ANGLO-CATHOLIC CLERGY AND THE GOLDEN DAWN: THE RITUAL REVIVAL AND MODERN MAGICAL ORDERS 1887-1940

Volume 2 of 2

Submitted by Anthony Charles Fuller
to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Theology
September 2009

Supervisor Professor Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from this thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has been previously submitted and approved for the award of a degree at this or any other University.

Anthony Charles Fuller

Signed by Anthony Charles Fuller

LIST OF CONTENTS

VOLUME 2

Chapter Six The Clergy of the Golden Dawn **228**
Priestly Eccentrics *231*
'A Spiritualist first and a Church of England Clergyman afterwards' *237*
Esoteric Christian Roots of the Golden Dawn *248*
From Hermetic Society to Hermetic Order *252*
Priestly Adepts *268*

Chapter Seven The Last Outpost of the Golden Dawn **283**
Piscatores Hominum *288*
The Society of the Southern Cross *298*
Dr. Felkin -- Physician and Magician *311*
Smaragdum Thalasses *319*

Chapter Eight The Holy Order of the Sun **333**
Origins: Shemesh and Hakim *336*
Structure and Doctrines *347*
Rituals and Teachings *357*
Influence and Legacy *364*

Chapter Nine Stairway to Heaven **377**
The Layman, the Priest, and the Monk: the influence of Joachim of Fiore *388*
The Shield of the Trinity *398*
Physician Extraordinary *402*
Rosicrucian Healing *408*

Chapter Ten Consummatum est **419**

APPENDICES **431**

Appendix One **432**
Facsimile of an unpublished manuscript, 'Some Introductory Remarks Upon Felix Feliticitas Exita's Critical Investigation of the Forty-Eight Angelical Calls – 1934, by Frater F.F.J., London, 1935.' *432*

Appendix Two **440**
Facsimile of unpublished Membership Card of the Reverend Father J.C. Fitzgerald. *440*

Appendix Three **441**
Facsimile of an unpublished Stella Matutina Second Order Instruction, 'Daily Rhythm of An Adeptus Minor' *441*

Appendix Four **443**
A facsimile of an unpublished Stella Matutina document for the Second Order Grade of Adeptus Major, entitled 'The Cross'. *443*

Appendix Five **450**
Facsimile of unpublished Stella Matutina document, 'On the Exorcism of Evil Spirits' *450*

Appendix Six **452**
Facsimile of the final letter, dated 24 August 1978, from the Chiefs of Smaragdum Thalasses to the members *452*

Appendix Seven **454**

Facsimile of an unpublished document from the Holy Order of the Sun, or Cromlech Temple, ' Second Order-Conditions of Admission', originally dated 1894. ..... *454*

Appendix Eight **456**
A facsimile of an unpublished Cromlech Temple paper entitled, 'On the Trinity'. *456*

Appendix Nine **459**
Facsimile of an unpublished Cromlech Temple document, 'The Formula of the White Light in the Pentagram and the Cup' was restricted to the Third Order. *459*

Appendix Ten **467**
An unpublished facsimile of an open letter dated 9 October 1963 from Mrs Carnegie Dickson. *467*

Appendix Eleven **469**
A facsimile of an unpublished letter dated 9 October 1963 from Mrs Carnegie Dickson to Charles Renn. *469*

Bibliography **474**
Archival and Private Collections *474*
Unpublished Papers Not in Specific Collections *474*
Interview Material and Notes *475*
Published Sources *475*

CHAPTER SIX
THE CLERGY OF THE GOLDEN DAWN

> Theology is, roughly speaking, the talk of divine things, but theurgy is the doing of those divine things.
>
> Reverend Charles Maurice Davies

It is unclear precisely as to how many members of the Golden Dawn, or its schismatic offshoots, were ordained members of the Anglican Church. The most authoritative published source of information remains R. A. Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion* where, out of a total membership of 320 members, 16 are described as clergy or church ministers.[642] Apart from 2 members who belonged to the Congregationalist ministry the rest were clergy of the Established Church. Prima facie, it would appear that clerical membership of the Order represented about 5% of the total membership. These figures are misleading in several respects. First, the 'official' membership roll from which these figures are drawn, and which begins from the founding of the Order on 12 February 1888, is incomplete from 1897 until the schismatic break up of the Order into three factions in 1903.[643] From 1897 the names of just one of the five Golden Dawn temples are listed. More importantly, 73 of the 320 names were added to the roll between the years 1904 and 1910 and all belonged to members of the schismatic Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina. This is significant because 9 of the 73 are clergymen whereas only 4 clergymen are listed amongst the 247 members of the original Golden Dawn. The

[642] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 124. Because the membership roll used by Gilbert is incomplete in terms of membership of the temples listed and the lack of information for the subsequent succeeding Orders its usefulness is confined to being in the nature of a statistical sampling.
[643] Ibid. p. 124 and p. 159.

remaining 3 clergymen were members of A. E. Waite's schismatic group called the Independent and Rectified Rite, and one of these subsequently transferred his allegiance to the Stella Matutina.

It is apparent, therefore, that the clerical percentage of the Stella Matutina is far higher than 5% and this figure rises further when other factors are taken into account. Separate from the roll, where the 73 names are added between 1904 and 1910, there exists a further Stella Matutina manuscript, apparently prepared after 1910, which evidently lists the active members who continued to support the Order from this period.[644] Amongst the 44 names appearing on this manuscript are those of 6 clergymen who also appeared on the list of 73, and one is a new entry. We may add to this number the names of at least 4 unlisted clergymen known to be active at around the same time.[645] Thus it can be seen that during a particular period from 1910, at least 11 clergymen were members of an active membership of the Stella Matutina containing approximately 44 members, yielding a percentage of one in four or 25%. As will be noted later, several of these held positions of leadership within the Order. It should be noted that these figures include only those members resident in England and not those of the New Zealand temple in which several Anglican clergy, including at least two bishops, were active.[646]

The question arises as to why the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina should have attracted a significantly higher number of clergy, and principally Anglican clergy, than the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. It cannot be assumed, incidentally, that in terms of clerical membership the Stella Matutina was unique amongst the four successor Orders which emerged from the collapse of the Golden Dawn.[647] Apart from

---

[644] Ibid. pp. 166-175.
[645] Details of these are provided subsequently.
[646] The membership roll for the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple is not known to have survived but the names of several clergy are mentioned in extant documents.
[647] Following dissension over several issues, which included dissatisfaction with Mathers' rule, disruptive activities of Aleister Crowley, and adverse publicity arising from a criminal prosecution, the Order was

one incomplete list for the Independent and Rectified Rite, no rolls or membership lists are known to exist with respect to these Orders. There is evidence, however, that some clergy were members of each of them.[648] With regard to the occult Order known as the Cromlech Temple of the Holy Order of the Sun, which did not derive from the Golden Dawn but existed alongside it and its schismatic successors, it has been claimed that its membership was 'largely confined to Anglicans and a substantial number -- perhaps a majority -- of its initiates were Anglo-Catholic clergymen'.[649]

The difference cannot be attributed solely, or even largely, to any putative variance in the teaching and methods of the two Orders. Indeed, the Stella Matutina adopted the Golden Dawn corpus of doctrine in its entirety although it subsequently added and developed further teachings drawn from other occult streams of thought, including some of those of the Austrian esotericist Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925).[650] A plausible line of initial enquiry may be seen to lie in the fact that the Chief of the Stella Matutina, Dr. Robert W. Felkin, was an ardent Anglo-Catholic and, as has already been described, was a friend of the prominent Anglican clergyman Bishop W. H. Frere. Before pursuing this possibility, some further examination is required, in this context, of the connections between the clergy and the original Golden Dawn and its occult milieu.

---

dissolved as the 'Golden Dawn' and in mid-June 1902 renamed *Morgenröthe* (MR) carrying the same meaning. Initially the MR comprised all those who had rejected Mathers but within a year had divided into the faction following Felkin (the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina) and the smaller group following Waite (the Holy Order of the Golden Dawn, also known as the Independent and Rectified Rite). Mathers renamed his section, the Rosicrucian Order of Alpha et Omega. The status of the Holy Order of the Sun, or Cromlech Temple, remained unchanged during this period. See Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 242; Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Companion*, p.41; Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England,* pp. 94-96.

[648] Such evidence is found in surviving papers and correspondence from these Orders. While much of this material has been published a considerable proportion remains in private collections.

[649] Francis King and Isabelle Sutherland, *The Rebirth of Magic* (London: Corgi Books, 1982), p. 135.

[650] Details of the Stella Matutina corpus can be found in Gilbert's *Golden Dawn Companion.* See also Gilbert's 'Stella Matutina', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism,* II, 1091-1093.

Priestly Eccentrics

Three of the four listed clerical members of the original Order did not persist in their occult interests beyond 1892. The Reverend T. Travers Sherlock, known in the Golden Dawn as Frater In Cruce Salus, was initiated in August 1888 but did not progress beyond the Neophyte Grade and 'demitted' in 1891.[651] Other than his initiation there are no apparent outward signs of his esoteric interests and he spent most of his Anglican ministry in Sethwick.[652] Apparently Sherlock devoted 'most of his efforts to Land Reform and Trade Unionism, and in local politics, being elected unopposed to Staffordshire County Council'.[653] The Reverend Charles Henry Malden (Frater Forsam et Coagula) continued in the Order to its second Grade of 'Zelator' but demitted in 1892, and spent much of his time and ministry in Madras, India where he edited the *Madras Masonic Review*.[654] Of this group of three the Reverend William Farquhar (Frater Vitam Peto) made the most progress in the Order, achieving the third Grade of 'Theoricus' but resigning in 1892 before going on to serve 'a long ministry as Vicar of Hanwell, Middlesex'.[655]

Whatever form of eccentricity, viewed from the orthodox perspective, may have brought these three into the Neophyte Hall of the Golden Dawn this was surpassed in manifold ways in the form of the Reverend William Alexander Ayton (Frater Virtute Orta Occident Rarius), the sole representative of the Anglican Church who remainined in the original Golden Dawn between 1892 and its demise in 1903.[656] Described famously by W. B. Yeats as 'the most panic-stricken person I have ever known', Ayton spent most of his long life engaged in Masonic activities, the practice of occultism, and

---

[651] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 141.
[652] The Reverend Kevin Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 1. Unpublished paper circa 1995.
[653] Ibid.
[654] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 142; Tingay, p. 1
[655] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 73 and p. 147; Tingay, p. 2.
[656] Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*, pp. 54-55; Ellic Howe (ed.) *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: The Letters of the Revd W. A. Ayton to F. L. Gardner and Others 1886-1905* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985).

alchemy.[657] He claimed to have actually manufactured the 'elixir of life' but was prevented from using the elixir to prolong his life when, according to Yeats, he discovered as an old man that the liquid he had carefully stored away 'had all dried up'.[658]

Ayton was educated at Charterhouse School, then still in London, matriculated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge in 1837, and was ordained priest in 1842.[659]After serving in a number of rural parishes he was appointed vicar of Chacombe, near Banbury in Oxfordshire in 1873 which provided him with an annual stipend of £300 and where he stayed for the remainder of his clerical career.[660] At the age of 73 he became the 23rd Neophyte to join the Golden Dawn in its year of inception, and he continued in the Order throughout its many travails until some years after its demise. He subsequently became one of the three ruling Chiefs in Waite's schismatic Independent and Rectified Rite (also known as 'The Holy Order of the Golden Dawn') formed in 1903.[661] Ayton was no mere theorist or 'armchair magician'. Surviving manuscripts and letters show clearly that in addition to his practical experiments in alchemy he carried out extensive occult work, deploying most of the Golden Dawn techniques, including those which were believed to enable the adept to travel on 'the astral planes'.[662]

Amongst Ayton's varied esoteric interests was his membership of the London-based Blavatsky Lodge of the Theosophical Society. Unlike Yeats, Ayton is said to have been a firm believer in the authenticity of Madame Helena Blavatsky's 'Mahatmas' which were the equivalent of the Golden Dawn 'Secret Chiefs' who, in

---

[657] Gilbert notes that Ayton had 'an impeccable Masonic pedigree'. See his *Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 55.
[658] Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 55; W. B. Yeats, *The Trembling of the Veil* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1922), p. 70
[659] Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn,* p. 10.
[660] Ibid.
[661] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 54.
[662] Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*, pp. 64-65. Ayton evidently maintained his theological interests, contributing to *The Journal of Theological Studies* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917) his 'The Ten Lucan Hymns of the Nativity in Their Original Language' in the July 1917 issue, Vol XVIII, No.72.

both cases, were claimed to guide and rule the Order.[663] He was also a member of a secret 'inner' group within the Theosophical Society known as the 'Esoteric Section' which was established by Blavatsky in December 1888 to provide both advanced occult knowledge to Theosophists and an opportunity to put into the practice the occult theories they had absorbed through the open society and from the more secret teachings.[664]

At a time when many Anglican clergy were drawn towards some heterodox forms of spirituality it is feasible to suggest that one reason why the original Golden Dawn attracted so few Anglican clergy, in contrast to the larger numbers joining the later Stella Matutina, is simply the secrecy and obscurity of this very small organisation. Even allowing for the roll being incomplete after the year 1897, the fact of a mere 247 names appearing on the official roll is indicative perhaps of its very low public profile within an increasingly popular interest in occultism in late nineteenth-century Britain. This may be emphasized further if we deduct from the total the 25 members of the Paris-based Ahathoor Temple, along with a further 75 names of members who were in the Order for a very brief period and never progressed beyond the initial introductory Grade of Neophyte. Even the remaining figure of 147 men and women who were members over a period of 15 years includes at least a further 50 who remained for no more than 2 years and advanced merely to the next one or two Grades which were

---

[663] Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 10; Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, p. 57.

[664] It is generally agreed by most scholars on this subject that Blavatsky formed the Esoteric Section in response to the formation of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn a few months earlier and created to prevent the Society losing members to the Order. In his short monograph on the subject R. A. Gilbert observes that while tension existed between the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society and the Golden Dawn, the leaders of the two groups had a fairly close and amicable relationship. Despite reservations Blavatsky evidently had about advanced Theosophists joining the Golden Dawn both she and her successor Annie Besant met with William Westcott to ensure that the two organisations worked in amity. This entailed encouraging mutual membership between the two groups and a considerably large proportion of the Golden Dawn members held membership in both the Theosophical Society and its Esoteric Section. See Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, p. 57; R.A. Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1987), pp. 7, 10-14.

ordinarily taken within months of joining.[665] In terms of active membership lasting more than two years, therefore, the total was little more than 100.

