

The future of that Trojan horse is now, again, in the balance. In the United States, parapsychology is to some extent in decline, despite the doubtless accurate claims of a growing "invisible college" of academics interested in psi phenomena. This is because in the United States psi private benefactors have primarily funded research. But as these individuals die off, or lose interest and divert their funding to other areas, parapsychological researchers are being left somewhat high and dry. On the other hand, parapsychology in Britain is booming—numerous universities there now have parapsychology units (largely due to Bob Morris's stratagem of seeding academe with dozens of PhD's in parapsychology) and this pattern is expanding as these places produce more PhD graduates. But some psychic researchers in Britain are unhappy with this development, complaining that university-based parapsychology is essentially reductionist in attitude, seeking to embed itself within mainstream paradigms. They fear a sell-out at Edinburgh, a fear exacerbated by rumours that the Koestler Chair has been renamed the Robert Morris Chair and that the shortlist of candidates for the Chair contained mainly psi-sceptical psychologists. But lobbying of Edinburgh by the concerned psi researchers seems to have had some effect because the shortlisted candidates were rejected as of 8 December 2005. At the time of this writing, the whole selection process appears to be in limbo because of this unexpected outcome and the subsequent advent of the holiday season. The final conclusion is therefore in doubt. It could come to pass that Koestler's name might be effectively written out of the history of parapsychology, with a career psychologist quite possibly inherently hostile to the idea of psi phenomena sitting in the Chair he founded. On the other hand, wiser counsel might prevail. By the time readers see this page, it is possible all will be revealed.

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Locus Solus: Lombroso e la Fotografia edited by Silvana Turzio. Bruno Mondadori, Milan, 2005. 182 pp. 18.00 Euros. ISBN 88-424-9210-8.

The Perfect Medium: Photography and the Occult by Clement Chéroux, Andreas Fischer, Pierre Apraxine, Denis Canguilhem, and Sophie Schmit. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005. 288 pp. \$65.00. ISBN 0-300/011136-3.

Visual representation has long been a powerful ally in the study of what is perceived to be unusual, be it the abnormal or the paranormal. Early physicians, for example, used drawings to illustrate the range of human monstrosities, what later was called teratology (Bitbol-Hespériés & Gana, 2003).

Similarly, mental illness types were depicted by hand-drawn images, as seen in the work of psychiatrist Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol (1772–1840) (Esquirol, 1847).

The representation of the strange changed later from drawings to the use of photography. The photographic productions of the *Salpêtrière* did much for the development of psychiatric photography and for the construction of the concept of hysteria (Didi-Huberman, 1982/2003). Our views of Charcot's hysteria are still shaped by pictures such as those showing the "passional attitudes" of Augustine, a famous patient (Bourneville & Regnard, 1878, plates 18–27, Augustine is discussed on pp. 123–186).

Similarly, we have many photographs of hypnotic phenomena in which the iconographic "aura" emanated a strong sense of the marvelous and the unexplained, while at the same time reminding us of the attempts of science at understanding (or taming) them. These include muscular contraction and rigidity (e.g., Pitres, 1891, Vol. 1, plate 1), and the expression of feelings and abstract concepts through facial expression and body postures (de Rochas, 1900).

This interest in capturing the marvelous and the bizarre on photographic plates was part of a late nineteenth-century interest in the instrumental study of nature. Many assumed that photography, like other forms of technology, provided a record of phenomena that dispensed with subjectivity. British scientist David Brewster (1781–1868) said the photographer "represents Nature as she is—neither pruned by his taste, nor decked by his imagination" (Brewster, 1845, p. 230). Others, such as French physiologist Étienne Jules Marey (1830–1904), reminded us that the use of instruments could help us to overcome the weaknesses of the senses. They were the means to conquer chaos, thus allowing us to perceive a previously "unknown world" (Marey, 1885, p. iii) that consisted of such invisible forces as changes of temperature and weight, movements, and electrical currents. Photography, according to Régnier (n.d.), allowed nineteenth-century physicians to "fix, set, label, systematize, (de)monstrate, teach, popularize, accumulate . . . penetrate the impenetrable."

Photography's "aura" of objectivity was actively employed during the nineteenth century to further the causes of science, but such objectivity has been questioned as regards the interplay between theory and visual representation, a topic particularly important in photographs of human beings, such as those of hysterics (Didi-Huberman, 1982/2003).

