

Back From Jerusalem:
Emma Hardinge Britten,
Spiritualist Propagandist

Marc Demarest
The Emma Hardinge Britten Archive

Version 2.1
January 2012

“The dead came back from Jerusalem.
where they found not what they
sought. They prayed me let them in,
and besought my word, and thus I
began my teaching.”

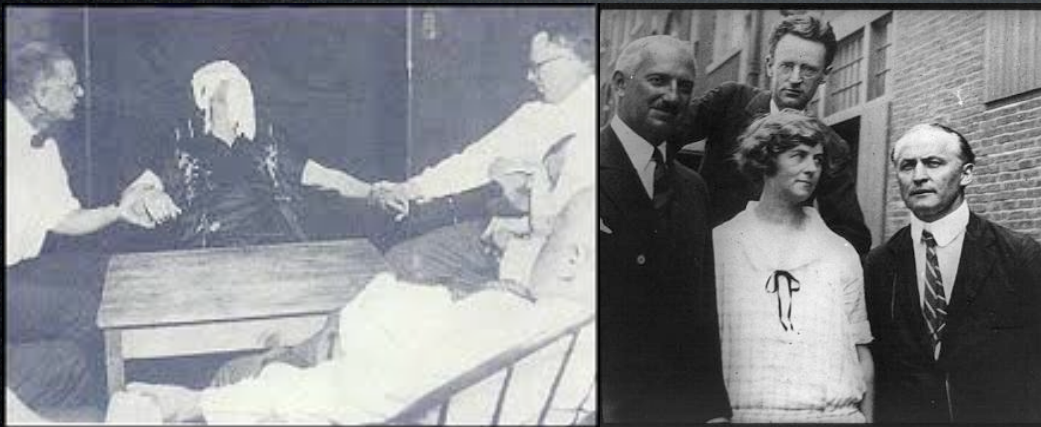
C. G. Jung, VII Sermones ad Mortuos,
Sermo I

Agenda

- Genesis
- Emma's Pre-History
- 1823-1838: The Dark Period
- 1838-1856: Emma Floyd & Emma Harding, Performer
- 1856-1865: Opening America
- 1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety
- 1872-1875: The Electric Physician
- 1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist
- 1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist
- 1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands
- 1892-1899: Rewriting A Life
- What EHB Believed, and What She Left Us

Genesis

- Dime Museums, leading to
- Evatima Tardo, leading to
- Harry Houdini, leading to
- Mina Crandon, leading to
- Modern American Spiritualism, leading to
- Emma Hardinge Britten, leading to
- **Corruption**



“ A Most Remarkable Woman.”

On October 13 last an article was printed under the above heading from the New York World. A circumstantial account was then given of how a woman, named Evatima Tardo, had been exhibiting herself in the United States, and it was stated she laughed at death; that bullets through the arm gave her no pain; that snake-bites produced no ill effects; that she ate glass freely, and did other equally unnatural things.

Corruption

What did she do,
where and when?

Emma Hardinge-Britten

Emma Hardinge (1823–1899) was born in England but came to the United States in 1855, where she performed as a singer for ten years and also became active in the new Spiritualist religion. She returned to her homeland at the end of the Civil War but was back in America in 1869 and married an American Universalist minister, **William Britten**, in 1870, the same year her famous rules for a spiritual circle were published in Dunedin. She was a founding member of the Theosophical Society in 1875, but Spiritualism remained her main commitment and her relations with Helena Blavatsky were not always smooth. (Both of these determined women, however, dramatized the power of the new faiths to liberate persons of their sex for careers in the realms of the spirit on a global scale, a possibility scarcely then imaginable in the conventional churches.)

Emma Hardinge was born in England in 1823. Her father was a Sea Captain, Floyd Hardinge. She quickly took to the arts, teaching music by age eleven and later earning a living as a music instructor. She made something of a name for herself in theater early in life, taking up the study of the occult in an Orphic

Who were her
parents?

Who were her
associates?

old Reverend Samuel Bryon **Britten**, a former Universalist minister and co-publisher of Andrew Jackson Davis's short-lived *Univer-*
coleur led the meeting. **Britten** would later wed medium-histo-
rian **Emma Hardinge**. Individually and together they would
become leading spokesmen for the spiritualist movement.

My Biases

- Material culture - real lives of real people
- Ideology -- belief systems, in competition with one another
- The **persistence** of the occult throughout human history
- Fact, probability and informed judgment
- History-as-narrative
- Raiding the inarticulate

So here I am, in the middle way, having had twenty years—
Twenty years largely wasted, the years of l'entre deux guerres
Trying to use words, and every attempt
Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure
Because one has only learnt to get the better of words
For the thing one no longer has to say, or the way in which
One is no longer disposed to say it. And so each venture
Is a new beginning, **a raid on the inarticulate**
With shabby equipment always deteriorating
In the general mess of imprecision of feeling,
Undisciplined squads of emotion. And what there is to conquer
By strength and submission, has already been discovered
Once or twice, or several times, by men whom one cannot hope
To emulate—but there is no competition—
There is only **the fight to recover what has been lost**
And found and lost again and again: and now, under conditions
That seem unpropitious. But perhaps neither gain nor loss.
For us, there is only the trying. The rest is not our business.

T. S. Eliot, "East Coker," from Four Quartets

History, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorize' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms **documents into monuments**. In that area where, in the past, history deciphered the traces left by men, it now deploys a mass of elements that have to be grouped, made relevant, placed in relation to one another to form totalities...**in our time history aspires to the condition of archaeology**, to the intrinsic description of the monument.

Michel Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge

Caveats

- This is social history...
- About non-canonical figures...
- Where previous work is filled with claims of allegiance and affiliation, but little evidence of care...
- Where papers and effects are lost or sequestered...
- And much secondary research is unreliable.
- This is archeology, not criticism.

"Miss Hardinge is the more striking, but not the more convincing speaker [when compared to Cora Hatch]. Her discourses manifest a prompting intelligence of no common character, and her prelections [sic] are in consequence, to our belief, much in advance of the range of even the best human intelligences. They constitute a garland of beautifully expressed truths so mathematically interwoven as to make the abstraction of one vitiate the character of the whole. This feature in her discourses hinders us from giving more than a mere notice of them. She is very beautiful and attractive in form and general appearance."

Anonymous reviewer, in The Banner of Light, May of 1858

"[I] will prove to the Christian community from THE WRITINGS of the said Emma Britten that she is a blasphemer of the name of THE GOD of the Christian Scriptures...and a contumelious derider, scoffer or sneerer of the Prophets, and that even the mendicant itinerants the Faquirs... are better in their religious beliefs than the said Emma Britten."

Advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald, October 1878

"Confidentially let me say that I fear the young man [Wallis] is more or less psychologized and his opinions colored of late by that able, but awfully ambitious and selfish woman, Emma Hardinge Britten, whose regard for the truth, when in conflict with her prejudices, you can size up as well as I."

Colonel Bundy to Stainton Moses, December 1887

Acknowledgments

- Pat Deveney, Paul Johnson and Jay Kinney
- Leslie Price and Paul Gaunt
- Readers of my blog (ehbritten.blogspot.com), who schooled me in various and sundry arcane disciplines, and who found many of the items that led to “breaks in the case”

Section 1

1810-1823
Pre-History

1810 - Laying The "Sandford" Ghost

"It is now some thirty years ago since my mother (then a young unmarried girl) went to reside with her parents at the small collegiate town of Tiverton, in Devonshire, England. It was summer time, and during her first evening in the place, she remarked with surprise the immense throng of carriages which woke up the echoes of the quiet, secluded square in which she resided, all passing one way, and seemingly crowding forth at one especial hour. Upon inquiry, she learned that her host (a doctor, and the mayor of the town) was going to join the throng, and that the object of the assemblage (of whom the principal portion were clergymen of the Episcopal church) was to proceed to the village of Sandford, some four or five miles distant, there, in solemn and reverend conclave, to spend the night in a certain haunted house, for the purpose of "laying the ghost".

Emma Hardinge, "The Sandford Ghost", in The Wildfire Club (1846?, 1856?, 1861)

- Ann Sophia Bromfield, b. 1793
- Ebenezer Floyd, b. c. 1790
- The daughter of a well-to-do Liverpool merchant (on his second marriage and perhaps his third career), and the son of a Minehead merchant, shipowner and "gentleman"
- Did they meet in Sampford Peverell in 1810?

1819 - The Marriage

- 9 December 1819, by license, in an apparently private ceremony, in Minehead
 - Ebenezer Floyd, “mariner”
 - Corruption --> “Floyd Hardinge, sea captain”
 - Ann(e) Sophia Bro(o)mfield
- Ann Sophia was, either at the time, or instantaneously thereafter, pregnant with the Floyds’ first child, Frances Ann, named (I believe) for Frances Bromfield, Ann’s elder sister
- The marriage does not have the “shape” one would want it to have
 - The bride is married in the groom’s home town
 - No banns -- but licenses were also an indication of means
 - Ann Sophia may have paid a significant price for love, or necessity...

1819 - The Milieu of the Marriage

- The French Revolution, the Napoleonic Reaction, the Congress of Vienna, the Six Acts
 - No training, no assembly, no revolutionart speech acts -- but why a tax on paper?
- The de-stabilization of European national economies
- The second wave of industrialization: steam, speed and concentration
- The omnipresent fear of revolution, and enthusiasm
- The acceleration, and devolution, of literacy and numeracy
- The real beginning of globalization, and policed civilization

Stamp Duty on the Record Office

Arson.

Thrapston Association.

SIXTY GUINEAS REWARD.

WHEREAS some evil-disposed Person or Persons did, on the Night of SATURDAY the 24th INSTANT, WILFULLY and MALICIOUSLY

SET FIRE

TO A RANGE OF

HOVELS OR SHEDS,

is, and partly with Straw, ARM YARD IN THE

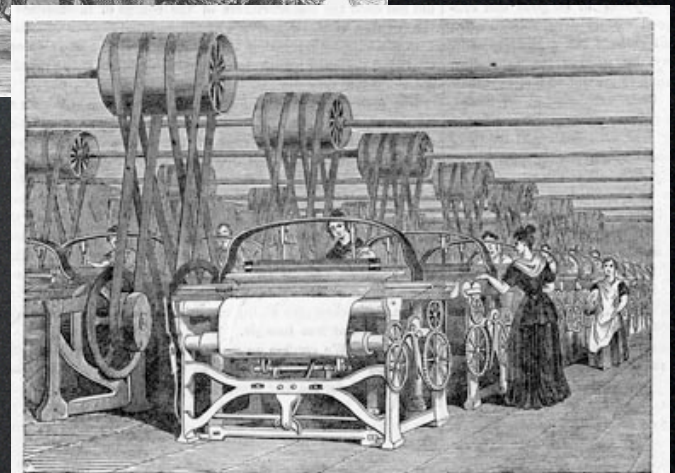
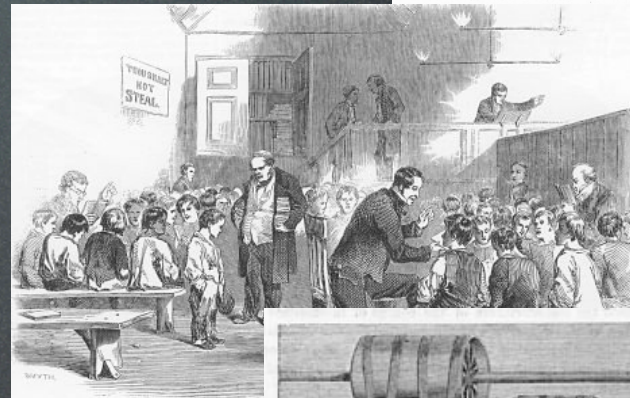
RINGSTEAD,

of Northampton.

Mr: W.M. COLEMAN.

Discover the Offender or Offenders, so that he, she, or their Convictions, receive a FIFTY GUINEAS REWARD, and TEN GUINEAS Reward to the Thrapston Association. Rewards will be paid, on Conviction as aforesaid, on Conviction as aforesaid, who shall discover the Offender or Offenders, so that he, she, or their Convictions, receive a FIFTY GUINEAS REWARD, and TEN GUINEAS Reward to the Thrapston Association.

WARD & ARCHBOLD,
Solicitors to the said Association.
105, PARADE, NORTHAMPTON.



INTERIOR OF A POWER-LOOM FACTORY.

1819 - The Milieu of the Marriage

- Independent judgment is by no means considered a 'natural right'
- Plurality of opinion is considered by most commentators to be a sign of a diseased culture
- Science has not, as yet, undermined the (religious) basis of consensual truth... although that process is beginning
- Class, station, place are viewed as hard-and-fast boundaries
- Women's existence is largely privatized
- Men's existence is largely monetized, but there is as yet no understanding of "unemployment"
- A great deal of submerged anger, in every class

I met Murder on the way -
He had a mask like Castlereagh -
Very smooth he looked, yet grim;
Seven blood-hounds followed him:

All were fat; and well they might
Be in admirable plight,
For one by one, and two by two,
He tossed them human hearts to chew
Which from his wide cloak he drew.

Next came Fraud, and he had on,
Like Eldon, an ermined gown;
His big tears, for he wept well,
Turned to mill-stones as they fell.

And the little children, who
Round his feet played to and fro,
Thinking every tear a gem,
Had their brains knocked out by them.

Clothed with the Bible, as with light,
And the shadows of the night,
Like Sidmouth, next, Hypocrisy
On a crocodile rode by.

And many more Destructions played
In this ghastly masquerade,
All disguised, even to the eyes,
Like Bishops, lawyers, peers, or spies.

Last came Anarchy: he rode
On a white horse, splashed with blood;
He was pale even to the lips,
Like Death in the Apocalypse.

Shelley, "The Masque of Anarchy", 1819
(written after the Peterloo "Massacre")

1819 - The Milieu of the Marriage

- John Varley the Elder, whom we will meet in a couple of decades, is a confirmed occultist and expert astrologer who is frustrated by his inability to see spirits
- His friend and colleague, William Blake, has no such difficulty
- During seances in 1819 and 1820 in Varley's home, Blake described encountering spirits, and Varley asked him to draw what he saw in his vision
- This is one of those drawings

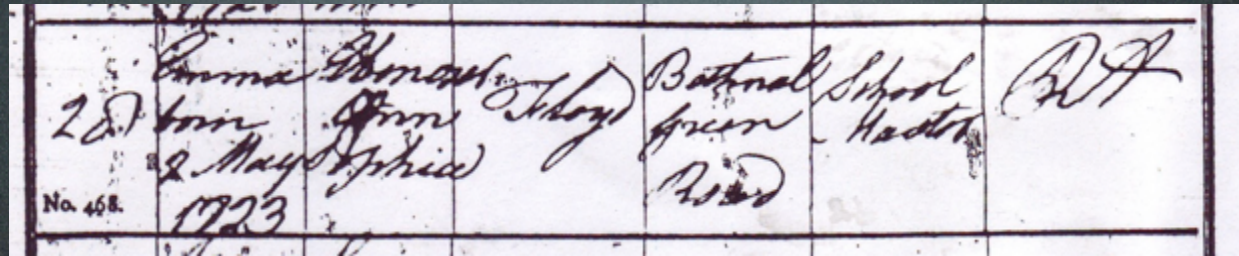


William Blake, The Ghost of a Flea, 1819

Section 2

1823-1838
The Dark Period

1823 - Bethnal Green



- Emma's elder sister, Frances Ann, has been born, and has died, young -- as did ~ 30% of children at this time (25% in London, 58% in Manchester)
- Ebenezer has become a schoolmaster, in Bethnal Green, which is becoming (but is not, as yet) among the worst of the slums associated with the "great wen" of London



Bethnal Green c. 1820 - still mostly open fields



A Bethnal Green garret - room for a family of 10, circa 1860

1823 - Bethnal Green

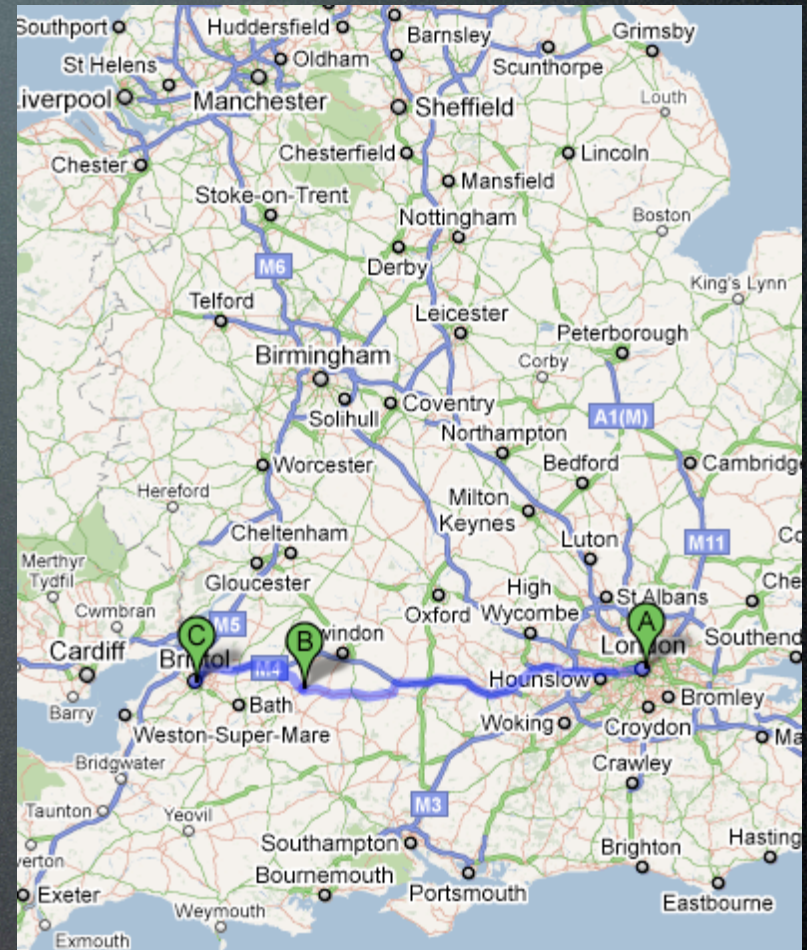
“Bethnal Green, Middlesex, once a hamlet of Stepney, from which it was separated in 1743, and formed into a distinct parish....[includes an] old mansion, now called Bethnal-Green House, [which] was built in the reign of Elizabeth, by Mr. Kirby, a citizen of London, and is still called in the writings Kirby Castle. It is now the property of James Stratton, Esq., and has been long appropriated for the reception of insane persons. A considerable increase of building has been made of late years in this neighborhood, and a **neat chapel, with schools for converted Jews**, has been erected.

John Bew, The Ambulator, or a Stranger's Guide for a Tour Round London (1820), p. 29.

- The Episcopal Jews' School - a place of worship and education for the children of voluntarily-converted (?) Jewish families. Funded by the London Jews' Society (established 1808).
- Contained 38 boys and 44 girls, in 1832 - they were transported from “all over London” to attend school here
- Associated with “missions to the Jews”

1823-1833 - The Children & Their Christenings

- Emma -- 1823 -- London (A)
- Thomas -- 1826 -- Calne (B)
- Margaret -- 1830 -- Bristol (C)
- Ebenezer is variously
 - Schoolmaster, then
 - Boatman (?), then
 - Apothecary (at a time when this occupation required several years' apprenticeship)



What drew
them westward?

1830s - Bristol



C. Burton, del^t

R. Carbwright-Lithog^t

QUEEN SQUARE.

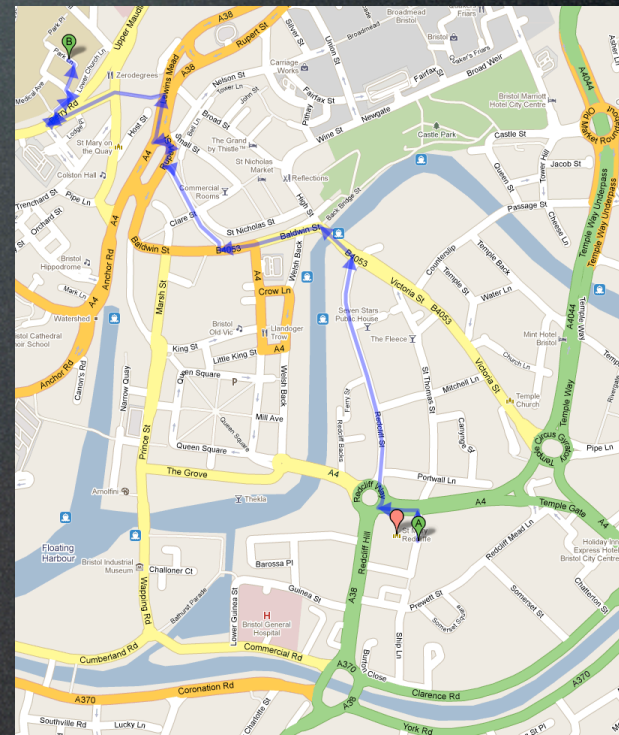
On the Night of Oct^r 30, 1831.

1830s - Bristol

- Well-educated and politically active urban working class, making full use of the emerging machinery for organization, propagandizing and -- when necessary -- destruction
- Intensely prosperous in the late 1820s and early 1830s, and intensely unstable
- Traditionally, an area dense in folk-occult practices, particularly astrology
- (Relatively) cosmopolitan -- wide class spectrum, international influences
- Emma and family are probably living in the Redcliffe area, near the world-famous floating harbor... surrounded by members of Ebenezer Floyd's family and their children



John Sell Cotman, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (c. 1805)



(A) St. Mary Redcliffe ; (B) St. Michael on the Mount Without

1834 - Ebenezer Dies

- May 5, 1834
- Emma is 9
- Thomas is 6
- Margaret is 2

...bridegroom is 34, of the ...
DIED.
Lately, in this city, Mr. Ebenezer Floyd, formerly of Minehead, Somerset.
April 21, at Jersey, after a protracted illness, Phillis, wife of Lieutenant William Mansell, B.N., and only daughter of Joseph Horsford, Esq., of Weymouth, aged 24.
April 22, Mr. John Hodge, of Crewkerne.
April 23, at Stoke Rivers Parsonage, aged 71, the Rev. Charles Hiern, upwards of 42 years rector of Stoke Rivers and Henshaw, Devon.

- Ebenezer is of sufficient stature to warrant a death notice in the papers of the area (at least 3) -- this is important, but we do not know what it **means**
- Ann Sophia is in her late 30s or early 40s, depending on how we date her birth, of very limited practical skills, and possibly estranged from her family, whose wealth may or may not be deteriorating anyway...
- This is an unmitigated, horrific disaster.
- And then, a cholera epidemic sweeps through Bristol in the summer of 1834...

1834 - Ebenezer Dies

I am quite sure I suffered the bitterness of death when my good father, to whom I was passionately attached, passed away from earth. With a breaking heart, I, a little eleven-years-old child, was sent out to earn my bread as a pupil-teacher of music. Hating my life, and longing to join my father -- somewhere, anywhere with him -- I resolved to follow him, and thus I stood one dark night by the river's brink, and was only saved from seeking a winding sheet in the Avon's depths at Bristol, by the sound of my dead father's voice bidding me return to school, and leading me back, as I distinctly felt, by the hand.

To me it seemed as if I had died then...

EHB, Autobiography (1900)

- In some respects, this is the truest statement Emma made about herself, and her childhood, throughout her long and contradictory life
- Whether Ebenezer called her back from the brink in 1834, and whether he later became one of her spirit guides (as she would claim) is beyond knowing
- But his death left her, at 13, the only economically competent member of her family

1838 - March 16

“The Charity Trustees met yesterday, when several applications from descendants of Alderman Robert Kitchen were read and referred to a committee. Several charitable donations, to poor prisoners in Newgate, were ordered to be distributed by such members of the board as are magistrates of the borough. Notices for the purchase of some land in Congresbury by the Exeter Railway Company were referred to the solicitor. An advestisement [sic] was ordered for tenders for some building at Week St. Lawrence and another for provisions &c., for the schools. The applications for the office of housekeeper to the city school were then taken into consideration, and the election was declared to have fallen on **Mrs. Ann Sophia Floyd.**”

Bristol Mercury, March 17, 1838

- This is the only known occupation ever held by Ann Sophia Bromfield Floyd - a “gift” living as a housekeeper at a charity school for boys
- And it, too, represented a disaster -- for entirely different, and psychic, reasons...
- And it was short-lived: at best, a year or two
 - Emma feels the pressure: to earn.

1838 -- November 28

"A young lady, named Miss Floyd, made a very promising debut; she possesses a voice of more than ordinary sweetness and flexibility, and of great compass, and, judging from the manner in which, under all the disadvantages of a first appearance, she executed some very difficult passages in the music assigned to her, we should say she will prove a valuable acquisition to the musical profession."

Bristol Mercury, November 29, 1838

On stage, Miss Floyd...

In print, E(rnest)
Reinhold
(EHB's first pseudonym,
at age 15)



SACRED MUSIC.
ASSEMBLY-ROOMS, PRINCE'S STREET, BRISTOL.

For the Benefit of the Survivor of the *BLIND BROTHERS*,
N. B. WILLIAMS,

WHO most respectfully begs leave to announce to the Nobility and Gentry of Bristol, Clifton, and their Vicinities, that, in accordance with the wishes of his Friends, his

ANNUAL CONCERT,

OF SACRED MUSIC,

Will be Gratuitously Performed at the above Rooms, on WEDNESDAY Evening, Nov. 28, from HANDEL'S GRAND DETTINGEN TE DEUM, the Oratorios of *Israel in Egypt*, *Joshua*, *Judas Maccabeus*, *Samson*, &c., with his Grand CORONATION ANTHEM. "God save the Queen." Likewise selections from the Works of *Haydn* and *Mozart*; to which may be added the names of *Boyce*, *Arne*, *Guglielmi*, *Welsh*, &c.

PRINCIPAL VOCAL PERFORMERS:

Mrs. PENLEY (of the Bath & Bristol Philharmonic Concerts,)

Mrs. E. LODER,

(Of the Bath & Bristol Philharmonic & Nobilities' Concerts;)

Miss SULLIVAN;

Miss FLOYD, (her first appearance in public);

Mr. MILLAR, (Principal Tenor Singer at the English Opera House & Bath Concerts); and

Mr. T. MACHIN.

The Band will comprise the Bristol Lyric Society, and will be led by Mr. H. C. COOPER.

Conductor - - - Mr. G. EDWARDS.

In the course of the Evening, Mr. COOPER will play a CONCERTO on the VIOLIN;

Mr. W. S. PRATTEN will play with Mr. COOPER a GRAND CONCERTANTE DUET

On the Piano-Forte and Violin, by *Herz* and *Lafont*.

The Chorusses will be sustained by the Bristol Choral Society, and the whole assisted by several respectable Amateurs.

Tickets of Admission—Saloon, 5s.; Gallery, 3s.; which may be had at the several Music Warehouses of Mr. Howell and Messrs. Hodges, Clare-street; Mr. Moutrie, College-green; Mr. Edwards, Upper Arcade; also of Mr. Gardner, 88, Castle-street; Mr. Walters, High-street; and at the Assembly-Rooms.

The Doors to be opened at Six o'Clock, and the Concert to begin precisely at Seven.

Section 3

1838-1858

Emma Floyd & Emma Harding, Performer

1838-1839: Bristol & T. Machlin

- Margaret has, in all probability been shipped off to live with Frances Bromfield Jackson, Ann Sophia's sister, by 1838
- Ann Sophia has taken work to free Emma to pursue her public career, and Thomas is working, but...
 - Thomas could not have earned much
 - Nor could Ann
 - And Emma is supplementing public performances with music publication, as E(rnest) Reinhold
- She turns to, or is recruited by, T. Machlin, a Bristol impresario, who manages her career until (I think) early 1840, when he sends her to London, and a three-year articling to Thomas Welsh, London musical career-maker
- What she does, during this three-year articling, is of profound effect on her subsequent career, and life

1840 - Back To London

- Ann Sophia, Thomas and Emma may be living south of the Thames, in St. Mary's, Lambeth
 - We don't know what Thomas is doing, but he'll be in the English Navy, and almost immediately thereafter dead of sickness in the South China Sea, in 1841
 - Emma is articled to Thomas Welsh, until 1843
 - Ann is not working (almost certainly)
 - Was Emma also an artist's model at this time (age 17)?
 - Money is still the hard god around which Emma's life is organized

PLACE	HOUSES		NAMES of each Person who abode therein the preceding Night.	AGE and SEX		PR IND
	Uninhabited or Building	Inhabited		Male	Female	
Larkhall Lane		1	Mrs. A. Floyd	30		
			Emma D		17	
do		1	John Thomas	34		
		1	Wm. J. Cook	40		
			Miss D		14	
do		1	John Thomas	20		
		1	Mrs. J. Jordan	30		
			Miss D		25	
			Ann Smith		30	
		Lucy Day		20		
		Ellen Brown		10		

1841 UK Census for Larkhall Lane, Lambeth

Mrs. A Floyd (wrong age) "Independent means"
Emma (wrong age) -- the "D" is for "ditto"

Neighbors are merchants, clerks, builders and artists -- but the majority are recorded as "independent means"

This is not a "working-class" neighborhood.

1840 - Thomas Welsh

- Once an artistic force to be reckoned with -- author, composer, performer, venue builder -- T. Welsh has gone from impresario, to....talent development
- Better performers --> the theatre, the opera, the concert rooms
- Middling -->rented out, for short-term engagements, private functions, and the like
- Low-talent -->placed with wealthy families and provincial schools as music teachers

A YOUNG Protestant LADY, German by birth, but well acquainted with the English, French, and Italian Languages, desires an Engagement as Musical Tutoresse in a School or Private Family. She has received a thorough Musical Education under the personal direction of Herr Hiller, at the Conservatoire of Music at Cologne. Highest references will be given. Address Mr. T. Welsh, 6, Pall-mall, London, W.

TWENTY YEARS AGO!

NEW MELO-DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT,
IN TWO ACTS,

AS PERFORMED BY THEIR MAJESTIES' SERVANTS OF THE
LATE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE,

AT

THE LYCEUM THEATRE.

BY I. POCOCK, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "HIT OR MISS"—"YES OR NO," &c.

THE MUSIC COMPOSED BY MR. T. WELSH.

This eminent vocalist was born in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh in the year 1790; and having from a child evinced great inclination for music, no pains were spared to procure him instructions in it; he afterwards went to Aberdeen, where he continued teaching for some time, until having paid a visit to London in 1811, for the purpose of hearing the most celebrated professors there, he was introduced to Mr. T. WELSH, who took him as a pupil for three years, and having presented him to Mr. HARRIS, of Covent Garden Theatre, he was immediately engaged by that gentleman for five years, afterwards lengthened to seven, Mr. T. Welsh sharing his salary, benefits, country engagements, &c. during the three years he remained under his tuition. Mr. S's first appearance at Covent Garden, was in the character of *Don Carlos*, in the *Duenna*.

Nice work, if you can get it...

1840 - What Emma Says

At that time (the time of Ebenezer's death), in my grief and blighted prospects, I died to the lyric stage and tried to commence a new life as a pianiste and composer. Dear good Pierre Erard, the venerable founder of the grand pianoforte magasin in Paris, gave me the loan of a lovely instrument on condition of my coming every day to the warehouse and practising there for the behoof of buyers. Endless were the great and notable personages who came to Erard's to hear the child pianiste, but when it was found that I was also a magnetic subject. and by a wave of the hand above my head, and even an unspoken wish on the part of my audience, that I could play any air desired, my poor mother became astonished and frightened at this new and unusual accomplishment, anxiously consulting a medical man on the subject -- then so rare and ill-understood -- she and others of my best friends were assured that I was under some evil, perhaps Satanic, influence, and that unless I was stopped in this mad career it would either end in permanent lunacy or death. Stopped, of course, my career as a musician was, and thus, **I returned to England**, adopted the stage as my profession, and became an actress.

- Fiction, based on fact -- four words of fiction, to be precise
- In the main, accurate -- I believe Emma was discovered to be a magnetic subject -- a clairvoyante -- while articled to Thomas Welsh, and while acting as a demo dolly for Pierre Erard, in London
- She was not to become an actress until the 1840s, and did not see Paris until 1855, with the Wallack Company

1840-1843: The Orphic Circle

When quite young, in fact, before I became acquainted with certain parties who sought me out and professed a desire to observe the somnambulistic tendencies for which I was then remarkable. I found my new associates to be ladies and gentlemen, mostly persons of noble rank, and during a period of several years, I, and many other young persons, assisted at their sessions in the quality of somnambulists, or mesmeric subjects... Lord Lytton, the Earl of Stanhope, and Lieut. Morrison (better known as "Zadkiel"), and the author of "Art Magic," belonged to this society.

"By One Who Knows," in "Occultism Defined" from The Two Worlds, 18 November 1887

Never understood by those around me, it was only in after years and when I became called and associated with a secret society of Occultists and attended their sessions in London as one of their clairvoyant and magnetic subjects, that I myself began to comprehend why a young girl fairly educated, and blessed with many advantages, should be branded with such peculiarities of disposition as must inevitably shut her of from all companionship with children of her own age and standing. The society of Occultists to whom I can now only allude, and who are named in "Ghost-Land" as the "Orphic Circle," obtained knowledge (by means I am not at liberty to mention) of those persons whose associations they desired. None of the members were known as such outside their circles, the existence of the society was undreamed of, and those whom they chose to affiliate with they knew of and called. I having been thus favoured obtained a clue to my own exceptional early experiences, which the subsequent developments of Spiritualism stamped as natural Seership.

