A Behemist Circle in Victorian England

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This is the story of a group of six or seven people who carried the torch of theosophy—using the word in its traditional sense, to denote the teachings of Jacob Boehme and his followers—through the barren years of the Victorian Era. That Boehme had disciples in England and Germany during the hundred years around 1700 is well known: there were his translators Sparrow, Ellistone, and Blunden; his commentator Freher and his illustrator Gichtel; his mystic followers John Pordage, Jane Lead, and William Law. The publication of the four-volume English edition of Boehme in 1764-1781, with its famous folding plates, is the last legacy of that period[1]. Students of the German Romantics, of the French Illuminists, and of the English poets (especially Blake) for fifty years around 1800 will be aware of a second wave of Behmenist influence. But what happened next, especially in the England that was once the promised land of Behmenism? During more than a century, between "Law's Boehme" and the Glasgow edition of the *Epistles* in 1886[2], only one small book of his was published in England[3]. It might therefore seem futile to study an empty period in Behmenist history. But I hope to show that this is not the case.

The "circle" of our title was a loosely-knit group of friends and relatives, not a single study-group in which they all met together. Their histories are fragmentary, since no one has undertaken the search of family archives (if such even exist) that proper biographies would require. Moreover, these people's lives overlap and intertwine in a way that makes a strictly chronological approach impossible. The reader will find it helpful to know in advance that the circle consists of a founder, James Pierrepont Greaves; a man and his daughter, Thomas South and Mary Ann South (who later became Mrs. Atwood); a central figure, Christopher Walton; and another man and his wife,

Mr. and Mrs. Penny (née Anne Judith Brown). Minor roles are played by Mr. Atwood, the Theosophist painter Isabelle de Steiger, and another Theosophist, C. C. Massey; and there is a guest appearance from the French occultist Eliphas Levi.

If it is difficult to pinpoint the revival of theosophy in nineteenth century England, the name of James Pierrepont Greaves (1777-1842) must stand somewhere at the head of it. Greaves was a London merchant with inherited capital and a property in King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street, whose business was ruined in 1806 when the Napoleonic War cut off foreign trade. Accepting bankruptcy, he turned over his property to his creditors, and thereafter lived on the income allowed by them. But the premature end of Greaves's worldly career was only the beginning of his life in the real world of philanthropy and spiritual endeavour. The turning point came when he read about the life and struggles of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1745-1827), the Swiss pioneer of humane education for the very young. Greaves was so excited that he packed up then and there and moved to Switzerland. He arrived at Pestalozzi's establishment in Yverdun in 1817 and stayed for eight years, until family matters necessitated his return to England.

Pestalozzi had expressed the hope, as early as 1818, that Greaves would act as his voice to the mothers of Britain[4] : a challenge which the former merchant took up in 1825, using as his forum the London Infant School Society. In many ways, Greaves's ideals resembled those of the pioneer Socialists Robert Owen, whom he had met at Pestalozzi's[5], and Charles Fourier, of whom he had certainly heard there[6]. They were against the aloof paternalism of the established Church, the selfishness of the rich and the dog-eat-dog mentality of the poor, and all that made people strive against each other rather than live in fellowship. But Greaves's field of view was not limited to the bettering of life on earth, nor to the reorganization of the outside world. For this disciple of Law and Boehme, all must come from within, and all must lead to the bettering of man's spiritual, not just his material environment. Pestalozzi, in a letter to Greaves, had described the end of education as: "to render man conscientiously active in the service of his Maker; to render him useful, by rendering him independent, with relation to society; and, as an individual, to render him happy within himself."[7] The Swiss educator believed in the essential goodness of the human creature, and that "the ultimate destination of Christianity is to accomplish the education of mankind."[8] This would not do for Greaves, whose values were entirely the other way round. Man was not perfect, neither was his destiny to become happy and educated on earth.

For four months in 1827, Greaves advertized his own form of radicalism in a journal with a striking title and format: *The Contrasting Magazine of errors and truths: intended to direct the*

attention of thinkers to the errors of the leading opinions of the day: and to the only means of real improvement. Printed in double columns, the articles consisted of someone else's text, marked "Is this True?" accompanied by the Editor's amended version, marked "Or, is this True?" Some of the authors were famous, like Robert Owen or Thomas Paine; others were forgotten divines, or correspondents rash enough to write to the magazine, whose letters were contrasted with what they should have said. Here is a telling passage from a review of Pestalozzi's *Letters on Early Education* in which one can see the gulf between the humanistic attitude and Greaves's theosophic one. The reviewer writes of Pestalozzi:

> His simplicity of mind and *gentleness* of heart made him among children only a child *of larger growth and greater wisdom.*
>
> In conveying instruction, he *assumed no airs of* authority, appealed to *no rules*, enforced *no doctrines*, and used *no books.*
>
> He simply led his pupils on from thought to thought, and *contrived* to make the pupil *teach itself.*
>
> Another novelty of his *plan*, is the *extreme early age at which he would have* instruction *commenced.*

In contrast, Greaves suggests the following version:

> His simplicity of mind and *the devotedness* of *his* heart made him among children only a child *conscious of the power of God within man.*
>
> In conveying instruction, he *founded upon that living* authority *within the child*, appealed to *this innate law*, enforced *upon the submission to this interior evidence*, and used *no reasoning.*
>
> He simply led his pupils on from *feeling to feeling*, and from thought to thought, and *endeavoured* to make the pupil *discover a teacher within himself.*
>
> Another novelty of his *views*, is *his acknowledgement that this interior instruction commences at the moment of birth.*[9]

Everything in Greaves's writing directs attention to the inner voice, the divine nature within man, which is our common birthright but which we need to rediscover and submit to. Owen and Fourier had had much to say about Love, but to Greaves they lacked the essential "Love-nature." In other words, theirs was a social and sexual love, profane rather than sacred. Far from the free and joyful indulgence of the passions that was the raison d'être of Fourier's utopia, Greaves believed that "every abstinence is good."[10]

This "Sacred Socialist" was as good as his word. Freed, for all his business failure, from the necessity to earn a living, Greaves lived a life of philanthropy, asceticism, and voluntary poverty. He organized a large-scale scheme of public works in 1832, in Randwick,

Gloucestershire, paying his workers not with money but with credits redeemable for basic foodstuffs, clothes, and household goods, thus preventing them from spending their wages on drink.[11] Not only was Greaves a vegetarian and teetotaller, but he considered that there was no need in the human diet for tea, coffee, sugar, butter, cheese, salt, mustard, pepper, or vinegar.[12] Uncooked food from the fruit garden was his ideal, eaten so slowly that a five-minute snack would take as many hours. For variety, he urged adoption of what he called the "Boil'd Bread Diet."[13]

Diet was only one level of Greaves's triple programme for the rescue of mankind from its predicament, which he describes as follows:

> Man is a being in a three-fold confusion; he is made of substances which are in confusion, in his stomach, in his head, in his heart. His cookery is as erroneous as his philosophy and his religion. He is as much without a rule in his head as he is without a rule in his religion, and in his food, and he will remain so while the natures are so confused within him. No animal can be so sadly disorganized as man.[14]

