in the many wefe of Downs.

### CURE OF A TRUE CANCER

OF THE

#### FEMALE BREAST

WITH

#### MESMERISM.

BY DR. ELLIOTSON.

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With Permission.

WITH

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

BY

DR. ENGLEDUE.

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#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I CONSIDER the following paper to contain the account of one of the most important and instructive cases in the annals of surgery. When Mr. Ward, of Wellow, removed the poor man's leg without his being conscious of pain, under the mesmeric superintendence of my friend, Mr. Topham, all those persons who were engaged in mesmeric investigation considered the case to be the most important which had been presented to the medical profession. And so it was. Here was a man placed in a state of insensibility by a few passes of the hand, and during the continuance of this state a fourth part of his body removed by the knife of the surgeon. This was in November, 1842. Since that period the world has become so familiar with the performance of surgical operations without pain by means of ether and chloroform, that the proceedings of those who have operated on persons under the influence of mesmerism have not attracted so much notice as they deserved. Nevertheless, the number of operations performed in this state amount, I believe, to nearly four hundred.

Great as this boon to suffering humanity must be considered, and important as every one must admit the facts to be, there is yet another portion of the subject demanding our attention, viz., the alleviation and cure of disease. It is quite impossible to obtain a return of the number of cases of prolonged suffering which medicines had failed to alleviate, but which have been speedily and effectually cured by means of mesmerism. "The Zoist," from which this

paper is extracted and now near the completion of its sixth volume, contains an immense mass of information, and to all those who are afflicted, and more especially those who have had recourse to medical treatment and whose diseases have not been cured, I say, search this record, and you will find cases analogous to your own, and from abundant experience on this subject, I feel myself justified in promising you considerable relief, and in many cases a positive cure.

The sudden removal of a diseased mass is a very simple affair, and the production of the state of insensibility in the mesmeric state is one of the most common phenomena presented to the physiologist. But the removal of a diseased growth, a malignant tumor, not suddenly with the knife of the surgeon, but with the aid of mesmerism, so acting on the inherent powers of the constitution as to produce a steady and progressive absorption,—this is a phenomenon which has not been witnessed on any former occasion, and certainly demands the most serious consideration of the medical profession. Can any surgeon refer to a single example of tumor of the breast like the one under consideration, which steadily progressed, either with or without medicine, toward a perfect cure? Here was a tumor, carefully examined and unanimously doomed to extirpation by several practical surgeons, and the fact of their doing so, clearly proved that they knew of no other plan by which the discased mass could be removed. Nevertheless this tumor underwent such changes, day after day, and month after month, just in the proportion that the efforts of the mesmeriser were continued, and finally, became absorbed,-and not only so, but the constitutional symptoms, which were of an aggravated character, yielded,-the darting pains ceased, sleep returned, the sallow complexion vanished, the swollen arm returned to a natural size, and the situation of the patient became in every respect more and more satisfactory. On one occasion, during the absence of Dr. Elliotson on the continent, the treatment was nearly discontinued for two months, -what was the result? "On my return at the end of October," he says, "I found a very painful and bleeding sore, and, what was worse, the darting pain had returned, and the diseased mass had grown firmly to the ribs." After two years exertion, here was enough to discourage any one not endowed with the same powers of perseverance—the same determination to prosecute a new and important truth—the same benevolent desire to alleviate the sufferings of a fellow-creature, which, fortunately for Miss Barber, her friend, Dr. Elliotson, possessed. Again she was mesmerised daily, and again "the mass began to diminish." During the year 1847 the disease "steadily gave way." "The mass had become not only much less but detached from the ribs and moveable again." And now, September, 1848, the report is, "The cancerous mass is now completely dissipated; the breast is perfectly flat, and all the skin thicker and firmer than before the disease existed. Not the smallest lump is to be found, nor is there the slightest tenderness of the bosom or the arm-pit."

I ask whether there is not here a manifestation of cause and effect? Have we not the same evidence here that we have when a beneficial effect follows the exhibition of a drug? To what other conclusion can we come, than that this growth was removed by the aid of mesmerism? I trust that the publication of this pamphlet will stimulate my professional brethren to test the power of mesmerism over other cases of this formidable disease. The time for the sneer, the jest, and the look of contempt is gone by. To indulge in these draw manifestations is always unjustifiable, and, to any one anxious to seek for truth in a philosophical spirit, highly derogatory. An array of new facts demands investigation, and the claims of those suffering from disease should be answered in this instance by the members of that profession whose duty chiefly consists in alleviating the miseries of the human race. Medical and surgical societies may consider the investigation beneath their notice,

they may do again what the members of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society did in 1842,—declare that the statement of a natural fact, which they could not understand, was not a fit subject to be chronicled in the record of their proceedings!\* But the dial of the world moves on. Truth and science overleap the barriers which man in his wisdom erects, and the men of each succeeding generation contemplate with wonder and astonishment the narrow views and sectarian prejudices of the men of the preceding. And yet this experience does not prevent them from repeating the same irrational course of conduct while contemplating other subjects. From the course pursued during the last eight years, one would suppose that the members of the medical profession imagined their duty to consist in holding fast to their physiological notious with determined obstinacy, whereas their real duty consists in following out, by persevering inquiry, the difficulties of all physiological problems; and after this, in the honest recognition and avowal of what they have satisfactorily ascertained. The views of the teachers of an imperfect science should not be received as dicta from which there is to be no swerving; but rather as the probable interpretation of facts, so far as they have been ascertained, and therefore indicative only of points of departure for future investigators. How different has been the course pursued with regard to mesmerism! Tempting, as this subject is, this is neither the time nor the opportunity for its discussion. My object is simply to point to the following paper as containing matter, -physiological phenomena, -chronicled by one of the most hard-working, fact-seeking, truth-loving physicians of the present age. Let the investigation be conducted in a fair and impartial spirit. Let each individual remember that he has to assist

<sup>\*</sup> Numerous Cases of Surgical Operations without Pain in the Mesmeric State, with Remarks upon the Opposition of many Members of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society and others to the reception of the inestimable blessings of Mesmerism. By John Elliotson, M.D. Cantab. F.R.S. H. Baillière, Regent-street.

in the discovery of truth. He has not to engage in any party investigation, but simply to collect and test the value of facts, and then to record his experience in the simple language of sincerity, which is invariably estimated at its true value by all those worthy of consideration, and thus to aid and assist in the grandest of all occupations—the promotion of true science and the alleviation of the miseries of his fellow creatures.

Let us all keep in view in our scientific studies the eloquent declaration of a great man of a past generation:—

"The pursuit of truth hath been my only care, ever since I "first understood the meaning of the word. For this I have for"saken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me, and 
"hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have 
"spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all I have, 
"that I might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian,—Suo 
"vitio quis quid ignorat? If with all this cost and pains, my pur"chase is but error, I may safely say, to err has cost me more 
"than it has many to find the truth; and truth itself shall give me 
"this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my 
"fault, but my misfortune."

W. C. ENGLEDUE, M.D.

Southsea, October 30th, 1848.



# CURE OF A TRUE CANCER OF THE FEMALE BREAST.

"Do not QUACKS hunt out the vices or infirmities of mankind to turn them to profit, some selecting one and some another for their purpose? Among quacks, the IMPOSTORS, called MESMERISTS, are in my opinion the especial favourities of those, both male and female, in whom the SEXUAL PASSIONS BURN STRONGLY, either in secret or notoriously. Decency fornids ME TO BE MORE EXPLICIT.

"From these and similar ARTIFICES, the physician should be carefully removed and guarded: and this can hardly be accomplished except by a sound education, which will teach him to thoroughly abhor all DECEIT AND TRICK."\*—Harveian Oration, delivered by Dr. F. HAWKINS BEFORE THE LONDON COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, June 24, 1848.

"With every respect for the vast extent of human credulity, we do think that the brood of mesmerism are its own natural and most powerful enemies, and that they must in no long time utterly destroy their LOATHSOME DAM."—Mr. WAKLEY, Lancet, July 8, 1848.†

THE case which I am about to relate is one of the most splendid triumphs of mesmerism, and is the most splendid hitherto accomplished under my own hands. The disease was malignant and structural, and such as the art of medicine

\* "Quin etiam vitia, sive infirmitates hominum, nonne aucupantur, et quæstui habent, alii alia, Circumforanei? De genere hoc, præstigiatores, quos vocant, Mesmerici, ni fallor, iis præcipue arrident, quos, utriusque sexus, Mater sæva Cupidinum aut cæcis urit ignibus, aut palam exagitat. Sed ex quibus hoc subintelligi potest, ea pudoris ergo, sunt reticenda. Ab his, et talibus artificiis, segregandus est Medicus et sepiendus sedulo, Quod vix præstari potest, nisi recta et boua institutione, ita informetur, ut a dolis et fallaciis prorsus abhorreat."

† The brave and modest modern Falstaff declared in 1838 that he himself had killed and utterly destroyed mesmerism for ever. Yes; he announced grandiloquently to the world its final extinction by his own right hand ten years ago. "Life, adventures, and death of Animal Magnetism," was the title of the editor's leader on the cover of the Lancet for Sept. 8, 1838. "Edited by Mr. Wakley, M.P." His own experiments, he declares, "entirely destroyed the facts adduced in this country in favour of that delusion." p. 836. But he has always shoue more in boasting than in extinguishing.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Falstaff.—With a thought seven of the cleven 1 paid.
"P. Henry.—O, monstrous."—Henry IV., Part i., Act ii., Sc. iv.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Falstaff .- Yea, and I'll swear I killed him."-Act v., Sc. iv.

has never been known to cure nor the powers of nature to shake off.