Yet, from the fact of the larger involvement of Anglican clergy in the schismatic successors to the original Order, this does not imply a lack of clerical interest in esoteric spirituality during the period of the parent Order. Indeed, as seen in the previous chapter, there was widespread interest by many ordained members of the established church in the occultism, especially spiritualism. Janet Oppenheim has observed that while there was substantial hostility to spiritualism from Christians of many denominations, equally there were many who saw it as providing verification of immortality.[666] She notes:

> The critically important consideration, as far as numerous clergymen and their devout parishioners were concerned, was whether they perceived spiritualism as supporting a Christian world view and cast of mind, or whether they saw spiritualism as a threat to Christianity, turning men's loyalties away from the faith of their fathers.[667]

In this context, Oppenheim remarks that contemporary scholars and observers of 'the complex relationship between spiritualism and organized Christianity in nineteenth century Britain' have frequently divided British spiritualists into 'two mutually hostile factions: the Christian and the anti-Christian'.[668] Of some interest is her broad and approximate association of the former faction with 'middle class professionals, intellectuals, and people of some means and social standing' residing in London.The latter, however, is noted by Oppenheim as generally located 'outside the metropolis,

---

[665] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 125-166.
[666] Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914*, pp. 63-67.
[667] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 66.
[668] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 67.

particularly in northern England' where 'there was strong anti-Christian sentiment among the lower-middle-class and better educated working-class members who formed the bulk of provincial spiritualism'.[669] In this regard, a parallel can be drawn with the membership of the Golden Dawn, drawn almost entirely from well-educated members of the middle class, along with a few members from the upper class and Continental nobility.[670] Gilbert has commented that 'very few' tradesmen joined the Order and such analysis as is possible of the occupations of the Golden Dawn membership indicates that few, if any members, were drawn from that element of British society known as 'the working class'.[671] It may be added that virtually all the clerical members of the Order were associated with the various London temples of the Order, although many of these lived some distance outside of London.[672]

Oppenheim provides several examples of Anglican clergymen willing to deviate from Church of England orthodoxy and 'accommodate spiritualism'.[673] Amongst these are the Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis (1838-1901) and the Reverend Charles Maurice Davies (1828-1910).[674] Haweis achieved a modest degree of prominence in public life as both a preacher and author, producing a number of popular books, including the five-volume *Christ and Christianity* (1886-1887). He took unorthodox positions on many theological issues and was sympathetic towards spiritualism, advocating the 'complete compatibility of spiritualism and Christianity'.[675] A staunch Anglo-Catholic who supported the introduction of more elaborate ritual into the church services he was considered 'one of the most effective and popular preachers in London during the second half of the nineteenth century'. Apparently Haweis became bolder in

---

[669] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, pp. 66-67.
[670] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 124.
[671] Gilbert,*Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 124-175.
[672] Ibid. See also also Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn'. An obvious exception is the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple and also the Cromlech Temple which was originally established in Edinburgh.
[673] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, pp. 68-85.
[674] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, pp. 74-76.
[675] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 72.

his endorsement of spiritualism, arguing that 'Christian clergymen were actually indebted to spiritualism' and that the latter was a legitimate development of Christianity, 'fitting very nicely into [it]'.[676] In addition to attending séances he joined the Society for Psychical Research in the early 1880s and in an 1893 issue of the periodical *Borderland* wrote 'Occultism is not only *a* question: it is *the* question of the day'.[677]

Of particular interest in this context is Haweis' wife Mary Eliza (1848-1898) who has featured in a number of recent studies pertaining to late nineteenth-century society, and is the subject of a biography by Bea Howe which indicates that Haweis was a dominating husband.[678] What is not recorded in any of these works, however, is the fact that Mary Haweis was also an active member of the Golden Dawn. Initiated as Soror *Cede Deo* in the London Temple known as Isis-Urania on 28 February 1894 she proceeded to the Rosicrucian Second Order of adepts on 14 May 1896.[679] She took an active interest in the affairs of the Order for in late December 1896 she signed a 'Petition' to MacGregor Mathers seeking his agreement to revoke his expulsion of Annie Horniman from the Order.[680]

From the fact of Mary Haweis' membership of this secretive and very small organisation it seems safe to conclude that her husband was aware of the Order although no evidence exists to indicate that he ever joined. The requirements of such membership, however, which entailed considerable study of the occult and the private performance of acts of ritual magic, are likely to have attracted the attention of the Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis to his wife's unorthodox activities. Similar reasoning

---

[676] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 73.
[677] Ibid.
[678] Bea Howe, *Arbiter of Excellence* (London: The Harvill Press, 1967). This biography of Mary Haweis notes that she was a talented woman who exhibited at the Royal Academy and wrote a number of influential books, including several expounding the art of decorating houses in a style which reflected beauty, and a textbook for children on Chaucer which, it has been claimed, was in use in English schools for a considerable portion of the twentieth century.
[679] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 152.
[680] See Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 143.

applies to the Golden Dawn membership of the wife of the Reverend Charles Maurice Davies who was mentioned briefly in the previous chapter. Initiated as Soror *Excelsior* into the same Temple on 22 September 1891 Anna Jane Davies proceeded to the Second Order Adeptus Minor Grade on 31 March 1893.[681] In view of the fact that Davies and Haweis were acquainted and attended séances together, along with their wives, it is virtually certain that both men knew of the Golden Dawn connection of their respective wives.[682]

'A Spiritualist first and a Church of England Clergyman afterwards'

It is apparent from their writings that both Haweis and Davies believed firmly that not merely were Christianity and Spiritualism compatible but that the latter provided evidence for the truth of the former.[683] But whereas Davies considered Haweis to be foremost an Anglican clergyman and only a Spiritualist afterwards he took pride in reversing the process: 'I was a Spiritualist first and a Church of England clergyman afterwards'.[684] If ever a clergyman warranted the term 'eccentric' it was certainly the Reverend Charles Maurice. Davies. Described by Warren Sylvester Smith as 'dapper' and 'peripatetic', Davies managed to combine a number of careers along with his clerical duties and occult interests which included sitting 'at the feet of Madame

---

[681] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 147.
[682] Davies writing as 'A Church of England Clergyman', *The Great Secret: And its Unfoldment in Occultism* (London: George Redway, 1896), p. 239. Another example of a clergyman with a wife belonging to the Golden Dawn is the well known Anglican spiritualist, the Reverend Charles L. Tweedale who presented material to the 1920 Lambeth Conference of Bishops which was deliberating the Spiritualist question. Tweedale's wife Violet was also prominent as a Theosophist and attended the earliest Eranos 'summer schools' convened by Olga Froebe-Kapteyn near Ascona, Switzerland to which she invited G.R.S. Mead and Carl Gustav Jung. Violet Tweedale was initiated into Isis-Urania Temple of the Golden Dawn in September 1889. Rene Kollar, *Searching For Raymond: Anglicanism, spiritualism, and Bereavement between the Two World Wars*, p. 61.; Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 143; Clare Goodrick-Clarke & Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *G.R.S. Mead and the Gnostic Quest* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2005), pp. 26-27.
[683] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, pp. 72-74.
[684] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 74.

Blavatsky' on two occasions and enjoying her Turkish cigarette.[685] In view of several curious and suggestive links Davies appeared to have with the Golden Dawn, inviting the question of his being a formative influence, he is worthy of more extensive investigation.

Although Davies held several curacies in Somerset and London, following his ordination in 1852, he was also headmaster of the West London Collegiate School between 1861 and 1868, and subsequently a journalist contributing articles to various newspapers and journals including the *Daily Telegraph.*[686] It was in the latter capacity that Davies set himself the not inconsiderable task of 'visiting all the "heterodox" societies in London.'[687] The series of articles which appeared for the *Daily Telegraph* subsequently led to four entertaining volumes on the many and various unorthodox groups operating in Victorian London as well as several novels with religious themes.[688]

While these works of Davies, written in an interesting and amusing journalistic style, clearly demonstrate his frequent sympathy with occultism it is in his anonymous and autobiographical *The Great Secret: and its Unfoldment in Occultism* (1896) that Davies reveals the extent of this interest. Apart from recounting numerous incidents involving séances, Mesmerism and spiritualistic messages from disembodied beings he also admits to performing several magical spells and using magical formulae despite acknowledging these to be dangerous.[689] Of particular interest is his claim that he learnt these and other occult skills from his 'Master', one Frederick Hockley (1808-85) who is considered by John Hamill to have been 'a major influence in the Occult Revival of the

---

[685] Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics 1870-1914* (London: Constable, 1967), p. 10; Davies, *The Great Secret,* p. 300.
[686] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 74; Smith, *The London Heretics*, p. 10.
[687] Smith, *The London Heretics*, p. 10.
[688] Charles Maurice Davies *Unorthodox London* (1875; reprinted., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969); idem., *Orthodox London* (London: Tinsley Brothers,1873); idem., *Heterodox London* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1874); and idem., *Mystic London* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1875), provided considerable material for Smith's *The London Heretics: 1870-1914.* Oppenheim's *The Other World* contains numerous references to Davies.
[689] Davies, *The Great Secret,* pp. 106-111.

nineteenth century'.[690] Because of Hockley's extensive occult experiments, possession and production of magical manuscripts, and his association with nineteenth-century occultists connected in various ways with the later Golden Dawn, both Hamill and Gilbert have raised the possibility that Hockley was 'a progenitor' of the Order and may have helped to inspire the rituals.[691] Indeed, Westcott was to claim in March 1888 that Hockley was a member of a 'long-established foundation' from which the Golden Dawn descended and in this context it has been noted that Hockley carried out extensive work on magic and the Kabbalah, as well as Dee's 'Tablets of Enoch'.[692] Further, Hockley was a member of the quasi-Masonic Rosicrucian Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (S.R.I.A.) of which all the founder leaders of the Golden Dawn were members.[693] While acknowledging that the evidence is insubstantial Gilbert notes that 'it would provide a fitting tribute to the memory of Frederick Hockley if we were obliged to see him not only as the ultimate source of the Golden Dawn's Enochian Magic, but as unwitting assistant in the creation of the Order itself'.[694]

Davies admits to involving his wife in his occult work and it would seem from his descriptions that she was evidently accomplished in producing 'automatic writing' where information from the spiritual world was passed to Davies via his wife.[695] As is the case with the Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis it also seems highly likely that Davies was aware of his wife's involvement in the Golden Dawn and the following passage from his autobiographical book appears to be a direct reference to both the Golden Dawn and to its senior Order Chief William Westcott, who was Coroner for North-East London.

---

[690] John Hamill, *The Rosicrucian Seer: Magical Writings of Frederick Hockley* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press,1986), p. 11; Davies, *The Great Secret,* p. 101.
[691] Gilbert, 'Secret Writings: The Magical Manuscripts of Frederick Hockley', in Hamill, *The Rosicrucian Seer*, p. 29.
[692] Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 23; *Encyclopedia of the Unexplained* (London: Arkana, Penguin Books, 1989), p. 100; Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 21.
[693] Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 20.
[694] Gilbert, in Hamill, *The Rosicrucian Seer*, p. 29.
[695] Davies, *The Great Secret*, pp.143, 149, 153.

> There is, in fact, a secret society working at this very time in the great Metropolis, under the auspices of a man in a somewhat prominent public position. I am not an initiate; but there are a great many ladies in its ranks; and ladies, as we know, will talk. They profess to have devised adequate safeguards for the practice of black magic; but the little I know of this fraternity -- against whom I have nothing to say -- confirms the opinion drawn from my own slender experience, and leads me to quote, for the benefit of such as are inclined to go in for black magic, *Punch's* historic advice to young men about to marry: '*Don't*'. [696]

The duplicity of this passage is remarkable and indicates a degree of ambivalence in Davies' views about occultism which seems entirely at variance with his open espousal of Christian occultism found in many of his writings, and especially *The Great Secret.* Not merely was his wife an active member of a secret society practising such magic, and almost certainly the very same society referred to by Davies, but Davies makes it clear that he had frequent recourse to employing his wife's occult skills in his experimentation.[697] Moreover, notwithstanding his own admonition not to use 'black magic' Davies recounts cheerfully the fact that Hockley offered precisely the same advice to him which he then promptly ignored on several occasions and, so he claimed, made effective use of several 'black magic spells' obtained from Hockley.[698]

Reverend Charles Maurice Davies did not, however, confine his interest in occultism to private experiments and attending occasional séances but, as noted briefly in the previous chapter, established his own secret society providing exercises in

---

[696] Davies, *The Great Secret*, pp. 112-113.
[697] Examples abound throughout *The Great Secret.* Davies notes on page 136: 'In consequence of the reputation I had gained for dealing with mesmerism in particular, and occult matters in general, I frequently received visits from strangers who wished to consult me on the subject'. He provides examples of practical and occult assistance he provided, sometimes with the help of his wife.
[698] Davies, *The Great Secret,* p. 106.

ecclesiastical occultism.[699] Contrary to the implication in Gilbert's study that the Guild of the Holy Spirit was never firmly established there is evidence that Davies ran the Guild for a number of years.[700] The doctrine of the Guild appeared to be an attempt to blend Anglo-Catholic themes with both spiritualism and magical ritual. Davies explained that the 'key to his whole position' was 'the combination of mysticism with the Christian services of the Church of England'.[701] This combination was apparently reflected in his setting up two rooms at 38 Great Russell Street, one to serve as an oratory and the other for séances. Twice weekly services were held where Davies officiated as an Anglican minister firstly at the oratory service and then as an occultist at the subsequent séance.[702]

The arrangement of two rooms for prayer and spiritualist séances was also duplicated in a house Davies subsequently used for the Guild in a western suburb of London where he also held services and séances, occasionally assisted by 'one or two occultists' and another, but unnamed, Anglican clergyman.[703] Within this house the Reverend used a larger room 'for certain magical functions which were projected by one of our number'.[704] Were it not for the fact that the Guild was established in 1881 it might be tempting to speculate that this member could have been Davies' wife employing the magical techniques and rituals of the Golden Dawn. Whether or not this is the case in subsequent years of the Guild, what is apparent from Davies' description of the Guild is that it, like the Golden Dawn and the Theosophical Society, was divided into an outer and inner group where the members of the latter were involved in performing some type of magical rituals corresponding to particular grades of progress. In discussing, for example, whether members should attend the evening chapel services

---

[699] Davies, *The Great Secret*, pp. 254-267.
[700] Ibid; Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 76.
[701] Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 76.
[702] Davies, *The Great Secret*, p. 265. Speaking of Haweis, Davies says on page 262: 'He brought his occultism into church; I took my churchmanship out of church and located it...in my mystic oratory'.
[703] Davies, *The Great Secret*, p. 266.
[704] Davies, *The Great Secret*, p. 265.

which clashed with those provided by the Anglican Church Davies says: 'Do not misunderstand me when I say that I consider the mere chapel services here the least important of the advantages we have secured by getting a private house of our own. I mean this, that you can get the Church of England services elsewhere; but the other advantages -- you of the inner circle know what I mean -- you cannot get elsewhere'[705]. With regard to combining occultism and mysticism with the Christian services of the Church of England' the resulting 'novel potpourri' is described by Davies as providing for both 'Theology ' and 'the Theurgy of our compound system'. Davies notes that 'Theurgy... expresses fully... the higher grades' and states, 'Theology is, roughly speaking, the talk about divine things; but Theurgy is the *doing* of those divine things'.[706]

In terms of possible influence on the formation of the Golden Dawn it may be of some significance to observe that the eclectic mix of occultism, theurgy and Anglo-Catholic Christianity, found to varying degrees within Golden Dawn teaching, was existing in the Guild several years prior to the founding of the Golden Dawn. Whereas the Guild came to public notice as early as January 1881 through a notice appearing in the Spiritualist journal *Light,* the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was first promoted only in February 1888, but within the same journal, *Light.*[707] Reference has previously made to the fact that the Guild was a 'secret' society and to Gilbert's comment that 'the existence of the Guild of the Holy Spirit indicates the rudiments of a willingness to be part of a hierarchical society devoted to occult pursuits on the part of clergymen without a Masonic background.'[708] In view of Davies' description of Hockley as his occult 'Master', and the importance attributed to Hockley by Gilbert and other Golden Dawn scholars to his role as a potential inspiration for the Order, if not an

---

[705] Davies, *The Great Secret*, p. 277.
[706] Davies, *The Great Secret*, pp. 279-280. The term 'novel potpourri' is that of Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p. 76.
[707] Gilbert, *Twilght of the Magicians*, p. 29.
[708] See chapter 5 of this study.

actual source of its teachings and rituals, the possibility exists that the Guild itself, with its gradations of 'inner to the outermost circle', was both a model for the Golden Dawn and a vehicle for the transmission of esoteric material.[709] The putative linkage between Davies and the founders of the Golden Dawn serves also to explain a possible channel of influence, noted in the previous chapter, between the secret Anglo-Catholic Societas Sanctae Crucis and the Golden Dawn, for Davies was a keen, and indeed founding, member of the former.[710]

