's response was, essentially, a counter-argument, a range of different responses, made from other quarters, could be thought of as:

- (a) examinations of M'Neile's anti-mesmerism,
- (b) critiques of his sermon, as published,
- (c) examinations of M'Neile, himself, as a source of secular, spiritual, or scriptural 'truth', and/or
- (d) responses to specific aspects of M'Neile's onslaught (e.g., his 'blanket' attack on the medical profession).

A representative sample of these items — twelve different responses made over a period of ten years — are presented here with the intention of assisting an interested reader to apprehend the range, scope, nature of the reception of M'Neile's published sermon, and the wide variety of sources from whence the responses came, so that Braid's coherent, measured response can be understood as coming from one of a number of independent individuals who were fortunate enough to be immune from M'Neile's authority and influence, alert to his faulty argumentation, and unimpressed by the theatrical majesty of his (often bizarre) demagogic practices.

The first is a satirical item from the *Liverpool Mercury* (Anon, 1842vv), the second a 'derivative' from the *Leicester Chronicle* (Anon, 1842ww), three to four weeks after the sermon was published in the *Penny Pulpit*. Both deal with the published sermon, rather than M'Neile's performance as a preacher. That the first item's intention was to ridicule M'Neile's effort is plain from the second's characterization of its author as "a humorous Liverpool contemporary".

The remainder are 'serious' items, whose authors represent a wide range of disciplines, theoretical perspectives, and personal interests.

The third response is written by the prominent religious commentator, Joseph Taylor (Taylor, 1842).

The fourth response is written by a prominent phrenologist, Cornelius Donovan[†] (Donovan, 1843).

The fifth is a comprehensive, lengthy, and well thought out response by an Anglican cleric and practising mesmerist, George Sandby[†] (Sandby, 1843). The pamphlet's author is identified on the title page as "*a Beneficed Clergyman*", and the "letter" that constitutes the pamphlet is simply signed "G.S.". However, in a number of his later works, George Sandby identifies himself as the author.

The sixth is a news item characterizing M'Neile and his sermon, occasioned by the publication of Sandby's response.

The seventh is a critical review of both M'Neile's sermon and Sandby's response by Rev. John Mitford, the Anglican cleric, literary critic, and editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

The eighth is taken from a text (part historical account, part defence of mesmerism) written by the radical bookseller and advocate of mesmerism, William Lang[†] (Lang, 1843).

The ninth is from the surgeon George Macilwain[†] (Macilwain, 1843).

The tenth appears in a footnote, referring to a comment (about Lafontaine) in the first part of an article on mesmerism, by the Irish divine and mystic Henry Ferris[†] (Ferris, 1844).

The eleventh and twelfth are taken from the texts of anonymous reviews of two different works on mesmerism (Anon, 1845b; Anon, 1851a).

1. THE REV. MR. M'NEILE AND ANIMAL MAGNETISM

The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser, Friday, 20 May 1842.¹

The Papal Court, with a laudable spirit of impartiality, used to appoint an officer under the title of "Devil's Advocate", to watch over the interests of his Satanic Majesty, and plead his cause against any candidate for the honours of canonization. This praiseworthy institution, which, with many other venerable usages handed down by the wisdom of our ancestors, has become rather obsolete, has been recently revived in a somewhat singular manner, by our eccentric townsman, the Rev. Mr. M'Neile. Mr. Lafontaine, Mr. Braid, and sundry other lecturers, having performed certain experiments of a very striking and wonderful nature, in illustration of what is called "animal magnetism", the Reverend Gentleman has felt it his duty to enter up an appearance and solemn protest, on the part of the powers of darkness, against any claims which science may put in to appropriate to itself the new field opened up by these singular and interesting phenomena. Good Christians are warned to listen to no pretended explanations about magnetic fluids, nervous agencies, tensions of the optic nerve, congestions of the brain, and the like, but to believe devoutly, with all their might, that the thing is the devil's doing, and there's an end on't.

It is certainly a singular spectacle, in this nineteenth century of ours, to see an attempt made to restore the theory of diabolic possession. One did imagine that witchcraft had been left some centuries behind, in the night of time, and that the discoveries of modern science had completely dissipated the illusions which attributed every thing, that to our limited understandings appeared bad or unaccountable, to the immediate agency of a malignant power. Surely, it is to every reflective mind a source of thankfulness, that so many conquests have been made from the territory of darkness — that so many provinces have been redeemed from the empire of chance, or evil, and shown to be subject to the laws of nature — that is, to the eternal ordinances of unbounded wisdom and goodness. Would Mr. M'Neile have us go back to the state of the savage negroes, who turn out with drums and tom-toms whenever the moon is eclipsed, to scare away the fiend? Would he have us believe that epilepsy is caused by an evil spirit having taken up its abode in the patient — that chemists prosecute their discoveries by the aid of an unholy league with demons? Does he think the cause of true religion could be advanced by renouncing the discoveries of Kepler and Galileo, of Newton, Laplace, Lavoisier, Davy, Cuvier, and a host of illustrious men whose

¹ Anon (1842vv).

labours have opened out to us, on every hand, new views of the grandeur, the immensity, and the harmony of God's creation? or why should it be more impious to explore the secrets of the nervous organization than those of the starry heavens — to trace up to the point of junction in the brain the mysterious connexion between mind and matter, the will and motion, than to dive with the geologist into the abysses of time, and decipher the physical history of the world which we inhabit?

With regard to "animal magnetism", as it is called, the case stands thus:— It is proved by experiment, that, in persons of a delicate nervous organization, certain most remarkable effects can be produced in the nervous system by the agency of another human being standing at a moderate distance and directing the points of the fingers towards the brain, or moving them slowly up and down opposite the face. In the course of a few minutes a state resembling somnambulism supervenes, in which the eyes are closed, the power of voluntary motion suspended, and, although perfect consciousness is retained, the will is completely paralyzed. Some sort of relation seems to be established between the operator and patient:— involuntary nervous twitchings are excited by the motions of the former at a considerable distance, and the nerves seem even to be subjected to the will of the magnetizer. From this state the patient is roused instantaneously, by the simple process of the magnetizer drawing his fingers transversely across the brow. The eyelids start open, as if a spring were touched, and the natural state is restored as completely and suddenly as in the case of a somnambulist awakened from sleep. Up to this point there is no doubt of the facts. They have been repeatedly witnessed and ascertained under circumstances which preclude the possibility of imposture; indeed, they are by no means of rare or extraordinary occurrence, and any person who likes may convince himself of their truth by experimenting on his friends. Beyond this however, certain extraordinary facts are asserted by the adepts in the science, concerning the truth of which we say nothing. It is said that in certain rare cases a state beyond that of common somnambulism, above described, supervenes, called *clairvoyance*, or clear seeing, from the miraculous power of seeing things by a new and unknown sense. In this state it is asserted that the patient can read with his eyes shut or bandaged, or decipher a book placed *behind* his back, and can see through walls, and discern things going on at a distance of a hundred miles! It is further asserted that he becomes insensible to pain; and a well authenticate story is told of a lady who had a cancer extracted from her breast in a hospital at Paris, without being at all aware of it until the operation was over. For the truth of these and other mysterious facts connected with the state of *clairvoyance*, we do not pretend to

vouch. It is enough that they have been repeatedly asserted and as repeatedly denied by respectable men, who have had opportunities of investigation, and that, as matters now stand, we must be content to

————— "equal folly call,
Believing nothing, or believing all."²

With regard to the cause of these phenomena, we are equally at sea. The orthodox theory of grave, well-established physicians, who, from Harvey's time downwards, have always set their faces against novelties, is, that such part as cannot be put down to delusion, must be attributed to imagination, an explanation which, with all due submission, appears to us only to adjourn the difficulty; since, that the imagination should produce such singular or anomalous effects in the nervous system, is a thing quite as wonderful and mysterious as that there should be a magnetic fluid or atmosphere.

The second theory — that of the professors of animal magnetism generally — is, that the nervous fluid, or energy, which, from the experiments of [Sir Charles Bell], [Prévost], [Becquerel] and others, is known to exist, and to have strong analogy to the electrical, is capable of being acted upon and disturbed by the nervous energy of another human body, properly directed by an effort of the will, and that this disturbance in the nervous system deranges the relations between volition and motion, and causes the other anomalous and mysterious phenomena which are witnessed.

A third theory has been lately put forward by Mr. Braid, of Manchester, which differs from the second, by asserting that the derangement of the nervous system, which gives rise to the phenomena, is occasioned, not by the agency of the nervous energy or will of the magnetizer, but by the tension of the muscles of the optic nerve and eye of the patient himself, producing a description of congestion of the brain.

Which of these theories is the true one, or rather, which is nearest the truth — for no one pretends to give a complete and scientific account of the phenomena — we do not pretend to say; it is enough for us that there are several modes of explanation which afford some glimmering of light, and which promise, if followed up in a candid and liberal spirit of scientific research, to lead to most important results in that most important, though hitherto neglected, department of knowledge — human physiology, the reciprocal relations of mind and matter, nerves and imagination, will and muscular

² Quoting from John Dryden's poem *Absolom and Achitofel* (1681):

*Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies,
To please the fools and puzzle all the wise.
Succeeding times did equal folly call,
Believing nothing, or believing all.*

motion; and, in a word, the inward structure and mechanism of this vital frame, so wonderfully and perfectly devised.

In this stage of the matter, with all due respect for the motives which may have animated Mr. M'Neile in stepping before the public in the character of the "Devil's Advocate", we must protest against the apostolic veto put on Galileo by the Inquisition being repeated in the case of Mr. Lafontaine, Mr. Braid, or any one else who chooses to prosecute investigations and make experiments upon a subject which is in no other respect heretical than that it has hitherto baffled the comprehension of orthodox understandings.

2. THE REV. HUGH M'NEILE

The Leicester Chronicle, Saturday, 28 May 1842.³

The Rev. Mr. M'Neile, of Liverpool, has entered his solemn protest, on the part of the powers of darkness, against any claims which science may put in to appropriate to itself the new field opened up by the phenomena of Animal Magnetism. The rev. divine holds that the whole proceeding is the Devil's doing — that to him the merits of its origination is entirely due — and not to Mesmer, Lafontaine, or Braid. Whether any of the last-mentioned professors will dispute the title, either personally or by proxy, with their sable competitor, has not been announced: we shall give our readers notice of the fact should such a step be resolved upon. In the interim, we learn from a humorous Liverpool contemporary that Mr. M'Neile has revived the institution of the "Devil's Advocate" — an officer who was appointed formerly by the Papal Court to watch over the interests of his Satanic Majesty — and therefore the anxiety that might be felt by some parties lest those interests should be neglected will now be completely set at rest.

³ Anon (1842ww).

3. THE CHRISTIAN CRITIC, & SPIRITUAL WINE-PRESS.⁴*"Satanic Agency and Mesmerism"**The Silent Preacher for June 1842, pp.53-56.*⁵

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One of the must powerful, zealous, and able ministers in the Church of England, in the present day, is the Rev. Hugh M'Neile. Of his spirituality, and experience of vital godliness, we do not pretend to give any opinion. We have heard him preach, and we have read some of his writings, and, without hesitation, we can say, a more noble expounder of the word of God — a more daring defender of the Christian faith — a more determined enemy to the devil, and all his emissaries, does not stand within the pale of the Church of England, than is the Rev. Hugh M'Neile. And let not the fact of his standing in the Church of England prejudice the mind of the reader against the man, as, *a defender of the Protestant faith*. Corrupt as the Church of England may be — cold and inconsistent, as many of her formularies are — still, in every age, while it hath pleased God to *bring out* from her many of His most eminent servants, so hath it also pleased him to suffer to remain with her many, concerning whose conversion and divine commission to preach the gospel scarcely any dare to entertain a suspicion. Jehovah has his way in the whirlwind and the sea; He giveth none account of His matters, neither ought any of His worms to say unto Him, "What doest thou?" seeing that He worketh all things after the counsel of His own most holy will.

In the discourse now under review, the foundation of which is laid in the 9th and 10th verses of the second chapter of Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians, the preacher first, gave, by scriptural illustrations, a striking proof of the existence of "satanic agency among men"; secondly, he spake of "the kind of agency we have reason to expect from the devil in these latter times"; and, thirdly, made an application

⁴ *The Christian Critic, and Spiritual Wine-Press* was a regular section in *The Silent Preacher*.

The notion of a 'spiritual wine-press' was suggested by Rev. John Clowes (1743-1831), in his *Sermons on Various Subjects*, he published in 1815. Eight of the sermons were on the text "...there was a certain householder which planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-press in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country..." (Matthew 21:33).

Clowes explains (pp.71-79) how, just as the "*natural wine-press*" separates the "juice of the grape from its grosser and more impure parts", allowing the wine to be made — the standard of the wine ("a substance so different from the grape itself") allowing us "to discern and to distinguish the good grape from the evil grape, the sweet from the sour, the ripe from the unripe, which were not before distinguishable" — he remarks that, in a similar fashion, the "*spiritual wine-press*", allows us to determine the sweetness and purity of the "internal nature" and "spiritual quality" of our own works (and, in this case, the published works of others), regardless of the deceptive attraction of their "external appearances".

⁵ Taylor (1842).

of these things to "some exhibitions now going on amongst us".

In taking notice of, and making extracts from, this discourse, we trust we shall not be considered as departing from our more general line. Every thing which God, in infinite wisdom, *permits*, as well as everything which He absolutely *performs*, is for the development of some part of His eternal purpose, for the manifestation of His glory, the exercise of His power, and, in some measure, for His people's good. As watchmen, then, we are silently surveying, as far as we are enabled, the various movements in operation among the numerous bodies professing to be part of the mystical body of Christ. Now, in this our silent survey, we discover many things that appear of vast importance to be known and noticed by the true believers in Christ: things, {54} calculated both to caution and to encourage them. And, in connection with the other features of our work, we desire to bring under the notice of our readers, such events as are evidently connected either with the dethronement of Satan or the building up of the true Church. The sequel to this, will, we believe, fully justify us in the remarks we have made.

Under the first head of this discourse, there are some most solemn remarks with reference to the origin, power, and progress of sin.

"The angels that God made", says Mr. M'Neile, "were glorious beings, high and heavenly; but still they were creatures, and as creatures they were not, absolutely unchangeable. Absolutely unchangeable perfection belongs only to God himself; it cannot belong to any creature as such. Those creatures, high in gloriousness as they were, still being creatures, were within the possibility of change. Some of them did change, as a matter of fact. They "kept not their first estate". When they sinned — when they transgressed — against their Creator, he did not annihilate them; he did not put an end to their existence, and blot them out of creation altogether, as he might have done. Such annihilation would have been a speechless judgment. It would have left a blank behind it, giving no instruction; it would have left no warning beacon, no open book wherein truth might be read by other intelligent creatures. But God, who is infinite in wisdom, accomplishes all his works in such a way as to instruct; that his intelligent creatures may grow in his knowledge, and that he may be honoured in their praise. He did not then annihilate the fallen angels, but he "made a show of them openly"; he sustained in existence, but now in misery; and by the exhibition of that misery, he teaches to all the unfallen creation — to unnumbered worlds — what a deadly thing rebellion against God is; so that

hell is an open book wherein all creation may read allegiance to the Great King, and the fearful consequences of rebellion. Thus a sustained devil is a {142} witness for God."

After speaking of the fall of our first parents, the preacher observed—

"It has been alleged, that since the incarnation of Christ, the power of the devil is restrained in this world; and our Lord's own language has been quoted in supposed proof of this — the language he used as recorded in Luke x. 18: "Jesus said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." Consider what he said — he beheld him fall from heaven. Is this any proof that he has less power on the earth than he had before? Not so. Compare this with what you read of him in the book of Revelation. "There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him, And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." Christ saw him "as lightning fall from heaven"; but it was to come to the earth for the present, and there to exercise his great power, and "with great wrath", because his time is short."

Yes: this is indeed, a fact the most solemn that we can possibly contemplate; a fact fraught with the most direful and dreadful calamities and curses — "*THE DEVIL IS COME DOWN TO EARTH*": and hence has arisen all the rebellion, apostacy, and wickedness, so prevalent among all classes of men. Deluded dupes are they, who vainly imagine that the power of the devil is restrained. Those awful events, murders, blasphemies, adulteries and departures from God and His truth, so general in our day, proclaim, in terms the most fearful, the existence and the power of satanic agency among us.

Under the second head, Mr. M'Neille made an especial reference to the *pretended* science of Mesmerism, which has of late been exhibiting in Liverpool, and other parts of England. Illustrative of this pretended science, the preacher read a statement

"Of the case of a lady residing in France, afflicted with ulcerated cancer of the right breast, on which an operation was performed, without her feeling the

slightest pain during its progress."

"Now", said Mr. M'Neille, "if this be a falsehood, then certainly there is something almost supernatural in the fact, that we have a whole academy joining to tell the public this lie. If it be a truth, if the fact be so, then here beyond all question is something out of the range of nature, out of the present power of man, unless this is a new science. Here is a lady put into such a state that she sits in a chair, has the operation for cancer performed, and is utterly unconscious that anything is going on. She converses quietly with the operator all the while: she is put to bed after the operation, kept in this state till the wound is dressed, cleaned, and dressed again, and after forty-eight hours awakened, and does not know that anything has happened to her. We know what sleep is, and we know what pain is. We do not know all the properties of matter certainly, and there may be (as I have said) some occult property in matter which these men have discovered, and which may have the effect, when applied to the human frame, of rendering it insensible to pain. If there be such a property in matter, it will act uniformly, for that is the characteristic of nature's actings; there is no caprice in nature; all the laws of nature act uniformly."

* * * * *

"Observe, I am not running down science, as we, who take the Bible for our standard, are accused of doing. We are not running down science at all; we ask, if it be a science, for the laws — the uniformly acting laws. Let this be remembered; and until these are given, we are at liberty to reject it as a science. But, at the same time, I am compelled by the statement of facts, either to suppose that a whole academy have connived at a wilful falsehood, or else, that a supernatural thing has taken place. Then what is it? Who is it? A man cannot perform it. Who has done it? Who has power over the flesh of man's body, to place it in such a condition, as that the ordinary applications which cause pain produce no pain? Of {56} whom have we ever read, as having taken possession of man's flesh? I read you one instance of a man who was possessed of a devil, so that he felt no pain whilst he smashed iron chains. And now what leads me to suspect that this pretended science — I must call it so till its laws are published — what leads me to suspect that this is of the devil, is this: it is precisely the thing which is pleaded now in defence of falsehood; it is precisely the thing that my Lord Shrewsbury has put forth to prove that Popery is the true version of Christianity. What is his *etatica* [sic] which he has written such a book about? You

have heard of the *etatica* and *adolorata* — the two young women whom he saw on the continent; they were Mesmerised. His description of them exactly corresponds with the description we have of these Mesmerised persons. He tells of a young woman, who was in a state of ecstasy, wrapt in prayer, devoted to the Virgin; her eyes were open, but she had no sensibility of what was going on without. He says, that a fly was seen to walk across her eyeball, and she never winked; she was totally insensible of every thing that was going on, except one thing: he says, that she manifested consciousness at the approach of the consecrated host. Now, here is a state of things in this *etatica* — a state resembling exactly the state of the Mesmerised young woman — pleaded by a popish writer as a proof of divine influence, as a proof of divine origin of his creed; and the only thing that raised her out of her ecstasy, the only external object that she had a consciousness of the approach of, was the consecrated host. Now, this belongs to the "mystery of iniquity". And when I see wonders of this kind on the one side, pleaded as a science, though the laws of the science are not given, and when I see, on the other side, wonders of this kind pleaded as proofs of God's bearing testimony to Popery, what am I to think? This, I say, is an exploit worthy of the devil."

4. SATANIC AGENCY

Phrenological Journal, and Magazine of Moral Science, 1 July 1842.⁶

Satanic Agency.— In a sermon preached at St Jude's Church, Liverpool, on the evening of Sunday, April 10, 1842, and published in the "Penny Pulpit", under the title of "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", the Rev. Hugh M'Neile grants more power to the Mesmerisers than they are willing, it may be presumed, to accept the credit of, and supposes them to have a co-operator not fit to name to ears polite. On the subject of insanity he says, after quoting from Mark vi. 2. the case of the man with an *unclean spirit* — "Here was a poor creature whom we should now call a maniac, and whom we would now secure and take into a lunatic asylum, and, by means of a strait waistcoat, prevent him injuring his own body. Our philosophy goes no farther than this. Our medical practitioners would say that there was some disorganization of the poor

⁶ Donovan, (1842). Although Waite (1899, p.366) draws attention to this review, he does not name Donovan as the reporter and, also, he mistakenly identifies Donovan's report as "[appearing] in the *Phrenological Magazine*, Vol.xv, p.288" when, in fact, it appeared on page 286 of volume 15 of the *Phrenological Journal*.

creature's brain, and their philosophy goes no farther than organized or disorganized matter. But if Jesus met such a man — if he who can see into the spiritual world entered one of our lunatic asylums, he would see what our doctors cannot see, that the devil is there. *The devil has possession of many in the very same manner as he had before.*" Of the truth of the last sentence few can doubt.

C. Donovan.

5. MESMERISM THE GIFT OF GOD, etc.

George Sandby, *Mesmerism the Gift of God: In Reply to "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", a Sermon Said to Have Been Preached by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile: in a Letter to a Friend by a Beneficed Clergyman* (1843).⁷

"The things which are impossible with men are possible with God."—Luke xviii. 27.

{3}

Mesmerism the Gift of God: &c.

London, June, 1843.

My Dear Friend,

You are aware that my attention has lately been directed to a Sermon, published in the *Penny Pulpit*, and actively circulated through the country, entitled "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", and alleged to have been preached in Liverpool by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile.

This sermon is not published under the authority, or with the consent of Mr. M'Neile, and so far he is not responsible; but inasmuch as its publication and sale are matters of general notoriety, and that application having been made to him from a highly respectable quarter for a disavowal of its contents, though he did not acknowledge them, as he took no steps to deny them; and as we are informed that the short-hand writer, from whose notes this sermon was printed, is prepared to make an affidavit of the accuracy of his report, I am led to believe that some such a sermon, in the same, or nearly similar language, was *actually* preached by Mr. M'Neile.

Now a sermon put forth with the *prestige* of such a name, however unfairly and unwarrantably made use of, certainly deserves every respectful consideration. The number, moreover, of Mr. M'Neile's admirers, and the zeal with which they distribute

⁷ Although the author is not identified on the title page, the letter's writer ("G.S." on page 15) was later identified, by Anglican cleric and practising mesmerist, Rev. George Sandby (1799-1881), B.A., M.A., as himself.

this publication among the thoughtful and the religious,⁸ give additional importance to its contents; and when it has come to my own knowledge that several parties have been prevented from adopting or witnessing, the curative effects of Mesmerism, through scruples of conscience raised by this very discourse, I was prepared to bestow upon it a much more careful perusal than intrinsically it deserved.

Believing, then, as I do most fully, that Mesmerism is a mighty remedial agent, mercifully vouchsafed by the [beneficent] Creator for {4} the mitigation of human misery — a remedy to be employed, like every other remedy, prayerfully, thankfully, and with a humble dependence won the will of Him who sent the chastisement, and can alone remove it; having daily reason, too, to bless God for the introduction of this very remedy within the circle of my own family, it is difficult for me to express the amazement, the regret, the feelings akin to something like shame, with which I first read this most deplorable publication. And knowing the delusion under which so many labour on this question — a delusion which, as the natural result of the vulgarest ignorance and superstition, the unfortunate language of this sermon has tended so greatly to foster, I feel it to be nothing short of a sacred Christian duty laid upon me to use my endeavours to lessen the error. And if these few pages should be the means of removing the prejudices of but one family, or of alleviating the pains of but one afflicted sufferer, through his adoption of the Mesmeric power, the knowledge of it would give me a gratification, which I would not exchange for all the eloquence and popularity of Mr. M'Neile.

In writing, therefore, in behalf of Mesmerism, in opposition to the views of Mr. M'Neile, I hope to secure an indulgent hearing by stating that I am neither Deist,⁹ Materialist, nor Rationalist; that I belong to no school of philosophy, "falsely so called", but am a humble, though I fear, unprofitable Christian. Nay, not only am I a believer in the same Gospel with Mr. M'Neile, but a member and minister in the same Church, entertaining nearly the same doctrinal views, adopting nearly the same Scriptural interpretations, and holding certainly in equal abhorrence with himself everything of an irreligious and infidel character. I think it desirable to state thus much, though, unfortunately, of an egotistical character, because the prejudices of many pious and

⁸ Sandby's footnote: "My readers may judge of the activity with which anti-Mesmerists and their emissaries circulate this sermon, when they learn that some thousand copies have been sold, and a reprint called for."

⁹ A "deist" is one who, based upon reason, acknowledges the existence of a God, but rejects the Bible and religion; it originally denoted the opposite of "*atheist*".

well-meaning persons have unhappily connected the practice or belief of Mesmerism with antichristian or Deistical views.

To much, therefore, of the former part of this sermon no Scriptural reader can offer any objection. Where it presents from the Bible a digest of the evidence for Satanic agency, and of the condition of the fallen angels, and of their power over the race of man; where their fearful spiritual influence on our depraved nature and deceitful hearts is laid bare in all its deformity; to all this the well-instructed Christian tremblingly subscribes. When, therefore, Mr. M'Neile is alleged to state, "not only that there did exist such a thing as Satanic agency, but that it continued to exist after the incarnation of Christ; that it continued to exist amongst men after the resurrection of Christ; that it is predicted to exist until the second coming of Christ"; to all these and similar positions I am not prepared to express any dissent. *But* when, from these premises, he goes on to assert, that certain peculiar facts, recorded in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, and of the reality of which he does not appear to doubt, are, "beyond all question, beyond the course of nature", or, in other words, supernatural and the result of some miraculous or diabolical agency, what thinking mind does not see that such a conclusion is most illogical and absurd? Is there no other alternative? Is nothing else possible? Is nothing {5} else probable? Before so strong and momentous a decision were thus peremptorily pronounced, should not a fair and candid man at least stoop to enquire, to investigate, to consider calmly, whether some better explanation were not admissible? Should a lover of truth — should a friend to whatever might alleviate suffering humanity, thus hastily and, *ex cathedra*, deliver an adverse opinion upon a science which, to say the least, is at present only in its infancy? If we cannot admire the reasoning faculty that this sermon evinces, can we, on the other hand, praise its charity? "In forming a judgment of this (says Mr. M'Neile), I go, of course, on what I have read. *I have seen, nothing of it*, nor do I think it right to tempt God by going to see it. I have not faith to go in the name of the Lord Jesus and to command *the Devil* to depart." Really, any one would suppose that he were reading the ignorant ebullition of some dark monk in the middle ages, rather than the sentiments of an educated Protestant of the nineteenth century. What is this but a revival of the same spirit that called forth a papal anathema against the profound Galileo? What, but an imitation of the same objections which pronounced the doctrine of Antipodes as incompatible with the faith, and maintained that the theory of Columbus threw discredit on the Bible? Verily, the University of Salamanca, which opposed the dogged resistance of theological objections to the obscure Genoese [sc. Columbus], and the Inquisition at Rome, that con-

demned the philosopher of Pisa [sc. Galileo], might claim a kindred associate in the minister of St. Jude's! For, according to Mr. M'Neile, Mesmerism must be "nothing but human fraud for gain sake", or something "beyond the power of *unassisted* man to accomplish". Is my brother-divine, then, so intimately versed in all the mighty secrets of Nature? Has he so thoroughly fathomed her vast and various recesses, that he ventures to pronounce everything that may be contrary to, or beyond his own knowledge and experience, as the invention of evil spirits, or the contrivance of evil men? Is there nothing new to be discovered? Are the regions of light and life exhausted and laid bare? Have we at last reached the *ultima thule* of art and science?¹⁰ "*It is not in nature* for any one to bear to be so treated", says Mr. M'Neile, authoritatively; introducing at the same time and in the midst of the same sentence this evasive and contradictory exception, "*so far as we have yet learned*". And having previously assumed the sinfulness of Mesmerism, and rather regretted that he had not "the faith to bid the *Devil* to depart", he again goes on, and says "*there may be some power in nature* ... some secret operation ... some latent power in nature, which is now being discovered ... something like the power of compressed steam or like electricity". *Why*, this *is* the very point in question. This *is* the very subject of the controversy. This *is* the very fact which the large and increasing body of believers in Mesmerism confidently assert. And "if there *may* be such a power in nature", why does he prematurely denounce it as diabolical, and the act of Satan, before the truth has been fairly and fully established? Why not wait, and examine, and patiently and prayerfully study the statements, the experiments, and the results that present themselves, and with a serious thinking spirit {6} revolve [viz., 'consider'] the evidence of the whole matter, and say whether perchance it may not be the "gift of God" (Eccl. iii. 13). "Be not rash with thy mouth (says the royal preacher),¹¹ and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God; for God is in heaven and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few" (Eccl. v. 2). Surely it were the part of a wise and sober Christian, who remembereth that "nothing is impossible with God", to weigh a great and curious question like this in a humble posture of mind, and not rashly to pronounce of his fellow-men, who, for their faith and their attainments in grace, may, for aught he knows, be as acceptable with the Saviour as himself, that they are agents and instruments of the evil one! Washington Irving tells

¹⁰ In this context, *ultima thule* = the highest degree attainable.

¹¹ In the context of the book of *Ecclesiastes* (lit. "The Preacher"), the "royal preacher" is Solomon, the son of King David.

us,¹² that when Petro Gonzales de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Cardinal of Spain, became first acquainted with the views of Columbus, he feared that they were tainted with heterodoxy, and incompatible with the form of earth described in sacred Scripture. But we read, that "farther explanations had their force", and "he perceived that there could be nothing irreligious in attempting to extend the bounds of human knowledge, and to ascertain the works of creation"; and the great cardinal therefore gave the obscure navigator a "courteous and attentive hearing". It would ill become an anonymous writer like myself to utter one word of disparagement against so experienced a minister as Mr. M'Neile. I have listened with too great pleasure to his "reasonings on righteousness, and temperance, and judgment to come", to permit any depreciatory language to escape from me; but he must bear with me when I add, that with all his eloquence and power, he might find a wholesome lesson for improvement in the example of this great Roman Catholic prelate, when listening to the novel theories of the unknown Columbus. But with one breath to say, that there *may* "be such a power in nature", and with another to describe men, who simply make use of that power, as those who deal with "familiar spirits", does appear the most monstrous instance of inconsistent condemnation we ever met with; it is a begging the whole question with a vengeance; it is a summary judgment without appeal; it is a decision affecting papal infallibility. And yet this competent jurymen says, "*I have seen nothing of it*, nor do I think it right to tempt God by going to see it."