The patient is the paternal aunt of Miss Rosina Barber, who was permanently cured by me of violent fits many years ago, after the failure of various modes of treatment and various practitioners, and whose case, with all its exquisite and instructive mesmeric phenomena, is detailed in the second volume of The Zoist.\* One phenomenon in the niece's case was the excitement of cerebral organs by merely pointing at them:the first example of the kind in the annals of mesmerism, and so conducted as to prove that neither unintentional suggestion nor the will of the mesmeriser, but the mesmeric influence spontaneously emanating from the fingers, produced

the astounding effect.+

On the 6th of March, 1843, a very respectable-looking person, of middle height and age, t fair, rather slender and delicate, and with the sallow complexion of cancer, called to solicit my advice respecting a disease of her right breast. I found an intensely hard tumor in the centre of the breast, circumscribed, moveable, and apparently about five or six inches in circumference; the part was drawn in and puckered, as though a string attached behind the skin at one point had pulled the surface inwards; and upon it to the outer side of the nipple was a dry, rough, warty-looking substance, of a dirty brown and greenish colour. She complained of great tenderness in the tumor and the arm-pit when I applied my fingers, and said that she had sharp stabbing pains through the tumor during the day, and was continually awakened by them in the night.

She informed me that she was single and resided with her mother, and was dress-maker to many ladies of the truest

respectability.

I at once saw that it was a decided cancer in the stage termed scirrhus, and I so named it in my note book; but I did not mention its nature to her. On her return home she applied her fingers as she had observed me do, and for the

first time found there was a lump in her breast.

Upon minute enquiry into the origin, course, and duration of the complaint, I found that one day in November. 1841, about the time of the birth of the Prince of Wales, while sitting to rest herself, after having finished some dresses for Mrs. Cardell, of Hampstead, she raised her right hand

<sup>\*</sup> No. VI. Like the two Okeys, Miss Critchly, and Miss Abbot, she is now married. See No. XI., p. 354.

† No. IV., pp. 222-8; No. III., pp. 242-4.

<sup>‡</sup> Elle avoit quarante deux ans.

to take something off the mantel shelf and instantly felt a sudden and momentary, violent, darting pain in the right breast. In a week, while playing with a child, she felt a second, equally violent. These "dreadful dartings," to use her own words, soon ceased to be solitary, and began at length to take place a dozen times in rapid succession, and this every few hours; and they gave her the idea of "a penknife jagging her breast." Her nights were much disturbed by them. The dartings were always followed by pricking sensations and tenderness. The part now began to look drawn together and puckered, and sometimes a little red and to feel hot. She had found relief from fomenting it with warm water; and in doing so she discovered that it had grown hard. Her complexion and hands had gradually grown sallow for many months. She mentioned her complaint about six months before I saw her to her medical man, Mr. Powell, of Great Coram Street, Brunswick Square, while he was attending her mother, but declined showing it to him as he was a young man.

Her father's mother had died of a "bleeding cancer" of the

breast, as I afterwards learnt.

As she had witnessed the great mesmeric cure of her niece,\* I proposed mesmerism to her, and offered to take the charge of the case myself. My purpose was to render her insensible to the pain of the surgical removal of the breast, seeing no other chance for her; and this indeed was a poor chance, for cancer invariably returns in the same or some part if the patient survive long enough, and the operation is not to be recommended unless it can be conducted without pain. When a disease termed cancer has not returned, I have no doubt that it had not been cancer; and such a terrible thing as the removal of breasts not cancerous has always been but too frequent among surgeons.

Unwilling to make her unhappy, I said no more, and allowed her to suppose that the mesmerism was intended to cure her disease. She thankfully accepted my offer to mesmerise her, and returned to my house the next day for the first essay. I mesmerised her half an hour daily with slow passes before her from opposite her forehead to opposite her stomach, and my fixed look at her eyes. The first mesmerisation caused a mistiness before her eyes at the time, and a much better night than usual. In a few days she became drowsy, and at the end of a month her eyes perfectly closed and she fell asleep near the expiration of the half hour.

<sup>\*</sup> The facts in her niece's treatment detailed at pp. 197-99 of No. VI., prove the absurdity of the ascription of the phenomena to imagination, and of the cure to the powers of nature.

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The sleep, however, was so light that a word addressed to her or the least touch of my finger awoke her. I could not distinguish it from natural sleep. There was no increase of effect for nine months. She seldom slept much longer than half an hour, frequently much less: though a dozen passes were sufficient to send her back into the sleep. The pain lessened, so that her nights became greatly better, and her health and spirits improved. The sallowness of her complexion lessened. But for six months she continued to work hard in taking measure, cutting out, making up, and trying on, often walking considerable distances to the ladies, so that she once fainted at Hampstead after walking thither and trying ou dresses: and for the first six months of mesmerisation the tumor increased; probably not from increased cancerous action, but from an increase of simple congestion through the irritation of exertion, since every other symptom improved; the act of pushing the needle through hard articles gave her pain to the very elbow. She could work no longer, and in September lost the whole of her business. For a nieee whom she had benevolently taken to support eleven years before. when the girl's mother was unexpectedly left with nine children, and had supported ever since, having learnt that her aunt's disease was a cancer, suddenly left her without any intimation, never returning after going out one day for a holiday, nor even sending an apology. It afterwards transpired that she had said she would not nurse her aunt through her illness, which she of course concluded would be tedious and fatal.

I had felt it right to mention the nature of the disease to her niece's mother without loss of time; and all the family thus knew it, but kept the secret. A fortnight after she first came to me, one of the ladies who employed her, the wife of the Rev. Mr. Sharpe, rector of Allhallows in the city, hearing that I had said the disease was cancer, out of kindness begged she would allow a connection of her own, Mr. Brown, practising in the Edgware Road, to see it, and she consented without my knowledge. He pronounced it to be no cancer, but a common glandular swelling from a strain, and wished to send her a plaster. He saw it in September again without my knowlege, and had now no doubt that it was a cancer. This candid acknowledgment was highly creditable to him: no less than his remark respecting mesmerism. He spoke against a surgical operation, adding that, if Miss Barber were his sister, she should not submit to one: and, not being able to suggest a remedy, made no attempt to dissuade her from the continuance of mesmerism, but said

that he knew nothing about it and therefore should say nothing against it. This display of common sense is de-

serving of all imitation by medical men.

Soon after Mr. Brown had seen it the first time, she shewed it at her mother's request to Mr. Powell, who immediately in her presence pronounced it to be a confirmed incurable cancer, adding that if it were not cut away it would be as big as his head by Christmas, and that if mesmerism cured it he would believe any thing. She thus learnt the distressing truth, which I had so anxiously kept from her.

The various ladies felt so much for her that they anxiously urged her to undergo the operation, some begging and praying, and some most kindly offering to nurse her and sit up with her after it. One, a relation of Sir Benjamin Brodie, was long hurt with her because she would not place herself under his care: and another related what an immense cancer she had seen. Like a true-hearted woman, she resisted all these well-intended influences behind my back and remained firm to him in whom from her experience of me in Rosina's case she had placed her confidence. Mrs. Sharpe did not urge her to act contrary to her judgment. None of these ladies knew me or could know the medical powers of mesmerism, and the conduct of them all displayed such intense interest and goodness of heart as are truly delightful and worthy of the reflection of those who sweepingly condemn all human nature. I shall have to record more of their goodness.

In September I quitted England for a tour in the Pyrences till November, and left her to be mesmerised daily by a gentleman whom I allowed £200 per annum with a constant place at my table to mesmerise for me gratuitously and investigate the subject of mesmerism with me. During the early part of my absence Mr. Powell saw it again and anxiously urged its immediate removal with the knife. He mentioned Sir Benjamin Brodie and Mr. Liston: but she declined. He then entreated her to accompany him to Mr. Samuel Cooper, Professor of Surgery at University College, who he was sure would see her without a fee; and at length she consented. Mr. Cooper differed from Mr. Powell in thinking that the operation could not be safely delayed till my return, but gave a decided opinion that the disease was cancer and that the operation should be performed as soon as ever I came back. "Poor thing," said this good and kind man, "if she wishes to wait for Dr. Elliotson's return, she may; but it must be cut away then." The great anxiety

displayed by Mr. Powell was quite disinterested and most

praiseworthy.

On my return I found she had not been mesmerised to the extent I wished, and was therefore not so susceptible as when I left her. But I took her in hand again myself; and in less than two months she passed into gennine sleep-waking, with perfect insensibility to mechanical injury. When I addressed her she now did not wake but answered me; and took no notice if I touched her, not even if I pinched or pricked her. Mr. Powell called upon her two or three times, wishing to see the breast and to try once to mesmerise her; but she declined and he has ceased to call upon her: nor did he ever communicate with me upon the subject of her ease. Her health continued to improve; the pains to lessen; and the size was stationary. In February she one day did not come to my house as usual, and I went to see her at her mother's lodgings in Nutford Place, Bryanstone Square. She was labouring under severe pleurisy of the right side, and required bleeding. I drove off to Mr. Powell, and related this circumstance to him, begging him as he attended the family to go with me and bleed her and attend her with me in this attack. But he had the rheumatism and could not leave the house. her knowing it she was bled by Mr. Ebsworth, a former pupil of Mr. Symes, and this little episode in her case was given in No. V., p. 91.