Autobiography (1900)

1840-1843: The Orphic Circle

- I believe the 'Orphic Circle' is related to the Gore House circle around Marguerite, Lady Blessington
- Conversationalist, writer, respectably wicked woman, she lived with her lover, the Count D'Orsay, from 1830 or so until he fled to the continent to escape persistent creditors in 1849
- Her "circle" in this period was shot through with the occult -- her friend, the artist John Varley the Elder, was her court occultist, astrologist and crystallo-mancy authority
- D'Orsay was reputed to have employed an alchemist, to make gold, to pay his debts
- Mesmerism was the rage within her circle
- Frequent visitors -- intimates -- include Dickens, Disraeli, Forster, Chauncy Hare Townshend, Edward Bulwer Lytton, and other (now canonical) luminaries with whom Emma claimed acquaintance: all with occult tastes
- And she well may have rented pianists from T. Welsh



Marguerite, Lady Blessington
(1789-1849)



Alfred, Count D'Orsay
(1801-1852)

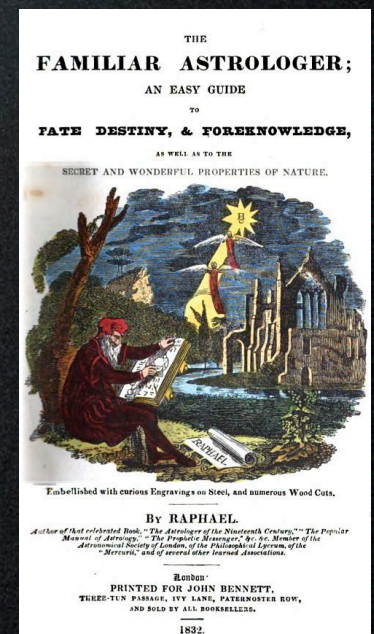
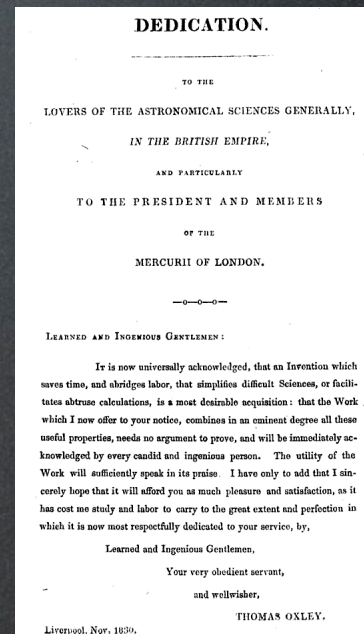
1840-1843: The Orphic Circle

- The ‘Orphic Circle’ draws from the Mercurii (aka The London Astrological Society)
- A mutual-aid society for “sidereal artists” literally oppressed by law
- R. C. Smith, John Varley the Elder, Thomas Oxley, R. J. Morrison, George Graham and John Palmer (at least) -- astrologers, skryers and alchemists
- Publicly active from the mid 1820s until the late 1830s
- Varley and Morrison are both ‘connective tissue’ between this group and other social groups
- Links to the Denley circle as well (Hockley, Bulwer Lytton)

The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century, or Compendium of Astrology, Geomancy, and Occult Philosophy. By the Members of the Mercurii, the Editor of the Prophetic Almanack, and other celebrated Astrologers.—8vo. pp. 350. 7s.

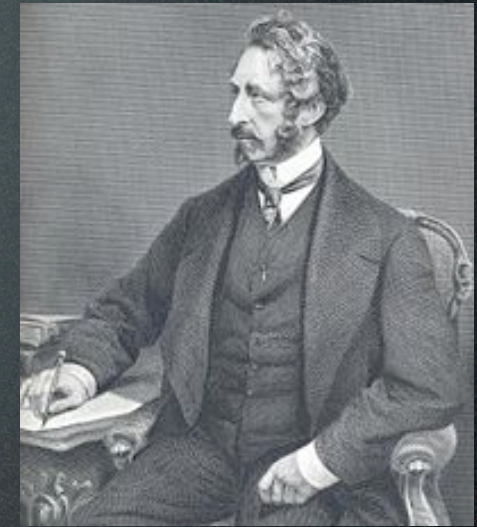
MAN has been somewhere defined to be “a superstitious animal,” a definition which has at least one of the essential qualities, since it embraces a condition peculiar to man, and which is to be found among none of the lower animals. Among the various external agents which dreaming mortals have in all ages supposed to influence their fate, and foretel their fortunes, the stars have come in for an ample share; and hence astrology, or the science which treats of those movements among the stars, their conjunctions and oppositions, their sextiles and quartiles, their ascendancies and decadences, their houses and squares, &c. has in all dark ages been a favourite and a profitable knowledge. Not a hundred years have elapsed since one of the greatest mathematicians that this country ever produced was in the habit of earning his bread by the practice of astrology. It is scarcely necessary to add, that we allude to Simpson, who was expelled from his home for raising the devil, and who afterwards filled the distinguished situation of Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military College, Woolwich.

The Monthly Critical Gazette, February 1825

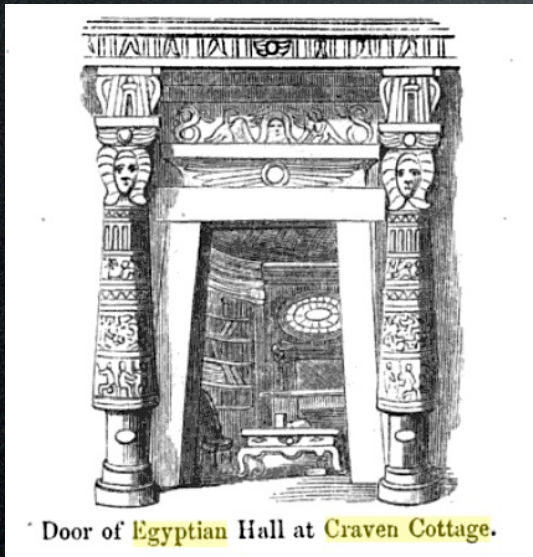


1840-1843: The Orphic Circle

- The “Orphic Circle” formed, I think, around Bulwer-Lytton -- who was living, in the early 1840s, apart from his wife, at least in part at Craven Cottage, on the banks of the Thames, outside London proper - a dark place for dark deeds.
- The interior of the cottage was done up, by a prior owner, as the inside of an “Egyptian tomb”



Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873)



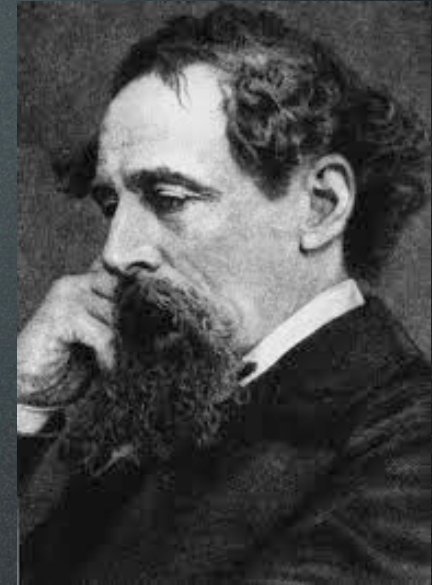
Door of Egyptian Hall at Craven Cottage.

“That Bulwer was a Spiritualist there is no question. He may have done, as so many others do -- shrunk from public avowal of a belief the foundation of which is knowledge; but that he accepted Spiritualism as an infallible truth there can be no doubt. I dined with him when he was living at Craven Cottage, on the banks of the Thames, near Fulham. Some persons, of whom I had the honor to be one, were invited to meet Alexis, then a lad who had obtained renown as a clairvoyant. Lord Brougham was of the party. Dinner was delayed waiting for the "marvelous boy." When the bell rang, Bulwer, accompanied by two or three of his friends, left the room to receive him. In the hall was the card-tray: Bulwer took from it a dozen or so of cards, and placed them in his coat pocket. After dinner Alexis went into "a trance." Bulwer placed his hand in his pocket, and before withdrawing it, asked whose card he held; the answer, after a brief pause, was given correctly. The experiment was repeated at least a dozen times -- always correctly. Alexis was a French boy, who had been but a few days in England. The cards were all those of Englishmen. I need not say how great was our astonishment. "Clairvoyance" was a term that probably most of the guests heard there for the first time."

Samuel Carter Hall, *Retrospect of a Long Life* (1883)

1840-1843: The Orphic Circle

- Charles Dickens, rising literary lion and practicing mesmerist, writes in his journal for May 21, 1841 that he's seen the famous 'magnetic boy,' Alexis Didier, at Chauncy Hare Townshend's house, and that he's told Countess Blessington that Didier is "marvelous"
- Dickens had no patience with Spiritualism, but he believed mesmerism was science, and that he was possessed of extraordinary mesmeric gifts
- Emma will claim Dickens as "my old friend," while she is editing The Two Worlds, and they are known to have worked together in the theatre, and to have corresponded...
 - And then there's the whole Outcast Women thing....



Charles Dickens (1812-1870)



Dr. John Elliotson (1791-1868),
Dickens' mesmeric instructor,
attender of Emma's lectures

1840-1843: The Orphic Circle

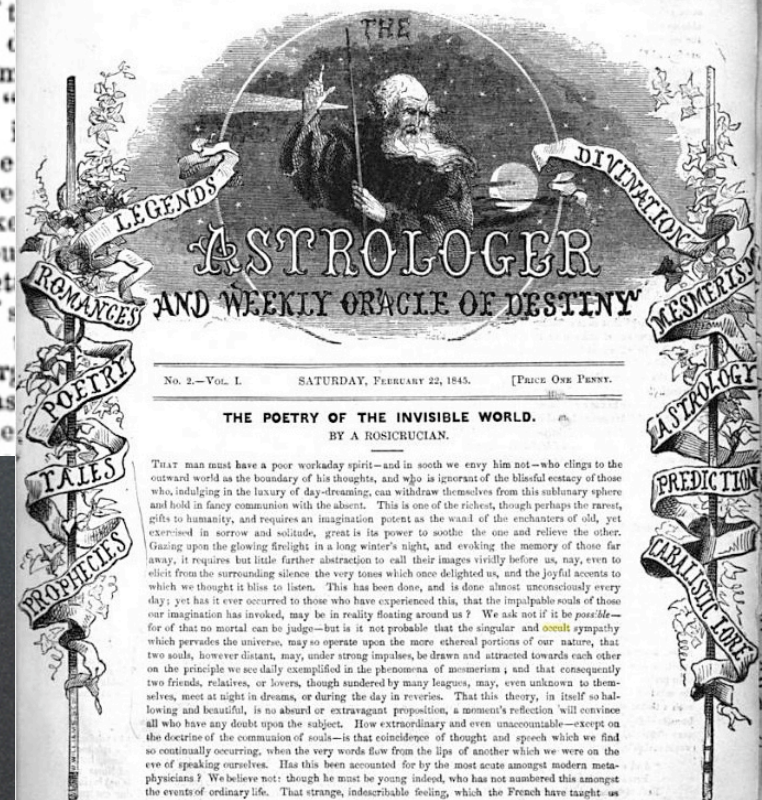
- The use of young female clairvoyante subjects by mesmerists and occultists was not only common; it was theoretically sound
- As was skrying, with and without female clairvoyantes

The plaintiff stated that he had heard of the wonderful (crystal) ball as in the possession of Lady Blessington and sold among her effects. He himself bought it in 1849 from a London dealer in curiosities. Here the ball itself was produced and put in evidence. It was a rock crystal, three or four inches in diameter, with several flaws, handled by means of a ribbon, and carefully kept in a cushioned box....The plaintiff then went on to say that his son, a lad of thirteen years of age, was the first who professed to see visions in it; the scenes described to him were laid chiefly in the Arctic seas and appeared to relate to the fate of Sir John Franklin and his crew...(Plaintiff testified that) several persons of distinction had at different times desired to see the crystal, and it seems from the evidence to have been quite the rage at one time to engage Zadkiel and his crystal as an additional entertainment, at evening parties. The plaintiff ran over a long list of persons to whom, at their own request, he had exhibited the crystal. Among these figured Baron (Christian) Bunsen, several countesses, a bishop, an archdeacon and a member of Parliament....

NYT summary of the testimony of R. J. Morrison (Zadkiel) during his prosecution of Sir Edward Belcher, for libel, in 1862

LIFE AMONGST THE PLANETS;
THE MOST WONDERFUL MESMERIC REVELATION YET RECORDED.

We are indebted to the able astrologer and eminent meteorologist, "Zadkiel," for the following most remarkable elucidation of the **occult** science, through the mesmeric trances of a young lady, whose real name we believe to be Elizabeth Andrews. The questions and replies here given, have such internal evidence of truth as to render them...



ASTROLOGER
AND WEEKLY ORACLE OF DESTINY

No. 2.—Vol. I. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1843. [PRICE ONE PENNY.]

THE POETRY OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.
BY A ROSICRUCIAN.

That man must have a poor workaday spirit—and in sooth we envy him not—who clings to the outward world as the boundary of his thoughts, and who is ignorant of the blissful ecstasy of those who, indulging in the luxury of day-dreaming, can withdraw themselves from this sublunary sphere and hold in fancy communion with the absent. This is one of the richest, though perhaps the rarest, gifts to humanity, and requires an imagination potent as the wand of the enchanters of old, yet exercised in sorrow and solitude, great is its power to soothe the one and relieve the other. Gazing upon the glowing freight in a long winter's night, and evoking the memory of those far away, it requires but little further abstraction to call their images vividly before us, nay, even to elicit from the surrounding silence the very tones which once delighted us, and the joyful accents to which we thought it bliss to listen. This has been done, and is done almost unconsciously every day; yet has it ever occurred to those who have experienced this, that the impalpable souls of those our imagination has invoked, may be in reality floating around us? We ask not if it be possible—for that no mortal can be judge—but is it not probable that the singular and occult sympathy which pervades the universe, may so operate upon the more ethereal portions of our nature, that two souls, however distant, may, under strong impulses, be drawn and attracted towards each other on the principle we see daily exemplified in the phenomena of mesmerism; and that consequently two friends, relatives, or lovers, though sundered by many leagues, may, even unknown to themselves, meet at night in dreams, or during the day in reveries. That this theory, in itself so hal- lowing and beautiful, is no absurd or extravagant proposition, a moment's reflection will convince all who have any doubt upon the subject. How extraordinary and even unaccountable—except on the doctrine of the communion of souls—is that coincidence of thought and speech which we find so continually occurring, when the very words flow from the lips of another which we were on the eve of speaking ourselves. Has this been accounted for by the most acute amongst modern meta- physicists? We believe not: though he must be young indeed, who has not numbered this amongst the events of ordinary life. That strange, indescribable feeling, which the French have taught us

Paper edited by E. L. Blanchard, friend of EBL and colleague of Miss Emma Harding

April 1842: The Covent Garden Company

On Friday, The Secretary, with other Entertainments.
THEATRE ROYAL COVENT-GARDEN.—
THIS EVENING will be performed the Opera of **NORMA**. Norma, Madame Ronzi de Begnis (her first appearance on the English stage); Pollio, Mr. W. Harrison; Flavio, Mr. Binge; Orovoso, Herr Staudigl; Adalgisa, Miss Rainforth; Clotilda, Miss Floyd.
After which **CHARLES THE SECOND**. Charles II., Mr. Cooper; Lord Rochester, Mr. Vining; Captain Copp, Mr. Bartley; Edward, Miss Collett; Lady Clara, Miss Cooper; Mary Copp, Mrs. W. Lacy.
To conclude with **THE WOODEN LEG**; in which Mr. Gilbert and Miss Hallin will perform.
To-morrow, **La Sonnambula**, with **La Sylphide**, and the Miller and his Men.

- April 1842 dates her earliest advertised performance as a member of the company (in “The Plighted Troth”), but she may have done the summer provincial tour before the company’s return to London in August
- She is “Miss Floyd” -- because she is still, she thinks, marriage-able (I believe) and she is still primarily a singer/musician, not an actress per se
- She almost certainly meets at Covent Garden a man who will profoundly influence her thinking as an occultist: Hargrave Jennings

April 1842: The Covent Garden Company

- (John) Hargrave Jennings (1815-1890)
- Novelist, on-site secretary (manager) of the Covent Garden company, Freemason, friend of Dickens, historian of the occult
- Auto-didact (like Emma), and omnivorous (like Emma), and working in the same fields as Emma
- Life-long bachelor
- Majority of the illustrations for Art Magic are lifted from Jennings' The Rosicrucians without change
- Is he the mysterious betrothed mentioned in the Autobiography?

The Rival Italian Operas.

A very singular book upon the subject of the mystic Rosicrucians, is in the press. It will appear almost immediately. Nothing beyond romance, relative to this mysterious and wondrous body has ever appeared in English. The only books concerning the Hermetic Brethren are in Latin, and were written by Robert Flood, the English Rosicrucian, in the time of James the First. The title of the present work is "Curious Things of the Outside World." It is in two volumes, and is the production of Mr. Hargrave Jennings, Author of the "Indian Religions; or, Results of the Mysterious Buddhism;" a book which earned the praise of members of the Council of India, and is now being translated, by a learned Persian resident in England, for circulation in the languages of Hindostan.

Mr. Hargrave Jennings is known in literary and theatrical circles as having been the literary secretary to Mr. Lumley, of Her Majesty's Theatre, and auditor to that establishment, during the whole period of Mr. Lumley's management, namely, from 1842 to 1852, and again (after the close of the theatre, during the years 1853, 1854, and 1855), in 1856, 1857, and 1858. This period embraces the foundation of the Royal Italian Opera, the unsurpassed Jenny Lind time, the contest with the rival house, the disputes about Juanna Wagner, the return of Sontag to the Opera; and, in fine, all the important events comprised in that long and famous space. From having been in the midst of all this interesting history, there is no man in London, we should say, better fitted to give the public the memoirs of this exciting theatrical time than Mr. Hargrave Jennings. And we believe we are correct in stating, that he has collected materials, and that he designs, in due time, to present to the public a couple of volumes of Operatic and Theatrical history, setting forth the real grounds of the formation of the Italian Opera in 1846 and 1847, with much matter generally unknown and interesting. The title of the contemplated work is the "History of the Rival Operas."

The Era, November 18, 1860

This is not The Rosicrucians (1870).

1842-1845: Finding Work

- From April of 1842, until January of 1844, Emma is a member of the Covent Garden company, as “Miss Floyd”
- In January of 1844, she is advertised as a member of the company of the (ill-fated, short-lived) Princess’s Theatre in Oxford Street, as Miss Floyd, with Paul Bedford (with whom she seems to migrate)
- But at the end of January of 1844, the performer “Miss Floyd” disappears from the records of the London theatre community entirely, and (as far as can be determined) forever.

MASANIELLO.

As performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (under the management of Mr. Price), on Monday, May 3rd, 1829.

Characters.

	Original.	1842. Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.
MASANIELLO (<i>a Neapolitan Fisherman</i>)	Mr. BRAHAM.	Mr. HARRISON.
ALPHONSO (<i>Son of the Viceroy of Naples</i>)	Mr. T. COOKE.	Mr. TRAVERS.
LORENZO (<i>Alphonso's Friend</i>)	Mr. LEE.	Mr. WIGAN.
PIETRO (<i>Friends of Masaniello and Leaders of the Revolt</i>)	Mr. BEDFORD.	Mr. HORNGCASTLE.
MORENO	Mr. YARNOLD.	Mr. BINGE.
SELVA (<i>Officer of the Viceroy</i>)	Mr. C. JONES.	Mr. COLLETT.
RUFFINO		Mr. BLAND.
COMMISSIONER	Mr. MOORE.	Mr. MOORE.
ELVIRA (<i>Alphonso's Bride</i>)	Miss BETTS.	Miss POOLE.
FENELLA (<i>Masaniello's Sister</i>)	Mdmo. ALEXANDRINE.	Miss GILBERT.
LADY IN WAITING	Miss WESTON	Miss FLOYD.
1ST WOMAN		Miss SOMERVILLE.
2ND WOMAN		Miss MORGAN.

Soldiers, Fishermen, Lazzaroni, Peasants, Male and Female.

PRINCESS'S THEATRE, OXFORD-STREET.
THIS EVENING will be performed the Opera entitled
THE MAID OF JUDAH.
 Cedric, Mr. Weiss; Ivanhoe, Mr. Wood; Wamba, Mr. Oxberry;
 Gurth, Mr. Granby; Sir Lucas de Beaumanoir, Mr. Fitzjames;
 Sir Briauc de Bois Guilbert, Mr. Higgle; Isaac of York, Mr. M.
 Barnett—Rebecca, Mrs. Wood.
 To conclude with—**THE MAGIC MIRROR.**
 Characters by Mrs. H. P. Grattan, Mr. P. Bedford, Mr. Granby,
 Mr. Walton, Mr. Higgle, Mr. Oxberry, Madame Sala, Miss Floyd,
 Miss R. Isaacs, and Miss E. Honner.

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

- 1844: “Miss Emma Harding” - she has crossed an economic line, into a place from which there is no returning, a place requiring a pseudonym
- Emma Harding a sympathetic character in Camilla Toulmin’s popular novel, Sweet Revenge (1844) -- coincidence?
- Her occupational trajectory thusfar: Covent Garden -> Princess’ -> Sadler’s Wells
- She is staying within the broad domain of musical theatre, dragging along her heritage and early promise as a singer....

THEATRE ROYAL, SADLER'S WELLS.

Licensed by the Lord Chamberlain, under the Act 6 & 7 Victoria, cap. 68.
LESSEE—THOMAS LONGDEN GREENWOOD, Melbourne Cottage,
White Hart Lane, Tottenham.

Under the management of
MRS. WARNER AND MR. PHELPS,
Of the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket.

Whit-Monday, May 27th, 1844,

THE PERFORMANCES WILL COMMENCE WITH SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF
MACBETH.

With New Scenery by MESSRS. F. FENTON, MORELLI, &c.

Duncan (King of Scotland)	Mr. WILLIAMS
Malcolm } Sons to the King	{ MR. HIELD
Donalbain }	{ MISS THORNBURY
Macbeth } Generals of the King's Army ...	{ MR. PHELPS
Banquo }	{ MR. H. LACY
Macduff }	{ MR. H. MARSTON
Lenox }	{ MR. RAYMOND
Rosse }	{ MR. ALDRIDGE
Menteith } Noblemen of Scotland	{ MR. GREGORY
Angus }	{ MR. JOHNSON
Caithness }	{ MR. STEWART
Fleance (Son to Banquo) ...	MISS FRANCIS Physician ... MR. FRANKS
Sward (General of the English forces) ...	MR. GRAHAM
Seyton (an Officer attending on Macbeth) ...	MR. KNIGHT
Lady Macbeth	MRS. WARNER
Gentlewoman (attending on Lady Macbeth) ...	MRS. H. MARSTON
Hecate	MR. CLEMENT WHITE
First Witch	MR. FORMAN
Second Witch ... MR. WILSON	Third Witch ... MR. MORELLI
First Singing Witch	MISS LEBATT
Second Singing Witch	MISS EMMA HARDING
Other Singing Witches	MISSSES PEARCE, GRAHAM, MORELLI, MARTIN, OLIVER, and JAMESON.

In the course of the evening
AN ADDRESS (written by T. SERLE, Esq.) will be spoken by
MRS. WARNER.

After which, a New Operetta, entitled
THE HUNTER'S BRIDE.

To conclude with a New Farce, written by Mr. GREENWOOD, illustrative of
A ROW IN THE BUILDINGS.

Stage Manager, MR. PHELPS. Acting Manager, Mr. T. L. GREENWOOD.
Scene Painters, MESSRS. F. FENTON, FINLAY, &c. Treasurer, MR. WARNER.
Musical Director & Composer, MR. W. MONTGOMERY.

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

The death of a noble father, and the entire disruption of family ties, sent me out into the world at this early period of my life, first as a teacher of music in a school, and subsequently as a concert player and vocalist. I beg, distinctly, once and for all, to claim, that I never went to school in my life as a student; that the common branches of English education were received only in the family circle of accomplished English ladies, and the life page of good society; and that in no science but the theory of music, and the all-absorbing page of harmony and composition, did I ever receive any instruction, or pursue any study. From the age of twelve, my public life commenced; and any one who has become acquainted with the severe studies which musical artistes are called upon to pursue in Europe, (especially when in addition I had to provide a home for myself and my mother by my teaching, etc.) will scoff at the idea that any leisure could have been afforded me for those metaphysical and scientific studies in which certain of my American friends confidently affirm "my youth was absorbed."

EHB, Preface to Six Lectures on Theology and Nature (1860)

- Another, different, version -- at this point in Emma's career (1860), the actress had to be obscured
- But her point -- that she had no formal higher education, and no time for self-study -- is true enough

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

- The London theaters at mid-century were a heterotopia: a place where many of the normal social strictures were loosened or suspended, where classes mixed freely, where subjects otherwise forbidden were discussed
- Theaters were “deregulated” in 1843 (EBL a prime mover) -- which created no new theaters for 20-odd years, but significant employment opportunities, and an expanded range of materials performed
- Licensed and unlicensed, ‘legitimate’ and transpontine -- a demimonde into which very nearly everyone went (in plain clothes, or in disguise)
- Many mid-Victorian cultural standard-bearers wrote for, and on occasion acted in, the legitimate London theatre: Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Browning
- Very lucrative for the owners and promoters, who on occasion could “rise” into polite society -- W. C. Macready, for example
- Actresses -- particularly leading ladies -- could find themselves the paramours, or even the wives, of culture heroes (Ellen Terry, GF Watts)
- But “actress” was still a pseudonym for “fallen woman”...

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

- Mostly at the Adelphi - a legitimate company
- Never a leading lady; secondary female roles, and minor characters
- Often grueling performance schedule -- she is, without question, a working actress with a 40-week season, year after year
- She moves her mother to Westminster, to Tufton Street, and hires a servant
- Her reviews use the words “creditable,” “serviceable”, “interesting”....
- She is uniformly viewed as a beauty, and cast in roles that put her on display, physically



Miss Emma Harding in “The Phantom Dancers” in 1847

of paying first name.
In the scene where the flowers with Miss Emma Harding at their head, as the rose, revolt against the gardener, who comes to cut them for a bouquet, Mr. Wright, who plays the horticultural individual in question, was irresistibly comic. *A propos de bottles.* If the nursery gardens around the metropolis produced such lovely plants as those which Miss Emma Harding heads, we think that we may venture to give it as our opinion that young men would become remarkably fond of gardening. The rich ones would, of course, have well stocked conservatories, and even the poorest would manage to have his pot or two, to put out of the garret window on a sunny day.

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

The Baffled Sensualist

He was a man whom no description can fully represent to the inhabitants of the western continent, for he was of a class unknown in American experiences -- a peer of the British realm; the elder brother of a wealthy, noble and far-descended house, and marked actor in that peculiar drama which is only played amongst the members of the British aristocracy.

You could not follow me, my American friends, were I to attempt for you a description of the stately earl and his peculiar sphere of action; happy for you you cannot; for the sum of all is told when I translate his life in this: His birth, position, the law of primogeniture, and other specialities, had manufactured a rich nobleman and a capacious mind into a bad man, notorious for his enormous gallantries in public life, and his equally enormous tyrannies in private life. This man had lived for self, and used time, talents, wealth and station, for no other purpose than the gratification of self and selfish passions....

In my youth I had known this man. I had often read Shakespeare to him, sang and played for him; and, despite some awe with which his singularly stately presence inspired me, I returned his regard for me with perhaps more of interest than the young and innocent generally yielded to him. My full understanding of his character was a revelation of after years. Since I have been in America, the journals of home have brought the intelligence of the great man's transit into "the land of rest".

EHB, "A Vision", 1872

Of some years of strange and varied experiences at the Adelphi and other London theatres I do not propose to speak in detail; as a curious indication, however, of how the web of human life destiny may be spun out without either the volition or agency of the individuals most concerned, I will come to the closing chapter of my English theatrical experiences, only premising, in justice to others, what more than one living witness could, if they would confirm, and that is that perhaps few young girls in narrow circumstances, leading a busy struggling life, were ever subject to more sore temptations from a vicious aristocracy than myself...**By one cruel and remorseless persecutor, in the person of a baffled sensualist, several of the theatrical entrepreneurs by who I was engaged or in treaty with, were induced by specially prepared golden arguments to cancel any engagements with me, so that I might be driven to the last necessity of placing myself under my millionaire enemy's kind protection....**I endured this terrible taboo for a time, but under my good and beloved mother's counsel I determined at length to baffle it."

EHB, "Autobiography", 1900

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

The Baffled Sensualist?



Philip Henry, 4th Earl Stanhope (1781-1855)



Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Lord Lytton
(1803-1873)



Benjamin Disraeli,
1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)

To W. H. WILLS, 25 JANUARY 1854*

MS Huntington Library.

Tavistock House | Twenty Fifth January 1854

My Dear Wills

Will you look at the enclosed note from Miss **Emma Harding**, and my reply? I spoke to you about her papers at Boulogne, and thought they had been returned ages ago. Please pack them off, together with my note, to her address at once.

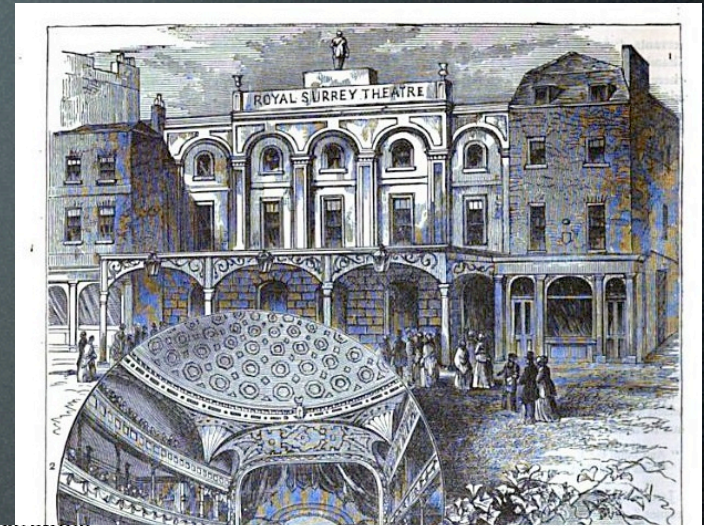
I want (for the story I am trying to hammer out) the Educational Board's series of questions⁵ for the examination of *teachers* in schools.⁶ Will you get it.

Ever Faithfully
CD.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870),
Lord of the People's Universe

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

- Emma's career as a member of the Adelphi company ends in June of 1854, at the end of the season
- In September of 1854, Emma performs in a benefit staging of Dickens' Hard Times at the Strand
- From October 1854 until May of 1855, Emma is a member of the Royal Surrey Theatre company, on the "wrong" side of the river Thames
- In June of 1855, the Wallacks form a touring company to do Shakespeare in Paris, and Emma joins the company (brought in by an old colleague, George Honey)
- 1838-1855: from age 15 until age 32, a working actress



ROYAL SURREY THEATRE.—
Under the Management of Messrs. SHEPHERD and CREWICK
"The sight of the season—the Surrey Pantomime." "A most
gorgeous and patriotic Pantomime." For gorgeousness of Scenery,
nothing at the Surrey has ever excelled the *Satin Boudoir of the Island
Queen* and the *Royal Palace of Beauty*.
On Monday, and during the week, will be performed *THE
FARMER'S DAUGHTERS*. Vincent Middleton, Mr. W. Morgan;
Farmer Greenland, Mr. Vollaire; Michael Wright, Mr. Montague
Smythson; Nat Maybush, Mr. H. Widdicomb; George Redley, Mr.
Phelps; Jemmy Jenkins, Mr. G. Yarnold; Dark Davy, Mr. Verner;
Fanny Greenland, Miss Anderton; Sophia Greenland, Miss S. Lewis;
Betty Wiggles, Miss Emily Sanders; Mabel, Mrs. Charles Melville.
To be followed by the new Christmas Pantomime of *HARLEQUIN
LITTLE ONE EYE, LITTLE TWO EYES, LITTLE THREE
EYES*; or *Beasts and Beauties*. The entire Pantomime arranged
and produced solely by Mr. Shepherd. *King Unioneeyerumfustibusti-
boo*, Mr. Butler, afterwards Clown, Mr. Buck; *Peabloom*, afterwards
Harlequin, Mr. H. Saunders; *Little Dame Three Eyes*, Mrs. Charles
Melville, afterwards *Pantaloon*, Mr. Bradbury; *Little Two Eyes*, Miss
Fanny Douglas, afterwards *Colombine*, Miss E. Gunniss; *Mephis-
tophiles*, Mr. Norman, afterwards *Attendant Sprite*, Signor C. Longo;
Lunario, the *Young Man in the Moon*, Miss Emily Sanders; *Pearleye*,
the *Island Queen*, Miss Emma Harding; *Dew Drop and Golden Hair*,
Miss Gunniss and Miss E. Gunniss.

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

Robertson's first substantial acting engagement since he had struck out on his own in London was ironically due to family connections. William Robertson and J. W. Wallack in 1855 were managing the Marylebone Theatre. Robertson's brother Craven and his sister Madge were playing juveniles. Tom rejoined the family. They played a season. Then, whether it was because the touring instinct was overpowering or the Marylebone vein had been exhausted, the Robertsons were off on another fantastic gamble a visit to Paris to produce *Macbeth* at the Theatre des Italiens. The company was impressive, including the Wallacks, the William Robertsons, Mrs. Arthur Stirling, and George Honey, but the name of the angel was prophetic: Monsieur Ruin de Fee. The foreign tour **lasted less than three weeks**; the company received one week's salary, and the actors straggled back to London as best they could.