Apropos of "seeing nothing of it!" The minister of St. Jude's is not the only party who shrinks from this evidence of his senses. He says, that in these reported cases there must be either collusion or something supernatural; but he evidently adheres to the latter opinion, for he adds afterwards, "and if, *as I Judge*, there be anything *supernatural* in it"; and he only regrets that he has not faith to play the part of exorciser and bid the devil depart; and from want of this faith refuses to be present. But there are members of a learned, aye and liberal body, from whom we might expect better things. In that profession which is alike distinguished for its humanity, its ability, its love of science, its love of truth, its large and comprehensive philosophy, it is {7} to be hoped that the far greater number would be ready to give, even to the hateful study of Mesmerism, the benefit of a faithful and dispassionate enquiry. We are sure that there are many who would cheerfully admit that the field of usefulness is enlarged by it, and the means of lessening human ills considerably extended. We know that there are several,

¹² Sandby's footnote: "'Life of Columbus", vol. i., book 2." [Irving, 1841.]

who, at the risk of damaging their worldly prospects, do not hesitate to step forward fearlessly and manfully, as believers in, and practisers of, the calumniated science. At the head of this noble and independent band, first and foremost stands the name of **ELLIOTSON**[†] — a tower of strength in itself, and alone able to confer distinction on any cause, however honourable. From among the *younger* members of the profession there are to be found many zealous and talented men following in his train, anxiously devoting their attention to the study, gathering facts as they arise, and prepared to employ their aid among the means of cure at their disposal. *O si sic omnes!*¹³ For there are others, who, to judge from their language, would seem to have the same horror at being witnesses of Mesmeric phenomena as the bat has at the approach of *light*. These striking facts they either include under the insolent charge of "fraud", or the more courteous and convenient phrase of "imagination". They sneer or smile when the subject is brought forward, according to their own turn of mind, or rather according to the temper of those with whom they argue. But to be *present*, to have their names bruited about as testimonies of a fact — to be unable to resist their own convictions, to be unable to remain in the bliss of ignorance, this is a position from which they fall back with a secret dread of approaching danger. They can be sharp-sighted enough in detecting narrowness of spirit in any other quarter, advocates for freedom of conscience in theology, ameliorators of our criminal code in matters of jurisprudence, liberal, tolerant, and haters of abuse; but the moment that Mesmeric phenomena are proposed as auxiliaries to their practice, that instant they are as sensitive, as angry, as staunch adherents of what is old — as stout opponents of what is new, as though the charter and privileges of their order were being jeopardied for ever! Doubtless, in all experiments of a strange and novel character, the public do expect from the medical profession the most cautious, slow, and deliberate frame of mind. They expect from their closer cognizance of subjects of this nature the most searching, scrutinizing, hesitating conduct. Nay, they would not even be displeased to see an enquiry carried on in a sceptical, unbelieving spirit. But still they *do* expect enquiry of some kind: they do not expect to see a subject of this important nature treated with the vulgarest vituperation and ridicule; its supporters stigmatized as credulous, its operators defamed as fraudulent, its patients mocked at as impostors. They do not expect to see the heads of a profession which piques itself pre-eminently on its liberality, exhibiting the bigotry of the priest, and the special pleading of the lawyer. Look, for instance, at what took place a few years back at the London University. Often is the world invited to sneer at the blind prejudices

¹³ In this context, *O si sic omnes!* = Oh, if only all of them were like that!

that disfigure the banks of the Isis; but in spite of all the faults of Alma Mater, in spite of all her past and present {8} absurdities, I am ready to contrast her conduct on a memorable occasion with the intolerance and hatred of novelty that recently marked the more modern institution. Are the circumstances under which Locke was expelled from Christ Church one whit more disgraceful than the treatment which induced Dr. Elliotson to withdraw his name from the Professorship in the University of London? Was the temple of science more liberal than the hall of logic? Was the new foundation more friendly to enlightened investigations than the old? In the ancient seat of learning, the timidity or servility of a Dean and Chapter expunged the name of the philosopher from the books of his college at the mandate of an arbitrary sovereign; but the vacancy in the Professor's chair was the result of an opposition to physiological experiments on the part of *soi-disant* [i.e., 'pretended'] friends to free and scientific enquiry. Turn again to the proceedings of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. See the alarmed and almost frantic feelings with which certain parties discussed the memorable account of the amputation of a thigh during the patient's Mesmeric state. See how anxious they were to put the matter down, and bury the facts in oblivion. A Bible thrown into a Spanish convent could not have more convulsed its inmates than did this unfortunate treatise that learned assembly. Mr. Topham[†] has much to answer for. One great medical reviewer¹⁴ declared that he would not believe the facts had he witnessed them himself. A leading and pre-eminent operator, whose praise is at this moment in all our mouths, expressed his perfect satisfaction with the condemnatory reports made by others, and *par conséquent* [i.e., 'consequently'] the needlessness that he should *be present and examine them himself!* Really, in passing through the account of this debate, in noting the anxiety of certain members to expunge all record of the proceedings from their minute book, I could have fancied that I was reading the discussions of a knot of mendicant friars terrified at the dawn of the Reformation; I felt myself transplanted, as it were, into the Vatican, where was a letter from Luther, frightening the holy conclave from its propriety. All the time that I was reading the speeches of certain opponents, there kept involuntarily rising up in my mind the outcry of Demetrius, the Ephesian silversmith, "Our craft is in danger to be set at nought; and, sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth" (Acts xix. 25, 27). One would suppose that these gentlemen would remember the treatment of Harvey by the profession, the "*Circulator*" as he was termed by them; the averted eye that at first was turned on Jenner; and the disbelief with which many great and mighty discoveries

¹⁴ Sandby's footnote: "See Elliotson's "Numerous Cases", &c." [Elliotson, 1843.]

have been received, and be more cautious and circumspect for the future. Oh! if a love of ancient usages — if a hatred of new and unpalatable truths is to bear away the bell, [the University of] Oxford may now hide her diminished head, [the University of] Salamanca "pale her uneffectual fires", the doctors of the Sorbonne part with their old pre-eminence, for competitors are stepping in from the "liberal professions," able and willing to take the lead. And yet we are all aware of the sarcasms with which "the faculty" and {9} the "philosophers" treat the "learned ignorance" of the clergy, and their presumed dislike to scientific enquiry; and perhaps we are too often a fair subject for such animadversion, more especially if many such sermons, as the one under discussion, are delivered by us; but I can tell "the profession" in return, that I should have more hope of bringing home a new and important truth to the minds of an ignorant and superstitious peasantry than of combating successfully the bigotry of the philosopher, and the prejudices of an educated and scientific assembly.

But to return to Mr. M'Neile. After certain criticising observations, as to the scientific character of some Mesmeric proceedings, on which we will speak presently, he refers to the well-known "magnetic experiment" of the operation for a cancer in France, which a lady underwent without feeling any pain in its progress, and mentions it as "recorded in a report made by the Committee of the Royal Academy at Paris". And so determined is he to discover the evil spirit at work in the business, that he says—"If this be a falsehood, there is something almost *supernatural in the fact*, that we have a whole academy joining to tell the public this lie. If it be a truth, if the fact be so, then here, beyond all question, is something *out of the range of nature — out of the present power of man*, unless this is a new science." In this age of discoveries and marvels, surely a thinking mind need not deem it so very incredible, that some large addition to scientific knowledge, or even a "new science," as he calls it, should be brought to light. We have of late seen so many of the wonders of God's providence made manifest to our view—wonders, of whose existence our forefathers had not the shadow of a suspicion, that the Christian, while he contemplates them all with thankfulness and awe, might rather be expected to adopt the apostolic language, and say, "*we know but in part*" and we "see but through a *glass darkly*" "Lo! (said the patient Job, while he was acknowledging the power of God to be infinite and unsearchable) — lo, these are *parts* of his ways; but how *little a portion* is heard of him? but the thunder of his power who can understand?" (xxvi. 14). But, says Mr. M'Neile, on the contrary, "*we know* what sleep is, and *we know* what pain is?" Does he, indeed, "know" what sleep is! Is he so accurate a physiologist that he is acquainted with all its varieties, its appear-

ances, its modifications and actions, according to the changes and conditions of the human frame? Does he too "know" what pain is? Is he so deeply read in pathology that he is prepared to state unerringly its effect upon the body of man under every possible contingency? Why he himself says — "We *do not know* all the properties of matter certainly, and there *may* be some occult property in matter which these men have discovered, and which may have the effect, when applied to the human frame, of rendering it *insensible* to pain." Again, I say, this is the point at issue. Why may there not be such an "occult property in matter", the beneficent "gift of God" for the use of his creature man, without calling up diabolical machinery to explain the difficulty? In an admonition that *he* gives to the medical profession, he quotes Shakspeare [sic], and begs respectfully to suggest to them, that there are "more things in heaven {10} and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy". *They* might, with a beautiful propriety, fling back upon him his own quotation, and request him to apply it to this very question. A Christian minister, however, would rather go to the inspired volume, and say— "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words *without knowledge*. Gird up now thy loins like a man, for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me. Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding ... Have the *gates of death* been opened unto thee? or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death? Hast thou perceived the *breadth of the earth*? Declare, if thou *knowest it all*. Where is the way where light dwelleth ? — and as for darkness, where is the place thereof? That thou shouldest take it to the bound thereof, and that thou shouldest know the paths to the house thereof?" (Job xxxviii. 3, &c.) The Almighty Father, whose judgments are unsearchable, and whose ways past finding out, hath hidden from the curious eyes of man the reasons and explanations of many of his gifts, and left us to grope ignorantly in the dark upon subjects the most familiar, and which are for ever present around us. But is this outside and superficial acquaintance with the works of nature to shut out from our remembrance the ever-present agency of the hand of God? To condemn Mesmerism as an abomination of the devil, because little or nothing is yet known respecting it, is a line of argument, which, if pressed to its absurd conclusion, would ascribe half the wonders of creation to the care and contrivance of the spirit of evil. What, for instance, is our life — the bodily life of man? In what does it consist? What is its immediate and secondary cause? What produces it — what terminates it — what gives it vitality and continuance? I believe that the best physiologists are not prepared with any positive opinion on the matter. Some consider (and with great show of probability) Electricity to be analogous to the principle of life. Some consider Electricity to be *the*

principle of life. We are aware that all nature abounds with electric matter — it is here and everywhere; perchance, under God, in it we "live and move and have our being". We hear of Galvinism [sic], and Magnetic-eletricity [sic], or Electro-magnetism, and its efficacy, through machines, upon the human body, in relieving paralysis, and rheumatism, and different neuralgic disorders. Why might not Mesmerism, or Animal-magnetism, as it would appear to be appropriately called, be Electricity under a different character? Its results are often the same, or rather very similar. Why might not the electric fluid of the operator unite itself under various modifications with the electric fluid of the patient, and thus act with a curative influence upon the principle of life within us? It is Mr. M'Neile himself, who in this very sermon has referred to Electricity, and to the shock of the Galvanic battery; and I would, therefore, just remind him, that in the study of this very subject there is yet much darkness; that there is yet much to learn; that we do not yet know how far its action is connected with the principle of life — and certainly we would defy him to prove that Mesmerism or Animal-magnetism is not an essential portion of the system.

{11}

And this brings us to Mr. M'Neile's main argument, upon which he appears to plume himself most confidently, for he repeats it over and over again under various phases:— "I would wish (says he) that the professors of this science should state the *laws of nature* by the *uniform action* of which this thing is done ... Let them put forward the elements of the science in a scientific manner ... It belongs to philosophers, who are honest men, and who make any discovery of this kind, to state the uniform action ... We hear of these experiments — but hear nothing of a scientific statement of the laws ... Let us have the laws of the science ... I consider that no Christian person ought to go near any of these meetings, or *hear any of these lectures*, until a statement shall be made, grounded on a scientific assertion of the laws by which this thing is said to act." And so on *passim* to the end of the sermon.

Now this argument, perseveringly as it is repeated, may be disposed of very easily.

First, in regard to his demand, that "the laws of this science be stated" clearly and "in a scientific manner". To this there can be no objection. This is a just and legitimate challenge. Nay, we would say in his own words, "Science is open and above-board to all who will examine it — it courts examination; let us not listen to it, so long as they keep it secret, and hide the nature of it." True, most true. But who keeps it a secret? Who hides the nature of it? The believers in Mesmerism are earnestly solicitous that the most open, public, free, and full examination of the subject and its details should be

constantly taking place. They invite its enemies and impugnors to be present. They call upon the most prejudiced and the most partial to come with their prejudices and partialities, and witness *facts*. All they require, on the other hand, is an honest and candid conclusion out of an "honest and good heart". But are Mesmerists to be blamed for not stating the laws and principles of this system, when they do not know them themselves? Does Mr. M'Neile remember, that Mesmerism is yet but in its cradle? That, *practically*, it has been but little known except within a few short years? In saying this, we are of course aware, that those who have looked farthest into the question, maintain that for centuries back, the Egyptians, and, perhaps the Chinese, have been acquainted with it; and that, at intervals, it has been always more or less known. To me the great wonder is, that an art within the reach of everybody, should have remained so long a secret; however, the fact is, that publicly and philosophically the system has only been recently studied. At this very moment, numbers of cautious observant men are noting down facts as they arise, with a view to a safe and surer conclusion. On the great Baconian system of induction, they are recording the experiments, the variations, the modifications, as they present themselves; and when these shall be well established, they will come to the theory. Would Mr. M'Neile have the *theory first* declared, and *the facts* collected *afterwards* to prove it. This might be convenient, but hardly philosophical. Our opponent must be content to wait patiently a few years, {12} before his demand of having the general laws of the science scientifically stated, can be properly complied with. Mesmerism is yet in its infancy. We cannot yet state "*how* a pass of the thumb, or a movement of the fingers acts on human flesh" — we cannot yet state "*how* it stops the circulation of the blood so as to resist the strengthfulness of the human frame" — we cannot yet state "*how* it prevents the delicate touch being felt in the cutaneous veins". But because we cannot yet give a scientific statement of the matter, are we to forbear its use as a remedial agent, or to ascribe these unknown properties to the "devices of the Devil?" In the cognate or analogous science of mineral magnetism, the peculiar cause of union between magnetic pyrites and iron had been for years altogether inexplicable — and perhaps, with all our knowledge of electricity, is not even yet satisfactorily explained. But was the mariner to deny himself the use of the compass in the stormy and trackless ocean, or to attribute the influence of the loadstone to the contrivance of Satan, because the "*how*", and the "*why*", and the "*wherefore*" had not been philosophically accounted for? All he could say was, that the needle was guided by the finger of that Divine Being, whose ways were in the great deep, and whose footsteps are unknown. And all we can say is, that Mesmerism is the good "gift

of God" for the use of his creature man, though its immediate and secondary causes are at present inexplicable — the good gift of that merciful and Almighty Father, who is "always, everywhere, and all in all".

And, secondly, as to his expectation that the laws of this science should act "*uniformly*". ... It is a part (says he) of all nature's laws that they shall act uniformly. If it be in nature, it will operate uniformly, and not *capriciously*. If it acts *capriciously*, then there is some *mischievous agent* at work". Of course in this implied charge of capriciousness, or want of uniformity, he refers to a variation of the symptoms or phenomena exhibited respectively by different patients. And in consequence of this variation, which must be admitted, his hearers are taught that the "sin of witchcraft" has ensnared the operators, and that some mocking, juggling fiend has taken possession of the patient. Now in regard to nature's laws, we at once agree that they are fixed, consistent, and unalterable. The physical world abhors "capriciousness". "Comets are regular", and nature "plain". It is for this reason that sciences are called "exact". To take an instance or two at random, we know that in the process of crystallization, certain bodies invariably assume certain specific forms; and that in Electro-magnetism, the mutual attraction or repulsion of electrified substances is directly proportional to the quantity of electricity conjointly in each of them. All these facts fall under the category of general laws. And does Mr. M'Neile imagine that the laws which govern Mesmerism are not equally fixed, consistent, and uniform, though *phenomena vary* when the *accidents* [i.e., 'events'] *differ*? Does he imagine that a seeming "capriciousness" or eccentricity, is not in reality a sure unalterable result of some unknown or unexplainable cause. We would lay it down as an unequivocal position, admitting of no exception, that where the accidents are the same, where the relative circumstances of the operator and the patient are precisely similar, the effects or phenomena would be as certain and regular as in any of those sciences termed exact. But the difficulty is to find this precise undeviating resemblance — this absence of all difference, and hence the *apparent* want of uniformity. In so sensitive, delicate, varying a frame as the human body, so subject to "skyey influences"¹⁵ — so affected by diet, clothing,

¹⁵ *Skyey influences* = influences pertaining to emanating from, the sky. Allusion to Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, Act III, Scene 1:

Reason thus with life:

*If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing
That none but fools would keep: a breath thou art,
Servile to all the skyey influences,
That dost this habitation, where thou keep'st,
Hourly afflict...*

lodging, and climate — so changed by a thousand minor incidents, could the same uniformity of action be expected as in inert matter or mechanical substance? Is it probable, that a patient, wasted by years of depletion and violent medicines, and with whom blisterings, and cuppings, and leechings had gone their round, would exhibit the same symptoms as some robust and hearty sportsman, whose constitution had been tried by nothing of the same order? Would not a diet of port wine or porter produce a very different habit of body from that created by blue pill and Abernethy's biscuits?¹⁶ We are taking certain extreme and opposite conditions; but when we reflect that the circumstances of constitution, of custom, of food, of disease, admit of as many varieties as the human face divine; that these varieties form the habit of body; and that it is upon our bodies so modified, that Mesmerism acts, common sense must see that perfect uniformity of result is hardly probable. For instance, with one party, the Mesmeric sleep is obtained at the first sitting; with another, not for several days or weeks. One patient recognizes the hand of the operator, and cannot endure the touch even of a relative; with another, to be touched by either is a thing indifferent. One only hears the voice of the operator; another, without preference, answers any speaker. Nay, with the same patient the symptoms vary at various sittings. Still, in spite of all this, we say, that in main essential points, the resemblance or uniformity is very remarkable; that the properties, as thus developed, have an evident affinity; but if Mesmerisers are not able to lay down broad general rules, predictive of positive results, the fault is to be found in our imperfect acquaintance with a new study, in the difficulty of the science and the delicacy of the human frame, which is its subject. But is there any thing strange in this? Surely we might find something very analogous in our favourite illustration from natural philosophy. The nature of electricity, for instance, is not so perfectly known, that a law could be laid down by general reasoning, so as to foretell of a certainty the manner in which electrified bodies would act, *in any position*, in which they might be respectively placed. Do we therefore, say that there is no uniformity; or, as Mr. M'Neile might say, that there is no electricity, or rather, that the whole is determined by the accidental caprices of Satan? No; we answer that the distance of the *positive* and *negative* bodies being known, and no derangement arising from other or accidental causes, their uniformity of action is certain; but we add, that as philosophers could not determine a just theory of all this from the physical principles of electricity, it

¹⁶ The *blue pill* was a mercury-based medication, almost always administered in pill form, that acted as a purgative. *Abernethy's biscuits* were a hard, sweet, rich, digestive biscuit, containing caraway seeds, that improved health. Dr. John Abernethy (1764-1831), who believed that bad digestion was at the root of most diseases, recommended both the blue pills and these biscuits.

was necessary to proceed by observation and comparison of phenomena before the law of variation could be fully established. And so it is in {14} Animal-magnetism; it will be by observation, by induction of various and numerous particulars, as exhibited in individuals of various constitutions and habits, that any approach to a consistent theory of action can be established. All this will require much time, and many and tedious experiments; and my own opinion certainly is, that in the operation of this system on so sensitive a subject as the human frame, it will be almost impossible to lay down specific and positive rules of its effects, in all cases and under every modification of temperament.

And this, forsooth, is the foundation on which the weighty charge of Satanic agency is attempted to be built! These the reasons on which Christian men are warned against going near Mesmeric meetings, or hearing any Mesmeric lectures! I would not speak with harshness of any language or conduct that appeared to take its rise from motives of piety, however misdirected; but where so mischievous a delusion has taken root, both justice and humanity require us to say, that never in the history of the human mind has an idle and miserable bugbear been created from more weak and worthless materials.¹⁷ If there be anything *supernatural* in the matter, it is that a man of Mr. M'Neile's acknowledged abilities could have given utterance to such puerilities; and that when they were published, any parties could care to distribute them to their neighbours; and that when read, any single mind could have been influenced by the perusal. But, verily, it is something to have a reputation — it covers a multitude of follies; for, like *Sir Oracle*,¹⁸ you may then lay down the law to your deluded followers. I have felt sometimes ashamed at encountering this solemn trifling with earnest argument — but even since this letter has been commenced, I have met with two additional instances, in which a superstitious awe on the subject of Mesmerism, produced exclusively by this sermon, had seized the minds of the unhappy sufferers, and deterred them from employing a remedy peculiarly adapted to relieve them. It seems incredible — yet such were the facts; truth is stranger than fiction; and so I

¹⁷ *Bugbear* = an imaginary being that invokes terror; or, by extension, an object of dread.

¹⁸ *Sir Oracle*; an allusion to Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 1:

*There are a sort of men, whose visages
Do cream and mantle, like a standing pond,
And do a wilful stillness entertain,
With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit;
As who should say, 'I am Sir Oracle,
And when I ope my lips let no dog bark!'*

resumed my pen with an increased desire of doing some little good in abating the folly. I hoped to remind the admirers of our friend at Liverpool, that powerful as he is, his power rather lies in the command of language than in the strength of argument — that he carries more sail than ballast; and, certainly, that when he scattered around him such words as “witchcraft” and “necromancy”, and called down, as it were, a fire from heaven on the heads of benevolent lecturers, the minister of St. Jude's had altogether forgotten “what spirit he was of”.

What, then, is the state of mind with which “wise, prudent, and Christian men should meet the present state of the question?” I would not have them, from a disgust at the tendencies of this sermon, join the ranks of the infidel, and laugh to scorn the doctrine of Satanic agency, as the invention of men — holy Scripture teaches it; experimental religion confirms it; for we all unhappily know that the “Devil goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; but I would have them be cautious not to confound the ways of Providence with the works of the evil one; I would have them remember {15} “how little a part” of God's wonders are yet laid bare to his creatures; I would have them look into the subject with a devotional spirit, anxious for truth, not rashly condemning that of which they are ignorant, lest haply, in their presumption, “they be found to be fighting against God”. “Christian men” need not fear to be present at scientific lectures or physiological experiments, if they go in a Christian spirit. Hard words are no argument. Accusations of “morbid curiosity”, and “foolish novelties”, and “devilish devices”, carry no proofs of their truth to the *thinking* pious believer. If he goes, he goes with prayer — he goes with the Bible, if not in his hand, yet in his heart; he goes to study the book of God's works by the book of God's word; he goes with the full remembrance that “no science can save a soul”, no natural knowledge bring us nearer to God. But if, on the other hand, it be sickness or bodily pain that hath entered into the Christian's dwelling, and that his knowledge of the healing properties of Mesmerism should lead him to make experiment of its power, what are the feelings with which he would commence a trial of this unknown and unseen remedy? He would “walk by faith and not by sight”. He would regard it as only one out of many thousand gifts, bountifully bestowed upon us in this life by a merciful Creator; he would value it as a blessing sent to cheer and comfort him, when other and more customary means were failing to relieve him. He would turn to its use with prayer, with humble hope, with pious confidence; he would feel that the issue was yet with God, and the divine will would be his own. He would not, like the impious king recorded in Scripture, forget the Lord, and seek only physicians. No: the great Physician

of the cross, the healer of our leprosies, bodily and spiritual, would, after all, be his main and only refuge. To Him would he look at morning, at noontide, and at the evening hour. Yea, he would feel that it was good to be afflicted, if his afflictions and their earthly remedies made him better acquainted with his own heart, and brought him to a closer and more abiding communion with his Saviour and his God!

I trust, that in some slight degree, these are the serious and thankful feelings, with which I myself have been enabled to regard the subject. None but a few members of my family are aware of the sad and harrowing scenes, which for weeks we were called upon to witness — the sleepless nights, the racking pains, the wasted form, the tortures of the mind no less than of the body, and “all the sad variety of woe”; and how at last, when opiates and all the usual “appliances and means to boot”, had not only failed to ease, but even tended to aggravate; when he who was at once both the friend and the physician had run the round of art, and tried in vain all that skill and kindness could suggest; when the “silver cord was on the point of being loosed”, and our hope was as the giving up of the ghost — that *then* was suddenly realized that great Scripture truth, “that which is impossible with man, *is possible with God*”. Our prayers were heard, when it was least expected; Mesmerism was introduced among us, and from that hour we saw the finger of God leading us on to health and to hope; {16} we saw a gradual, steady, progressive improvement setting in, attended by circumstances of relief which no language can express. But it is not the object of this letter to dilate on the interesting phenomena which attended our proceedings; you know that they were remarkable enough to establish the truth of the science, if no other case had ever been brought forward. My wish is to dwell on the religious aspect of the question. And my prayers ought to be, that He who “bringeth low and lifteth up” may perfect the good work he has begun, and not only bestow upon us the blessing of health, but the blessing of an obedient and thankful heart.

As for you, my kind and valued friend, who, under God, was the instrumental means of restoring some measure of happiness to our circle, I cannot conclude without expressing all we owe to your steady Christian kindness, your patience, your perseverance, your “hope against hope”, and your cordial heartfelt sympathy: but I forbear — and I will only add, that it gives me the sincerest gratification and pride to subscribe myself,

Yours, most faithfully and truly,

G.S.

6. NEWS OF THE WEEK

The Lancet, Saturday, 8 July 1843.¹⁹

The mesmerists have recently been attacked in the pulpit, at Liverpool, by that noted declaimer the Rev. Hugh McNeile, who directly charges them with being the agents of Beelzebub, if they *do* produce any effects on patients, though he doubts that mesmerism is anything else than a fraud, not possessing the importance which necessarily belongs to dealings with Satan. If it *be* a science, he demands that its laws be demonstrated, until which he cautions all Christians to avoid the lectures of mesmerists...

7. SATANIC AGENCY AND MESMERISM & MESMERISM THE GIFT OF GOD [BOOK REVIEW]

Rev. John Mitford, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Saturday, August 1843.²⁰

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1. *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism, a Sermon*. By Rev. Hugh Mac Neile.
2. *Mesmerism the Gift of God. A Letter by a Beneficed Clergyman*.

The manner in which the power called "Mesmerism" is engaging public attention is well known, as well as the great proportion of talent and science engaged in the investigation of its nature and properties, and in the endeavour to connect its unknown powers with those with which we are already acquainted. These investigations have assumed a scientific character, and are pursued according to the most approved methods of philosophy; while the natural powers which the art itself is able to call forth and command, are applied most successfully to the treatment of disease, both as auxiliaries to the established plans of treatment, and as successful where they have failed. The art itself is still in its infancy, but is daily under patient and persevering investigation, unfolding more and more of its character and properties, exhibiting new and interesting phenomena, and offering the most flattering prospects of removing disease that has resisted all other methods of cure, and of alleviating the suffering and agony that are attendant on the operations of surgery. As we have said, the art is in its infancy;— yet it has already proved its claims, both on the belief and the gratitude of mankind. The

¹⁹ Anon (1843g).

²⁰ Mitford (1843). Rev. John Mitford (1782-1859), B.A. (Oxford, 1804), Rector of Benhall, Suffolk, a respected literary scholar and critic, and the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* and various collected works of English poets. He was the cousin of both historian William Mitford (1744-1827), and Speaker of the House of Commons, John Mitford (1748-1830).

stubborn and dreadful disease of epilepsy has been removed by it — nervous diseases of the brain and the heart, of the most dangerous kind, have been arrested in their fatal progress — amputations have been performed, even of entire limbs, without the patient being conscious of the operation, or in any degree affected by it — it has been applied beneficially in the treatment of insanity, and the tranquillization of the disordered mind — it is in the hands of men of singularly active minds, of habits of philosophical investigation, and extensive acquirements — its evidences are fairly and openly submitted to the most educated and enlightened part of the public — it is altogether separated from the lower and obscure provinces of quackery and deceit — it is the subject of the most rigorous investigation both in public and private, in conversation, in open debate, in pamphlets and reviews—it has been adopted, after examination, by a considerable portion of the medical world, and the circle of its teachers and believers is steadily extending both at home and abroad. Now, while the matter stands thus, there arises a preacher, a Mr. Mac Neile, {170} of Liverpool, in whose name is published a sermon,²¹ called "*Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*". This we have had the misfortune of reading. As far as we can recollect the reasoning runs in this manner.²²

1. There are fallen angels; these are permitted to be tempters to fallen man; they appear in the shape of wizards, enchanter, and act through witchcraft.²³ Such is the testimony of the Old Testament, and of the gospel; and, further, the devil still retains his ancient power and domination. Among the Arabs, for instance, he appears acting in the "Sin of Witchcraft"; he also appears in the Mystery of Iniquity, the Church of Rome; and he appears "with powers, and doing signs, and mingling lying wonders". We must *therefore* be prepared to be assailed by power working with men who dwell with familiar spirits. Mesmerism is a power—is it real or supernatural power, or fraud? The preacher must judge by hearsay on this point, not caring to be a present witness himself. Grant that it is *real*, then let the teachers of it give us the science in a scientific manner, opening to us the law, and stating the uniform action of the properties, *not confining themselves to experiments in a corner, upon servant girls hired for the purpose*. Let us have the law of the science, if it be a science; and if it be not a science then what is it? It is either a falsehood or a supernatural thing. The supernatural thing is the

²¹ Note, once again, "in whose name is published a sermon...".

²² Given he spoke of "the misfortune of reading [M'Neile's sermon]", the simple passage "*as far as we can recollect*" tells the reader that, under no circumstances could he ever be coerced into reading the "absurdities" and "flimsy reasoning" of "this piece of foolery" again.

²³ Although this sentence, commencing with "1.", appears to be the first in a list, no further digits marking the further steps in the argument appear anywhere in the entire review.

power over the flesh of man's body; but who do we read of as having taken possession of man's flesh?— the devil. Therefore, says the preacher, I suspect this pretended science is of the devil, and this suspicion is strengthened and supported by Lord Shrewsbury's cases, because they belong "to the Mystery of Iniquity", and also because the *philosophic* advocates and teachers of the pseudo-science are covetous men, like Balaam, and seldom go to church. Therefore to lay hold of them is an exploit worth of the devil. Lastly, the members of the medical profession are the last persons fit to judge of the truth of this work, if it is supernatural, *because* the devil cannot be found by the knife that divides the joints, or by the medicine which divides the pores. Therefore the preacher advises all medical men "*to ask God Almighty to show them the spiritual world*". To conclude, he says, let no Christians go to such exhibitions, for they may be of the devil in more ways than one. Nature acts *uniformly*, the devil *capriciously*; and if this art works *capriciously*, then there is some mischievous agent at work; besides, "no science can save a soul". Clasp your bible, and go not after idle vanities. Now to, &c.

Such is the discourse of the Rev. Mr. Hugh Mac Neile, of Liverpool. Fortunately this piece of foolery fell into the hands of a person styling himself a beneficed clergyman, and who we believe is the Rev. G. Sandby, of Suffolk; and who answered it in the article, the name of which we have prefixed to these observations. It was lamentably necessary that some notice should be taken of this absurd discourse, for not only had thousands of copies been bought by weak and fanatic persons, but persons had been absolutely deterred from adopting or witnessing the curative effects of Mesmerism, through scruples of conscience raised by this contemptible piece of sacred declamation. Mr. Sandby's pamphlet is written throughout in that calm and temperate manner that became a person investigating a subject of philosophy. The facts adduced are judiciously selected — the reasonings are logically stated — the present state of the mesmeric science is fairly represented, and Mr. Mac Neile's absurdities are exposed and his flimsy reasoning irresistibly confuted.

At p.11 Mr. Sandby has answered his demand, "that the *laws* of this science be stated clearly and in a scientific manner"; which, in other words, signifies: "While you are employed in making such experiments as may hereafter enable you to comprehend and unfold the laws to which they are subject, you must explain these laws to me before I believe in your experiments"; he has considered Mr. Mac Neile's sensible demand, "that the laws of this science should act *uniformly*", that is, that a power should act with steadiness and uniformity on a substance (that is "the animal economy" of various

patients) which is *never uniform*.²⁴ He might as well require that a dose of rhubarb, senna, or other purgative stuff, should {171} act uniformly on his own bowels, or on those of the virtuous and venerable spinsters who form his congregation. Would not those respected practisers of domestic medicine inform him, of the *capriciousness* of castor-oil, of the uncertain issue of the pilula composita,²⁵ and of the disappointment they endured, hour after hour, while eagerly waiting the expected operation of the colocynthine aperients; but Mr. Sandby's remarks on this head, which commence at p.12, are so just, so full, and so decisive, that they require no assistance from any other hand.

"The nature of *electricity* (he says) is not so perfectly known that a law could be laid down, by general reasoning, so as to foretell of a certainty the manner in which electrified bodies would act in *any position* in which they might be respectively placed. Do we therefore say that there is no uniformity? or, as Mr. Mac Neile might say, that there is no electricity, or, rather, that the whole is determined by the accidental caprices of Satan? No! we answer that the distance of the *positive* and *negative* bodies being known, and no disagreement arising from other or accidental causes, their uniformity of action is certain; but we add, that, as philosophers could not determine a just theory of all this from the physical principles of electricity, it was necessary to proceed by observation, and comparison of phenomena, *before* the law of variation could be established; and so it is in animal magnetism, it will be by observation, by induction of various and numerous particulars, as exhibited in individuals of various constitutions and habits, that any approach to a consistent theory of action can be established. All this will require much time and many and tedious experiments, &c."

Mr. Sandby lastly brings forward a positive case of cure in his own family by Mesmerism, after all the ordinary appliances of medicine had failed, and hope itself was all but gone; and in this case, instead of seeing any marks of "diabolical capriciousness", it acted "by a gradual, steady, and progressive improvement, attended by circumstances of relief which no language can express".

To this we should add that Mr. Mac Neile's argument of capriciousness appears to us to be altogether wrong. When medicines are applied to the removal of disease they sel-

²⁴ The original, "...a power should act with steadiness and uniformity on a substance (that is "the animal economy of various patients) which is *never uniform*."..." makes no sense at all.