There appear to be other suggestive connections between Davies and the Golden Dawn. Gilbert has noted recently that the notion that 'Westcott and Davies were unknown to each other... is improbable to say the least'.[711] Hockley's possession of rare occult manuscripts has been recorded variously, along with his 'unrivalled familiarity with Rosicrucian mss'.[712] Given, therefore, Davies' claim to have 'had the run of Mr. Hockley's library, and read voluminously' it is not inconceivable that some knowledge or ideas regarding Christian esotericism found their way from Davies to Westcott.[713] Further, Gilbert's research showing that Davies allowed his home to be the location for the Christian-based Order of the Spiritual Temple is of particular significance given that this Order, founded in 1891, is understood to be the creation of the well-known and influential esotericist and Golden Dawn member, A. E. Waite.[714] If correct, this indicates clearly that a relationship of trust and possibly influence existed between them.[715] The fact that after the collapse of the original Golden Dawn, Waite formed the

---

[709] The relationship between Hockley and Davies does not appear to have been noticed by Gilbert or commented on by other scholars with the exception of John Hamill, *The Rosicrucian Seer*, p. 12.
[710] Private communication from Gilbert on 14 May 2008. See chapter 5.
[711] Gilbert, 'The Unknown Riddle of the Golden Dawn', unpublished paper to a symposium held on the Golden Dawn in London, 4 March 2008, p. 5.
[712] Gilbert, 'Secret Writing', *The Rosicrucian Seer*, pp.26-27; Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 28; Hamill, *The Rosicrucian Seer*, p. 14.
[713] In his 'Unknown Riddle' and private communication to me (14 May 2008) Gilbert states there is little doubt Davies and Westcott were acquainted.
[714] Gilbert, private communication (14 May 2008) and his *A. E. Waite: Magician of Many Parts*, p. 94.
[715] In his autobiography Waite refers to being provided with information on Emma Harding Britten, a trance medium associated with numerous occult publications, by a Dr. Maurice Davies who knew her. As this information is almost identical in part with that provided by the Reverend Charles Maurice Davies in his *The Great Secret*, and who also knew her well, it seems almost certain that Waite is referring to the

Holy Order of the Golden Dawn in 1903, succeeded by his Fellowship of the Rosy Cross in 1915, in which magic was largely rejected in favour of Christian mysticism, raises the question whether his own later Orders were based on the previous Order of the Spiritual Temple and possibly on Davies' own Guild of the Holy Spirit. It is certain that the staunch Anglo-Catholicism and Christian mysticism emphasized by Davies would have found favour with the prominent Anglo-Catholic writers Evelyn Underhill and Charles Williams who each joined one of Waite's Orders.[716]

Davies and the Golden Dawn founders, Westcott and Mathers, all had a high regard for the work of Anna Kingsford, who has been described by James Webb as being 'in some respects the reviver of the idea of "esoteric Christianity."'[717] Kingsford's importance as a major inspirational source for the Golden Dawn and its teachings deserves greater scholarly attention than it has received and this will be addressed subsequently. It can be noted here, however, that Davies used readings from Kingsford's esoteric *The Perfect Way: or The Finding of Christ,* co-authored with Edward Maitland, as part of his service for the Guild of the Holy Spirit.[718] Both Mathers and Westcott were foundation members of Kingsford's The Hermetic Society, as was Waite, and Mathers dedicated his first and influential translation of parts of *The Zohar*, published as *The Kabbalah Unveiled,* to the authors of *The Perfect Way.* In his preface to this work Mathers writes:

Reverend Charles Maurice Davies, thus confirming a personal relationship between them. See Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, p. 72 and Davies, *The Great Secret*, p. 97-99.

[716] Underhill was a member of the Holy Order of the Golden Dawn, also known as the Independent and Rectified Rite, and Williams was a member of the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross. Both of these groups were under the rule of Waite.

[717] James Webb, 'Anna Kingsford', *Encyclopedia of the Unexplained,* (London: Arkana, 1989), p. 131. Alan Pert, in his somewhat uncritical biography, considers Kingsford to be 'on a par with Meister Eckhart and William Blake'. See his *Red Cactus: The Life of Anna Kingsford* (Watson Bay: Books & Writers, 2006).

[718] Davies, *The Great Secret*, p. 260. While *The Perfect Way* was written by both Kingsford and Maitland it was based on private lectures given by them which were themselves the result of Kingsford's 'prophesies' and their considerable research at the British Museum. See Edward Maitland, *Anna Kingsford: Her Life, Letters, Diary and Work* 2 vols. (London: George Redway, 1896); Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland, *The Perfect Way: or The Finding of Christ* revised and enlarged ed. (London: Fieled & Tuer, 1887, first published 1882).

> I have much pleasure in dedicating this work to the authors of the 'Perfect Way', as they have in that excellent and wonderful book touched so much on the doctrine of the Kabbalah, and laid such value on its teachings. The 'Perfect Way' is one of the most deeply occult works that have been written for centuries.[719]

Whatever role the Reverend Charles Maurice Davies and his Guild of the Holy Spirit may have had in helping to shape the ideas of Mathers, Westcott and Waite in the establishment of their various Orders he was sometime mentor to another man who was later to exercise a powerful, if oblique, influence over 'the London circle of ex G. D. Adepts and practising Theosophists', including the prominent ex-Golden Dawn members Florence Farr (1860 -1917), Allan Bennett (1872-1923), W. B. Yeats, as well as the leaders of the succeeding Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina. This was Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan (1851-1930) who became Solicitor-General of Ceylon and a figure of enormous stature in its governance and politics. Described as 'not only steeped in Hindu and Christian mysticism, but... deeply involved in the revival of Buddhist activities in Ceylon', Ramathan is also said to have been 'closely associated with Col. Henry Olcott, the co-founder of the Theosophical Society, in promoting Buddhist education in schools'.[720]

In *The Great Secret* Davies writes that from 1858 he resumed his work of 'pupilising and clerical duty' and that one of his pupils 'was a young student who... ultimately, after brilliant success at college and the bar, became Solicitor-General -- I dare not, I suppose, say under what Government -- and he has since laughingly alluded to the way in which we used to blend discussions of the modern mystery with our

---

[719] S. L. MacGregor Mathers, *The Kabbalah Unveiled,* p. viii.

[720] For a Sri Lankan/Ceylonese view of Ramanathan see the Association of Tamils of Sri Lanka in the USA, 'Ponnambalam Ramanathan', (2006), < *http://sangam.org/taraki/articles/2006/04-13_Ponnambalam_Ramanathan.php?vid=1652*> [accessed 2 August 2008]. See also Mary K. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 271, 343.

classical studies.[721] We varied our... studies... by occasional deviations into the regions of the occult'.[722]

Initiated into the Golden Dawn in July 1890, the actress Florence Farr was held in high esteem as an occultist by the Chiefs of the Order and by other senior members.[723] She was chosen to succeed Westcott as the head of the Isis-Urania Temple following his resignation in 1893 and played a leading role in the life of the original Order until shortly before its collapse in 1903. In June 1902 she joined the Theosophical Society and became interested in Ramanathan after receiving some sort of spiritual inner message that Christ 'is working through Ramanathan'.[724] This revelation itself followed her attendance in July 1902 of a Society meeting at which she heard the prominent Theosophist and classical scholar G. R. S. Mead (1863-1933) claim 'that Christ was interested in the (Theosophical) movement going on to Theosophise Christianity'.[725] It appears that she met Ramanathan at a subsequent meeting held around the same period where he greatly impressed Farr with his interpretation of Christianity and Eastern teachings, and his educational plans which involved a 'College for Girls' in Ceylon. In 1912 Farr accepted Ramanathan's offer to become Principal of his newly completed college in Ceylon where she remained until her death from cancer in 1917.[726]

Without additional evidence it is only possible to speculate on the degree of influence the Reverend Charles Maurice Davies may have exercised over the formation of Ramanathan's religious and esoteric views throughout the 'pupilising' process and

---

[721] *The Great Secret,* p. 50. Ramanathan was in England in 1868 and subsequently at 'the turn of the century'. Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, pp. 305-306, note 19. It is not clear precisely what Reverend Davies was teaching Ramanathan (other than occultism) although his reference to 'our classical studies', along with Felkin's claim that Ramanathan had made a 'profound study of the New Testament', may indicate ancient Greek and biblical studies. Felkin's comment is found in Harriot Felkin's account of Felkin in 'A Wayfaring Man', *The Lantern*, 2, No. 1 (1937), 7-15 (p. 12).
[722] *The Great Secret,* p. 51.
[723] Mary K. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 271, 343; Josephine Johnson, *Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's 'New Woman'* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlehead, 1975), pp. 70-100; Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 195; Florence Farr *The Magic of a Symbol,* edited by Darcy Kuntz (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996), reprinted from *The Occult Review,* 7, Nos. 4-7), p. 5.
[724] Josephine Johnson, *Florence Farr*, p. 92.
[725] Ibid.
[726] P. Rámanáthan, K.C.,C.M.G., *The Culture of the Soul among Western Nations* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907, reprint of 1906).

their evident subsequent contact. It can be noted, however, that Ramanathan presents a highly sympathetic, and at times esoteric, account of Judaism and Christianity in his *The Culture of the Soul among Western Nations*, which appears consistent both with the views espoused by Davies, and indeed with those of Kingsford and Maitland in their version of esoteric Christianity.[727] The range and number of Ramanathan's contacts amongst Christian occultists, Theosophists, and other esotericists from different religions seems extraordinarily large.[728]

Of more importance in the present context is Ramanathan's friendship with Dr. Felkin, the head of the Stella Matutina which was the most successful schismatic group to emerge from the Golden Dawn and attracted a significant number of Anglo-Catholic clergy to its membership. Felkin is said to have regarded his relationship with Ramanathan as 'one of the most valued friendships of my whole life' and the impression to be gained from his wife's memoirs is that Felkin, himself an ardent Anglo-Catholic, regarded Ramanathan as a spiritual teacher of considerable importance, far in advance of other men, both intellectually and spiritually.[729] Mrs. Felkin observes, 'It is impossible to put into words all that we owe to him. One cannot describe an emanation and it was the consciousness of real holiness in his presence rather than any verbal teaching that lingered, still lingers, with us.'[730] Part of this debt probably relates to the extraordinary claim Felkin makes in a letter written to the Chiefs of the Amoun

---

[727] Ramanathan wrote extensively on various subjects but his religious writings also include esoteric expositions on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John.

[728] He was closely acquainted with other Golden Dawn members, including Allan Bennett (1872-1923) who also travelled to Ceylon and became tutor to Ramanathan's children, and the notorious Aleister Crowley who was a close friend of Bennett. Unusually for Crowley, who rarely offers praise of any contemporary religious teacher, he describes Ramanathan as 'a man of charming personality, wide culture and profound religious knowledge' and observes that Bennett 'learnt a great deal of theory and practice of Yoga' from Ramanathan. Apart from being a member of the Golden Dawn Second Order, Bennett was a member of the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society.' See Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p.150. Bennett was employed by Ramanathan as tutor to his sons and became a Buddhist monk while in Ceylon, probably under Ramanathan's influence, and is credited with being responsible for introducing Buddhism to Britain on his return in 1908. As 'Bikku Ananda Metleya', Bennett established 'a Buddhist Lodge in England that later developed into the Buddhist Society.' Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, p. 264, note 48 and p. 276, note 80; Aleister Crowley, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, ed. by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), pp. 237-238.

[729] 'The Wayfaring Man', *The Lantern*, 2, No.2, September 1937, p. 6.

[730] Ibid.

Temple on 1 November 1919: 'If it had not been that Ramanathan had been used to aid me I am doubtful if I would ever have got into a connection with the Continental Order at all.[731]. Whether by 'Continental Order' Felkin is referring to the Rosicrucian progenitor of the Golden Dawn or to his visits to Germany in search of Rosicrucian 'Masters', such as Rudolf Steiner, is not evident.[732] Irrespective, it is clearly of some historical interest if is being asserted that Ramanathan was connected to this European Rosicrucian tradition in some way and it also raises the question of what exactly the Reverend Charles Maurice Davies may have transmitted to his student.

Esoteric Christian Roots of the Golden Dawn

The frequently raised and still unanswered questions of exactly where and how Westcott obtained the foundational documents of the Golden Dawn will not be attempted here other than to note that several leading figures in the esoteric world of that period, including Hockley, have been advanced as potential sources of these documents.[733] Unless further documentary evidence is to emerge there is little to decide between various hypotheses when so many of the central figures concerned were acquainted with one another.[734] But what is clearly possible and important in the context of determining the appeal of occultism to Anglican clergymen, is identifying some of

---

[731] From an unpublished typed manuscript by Christina Mary Stoddart entitled 'Investigations into the Foundations of the Order and the Source of its Teachings', p. 13. Copies of this manuscript were found in the papers of W.B. Yeats and those of Stoddart who was the senior Chief of the Stella Matutina Amoun Temple between 1916-1923. She revised this paper in a longer version and used material from both in two published books attacking occultism.

[732] See Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 99-106.

[733] Gilbert has advanced a number of different theories regarding the origin of the Order in his various books and papers listed in the Bibliography. His *Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 4-28, also provides some of the views of Golden Dawn members themselves on this question. Useful material can also be found in Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, and Darcy Kuntz (ed.) *The Golden Dawn Source Book*, where various theories are discussed by several writers.

[734] The focus within this study is largely confined to the relationships between members of the esoteric Christian community and occultists of the period which suggest unexplored and plausible complementary, if not alternative, explanations of the origin of the Golden Dawn, to those theories advanced by Gilbert and others, which concentrate more on the various personalities involved in the Masonic-Occult nexus. The favourite candidate of these writers, as the immediate source of the foundational documents of the Golden Dawn, is the well-connected English occultist and Freemason, Kenneth Mackenzie (1833-1886).

the likely external influences which led Westcott and Mathers to create the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Whether or not Davies did actually play a pivotal role, or like Hockley, could have been an 'unwitting assistant' in the creation of the Golden Dawn, Davies' act of creating an esoteric Christian Order was by no means the only precedent to serve as an inspiration or example for the Golden Dawn. Notwithstanding the fact that Mathers was to transform the Order into a magical organisation, from its very inception it was a hermetic or esoteric Christian society and at the time of its creation there was an abundance of individuals, including Anglican clergy, either helping to create or belonging to Christian societies in which considerable emphasis was placed on the supernatural or the occult, where these two qualities can be distinguished.[735]

Amongst several writers on this topic, James Webb has remarked on the fact that in parallel with the Oxford Movement, and undoubtedly influenced by it, there were various attempts made from 1837 onwards to recreate monastic life within the Anglican Church.[736] This desire to create communities or societies dedicated to pursuing spiritual goals was not confined to the male clergy as is evident by the increasing number of religious communities for women which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and by such examples as the controversial religious cult of Agapemone established in 1846 in Spaxton, Somerset by the renegade Anglican clergyman, the Reverend Henry Prince.[737] Geoffrey Moorhouse has identified John Keble's Assize sermon in Oxford on 14 July 1833, and the impetus this gave to launching the Oxford Movement, as being 'the

---

[735] Apart from those noted in this chapter there was the Christo-Philosophical Society which appears to have been related to the Theosophical Society but was 'languishing' and the proposal was mooted, but not enacted, that it be amalgamated with Anna Kingsford's Hermetic Society. Maitland, *Anna Kingsford*, II, 174-175.

[736] Webb, *The Flight From Reason*, p. 77.