To remedy the situation, Greaves proposed nothing less than a movement of "pennyless, moneyless missionaries, who being filled with love can go forth, and deliver the Love message, and demand what they need of those who have the same."[15] Though there were few in England willing to take on the life of a Buddhist monk, Franciscan friar, or Hindu sannyasin, Greaves's personal qualities did attract a few kindred souls. One, Alexander Campbell, was working for Robert Owen's movement in Cheltenham, as a missionary of the "Association of all Classes of all Nations," when he met Greaves and was converted to his principles of theosophy.[16] Campbell's contribution was to edit and publish his master's letters after Greaves's death

Greaves did not see the infant as a pure spirit whom "civilized" education warps and depraves: the trouble began earlier. "I affirm that Education can never repair the defects of Birth," was the quotation chosen by Campbell for the title-page of the *Letters*. And what causes these birth defects? The abuse of sexuality on the part of the parents. Greaves urges repeatedly the deferral of marriage until both partners have reached a degree of spiritual maturity; and then, he says, consummation should occur when the woman, not the man, demands it. "The woman, with the love in her feelings, must win the man's affection, and the man, with his wisdom, must exercise and direct the woman's understanding."[17]

Just as he was out of sympathy with the free-love movement and with materialistic, "physical" socialism, so Greaves also rejected the

popular and sectarian Christianity that seemed to him on the same low level of aspiration. The complacency, the blind trust in Church and Bible, and above all the exclusivity of such Christians was as far as possible from the inward path of his theosophy. A pair of contrasts from his magazine will show how Greaves dealt with an exoteric Christian of this type who boasted of his own tolerance of unbelievers. The latter, "C.A.W.," writes:

> Nay, *I could* live upon good terms *even* with *a Deist, provided he keeps within the bounds of decency, and does not carry with him through life, that juvenile vanity*, which will not suffer *him* to be quiet, till *he has* told all the world that he *laughs at those things which they consider as the most* sacred and inviolable.

Greaves offers as a contrasting statement:

> Nay, *we shall* live upon good terms with *every human being, and not oppose their professions, unless, instead of keeping them for themselves, they be animated by that selfish spirit of bigotry*, which will not suffer *them* to be quiet till *they have* told all the world that *all that is* sacred and inviolable *is contained in their articles of belief, and all the remainder is doomed to eternal damnation.*[18]

Greaves's religion did not need Thirty-Nine Articles, nor a Church, nor even Jesus Christ as the vicarious sacrifice for mankind's salvation. Jesus was for him simply the highest possible exemplar of the union with God, to which every human being can and should aspire. The desire of the soul for Union, he writes, is the strongest possible prayer, and must not be lost sight of at any moment.[19]

Greaves was a Behmenist in the sense of his devotion to the inner church and the inner way; in his acceptance of Boehme's explanation of the roots of sin and suffering; and in his refusal to countenance a mystic path that was not suffused through and through with love. But unlike most of Boehme's disciples, and certainly unlike the master himself, Greaves seems to have had little interest in the intermediate domains of spirits, spheres, and cosmogonic systems that make Boehme's works so compelling to a certain mentality. In comparison to the Behmenists, Greaves's letters and diaries make monotonous reading. He was uninterested in occultism and cosmology, indifferent to the current craze for animal magnetism and mesmerism, and seemingly ignorant of the historical context of his quest. His was the short path to regeneration and union, and his influence was less as a writer or persuader than through the power of his own presence—which, as the twinkling eyes of his portrait show, was anything but solemn and sanctimonious.

Isabelle de Steiger (1836-1927) writes that in the 1840's Greaves

led a theosophical circle that met in a country house in Kent. Steiger was very old when she compiled her memoirs, which are fascinating but full of slips and repetitions. For instance, she says that this group went on until 1860 or 1870, yet adds that it died peacefully with Greaves.[20] Nevertheless, she got her information from a former member, Mrs. Atwood, and it does seem likely that the circle existed in Greaves's last years, when he was living in London. His influence thus passed to two remarkable women, Mary Ann South and Anne Judith Brown. As we now turn to them, they will lead us to the difficult personality of Christopher Walton, the collector and biographer of William Law; and to their own close relatives, Thomas South (Mary Ann's father) and Anne's husband Edward Burton Penny.

Mary Ann South (1817-1910) was one of the daughters of Thomas South (c.1785-c.1855), a gentleman, of Bury House, Gosport, Hampshire. In conformity with her era and class, Mary Ann had only the education deemed suitable for a lady; she later deplored her lack of a proper grounding in classics and philosophy, to say nothing of chemistry, astrology and geology. However, to Isabelle de Steiger, who was under the same disadvantage, the old adept's self-earned knowledge of classics was extraordinary.[21] Some scientific gaps must have been filled, too, by Mary Ann's study of what she called her chief guide: the *Elements of Physiophilosophy* of Lorenz Oken. This book of 1810, of which an English translation appeared in 1847,[22] was a universal manual of knowledge, covering nature, science, and the arts. Oken's central idea was the correspondence of every domain of nature with the human body and its senses. In a way, this was a version of the Renaissance doctrine of correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm, adapted to the new discoveries of science and the categorizing zeal of German scholarship. It was a "Philosophy of Nature" in the spirit of Novalis or of Goethe's *Pflanzenlehre*, and thus inspired at second remove by Paracelsus, Boehme, and the seventeenth-century alchemists.

The 1840s were the era of the *Zoist* magazine, in which mesmerism and magnetism, trance states and clairvoyance, were investigated by physicians, clerics, and natural philosophers, while also being the talk of London's drawing-rooms and fodder for popular novelists. Thomas South's daughters plunged into this world and into practical experimentation of a type that Greaves would never have condoned. By this time, the discoveries and cures that had brought fame to Anton Mesmer in the 1780s had been expanded in three principal directions. First, there were the experiments of the Comte de Puységur, who had found that people under mesmeric, or, as we might say now, hypnotic, influence sometimes acquired extra-sensory perceptions: clairvoyance, clairaudience, knowledge of past and future, etc. The state in which this occurred was called "lucid somnambulism," for the subject was not asleep, but able to describe

all that he or she perceived. Second, there was the combination of Mesmeric theory with the recent researches of Gall and Spurzheim, inventors of the science of Phrenology. Carl Jung himself, in his *Psychological Types*, showed respect for the insights of phrenology as one of the first modern attempts to systematize the workings of the psyche, though its relation to bumps on the head, while true to the doctrine of correspondences, rested on shaky ground. Thirdly, though this falls outside our scope, the advantages of Mesmerism for inducing anaesthesia were demonstrated to tremendous effect and the discomfiture of the medical profession, which cruelly refused to countenance the use of something it could not understand. The Souths were involved in a branch called "Phrenomagnetism," in which trance-states were induced with the help of touching certain points on the skull.