Given that neither Sandby nor M'Neile ever spoke of "*the animal economy*" it is certain that Mitford was using Braid-like language (and, therefore, logically, would draw attention to that usage by using inverted commas). Consequently, I have moved the last " "" so that it now stands within the brackets — and I now believe that the passage makes perfect sense.

²⁵ *Pilulae Colocynthis Compositae* (or *Compound Pill of Colocynth*), a very strong, commonly prescribed laxative, made from *Citrullus Colocynthis* ('bitter apple', or "bitter cucumber").

dom act with uniformity, nay, they require constantly to be modified, mixed, or changed; but all this time the disease may be steadily diminishing, and symptoms of health more and more appearing. The *end* may be obtained, though by a perpetual change and variety in the *means*; so the cures performed by Mesmerism may be certain, though the effects of mesmeric application may vary in power from day to day, according to the bodily constitution of the patient, or of the operator — according to the state of the mental faculties at the time, and of the nervous system — according to the dry or moist nature of the weather, and so on; but, if the purpose or end in view is generally obtained, then the uncertainty of the means (miscalled *capriciousness*) is not to be regarded, being a defect which necessarily belongs to the application of all art that, like medicine, is founded on experiment and observation.

We now consider Mr. Mac Neile's claim to the attention of the public to be altogether destroyed. He may go on in his own chapel alarming his congregation, whenever a mesmeric physician arrives in Liverpool, by crying out from the pulpit,

‘By the pricking of my thumbs

Something wicked this way comes;’²⁶

but the sensible portion of mankind will look for something better than vituperation, declamation, illogical reasoning, and interpretations of scripture misunderstood and misapplied.

8. REV. HUGH M’NEILE

William Lang, *Mesmerism; Its History, Phenomena, and Practice* (1843).²⁷

“I have seen nothing of it, nor do I think it right to tempt God by going to see it!” exclaims the Rev. Hugh M’Neile, in his pulpit denunciation of Mesmerism. The minister of St. Jude's Church, Liverpool, does not call in question the reality of the Mesmeric phenomena, but ascribing their origin to Satanic agency, he will not tempt God by becoming an eye-witness!

The pulpit, we know, was brought to the aid of the medical faculty when small-pox inoculation was sought to be preached down, and when Jenner, at a later period promulgated his discovery, certain enlightened members of the clerical body declared vaccination to be Anti-Christ.

A similar combination of medical and clerical bigotry is now, it would seem, to be

²⁶ Directly quoting the “Second Witch” in Act 4, Scene 1 of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

²⁷ Lang, (1843), pp.233-234.

directed against Mesmerism, and it is, if possible, to be annihilated by the sneers of one of the so-called learned professions, and the fulminations from the pulpit of another. "There are few things", says [Samuel] Bailey, "more disgusting to an enlightened mind, than to see a number of men — a mob — whether learned or illiterate, who have never scrutinized the foundation of their opinions, assailing with contumely an individual who, after the labour of research and reflection, has adopted different sentiments from theirs, and pluming themselves on the notion of superior 'knowledge', because their understandings have been tenacious of prejudice." And [Jean-Baptiste Ambroise Marcellin] Jobard, a French writer, remarks,— "Galileo, Newton, Salomon de Caus, Volta, [Robert] Fulton, [Friedrich Albrecht Winzer (or Winsor)], [Richard] Arkwright, Gall, and all who have presented themselves with a truth in their hand at the door of this great bedlam, called the world, have been received with stones or hisses."

Satanic agency is the bugbear raised by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile against Mesmerism; but his medical allies have other means of solving the difficulty. Their pride of learning has been piqued because they are unable to explain certain facts of which they have heard, and so they boldly rush to the conclusion that the facts are not facts...

9. M'NEILE'S SERMON ON MESMERISM

[Letter to the Editor]

George Macilwain, *The British Magazine, etc.*, Friday, 1 December 1843.²⁸

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Sir, — My attention has been recently directed to a sermon said to be a production of the Rev. H. McNeile, and published in the periodical called the "Pulpit", on the so-called Mesmerism. As I cannot but think that some remarks on the profession to which I have the honour to belong are founded on imperfect views of the positions and relations of clergy and physicians, I take the liberty of stating to you my objections to them. In the discourse in question, in laying down what he considers to be the "proper place" of our profession, its characteristics, the tendencies of its studies, &c., he says that our "whole professional duties are connected with matter"; that "their habit is to look on death as the end of a man", &c.; "when a man is dead there is an end of him as far as their profession goes", &c., &c.; and that you would suggest to the profession "*as it is called*" that "there are more things in heaven and earth, than are dreamt of in their philosophy". I should have been sorry to see Mr. McNeile adopt this *tone*, even had his

²⁸ Macilwain, (1843).

observations been just; but as I earnestly desire to impress him with more elevated and, as I believe, more just, views of our profession, I shall respectfully endeavour to sketch out at least some of its duties, and the bearings of these on *mind* as well as matter, and then add a few remarks, in the hope of shewing that it is neither safe, sensible, nor just, to deduce its business, its "proper place", or its duties, from its practices or habits. The duties of a medical man require, first, an industrious and inductive inquiry into the laws by which animal bodies in general, and man in particular, are governed — with a view to ascertain what are the processes of nature in the reparation of injury, and in the prevention, the cure, or the conduct of dis- {662} ease ; and also to discover the various modes by which, as in the removal of impediments or otherwise, he can assist her operations. In the course of his investigations he is obliged to seek instruction from almost every department of knowledge; since, without helps deduced from these sources, he cannot really understand the little which he may have discovered in that microcosm — his own body. But he makes very little progress in the study of the *physical* laws of his being before he perceives that there is nothing more beautiful, nothing more striking than their *moral* relations; and he finds, and that too by steps so rapid, that his *perceptive* will hardly wait while his *reasoning* faculty traces and tests their order and their truth; that infringements of the physical laws necessarily involve infractions of the moral laws also; and that, conversely, infractions of the moral law are equally certain of disturbing the physical relations; and, in short, that in a temporal no less than in an eternal sense, sin, disease, and death, are ever in fearful juxtaposition; that there are indissoluble relations between temperance, soberness, chastity, well-regulated feelings, benevolent impulses, &c., and health; and relations as indissoluble between intemperance of body, angry, irritable, anxious, and ambitious states of mind, (vice in fact,) and disease; and again, that if he wishes *permanently* to relieve disease, he must not content himself by exciting the offending organs by medical means, ordinarily so called, but by the addition of such directions as (though not so stated) practically conduct the patient, with kindness and gentleness, to the observance of those laws, whether moral or physical, which he has violated.

In the further progress of his investigations the medical philosopher finds that so great is the power which physical disturbances have in affecting the mental functions, that from recognising in these at first only fugitive results of [bodily disorder], he finds, through a series of affections of rapidly increasing intensity, that madness itself is often a result of physical disturbance. I recollect, indeed, when this view was hardly acceptable, but it is now trite and familiar; and I think it may be predicted, without much risk

of error, that when the *remote* influences of physical disorder shall have been duly considered, particularly as *exalting* the disordering effect of moral causes every year will add largely to the catalogue of those cases of insanity to which I am referring.

Mr. McNeile should remember how much a study of human nature is necessary to enable us to soothe those ills which may not admit of cure; to leave the countenance we find depressed by melancholy and despair, mantling with hope and cheerfulness; to recall the reckless and impatient to a sense of his duty and his danger, and numerous other duties (all really influential agents) which those of his own profession will sufficiently suggest to him. I say, then, that our duty is by a more enlarged course of study than that required from any other body of men, to see how we can render the laws under which the Almighty has placed us most available in our endeavours to make the blind to see, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear; and when we do this by leading them back to the observance of those laws which they have neglected, we appear, I think, to speak at least a portion of the gospel to them.

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I know he might rejoin, and, perhaps, with too much justice — this is all very well, but I do not see you set to work after this manner. You appear, on the contrary, to do little more than administer certain agents to correct disease, on principles which very often you cannot or will not explain, and which frequently leave both you and me equally blind to the causes of your success or failure. I admit, Sir, that there is too much truth in this, and in many similar things which might be urged; but I object to the proper functions of any profession being inferred from its habits or its practices.

But nothing can shew the fallacy of persons unacquainted with the real duties of a profession, inferring them directly from habits or practice, more than extending the principle — e.g., I assume and I suppose safely that the duties and proper place of lawyers imply, 'inter alia', the administration of justice, carefully deduced from the facts and from certain principles, divine and immutable; but shall I find this the habit in the courts of Westminster? Shall I seek it in the ingenious sophisms which too often make the worse *appear* the better reason, in the unequal contest of an educated counsel and a common jury? Shall I discover it in the attempt to make the feelings usurp the functions of their intellects, in the brow-beating, uncourteous cross-examinations — in the fact that the highest reputations may be built on the conduct of the worst causes — in the verdicts occasionally given in direct opposition to the evidence which juries are sworn to observe — in the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and the subserviency of talent and eloquence to these purposes? Surely not. Again; if we take a still

more extended view, and try how far we may infer the duties and "proper place" of man from his practice, or the tendencies of his habits, we see how glaring is the absurdity of attempting anything of the kind without a real study as to what those duties are. Actually, there can be no doubt that he is [a creature], endowed with peculiar attributes, gifted with high destinies, with powers more extensive than any other, and favoured (both here and hereafter) with peculiar provisions. Endowed with an extraordinary creative mind, to which (if man will only use it) his Creator speaks not only in his works, but by a special revelation. His duties, Sir, it is not my province to sketch; but let me ask, shall we find them in his habits? or shall we infer his proper place and function from his practice? Do we not see him exercising his free agency in abuse of the power it confers, in the daily infraction of the laws which his Creator has established, in puny endeavours, yet not apparently always unsuccessful, to diminish the sum of happiness for which there seems to have been such liberal provision? Do we not see him returning that love and care so bountifully showered on him by distributing *his* only when he fancies his temporal interests secured by it; and too often elsewhere nothing but envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness? Much of this is his daily habit, although neither "his proper place" nor "his duty". So it is with our profession. We have many habits and practices which afford very imperfect types of our real duties or position; yet with great disadvantages, with bad examples in high places, with no *summi honores* to urge us on,²⁹ like those of the bar or the {664} church, with avocations that establish unusually severe requisitions as to time, labour, and health, for the failure of which last we are peculiarly destitute of provision; with all this, there are no men, as a body, less mercenary, no class more useful, nor any in which there are fewer examples of impropriety. Those attempts which I have made at improvement, humble though they be, shew how little I am disposed to blink at our faults; yet I would offer a word or two on a charge which Mr. McNeile somewhat tauntingly insinuates as to our alleged absence from public worship. I will not deny the possibility of every medical man attending church once every Sunday, but I assert that to do this with regularity would often involve sacrifices which no other man is called on to make, and sometimes even the neglect of a paramount duty; and I doubt whether, had he a relative requiring prompt medical assistance, he would think that apology satisfactory, which rested a delay of two hours on the necessity of first attending public worship.³⁰

²⁹ *Summi honores medicinæ* = 'the highest honours in the medical profession'; in this context it means 'those who have attained the highest honours in the medical profession'.

³⁰ From M'Neile's perspective, this was far from being just a rhetorical question. M'Neile's

Believe me, Sir, this imputation is in a degree unjust, as not making allowance for the peculiarities of our avocations, and connected with that error which imputes scepticism so commonly to our profession. Very little examination would, I have no doubt, shew that there have been fewer works of a sceptical tendency from medical authors than from any other class of men. There may have been one in the last half century in this country, put forth by a vain young man, placed by a corrupt system in a position for which he was unfitted, and whose opinions seemed to have been held so lightly that he does not appear to have had courage to maintain them on the slightest aspect of their interfering with his worldly prospects.³¹ It is hardly necessary to protest against the conduct of such a man being allowed to give the smallest colour to our noble profession.

No, Sir; we have plenty of faults, it is true, and nothing should I like to hear better than his powerful eloquence employed in denouncing them; I must confess, too, that the mode and means by which the subject of his sermon has been investigated by the majority is not calculated to elevate any sensible man's ideas of the philosophy of our profession. Do not, however, infer, I pray you, our "proper place" or duties from habits or practices, because, if you do, instead of elevating our views or improving our tone, you tend to perpetuate all in which we are deficient, and this exactly in proportion to your talents and your power, which, believe me, Reverend Sir, few more highly appreciate than your obedient servant,

Geo. Macilwain.

9, Argyle-place [Regent Street, London]

eldest son, Hugh (1827-1842), had been killed, when a loaded pistol he was holding discharged into his abdomen and groin. The attending surgeon, unable to remove the bullet, had dressed the wound. Two days later, the wound became infected, and he died, seven days after the accident, on 12 January 1842 (Anon, 1842h; Rivington and Rivington, 1843).

³¹ It is not at all certain whether this is a specific, oblique reference to the affairs of a particular individual that the writer assumed would be immediately recognized by the reader, or is nothing more than a rhetorical device.

10. M'NEILE'S SERMON

Footnote at pp.50-51 of Irys Herfner, "Mesmerism", *The Dublin University Magazine: A Literary and Political Journal*, January 1844.³²

{50}

No doubt, the effect of M. Lafontaine's demonstrations has been powerfully seconded by that of a remarkable sermon, preached on the occasion of that gentleman's appearance at Liverpool, by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, a popular minister of that town, and extensively circulated through the medium of what, with an equivocal sort of felicity, is designated the "*Penny Pulpit*". The very title of this sermon, *Satanic Agency and Mesmerism*, is calculated to invest the subject, for a numerous class of minds, with a certain thrilling interest, or horrible fascination, sure to lead them to plunge into it; while the sermon itself, should any one actually read it, cannot fail to allay any fears, which may have presented themselves to persons of a timid or scrupulous turn, of there being something more than is quite "*canny*" at work in those mystic passes, in that spectral stare, which are followed by effects so bewildering, and like "the stuff that dreams are made of". He that {51} could continue to suspect either Mesmerists or their opponents of any thing verging on conjuration, after reading the sermon of the minister of St. Jude's, were, one should fear, reason-proof. It is difficult to think that the Jesuit Robert [sic] himself,³³ did he live in our nineteenth century, and — feeling curious about our smaller theological currency — take in the Penny Pulpit, could have read "Nos. 599-600" of that publication, without feeling somewhat ashamed of his doctrine—without confessing that he had not believed it possible to present it under an aspect of such ludicrous intenableity, and that Van Helmont might, very safely, have left it to be dealt with by Mr. M'Neile.

³² Ferris, (1844a); "Irys Herfner" (an anagram of Henry Ferris) is the *nom de guerre* of Irish divine and mystic Henry Ferris.[†] The footnote is to text (on p.51) which claims that the *conversazioni* conducted by Lafontaine in 1841/1842, generated a unique amount of "inquiry" within the British Isles, and "engaged... public curiosity ... in a degree which as attended no former preacher of the Mesmeric doctrine among us".

³³ Jean Roberti (1569-1651), a Jesuit from Douai, Belgium, and opponent of van Helmont. Roberti maintained that particular sorts of cure, especially those attributed to lodestones and, thus, terrestrial magnetism, could only be the product of satanic forces.

11. MESMERISM

Review of Townshend's *Facts in Mesmerism, with Reasons for a Dispassionate Enquiry into it (Second Edition)*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1845.³⁴

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...While doctors, however, seek to explain, by various profound theories, the efficient causes of asserted mesmeric cures, a member of the Church of England, and popular preacher at Liverpool, the Rev. Hugh M. Neill [sic], M.A., has cut the Gordian knot, by a sermon preached at St Jude's Church, on April 10th, 1842, and published in Nos. 599 and 600 of the *Penny Pulpit*, price twopence. By this sermon it appears to have occurred to the philosophic mind of the reverend divine, that mesmeric marvels may be accounted for as accomplished by the direct agency of Satan! Doubtless Satan is as actively at work in this the nineteenth century, as in any anterior period of our history; but we are inclined to think the progress of civilization has opened a sufficient number of channels for his ingenuity, without rendering it necessary that he should alarm the devout by miraculously interfering to assuage human suffering...

12. ANIMAL MAGNETISM OR MESMERISM

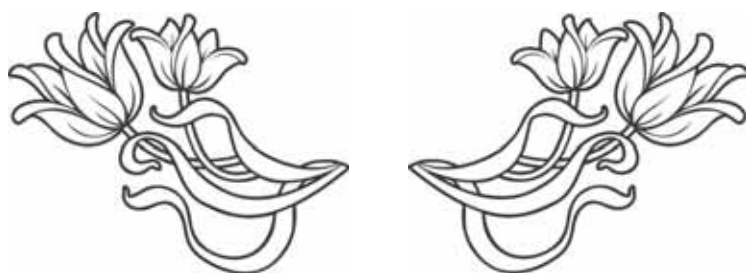
Review of Gregory's *Letters on Animal Magnetism*, *Mechanics' Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal, and Gazette*, 10 May 1851.³⁵

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...Animal magnetism or mesmerism is, in the strictest sense of the term, an *Inductive* and *Experimental* science. There is perhaps no branch of physical science in which fewer *theories* have been hazarded, or more cautious experiments made. Mesmer himself promulgated a theory — but very few of his followers, or of modern mesmerists have troubled themselves much about this, or any other *theory*. And, what is curious enough, it is this very absence of theorising which brings down upon them a large portion of the abuse which the doctors aforesaid have lavished on them. "We cannot understand the *modus operandi*", say they: "We want some rational and philosophical explanation of all these strange things, before we can consent to believe them." And in this precious outcry they are joined by the Reverend Hugh M'Neile, of Liverpool, who actually preached and published a sermon, in which, admitting the facts of mesmerism, he attributes them decidedly to "Satanic agency", simply because he, good Paddy that he is, cannot tell *what other* agency to ascribe them to...

³⁴ Anon, (1845b).

³⁵ Anon (1851a).



Appendix Twelve: Braid's "Sources of Fallacy"

Nearly a year after the publication of *Neurypnosis*, the secretary of the *Royal Manchester Institution* invited James Braid to conduct a *conversazione* in the *Institution's* lecture theatre, which he did on Monday 22 April 1844.

He spoke at considerable length to a very large audience on *hypnotism*; and, also, on the important differences he had identified between his hypnotism and mesmerism/animal magnetism. According to the extensive reports in both *The Manchester Times* and *The Medical Times* "the interest felt by the members of the institution in the subject was manifested by the attendance of one of the largest audiences we ever recollect to have seen present".¹

In his presentation Braid stressed that, because he had clearly demonstrated that the effects of *hypnotism* were "quite reconcilable with well-established physiological and psychological principles" (viz., they were well connected to the prevailing canonical knowledge), it was highly significant that *none* of the extraordinary effects that the mesmerists and animal magnetists routinely claimed for their operations — such as clairvoyance, direct mental suggestion, and mesmeric intuition — could be produced with hypnotism; and, so, he argued, it was clear that their claims were *entirely without foundation*.

However, he also stressed to his audience that, whilst it was, indeed, entirely true that these effects could not be produced with *hypnotism*, and whilst the claims of the mesmerists and animal magnetists were, *ipso facto*, entirely false, one must not make the mistake of concluding that this was unequivocal evidence of deception, dishonesty, or outright fraud on the part of those making these erroneous claims.

In Braid's view (given that many of the proponents of such views were decent men, and that their experiences had been honestly recounted), the only possible explanation was that their observations were seriously flawed.

¹ *The Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner* (Anon, 1844b); *The Manchester Guardian* (Anon, 1844d); and *The Medical Times* (Anon, 1844f).

To Braid, these faults in their investigatory processes were "*the chief source of error*"; and, he urged the audience, before any of the claims of the mesmerists and animal magnetists could be examined in any way, or any of their findings investigated, or any confidence be placed in any of the recorded results of any of their experiments, the entire process of the research they had conducted, the investigative procedures they had employed, and the experimental design that underpinned their enterprise must be closely examined for the presence of what Braid termed "*sources of fallacy*".

In the process of delivering his lecture, Braid spoke in some detail of six "*sources of fallacy*" that could contaminate findings; and, in 1903, Bramwell published a list of eight "*sources of fallacy*" attributed to Braid — the final two having been directly paraphrased, by Bramwell, from other aspects of Braid's later works, as follows:

John Milne Bramwell, *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory* (1903), p.144.

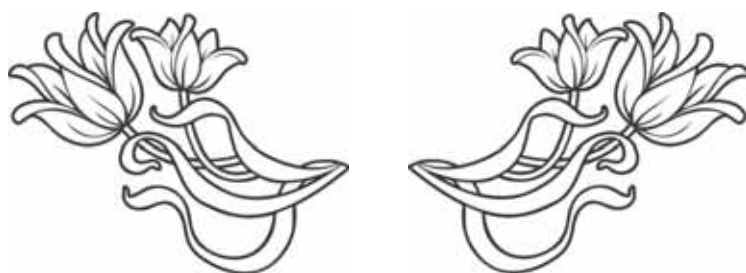
{144}

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE MANAGEMENT OF HYPNOTIC EXPERIMENTS.

Braid successfully demonstrated that many of the alleged phenomena of mesmerism owed their origin to defective methods of observation. He drew out a list of the more important sources of error which, he said, ought always to be kept in mind by the operator. These, which I now give, should be placed in a prominent position in every hypnotic laboratory:—

- (1) The hyperæsthesia [extreme sensitivity] of the organs of special sense, which enabled impressions to be perceived through the ordinary media that would have passed unrecognised in the waking condition.
 - (2) The docility and sympathy of the subjects, which tended to make them imitate the actions of others.
 - (3) The extraordinary revival of memory by which they could recall things long forgotten in the waking state.
 - (4) The remarkable effect of contact in arousing memory, i.e. by acting as the signal for the production of a fresh hypnosis.
 - (5) The condition of double consciousness or double personality.
 - (6) The vivid state of the imagination in hypnosis, which instantly invested every suggested idea, or remembrance of past impressions, with the attributes of present realities.
 - (7) Deductions rapidly drawn by the subject from unintentional suggestions given by the operator.
 - (8) The tendency of the human mind, in those with a great love of the marvellous, erroneously to interpret the subject's replies in accordance with their own desires.
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Appendix Thirteen: Effect of Garlic on the Magnetic Needle

The following letter is a fine example of the thoroughness and structured thinking that Braid displayed as an experimenter.

To the Editor of the "Medical Times".

Sir,—It has lately been published in some journal, and thence in the newspapers, that the application of the juice of the onion would destroy the polarity of the magnetic needle. This announcement immediately recalled to my mind a similar opinion, published two hundred years ago by Van Helmont, in respect to garlic. He accounted for the effects on the notion of *garlic* being the *natural opiate of the lodestone*, and the virtues imparted by it to the steel of the magnetic needle. As I never like to take anything of a doubtful nature for granted, which can be so readily and certainly determined by actual experiment, I determined to ascertain whether or not this was a fact, that such extraordinary effects could be produced by the juice of an onion.

With this view I magnetised four sewing needles, and by floating them on pieces of cork, proved them to be well adapted for the experiments. I now passed two of them several times through garlic, and the other two through an onion, and tested them as before, but could discover no perceptible difference in the polarity of either of them. I now covered two of them with the juice of garlic, and the other two with the juice of onion, and having allowed them time to dry, so as to form a varnish over them, they were alternately tested as before, but I could discover no perceptible difference in either of them. They were now enveloped in pieces of paper soaked with the respective juices, and tested, but still the verticity ["tendency to turn towards a pole"] remained the same. I now passed one needle into the garlic, and allowed it to remain buried in it *all night*, and another similarly treated with an onion. Next morning both were tested, but they still manifested the same magnetic susceptibility.

In all these experiments, care was taken to put the needles on the cork placed in the *centre* of a large glass only *half* full of water, thus guarding against the effects of a current of air, or the greater proximity to the edge of the vessel in any direction interfering with the accuracy of the results.

Without detailing other experiments, I presume that those already described will be deemed sufficient to prove that the juice of onion or garlic exercises no such influence on the magnetic needle, as was alleged in the proposition set forth by the parties referred to at the beginning of this letter.

I remain, Sir,

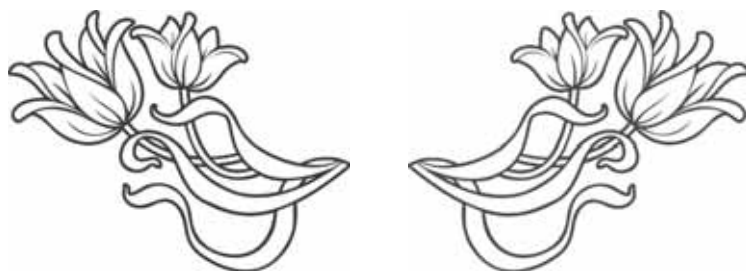
Your most obedient Servt.

James Braid, M.R.C.S. Edinburgh.

3 St. Peter's-square, Manchester, 30th April, 1844.

The Medical Times, 4 May 1844.¹

¹ Braid, (1844a).



Appendix Fourteen: Details of Participants

The following, in lexicographical order of family name, displays biographical explanations of various depths for those individuals whose names are marked with the symbol “‡” (e.g., Noble‡) at their first appearance in the dissertation. In some cases, information was gathered from Medical Directories/Registers of varying dates, and from subscription-only genealogical sites. Obviously, in some cases, certain of the details given refer to aspects of the individual’s life subsequent to the events mentioned in the dissertation.

Abercrombie, J.: John Abercrombie (1780–1844), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1803), M.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1824), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1825), M.D. (Oxford, 1835), of Edinburgh was “an extremely distinguished consulting physician” and philosopher, and “one of the last clinicians to maintain a large number of apprentices who gained their medical education under his supervision” (Kaufman, 2003, p.249). An unsuccessful candidate for the chair in the practice of medicine at Edinburgh University, he was appointed physician to the King in Scotland in 1828. He wrote the highly popular *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth* (1830), and *The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings* (1833), each went into many editions. He also wrote the important medical texts, *Pathological and Practical Researches on Diseases of the Brain and Spinal Cord* (1828), the first text on neuropathology, *Pathological and Practical Researches on Diseases of the Brain and Spinal Cord* (1829), and *Pathological and Practical Researches on the Diseases of the Intestinal Canal, Liver and other Viscera of the Abdomen* (1828). [Baxter, 1992; Kaufman, 2003.]

Adams, G.G.: George Gammon Adams (1821-1898), eminent sculptor. Studied at the Royal Academy, and in Rome. As well as studying sculpture, he also learned how to model and cut dies for medals and coin. Adams designed a number of public statues, including that of Hugh M’Neile installed in Liverpool, on 5 December 1872. He also designed many medals, including prize medals for the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Duke of Wellington’s funeral medals. [Cavanagh, 1997; Lomas, 2001.]

Adams, P.: In a well-documented case, 18-year-old malingerer, Phineas Adams, confined in gaol for desertion from his regiment (the Somerset militia), and eventually discharged on medical grounds. It was thought his condition might have been the consequence of a fall down a flight of stone stairs on 24 April. From 26 April 1811 to 8 July

1811, whilst incarcerated, he was apparently insensible to all stimuli — pins under fingernails, snuff up nostrils, electric shocks, powerful medicines, etc.) — except for the scraping of his exposed skull. His limbs were totally lifeless; if raised, they fell immediately support was removed. His case was thought hopeless, and he was eventually discharged, and returned to his family. Almost immediately he was at home, he recovered totally; and, within two days he was seen was actively helping his father thatch a rick, two miles from his home. Then, upon hearing that a press gang was in the area looking for him he absconded, and was never heard of again. [Anon, 1813a; Beck, 1825, p.15.]

Aikenhead, J.: John Aikenhead (?-1861), M.D. (Glasgow, 1839), M.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1839). "Aikenhead was physician to the Manchester Penitentiary, consultant surgeon to Chorlton on Medlock Dispensary, and was also a lecturer in forensic medicine at the Chatham Street Medical School, Manchester. Aikenhead was also secretary to the Manchester Medico-Ethical Association. He died on 22 September 1861." [ELGAR.]

Alison, W.P.: William Pulteney Alison (1790-1859), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1811), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1813), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1852), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1817), F.S.A. (Scotland, 1829), physician, academic, philanthropist, and social reformer. He was the nephew of James Gregory (q.v.), and began his studies at Edinburgh pursuing an Arts degree, with the intention of becoming a philosopher, before transferring to medicine. He held a number of important academic positions within the Faculty of Medicine, at Edinburgh University, over a period of 36 years (he resigned because of epilepsy). He served as president of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh (1833), president of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (1836 until 1838), a vice-president of the British Medical Association (1858), and vice-president of the Royal Society of Edinburgh from 1848 to 1859. He was greatly concerned with the connexion between poverty and disease. [Jacyna, 2004.]

Anderson, J.H.: John Henry Anderson (1814-1874). Born in Scotland he was, first of all an actor. Inspired by a conjuror's performance, he turned to magic. An exceptionally talented Scottish stage magician, he performed in the Manchester area c.1841. Originally billed as "The Great Caledonian Conjuror", he was later (c.1840) known "The Wizard of the North". He claimed that the honorific *Wizard of the North* had been bestowed upon him by Sir Walter Scott ("Wizard of the North" was the nickname widely used to designate the (then anonymous) author of the Waverley novels since 1815; and Scott did not publicly identify himself as such until 1827.) In 1846 he gave a private performance to Queen Victoria and her family, on the occasion of Prince

Albert's birthday. He also toured throughout Australia and the United States. He made a number of substantial contributions to hospitals in Scotland, and in the U.K. He was, in later life, a debunker of fraud in Spiritualism. [Anon, 1874a.]

Azam, E.E.: Étienne Eugène Azam (1822-1899), the son of a doctor, he was an archaeologist, surgeon, professor of Clinical Medicine in the School of Medicine at Bordeaux University, and founding secretary of the French Association for the Advancement of Science (*L'Association française pour l'avancement des sciences* or AFAS) in 1872. Having read of Braid's work, he was the driving force behind the series of experiments conducted by himself, Broca (q.v.), Denonvilliers (q.v.), Follin (q.v.), and Velpeau (q.v.) using Braid's hypnotism for pain-free surgery in 1859. It was to Azam that Braid wrote (in 1860) congratulating the group on their work. He is famous for his examination of various aspects of hypnotism, and his investigation of a case of "double consciousness" in "Felida X", who manifested two very different alternating personalities, the first sad and serious, the second generous and happy. In the first state, she had no awareness or memory of being in the second state, into which she would spontaneously enter; thus he termed the condition *amnésie périodique*, or *doublement de la vie*. Stiles believes the publication of aspects of this case, in English, in 1876, was the inspiration for Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). It was Azam who was responsible for bringing hypnotism to the attention of Liébeault (q.v.). [Azam, 1876; Schiller, 1992; Stiles, 2006.]

Babington, C.C.: Charles Cardale Babington (1808-1895), B.A. (Cambridge, 1830), M.A. (Cambridge, 1833), F.G.S. (1835), F.R.S. (1851), F.L.S. (1853), botanist and archaeologist, was Professor of Botany at St. John's College, president of the *Cambridge Etymological Society*, a founder of the *Royal Entomological Society*, co-founder of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (in 1840), and president of the botany and zoology section of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* in 1853, 1858, and 1861. [Allen, 2004.]

Baily, F.: Francis Baily (1774-1844), F.R.S. (1821), F.L.S., mathematician, stockbroker, natural scientist, astronomer, co-founder of the Royal Astronomical Society, who helped to establish the Royal Geographical Society in 1830. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, Linnean Society, Geological Society, and Society of Civil Engineers, and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy. He published a number of important works on actuarial matters, and was famous for his observations of solar eclipses, and his pendulum experiments. [Ashworth, 2004.]

Bardsley, J.L.: Sir James Lomax Bardsley (1801-1876), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1823), F.R.C.P. (London, 1859), J.P. In 1823, he was appointed to the honorary staff of the Manchester Royal Infirmary, the youngest ever appointed to that position. Along with Thomas Turner (q.v.) he founded the Pine Street School of Medicine (he lectured there on the principles and practice of physic, *materia medica*, and medical botany). Concerned with elevating the professional status of rank-and-file medicos, he was active in the establishment of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association. A Justice of the Peace, he was also the deputy lieutenant for Lancashire. Knighted in 1853, he was the first Manchester physician to be so honoured. [Butler, 2004a; ELGAR.]