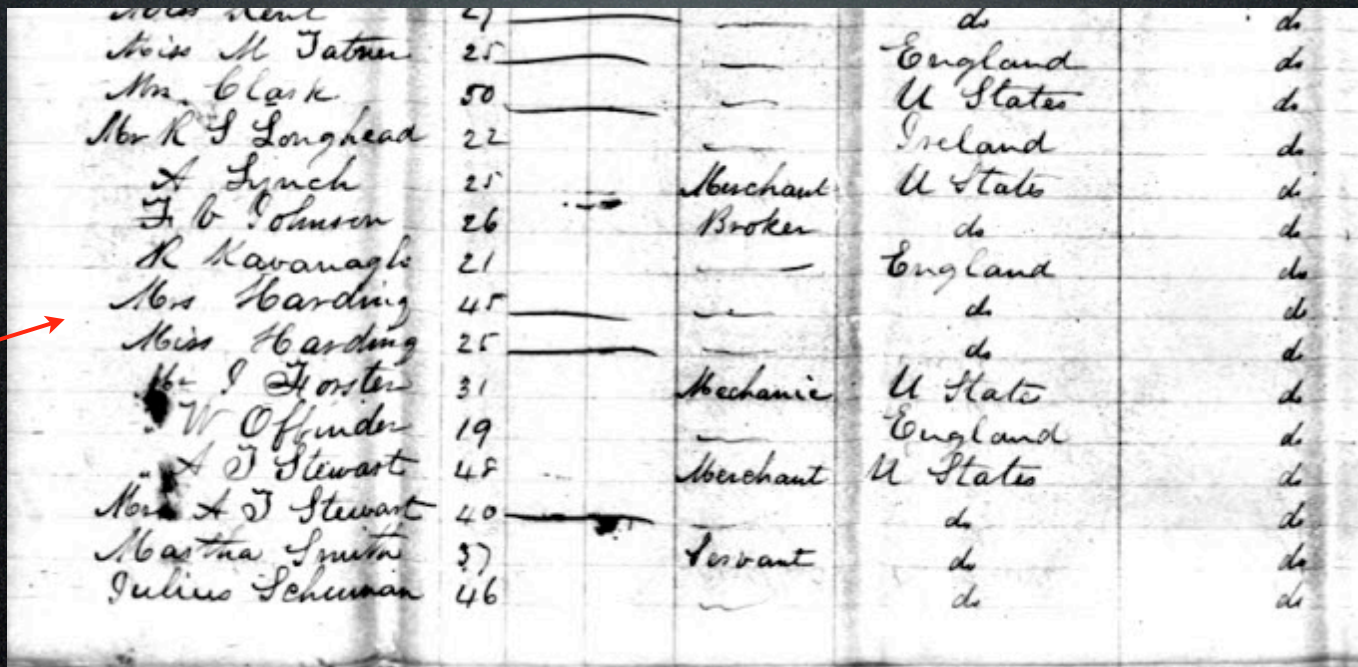
Maynard Savin, Thomas William Robertson: His Plays and Stagecraft (1950)

Once again, between the straits (sic) of Dover and Calais, I died to the London stage and arrived in Paris a new being. We had friends and acquaintances in the gay city, and though the Wallack Company was a total financial failure, and paid nobody, we spent **many pleasant weeks in Paris** when not busy at the theatre amongst my musical associates. I had nothing to regret, but still another new experience to learn, whilst another note of preparation rung out, in anticipation of my approaching future -- magnetism and magnetic experiment were just then the rage in Paris.... The last night of the English Wallack Company's performances had arrived; on that occasion I played in a little character piece of my own writing, and at its close, our most intimate friend in Paris, being, as was his custom, behind the scenes, introduced me to a gentleman whom I found talking with this friend and my mother, and endeavouring to convince her that the best and most attractive spot on earth for the display of my peculiar talents, etc., etc., was the B__ Theatre, of New York, of which he himself was the manager.

EHB, Autobiography (1900)

1845-1856: Miss Harding, Actress

- August 22, 1855 -- The Collins' Line steamship, the Pacific (which will figure prominently in Emma Hardinge's perfection as a medium) docks, from Liverpool, in New York City
- Amongst the passengers are a group of young unmarried women with French surnames...
- ..And a Mrs. and Miss Harding (ages 45, and 25, respectively) -- Ann is on her way to 60, and Emma is 33



Miss M Tatner	25			do	do
Mrs Clark	50			England	do
Mr R S Longhead	22			U States	do
A Lynch	25		Merchant	Ireland	do
J B Johnson	26		Broker	U States	do
R Kavanagh	21			do	do
Mrs Harding	45			England	do
Miss Harding	25			do	do
Mr J Foster	31		Mechanic	do	do
W Offender	19			U State	do
A J Stewart	48			England	do
Mr A J Stewart	40		Merchant	U States	do
Mastina Smith	37		Servant	do	do
Julius Schuman	46			do	do

Intermission

Traveling-as-Network

Traveling-As-Network

- Emma and Ann Sophia came across the Atlantic between the two major nodes in the Anglo-American network -- Liverpool & New York -- on a Collins' Line steamship that was making the crossing in an average of 13 days, bankrupting Collins in the process (were it not for the generous subsidies paid by the Federal government to Collins for carrying US mails)
- The women (think about it) arrived at a time when the US was undergoing a profound infrastructural transition, on top of which Emma would build her life, and her career
 - The growth of railroad and steamship networks
 - The growth of public accommodation -- hotels and boarding houses
 - The growth of printing press capacity, and the decline in the cost of printing
 - Telegraphy -- Internet 1.0
- Emma's life was all about how people and information travel

Traveling-As-Network

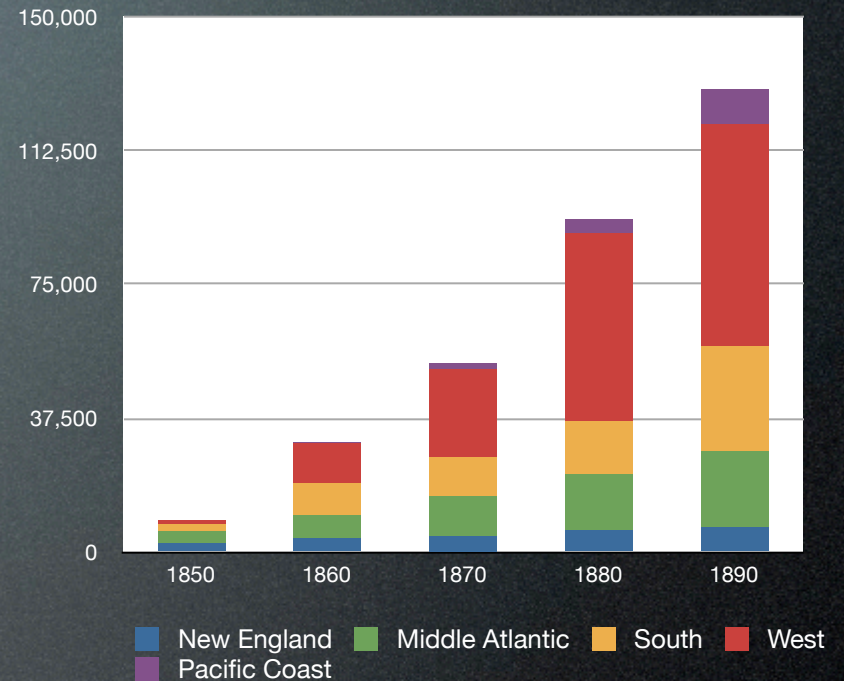
- Railroads

- Began as private affairs, or to link major metropolitan 'hubs' to immediate outliers
- Long-haul rail was highly politicized when Emma and Ann Sophia arrived in the US, and stymied, to some extent, by limitations in the printing system -- the hand-etching process for producing maps that could be used to plan routes

- Watching Emma's itinerary unfold in her Western adventures between 1863 and 1881 is to a large extent watching the railroads get built

- In the right-of-way, telegraph poles....

Railroad Miles: US 1850-1890



Why did Emma not speak in Salt Lake City before the late 1870s?

Because she could not get there, economically, before that time.

Mrs. Britten's Lectures.
 Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten, the celebrated speaker and authoress, is announced to speak at the Liberal Institute on the evenings of Friday, Sunday and Monday next, the 21st, 23rd and 24th of May, on subjects in the following order: "The Footsteps of Angels;" "The Origin and Destiny of the Human Soul;" "Free Masonry, Ancient and Modern." Commence each evening at 7:30. To enable all to hear Mrs. Britten, the local committee have placed the general price of admission at 25 cents; gallery 15 cents, or two tickets 25 cents. Persons unable to pay will be given tickets on application to T. C. Armstrong or Mr. Harrison.

Salt Lake City Daily Tribune, May 21, 1880

Traveling-As-Network

- Hotels And Boarding Houses
 - Q: Why did Emma spend so much time in Lowell, Massachusetts?
 - A: Because she could.
- As hotels and short-term boarding houses sprung up (along transportation arterials, to support trade) in the 1850s and after, they created
 - Accessibility
 - Places for the exchange of information among strangers
 - Points where the foreign was injected into the local

A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History*.



2.5 This map displays the forty most populous cities in the United States in 1840 and the year in which each built its first hotel.

HOTEL ARRIVALS.

Walker House.
 C B Casper, W Casper, Little Rock; E J Stolz, Tucuman; M Daly, John O Truvel Jr, San Francisco; C W Hockett, M D Belmont, New Hampshire; W T Lewis, Racine, Wis; C G Hockett, Belmont, N H; C P Middleton, Ogden; E W Smith, Cooper; J Schanzenbach, Ogden; E A Lewis, Bristol, Nev; J W Jones, Cheyenne; John A Burke, Preston; J Beatty, Cheyenne; J Siler, Sandy; A G Campbell, Jr, Omaha; J Siler, Sandy; A G Campbell, Frisco; E H Russell, West Jordan; A P Sutherland, Globe City; S D Sellers, Philadelphia.

City House.
 George Austin, Lohi; John P Flynn, Ogden; R L Thomas, wife and family, Frank Robinson, Bracon Clark, Park City; George B Van Emon, H M Kelly, Brigham; W E Hildreth, New York; John McCullough, Pioche; W C Freeland, Thackeray.

Valley House.
 Thomas Murray, Sacramento; Michael Penney, Matt Sullivan, M E Welch, Virginia City; P H Orley, Idaho; Wm Harris, Blaine; J W Lewis, Park City; Wm Richards, Butte; Thomas Ewa, J A Jefferson, Stockton; Thos H Bond, Alta; E M Carrington, Chicago; T A Andrews, Cheyenne; F W Geary, Cheyenne; Fort Cameron; J E Evans, American Fork; D W H Searles, Wis; Thomas Slater, Stockton.

People who do work like mine depend on this feature of every local newspaper in the 19th century

Salt Lake City had three hotels 'worth watching' in 1880

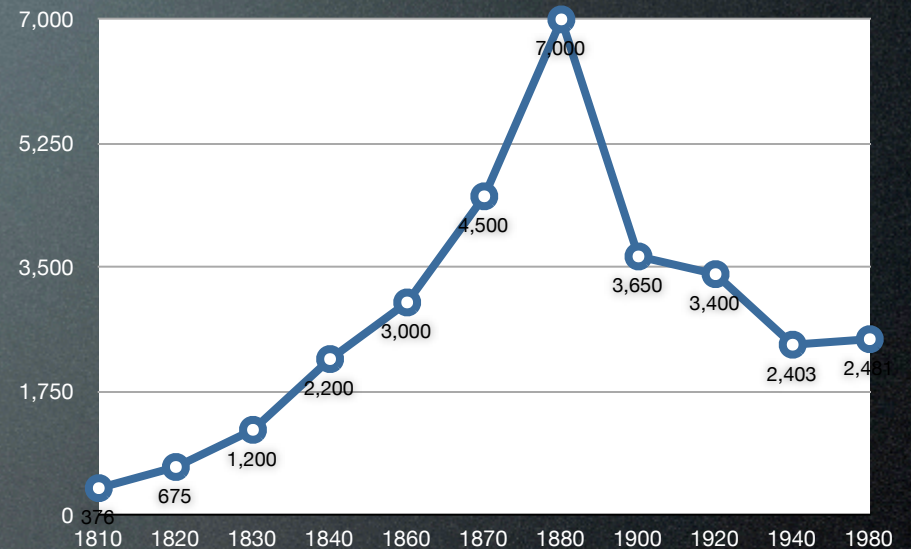
New York City has eight or ten.

Traveling-As-Network

- Printing & Publishing

- Hardening and automation (paper --> press --> bindery/folder)
- Pre-press (typewriter [1847, 1857, 1873], Linotype/Monotype)
- Post-press distribution (see railroads)
- The penny press (2-8 pages for 1 cent) exploded after 1830, and made millionaires -- cost-of-goods-sold about a tenth-of-a-cent per page
- A New York Mercury meme could be in the Chicago Inter-Ocean in 7 days or less by 1875, or in the Medium & Daybreak in London in 12 days, and in the Glasgow papers in a further 2 days
- Emma's exposure in 1881 took 48 hours to get from "live" in New York to "in print" in Salt Lake City
 - Not Twitter speed, but getting there....

Number of US Newspapers (Daily, Weekly) By Decade



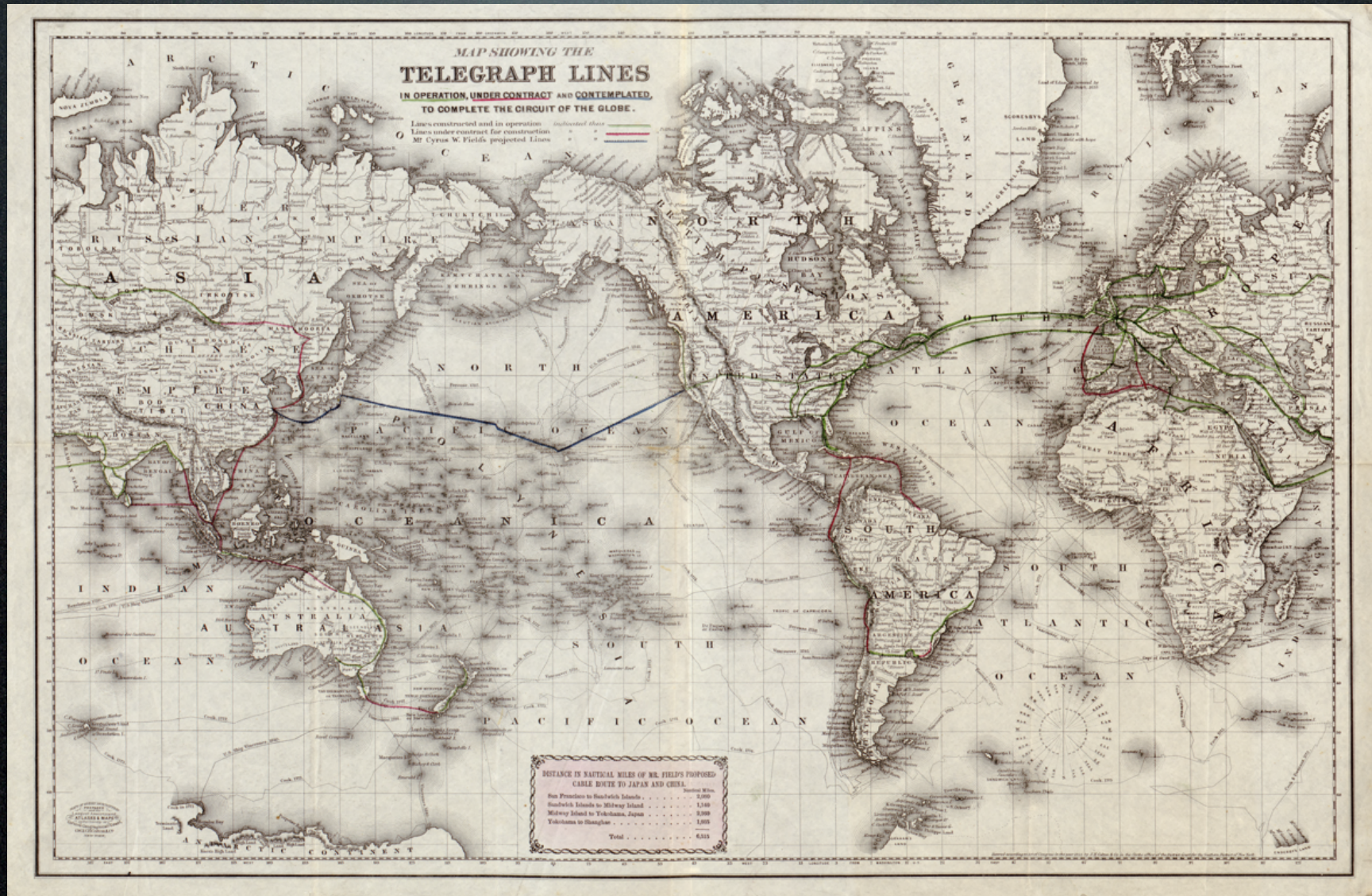
Approximately 80% of what I think I know about EHB, I learned by reading period newspapers and periodicals.

Today, people of EHB's relative cultural "weight" do not make it to the pages of USA Today or the New York Times.

But they'd have a blog, and a tweetstream, and they'd self-publish e-books on Amazon.com

Traveling-As-Network

- Telegraphy -- The Metaphor of the Movement



JH Colton & Co., 1871
www.loc.gov

Traveling-As-Network

- Informational Distance and Speed
 - You can measure the distance between two points in miles, or in informational distance: road miles, or information minutes
 - Information cannot travel faster than c (186k mps), or cause-and-effect relationships are compromised (Einstein)
 - 1775: The battles at Lexington and Concord occur on April 19; are published in the NY press on April 23; in Philadelphia on April 25; in Baltimore on April 27; in Charleston on May 9; in Savannah on May 31
 - ~1100 hours (45 days) to travel 1100 miles - 1 information mile per hour
 - 1872: the London-to-Calcutta undersea cable is lit
 - 3 hours to travel 6900 (overland) miles: 2300 information miles per hour; 38 information miles per minute
 - During this same period, the informational distance between many places within the US and the UK remained unchanged, and very low (in terms of i-mph)
- Globalization is about compression of road-miles, and information-minutes

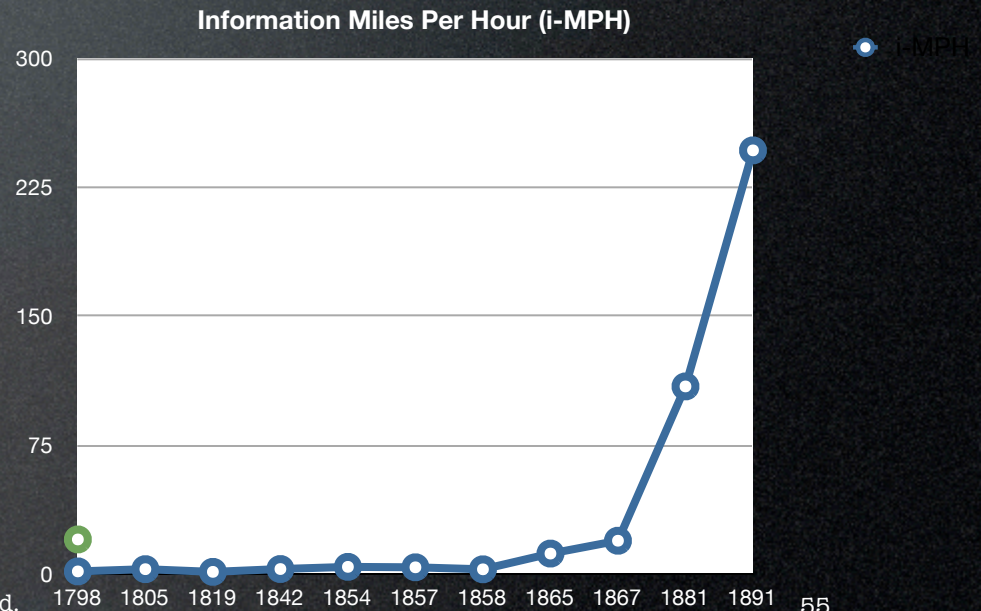
Traveling-As-Network

- Informational Speed

Event	Year	Distance (Miles)	Elapsed Time Until Arrival in London (hours)	i-MPH
Battle of the Nile	1798	2073	1,488	1.39
Battle of Trafalgar	1805	1100	408	2.70
Kutch Earthquake (India)	1819	4118	3,672	1.12
Treaty of Nanking	1842	5597	2,016	2.78
Charge of the Light Brigade	1854	1646	408	4.0
Indian Mutiny	1857	4176	1,104	3.78
Treaty of Tien-Sin	1858	5140	1,968	2.61
Lincoln Assassination	1865	3674	312	12
Archduke Maximilian Assassination (Mexico)	1867	5545	288	19.3
Alexander II Assassination	1881	1309	12	109
Nobi Earthquake (Japan)	1891	5916	24	247

Source: Clark, A Farewell to Alms (2008)

In the 1870s,
i-MPH eclipsed
p-MPH for the first
time...and it has been
that way ever since.



Traveling-As-Network

- The network in microcosm
- A boarding house on Broadway in NYC in 1860: French from Pittsburgh; Culbertson from Cincinnati; the 'Hardings' from England; J. J. Mapes and sons from Philadelphia/NJ; Benjamin Coleman on a fact-finding visit from England -- all sitting around the parlor, talking spiritualism, holding seances planning to rent halls, take out ads in the local papers, and make Spiritualism pay

1882	1879	Laura Whitney	25 W
		Mary Ann French	2nd
		Anna Clark	40 W
		Thos Culbertson	49 W
		E. J. French	40 W
		Elizabeth P.	W
		Mary L.	18 F
		Belle F.	10 F
		Anne S. Harding	60 F
		Emma "	22 F
		Blanche French	24 F
		Arthur Patterson	18 W
		Thomas "	18 F
		Robert "	35 F
		Chas Patterson	19 W
		J. J. Mapes	17 W
		Chas. M.	21 W
		Arthur "	18 W

...
 Thomas Culbertson
 E. J. French
 Elizabeth P. French
 Mary L. French
 Belle French
 Anne S. Harding
 Emma Harding

...
 J. J. Mapes ("Phoenix")
 Charles Mapes
 Arthur Mapes

Section 4

1856-1865
Opening America

1856-1865: Opening America

- Emma's first role at the Broadway Theatre is as a leading lady -- something she never achieved on the English stage
 - Mrs. Bracegirdle, in The Tragedy Queen, which opened in September of 1855 (Emma claims, in 1858, that she wrote this piece)
- Her last recorded role, as Azurine in King Charming, was in June of 1856
- In between, at least one play Emma claims to have written (and perhaps two, if we count The Tragedy Queen), but none that ran well or long.
- EHB records, and the published primary materials would agree, that there was some kind of dispute between her and the theatre management
- She wasn't working, she was being paid...something... and she had time on her hands...so she began exploring Spiritualism

1856-1865: Opening America

- “The ship ‘Pacific’ was due on the memorable day when I became developed as a medium, to wit, on Tuesday, February 19, 1856.” (Autobiography)
- Emma claimed to have received a communication, on this day, from a crew member of the Pacific, which had sunk (and which indeed never made port in NY)
- This could date Emma’s “perfection” as a medium accurately, but the ship was due some two weeks prior to this date, and the NY papers were carrying stories of the Pacific’s likely loss a week before this date
- Imponderable....

Propor freight.
N. B.—Parcels charged 6s. and upwards, according to size.

UNITED STATES MAIL STEAMERS
BETWEEN
LIVERPOOL AND NEW YORK.
The Steam-ships comprising this Line are the
ATLANTIC..... Captain WEST.
PACIFIC..... Captain ELDRIDGE.
BAL TIC..... Captain COMSTOCK.

These Vessels are appointed to sail as follows:—

FROM LIVERPOOL. 1856.
BAL TIC..... Wednesday, 20th Feb.
PACIFIC..... Wednesday, 5th March.
ATLANTIC..... Wednesday, 19th March.
BAL TIC..... Wednesday, 2nd April.
And every alternate Wednesday.

FROM NEW YORK. 1856.
PACIFIC..... Saturday, 10th Feb.
ATLANTIC..... Saturday, 1st March.
BAL TIC..... Saturday, 15th March.
And every alternate Saturday.

Freight on goods payable in New York is charged at the rate of

The Pacific's officers and crew numbered 141, all told. Their names are as follow:—

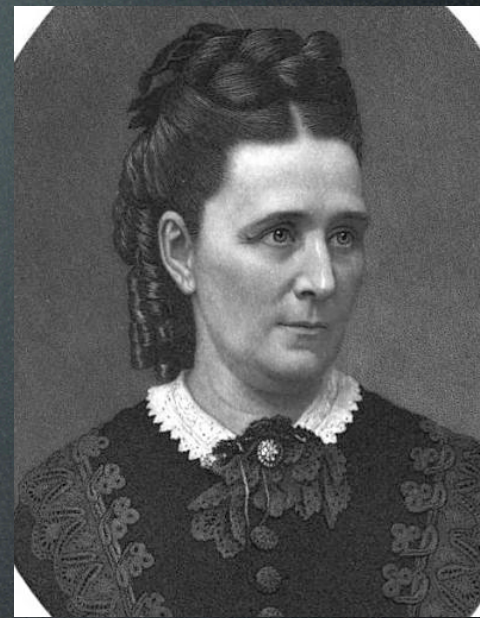
Asa Eldridge, captain	SEAMEN—continued.
Hugh Lyre, 1st mate	John Molony
Charles P. Lears, 2nd ditto	Charles Powell
John Webster, 3rd ditto	George Marshall
Edgar C. Dean, 4th ditto	John Washington
J. W. Terry, surgeon	James Richards
John C. Faulkner, purser	Michael M'Guen
William Bowles, carpenter	John Kelly
Peter Leonard, boatswain	Joseph Darber
J. Wilson, boatswain's mate	ORDINARY.
S. W. Fairchild, steward	Lucius Flannerey
Thomas M'Guire, 2nd steward	Henry Bentour
E. I. Smollette, saloon cook	William Edgonton
Constan Chablette, 2nd cook	Cornelius Kennedy, boy
Louis Ogelby, 3rd cook	ENGINEERS.
Charles Peckell, 4th cook	Samuel Mathews
John Brown, 5th cook	Wm. C. Russell, 1st assistant
Jacob Kebb, pastry cook	Thomas Jeffries, 1st ditto
John Mills, 2nd cook	Martin Parsons, 2nd ditto
John Oakly, ship's cook	Samuel Havens, 2nd ditto
E. J. Fletcher, 2nd cook	Stephen Jaffries, 3rd ditto
John Dolan, porter	Dennis Sherman, 3rd ditto
Philip C. Smith, 2nd porter	OILERS.
James Hayden, 2nd porter	John Ball
James Dolan, 3rd porter	Ph. Cornelius
P. C. Smith, storekeeper	Abm. Warm
John Brown, messman	FIREMEN.
John Mitchell, ditto	Owen M'Dermott

1856-1865: Opening America

- From June of 1856 until July of 1857, when Emma gave her first public trance lecture at Troy (NY), the chronology is troubled
 - She visited mediums in the company of Augustus Fenno, a fellow actor, and possibly others
 - The mediums she visited are still unclear -- Conklin, Kellogg, Hoyt, Mansfield are all named in various biographical snippets
 - 1858: "I lived in the house with two mediums"
 - She claims to have experienced revulsion at hearing, in one medium's circle, a caustic critique of the Bible-as-literal-history (mark this!)
 - She claims to be disturbed by the rapping and alphabetic communications she experienced in these circles -- possibly, an odd claim for a former clairvoyante subject of an occult group to make
 - Clairvoyants generally claimed to have no memory of events while under-the-influence; Emma wavered on this point
- It was at this time (late 1856, I believe) that Emma fell in with, and under the influence of, Elizabeth J. French, a woman who would change Emma's life, irrevocably

1856-1865: Opening America

- A pioneer in both Spiritualism, and galvanic medicine
- Already, at this time, the survivor of a significant public fraudulent-medium case
- Living, openly, with her lover (and her children from her abandoned marriage), practicing as a clairvoyant physician, and conducting test seances that included direct voice and the production of drawings -- very much ahead of the mainstream of the movement
- Connected to, but not precisely accepted by, the prosperous and proper NY Spiritualist community
- By 1860, of trans-Atlantic fame...thanks to Benjamin Coleman, whom we shall meet again shortly



Elizabeth J. French (1821-1900), circa 1873

No letter will be answered unless it contains money or P. O. stamp.

Mrs. E. J. FRENCH,
Clairvoyant and Healing Physician.

Office 180 Broadway, second floor, front room.—
The morbid conditions of the human organism delineated and prescribed for with unparalleled success.

Fees.—For examination and prescription \$3, when the patient is present, if absent \$10. All subsequent examinations \$2. Terms strictly in advance. In order to insure prompt attention some of the leading symptoms must be given when sending a lock of hair.

Hours from 10 to 1 and from 2 to 4, except Saturdays and Sundays.

1856-1865: Opening America

- By March of 1858, EHB and EJF are, in essence, in business together
- Emma has passed through
 - an editorship at the Christian Spiritualist (organ of the SDSK)
 - a (short 10-month) period as a test medium for the Society for Diffusion of Spiritualist Knowledge
 - an attempt to found a music school, and earn by publishing music
 - a period as the chorale director for the NY Spiritualists
- And will be on her way to becoming perhaps the most well-known trance medium in the US (but see Cora Hatch...)

"The Footsteps of Angels" may already have been published in England by "E. Reinhold"

Reinhold did set other Longfellow pieces to music.

THE LECTURE SEASON.

CHURCH FOR SPIRITUALISTS, PROGRESS HALL, northwest corner of Twenty ninth street and Eighth avenue, second floor.—Miss HARDING will deliver a lecture on Spiritualism at the Hall this evening. Mrs. **E. J. French** will be in attendance as usual. A portion of Dodworth's choir have kindly tendered their aid for the occasion, and it is expected there will also be present a medium, who improvises and sings in the entranced state. In addition, we say to the sceptic, and the earnest seeker after the truths of Divine revelation, that in witnessing such manifestations will be found a broad field for the exercise of the nicest judgment. The hour, 7½ o'clock—admittance but 10 cents—Thursday evening, March 4. N. B.—Progress Hall will be open for the usual services on Sundays, at respectively 3 and 7½ P. M.; Thursday evenings for lectures by Mrs. E. J. French.

SELECT CATALOGUE OF NEW MUSIC

JUST ISSUED FROM THE PRESS, BY

HORACE WATERS

No. 333 Broadway, New York.

Musical Instruments, of all kinds; the best Italian Strings; all kinds of Instruction Books, Wholesale and Retail. **MUSIC** sent by Mail, postage free, on receipt of Money; all risks taken on Registered Letters. Where One Dollar's worth is ordered, one or two pieces will be presented.

Dealers, Teachers and Schools supplied with all Music published in this country, as low as any other establishment in the United States. On "The Waters Large and Popular Catalogue," he will make an extra discount of ten per cent.

We'll all Meet again in the Morning.

Ballad. Words by H. Clay Frouse. Music by Thomas Baker. Price 25c plain; vignette 40c.

Happy Haidee; or, Dream on Te-Night.

Song and Chorus, by Marshall S. Pike, Esq., author of "Home Again," and "Indian Warrior's Grave."—Arranged for the Piano, by Thomas S. Comtes, a originally sung by J. Murphy, of Christy's Minstrels. Price 35 cents.

The Blind Orphan Boy.

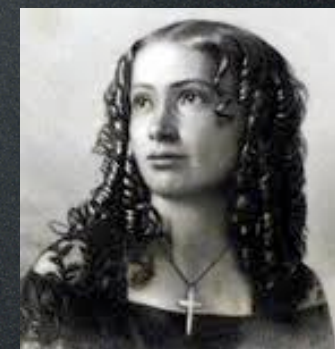
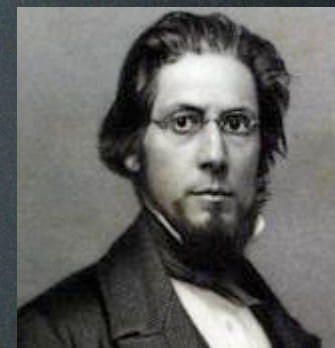
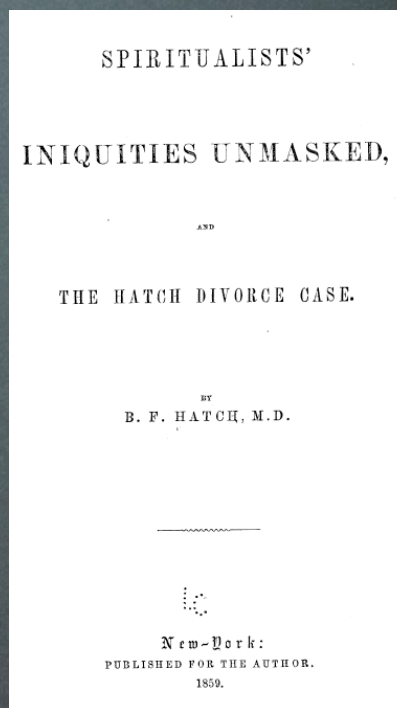
Ballad, by T. Wood. Price 25 cents.

The Footsteps of Angels.

Recitative and Air. Words by Prof. Longfellow.—Music by Emma Hardinge. Price 25 cents.

1856-1865: Opening America

- Emma speaks of 1855-1860 in the US as a difficult time for her and her mother - she claims her introduction to trance speaking was the result of an advertisement in which she offered her services as a music teacher in a private home, in desperation -- which she did
- But there may have been another, different, difficulty for her: one that drove her to trance mediumship, and taught her a significant lesson about.... trace-ability
- And made her, publicly, a life-long opponent of “free love”



“We have seen a medium who was employed, during the day, in giving communications to persons from the other world, on retiring with her widowed mother, use language and expressions which would well befit the Five Points. We have seen spirits giving communications through this medium to a gentleman stating it was his departed wife, desiring that he should marry this medium.”

John F. Whitney, one of the driving forces behind the SDSK, writing in 1856, and quoted in B. F. Hatch's Spiritualists' Iniquities Unmasked (1859)

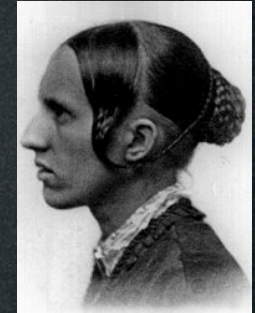
S. Young? or E. Harding?

1856-1865: Opening America

- By early 1858, she has embraced her calling as a medium and is making a name for herself -- in a more-or-less friendly rivalry with Cora Hatch -- on the Eastern seaboard between Boston and Baltimore
- She is publishing the stories that will become The Wildfire Club (1860), serially, in The Spiritual Age, as "Ezra" (probably written in 1853/4, and offered to Dickens)
- In July of 1858, A. B. Child publishes a biographical sketch of her in The Banner of Light
- By the end of 1858, she is covering the country east of the Mississippi, booked months in advance, and getting coverage in European spiritualist papers
- "Miss H. lived in the house with two Spiritualists; but to this time had never heard or known anything of Spiritualism, and did not know what it meant. When she learned that it implied communication with the dead she was so horrified that she half resolved to leave the house."
- "I find, upon reviewing the circumstances of my early history, that I was a medium from a child. I was a most incorrigible sleep-walker, and I do not question that what were deemed the brain-sick fantasies of a delicate child, with a very morbid, unhappy temperament, were, in reality, spirit manifestations, and the fancied voices, forms and imaginings, with which my childhood were marked, were the realities, not the visions, of my surroundings."