In 1846, Thomas published a pseudonymous book: *Early Magnetism in its higher relations to humanity as veiled in the poets and the prophets*, by "ΘΥΟΣ ΜΑΘΟΣ."[23] In view of future developments, it seems likely that Mary Ann collaborated on the work, and that the following description of the trance-state as a short cut to mystical experience may be hers:[24]

> Now it is believed, and on no light evidence, that the magnetic trance affords, nay, is itself, when justly and perseveringly ordered for that end, THE METAPHYSICAL CONDITION, pre-eminently perfect. It removes the sensible obscuration, and presents a clearer glass before the mind than it can ever regard in the natural state. The patient is no sooner lightly entranced, than he begins to feel an internality never before known to him, and which may be increased with more or less effect according as the intention is fixed, and the calibre of the minds and circumstantial conditions are favourable or otherwise; though under the single ordinary operation of one agent and patient, the work will hardly become universal.[25]

Mary Ann gives further information in a letter she wrote to Christopher Walton in about 1849:

> It is as an example or forecast of a superior condition of life, and of the power of artificial means for inducing a state of self contemplation, by entrancing the senses, that the phenomenon of mesmerism appears to me now principally interesting. If you have *already* witnessed this and the ordinary manifestations of *Phrenomagnetism* I am unable to procure you a sight of any thing novel or peculiarly striking in these departments; but if you have *not* seen these things, and will be moderate in your anticipations, I shall have much pleasure in accompanying you to see an exhibition promised me at Camden Town on Friday evening (tomorrow I mean) at *six* o'clock.

Thomas South believed that this trance-experience and the "magnetic" means of inducing it were the great secret of Antiquity. The statues of Egypt and India seemed to demonstrate "magnetic postures" such as Mesmer and his pupils had rediscovered; from Egypt, these mysteries must have spread to the Hebrews and later to the Greeks.[26] "Religious creeds and modes of worship," he wrote, "may indeed change, or be borrowed by one people from another; but their base in reality is immutable, and always originates where it is rightly understood." And again: "We have little faith in mere individual revealments... truth does not belong to persons or periods."[27]

The Mesmerists of the 1840s were a strange mixture, ranging in their persuasions from rank atheists (for whom animal magnetism was simply a natural force), through open-minded Deists hoping to discover more about the intelligent forces directing the universe and mankind, to Christians of various shades, most of them dissenting from the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, which looked on the magnetic phenomena— dangerously close to those of certain saints and of Jesus himself—with terror disguised as contempt. Evidently Thomas South was not of the latter persuasion. While he quotes the Scriptures whenever he sees in them a hint of ancient knowledge and practice of this secret art, his heart was more with the Neoplatonists, whom he cites in Thomas Taylor's translations. Here is a Proclus-inspired definition of what is going on objectively during the trance-experience described above:

> The Mind rightly disciplined and related to the Universal, becomes universalized and one with the great magnetic Will of nature; and revolving with the Infinite Medium through all its spheres, developes in order its various correspondencies, with the regular coadaptation and harmony of its parts; thence by participation it perceives all things in all, and in itself microcosmically, until at length, becoming perfectly converted to its Principle, the divinized Epitome moves with demiurgic power and grace.[28]

Or, as Thomas South puts it with epigrammatic brevity: the Absolute can only be known by becoming it.[29]

By 1849, Mary Ann and her father (one never hears of her mother) were collaborating on a larger project: an exposition of how this kind of mysticism had been concealed in the writings of the alchemists and Hermetic philosophers. Thomas was going to treat the subject in verse, Mary Ann in prose. His poem is lost, but her treatise was duly completed and published in 1850 as *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery*.[30] Some readers will know the story of this first

no, it's in Quest 10/2 (1979) 213-225 see Pritchard

modern attempt to give alchemy a spiritual, rather than a material explanation. No sooner was the book printed than the Souths got cold feet: was it for nothing that these mysteries had been concealed so long, and was it for them to violate the discretion of the ages? They collected and bought back all the copies they could lay their hands on and burnt them on the lawn of Bury House. However, for all their scruples Mary Ann was not unwilling to lend a few survivors of the original hundred copies to friends and confidants. Since several reprints have since appeared, there is no need here to dwell on the *Suggestive Inquiry*, beyond giving it a context.

For Thomas South, the new science was a godsend, supplying what a moribund Christianity could no longer provide. He writes to Walton circa 1853 that:

> ...now when the light of Christian Truth is so intirely eclipsed amongst us, the natural magic ought to be again developed and must be, before we can hope for a restitution of the Divine.
>
> It was chiefly with this view that the Hermetic Inquiry was written, to promote the investigation and open all initiatory means to the great End, but I had no inclination to systematize prematurely or accommodate reviewers with propositions which can only be appreciated by following the progressive evidence throughout.
>
> The whole Edition of the Book is now withdrawn into *my own hands* for private circulation only, having had reasons to fear the consequence of indiscriminate publication.[31]

Thomas South himself may have gone further into forbidden zones than is implied in Mary Ann's *Suggestive Inquiry*. The evidence for this is also in his letters to Walton, in which he repeatedly urges his friend to abandon his slow path of studying Boehme, Freher and Law. South wrote early on in their relationship: "We are evidently in different spheres of mind, I cannot help viewing it as though you travel by rail, and that our school passes you in the electric telegraph—what this means can only in any way be explained personally."[32] Now the Souths were, as we have seen, willing to share the *Suggestive Inquiry*, with its dangerous revelations, with selected friends—Walton among them. So it cannot be simply of these that Thomas South is speaking in the following letters. I can only interpret what follows as a hint at the practice of sexual alchemy:

> I had hoped to find in you an ardent enthusiastic enquirer in the road I put you on, but dared not venture farther unless, at your own instinctive suggestion. Business I fear has intervened and drawn you away from the pursuit, be assured it is the only clue to thread the labyrinth of this life's mystery, the only saving

> passage for Regeneration. The little you have seen of Magnetism, the unprepared subjects, both agents and patients have probably afforded you but little light. Mrs. Walton is likely to be far the best vessel you have ever seen or heard of for enlightening you, and I was in hopes ere this to have heard of some result in that quarter, I have never seen any one more apparently fitted for the experience. Pray remember me and all of us most kindly to her—remember this, the secret is most awful and to those who have by any means intellectually or spiritually ever attained a knowledge of it, conscience has at once hermetically sealed and discretionary revealment [sic], the recipient of such sacred science must first be deeply moved with a desire (this longing after Immortality) for the Attainment when his spirit is quickened and duly craving for the flame the light assuredly will from without kindle the fire within, and he will at once see and believe and know the way of regeneration, and that there are indeed no other...[33]
>
> ...of this be assured, Freher as well as others had knowledge of a practice in common with Behmen, which and *which only* raised them when they were not regenerate but on the road to be so. In one generation there is but one, one only way, no one ever dared to reveal it openly, never in print never in writing and never personally but after long experience of character, particularly as to one point, reticence—tis true it was never discovered to me in this way, I am under no oath but those which conscience sealed my lips with as the light burst on me as it has rarely burst on others. I tell you as my honest friend this holy light, has surely beamed on my unworthy self, after a long course of intense worldly suffering mental and bodily, that beam that kindled Behmen [and] Freher also fell on the humble head that now directs this pen.[34]

I may be wrong in my surmise, but I can think of nothing else that would have evoked from a liberal-minded early Victorian such awed discretion. The mesmeric trance was one thing, and perhaps from Thomas's point of view a spectator's phenomenon only. But here he is speaking of a personal experience. Possibly he attained by this means, well known in the Tantric traditions of the East and in certain Cabalist schools, the certainty of other modes of being that had been denied him, not being a good mesmeric subject. But even if I am right about this, I have no reason to believe that Mary Ann South was a party to it.