The power of photography was applied to psychic phenomena during the nineteenth century in many ways. Spiritualists, always presenting what they believed was objective evidence to support their beliefs, were eager to publicize the fact that photographs of spirits could be taken. In the words of a popularizer of the movement: "Spirit photography, though genuine specimens are easily imitated, is now an admitted fact" (Sargent, 1875, p. 80). Such assurances reflected the belief that photography offered an objective permanent record similar to the photographs of other phenomena of nature. This was believed to be a record of the reality of the spirit.

Cesare Lombroso and Photography

The two books reviewed here focus on the fascinating history of photography's interface with spiritualism and psychical research. The first one is a monograph of the Italian journal *Locus Solus*. Entitled *Locus Solus: Lombroso e la Fotografia*, this anthology, edited by Silvana Turzio, focuses on the photographic interests of Italian criminologist, psychiatrist, and psychical researcher Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909) (Bulferetti, 1975; Gibson, 2002). Lombroso (1887) firmly believed that criminals were different from other people. In his view they showed atavistic features, and behaviors, marking their abnormality. Some of these abnormalities centered on problems with sensibility (mainly deficiencies such as diminished sensibility to pain), and other problems such as a high frequency of epileptic and choreic episodes, higher strength on the left side of the body, moral insensibility, and impulsivity. The brain of the criminal, Lombroso (1887) wrote, "presents in general a volume inferior to the normal rule" (p. 251).

The book is about photographs housed at the Cesare Lombroso Museum of Criminal Anthropology (<http://www.museounito.it/Aombroso>). As we learn from the first essay of the book, "Gli Estremi della Fotografia," by Silvana Turzio, there are many photographs at the museum that depict some sinister parts of human nature. The collection is not limited to people, but includes photographs of other things such as craniums and plaster casts. Lombroso, Turzio argues, used photography as a criterion of truth. His collection of photographs of criminals, writes Renzo Villa in "Um Album Riservati," came from his attempts at "accumulating anything that may serve to demonstrate one thing: the delinquent as a variety of the human genre" (p. 23). Many of the photographs of criminals and the mentally ill are presented in a long section entitled "Le Fotografie del Museo di Antropologia Criminale Cesare Lombroso."

But Lombroso was also known for his interest in psychical research, as can be seen through his writings (e.g., Lombroso, 1892, 1909), biographies (e.g., Bulferetti, 1975), and other studies (e.g., Zingrone, 1994). Representing his times and his positivistic approach to the study of human beings, Lombroso placed much importance on the instrumental recording of mediumistic phenomena. In his view: "The great mediumistic problem cannot be solved without the assistance of those accurate instruments by the use of which we are saved from every possible error of judgment" (Lombroso, 1909, p. 72). Photography was one of the graphic techniques of nineteenth-century science, and one appreciated by Lombroso, for what he took to be its ability to establish the objective nature of mediumistic phenomena.

In the essay "Storie di Fantasmi per Adulti: Lombroso e la Tecnologia dello Spectrale," Alessandra Violi discusses what she refers to as Lombroso's positivistic approach to spiritualism, with emphasis on photography. Violi refers to the "iconographic repertoire of spectres" (p. 50), a phrase that includes Lombroso's interest in luminous and materialization phenomena. Some of the

photographs Lombroso presents in his 1909 book *Ricerchi sui Fenomeni Ipnotici e Spiritici* (translated into English, Lombroso, 1909) are said to show a change from "invisible to visible matter, from no form to form, and from the dimension of time to that of space" (p. 60).

The anthology also includes the chapter of Lombroso's *Ricerchi* on "transcendental photography," which opens with an affirmation of the usefulness of photography to prove that phantoms exist beyond mere hallucinations. There is also a section of photographs that physician Enrico Imoda sent to Lombroso documenting his materialization *séances* with medium Linda Gazzera. Imoda (1912) reported on this work later in his book *Fotografie di Fantasmî: Contributo Sperimentale alla Costatazione dei Fenomeni Medianici*.