1856-1865: Opening America

- The Home for Outcast Women: a project on which Emma worked, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Portland, Maine, from late 1858 or early 1859, until at least the middle of 1862
- The premise of this philanthropy was very much like that of Burdett-Coutts' and Dickens' Urania Cottage (1846-1857): a transitional home for fallen women, at which they would learn new economic skills and be re-introduced into productive society
 - Emma understood herself as just-barely-escaped-being-fallen
- She circularized organizations for support, submitted petitions to the NY state legislature, and (in Boston at least), raised significant amounts of money to purchase a suitable property for the institution



Caroline Wells Healy Dall (1822-1912), recording secretary for Emma's outcast women mission in Boston

Soliciting Committee:

Geo. Higginson Esq. Chairman.
Mrs Caroline W. Dall. Secretary.

Boston.

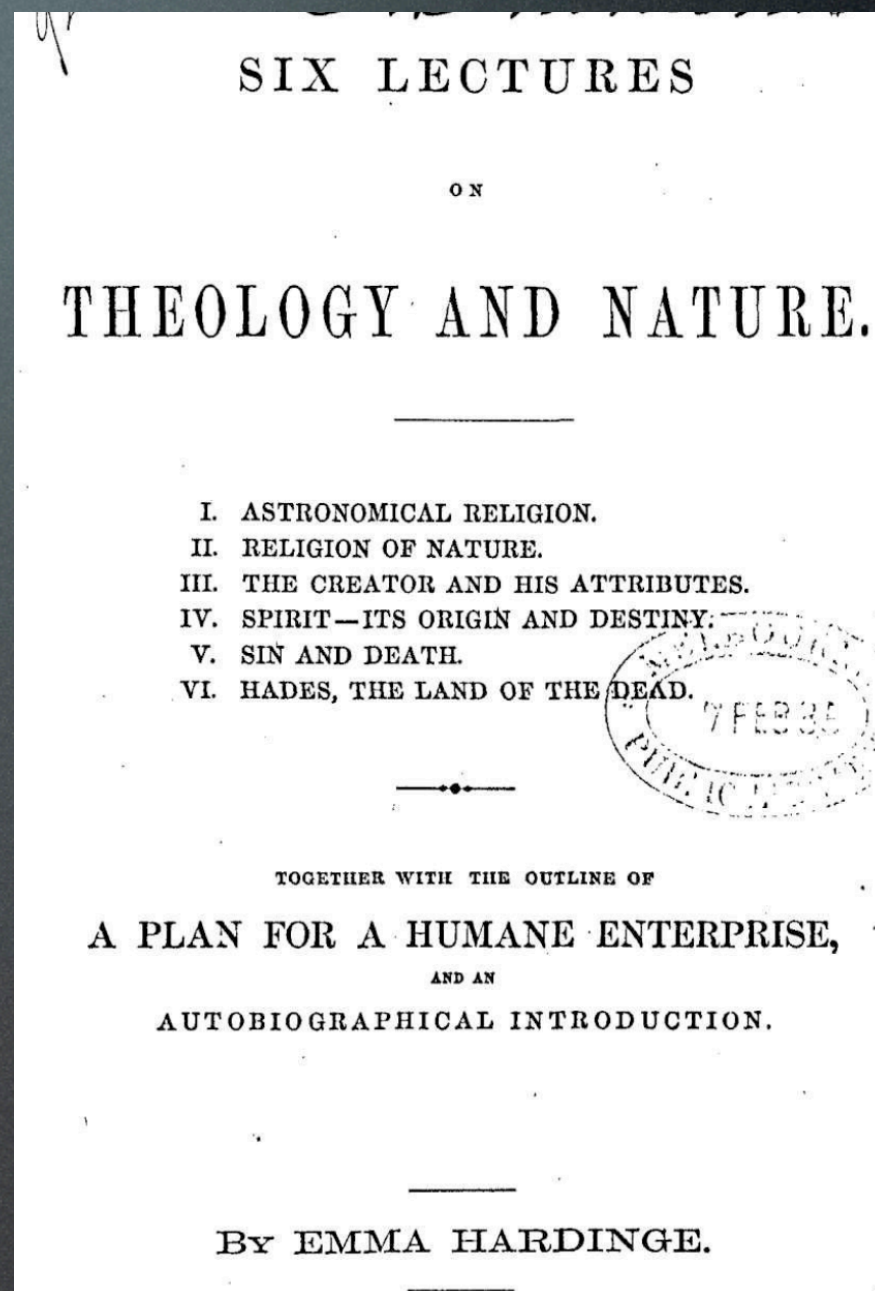
Mrs James T. Clarke	245 Washington St.
Miss Sarah A. Clarke	11 Baynton Pl.
Mrs Jas T. Fields	37 Charles St.
Mrs Chs T. Jackson	32 Somerset St.
Mrs Abner Kingman	11 Burroughs Pl.
Mrs E. B. Lee	2 Temple Pl.
Mrs Josiah Quincy jr.	4 Park St.
Mrs Wm. B. Rogers	1 Temple Pl.
Miss Hannah Robie	98 Chestnut St.
Mrs C. Vincent	20 Bulfinch St.
Miss Barbara Channing	Bowdoin St.

The Boston solicitation committee for the Home for Outcast Women reads like a who's-who of Boston high-culture philanthropy.

Ultimately, more than \$3000 was returned to Emma by her Boston committee, when the plan was ultimately folded.

1856-1865: Opening America

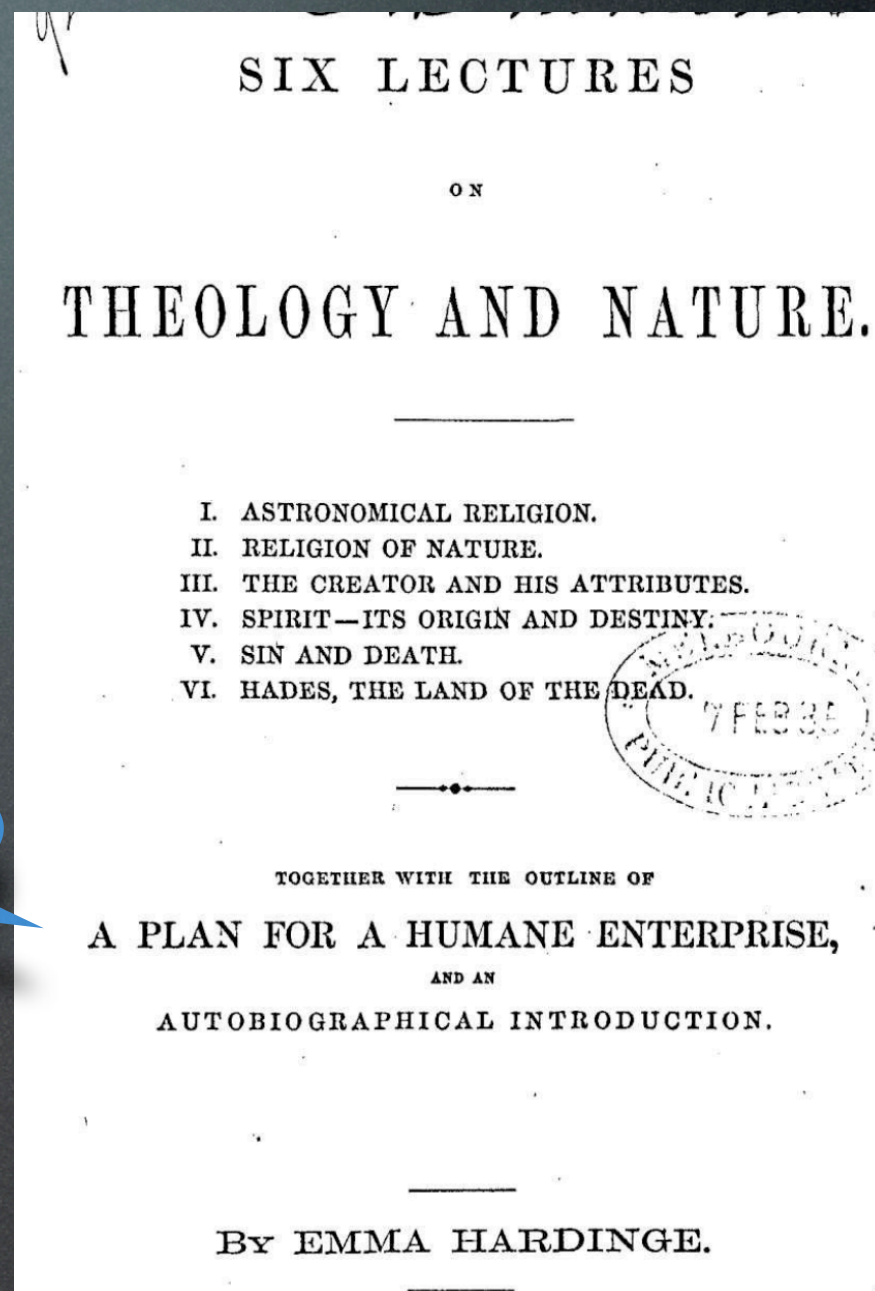
- The Chicago lectures of 1860 mark the first organized appearance of Emma's repertoire: the particular collection of themes that mark her body of work
- Her style as a trance lecturer is still much the same as it was at the outset, in 1857: an inspired address (either on a pre-arranged topic, or a topic suggested by a committee or the audience), followed by questions-and-answers, either pre-arranged or spontaneous
- Mesmerism, psychology, Freemasonry, astrology, comparative religion



1856-1865: Opening America

- The Chicago lectures of 1860 mark the first organized appearance of Emma's repertoire: the particular collection of themes that mark her body of work
- Her style as a trance lecturer is still much the same as it was at the outset, in 1857: an inspired address (either on a pre-arranged topic, or a topic suggested by a committee or the audience) on a question either pre-arranged or spontaneous
- Mesmerism, psychology, Freemasonry, astrology, comparative religion

Still hedging...



1856-1865: Opening America

- By 1860, Emma has been taken to school by someone with a decent, broad knowledge of comparative religion, who is also familiar with Freemasonry, and the broad currents of what will soon become the new science of anthropology -- possibly the freethinker Gilbert Vale
- The Six Lectures are Art Magic, in germinal state, mixed with Spiritualist mainstays
- In 1860, she is focusing on three things:
 - the knowledge of God
 - the immortality of the Soul
 - “a Perfect Standard of Life Practice”

“Whether the religions have been good or bad, is not the question now. The great question is, by what means has the name of religion usurped the sovereignty of the whole earth?”



“If ye know God, ye have your model. If ye comprehend our God, ye at once comprehend his laws, his purposes, and with them your duties.”

1856-1865: Opening America

- Emma's broadening exposure in the eastern US is bringing her in contact with Spiritualist groups with far different intellectual pedigrees than that of the NY Spiritualists (from whom she imbibed a good deal, on the mesmerism front)
- In Boston, she is involved with a group of intellectually-engaged people with deep political commitment to social improvement, and a tradition that was European, internationalist, and transcendentalist
- In Philadelphia, St. Louis and Ohio, she is being exposed to novel medical theories involving homeopathic models of cure, light therapy, Jewish mysticism and galvanic medicine...and the occult teachings behind them (not to mention perpetual motion machinery)
- In the deep South, and particularly in New Orleans, she is a witness to other kinds of spiritualism -- the African, filtered through the Caribbean and through slavery
- It would be difficult to prove her range of exposure was unique at the time, but it was certainly rarely rivaled

1856-1865: Opening America

- Emma's reputation, scope of operations and repertoire continue to expand in 1861 and 1862
 - Outcast women project taken up in NYC
 - She is lecturing, in "normal" state, on political topics as well as in trance on ancient faiths and Rosicrucianism
 - She is developing a reputation, at second-hand, in England, through the spiritualist press and the mainstream press
 - She is becoming interested in spirit photography
- She is spending more time, after 1860, in Philadelphia than in any other location; she buys a house in Delanco, NJ, names it "Rose Cross", and installs Ann Sophia there
 - Did she meet Seth Pancoast here, now?
- In April of 1863, she publicly announces her intention to go to California
- Leaves Philadelphia in October of 1863; is lecturing at Platt's Hall in San Francisco by early November



EHB, circa 1863, spirit photograph



ASF, circa 1863, spirit photograph

1856-1865: Opening America

- In California, Emma falls in with the literati set around The Golden Era: Bret Harte, Adah Isaacs Menken and others
- She travels, often **unaccompanied**, into the wilder of the California and Nevada mining towns, and is received with enthusiasm (SL Clemens records her reception in Nevada in a letter home to his family)
- She exhibits (among other things) detailed familiarity with the first three degrees of orthodox Masonry, the history of witchcraft, and practical magic
- She is lecturing weekly out of Platt's Hall and Dashaway Hall



Enlargement of the Golden Era.

THE GOLDEN ERA is now enlarged by the addition of eight columns to its pages,—and presents fifty-six columns, containing the greatest possible variety of Valuable and Entertaining, Original and Selected Matter, all combining to render THE GOLDEN ERA a Literary and Family Journal of surpassing interest and attraction—a Welcome Guest in Cottage and Cabin; the favorite at the fireside in City and Country; the most useful, agreeable and altogether desirable publication for California readers and their kindred and friends in the Atlantic States, Europe and elsewhere. Every Household in the Mountains and Valleys, the Cities, Towns and Mining Camps of California and throughout the Pacific States and Territories, should receive and welcome THE GOLDEN ERA as a regular weekly visitor.

Among the Contributors to THE GOLDEN ERA are all the prominent writers of Literary Repute in California and on the Pacific Coast, also correspondents and contributors of distinguished talent in the Atlantic States and Europe; including "Orpheus C. Kerr," Fitz Hugh Ludlow, "Inigo," Frank Bret Harte, "Mark Twain," Dan De Quille, Florence Fane, Miss Emma Hardinge, Adah Isaacs Menken, Sarah E. Carmichael, Annie E. Fitzgerald, "Occasia Owen," Alice Mason, William Simpson, Charles F. Stoddart, "Ina," H. C. Williston, Richard Craunshaw, "Fairfax," Bonneval, Mary Kyle Dallas, Margaret Hosmer, and many other accomplished writers of Fiction, Romances, Novels and Stories, Poetry, Essays, Sketches, etc., etc., comprising an array of Talent and Genius unapproached by any Literary Journal in California, the Atlantic States or Europe.

DREAMS OF BEAUTY.

	\$4 00
VISIONS of Beauty, of Light, and of Love,	\$2 00
Born in the soul of a Dream,	\$1 00
Lost, like the phantom-bird under the dove,	California
When she flies over a stream—	Adah and Europe,

Come ye through portals where angel wings droop,
 Moved by the heaven of sleep?
 Or, are ye mockeries, crazing a soul,
 Doomed with its waking to weep?

I could believe ye were shadows of earth,
 Echoes of hopes that are vain,
 But for the music ye bring to my heart,
 Waking its sunshine again.

And ye are fleeting. All vainly I strive
 Beauties like thine to portray;
 Forth from my pencil the bright picture starts,
 And—ye have faded away.

Adah Isaacs Menken (1835-1868), written for EHB in California in 1864

1856-1865: Opening America

- In September of 1864, Emma is invited to tour the state, on behalf of the Republican Party, advocating for Lincoln, and she accepts
- Her speech “The Coming Man,” is well received everywhere; she delivers it more than 100 times across the state
- In the end, she extends her stay in California until the end of 1864, largely in order to “deliver California for Lincoln,” which local politicians give her significant credit for doing
- She is, by the end of 1864, becoming famous in US secular culture...and she likes it.



Frances Fuller Victor (1826-1902), historian, essayist, door-to-door saleswoman

Now, if instead of an odd fancy about Odd-Fellowship, I have been thinking about the "Coming Man," the whole reverie would have been less odd -- indeed would have been in some danger of being even. I am glad Emma

Hardinge regards my venerable friend Abraham Lincoln as the Coming Man; it shows good taste as well as a clear insight into the National sympathies....The next time there is a great mass meeting where front seats are reserved for the ladies, I am going. If Miss Hardinge stumps the state I shall offer myself as aid-de-camp. One thing will then be certain, I shall have an opportunity to witness the coming of a great many men to hear her address. Long live Abraham Lincoln! As long live Emma Hardinge!

Frances Fuller Victor (Florence Fane), in The Golden Era for October 2, 1864

1856-1865: Opening America

- In January of 1865, Emma is back in New York, and her lecture titles are decidedly more secular -- “Politics versus Principles”, “Politics in the Pulpit”, “The Reign of Terror”, “The Day of Reconstruction”
- Her eulogy on Lincoln is widely attended and widely circulated
- In July, she issues a “Valedictory -- Farewell to Her American Friends” through the Banner of Light
- On August 5, 1865, Emma and Ann Sophia depart for London on the steamer “City of London” -- but why did she leave the US?

New York Herald, August 7, 1865:
“looking after a legacy”

Personal Intelligence.

Secretary Harlan and family, Washington; Mrs. Commodore Levy, John J. Cisco, Daniel Drew and family, Wm. H. Livingston and family, Mayor Gunther and family, New York; E. S. Sandford and family, Philadelphia; Wm. G. Fargo and family, Buffalo; H. Bartlett and family, Boston, are among the guests of the Union Hotel, Saratoga.

Among the passengers by the steamer City of London, which left for Europe on Saturday of last week, were Miss Emma Hardinge and her mother, the latter of whom goes to England for the purpose of looking after a legacy which has been left her by a relative. Miss Hardinge has been very favorably known in this country and California for the past ten years, having devoted her life and best energies for the benefit of different benevolent and charitable enterprises, chief among which was the establishment of reformatories for fallen women, and latterly she has become prominent as a lecturer and writer upon political subjects. She travelled through California during the last political campaign, ardently espousing the Union cause, and doing much toward the re-election of President Lincoln. She also undoubtedly set the ball in motion on the far Pacific coast which rolled up that \$100,000 for the Sanitary Commission, and her friends claim for her the credit of having by her personal exertions added much to that useful fund. She originated the famous bag of flour sale, which was so remarkably successful in aiding the sick and wounded of the Union army in the hospital and on the field. She is a writer and speaker, who has done and is calculated to do good in the world. For many years she has been devoted to the promulgation of the spiritual doctrine, in which she is undoubtedly a firm believer, and she has put all her strength, mind and soul into what she has said and written upon the subject. In fact, she always does that, whatever her theme; and her theme has generally a worthy object in view. Her reformatory enterprise will yet prove a success. The large fund raised by her in different cities of the Union by her lectures and the sale of her works is in the hands of trustees,



ended beneficent
ected that Miss
and personally
labor—the salva-
and unfortunate
to this country
already attained
ly after her ap-
ave up that pro-
her employers,
the advocate of
omen, whom she
ll our cities, also
should the good
ritual Society of
successful in what-

Section 5

1865-1872

Transatlantic Notoriety

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- Emma and Ann Sophia are in England by early September of 1865
- The “legacy which has been left [Ann] by a relative” seems to have occupied the time of the family, now including Margaret, until December of 1865
 - Bromfields near Tiverton?
- At that time Emma is introduced to the London Spiritualists by Benjamin Coleman, whom Emma met when Coleman came to the US in 1860 to investigate spiritualism, and fell in with... Elizabeth J. French
- (She is not the first US medium in England, but she is early....)
- And she is now becoming... irregularly... Miss or Mrs. Hardinge

Personal Intelligence.

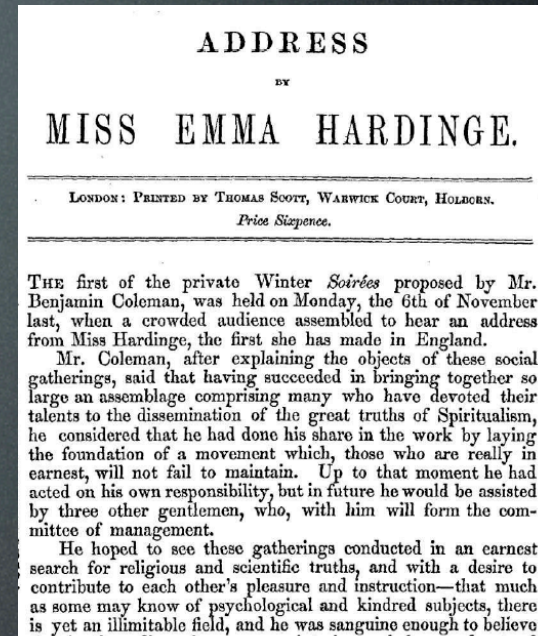
Secretary Harlan and family, Washington; Mrs. Commodore Levy, John J. Cisco, Daniel Drew and family, Wm. H. Livingston and family, Mayor Gunther and family, New York; E. S. Sandford and family, Philadelphia; Wm. G. Fargo and family, Buffalo; H. Bartlett and family, Boston, are among the guests of the Union Hotel, Saratoga.

Among the passengers by the steamer City of London, which left for Europe on Saturday of last week, were Miss Emma Hardinge and her mother, the latter of whom goes to England for the purpose of looking after a legacy which has been left her by a relative. Miss Hardinge has been very favorably known in this country and California for the past ten years, having devoted her life and best energies for the benefit of different benevolent and charitable enterprises, chief among which was the establishment of reformatories for fallen women, and latterly she has become prominent as a lecturer and writer upon political subjects. She travelled through California during the last political campaign, ardently espousing the Union cause, and doing much toward the reelection of President Lincoln. She also undoubtedly set the ball in motion on the far Pacific coast which rolled up that \$100,000 for the Sanitary Commission, and her friends claim for her the credit of having by her personal exertions added much to that useful fund. She originated the famous bag of flour sale, which was so remarkably successful in aiding the sick and wounded of the Union army in the hospital and on the field. She is a writer and speaker, who has done and is calculated to do good in the world. For many years she has been devoted to the promulgation of the spiritual doctrine, in which she is undoubtedly a firm believer, and she has put all her strength, mind and soul into what she has said and written upon the subject. In fact, she always does that, whatever her theme; and her theme has generally a worthy object in view. Her reformatory enterprise will yet prove a success. The large fund raised by her in different cities of the Union by her lectures and the sale of her works, is in the hands of trustees, and must eventually be used for its intended beneficent and praiseworthy purpose. It is expected that Miss Hardinge may soon return to America and personally attend to the consummation of her life labor—the salvation of at least a portion of the fallen and unfortunate of her own sex. Miss Hardinge came to this country from England, August 23, 1855, having already attained some reputation as an actress; but shortly after her appearance at the Broadway theatre she gave up that profession, from some disagreement with her employers, and soon afterwards came out as the advocate of the spiritualistic doctrine. The fallen women, whom she saw existed to so large an extent in all our cities, also early claimed her best attention. Should the good wishes of her friends of the First Spiritual Society of this city meet fruition she will be successful in whatever she may undertake.

New York Herald, August 7, 1865
Not one whiff of Spiritualism.

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- The Winter Soiree Lectures: November 1865-February of 1866
 - “In What Particulars are the Teachings of Christianity and the Facts Recorded in the Gospels Elucidated and Confirmed by Spiritualism?”
 - “It has been alleged that Modern Spiritualism is the witchcraft or necromancy referred to in the Old and New Testaments: will you be good enough to define the difference between them?”
- Attended by a who’s-who of English Spiritualism, mesmerism and occultism at the time
- And Emma is recognized as Miss Emma Harding, the actress...



Among the late reinforcements to the army of female speech-makers is an Englishwoman, calling herself "Miss Emma Hardinge", about whom there has been some interesting discussion in the newspapers. The World, editorially alluding to Miss Hardinge some few days since, stated that common rumour affirmed that she first made her appearance in public as a ballet-dancer in a London theatre, which provoked a sharp reply from the offended Emma, denying the assertion, so far as it related to dancing in public, but admitting that she "was educated as an opera-singer, and in process of training for her professional duties became an actress at the Royal Adelphi Theatre, London.

Liverpool Mercury. April 1, 1865

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- Benjamin Coleman is a significant figure at the time, inside and outside of Spiritualist circles -- notably for his attack on a corrupt railway company in the late 1850s and early 1860s
- A merchant, financier and controversialist, he is actively promoting Emma, while simultaneously conducting a pitched battle in the courts with Edwin Askew Sothern, a US medium/museum performer/actor who is actively 'debunking' Spiritualism, while involved in a very public divorce action as a co-respondent...and who acted with Emma in the Broadway Theatre company in 1855/6
- Emma is almost certainly feeling at-risk, personally and professionally

SPIRITUALISM.

PROFESSOR SOLFERINO,
CHAMPION MEDIUM & SPIRITUALIST,

Begs to return his sincere thanks to the nobility, gentry, &c.
He has constantly in stock a large assortment of

TRICK HANDCUFFS, COFFINS, ROPES, GUITARS,
MECHANICAL TABLES, &c.

His celebrated Davenport Noiseless Boots still continue to give
great satisfaction.

PROFESSOR SOLFERINO also offers to Ladies, his celebrated Marshall
Genuflection Crinoline, especially adapted for Table Rapping, concealing
mechanism, knocking down china, &c., in the dark. Used in connexion
with his Loaded Kid Boots, the most startling effects can be produced
on weak-minded people without fear of detection.

Persons of the highest respectability constantly on hand, prepared to
swear and testify to anything required of them. Moderate swearing,
2s. 6d. per hour. Very hard swearing, 5s. (oaths extra.)

Graveyards and Tombstones thoroughly searched and examined.

Sole Agent for Mustapha's far-famed Phinoo Vanishing Fluid,
32s. 6d. per quart bottle; Grimshawe's Patent Eye-Corroding Powder,
for non-believers, 15s. 6d. per pound packet.

Apply at the Blue-tailed Fly, after Three.

Portion of Coleman's expose of Sothern, in *Spiritual Magazine*
for February 1866

THE WINTER SOIRES.

MISS HARDINGE has delivered seven Addresses at these private gatherings,
which have been attended by the leading Spiritualists and others, who have
been attracted to the full extent of the accommodation which the Rooms could
afford, to hear this noble and highly-gifted woman. Each successive Address
has only created a higher interest in the unparalleled beauty and force of Miss
Hardinge's eloquence. The last Address on "Hades" was a masterpiece of
touching pathos and powerful illustration.

Miss Hardinge is to speak for the first time in public on Saturday, the 13th
January, at 3 o'clock, in the Great Hall at St. James's, Regent-street, when we
hope there will be a large attendance to welcome her.

Spiritual Magazine, January 1866

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- While she is lecturing to the Spiritualists, she is also, it seems to me, testing the waters for a career as a secular lecturer on American topics, in London
- She ran the experiment until March of 1866, but...
- Her secular lectures were not well-received, either in content or in form of delivery
- And she's being confused with the Confederate spy Belle Boyd, who's married a Hardinge and is living in London
- By mid-year, she's back to Spiritualist topics, solely...

MISS EMMA HARDINGE,
THE
GREAT EXTEMPORANEOUS ORATOR,
WILL MAKE HER FIRST
PUBLIC ADDRESS
IN ENGLAND, AT THE
ST. JAMES'S HALL,
On SATURDAY, the 13th of JANUARY, 1866,
At Three o'Clock, p.m.

Subject.
AMERICA: ITS SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, AND
POLITICAL CONDITION.

The Second and Third Public Addresses will be delivered at St. James's Hall, on Saturdays, January 20th and 27th, at 3 o'Clock, p.m.

MISS EMMA HARDINGE.—The *Flaneur* of the *Star* announces that Miss EMMA HARDINGE, “the celebrated extemporaneous lecturer, who has resided for the last ten years in the United States,” is announced to deliver an oration on America in St. James's Hall next Saturday afternoon. Says the advertisement:—

“Miss HARDINGE has been lecturing in the United States on the great political, social, and other questions of the day, and has been everywhere greeted by vast and most enthusiastic audiences. During the campaign for the re-election of President LINCOLN Miss HARDINGE delivered thirty-two orations in thirty-eight days. She also spoke the famous New York oration on Mr. LINCOLN's death. She speaks entirely extemporaneously, and is pronounced by the American press to be “the most wonderfully gifted and eloquent of living orators.” Is this lady identical with a pretty actress of the same name who played at the Adelphi some dozen years ago, and was said to possess considerable powers of authorship?

We believe that Miss HARDINGE is better known to the American public as an itinerant spiritualist lecturer than as an imitator of Miss ANNA DICKENSON.

“The *Flaneur*” is Edmund Yates

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- After June of 1866, Emma disappears, for the most part, from the US and UK press
- Emma leaves the UK (alone?) in October of 1866, returns to the US, and is lecturing in the US through March of 1867, based in NY
- She is talking up “a history of Spiritualism in America, which will be published in two volumes” -- this information is picked up by US papers from NY to Galveston to Salt Lake City
- Some time in April of 1867, she returns to England, and for the next two years, lives a largely private life, working on what will become Modern American Spiritualism
- She does appear in reminiscences of this period, often as a presiding or attending medium in private Spiritualist circles, in the UK

The séance commenced by the reading of a chapter from the New Testament by Mr. O'Sullivan, after which Mrs. Emma Hardinge rose and offered up a beautiful prayer. Loud raps followed, and the table moved towards Mrs. Everitt. We then sang, “I will arise.” The paper tube was taken up by the spirits and several of the sitters touched with it; it was then placed in my hands. A spirit voice said, “Good evening, Mr. Shorter!—good evening, dear Emma Hardinge! I know you and our medium are harmonious spirits; I am so pleased you are here.”

Question—“Could you tell us your wife's name?”

Answer—“Yes. Her name is Mercia, or Mercy. She left your world before she had any life in it. She left it at the age of six months, and is a pure spirit.”

Mrs. Hardinge here related a curious vision that appeared to her a few weeks previous, of an immense ship arriving in this country from America, bringing a number of American spirits.

The tube was then taken from me and placed in the hands of Mrs. Everitt and Mrs. Cooper. The spirit “John Watt” then addressing Mrs. Cooper, said, “I like to be near you; there is sympathy and affinity between us. You are something like my wife;—and there is my dear old mother” (addressing Mrs. Floyd).

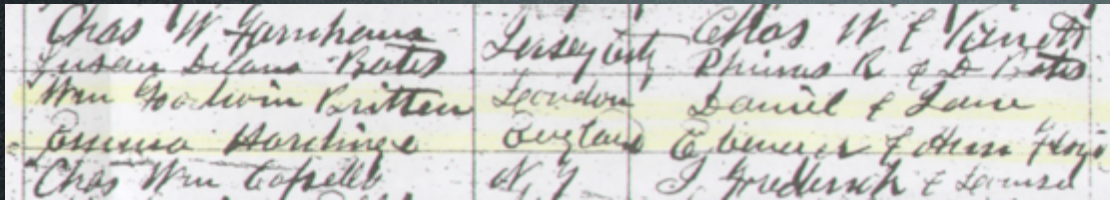
Question—“May she sit nearer the medium, as she is rather deaf and cannot hear you?”

Answer—“No ; I will speak louder presently: she looks so comfortable where she is.”

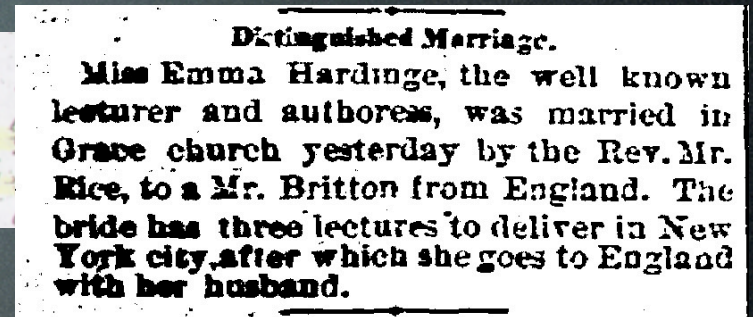
Catherine Berry, *My Experiences in Spiritualism* (1876)

Emma Hardinge and Thomas Shorter at a seance.

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety



Emma and William's Marriage Record - She is a widow, not a spinster



Jersey City (NJ) Gazette, October 13, 1870

- From 1867 until the end of 1869, Emma is traveling in Spiritual circles in and around London -- does she meet Marie, Duchesse de Pomar at this time?
- Emma returns to the US again, in late 1869, and is lecturing continually in the East through 1870
- The general belief has always been that she's moving back and forth across the Atlantic to arrange publication of Modern American Spiritualism...but she has an agent, Charles Edwards Lester, doing that for her...
- Her dedication for the first edition is dated December 15th, 1869, from "New York City, 229 East 60th Street"
- I suspect there was a more...powerful...reason for Emma's trips back and forth between England and the US during this period

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- William Godwin Britten
 - Born in London to Daniel, a goldsmith and Jane (or Elizabeth?), who named their son after a radical English philosopher
 - Came to the US in September of 1858, as a “gentleman” in cabin class on the steamer City of Washington
 - Became almost immediately involved in the Hatch scandal (rescuing Cora from BFH?)
 - May have worked in logistics during the 1860s in the US
- “William the Cipher” (Paul Johnson)



William Britten (1826-1894), photo circa 1878 (?)

Why does Emma marry William, at age 47?
And why in an Episcopal church?

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- Modern American Spiritualism was self-published, with high production values in the first edition, and went through between 6 and 12 printings between 1870 and 1872 -- perhaps 10,000 to 15,000 copies, in various states, with and without plates
- Distribution of the first edition in the US was through the Banner of Light, and her printer in NY, the American News Company
- In style, it was Emma through and through: “scissors and mucilage”
- Far and away, the most referenced of her work, and still treated as (accurate) history by many modern scholars



“Oress” by Henry Bielfeld (1802-1892),

WORKS BY EMMA HARDINGE.

MODERN AMERICAN SPIRITUALISM: a Twenty Years' Record of the Communion between Earth and the World of Spirits. In one volume, large octavo, of 600 pages, on fine toned paper. Bound in handsome cloth, bevelled edges. Superbly and profusely illustrated with fine portraits on steel, wood engravings, lithographs, &c. Price 15s.

Another edition on common paper and without steel portraits, with *Human Nature* for 1871. Both for 15s.

Another edition in 15 Numbers, price 10d. each. On common paper, but with all the plates and illustrations.

Various editions/states of MAS, offered in the UK in 1871

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

“Were we permitted to consider the volume before us as the veritable work of Mrs. Emma Hardinge, we should say that she was a lady of imperfect education, some cleverness, and a fine capacity for self-delusion....If we understand her, she professes that its pages have been inspired by [her] invisible guides. This being the case, we cannot but regret their deficiency in literary skill, and especially the art of coordination.”

The New York Times, January 24, 1870

“But if she is to be commended for the candour with which she admits the errors of indiscreet believers in Spiritualism and the warmth with which she denounces the impostures of knavish imitators of true mediums, Miss Hardinge is no less praiseworthy for the zeal with which she combats the infamous doctrine and abominable assertions of those blind leaders of the blind who delight in declaring that the blessed spirits, with all their elevations of tables and knocking at wainscots, never accomplish anything for the material advantage or any obvious good of humanity...”