[737] Peter F. Anson, *Bishops at Large*, p. 487; See also Peter F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*; Rene Kollar, *Abbot Aelred Carlyle, Caldey Island, and the Anglo-Catholic Revival in England*; A.M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities, 1845-1900* (London: SCM Press, 1958); Kate Barlow, *Abode of Love* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Goose Lane, 2006). Barlow provides an interesting account of her growing up in the Agapemone cult.

crucial step towards the revival of religious life in the English Church'.[738] Yet, as noted previously, there were many other influential forces including both the ubiquitous Romantic Movement and the related revival of interest in many forms of occultism and esoteric spirituality.[739] Even the influential Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic movement was described as a 'Brotherhood' and had a religious dimension with its members at one time speaking of creating monasteries.[740] Indeed, the quest for holiness, and seeking what Wilkinson has referred to as the 'hidden glory in the ordinary world, in ordinary life and people' was a predominant doctrinal theme not merely of the increasing number of Anglo-Catholic clerical institutions but also of the broader population seeking a spiritual purpose and evidence of a supernatural reality.[741] Although the formation of the Community of the Resurrection, and its immediate predecessor, the Society of the Resurrection, along with such irregular Anglican monastic establishments as Aelred Carlyle's community of Benedictines on Caldey Island, were concurrent with or consequent to the formation of the Golden Dawn, these and other communities drew on the same influences, with their Romanticist theme of attempting to regain the spiritual inspiration and achievements of the past.[742]

The institution of Freemasonry, which attracted a considerable body of clergy to its ranks, was inevitably subject to these influences during this period, given the fact that its very raison d'être was an initiatic brotherhood dedicated to preserving and exploring hidden knowledge and mysteries, frequently connected with spiritual matters.[743] As Roger Dachez has observed, from the late eighteenth century, and throughout that of the nineteenth, 'masonry integrated into its rituals various themes

---

[738] Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Against All Reason: The Religious Life in the Modern World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, 1969), pp. 49-50.
[739] Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Against All Reason*, pp. 49-51. See also the works of James Webb, and Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*; Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics, 1870-1910.*
[740] Webb, *The Flight from Reason*, p. 77; Wilkinson, *The Community of the Resurrection*, p. 15.
[741] Ibid. See also Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, pp. 7-79.
[742] Ibid. See also Kocku von Stuckrad, *Western Esotericism*, Chap. 6; B. J. Gibbons, *Spirituality and the Occult*, pp. 112-144.
[743] Roger Dachez, 'Freemasonry', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, I, 382-388. See also Henrik Bogdan, *Western Esotericism and Rituals of Initiation.*

borrowed from esoteric currents such as Christian theosophy and so called spiritual alchemy. It also came to include elements of a theurgical character...'[744] This entailed the creation of new and so-called 'higher' degrees provided within separate masonic and quasi-masonic bodies which were frequently both Christian and esoteric in nature, and which sometimes drew on the Rosicrucian tradition 'introduced into Germany at the beginning of the 17th century.'[745] One such body was the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (S.R.I.A.), founded in 1867, which required any prospective candidate for admission to be 'a Master Mason' and 'a believer in the fundamental doctrines of the Trinitarian Christian Faith'.[746]

All three founders of the Golden Dawn were part of the governing body of the S.R.I.A. with Woodman as Supreme Magus, or head, Westcott as Secretary-General and Mathers being a senior member of the governing High Council. Given the Trinitarian Christian foundation of the S.R.I.A. it is not surprising therefore that the Golden Dawn had a strong Christian ethos and required its prospective members to be either Christian or 'to be at least prepared to take an interest in Christian Symbolism'.[747] One question which has not been explored to any extent is why Westcott, who appears to have been the chief driving force behind the establishment of the Golden Dawn, considered such an organisation to be necessary in view of the already existing S.R.I.A. As Gilbert has observed, from the outset the Golden Dawn was not the markedly magical organisation it was later to become under Mathers' influence, and the aims and structure of both societies were not particularly dissimilar. Nor is it the case that Westcott was dissatisfied with the S.R.I.A as he remained in it for most of his life and succeeded Woodman as the Supreme Magus. Indeed, he borrowed the Grade structure from the

---

[744] Roger Dachez, 'Freemasonry', p. 386.
[745] Dachez, 'Freemasonry', p. 387.
[746] *Ordinances of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (London: privately printed for SRIA. Revised, 1985), p. 3.
[747] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook*, p. 23.

S.R.I.A. for the Golden Dawn and a comparison between the rituals of both organisations shows a degree of dependency of the latter upon the former.[748]

The simplest answer might be seen in the explanation that Westcott merely pursued the opportunity to create a new Order after he had been given the skeletal cipher manuscripts and had recognized their potential for expansion. While this possibility cannot be dismissed entirely it is, nevertheless, lacking plausibility for a number of reasons, the chief being the considerable doubt which surrounds both the genuineness of the manuscripts and their provenance, and the implication that Westcott manufactured some or all of them himself.[749] Even on the major assumption that they are genuine their very sparseness of content required a strong desire to provide, through ritual and instruction, both a substance and direction that was evidently deemed to be lacking in the S.R.I.A., in the Theosophical Society (of which Westcott was a member), or indeed in any of the other existing organisations of an esoteric or occult nature.

From Hermetic Society to Hermetic Order

There was one society, however, closely linked with Westcott whose aims matched closely those of the early Golden Dawn. This was the Hermetic Society formed by Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland in 1884. Their aim was 'the restoration of the true, esoteric, and spiritual Christianity' and their credo embraced a set of beliefs which were enacted almost precisely in the rituals and practices of the Golden Dawn.[750]

---

[748] R. A. Gilbert, ed. *The Magical Mason: Forgotten Hermetic Writings of William Wynn Westcott, Physician and Magus* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983), pp. 7-10. Both organisations modelled their Grade structure on the Kabbalistic 'Tree of Life' where each of the 10 Sephirotic spheres which form the 'Tree', corresponds to a particular Grade of initiation. The S.R.I.A. itself borrowed this concept from the eighteenth century German Gold- und Rosenkreuz. See Christopher McIntosh, *The Rosicrucians: The History and Mythology of an Occult Order*, pp. 88-90.

[749] Although the matter was discussed amongst several Order members and is addressed in 'Inquire Within' (Stoddart), *Light-bearers of Darkness*, and Waite's *Shadows of Life and Thought*, it was first examined at length in Howe's *Magicians of the Golden Dawn* (1972) and revisited in virtually every subsequent study of the Order.

[750] James Webb, 'Anna Bonus Kingsford (1846-1888)', in *Encyclopedia of the Unexplained*, p. 131; Anna Bonus Kingsford, *The Credo of Christendom* (London: John M. Watkins, 1916), p. 3; Alan Pert, *Red Cactus: The Life of Anna Kingsford*, pp. 130-132, 140-141; Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, 'Hermeticism

The revised Prospectus of the Hermetic Society, issued in March 1885, describes its objectives as follows:

> The designation of this Society was chosen in conformity with that ancient and universal usage of the Western World, which, regarding HERMES as the supreme initiator into the Sacred Mysteries of existence, has identified his name with the knowledge of things spiritual and occult. Its aims are at once scientific, intellectual, moral and religious. Its chief aim is to promote the comparative study of the philosophical and religious systems of the East and West; especially of the Greek Mysteries and the Hermetic Gnosis, and its allied schools, the Kabalistic, Pythagorean, Platonic, and Alexandrian, -- these being inclusive of Christianity, -- with a view to the elucidation of their original esoteric and real doctrine, and the adaption of its expression to modern requirements. The knowledges acquired will be applied, first, to the interpretation and harmonisation of the various systems of thought and faith... and, secondly, to the promotion of personal psychic and spiritual development.[751]

This second application of the 'knowledges' makes it apparent that Kingsford intended the Hermetic Society to be far more than a mere discussion group. Although she writes in her diary, two days after the launching of the Society, that 'I do not yet know, myself, exactly what it is we seek to gain in this Society,' she adds 'What we really seek is to reform the Christian system and start a new Esoteric Church. When once this is started it may go on indefinitely, as does the Exoteric Church'.[752] Kingsford's hopes were never realised and the Esoteric Church did not develop from

---

and Hermetic Societies', in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*, I, 550-558; and Amanda Kluveld, 'Anna Bonus Kingsford', in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*, II, 663-665.

[751] Kingsford, *The Credo of Christianity*, p. 25.

[752] Kingsford, *The Credo of Christianity*, p. 28.

her short-lived Society. In the broadest terms, however, her desire to reform the Church was not so far removed from the aims of many of the Anglo-Catholic reformers. Like them, she emphasized the recovery of the beliefs and ideals which enthused the ancient Church Fathers and, like them, she appealed to the writings of Clement of Alexandria and to his notion of becoming 'godlike' and ascending individually to God. In her diary for 24 November 1885 she records the following, taken from Clement:

> 'O Mysteries truly sacred!' exclaims the Bishop of Alexandria in holy transport; 'O pure Light!' As at the light of torches the veil that covers God and Heaven falls off. I am holy now that I am initiated. It is the Lord Himself who is the Hierophonta. He sets His seal upon the Adept, whom He illuminates with His beams; and whom, as a recompense for faith, He will recommend to the eternal love of the Father. These are the Orgies of my Mysteries; come ye and be received! (Clemens Alexandrinus)[753]

Her view of the Christian Church, which is set out below, would have likely found equal favour with many of the more mystically inclined Anglo-Catholic reformers and with the members of the Golden Dawn. To this degree, it is hardly surprising that she was described by Westcott as 'illumined by the Sun of Light' and held in such high regard by the founders of the Order and members of its main successor body, the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina, which included a significant number of Anglo-Catholic clergy and laypersons.[754]

---

[753] Maitland, *Anna Kingsford*, p. 222.

[754] Golden Dawn Historical Lecture by V.H. Sapere Aude (Westcott), in Gilbert, *Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 103. Several copies of Kingsford's and Maitland's *The Perfect Way* were in the library of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple of the Stella Matutina. A former Chief of this Temple, Frank Salt (1917-1994), informed me in a private communication in 1993 that Dr. Felkin and his wife encouraged all Order members to study *The Perfect Way* and spoke of Kingsford as 'a great adept'.

Kingsford asserted that the original concept of Christ was both 'esoteric and mystic' and that the first Christians 'appeared to have devoted themselves in the primitive age of the Church to an attempt to purify and reform the culture of the Gods, adopting their symbols and images, and giving to them an interior and esoteric meaning... and the original mission of Christianity seems to have been to restore the Mysteries'.[755]

> The Christian Faith is the direct heir of the old Roman faith. Rome was the heir of Greece, and Greece of Egypt, whence the Mosaic dispensation and Hebrew ritual sprang. Egypt was but the focus of a light whose true fountain was the Orient in general -- *Ex Oriente Lux*... the Church of our day and country is modelled immediately upon the Greco-Roman mythology, and draws thence all its rites, doctrines, ceremonies, sacraments and festivals. Hence the exposition to be given of Esoteric Christianity would deal more especially with the mysteries of the West. The Christian Church is Catholic... and... she is Egyptian, Hermetic, Pythagorean, and Platonic... And, as St Augustine and other of the Fathers truly declared, Christianity contains nothing new but its name, having been familiar to the ancients from the beginning.[756]

In their explication of these beliefs in the lectures and study sessions of the Hermetic Society Kingsford and Maitland introduced a synthesis of occult and mythological symbols, drawn from pagan, Kabbalistic, and Hermetic literature, which was to exert a profound influence on those *fin-de-siècle* occultists attracted more to the esoteric tradition of the West, rather than to that of the East, increasingly becoming the

---

[755] Maitland, *Life of Anna Kingsford*, pp. 134-135.
[756] Kingsford, *The Credo of Christendom*, p. 94.

predominant direction of the Theosophical Society. Webb has observed that Kingsford was 'in some respects the reviver of the idea of "esoteric Christianity"'.[757]

> This esoteric Christianity was extremely influential. In France it was spread by Baron Spedalieri, the disciple of Eliphas Levi, and by the Countess of Caithness, who was President of one of the Paris Theosophical societies. In London, Anna Kingsford and Maitland established their Hermetic Society, to which came Mathers and Westcott of the Golden Dawn, and maintained cordial relations with Madame Blavatsky... two years before her death, Anna Kingsford studied magic -- probably with MacGregor Mathers...[758]

The notion that esoteric Christianity was, in its very essence, a revival of the Hermetic doctrine, and that this was itself the basis of the nineteenth century occult revival, was a fundamental belief of Kingsford.[759] Kingsford writes: 'The revival of that philosophy (Hermetism) has been at once the condition and the result of every great religious *renaissance* the world has seen'.[760] In their preface to *The Perfect Way: or the Finding of Christ* Kingsford and Maitland note that their book represents not an 'invention' but a 'recovery'.[761]

> And it represents a recovery because the system propounded in it has proved to be that which constituted the basic and secret doctrine of all the great religions of antiquity, including Christianity, -- the doctrine commonly called the *Gnosis,* and variously entitled Hermetic and Kabbalistic.[762]

---

[757] Webb, *Encyclopedia*, p. 131.
[758] Webb, *Encyclopedia*, p. 131.
[759] Webb, *Encylopedia,* p. 113.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Kingsford and Maitland, *The Perfect Way*, p. i.
[762] Ibid.

It is evident that this belief was the motivation behind the naming of Kingsford's and Maitland's society and also for that of the very short-lived Hermetic Lodge of the Theosophical Society which preceded it, for which Kingsford and Maitland obtained a charter from the parent Theosophical Society in 1884.[763] The emphasis placed by Kingsford on the importance of the Hermetic mysteries and their identification with Christian esotericism would also seem to be a likely factor in the decision made shortly after the inauguration of the Order, and presumably by Westcott and Mathers, to change the title from the 'Esoteric Order of the Golden Dawn' to the 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn'.[764] Gilbert has noted that Westcott 'was enraptured by the work of Anna Kingsford, whose Hermetic Society supplied all the theoretical occultism that one could wish for'.[765]

Another such influential occultist 'enraptured' by Kingsford was the Italian Baron Nicholas-Joseph Spedalieri (1812-1898) who, as Webb has observed, was the friend and pupil of the French magician Eliphas Levi.[766] Westcott was to claim in the 'History Lecture' provided to Neophytes on the origins of the Order that Levi had been an 'eminent adept' of the Order which had become temporarily 'dormant' before its alleged 'revival' in the form of the Golden Dawn.[767]. Levi's writings were openly acknowledged as being a major influence on the formation of the Golden Dawn and

---

[763] Alan Pert, *Red Cactus*, pp. 128-129.
[764] Private communication from Gilbert dated 14 May 2008. Gilbert notes in his *Twilight of the Magicians* that Westcott writes of 'The Hermetic students of the G.D.' in response to a query. *Notes and Queries* (February 1889), p. 25.
[765] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook*, p. 5. It is clear that Mathers was also very friendly with Kingsford and Howe has noted that she introduced him to Madame Blavatsky. See *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 39.
[766] Webb, *Encylopedia,* p. 131. See also Christopher McIntosh, *Eliphas Levi and the French Occult Revival*, pp. 124-125, 137-138. Spedalieri was also the literary heir of Levi and provided Kingsford and Maitland with unpublished Levi material and Levi's annotated copy of 'the book of the eminent Hermetist, the Abott Trithemius, printed in 1567, "*De Septem Secundus*"'. It seems that Kingsford and Maitland gave this material to Westcott. See Edward Maitland, *Anna Kingsford*, pp. 278-279 and Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 345. The significance of this lies in the fact that aspects of the work of both Levi and Trithemius are evident in the Cipher manuscripts which supposedly founded the Golden Dawn.
[767] 'Golden Dawn Historical Lecture', in Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 99.

many of the ideas found in his works were incorporated into both the rituals and teachings.[768] Indeed, a claim is repeated in some of the Order' foundational documents, which are generally believed by Howe, Gilbert and others to be forged by Westcott, that the so-called Cipher MS. which contains the skeletal outline of the initial five Golden Dawn rituals, was once in the possession of Eliphas Levi.[769] McIntosh has commented that Levi 'can be considered one of the key figures in the history of modern occultism'.[770] Spedalieri, who was also the literary heir of Levi, was lavish in his praise of *The Perfect Way*, writing that the 'illumination' promised by Guillaume Postel and the Abbot Trithemius had been 'accomplished, and has been manifested in "The Perfect Way". For in this book we find all that there is of truth in the Kabala, supplemented by new intuitions, such as present a body of doctrine at once complete, homogeneous, logical, and inexpugnable'.[771] As Westcott received from Kingsford and Maitland unpublished material by Levi, along with material relating to Trithemius, given to them by Spedalieri, the question can be raised whether it was a matter of sheer coincidence that the Golden Dawn Cipher manuscript was written in one of the codes of Trithemius.[772]

A particularly intriguing claim connecting Anna Kingsford to the foundation of the Golden Dawn appears in the unpublished diary notes of Waite recording his discussions with Felkin and other Order members.[773] The entry is dated 12 December 1910 and concerns information supposedly provided by a Dutch theosophist called

---

[768] This is particularly the case regarding Levi's views and theories regarding the Tarot cards expressed in several of his works. Portions of the Grade rituals for the First Order can be found in Waite's translation of Levi's *Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual* (London: William Rider & Son, 1923), pp. 282-285.
[769] Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn,* p. 15.
[770] McIntosh, *Eliphas Levi and the French Occult Revival*, p. 141.
[771] Edward Maitland, *Anna Kingsford: Her Life, Letters, Diary and Work,* II, pp. 154-155.
[772] Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 42; R. A. Gilbert, 'Provenance Unknown: A Tentative Solution to the Riddle of the Cipher Manuscript of the Golden Dawn' in Darcy Kuntz (ed.), *The Complete Golden Dawn Cipher Manuscript*, p. 21. Gilbert's suggestion is plausible but not necessarily more persuasive than other alternatives based on circumstantial evidence.
[773] A. E. Waite, *Ordo R.R. et A.C.: The Testimonies of Frater Finem Respice, Imperator of the Templum Stellae Matutinae On Matters connected with the alleged Third Order, the German Rosy Cross and the Business of his Temple: Transcribed 1915.* This diary was in the possession of Gilbert but is now in the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam.