While the pictures are attractive and evocative, the essays touching on psychical research do not do much to help us understand Lombroso's actual work. In her essay, Violi addresses the influence of Lombroso's work on the artistic expressions of others, but unfortunately the topic is discussed too briefly and the actual influence of Lombroso (as opposed to a more general influence of spiritualism and psychical research) is not documented. In addition, the pictures from the Imoda album would have benefited from more information about Imoda and Gazzera. Some information appears in the photography chapter from Lombroso's *Ricerchi*, reprinted here, but this is not the same as discussing the particular pictures presented. As exciting as the photographs can be, representations such as these need a context to be understood, unless one is interested solely on evoking the imagination of viewers. As argued in the next book reviewed here: "To consider only the aesthetic qualities of these images, to disregard the original motives for their production, ignoring the environment in which they were produced and removing them from their documentary context, is to risk rendering them incomprehensible, like beautiful objects stripped of meaning" (p. 13).

Photographing Spirits, Forces, and Thoughts

The book in question, *The Perfect Medium: Photography and the Occult*, is a remarkable production that presents over 350 photographs of a variety of phenomena and topics related to spiritualism and psychical research. The book is a catalog of museum exhibitions of these phenomena, which was first published in French after an exhibition at the *Maison Européenne de la Photographie*. More recently, the exhibition appeared at the Metropolitan Museum of **Art**, which I had the opportunity to see. The exhibit was organized by both museums in collaboration with the Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie und Psychohygiene, in Freiburg, and also with the assistance of the Howard Gilman Foundation. The book, however, presents many more photographs than those displayed at the Metropolitan Museum exhibition and it is much more impressive and aesthetically pleasing than the actual exhibit.

The Perfect Medium presents photographs and several essays that put the photographs in context. In the opening essay, "Photography and the Occult," Pierre Apraxine and Sophie Schmit argue that the work is not concerned with the actual reality of the phenomena. Instead they state that the photographs "give us information about the role of photography in the pursuit of knowledge, and about those who employed it" (p. 14). This connects the topic with the use of photography in science, an area discussed in several works (e.g., Canguilhem, 2004; Thomas, 1997), but unfortunately neglected in this and most of the other essays. But the photographs represent many other dimensions, among which the authors mention the relationship of people with technology, as well as the "work of the imagination, or errors of judgement" (p. 14).

The focus of the book is the period between 1870 and 1930, and the essays and photographs are organized into three sections. The first one is about photographs of spirits. The second is a section about the photography of "fluids" or forces emanating from the human body. The third section covers the photography of mediums. The latter does not refer to actual pictures of the mediums, but to the phenomena they produced, mainly materialization manifestations.

Photographs of Spirits

Spirit photography generally consisted of taking pictures of people around whom faces or bodies of spirits invisible to the naked eye could be seen in the picture. There are many examples of these pictures on the Web (e.g., Do you believe?, n.d.; Harney & McCuen, n.d.).

This section has five essays. The first one, by Crista Cloutier, "Mumler's Ghosts," tells the story of American William H. Mumler (1832–1884), the first professional spirit photographer. Perhaps his most famous picture was that of Mary Todd Lincoln (1818–1882), Abraham Lincoln's (1809–1865) widow. The photo shows a faint image close to her that looks like President Lincoln. Mumler was accused of fraud in the production of spirit images and taken to trial in 1869. While the case for fraud was dismissed for lack of evidence (*Spiritual Photographs*, 1869), the press of the day was largely skeptical. The Chicago Tribune published descriptions of methods to fake the flimsy spirits seen besides the sitters in Mumler pictures ("Spirit photographs: How can they be made?," 1869). Referring to the medium after the trial, a writer in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle argued that "Mumler is going about the country, lecturing, selling photographs, and finding profit in the fact that many bucolic fools survive" (Topics of to-day, 1869).

A later writer argued that, as regards spirit photography, "Spiritualism demands that our credulity shall be infinite . . ." (Mahan, 1876, p. 73). It is not an exaggeration to say that after the Mumler affair the topic was branded forever. Suspicions of and evidence for fraud continued to be associated with spirit photography in later years (e.g., Price, 1922; Sidgwick, 1891).

Issues of fraud are also at the center of Andreas Fischer's essay "A Photographer of Marvels: Frederick Hudson and the Beginnings of Spirit Photography in Europe." Fischer focuses on Frederick Hudson's spirit photography in England. In addition, he discusses the photographs of John Beattie. These showed "Luminous apparitions, sometimes looking a little like the silhouettes of human beings or animals, but often with no definite form . . ." (p. 32).