"Her aunt has a cancer in her breast, and has been mesmerised some time by me, with the effect at last of sleep-waking and insensibility of the surface. She was lately seized with pleurisy. I sent her off with three passes, and Mr. Symes's late pupil, Mr. Ebsworth, bled her for me to faintness without her feeling it. Before the arm was bound up, she opened her eyes; but, before she could speak, two more passes sent her back into sleep, and she did not wake again till the arm was bound up; and I then sent her to sleep a third time and left her. The advantage of mesmerism was striking and most gratifying. Any one sends her to sleep and with very little trouble: some of us with two or three passes, though she seldom sleeps much longer than half an hour. During this illness she was sent to sleep by those around her continually in the day and night, so that she had abundance of the sweetest repose without any narcotic. Except the bleeding, two blisters, and four doses of calomel, and some syrup, which was soon left off, for her cough, she took no medicine. As soon as ever she coughed upon awaking, they sent her to sleep: and, dangerous as the illness was, she says that to her utter astonishment she never recovered so quickly from any illness, and had always previously taken many dozens of bottles before she was out of the doctor's hands. She cannot cease wondering at it."

The venesection had been followed by a bruised appear-

ance of the arm, an unimportant circumstance which happens if the skin moves over the cut in the vein so that a little blood escapes below it. To remove the appearance, I advised her friends to rub the arm downwards. This they did in her sleep, and found rigidity of the limb take place. Any part of

her could, from this time, be made perfectly rigid.

She was soon able to repeat her daily visits to my house. Formerly she and some others came at 12 o'clock, when I had usually finished the greater part of my home practice, and they were all allowed to sleep half an hour only, as I was obliged to leave home and begin my round about one. But, being anxious to give them the full benefit of mesmerism. as they were all eapable of sleep-waking from a single pass, I desired them all to come at 10, and they then were allowed to sleep till about one; and if, on going oceasionally into the room where they were, adjoining my library, I found any one of them awake spontaneously before that time, I sent her off again by a single pass. I recommended that her mother or a little orphan niece, who lived with them, the ehild of another brother, should also mesmerise her morning and evening; and that they should in her sleepwaking make contact passes upon her breast over the linen. I did this myself, over her dress, at every opportunity when I could leave my library for a few or more minutes.

She was so susceptible that not merely a single pass, but a look, always caused her upper eyelids to quiver and descend and close, and sleep-waking to come on. She was always perfectly relaxed and powerless in every part, and always perfectly insensible from head to foot to mechanical causes of pain. Yet she felt contact or resistance, and temperature, whether heat or cold. I recollect the incredulous look which these phenomena of feeling excited in various medical men to whom I exhibited them. But ether and chloroform have produced the same phenomena, and not a single medical man has, in a single instance, expressed a single doubt upon their

reality when produced by those narcotic drugs.\*

It is a common thing for mesmeric patients to be inseusible to pinching, cutting, pricking, and tearing, and yet to be perfectly sensible of the temperature of cold and warm substances applied to the very same part, and to be sensible if they are touched or pressed; and to reply, if asked what

<sup>\*</sup> My papers in No. XVI., p. 576; No. XVII., p. 44, contrasting the opposite conduct of the medical profession in regard to ether and chloroform on the one hand and to mesmerism on the other, the evidence being the same in both cases, will be imperishable documents in the history of medicine and surgery.

they feel when you press or pinch them, "I feel you are

touching me, that is all.\*"

Hundreds have been astonished at her rigidity. By firm contact passes down her arms, as she lay in an easy chair, I stiffened them; then her legs first held up at a right angle with her body; then her whole trunk, so that her body could not be bent; then her neck, so that her head could not be bent; then her jaw, so that she could not speak; then her lips, so that she could not move them in the least. Of course any order of proceeding could be adopted. When thus made all of a piece, she might be moved by the head from side to side in one mass, or raised forward in a mass by my pressing upon her rigid feet or legs. This rigidity would last for hours, and, though the sleep-waking now continued much longer than before, perhaps for hours, it sometimes ecased while the rigidity continued; and it was laughable to see her lie awake with her eyes open, and unable to move a limb or a feature except the eyes and eyelids. Sometimes the rigidity eeased before the sleep-waking.

This state of rigidity deepened and lengthened the sleep, as it generally does, and greatly strengthened her. As a general rule, not only ought patients to be allowed to continue in the sleep-waking till this terminates spontaneously, but they should be stiffened and allowed so to remain for the purpose of greater invigoration. If relaxation comes on, they should be stiffened again. When patients have been fairly sent into sleep-waking, so that contact and moving them do not awake them, firm longitudinal contact passes should be regularly made upon their limbs, as long as possible, in the hope of at length in-

ducing the phenomenon of rigidity.

Soon this rigidity could be induced in any part, by the same means, in her waking state: and the part always became at the same time insensible, as in her sleep-waking. This insensibility often occurs without rigidity: but usually accompanies rigidity. Whether awake or asleep she could be moulded into any form by putting one or more limbs, the head, or the body, in the desired position, and then stiffening it: or her jaw only could be locked, so that if awake she could look and walk but not talk. If many parts were stiffened in her waking state, sleep soon overpowered her and lasted long, and the rigidity still continued.

If a relaxed arm was bent up towards the shoulder, and contact passes made inside it as if to draw it towards the shoulder, it would grow rigid thus bent upon the shoulder: no ordinary force would draw it down. By pulling it you

<sup>\*</sup> See my facts and observations in No. V1., p. 210, and No. 1X., p. 59.

pulled her body forwards, but not the arm one half inch from the body. Yet by contact passes ever so gentle upon the arm, as though you wished to bring the arm down, it presently loosened and then fell perfectly relaxed in her lap. In some patients the part drawn does not relax but rigidly assumes the new position into which you bring it. In detailing Rosina's case I stated that,

"An auut of this patient has a cancer in her breast, and I have succeeded in becoming able by a single pass to throw her into a profound sleep, which lasts for hours, and in which there is no sensation from pinching, cutting, pricking, &c. Now the arms can be stiffened by longitudinal passes, so that they will lie rigid like two wooden cylinders at her sides, and remain thus rigid long after she is awake. I can bend up her arms like her niece's, and leave the fore-arms half bent and the hands bent to the fore-arms: and they will remain in this position for hours, which every one who attempts finds insupportable for very, very far short of that time. Again, so far from fatigue coming on and lessening these effects, the longer all these experiments are repeated the more readily do the effects ensue, and the more energetic are they."

The phenomenon of traction was never possible in her. She had no occult power, like many, of feeling the attempt at traction.

But the phenomenon of traction of a rigid part in her waking state was possible: yet never occurred unless she saw or learnt in some ordinary mode that you were drawing it. If I stiffened an arm and then made tractive passes from it, and she saw me making these tractive passes, the arm always ascended, greatly to her surprise, and without her being conscions that she willed its ascent. She was astonished to see it ascend, and at a loss to understand the reason. But if her eyes were covered or closed, it did not ascend: unless the idea was given her in some way or other that I was drawing it, and even then it usually would not ascend, though I was trying to draw it and clearly let her know this; and it occasionally would ascend even though I did not attempt to draw it.

Now here was no deception: but an instance of the astonishing fact; long ago mentioned by me in *The Zoist*, that perception may take place unconsciously, and the will be exerted unconsciously.

In the first place, I will stake my existence from daily experience of her for five years and a half, awake and in sleep-waking, when happy and when distressed, even when she considered herself at the point of death, that there never has been even a shadow of deception or even of exaggeration.

Secondly. In the waking state with her eyes open, traction, however long continued, never drew her arms unless they were previously stiffened. A deceiver would raise her arms, stiffened or not stiffened, when tractive passes are made.\*

Thirdly. This very difference occurs in other patients, and in truth there has been no phenomenon in her that I have not witnessed in others of both sexes, in adult age and in childhood, and in persons perfectly ignorant of mesmerism.

I must be pardoned for quoting from former papers of

my own.

"It is to me certain, from great observation in the mesmeric coma, as well as in ordinary sleep and the waking state, that the brain can and does act often involuntarily, and can and does act often unconsciously; that is, that we may not be able to resist a desire to order or to will a motion, and that willing may occur with such wonderful readiness, such instant promptitude, on our feeling anything to excite it, that we are quite unconscious of willing at all,—of any effort,—of doing anything at all.†

"Some patients will deny that their limbs are moving, so unconscious is this effort; and yet the character of the movement, especially

of rising, is evidently calculated and the result of will."\$\pm\$

"The truth is, that sleep-wakers are more or less abstracted, and abstracted in regard to some things and not to others: that they, through unconscious and involuntary inclinations, may not be consciously percipient of many things, which however their brains really perceive, and which they in the mesmeric state, and sometimes in the ordinary only, may never afterwards know they have perceived; and their brains may have various internal feelings, and will many things, quite unconsciously; and afterwards they may act upon and be influenced by the knowledge thus unconsciously received, without ever suspecting that they had received it. I must request the reader to peruse the pages referred to in the last note but one. Dr. Engledue never hears in his sleep the rattling of his alarum in his hed-room, but is always awakened by his night-bell, even by the motion of the wire before the bell actually rings. Mr. Case tells me that he does not hear his children who sleep around him ery in the night, but instantly hears his night-bell. One lady in her sleep-waking who hears me only, does not hear her own watch tiek but always hears mine. Another lady, from her refusing to think of any living being in the mesmeric state but myself, always declared most solemnly there was no one in the room but herself and me; though she knew her sister was always present when she

<sup>\*</sup> See a similar reason, p. 224.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;See my Human Physiology. p. 484, note c. I believe that any animal faculty, intellectual or affective, that even mere sensation and will, are of all degrees, and at the lowest scarcely if at all discernible; and thus that will may really run down insensibly into merely automatic motions, so that it may be indistinguishable from them."