'Prink' regarding the foundation of the Golden Dawn and a putative progenitor group. Although the identity of the speaker is not clear, from the context of the entry the 'information' provided probably comes from Felkin rather than Waite. This relates to a claim made that an original 'pre-1885' Golden Dawn existed which included as members an East End London clergyman, Blavatsky, Westcott, Anna Kingsford and Maitland.[774] A similar statement is made in Waite's entry for 14 October 1910 where Felkin makes the same assertion regarding the belief that 'the original Golden Dawn (pre-1885) still exists in London' and that it once included Mathers, Westcott and Papus. This comment is preceded by Felkin's claim that an 'old retired London clergyman belongs' to a mysterious group with links to the 'Third Order' of the Golden Dawn. Felkin states that he has the clergyman's name and address.[775] A still further, and perhaps even stronger, claim appears in Waite's diary recording a meeting between him and Felkin on 14 December 1911 when Felkin claimed that 'German theosophists' had specifically claimed that the Golden Dawn was formed out of Kingsford's Hermetic Society. In a sense that is not clear from the entry Felkin connects this information with his comment that he 'had seen Alta Peto (Madame de Steiger) in Bournemouth and she says she was in A. K.'s Hermetic Society.'[776] These suggestive comments of Felkin have not previously been noted in any previous discussion on the origins of the Golden Dawn, and although it seems customary amongst recent writers on the Golden Dawn to dismiss or ignore Felkin's claims it is interesting that at such an early date Felkin identifies the potential influence of Kingsford and her Society in the genesis of the Golden Dawn.[777]

---

[774] Ibid.
[775] A.E. Waite, *Ordo R.R. et A.C.*
[776] Ibid.
[777] It is tempting to suppose that the unidentified clergyman could be the Reverend Charles Davies. The diary entry also notes that he is named in a later edition of Maitland's life of Anna Kingsford but I have not been able to identify the reference. The 1896 edition, however, in reference to discussion on *The Perfect Way* refers to several of 'the most notable students of spiritual science of the time' including 'I.O., a clergyman deeply devoted to things mystical,' and who 'pronounced "The Perfect Way" the "most wonderful of all books which have appeared since the Christian era, and one that no student can be

Whatever the truth about the origin of the Golden Dawn, however, there is little doubt that the 'enraptured' Westcott, as well as Mathers, were profoundly influenced by the teachings of Kingsford on esoteric Christianity and the Hermetic tradition.[778] It is equally plausible that the high importance they placed on the work of Levi and Trithemius was to some degree derived from or strengthened by her relationship with Spedalieri. But if, as Gilbert has claimed, her Hermetic Society 'supplied all the theoretical occultism that one could wish for' then why was there a need to create the Golden Dawn in the first place? The answer does not seem to lie in the possibility that Westcott and Mathers were seeking at this stage an Order offering practical occultism for the simple reason that, as also noted by Gilbert, this was not provided by the Golden Dawn until 1892 when Mathers created the rituals and instructions for the Second Order. A more likely explanation is the fact that throughout much of the latter part of 1887 the Hermetic Society had become completely inactive because of the rapidly declining health of Anna Kingsford. On 22 February 1888 she died, and the Hermetic Society died with her. Although Edward Maitland endeavoured to maintain interest in Kingsford's teachings through a new society he founded, the Esoteric Christian Union, 'without her spiritual authority and charismatic presence it seems to have come to nothing'.[779] Moreover, it is evident that even before Kingsford's decline in health the Hermetic Society had never been able to develop into a fully functioning Order or Lodge in the manner of the Theosophical Society or the Golden Dawn. As important as Kingsford and the Society clearly were to both Westcott and Mathers, the fact remains that it did not become more than a society providing a number of series of lectures on spiritual and occult themes. Indeed, over the three years between 1884 and 1886 a mere

---

without if he will know the truth on these subjects"'. See Maitland, *Anna Kingsford*, p. 76. Recall in this context that Davies used readings from *The Perfect Way* in his Guild of the Holy Spirit.

[778] Apart from Mathers' and Westcott's membership of Kingsford's Hermetic Society, where they delivered lectures, and their lavish praise of her qualities, the themes of both *The Perfect Way* and her lectures published in *The Credo of Christendom* show an identity with the doctrines of the Golden Dawn.

[779] Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, p. 43.

20 lectures were presented. The third and final series of 7 lectures were delivered between 13 April and 22 July 1886. While it is probable that members did meet together sometimes outside of the formal lecture cycle, and there is some slight evidence for this, there is also no doubt that it was the actual presence of Kingsford, and the prominent occultists drawn to her, which held the Society together.[780]

A week before Kingsford's death the Golden Dawn came into existence through the three founders, Westcott, Mathers and Woodman signing, as Gilbert has expressed it, 'their pledges of undying allegiance to themselves' in the first official document of the new 'Esoteric Order of the Golden Dawn'.[781] Mathers' own pledge is countersigned by one Anna Sprengel under her Order motto of Sapiens Dominabitur Astris. There is almost no room to dispute the conclusion, asserted by Howe, that the mysterious German adept 'Anna Sprengel' was entirely the fictitious creation of Westcott in his attempt to provide an independent pedigree for the new Order.[782] But given the enormous regard in which both Westcott and Mathers held Anna Kingsford it seems unlikely to be mere coincidence that Sprengel's supposed Latin motto Sapiens Dominabitur Astris also appears on the title page of Anna Kingsford's edited translation of Valentine Weigel's *Astrology Theologised* (1886), and to which Kingsford 'contributed a Prefatory Essay entitled 'The True Method of Interpreting Scripture'.[783]

In his most recent assessment of the origins of the Golden Dawn Gilbert dismisses the notion that a pre-existent Order had existed and from which the Golden Dawn

---

[780] Kingsford, *Credo of Christendom*, pp. 232-235.
[781] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook*, p. 21.
[782] An interesting reference regarding the origin of the Order, hitherto unnoticed by Golden Dawn scholars, appears in a 'letter' Dr. Felkin wrote to 'the Secret and G.H. Chiefs of the R.R. et. A.C.' dated 17 November 1906. In this document Felkin records a conversation he had the previous day with Waite and fellow Chief Marcus Worsley Blackden Felkin states that 'they claim to have a very valuable M.S.S. of 1777 which proves to them that D.D.C.F. (Mathers) and S.A. (Westcott) did not make up the Order'. This letter appears in its entirety within the unpublished manuscript of Miss Stoddart referred to in footnote ~~676~~. 731.
[783] Gilbert, 'Trail of the Chameleon', in *The Golden Dawn Conference: London 1997* (Chippenham: Antony Rowe Ltd, 1998), p. 125.

descended.[784] Addressing the question why Westcott created it, Gilbert answers, 'He did it for altruistic reasons, to provide men and women who wished to experience the spiritual reality that lies behind and beyond formal creeds with an institutional means of access to a progressive unfolding of the vision and experience of that reality'.[785] Whether or not Gilbert's view is the final word on this subject the circumstances surrounding the beginnings of the Order, and its dramatis personæ, point strongly to Kingsford and her Society, as being Westcott's and Mathers' role model for their own Order which would come to realise that which had existed as potential only in the Hermetic Society.[786] As Virgina Moore has noted in her study of W. B. Yeats, the various symbolic themes associated with the emphasis Kingsford places on the perfection of Man through stages of gradual ascension towards God are all 'Golden Dawn conceptions'.[787] The esoterically interpreted concepts of the Biblical Fall of Man, the equation of Osiris and Christ, ritual furniture within the Jewish Temple, rituals of ascension, adoration of the symbolic Sun, and a vast number of other themes, along with some of their corresponding literary sources, are found within *The Perfect Way* and nearly all appear to varying degrees within the rituals and teachings of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

One such conception can be seen in Westcott's description of Kingsford as 'illumined by the Sun of Light', which almost mirrors Kingsford's own talk of the 'perfected man Adonai as "clothed with the sun"' and which is itself, as Moore reminds us, also 'the very phrase used by Bulwer-Lytton in *Zanoni*' and found in various guises in the spiritual writings of many religious and esoteric traditions subsequent to its

---

[784] R. A. Gilbert, 'The Unsolved Riddle of the Golden Dawn'. Unpublished paper delivered to the Golden Dawn Conference, London, March 2008, p. 9.
[785] Ibid.
[786] A fundamental concept within Kingsford's vision of Hermetic Christianity is the heavy emphasis she placed on the prime role of 'the Feminine' consciousness within the process of human spirituality ascending towards God. Although little is known regarding Westcott's personal attitude towards this aspect of Kingsford's doctrine there are firm indications that Mathers was profoundly affected by it, and the symbology surrounding this notion is manifest throughout the Golden Dawn rituals and teaching. This subject is worthy of considerable scholarly attention but falls outside the scope of this thesis..
[787] Virginia Moore, *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality*, p. 132.

apocalyptic source.[788] For Kingsford the Sun is the 'emblem of the Man Regenerate' and where the perfected soul is identified with both the Risen Christ and the Risen Sun, it is implicit within the very name of the 'Golden Dawn'. In this context it should be noted that the Order's defining symbol, used on its official documentation, -- a calvary cross surmounting a triangle containing waters, or sea, from which a golden sun is beginning to emerge -- summarises the themes expounded at length throughout Kingsford's work and especially *The Perfect Way*. Besides its obvious reference to Trinitarian Christianity it denotes the emerging Christ-nature of the awakened soul rising from the waters of baptism within the 'triangle of Life' and ascending towards the Cross of death, redemption, resurrection and the perfected Christ-Consciousness of Man, or Adonai.[789] Where Christianity was 'rightly definable as a symbolic synthesis of the fundamental truths contained in all religions', such was the purpose of the Golden Dawn scheme of ascension.[790]

A further important symbol which should be noted in passing, is that which appeared on all early editions of *The Perfect Way* and those of "*Clothed With the Sun*", which indeed it illustrates. The design, drawn by Kingsford herself, pictures a woman standing at the centre of a radiant sun.[791] She is crowned and symbolises 'the Soul under full illumination of the Spirit and having full perception of Divine Truth'.[792] The role of Woman, or the feminine aspect of divinity, in the process of becoming spiritually 'perfect', cannot be overemphasized in Kingsford's interpretation of the Hermetic tradition. This concept, heretofore largely unnoticed, entailing the elevation of feminine spirituality, was to exert a considerable influence on the Golden Dawn where the notion

---

[788] Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 132; Maitland, *Anna Kingsford*, p. 33; Cover diagram of 1887 edition of *The Perfect Way*; and Samuel Hopgood Hart (ed.) "*Clothed With the Sun": Being the Book of Illuminations of Anna Bonus Kingsford*, Third edition (London: John M. Watkins, 1937), p. xiv.
[789] Ibid.
[790] Maitland, preface to first edition, "*Clothed With the Sun*", p. xxiv.
[791] I am indebted to Professor Goodrick-Clarke for his comment that 'The image of the "woman clothed with the sun" is a celestial apparition in Revelation 12:1 and as such an enduring image of apocalypse and recurrent in prophecy [viz. Joanna Southcott (1750-1814)]'.
[792] Preface to third edition, "*Clothed with the Sun*", p. xiv.

of the divine feminine is represented by Mary, the mother of Christ, Mary Magdalene, Aphrodite, Venus, Isis, Urania and other goddesses.[793] Surrounding the glyph on the cover of *The Perfect Way,* at the four quarters, are the well known mystical creatures or Kerubim mentioned in Ezekiel 1:10 and in Revelation 4:7, namely the bull, the lion, the eagle and the man. Besides the fact that this complete image is almost identical to the Golden Dawn Tarot card entitled 'The Universe', which Paul Foster Case has claimed signifies 'Cosmic Consciousness', the very first Golden Dawn Temple, and the sole one supposedly 'authorised' by 'Anna Sprengel', was that of Isis-Urania and its charter or warrant contains the diagrams of the four Kerubim at its appropriate four corners.[794]

The use of the sun as an esoteric Christian and Hermetic symbol of spiritual attainment also figured prominently in the largely unstudied sister Order of the Golden Dawn known as the Holy Order of the Sun, or 'the Cromlech Temple'. As previously mentioned this Order has been claimed to have been particularly attractive to Anglo-Catholic clergymen in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Details of its known history, structure and teachings are provided in Chapter Eight but it is apposite at this point to mention its earliest origins. While Westcott, Mathers and Dr. Felkin were all to have some connection with the Sun Order, the one major Golden Dawn member most closely associated with it was John William Brodie-Innes (1848-1923).[795] A successful barrister, competent scholar and prolific writer in several fields, he played a leading role in both the Golden Dawn Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh and the Scottish Lodge of the Theosophical Society which he helped to found in 1884 to 'maintain its

---

[793] Cf. fn.736.

[794] Paul Foster Case, *The Tarot* (New York: Macoy Publishing, 1947) pp.195-199; Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, Plate IV facing p. 21.

[795] Brodie-Innes has received little scholarly attention. Other than brief references in the literature concerning the Golden Dawn and occult fiction, material on Brodie-Innes appears to be confined to three sources: Gilbert's short introduction to his edited book of articles by Mathers and Brodie-Innes, *The Sorcerer and His Apprentice: Unknown Hermetic Writings of S.L. MacGregor Mathers and J. W. Brodie-Innes* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983); my introduction (under the name 'Anthony Fleming') to J. W. Brodie-Innes, *The Astrology of the Golden Dawn* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996), edited by Darcy Kuntz; and a longer paper written by Gilbert on Brodie-Innes entitled 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh: J. W. Brodie-Innes- Theosophist and Magician', presented at the Mead Symposium, Temenos Academy, London in May 1992. It does not appear that this undated paper has been published.

independence from the London lodges and to preserve its emphasis on Esoteric Christianity'.[796] Brodie-Innes was active in the well-documented break up of the Order and he later had connections, not to mention ambitions, with all three of the schismatic successors. He finally gave his allegiance to Mathers' Rosicrucian Order of Alpha et Omega and succeeded him as head on Mathers' death in 1918.