The (London) Athenaeum, August 13, 1870

“It is a work which on many accounts we cannot recommend to the general reader....partly, no doubt, on account of the author’s style, which is but moderately attractive, partly on account of the lumbering and pretentious language in which it seems natural for spiritualistic writers to veil their conceptions, partly, again, from the great sameness which pervades the multitudinous manifestations which are recorded, and, once more, from the alternating monstrosity and childishness which characterizes these manifestations.”

The Month, October 1871

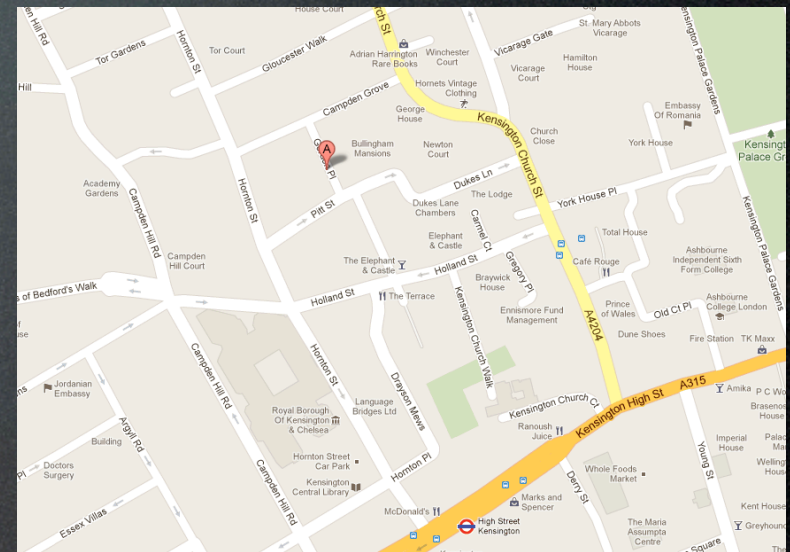
(ouch....)

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- On October 31, 1870, Emma gives a “farewell address” to the NY spiritualist community at Apollo Hall in NYC
- On 2 November 1870, EHB and WGB sail for England on the Abyssinia
- In the 1871 UK census, the extended menage is living in Kensington
 - Ann is the proper age -- as is Gilbert Wilkinson, Margaret’s husband -- but everyone else is telling fibs
 - Ann and William are “annuitants”, Emma is an “actress” (!!!)

251			Isabella Best	London	Woman	66
252	6 Vassal Ter 1		Ann F Lloyd	Head	W	38
			Emma Britten	Daughter	Mar	30
			Margaret Wilkinson	Daughter	Mar	30
			William Britten	Son in law	Mar	41
			Gilbert Wilkinson	Son in law	Mar	48
			Harriet Ware	Serv	Woman	37

Extended family at 6 Vassal Terrace, in Kensington, in 1871 UK Census



Approximate location of Vassal Terrace

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- From April through July of 1871, Emma is lecturing in the UK, on spiritualist topics
- On April 30, 1871, at Cleveland Hall, she delivers “The Creed of the Spirits, and the Influence of the Religion of Spiritualism”, which promulgates two of the founding dicta of organized Spiritualism: 10 Spiritual Commandments & 10 “Laws of Right”
- In July, Gerald Massey, JM Peebles and others bid farewell to Emma at St. George’s Hall, giving her some 300 pounds
- Her final lecture in the UK is in Liverpool, on **ancient magic and witchcraft**, on August 9, 1871

Ten Laws of Right

Temperance

Justice

Gentleness

Truth

Charity

Alms-Giving

Self-Sacrifice

Temperate Defense

Industry

Love

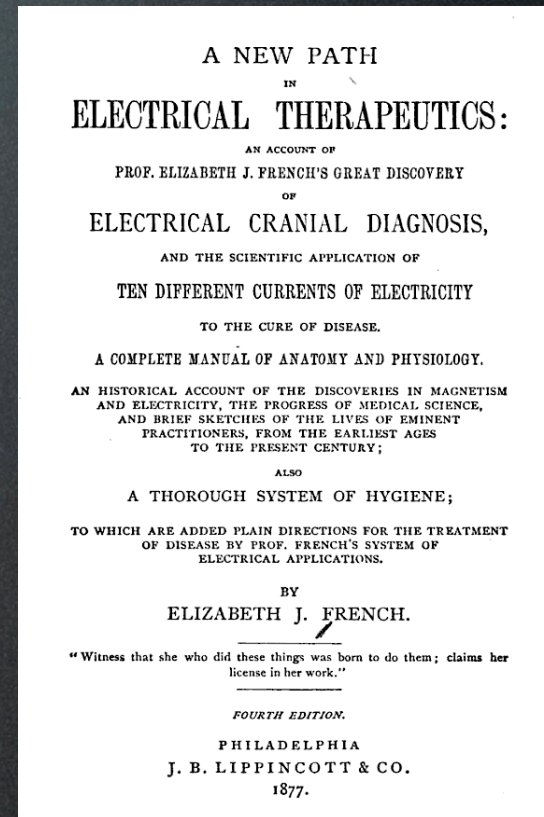
LIVERPOOL PSYCHOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
FAREWELL ORATION
BY
MRS. EMMA HARDINGE,
IN HOPE HALL, THIS DAY (FRIDAY), MAY 12,
AT EIGHT P.M.
Mrs. HARDINGE will speak upon subjects selected by the audience (not to exceed six) relating to Metaphysics, Psychology, or Spiritualism. Subjects to be written and handed to the chairman on his taking the chair. At the close of the address, rational questions will be answered.
Reserved Seats, 1s.; Back Seats, 6d. Tickets at Messrs. E. Hime and Son's, Church-street. 11my12

1865-1872: Transatlantic Notoriety

- Late 1871 to May of 1872 is a mystery period; William may be in school in Ohio with J. B. Campbell, but ASF is with them for at least part of this time
- Lecturing in Boston in May of 1872; public & Spiritualist; by early November of 1872, Emma is back in NY, lecturing before the NY Spiritualists at Apollo Hall, but she won't stay long
- In late November, she's in Boston, and lectures through January of 1873, then she's in Philadelphia where she lectures on physiology
- In April 1873, she delivers "Is Spiritualism A Failure?" at the Music Hall in Boston: implies she is leaving the movement
- Later in the year, an interesting set of advertisements begin to run in the Boston area papers



The old allies, practicing "electrical cranial diagnosis"



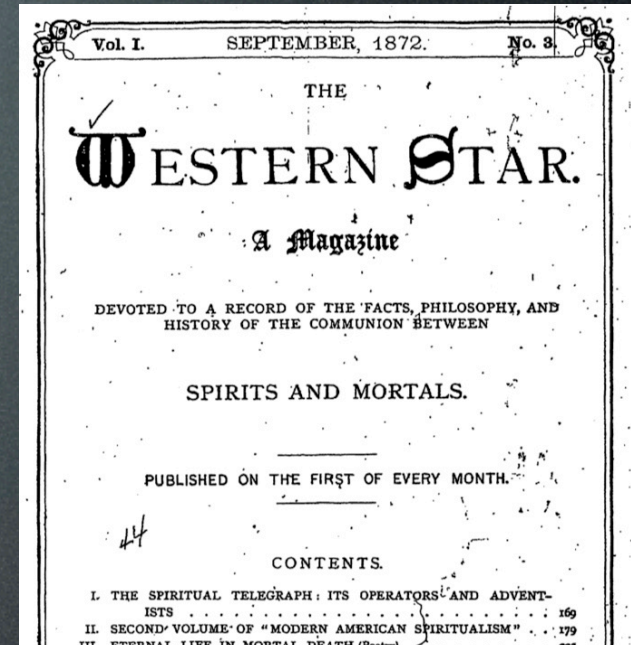
Section 6

1872-1875

The Electric Physician

1872-1875: The Electric Physician

- In July of 1872, Emma begins publishing The Western Star
- It will run for only six months, its funders hit hard by the Boston Fire of November 1872
- Today, it is chiefly noteworthy for two things:
 - Fragmentary publication of the promised second volume of Modern American Spiritualism
 - The first publication of sections of the first volume of Ghost Land, as (at that time) by “Austria”
- All pseudonymous, with evidence of collaborators



“GHOST LAND;” OR, RESEARCHES INTO THE MYSTERIES OF SPIRITUAL EXISTENCE.

BY AUSTRIA.

NO. II.

“To be, or not to be; that is the question.”

HAMLET.

It is a phenomenon worthy of remark, that as the circle of our earthly existence tends towards the closing lines which unite the last days of old age with the first of extreme youth, the memory of our earliest experiences assumes a distinctness scarcely less vivid than the events of yesterday. The crowded page, overwritten by the hand of our manhood's prime, fades into a confused mass of ideality, from which nothing less than a strong cord of association can recall well-defined images; but the first and last become concrete and inséparable memories, and the events of our second childhood seem to take their

1872-1875: The Electric Physician

- The first serial publication of Ghost Land (Volume 1) differs from the book-length publication of 1876
 - Characters' names change (slightly)
 - The text is otherwise modified
- “Sirius” -- who will one day be conflated with the author of Ghost Land and Art Magic -- is a separate pseudonymous contributor at this time
- We will return to this issue -- Art Magic, Ghost Land, and the author(s) thereof -- in the next section

1872-1875: The Electric Physician

- From January of 1873 until mid-1875, Emma and William are, as far as can be determined, plying their new trade as electric physicians
- She is still lecturing (with J. M. Peebles, among others) on spiritualist and medical topics, during this period
- She bids a formal farewell to Spiritualism in Boston, in April of 1873 in an anti-reincarnationist, anti-free-love, anti-Woodhull lecture -- but doesn't leave the rostrum entirely

LECTURES.

—DR. LORD'S LECTURES.—The eleventh lecture of Dr. Lord's excellent historical course will be delivered at Horticultural Hall at noon to-morrow, on "Lord Bacon and the Inductive Philosophy." The lecture on Friday, on "Queen Elizabeth," was the theme of general admiration, and that to-morrow we can promise will be equally entertaining and instructive, and full of suggestions for the student of English literature and philosophical readers generally.

—THE PHYSIOLOGY OF COMMON LIFE.—Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten will deliver a course of physiological lectures at Cosmopolitan Hall, Broad and Arch streets, commencing to-morrow afternoon. Subject—"Man, the Microcosm."

Philadelphia Inquirer, February 10, 1873

"Man the Microcosm"... occult, or homeopathic?

Medical Notices.

THE WONDERFUL
Electrical Cranial Diagnosis,
 Or the method of detecting disease with infallible precision on the Cranium through Electricity, pronounced to be the greatest scientific discovery of the age.
 Mr. W. M. BRITTEN and Mrs. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN,
 Electric Physicians, 152 West Brookline street, Boston.

DR. WALKER, Physician and Surgeon,
 No. 25 Green Street, Boston.
 Gives his special attention to the treatment of all diseases of the Kidneys, Bladder and Urinary system. Kidney diseases are fast being alarmingly prevalent. Nephritis, Dropsy, and all forms of disease carry off multitudes of victims yearly. The majority of Kidney Complaints are brought on through a want of knowledge of Physiological Laws and the use of stimulating drugs. Dr. Walker's remedies for these diseases are the finest curatives ever offered to the public. They not only cure a person but will cleanse the system of infectious medicines poisoning the blood and secretions. Try them all! You will never taste the breath-smiting mixture of Kabbath Coparra, Colicte Bichn etc., which frequently injure those delicate plan as the Kidneys. Microscopic and other tests made to detect the above diseases.

THE GREAT
FRENCH ELECTRICAL CURE.
 Every form of disease, however heretofore or acute, treated with my small-led success by Mr. W. M. BRITTEN and Mrs. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, Electric Physicians, 152 West Brookline street. Hours from 9 to 5. A few pupils received.

Boston Journal, January 6, 1874

PARKER-MEMORIAL
ENTERTAINMENTS.
 Corner Berkeley and Appleton streets.
SUNDAY EVENING, Dec. 7, at 7½ o'clock,
Mrs. Dr. Emma Hardinge-Britten,
WITH LECTURE ON
"The Physiological Wonders of the Human
Structure.
 Illustrated with a superb MANIKIN and MODELS.
 Tickets, 25 cents—at Ditson & Co.'s, and the door.

Boston Daily Globe, December 6, 1873

ABOUT TOWN.

The Rev. Dr. Bliss, president of the Protestant college at Beirut, with his wife, is in this city.

The Rev. Frank H. Morris is to deliver the lecture in the Temperance Album course next Sunday night.

Subscriptions for the erection of a new building for the Harvard Medical School already amount to \$75,000.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary will be held at 60 State street, at eleven o'clock today.

Mr. L. W. Derby has been appointed deputy collector of taxes for Charlestown, and has opened an office in the old city hall building.

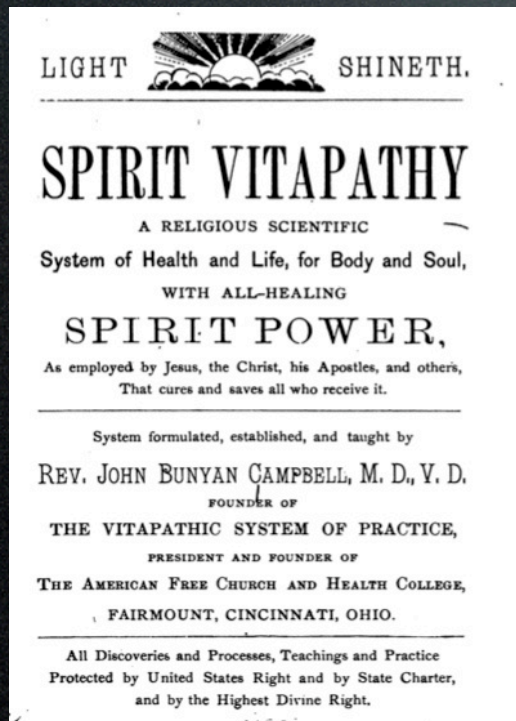
Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten gives a free lecture on "Medical Electricity," in the Parker Memorial Hall tonight.

The raspberry bushes in the garden of Mr. Martin Fay, Washington park, have borne a second crop.

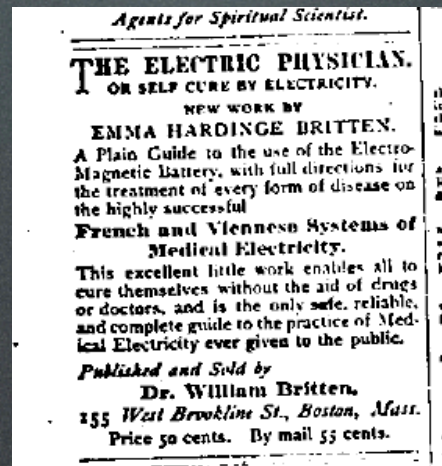
Boston Daily Advertiser, October 29, 1874

1872-1875: The Electric Physician

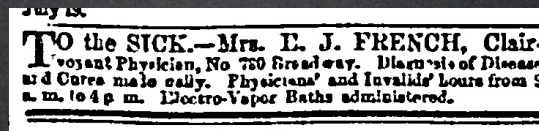
- Her galvanic medical practice was closely associated with (a) Spirit Vitapathy, as practiced by John Bunyan Campbell and (b) cranial diagnosis via electricity, as practiced by Elizabeth J. French
 - The “French System”



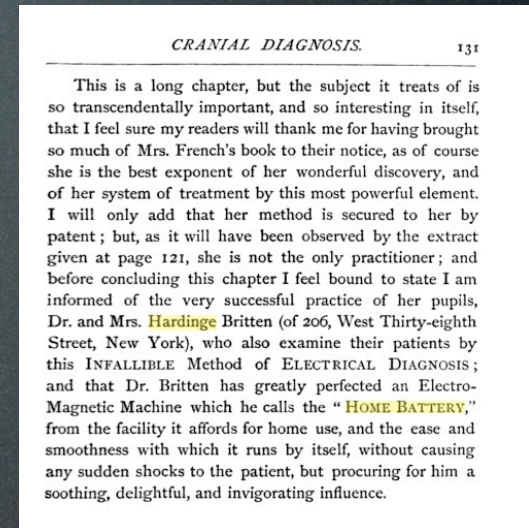
JC Bunyan's central work



Advertisement in March of 1875
in *The Spiritual Scientist*



EJ French, advertising similar treatment
in New York, in 1856



Marie, Countess of Caithness,
Old Truths In A New Light (1876)

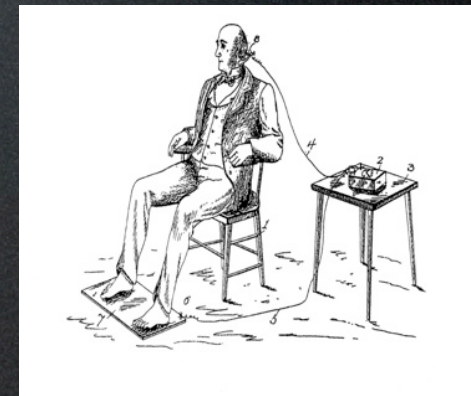
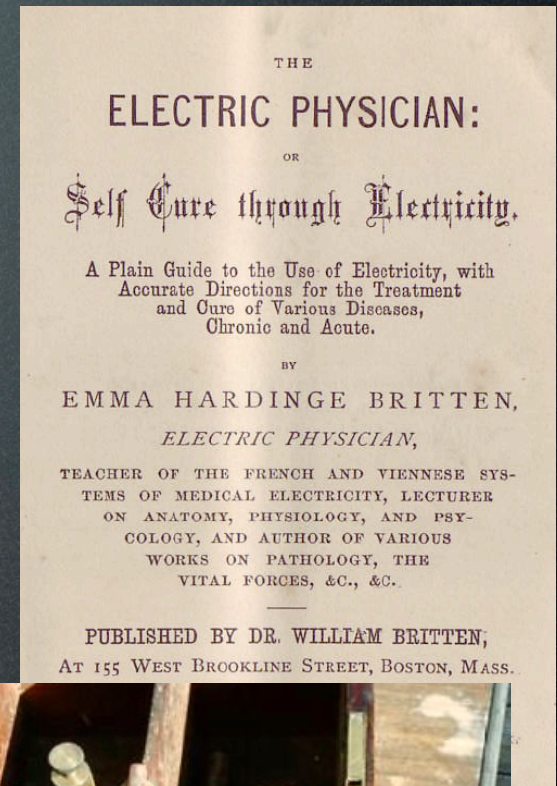


Illustration from a JC Bunyan Patent
(606887)

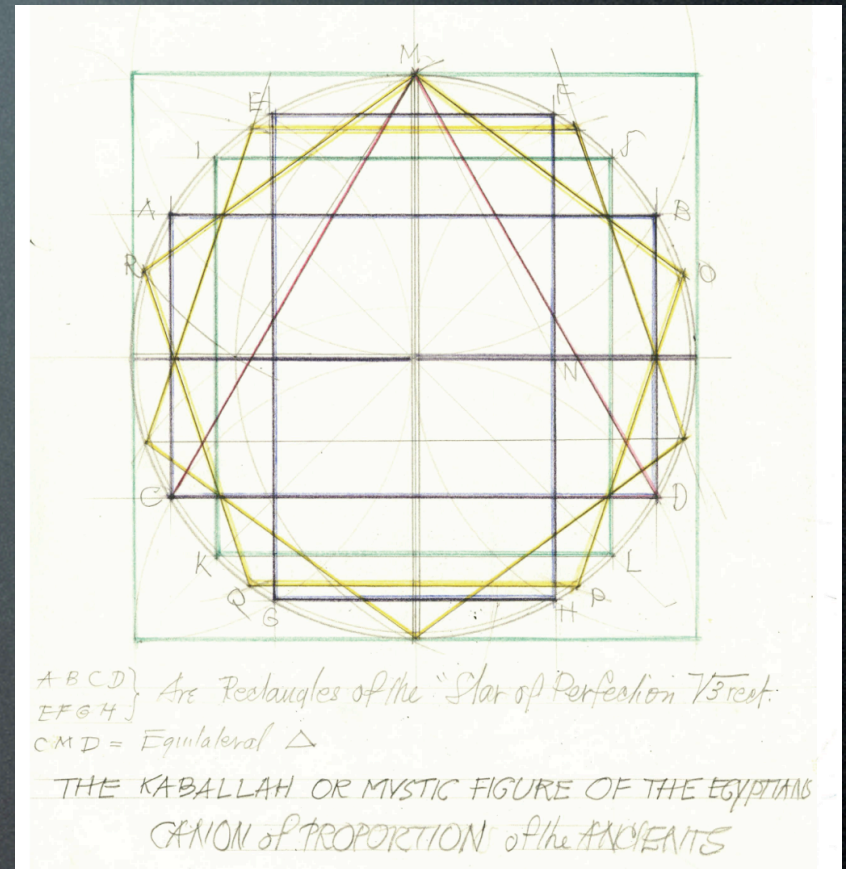
1872-1875: The Electric Physician

- The publication of The Electric Physician, or Self-Cure Through Electricity (1875) is coincident with Emma's return, in a very public way, to the pages of Spiritualist periodicals
 - “Self-cure” -- is she **scorching the galvanic-medicine earth** with the book?
- Beginning in September of 1875, Emma and William are advertising their galvanic medicine practice in NY
 - They have moved... why?



1872-1875: The Electric Physician

- By the fall of 1875, Emma has become connected (or re-connected) with Henry Steel Olcott
- On September 7, 1875, an inventor and self-taught mathematician named George Henry Felt delivers a lecture on the Greek canon of proportion, in Blavatsky's rooms, before Emma, William, HSO, HPB and others...
- In the winter of 1875, she is arranging rooms for Helena Blavatsky in New York City, while loaning Olcott her skrying crystal
- And Emma's world is changed, irremediably, once again.



In 2011, a team of researchers from different disciplines have traced what remains of George Henry Felt's The Egyptian Kaballah up through the later 1940s.

This is a copy of one of the plates from Felt's work, made by Claude Bragdon and/or Viola de Gruchy from Felt's materials, and currently in the Bragdon collection at the University of Rochester.

Felt claimed that, on the basis of his research and findings, he was able, at will, to **conjure elementary spirits**.

Section 7

1875-1877

Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

- October 1875

New York Herald Tribune
October 2, 1875
Page 8

G. W. CARLETON & Co., Publishers, New York.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ADVANCED THINKERS and STUDENTS OF OCCULT SCIENCE. ART MAGIC; OR, MUNDANE, SUPER-MUNDANE, AND SUB-MUNDANE SPIRITISM. The subscription list to this magnificent work is still open, and a few more names can yet be received. This will be the first, and it is believed only publication in existence which will give an authentic and practical description of **art magic**, natural magic, modern spiritism, the different orders of spirits in the universe related to or in communication with man, together with directions for invoking, controlling, and discharging spirits, and the uses and abuses, dangers and possibilities of magical art. Circulars of this rare book, with the conditions of publication, &c., will be sent on application to the Secretary,

Mrs. BRITTEN,
206 West Thirty eighth st., New York.

NEW BOOKS

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS.

RESOLVED, That this Convention recognize the PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY as the established organ of the entire trade, and recommend it to publishers as the medium through which they should make their "first announcement" of books they propose to publish, and the full title of all books immediately on publication.—AMERICAN BOOK TRADE ASSOCIATION.

J. W. BOUTON, New-York.

Monumental Christianity; or, The Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church as Witnesses and Teachers of the One Catholic Faith and Practice. By John P. Lundy, Presbyter. With over 200 illustrations throughout the text, and several large folding plates. 1 vol. Demy 4". pp. 500. \$7.50; hlf. mor., \$10; full mor. or tree calf, \$15. (Nov. 1.)

EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, 206 West 38th street, New-York.

****Art Magic**; or, Mundane, Super-Mundane, and Sub-Mundane Spiritism. \$5. (500 copies.)

J. H. COATES & CO., Philadelphia.

The First Volume of the English translation of "L'Histoire de la Guerre Civile en Amerique." By M. le Comte de Paris. 8". With maps and battle-plans.

Amateur Trapper and Trap-Maker's Guide. By Stanley Harding. Large 16". Bds., 75 c.; pap., 50 c. (Oct.)

PORTER & COATES, Phila.

The American Centenary. By Benson J. Lossing. With nearly one hundred engravings on steel.

Losing Game. By Mrs. Bloomfield H. Moore. (International Series of Novels.)

A. D. F. RANDOLPH & CO., New-York.

Lessons at the Cross.

The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth; or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England, from the Reign of Edward the Sixth to the Death of the Queen. By Samuel Hopkins. With an introductory Note by Mark Hopkins, D.D.

A. WILLIAMS & CO., Boston.

Publishers' Weekly
October 9, 1875
p. 558

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

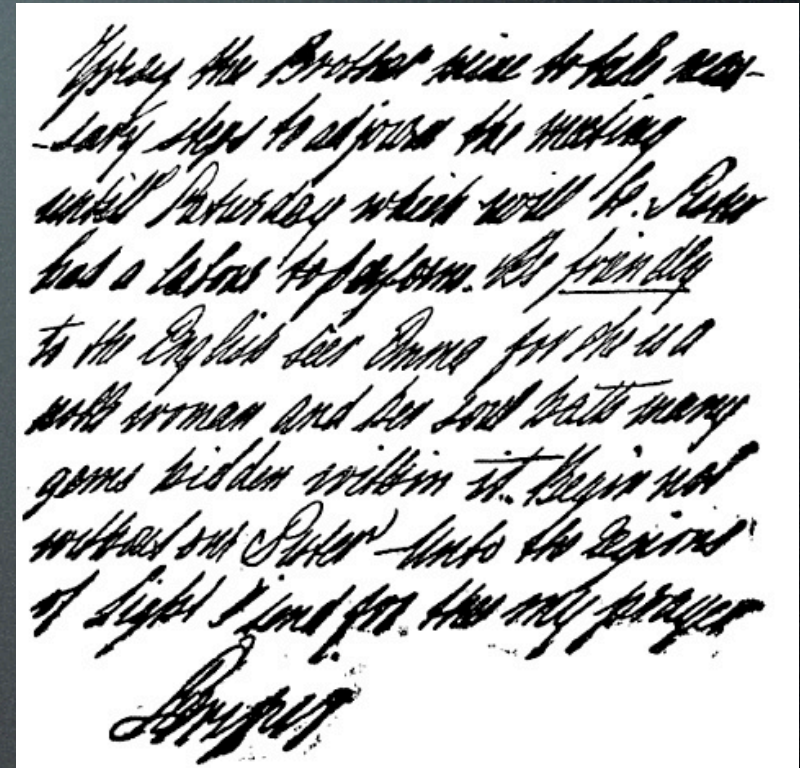
Our enemies profit to this day by our mistakes...
The cycle of “Adepts,” used as sledge-hammers
to break the theosophical heads with, began twelve
years ago with Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten’s “Louis” of
Art Magic and Ghost-Land [sic], and now ends with
the “Adept” and “Author” of The Light of Egypt....

HPB, The Key to Theosophy (1889)

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

- That there was a rivalry between HPB and EHB is certain -- from EHB's perspective at least
- I believe Art Magic was a product of that rivalry
- It is a curious fact that HPB was singularly gentle, kind and complementary toward EHB, at least in public and in print, throughout her life
- And it is a curious fact that EHB waited until HPB was dead to savage her
- Neither Judge nor Olcott had much respect for Emma, in spite of Serapis' plea to Olcott....

Serapis to HSO, Fall of 1875



I pray thee, Brother mine, to take necessary steps to adjourn the meeting untill Saturday which will be. Sister (that is, HPB) has a labour to perform. Be friendly to the English seer Emma for she is a noble woman and her soul hath many gems hidden within it. Begin not without our Sister. Unto the regions of Light I send for thee my prayer.

Serapis

I pray thee, Brother mine, to take necessary steps to adjourn the meeting untill (sic) Saturday which will be. Sister (that is, HPB) has a labour to perform. Be friendly to the English seer Emma for she is a noble woman and her soul hath many gems hidden within it. Begin not without our Sister. Unto the regions of Light I send for thee my prayer.

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

- Art Magic (1876)
- Extremely odd circumstances of publication, even given the subject matter and historical period
- The first textbook of the (first) Theosophical Society?
- A race against HPB?
- The second work (in terms of publication history) by the author of Ghost Land?

An European gentleman, now sojourning in the United States of America for a brief season, gives notice to all thinkers interested in spiritual existence, or occult science, that having spent 40 years in the practical and theoretical study of **art magic**, partly acquired in the East and West Indies, Egypt and Arabia, and partly studied out from rare and almost unattainable works in France, Germany, Bohemia, the British dominions, &c., he is now prepared to share the fruit of his labours and researches with a few interested and worthy students, and for this purpose he will publish a work under conditions which he cannot change or transgress; these are:—

“1st.—The work in question cannot become a marketable commodity, but may be exchanged for a ratio of the cost of publication.

“2nd.—The work may be published for limited distribution in any country where a sufficient number of students are found to ensure the cost of publication.

“3rd.—The requisite number of subscribers being obtained, a protective copyright is to prevent any further publication.

“4th.—The work is not to be published or sold by any professional firm, nor submitted for review to professional critics.

“5th.—After the requisite number of copies are drawn off to defray the expense of publication, the types, plates, vignettes, &c., are to be cancelled utterly.”

These are the five conditions under which the publisher feels compelled to issue his work, and without the limitations of which it will never see the light. To these he adds the following stipulations of his own:—

He will give no name, token of identity, nor personal response of any kind to enquirers.

He will publish only through a friend. The friend selected has accepted the office of medium for the work, and is Emma Hardinge-Britten.

All subscriptions are to be paid for only according to the custom of the country, C. O. D., but the promises of the subscribers are to be sent, with name and address, during the next three months, to the author's secretary, *pro tem.*, Emma Hardinge Britten, 206, West 38th Street, New York.

The work will be entitled **Art Magic; or Mundane, Sub-Mundane, and Super-Mundane Spiritism.**

This will be the first, and it is believed only publication in existence which will give an authentic and practical description of **art magic**, natural magic, Modern Spiritism, the different orders of spirits in the Universe known to be related to, or in communication with man; together with directions for invoking controlling, and discharging spirits, and the uses and abuses, dangers and possibilities of magical art.

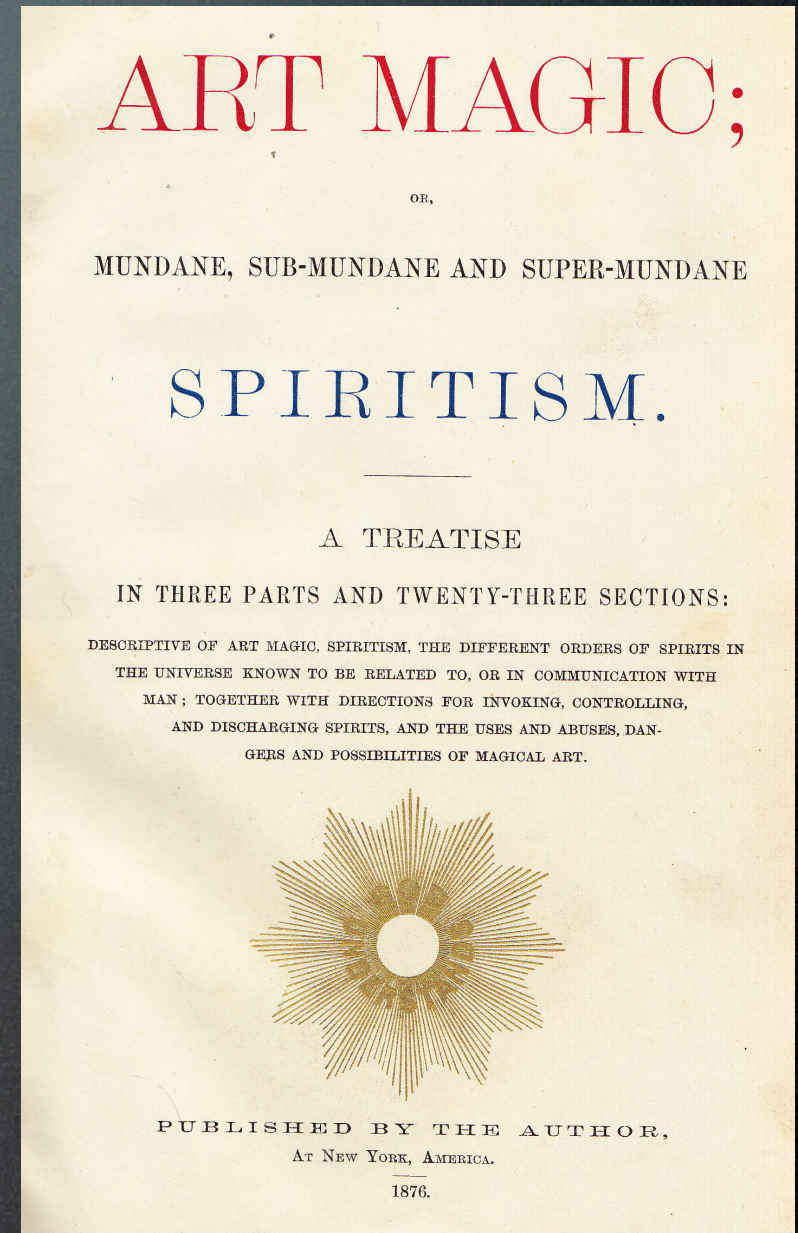
Signed for the author and publisher,

EMMA HARDINGE-BRITTEN, Secretary, *pro tem.*

“By magnetism the imponderable, all-pervading life element termed Astral fluid is communicated from one body to another. By psychology the power of one mind subjugates and controls that of another, and it is in these two spheres of operation that all the marvels of magic transpire.”