In "Ghost Dialectics: Spirit Photography in Entertainment and Belief," Clément Chéroux discusses the parallel development of spirit photography and the photography of spirits for entertainment. He argues that during the 1860s these two manifestations of photography reflected (or pictured?) each other, as seen in the case of French spirit photographer Édouard Isidore Buguet (b. 1849). An interesting part of this essay is the discussion (and arguments) of French spiritists defending Buguet, who confessed he had faked the phenomena and was tried in court. "The mocking tone with which the press covered the affair after the judgement," writes Chéroux, "clearly indicates that, in France, spirit photography had lost all credibility" (p. 51). The relationship between the two types of spirit photographs is symbolized in the fact that after his conviction Buguet changed his profession from spirit photographer to a photographer of faked pictures, some of which show him levitating tables clearly for entertainment.

The remaining essays of this section also focus on controversy. That was the case of the photographs in Andreas Fischer discussion of William Hope (1863–1933) and Ada Emma Deane (1862–1957) in "The Most Disreputable Camera in the World: Spirit Photography in the United Kingdom in the Early Twentieth Century."

Sophie Schmit focuses on Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) in her essay "Conan Doyle: A Study in Black and White." Among other photographic controversies, Doyle vigorously defended the reality of the famous fraudulent Cottingley fairy pictures taken by two cousins, Elsie Wright (1901–1988) and Frances Griffiths (1908–1986), who claimed to have had the unique experience of playing with fairies. Schmit also briefly covers Doyle's defense of an accusation of fraud regarding William Hope (Price, 1922). Presumably connecting this incident with the Society for Psychical Research's handling of the Hope affair, it is stated in passing that Doyle left the Society in 1923. However, Doyle was still a member in 1930, when he resigned in reaction to a criticism of physical phenomena unrelated to Hope and to spirit photography published in the Society's journal. In a circular sent with his resignation, Doyle stated that he had become convinced that "the influence of the Society is entirely for evil" (Doyle, 1930, p. 48).

Doyle was a charismatic character and a superb publicist for the cause of psychic phenomena and spiritualism. In his 1922 lecture tour in the United States he lectured at Carnegie Hall in New York City, astounding the audience with a slide of a spirit photograph of William T. Stead (1849–1912), who died in the sinking of the Titanic (Devils, too, in other world, says Doyle, 1922).

Human Radiations

The next section of the book is entitled "Photography of Fluids." This is meant to include the photographic detection of forces related to the human body. The concept of forces emanating from the human body to account for a variety of phenomena is an old theoretical idea in psychical research (Alvarado, 2004). Following older writings, Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815) popularized the concept of animal magnetism as an explanatory concept of many phenomena (Mesmer, 1779/1970). According to a follower of Mesmer, "magnetical effluxions" could induce "kind of temporary trance, or extatic idiocy, during which period they have every appearance of fonno-ambulants . . ." (*A Letter to a Physician in the Country on Animal Magnetism, with His Answer*, 1786, p. 4). Similarly, this force emanating from the body was said to explain healing, clairvoyance, and many other phenomena. The concept was also present in spiritualism, where it was postulated that a force emanating from the medium could account for the physical phenomena of mediumship. In his *Des Tables Tournantes: Du Surnaturel en Général et des Esprits* (1854), Count Agénor De Gasparin (1810–1871) argues that table turning and other phenomena of spiritualism and mesmerism could be explained by a physical agent or force. As he explains: "If my brain, active as a Leyden jar, emits and directs a fluidic current through my nerves, if the other members of the [mediumistic] chain follow similarly, it is evident that it would not be long for us to form sort of an electric battery, by which the influence will be felt according to our thoughts; we will produce a rotation, we will produce, also at a distance, vigorous liftings" (Vol. 1, p. 514).

The idea that this force, or something similar, could produce photographic effects is the topic of the essays "Photographs of Fluids: An Alphabet of Invisible Rays," by Clement Chéroux, and "'La Lune au Front': Remarks on the History of the Photography of Thought," by Andreas Fischer. Both are excellent essays. Those who believe that the photography of forces and the study of thought photography is a recent enterprise should study the accounts presented here of the work of French proponents Louis Darget (1847–1923) and Hyppolyte Baraduc (1850–1909), and of critic Adrien Guébard (1849–1924).

Chéroux, who believes that "photography of fluids represent nothing real" (p. 122), associates the above-mentioned French photographic work with the late nineteenth-century interest in X-rays. He argues that those attempting to detect fluids defended its connection to the scientifically respectable X-rays as a way to obtain legitimation through association.