Barrallier, J.L.: John Louis Barrallier (1785-1850), surgeon, of Milford. Son of French naval surveyor, explorer and cartographer Jean-Louis Barrallier (1751-1834), architect responsible for the new town and dockyard at Milford, he was also younger brother of Australian explorer Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Louis Barrallier (1773-1853). In *Neurypnology* (1843, p.77), Braid referred to him as "Mr. Barrallier, an intelligent surgeon, of Milford". [Parsons, 1966]

Barry, M.: Martin Barry (1802-1855), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1833), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1833), F.R.S. (London, 1840), physician, lecturer, microscopist and embryologist. A devout Quaker, he held various important medical and academic appointments throughout his life, and was awarded the Royal Society's Royal Medal in 1839 for his work in embryology. Over his lifetime, he spent much time on the continent improving his knowledge of microscopy; and his contributions to the emerging field of microscopy in the U.K. was unparalleled. [Asherson, 2004.]

Beard, G.M.: George Miller Beard (1839-1883), M.D., an American surgeon and neurologist whose main interest was in psychiatry. He studied the "*startle reflex*", and investigated "*neurasthenia*". Interested in the use of electricity therapeutically, he wrote extensively on the subject. Following a time in Europe, where he became interested in Braid and hypnotism, he published several papers on his hypnotic theories: "A New Theory of Trance and its Bearings on Human Testimony" (1877), "Physiology of Mind-Reading" (1877), "Mind-Reading by the Ear" (1877), and *Study of Trance, Muscle-Reading and Allied Nervous Phenomena in Europe and America, With a Letter on the Moral Character of Trance Subjects, and a Defence of Dr. Charcot* (1882). It was Beard who gave Braid's "On Hypnotism" paper to Preyer (Beard had been given it by Azam). He was an advocate for the abolition of the death penalty for those with mental illness. [Kelly, 1920.]

Beever, W.W.: William Watson Beever (1810-1872), L.S.A. (1831), M.R.C.S. (England,

1833). Trained as an apprentice at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary*, and having obtained his qualification as an apothecary, he studied his surgery at King's College in London. One of six candidates (including Braid) for the vacant position of Surgeon at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* in 1843; and although not elected in 1843, he was elected in 1847, and served there continuously until his death in 1872. In 1849, he was elected an Associate of King's College, London. [Brockbank, 1965, pp.29-30; ELGAR.]

Bennet [one 't'], J.H.: James Henry Bennet (1816-1891), M.D. (Paris, 1843), M.R.C.P. (London, 1844), obstetrician and gynaecologist, was born in Manchester. His father invented (and named) *corduroy*. Bennet was apprenticed to his uncle, Mr. Osmond Tabberer, a surgeon; he then went on to study medicine at Paris, and surgery under Velpeau (q.v.) — he was still studying in Paris at the time of Lafontaine's Manchester lectures. He took his M.D. from the University of Paris in 1843. He served as an editor of *The Lancet* for a number of years, and went on to become a famous gynaecologist; he was elected a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London in 1873. He was also famous for the promotion of Menton, France, as a health resort. [Black, 1893.]

Bennett [two 't's'], J.H.: John Hughes Bennett (1812-1875), M.D. (Edinburgh 1837), F.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E. Originally an apprentice surgeon, he studied medicine at Edinburgh. An outstanding student, publishing two papers whilst still a student, he became president of the Royal Medical Society and the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh and vice-president of the Anatomical and Physiological Society. In 1837 he received a university gold medal. Following his graduation, he studied extensively in France and Germany. A promoter of medical microscopy, he reported the first recorded case of leukaemia in 1845. He was an opponent of blood-letting. He went on to have an outstanding career as an academic at Edinburgh. The author of *The Mesmeric Mania of 1851* (1851), he was a strong advocate of Braid and his work, and held great hopes for the future medical applications of hypnotism. [Piller, 2004.]

Bentley, W.: Rev. William Bentley (1795-1874), Curate of St Mary's (Anglican) Church at Oxted, Surrey.

Bernheim, H.: Hippolyte Bernheim (1840-1919), M.D. (Strasbourg, 1867), was born in Mülhausen in Alsace. He was a physician and neurologist, who practised and taught at the University of Strasbourg until 1871, when Strasbourg was annexed by Germany. Bernheim, a Jew, left Strasbourg and moved to Nancy (although it was still in Alsace-Lorraine, Nancy had not been annexed and, so, it remained French). He began to practice in Nancy, and was soon appointed as a Clinical Professor to the Faculty of

Medicine (founded in 1872) of Nancy University. In 1882, when confronted with the news that a patient of his, who had been suffering from an obstinate and intractable case of sciatica of 6 years' duration (whom Bernheim had vainly struggled to cure for half a year), had been cured with a couple of hypnotic treatments by a local rural physician, Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault (q.v.), he went to visit Liébeault, with the intention of exposing him as a fraud. Bernheim returned to Nancy, greatly impressed, with a rare copy of Liébeault's *Du Sommeil et des Etats Analogues, "On Sleep and Related States"* (1866). Along with Liébeault, Jules Joseph Liégeois (1833-1908), Professor of Jurisprudence, and Henri-Étienne Beaunis (1830-1921), M.D., Professor of Physiology, Bernheim began an extended study of Liébeault's methods and their application; and, collectively, they became known as "the Suggestion School" or "the Nancy School" (q.v.). Bernheim knew almost nothing of Braid and his work. He published two historically important texts, *De la Suggestion et de son Application à la Thérapeutique* (1887), "On Suggestion and its Therapeutic Application" (generally known as "*Suggestive Therapeutics*"), and *Hypnotisme, Suggestion, Psychothérapie: Études Nouvelles* (1891), "New Studies in Hypnotism, Suggestion, and Psychotherapy". [Bernheim, 1887/1889; 1891/1980; Gauld, 1992; Carrer, 2002.]

Billing, A.: Archibald Billing (1791-1881), B.A. (Trinity College, 1811), M.B. (Trinity College, 1814), M.D. (Trinity College, 1818), M.D. (Oxford, 1818), M.R.C.P. (England, 1818), F.R.C.P. (England, 1819), F.R.S. (1844), physician, lecturer, medical innovator, connoisseur, and amateur artist. Born in Ireland, he studied medicine at a wide range of institutions in Ireland, Britain, and on the continent. Author of medical texts (e.g., Billing, 1828; Billing, 1841), and art texts (Billing, 1867), Billing's clinical teaching activities had great influence. A strong and intelligent man, Billing is thought to be amongst the last of the London physicians to visit their patients on horseback. [Payne (and Bevan), 2004.]

Bingham, H.B.: Henry Brothers Bingham (1801-1875), a pioneer in the education of the deaf and dumb. Eminent in his field, and highly respected on both sides of the Atlantic, he was the headmaster of the Manchester School for the Deaf and Dumb from 1834 to 1841.

Binns, E.: Edward Binns (1804-1851), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1828), a Quaker, and opponent of slavery, was born in Jamaica. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1842). He died in Jamaica on 10 February 1851. In addition to his extraordinary work, *The Anatomy of Sleep; or, the Art of Procuring Sound and Refreshing*

Slumber at Will (1842), he wrote a number of papers on the situation of the colony of Jamaica, and made several contributions to *The Lancet*. Just before the death of “hypnologist” Henry Gardner (q.v.) Binns had purchased the rights to Gardner’s “sleep at will” procedure, a description of which appears in *The Anatomy of Sleep* (pp.390-392). Today, copies of the first edition of Binn’s work (a print run of just 5,000 volumes) are rarely seen, and they are soon snapped up by eager buyers for amounts in excess of \$1,000 whenever they are offered for sale, not because of any supposed eminence of the author, or any supposed current or historical importance of its contents, but because the book itself, as an object, has great historical value: it is the first book to have been composed by a mechanical composing (i.e., typesetting) machine.

Black, J.: James Black (1787-1867), R.N., M.D. (Glasgow, 1820), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1808), M.R.C.P. (London, 1823), F.G.S. (London), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1857), F.R.C.P. (London, 1860). Former naval surgeon, and member of the *Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society* and the *Manchester Geological Society*. At the time of Lafontaine’s demonstrations, he was the lecturer on Forensic Medicine at *Manchester Royal School of Medicine*, and the senior physician at the *Manchester Union Hospital*. In 1842 he was the President of the Lancashire and Cheshire branch of the *British Medical Association*. [Anon, 1867a; ELGAR.]

Boardman, A.D.: Andrew David Boardman (1974-), M.B., Ch.B., M.Phil, Member of the Royal College of Psychiatrists. His 2005 M. Phil. Dissertation was titled *James Braid, Hypnotism and the Psyche in early Victorian Manchester: An Exploration of Romantic Philosophy, Popular Thought and Psychological Medicine*.

Booth, A.: Abraham Booth (1809-1847), Esq., experimental chemist, lecturer on chemistry, and scientific reporter (e.g., Booth, 1842). Son of Isaac Booth (a governor of the Bank of England).

Boutflower, J.: John Boutflower (1797-1889), L.S.A. (1816), M.R.C.S. (1816), F.R.C.S. (1843), son, brother, and father of a surgeon, he was one of six candidates (including Braid) for the vacant position of Surgeon at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* in 1843; his candidature was unsuccessful, and never re-sought election. He taught anatomy at Mount St. School and, for many years, served as surgeon at the Salford Royal Hospital. [ELGAR.]

Bradley, T.A.: Thomas Earnshaw Bradley (1811-1878), a devoted Catholic social reformer. The founder and editor of the “improving” Roman Catholic Journal, *The*

Lamp, (in York, in 1850), devoted to “the religious, moral, physical and domestic improvement of the industrial classes”, containing news, comment, and helpful general knowledge, which was circulated throughout the distributed through the Roman Catholic parishes throughout the U.K.. He moved to Glasgow from Yorkshire to serve as editor for the short-lived Glasgow weekly newspaper, *The Northern Times* (1855-1856).

Braid, A.: Annie Suttie Braid (1820-1881), the third child and only daughter of James and Margaret Braid, married surgeon Richard Sylvester Daniel, M.R.C.S. (London, 1858), L.S.A. (1858) in 1861. She first met Daniel in the early 1840s, when he was an assistant to her father and living under the same roof in Manchester (Daniel was residing there, working as an assistant surgeon, at the time of the 1841 U.K. census).

Braid, C.: Charles Braid (1850-1897), B.M.M.S., M.R.C.S.E., M.R.C.P.E. was born at Springfield, Neston, Cheshire. He died suddenly on 10 March 1897. He was in the same student cohort as John Milne Bramwell (q.v.). *The British Medical Journal* of 6 September 1873 (p.301) announced that, amongst 69 men, “Charles Braid, England” and “John Milne Bramwell, Scotland” had the Degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Master of Surgery conferred upon them on 1 August 1873.

Braid, J.: James Braid, (1822-1882), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1845), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1845), L.S.A. (1847). The fourth child and only surviving son of James and Margaret Braid, was born on 24 November 1822, he died on 22 November 1882, just two days short of his sixtieth birthday. He married his first wife, Nessie Monk Bankes (1827-1854), only child of John Wharton Bankes (1798-1847) and Arabella Bankes, on 6 July 1848. They had one surviving child: Charles Braid (q.v.). After Nessie died, he married Lucy Jane Reade (1836-1907), second daughter of James and Mary Reade of Congleton, on 4 September 1856. They had a large number of children together. Working as a general practitioner, he conducted his medical practice from Neston, Cheshire (where he worked in partnership with his cousin David Russell for some time), and, later, in Keymer, West Sussex. It seems that, for a time, before completing his medical studies, he had worked as his father’s apprentice; and, on a number of occasions, once qualified, he also assisted his father in his work as a surgeon. He prepared and administered the inhalation ether at the first operation his father performed using chemical anæsthesia on 9 February 1847.

Bramwell, J.M.: John Milne Bramwell (1852-1925), M.B., Master of Surgery, and member of the *Society for Psychical Research*, conducted his practice at the port of Goole,

in Yorkshire. He was the son of James Paton Bramwell (1824-1890), M.D., M.R.C.S. (Edin), chief consulting surgeon at the Perth Royal Infirmary and Eleanor Bramwell, née Oliver. His father had seen Esdaile at work, and Milne had seen his father replicate Esdaile's mesmeric experiments as a child. While studying at Edinburgh, he was influenced by John Bennett (q.v.): "my attention was again drawn to hypnotism by Professor John Hughes Bennett. A résumé of Braid's work and theories formed a regular part of his course of physiology, and he confidently asserted that one day hypnotism would revolutionise the theory and practice of medicine" (Bramwell, 1903, p.38). He was in the same cohort as Braid's grandson, Charles Braid (q.v.), at Edinburgh and, consequently, very familiar with Braid and his work; and, significantly, had access to papers, etc. of Braid that were still held by the Braid family. One of his sisters, Elizabeth Ida Bramwell (1858-1940), become famous in Canada as the suffragette Ida Douglas-Fearn; a second sister, Eleanor Oliver Bramwell (1861-1923), married Frank Podmore (1855-1910), psychic researcher, member of the *Society for Psychical Research*, and founding member of the Fabian Society.

Brewster, D.: Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), M.A. (Edinburgh, 1800), natural philosopher, scientist, journalist, academic administrator (vice-chancellor of Edinburgh University), and co-founder of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Trained for the clergy, and licensed to preach in 1804 (as were his three brothers). He was terrified of speaking in public (apparently preaching on one occasion only, and fainting at the ordeal of saying grace before a small private dinner); a handicap that prevented him from becoming a university lecturer. His fellow student Henry Brougham (q.v.) convinced him to study optics and, from this experience, he turned away from the clergy, and turned his attention to science. A prolific author, he produced popular books, articles, and almost 300 scientific papers in his lifetime. He was also responsible for the popularity of the kaleidoscope (which he claimed to have invented). [Morrison-Low, 2004.]

Broca, P.P.: Pierre Paul Broca (1824–1880), surgeon, anatomist, and anthropologist. Famous today for his work on aphasia; especially the localization of "Broca's area", the region of the frontal lobe that is responsible for articulated language. He was associated with the experiments of Azam (q.v.), Denonvilliers (q.v.), Follin (q.v.), and Velpeau (q.v.) using Braid's hypnotism for pain-free surgery in 1859. [Schiller, 1992.]

Brodie, B.: Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie (1783-1862), M.R.C.S. (England, 1805), F.R.C.S. (England, 1843), F.R.S.(1810), an eminent physiologist, psychologist, and surgeon. In

1827 he supported publication of the *London Medical Gazette*, and was a strong defender of the Royal College of Surgeons against the accusations of Thomas Wakley (q.v.), and his *Lancet*, that hospital surgeons and the College's council were corrupt. Having operated in the king for a tumour on his scalp, he was appointed personal surgeon to King George IV in 1828. He also served as sergeant-surgeon to King William IV and to Queen Victoria. He wrote on many subjects, especially on diseases of the bones and the joints. He was the first surgeon to be elected a President of the Royal Society (serving from 1858 to 1861), and first President of the General Medical Council (in 1859). In 1858, Henry Gray (1827-1861), M.R.C.S., F.R.S., dedicated the first edition of *Gray's Anatomy* (1858) to Brodie. [Brock, 2004a.]

Brougham, H.P.: Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868), barrister, journalist, and politician. Born in Edinburgh, educated at Edinburgh University, later First Baron Brougham and Vaux, founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, and designer of the carriage known as the *brougham*. An M.P. since 1810 (he spoke, non-stop, on law reform, for six hours on 7 February 1828: a record), Queen Caroline (1768–1821) appointed him as her Attorney-General in 1812. He defended the divorce action brought against her in 1820 by George IV. He served as Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (1830–1834) in the ministry of Lord Grey. His intervention in the summer of 1816 saved the life of the seriously ill Hugh M'Neile (q.v.). [Anon, 1847i; Lobban, 2004.]

Brown, T.: Thomas Brown (1778-1820), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1803), philosopher, physician, and poet. He jointly held Edinburgh's Chair of Moral Philosophy from 1810 until 1820. He began Law at Edinburgh University in 1796; but, because Law made too many demands on his extensive literary, linguistic and philosophical interests, he transferred to Medicine in 1798. Continuing to actively pursue his extra-curricular intellectual interests, he graduated M.D. in 1803. An excellent physician, he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. He practised in partnership with James Gregory (q.v.), having been invited to do so by Gregory, his former teacher. Even after taking the Chair of Moral Philosophy, he was often consulted for his outstanding diagnostic skills; an indication of his reputation as an exceptional structured thinker. He was a founding member of Edinburgh's *Academy of Physics*. Several of the *Academy*, including Brown, established the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802. He wrote a number of articles for early issues of the *Review*, including a fierce attack on phrenology and the first English analysis of Kant's critical philosophy. As a philosopher, Brown made an extensive study of the formation of trains of thought, and the regularities and patterns they seemed to display, finally producing an intricate taxonomy of these

patterned regularities. His study of these trains of thought, and the manner in which the sequences of “suggested ideas” were generated (*per medium* of an otherwise unidentified “suggesting principle”) by their respective antecedent “suggesting ideas”, formed almost three-quarters of the series of lectures he delivered each academic year. Soon after Brown’s death on 2 April 1820, his teaching notes for the series of 100 lectures were published in their entirety (as *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*), edited only to the extent that specific embellishments, corrections, more precise explanations, and other inter-lineations that Brown had accumulated over his teaching years were added. The *Lectures* was a best-seller for many years, with more than 20 editions (it was the prescribed text for courses in “intellectual philosophy” at Harvard from 1825 to 1833). Braid appropriated Brown’s term “*suggestion*” and used it to denote the act of presenting an idea to a hypnotized subject with the intention of converting *that* particular idea into a *dominant idea*. [Welsh, 1825; Stewart-Robertson, 2004.]

Brown, T.: Thomas Brown (1785-1862), always known as “Captain Thomas Brown” (or “Captain Brown”), was an eminent naturalist who specialized in mollusks. In 1805 he enlisted in the Forfarshire and Kincardine Militia, and was promoted to Captain in 1891. Quartered in Manchester, he became interested in natural history; and, upon his discharge from the regiment, he began writing on natural history subjects. He was a fellow of the Linnean Society, a member of the Wernerian Society (of which Braid was a corresponding member), of the Kirwanian Society (as was Richard Chenevix), of the Manchester Phrenological Society (as was Daniel Noble), and had been President of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh (in the early 1830s). He was also the curator of the Manchester Natural History Society’s Museum from 1840 until his death. [Axon, 1886, p.288; Sherborn, 1905.]

Buchan, L.: Lawrence (or Laurence) Buchan (1774-1859), J.P., a Scottish born, Manchester cotton spinner, amateur astronomer and natural scientist. A member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society’s council, he was an intimate friend of the eminent scientist John Dalton, F.R.S., for whom he constructed the mountain barometer, encased in wood, with accompanying thermometer, that became Dalton’s constant companion. [Anon, 1859b.]

Buck, G.W.: George Watson Buck (1789-1854), M.I.C.E., an eminent English civil engineer, and the first to apply trigonometry to the design of bridges. Buck was the Engineer-in-Chief of the Manchester and Birmingham Railway at the time of Braid’s lecture. He was a life-long close friend of the engine designer and builder Robert

Stephenson. [Chrimes, 2002.]

Buckland, W.: Rev. Professor William Buckland (1784-1856), B.A. (Oxford, 1804), M.A. (Oxford, 1808), B.D. (Oxford, 1816), F.R.S. (1818), D.D. (Oxford, 1825), clergyman (ordained in 1808), geologist, and Dean of Westminster. Twice President of the Geological Society, he was the first president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and was an active member of many other scientific societies. As a scientist he is renowned for his work on fossils, especially his advocacy of the study of fossil faeces (for which he coined the term *coprolites*), and in terms of social trivia, as a man who specified as his life's goal to eat, at least on one occasion, a representative of every member of the animal kingdom. [Haile, 2004.]

Cantor, T.E.: Theodor Edvard Cantor (a.k.a. Theodore Edward Cantor) (1809-1860), M.D. (Halle-Wittenberg, 1833), born at the Holmen naval base, Copenhagen, Denmark. A physician, zoologist (especially a herpetologist) and botanist, he was employed by the English East India Company as the Superintendent of the European Asylum at Bhowanipore, Calcutta. He was responsible for establishing the fashion of keeping Siamese fighting fish (given some fighting fish by the King of Siam, he wrote a paper on them). Despite an accent, he spoke perfect English; and, during his time in the U.K. (1841-1842), he travelled extensively (London, York, Manchester, Bristol, Leicester, Sheffield, etc.), and lectured widely on a range of subjects, including animal magnetism and Braid's methods (both of which he also demonstrated), anthropology, discipline of the mind, the intellectual faculties, female education, and the comparative state of education in Great Britain and Germany. He died on 26 March 1860 (some say at sea between Malacca to Calcutta, others say he was deranged and institutionalized in his own insane asylum in India). Although never a member of the Royal Society of Arts, his bequest of £4,500+ established what are now known as *The Cantor Lectures*. {Anon, 1860i, pp.4-5; Britten and Boulger, 1893, p.31.]

Carbutt, F.: Francis Carbutt, Esq., J.P. (1792–1874), linen and cloth merchant, a director of the Huddersfield and Manchester Railway in 1845, and Lord Mayor of Leeds (1848-1849). He was the father of British engineer, two time Mayor of Leeds and M.P., Sir Edward Hamer Carbutt (1838-1905), and the educational pioneer, Louisa Herford, née Carbutt (1832-1907). He was also the brother of Edward Carbutt (1785-1836), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1814), who was a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, honorary physician to the Manchester Infirmary from 1817 until his death, and author of *Clinical Lectures in the Manchester Royal Infirmary* (1834).

Carpenter, W.B.: William Benjamin Carpenter (1813-1885), C.B. (1879), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1839), F.R.S. (1844), F.L.S. (1856), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1861), social reformer, biologist, university administrator, promoter of science, and an early cognitive scientist. Although wanting to be an engineer, and fascinated by mechanical devices, he studied medicine, firstly as an apprentice, and then formally at Bristol and London before studying at Edinburgh. Even though qualified to do so, he never practiced medicine; and, upon graduation, soon began his career as an author and academic. He was a prolific author on many scientific subjects and was influential in many advances in the realms of biology, physiology and neuroscience. The erudite clarity pervading his writing was such that it convinced Daniel Noble (q.v.) to abandon phrenology outright. He was a personal friend of James Braid, and a strong advocate of Braid's work, and had a strong influence on the development of Braid's ideas. Highly influential in terms of the advancement of the status of science degrees, he made a number of important contributions to what would eventually become cognitive science in the form of his concepts of "*ideo-motor responses*" and "*unconscious cerebration*". He died from severe burns received when the naked light of a spirit lamp caused him to be incinerated: "The death of Dr. Carpenter was caused by a melancholy accident. He was taking a hot-air bath on Monday, when, by some accident, the curtains of the bed took fire. He died at 3 A.M. on Tuesday" (Anon, 1885a, p.940). [Smith, 2004.]

Carson, J.: James Carson (junior) (1818-1848), M.B. (Trinity Coll., Dublin). At the time of his death in Malta (where he had moved for his health) in September 1848, he was Senior Physician to the Northern Hospital, Liverpool. He presented a paper ("Uses of the Muscular Fibres of the Bronchial Tubes") to the 1842 meeting of the B.A.A.S. in Manchester, and produced a pamphlet, *Popular Physiology and Science of Health*, for the *Bentley's Hand-Books of Science Literature, and Art* series in 1842. He was the son of James Carson, M.D., F.R.S. (1772-1843), author of *An Inquiry Into the Causes of the Motion of the Blood* (1815), etc.

Catlow, J.P.: Joseph Peel Catlow, L.S.A., M.R.C.S. (Edin), (1798-1861), a cousin of Sir Robert Peel, and a surgeon, was one of the major forces in the foundation of the Manchester Medical Society (in 1834). He actively promoted his own (otherwise unsupported) claim for priority over Braid (e.g., Catlow, 1843) and displayed rather ferocious, continuous animosity towards Braid; yet, it seems he was eventually reconciled with Braid: he "propose[d] a vote of thanks to Mr. Braid for his paper" on Electro-Biology, delivered at the Manchester Royal Institution, 26 March 1851 (Anon, 1851b, p.248). Although still listed as "surgeon" in Slater's *Commercial Directory* of 1855,

by the time of the 1861 census, he was describing himself as “Surgeon, not in practice”. He published a paper on “Phreno-Magnetism” in 1843, and his 325 page work, *On the Principles of Æsthetic Medicine, etc.* (1867), was published posthumously by a benefactor (he died in 1861). It seems that Catlow, impecunious for his entire professional career, had died penniless. Mainly dealing with what we term ‘psychology’ today, his 1867 work does not mention Braid, hypnotism, phrenology, or any of Catlow’s researches in that domain. [Elwood and Tuxford, 1984.]

Chambers, R.: Robert Chambers (1802–1871), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1840), LL.D. (St. Andrews, 1869), amateur geologist, bookseller, prolific author, and publisher. Born with six digits on each hand and each foot. Operations to remove the extra toes were far from satisfactory; because of this he was unable to play with other children and spent his time reading. A sudden change in family circumstances c.1813 prevented him from going on to study at Edinburgh University (he was excellent at Latin, and there had been thoughts of a career in the clergy). He was younger brother of William Chambers (1800–1883), with whom he published *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*. The Journal’s first issue was on 4 February 1832: an enterprise that eventually produced, amongst others, *Chambers’s Encyclopaedia* and *Chambers’s English Dictionary*. [Cooney, 2004.]

Charcot, J.: Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893), M.D. (Paris, 1853), physician and neurologist, associated with the Pitié-Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris from November 1861 until his death. In 1873, he was elected one of the 100 members of the Imperial Academy of Medicine (*Académie Impériale de Médecine*); and, in 1883, as a physician (rather than a surgeon or experimental scientist), was elected to one of the six ‘*Medicine and Surgery*’ places in the Academy of Sciences (*Académie des sciences*). During his career as physician and teacher he made many contributions to the emerging field of neurology; especially to a systematic nosology of neurological disorders. He also was highly influential in the continuous development of ever more precise clinical examination and diagnosis. He took to examining large numbers of patients with the same clinical signs, recording his observations in minutely detailed case notes, embellished with accurate ink drawings (often drawn by himself) and photographs (one of the first to employ photography), all of which were supplemented by extensive anatomical and microscopic post-mortem examinations, and descriptions of the correlations between specific, unique lesions and specific, unique aspects manifested during the clinical course of their disease. He was a difficult man: “[he] was a dominant figure, difficult to work with, highly authoritarian and intolerant of views different from his own” (Goetz, 2005, p.374) and, “quite lacking in common sense and grandiosely sure of his own

judgment" (Shorter, 1997, p.86). In 1870, in charge of the *Delasiauve* division for hysterics and epileptics, Charcot turned his attention to hysteria, a condition he thought was due to neurological pathology. By 1878, he was experimenting with "hypnosis" on his hysteric patients; and, soon, mistaking correlation for causation (i.e., ignoring the fact that every one of his experimental subjects was a diagnosed 'hysteric'), he was advocating a view that a capacity to manifest a 'hypnotic state' was the symptom of disease approximating hysteria. This position, centred on Charcot and the Salpêtrière, was known as the "Hysteria School" (q.v.), as opposed to the "Suggestion School" (q.v.), centred on Liébeault (q.v.) and Nancy. At the time of his death, Charcot was in the process of retracting his 'hysteria' view, and accepting the 'suggestion' view of those at Nancy. [Gauld, 1992, pp.306-315; Goetz, 2005.]

Chaytor, G.A.: Gustavus Adolphus Chaytor (1806-1844), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1833). He was a member of the *Provincial Medical and Surgical Association*, and the *Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*. He served as Physician to the Manchester Royal Infirmary from 1841 until his death (he died whilst on sick leave). He never married [Brockbank, 1965, pp.17-18; ELGAR.]

Chenevix, R.: Irish-born chemist and mineralogist, Richard Chenevix (1774-1830), F.R.S. (1803), son of an officer in the Royal Irish Artillery, he spent much of his life in France. On 4 June 1812, he married Countess Jeanne Francoise de Rouault (?-1836), "an aging French beauty of dubious reputation". He enrolled at Glasgow University in 1785, but did not take a degree; however, he *did* graduate A.B. from the University of Dublin. After completing his studies he travelled to Paris. He was imprisoned for 15 months during "The Reign of Terror" (1793-1794), sharing a cell with French chemists who, it is said, roused his life-long interest in chemistry. Once released, he immersed himself in analytical chemistry, and attended chemistry lectures at three different Parisian institutions. He published the first of his many chemical papers in 1798. Over the next few years he produced many important papers, which resulted in the award of the Royal Society's *Copley Medal* in 1803. As a consequence of Chenevix's (erroneous) view, that a particular lustrous, silvery metal was a combination of mercury (**Hg**) and platinum (**Pt**), William Hyde Wollaston, F.R.S. (1766-1828) eventually established (in 1803) that it was the element now known as Palladium (**Pd**). By 1805, Chenevix had settled in Paris. He attended the phrenological lectures delivered by Gall and Spurzheim in Paris in November 1807; and, in 1828, published a paper on Gall, Spurzheim, and Phrenology. Spurzheim was so impressed so much that he sought (and was granted) permission to immediately re-print the article as a pamphlet, with 12-page

appendix of Spurzheim's own notes. In Paris, he met Abbé Faria (q.v.) in 1816, who re-awakened an interest in animal magnetism that had been dormant since a visit to Rotterdam in 1797. In 1828, on a visit to Ireland, he began to practise mesmerism. He wrote extensively of his experiences in a series of papers published in 1829. In 1829, he gave a series of lectures and demonstrations in London, attended by such eminent medical men as Benjamin Brodie (q.v.), William Prout (q.v.), Henry Holland (q.v.), Henry Earle (q.v.), and John Elliotson (q.v.). If had he not died in Paris on 5 April 1830, it seems that much more would have developed in England at that time in relation to mesmerism. [Gauld, 1992; Usselman, 2004.]

Christie, N.T.: Major Napier Turner Christie (1801-1877), J.P., of Aberdeen. He served with the 93rd Highlanders, 79th Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, and the 11th Regiment of Foot. He spent some time in the 1840s on half pay and became, over time, involved in a number of railway enterprises. In 1860, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th Aberdeenshire Rifle Volunteer Corps; he resigned in 1861.

Clarke, G.: Manchester philanthropist George Clarke was a manufacturer, cotton mill owner, inventor, and merchant a member of the Manchester Athenæum, and member of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science*. He attended Catlow's (q.v.) third lecture on 3 March 1842, and acted as chairman at the *conversazione* Braid conducted when the B.A.A.S. refused to accept his paper in June 1842; at which time Clarke remarked that he had personally witnessed Braid in action at Braid's own house (Anon, 1842bj).

Clay, C.: Charles Clay (1801-1893), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1823), M.R.C.P. (London, 1842), bibliophile, geologist, archaeologist, numismatist, gynaecologist, and highly skilled surgeon. Trained as an apprentice and, then, at Edinburgh University, he was a prolific author on many subjects, predominantly medical, predominantly surgical, and predominantly gynaecological. He was the first surgeon in England to perform an ovariectomy (in 1842), was a strong advocate of abdominal surgery in general, and the first in Europe to perform a successful hysterectomy (in 1863). He was elected president of the Manchester Medical Society in 1861, and was a founder member of the Obstetric Society of London. [Mohr, 2004; ELGAR.]

Collyer, R.H.: Dr. Robert Hanham Collyer (1814-1891), M.D. (1839, Berkshire Medical College, Pittsfield, Massachusetts). A pupil of Elliotson (q.v.), he claimed, in public, in May 1841 to have discovered a new science, *Phreno-Mesmerism*, in November 1839, which combined phrenology and mesmerism. In 1843 he wrote an influential pamphlet,

Psychography, or, The Embodiment of Thought: With an Analysis of Phreno-magnetism, "Neurology", and Mental Hallucination, Including Rules to Govern and Produce the Magnetic State; yet, by October 1842, he no longer believed in *phreno-mesmerism*. He also wrote *Mysteries of the Vital Element in Connexion with Dreams, Somnambulism, Trance, Vital Photography, Faith and Will, Anæsthesia, Nervous Congestion and Creative Function; Modern Spiritualism Explained* (1871). He was a prolific inventor (holding many patents), an archaeologist, a travel writer, and a bigamist. [Collyer, 1843; Stoehr, 1987.]