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

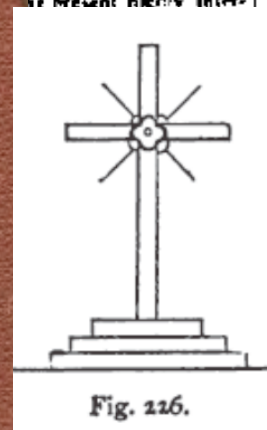
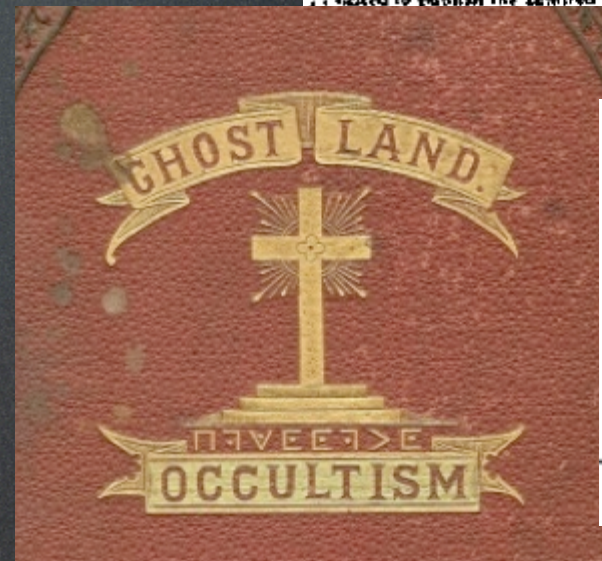
- Art Magic (1876) -- a melange of disguised material from other sources
- Knit together with an overriding metaphor: magnetism and psychology are the twin pillars of the temple of Spiritism -- the (Masonic) temple of Spiritism
- The book bears some structural resemblance to Melville's Moby-Dick (1851) -- it begins as one book (anthropology and history of religions), but ends as quite a different book (practical occultism)
- Nevertheless, the book is a bellwether in the renaissance of western occultism, and widely....mined...by succeeding generations of occultists, including the HBoFL



1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

- Art Magic is in the hands of its US subscribers in January (?) of 1876, and its European subscribers in April, after which Emma and William return to Boston (and begin advertising their galvanic medical practice again)
- And Ghost Land (the first of two promised volumes) arrives, hot on its heels, in November of 1876
- GL is now more than just a collection of provocative stories about various occult practices -- it represents the bona fides of the author of Art Magic.
- Louis de B_____, the protagonist of Ghost Land, is the author of Art Magic

The Spiritual Scientist, November 23, 1876



Jennings, 1871

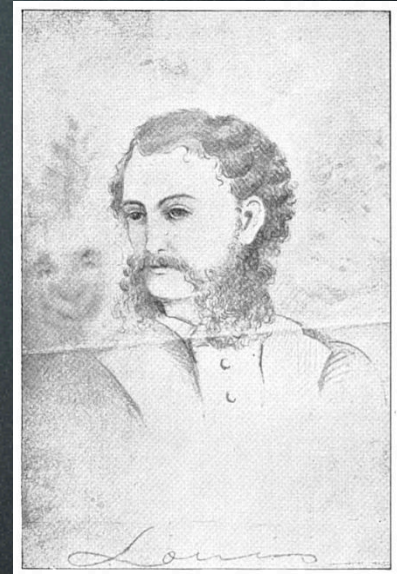
The Jennings Rose Cross and the Mark Mason Cipher on the cover of the first edition of Ghost Land

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

- Who was Louis De B_____?
- Who wrote Ghost Land?
- Marie, Countess of Caithness is on her honeymoon with her second husband, Earl Caithness, his daughter, and her son, the Duc de Medina Pomar, in the US, from October 1872 until April of 1873
- MCC meets with both Elizabeth J. French and Emma during this visit, and Emma's acquaintance with her may date back to the late 1860s in London...
- If Emma had a collaborator, was it the young Duc?
- And was the young Duc just a cut-out for Caithness herself?

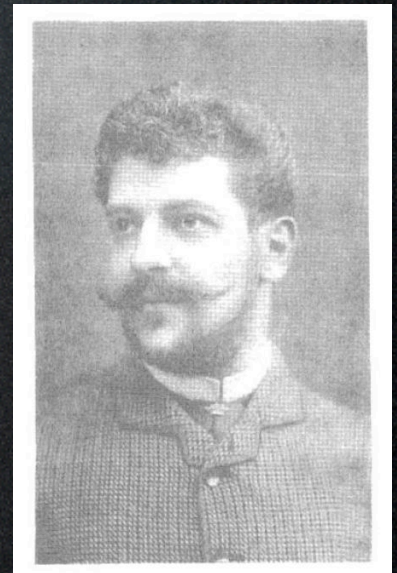
"I knew it only represented our poor sufferer as he then was, not as he generally appears, still he entreated me to send it as it was for his Madonna (emphasis original) -- as he calls you -- because he had made such a great exertion to have it taken, and only for you."

EHB to MCC, discussing a drawing of Louis e B_____, as transcribed in HSO's Old Diary Leaves.



DUPLICATE OF THE PRETENDED PORTRAIT OF "CHEVALIER LOUIS," PHENOMENALLY PRODUCED.

HPB's drawing of Louis De B_____



The Duc de Medina Pomar, novelist, son of Marie, Countess of Caithness

1875-1877: Emma Hardinge Britten, Occultist

- In January of 1877, Emma begins a series of lectures based on Art Magic, in Boston; they run from January through March and are well-attended and spirited. Emma does not always defend the positions taken by the author of Art Magic
- In May, the Theosophical Society buries Baron de Palm, and Emma participates (and Olcott is disgusted with her, I think)
- In September, Emma and William are in Cleveland, and then Salt Lake City, "on her way to California"
- They take ship for Sydney, Australia on the steamer City of Sydney in late January 1878, and arrive there on February 15..... to almost instant controversy.

Boston Daily Advertiser, January 15, 1877

READINGS ON SPIRITUAL SCIENCE
A series of Sunday evening readings and discussions on "Spiritual Science" was opened in the New Era hall, 174 Tremont street, last evening, conducted by Mrs. **Emma Hardinge Britten**. The readings are to be, according to the announcement, from a "rare and celebrated work recently published and now translated into Russian, German and Hindostanee, entitled "Art Magic." As the title indicates, the book deals with the philosophy of spiritualism going down to the foundation principles and showing the relation of ancient magic to modern spiritualism. The particular topic of last evening was the "Rosicrucian theory of the solar universe," the substance of which, as far as the meaning could be gleaned from the somewhat vague and mythical expressions in which it was set forth, that spirit antedates matter the soul antedates the body. After reading from the book, Mrs. **Britten** made a short address and gave the subject to the meeting for discussion. Speakers were not wanting, but the discussion rather wandered from the special topic, as perhaps was natural, considering its deep and transcendental nature. Judge Ladd, Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Weatherbee and other spiritualists, including a lady, participated, and most of the subjects which engage the minds of modern thinkers were touched upon. Evolution, Darwinism, the nature and relations of matter and forces, and even "prenatal influences," were made to have some bearing on the subject. One gentleman—Mr. Gillespie—had the hardihood to suggest that it would be more profitable for the meeting to discuss the questions what made men so bad, and

are very satisfactory."

EMMA HARDINGE-BRITTEN IN CALIFORNIA.

Mrs. **Emma Hardinge-Britten** gave a splendid address to a crowded audience last evening at Pacific Hall on "The Spiritual Origin and Destiny of the Human Race." Concerning the value of her theories we must leave the Darwinians and their opponents to be the judges, but there can be no question as to the brilliancy of her oratory, the magnetic effect she produces upon her listeners, and the vast range of information she brings to bear upon every subject she touches. **Emma Hardinge-Britten** is truly a phenomenon, of whom her spiritualistic allies may be justly proud. Her Sunday services are well conducted and crowded by a respectable and intelligent class of listeners.—*San Francisco Chronicle*.

The aristocratic wing of the San Francisco Spiritualists are evidently jubilant over the success of their free meetings at Pacific Hall. Whether the large audiences who attend on the ministry of their renowned oracle, Mrs. **Emma Hardinge-Britten**, are attracted by her brilliant oratory, or merely because they can hear fine lectures, with nothing to pay, remains to be proved. Certain it is, that this lady's tone of generous sympathy, pure morality, and sound logic, are doing much to redeem her cause from the well-deserved odium in which it was held before her coming to the city.—*Daily Evening Post*.

Medium & Daybreak, February 1, 1878

Section 8

1877-1881

Itinerant Propagandist

1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist

- In general, Emma is doing her standard missionary work in Australia and New Zealand
- But her work is becoming tinged with politics, and with a strong “anti-churchianity” (as Peebles had it) flavor
- And the Hatch scandal has followed her to Australia, professionally and personally
- The papers -- and many of her comrades, it appears -- are unkind
- And she is followed around by debunkers, from city to city, throughout her sojourn down under

Sydney Morning Herald, February 28, 1878

LECTURES.
TEMPERANCE HALL,
PITT-STREET.

Mrs. EMMA HARDINGE-BRITTEN
will speak in the above place, on FRIDAY EVENING
next, 1st March.

On this occasion, Mrs. BRITTEN will deliver brief
INSPIRATIONAL ADDRESSES on six (6) SUBJECTS
CHOSEN BY THE AUDIENCE.

The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock.
Front seats, 2s; second ditto, 1s. Doors open at 7.15

MORE SPIRITUALISTIC HUMBBUG.

The spiritualists of Sydney have another star lecturer on hand. This time a lady—Mrs. Hardinge-Britten, who professes, like Walker, to give her discourses by the aid of spirits, but who puts Walker completely in the shade; and, unlike that remarkable individual, does not lecture with her eyes shut. Still she claims to be inspired by spirits. Mrs. Britten is not unknown to fame. Some of her writings are to be seen in the Sydney School of Arts. She is a woman whose classic brow has been furrowed by some fifty or sixty winters, and she seems good for another half a century at least, to judge by her present appearance, which is remarkably masculine and commanding. I should imagine her to be able to eclipse the veritable Mrs. Candler herself at curtain lecturing, with or without the aid of spirits, ardent or otherwise. Mrs. Britten stands about 5 feet 10 in her Hessians, and is the reverse of slender. Her manner in delivering her exhortations is intensely tragic, and frequently bombastic. She would, I should judge, play “Lady Macbeth” in a style that would do credit to a Siddons or a Ristori, for she is unquestionably a fine actress. I happened to be present at one of her discourses—“inspirational lectures,” she calls them—and was partly amused, partly pained at the way in which she played upon the feelings of the weaker portion of her audience. It was a death-bed scene she

Brisbane Courier, March 9, 1878

LECTURES.

MADAME LOTTIE WILMOT, Town-hall, Newtown, THIS (Friday) EVENING, April 5, under the patronage and presence of the Mayor and Aldermen. Admission, 2s and 1s.

THEATRE ROYAL.—SUNDAY EVENING LECTURE, “Science v. Spiritism,” by Professor HAMILTON. Entire fraud of Spiritism in Sydney exposed. Complete portraits of Walker, Lady Mediums, Madame Von Halle, and Mrs. Britten given; their impostures explained, tricks revealed upon scientific principles. 1s, 6d, 3d.

TEMPERANCE Hall.—Monday next, Readings from Dickens, Mark Twain, The Wasp, &c. 2s, 1s 6d, 1s.

TWENTY P’s “Parliament, Pulpit, Press, and Platform.”

Sydney Morning Herald, April 5, 1878

1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist

- For the majority of 1878, Emma is lecturing either in Sydney or in Melbourne, with brief stops in between, alternating with Thomas Walker, another notable Spiritualist propagandist and controversy magnet (who's not happy she's there)
- She is also conducting (advertised) private lessons in practical occultism
- And she is publishing a raft of material, including The Faiths, Facts & Frauds of Religious History, the third major work in her philosophical trajectory
- But she's tilled the ground perhaps too well by December of 1878...nevertheless, she and William remain in Australia until April of 1879

VICTORIA THEATRE,
Pitt-street.
On **TUESDAY EVENING**, the 24th instant,
Prior to his departure for Melbourne,
Mr. THOMAS WALKER,
By Special Request
has consented either to deliver (in the Trance State) a **SUPPLEMENTARY LECTURE**, or, at the option of the audience, to **ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS** relating to **SPIRITUALISM** that may be put by a committee of twelve then to be chosen.
Subject (if a lecture be required) :
SPIRITUALIST SYMPATHY WITH THE UNCONVINCED.
The Honorable **J. BOWIE WILSON** will preside.
Dress Circle, 3s; Stalls and Upper Circle, 2s; Pit, 1s.
Doors open at 7.30. Chair taken at 8.

N.B.—REUNION OF LIBERALS AND CONVERSAZIONE,
COMPLIMENTARY TO MR. WALKER,
MASONIC HALL, WEDNESDAY, 25th instant, 8 p.m.
See also "Amusements."
Mrs. HARDINGE-BRITTEN will be present and deliver a short address.
Tickets can be obtained of Messrs. Turner and Henderson, 16, Hunter-st.; Nicholson and Ascherberg, 317, George-st.; Kirby, 280, Pitt-st.; Summerfield, 283, Pitt-st.; Ward, 337, Pitt-st.; Skinner, 65, Market-st.; Eames, 14, Oxford-st.; and Thomas, 30, Oxford-st. Single, 2s 6d; lady and gentleman's, 4s.

Sydney Morning Herald, September 23, 1878

Price One Penny.

LATEST EUROPEAN TELEGRAMS
Latest Interecolonial Telegrams
Provincial Telegrams.
See THE ECHO, Afternoon Newspaper.

TRUTH; or how **Mrs. HARDINGE BRITTEN**
"Opened her Mouth and put her Foot in it," at the Opera House, Melbourne. By ECHO, 6d. To be had of COLE, MADDOCK, REYNOLDS, READING, and SANDON.

NEW MUSIC ADVANCE AUSTRALIAN

Sydney Morning Herald, December 3, 1878

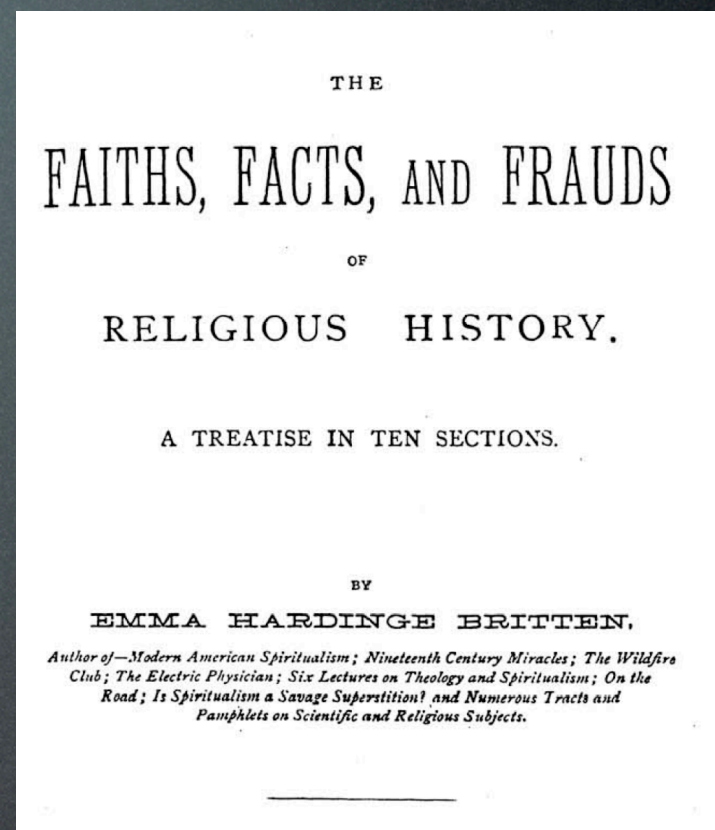
1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist

- Faiths, Facts & Frauds (Melbourne, 1879) is Art Magic's comparative religions material, rewritten
 - And notably with source attributions, for the first time
- It is the text EHB had republished most during her own life, which means something...

Granted that modern discoveries, by disinterring the tombs of ancient faiths, **entirely strip Christianity of her arrogant claim to divine favour**, through an original and special revelation; the problematical question still remains as to whence arose the primeval ideas upon which all theological systems are founded?

To remove the source from Judea to Egypt, and from thence back to ancient India, or even to trace its threads of ideality to the still more antique conceptions of the wandering Aryan, is only to complicate the difficulty, and shift the ground plan, without explaining the significance of the primal legend. **Why, then, do we fear to advance to the mysterious shrine wherein the veiled "Demiurgus" sits enthroned, and boldly question its nature, personality, and right to rule?**

EHB, Faiths, Facts and Frauds



LIST OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED IN THIS VOLUME.

Mons. Dupuis, Father Kircher, Mr. Bryant, Godfrey Higgins, General Hitchcock, J. F. Stewart, Count Volney, Rev. Robert Taylor, Mons. Baillie, Sir Wm. Jones, Messrs. Vale, Colebrooke, Kersey Graves, Middleton, Revs. W. Maurice and Faber, Bishops Faustus and Fell, Ovid, Berosus, Manetho, Mrs. L. M. Child, Basnage, Grotius, Gibbon, M.M. Denon, Daillee, Cassini, Colonel Wilsford, Humboldt, and Forbes.

The sources for Faiths, Facts and Frauds (and Art Magic, as well)

1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist

- In April, Emma and William arrive in Dunedin, on the South Island of New Zealand -- which is at the time quite cosmopolitan and free-thinking....and adversarial
- Emma is guarded, on stage, by William, during some of her lectures on free-thought topics
- She is also involved in the lives of the communities she visits (schools, funerals, openings)
- Dunedin --> Invercargill (June) --> Dunedin (July, August) --> Nelson (September) --> Wellington (October) --> Nelson (October) --> Auckland (November): following the money
- Emma and William leave for San Francisco, from Auckland, on December 11, 1879

LADY LECTURER.—Mrs Hardinge Britten, the spiritualistic lecturer made her *debut* in Dunedin at the Princess Theatre on Sunday night last, selecting for her subject "foot prints of angels."—The Theatre was crowded. The Dunedin Times says:—Her oratory is of a most pleasing and effective description, and there have been few public speakers before Dunedin audiences possessing so polished and cultivated an elocutionary style. She has an earnest manner, without being impassioned, and a clear, strong, well-toned voice. She uses her arms and outspread hands to a considerable extent in enforcing and bringing out the points of her subject, and moves occasionally from one part of the platform to another. Once during the lecture there was a hiss, when Mrs Britten stopped and said: 'The addresses are only delivered on condition of perfect order. This is our church, and we expect you to show the same respect in it as in your own church.' These remarks were received with applause, and the lecture proceeded without any further interruption of a like kind."

Southland Times, April 23, 1879

MRS. HARDINGE BRITTEN,
The Celebrated Inspirational Speaker and
Authoress, will
**LECTURE AT THE ATHENÆUM HALL,
ON WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT,
THE 17TH INSTANT.
Doors open at 7.30. Commence at 8.**
Subject to be chosen by the audience. Provided
no acceptable subject is submitted,
the subject will be—
**POPULAR ASTRONOMY; OR, THE
WONDERS OF THE SIDEREAL
HEAVENS.**
Questions relative to the subject answered at
close of Lecture.
Admission—Front Seats, 2s; Back Seats, 1s.
Tickets to be had at Mr. Bonnington's
Music Store, and at N. Jacob's, Athenæum
Bazaar.

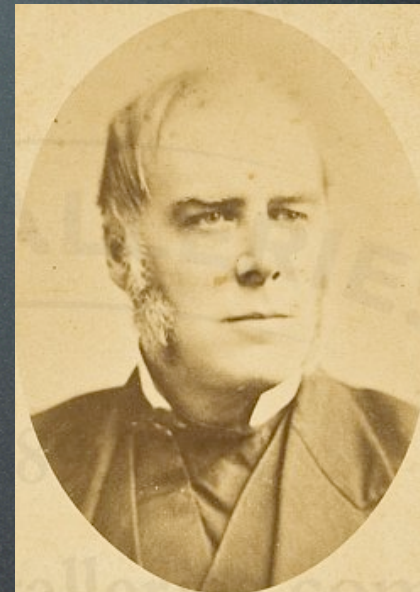
Nelson Evening Post, October 17, 1879

1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist

- From January through May of 1880, Emma is deeply involved, it appears, in practical occult experiments, in San Francisco, with Albert van der Naillen and others
- In May, Emma and William set off for New York, stopping only (as far as can be determined) in Salt Lake City and Ohio
- From July 1880 through October 1880, Emma is lecturing in NY
- And then, the Tanner incident, on August 15th
 - Ironically, during a lecture on the core subject matter of her body of work

AT REPUBLICAN HALL, 33D ST. AND BROADWAY.
Spiritual meetings; Emma Hardinge Britten lectures
Sunday morning, 11, "Magnetism and Psychology;" even-
ing, 7:45, "Why Does Not God Kill the Devil?"

Emma's fateful mis-step, during "Magnetism & Psychology,"
on August 15, 1880



Henry S. Tanner (1831-1919)

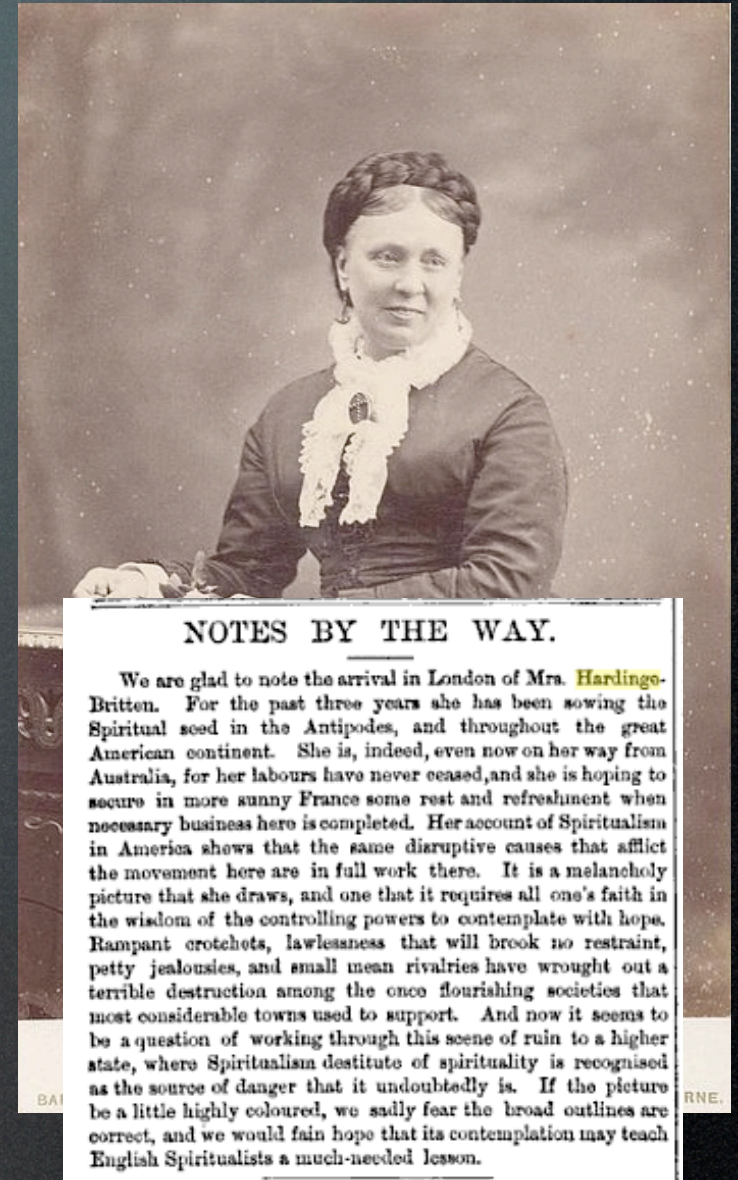
**Dr. Tanner Sits Down on
Emma Hardinge Brit-
tain's Magnetic
Theory.**

New York, 15.—Dr. Tanner attended the lecture of Emma Hardinge Brittain, yesterday morning. It was not known by the audience or the lecturer that he was present in the hall. Mrs. Brittain, in closing her remarks on magnetism, referred to the doctor, and the wonderful example he had given of the ascendancy of will over matter. She asserted that the density of population, the magnetic influence of the multitude, the aroma of food, made his feat possible in this city, while if attempted in the keen air of the country and in solitude, the body would soon be exhausted by the vigorous and consuming oxygen. At the close of her remarks a well-dressed, sharp-eyed man arose and obtained permission to address a question to the speaker, who introduced himself as the subject of the lady's remarks. All eyes were turned in surprise upon Dr. Tanner, who said: "If I had continued my fast in Clarendon Hall without the aid of the air in the park, I could not have continued twenty days. Indeed, the bracing air of the Minnesota prairie made it possible for me to continue forty-two days once without food. My experiment in this city was attended with far greater difficulty; therefore, my experience is not in accordance with your theory of magnetic forces." Mrs. Brittain did not attempt to sustain her theory. The doctor looked fresh and vigorous, and talked to many who surrounded him before he left the hall.

Salt Lake City Herald, August 17, 1870
(telegraphically received)

1877-1881: Itinerant Propagandist

- Emma and William arrive in London in January of 1881, at a time when Anglo-American Spiritualism is the early days of a significant institutional crisis
- By June of 1881, she will be resident in Manchester, where she will be based for the rest of her life
- Having devoted nearly a quarter-century to the international Spiritualist cause, she is about to go local, and become the Spiritualist Queen of the Midlands...



Light, February 26, 1881

Intermission

The Universe As An Occult Object

Science In 1850

- The constitution of matter -- the (classical) theory of limited divisibility and bedrock atomic particles is one of two contending schools of thought; the other allows for unlimited divisibility, which leads to “unparticled matter”
- The luminiferous aether -- (fluid, gaseous or novel) undetectable medium in which light propagated
- Nature of electricity - a “subtile fluid”
- Constitution of gases
- Catastrophism
- The origin-less universe

Geology and astronomy are, of themselves, incapable of giving us any distinct and satisfactory account of the origin of the universe, or of its parts.

William Whewell, History of the Inductive Sciences (1858)

Newton conjectured that the density of **aether** is to that of the air as 1 to 700,000; and all physical philosophers have been wont to say that **aether** is extremely rare. Their reason was, because a dense **aether** would have resisted the planetary motion. We have already proved, that, if **aether** were repulsive, even by making it extremely rare, the planets would not be freed from sensible retardation. On the other hand, if the medium is all attractive, be it extremely rare or extremely dense, the motion of planets remains unaltered. Hence, the proper test for judging of the density of **luminiferous aether** is to be sought for, not in the motion of planets, but in the motion of **aether** itself.

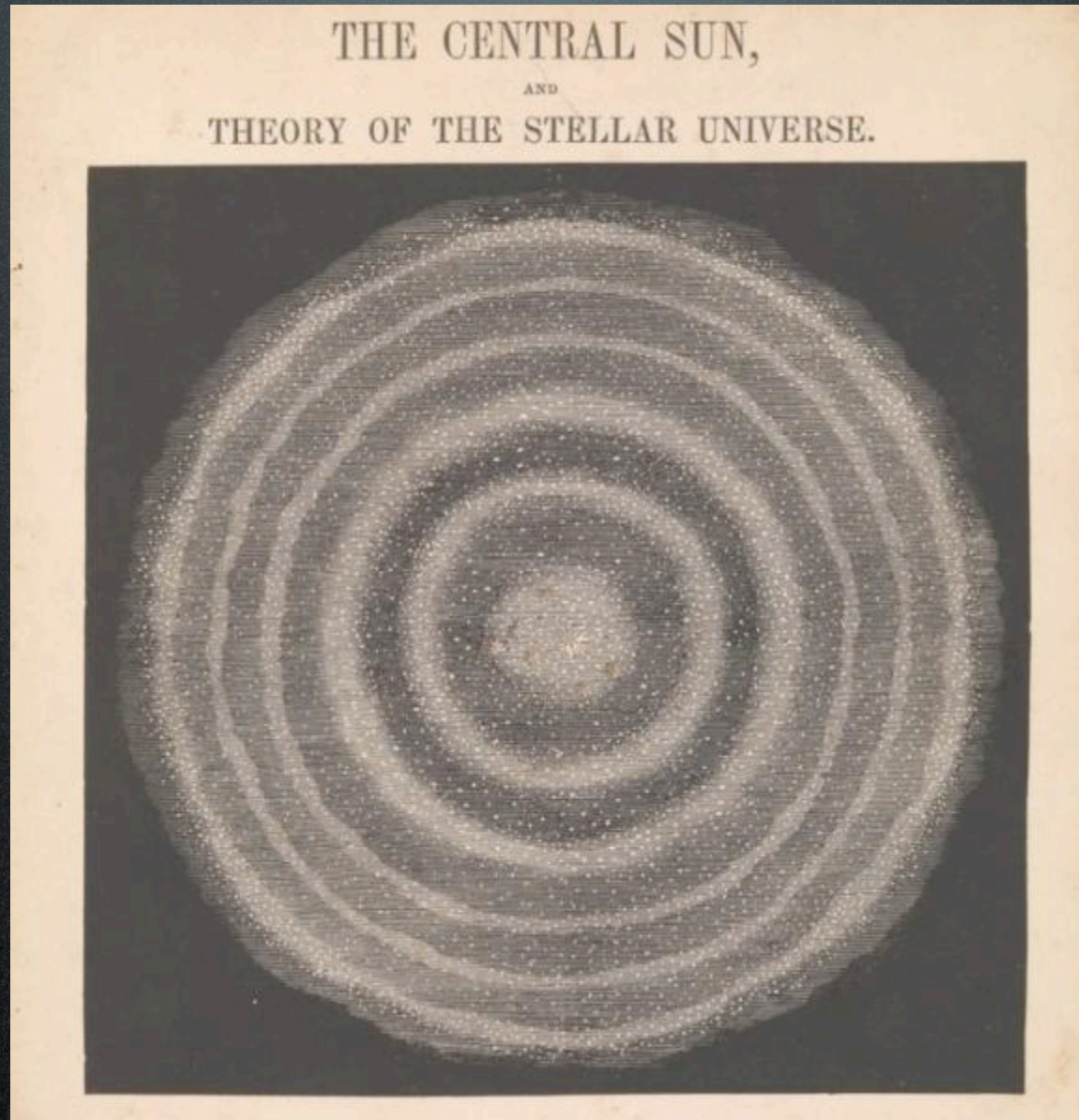
Luminiferous aether vibrates very freely through atmospheric air: let us see whether from this fact we can draw any inference about its density at the surface of the earth. Taking for granted that air is the result of a mixture, not of a combination, of oxygen and nitrogen, the number of molecules which are necessary to fill up, at sea level, the length of a single millimetre is not less, and possibly greater, than 281,740, as we shall see further on. And, since a beam of red light in going over the same length of a millimetre makes 1550 vibrations, we may conclude, that the length of

Joseph Bayma, The Elements of Molecular Mechanics, 1866

If we are to reason at all concerning the phenomena of nature, one of two conclusions must be adopted with reference to this subject; either the physical conditions whereto the existence of those plants and animals was related, changed gradually and equally in obedience to some continuous law — the forms of life being varied accordingly — or were liable to violent interruptions or revolutions, consequent upon new circumstances, or the accumulated tension of some feeble but continuous disturbing agency. Which of these views is true, will be the subject of inquiry hereafter: for the argument as to the lapse of **geological time**, it is immaterial which may be preferred; since in existing nature the rate of such physical changes, supposing them to be continual, is so small, as to have caused almost *no changes of organic life* in several thousand years; — witness the sculptured monuments of Egyptian grandeur; — and

John Phillips, A Treatise on Geology 1852

Science In 1850



Science in 1850

- Distinctions drawn between “spirituality” and “science” at war with one another in the 19th century also serve to place all combatants on one side or the other of a single bright line, which is not how history works
- The fact is: when Emma said that Spiritualism was science, she meant it
- Unparticled matter, the luminiferous aether, the “subtile fluid” of electricity, the emergence of long-scale geological and astronomical time in an origin-less universe, evolution as teleology -- Emma’s “religion” was consistent in most respects with either the majority or a minority opinion within scientific communities in 1860
- She and her compatriots would lose most of their scientific ground by 1890

301. The nature of Electricity. There are two hypotheses in regard to the nature of this powerful agent analogous to those which have been mentioned in regard to the nature of heat and light. The first regards it as an exceedingly subtile fluid, so light as not to affect the most delicate balances; moving with immense velocity, and pervading all substances. The second regards it as the result of a special modification made in the state of bodies, depending upon a peculiar vibration of the particles of matter communicated to the same ether, whose undulations produce heat and light. The latter theory is the one which is now generally received. The full discussion of all the phenomena of electricity would require a volume, and it properly forms a part of the sciences embraced in Natural Philosophy. We are concerned with it here only so far as it is connected with chemical phenomena, and as a knowledge of its fundamental facts is necessary to the full understanding of the various chemical processes which are soon to come under our notice. The subject of galvanic electricity is of more importance to the chemist than that of statical, and our attention will, therefore, be chiefly directed to it. The fundamental facts on which the whole science of statical electricity is founded may be stated in a few words.

T. R. Pynchon, *An Introduction to Chemical Physics* (1881)

The question
of the “fundamental
nature” of things is
everywhere a
derogated topic.

“Influence” of apparently
un-connected and
undetactable things upon
one another is
everywhere alleged.

The universe is occult.

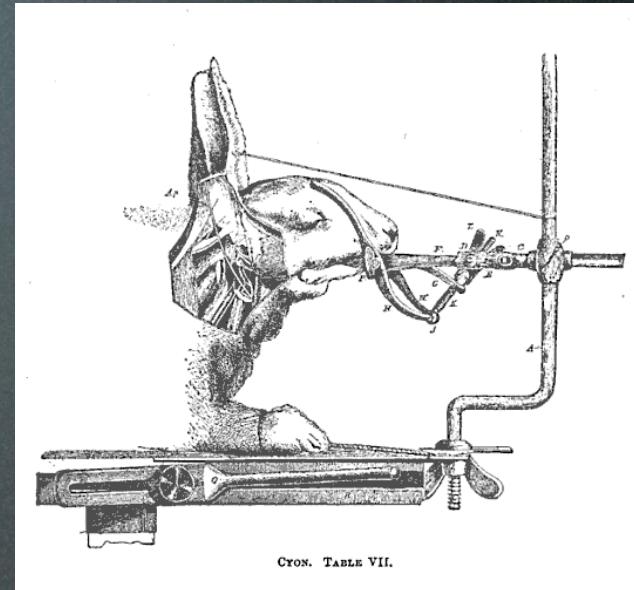
Science in 1850

- Many of the alternative sciences practiced today were amenable or sympathetic with spiritual science, and integrated with it -- **to this day**
- Homoeopathy and naturopathy
- Vitamins, tonics, herbals --> the entirety of what we now refer to as nutritional supplements

- Complete with a conspiracy theory about medical science excluding these from the **materia medica in 1875**

- Anti-vivisection, vegetarian, and anti-vaccination movements
- Exercise and ritualized movement regimes, including yoga -- staples of early 20th century occult practices

What if animals have souls, too?