<sup>‡</sup> No. V., p. 70.

was mesmerised, and was in the room when I sent her off: and she was greatly hurt at my maintaining that her sister was there. She would tell me of things she was most anxious her sister should not know, and yet I kept assuring her that her sister was present. The bagpipes are her detestation; but they would be played screechingly in the street under her window, and she never noticed them.

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

This unconscious action of the brain is exhibited in the familiar fact of our waking at the precise time at which we, on going to sleep, determine, or rather wish, to wake. The idea is in our brain unconsciously: and we act upon it unconsciously. Persons have often heard and seen things unconsciously, and remained unconscious of having seen or heard them; and at some distant period remembered every thing in the most minute and surprising manner. Persons in spontaneous or idiopathic somnambulism may do things quite unconsciously and far better than when awake. Dr. Abercrombie relates a case in which the person was conscious of the general perception, but unconscious of more than what was confused and disagreeable.

A poor girl, when seven years of age, looked after cattle at a farmer's, and slept next a room often occupied by an itinerant fiddler of great skill and addicted to playing refined pieces at night; but his performance was taken notice of by her as only a disagreeable noise. She fell ill, and was removed to the house of a benevolent lady, whose servant she became. Some years after this change, she had fits of sleep-waking, in which, after being two hours in bed, she became restless and began to mutter; and, after uttering sounds precisely like the tuning of a violin, would make a prelude, and then dash off into elaborate pieces of music, most clearly and accurately, and with the most delicate modulations. She sometimes stopped, made the sound of retuning her instrument, and began exactly where she had left off. After a year or two she imitated an

<sup>\*</sup> By materialist, I do not mean an atheist, or even a doubter of any doctrine of the Church of Eogland or similar denominations: but one who considers that the brain is the organ of our mental phenomena, and each of these the result of an action of some particles of the brain: that all earthly mental powers are cerebral powers, and exist no more without it than the power of gravitation without matter or life without living substances. The man who believes this may believe in a great first personal cause and in a reproduction of us in a future world. He humbly learns nature from observation: and considers the office of revelation can be only to give him information of what is beyond nature—supernatural and inscrutable to his faculties. See the note at the eod of No. XXI.

† No. XI., p. 361, sq.

old piano also, which she was accustomed to hear in her present residence; and, in another year, began to talk, descanting fluently, most acutely, and wittily, and with astonishing mimickry and copious illustrations and imagery, on political, religious, and other subjects. For several years she was ignorant of all around her in the paroxysms; but, at about the age of sixteen, she began to observe those who were in her apartment, and could tell their number accurately, though the utmost care was taken to have the room darkened; and, when her eye-lids were raised, and a candle was brought near the eye, the pupil seemed insensible to light. She soon became capable of answering questions, and of noticing remarks made in her presence, and in both respects showed extraordinary acuteness. "Her observations, indeed," says Dr. Abercrombie, "were often of such a nature, and corresponded so exactly with characters and events, that by the country people she was believed to be endowed with supernatural power.

"During the whole period of this remarkable affection, which seems to have gone on for ten or eleven years, she was, when awake, a dull awkward girl, very slow in receiving instruction, though much care was bestowed upon her; and, in point of intellect, she was much inferior to the other servants of the family. In particular,

she shewed no kind of turn for music."\*

I am certain, though in Miss Barber the perception of my tractive movements occurred consciously, that both the willing to obey them and the desire to will occurred quite

unconsciously.

While she was awake, my fixed gaze upon her hand would to her great astonishment stiffen it and the arm and render them insensible, if she saw what I was doing: but not unless she did see. In her sleep, her eyes being always firmly closed, this gaze had no such effect. In the same way longitudinal passes over her arm at a short distance while she was awake and saw me had the same effect: but not if her eyes were covered. If the passes were made at a considerable height above her arms as these lay in her lap, there was no effect, though she was allowed to see what I was doing.

Any part could be readily relaxed by breathing upon it; by touching it with even the point of a finger, or with an inanimate substance; by perfectly transverse passes across it; by darting the hand at it; or by contact passes in the opposite direction to that in which the part was contracted: for instance, if they were made down the back of the arms while these were bent up to the shoulders, the arms presently dropped, but by a continuance of the passes again became rigid, and in the extended position. Yet if the contact passes were to bring an extended rigid part into the

<sup>\*</sup> On the Intellectual Powers, p. 294. Fourth Edition.

bent position, there was no preliminary relaxation but an

immediate rigid flexion.\*

I have now to record a striking fact. While I am drawing up her rigid arm in the waking state with her eyes free, she sees as soon as the limb begins to ascend, but not before, a colourless stream pass from it to my hand, of the same breadth as the number of the points of the fingers which I employ at the moment. Though I cover the part with a shawl, single or folded, the appearance is equal. This statement may be relied upon as securely as the phenomena in the chemist's laboratory. If I stiffen her body and then make tractive passes from it, as soon as it advances the stream from it is seen. If I draw with both hands, there are two streams side by side from the part. The farther I stand from her, the fainter the stream appears; and, if at a great distance, there is no visible stream, nor traction. She compares it to moonlight, and it is stronger in the dark. She sees the same from my hand if I dart it at a stiffened part, but not till this begins to relax. On darting my hand at a part not rigid, there is no such appearance. In tractive passes, the stream seems to wave back towards her when my hand moves towards her again before the next tractive pass. If I breathe upon a stiffened part she sees no stream of light.

Very lately she has shewn an attraction to me, so that when she is asleep, if I sit before her, she slowly advances forwards in her chair towards me, provided she is first rendered rigid; and, if I stand to one side, she gradually inclines in that direction; or if her arm is rigidly extended, and I place one of my hands to one side of it, this very slowly moves towards mine, but it moves in the direction far more

<sup>\*</sup> These phenomena occurred in Miss Critchly: "Transverse passes over the stiffened limbs of this patient; touching her immediately with any thing; but especially breathing upon her and touching her with the hand or the person, instantly relaxed her. In breathing upon her or touching her with the hand, or any inanimate or even unmesmerised object, metal, wood, glass, a book, cloth, &c. it was not necessary that this should be immediately applied—that no covering should intervene: though breathing upon her and touching her with an inanimate substance immediately had a more rapid effect than if a covering intervened; and, when any thing was interposed, the hand a much quicker effect than inanimate bodies. If I pressed any inanimate substance upon one fore-arm, and the points of my fingers on the other, this other always relaxed the sooner. Even to hold the hand near her without immediate contact was sufficient: and especially to point at the part. Darting the fingers at a part, without touching it, quickly drove it down and relaxed it. I have had cases in which relaxation could be produced by making passes in the opposite direction to those which had or might have produced the rigidity. For example, when the arm was extended, by making passes upwards along the inside, as if to bend it, -when it would all relax, and then a continuance of the passes would cause opposite contraction and bend it freely: or when bent, it might be unbent and relaxed by longitudinal passes made along its outside, as if to unbend it."-Vol. II., p. 71.

quiekly if I place mysclf at the same side of her hand as that on which my hand is placed. The same thing occurs if she is awake and rendered rigid. But during the attraction she sees no stream as in traction, perhaps because it is so slow. These movements of attraction are as unconsciously voluntary and as astonishing to her as those of traction. A youth, the son of Mr. Adlard, the engraver of Hatton Garden, and as true, straightforward, and good a young man as exists, in his sleep-waking always displayed the same and indeed a far greater attraction to me in a room full of company. While I was mesmerising him, the unconsciously willed attraction would take place before the sleep was induced. I slightly mentioned the case in 1844.\*

"I have a patient in whose mesmerie sleep there is a powerful attraction to me, and he grasps my hands firmly. Before he is asleep, while still wide awake, looking at me as I look at him and hold one of his hands in mine while the other is on his forehead, this attraction will come on, so that his hand grasps mine. On my telling him of this the first time, he looked down and saw that it was so; but he did not know it before, and assured me he had not consciously grasped my hand. On subsequent occasions the same has often happened,—the mesmerie effect in the feeling of friendship taking place before there was any very great advance towards sleep; but he, now suspecting the matter and therefore attending to the point, would say, 'Sir, I feel my fingers curling round your hand, but I can't help it; I don't curl them round.' However, before he is quite asleep, his hand is firmly grasping mine, nor is he able to relax it. And as a farther illustration that this was the emotion of attachment and an unconscious exertion of volition, I must remark that when squeezing my hands with painful tightness in the moments of deep sleep, he would frown and let them go if I conversed with others, and would not take them again while I continued conversing. I am certain that persons, that is, the brain, can unconsciously receive external impressions, and unconsciously aet upon these impressions; so unconsciously as to deny, with no falsehood on their part, that they received the impression or did the aet (supra, p. 70); and this while awake, -while apparently awake, but, I should say, in a waking state with a dash of sleep on certain feelings and exertions of what we call will. The materialist only, who is the only true cerebral physiologist, sees the simple explanation of all this; sees that all is ascribable to partial cerebral activity,-that one portion, or some portions, of the brain are active independently of the rest, without the knowledge of the rest, just as one portion of the surface of the body may be active in secreting, and the rest not, and partial perspiration is the result."