We will return later to Mary Ann South's history, after she became Mary Ann Atwood in 1859. But the reader may already have wondered who this Walton was, who in Thomas South's words never got sufficiently out of his "Behmenist straitjacket" to learn these awful secrets.

Christopher Walton (1809-1877) was the scion of a prominent Northern Methodist family on his father's side, and of a Bristol one on that of his mother, Anna Maria Pickford. Walton came to London as a silk mercer in 1830, and subsequently set up as a "Goldsmith, Dealer in Diamonds, Pearls, etc." at 24 Ludgate Street (later at 8 Ludgate Hill). His route to Jacob Boehme is easier to trace than his road to riches. As a Methodist, he happened upon John Wesley's "Some Extracts from Mr. Law's Writings." This led him to read all of William Law's works in order of publication, thus moving from the devotional tracts to the great illustrated edition of Boehme, and to collect a magnificent theosophic library.

It is just possible that Walton had also been in contact with John Pierrepont Greaves before the latter's death in 1842. The British Library identifies them as joint authors of a short anonymous work entitled *On the Present, Past, and Future, with regard to the Creation*,[35] on which Walton's hand has added, as title: *Behmen, Law, and other Mystics... written from a Knowledge of the Philosophy of Jacob Behmen.* Although not published until 1847, this book has a strong flavor of Greaves. Its exposition of Boehme stresses the dualism of all creation, established by some "sin far older than man's."[36] Much imagery is taken from the world of fruits and vegetables; a sliced apple or orange is a "microcosm of the great world of Nature." It is surely Greaves, not Walton, who writes the charming meditation on a table spread with all manner of grains, seeds, roots, and fruits,[37] and it is his emphatic voice that rings through the declarations at the end, for example: "The present Creation seems to be only a parenthesis," and "I believe Christ Jesus, the Lord, to be the full, living *image, house, form,* and *glory* of GOD."[38]

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Walton was behind the publication, because after the essay comes a prospectus for an *Outline of the Biography of William Law* in three volumes. The reader learns here that the Law manuscripts and papers have been purchased from his descendants, while anyone knowing of other materials is invited to contact "X.Y.Z., c/o Mr. Walton, 24 Ludgate St."[39]

Walton had decided by 1845 to devote all his energies outside his business to the Behmenist cause, and in particular to gathering and presenting to the world the materials for a proper appreciation of William Law. During 1845-46 he was paying the Rev. Robert Payne Smith of Pembroke College, Oxford (a future Dean of Canterbury) for editing and perhaps translating. Samuel Jackson, a busy translator of German religious books, called Walton's attention to the Freher manscripts in the British Museum and offered to translate for him. But the bulk of the work was done by Walton himself, who worked diligently to understand Boehme's ideas and make them comprehensible to others through extracts and quotations.

The result of his labors was an edition of 500 copies, not sold but distributed to libraries and individuals, of a stout octavo entitled *Notes and Materials for an adequate biography of the celebrated divine and theosopher William Law. Comprising an elucidation of the scope and contents of the writings of Jacob Böhme, and of his great commentator, Dionysius Andreas Freher; with a notice of the mystical divinity and most curious and solid science of all ages of the world. Also an indication of the true means for the induction of the intellectual "heathen", Jewish, and Mahomedan nations into the Christian faith.*

The title-page of this anonymous work is dated London, AD 1854, but the Preface is signed Midsummer 1856. Evidently Walton had trouble bringing his work to a conclusion, and no wonder: it is the most chaotic presentation imaginable. Certainly there are riches in abundance: an ample exposition of Boehme's system; a biography of William Law; extracts from Freher's manuscripts, both those in the British Museum and in Walton's own possession; an introduction to Boehme's French translator, the "Unknown Philosopher" Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin... But it is all piled higgeldy-piggledy, stuffed into immense footnotes, and, worst of all, printed in microscopic type. When Thomas South thanked Walton for the book, he complained that the "small type debarred me from deep perusal," and he was not the only one. Twenty years later, with a certain impatience, Walton was telling Mrs. Penny that his magnum opus was perfectly legible if one would just obtain a pair of "common spectacles," and gave her the address of where to get them.[40]

If Walton had not penetrated to the Souths' deepest alchemical arcanum, he had at least learned from the father and daughter of the fashionable context within which to present his magnum opus. He calls Boehme "a perfect clairvoyant," though (he adds) not as the current scientists define this, nor as the seers and "lucides" explore inferior astral or "phantasaic nature." No: Boehme penetrated to the centre of the divine majesty itself, "for being a highly regenerated gospel christian," (there speaks the Methodist!) "therefore the divine eye found in him a proper medium of understanding."[41] While putting Boehme on a higher level entirely than the Magnetists, Walton does allow that the student, besides reading, will do well "to witness some really good cases of magical sleep or trance, with lucid clairvoyance."[42] At the very opening of his Preface, Walton confesses that his understanding was "much enlarged and perfectionated" recently when he "obtained a true and philosophic insight into the *arcanum* of 'Animal' or 'Vital Magnetism'."[43]

For all his enthusiam for the theosophers, Walton was a typical example of the would-be esotericist trapped within his exoteric tradition. Far from giving him a broad, detached, and serene view of the universe, his following of Boehme's footsteps left him a

literalistic worshipper at the letter of both Old and New Testament, and a missionary intent (expressed on his title-page) to convert the heathen to "pure gospel christianity." I will not go into the squalid details of how he quarreled with all of his family, entering into lawsuits against his own son. It is better to remember him with gratitude for having collected the priceless manuscript remains of Law and Freher, and for having bequeathed them to Dr. Williams's Library in London, whence they are gradually being brought to light by Adam McLean.[44]

The letters received by Walton show that he had a persistent interest in mediums and Spiritualism, having business correspondence with the French clairvoyant Alphonse Didier in 1852, the famous American mediums Mrs. Hayden and D. D. Home, and, as late as 1876, Mr. Williams, a "physical medium." At Mrs. Marshall's, in 1861 or 1862, he got a written message that purported to be from the spirit of Freher himself; and in 1865, he had a long psychic reading of his character by J. Murray Spear, positively dripping with praise—thus tending to confirm the theory that psychics, and even "spirits," tend to reflect what is in the querent's own head!

Although Christopher Walton's presence will continue to brood in the background, I turn now to the other members of this Behmenist circle: Anne Judith Brown (1825-1893) and her husband Edward Burton Penny (1804/5-1872). Anne was one of the thirteen children of the Rev. Walter Brown, Rector of Stansfield, Oxfordshire, and Prebend of Canterbury, and Eliza Cokayne Frith. Orphaned at six, she was raised by an older sister; then a spinal disease left her crippled for life, and often in pain.[45] Young Anne Brown must have had little to look forward to, but as it turned out she would later have a happy marriage and a career of vigorous intellectual activity and writing, first as a moralist, then as one of the deepest thinkers of the Spiritualist movement.