Soon after the discovery of X-rays it was predicted that spiritists "will find explanations . . . of psychic effects, of spirit photographs, of telepathy . . . In other words, the Rontgen rays will soon be famous among them as the paths upon which the spirits walk" (How new discoveries affect the world, 1896). There were actually some speculations along these lines. For example, William Crookes (1832–1919) mentioned X-rays as a possible referent for telepathy (Crookes, 1897).

Furthermore, many discussions of force concepts in psychical research have been compared with, or associated to, more conventional physical phenomena, regardless of photographic detection. For example, some early writings about physical mediumship argued that electricity was behind physical mediumship (e.g., *Modern necromancy*, 1855). Other researchers, such as Charles Richet (1850–1935), compared materializations to physical processes: "Materialization is a mechanical projection: we already know that projection of light, of heat, and of electricity; it is not a very long step to think that a projection of mechanical energy may be possible. The remarkable demonstrations of Einstein show how close mechanical and luminous energy are to one another" (Richet, 1923, p. 468). In a world full of new and little understood forces, the existence of unrecognized principles behind psychic phenomena did not seem to be a far fetched idea to some.

Today we take the role X-rays have had as a technique of diagnostic medical imaging for granted. But we forget the impact X-rays played on society when they first became known, one that captured the public's imagination. For many, this was the marvel of the times. Furthermore, this marvel was related to all kinds of unorthodox ideas and processes. Examples of these include newspaper accounts of X-rays being able to resuscitate a dead mouse ("Life in the rays: Roentgen process revives mouse supposed to be dead," 1896), to attempt to impress images on the brain ("New use for the Roentgen rays: Experiments in New York to impress images on the brain," 1896), and to cause sleep when radiated on the head ("Nature of the X rays: Tesla says they are composed of material particles," 1896).

The final essay of this section is entitled "The Thoughtography of Ted Serios" by Stephen E. Braude. Braude's is the only essay to discuss a fairly recent photographic investigation. In addition, different from the rest of the essays, this one is more positive about the reality of the phenomena, at least to the extent of pointing out that some proposed explanations of fraud do not apply to the conditions under which Serios produced the photographs.

Photographs of Phenomena Produced by Mediums

While the previous two sections of the book deal with invisible phenomena perceived thanks to only photographic plates of different sorts, the volume also touches on the use of photography to record visible phenomena. Particularly interesting were the photographs of materializations, a phenomenon of great importance to spiritualists because it was believed that the spirits could be both seen and touched. For this reason, photographs were a powerful means to sustain spiritualist tenets, to the point that an American spiritualist referred to them as the "proof palpable of immortality" (Sargent, 1875).

Materializations began to be reported soon after the initial activities of the Fox sisters in the United States. In an early séance with Kate Fox, it was reported that "On looking towards the window (the moon shining through the curtain), we saw a hand waved to and fro. . . . This we have witnessed many times our-

selves, and several have discovered distinctly the features of persons whom they knew, and who had been dead for years" (Capron, 1855, pp. 105–106). Several spirit hands were observed in 1855 with the Koons family in Athens, Ohio (Hare, 1855, pp. 296, 305–306). Later works such as Crookes' *Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism* (1874), Olcott's *People from the Other World* (1875), and Owen's *The Debatable Land between This World and the Next* (1871) present accounts of full body materialized figures that were as controversial as spirit photography.

Photography was used both to provide evidence of the existence of the phenomena and as a recording device. In "The Reciprocal Adaptation of Optics and Phenomena: The Photographic Recording of Materializations," Andreas Fischer discusses the topic considering, among other examples, photographs of the Katie King materialization produced by medium Florence Cook (1859–1904) in England, and, particularly, the later work of German physician Albert F. von Schrenck-Notzing (1862–1929) with **Marthe Béraud**, known during this period as Eva C. It is fascinating to notice how von Schrenck-Notzing dealt with the photographic evidence that was said to show that the ectoplasmic faces resembled illustrations from the magazine *Le Miroir*. He believed that ectoplasm could be shaped by the mind of the medium. As Fischer summarizes, the German researcher thought that the "medium had projected . . . [images] from her memory, or from her unconscious . . ." (p. 181). That is, the medium's thought could shape ectoplasm. This idea may be considered to be a poor excuse to explain away negative evidence. But the reader should be aware that the existence (as opposed to the validity) of such concept may be easier to understand as something more than von Schrenck-Notzing's desperate attempts to defend his work when we pay attention to previous ideas on the topic. Both Chéroux and Fischer discuss in essays in this volume the ideas of such writers as Baraduc and Darget regarding the possibility of affecting photographic plates through thought. Similarly, but not emphasized in the discussion, previous writers had already presented the idea that the medium could effect materializations through their thoughts. One example was French researcher Albert de Rochas (1837–1914). In speculating about the physical phenomena of medium Eusapia Palladino (1854–1918), de Rochas (1897, p. 25) argues that the medium's mind could shape the fluidic bodies involved in physical phenomena. Seen in the context of previous belief in the idea of the power of thought to imprint matter, be this photographic plates or materialized matter, von Schrenck-Notzing's ideas may be seen as a continuation, or extension, of a previous concept.