Colquhoun, J.C.: John Campbell Colquhoun (1785-1854), son of Sir James Colquhoun, born in Edinburgh, a barrister (admitted to the Scottish bar in 1806), and Sheriff-Depute of Dunbarton-shire from 1815 to 1854. Single, he lived in Edinburgh with his sister Helen for his entire life. Home educated, he read law at Edinburgh University before studying Roman law at Göttingen University, where he became good friends with philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and the Crown Prince of Bavaria, later Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786-1868); both were fellow students. At Göttingen he became interested in philosophy and metaphysics; and, whilst there, encountered animal magnetism, which became his lifelong interest. Fluent in French and German, he was first to translate the "Husson Report" — made to the French Royal Academy of Medicine in 1831 by Henri-Marie Husson (1772-1853) — into English (in 1833). In addition to other translations, such as *Seven Lectures on Somnambulism* (1845), he also wrote a number of important works, including the highly influential *Isis Revelata* (1836), *Hints on Animal Magnetism* (1838), *The Fallacy of Phreno-Magnetism Detected and Exposed* (1843), *An History of Magic, Witchcraft, and Animal Magnetism*, (1851), the last of which prompted Braid's *Magic, Witchcraft, Animal Magnetism, Hypnotism, and Electro-Biology, etc.* (1852). He and Braid corresponded from time to time, and they had a healthy professional respect for one another. [Gauld, 2004c.]

Combe, J.S.: Dr. James Scarth Combe (1796-1883), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1815), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1815), F.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1823), F.R.S. (Edinburgh), of Edinburgh and Leith. An eminent physician and surgeon, he became the President of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1851. He was the first to describe pernicious anaemia. [Anon, 1883a.]

Cooper, W.N.S.: William Nelson Sidney Cooper (1807-?), a surgeon trained at the Manchester Royal Infirmary, who received his certificate of medical practice in 1827. He was a member of the Manchester Medical Society. [ELGAR.]

Cope, G.A.: George Ambrose Cope (1812–1885), M.R.C.S. (England, 1836), L.S.A.

(1836), was based in Etwall, Derbyshire, about 80 km from Manchester.

Cottam, S.E.: Samuel Elsworth Cottam (1801-1852), an autodidact, he left school aged twelve. A public accountant by profession, he was a highly respected citizen of Manchester. A Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, long-time honorary secretary of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution (since 1825), and Secretary to the Manchester Society of Guardians for the Protection of Trade (since 1838), he was a very popular lecturer on a wide range of scientific subjects; and, also, very highly regarded for the classes he conducted, on behalf of the Mechanics' Institution in arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. He purchased, and then donated a large quantity of early electrical apparatus to the trustees of Owen College. [Anon, 1853a.]

Coué, É.: Émile Coué (1857-1926), a highly qualified French pharmacist, and expert hypnotist, who accepted the principles of the "Suggestion School" (q.v.), but used Braid-like hypnotic inductions in place of the ("You are going to sleep") type used by the "Suggestion School". He developed the principles of the "Suggestion School" into what became known as *autosuggestion*: a procedure involving a specific form of self-hypnotism, with the subject in a specific physical position, in a specific thoughtless state, uttering a specific self-suggestion ("*Every day, in every way, I'm getting better and better*"), a specified number of times, using a specifically knotted prayer rope as a counter. It was Baudouin's extended personal observation of Coué at work c.1920 that led to Baudouin's formulation of six "*Laws of Suggestion*" (Baudouin, 1920, pp.114-118). Baudouin made a concerted effort to position Coué and his work as "the New Nancy School". [Baudouin, 1920; Melton, 2001, I:344-345.]

Crabtree, A.: born Gary Lee Crabtree (1944-), he became "Adam Crabtree" in 1958, when he began training to become a Benedictine monk. Eventually he left the church and trained as a psychotherapist. He has made two important contributions to the literature on hypnotism: *Animal Magnetism, Early Hypnotism and Psychical Research, 1766-1925: An Annotated Bibliography* (1988), and *From Mesmer to Freud: Magnetic Sleep and the Roots of Psychological Healing* (1993).

Craigie, D.: David Craigie (1793-1866), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1816), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1832), F.R.S.E. (Edinburgh, 1833), born in Leith, physician to the Edinburgh Infirmary, and owner and editor *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*. The author of an important text on anatomy, *Elements of General and Pathological Anatomy, Presenting a View of the Present State of Knowledge in these Branches of Science* (it had two editions: 1828, and 1848), he was president of the Royal Medical Society in 1819, and President of the

Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh from 1861 to 1863. [Moore (and Bevan), 2004.]

Crowther, R.: Robert Crowther, surgeon, of Rochdale. He was a member of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association. [ELGAR]

Dancer, J.B.: John Benjamin Dancer (1812-1887), optician, pioneer Daguerreotype photographer, instrument maker, and inventor (photography of microscopic objects, microdot photography, microfilm, and the stereoscopic camera), of the firm of Messrs. Abraham & Dancer, opticians, conducted an "Optical, Mathematical, and Philosophical Instrument Establishment", at 13 (renumbered 43) Cross Street, Manchester, from 21 June 1841. Although his original partner, Abraham Abrahams (1799-1886), left the firm in 1845, and moved to Liverpool (Dancer had bought out his interest), it continued to be known as Abraham & Dancer. It was Dancer who supplied Joseph Dalton his first high quality microscope.

Daubeny, C.G.B.: Charles Giles Bridle Daubeny (1795-1867), B.A. (Oxford, 1814), B.M. (Oxford, 1818), M.D. (Oxford, 1821), M.R.C.P. (London, 1821), F.R.C.P. (London, 1822), F.R.S. (1827), chemist, geologist, and botanist. Between 1815 and 1818 he studied medicine at Edinburgh. During his 40+ years as an Oxford academic, he was instrumental in establishing chemistry as an independent academic discipline, separate from medicine. Over his lifetime he published more than 80 scientific papers, and a number of important texts, the first of which, *A Description of Active and Extinct Volcanos [sic]; With Remarks on their Origin, their Chemical Phænomena, and the Character of their Products, as Determined by the Condition of the Earth During the Period of their Formation* (1826), dealt with the chemical theory of volcanic action. One of the first members of the British Association, he participated in its inaugural meeting in 1831 as a representative of the Universities. [Sakula, 1990; Goddard, 2004.]

Day, H.: Henry Day (1815-1851), M.R.C.S. (England, 1846), director and honorary secretary of the Mechanics' Institution (elected president just before his death). A well-respected chemist, he held the chair of chemistry at the Chatham-street School of Medicine in 1850. He commenced his medical studies in 1841, qualifying in 1816. He was greatly respected as a man, scholar, and surgeon. He died at 36; of a fever contracted when working in place of an indisposed colleague amongst the fever patients at the Canal-street hospital. [ELGAR.]

Denonvilliers, C.P.: Charles-Pierre Denonvilliers (1808-1872), M.D., distinguished French surgeon, anatomist, and medical author. Developer of new curricula and

teaching methods, he was Professor of Surgery and Anatomy at Paris University (1856-1872). A pioneer of facial reconstructive surgery, he made important contributions to the development of colorectal surgery. He was associated with the experiments of Azam (q.v.), Broca (q.v.), Follin (q.v.), and Velpeau (q.v.) using Braid's hypnotism for pain-free surgery in 1859. [French Wikipedia.]

Dickson, D.J.H.: Sir David James Hamilton Dickson (1780-1850), M.D., M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1798). F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1816), F.R.C.P. (London, 1822), F.R.S. (Edinburgh), F.L.S. (1816), physician and author of many medical works. Originally a naval surgeon, he was eventually promoted to Inspector of Fleets and Hospitals. He was nominated to the Order of St.Vladimir by Czar Alexander I for his services as the Superintending Physician of the Russian Fleet in the Medway in 1813; and in 1834, he was knighted for his services to the British Navy in the United States and the West Indies. [Anon, 1850a.]

Dieffenbach, J.K.E.: Johann Karl Ernst Dieffenbach (a.k.a. Ernest Dieffenbach) (1811-1855), M.D. (Zurich, 1836), physician, geologist, naturalist, ethnographer, translator (especially of Darwin's works), associate of Charles Darwin, Charles Lyell, and Richard Owen. He was the first trained scientist to work in New Zealand. At the end of his career, he held the post of associate professor in geology at Geissen University (where his father had been Professor of Theology), and was director of the university's geological museum. [Brock, 2011, pp.75-81.]

Donovan, C.: Cornelius Donovan (c.1795-1872), M.A., Ph.D., Fellow of the *Ethnological Society of London*, and Member of the *Phrenological Association*. A well-educated and erudite Irishman, he was an eminent phrenologist, and the founder of the *London School of Phrenology* (later known as the *London School of Phrenological Institute*) in July 1842. His major work was *A Handbook of Phrenology* (1870).

Drummond, H.: Henry Drummond (1786-1860), F.R.S., Author, banker, and parliamentarian Henry Drummond (1786-1860), F.R.S., founded the Drummond Professorship of Political Economy at All Souls College, Oxford, in 1825. Although a layman, he displayed an inordinate degree of religiosity, and was devoted to the exhumation of prophecies supposedly hidden within various scriptural passages; thus, his sponsorship of the *Albury Conferences*, held at the Albury Park, Surrey, over six years, that were moderated by Hugh M'Neile. From his belief in, encouragement, and strong support of Edward Irving, he is recognized today as one of the founders of the *Catholic Apostolic* (or *Irvingite*) Church. [Flegg, 2004.]

Duncan, A.: Andrew Duncan, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E. (1744–1828) of Edinburgh was an important influence on both academic and professional medical institutions in Edinburgh. He was a prodigious author of medical texts, and functioned both as a university lecturer and a practicing physician. He was Professor of Institutes of Medicine [viz., ‘Medical Theory’] from 1789 to 1819, and instituted courses in Medical Jurisprudence and Medical Police [viz., ‘Forensic Medicine and Public Health’] in 1795. He served as the President of the Edinburgh College of Physicians, and was the founding President of the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society. (He is often referred to as Andrew Duncan ‘senior’ or ‘the elder’, to distinguish him from his eldest son, Andrew Duncan (1773–1832), who was also a Professor at Edinburgh University’s School of Medicine (variously in Medical Jurisprudence and Medical Police (1807–1819), Institutes of Medicine (1819–1821), and *Materia Medica* (1821–1832).) [Bettany (and Rosner), 2004.]

Duncan, J.D.: Jonathan Duncan. (1799–1865), B.A. (Cambridge, 1821), journalist, prominent literary figure and prolific author. He was a strong advocate of currency reform following the passing of the *Bank Charter Act (1844)*, of which he was a fierce critic. In December 1841, he delivered several lectures in London (where he resided at the time) on Braid’s discoveries. Often referred to as “Jonathan Duncan, the younger”, he was the illegitimate son of Jonathan Duncan (1756–1811), and a Mrs. Jane Allen. Duncan ‘senior’, an outstanding linguist, was a career colonial administrator: first in Benares, and later in Bombay. He was the Governor of Bombay from 27 December 1795 to 11 August 1811. He had intended to retire to Scotland in 1799, but upon discovering that his entire personal fortune had been embezzled, he was forced to remain in Bombay, and continue as its well-respected Governor, until his death in 1811. Following the death of his Duncan ‘senior’, Sir Charles Forbes (q.v.) was Duncan junior’s guardian. [Matthew, 2004a.]

Dunn, P.G.: Patrick Gordon Dunn (1813–1849), a Manchester surgeon, in practice in the early 1840s. From the early 1840s until his death, he was renowned as a most active debunker of mesmerism, phrenology, clairvoyance, etc. In a footnote to §.507, Hall (“No.VIII”, 1845, p.437) refers to Mr. Dunn, the debunker:

I am also indebted to [Mr. Dunn, of Manchester], who on many occasions has ably exposed mesmerism, for the following instance of the force of imagination:— An untutored lad, who had, however, learnt that a mesmerised object ought to stiffen his muscles, was told by Mr. Dunn to lay hold of a stethoscope; the thick end, he was informed, was mesmerised, the other not. The boy grasped the thick end. He was requested to put the

instrument down again. He said *he could not* — his arm was rigid. Demesmerised, he was desired to take hold of the small end of the stethoscope. This, however, he could loose again at pleasure. The instrument had never been touched that day except by this boy himself!

More than a decade after Dunn's death, "Skeptic" wrote of a time in 1844 when Dunn showed that a lecturer's subject, allegedly clairvoyant, was fraudulent, and had deceived the lecturer (Mr. Hewes) and his audience, describing Dunn as "a great sceptic of mesmerism, hypnotism, phrenology, &c. [who had] frequently given public expression to his scepticism" (1862, p.106). From the time of the 1842 B.A.A.S. Meeting in Manchester, he had an extremely heated set of interchanges with Braid over an extended period, centred on his allegations that Braid's claims of "cure" were false. [ELGAR; Anon(1844e); Anon (1844f); "Skeptic", 1862.]

Dupotet de Sennevoy, J.D.: Prolific author, lecturer, demonstrator, and mesmerist, Baron Jules Denis Dupotet de Sennevoy (1796-1881), was interested in a wide range of paranormal phenomena. He demonstrated mesmerism in London in 1837 (Elliotson attended his lectures); "Dupotet, though of middle size and rather slender, was generally regarded as one of the most powerful magnetic operators of his time" (Gauld, 1992, p.175). His "passing" routine was a little different from most because he had no right thumb (Clarke, 1874, p.161). He was also responsible for the publication of two "animal magnetism" journals: *Le Propagateur du Magnétisme animal* (in 1827), and *Journal de Magnétisme* (in 1845). [Gauld, 1992.]

Durand de Gros, J.P.: Joseph Pierre Durand de Gros (1826-1901), physiologist, philosopher, hypnotist, and earnest advocate of Braid. He was proscribed during Louis Napoléon's *coup d'état* of 2 December 1851, left France, and spent some time in London, living as "Dr. Philips" to facilitate his eventual re-entry to France. In 1854, living in London, he wrote to the Spanish Minister of Justice (under the *nom de guerre* of "Dr. Philips"), in connexion with the matter of the imminent execution of Manuel Blanco Romasanta (1809-1854), Spain's first documented serial killer, in which he expressed his view that, from the newspaper reports, he felt that Romasanta was suffering from a mental condition called *lycanthropy*, cases of which he had successfully treated before with hypnotism. He asked for postponement of the execution until he could study the case in detail (Romansanta's sentence was commuted, and Romasanta died a few months later). In 1860, as "Dr. J. P. Philips", he unsuccessfully proposed that the term *hypnotism* be replaced with the eponymous *Braidism*. [Bernheim, 1887/1889; Lorda, Menéndez, and Fernández, 2008.]

Dwight, R.Y.: Richard Yeadon Dwight, M.D. (1837–1919), graduated from Medical College of South Carolina, Charleston, in 1859. Served as an Assistant Surgeon in the Confederate Army. Practiced until his death at various locations in Missouri and South Carolina. Given Dwight (1859) is classed as an “inaugural essay”, one must assume that it is identical with his M.D. Dissertation (*Neuro-Hypnotism, or Artificial Nervous Sleep*), submitted to the Medical College of the State of South Carolina in 1859, now held by the Medical University of South Carolina Library, in Charleston, South Carolina, USA (call no. WZ 4 M4 1859 v.1 no.12).

Eager, J.: James Eager (1811-1867), M.D. (Paris, 1833), LL.B. (Paris), M.R.C.P. (London, 1855), practiced as a surgeon in Manchester and, later, in Liverpool. [ELGAR]

Earle, H.: Henry Earle (1789-1838), M.R.C.S. (England, 1808). Apprenticed to his father, he became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1808. He wrote a number of important papers and monographs on fractures, and also on the diseases and injuries of the nerves. He was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1833. He was President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society from 1835 to 1837 (he succeeded John Elliotson (q.v.)), and he was appointed surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1837. [Moore (and Loudon), 2004.]

Eaton, G.: Rev. George Eaton (1807-1877), B.A. (Oxford, 1829), M.A. (Oxford, 1832), J.P., of Antrobus, Cheshire. Although ordained, and although he *had* served as a clergyman (he was inducted into the Rectory of Cheadle in 1834), he spent the last thirty years of his life as the landed proprietor of *The Pole*, Antrobus, Cheshire (where he died on 21 February 1877).

Elkington, J.: John Elkington (1802-1885), L.S.A. (1837), M.R.C.S. (England, 1848), a well-respected Birmingham surgeon, was a graduate of the Birmingham School of Medicine. In his final examinations, he took first prize in Midwifery, and second prize in both Anatomy & Physiology and Surgery. [Anon, 1833b, p.698.]

Elliotson, J.: John Elliotson (1791-1868), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1810), M.R.C.P. (London, 1810), M.B. (Oxford, 1816), M.D. (Oxford, 1821), F.R.C.P. (London, 1822), F.R.S. (1829), professor of the principles and practice of medicine at University College, London (1832), and senior physician to University College Hospital (1834). He was a prolific and influential author, a respected teacher, always at the ‘leading edge’ of his profession (one of the first to use and promote the stethoscope, and one of the first to use acupuncture), renowned for both his diagnostic skills as a clinician and his extremely

strong prescriptions: “his students said that one should let him diagnose but not treat the patient” (Gauld, 2004). Barely 5ft (152cm) tall, with dark complexion and a very large head (Cooter, 1984, p.53), he was also lame (following an 1828 carriage accident); his appearance presented a strong contrast to his ‘intramural enemy’ Robert Liston (1794-1847), F.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1818), F.R.S. (1841), the University College’s Professor of Clinical Surgery, one of the fastest surgeons of all time (on one occasion Liston amputated a leg, mid-thigh, in 25 seconds), who was pale skinned, and at least 6ft 2in (188cm) tall. Liston was fiercely opposed to Elliotson’s ‘contamination’ of the hospital with his demonstrations of ‘higher states’ of mesmerism (i.e., rather than its ‘medical’ applications). Despite his unusual physical characteristics, Elliotson was greatly admired as a lecturer, both for the structured clarity of his lectures, and the theatrical liveliness of their delivery. Once he began lecturing at the University College, his widely respected lectures were extensively reported in the medical press; and he published a number of collections of his lectures over the years. At his peak, he was the first President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society (in 1833), and had, most likely, the largest private practice in London; he was one of the pre-eminent physicians in the entire British Empire. He became interested in phrenology, and was founder and first President of the London Phrenological Society (in 1823). His interest in mesmerism had been aroused initially by Chevenix’s (q.v.) demonstrations in 1829, and re-awakened by Dupotet de Sennevoy’s demonstrations in 1837. This prompted Elliotson to begin experimenting with the Okey Sisters (q.v.), admitted to his hospital for treatment of their epilepsy. Elliotson soon began using them as subjects, within the confines of the hospital, in public demonstrations of the so-called ‘higher states’ of mesmerism: clairvoyance, transposition of the senses (seeing with the fingers, etc.), thought transmission, physical rapport or “community of sensation”, psychical rapport, etc. Convinced that the elder sister, Elizabeth, had a talent for medical clairvoyance (able to see into the body, diagnose illness, prescribe treatment, and deliver a prognosis), Elliotson took her down into the wards in the dead of night and had her diagnose and prescribe treatments. A series of examinations conducted by Thomas Wakley (q.v.) and others in August 1838 conclusively proved to all and sundry (apart from Elliotson) that the Okey Sisters were outright frauds. By the end of 1838, Elliotson was expelled from the hospital. In 1846, he delivered the Harveian Oration to the Royal College of Physicians of London. He continued to provide mesmeric demonstrations from his own residence, and, in partnership with Engledue (q.v.) he began publishing *The Zoist* (in 1843), and, in 1849 founded the London Mesmeric Infirmary. As his reputation rapidly declined,

his once lucrative practice also disappeared, and he died, penniless, in 1868 in the London home of a medical colleague, Edmond Sheppard Symes (1805-1881), L.S.A. (1830), M.R.C.S (England, 1832), M.D. (Aberdeen, 1851). [Anon, 1911; Rosen, 1936; Gauld, 1992; Ridgway, 1993; Ridgway, 1994; Winter, 1998; Gauld, 2004b.]

Elphinstone, H.: Sir Howard Elphinstone (1773-1846), C.B., military engineer, and Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Engineers (he was the commanding engineer at the end of the Pennsular War). He saw service, as a military engineer, in India, South Africa, Egypt, South America and, then, in the Peninsular War. [Stephens (and Stearn), 2004.]

Engledue, W.C.: William Collins Engledue (1813–1859), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1835), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1835), M.R.C.S. (London, 1835), L.S.A. (1835), L.A.C. (1836). Born at Portsea, he was a brilliant student, sent to Edinburgh by Dr. Porter (to whom he was apprenticed), he took his final exams after only two years study. At Edinburgh, he took prizes for proficiency in surgery, pathology and practice of physic, practical anatomy, and physiology; and was President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. Having spent a year as the anatomical demonstrator for John Lizars, Professor of Surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons, he returned to Portsmouth in 1837, and started to practice there. Greatly concerned with the conditions of the poor, he spent much of his time trying to improve the purity of the water supply to Portsmouth. He was instrumental in the foundation of the Royal Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport Hospital in 1846. A phrenologist, one-time President of the British Phrenological Association, he was a strong advocate of mesmerism and, with John Elliotson (q.v.), co-founded *The Zoist: A Journal of Cerebral Physiology & Mesmerism, and Their Application to Human Welfare* in 1843, and was joint editor until publication ceased in 1856. Also, in his *Cerebral Physiology and Materialism* (1842), he introduced the concept of “cerebration”. [Anon, 1859a.]

Erichsen, J.E.: Sir John Eric Erichsen (1818-1896), F.R.C.S. (England, 1845), F.R.S. (1876), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1884), academic, physiologist, and surgeon (appointed surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1877). Born in Copenhagen, into a well-known Danish banking family, he received his medical education at University College, London. One time lecturer on General Anatomy and Physiology at the Westminster Hospital, he was appointed professor of surgery at University College in 1850, following the death of Robert Liston (q.v.). His influential text, *Science and Art of Surgery* (“which claimed that surgery was a science to be studied rather than an art to be displayed”), first published in 1853, went into at least seven editions, and was translated

into many languages. He was created a baronet in 1895. [Power (and Bryan), 2004.]

Esdaile, J.: James Esdaile (1808-1859), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1830). Pioneer of mesmeric anaesthesia. Whilst working as a surgeon with the East India Company, in Calcutta, in 1845, he used ‘mesmerism’ extensively, and was able to reduce the mortality rate of his surgery patients from 50% to 5% — many of the patients had previously died from post-operative shock. The Indian authorities were so impressed with Esdaile’s work that they made a hospital available to him for his work. Although he never met Braid, the two corresponded.

Ethelston, H.: Rev. Hart Ethelston (1808-1872), B.A. (Oxford, 1830), M.A. (Oxford, 1839), son of a cleric, the Rector of St. Mark’s, Cheetham Hill, Manchester for more than 40 years. [Crockford, 1865a; Smith, 1874.]

Fairbairn, W.: William (later, Sir William) Fairbairn (1789-1874), F.R.S. (1850). Born in Kelso, and long-time Manchester resident. An eminent Scottish engineer and ship-builder, he was one of the founders of the Manchester Mechanics’ Institution, and served as its first secretary. He was, later, a Fellow of the Royal Society, President of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers (1854), President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (1855), and President of the British Association (1861). [Burnley (and Brown), 2004.]

Falkner, G.: George Falkner (1817-1882), a highly skilled engraver, lithographer and, later, typographer. Editor of *Bradshaw’s Manchester Journal* (later, *Bradshaw’s Journal: A Miscellany of Literature, Science and Art*) for its entire publication life of two years (May 1841 to April 1843). He was a member of the *Manchester Literary Club*: “[he] was well known in Manchester for his literary attainments and support of local writers”. After *Bradshaw’s Journal* ceased publication he began a highly successful artistic printing business with his brother. He was a member of the Council of the Manchester Royal Institution, and was instrumental in the foundation of the Manchester and Salford Association of Master-Printers and Bookbinders in 1874, and was its first President. In the early 1840s he was an avid phreno-mesmerist. [Thomas, 2006]

Faria, J.C.: José Custódio de Faria (1756-1819), born in Goa, of the *Bamonn* (i.e., *Roman Catholic Brahmin*) caste. By the time he was eleven, his parents, so unhappy with their marriage that they separated, had their marriage ‘annulled’. His mother then ‘took the veil’ (eventually becoming a prioress), and his father resumed his clerical studies (taking a doctorate in theology, and becoming the most prominent Goan cleric in Lisbon). That his parents were a nun and a priest was often misunderstood, and a matter

of great notoriety. He accompanied his father to Lisbon (in 1771) and, then, went to Rome, from whence his father, gaining a doctorate in theology, returned to Lisbon in 1777. Faria continued study at the *Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith* (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) in Rome, eventually gaining a doctorate in 1780, and becoming an ordained priest on 12 March 1780. There is no record of him belonging to any religious order. Frustrated at his lack of advancement in Portugal (he aspired to become bishop in an Indian diocese), and alleging it was due to his dark skin, he eventually moved to Paris (in 1788), where he encountered the French Revolution and the work of the Marquis de Puységur (q.v.). He was deeply involved with ‘magnetism’ as early as 1802. From 1811 to 1813, he spent some time away from Paris, teaching philosophy at number of institutions. By the time of his return to Paris, Abbé Faria (in Faria’s case, *Abbé* indicated he was a theologically trained individual who, despite wearing clerical garb, held no religious office), was an impressive figure with his air of oriental mystery, comparatively tall, very slim, with a dark complexion, a thick accent, and speaking broken French. It is altogether unclear what Faria actually did, and what his results actually were; and it seems that claims he was the precursor of more modern techniques inductions (such as those in the “Suggestion School” (q.v.) were made by those earnestly and patriotically seeking French roots for their own practices. Towards the end of his life, Faria was writing a four-volume ‘masterwork’, of which only the first volume, albeit in rather unstructured form, and written in somewhat incoherent French, was published posthumously (translated at Carrer, 2004, pp.49-306). Braid (*Neurpnology*, pp.6-8) claims far superior results from his own induction techniques — in 1820, General François-Joseph Noizet (1792-1885) reported that, in 1815, with his commands of “Sleep!”, Faria was successful with no more than 6 out of 60 subjects at a time — and refutes claims that his (Braid’s) physiological techniques were derivative of Faria’s ‘suggestive’ inductions. Faria is generally remembered today only for his supposed assertion that “a person can be charmed into sickness, and can be charmed into health” [in fact, he said, “Thus with words only, healthy [subjects] can be made ill, and ill [subjects] can be made healthy”: Carrer, 2004, p.217]. [Gauld, 1992; da Cunha Rivara, 1875/1996; Carrer, 2004.]

Fergusson, W.: Professor (later, Sir) William Fergusson (1808-1877), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1828), F.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1829), M.R.C.S. (England, 1840), F.R.C.S. (England, 1844), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1836), F.R.S. (England, 1848), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1875), was an eminent surgeon, renowned for his innovative work with harelip, cleft palate, and surgery of the jaw. He strongly advocated “conservative surgery” (the goal of which

was preserving parts of the body which might otherwise have been removed; thus “conservative”). He invented a number of important surgical instruments, including the *vaginal speculum* still in use today. Appointed Professor of Surgery at King’s College, London, aged 32, he became President of the Royal College of Surgeons (London) in 1871. [Bettany (and Lawrence), 2004.]

Ferris, Henry. The Irish divine and mystic Henry Ferris (1802-1853) wrote a number of articles on mesmerism for the *Dublin University Magazine*, under the nom de guerre of “Herfner, Irys” (an anagram of Henry Ferris).

Fleming, J. Joseph Fleming (1801-1879), M.B., Fellow Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons (Glasgow, 1833). He was an advocate of the ventilation of workplaces, and served as the Surgeon to the Police Force in the Western District of Glasgow.

Fleming, W. William Fleming (1799-1880), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1827), J.P., social reformer and antiquarian, was born in Manchester in 1799. He was the son of Thomas Fleming (1767-1848) a dyer, philanthropist, and important figure in the development and improvement of Manchester during the Industrial Revolution. Although qualified to do so, he never practiced medicine. Author of *Four days at Niagara Falls, in North America* (1840), Fleming (and his father) were amongst those that founded the Manchester Botanical Gardens, and he was the first honorary secretary of *The Chetham Society for the Publication of Historical and Literary Remains Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester* (founded in 1843). [ELGAR]

Fletcher, G. George Fletcher (1885-1963), M.A. (Glasgow, 1904), M.B. Ch.B. (Glasgow, 1909), M.D. (Glasgow, 1919), M.R.C.P. (London, 1926), F.R.C.P. (1945). Born near Glasgow, he studied medicine at Glasgow University. He was an enthusiastic medical historian. He served for many years as a Consultant Tuberculosis Officer to the Lancashire County Council, as well as being a member of the University of Manchester Medical Library Committee. [Alborn, 2004.],

Follin, F.A.E. François Anthime Eugène Follin (1823-1867), distinguished French surgeon, anatomist, and medical author. He introduced the ophthalmoscope to French medicine; and, later, improved the device. He was associated with the experiments of Azam (q.v.), Broca (q.v.), Denonvilliers (q.v.), and Velpeau (q.v.) using Braid’s hypnotism for pain-free surgery in 1859. [Schiller, 1992.]

Forbes, C. Sir Charles Forbes (1773-1849), merchant and politician. Born in Scotland, and educated at Aberdeen University, he went to live and work in Bombay, eventually becoming head of his family’s firm (Forbes & Co., Bombay). Upon returning to the U.K.

in 1811, he was involved in politics, serving in the House of Commons for more than 20 years. Created a baronet in 1823, he was elected Lord Rector of Marischal College, at Aberdeen University in 1833. He was the guardian of Jonathan Duncan (q.v.), following the death of his father, Duncan senior, in 1811. [Smith (and Matthew), 2004.]

Fowler, R.: Richard Fowler (1765-1863), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1793), F.R.C.P. (London, 1796), F.R.S. (1802), physician to the Salisbury Infirmary, and amateur scientist. His medical studies at Edinburgh were interrupted by visits to Paris (prior to the revolution). He was well respected as a physician, and died at the age of 98. [Payne (and Wallis), 2004.]

Franklin, I.A.: Isaac Abraham Franklin (1813-1880), L.S.A. (London, 1834), M.R.C.S. (London, 1835). Born in Manchester, educated at *Manchester Grammar School*, he was a prominent member of the Manchester of the Jewish community, and was one of the founders (and the long time Honorary Secretary) of the *Manchester Jews' School*. A respected surgeon, he was secretary of the Manchester Medical Society 1844 to 1846; and, later, was president of the Manchester Medico-Ethical Association. In 1849 he became the Medical Referee for the Norwich Union Association Society and, in 1869, surgeon to the Manchester Cholera Hospital. [Williams, 1985, pp.123-124.]

Freeth, S.: Major-General Sampson Freeth (1815-1891), R.E., military engineer, eldest son of General Sir James Freeth, K.C.B, K.H., Quartermaster-General to the Forces (1851-1855). For some years he was Inspecting Field Officer of the Liverpool recruiting district. Upon retirement, in 1872, Colonel Freeth of the Royal Engineers was promoted to the rank of Major-General.

Gardner, H.: Henry Gardner (1777-1842), a Belfast watchmaker who actively promoted himself as a "*hypnologist*", claiming to have discovered a system for producing sound, refreshing sleep at will, without the aid of animal magnetism, or any medicine whatsoever, in the early 1830s. Appearing briefly in Liverpool in 1835, he moved permanently to England in 1839. He made his clients swear never to reveal his methods. He claimed that various eminent people had availed themselves of his services. Just before his death, Edward Binns (q.v.) purchased his system, which he (Binns) published soon after (the technique involved concentration, listening to, and counting one's breathing). It seems that Gardner's claim to be a "*hypnologist*" was the reason Braid decided to abandon his useful, over-arching term "*hypnology*" soon after he (Braid) had coined it in 1842. Braid refers to Gardner on a number of occasions (e.g., *Neurypnology*, pp.75-78). [Anon, 1841j; Anon, 1842k; Dickens, 1842; Timbs, 1873.]

Gassner, J.J.: Austrian, Jesuit trained priest, Johann Joseph Gassner (1727-1779), held a supernatural theory of illness, believing that an evils spirit could harm the body just as much as it could harm the soul. His interventions (often presented by later writers as precursors of suggestive therapeutics) were Church-authorized exorcism rituals, involving flowing robes, incense, crucifixes held aloft, and loud commands of banishment. Gassner's rituals, when 'curative', often generated convulsions; and, for some, Mesmer's techniques were analogous, despite Mesmer's rejection of Gassner's supernatural theories. Following a thorough investigation of Gassner's work, Emperor Joseph II banished him from Regensburg (Gassner had been a *protégé* of the Bishop of Regnesburg). [Gauld, 1992; Midelfort, 2005.]