The summer of 1844 passed on. The cancerous sallow-

ness disappeared: she had less pain: her strength increased: and the warty-looking growth dropped off, leaving a sound smooth surface, and there was no increase of the diseased substance. A surgical operation was therefore not thought of. Dr. Ashburner saw the part, had no hesitation iu calling the disease cancer, and was delighted at the favourable prospect. In September I left town for a tour in the north of Germany, and a medical friend was so good as to promise to mesmerise her. His engagements unfortunately prevented her being mesmerised to the extent I wished: and she was persuaded to wear a piece of mesmerised leather day and night upon her breast. This irritated the part exceedingly, and after a few days caused a very painful and bleeding sore, which did not heal for six mouths. On my return at the end of October I found this and, what was worse, that the darting pain had returned and the diseased mass had grown firmly to the ribs. Mr. D. Hands saw the breast: and Dr. Ashburner again saw it, and was much distressed at the apparent blight of the poor woman's happy prospects. However, I began again: and in her daily sleep-waking I diligently made contact passes over her dress upon the diseased side. The wound at length healed, though the surrounding surface continued for some time to inflame occasionally from the slightest irritating cause. Spermacete ointment only was applied to prevent the linen from rubbing and sticking to the wound. A gland enlarged in the arm-pit.

She slowly improved in every respect, and the mass began to diminish. The summer of 1845 arrived. Dr. Engledue examined her at my house, and, like every body else, pronounced the disease to be cancer. This autumn I merely went on a visit for a month to Dr. Engledue's at Southsea, returning to town for one day in a week; and on this day I always mesmerised her. She had an attack of bronchitis, and was bled without knowing it towards the end of the

year.

The summer of 1846 arrived. During it the pain entirely ceased for good. Near the end of August she had a severe attack of pleuritis and bronchitis: for which I bled without her knowledge and blistered her: and, on leaving town for Switzerland in the beginning of September, placed her in the hands of Mr. Symes, who cheerfully took the charge of her for me, and never once omitted, whatever was the weather, to visit her daily during the whole of my absence till the end of October, notwithstanding the distance. She often expresses her sense of his great goodness. He for the first time now saw the part, and saw that the disease was

cancer. These inflammatory attacks were all produced by her walking through the wet a mile to my house and sitting in wet shoes.

On my return I determined to mesmerise her at her mother's whenever it was wet, and prevent if possible these

chances of inflammation of the chest.

During the year 1847, the disease steadily gare way. The mass had become not only much less, but detached from the ribs and moveable again. I remained in town all the autumn: but she again had an attack of inflammation of her chest, and I ever afterwards have visited her and not allowed her to come to my house.

The present year 1848 arrived. She has had catarrh and a fit of asthma several times; and the fit of asthma was always removed by my laying my hand upon her chest over her clothes for ten minutes in her mesmeric state. The tumor continued to decrease and the tenderness to wear off, and the

gland in the arm-pit disappeared.

The cancerous mass is now completely dissipated: the breast is perfectly flat: and all the skin rather thicker and firmer than before the disease existed. Not the smallest lump is to be found: nor is there the slightest tenderness of the bosom or the arm-pit.

I shall now make some additional statements with regard

to the phenomena of the case.

She could always be awakened as readily as she could be sent to sleep. No difficulty ever occurred in either respect. One transverse pass on her eyebrows, a few at a distance, or one with the palm of one hand swept off the back of the other, readily woke her. The habit of sleeping and waking in certain circumstances became so strong, that imagination was sufficient to produce either state. I formerly mentioned the effect of this in causing sleep-waking\* and in waking.+ I usually awoke her by distinct transverse passes, in making which I drew one hand upon the other. At last, if I rubbed them together behind me, or without making any pass, she instantly awoke. I usually blew towards her at the same time, and if I blew in another direction, but loud enough for her to hear, she instantly awoke -exactly as a medical man wakes when his night-bell rings, but is not aroused by other loud noises. I have also sent her into sleep-waking by imagination. In former Numbers I pointed out the error of some mesmerists who exclude the influence of imagination in mesmeric phenomena, as well as of those who ascribe all mesmeric effects to ima-

gination.

In 1845 I made beautiful experiments upon her with reference to the power exerted in the waking state by impressions made in the sleep-waking. This is not only a most amusing, but a most important subject, both as to the physiological facts of unconscious impressions and as to the pathological facts of hallucination: and I think the perusal of eleven pages in the third volume\* worthy of the deepest consideration of cerebral physiologists and medical practitioners, and ealculated to repay any one who has not already read them.

She was always entirely ignorant in her waking state of every thing which had passed in her sleep-waking; though in this she remembered every thing of her ordinary waking state. The personal facts of pp. 4, 5, 21, were commu-

nicated to me in her sleep-waking.

She could be rendered rigid by contact-passes on a part. But about two years ago her tendency to rigidity increased, so that on deepening her sleep by placing the points of my fingers on the eyes, she spoke hoth faintly and far less, and became rigid in her limbs, trunk, neck, and jaw, and so remained the best part of an hour. In the general rigid state she now manifests attraction, moving towards me precisely as Miss Critchly did.† Very lately, she has shewn tendency to rigidity in her ordinary degree of sleep-waking.

Though susceptibility of mesmerism runs in families, it is modified in different individuals. The niecc, Rosina, was to the last never sent into sleep-waking under several minutes, sometimes not for nearly half an hour: and could not be sent to sleep by any reasonable number of passes nor by staring, but required my pointing the fingers close to her eyes. She could never be awakened by mesmeric means; but the sleep always expended itself: all I could do to hasten her waking was to stand at a distance from her and beg every one else to do the same; for the proximity of any one prolonged her sleep. She could readily be drawn and had an occult power of knowing that we were making tractive passes. Various cerebral organs could be excited mesmerically in her; but not in the annt, though the latter witnessed her phenomena many times, and those of Mary Ann and Miss Collins daily for months. ‡ She was insensible only up to her collar-bone: the aunt uni-She was always in a dream: the aunt never. Neiversally.

<sup>\*</sup> No. XII., pp. 368—379. See also pp. 471-2. † No. V., pp. 46-9. ‡ No. XII.,p. 465.

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ther of them was at all clairvoyant: but the niece had an occult faculty not only of knowing when an attempt at traction was making, but of distinguishing her mesmeriser's touch from that of other persons, except when Destructiveness or Pride was excited, and then she was made to mistake me for some one whom she disliked: the aunt possessed neither faculty. They both agreed in this,—that the right half was more susceptible than the left.

I always affected the aunt more readily and produced greater comfort and benefit to her than any other mesmeriser: but I am not aware whether this was the case with Rosina. Many have told me the same thing. The circumstance has probably arisen from habits of gratitude rendering

me more agreeable than others to them.

As brutes can be mesmerised by us,\* so can we be mesmerised by them.

"Another beautiful set of experiments was made with brutes. If their hand was brought into contact with a brute, the rapidity and intensity of the effect was always proportionate to the size of the animal. If their fingers were placed under the wing of a perroquet, the effect was much inferior to what it was if they were placed under the wings of a cockatoo. If placed on the nose of a small deer, the effect was inferior to what it was if placed upon a lama or a large deer:—a mere rigidity and contraction of the head in the first instance, stupefaction and at last perfect insensibility and relaxation in the latter. Contact of the ends of the fingers with the dry rough trunk of the elephant had no effect upon the elder: but, the instant she touched the soft moist mucous membrane of the trunk of this immense beast, she dropt senseless and snored loudly, and did not become sensible for ten minutes."

The other day I had one of my Newfoundland dogs with me when visiting Miss Barber. Her arms were rigid. I called my dog and made it stand so near her that its breath streamed upon her hand and invariably relaxed it, as human breath would have done, to her great astonishment.

In 1847, I made interesting experiments upon her with the magnet, and recorded them at length in the fourth volume,

to which I refer my readers. ‡

These experiments taught me the advantage of the magnet; and I have lately begged her to place it in her bed, on account of constant pain of one hip waking her from her mesmeric sleep in the night. I directed her to place the

<sup>\*</sup> Trials of Animal Magnetism on the Brute Creation, by Dr. John Wilson, Physician to the Middlesex Hospital. Sherwood, Paternoster Row. 1839.

† See my Human Physiology, p. 1176.

<sup>‡</sup> No. XIII., pp. 107—110; No. XIV., pp. 278—284.

magnet against the seat of pain, over her night dresses. The magnet kept her asleep and rigid, and at last dissipated the pain. It always dispersed the pain across the loins and front to the other side; and, by persevering in this way, the pain was removed from its original seat and established itself, but less violently, in the other hip. It could not, however, be applied so much as I wished; for it produced, if long applied, an excitement on her awaking,-a feeling of wildness and spite, a desire to injure others or herself, and also caused a taste of iron in her mouth. Its application was, therefore, of necessity, moderated. Whenever it was applied long, though always with the intervention of clothes, these effects ensued. In the day-time it was placed against the foot of the affected side outside the shoe and stocking in her sleep-waking, and thus drew the pain, first to the thigh, then to the knee, the leg, the foot, the toes, lessening the pain all the time in the whole limb till none was felt except in the left hip, to which the pain had been dispersed by the application of the magnet to the right hip. Its application to the left foot, all the time of her day sleep-waking and for some little time in the night, at length removed the pain altogether. The magnet was the very large one mentioned by me formerly.\* I left it with her in consequence of the unpleasant effects of crystals of alum, which I had first left with her for the same purpose and which were beginning to do her the same good. The crystalline mass is nearly a foot long: it induces rigidity and sleep in her, as in so many others, and removes pain; but, though applied over her night dresses against her hip, it caused, after a few days, rapidity of pulse, heat, thirst, a very white and dry tongue, loss of appetite, general feeling of illness, and a strong taste of alum, alvum astrictam et suppressionem menstruorum in quibus per plures menses fere quotidie fuerat.