Fischer gets into a brief discussion of the disappearance of materialization, arguing it can be interpreted in two ways: "Either they really were the result of deliberate falsification, which became increasingly difficult to carry out as the monitoring became stricter, or the production of phenomena of materialization was completely incompatible with conditions of rigorous experimentation . . ." (pp. 182–183). In addition, there are other issues that should be considered. Like the classic *Salpêtrière* hysteria, materialization phenomena may have depended

to some extent on psycho-social aspects that changed and thus brought about the gradual disappearance (or drastic reduction) of the phenomena. Perhaps the decline of physical mediums could be traced to training, expectations, and other issues that may have been affected by the skepticism fueled by exposures of fraud or by changes in the spiritualistic movement that in turn affected these factors.

The rest of the essays in this section cover phenomena produced by three mediums and one particular issue. In "The 'Margery' Case," Pierre Apraxine discusses the influential Mina Stinson Crandon (1888–1941), alias Margery, who divided the American psychical research community. Sophie Schmit writes on "Franek Kluski's Casts." Another essay, by Denis Canguilhem, is about French astronomer Camille Flammarion (1842–1925) and Eusapia Palladino and is simply entitled "Flammarion and Eusapia Palladino." While interesting, relevant, and informative, the essays are very brief compared with previous ones by Fischer and Chérourx.

Canguilhem also has an essay called "Monitoring the Phenomena" that focuses on the study the Institut Général Psychologique conducted with Palladino (Courtier, 1908). Although this topic is interesting, I wonder why it was chosen. While it is true that this study is a model of instrumental recording of telekinesis, as well as a systematic study of physical aspects of the phenomena, and other aspects such as the physiology and psychology of the medium, photography was a minor component of the studies. The author himself acknowledges this when he says that the medium's reticence to be photographed "explain[s] why photography was little used during the séances" (p. 250). The book would have been better served if the essay had been wider in scope, perhaps including monitoring attempts such as those seen in the photographs on pages 254–261.

Concluding Remarks

There is no doubt that the photographs presented in the two books reviewed here are of great interest for both their scientific and artistic value. In particular, *The Perfect Medium* is simply astounding in the quality and variety of its photographs. It is a unique document in the literature on the subject and one that will do much to inform the new generations of the existence of this rich psychic iconographic past.

On some occasions I wish the books reviewed here had included more context about the topics they covered. Turzio's volume could include more information about Lombroso's use of photographs of Palladino herself. For example, in the context of Lombroso's ideas about the pathology of this medium (Lombroso, 1909; see also Zingrone, 1994), his publication of photographs of Palladino laughing hysterically and showing hyperesthesia after the séances (e.g., plates facing pp. 112 and 116 in Lombroso, 1909) do much to project pathology. In this sense, a researcher may construct the very subject he or she investigates (on a similar issue regarding hysterics, see Didi-Huberman, 1982/2003). Such a process may take place in many ways. One is through the selection of the photographs that get published, such as those that are consistent with or that

better illustrate the researchers' theoretical beliefs. Lombroso may have selected those particular pictures of Palladino from many others because they fit with his view of Palladino as a hysteric (but a hysteric he believed capable of producing genuine telekinesis and materializations). Another way is through the education of the medium, or the conscious and unconscious ways in which the medium is "told" what type of phenomena, and what particular features, are preferred.

Similarly, the essays in *The Perfect Medium* could have discussed in more detail the concepts of forces prevalent in the psychical research literature as well as the assumptions behind the phenomena of materialization. These topics are not ignored but are too briefly discussed, and this may affect the understanding of context of the photographs for the general reader.