According to Isabelle de Steiger, Anne Brown was a friend of Mary Ann South and a member of Greaves's study-group in Kent, though she could only have been in her teens at the time.[46] Massey, on the other hand, says that she was introduced to Boehme by the Rev. Enoch Warriner, Rector of Foots Cray, Kent, in 1854, and thereafter to Saint-Martin. Whichever is the case, she remained a firmly committed Behmenist to the end of her days.

Anne's first literary incarnation covers the years from 1857, when she published *Morning Clouds*, to 1865, the year of her marriage. *Morning Clouds*, which ran to a second edition, is a book of gentle moralistic advice to those on the threshold of adult life. The next work—anonymous, like all these—was *The Afternoon of Unmarried Life* (1858), whose dedication tells all: "To the Unmarried Gentlewomen of England whom time has made familiar with sorrow and not averse to thought... with unfeigned respect." It is on how

they can occupy themselves for the world's benefit and their own fulfilment. *A neglected line of study strongly recommended to the rich* (1860) is a plea for help on behalf of poor clergymen and their families.

Anne Brown now turned her skills to the novel. *The Romance of a dull life* (1861) is dedicated "To those who know the weight and worth of dullness." The heroine, inhabiting a Jane Austen world, fails to get married yet perhaps lives happily ever after because she reads Boehme and Swedenborg, and does not even shun the Unitarians! *Problems in human nature* (1863) is a collection of essays in a broad Christian vein, avoiding the excesses both of Rome and of "extreme liberalism." The last of this period, *Wanted—A home* (1864) and *Spring and Autumn* (1865), are also novels in the customary three volumes, peppered with quotations in German, French, and Italian, but suffused with a gentle piety, as a reviewer of the time might have said.

To the modern reader, Anne is a very dull writer. She wrote for people like herself, with time on their hands to ramble and muse through "three-decker" novels and moralities. Even her later work on philosophy is extremely wordy and often unclear. But she accepts her dullness, her spinsterhood, her aches and pains and boredom as she watches men busily running the world for her and other women running after the men. It does not worry her because she has found an inner sense of worth, an inner light metaphorically and perhaps actually. It is this that she is trying to convey to her readers.

When Anne Judith Brown married the Rev. Edward Burton Penny, Rector of Topham, Devon, on 3 October 1865, her life must have become a lot less dull. They met because of a mutual interest in Saint-Martin, says her biographer Massey. Mr. Penny's correspondence suggests a three-cornered connection, for he speaks of two friends called Mr. and Mrs. Greaves who admired Walton, stayed with Penny for four days in the summer of 1863, and lent him the books of Saint-Martin. Mr. Greaves had been to Paris and made a pilgrimage to Saint-Martin's tomb, and also to the Unknown Philosopher's publisher, who disappointed him sorely with his ignorance of theosophy.[47] It would be a strange coincidence indeed if this Mr. Greaves were not related to James Pierrepont Greaves, possibly as his son. If so, it would be fitting for him to have introduced his friend Edward Burton Penny to his father's sometime pupil Anne Judith Brown.

Mr. Penny had long been familiar with the theosophic and mystical tradition. Many years before, he had followed William Law's advice of taking a month's retreat for prayer; he said he was far from attaining the degree of concentration that Law recommended, but that it had had a permanent influence on him.[48] By 1863 Penny was corresponding with Christopher Walton, having responded to the

latter's recent entries in *Notes and Queries*, and inviting him to visit him and his (first) wife in Devon. Penny was thrilled by the discovery of Saint-Martin's letters to Kirchberger, and said that he felt like translating them—which he duly did.[49] But he was not self-restricted, as Walton was, to the Behmenist school. Penny read the French esotericists Fabre d'Olivet and Eliphas Levi, and even Paschal Beverly Randolph's *Dealings with the Dead*, in which he was struck by the parallel with an experience of Gichtel's: the discovery of his friend's soul in the form of a globe. Feeling that he had to excuse himself for this slumming in disreputable literature, he asked Walton:

> Is it not lawful to look for jewels, even under the swines' feet? If the smell of the sty does not offend you too much, I should like to know whether you can not find something worth picking up in Randolph's *Dealings with the Dead*, 1862... This Randolph is a colored man, and was a medium and trance-speaker in England, a few years, ago;—but he repudiates such practice now.[50]

Penny was the sort of clergymen who could say that "to me all days are Sabbaths," and that "even the Devil is a useful idiot in a way."[51] But Walton was having none of this. Although his replies have not survived, it is easy to tell from Penny's reactions that the pious goldsmith considered Fabre d'Olivet "almost as bad as Swedenborg,"[52] and declined all comment on Randolph. Instead, he tried to get the Rector to come round to his own Methodism, preaching to his friend to the extent that the other burst out: "What *do* you mean by wanting me to come round to the simple practical views of Bromwell and Tersteegen? Preaching and praying in rooms or highways without outward authority? I seem called to another direction."[53]

The second Mrs. Penny made an excellent team with her husband. To his French she added her knowledge of German and Italian, and introduced him to the works of Franz von Baader, Boehme's German editor and commentator.[54] The two of them were close friends of the Atwoods, visiting each other's houses and, as Steiger says, "all four being much connected with Church dignitaries."[55]

This cosy life of teas in vicarage gardens did not prevent Edward Penny from going to Paris in Spring 1867 and paying a visit to the most un-vicarly Eliphas Levi. A few years earlier, on 3 and 4 December 1861, Levi had been visited by the young Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, Rosicrucian and Freemason, who wrote a celebrated account of his conversations.[56] Penny was less anecdotal in his impressions, as he related them in a letter to Walton; he was also as much inclined to instruct Levi as to learn from him. Because Levi is a

figure of such importance in English, no less than in French esoteric history, I give Penny's narrative in full.

> I called upon him in Paris, and told him I believed Boehme got his wisdom from the original source of the Kabbala itself. I questioned him about his ideas of miracles—the increase of loaves and fishes—the evil spirits sent into swine &c, he considers purely figurative. I told him Boehme would explain it more satisfactorily to him.—He professes to be ready to learn—but he does not read either German or English.—The point where his science seems to me to be truncated, or shortened abruptly, is his dogma that—"A thing is not just because God wills it, but God wills it because it is just"—His conception of God being restricted to what He is in His *Works*—he seems unable to ask the question what He is in *Himself*—Which, though we cannot comprehend it, we may *app*rehend.—and if a thing is not *just* because God wills it, but God wills it because it is *just*—it follows that justice is greater or prior to God and that there must be another God besides God.—I had not read this passage when I saw him, so I had not an opportunity to get him to explain;—I mean however to write to him.
>
> With these exceptions you will find what a wonderful analogy there is between what he claims for the *Kabbala* and we claim for Theosophy!
>
> The "Grand Oeuvre"—the Magical Science—Magnetic Power—all having for object to control, cut off, overcome the Astral Light, which is the same as the "Old Serpent," the "Spirit of the World," "Satan"—he approaches very nearly to Boehme's teaching,—though Boehme distinguishes between three forms or powers. It provides the *fulcrum* for Archimedes' lever whereby to move the world.
>
> Levi's great aim is to bring his science into *practical, positive* form.—he is eminently *synthetical*—while Boehme is more eminently *analytical*.—There appears to me in Levi a great *waste* of words about Magical *Rites*, and the *superstitions* of antient astrologers and professors of Magic and in the description of disgusting works of witchcraft and sorcery—and I should have thought his book would have been much better without it.—I should like to ask him why he has reproduced all this forgotten trash;—possibly it may be merely to gibbet the arms of the enemy—and hold them up to public contempt?
>
> I hope you will see this remarkable man when you go to Paris. His real name is *Constant*—Levi being a *nom de plume*, as I found out by his books,—since I saw him (for he allowed me to call him Levi)—He is about sixty. A man in his position, Cabbalistic I mean, who finds himself so much higher than all others of the school—or any other school he knows of—must