Gauld, A.D.: Alan Gauld (1932-), Ph.D., author of *The Founders of Psychological Research* (1968), and *A History of Hypnotism*, (1992).

Gibson, N.W.: Canon Nicholas William Gibson (1802-1882), B.A. (Cambridge, 1824), M.A. (Cambridge, 1827), Hebrew scholar, Sub-dean of the Manchester Cathedral, was appointed a life governor of the Owens College in 1870. [Axon, 1886, p.389.]

Graham, J.: John Graham (1812-1869), the brother of Thomas Graham (q.v.), who guided his early chemical studies in Glasgow. He showed great talent as a student and was soon employed by the calico printing works of Thomas Hoyle and Sons in Manchester, later becoming a partner in their business. One of the original members of the Chemical Society, his chemical knowledge and experimentation led to a number of improvements in bleaching processes; his experiments on the economy of different sorts of steam boilers were thought valuable. Upon his retirement (due to frail health) in 1861, he was appointed to take charge of the issue of new bronze coinage by the Mint; at his death, he was actively engaged in designing new machinery for striking coins. [De la Rue, 1869, pp.v-vi.]

Graham, T.: Thomas Graham (1805-1869), M.A. (Glasgow, 1824), F.R.S. (1836), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1855), physical chemist, lecturer, one of the leading experimental chemists of his day, famous for formulating *Graham's law* (of gas diffusion), and for his groundbreaking work on dialysis. Professor of Chemistry in University College, London, and founder and first president of the Chemical Society of London, he was master of the Mint from 1855 to 1869 (the last to hold that position). [Stanley, 2004.]

Greaves, G.: George Greaves (1806-1869), L.S.A. (1828), M.R.C.S. (England, 1829), consulting surgeon of the Chorlton Union Workhouse. He was a lecturer in forensic medicine at the Royal Manchester School of Medicine in the 1850s; and, in 1861,

became lecturer on obstetric medicine. He was a member of Manchester Medical Society. He died of blood poisoning after pricking his hand whilst performing an amputation on a patient in the workhouse hospital. [ELGAR.]

Gregory, J.: James Gregory (1753-1821), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1774), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1783), uncle of W.P. Alison (q.v.), who assisted him in his lectures from 1818. Although gaining his M.D. from Edinburgh University, he also studied medicine at Aberdeen, Oxford, and Leyden Universities. He was a tall, handsome, well-spoken man, and an excellent Latin scholar. He was a foundation member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Following Thomas Brown's graduation (q.v.), and prior to his appointment to the joint Chair of Moral Philosophy, Brown and Gregory practiced in partnership. Famous for his promotion of powdered Turkestan rhubarb, he was renowned as a lecturer, practitioner, and clinical teacher, and was widely respected for being well aware of what he could do and what he could not do. He was fond of disputation; in 1793 (by then professor in the practice of physic), he was involved in a heated dispute with the professor of midwifery, James Hamilton. In the process of their dispute, one of their confrontations "ended with Gregory beating Hamilton with his cane. For this he was taken to court and fined £100, which Gregory, when paying, offered to double for another opportunity." As a consequence of his alleged revelation of secret business of the Royal College of Physicians in 1804, he was suspended (in 1810). In 1799 he was appointed first physician to the George III in Scotland, and George IV renewed his commission on 18 May 1820 by George IV. In 1818, Gregory had a serious carriage accident that greatly impeded his breathing; he died, in 1821, of hydrothorax. [Lawrence, 2004.]

Haliburton, A.F.: Alexander Fowden Haliburton (1809-1873), B.A. (Cambridge, 1833), M.A. (Cambridge, 1836), J.P., the Chief Justice of Common Pleas in Nova Scotia (1829-1840), and Justice of the Peace for Lancashire (at least from 1836).

Hall, C.R.: Charles Radclyffe Hall (1819-1879), M.D., M.R.C.S. (England, 1845), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1848), M.R.C.P. (London, 1850), F.R.C.P. (London, 1859), was President of the British Medical Association in 1860. He had personally observed both Lafontaine and Braid at work. He wrote a set of articles — completed late 1844, published in *The Lancet* in 1845, and later released as a single work, *Mesmerism: Its Rise, Progress, and Mysteries, etc.* (1845) — which are best understood as a "literature survey" of the *status quo* at the time of the emergence of *hypnotism* (as we understand it today), and its practical and theoretical separation from the techniques of mesmerism and the

theories of animal magnetism. [Robertson, 1868.]

Hall, M.: Marshall Hall, (1790–1857), M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., eminent physician and neurophysiologist. He wrote a number of important texts, as well as some very influential papers on his “excito-motor principle”, relating to reflex action, including “On the Reflex Function of the Medulla Oblongata and the Medulla Spinalis” (1833) and “On the True Spinal Marrow, and the Excito-motor System of Nerves” (1837). [Manuel, 2004.]

Hampson, R.T.: Robert Thomas Hampson (1793-1858), popular journalist, social reformer, and eminent mediaeval scholar (he had widely read Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, old Norman, and Sanskrit literature). Born in Liverpool, his family moved to Manchester whilst he was quite young. He became a journalist for London’s *Morning Chronicle*, as its northern correspondent, reporting on the social and political unrest in the north of England in the early nineteenth century; he then wrote for the *Morning Advertiser* for over sixteen years. He published two works of outstanding scholarship that were highly praised by scholars, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium; or, Dates, Charters, and Customs of the Middle Ages* in 1841, and *Origines Patriciæ; or, A Deduction of European Titles of Nobility and Dignified Offices from their Primitive Sources* in 1846.

Hardy, R.: Robert Hardy (1810-1853), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1832), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1832). Born in Manchester, he was a Member of the Medical and Physical Societies of Edinburgh. At the time of his death, was Consulting Physician to the Salford and Pendleton Royal Dispensary, and Lecturer in Botany at the Manchester Royal School of Medicine and Surgery. [ELGAR.]

Harland, T.: Thomas Harland (1795-1882), M.R.C.S. (England, 1815), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1822), the Consulting Physician to the Royal Hospital and Dispensary at Salford. [ELGAR.]

Haygarth, T.: John Haygarth (1740-1827), M.B. (Cambridge, 1766), M.D. (Harvard, Honorary, 1794), F.R.S. (London, 1781), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1787), the eminent British physician, natural scientist, and social reformer, conducted a well-structured investigation into the efficacy of *Perkins Patent Tractors*, when he compared “dummy” wooden tractors with “active” Perkins tractors in 1799, and found them equally efficacious. Elisha Perkins (1741-1799) was a physician, expelled from the Connecticut Medical Society for the “delusive quackery” involved with his invention and promotion of the “tractors”. For an account of the “tractors” (so-called because they were dragged across the skin), see Perkins (1798). For his experiments, see Green (2002); and Haygarth

(1800). He was one of the first to advocate separate fever wards. [Harrison, 2004.]

Heath, A.M.: Ashton Marler Heath, (1803-1876), L.S.A. (1826), M.R.C.S. (England, 1827), the honorary surgeon to the Manchester Union Hospital, and one of the first two surgeons of the Ardick and Ancoats Dispensary. He was one of six candidates (including Braid) for the vacant position of Surgeon at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* in 1843; his candidature was unsuccessful, and he never re-sought election. His son, Frederick Ashton Heath (1830-1899), also a surgeon, served as a Surgeon at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* from 1855 to 1889; he also was President of the Manchester Medical Society from 1878 to 1880. [Brockbank, 1965, pp.47-48; ELGAR.]

Hell, M.: Maximilian Hell (born Höll) (1720-1792), Jesuit astronomer, son of an engineer, was born in Hungary; and, although his mother tongue was German, he always considered himself to be Hungarian. Trained in various Jesuit seminaries, he studied philosophy, physics and mathematics. He was ordained priest in 1751. In 1756, he became the first director of the observatory at the University of Vienna. He was invited (by Christian VII, King of Denmark) to lead an expedition to Norway (then part of Denmark) to observe the transit of Venus in 1769. There was some controversy about Hell's published observations; Hell's return to Hungary had been delayed because he was recording a large amount of non-astronomical data about the northern regions (intended for inclusion in a Jesuit *encyclopaedia* that never eventuated), and he was, over time, accused by a number of other astronomers, notably (posthumously) by the Austrian Joseph Johann von Littrow (1781-1840), of taking the extra time to falsify his results. It was not until his results were carefully examined much later, in 1883, and in great detail, by the Canadian mathematician and astronomer, Simon Newcomb (1835-1909), that they were declared to be unequivocally correct. For some unexplained reason Hell became interested in magnetism, and, soon, Hell was proposing that individuals could be treated by laying magnets upon their body that were shaped the same as the diseased organ. Hell influenced Mesmer's ideas. [Sarton, 1944.]

Henslow, J.S.: John Stevens Henslow (1796-1861), B.A. (Cambridge, 1818), M.A. (Cambridge, 1821), F.L.S. (1818), F.G.S. (1819), M.C.P.S., philanthropist, Anglican clergyman (ordained in 1824), botanist, geologist, and Professor of Botany at Cambridge University. He was a Fellow of the Linnean Society, a Fellow of the Geological Society, and a Member of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. He was the tutor and, later, mentor of Charles Darwin; he is also famous for chairing the 1860 Oxford "evolution debate" over Darwin's theory between Thomas Henry Huxley and Joseph

Hooker (Henslow's son-in-law) and Samuel Wilberforce. [Walters, 2004.]

Herbert, W.: Hon. and Very Rev. William Herbert (1778-1847), M.A., B.C.L., D.C.L., B.D., (Anglican) Dean of Manchester, the son of the first earl of Carnarvon. He was a classical scholar, linguist, poet, and natural scientist of some renown (especially as a botanist). He had been a barrister, and was formerly a member of parliament. He was ordained into the Anglican ministry subsequent to his parliamentary career. [Jackson (and Smail), 2004.]

Hibbert-Ware, S.: Samuel Hibbert-Ware (1782-1848), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1817), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1820), eminent geologist and highly respected antiquary. He graduated M.D. from Edinburgh, but never practiced medicine. In 1824 he read a paper to the Royal Society in Edinburgh on '*Spectral Illusions*', which was eventually expanded into *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, An Attempt to Trace Such Illusions to their Physical Causes*, Oliver & Boyd, (1824). He published many works on geology, history, and natural philosophy. As well as being a fellow of the *Royal Society of Edinburgh*, he was one-time Secretary to the *Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, a member of the *Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh*, the *Wernerian Society*, and the *Philosophical Society of Manchester*. [Sutton (and Baigent), 2004.]

Hodgkin, T.: Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1823), M.R.C.P. (London, 1825), Quaker, physician, social reformer, co-founder of the Ethnological Society of London, and honorary secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. He published a number of papers on morbid anatomy, and was the first to describe what is now known as Hodgkin's Disease. His later years were almost exclusively devoted to various aspects of social reform. [Kass, 2004.]

Hodgkinson, E.: Eaton Hodgkinson (1789-1861), F.R.S. (1841), mathematician, structural engineer, and professor of the mechanical principles of engineering at University College London (from 1841). Originally intended for the clergy, he became deeply interested in mathematics. This eventually developed into a study of materials, especially beams, under tension and compression — firstly, when used to construct factories, and then, later, in works (bridges, etc.) connected with the spreading railways. His groundbreaking brilliance was in creating methods for applying the newest mathematics to engineering issues. A dedicated supporter of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* (serving on its council three times), a director of the *Manchester Mechanics' Institute* (from 1832), and President of the *Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society* (1848-1850), he was also an honorary member of the Institution of

Civil Engineers. [Cardwell, 2004.]

Holland, H.: Sir Henry Holland (1788-1873), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1811), M.R.C.P. (London, 1816), F.R.C.P. (London, 1828), physician, adventurer, and traveller. He spent two terms studying Law at Glasgow University, then transferred to Edinburgh in 1806, commencing a medical degree, graduating M.D. in 1811 (his thesis presented material collected whilst on a one year scientific expedition to Iceland). He was always interested in the philosophy and practice of medicine, and published a number of works on his travels and on medicine. In 1837 he was appointed physician-extraordinary to Queen Victoria; and, in 1840, he was appointed physician-in-ordinary to her husband, Prince Albert. He was knighted in 1853. [Sakula, 1990; Berry, 2004.]

Holland, P.H.: Philip Henry Holland (1811-1886), L.S.A. (1832), M.R.C.S. (England), surgeon, inventor, author, and public health reformer. He studied at Guy's Hospital, and was secretary of the Manchester Medical Society from 1835 until 1838, and a Registrar of Births and Deaths at Chorlton (from 1841 to 1850). In 1847, he wrote a well-received paper advocating burial of the dead, rather than cremation. He conducted a number of experiments with manure and sewage, and invented pumping machinery that was used on the Bridgewater Canal. {ELGAR.]

Holme, E.: Edward Holme (1770-1847), M.D. (Leiden, 1893), F.L.S. Moving to Manchester in 1794, he commenced practice, and was elected a physician to the Manchester Royal Infirmary. A founder of the Portico Library, he was a member of the Manchester Natural History Society, Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester Natural History Society, Chetham Society, and Provincial Medical and Surgical Association. In his later years he was "a leader in the medical profession in Manchester, and the recognized head in all the local literary and scientific societies" (Sutton (& Wallis)). He never married; and his large personal library was bequeathed to the medical department of University College, London. [Brockbank, 1904, pp.191-199; Sutton (and Wallis), 2004.]

Hulley, R.C.: Robert Churchman Hulley (1809-1862), C.M. (Glasgow, 1834), M.D. (Glasgow, 1835), L.S.A., M.R.C.P.S. (Glasgow), a surgeon and doctor of physic. His grandfather, his father and his brother were also medical men. In 1851, he sought to be declared insolvent through ill-health, bad debts, gambling and railway share speculation. A member of the Chartist Movement, he was an advocate of social reform in the 1840s and 1850s. Having left Manchester, Hulley died in Australia, at Dunolly, Victoria on 10 May 1862 (he was mentioned in a press report of a shooting death as already

practising medicine in Dunolly in late 1859).

Hulme, J.D.: James Davenport Hulme (1774-1848), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1798) [some items have his family name as Davenport-Hulme]. He had a successful medical practice in Manchester and served as Honorary Physician to the Manchester Royal Infirmary from 1826 until his death. [Brockbank, 1904, p.268.]

Hysteria School: The “Hysteria School”, “Salpêtrière School”, or “Paris School”, was centred on the research of Charcot (q.v.) at the Pitié-Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris. It was called the “Hysteria School”, “Salpêtrière School”, or “Paris School” to contrast it with the “Suggestion School” (or “Nancy School”) centred on the research of Liébeault (q.v.), Bernheim (q.v.), Jules Joseph Liégeois (1833-1908), Professor of Jurisprudence, and Henri-Étienne Beaunis (1830-1921), M.D., Professor of Physiology, at Nancy. In brief, the highly influential “Hysteria School” claimed that a capacity to manifest a ‘hypnotic state’ was the symptom of disease approximating hysteria. At the time of his death, Charcot was in the process of retracting his ‘hysteria’ view, and was preparing to announce that he had accepted the ‘suggestion’ view of those at Nancy. [Gauld, 1992, pp.306-315; Goetz, 2005.]

Jardine, W.: Sir William Jardine (1800-1874), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1825), F.L.S. (1826), F.R.S. (England, 1860), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1862), natural scientist (his studies included botany, geology, anatomy, ornithology, and ichthyology). He attended Edinburgh University from 1817 until 1820, where he read literature and medicine. He continued his anatomical studies in Paris, but was forced to return to Scotland and take over the running of the family estate upon his father’s death in 1821. His first scientific interest was in the life cycle of salmon and trout. He was a prolific author in numerous scientific domains, and is probably best remembered for his highly popular series *The Naturalist’s Library* published in forty volumes between 1833 and 1843. He was the joint editor of the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* from 1855 to 1864. His second daughter Catherine, an ornithological artist, married Hugh Edwin Strickland (q.v.). He was a highly influential figure in the development of the British natural sciences [Jackson, 2004.]

Jerdan, W.: William Jerdan (1782-1869), journalist, newspaper proprietor, and antiquary. A Scot, he had a busy life, serving as a clerk in a country lawyer’s office, a London merchant’s counting house, and an Edinburgh solicitor’s office, before spending time as surgeon’s assistant to his uncle, a naval surgeon. By the time he was 24 (1806) he moved to London and began working as a newspaper reporter; and he was in the

lobby of the House of Commons in 1812, when Prime Minister, Spencer Perceval, was shot in the chest by an assassin and died almost immediately. Jerdan was the first to seize the assassin. By 1812, he was the editor of *The Sun*, an office he held until 1817, when he became editor of the *Literary Gazette*, (a position he held until 1850). A government pension was bestowed upon him in 1853. [Jerdan, 1866; Schneller, 2004.]

Jones, H.H.: A Baptist minister, the Rev. Henry Halford Jones (1787-1859), F.R.A.S., was the first Manchester Municipal Astronomer, serving from 1852 to 1858. Apart from his own considerable private astronomical researches, and his preparing the astronomical sections of the Manchester Almanac, his major function was to regulate all of Manchester's public clocks. A member of the Manchester Athenæum, he was also a member Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and served as its secretary from 1852 to 1856. [Schunk, 1859, pp.125-126.]

Joynson, W.: William Joynson (1801-1883), of Bowden, Cheshire, a solicitor and Justice of the Peace of Cheshire; also a Manchester silk manufacturer.

Kay-Shuttleworth, J.P.: Sir James Philips Kay-Shuttleworth (1804-1877), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1827), social reformer, and educationist. A founder of the Manchester Statistical Society, he was also a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and Mechanics' Institute. He ceased practicing medicine in 1835, becoming an assistant poor law commissioner in Norfolk and Suffolk and, later, in London. He was involved in public education and teacher education (he was a co-founder of the first teachers' training college in the UK). He was Permanent Secretary of the Education Office from 1839 until he collapsed, at work, with an epileptic seizure in 1849 (his hitherto undisclosed condition was kept secret, even to many family members). This made his position untenable, and he was forced to resign. He was knighted for his services in 1849. [Selleck, 2004].

Keenan, C.B.: Campbell Brown Keenan (1807-?), M.D. (Glasgow, 1839), graduated M.D. from Glasgow University in 1839. He lectured in Manchester ("Keenan on the lungs") right after the 1842 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Anon, 1842bl). He gave a similar lecture at the Belfast Museum on 19 July. A report of that lecture, published in the Presbyterian newspaper, *Banner of Ulster*, of 22 July 1842, was immediately reissued as a pamphlet ("An abstract report of a lecture, delivered in the Belfast Museum, on Tuesday the 19th July, 1842, wherein certain new views respecting the use of the lungs, and of the functions of the respiration ... the Galvanic Theory ... Mesmeric phenomena are accounted for ...").

Kellie, G.: Dr. George Kellie (1758-1829), M.D., F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1823) of Leith. A surgeon's son, Kellie served both as a naval surgeon and military physician during the Napoleonic wars. His (1803) M.D. thesis reported his experiments on animal electricity: *De Electricitate Animalis Complectans* (Rosner, 1991, p.234). The first to record many of the now well-established facts in relation to the cranial volume of humans, and famous for what is now called the *Monro-Kellie doctrine* (i.e., "any increase in the volume of the cranial contents will elevate intracranial pressure and that an increase in one element must occur at the expense of the others"), he became President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh in 1803, and President of the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society in 1827.

Kidd, C.: Charles Kidd (1816-1874), M.R.C.S.E (1839), Lic. Apoth. Hall (Dublin, 1839), M.D. (Glasgow, 1845), born in Limerick, practiced medicine in London, author of a number of works on the use of chemical anaesthesia and the means of its application. He died on 18 February 1874; and his son (also Charles Kidd) was born on 23 October 1874.

Kluge, C.A.F.: Carl (a.k.a. Karl) Alexander Ferdinand Kluge (1782-1844), Professor of Surgery and Obstetrics at the University of Berlin. His work, *Versuch einer Darstellung des animalischen Magnetismus, als Heilmittel* ('Attempt at a Depiction of Animal Magnetism as a Remedy'), first published in 1812, not only provided systematic details of his own extensive experiments and clinical experiences, it also gave detailed accounts of the theories, experiments, and practices of others in the field. According to Gauld (1992, p.99) it is "one of the most useful books in the whole history of animal magnetism"; and, in Crabtree's view (1988, p.64), it was "one of the most researched and widely read early German works on animal magnetism". [Gauld, 1992.]

Knipe, J.A.: James Alexander Knipe (1803-1882), geologist, cartographer and map publisher. He introduced a number of cartographic innovations, and became famous for his geological maps, many of which he produced for the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Whilst his cartography and geology were of a high order, he seemed somewhat devoid of professional ethics; and, on a number of occasions he displayed outrageous unprofessional conduct. For example, as a member of the audience attending a lecture given by geologist Charles Moore (1815-1881) at the 1864 Bath meeting of the B.A.A.S., announcing Moore's discoveries of English correlates of the European fossil containing strata (the "*rhætic beds*"), Moore passed samples of these fossils around the audience, some of which disappeared. That evening, Moore hired a

private detective, went to Knipe's lodgings, found Knipe in bed and, with the detective, found the fossils in Knipe's possession (Morrell, 2005, pp.337-338).

Lacy, E.: Edward Lacy (1801-1870), M.R.C.S. (England, 1822), L.S.A. (1822), F.R.C.S. (England, 1852). At the time of at the time of Lafontaine's Saturday, 18 December 1841 lecture, he was lecturing on midwifery and the diseases of women and children in King Street, Manchester, and was surgeon to the Stockport Infirmary and Fever Wards and to Manchester's Queen's Lying-In Institution. He later moved to Poole, in Dorset. John Doherty (1798-1854), the publisher of *The Poor Man's Advocate* was imprisoned for a month in 1832, having been found guilty of libel, having published allegations that the Rev. Martin Gilpin (Lacy's brother-in-law), had stolen the body of one Mr. Perry from the graveyard of St Thomas's Church, Stockport, and had brought it to Lacy's dissecting room in Manchester. [Swindells, 1908, p.104; ELGAR]

Lafontaine, C.: Charles Lafontaine (1803-1892), related to Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695), belonging to a theatrical family, was involved with the theatre from an early age. He had a prodigious beard. He had been introduced to mesmerism in Brussels in 1831, by the Belgian lithographer, inventor, and scholar Jean Baptiste Ambroise Marcelin Jobard (1792-1861). He studied the works of de Puységur, Sarrazin de Montferrer, Tardy de Montravel, Mialle, and Joseph Deleuze, as well as the "ancients", Paracelsus, van Helmont, Kircher, and many others (Lafontaine, 1866, I, p.82); and, then, abandoning the theatre altogether, he began touring parts of Europe. According to his own account, he successfully magnetized several lions. He had also magnetized a young woman so that a very large fatty tumour, very deeply attached below her shoulder, could be removed painlessly in less than five minutes. Although he neither spoke nor understood English (he used interpreters), he came to England, arriving in Southampton on 16 June 1841, and soon began lecturing in London. Once he left London, he toured the provinces, visiting Birmingham, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, as well as Ireland and Scotland. Lafontaine returned to France towards the end of 1842, and travelled widely around Europe and the Mediterranean. According to his account, Lafontaine visited Naples in 1849; and, having restored sight and hearing to some, he was accused of blasphemously replicating the miracles of Christ. This placed him in extremely controversial circumstances. The French Consul intervened on his behalf; and King Ferdinand II of Naples (1810-1859) made a royal decree: "*I consent to M. Lafontaine remaining in Naples, on the condition that will he not restore sight to the blind, or hearing to the deaf*" (Lafontaine, 1866, II, p.272). He was granted an audience with Pope Pius IX, in Rome on 14 November 1849. At the beginning of their discussion,

having agreed that such things as 'electricity' and 'magnetism' were natural, and having read the king's decree, the Pope raised the issue of the possible dangers of 'animal magnetism'. After some discussion with Lafontaine (Lafontaine making claims of curing many 'incurable' diseases, including paralysis, epilepsy, and of restoring the faculties to the permanently deaf, mute, and blind), and some extensive demonstrations by Lafontaine involving both the physical methods of intervention and the consequent manifestations the Pope is said to have remarked: " *Well! Mr. Lafontaine, let us wish and hope that, for the good of humanity, [animal] magnetism may soon be generally employed*" (p.346). He returned to France in January 1850; and, soon after, moved to Switzerland, where he remained until his death, and published *Le Magnétiseur: Journal du Magnétisme Animal* in Geneva from 1859 to 1872. In April 1868, 18 years old Amélie-Patonier died from treatment delivered by the Swiss physician François-Auguste Ladé (1841-1866). The issue centred on the administration of a lethal overdose of morphine within a mixture prepared by his father, Louis Ladé, a trained pharmacist. The girl's death was investigated in a very unsatisfactory fashion and, despite much evidence pointing to the incompetence and malpractice of both of the Ladés, neither was put on trial. The girl's father published a pamphlet, giving precise details of the evidence that had been provided to the coroner, denouncing the failure of the justice system. Lafontaine reprinted it, with some additional supportive commentary in the September 1868 edition of *Le Magnétiseur* (pp.165-172), under the title " *Un Scandale médical*"; and, for this Lafontaine was sued for slander (he lost the case and paid out 2,000 francs). He died in Geneva, in 1892, a comparatively wealthy man. [Gauld, 1992.]

Lang, W.: Lang, William (1772-1848), a radical Glasgow bookseller. The author of *Mesmerism; Its History, Phenomena, and Practice: With Reports of Cases Developed in Scotland* (1843). His response to M'Neile's "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism" sermon is at *Appendix Eleven*.

Lankester, E.: Edwin Lankester (1814-1874), L.S.A. (London, 1837), M.R.C.S. (London, 1837), M.D. (Heidelberg, 1839), F.L.S. (1840), M.R.C.P. (London, 1841), F.R.S. (1845), surgeon, coroner, popular science lecturer, natural historian, public health reformer, and president of the Microscopical Society. He (and his microscopy) played an important part in forcing the closure of the Broad Street pump during the London cholera epidemic. He was a respected lecturer and a prolific author. He married botanist Phebe Pope (1825-1900) in 1845. Their son, zoologist Sir (Edwin) Ray Lankester (1847-1929), was even more eminent than his parents. [English, 2004.]

Laycock, T.: Thomas Laycock, (1812-1876), L.S.A. (1835), M.R.C.S. (England, 1835), M.D. (Göttingen, 1839), M.R.C.P. (London, 1842), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1856), F.R.S. (Edinburgh, 1856), eminent consulting physician, academic, and neurophysiologist, famous for his works *On the Reflex Function of the Brain* (1845), and *Mind and Brain: or, The Correlations of Consciousness and Organisation; With Their Applications to Philosophy, Zoology, Physiology, Mental Pathology, and the Practice of Medicine* (1860). Like Braid, his first training was as an apprentice surgeon-apothecary. He later trained in Paris with Velpeau (q.v.). He was the first in the U.K. to surgically correct lateral curvature of the spine (on a single occasion in September 1840). Braid (1841a, p.362) acknowledged Laycock's priority. {Barfoot, 2004.]

Leigh, J.: John Leigh, (1813-1888), L.S.A. (1834), M.R.C.S. (England, 1837), a Manchester surgeon, natural scientist, and analytical chemist, was a close associate of the geologist Edward William Binney (1812-1882), F.R.S. Appointed as the first Medical Officer of Health for Manchester in 1868. Before he was 21, and before he entered the Royal College, he was teaching chemistry and forensic medicine at the Pine Street and Marsden Street Medical Schools in Manchester. He wrote widely on the composition of gases, and was greatly concerned with clean air and general sanitation. He was the joint author of *A History of the Cholera in Manchester in 1849: as Reported to the Registrar General of Births, Deaths, &c.* (1850). [ELGAR]

Leigh, J.H.: James Heath Leigh (1796-1848), B.A. (Cambridge, 1818), M.A. (Cambridge, 1821), lawyer and High Sheriff of Cheshire (appointed 23 February 1835). Born in Liverpool, and educated at Eton, he married Frances Mosley, daughter of Sir Oswald Mosley (q.v.), in 1827. At his death he was a deputy Lieutenant and a Magistrate of the county of Chester (from 1831).

Lemon, C.: Sir Charles Lemon (1784-1868), F.R.S. (1822), second president of the Royal Statistical Society, President of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, and Member of Parliament, at various times in various Cornwall constituencies, he served for a total of 33 years. He funded the establishment of what is now known as the Camborne School of Mines (now a part of the University of Exeter). [Anon [1868b],

Liébeault, A.A.: Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault (1823-1904), M.D. (Strasbourg, 1850), a provincial physician, who conducted his practice in a rural area on the outskirts of Nancy. He "had acquired an intense interest in animal magnetism... in his student days [in Strasbourg] and wished to practice it; but the French peasants who made up the bulk of his patients were not receptive" (Gauld, 1992, p.320). Liébeault was

responsible for introducing Bernheim (q.v.) to his own version of hypnotism, based upon what he had learned from Azam (q.v.). It was upon Liébeault, and Liébeault's work, that the "Suggestion School" (q.v.) of Nancy was centred: the major participants of the "Nancy School" being Liébeault, Hippolyte Bernheim (1840-1919) Professor in the Faculty of Medicine, Jules Joseph Liégeois (1833-1908), Professor of Jurisprudence, and Henri-Étienne Beaunis (1830-1921), Professor of Physiology. [Bernheim, 1887/1889; 1891/1980; Gauld, 1992; Carrer, 2002.]

Lind, J.: Jenny Lind [Johanna Maria Lind] (1820-1887), a famous Swedish soprano better known as "The Swedish Nightingale". Whilst the beauty of her voice was far greater than any other in living memory (thus, the *Swedish Nightingale*), what really set her apart was her outstanding ability to act. A close personal friend of the Manchester industrialist, Salis Schwabe (1800-1853) and his wife Julia (1818-1896) (see Albisetti, 2002), she came to Manchester in August 1847, giving two performances of Amina in Bellini's *La Sonnambula* (*The Sleep-walker*), on 28 and 30 August. After a rest, she gave two performances of Marie in Donizetti's *La Figlia del Reggimento* (*The Daughter of the Regiment*) on 2 and 4 September. "Mr. Braid, surgeon, whose discoveries in hypnotism are well known, having invited the fair impersonator of a somnambulist to witness some of the abnormal feats of a real somnambulist, artificially thrown into that state, it was arranged that a private *séance* should take place..." (*Manchester Guardian*, 8 September 1847). She and her friends visited Braid on Friday, 3 September 1847, and witnessed an impressive exhibition of Braid's work using two warehouse girls as Braid's subjects.

Little, W.J.: William John Little (1810-1894), M.D. (Berlin 1837), M.R.C.P. (London 1837), M.R.C.S. (England 1832), studied with Johannes Müller in Berlin in the hope of finding a surgical cure for his own (left) club foot. From his own dissection of cadavers, he discovered that club-foot was not a bone problem at all; but one of muscles and tendons. In 1836, Stromeyer successfully operated on Little, dividing his Achilles tendon. Little's text, *A Treatise on the Nature of Club-Foot and Analogous Distortions* (1839), the first work in English, was an expansion of his (1837) doctoral dissertation, *Symbolæ ad Talipedem Varum cognoscendum*, the first work on the subject in any language. [Siegel, 1988.]

Lloyd, G.: George Lloyd (1804-1889), B.A. (Oxford, 1829), M.A. (Oxford, 1833), B.M. (Oxford, 1834), F.G.S. (1838), Leamington physician, botanist, geologist, and glass manufacturer.

Lowe, J.: Mr. James Lowe (1780-1860), M.R.C.S. (England, 1827), commenced practice before the restrictions of the *Apothecaries Act* of 1815, and was admitted M.R.C.S. in 1827. [ELGAR]

Luys, J.B.: Jules Bernard Luys (1828-1897), M.D. (Paris, 1857), the eminent French neurologist, neuroanatomist and neuropsychiatrist made substantial contributions to our knowledge of the function and organization of the human brain. He wrote several texts on the brain, and on the treatment of the insane. Deeply interested in hypnotism, he was also, for a time, a colleague of Charcot (q.v.) at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris. [Gauld, 1992; Parent and Parent, 2011.]