While Apraxine and Schmit argue in the introduction that the issue of the reality of the phenomena is not the focus of the book, this does not mean that the issue of fraud is ignored. All the contrary, accusations of, and evidence for, fraud are discussed in some detail in many essays. This is as it should be because such controversies were an integral part of both the photographs as well as the research work and performances that produced them. Furthermore, the accusations of fraud surrounding photographs such as those of the Cottingley fairies, Margery's mediumship, and the performances of spirit photographers such as Mumler and Buguet quickly became a matter of popular culture as newspapers and other publications discussed the topic.

Unfortunately, some issues related to fraud were omitted from the accounts. This is the case of the doubts de Rochas (1908) expressed about some of the photographs of astral bodies taken by Russian Jacob von Narkiewicz-Jodko (1847–1905), observations of fraud with Palladino recorded by Flammarion (1907, pp. 201, 203), and information presented by Tietze (1973, pp. 137–139) about Margery in a previously unpublished document authored by J. Malcolm Bird, one of the medium's investigators.

None of the above points, however, should detract from the historical and cultural contributions of these two books to the study of photographic phenomena. In fact, one hopes they will mark the beginning of further studies on the subject, studies that may include as well other phenomena, photographs of mediums and psychics when they are not performing, and photographs of laboratories and instrumentation.

The use of photography in the study of psychic phenomena has declined dramatically, a situation related to similar declines in studies of physical mediums and concepts of force within academic parapsychology. Following J. B. Rhine's model of parapsychological research, modern parapsychology moved into research on "micro" phenomena and with unselected subjects that could be quantified and summarized in tables and graphs. The latter movement, as Danziger (1994, Chapter 5) argues in his study of aspects of psychological research, was part of a change from attention to specific individuals to an emphasis on aggregate data. With no emphasis on "macro" manifestations, there are no phenomena to photograph. Similarly, when the phenomena elicited are not

studied by the naked eye, but quantified, the need to photograph an event disappears. Also relevant here is the modern emphasis on mental phenomena, mainly ESP, with no photographable aspects, except for pictures of the experimental participants and of other relevant persons during the tests (see the photographs presented in Rhine's [1934] initial monograph).

There are, of course, other factors involved in the decline of photography here. The influence of fraud is a powerful one. But we should also consider that the power of photography to convey representations also may have contributed to its own demise in parapsychology. The appearance of spirit photographs, and even more of materializations, projected grotesque and frankly ridiculous looking visual spectacles, as seen in the photographs published by Imoda and von Schrenck-Notzing, among others. When I have shown pictures such as those presented in *The Perfect Medium* to people, those involved with parapsychology and those who are not, the paper and cloth-veil-bedsheet-like looking ectoplasms inevitably produce skepticism, or at least a sensation of mental discomfort. Such images do not necessarily indicate fraud, but in an attempt to picture the manifestations they also enhance the shocking and incredible aspects of the phenomena and make us want to automatically avoid being duped.

If anything, consideration of these photographs is a reminder of the complexity of the phenomena in question, and their social context. They also remind us that their photographs are no simple processes of mere recording, being instead entangled in all kinds of agendas and purposes. Even if we grant objective reality to these phenomena following the lead of countless of spiritualists and psychical researchers, there is still much left in photographs that belongs to the eye of the beholder.

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Einstein and the Ether by Ludwik Kostro. Apeiron, 2000. 242 pp. \$25.00 (paper). ISBN 0-968-368-948 (Apeiron: 4405, rue St-Dominique, Montreal, Quebec H2W 2B2 Canada; <http://redshift.vif.com>).

A century after Einstein first published on Special Relativity, there remains a surprisingly vigorous opposition to his theories despite their overwhelming acceptance by most working physicists. In this centenary year, one might suppose that an even-handed review of the relativistic hegemony and the beleaguered minority of antirelativists, summarizing the arguments of both camps and the evidence each can muster, would be a valuable resource.

Unfortunately, *Einstein and the Ether* by Ludwik Kostro is not that book, despite its promising title. Kostro, a historian of science, has instead assembled what may be even more surprising: a thorough examination of Einstein's writings on the subject of the ether, over the decades after one might imagine relativistic physics had abolished the subject.

Anyone who has been through a modern education in physics can be pardoned for thinking that the ether resides, like phlogiston and caloric, in the neverland of long-abandoned, misleading, and useless physical concepts. The conventional wisdom is that Einstein's theory provided a conceptual underpinning for the baffling results of experiments that persistently refused to show an "ether wind" that revealed Earth's velocity relative to the absolute reference of the cosmic