To ascertain the truth, the use of the crystals of alum was omitted, and those effects all ceased: it was resumed, and they all returned: omitted again, and they ceased. There has, however, been permanent good from it in the removal of the last-mentioned cause of debility. I have another patient who, if, in her mesmeric sleep-waking, alum, salt, nitre, carbonate of soda,—all very soluble substances, solid or in solution, acids, oil, or a solution of sugar, &c. is placed in her hand, presently tastes them and names them accurately, though not only are her eyes closed but her face well covered. I shall detail these experiments on some future day. All these facts shew that in the mesmeric state there is,

at least in some persons, a greatly increased power of absorption: and this, together with the tendency of mesmerism to augment the power of the body to shake off disease, whatever be its nature, explains the dissipation of the cancer. For the diseased mass was dissipated and absorbed, and painlessly and imperceptibly: not discharged by ulceration or mortification, as hitherto when nature has got rid of such a mass or art has succeeded by agonizing corrosive and irritating substances or by fire: after which rare removals the wound has fallen into the cancerous state, or a cancer has begun in some other part, as far as my experience and reading extend.\*

This case proves the necessity of perseverance in mesmerising. Five years and upwards was Miss Barber mesmerised, and for the greater part of the period three times a day: remaining in the happy trance some hours each time, and the part being locally mesmerised in her morning and evening mesmeric sleep, which took place in bed; and in the night the mesmeric passed into the natural sleep.† Most patients and some mesmerists have no idea of the necessity of perseverance.‡ I have no patience with half the people who make a trial of mesmerism, expecting it to act as though its powers were miraculous and not natural. They almost deserve to suffer on,

"—— For miracles are ceased,
And therefore we must needs admit the means,
How things are perfected."

Archbishop of Canterbury, in King Henry V., Act. i., Sc. ii.

But I know mesmerists who give up a case if there is not improvement or some sensible effect after a mesmerisation of

<sup>\*</sup> The supposed cure of a cancer by mesmerism recorded in No. XIV., p. 218, was a beautiful cure, but the disease was not cancer, though this name was given to it in the Middlesex Hospital where it had been condemned to be cut out as incurable, no less than to that of the other breast which had been cut out as a cancer in this hospital. It was readily cured by a little mesmerism, and I afterwards saw an appearance very different from that left in Miss Barber-I saw a full-sized healthy breast. Messrs Arnott, Tuson, and Shaw, surgeons of the Middlesex Hospital, Mr. Vincent, surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Messrs. Aston Key and Branshy Cooper, surgeons of Guy's Hospital, Mr. Cooper, surgeon of the Bloomsbury Dispensary, and Mr. Bishop, surgeon of the Northern Dispensary, had all pronounced this disease to be true cancer: so that, if this was its nature, all those surgeons must acknowledge that mesmerism cured a cancer. But Mr. Morgan, surgeon of Guy's Hospital, did not regard it as a cancer, nor Mr. Flintoff, the surgeon who mesmerised, nor apparently Dr. Nairne, physician of St. George's Hospital. The article in No. XIV. is one of the most important that medical men can read: far more important than a dozen volumes on diseased breasts. For a condemned breast was cured: and, if the disease of the other breast had been the same, a breast which had been cut away might have been cured. † No. XVIII., p. 116. ‡ No. VI., p. 197-8.

a quarter of an hour for a few days: and who also mesmerise far too many persons. Greatrakes and Mr. Loutherbourg committed these faults, and thus at length fell into disrepute.

I shall continue the mesmerism with Miss Barber for months to come, in accordance with what I said in No. XI., p. 364.

Miss Barber, with her mother and the orphan niece, lodge at Mrs. Gower's, No. 12, New Street, Dorset Square, and will not refuse, I am certain, to give every information respecting her case to any lady who may call upon her. I need adduce no other proof of the respectability of this very excellent woman than the fact, that, when she could work no longer, a number of her customers, at the head of whom was Mrs. Sharpe, made her a regular allowance; but they could not suppose that she would survive a very long time, and it was too much to expect that they would all continue their benevolence year after year. Accordingly, her little income is now diminished to a third, and, as they have all been employing fresh dress-makers for five years and are suited, I fear that she will have great difficulty in regaining a business. I am told that she is a very good dress-maker and workwoman, and I know that she is in all respects most conscientious; and those ladies, who feel an interest in her case and could conveniently employ her, might do an act of great importance. For I discovered lately, when I found her very weak notwithstanding her cure, and could not account for it, qu'elle n'avoit pas assez à manger. She was too patient and unobtrusive to divulge this before, and now divulged it in her sleepwaking and reluctantly.

I prefixed to this narrative an extract from the recent Harveian Oration of Dr. F. Hawkins, one of the physicians of the Middlesex Hospital. I will now adduce a few passages from a pamphlet just published by the apothecary of the Middlesex Hospital, whose untiring invectives against mesmerism for so many years appear to have been Dr. Hawkins's lessons.

<sup>&</sup>quot;From what I have witnessed during the whole period that these delusions of the devil have been exercised, I never heard or saw anything of the sort go forth but what was indecent, disgraceful, and injurious. All the patients have universally expressed themselves worse than before, when real disease existed; and when nervous disorders only were present, the mind has been worked upon, the lascivious passions have been excited, and the will, unable to control the animal desires, has lost its balance, and the patient has then been momen-

tarily stupified by the 300 or 400 passes to and fro before the eyes, but only to wake to a more *libidinous* state than before, and this has sent them, sooner or later, to wander about the streets to gratify their lusts, and thus have they become open prostitutes." p. 21

"Every Christian mind must be pained at the frequent assertions which you (Dr. Ashburner) make in this pamphlet, that mesmerism is a "power from God, granted unto men by Him." I hesitate not

to affirm that it is from the devil." p. 31.

"The spirits of phrenology and of mesmerism are true devils,

co-partners, fraternal spirits of uncleanliness." p. 25.

"This power of mesmerism is called natural in order to blind the understanding, and beguile the Christian physician into the adoption of its satanic art, whereas its true name is to be found in the book of Revelation; viz., 'the working of false miracles,' which God declared, in the latter day, should be performed by devils on earth; and this is the grand primary reason that such a burst of clamour and abuse are levelled at any child of God when he ventures to lift up this revolting mask. It will be asked how devils can work, since we do not behold them with our naked eye?" p. vii. "It is my firm conviction that any individual who ardently pursues such a tract of delusion, &c., is possessed of devils," &c. p. xiv.

"The strong blasts from the terrible one which have swept over my soul, as I have read, seen, and heard related the varied deeptions which have been set forth by the disciples of mesmerism, have fully convinced me that it is an infernal system, 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 receive it, entertain, believe, and practise it," p. xiv.\*

Dr. James Arthur Wilson, physician of St. George's Hospital, lately burst forth suddenly against mesmerism in a lecture delivered before the President, who is Dr. Paris, and assembled College of Physicians. It is not printed; but the following was related to me by a gentleman present according to the best of his recollection: and, if there is any error, I shall be most happy to correct it in the next number of *The Zoist*.

He said that mesmerists absurdly talk of preventing the pain of surgical operations by mesmerism and tell us of a man in Notting-hamshire whose leg was cut off without his feeling pain, but who was like Sir Thomas Hardy, a brave fellow and one who could bear pain, or did not know what the word pain meant. And then he descanted upon the blessings of chloroform, and thought the bishops ought to be requested to draw up a form of thanksgiving to God for having vouchsafed to us the knowledge of chloroform to prevent pain. He next ridiculed mesmerism as an imposture sometimes shewn in drawing-rooms to fashionable dowagers with not half the sense of laundry-maids, and talked about Rosicrusian parsons, and semi-delirious butlers.

<sup>\*</sup> Mesmerism tried by the touch-stone of Truth, &c. By George Corfe.

Could be forget that the poor Nottinghamshire peasant had an exquisite sense of pain and suffered agonics in his limb from the slightest cause when not in the mesmeric state, and so dreaded pain that, when he awoke and found the operation had been performed, he instantly exclaimed, "I bless the Lord to find it's all over?"\* Dr. J. A. Wilson well knows that the evidence of the absence of pain is precisely identical in the cases of chloroform and of mesmerism.