Lynill, J.P.: John Preston Lynill (or Lynel, or Lynell) (1811-1899), a Manchester share-broker, was a phrenologist (he was honorary secretary of the Manchester Phrenological Society from 1829 to the mid 1840s), an advocate of mesmerism (especially Lafontaine's version), and an active member of the Athenæum. He was fluent in French; and, on a number of occasions, he acted as the interpreter for Lafontaine. "§ 304. Mr. Lynill, a non-professional gentleman at Manchester, relates, that by mesmerising a woman in labour, he rendered her insensible to the pains for an hour and a half" (Hall, 1845, V, p.281: referring to Lynill's letter to *The Zoist* at Lynill, 1844).

Lyon, E.: Edmund Lyon (1790-1862), M.R.C.S. (England, 1812), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1815) was a member of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association. Although highly regarded by his peers, it took him some time to achieve financial success. Retiring from active practice in 1851 (on health grounds) he devoted himself to three important public institutions: the Manchester Royal Infirmary, the Royal Manchester Institution (he was its President when he died), and Henshaw's Blind Asylum (now known as Henshaws Society for Blind People). [Anon, 1863a.]

M'Kerlie, J.G.: Colonel, Sir John Graham M'Kerlie (1815-1900), K.C.B. (1883), Royal Engineers (he retired in 1861), military engineer, musketry expert (he conducted a series of experiments for the British Government of the performance of a weapon at Chatham in 1846), Commissioner of Irish Board of Works (1855-1864), Chairman of the Board of the Irish Board of Works (1864-1883). He was also a governor of the National Gallery of Ireland. [*Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720-1940.*]

M'Neile, D.J.: Daniel James M'Neile (1834-1874) of the Bengal Civil Service. Christened on 19 April 1835 as Daniel James M'Neile (some records mistakenly have him as James Daniel), served with distinction in the Bengal Civil Service. He married Julia Savage in 1869. They had three children. Whilst on 12 months' home leave with

his family, staying with his father at Ripon, he went fishing in the river Ure on the morning of Monday 31 August 1874 near Tanfield. Whilst he was fishing, the level of the river suddenly rose some four feet and he was swept away. Despite extensive searches along the river, his body was not found until twelve days later, floating face up in the river near Boroughbridge.

M'Neile, E.H.: Rev. Edmund Hugh M'Neile, B.A., M.A. (1840-1893). Edmund was appointed honorary Canon of Liverpool (1880-1893), and served at St Paul's, Prince's Park, Liverpool (1867-1893), and as Chaplain to the Bishop of Chester (1877-1884). He married Cecilia Elizabeth (1841-1929), daughter of Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, Lord Cottesloe (1798-1890). Lord Cottesloe's brother, William Robert Fremantle, D.D. (1807-1895) — who was cox in the Oxford boat in the very first race between Oxford and Cambridge at Henley on 10 June 1829 and was, at his death, the last remaining survivor of that race (Anon, 1895b) — served as Dean of Ripon between 1876 and 1895 (he succeeded Hugh M'Neile, who served from 1868 to 1875). Lord Cottesloe's son, William Henry Fremantle, D.D. (1831-1916) served as Canon of Canterbury from 1882 to 1895, and as Dean of Ripon between 1895 and 1915.

M'Neile, H.: Rev. Hector M'Neile (1843-1922), Hector M'Neile, born 15 January 1843, was a fellow of St John's College Cambridge (1865-1871), the vicar of Bredbury, Cheshire (1893-1900), a missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Bombay (1900-1907), and vicar of Bishop's Sutton, Hampshire (1907-1922). He married Mary Rosa Lush. One of his three sons, Rev. Robert Fergus M'Neile, and two of his daughters, Annie Hilda M'Neile and Jessie Margaret M'Neile served as missionaries in Egypt and Palestine. His third daughter, Ethel Rhoda M'Neile (1875-1922), served as a missionary in India. Ethel became the headmistress of the CMS School in Agra in 1912. Having spent some time in England, Ethel was returning to India on the British P & O steamer *Egypt*. On the evening of 20 May 1922, near Ushant, off the coast of Brittany, in a heavy sea fog, the *Egypt*, en route to Bombay, with 38 passengers and 290 crew, was rammed at 7:30PM (whilst many of the passengers were still on deck, the dinner gong having just sounded), sliced in two, and sunk by the French cargo steamer *Seine*. 98 died and 230 were saved. According to the *New York Times* of 22 May 1922 (Anon, 1922), whilst there were more than enough lifeboats for all to safely leave the ship, the majority of the *lascar* (Indian) crew had taken to the lifeboats immediately. This meant that there was not enough lifeboat-launching manpower left on deck. Ethel refused to enter a lifeboat, giving her seat to a woman whose children would have been orphaned and, kneeling on the deck in prayer, she went down with the ship; she was one of the 10

passengers and 88 crew that perished. A memorial to her is inscribed upon her father's grave in the churchyard of St Nicholas' Church, Bishop's Sutton (Smith and Taylor, 2004, p.186; Stock, 1916, pp.110, 111, 126, 152, 153, 217, 218; Basu, 2004; Anon, n.d.).

M'Neile, J.: John M'Neile (1788-1855), older brother of Hugh M'Neile made his fortune in South America, and returned to Ireland to become one of the founding members of the Northern Bank, the first bank in Belfast (according to Hill (1925, p.269), John M'Neile was a majority shareholder, holding two hundred £100 shares, totalling £20,000). John married Charlotte Lavinia Dallas (1803-1859), daughter of the distinguished cavalry officer, Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Dallas, G.C.B. (1757-1839), in June 1823. They had two sons, Henry Hugh (1829-), Alexander John (1842-), and one daughter, Mary Harriet (1833-1919). Mary married Hugh McCalmont Cairns (1810-1885), the First Earl Cairns (which made Hugh M'Neile his uncle by marriage), who served as Attorney General in the third Derby ministry (late 1866), and as Lord Chancellor in the first (1868) and second Disraeli ministries (1874-1880), when he exerted sufficient pressure on Disraeli to have his uncle, Hugh M'Neile, elevated to Dean of Ripon, and his nephew, William Connor Magee (1821-1891), elevated to Bishop of Peterborough, and, finally, as (opposition) Conservative Leader in the House of Lords from 1869 to 1870.

M'Neile, M.: Captain Malcolm McNeile (1845-) R.N., born 16 March 1845, was Governor of the Royal Naval Prison at Lewes, Sussex. He married Christiana Mary Sloggett on 28 July 1870 in the Cathedral at Ripon, with his father officiating, and his brother Ernest assisting. Father of Lieutenant Malcolm Douglas McNeile, R.N. (1880-), Minnie Mabel Barkworth, M.B.E. (1871-1898) (who married Captain John Raymond Barkworth, R.E., on 26 September 1895), and Lieutenant-Colonel Herman Cyril McNeile (1888-1937) — who, with pen-name "Sapper", was possibly the most popular English author in the 1930s.

M'Neile, N.: Rev. Norman Frederick M'Neile (1846-1929), B.A., M.A. Known as "the blind vicar", he was born on 14 August 1846, and served at St. Peter's Brafferton Parish Church in Helperby, Yorkshire for 50 years. Married to Clara Cecilia Willink (1852-1929) in July 1881. He was completely blind from the age of 12. He had been taught by Rev. Robert Hugh Blair, Rector of St. Michael's, Worcester first at a Liverpool school, and later at *The King's School*, Worcester. It was Blair who founded the *Worcester College for the Blind Sons of Gentlemen* in 1866 (the first such public school in England, as distinct from earlier vocational/industrial training establishments), under the auspices of

the Bishop of Worcester, whence M'Neile would repair for assistance with his studies at Trinity College, Dublin and for additional coaching and preparation on each of his vacations between 1867 and 1871 (Bell, 1967, p.16). He received his B.A. in 1868, and M.A. in 1871. He had been trained to read the services from a special prayer book, created for him by Blair, that had raised print on each page (Anon, 1876a).

Macilwain, G.: George Macilwain (1797-1882), M.R.C.S., F.R.C.S., vice-president of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. An Author of a number of medical texts, he was also a member of the Royal Institution and the Royal Irish Academy. [Goodwin (and Bevan), 2004.]

Martin, J.: James Martin (1790-1875), L.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1811), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1826), born at Leadhills on 3 January 1790. He passed the English Royal College of Surgeons Examination for Assistant Surgeon in the Army in 1812, and served as an Assistant Surgeon in the British Army during the Peninsular War, and later worked in the West Indies. He was discharged from the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers on half pay, prior to returning to Edinburgh to study for his M.D. Given his extensive in-the-field experience, it is not clear what level of theoretical and practical studies Martin would have been required to undertake; apart from, that is, preparing for his oral examinations, and writing his dissertation (in Latin).

Maxwell, W.: William Maxwell, M.D. (1760-1834), a Roman Catholic, was the second son of James Maxwell (1708-1762) of Kirkconnell, and his English wife Mary (née Riddell). His father, a staunch Jacobite, had been educated at The Scots College at Douai in northern France from 1721 to 1728. He served as an officer in the army of Charles Edward Stuart ("Bonnie Prince Charlie"), and fought at the Battle of Culloden (16 April 1746). Widely respected throughout Scotland, and often simply referred to as "Maxwell of Kirkconnell", his father died when he was just two; and, at his mother's direction, and he and his two brothers received firstly a Jesuit and then a secular Oratorian Roman Catholic education on the Continent (in Flanders and Liege, then part of Belgium). At 19, upon his return to Scotland, Maxwell suffered a very serious, "mysterious illness" (perhaps tuberculosis) that severely incapacitated him for at least two years. Once his illness had passed, he went on to study medicine at Edinburgh University from 1784 to 1787; and, during his studies he was strongly influenced by the views of Professor James Gregory, M.D., F.R.S. (1753-1821) — especially, by Gregory's notions that a complete education was consisted of far more than the acquisition of a university degree alone. Immediately following his graduation, Maxwell made several

attempts to commence his professional medical practice in Scotland and in England, but his fascination with the enlightenment in France, and his sympathy for the republican movement, took him twice to France; once before the French revolution, and once during it. It is reliably asserted (e.g., Findlay, 1898, p.53) that, towards the end of 1792, it was Maxwell, acting on behalf of the French revolutionaries, who ordered a consignment of 3,000 poinards (or daggers) from a Birmingham manufacturer, for distribution amongst those sympathetic to the revolution, with the intention that they would secrete the weapon on their person and, whenever the opportunity arose, use it to execute French aristocrats who had taken refuge in England — and, as a consequence, was responsible for Edmund Burke's most famous performance in the House of Commons: his dramatic "dagger speech" of 28 December 1782. On Monday, 21 January 1793, he was in command of the guard that led Louis XVI to the guillotine, and was close enough to clearly hear the last words addressed to the king, and was said to have acquired a handkerchief that had been dipped in the King's blood, which he kept on his person for the rest of his life (Findlay, 1898, pp.52-53). However, when France declared war on Great Britain on 1 February 1793, he immediately left France and returned to Kirkconnell. Supported by his unmarried cousin, John Menzies (1756-1843), said to be by far the richest and most influential Roman Catholic Scot of his day (Johnson, 1983, p.209), he soon moved to Dumfries and began his medical practice there. Although Maxwell never married, he had a daughter, Elizabeth, whom he took into his household as a small infant. Neither the identity of the child's mother nor the circumstances surrounding the child's conception were ever revealed; the official story is that Maxwell went to his death without ever revealing his secret. He was devoted to his daughter; she was apparently a delightful child, with a wonderful sunny disposition; and all were exceptionally fond of her. In Dumfries he became a good friend of the Scottish poet, Robert Burns (1759-1796), and attended him during his last illness. On his deathbed, a grateful Burns presented Maxwell with a pair of pistols that had been given (c.1789) to Burns by the Birmingham gun-maker, David Blair (1755-1814), remarking that "I wish them to fall into the hands, not of a rascal, but an honest man" (Wilson, 1852, p.50). Maxwell's adventures in France were not just restricted to political and social pursuits. Upon his eventual return to Dumfries he introduced an important innovation to his surgical practice that greatly improved the efficacy of the post-amputation binding of arteries (i.e., rather than cautery). He died in Edinburgh on 13 October 1834; and his obituary in the *Dumfries Times* of 22 October 1834 remarked upon his significance in both the literary and political history of the

nation: "His intimacy with Burns, whose friend as well privately as professionally he was, and of whose last illness he was a faithful and affectionate soother in both capacities, has in some measure rendered the name of Maxwell literary property; while the liberal principles of the deceased, his visit to Paris during the early days of the first Revolution, and the well-known denouncement of him and his presumed designs by Burke, gave him a permanent place in the political history of the country." (McDowall, 1867, p. 721)

Mayo, H.: Herbert Mayo (1796-1852), M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.S., (1796-1852), brilliant physiologist and anatomist, discovered the functions of the fifth and seventh cranial nerves, and important aspects of the optic nerve's operation. Professor of anatomy, professor of physiology and pathological anatomy at King's College, and a distinguished scientist, he wrote a number of important medical texts. He attended Braid's 1 March 1842 *conversazione* in London. He not only examined Braid's subjects, but also submitted himself to Braid's procedures. His professional reputation suffered greatly from his deep interest in mesmerism, which was compounded by the fact that the false claim of priority of Scottish neurologist Charles Bell's (1774-1842) over the discoveries of Mayo and the French physiologist François Magendie (1783-1855) was *initially accepted* by the medical fraternity (incidentally, Mayo had been a student of Bell between 1812 and 1815, before moving to Leiden University, where he took M.D. in 1818). Seeking treatment for his own crippling rheumatism, he eventually moved to a hydropathic establishment in Germany, where he died on 15 August 1852. [Anon, 1852b; Anon, 1852c.]

Magee, W.: William Magee (1766-1831), the Archbishop of Dublin The fierce anti-Catholic, William Magee was Assistant Professor of Oriental Tongues (1800-1806) and Professor of Mathematics at Trinity College, Dublin (1806-1812). He was also the Church of Ireland's Dean of Cork (1813-1819), Bishop of Raphoe (1819-1822), and Archbishop of Dublin (1822-1831). His grandson (M'Neile's nephew), William Connor Magee (1821-1891), was appointed Bishop of Peterborough by Disraeli in 1868, and served until 1891, when he was elevated to Archbishop of York (dying 4 months later).

Mesmer, A.: Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), M.D., the German physician responsible for 'mesmerism'.

Miller, J.: James Miller (1795-1870), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1814), practiced in Higher Broughton, Manchester (1812-1864). [ELGAR.]

Mordacque. L.H.: Louis Henry Mordacque (1824-1870), later Rev. L.H. Mordacque,

M.A., was the son of M. Louis Alexandre Joseph Mordacque (1800-1868), the author and teacher of French language in various Manchester schools. He was 17½ at the time of Lafontaine's Saturday, 18 December 1841 lecture; and, so, he would indeed have been "Mr. Louis Mordacque, junior".

Mosley, O.: Sir Oswald Mosley (1785-1871), M.A. (Oxford, 1806), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1810), F.G.S. (1834), F.L.S. (1841), politician, natural historian, and author, interested in geology, botany, natural history, archæology, mineralogy, horticulture, and painting. Educated at Rugby and Oxford, he was M.P. for Portarlington (1806-1807), Winchelsea (1807-1812), Midhurst (1817-1818), and North Staffordshire (1832-1837). He was High Sheriff of Staffordshire 1814 to 1815, and Chairman of the Quarter Sessions for Staffordshire for nine years. He was President of the British Archaeological Association, foundation member and second President (following the death of John Dalton) of the Manchester Royal Institution, and President of the Manchester Geological Society. His daughter, Frances, married James Heath Leigh (q.v.). [Anon, 1871a.]

Mumbray, R.G.: Robert Goodwin Mumbray, (1818–1913), an eminent pharmaceutical chemist and amateur botanist. A Life Member of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, he worked in Manchester until 1861. He then moved to Surrey, opening a pharmaceutical laboratory. In 1895 he spoke of having had "frequent opportunities for conversation" with Braid on the subject of hypnotism, and described a classic example of Braid's strategy of "induc[ing] a dominant idea in the patient's mind, directed to the seat of the complaint, with the confident expectation of a cure" and how the strategy gained the object sought. Braid told Mumbray, "In this particular case, the young lady is of a highly susceptible temperament; you know what remedies she has been taking, and I have seen the prescriptions, but the treatment is really worse than the complaint. Now if you will prepare some pills of bread, to be taken as directed, she is to expect certain results, which will follow." Mumbray noted: "and so it proved; for after taking a few boxes of these potent pills, the patient was restored to health". [Mumbray, 1895; Anon, 1913.]

Murchison, R.I.: Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792-1871), K.C.B. (1863), D.C.L. (1853), F.R.S. (1826), F.R.S. (Edinburgh), F.G.S. (1825), F.L.S., M.R.I.A., geologist and geographer. President of the Royal Geographical Society, the Geological Society, and the British Association. He was the first to investigate and describe the Silurian system. He had prepared himself for an extended military career; but, upon his marriage to geologist Charlotte Hugonin in 1815, he retired from the army and began to engage in

a wide range of scientific pursuits. In 1855 he was appointed director-general of the British Geological Survey. He was greatly respected for his influence on geographic work, especially his advocacy of exploration, and many honours were showered upon him from all corners of the globe. [Bonney (and Stafford), 2004.]

Munro, A.: The Rev. Dr. Alexander Munro, M.A., D.D., (1796-1878), educated at Glasgow University, and minister of the Scotch Church, in St. Peter's Square, Manchester, from 1832 to 1869. Before his move to Manchester, he had been the tutor of the Duke of Argyll.

Noble, D.: Daniel Noble (1810-1885), L.S.A. (1833), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1833), M.R.C.P. (London, 1850), M.D. (St. Andrews, 1853), F.R.C.P. (London, 1859), A.M. (Honours) (St. Andrews, 1860). He began his Manchester practice in 1834, and was President of the *Manchester Phrenological Society* 1835-1838. Greatly interested in mental illness, he wrote important texts on the anatomy, physiology, and function of the brain, and on the treatment of mental disorders. He also wrote on phrenology and mesmerism. He was a devout Roman Catholic, and a friend of Cardinal Wiseman. His daughter, Frances Noble (1847-1922), was a very popular "Catholic author", writing *Gertrude Mannering: A Tale of Self-Sacrifice, Through Thorny Paths: or, Marion's History, Madeline's Destiny, The Temptation of Norah Leecroft*, etc. Noble became good friends with Braid; they also had a friend in common in W.B. Carpenter (q.v.). It was Noble who suggested the "ideo-dynamic" terminology that Braid eventually adopted. [Burton, 1911.]

Nottingham, J.: John Nottingham (1811-1895), F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., studied surgery at Guys Hospital in London, and in France — with both Guillaume Dupuytren (1777-1835) and Velpeau (q.v.). He spent all of his professional life in Liverpool; and, near the end of his professional career, he became renowned for his expertise in the treatment of eye and ear diseases (matters upon which he also wrote a number of important text books). [Anon, 1895a.]

Okey Sisters: Jane (c.1821-?) and Elizabeth (c.1820-?) Okey (or O'Key), both Irish, both epileptics, and both housemaids. They first came to notice in 1836/1837 when Elizabeth Okey tricked Edward Irving — who at that time, was also involved with M'Neile's *Albury conferences*, — into believing that she could "speak in tongues". The two then became John Elliotson's subjects, when Elizabeth, then 16, was (voluntarily) admitted to the University College London Hospital in April 1837, during the visit of Baron Jules Denis Dupotet de Sennevoy (q.v.). She had volunteered because his tech-

niques were thought to be particularly efficacious in cases of epilepsy and hysteria. Elliotson was tricked into believing that, as a consequence of his (Elliotson's) "passes" the two girls went into a 'mesmeric trance' in which they were either (a) insensible and unconscious, or (b) ecstatic and able to speak, respond to the operator's suggestions, and, most important of all, make clairvoyant predictions. Enthralled by their trickery, Elliotson conducted many experiments with the sisters; and, on occasion he took the extraordinary step of taking an 'entranced' Elizabeth down into the wards, in the dead of night, so that she could diagnose the illness of particular patients, and, also prescribe their remedies. Even after Elliotson's resignation from the hospital at the end of 1838, in protest against orders to cease his experimentation with the Okeys and with mesmerism, he continued his experiments with the Okey sisters, the details of which appear as an appendix to his textbook *Human Physiology* (Elliotson, 1840, pp.1163-1194). [Clarke, 1874]

Oldham, J.: James Oldham (1801-1890), M.I.C.E. (1834), civil engineer and land reclamation expert. As a youngster he displayed a strong talent for drawing and mechanical pursuits. After spending two years at sea, he returned (aged 16) to work for his father, a millwright, and was apprenticed to him. Not long after, he won a competition for the design of a movable bridge across the Humber River, and was ordered by the Hull Corportion to build the bridge he had designed. From that time he worked as a civil (rather than mechanical) engineer. He surveyed many roads around the Hull district, and was appointed Government Inspector of Steamships. He was engineer for a number of railway, loch, and waterway projects and was both advisor to the government on reclamation of land and supervising engineer of many reclamation projects. Towards the end of his life, Oldham and his partners were responsible for the construction of the Hull and Barnsley Railway. [Anon, 1891a]

Owen, R.: Sir Richard Owen, (1804-1892), F.R.S., K.C.B., comparative anatomist and palæontologist, and the Hunterian professor in the Royal College of Surgeons. An eminent figure in many scientific domains, he was the driving force behind the establishment of the British Natural History Museum. A difficult man, who was greatly respected as a scientist, his reputation began to decline as his unsatisfactory dealings with colleagues, errors of scientific judgement, and opposition to Darwin, Huxley, and evolution in general, became more widely known. A prolific author, he is best known today for coining the term *dinosaur*. [Sakula, 1990; Gruber, 2004.]

Pacey, J.: Jephtha Pacey (1786-1852), church architect and master builder, based in

Boston, Lincolnshire. He was responsible for building a number of churches, assembly rooms, and vicarages in the Lincolnshire fenlands.

Patterson, A.: Andrew Patterson (1803-1883), a highly respected teacher of the deaf and dumb. He had trained under Henry Brothers Bingham (q.v.), and was the head-master of the Manchester School for the Deaf and Dumb from 1841 to 1883.

Patterson, R.: Robert Patterson, (1802-1872), F.R.S. (1859), natural historian, zoologist, and co-founder of the *Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society*. His *Letters on the Natural History of the Insects Mentioned in Shakespere's Plays, With Incidental Notices on the Entomology of Ireland* (1838), was the first of many publications and contributions to scientific journals. He was an enthusiastic member of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* for many years; and was a member of the *Royal Irish Academy* (1856). His son, Robert Lloyd Patterson (1836-1906), and grandson, Robert Patterson (1863-1931), were also naturalists. [Hamilton (and Foote), 2004.]

Pearson, G.: George Pearson, aged 16, was the chief witness in the case of the attempt made on the life of the pregnant Queen Victoria on 30 May 1842 by John Francis, aged 20, who had tried to shoot her whilst she was driving down Constitution hill. Francis had been only a few yards from her carriage; and so had Pearson. Not only was Pearson unable to give evidence, but, at the time of Francis' attempt, he "[had been] afflicted with so inveterate a habit of stammering as to be unable even to give an alarm [to the Queen]" (Anon, 1842bd). When he was presented to the magistrate, Sir Peter Laurie (1778-1861), a former Lord Mayor of London, to state what he had observed — to justify the entrapment of Francis in the same location a day later — in Laurie's words "[Pearson's] infirmity was of such a nature as to render him perfectly incapable of giving utterance to his meaning. Mr. Hunt kindly offered his services to Pearson, and in a fortnight I saw him again, when he spoke with the utmost readiness, and I believe the cure to be complete" (Hunt, 1854, p.31). Francis was found guilty of treason. On 1 July 1842, by the personal order of Queen Victoria, his death sentence was commuted to transportation for life to Van Diemen's Land. He Left England on 15 July 1842, on the *Marquis of Hastings*.

Pitres, J.A.: Jean Albert Pitres (1848-1928), a neurologist, who studied with Charcot (q.v.) for a year at the Salpêtrière Hospital. In 1885 he was appointed Dean of the Bordeaux medical school. Highly respected as an academic, teacher, and experimental collaborator, he was a member of the Académie de Médecine. He is famous for proposing the (now discredited) notion of "*zones hypnogènes*", 'hypnogenetic zones',

each of which, when stimulated, induced hypnotism, and their counterparts, "*zones hypnofrénatrices*", 'hypno-arresting zones', which abruptly terminated the state so induced. [Moll, 1890; Pitres, 1891; Gauld, 1992.]

Preyer, W.T.: William Thierry Preyer (1841-1897), M.D. (Bonn, 1866), Ph.D. (Heidelberg, 1862), born in Manchester, bilingual in English and German. An eminent physiologist, who taught at Jena University, was a strong advocate of Braid, his work, and hypnotism in general. He did much to publicize Braid's forgotten writings (especially in Germany) at a time when they were being otherwise ignored. [Gauld, 1992; Fitzpatrick, 2004.]

Pringle, J.W.: Major John Watson Pringle (1793-1861), born John *William* Pringle, R.E., F.G.S. (1827), the geologist, statistician, and surveyor. He served with the Royal Engineers from in the Peninsular War from 1810 to 1814. He served in the 1815 campaign, and was severely wounded at Waterloo in 1815. He studied at the Freiburg School of mines, and became Superintendent of the Geological Survey in Ireland in 1826. He served on the Boards of various railway companies. He was commissioned by the British Government to conduct an Inquiry into the State of the Prisons in the West Indian Colonies. The inquiry took two years, and Pringle's report was released in 1839. [Anon, 1862b.]

Prout, W.: William Prout (1785-1850), M.D., M.R.C.P. (London, 1812), F.R.C.P. (London, 1829) was a highly respected physician, and a brilliant analytical chemist. The son of a farmer, he studied classics, and began his professional life as a teacher in Bristol. Humphrey Davy's work on electrochemistry awoke his life-long interest in chemistry. In 1808 he moved to Edinburgh, and began his medical studies at the University, graduating M.D. in 1811. In his practice he specialized in stomach and urinary diseases. He published widely on matters of chemistry, medicine, and metabolic function. [Brock, 2004b.]

Purcell, S.A.J.: Sally Anne Jane Purcell (1944-1998), M.A. (Oxford, 1970), was a poet, classical scholar, and highly respected translator of ancient and modern European languages. She provided the accurate English translations of the German texts of the three (otherwise lost) papers of Braid that are appended to Wink's (1969) B. Litt. Dissertation. [Jay, 1998.]

Purland, T.: Theodosius Purland (1805-1881), Ph.D. (Geissen, 1857), M.A. (Geissen, 1857), great-grandson, grandson, son and nephew of dentists. A surgeon-dentist specializing in the treatment of children, in London (from 1830 until his death). He was

also a mesmerist. Although sceptical prior to meeting John Elliotson (in 1844), he was immediately 'converted' through his own successful experiments on various subjects. Served as surgeon-dentist to the Mesmeric Infirmary Elliotson opened in London in 1850. An eminent numismatist, he received both M.A. and Ph.D. from Geissen University for a treatise on numismatics. He was a librarian, literary collector, curator, and an antiquarian. Apart from various dental publications (on tooth care and extraction of teeth in the mesmeric state), he is best known for his scrap-books (one of these scrap-books apparently has the only copy of M'Neile's "Satanic Agency" sermon extant). [Bowdler-Henry, 1965a, 1965b; Giovanopoulos, 2002.]

Marquis de Puységur: French mesmerist, artillery colonel (Marquis) Amand Marie Jacques de Chastenet de Puységur (1751-1825). In March 1780, his brother was treated by Mesmer. In March 1783, Mesmer's Society of Harmony is instituted in Paris, and the Marquis de Puységur enrolled sometime in late 1783, and commenced his training with Mesmer. In May 1784, in rural France, the Marquis de Puységur began using mesmerism, as he understood it, to treat the peasants on his estate.

Radford, T.: Thomas Radford (1793-1881), M.D. (Heidelberg, 1839), L.S.A. (1817), M.R.C.S. (England, 1817), F.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1839), F.R.C.S. (England, 1852), eminent obstetrician and gynaecologist, born in Manchester, he served his surgical apprenticeship with his uncle, Mr. William Wood (later become his partner, and then took over his practice). His most famous publication was *Observations on the Cæsarean Section and on Other Obstetric Operations* (1865). He was an active force in improving the condition of a number of Manchester hospitals. [Sutton (and Moscutti), 2004; ELGAR.]

Raffles, T.: Reverend Dr. Thomas Raffles (1788–1863), LL.D. (Aberdeen, 1820), D.D. (Union College, Connecticut, 1830), minister of the Great George Street Chapel, Liverpool (1812-1861), secretary of the Lancashire Congregational Union from 1826 to 1843, and chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1839. Leaving aside the study of law, he studied for the ministry at Homerton College, and was ordained in Hammersmith in 1809. He was a published poet, and published two volumes of his own sermons and wrote a number of hymns (which had little popularity beyond his own congregation). [Gordon (and Sellers), 2004.]

Ransome, J.A.: Joseph Atkinson Ransome (1805-1867), L.S.A. (1826) M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1827), M.R.C.S. (England, 1827), F.R.C.S. (England, 1844), son, father, and grandfather of a surgeon, he helped establish the Manchester Medical School. He later conducted a joint practice with his grandson (Arthur Ransome (1834-1922)) in St.

Peter's Square, Manchester. He was one of six candidates (including Braid) for the vacant position of Surgeon at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* in 1843. He was elected, and served on the Infirmary's surgical staff from 1843 until 1866, on reaching the compulsory retirement age of 60 years. [Brockbank, 1965, p.18; ELGAR.]

Reimer, H.: Hans Reimer (1908-?), M.D., of the Institute for the History of Medicine at the Medical Academy at Düsseldorf, and the Medical Faculty of the University of Münster. His (1935) M.D. Dissertation was titled *Die Forschungen James Braids über die Hypnose und ihre Bedeutung für die Heilkunde (The Researches of James Braid and Their Significance for the Healing Arts)*.

Rhind, W.: William Rhind (1797–1874), L.R.C.S. (Edinburgh 1818), M.R.M.S.E., M.R.P.S.E., surgeon and member of the Royal Medical and Physical Societies of Edinburgh, he visited Braid in Manchester, and assisted in a number of his operations. He was confident enough in Braid's "to put the treatment of his own congenital *talipes equinovarus* in Braid's hands" (Wink, 1969, p.24). Greatly interested in natural history, he eventually abandoned medicine, and began lecturing and writing extensively on botany, geography, zoology, geology (especially 'scriptural geology'), and meteorology. He was the Lecturer in botany at Aberdeen University in 1854. He wrote many tourist guides and several historical works. He wrote the first English treatment of intestinal worms (Rhind, 1829), and a work on club-foot, based on what he learned from Braid (Rhind, 1841). In January 1841, noting "the extraordinary number of cases [of club-foot] that are passing so successfully under [Braid's] hands", he acknowledged that "I owe many valuable practical hints, as well as much personal and professional kindness and liberality to... my friend Mr Braid of Manchester", hoping that "the public will soon be put in possession of the results of his ample experience" — Braid's paper (1841a) emerged in October 1841 — thus, "on this account, [he said,] I forbear touching on some new and interesting points connected with the subject, which he has been the means of eliciting" (1841, p133, 134). [Mortenson, pp.58-60.]

Richardson, J.: Sir John Richardson (1787-1865), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1807), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1816), F.R.S. (1825), LL.D. (Trinity College, Dublin, 1857), physician, surgeon, natural historian, and Arctic explorer of considerable renown. As a physician, he advocated many modern ideas (cleanliness, fresh-air, etc.). He was a member of two Franklin expeditions, and conducted the (futile) 3-year search for Franklin's lost exploration party; his search "was a model of careful planning and good execution, with no loss of life, no injuries, no shortages of food, and no lack of shelter" (Johnson

(&Johnson), 2004). “His was, perhaps, a life of industry more than a life of genius, but it was a full, good life, and even in many ways a great life. It is not every day that we meet in one person surgeon, physician, sailor, soldier, administrator, explorer, naturalist, author and scholar, who has been eminent in some roles and commendable in all” (Stewart, 1936, p.297). [Stewart, 1936; Johnson (and Johnson), [2004.]

Roberton, J.: John Roberton (1797-1876), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1817), L.S.A. (1822), obstetrician and gynaecologist, was greatly interested in public health and social reform (from his observations of the living and working conditions of his patients). With an interest in medical statistics, he was President of the Manchester Statistical Society from 1844 to 1847. He was also responsible for a number of innovations in obstetric instruments. [Mottram, 2004; ELGAR.]