Frances Power Cobbe, *Illustrations of Vivisection* (1888)

ANTI-VACCINATION.

RECENT VACCINE DISASTERS.

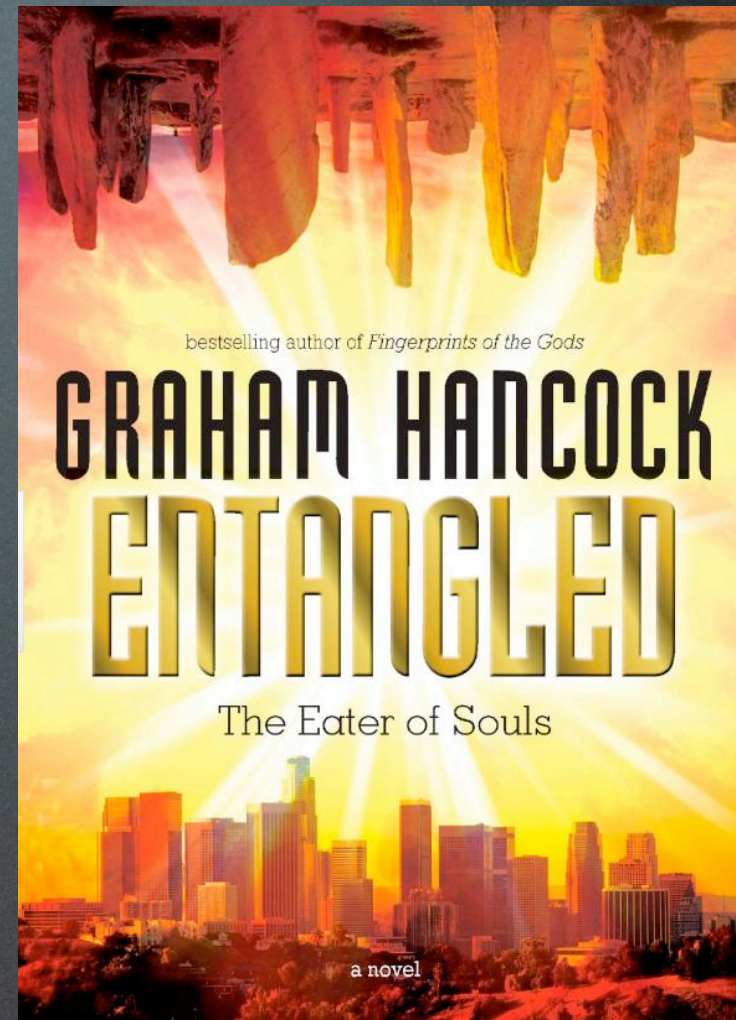
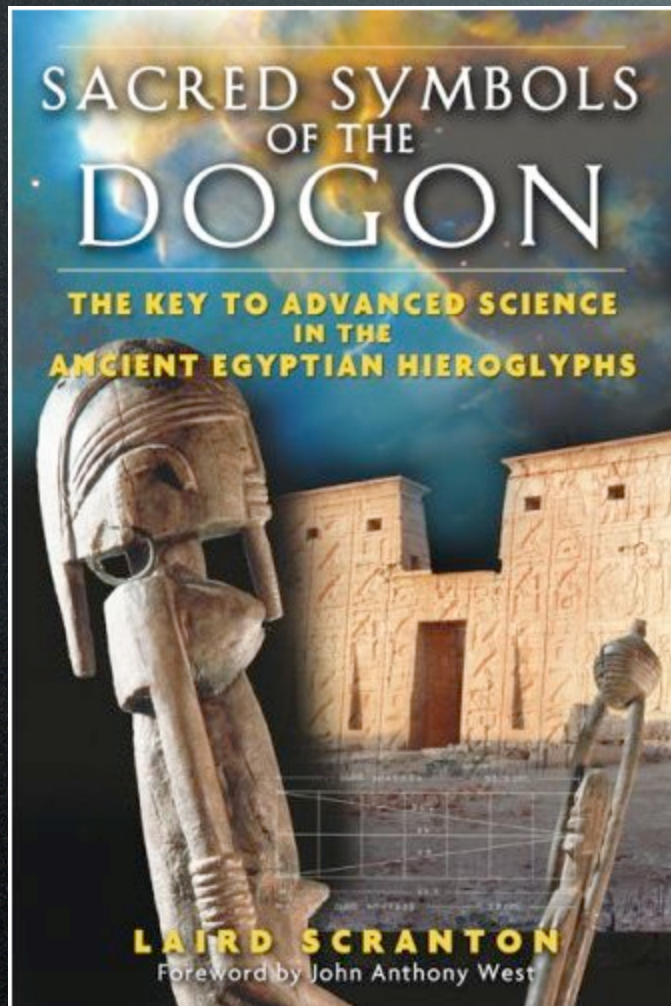
To the Editor.—Sir,—Those of your readers who have been at the trouble to take note of what is recorded in the daily Press, as well as in the columns of the *MIRROR*, will have observed the frequent cases of hardship and cruelty arising out of the operation of the Vaccination Acts. About one hundred parents are now summoned every week for refusing to imperil the life and health of their children by submitting them to an operation which a St. Pancras Jury in a recent verdict on a fatal vaccination case described as “the natural constitutional irritation due to vaccination”; and over 50 of these parents, conscientious and law-abiding citizens—the salt of the earth—are subjected to judicial penalties without the chance (except in a rare case) of even explaining the grounds of their disobedience. Then there are public disturbances as at Leicester (December 4th), when two or three thousand persons assembled to offer their judgment against the seizure and sale of the goods and chattels of 10 of these sturdy medical nonconformists, 50 policemen, with numerous detectives, being found necessary to quell the riot and restore order. A few days later (December 12th) an inquest is held on a fatal case of vaccination at Sheffield, due to what the mother called “bad lymph.” The same day’s papers (*Manchester Courier* December 12th) report that the attention of Government has been called to the alleged death of a child at Blackburn, caused by the same official ordinance. The child was vaccinated at three months old, after which it refused all sustenance, and “died a mere skeleton, after four weeks’ intense suffering.” The *British Medical Journal*, two days afterwards (December 15th) records six cases of vaccinal erysipelas reported by one medical man, Dr. C. T. Vachell, of Cardiff, all occurring within four days! These tragic events are happening all over the kingdom, and it is no exaggeration to affirm that a mere record of authenticated cases occurring within recent years would, if described, fill a considerable volume. I have personally collected over 400 of such cases, the vouchers and authorities relating to which have been carefully examined by Mr. Thomas Baker, barrister, of the Inner Temple; and the catalogue has been published by Mr. Young, at 114, Victoria Street, Westminster, under the title of “Vaccine Disaster Record.” The serious question which is filling the minds of reflecting parents with indescribable anxiety is—Where is this mischief and misery to stop? Must the patient, long-suffering but much injured and oppressed people be driven into exasperation and active rebellion before the Local Government Board is aroused from its criminal lethargy?—Yours faithfully,
WILLIAM TERN,
7, Albert Road, Regents Park, London, January 1st, 1884.

Letter next door to a notice of EHB’s lecture on “Occultism, Witchcraft, and Spiritualism” in *The Medium & Daybreak* for January 11, 1884

Science in 1890

- The constitution of matter -- periodic table, limited divisibility, no “unparticled matter”
- The luminiferous aether -- Michelson-Morley experiments in 1887; the death of aether, and the beginning of (modern) wave/particle duality
- The nature of electricity -- James Clerk Maxwell’s unified model of eletromagnetic energy (1864)
 - These three are, collectively, the end of mesmerism as science, but it had already been co-opted by psychology anyway
- The constitution of gases -- helium (1868), argon (1895), krypton, neon and xenon (1898)
 - krypton --> “hidden” gas
- Catastrophism -- dead as the dodo; uniformitarianism and gradualism prevail
- The origin of the universe - still proscribed, occult territory (we do not discover the universe-wide red shift until 1912)

Science & the Occult in 2010



The occult operates, at any given time, in the white spaces created by the dominant ideology.

At present, that white space includes: Egyptology, genetics, neuroscience, energy systems, quantum mechanics, subatomic physics, and string theory.

Section 9

1877-1892

Queen of the Midlands

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- In July of 1881, settled in Manchester, Emma announces that she is working on a book on the international Spiritualist movement
- It is a difficult time for the movement: very public scandals (exposures and criminal behavior by media) have caused the private cash that sustains the movement to dry up, to some extent

MRS. **HARDINGE-BRITTEN** has sent us "A Plea for the Revival of Spiritualism," which unfortunately reached us too late for insertion. She speaks very earnestly of the error of those who, because of the many "disgraces" which evil doers have brought on Spiritualism, have withdrawn from all public connection with the cause. She believes that the private investigation of phenomena, and the public exposition of the facts and philosophy should go hand in hand; and acting on the advice of her Spirit friends, she has determined to do what she can to put our faith fairly before the world; and she is therefore ready to accept invitations to lecture within a reasonable distance of her residence—The Times, Humphrey-street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

Light, September 17, 1881

EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN;

To her Friends and Co-Workers in the Spiritual Movement.

For many years past I have been collecting materials for a compendious history of the great MODERN SPIRITUAL MOVEMENT as it has transpired ALL OVER THE WORLD in the nineteenth century. This work I have been requested to undertake—no matter what other publications of a kindred character might be issued—by those beloved Spirit friends who have never deceived me or failed to inspire me for good. Those who are most thoroughly acquainted with me will remember how often I have stated that I only obey the commands of Spirits when they accord with my own judgment, especially when they relate to the movement of which they alone are the authors and promoters. The present occasion is one which fully meets this position. Wise and good Spirits desire to give to the age, through my instrumentality, a thoroughly exhaustive record of the work they have accomplished in the nineteenth century, and the reasons they have alleged for this charge, and the methods prescribed for its accomplishment, having appealed forcibly to my best judgment, I have, as above stated, employed the last few years of my wide wanderings in gathering up from every available and authentic source the necessary materials for my great task.

As it has been furthermore made clear to me that the present time has been specially designed for its commencement, I would now solicit from those who may be interested in it such literary contributions of a personal or local character as each one may feel impressed to send. I do not promise to use all that I may thus receive, because the ultimate selection of matter for publication must necessarily exclude at least 90 per cent. of the vast mass I have to select from.

Still I should be glad to avail myself of the widest possible field of information on this deeply momentous subject, especially as I propose to add to the history of the movement a large number of brief BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES of such personages as have been prominently and usefully connected with it. Trusting that the friends of Spiritualism will aid me as far as possible in accomplishing a work which gratitude to the spiritual authors of the movement, no less than justice to posterity, imperatively demand,—I am, ever reverently and faithfully the Servant of God and the Angels,

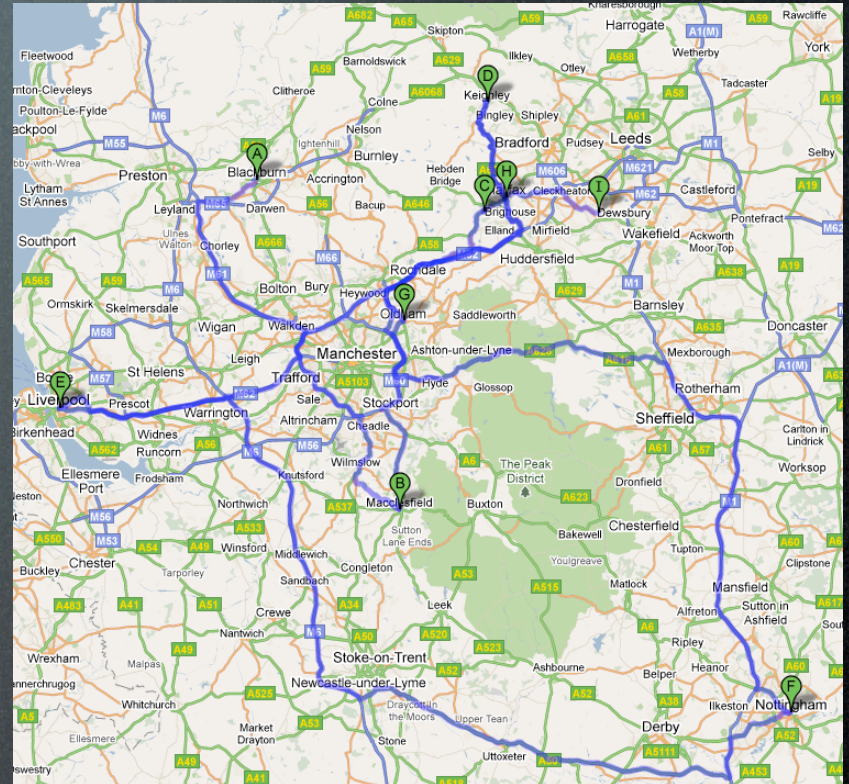
EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN.

P.S.—Prepaid postal matter can be addressed to my residence, The Linca, Humphrey-road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester, England.—Foreign journals please copy.

Light, July 30, 1881

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- By September of 1881, Emma is (at age 58) on a grueling lecture schedule
 - October 23: Blackburn (A)
 - October 30: Macclesfield (B)
 - November 6: Sowerby Bridge (C)
 - November 13/14: Keighley (D)
 - November 20: Liverpool (E)
 - November 27-December 4: Nottingham (F)
 - December 11: Oldham (G)
 - December 18/19: Halifax (H)
 - December 24-26: Batley Carr (I)



On today's roadways, about 450 miles of driving, but Emma did it by train, in a hub-and-spoke pattern, from Manchester

Variations of this circuit will be the backbone of Emma's life until the founding of The Two Worlds in 1887 - when she is 63...

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- By mid-year 1882, life on the road (again) is taking its toll on Emma, and William Britten writes to The Medium and Daybreak to say that “in consequence of severe attacks of quinsy sore throat, Mrs. Hardinge-Britten [sic] has been unable to fulfill her engagements for the past two Sundays, and...her lectures here and elsewhere must be discontinued till farther [sic] notice.”
 - Death for a traveling speaker...
- And where does Emma go to recuperate?

Mrs. Emma Hardinge-Britten's Address.—Correspondents will please address Mrs. E. Hardinge-Britten, for the next fortnight, to the care of the Countess of Caithness, 51, Rue de l'Université, Paris, France; after that as usual, the Limes, Humphrey Street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.—June 28, 1882.

The Medium and Daybreak, June 30, 1882

- From the fall of 1882, through all of 1883, she is again on the circuit, though with less rigorous scheduling

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- Nineteenth Century Miracles appears in January of 1884
- Its advertising is rather extensive, in comparison to other works of hers
- It is not reviewed by the mainstream press
- And it does not appear to have been a particular money-maker, as she's back on the road in early 1884
- In April, she announces a return to the US...

JANUARY 11, 1884. THE MEDIUM AND DAYBREAK. 31

NOW READY.

MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN'S GREAT NEW WORK,
NINETEENTH CENTURY MIRACLES:
OR,
SPIRITS AND THEIR WORK IN EVERY COUNTRY OF THE EARTH.
A COMPLETE HISTORICAL COMPENDIUM OF THE MOVEMENT KNOWN AS "MODERN SPIRITUALISM."

This Work forms a full and exhaustive account of all the MAIN INCIDENTS OF A SPIRITUALISTIC CHARACTER which have transpired in EVERY COUNTRY OF THE EARTH from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the present time.

The subject matter has been collated from the most authentic sources. The contributors include some of the most learned, scientific, and honoured personages of the age. Testimony has been gathered up (in many instances by the Author in person, during her extended travels) from every country, and includes the Spiritualism of all peoples whether savage or civilised. The scenes are world-wide, but the period of action is limited to THE PRESENT CENTURY.

THE SPIRITUALIST will find in this Work a complete manual of every phenomenon he wishes to read of, refer to, or describe to others.

THE INVESTIGATOR will obtain a compendium of every work of value he needs to study.

THE SCEPTIC will be herein answered, and THE OPPONENT refuted at every point.

To every student of Psychology, Spiritual Science, Religious Reform, Mesmerism, Spiritualism and Occultism, the Author—in deep earnestness of purpose and in the name of the wise controlling spirits, who have commanded her work, and assisted unceasingly to aid its execution—ventures to affirm that, both for this and many succeeding generations, this volume will prove a COMPLETE LIBRARY of the subjects dealt with, and a manual of incalculable value

FOR ALL TIME.

This Volume contains nearly 600 pages, royal octavo, fine tinted paper, handsomely bound in Cloth.

A limited number will be issued, splendidly illustrated with fac-similes of Spirit Writing, Art. &c., &c., and over Forty PORTRAITS of ILLUSTRIOUS and CELEBRATED SPIRITUALISTS and MEDIUMS.

Price for Illustrated Copies	...	...	...	...	...	15s.
" without the Illustrations	...	...	...	...	...	12s. 6d.
Postage, Single Copies (Parcels Post), 6d.						

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM BRITTEN, THE LIMES, HUMPHREY STREET, CHEETHAM HILL, MANCHESTER;
 E. W. ALLEN, AVE MARIA LANE, LONDON, E.C.

. Orders received by the Publisher; also the Secretaries of the various Spiritual Societies, and all respectable Booksellers

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- In the spring of 1884, Emma returns to the US, almost certainly to market Nineteenth Century Miracles....
- But perhaps also to test her relevancy in the US, after an absence of three years
- There is scant coverage of her time in the US, but she does draw a crowd estimated at 8-10,000 people at Lake Pleasant, NY in August of 1884
- She was in company of at least some of her TS associates (HJ Newton, for example)
- In May of 1885, she announces her return to England in The Medium and Daybreak, and her availability for work

FAREWELL ADDRESSES, BY MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, IN MANCHESTER.

On Sunday, April 6th, 1884, two addresses will be given by Mrs. Emma Hardinge-Britten, previous to her departure for America, in the Co-operative Hall, Downing Street, Manchester. Service in the afternoon at 2.30, and in the evening at 6.30. Collection towards defraying expenses.

Tea will be provided at a charge of 6s. each, for friends from a distance. Tickets may be had at the door before the commencement of the meeting. Friends are requested to obtain them before going into the hall, so that full provision may be made for all.

Friends desirous of contributing flowers to place on the platform, will kindly send them to the Hall, between 10 a.m. and 12 noon on that morning.—Cos.

LIVERPOOL FAREWELL TO MRS. BRITTEN.

Mrs. Britten sails for Liverpool on April 15th, and on the evening of April 14, which is Easter Monday, and therefore a holiday, she will be entertained at a farewell gathering at Rodney Hall, Rodney Street, Mount Pleasant, at 7 o'clock. The Liverpool friends will be glad to be assisted in their purpose, by the presence of all friends within reach, and it being a general holiday, no doubt the attendance from surrounding districts will be large. Tickets, 1s. each.

On Sunday, April 13th, Mrs. Britten will deliver her last two discourses in Rodney Hall.

Newcastle, Manchester, and Liverpool are important centres, and the excellent arrangements made will enable vast numbers to attend and take part in these interesting meetings.

MACCLESFIELD.—On Monday evening, Mrs. Britten will deliver a farewell oration, in Paradise Street Free Church, at 7.40.

The Medium and Daybreak, April 4, 1884

EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN TO HER FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Editor, MEDIUM:—Will you kindly allow me space in your columns to announce that we propose to sail for England per *Britannia* on the 2nd of May, expecting to arrive some time about the middle of the month.

To the Spiritualist Societies within an accessible distance of my home in Manchester, I shall be happy to render service as a lecturer on the same terms as when I was in England before. Applications can be addressed to me at the Limes, Humphrey Street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester, and I will reply as soon after my arrival as possible.

I beg to add that my return to England has been induced by purely private and personal reasons, and my stay will be determined by the same causes, hence, I may not have the opportunity of remaining for any extended period of time with my esteemed fellow-workers in Spiritualism, and consequently I am desirous of doing the utmost I can, while I am able, to promote the progress of the Cause to which I am devoted.—I am, Mr. Editor, very faithfully yours,

EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN.

The Medium and Daybreak, May 8, 1885

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- For the duration of 1885, all of 1886, and most of 1887, Emma returns to the Spiritualist circuit, moving within a triangle bounded by Liverpool, Newcastle & Nottingham, roughly
- How, precisely, she is earning her living is unclear, but it is certainly to a large extent dependent on what she receives in fees from the local societies before whom she speaks
- Even today, her schedule would be seen as extreme for a man or woman of her age...

THE MANCHESTER SOCIETY OF SPIRITUALISTS.

A GRAND BAZAAR, SALE OF WORK, CONVERSAZIONE, and a Unique MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT will be given on the 12th and 13th December, 1887, at the Co-OPERATIVE HALL, Downing Street. The proceedings will commence at 3 p.m. with an Opening Address by Mrs. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, to be followed by an Exhibition of Beautiful and Useful Articles, on Sale for the occasion.

The Evening Sale will be enlivened by some peculiar and interesting Musical Selections, arranged specially for this occasion.

Don't miss this rare opportunity to be amused and instructed.

Tea, Coffee, and other Refreshments at nominal charges.

Admission, 6d.; Children under 12 Half-price.

As this Bazaar is undertaken solely in aid of the Manchester Spiritual Society's Building Fund, the largest donations will be thankfully received, the smallest not rejected.

OLDHAM.—On Tuesday, December 13th, Mrs. E. H. Britten will give her celebrated lecture on "New Zealand," the paradise of the Southern Seas, illustrated by splendid limelight views of the people and country before and after the late volcanic eruptions. Doors open at 7, to commence at 7-30. Tickets, front seats, 6d.; back, 3d. Proceeds towards the liquidation of the debt.—*J. S. Gibson, Sec.*

By the middle 1880s, Emma is ruthlessly mining her own life, and her eclectic collection of ideas, for lecture topics. She's also embracing the methods and practices of other successful lecturers, and learning how to pair up her lecture topics and her periodical appearances for maximum marketing effect.

"Illustrated by splendid limelight views" = PowerPoint 0.1

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- November 18, 1887: the inaugural issue of The Two Worlds
- Emma will occupy the editor's chair until 1892, when she is forced out as the result of a stock manipulation scheme perpetrated by William
- Occultist as well as spiritualist in its orientation from the first issue
- Definitely a middle-class Spiritualist undertaking, with tendencies toward small-s socialism
- But behind it... someone's money

OFFICE OF "THE TWO WORLDS" 61, GEORGE STREET,
CHEETHAM HILL, MANCHESTER.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

"THE TWO WORLDS" will be sent to any address within the United Kingdom, or to places comprised within the Postal Union, including all parts of Europe, the United States, and British North America. One copy, post free, 2d.; for thirteen weeks, 2s. 2d. Annual Subscription 6s. 8d. in advance.

ADVERTISEMENTS are inserted at 6d. per line, 1s. for three lines. Remittances must accompany all orders for one or three insertions. Monthly settlements for larger and consecutive advertisements, for which special rates can be obtained on application to Mr. E. W. WALLIS, to whom all Post-office Orders and Cheques should be made payable, and all business communications should be addressed.

ACCOUNTS will be issued monthly, and the Directors respectfully ask the favour of prompt remittances.

"THE TWO WORLDS" Publishing Company, Limited, has been registered, but we shall be happy to allot shares to those spiritualists and societies who have not joined us. Send in your applications for shares at once.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.—Communications intended to be printed should be addressed to the Editor, The Lindens, Humphrey Street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

PUBLISHING OFFICES.

"THE TWO WORLDS" can be obtained of JOHN HEYWOOD, Deansgate and Ridgefield, Manchester, and 11, Paternoster Buildings, London; and is sold by all Newsvendors, and supplied by the wholesale trade generally.

THE TWO WORLDS.

Editor:

MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN.

Sub-Editor and General Manager:

E. W. WALLIS.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 1887.

S^ALUTATORY.

WITH the issue of this number the promoters of the new spiritual enterprise, entitled, *The Two Worlds*, make their first appearance upon the stage of public opinion, and their first essay to enlist the sympathies and command the support of every reader interested in the subjects to which this journal is devoted. In sending forth this inaugural number to represent the stupendous interests involved in the title adopted, namely, *The Two Worlds*, it is assumed that the public may expect a more definite explanation of its aims and purposes than is to be found in the preliminary announcements.

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- During Emma's editorship, The Two Worlds serves at least four purposes
 - Major coordinating vehicle for Spiritualism outside London, and for the emerging national coalition of Spiritualists
 - Platform for the launch of 'new voices' in the movement (J. J. Morse, Wallis, A. E. Waite, among others)
 - Emma's personal platform -- for her propaganda, and for her fiction (several EHB novellas published serially during her editorship)
 - The voice of the 'amorphous opposition' to Theosophy (Deveney) -- led by "Sirius"

BOOK REVIEW.

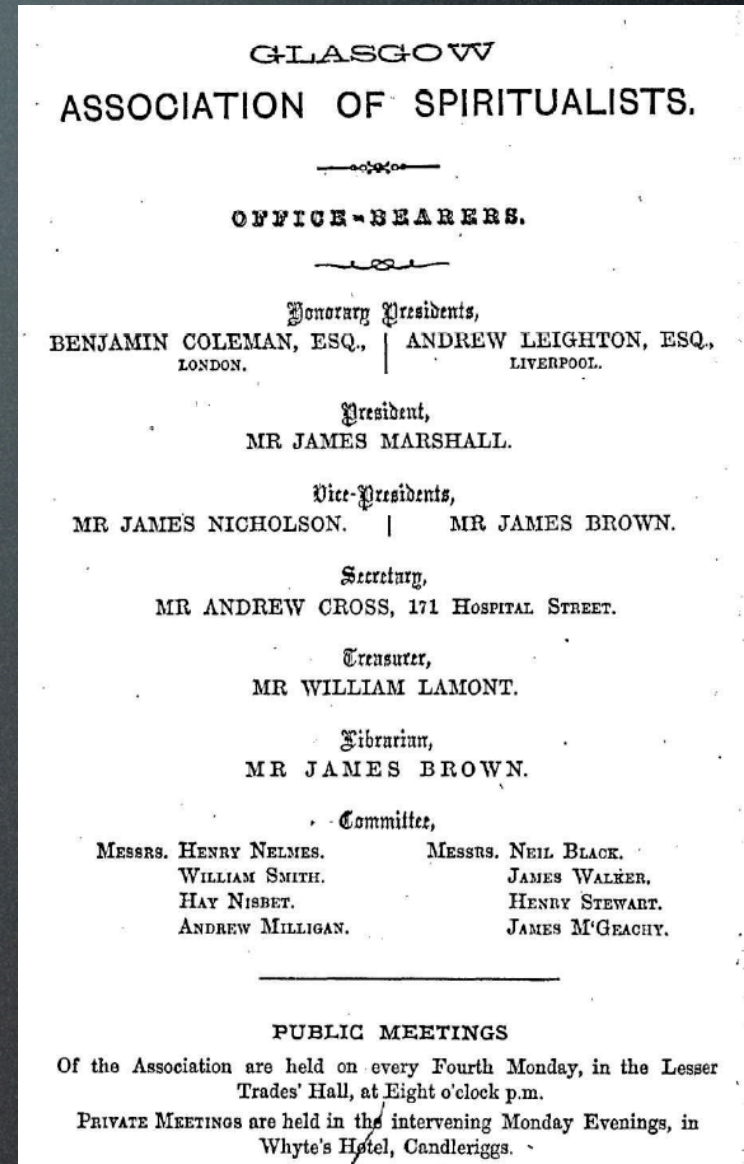
WE deeply regret that other matters of pressing moment have, of late, occupied our columns to the exclusion of those notices of books, pamphlets, and tracts, which we have received in great numbers, and which we hope yet to call attention to. This apology relates especially to the noble, philosophic, and instructive work, published by George Redway, of London, entitled "The Light of Egypt." We had hoped to have found space to give abundant quotations from this admirable treatise, one which supplies not only fine suggestive views of planetary cosmogony, but also furnishes a good corrective, founded on the basis of science, fact, and reason, to the groundless assertions of theosophy, some of which appear in quotation in this number's Leader. Ere we close this merely preliminary notice that we have been favoured with a copy of "The Light of Egypt," we would call its author's attention to the fact that a certain American editor of a Theosophical Magazine, entitled *The Path*, after venting on this fine work all the abuse, scorn, and display of ignorance and insolence that his malice could dictate, ends by adding that this book is "by Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten." We trust it needs no open disclaimer on our part to assure the gifted author of "The Light of Egypt" that this rude and un-called-for piece of mendacity could only have been designed by the writer to add injury to insult, and compel the Editor of this journal to express her regret that she has not the smallest claim to stand in a position implying ability far beyond her capacity to attain to. It is hoped that this public disclaimer will be sufficient to atone for the intended injury to the esteemed author of "The Light of Egypt," and explain to him the animus with which his comments on the fantastic theories of the day are received by a prominent theosophical journalist.

The Two Worlds, August 16, 1889

This admirable treatise...

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- The Amorphous Opposition
 - Led by EHB, and the HBoFL
 - Peter Davidson's 1871 work on the violin was published, in Glasgow, by...
 - Hay Nisbet, who was a champion (and publisher) of the materials emanating from...
 - David Duguid, the painting-and-writing medium, employed in the bicycle works owned by...
 - James Robertson, who wrote the only posthumous biographical sketch of...
 - Emma Hardinge Britten, who knew Robertson, Duguid and Nisbet well...



Paul Gaunt is beginning to plumb the depths of the influence that Scottish Spiritualism has had on the movement and on the modern occult.

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- Organizing Spiritualism
- The Lyceum Union Movement
 - “The children of today are to be the men and women of to-morrow, our representatives, pioneers and instruments of communicating spirits....it is our duty to teach them, and their birthright to be taught, that which we know to be true concerning our spiritual natures...”
- The National Organization
 - “What can take the place of the fast-decaying forms and tottering edifices of antiquated worn-out faiths? Nothing under heaven but proofs, direct and palpable, of a higher and nobler revelation -- one founded on facts, proved by reason and demonstrated by science -- the handiwork of the creator. Spiritualists! You have all this!”

Third Children's Edition, crown 8vo. boards, 9d.; by post, 11d.

The English Lyceum Manual:

For the use of Progressive Lyceums connected with English Spiritualists' Societies, compiled from various sources by EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN, ALFRED KITSON, and H. A. KERSEY. Contains Programme for Lyceum Session, choice Silver and Golden Chain Recitations, Musical Readings, Lyceum Songs, &c. Carefully adapted for practical use by all in the Lyceum.

Special Terms to Lyceums.

Published by H. A. KERSEY, 3, BIGG MARKET, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

A MOST IMPORTANT SUBJECT

Now challenges the attention of every true and earnest spiritualist in Great Britain, namely a

PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF BRITISH SPIRITUALISTS.

At a recent gathering of spiritualists the question of the above-named *proposal* was mooted, and plans of organization were suggested with so much resolution, sense of duty, and hope of success on the part of the promoters, that it was determined to formulate the most available methods on which such an organization could be based, and pending their completion, to bring before the readers of this paper the following urgent reasons why the adoption of the *proposal* in question becomes no less a *duty* than a matter of pressing expediency at the present time. The following remarks, already accepted by the supporters of the plan for a national organization of spiritualists with much favour, should be considered with interest and attention by our readers:—

In view of the vast and wide-spread influence which modern spiritualism has exercised over human thought during the past forty-two years, and the unnatural and consequently irresponsible condition of its ranks, especially in this country, at the present time, we deem it a part of our human mission, whilst we yet remain to be workers in the earth sphere, to make some effort to utilize the mighty powers, and as yet unapplied influences, latent in the phenomena and philosophy of spiritualism, for wider and more effective good and use, than has hitherto been evolved from spiritual revelations.

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- There are a number of financial crises of one sort or another during Emma's tenure as editor, and the organization's financial reports (published in the paper) never make sense, except to show that the paper is loss-making, and something funny's going on, financially
- In January of 1892, a scandal erupts at the board of directors level
- William Britten has received anonymous "gifts" of more than 2000 pounds between 1890 and 1892, and invested it in shares for the Brittens in the corporation, creating a controlling interest for himself and Emma

THE TWO WORLDS.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1892.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors on Monday, Feb. 8th, the following resolution was passed unanimously: We, the Directors of *The Two Worlds* Publishing Company, Limited, express our regret that circumstances have arisen which have occasioned Mrs. Britten's resignation as Editor of *The Two Worlds*, and that we, in accepting the same, desire to tender our best wishes for her future welfare."

Pending the time when it may be expedient for me to give fuller explanations of those "good and sufficient reasons" which oblige me to retire from the editorship of *The Two Worlds*, I desire to say my voice will not be hushed nor my pen idle when a fitting opportunity occurs for me to serve the cause of Spiritualism. My heart and hand, brain and mind, belong to the Spirit world, and if I murmur because those wise rulers of this earth's destiny have imposed upon me a hard and severe trial in the last four years' experience, I am reconciled in the belief that the most influential of all teachers is experience, the most thorough of all lexicons, the book of practical life, and that the object of our earthly pilgrimage is so to live on earth that, at last, we may be prepared to commence life on a higher plane of existence.

To all who need to communicate with me henceforth, orally or by letter, my ONLY ADDRESS IS The Lindens, Humphrey Street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN.

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE COMPANY.

THE Directors feel it to be due to themselves, as well as to their cause, that the foregoing reply should be made to the circular issued in reference to the Extraordinary Meeting of February 1st, especially as proceedings were commenced in the Court of Chancery by Dr. Britten and Mrs. Britten to obtain an order restraining the company from confirming the resolution passed at such extraordinary meeting.

On Monday morning, February 22, the case came on for hearing before the Deputy Vice Chancellor, and was argued by counsel on both sides. Affidavits had been put in by Dr. Britten and Mr. R. T. Ashworth on the one side, and by Mr. Peter Lee (chairman), Mr. S. S. Chiswell (scrutineer), and Mr. E. W. Wallis (secretary), on behalf of the company.

The contention of Dr. Britten was that proxies had been discarded on insufficient grounds. The Judge upheld the main objection of the scrutineers, and, therefore, dismissed the appeal with costs.