After such a cure as that of Miss Barber, without any aid from annoying medicines or painful applications, without money and without price, I can afford to be thus reviled by Mr. Corfe and Dr. Francis Hawkins, by Mr. Wakley and Dr. James Arthur Wilson: and equally well ean afford it the great body of mesmerists who now labour in this holy cause, and some of whose blessed and astonishing deeds are recorded in the three and twenty numbers of The Zoist. I quote these unjust and indelicate invectives, not because any one of the four men is worthy of notice, but in order to show to posterity what violent and unscrupulous opposition to the establishment of mesmerism was made by men educated at Oxford, as well as by men educated not otherwise than the apothecary of Dr. Hawkins's hospital, or than Mr. Wakley whose education was merely reading, writing, and arithmetic at a village school: and made publicly without censure before the Royal College of Physicians, no less than in the pages of the Lancet, which, though published for five and twenty years, was not admitted into the College till this very summer.

In my Harveian Oration delivered before the College of

Physicians was the following passage:-

"Joannes Riolanus, a celebrated physician and anatomist of Paris, was the only writer to whom Harvey condescended to reply: and the labour was thrown away. For Riolanus was of course not to be convinced, and wrote again diffusely and obscurely, repeating what he had written before, and, as before, giving no experiments in opposition to those of Harvey: and, on our great countryman condescending to reply a second time, he wrote again, still not having had intellectual activity enough to make a single experiment, and doubting those of Harvey merely because they disagreed with his own fancies. Harvey wisely took no farther notice of him, but hopelessly gave him up, leaving him to that wise ordination—death, which removes men and all their settled absurd prejudices together.

"But the medicat profession was not contented with denial of the truth; they stigmatised Harvey as a fool: and the world, thinking that the doctors were quite able to judge, philosophically dispas-

<sup>\*</sup> Numerous Cases of Surgical Operations without Pain in the Mesmeric State, &c. By John Elliotson, &c. &c., pp. 5, 6, 10.

sionate, truth-loving, and industrious in observing and experimenting, thought that he therefore must be a fool, and did not consult him as before. His friend, Mr. Aubrey, says, in a manuscript preserved in the Royal Society, 'He told me himself, that upon his publishing that Booke, he fell in his Practice extremely.' But, before he published his work,—when he had announced his views to his friends and in his anatomical lectures only, he had been traduced. He tells us that he at length published, partly on account of the envy of persons who, receiving unfavourably and not comprehending his statements, endeavoured publicly to vilify him. He was soon lampooned from one end of Enrope to the other. But he took no notice of his enemies, for the following, he tells us in his second letter to Riolanus, were his sentiments. 'To return abuse with abuse, I consider unworthy of a philosopher and of an enquirer into truth; and it seems to me better and more prudent to dissipate such evidences of bad feeling by the light of true and satisfactory observation. Dogs must bark and vomit forth what is in them, and eynics will be found among philosophers: but we must prevent them from biting or infecting with their maddening venom, or gnawing the bones and foundations of truth. I resolved never to read, much more never to condescend to answer, detractors, idle carpers, and writers tainted with scurrility, from whom nothing solid, nothing tut abuse, could be expected. Let them indulge their depraved desires: I cannot think they will find many respectable readers; nor does the Almighty bestow upon the bad the most excellent and highly to be desired gift of wisdom. Let them continue to revile till, if they are not ashamed, they are at least sick and tired." "\*

Those of the medical profession who indulge their indifference to human welfare and their unworthy feelings may be assured that mesmerism is now established with the public, and that in a very short time they must for their own interests desist from the course which they have hitherto pursued. Let them learn from a woman who is qualified to instruct them and thus writes in the present year:—

"All the naval surgeons I met in the Mediterranean know the truth of Mesmerism as well as I do, and admit its importance; so do some eminent naval officers there; and the Physician of the French Embassy in Egypt; and the gentlemen from India who have witnessed what Dr. Esdaile and the Bengal Government have done; and Mr. Lane, and the Bishop of Jernsalem; and, in short, every man of education, who has really attended to the subject. Among them, there are some who think most of the curative powers of Mesmerism; but there are others who see how infinitely more important and interesting are those of its facts which belong to Mental philosophy, and who feel what an illustrious foreigner ex-

<sup>\*</sup> The Harveion Oration, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians, on Saturdoy, June 27th, 1816. By John Elliotson, M.D. Cantab. F.R.S. Fellow of the College. With an English Version and Notes, and an original Letter of Mesmer to the College. H. Baillière, Regent-street.

pressed to me, in London, not long ago: 'it is a shame for your country that it should be behind every other civilized nation, in regard to this portion of science. It is strange that men should be slow to investigate a powerful curative means. But when the same agent shows that Man has a new faculty of the mind,—a faculty hitherto not numbered among his powers,-what can one say to indifference to such a discovery as that,—the greatest that Man has ever made, or can ever make! It is a shame for your country!' If others of our countrymen abroad will follow Dr. Esdaile's example in using their opportunities, they may yet redeem us from the disgrace we lie under with the educated classes of every country in Europe, for our want of a true philosophical spirit of inquiry and teachableness in regard to the facts of Mesmerism. However, we are wiser than we were a few years ago: and it is now a rare thing, I believe, to meet an educated person who does not regard the subject with seriousness and candour, and, after inquiry, with undoubting belief to a greater or less extent."\*

JOHN ELLIOTSON.

37, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, September 21st, 1848.

Appendix to Dr. Elliotson's Case of the Care of Cancer.

I have thought it advisable to procure certificates of Miss Barber's present state from those gentlemen who saw her long ago and pronounced her case to be cancer.

From Dr. ASHBURNER, (p. 15.)

"65, Grosvenor Street, "22nd Sept., 1848.

"My dear Dr. Elliotson,-I have been to-day to see Miss Barber, your most interesting case of cancer of the right breast, cured by mesmerism. Having been allowed, by your kinduess, to watch the progress of the disease under your treatment, I have repeatedly spoken of it to medical men, but as the world yet remains a large lunatic asylum, and as our profession gloats in its own ignorance, I have failed in my attempts to draw attention to it. There can be no doubt of the nature of Miss Barber's case. When in the cancer ward of the Middlesex Hospital, a woman is seen with such a breast as she had, accompanied by such a swollen state of arm and hand, and such indurated glands in the axilla, the pupils would be taught, that there remains no hope of recovery for her; she is beyond the reach of operation. Then, when we reflect on the experience of the best surgeons on the subject of the recurrence of the disease in the apparently most favourable cases, after the operation of removing the breast, we must be led to congratulate you on an additional most important contribution to medical science by the cure of Miss Barber.

<sup>\*</sup> Eastern Life, Present and Past, by Harriet Martineau, pp. 141-2. 1848.

When I first saw the breast in this case, it was a large scirrlins, with retracted nipple and indurated axillary glands. There was a cancerous condition of skin that cannot be mistaken by any ouc accustomed to see the disease, so that there could be no possible doubt on the matter. During the progress of the cure, the induration vanished, and the skin became soft, the tumefaction of the hand and arm subsided, and to-day I find the breast quite flat, with a very slight hardness of the skin round the nipple, where a scar remains from the excoriation that existed at one time, occupying the position of the areola. The hardness of the gland in the arm pit is gone, and Miss Barber is cured,—a fact, about which there is no mistake. I cannot help sympathizing with you in your joyful gratification at this result, establishing your right to a victory over a disease which has been always deemed incurable. I pity the man who cannot rejoice at your success. Let the orators of the College of Physicians prattle in their pretty Latin against mesmerism and mesmerists. cases as these form the best answer to their ignorance and folly, and establish the real dignity of the profession,—a dignity for the maintenance of which the college was instituted, and the oath is administered to its members. You have vindicated that dignity by your labours in the cause of mesmerism, and long may you enjoy the triumphant satisfaction which you must feel, mingled although it may be with melancholy at the stolidity, or something worse, of those physicians who refuse their assent to the truth, and who cannot respond to that eloquent appeal you addressed to them in your Harveian Oration. Let effeminate minds throw their silly insults at you. It is but a paltry persecution levelled at a man of whom it will be said, as Charles Fox said on the analogous case of the persecution of Locke by the University of Oxford; they wronged a man 'who is now their chiefest glory.'

"I remain, my dear Dr. Elliotson,

"Yours sincerely,

"JOHN ASHBURNER."

#### From Dr. ENGLEDUE, (p. 15.)

"I hereby certify that I saw Miss Barber, in 1845, and that I carefully examined the state of her breast. It presented all the characteristic signs of cancer, and I did not entertain a doubt on

the subject.

"I have just seen her again, and I find the disease entirely re-The breast appears to me to be entirely absorbed. The skin is perfectly flat and smooth, and viewing it from a short distance and contrasting it with the opposite side, any person would suppose that the gland had been removed by surgical operation.

"W. C. ENGLEDUE, M.D.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Southsea, Sept. 25th, 1848."

#### From Mr. SYMES, (p. 15.)

"77, Grosvenor Street. "Sept. 26th, 1848.

"My dear Dr. Elliotson,-I have this day examined the breast of Miss Barber, in which a cancer formerly existed. The cancer is now cured. The breast has shrunk away, leaving only a little thickened skin around the nipple, perfectly moveable upon the ribs. There is no tumor whatever.

> "I remain. "Yours very sincerely, "E. S. SYMES."

#### From Mr. DECIMUS HANDS, (p. 15.)

"My dear Dr. Elliotson,-On leaving you this morning, I hastened to visit Miss Barber, and words are inadequate to convey my surprize and delight, after the strictest investigation, at not being able to discover the slightest appearance or vestige of cancer; whereas, when I last saw the case, there was a large hard tumor. The result must be sufficient evidence to any sincere and candid enquirer as to the efficacy of the means employed; as for other persons, we know that if one came from the dead they would not believe.