While the origins of the Sun Order are even more enigmatic and sparse than those of the Golden Dawn, it appears that it came into formal existence somewhere between 1890 and 1894, although an earlier date cannot be ruled out.[797] Of particular interest is a reference which appears in an unpublished diary of Waite dated November 1906.[798] Waite writes that Brodie-Innes' 'Order of the Sun Mss. came into the hands of Alto Peto who lent them to Sub Spe (i.e. Brodie-Innes) who did not return them saying that A.P. had no right to them whereas he was in communication with the Order and had been received in'.[799] The Golden Dawn motto 'Alto Peto' belonged to Isabelle de Steiger (1836-1927) who, as Howe observes, 'was acquainted with most of the leading personalities in esoteric circles. She was particularly close to Anna Bonus Kingsford and Mrs Mary Atwood (1817-1910), the author of *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery and Alchemy, being an Attempt to Discover the Ancient Experiment of Nature* (1850).'[800]

Assuming that Waite recorded accurately what Brodie-Innes had told him it raises the remarkable possibility that the latter established and developed the

---

[796] Gilbert, *The Sorcerer and his Apprentice*, p. 10.

[797] The earliest Sun Order document I have seen is dated 1894 but its contents imply an existing structure. One of the few printed Order papers appears in Françoise Strachan (ed.), *The Aquarian Guide to Occult, Mystical. Religious, Magical London and Around* (London: Aquarian Press, 1970), pp. 165-169. The editor has introduced the paper with the following remark: 'A Christianized magical ritual from the unpublished papers of the "Cromlech Temple", 1890 -- being a side order of "The Golden Dawn", which included many clergymen among its members'. As this sentence is closely similar to other comments written by Francis King, the only published author to date to have written at length about the Cromlech Temple, it is likely that 'Françoise Strachan' is identical with 'Francis King'.

[798] Waite, *Ordo R.R. et A.C.: The Testimonies of Frater Finem Respice.*

[799] Waite, *Ordo R.R. et A.C* , Entries dated November 1906, Nos. 37-39. Brodie-Innes joined the Isis-Urania Temple in 1890 but de Steiger was one of the earliest members, having joined in October 1888. They would have probably have met earlier in the Scottish Lodge of the Theosophical Society founded in 1884.

[800] Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 190.

Order based on original papers lent to him by de Steiger. But where did she get them? Her own writings on esoteric matters, including her autobiography *Memorabilia* (1927) virtually preclude any suggestion that she wrote these papers herself, and such a possibility would be inexplicable in the light of the account presented to Waite by Brodie-Innes. Notwithstanding her close friendship with, and almost adoration of, Anna Kingsford it is similarly unlikely that the latter was the source as there is no indication that de Steiger inherited any papers from Kingsford whose literary remains went to Maitland.[801]. She was, however, the literary heir of Mrs Mary Atwood whose *Suggestive Inquiry* was enormously influential. At one period Waite was such an enthusiast for *A Suggestive Inquiry* that in 1894 he claimed 'all modern mystical literature is referable ultimately either to the writings of Eliphas Levi or to Mrs. Atwood's book.'

> These are the two chief sources of inspiration... and... it is not necessary to go outside them to understand how it is that we have come later to have Theosophy, Christo-Theosophy, the New Kabbalism of Dr. Wynn Westcott, and the illuminations of Mrs Kingsford. Everywhere in *Isis Unveiled* the influence of Eliphas Levi is distinctly traceable; everywhere in the Recovered Gnosis (of Eliphas Levi) there is the suggestion of the *Inquiry*... It is doubtful if Eliphas Levi did not himself owe something to its potent influence.[802]

Waite credits Mrs Atwood's *A Suggestive Enquiry* as being the very first modern exposition on alchemy as a mystical or spiritual tradition and notes that 'for the extraordinary wealth of suggestion... which it makes in the interpretation of Hermetic

---

[801] Anna Kingsford, *The Credo of Christendom*, biographical preface and edited by Samuel Hopgood Hart, pp. 2-70.
[802] R.A. Gilbert, *Hermetic Papers of A.E. Waite: The Unknown Writings of a Modern Mystic*, (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985), pp. 20-21.

symbolism, truly, this book was remarkable... The interpretation of the *Suggestive Inquiry* was spiritual and "theurgical" in a very highly advanced degree: it was indeed essentially mystical, and proposed the end of Mysticism as that also of the Alchemical Adepts'.[803] It is Waite's view that 'Alchemy', as revealed by *A Suggestive Inquiry,* includes Mysticism, Transcendental Philosophy, Magic, Occult Science, and Hermetic Wisdom.[804] Although Waite was later to revise his views, he was certainly correct in his assessment that virtually every major and minor theme of late nineteenth-century Western occultism is treated at length in Mrs Atwood's book.[805] Also of interest is the fact that she links her interpretation of Hermetic and esoteric Christianity with the Christian theosophical current found in various esoteric writers between the fifteenth and eighteenth century.[806] To a greater extent than is the case with *The Perfect Way*, much of the symbolism of both the Golden Dawn and the Holy Order of the Sun can be found in *A Suggestive Inquiry* and it is not surprising, therefore, that a copy of the book was kept in the Golden Dawn library established by Westcott.[807]

Whether or not Mrs Atwood's papers contributed directly to the founding of the Holy Order of the Sun, as suggested implicitly by Waite's diary note, there is little doubt that her esoteric Christian interpretation of alchemy, theurgy and the Hermetic mysteries were profoundly influential on the Christian occultism manifest in both this Order and that of the Golden Dawn and its successors. The interpretation was evidently

---

[803] Gilbert, *Hermetic Papers*, p. 24.
[804] Gilbert, *Hermetic Papers*, pp. 13-14. Atwood's *A Suggestive Enquiry* is listed in the bibliography of C. G. Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), p. 497.
[805] Gilbert, *Hermetic Papers*, p. 13. In his article "Jung", Webb, states that 'Jung is certainly indebted to A.E. Waite, and in the notion that "the central ideas of Christianity are rooted in Gnostic philosophy" he is repeating the argument of Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, whose "esoteric Christianity" had been so influential in the days of the high occult revival'. *Encyclopedia of the Unexplained*, p. 129.
[806] Mary Anne Atwood, *Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery* (Belfast: William Tait, 1918). See, for example, pp. 520-521. This re-issue of Atwood's 1850 work contains the frontispiece that it is 'dedicated by her devoted friend. Isabelle de Steiger'. It may be questioned whether Atwood's boundary date of the fifteenth century is too early for theosophy.
[807] Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn*, p. 304. Although the majority of the 1850 edition was withdrawn by Thomas and Mary South (later Atwood) and destroyed, she evidently kept a number of copies which were given to friends and members of the Theosophical Society. She gave one to Anna Kingsford in 1886. See Walter Wilmhurst's introduction to the 1918 reissue of *A Suggestive* Enquiry, p. 23.

one that found favour with the Anglo-Catholic clergy drawn especially to the Stella Matutina of Dr. Felkin and to the Cromlech Temple of Brodie-Innes.

Priestly Adepts

The well-documented collapse of the original Golden Dawn in 1903 led to three distinct groups of varying size.[808] That remaining loyal to MacGregor Mathers was perhaps the smallest at the time of the break-up, if we exclude the three or four American Temples which do not feature in the present context.[809] No complete membership lists of Mathers' Order are known to have survived but, based on such scanty and peripheral records as do exist, the total number of members of its three temples from this period until the late 1930s, when the Order became inactive, is unlikely to have exceeded 90.[810] The name of just one ordained member of the clergy survives in an extant manuscript showing that in 1923 one Very Reverend R. O. P. Taylor was the 'Chaplain' of the Order and evidently a senior member of both 'sister Orders'.[811] He was Canon Robert Oswald Patrick Taylor (1873-1944), educated at St John's College, Cambridge where he subsequently became Lecturer in Pastoral Theology between 1933-1934.[812] If we are

---

[808] These were: Mathers' Rosicrucian Order of Alpha et Omega (originally named for a short period, 'The Hermetic Order of Alpha et Omega'); Felkin's Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina; and Waite's Holy Order of the Golden Dawn, or 'Independent and Rectified Rite'.

[809] The American Temples were originally part of the Golden Dawn and remained with Mathers' AO after the schism of 1903. These included Thoth-Hermes No. 9 in New York, established by Mrs. E. Daniel Lockwood and her husband Charles Lockwood, after visiting Mathers at his Ahathoor Temple in Paris. Thoth-Hermes operated only the First Order until 1914 when the Rosicrucian Second Order was opened under the AO name. It seems that this Second Order was organised by the American author and poet, Elsa Barker (1869-1954), who apparently studied with Jung in Europe. Two further American Temples were opened in the early 1920s. Paul Clark and J.B. Morgan, 'The Golden Dawn in America: A Documentary History 1897-1921'. This 1990 paper remains unpublished but see also their *The Secret Cipher of the Golden Dawn* (USA; Fraternitas Luc Occulta, 1995), pp. 9-30, which includes the same material.

[810] Two Minute Books of Mather's Paris-based Ahathoor Temple, covering the period 1879-1923 have survived and are in a private collection. In the latest of these is recorded the fact that following Mathers' death on 19 November 1918, Brodie-Innes is named his successor as the new Chief of the Order. Gilbert, 'Seeking that which was lost: More Light on the Origins and Development of the Golden Dawn', in Warwick Gould (ed.), *Yeats and the Nineties: Yeats Annual No.14* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 42.

[811] This information is included in an introduction, written in 1945 by Dr. Carnegie Dickson (successor to Brodie-Innes as Chief of the Order), to a rare and unpublished Golden Dawn ritual for the Grade of Adeptus Major, which is held in a private collection.

[812] The Very Reverend Taylor is understood to have joined the Order around 1910 but details on his life are lacking. See also Chapter Nine, p. 25, fn.96.

to accept the claims made by Francis King and other writers, that the Holy Order of the Sun, or Cromlech Temple, had a significant number of clergy in its ranks, it should not be concluded that the Rev. Taylor was the sole clerical member of either the AO or the Cromlech Temple.[813] From around 1910, when Brodie-Innes resubmitted his allegiance to Mathers as head of the Order, he brought with him the Cromlech Temple which most of the senior AO members, including Mathers, joined.[814] There is evidence to suggest that the Cromlech teachings and rituals were viewed as advanced teaching for the AO Second Order.[815]

Those members who rebelled against Mathers, but who wished to continue with the Order, joined either the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina under the governance of Dr. Felkin or remained with the Isis-Urania Temple controlled by Waite.[816] Whereas the intention of Felkin was to retain the Golden Dawn magical system in its entirety, apart from adding teachings from various sources, Waite rejected much of the practical occultism associated with the Rosicrucian Second Order, along with the requirements pertaining to the examinations for progressing through the Adept Grades.[817] Rejecting also the Golden Dawn practice of rule by three 'Chiefs', by 1903 Waite had installed himself as the single head or Imperator of the Order and renamed it 'The Holy Order of the Golden Dawn under the Obedience of the Independent and Rectified Rite' He also extensively revised the rituals, retaining much of the original symbolism but recasting it in a more mystically Christian, if rather verbose, rendition.[818] A degree of cooperation

---

[813] Francis King and Isabelle Sutherland, *The Rebirth of Magic*, p. 135. See also Kathleen Raine, 'Golden Dawn' in *Man, Myth and Magic* (London: Purnell, 1970), No. 40, pp. 1133-1134; Francis King (ed.) *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy*, pp. 195-196.

[814] This is implicit in surviving papers. Further details are provided in Chapter Eight and given the paucity of material on the AO itself, the question of its linkage with Anglo-Catholic clergy will be also be covered here.

[815] It may be noted that controversy over this matter was very likely to have been factors in the expulsion of both Paul Foster Case from the American AO and that of the British occultist Dion Fortune from the London AO. Details are found in Chapter Eight.

[816] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 33, 41.

[817] Ibid; Howe, *The Magicians of The Golden Dawn*, pp. 252-260.

[818] With some exceptions, most of these rituals remain unpublished. The exceptions are found in Patrick J. Zalewski, *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 151-169; Patrick J. Zalewski, *The Equinox*

existed for some years between Felkin and Waite and the latter wrote and provided the Stella Matutina with additional material which was appended to the former rituals in the form of 'Allocutions' or prayers for each Grade.[819]

During the Stella Matutina's relatively lengthy life of 75 years, there were, in theory, five temples but two of these, based in London, do not appear to have survived beyond the early 1920s.[820] In terms of longevity the Hermes Temple in Bristol was the most successful English temple and it appears to have ceased organised activity around 1962.[821] The longest surviving temple, and the largest in membership, was that of the Smaragdum Thalasses in New Zealand which opened in 1912 and closed in August 1978.[822] Although no membership roll is known to have survived it can be assessed that throughout its lifetime of 66 years some 400-500 men and women received the Neophyte initiation.[823] The original 'Mother' temple of the Stella Matutina, was Amoun established by Dr. Felkin in 1903. With the exception of Smaragdum Thalasses, all of the identified Order clerical members of the Stella Matutina belonged to Amoun which was based at Dr. Felkin's home, No. 47, Bassett Road, North Kensington until his permanent departure for New Zealand in 1916.[824] As many of these clergymen lived as

---

& Solstice Ceremonies of the Golden Dawn (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1992), pp. 131-144; Pat & Chris Zalewski, *Z-5: Secret Teachings of the Golden Dawn: Book II, The Zelator Ritual 1=10* (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1992), pp. 175-207; and Israel Regardie, *The Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic*, Vol. 7, pp. 62-158.

[819] The only surviving copies of the 'Allocutions', which are currently unpublished, come from the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple and it is not known to what degree they were in use in the British Temples. The fact that Regardie did not publish them indicates they had been withdrawn from the Hermes Temple, Bristol by 1934 when he joined.

[820] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 42-43

[821] A letter dated 9 October 1963 from the last senior Chief, Mrs Carnegie Dickson, makes it clear that the Temple has ceased functioning on the 'physical plane'. She states, inter alia, 'our Temple in this country is still being kept alive on the astral plane, waiting for a material manifestation, perhaps in another form'. This unpublished letter, currently in a private collection, is provided in full in Chapter Eight. R. A. Gilbert has informed me, however, that, following closure, a small group continued to meet throughout the 1960s and finally folded in 1969/1970.

[822] The last letter from the Temple Chiefs advising members of the temple's closure is given in Chapter Seven. A group of between 10-12 members were given authority by the Chiefs to continue to meet and hold ceremonies. Only two initiations occurred after 1978 and by the late 1990s most of the group were too elderly to continue. Details of this important Temple and its connection with the Community of the Resurrection are provided in Chapter 7.

[823] A list of 120 names has been compiled from many documents. Further details are found in Chapter Seven.