necessarily feel strongly fortified in his own conclusions and dogmas;—but he professes not to be above being taught;—and I am sure you will say that there are many things he may learn from Boehme—if he will but examine them *patiently*, and with an unfettered mind—and certainly nobody is more able to open Boehme to him than you are—provided you also are willing to exercise much patience, and lose your time with him;—(and supposing also you can converse in French which is his only language)—I should like very much to be the means of bringing you together—for I believe you may do each other good—his studies and experiments in Magic I conceive to have gone much farther than those of any man I know of—and, on the other hand, he knows nothing of the "zero" or the "little door within"—nor of the beauties of your Theosophic Problems. I have still to read his *Histoire de la Magie* and his *Clef des Grands Mystères*—perhaps they may tell me more about the man and his attainments.[57]

Despite this promising visit, Levi did not respond to Penny's subsequent letters. Penny told Walton that if the latter should succeed in seeing Levi, "you must expect to find him very much coiled up like the hedge hog in his armour of defence—his hierarchical prejudices may have something to do with this in dealing with English—and Protestants."[58] We must also be content, until other sources surface, with this glimpse of the Rev. Penny, surely one of the most delightful clerics of his day, and as much wasted on the parishioners of Topham as the erudite Mrs. Penny must have been on their wives.

It is sad to learn that Mr. Penny died after only seven years of marriage to Anne. Walton continued to correspond with the widow, whom he found equal to his deepest thoughts and feelings in a way that her husband had never been. In his last years, Walton's devotion was more and more to the feminine aspect of Divinity: Boehme's Sophia. In 1875 he writes to Mrs. Penny that the "Grand Secret of all secrets is to regard Virgin Sophia as your mother, and run to her knees as your rightful home."[59] In 1876 his jewelry business was robbed and he told his confidante that he felt his end approaching. Thereupon he presented his collection to Dr. Williams's Library, a Congregational foundation, where he said that it would be given a special room and known as "The Walton Theosophian Library." If given the opportunity, he went on, he would do his great work, "the climax of all grand works of all ages of Man, the one desideratum to the intellect of all mankind." He urges Mrs. Penny:

Aim Madam at this one thing and that by all diligence of labour and faith—until you can say I now know the light of the abyssal Godhead to be the fire of all fires—divine fire—the only

fire, and possessing my whole Soulish life and being. When this takes place (beyond Mrs. Pratt's theory of the glorified resurrection state), you are arrived again at the beginning whence you were made a creature, the circle completed in its first starting point, your life (literally true) hid with Christ in God. May this be your and my glorious experience and that speedily.

And he adds the note: "This the sum of all my theosophic studies hitherto, and now I am ready to tell the world *all*."[60] Walton remained silent and died a year later.

Returning now to Mary Ann South, we find her marrying in 1859 the Rev. Alban Thomas Atwood (1813/14-1883), whom Mr. Penny calls a friend of Miss Brown's and a man of "remarkable attainments."[61] A persistent search might unearth evidence of these; I have only come across a tract of 1837, written against the Oxford Movement.[62] Mrs. Atwood, as we will now call her, left Hampshire and London to live in Yorkshire, where Mr. Atwood was Vicar of Knayton-in-Leake with Nether Stilton, near Thirsk, and Rural Dean of the neighbourhood.[63] In this remote village the Vicar built a house, Knayton Lodge, out of his own money, leaving the funds for a vicarage to accumulate for the benefit of the future incumbent. Mrs. Atwood became a great gardener, but was more respected than beloved by the locals. Like the Pennys, the Atwoods had no children.

Mr. Atwood "appreciated but did not share his wife's mystical views; and respected but did not understand her great book," says Steiger.[64] Still, in 1865 he wrote a friendly review of Penny's Saint-Martin book for *The Recipient*. This was a Swedenborgian magazine, and Mr. Penny felt obliged to apologize on his friend's behalf to that arbiter of Behmenist orthodoxy, Christopher Walton.[65]

By the mid-1880's Mr. South, Rev. Penny, Mr. Walton, and Rev. Atwood were all dead. But many years remained to Mrs. Penny and Mrs. Atwood, living in their tiny villages of Cullompton, Devon, and Knayton, Yorkshire. Mrs. Penny began a second career as a writer for the Spiritualist journals. Her contributions to *Light*, the journal founded by W. Stainton Moses (who wrote as "M.A., Oxon."), show her horizons in a continual state of expansion. Thirty-five of her contributions were gathered in her posthumous *Studies in Jacob Boehme*, and another 88 listed there, ranging from brief letters to substantial articles on a great variety of subjects, of topical as well as eternal interest. In 1881 she praised Swedenborg, not ready to class him with Boehme but no longer dismissing him, as she said Saint-Martin and Walton had done.[66] She recommended the revival of respect for the science of astrology, as an element in the doctrine of the World-Souls of this and other planets.[67] On another front, she outgrew her scepticism of thirty years earlier concerning the Bible as an authority,[68] and was no longer willing entirely to dismiss the

Church's doctrines of prayer for the dead[69] and vicarious suffering.[70] Although she saw no hope for the near future that the esoteric and exoteric might unite within Christendom, she could now forgive the Church for teaching at the "child level," as many spirits were also doing—and being blamed for it.[71]

Spiritualism was a fact that had to be faced, especially if one was writing for Spiritualist magazines, and Mrs. Penny took part in the endless debate about what entities were actually communicating through the mediums: were they the souls of the dead, as most Spiritualists believed, or were they mindless discarnate "shells" and elementaries, as Madame Blavatsky was now proclaiming? Mrs. Penny was inclined to believe that human personality does survive bodily death, as Swedenborg taught, and that consequently the dead can on occasion communicate with us, and benefit from our prayers. Her study of Boehme led her to agree that the average souls, which retain an attachment to earth, are eager to embody and speak, and that the medium may serve to awaken their memories. But she was very doubtful that apparitions are who they say they are; the more so since the most blessed souls, in Boehme's system, go at death to the purely spiritual state.[72]