The Two Worlds, February 26, 1892

CHANCERY OF LANCASHIRE (MANCHESTER DISTRICT).—Cases to be heard to-day (Monday):—
Adjourned summonses: Stewart v. Taylor and Woolf v. Pemberton. Motions: Kingsbury v. Outram, Bailey v. Roberts, Buckley, and Co. Limited, Ashworth v. Roscoe, Threlfall v. Wilde, Lund v. Young, Cochrane v. Layland, Union Bank of Manchester v. Dain, Britten v. "The Two Worlds" Publishing Company Limited, and Shaw v. Wolstenholme. Originating motion: Re Thomas Adams deceased. Petition: Hodge v. Brammell. Further consideration: Cochrane v. Layland and Bamford v. Garside.

Manchester Courier, February 21, 1892

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- Emma wastes no time in launching her successor publication, The Unseen Universe
- Despite the second volume of Ghost Land, a very interesting novella, The Mystery of No. 9 Stanhope Street, and the promise of “many able and talented contributors”, the periodical is largely Emma (and Margaret, her sister, the librarian of the Manchester Foreign Library), and lasts only for 12 issues
- The start of several “books”
- UU is concluded hurriedly, hacking up the novella-in-progress rather badly

PROSPECTUS
OF
THE FINE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE,
DEVOTED TO
SPIRITISM, OCCULTISM, Ancient Magic, Modern Mediumship, and every subject that pertains to the WHENCE, WHAT, and WITHERWARD of Humanity.
Entitled,
“THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE.”
Under the sole charge and conduct of
MRS. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN,
AIDED BY MANY ABLE AND TALENTED CONTRIBUTORS.

This Magazine has been established in response to a widespread demand for a journal that shall treat of the above-named vast theme without fear, favour, or limitation, yet with sufficient literary ability to meet the demands of the humblest as well as the most highly cultured classes of thinkers—a journal that will not trench upon the ground already occupied by the London Spiritual papers, yet will supplement matter that cannot be included in their columns.

General Synopsis of the Subjects treated of:
Brief Encyclopaedic Summaries of Historical and Biographical Spiritism, Past and Present, in Great Britain, and many other lands.
BY SPECIAL DESIRE:
Second Volume of “GHOST LAND,” in serial parts.
By the Author of “Art Magic” (by permission), revised, translated, and prepared FOR THIS JOURNAL ONLY, BY EMMA H. BRITTEN.
Essays on Philosophy, Spiritual Science, and Reform.
Summary of the Present Spiritual Situation.

Terms of Subscription:
(To be paid invariably in advance.)

FOR ONE YEAR	6	6
SIX MONTHS	3	6
SINGLE COPIES, POST FREE.....	0	7

Address—**Dr. or Mrs. BRITTEN, The Lindens, Humphrey Street, Cheetham Hill, MANCHESTER.**
Published by JOHN HEYWOOD, Deansgate and Ridgefield, Manchester. Lead Agents: JOHN HEYWOOD, 4, Amen Corner, E.C.; E. A. ALLEN, 4, Ave Maria Lane.

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- Ghost Land, Volume 2 (1892)
- Advertised as in existence since the publication of Volume 1 in 1876
- Covers Louis De B____'s experiences in the United States, which are astoundingly similar to those of EHB, and those EHB records in MAS and NCM
 - Louis is a witness to some of the events in MAS and NCM
- Will be included in the annotated edition of Ghost Land, in preparation

EXTRACTS FROM "GHOSTLAND," VOL. II.;

OR,

RESEARCHES INTO THE REALM OF SPIRITUAL EXISTENCE.

By the Author of "Art Magic."

*Translated and Collated by Emma H. Britten.**

PART I.

WHAT a wonderful teacher is memory, and what a divine privilege bestowed by the Creator on the creature is the power of retrospect!

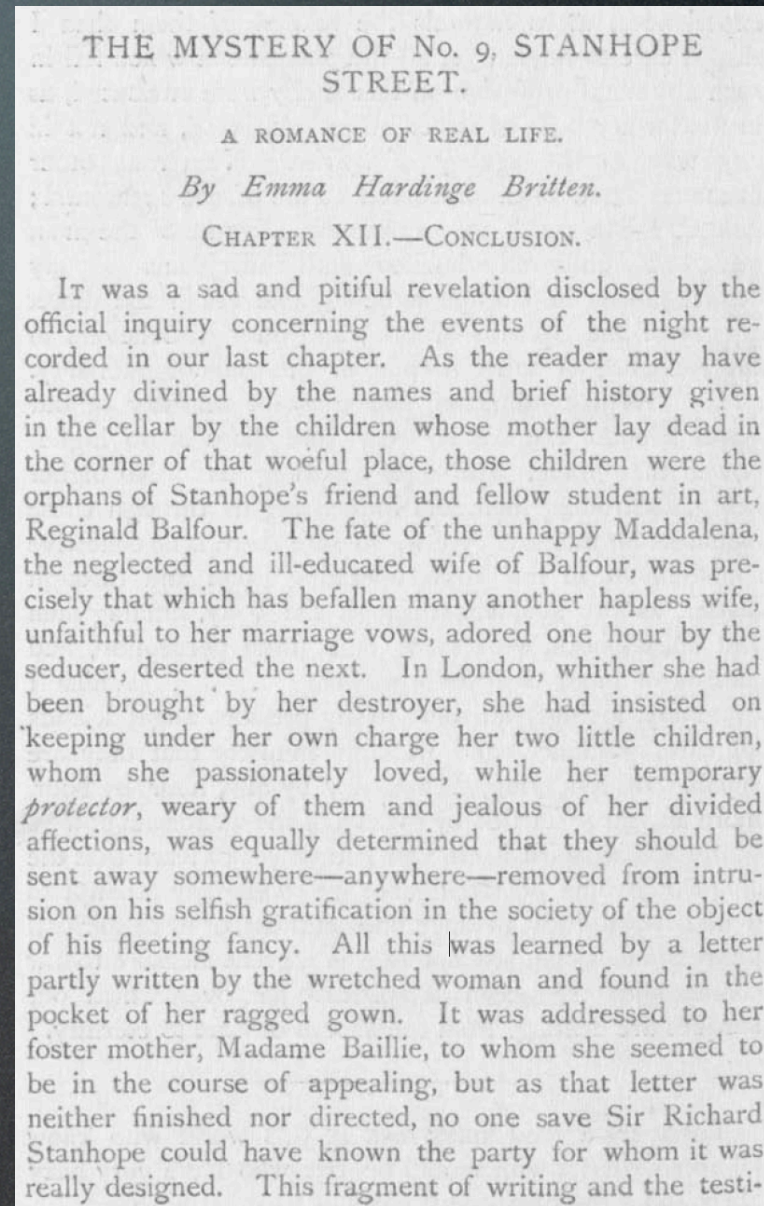
As I paced the deck of the steamer that bore me away from the land of my birth and the scene of the sad experiences with which the last record of my biography closed, I seemed to be born into a new life. I had many times before in my changeful career felt as if my very identity had become so altered that it was possible for the soul to live many lives in one, but I never experienced this idea so forcibly as during the period of temporary repose afforded me by my voyage. I could go over and over again in retrospect the series of changes through which I had passed since childhood to the then present hour.

I recalled my boyish life at the German university; my first experience as a mesmerized subject with Professor Felix von Marx and the "Berlin Brotherhood," and even after the lapse of so many years I felt returning upon me the sentiments of astonishment and delight I experienced at discovering in my soul flights through space that I could see, hear, move, and travel with almost lightning speed, and that without the aid of my poor, sleeping, inanimate body.

* By permission of the author.

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- The Mystery of No. 9 Stanhope Street (1892)
- To my way of thinking, the most interesting fiction Emma wrote (and on a word-count basis she wrote as much explicit fiction as non-fiction, during her life)
- Ann Sophia is dead (d. 1886), Emma is 69 years old, and still the primary breadwinner, after 54 years
- She is, I think, wrestling with the daemons of her childhood in this novella
- The mother does not fare well; nor does the daughter.



1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- The story turns in part on a young girl, corrupt and corrupted by a cast of characters, including the girl's mother, who rents her out as an artist's model to painter Richard Stanhope (who lives at No. 9 Stanhope Street...are we repeating Stanhope enough?)

One of the grandest triumphs of this wonderful picture was that this reptilian form conveyed to every beholder the impression of human intelligence in the very act of speaking, whilst an equally irresistible sentiment of conviction seemed to pervade the veiled yet nude and unexceptionably modest angel of the flowery bushes—gleaming in her eager, large, azure eyes, and revealing eloquently in her bending form—that she was listening. The picture was at once a marvel of history, revelation, and artistic perfection. After a long and almost breathless pause of admiration the visitor murmured —"Matchless! Perfect! Supermundane!"



Eve Tempted, by John Roddam Spencer Stanhope (1829-1908) -a version of this painting was in the permanent collection of the Manchester Galleries

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- JRSS' work was on display in various forms (oil, tempera) from 1877 onward
- Though Spencer Stanhope was a habitué of the London theatre, and Emma's age peer, there's really no evidence that they knew one another
- But Richard Stanhope is clearly John Roddam Spencer Stanhope, down to physical description, residence, body of work
- Was she telling us that the sensualist was JRS Stanhope? Or Philip Henry Stanhope? Or what?

The Mystery of No. 9, Stanhope Street. 635

masked executioner, axe in hand, holding up a real decapitated woman's head by its long fair waving tresses of gold, whilst the mock executioner cried out in bombastic French, 'Behold the head of the murderess, ADINA MORANI, put to death this day for the murder of her lawful husband, Jacopo Morani, of —.' At this point I saw no more, heard no more. I KNOW beyond a peradventure that heart, mind, brain, all, all, gave way. I *died* to the Richard Stanhope I had been, and after many long weeks of raving lunacy I became a new spirit in the old body, but a worn out wreck, a miserable, woeful, sham of a man, with no thought but to live, because I must, and to do something in the shape of feeding those more hungry and miserable than myself. Whether this state was, as I now think, the obsession of some spirit even more miserable than myself, or a mania of my own soul, induced by agony and horror, I can never quite determine. I think, myself, we may live many lives in one body, and yet, by the force of circumstances and outward impressions, our minds may become so changed that the former individuality of our soul may be lost, though our body remains the same. Be this as it may, I believe that I had but one ray of reason during many weeks of madness, and this was when the doctor in attendance upon me informed me that the ghostly tragedy (the representation and memory of which had so fearfully affected me) had been enacted by a woman, wife of a billiard player who had passed himself off as her brother in order to attract custom by her beauty. That the wretched woman having in prospect a much more wealthy marriage with a rich dupe, had, with the aid of her equally wicked mother, put her husband to death. The mother had escaped to the Continent, added the doctor, the daughter confessed her crime on the night before her execution.

"What more need be said, my Ethel, to explain the

1881-1892: Queen of the Midlands

- March of 1893: The Unseen Universe folds after twelve issues, rather hurriedly
- Emma obliquely cites “private and personal motives [that] must of necessity actuate every individual in the conduct of life-work,” but declines to elaborate -- she’s strapped
- And angry: “My second reason for suspending the monthly record of what I hoped to make an aid in this great work of spiritual progress is because I have been constantly solicited, by those who know in fragments something of my past wonderful life, to give its fuller details, in such an autobiography as will show what wise, strong, and loving spirits can do, and have done, for a young, un-friended foreigner in a strange land conducting missionary work in the face and defiance of popular opinion. When the good spirits, who have thus led and supported me, combine with the good friends who have still found me out, even **in the midnight obscurity of Manchester Spiritualism**, and urge me to the writing of this autobiography, I cannot refuse their plea; in fact, compliance is inevitable.”
- Her life is all she has left to sell.

Section 10

1892-1899

Rewriting A Life

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- March 1893: The Unseen Universe folds after twelve issues
- November 24, 1894: William dies
- October 2, 1899: Emma dies
- This is another period of local, organizing activity in Emma's life, punctuated by the announcement of The Spiritualist Encyclopedia, the publication of the The Two Worlds Album, and Emma's last crusade: the School for Prophets
- She is publishing (in Light and in The Two Worlds) and lecturing regularly: on fraudulent mediums, the effects of mediumship on health, and her occult topics

"The Lyceum manual." Compiled by Emma **Hardinge-Britten**, A. Kitson, and H. A. Kersey. Newcastle-on-Tyne: H. A. Kersey. A bright and lively book of hymns and "exercises" for spiritualists' societies; mainly for the young. People who are not spiritualists might profitably copy much that is in it.

The Coming Day, January 1895

TUESDAY EVENING.—Chairman, Mr. John Lamont (Liverpool). At 7 o'clock. Our Duty with regard to acting upon Information given, Advice offered, or Requests made, in Spirit Messages. Introduced by J. J. Morse (London), Editor of *The Lyceum Banner*. At 8.30. Answers to written questions from the audience on Spiritualism, Religion, and Reform. By Mrs. **Hardinge Britten** (Manchester).

Emma at the General Conference of Spiritualists, in London, in May of 1895 (as reported in Borderland)

... is too often terribly suggestive of deception.
The inaugural meeting of the newly-formed "Birmingham Spiritualist Evidence Society" (of which Mrs. **Hardinge Britten**, the talented lecturer, is the president, and Mr. Brian Hodgson the indefatigable secretary) was held on September 22nd, when Mr. Brian Hodgson exhibited some lantern views of "spirit photographs." A long and fair report appeared next day in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, together with a letter from the pen of Dr. Hall-Edwards, who had been present at the meeting. Dr. Hall-Edwards, in the course of his letter, said:—
"I have always contended that the scientific application of photography to the investigation of spiritualistic phenomena would at once and for ever prove or disprove the assertions of believers. From the lantern-slides exhibited it would be very difficult to make positive statements, nor should I venture to do so had I not carefully examined the photographic prints from which a number of these slides were prepared. I have no hesi-

Photographic News, October 9, 1896

Jubilee of Modern Spiritualism.—The jubilee of modern spiritualism was celebrated at the beginning of April in Manchester. Mrs. **E. H. Britten**, of Manchester, described as a "notable apostle of spiritualism," opened a four-days' jubilee bazaar and international fancy fair, the object of which was to raise £2,000—a very material agent—toward a propaganda fund to promote the spread of spiritual knowledge and enable those who sit in the valley of shadow, in fear

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- William's Death

1894.
BRITAIN John Goodworth of 9 Prospect-road Scarborough bricklayer died 28 December 1893 Administration York 23 January to John Goodworth Britain insurance inspector and Henry Britain bookkeeper Effects £471 15s. 6d.
BRITAIN Joseph of 27 Alexandra-road Winshill Derbyshire cooper died 21 March 1894 at Burntwood asylum Staffordshire Administration Derby 10 October to William Britain borough collector Effects £738 2s. 2d.
BRITAIN Thomas of the Cloughs Newcastle-under-Lyme Staffordshire esquire died 25 October 1894 Probate Lichfield 7 December to Joseph Cecil Clay gentleman Mary Britain spinster and Thomas Arthur Britain gentleman Effects £131708 16s. 1d.
BRITAN Alfred of Albion-chambers Bristol and of Failand hill Failand Somerset gentleman died 22 June 1894 at Failand hill Probate Bristol 23 July to Georgiana Maxwell Brittan widow Effects £80796 0s. 11d.
BRITAN John of Glencoe Torquay gentleman died 8 April 1894 Administration (with Will) Exeter 11 May to Charlotte Brittan spinster Effects £137 1s. 10d.
BRITTEN Edward Horsnett of 18 New-Elvet Durham died 22 March 1894 at the Durham county hospital Durham Probate Durham 23 May to Robert Cole cashier and James Moyes brewer Effects £228 19s.
BRITTEN Lois Harrison of 42 Lower-High-street Wednesbury Staffordshire (wife of Charles Britten) died 27 September 1866 Administration Lichfield 21 May to the said Charles Britten printer and stationer Effects £368 2s. 3d.
BRITTEN William of 1 Humphrey-street Crumpsall Manchester gentleman died 24 November 1894 Administration Manchester 12 December to Emma Hardinge Britten widow Effects £109 2s. 3d.
BRITTLE John of Lower Gornal Staffordshire grocer died 4 December 1893 Probate Lichfield 6 March to Thomas Share labourer Effects £18.
BRITTON Anthony of Low Close Forectt Yorkshire farmer died 13 October 1893 Probate York 19 January to Mary Ann Britton widow and Anthony Britton farmer Effects £373 5s.
BRITTON Elizabeth of 115 Gillott-road Edgbaston Birmingham (wife of Thomas Britton) died 5 October 1894 Probate Birmingham 30 November to Emily Frances Woolf (wife of Henry Woolf) Elizabeth Beatrice Britton spinster and William Hillman solicitor's clerk Effects £1550 19s. 6d.

- To the end, a cipher -- Emma's parrot gets more treatment in the Autobiography than does William (who gave it to her)
- 100 pounds and change: William's estate is meagre, at best -- working class men who died in the same year left their heirs more robust estates than William left Emma

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- The Encyclopedia of Spiritualism
 - Not a new idea of Emma's
 - Likely planned as a recycling of previously published material
 - Likely a subscription publishing
 - But without Emma's papers, we will never know, for sure

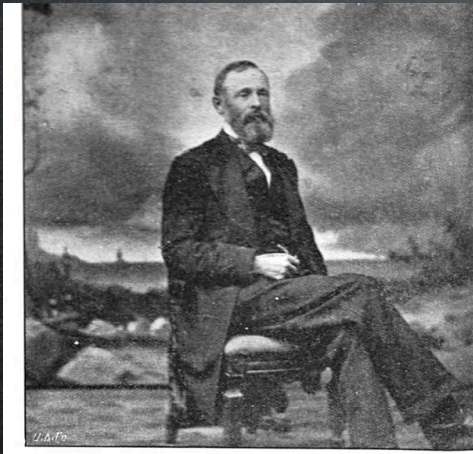


FIG. 29.—Photograph of Mr F. Rice, Greigsville, Livingstone Co., New York State, U.S.A., with several psychic portraits, showing the advance made from Mumler's time. Mr Rice was a friend of the late Mrs Emma Hardinge Britten. The above was intended for the *Encyclopedia of Spiritualism* which that lady prepared for publication. Mrs Wilkinson, of Sireford, Mrs Britten's surviving sister, presented it for this work. I put it in for her sake. The photograph is credited to Mr Frank Foster.

FIFTH EDITION.
THE HISTORY OF MODERN AMERICAN
SPIRITUALISM.

A Twenty-Years' Record of the Astounding and Unprecedented
OPEN COMMUNION
BETWEEN
Earth and the World of Spirits.

One Volume, Large Octavo, Six Hundred Pages.

Nineteen Superb Steel Engravings.

Autographs of Spirits.

Diagram of the Spheres, Executed by Spirits.

Wood-Cuts and Lithographic Plates.

The whole splendidly printed, on tinted paper, with extra fine binding.

Price \$3.75. Postage 50 cents.

BY EMMA HARDINGE.

The Portraits include admirable likenesses of

CORA L. B. SCOTT,
THE AUTHOR,
KATE FOX,
PROF. HARE,
JUDGE EDMONDS,

MRS. METETER,
DR. NEWTON,
CHAS. PARTRIDGE,
PROF. MAPES,
PROF. BRITTAN,

And many of the most distinguished Pioneers of the Spiritual movement.

The materials for this wonderful work have been collected by the author during ten years' travel through thirty-two States, and are drawn from rare MSS., Pamphlets, Journals, and works now out of print, and inaccessible to any other compiler.

The facts have been sifted and verified with the most scrupulous care; accounts of new, rare, and occult phenomena, are recorded for the first time in print; and no pains, skill, or research, has been spared to make this book an *Encyclopedia of Spiritualism*, and a Standard Work of Reference for the present and all future generations.

Hundreds of notices from the secular press testify that this is the most "wonderful and startling book of the age," and forms "the most valuable contribution to Spiritual as well as historical literature that the nineteenth century has presented."

This book can be ordered, or will be found on sale, at the offices of all the Spiritual papers and bookstores.

CHIEF AGENTS,

J. M. PEEBLES, ESQ., AND A. A. WHEELLOCK, ESQ.,

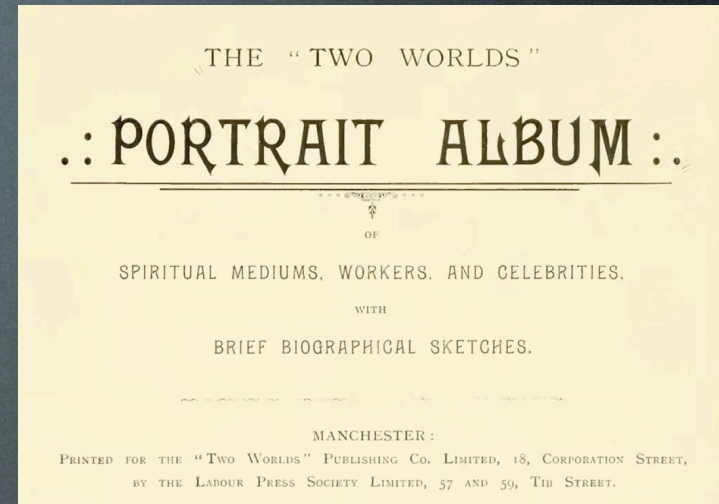
47 Prospect Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Sub-Agents in most towns and cities where Spiritual meetings are held.

Yearbook of Spiritualism, 1871

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- The “Two Worlds” Portrait Album
 - Emma featured prominently, but perhaps not her work - in a letter to TTW, Emma treats it as Wallis’ work
 - A wonderful collection of workers-in-the-field at the time, without any interest to those not included, I would guess
 - A boundary marking the decline of the first generations of Spiritualists, and the fragmentation of what might have been an international movement

This block contains three distinct elements. On the left is a black and white portrait of a woman, identified as Ida Ellis. In the center is a vertical column of text titled "PRESS NOTICES OF IDA ELLIS, AS A PSYCHOMETRIST." containing several short articles and testimonials from various publications. On the right is a photograph of a three-story brick building with a prominent bay window, identified as the permanent address in Blackpool.

IDA ELLIS,
PSYCHOMETRIST.
FEE: 2S. 6D. AND 5S.

Permanent Address—
KENT ROAD, BLACKPOOL.

Ida Ellis' full-page advert in the back of The Two Worlds Album. Ida, her brothers and her husband were in the business, running a correspondence school, among other things.

Ida deserves a biographer. Any takers?

Emma made the world safe for the likes of Ida.

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- 1895: The School for Prophets
 - Proposed in Light in 1895, and widely re-reported
 - Not a new idea for her -- explicitly suggested in Art Magic
 - As it seemed to Emma, the only method of ensuring orthodoxy, and limiting exposure of the movement by rogue media
 - Associated with “old age homes” for retiring workers in the field, much along the lines of Masonic homes being built during this period -- a topic that must have been on Emma’s mind at the time

WANTED A COLLEGE FOR MEDIUMS.

Mrs. **HARDINGE BRITTEN** has been appealing to the Spiritualists, through the columns of their weekly organ, for support to found a College for Mediums. She says:—

The first pre-requisite for this proposed Training College is a commodious house, with, if possible, some ground attached, and, here let me say, it can scarcely be doubted that there are some rich property owners, spiritually inclined enough to devote a house and lands to the *experiment, at least*, of the noble purpose under consideration. The house required should be large enough to accommodate from twelve to twenty young persons (we will say in the first instance of the female sex), together with a good motherly matron or housekeeper, a well-informed governess competent to teach the scholars various branches of literature and art (especially music), and a highly mediumistic person who, by aid of experience and study, should be able to organize the circles and devote herself, in a manner somewhat analogous to the ordinary spiritual Lyceum exercises, especially to the moral as well as spiritual culture of the scholars. Besides these permanent officials there should be a council of interested managers, who should meet at stated periods and aid in drawing up rules and superintending their practical application. At least three circles should be held each week for the purpose of unfolding and practising the mediumistic powers of the inmates, and regular services should be given every Sunday, attended by such members of the council and their friends as could be present. The scholars qualified for admission should be persons endowed with some mediumistic gift, and recommended by, or known to, members of the council, who could vouch alike for their capacity and worth. Whilst it is essential and right that the matron, governess, and mediumistic controller should be

A house, land, and some endowment, and gifts or subscriptions enough to pay officials and maintain the grand experiment, for at least one year, should surely be forthcoming from those whose wealth could meet the demand, and whose knowledge must assure them that their stewardship of that very wealth will determine their happiness or misery when they themselves become spirits.

The Editor of *Light*, commenting on this proposal, says:—

We should be very glad if Mrs. Hardinge Britten’s proposal for a kind of training school for mediums could be carried out. It is only a question of funds. In the meantime, we could quite easily try a few “rest homes” of a simple and private kind. Are there six wise and kindly families that would give a welcome, for a few weeks or more, to young mediums whose friends are vexed at their “gift,” and who themselves do not understand it or are half frightened at it? We are persuaded that in this direction, of private sympathy and guidance, much, very much, good might be done. In time, this might give us the steady supply of disciplined mediums, so urgently needed.

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- 1898: The Republication of Art Magic and Ghost Land by JR Francis at The Progressive Thinker, as a premium
- New editions, new type, new titles, new errors -- Emma's involvement was marginal, and it is not clear that she received any compensation from the new editions

Art Magic

OR MUNDANE, SUB-MUNDANE AND SUPER-MUNDANE SPIRITISM—A TREATISE IN THREE SECTIONS

360 pages in all—descriptive of Art Magic, Spiritism, the different orders of spirits in the Universe, known to be related to or in communication with man; together with directions for working, controlling and discharging spirits, and the uses and abuses, dangers and possibilities of Magical Art. There has been for several years a great demand for this work, as high as \$25 being paid for a single copy. Having permission of Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten, we republished the work, thus giving to the many what was only possessed by the few.

Price, \$1.50; postage, 15 cents.

Progressive Thinker advertisement



The **Progressive Thinker** excels in everything that pertains to Spiritualism. It is unique in some respects, is aggressive and always enterprising and interesting. One can not well keep posted in Occult and Spiritualistic matters without reading it weekly. The price at which it furnishes its premium books was never equalled in this country or Europe. Each year we furnish one book to our subscribers at less than actual cost to us. In pursuing this plan we have been instrumental in establishing the nucleus of a library in thousands of homes. The premium books we send out are especially valuable in Spiritualistic and Occult Knowledge; in fact they cannot be excelled for real intrinsic worth by any other equal number of books in the libraries of the world. Address all orders to **J. R. FRANCIS**, 40 Loomis St., Chicago, Ill.

A new kind of marketing is taking root in occult circles.



Corrupted front cover image of Progressive Thinker edition of Ghost Land: the rose cross gone, the cipher garbled

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- The Autobiography (1900)
 - Clearly a work-in-progress for years, out of the famous lost scrapbooks
 - Not clear that it was withheld until after her death (or that there was any reason for withholding it)
 - Very uneven, as autobiography
 - Speaks explicitly and implicitly of a huge body of primary material “behind it” that other people (James Robertson for example) saw as well

MEMORIAL EDITION.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Autobiography of
Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten.

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

This thrillingly interesting work is now ready for the Press. To be published by subscription. Handsomely Bound in Cloth.

PRICE TO SUBSCRIBERS, 4s. 6d.
Postage Free.

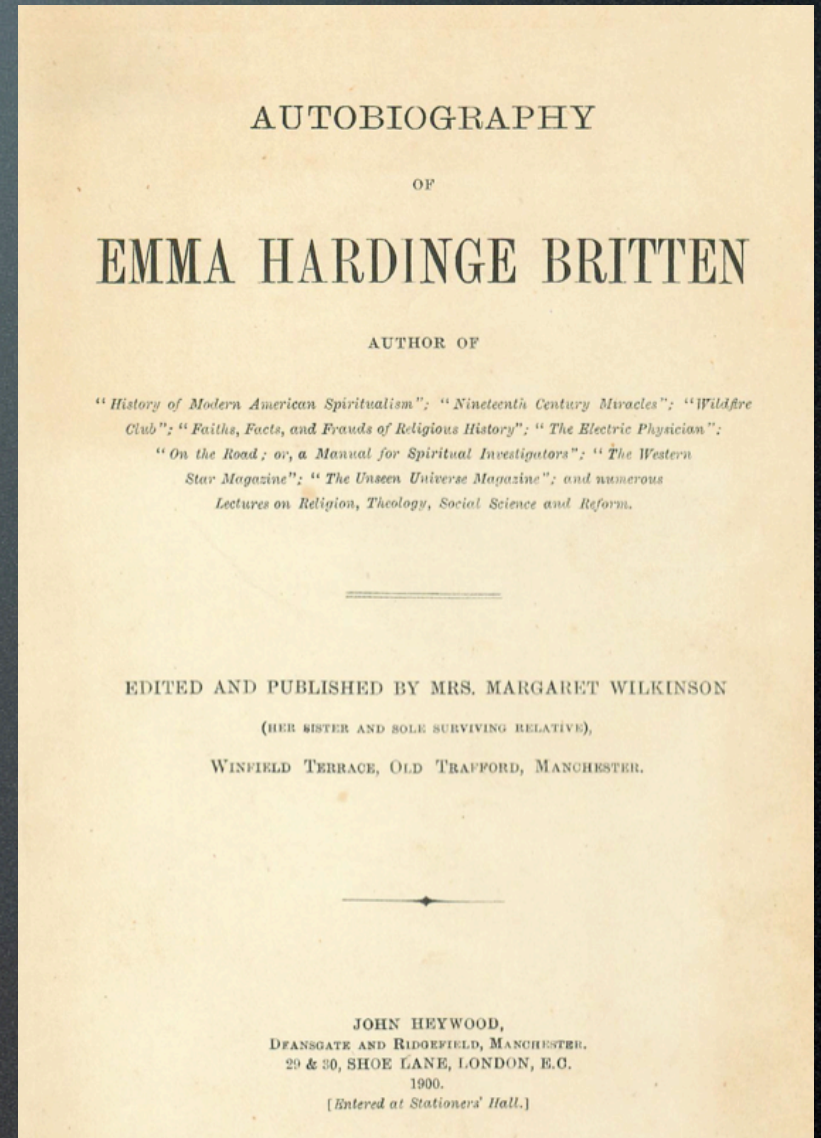
After publication the price will be 5s.

Send your orders at once, so that the book may be issued immediately. Direct all letters and make all remittances payable to

MRS. M. WILKINSON,
2, WINFIELD TERRACE, 473, CHESTER ROAD,
MANCHESTER.

1892-1899: Rewriting A Life

- The Autobiography has 21 chapters
 - Chapter 1 covers 1823-1855
 - 2-17 cover 1855-1865
 - 18 covers 1865-67
 - 19 covers 1867-1872
 - 20 covers the Australian tour, largely the resuscitation of the Hatch scandal
 - 21 covers New Zealand, the trip home, Joey (10 paragraphs), and William's death (1 paragraph)
- Is this authorial intent, or an indication of where she was stopped, by her death?



Where is The Two Worlds? Art Magic? Ghost Land?

"Religion, Theology, Social Science and Reform"

Section 11

What EHB Believed,
And What She Left Us

What EHB Believed

- Emma was a propagandist, and proud of it
- She was on the side of Gorgias, rather than Socrates -- she pleaded her client's case, using all means at her disposal
- And she was always aware of the fact that there was an audience, that she was "on stage"
- And that the past is always present
- She didn't tell whoppers, but she did prevaricate, shape, and elide
- Knowing what was "in her heart," as we like to say, at any time, is impossible, without her papers (and perhaps impossible with her papers)



Emma and Joey

What EHB Believed

- Her core beliefs -- or at least the themes she returned to, again and again, from different angles and with different degrees of precision -- are encapsulated in Six Lectures, Art Magic and Faiths, Facts & Frauds
- The Creed of the Spirits is Emma, regardless of its origin
- Her political principals are embodied in the Home for Outcast Women, the School for Prophets, and her overtly political writings
 - Incremental reform, enlightened self-interest, private philanthropy --> perfectibility
- She did believe in the existence of a lost wisdom tradition, but she could not follow its threads back in historical time -- because she was insufficiently well-educated (and, when she relied on secondary sources, she paid the price, in public, for doing so)
- She was all about replacing what she saw as a repressive, destructive Christian tradition with **a new religion, premised on the survival of personality after death, and perfectibility** -- a scientific (as she saw it) faith

What EHB Left Us

- Her body of work is probably interesting mostly for how it was used by those who came after her
 - Including, but not limited to, Burgoyne & Davidson and the HBoFL
- What she means, to modernity, is of course highly personal, but, for me:
 - She was a lone intelligent de-classed female
 - Making her (economic and emotional) way on the frontiers of knowledge and capitalism, advocating for marginal discourses
 - At a time of great, systemic change in Anglo-American culture
 - And she found herself, with other strong, smart women, leading an international movement -- a new religion
 - New Thought, New Occult, New Age -- she and her peers carved the channel that allowed the emptying of the river of the occult into the sea of modern culture -- theoretically, mechanically, structurally

What EHB Left Us

- The supernatural has become natural, commonplace perhaps
- “Spiritual, but not religious” is a legitimate denomination
- Much of what Emma believed -- “magnetism and psychology” in the main -- survive in our cultural discourse and in our own individual world-views - we just use different terminology
- Science has compromised anyone’s ability to claim, as Emma did, the hard, high ground of “facts,” but we are all, to some extent, her children...



Coda

Where Spiritualism
is concerned,
we are...Victorians.

I open my mouth for the dumb; and let it be recollected, that I write in defence of youth and old age, of female delicacy, modesty, and tenderness, not only of man and of manhood—surrendered up in weakness to indecent exposure, disgusting outrage, or uncalled for violence—that I write for the few who are objects of suspicion and alarm,—to society, who too much engrossed in business or in pleasure to exercise reflection, are equally capable of treating these objects of their dread and insolence, with lunatic cruelty, and the insanest mismanagement; being deprived, like them, of understanding, by exaggerated and unreasonable fear, but not like them by illness, of the guilt of their misconduct. The subject to which I direct attention, is also one on which, my readers, according to man's wont, the wisest of you are hasty to decide in action, or to hazard an opinion in proportion even to your ignorance.

In the name of humanity, then, in the name of modesty, in the name of wisdom, I intreat you to place yourselves in the position of those whose sufferings I describe, before you attempt to discuss what course is to be pursued towards them. Feel for them; try to defend them. Be their friends,—argue not hostilely. Feeling the ignorance to be in one sense real, which all of you confess on your lips, listen to one who can instruct you. Bring the ears and the minds of children, children as you are, or pretend to be, in knowledge—not believing without questioning, but questioning that you may believe.

John Thomas Perceval (1803-1876), from Perceval's Narrative (ed. Gregory Bateson)