"I remain, my dear Dr. Elliotson, "Yours very truly,

"D. HANDS. "September 28, 1848. "22, Thayer Street, Manchester Square."

These four gentlemen are all well acquainted with mesmerism, and prescribe it. The three whose certificates follow are not mesmerists. Mr. Powell has wituessed it, and now perfectly admits its truth, but that is all: Mr. Samuel Cooper, I believe, has never seen a mesmeric phenomenon: nor had Mr. Brown till the day on which he kindly wrote the certificate. The conduct of all three gentlemen has been most handsome, liberal, and rational. I cannot thank them too warmly.

From Mr. POWELL, (p. 5.)

"16, Great Coram Street, "Sept. 26th, 1848.

"Dear Sir, -It was with great satisfaction I saw to-day how entirely Miss Barber had lost a disease, which some years ago I had considered incurable. I do not exactly remember the date, but I suppose fully five years back, I examined her breast on account of her complaining of a lump, and such acute stabbing pains in it at night, that she could not sleep. I considered it to be scirrhus, and that the only cure, and in fact only chance of saving her life, was to have it removed by the knife. She was seen by one or two surgeons of more eminence than myself, who, I understood, gave a similar

opinion. She saw you, I believe, at the same time, and I know that your opinion was that it was scirrhus, and I understood you recommended her to be mesmerised, so as to enable her to undergo the operation. She was, at that time, in very ill health, very thin, with a quick, irritable pulse, frequent attacks of bronchitis, sometimes with pleurisy. The breast was painful whenever her arm was moved, and a distinct, very hard tumor, - and at the time I saw it, moveable -was to be felt in the right breast; to the best of my recollection it was the size of a small egg, but it is so long since, that I do not remember the size. After she had been mesmerised for some months, I saw her, and found her general health very much improved and she said there was less pain in the breast. The mesmerism just affected her, but only to send her to sleep for a few seconds. I saw her once after this and she told me she was much better, but I did not see the breast, and I have not seen her since till to-day. Allow me, once more, to express my gratification at the successful result of this case, and

"To J. Elliotson, M.D." "Believe me, yours faithfully, "JAMES POWELL.

From Mr. BROWN, (p. 4.)

"27, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, "September 26th, 1848.

"My dear Sir,—About five years since, I saw your patient, Miss Barber, and found her suffering from scirrhus of the right breast. I have seen her this day and can find no remains of the disease, and she is, in other respects, in good health.

"I am, dear Sir,

"To Dr. Elliotson."

"Yours faithfully,
"I. B. Brown, F.R.C.S.

From Mr. S. COOPER, F.R.S., Life Member of the Council and an Examiner of the Royal College of Surgeons, and late Professor of Surgery in University College. (p. 5.)

"My dear Sir,—I have examined the breast of Miss Barber, residing at 12, New Street, Dorset Square, and I find her to be perfectly recovered from the painful tumor which she consulted me about some years ago, and which was then believed to be of a cancerous nature.

"I am, my dear Sir,
"Yours very truly,
"SAMUEL COOPER.

"Shepperton, September 28th, 1848."

In my account of the symptoms, I omitted the swelling of the right arm and hand: this existed when she first called upon me and was noticed by every one: it lessened as the cancer lessened, and ultimately disappeared. The warty substance, I find, had existed from her earliest childhood: and under mesmerism it gradually dropped off, particle by particle. Perhaps mesmerism would prove a remedy for most warts: they are a slight organic growth, and, to my own knowledge, are often readily removed by what is termed charming,—that is by the influence of mere imagination. As regards the bleeding sore or excoriation, induced by the leather: if I had applied mesmerised water to it, or had mesmerised the ointment, I fancy it would soon have healed. In my account of her present state, I omitted to mention that the skin is now all smooth and moveable, as well as perfectly flat.

If I could have found time to make passes myself over the part, in her sleepwaking, for about half an hour daily, I do not believe that five years would have been required for

her cure.

In my account of the phenomena, I should have stated that, in the deep sleepwaking (p. 17) she remembers everything which occurred at any time in the light sleepwaking; but in the light is ignorant of all that occurred in the deep: just as in the waking state, from which the light sleep is less removed than the deep, she is ignorant of all the occurrences of even the light sleepwaking. The more intense the mesmeric state of patients, the greater in general are the powers manifested in it. I stated how readily she is awakened from the light sleepwaking; but several transverse passes are required to bring her out of the deep into the light, and this change may be effected also by relaxing the stiffened condition of her deep state through breathing, or touching, or making transverse passes before some of the stiffened parts. In whichever of these modes the deep state is removed, she fetches a sigh and goes into the light state: from which one pass will wake her into her ordinary condition.

It may be amusing to those who have admired the public language of Dr. Francis Hawkins in reference to me as a mesmerist, to read the letter which he, as Clerk, or Registrar as he is politely called, of the College of Physicians, wrote to me, when it became my turn to deliver the Harveian Oration. When he wrote it, I was as conspicuous as a mesmerist as when he afterwards vented forth his abuse.

<sup>&</sup>quot;18, Bolton Street, Piccadilly, "June 26th, 1845.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dear Sir,—I am desired by the President of our College to inform you that it has devolved to your turn to deliver the Harveian

Oration in the ensuing year; and he hopes, and I am sure the wish will be generally and strongly felt, that you will accept this ancient

and honourable office.

"It is my duty to mention, (although, in your case, I trust it is unnecessary,) that, by a standing order of the College, each Fellow, when thus informed by the President that the office of Harveian Orator has fallen to his turn, must signify, within a fortnight, whether he accepts or declines it. If he declines it, he must pay a fine of £10 to the College: on the other hand, there is a honorarium of £10 for the Orator.

"I hope I shall soon have the satisfaction of reporting to the President that you will oblige the College by undertaking to deliver

the Oration on the 25th of June, in 1846.

"I am, my dear Sir,
"Yours, very faithfully,
"Francis Hawkins.

"To Dr. Elliotson, F.R.S., &c., &c., &c."

In p. 237 of the present number of *The Zoist*, at the head of a list of several members of the House of Commons, whose names occurred to me at the moment, I placed a most high-minded, sincere, estimable, firm, acute, and indefatigable nobleman, who, alas! since then has paid the debt of nature. In his place I may substitute another nobleman,—Lord Adare, who has advocated mesmerism, on all occasions, from the day on which, some years ago, he brought a letter of introduction to me from Lord Rosse, the proximate President of the Royal Society, who had been greatly struck with mesmeric facts which I demonstrated to him at my house.

The necessary mention of the decease of Lord George Bentinek renders it impossible for me longer to defer a duty towards a lady to whom mesmerism is greatly indebted, though the mesmeric world know it not, and who resembles her lamented brother in all his excellent qualities, as the honour of an unvarying friendship for ten years enables me well to know. I may be doing what is not quite agreeable to her ladyship's feelings; but justice must one day be done her, as it has been done to Lady Mary Wortley Montague who set herself in opposition to the prejudices of the medical profession and overcame them for the good of mankind after much abuse. I am the most proper person to set the example of doing justice to Lady Mary Bentinck; and I shall do it now, as in the course of nature I shall be the first to die; and symptoms, in more organs of my frame than one, remind me that in the midst of life I am in death, and that I stand in jeopardy every hour.

After supposing, from hearsay, that mesmerism was a delusion, she determined at my instance to witness it and judge for herself: at once saw it was no delusion, but a great reality; and from that time has practised it upon the poor, and defended it and promoted it in every way. She resolved to do her best towards the performance

of a great surgical operation in the insensibility induced by it. She obtained from Mr. William Squire Ward, the surgeon of a little bospital to which she belonged, in Nottinghamshire, a promise that he would perform his next surgical operation in the mesmeric insensibility, if this was induced for him and the absence of danger insured.

The next operation was to be an amputation of the leg.

Lady Mary wrote to me, and I gave my opinion that an operation might be performed with safety in the mesmeric insensibility. I then left England for a tour in Switzerland. The special case was sent with a fee to Dr. John Wilson\* and another medical gentleman conversant with mesmerism, for their written opinion of the safety of the operation in the mesmeric sleepwaking. Fortified with their opinions in the affirmative, Mr. Ward consented to operate, though not believing in the truth of mesmerism. Indeed a gentleman informed me that he was at a dinner-party, when Mr. Ward said he was going to operate in the alleged insensibility of that absurdity and imposition called mesmerism, to please a patient of high rank. But Mr. Topham mesmerised the man successfully, and Mr. Ward, to his lasting credit, not only became a convert, but afterwards, in conjunction with Mr. Topham, drew up the case, presented it to the Medical and Chirurgical Society, and attended the Meeting, witnessing its cruel reception.

The first painless mesmeric operation in this country was, under my direction, on Elizabeth Okey,† but it was only the introduction of a seton, and attracted no notice. That for which we are indebted to Lady Mary Bentinck was one of the operations termed capital, and excited the notice and contempt of the medical profession. Other capital operations now followed both in this and other countries.

JOHN ELLIOTSON.

\* p. 18. † Numerous Cases of Surgical Operations without Pain, &c., p. 65.

FINIS.

## THE ZOIST:

A JOURNAL OF CEREBRAL PHYSIOLOGY AND MESMERISM,

AND

#### THEIR APPLICATIONS TO HUMAN WELFARE.

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No. XXIV., which will complete the 6th Volume, will appear on the 1st January, 1849.