[824] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 41-42; Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 269.

far away as Mirfield or Chester they were required to travel considerable distances to attend meetings. The complex and troubled history of this temple lies outside the scope of this study but it should be noted that there were 72 initiations between 1904 and 1910, almost evenly divided between men and women, in addition to an unknown number of existing members from the old Golden Dawn.[825] For reasons to be discussed later it was in this same period that most of the identified members of the clergy joined Amoun.[826]

Between the years 1919-1923 the Amoun Temple suffered considerable internal disruption almost entirely as the result of its senior Chief, Miss Christina Mary Stoddart, whom Felkin appointed in 1916, reaching the conclusion around 1921 that the Golden Dawn system in general, and Felkin's Order in particular, was essentially pernicious, if not evil.[827] She published these conclusions in two volumes attacking many of the occult movements of the period, and her material on the Stella Matutina was based on an unpublished manuscript she wrote and circulated to senior Order members, entitled 'Investigations into the Foundations of the Order G.D. & R.R. et A.C. and the Foundations of its Teachings'.[828] Although it is irrelevant to discuss here Stoddart's obsessed views a key feature, as noted by Gilbert, was her belief that behind the inspiration of the Order was 'an international Jewish-Masonic conspiracy' to subvert Western civilisation.[829] Notwithstanding the obvious unreliability of her writings as an objective account her quotations from Order documents are valuable where these draw

---

[825] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 41.
[826] Ibid, pp. 164-169.
[827] Christine Stoddart as 'Inquire Within', *Light-bearers of Darkness*, pp. 82-161; Miss [Christina[Stoddart, *Trail of the Serpent* (Hawthorne, CA: Omni Christian Book Club, n.d. reprint of 1935), pp. 256-269. Her former book draws extensively on lengthy unpublished manuscripts currently in a private collection. Accounts of the crisis in Amoun caused by Stoddart can be found in several works, including Howe's *Magicians of the Golden Dawn* and several works of Gilbert. The involvement of Yeats, a friend of Stoddart, is covered at length in George Mills Harpers' *Yeats's Golden Dawn*. Letters from Stoddart to Yeats regarding the situation are in Richard J. Finneran, George Mills Harper and William M. Murphy (eds.), *Letters to W. B. Yeats* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), Vol. 2.
[828] Copies are found in the Yeats' papers housed in the Department of Special Collections, SUNY Library, NY, and also in a private collection.
[829] R. A. Gilbert, 'Stella Matutina,' in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Esotericism*, II, 1093.

on material that does not appear to have survived.[830] Her comments on the Order can also be seen to reveal some factual information of interest even where one discounts her opinions and wild speculation. Referring to the evil of 'illuminised Orders', which included Felkin's Stella Matutina she writes:

> Many brilliant men and women have joined, and even ruled, these Orders – only to be broken on the wheel. Fine young clergymen, who have gradually and unconsciously become imbued with the false and subversive teachings of these masters, believing them to be heaven sent, now cooperate with revolutionaries, extolling the doings of Moscow... blasphemously perverting Christ and His teachings... They (the masters) know the power of Christianity and its Holy Sacraments and the uplift of religious fervour, and these they pervert, encouraging the adept to let go the material under the influence of perverted idealism. In the Church, messages and visions are given, and even diabolical initiations attempted by these masters... One group in the Stella Matutina (i.e. the Hermes Temple in Bristol) had as a chief, an educationalist, and this group was designed by the Masters to influence all professors, masters, and those interested in education, and the influence is now apparent. The London group (i.e. the Amoun Temple) was appointed to influence and bring in clergy of all denominations, and for this purpose the chief had to become a member of the Anglican Church; and so it was decreed that the pernicious teachings of the Order were to eat into and corrupt the Church, and although the chief refused, the work is being done by other members, mostly clergy, and everywhere the Church is becoming permeated... with this subversive Illuminism'.[831]

---

[830] Comparison between her selected quotations from Order documents and surviving material shows that, in this sense at least, she is quoting accurately.
[831] Stoddart, *Lightbearers of Darkness*, pp. 160-161.

The 'educationalist' in question was almost certainly Professor Millicent Mackenzie who was the senior Chief at the Hermes Temple in Bristol and Stoddart's claim is supported partially to the degree that a number of academics, including Professors C. D. Broad and Rixon were also members of Hermes.[832] Equally, as previously observed, the Amoun Temple contained a large proportion of clergy. The chief who refused to cooperate, as noted in her description, is evidently a reference to herself during the ceremony which occurred at the Tenebrae Service in a London church on 17 April 1919 when she was accompanied by the Rev. Will Reason and the Rev. F. N. Heazell.[833]

It is likely that Miss Stoddart had the Rev. Will Reason in mind as an example of 'clergy of all denominations' for he was one of two Congregationalist ministers known to have joined the Order.[834] As noted previously, Reason was a committed socialist and therefore likely to be seen by Stoddart as one of those 'extolling the doings of Moscow'.[835] For a period, at least, social conditions in Russia were an interest of his and in 1897 he co-authored his first of 14 published works with Jonas Jonsson Stadling, *In the Land of Tolstoi: Experiences of Famine and Misrule in Russia.*[836] Of some interest is the fact that from 1929-26 he was Co-Secretary with Bishop Gore of the Christian Social Union and hence, because of this association, may well have had contacts with the Community of the Resurrection outside of common membership of the Stella Matutina Order, he shared with other Community members.[837] The Reverend Will Reason was 42 years old when he joined the Order in 1906 and in addition to being

---

[832] Referred to in Chapter One, p. 10. Dr. Rixon worked at Bristol University. He was strongly criticised by Israel Regardie for making changes to the rituals of which Regardie disapproved. He is identified in an unpublished letter of Regardie dated May 1974 to Ithell Colquhoun. Colquhoun was seeking details for her forthcoming book *Sword of Wisdom.* The letter is held in a private collection in New York.
[833] See Chapter 5.
[834] The other was T. Travers Sherlock. See Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 141 and Tingay, 'Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 1.
[835] Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 2.
[836] Jonas Stadling and Will Reason, *In the Land of Tolstoi: Experiences of Famine and Misrule in Russia* (London: James Clarke, 1897).
[837] Tingay,'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn, p. 1.

'a Ruling Chief' of his Temple between 1916 and 1919, he remained in the Stella Matutina for a period of approximately 16 years, resigning in 1922 only as a result of the problems resulting from Miss Stoddart's disruptive activities.[838]

Membership of the Second Order would have entailed a very considerable investment of time for any person, let alone a Church minister deeply involved in social work and holding office on various committees.[839] Reference was previously made to the extensive curriculum of magical and occult work required following entry to this advanced Order, and the fact that Reason became a Temple Chief, necessitating even further examinations and advancements through subsequent 'Grades' is indicative of the considerable level of commitment and dedication he evidently felt towards the Order. The same zeal was evidently shared by his fellow clergyman and one time co-Chief of Amoun, the Reverend Laurence Collingwood Hamerton, who similarly achieved the highest grades of the Order. Initiated as Fixus Advera Sperno on 23 April 1910 Hamerton entered the Second Order on 30 July 1912 and progressed to higher adept grades in subsequent years. The Reverend Laurence Collingwood Hamerton was a trusted friend of Felkin and sided with him in the dispute with Miss Stoddart. He was evidently regarded as the only member of Amoun of sufficient advance and mediumistic skills to 'receive' directly astral messages from Dr. Felkin's own disincarnate Arab teacher Ara Ben Shemesh.[840] The latter, it will be recalled, had also on one occasion given special instructions regarding Father Fitzgerald from the Community of the Resurrection. Apart from his magical activities, Hamerton held an

---

[838] Ibid. Unpublished letter from Stoddart to Felkin in private collection. From around the same period, however, it appears that Reason's health was beginning to suffer and his considerable involvement in social work and various ministerial duties also began to decline from this point. The Revd Will Reason died in Wandsworth, England in 1926, aged 62.

[839] Apart from the obligation made on initiation into the Second Order to pursue a demanding curriculum of magical studies and practices (some daily), the Chief's role required attendance at all ritual workings plus supervision of various aspects of the Order.

[840] Message from Ara Ben Shemish to Felkin in New Zealand on 8 December 1918. The message notes that instructions can be passed from A.B.S. to Hamerton. The text of this message appears on page 10 of Stoddart's manuscript, *Investigation into the Origins of the R.R.e et A.C.*

Anglican Church 'living' at Ashbury in Devon, and then subsequently at Beeding Priory in Bramber, Sussex.[841]

Further detail on those members of the Community of the Resurrection who joined the Stella Matutina will be covered in the next chapter where the role of Fathers Fitzgerald and Father (later Bishop) Rees in establishing the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple in New Zealand is described. Of the other Anglican clergy who joined the Amoun Temple we may note the Rev. Fielding Fielding-Ould who was initiated into the Stella Matutina on 22 March 1909 as Frater Per Ardua Libertas and appears on the list of 'active' members prepared between 1910 and 1914. Despite his inclusion on this list, which Gilbert sees as indicating continued involvement with the Order, no other mention of his membership appears in surviving Order documents. Little information of any substance can be deduced either way from this silence other than the certainty that he did not become a Chief or senior member.[842] There is no doubt, however, that Fielding-Ould had a deep and abiding interest in occultism and spiritualism as he was a prolific writer on these subjects from the Christian spiritualist perspective, producing books and contributing to such journals as *Light*. Amongst several ministries held by Fielding-Ould was that of Christ Church, Albany Street, London, where he became vicar in 1915. Of potential interest is the fact that in the same year of his appointment the Rev. Arthur Hugh Lee left that church, after serving five years as a curate.[843]

If it is unknown whether Fielding-Ould became a full adept of the Golden Dawn there is no doubt regarding the Reverend A. H. Lee (1875-1941) who subsequently became a Chief of high adept grade within the Amoun Temple that was revived by Dr. William Elliot Carnegie Dickson (1878-1954) in the 1920s following the expulsion of

---

[841] Ibid. The message is headed, 'from A.B.S. to F.R. (Felkin) &. Q.L. (Mrs. Felkin) in N.Z. Dec. 8 1918'.

[842] With the exception of Mathers' temple in Paris and the Smaragdum Thalasses in New Zealand, to a lesser degree, there are very few Order documents remaining which provide any information on the activities of the various Temples, proceedings at meetings, or attendance. Even the few official membership rolls are incomplete and relate to only to specific temples as specific times.

[843] Tingay, 'Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 2.

Miss Stoddart in 1923.[844] Educated at Marlborough College and Pembroke College, Cambridge, Lee was ordained Priest in the Anglican Church by the bishop of Ripon in 1900 and ministered in several locations and it was while he was still serving at Emmanuel Church, Leeds that on 25 March 1908 he was admitted into Waite's Holy Order of the Golden Dawn as Frater Hilarion.[845] For reasons not germane here Waite closed his Order in 1914 and later formed his new Fellowship of the Rosy Cross. Lee did not proceed to Waite's new Order but continued to operate an independent Golden Dawn until he subsequently re-joined the Stella Matutina, rising to the Chief's position of Imperator at the Amoun Temple.[846] There are several indications that the Reverend A. H.Lee became a senior member of the Cromlech Temple and a surviving document reveals also that he continued to hold his Chief's position in Amoun and maintain his Order work as late as November 1938.[847]

An ardent spiritualist, Theosophist and Co-Mason, the Reverend A.H.Lee contributed to a number of publications, some of which reveal a surprising network of Golden Dawn associations. In 1937 Lee provided a foreword for *The Childhood of Jesus* by Geraldine Cummins (1890-1969) who achieved a degree of fame, partly by a brief and controversial marriage to the poet and playwright Austin Clarke (1896-1974), partly by her own novels and plays. but largely by her much publicised interest in psychical research and mediumistic sessions often conducted with another well known psychic, her friend and secretary Miss E. B. Gibbes.[848] Previously unreported is the fact

---

[844] The year Carnegie-Dickson revived Amoun is not known but given his own active involvement in the Order throughout his life (see Chapter Seven) this was in the mid 1920s. From a letter he wrote to Waite on 20 November 1938 he claimed Amoun was still active with himself and Lee as two of its Chiefs. The letter is in a private collection. Another undated but apparently earlier Order document in the same collection lists Lee and Carnegie Dickson as Chiefs.

[845] In his *Twilight of the Magicians*, Gilbert notes that Lee was a Chief of Amoun Temple prior to Miss Stoddart's rule and had been a member of Isis-Urania. See .p. 76 and Gilbert's *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 171. Lee was also a Theosophist and Co-Mason and contributed papers to such journals as *The Theosophist,* published by the Theosophical Society. See, for example, his 'Religion and its Future' in *The Theosophist*, 38, April 1917, p. 37.

[846] Ibid. See also Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook*, p. 183.

[847] Carnegie-Dickson letter to Waite, 20 November 1938.

[848] For detail on the writing partnership between Cummins and Gibbes see also Bette London, *Writing Double: Womens' Literary Partnership* (Cornell: Cornell University Pres, 1999), pp. 162-163.

that both Cummins and Gibbes were members of the Stella Matutina and the Cromlech Temples.[849] Lee, Cummins and Gibbes, along with other members, regularly participated in Order meetings where occult questions were directed, via the two women, to disincarnate entities to obtain information on occult topics, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries.[850]

Cummins, along with Gibbes and the Reverend A.H.Lee, contributed to various books dealing with occult or religious themes, but it may also be noted with interest that other volumes written by Cummins contain contributions from Professor C. D. Broad, a member of the Hermes Temple, and from the Reverend B. A. Lester, vicar of Woodville, Peterborough, who was initiated on 27 March 1908 into Waite's Holy Order of the Golden Dawn.[851] The Reverend A.H.Lee's most important literary contribution was undoubtedly the *Oxford Book of Mystical Verse* which he edited with D. H. S. Nicholson and which appeared in 1916. Included in this book were six of Waite's poems and it has been noted that the Reverend A.H.Lee, who became a lifelong 'friend and confidant' of Charles Williams, 'encouraged the young Charles Williams to visit

---

[849] Their membership can be deduced from the fact that the names of Lee, Cummins, and the initials of Gibbes appear on a Cromlech document entitled 'Eleusinia' which details a series of occult workings involving the three, and others, between 29 January and 8 March 1938. Although Cromlech in origin, many of the terms employed within the paper refer to Golden Dawn concepts, including the names of the latter Order's officers.

[850] Ibid. A second Cromlech paper, with a similar title of 'The Eleusinia' has the annotation on the cover, '(Communicated per C.D. Cummins, March-April 1937)'. An Order record exists for several of these meetings occurring in the early months of 1938 and another Cromlech document contains 'Communications' received from Cummins over the period March-April 1937. These unpublished documents are in a private collection.

[851] Geraldine Cummins, *Swan on a Black Sea: A Study in Automatic Writing: the Cummins-Willett Scripts* ed.Signe Toksvig, and Foreword by C.D. Broad (New York: Samuel Wesier, 1970 revised). In his *Yeats's Golden Dawn*, p. 154, Harper notes that in a letter from Yeats to Olivia Shakespear dated 13 October 1929 he writes: 'I must meet an old Kabalist in London and must accept his date for lunch or dinner- a sign that the great work is almost finished and that I want to give it to the right people. In private life he is, I think, a Hegelian professor -- how surprised his pupils would be'. Harper is unable to identify the 'professor' but references amongst other papers, including an unpublished letter from Regardie stating that Broad was present at his Second Order initiation, leave little doubt that the Hegelian professor was Broad. See also Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 90; Geraldine Cummins, *The Manhood of Jesus: His Early Years, his Trial and Crucifixion,* Preface by Eric Parker, foreword by Revd B. A. Lester (London: Andrew Dakers, 1949). See also Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion,* p. 171; Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 2.

Waite and thus' bring about 'Williams' 12 years of membership of the Fellowship of the Holy Cross'.[852]

Included also amongst the group of Anglican priests joining the Stella Matutina between 1903 and 1917, other than the group linked to Mirfield, were the Reverend Bousfield Swan Lombard, the Reverend John Stuart, the Reverend C. J. Richards, the Reverend C. John Bucknall, Archdeacon Harold Hyde-Lees, the Reverend Alban Henry Baverstock, Dean Frank Selwyn Bennett, and Canon Francis Nicholson Heazell. Other than Bennett, Dean of Chester Cathedral, and Heazell, who became a Chief of Amoun, very little is known about the lives or occult activities of these priests.[853] Lombard was initiated in 1907 as Frater 'Hoc Age' while vicar of All Hallows, N. St. Pancras. Shortly after his initiation he left to serve as chaplain to the English Church in St. Petersburg where he remained until his return in 1918. He received the O.B.E. in 1920 and concluded his clerical career as chaplain to Mount Tabor Convent, Basingstoke.[854] The fact that Lombard's name appears on a short list of 24 active Stella Matutina members produced some years following his initiation indicates that he remained a nominal member for several years at least and the possibility that he resumed his activities upon his return to Britain cannot be excluded.[855]

Apart from the fact of his initiation as Frater Viaggiatore on 24 July 1909 details are lacking on the clerical life or magical career of the Reverend John Stuart who

---

[852] Alice Mary Hadfield, *Charles Williams; An Exploration of his Life and Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 24; Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Scrapbook,* pp. 183-184. Given Lee's membership and high office of the Stella Matutina, and probably also of the Cromlech Temple, the possibility exists that through the close friendship with the Reverend Lee, Williams was influenced by the teachings of these Orders, distinct from the obvious influence of the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross. Although coincidence cannot be ruled out it can be noted that similarities exist between the Companions of the Holy Order of the Sun, or Cromlech, and the Companions of William's Coinherence. Further reference to this is made in Chapters Eight and Nine.