After contributing little during 1884-1886, Mrs. Penny returned to the pages of *Light* in 1887. Now one of the chief themes of debate was over reincarnation, which the French Spiritualists generally believed in, the American and British not (though there were counter-schools on both sides). "I am almost a convert...and a very reluctant one," was Mrs. Penny's position: reluctant because the doctrine was not in Boehme, and because the idea of a return to the earthly arena was repulsive to her. She could not believe that "enfleshed life" was the only possible vehicle for spiritual progress, but preferred to reserve judgment on the question.[73] Entering another popular debate, on the question of whether animals (especially pets) have souls, she was sure that they do. Dogs are potentially the younger brothers of humans, and conversely (says Boehme), depraved humans appear in the next world as dogs.[74] She cites Pierrepont Greaves in support of the idea of universal spiral evolution, with its consequent phases of spiritual life and the inevitable death of old religious systems.[75] Thus she could allow that the new "revelation" of Spiritualism was God-sent: a view diametrically opposed to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of most churchmen, Anglican, Roman Catholic, or Dissenting. "I disbelieved twenty-five years ago," she confesses, but "God offers new truth in every age that lights up, but can never contradict, the old."[76]

In 1889 Mrs. Penny published a series of articles about Blood Sacrifice: one of the stumbling-blocks for those who wanted to accept ancient and pagan religions as valid and sacred, not to mention those

Spiritualists who felt uneasy with one of the central dogmas of Christian theology. She calls on Thomas Lake Harris, Baader, Saint-Martin, Joseph de Maistre, Eliphas Levi, and Greaves in these erudite articles, whose burden is (1) that the animal sacrifices of ancient times were necessary to demonstrate the efficacy of blood in attracting good invisible agents, and repelling bad ones (this from Baader); (2) that in sudden and violent death, a multitude of subordinate soul-entities are released from control, and thus made available for use by higher, spiritual influences (this based on Greaves); and (3) that the Pentecostal outpouring was conditional on the shedding of Christ's blood.[77] Mrs. Penny kept up her writing throughout the three-year illness that ended with her death on 18 December 1893.[78]

Mrs. Penny's Behmenist legacy was published in three phases. A long essay from *Light and Life*, "An Introduction to the Study of Jacob Boehme's Writings," appeared separately during her lifetime, in 1886,[79] and was combined with other articles of hers for a re-edition in 1901.[80] Lastly, the Boehme enthusiast C. J. Barker gathered all her Behmenist writings into a grand memorial volume, *Studies in Jacob Boehme*,[81] which forms a companion to Barker's and Watkins' edition of Boehme's own works.

The Behmenist revival had few contributors outside this circle, but one of them should be mentioned, if only to illustrate the synchronicity of ideas. In 1856, the same year as Walton completed his book on William Law, Robert Alfred Vaughan (1823-1857) published his two-volume *Hours with the Mystics*, in which fifty pages are devoted to Boehme and a few more to Pordage and Jane Lead. Vaughan had studied in Germany, been ordained, then retired to devote himself to writing, but did not live long enough to pursue any further his researches on this untrodden ground. In the same work, he introduced Meister Eckhart, but warned that this greatest of mystics was "not acquittable of pantheistic errors"[82] In the following year, 1857, appeared Catherine Winkworth's translation of another German mystic, Johannes Tauler. Both of these books were praised by Charles Kingsley and did much to kindle an interest in mysticism among such of the clergy as were not mired in the High vs. Low Church or the evolution debates. But Boehme, with his titanic imagery, his earthiness of diction and his frightening revelations about God's inner conflicts, was too strong stuff for them.

The last survivor of our circle was Mrs. Atwood. Isabelle de Steiger was led to friendship with her through Mrs. Penny, whom Isabelle had contacted during the 1880's in response to the articles in *Light*. She visited Mrs. Atwood in Yorkshire each year until the latter's death in 1910, at the age of 92. Hearing that the younger woman was involved with a new "Theosophical Society" in London, Mrs. Atwood was delighted: "theosophy" to her meant Jacob Boehme

and his followers. Whether or not she retained this impression after Isabelle had given her the works of A. P. Sinnett and Anna Kingsford to read, the old lady still felt a kinship with them, especially through the anti-vivisectionist cause that she and Mrs. Penny [and no doubt Mr. Greaves] had also espoused. So after visiting London for the last time in 1886, she wrote to Sinnett offering the gift of her father Thomas South's rich library of alchemy and esotericism. Although it was accepted, few of the London Theosophists were interested in its arcane lore; they could find it all in Blavatsky, no doubt. Only G. R. S. Mead profited by Mrs. Atwood's gift, thereby becoming the best scholar that the Theosophical Society ever produced. Bits and pieces of the library were given away or sold, and after Mrs. Sinnett's death, the residue passed to the Scott-Elliots in Ayrshire.[83]

Mrs. Atwood had an indirect, but more decisive effect on the Theosophical Society through her friendship with Charles Carleton Massey (1838-1905).[84] Their correspondence began while Massey was quite young, and continued faithfully until his death. He was a lawyer by profession, a prosperous bachelor who gave up his practice around 1870 for a life of writing, traveling, translating, lecturing, and bridge-building in the service of the new spiritual impulse. Massey became early on a convinced "theosophist" in the Behmenist sense, and, since he read German, an admirer of Baader as Boehme's best modern exponent.[85] He admired Lorenz Oken's book (which had been Mrs. Atwood's vade mecum), and studied her own *Suggestive Inquiry*. He came to believe in reincarnation as inevitable for most of us, but that Christianity pointed to a way of escape from it. All of this esoteric study left him perplexed at the insistence of Law and Saint-Martin on the necessity for an exoteric Christianity.[86]

Massey had taken Spiritualism and Madame Blavatsky's Theosophical Society seriously enough to go to America in 1876 for first-hand knowledge of them. He subsequently headed the London branch of the Society, and was one of the most stalwart contributors to *Light*. But the 1880's were a period of disillusion, for him as for many members of the Society, as successive waves of scandal broke over the heads of Blavatsky and her "Masters." In particular, Massey could not countenance her aversion to Christianity. It was the loss of his support, and of other cultured and influential Christian Spiritualists such as Stainton Moses, that left the Society to be fought over by the likes of A. P. Sinnett, Annie Besant, and William Q. Judge.

In 1888, Massey wrote to Mrs. Atwood that he had long been averse to historical Christianity, but that lately:

> I have felt so deep a need of Christ, and have been so vehemently drawn to personify Him as the object of devotion, that I welcome any conception of natural processes which facilitated belief in the historical descent of a Divine Humanity on earth, as manifested in an individual germ of our regeneration, an external Personality as a fulcrum so to speak, from which spiritual thought and love can spring upwards. I don't think one need be a worse philosopher for being also a devotee, and after all, we cannot dwell in the purely occult and impersonal, or pass at once behind all manifestation into the subjective adytum of the Atma.[87]

Mrs. Atwood's answers to Massey are lost; it is not clear, in any case, how far hers was a Christian, devotional mysticism of this kind. Steiger says that "age and other circumstances had closed all mystic doors to her."[88] By 1903 Mrs. Atwood had come to mistrust the whole revival of occultism, in fact to regard it as a large-scale operation of evil magic.[89] She could look back over more than half a century since she had burned her book and voluntarily entered the silence: whatever had happened, it was not her fault.