Robinson, R.R.W.: Robert Robinson Watson Robinson (1777-1866), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1800), M.R.C.P. (England, 1807). He first practiced for several years at Preston, but soon moved to (and remained at) Manchester. [Munk, 1878a.]

Roby, J.: John Roby (1793-1850), banker, poet, author, best known for *Traditions of Lancashire* (1829), and collector of “oral tradition”. A gifted musician, he was a church organist for many years. He was superb at mental arithmetic, a skilled draughtsman, and a talented ventriloquist. He was in great demand in the district for his lectures on a range of subjects, including botany, art, architecture, and Lancashire traditions. From 1819 to 1847 he was the managing partner of Fenton, Eccles, Cunliffe, and Roby, the Rochdale bankers. [Sambrook, 2004.]

Roget, P.M.: Peter Mark Roget (1779-1869), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1798), M.R.C.P. (London, 1809), F.R.S. (1815), physician, taxonomist, natural theologian, and lexicographer, inventor of the logo-logarithmic slide rule. He was a founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and secretary of the Royal Society from 1825 to 1848. For several years he served as a physician to the Manchester Royal Infirmary. In 1818, Roget wrote a detailed, lengthy, well reasoned article on Gall’s “cranioscopy” for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that was highly critical of both Gall’s methods and his findings (also reprinted at Roget, 1839, pp.455-503). It is almost certain that Roget’s encounter with Gall’s overall language-based approach to the identification of ‘faculties’ and their associated ‘organs’, based on Gall’s study of the way that people associated things through their own day-to-day natural use of “common language”, influenced Roget in the eventual production of his taxonomy of concepts and ideas that formed the underlying structure of what we now know as ‘*Roget’s Thesaurus*’ (θησαυρός, ‘treasury’, in-

tended to suggest a treasury of words”), published in 1852). [Murray, 2004]

Romer, I.F.: Isabella Frances Romer (1798-1852), the author of *Sturmer, a Tale of Mesmerism*, was born into a military family. She was briefly married to a Major William Medows Hamerton, from whom she was soon divorced on the grounds of her own adultery. She began publishing her works as “Mrs. Romer”. She had traveled extensively in France and Germany; and, from her own experiences and observations, she was totally convinced of the veracity of the phenomena of mesmerism. One of the main goals of writing her novel was to alert readers to the dangers of this most powerful tool in the wrong hands. [Jones, 2004.]

Royle, P.: Peter Royle (1817-1891), M.R.C.S. (England, 1843), L.S.A. (1846), M.D. (St. Andrews, 1861), J.P.; at the time of Braid’s lecture, he was a student at the Pine Street School of medicine. He married Mariana Fanshawe (1822-1892) in 1843. He was the (unsuccessful) Conservative Candidate for South Manchester in the 1885 Election. Their son was the Test cricketer, Rev. Vernon Peter Fanshawe Archer Royle (1854-1929); he played for England against Australia, in Melbourne, in January 1879, became headmaster of Stanmore Park School, Middlesex, and was president of the Lancashire County Cricket Club in 1929. [ELGAR.]

Russell, D.: David Russell (1829-1893), M.D. (St. Andrews, 1857), L.R.C.S. & L.M. (Edinburgh, 1854), L.S.A. (London, 1857), was Braid’s nephew (the son of his wife’s sister Jean). For a time he was apprenticed to his uncle. He later practiced jointly (at Wirral, Cheshire) with Braid’s son James (see Anon, 1893a). In the 1851 census, he was living in Manchester (although not with Braid) and was listed as “Medical student”. Apparently he studied at the Manchester Royal School of Medicine for a time before he went to Edinburgh. [Anon, 1893a, 1893b, 1893c, 1893d, 1893e.]

Sandby, G.: George Sandby (1799-1881), B.A. (Oxford, 1820), M.A. (Oxford), 1825. Grandson of George Sandby (1717-1807), D.D., master of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a graduate of Oxford, he served as the vicar of Flixton, Suffolk from 1842 to 1880. He was also the Rector of All Saints with St. Nicholas, South Elmham, Suffolk, and the Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Abergavenny. One of the foremost Anglican clerics interested in mesmerism; and, although more a student of mesmerism than a practitioner, he displayed a wide general knowledge of all mesmeric matters (as it was understood in the UK) in his two editions of *Mesmerism and Its Opponents: With a Narrative of Cases* (1844) and (1848). It is also significant that he wrote an extended, and well-reasoned response to M’Neile’s “Satanic Agency” sermon: *Mesmerism the Gift of*

God: In Reply to "Satanic Agency and Mesmerism", a Sermon Said to Have Been Preached by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile: in a Letter to a Friend by a Beneficed Clergyman (1843); see Appendix Eleven. [Gauld, 1992.]

Sanders, J.: Dr. James Sanders (1777-1843), M.D., M.R.C.P. (Edinburgh), of Edinburgh. A prominent physician, he wrote important works on digitalis and tuberculosis. He was lecturer on the practice of medicine in Edinburgh, and President of both the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh and the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh. He was the father of the eminent physician William Rutherford Sanders (1828–1881).

Sargent, R.S.: Richard Strong Sargent (1805-1848), M.D. (Trinity College, Dublin, 1827), Member of Kings and Queens College of Physicians in Ireland (1836), F.K. & Q.C.P.I. (1842). He also had M.D. from Cambridge, and was a good classical scholar (e.g. his paper, "Observations on the State of Medical Science in Egypt, Ancient and Modern" (1841)). During the 1832 cholera epidemic, he was at the temporary Cholera Hospital in Granard, County Longford. In 1833, after a short time in London, he went the West Indies, taking charge of a large estate hospital. Greatly impaired by the sequelæ of the yellow fever he suffered whilst there, he was repatriated to Ireland in 1836, where he commenced practice and began lecturing on the practice of physic at Dublin's Peter Street School of Medicine. He died, having contracted typhus two weeks' earlier whilst working at the Fever Sheds of the Dublin North Union Workhouse. [Anon, 1848c.]

Satterthwaite, M.: Michael Satterthwaite (1812-1861), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1837), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1837), a Quaker, who served as a physician at the Manchester Royal Infirmary from 1844 to 1847. He left Manchester, and medicine, in 1847, when he went to George Edmondson's (his friend and future brother-in-law) well-known Friends' boarding school for boys, *Tulketh Hall*, in Preston. He served as its headmaster until illness forced his retirement. [ELGAR.]

Sauli, F.M.: Marquis Francesco Maria Sauli (1807-1893), diplomat, and Senator of the Kingdom of Italy (appointed 1853). In 1842, he was the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty the King of Sardinia to the court of Queen Victoria.

Scholefield, J.: Rev. James Scholefield (1790-1855), (a.k.a. Dr. Scholefield), medical practitioner, teetotaler, vegetarian, undertaker, and well-known political reformer (he was present at the *Peterloo massacre* in 1819), was an ordained minister of the Bible Christian Church. He had studied medicine, but he never qualified. This was not an

impediment, because he had commenced his practice before the restrictions of the *Apothecaries Act* of 1815. Widely consulted for medical treatment by the workers of the Ancoats district, he was renowned for his highly popular nostrum, *Scholefield's Cholera Mixture*. [ELGAR.]

Shaw, A.: Alexander Shaw (1804-1890), L.S.A. (1827), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh, 1828), F.R.C.S. (England, 1843). He began at Cambridge University in 1826 with the goal of obtaining M.D., but his studies terminated on the death of his brother in 1827. Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital (where he served in various capacities for more than half a century), and one of the first Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, he was elected to the council of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1858. He edited and revised a number of the important works of his brother-in-law, Scottish neurologist Charles Bell (1774-1842), after Bell's death. [Bailey (and Bryan), 2004.]

Shaw, C.: Brigadier-General Sir Charles Shaw (1795-1871), studied law at St. Andrews and at Edinburgh. He founded the Edinburgh military club, the Caledonian United Service Club, and was the Chief Commissioner of Police at Manchester from September 1839 to September 1842. A brave and talented career soldier, he was knighted in 1838. [Vetch (and Falkner), 2004.]

Shuttleworth, J.: John Shuttleworth (1786-1864), a non-conformist and wholesale cotton manufacturer, was an advocate of political and parliamentary reform, and amongst the first elected to the Manchester Borough Council (his friend, Thomas Potter, was Manchester's first Lord mayor). He was a member of the *Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, and was one of the political activists that founded the *Manchester Guardian* in 1821. [Anon, 1864a.]

Smith, J.: James Smith (1789-1850) textile industrialist, inventor, and agricultural engineer. Born in Glasgow, he made one of the very first mechanical reapers (in 1811); and, later, he also developed new styles of plough, that broke up the subsoil without raising it to the surface. He devised an entirely new drainage system, using his farm at Deanston as a working model; he published the popular and influential *Thorough Drainage and Deep Ploughing* in 1833. Although a mill manager, he was renowned for his benevolent treatment of those whom he employed. By 1842, he had left the cotton industry, resigned the lease of his farm, and had moved to London, where he spent the rest of his life experimenting on improvements in both agricultural machinery and agricultural practices. [Cheape, 2004.]

Smith, J.A.: Joseph Ashbury Smith (1805-1862), L.S.A. (1828), M.R.C.S. (Edinburgh,

1828), a Manchester surgeon, he also wrote a number of books on agricultural chemistry. {ELGAR.]

Smith, W.: William Smith (1817-1875), L.S.A. (1837), M.R.C.S. (England, 1838), F.R.C.S. (England, 1873). Nephew of Thomas Turner (q.v.), he was one of the six candidates (including Braid) for the vacant position of Surgeon at the *Manchester Royal Infirmary* in 1843. Although his 1843 candidature was unsuccessful, he did, later, serve as a surgeon at the MRI from 1847 to 1875. An excellent lecturer (noted for his speed as a surgeon), he taught in various Manchester medical institutions, on several different subjects, for nearly 40 years. [Brockbank, 1965, pp.29-30; ELGAR.]

Solander, D.: Daniel Solander (1733-1782), F.R.S. (1764), Swedish naturalist and taxonomist (student of Linnaeus), employed by Sir Joseph Banks. In 1763, he was appointed assistant librarian at the British Museum. He accompanied Banks on Captain James Cook's first Pacific voyage in HMS *Endeavour* (in 1768-1769). From 1771, until his death in 1782, he served as Banks' personal secretary and librarian.

Spencer, L.C.: Lawrence Catlow Spencer (1811-1872), M.D. (Aberdeen, 1860), L.S.A. (1834), M.R.C.S. (England, 1834), F.R.C.S. (England, 1854), M.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1859), J.P., surgeon, and long-time alderman (and twice Lord Mayor) of Preston. He was also President of the Lancashire and Cheshire branch of the British Medical Association. He began his medical career as an apprentice surgeon at the age of 13. [Anon, 1872a.]

Stanger, W.: William Stanger (1811-1854), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1837), F.G.S., African explorer, geologist, natural historian, and surveyor. He graduated M.D. in the same cohort as J.H. Bennet (q.v.). He visited Australia from October 1838 to February 1839, and was an important part of the Niger Expedition of 1841. In 1845, he was appointed Surveyor-General of the district of Natal; a post he held until his death. [Anon, 1854b.]

Stokes, W.: William Stokes (1804-1878), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1825), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1861), F.R.S. (1861), DCL (Oxford, 1865). A Dublin physician and academic, famous for "Cheyne-Stokes breathing pattern" and "Stokes Adams Syndrome". He wrote important works on the stethoscope, and cardiac and pulmonary diseases. Delivered a paper in Dublin on 4 February 1847, "On the Light which the Study of Nervous Diseases throws upon Mesmerism". [Curtis, 2004.]

Storer, H.: Henry Storer (1805-1858), M.D., was the main mesmeric practitioner at the Bristol Mesmeric Institute, contributor to *The Zoist*, and author of *Mesmerism in Disease: A few Plain Facts, with a Selection of Cases* (1845). He was registered as a medical practitioner in New South Wales on 6 April 1855. He was lecturing on Mesmerism and

Electro-Biology as well as treating people in both New South Wales and Victoria in 1854 and 1855. He died at Parramatta, NSW, on 10 August 1858. [Storer, 1847; Anon, 1858a]

Strickland, A.: Arthur Strickland, Esq. (1784-1863) of Bridlington, natural scientist, ornithologist, geologist, and cousin of Hugh Edwin Strickland (q.v.).

Strickland, H.E.: Hugh Edwin Strickland (1811-1853), B.A. (Oxford, 1832), M.A. (Oxford, 1835), F.R.S. (1852), natural historian, zoologist, ornithologist, geologist, deputy reader in geology at Oxford University, and cousin of Arthur Strickland (q.v.). In concert with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he had a considerable influence on the eventual structure of zoological nomenclature. He married ornithological artist Catherine Jardine, the daughter of Sir William Jardine (q.v.), whom he met at the B.A.A.S. meeting in Glasgow in 1840. *"Strickland's death made him a martyr both to science and to progress, and attracted more attention than any of his quieter accomplishments. He had often examined the geological strata exposed by railway cuttings. On 14 September 1853, after that year's meeting of the British Association at Hull, he went to inspect a new section on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway at Clarborough, near Retford. Because he had not waited to get a pass from the stationmaster, no one knew that he was on the line. He was working on a rock face near a sharp curve, and when he stepped backwards to avoid a coal train, he was instantly killed by a passenger train coming in the other direction. His death was widely reported and much lamented."* [Ritvo, 2004.]

Suggestion School: The "Suggestion School" (or "Nancy School") was so-called to contrast it from the "Hysteria School" (or "Salpêtrière School" or "Paris School") centred on the work of Jean-Martin Charcot at the Pitié-Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris. Along with Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault, Jules Joseph Liégeois (1833-1908), Professor of Jurisprudence, and Henri-Étienne Beaunis (1830-1921), M.D., Professor of Physiology, Hippolyte Bernheim (1840-1919), began an extended study of Liébeault's methods and their application (they were known as "the Nancy School" (q.v.) or This highly influential group, "the Nancy School" or "Suggestion School" were, eventually responsible for discrediting the (initially) more highly regarded theories of Charcot (q.v.).

Sutton, C.W.: Charles William Sutton, M.A. (1848–1920), the eldest son of Manchester second-hand bookseller, Thomas Sutton. Born in Manchester, he joined the Manchester Public Free Libraries in 1865, becoming clerk to the Libraries Committee and assistant Sub-Librarian in 1874, and Chief Librarian in 1879 (holding that position

until his death). In the 1890s, Sutton organized the fight against the legislative attempt to impose income tax on public libraries; although the struggle lasted several years, the House of Lords eventually declared that the libraries were exempt. In addition to his fascination with bibliography, his own intense interest was in local history. He contributed at least 18 individual biographies (including Braid's) to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1900). [Axon, 1920.]

Talbot, W.H.F.: William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), B.A. (Cambridge, 1821), M.A. (Cambridge, 1825), F.R.S. (1831), inventor, scientist, mathematician, and photographic pioneer, archaeologist, linguist, M.P. (member for Chippenham 1832-1835), and High Sheriff of Wiltshire (1840). His step-sister was a lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria. He was both an inventor of the *calotype* process, an important photographic development midway between the daguerreotype and the collodion processes, and a promoter of photography as an artistic medium. In 1852 he patented a photographic engraving process. Overall, he published seven books, and nearly sixty scientific and mathematical articles. In later life, he produced many important translations of Assyrian cuneiform scripts. [Schaaf, 2004.]

Taylor, R.: Richard Taylor (1781-1858), F.L.S. (1807), commercial printer (a printer in his own right since 1798, and co-founder of Taylor & Francis publishing house in 1852), publisher of scientific journals, and natural scientist. He was a fellow of the *Linnean Society*, the *Society of Antiquaries*, the *Royal Astronomical Society*, and the *Philological Society*, and was involved with the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* from its foundation in 1831. [Brock, 2004c.]

Tinterow, M.M.: Maurice Meyer Tinterow, M.D. (1917-1993), anaesthetist, university lecturer, medical researcher, medical hypnotist, scholar of hypnotism, and author of *Foundations of Hypnosis: From Mesmer to Freud* (1970). Over a number of years he accumulated an extended personal collection of historically important works on mesmerism, animal magnetism, and hypnotism, which he eventually donated to the Special Collections Division, of the Ablah Library, at Wichita State University c.1983. [Bousfield, 1983.]

Thicknesse, R.A.: Ralph Anthony Thicknesse (1800-1854), Wigan coal merchant, M.P. for Wigan (1847-1854), magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Lancashire. Anon [1854d.]

Thomson, J.: Professor John Thomson (1765–1846), M.D. (Aberdeen, 1808), F.R.C.S. Edinburgh, 1793), M.R.C.P. (Edinburgh, 1815), F.R.S. (1826), was an eminent physician

and surgeon, and Professor of Surgery at Edinburgh University from 1804 to 1821. He was also first holder of the Regius Chair of Military Surgery in the University of Edinburgh (1806-1822), and first holder of the Regius Chair of Pathology in the University of Edinburgh (1832-1841). He served as the Junior President of the Royal Medical Society in 1791, President of the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society in 1825, and President of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1834. [Power (and McConnel), 2004.]

Tonna, C.E.: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (1790-1846), a prolific writer, who wrote under the *non de guerre* "Charlotte Elizabeth", was born Charlotte Elizabeth Browne (daughter of Michael Browne, a minor canon of Norwich Cathedral); became "Mrs Captain George Phelan" on her first marriage, and, from her second marriage in 1841, after the death of her first husband, "Mrs Lewis Hippolytus Joseph Tonna". Deaf since the age of 10, she developed into a very strong pro-Protestant, anti-Roman Catholic Evangelical Anglican, with a strong interest in converting the Jews. She was also a social reformer, particularly in relation to the conditions of young factory workers; for example, her first novel, *Helen Fleetwood* (1841), written by "Charlotte Elizabeth". A strong supporter of Hugh M'Neile, she was also editor of *The Christian Lady's Magazine*, *The Protestant Annual*, and *The Christian Lady's Magazine*. [Lenard, 2004.]

Topham, W.: On 23 September 1842, the first documented operation using mesmerism for anæsthesia (a thigh amputation) was performed in the British Isles. Barrister William Topham (1811-1895), called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1836, was the mesmerist, and William Squire Ward, M.R.C.S. (1809-1877), the surgeon. Later, in 1853, Lt.-Col. Sir William Topham K.C.H., was appointed Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms. He retired from duty in 1878. In 1874, he was appointed honorary Lieutenant of the Royal Naval Reserve. [Topham, 1880/1842; Anon, 1895c.]

Townend, T.: Thomas Townend, of the Polygon, a devout Methodist, philanthropist, and prosperous Manchester merchant, he was the treasurer of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Asylum Committee, and laid the corner stone of the New Lunatic Hospital on 3 November 1847. In 1845, he was a director of the London and Manchester Direct Railway. In 1850, he was a member of the Council of the Royal Manchester Institution (and, also, treasurer). He was the brother of William Townend (q.v.)

Townend, W.: William Townend, a prosperous Manchester merchant, patron of the arts, and philanthropist. Vice-president of the Manchester Auxiliary of the British and

Foreign Bible Society. He was one of the founders of the Royal Manchester Institution. He was the brother of Thomas Townend (q.v.).

Townshend, C.H.: Chauncy Hare Townshend (1798-1868), B.A. (Cambridge, 1821), M.A. (Cambridge, 1824), poet, collector, and promoter of mesmerism. A wealthy man ('Townsend' prior to 1835), although ordained (deacon), he never sought a clerical appointment. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he was a friend of John Elliotson (q.v.), to whom Townshend dedicated his *Facts in Mesmerism* (1840). Elliotson introduced him to Charles Dickens (also a strong advocate of mesmerism) in 1840, and the two became close friends: Townshend dedicated his collection of poems, *The Three Gates* (1859), to Dickens, Dickens dedicated his *Great Expectations* (1859) to Townshend, and Townshend appointed Dickens as his literary executor. It seems he played one game of cricket, for Kent, in 1829. He encountered animal magnetism in Antwerp in 1836; on his return to England in 1837, he began his own experimentation. He was a strong believer in the therapeutic efficacy of mesmerism, and his works displayed a wide practical and theoretical experience of the various mesmeric practices of the day. [Gauld, 1992; Scott, 2004.]

Turner, T.: Thomas Turner (1793-1873), F.R.C.S. (England, 1843), F.L.S. (1843), son of a banker, he was first of all apprenticed in Bristol, and then studied at Guy's Hospital and St. Thomas' Hospital, from whence he attained the Licentiate of both the Royal College of Surgeons and Society of Apothecaries. After a year's study in Paris, at the urging of his brother in law, he moved to Manchester (as house surgeon in the Manchester Infirmary), and began his private practice. A prominent figure in medical education in Manchester, he was a founder of the Manchester Medical School; and, also, a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. [Butler, 2004b; ELGAR.]

Van Amburgh, I.A.: Isaac A. Van Amburgh (1808-1865) was an American lion-tamer. Three parts Dutch and one part Cherokee, he was the first lion-tamer to put his head in a lion's mouth. He toured England and Europe extensively, and was a particular favourite of Queen Victoria, who saw him at least six times. Sir Edwin Henry Landseer's (1839) portrait of Van Amburgh amongst his animals was said to be one of Queen Victoria's prized possessions. [Bailey, 1874.]

van Foreest, P.: Pieter van Foreest (1521-1597), a.k.a. Petrus Forestus, the leading physician of the Netherlands in his day, town physician of Delft, and personal physician of Prince William of Orange (the Silent), whose autopsy he performed after he

was assassinated. Starting at Leuven in 1536, he began a study tour through several European universities. He stayed three years in Bologna, from whence he also travelled to Padua, Venice and Ferrara. Following his graduation at the University of Bologna in 1543, he went on to work in Rome and Paris.

Velpeau, A.A.L.M.: Alfred Armand Louis Marie Velpeau (1795-1867), eminent anatomist, surgeon, and prolific author. He held the chair of Clinical Surgery at Paris University from 1833 until his death. Famous for his (pre-ether) statements that surgical pain was an essential part of the healing process. It is significant that, once chemical anaesthesia had been discovered, he was an enthusiastic adopter of both ether and chloroform. It is even more significant that he was associated with the experiments using Braid's hypnotism for pain-free surgery conducted by Azam (q.v.), Broca (q.v.), Denonvilliers (q.v.), and Follin (q.v.) in 1859. [Schiller, 1992.]

Völgyesi, F.A.: Ferenc András Völgyesi (Völgyesi/Voelgyessy/Volgyesi), a.k.a. Francis Andrew Volgyesi (1895-1967), was a highly skilled and exceptionally talented Hungarian experimental and practical hypnotist, and prolific author. The author of many important works, including *Hypnosis Of Man And Animals* (in English, 1966), his reputation as an operator of hypnotism has increased over the years, whilst, by contrast, the opinion of his ethics have correspondingly decreased, as it has become unequivocally clear that he was deeply involved in the training of Nazi interrogators and, later, was part of the team of Hungarian (and Russian) Communist interrogators that tortured and broke Cardinal József Mindszenty (1892-1975) in 1949. [Schefflin and Opton, 1978, pp.223-225; Temple, 1989, pp.354-355; Rév, 2000].

Waite, A.E.: Arthur Edward Waite (1857-1942), prolific author on many occult subjects and creator of what became the Rider-Waite Tarot deck. For some unknown reason (he had no interest in hypnotism) in 1899 he reprinted a facsimile of Braid's *Neurypnology*, appended with pertinent extracts from some of Braid's later works, and a bibliography of 34 of Braid's works. (Bramwell (1906, p.29): "Apparently... Mr Waite himself believes in animal magnetism, metallo-therapeutics, phrenology, and clairvoyance, but when he attributes to Braid a belief in these things, he shows that he has absolutely failed to grasp the spirit and significance of [Braid's] teaching.") He was also criticized by 'mystics' for his links with the occult, and by occultists and ritual magicians for his links with 'mysticism'. [Melton, 2001, pp.1643-1644.]

Wakley, T.: Thomas Wakley (1795–1862), M.R.C.S. (England 1817), surgeon, coroner, medical journalist, and politician. The son of a farmer, he was the first in his family to

have a connexion with the medical profession. After a meeting a US visitor to London, Dr. Walter Channing (a founder of the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* in 1812), Wakley decided to start *The Lancet* (first issued on 5 October 1823). From 1835 to 1852 he was also a member of parliament. As a medical journalist, and politician, he was a strong advocate of reforms related to medical education and the regulation of medical practice throughout the United Kingdom; and he was, as a consequence, over his lifetime, one of those responsible for the increased stability of a medical career. He was implacably opposed to John Elliotson, and was responsible for the exposure of the fraudulent Okey sisters; and, eventually, he prohibited any mention at all of either 'mesmerism' or 'animal magnetism' in *The Lancet*. [Bynum, 2004.]

Walker, C.J.S.: This is a different individual from the 'Mr. J. A. Walker' that was Braid's first subject. Charles James Stanley Walker, Esq. (1788-1875), J.P. of Longford Hall, near Manchester, was a local Magistrate, and Chairman of the Manchester Board of Guardians from 1843 to 1855. At the time of Braid's lecture he was an alderman of the Manchester Town Council, and a member of the Manchester Board of Guardians. [Mumford, 1919, p.511.]

Watson, W.: William Watson (1795-1868), L.R.C.S. (Edinburgh 1818), author of two papers on occupational heath (Watson, 1829; 1831), was surgeon at Wanlockhead from c.1820 to 1868. His qualification was "L.R.C.S. Edin."; and, like Braid, he was listed in *The British Medical Directory for England, Scotland, and Wales* of 1854 (p.436) and *The Medical Register* of 1859 (p.357).

Wemyss, T.J.: Thomas James Wemyss (1785-1860), C.B., military commander of the entire Manchester district from 1836 to 1842. A career soldier; at the time of his death, Lieutenant-General Wemyss was Colonel of the 17th Foot, and had served in the military for just a few months short of 60 years.

Werner, A.G.: Abraham Gottlob Werner (1749-1817). Highly influential in the development of geology, he taught mineralogy at Freiburg University for forty years, and was a strong advocate for the (then controversial) view that the Earth's strata were not random, but were laid down in a specific order. Also, his (now discredited) belief that all rocks were crystalline precipitates of the minerals that were once in a primæval ocean, and that the rocks' strata, which followed in a specific order, were the consequence of successive world-wide deposits, from that ocean, over time, was held by many. In contrast to those who recognized basalt, etc. as rocks of *igneous* (lit. 'fiery', thus *volcanic*), rather than *aqueous* origin, Werner thought volcanoes were due to the

combustion of subterranean beds of coal; thus, were water-formed accumulations of that ocean. This dispute (the *Neptunist-Plutonist controversy*) was eventually lost by Werner.

Whewell, W.: Rev. Dr. William Whewell (1794-1866), B.A. (1816), M.A. (1819), D.D. (1844), F.R.S. (1820), Master of Trinity College, Cambridge from 1841 to 1866, was an intellectual giant and prolific author. He is best known today for his work in philosophy of knowledge and, especially, in the realm of the history and philosophy of science. As a scientist he made major contributions to the study of tides. He belonged to many professional societies and served in many capacities, including President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, President of the Geological Society of London, and twice as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University (from 1842 to 1843, and in 1855). [Yeo, 2004.]

Whitehead, R.T.: Richard Trafford Whitehead (1817-1885), M.R.C.S. (England, 1841). Born in Manchester, he conducted his medical practice in Ardwick. He was Surgeon to the 7th Royal Lancashire Rifles Militia. He was the husband of the well-known Manchester author and poet "Mrs. Trafford Whitehead": Hannah Maria Whitehead (1827-1874) née Wainwright. [ELGAR]

Willert, P.F.: Paul Ferdinand Willert (1794-1879), J.P., businessman and financier, played an important role in the development of the emerging Manchester community and, especially, local government and cultural life. He was born in the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in northern Germany, arriving in Manchester in 1821. He was a commissioner of police from 1828 until 1843 (when the powers of the Commissioners were transferred to the Corporation). A member of the first Manchester Council (in 1838), he was a Manchester alderman from 1841 until his death. A man of great culture, he was also a well-regarded amateur musician, playing second violin for many years in the amateur orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concert Hall. His son, the historian Paul Ferdinand Willert (1844-1912), was a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and a barrister-at-law at the Inner Temple. [Anon, 1879e; Axon, 1886, p.371.]

Williams, C.J.B.: Professor Charles James Blasius Williams (1805–1889), M.D. (Edinburgh, 1824), F.R.S. (1835), F.R.C.P. (London, 1840). A physician, pathologist, and noted expert in diseases of the chest, he had studied in Europe under René Laënnec, and learned his method of auscultation using the stethoscope. A prolific author on a range of medical subjects, and a well-respected lecturer, he served as Professor in Medicine in University College, London, following the dismissal of John Elliotson

(q.v.). [Lindsey, 2004.]

Williamson, W.C.: William Crawford Williamson (1816-1895), M.R.C.S. (England, 1840), L.S.A. (1840), F.R.S. (1854), surgeon and keen scientist (geologist, naturalist, and paleobiologist), who continued his general medical practice until he was 70. A good friend of Braid, he was also known for his surgical treatment of squint. Curator of the Scarborough Museum, he was also appointed curator to the Manchester Natural History Society in 1835. In 1838 he attended Manchester Royal School of Medicine and received the M.R.C.S. in 1840. He helped establish Manchester Ear Hospital. In 1851, he was appointed professor of natural history at Owens College, and his brief included botany, zoology, geology and anatomy and physiology. His main interest from the mid-1850s was in paleobotany on which he published numerous papers. His *Reminiscences* (1896, pp.98-99) contain an account of Braid's first encounter with Lafontaine (at which Williamson was also present); and also his own observations of Braid's method of de-hypnotizing — "Braid always awoke his subjects from their hypnotic condition by sharply clapping his hands close to the sleepers' ear, which at once aroused them" (p.100) — and, as well, he relates his own direct experiences of Braid's experimentation with post-hypnotic amnesia (p.101). [Williamson (and Williamson), 1896; Hartog, 1900; Pickstone, 2004.]

Wilson, W.J.: William James Wilson (1792-1855), M.R.C.S. (England, 1813), F.R.C.S. (England, 1843), a Manchester eye surgeon, best known for removing the cataracts of the Rev. Patrick Brontë, father of the Brontë sisters in August 1846. After surgical apprenticeships in Lancaster and Chester, he studied in London, becoming M.R.C.S. in 1813. On moving to Manchester, he played a major role in establishing what would later become Manchester's Royal Eye Hospital. A member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, he was president of the Manchester Medical Society from 1843 to 1845, and was president of the 1854 Provincial Medical and Surgical Association meeting in Manchester. He was present at the first Manchester lecture of Lafontaine attended by Braid. He branded Lafontaine's performance as "as great a humbug as was ever seen". [Williamson (and Williamson), 1896; ELGAR.]

Wink, C.A.S.: Charles Anthony Stewart Wink (1921-1986) M.A. (Oxford, 1953), B.M. (Oxford, 1953), B.Ch. (Oxford, 1953), B.Litt. (Oxford, 1970). At the end of his life he was the executive editor of the *World Medical Journal*, and medical editor with Ciba-Geigy Scientific Publications. He had a special interest in medical hypnotism (e.g., Wink, 1961; 1962; 1970). Prior to his change from practising medicine to editing medical

works (c.1969), he had conducted “[a] 10 year study of medical hypnosis [which had] received official approval for submission as an MD thesis” (BMJ, 1986). The standard of his 1969 thesis, lodged on 15 January 1970, indicates that his projected M.D. would have been something very special.

Wood, G.W.: George William Wood (1781-1843), F.L.S., F.G.S., son of the Unitarian minister and botanist William Wood (1745-1808), a Manchester cotton manufacturer and dealer, and M.P. for South Lancashire (1832-1835) and for Kendal (1837 until his death). A wealthy and highly respected citizen of Manchester, he died (instantly) whilst listening to a lecture at the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (of which he had been Vice-President since 1822, and had been a member since 1810) on 3 October 1843. [Anon, 1843i; Anon, 1843j; ELGAR.]

Wray, C.D.: Rev. Cecil Daniel Wray (1778-1866), B.A. (Oxford, 1798), M.A. (Oxford, 1802), the Senior Canon, Vice-Dean, and Rural-Dean of Manchester Cathedral, and domestic chaplain to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. He was ordained in 1801, and served in various clerical capacities of increasing responsibility in the Manchester area throughout his life. [Anon, 1866a.]