Far from closing, the Behmenist circle was by now opening wider. Steiger was urged by Massey to write, and dedicated her own treatise on mysticism, *On a Gold Basis*, "to the author of A Suggestive Inquiry, my best teacher."[90] Massey's own letters, published as *Thoughts of a Modern Mystic* in 1909, showed that a Christian mystic could exist behind the facades of the Inns of Court and the Athenaeum Club. I have already mentioned C. J. Barker's labours to reissue the major works of Boehme in English, with the cooperation of the Theosophical publisher Watkins. Using updated versions of the seventeenth-century translations, the series culminated in 1924, just after Barker's death, with *Mysterium Magnum*. Mrs. Penny's *Studies in Jacob Boehme* appeared, thanks to Barker, in 1912, with a precious biographical note by her friend Massey. Finally, exactly a century after Pierrepont Greaves's first public statement in his *Contrasting Magazine* (1827), there came Isabelle de Steiger's posthumous *Memorabilia*, with a Preface by A. E. Waite, without which we would know very little about Mary Ann and her friends.

NOTES

1. This is generally called "Law's Boehme," though the translations were adapted from the 17th-century editions by the editors, G. Ward and T. Langcake. The illustrations were Law's legacy.
2. This was a reissue of Ellistone's translation, called "vol. I" of Boehme's *Works*, but never continued.
3. Hermann Neander [=Samuel Borton Brown], *True Resignation. How Man must die daily, in his own will, in Self. By Old Jacob Boehme.* London: Whiting & Co., n.d. [c.1860]; not in British Library

or NUC catalogues.
4. see J. H. Pestalozzi, *Letters on Early Education, addressed to J. P. Greaves, Esq.* (London: Longmans, 1851; 1st ed. 1827), p.3.
5. *Letters and Extracts from the Manuscript Writings of James Pierrepont Greaves* (2 vols., Ham Common: the Concordium, 1843; London: John Chapman, 1845), vol. II, p.11.
6. Ibid., vol. II, p.47.
7. *Letters on Early Education*, p.165.
8. Ibid., p.176.
9. *Contrasting Magazine*, no.xv (8 Sept 1827), p.114.
10. *Letters and Extracts*, vol. II, p.9 (22 Sept 1840).
11. Ibid., vol. I, p.xiv.
12. Ibid., vol. II, p.231 (19 Oct 1841).
13. *The New Nature in the Soul.* From the Journal of John Pierrepont Greaves (London: John Chapman, 1847), p.56.
14. *Letters and Extracts*, vol. II, p.216 (14 Aug 1841).
15. Ibid., vol. II, p.144 (2 Apr 1841).
16. Ibid., vol. I, pp.iv-v.
17. Ibid., vol. I, pp.32f. (23 Feb 1840).
18. *Contrasting Magagazine*, no. xvii (22 Sept 1827), p.133.
19. *New Nature*, pp. 88-89.
20. I. de Steiger, *Memorabilia. Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Writer* (London: Rider, n.d. [after 1927]), p.234. I hope in due course to read Mrs. Atwood's correspondence with Steiger in Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island, USA.
21. *Memorabilia*, pp.120, 190
22. Trans. Alfred Tulk, London: Ray Society, 1847.
23. London: Baillière, 1846; "Thuos Mathos" is an anagram.
24. W. L. Wilmshurst attributes the whole book to her in his Introduction to the 1918 edition of her *Suggestive Inquiry*.
25. *Early Magnetism*, p.42.
26. Ibid, pp.27, 3.
27. Ibid., pp.25, 26.
28. Ibid., p.16.
29. Ibid., p.49.
30. London: Trelawney Saunders, 1850; reprinted Belfast: Wm. Tait, 1918, 1920, etc.
31. Letter of 25th May ?1853.
32. Letter of 27 Nov ?1848.
33. Letter of 4 Jan ?1853.
34. Letter of 19 Sept ?1853.
35. London: T. Ward, 1847.
36. *On the Present*, p.13.
37. Ibid., p.17.
38. Ibid., pp.20, 21.
39. Ibid., pp.22f.
40. Letter of 3 Nov 1874.
41. *Notes and Materials*, p.vi.
42. Ibid., p.xx.
43. Ibid., p.i.
44. See "Seven Illustrations to the Works of Jacob Boehme," in *Hermetic Journal*, 1991, pp.145-159.
45. Biographical note by C. C. Massey in A. J. Penny, *Studies in Jacob Boehme* (London: Watkins, 1912).
46. *Memorabilia*, p.234.

47. Letters of 7 and 12 Aug 1863.
48. Letter to Walton, 27 Oct 1865.
49. Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin and Kirchberger, Baron de Liebistorf, *Mystical Philosophy and Spiritual Manifestations. Selections from their correspondence* (Exeter, 1863). Penny also translated Saint-Martin's *Man: his true nature and ministry* (London, 1864).
50. Letter of 19 May 1863.
51. Letter of 24 May 1863.
52. Letter of 21 Sept 1865.
53. Letter of 28 Aug 1864.
54. Letter of 2 Sept 1866.
55. *Memorabilia*, p.188.
56. *The Rosicrucian and Red Cross*, vol.II ([1873]), pp.27-32.
57. Letter of 9 June 1867.
58. Letter of 18 July 1867.
59. Letter of ? Apr 1875.
60. Letter of 25 Oct 1876.
61. Letter of 15 Aug 1865.
62. *Hints for the Times, by a Clergyman* (Oxford: Author, 1837).
63. *Memorabilia*, pp.191-3.
64. Ibid., p.195.
65. Letter of 17 Sept 1865.
66. *Light*, vol. I (18 June 1881), pp.186f.
67. Ibid. (10 Dec 1881), p.399.
68. *Light*, vol. II (21 Jan 1882), p.27.
69. Ibid. (18 Feb 1882), p.75.
70. Ibid. (17 June 1882), p.286.
71. Ibid. (29 July 1882), p.355.
72. Ibid. (21 Jan 1882), pp.27-9.
73. *Light*, vol.VII (15 Jan 1887), p.32.
74. Ibid. (19 Mar 1887), pp.128f.
75. Ibid. (11 June 1887), p.261.
76. Ibid. (29 Oct 1887), pp.519f.
77. *Light*, vol.IX (23 Mar 1889), p.140; 15 June, p.290; 6 July, p.324.
78. C. C. Massey's obituary of her appeared in *Light*, vol. XIII (30 Dec 1893), p.618, and was reprinted in *Studies in Jacob Boehme*, pp.xxi-xxvi.
79. Glasgow: Dunn & Wright, 31 pages.
80. Edited by Grace Shaw Duff; New York, 193 pages.
81. London: Watkins, 475 pages.
82. *Hours with the Mystics*, 3rd ed. (London: John Stark, 1888), vol. I, p.xix.
83. *Memorabilia*, pp.252-254.
84. Not to be confused with his contemporary, the mythographer Gerald Massey, who was unrelated.
85. C. C.Massey, *Thoughts of a Modern Mystic* (London: Kegan Paul, 1909), p.114.
86. Ibid., p.17.
87. Ibid., pp.62f.
88. *Memorabilia*, p.253.
89. *Thoughts of a Modern Mystic*, p.66.
90. I. de Steiger, *On a Gold Basis. A Treatise on Mysticism* (London: Philip Wellby, 1907).