[853] Equally, little is known about the majority of the members of any of these Orders. The overwhelming majority of the member's papers relating to the Order were destroyed with perhaps between 1%-2% surviving. These figures are based on papers connected with 12 individuals surviving from an assessed total membership of around 600-700 over the course of some 90 years for the three main Orders..

[854] Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 2.

[855] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 166.

apparently ministered mainly in Essex.[856] The Reverend Charles J. Richards was vicar at Kidderminster and although the date of his initiation into the Order is not known he appears on an index of Order names believed to have been compiled circa 1920.[857] The Reverend Charles John Bucknall resided at The Clergy House, Cirencester at the time of his known membership of Amoun. He was initiated in the Amoun Temple as Frater Nihil et Omnia on 12 June 1916 and he progressed to the highest Grade of the First Order, known as Philosophus on 14 July 1916 and was then transferred to the Hermes Temple, Bristol.[858] As no membership records survive of this relatively long-lived temple it is conceivable that he remained in the Order far beyond the last recorded date on the index. The Venerable Harold Hyde-Lees, who resided at Oxford House, Bethnal Green, was the brother of George Yeats, wife of W. B. Yeats, who was herself a keen and committed member of the Order. An ardent Anglo-Catholic with apparent leanings towards Rome, he was initiated as Amore Sitis Uniti on 19 May 1916 and proceeded through the five Grades of the Outer or First Order until his admission as 'minor adept' into the Second Order on 1 May 1918.[859]

The Reverends Baverstock, Bennett and Heazell, all published books and achieved a degree of prominence in the Anglican Church in descending order, in reverse to that obtained within the Stella Matutina where Heazell became a 'ruling Chief'.[860] This is not to say that Canon Francis Nicholson Heazell's career in the Church was lacklustre. In 1918 he was appointed to the benefice of St. Michaels, Croydon having previously served there as assistant curate from 1893-98. Upon leaving the Croydon parish on that occasion 'Father Heazell joined the Archbishop's Assyrian Mission to

---

[856] Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 2

[857] Gilbert has provided details of a further set of unpublished Stella Matutina membership index cards compiled around 1920 and providing the names and brief details of 223 individuals. I have examined these cards and while most of the names appear on the published there is a significant number of new names, including those of Dean Bennett and Father Timothy Rees et.al. The names of the Rev J. Charles and Archdeacon Harold Hyde-Lee also appear. See Gilbert, 'More Light on the Golden Dawn,' in *Yeats and the Nineties*, pp. 45-46.

[858] His details appear on one of the cards noted above.

[859] Ibid.

[860] See Chapter 4, p. 150.

undertake educational work in Kurdistan... In 1903 Father Heazell returned to England and joined the staff at S. George's Church, Beckenham, where he remained until his appointment as Rector of Letchworth Garden City in 1906... He was elected Proctor in Convocation in 1929 and collated to an Honorary Canonry in Canterbury Cathedral by the Archbishop in 1932'.[861] Other achievements of Heazell included being elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1910, serving as Secretary of the Eastern Churches Committee of the Anglican Church between 1917 and 1929, and as Secretary to other Church committees. He remained as Vicar at St. Michael's, Croydon until 1951 and, amongst his several other works, wrote a volume on the Church describing its construction and furnishings in the context of the Oxford Movement and Anglo-Catholicism which Heazell strongly supported.[862] Set against this backdrop of solid orthodoxy was Heazell's commitment to and involvement in the avowedly magical Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina. Quite apart from the extensive practical occult work he would have been required to complete to advance to one of the highest Order grades of Magister Templi, his role as Chief would have necessitated providing guidance on magic and occult teachings to the junior members.[863]

It is not clear whether Baverstock progressed beyond his Neophyte grade, which he gained as Frater In Lumine Tuo on 27 June 1908 at the age of 37, but the fact that he served twice as Master of the influential Anglo-Catholic Societas Sanctae Crucis would

---

[861] See 'The Present Vicar' by 'X' in F. N. Heazell, M.A., *The History of S. Michael's Church Croydon* (London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray, 1934.), pp. 49-51; Tingay, 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn', p. 2. There are numerous references to Heazell in surviving Stella Matutina papers kept in private collections, including the Yeats' papers at SUNY. Many of these were drawn on by Harper in his *Yeat's Golden Dawn* with regard to the Stoddart controversy. Several references to him also occur within the Stoddart papers previously referred to.

[862] Heazell, *The History of S. Michael's Church Croydon*, pp. 49-52.

[863] There are strong indications found in Stoddart's writings, and in a letter from Carnegie-Dickson to Yeats dated 3 March 1930 that Heazell, and possibly other clergy, permitted Golden Dawn activities to take place in the churches under their ministerial care. See, for example, Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, p. 137; Harper, *Yeat's Golden Dawn*, pp. 155-156.

have provided for the possibility of his guiding potential recruits to the Hermetic Order and it is conceivable that some were led to the Order by Baverstock.[864]

Dean Bennett, on the other hand, was clearly a committed Order member as well as being a dedicated 'High Churchman'.[865] Following his signing a pledge of secrecy and having a horoscope prepared for him by Felkin on 13 February 1915 he entered into the Stella Matutina Order the same day as Frater Dulce est periculum. Dean Bennett became an Adeptus Minor in the Rosicrucian Second Order on 3 May 1917 and it is apparent from Order documents of the period 1920-1923 that he was still a member at that stage. During the period of the troubles in Amoun he sided firmly with the Felkins and also with the somewhat ubiquitous figure of Dr. Carnegie Dickson who became the most senior and important 'Golden Dawn' figure in Britain from the mid-1920s, inheriting the legacies of Mathers' AO, Felkin's Stella Matutina, authoritative papers from Westcott's original Golden Dawn, and the Cromlech Temple.[866] As a member of Amoun and a friend of Bishop Frere, Bennett would obviously have been closely acquainted with those Mirfield fathers who were members of the Order, such as Bishop Rees and Father Fitzgerald. The emphasis Bennett placed on the importance of ritual, or what he termed 'the magic of divine science' involving colour, incense, and ceremonial music, has been commented on, along with the claim that he 'learnt his love of ceremonial' from his two curates, Fathers Philip Speight and Robert Dearnley, who both came from the Community of the Resurrection.[867] It is possible that Speight and Dearnley were also members of Felkin's Stella Matutina, but in any event it seems implausible that Bennett would not have been strongly impressed by the intricate and

---

[864] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 164; there are numerous references to Baverstock in the S.S.C. context in Yelton, *Anglican Papalism*; J. Embry, *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross*; and William Davage (ed.), *In this Sign Conquer*.
[865] Alex Bruce, *The Cathedral 'Open and Free'- Dean Bennett of Chester*, pp. 2-3. Bennett's name appears on the previously mentioned unpublished index of Stella Matutina names and there is a reference to him in the correspondence between Yeats and Stoddart; see Harper, *Yeat's Golden Dawn*, p. 142.
[866] Dr. Carnegie Dickson is an important figure in the history of the Stella Matutina and he is discussed at greater length in Chapter Seven.
[867] Alex Bruce, *The Cathedral 'Open and* Free,' pp. 184-185, 198-199.

highly colourful ritual of the Order ceremonies. His various books on spiritual themes, especially spiritual healing, reflect an occult influence in keeping with those expressed by Dr. Felkin and Dr. Carnegie-Dickson, and which are found extensively in the various manuscripts of the Cromlech Temple in which both doctors were deeply involved.[868]

The question of exactly what it was which motivated so many talented, dedicated and mainly Anglo-Catholic, clergymen to supplement the orthodox teachings and devotions of their church with a system of magical beliefs and practices, is clearly a complex one, and certainly one which is tied to a large extent, to the views concerning the nature of the supernatural held by the church itself in the *fin-de-siècle*. More specifically, however, any attempted answer to the question as to why a significant number of such clergy were attracted to this form of occultism in the first decades of the twentieth century must approach the extraordinary personality and influence of Dr. Robert Felkin who appears to occupy a central place in any such explanation. Felkin, his association with the Community of the Resurrection Fathers, and their role in bringing a Stella Matutina temple to New Zealand are the subjects of the next chapter.[869]

---

[868] Several books were published by Bennett (see Bibliography), many of which had the theme of spiritual healing or religious education.

[869] The emphasis Felkin placed on Christianity within his Stella Matutina is also discussed further in Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE LAST OUTPOST OF THE GOLDEN DAWN

Smaragdum Thalasses was the last remaining temple of the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina, or indeed of any of the Golden Dawn Orders, to close its doors and cease functioning. This is not a metaphorical description for unique amongst all the temples, Smaragdum Thalasses possessed its own architecturally designed building, named 'Whare Ra' or 'House of the Sun', which was constructed for the express purpose of conducting the magical ceremonies of the Order.[870] This curtain call occurred on 24 August 1978 when a letter was sent to all members from the three Chiefs announcing the closure and the fact that there would be 'no Vernal Equinox Ceremony'. The Chiefs write:

> It is difficult for those who have made the Order the focal point of their lives to realise, and accept, that its particular method of working is no longer appropriate to the times in which we live. The Chiefs have very reluctantly reached the conclusion that the Order, at least in its present form, has served its purpose and the Divine Guardians have withdrawn themselves.[871]

---

[870] Although the temple had living quarters, the purpose of the building was for ritualistic ceremony. The large temple underneath the top floor, for the Outer or First Order rituals, was connected to a hidden seven-sided 'vault' for the Inner or Second Order. In addition, there were three separate but connected areas beyond the vault for conducting the very highest Grades. Another two-story house was erected alongside the temple as the Felkins' residence and surgery. See Judy Siers, *James Walter Chapman-Taylor in the Hawke's Bay 1913-1922* (Napier: Brebner Printing, 1991); Judy Siers, *The Life and Times of James Walter Chapman-Taylor*; Matthew Wright, *Havelock North: The Story of a Village* , pp. 162-167; Sydney W. Grant, *Havelock North: from Village to Borough 1860-1952* (Hastings: Herald Tribune, 1978), pp. 54-55; Francis G. Salt, *My Order Memories* (unpublished typescript manuscript in private collection, circa 1991).

[871] A one page typed notice. See Appendix 6. It is unpublished and in a private collection.

With a membership of between 300-400 men and women throughout its relatively untroubled and secret lifespan of 66 years, it was clearly the most successful of all the temples.[872] Yet until relatively recently, virtually nothing has been known of its history and indeed it was still operating in 1972 when Ellic Howe published his 'definitive' account, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*, which he regarded as 'an essentially antiquarian exercise'.[873] Howe records the opening of the Temple in 1912 but makes no additional reference to it. Similarly, apart from an indirect comment regarding Dr. Felkin moving to New Zealand, Francis King makes no mention of Smaragdum Thalasses in his 1970 history of the Golden Dawn temples following the schism.[874] Even as late as 1986, R.A. Gilbert writes, with regard to Smaragdum Thalasses, that 'after 1916... nothing further is known of its history'.[875]

In terms of scholarly interest the virtual eclipse of this important temple for so many years can be attributed to a number of factors, including its remote location and the anonymity, if not obscurity, of its membership, but more especially to the disciplined secrecy of the Order which led to the destruction of virtually all the records and correspondence of the British Stella Matutina Temples and which undoubtedly

---

[872] See Wright, *Havelock North: The Story of a Village*, p. 165. Wright states that there were an estimated 300 members by 1930. From different manuscript sources and personal discussions with elderly members carried out between 1986 and 1993 I have drawn up a list of approximately 100 members between 1940 and 1978. Assuming Wright is correct 400 is likely to be a conservative maximum.

[873] Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*; Introduction to second edition (Wellingborough: Aquarian, 1985), pp. 1-2.

[874] Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England.*

[875] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 42. Fleeting references to the temple appear in Moore's useful *The Unicorn*, pp. 174-176. Since 1988 numerous references to the New Zealand temple appear in several works by Patrick Zaleweski (see Bibliography). Zalewski was not a member of the Order but spoke to some ex-members after the temple closed. He professes to be a 'magician' and this belief appears to have influenced some of his views. While much of his material, including some original documents, are useful, the historical references need to be treated with caution. Israel Regardie, who exposed the secrets of the Order when he published the rituals in the late 1930s, received letters from two members of Smaragdum Thalasses in 1962 regarding the temple. His own reply to one of these, dated 8 March 1963, survives. Curiously he makes no mention of this in his unpublished correspondence with the author Ithell Colquhoun, and with the collector of Golden Dawn manuscripts, Gerald Yorke, when the subject of Smaragdum Thalasses arose with both. Similarly he does not mention to either that while he was a member of the Hermes Temple, Bristol he sought to emigrate to New Zealand and gain appointment as a secretary at the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple. He was advised by one of the Chiefs that Mrs. Felkin had said this was not possible.

would have contained considerable material referring to Smaragdum Thalasses. This situation was to change with the sale of the Order's specially designed temple and surrounding land of nearly four acres in the latter part of 1978. Mainly because the many distinctive houses designed and built by the architect of Whare Ra, James Chapman-Taylor (1913-1958), were and are highly sought after in New Zealand, it was inevitable that considerable publicity would surround its sale and subsequent resale in the mid-1980s.[876] Interest in the property and its history were magnified by the discovery that the basement of the building was a large subterranean room of some fifteen hundred square feet that could not be mistaken for anything other than a 'temple', along with a connecting seven-sided room, or 'vault', each wall of which was painted in a complex arrangement of varied colours and occult symbols.[877] With this discovery and media interest, several surviving ex-members revealed the temple's connection with Dr. Felkin and the Stella Matutina, and therefore, by extension, with the Golden Dawn. A small degree of scholarly attention within and without New Zealand has, therefore, begun to be directed towards Smaragdum Thalasses. The few published studies that have emerged, however, are not extensive and provide few details regarding the history of the temple or, in its early days, of its intimate connection with Anglo-Catholicism.[878]

By any conventional standard the story of Smaragdum Thalasses is an extraordinary one. Not only was it the case that a magical Order flourished in secret for

---

[876] See, e.g. 'Hermetic Temple Set up' in *Leader,* 25 June 1987, Havelock North Library Archive A Series 94/1983; also undated *Herald Tribune* clipping, 'No Longer a House of Secrets'.

[877] While the outer temple has been converted by the current owners, the painted Vault remains largely unchanged and is the only example of such a structure known to have survived. Symbolic paintings on the outside of the Vault have been obscured in the attempt by Order members to remove them.

[878] Most of these form part of a broader study. For example material appears in the various works Judy Siers has produced on the architect of 'Whare Ra', James Chapman-Taylor; in studies of Havelock North, such as that of Matthew Wright; and of modern spirituality in New Zealand in Robert Ellwood's *Islands of the Dawn: The Story of Alternative Spirituality in New Zealand* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993). References also appear in the several studies of the Quaker Movement in New Zealand by James and Audrey Brodie, *Keeping Track: Quakers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Lower Hutt: Beechtree Press, 1999); *Seeking a New Land: Quakers in New Zealand* (Lower Hutt: Beechtree Press, 1993); *A View of the Bay: Its inhabitants seen through the eyes of the 53-year-old Lucy Holdsworth, the newly-wed wife of John Holdsworth of 'Swarthmoor' in Havelock North* (Lower Hutt: Beechtree Press, 2000).

so many years within a small and deeply conservative village in New Zealand, but the Order exercised an invisible influence within the local community so strong that it is hardly an exaggeration to state that, for a period at least, its members virtually governed every aspect of significance within the village of Havelock North, as well as occupying positions of importance in the larger neighbouring towns of Hastings and Napier. Besides two Anglican bishops and clergy, its members included the Mayor of Havelock North, the owner and manager of the local newspaper, head teachers of private schools in the area, wealthy farmers and many owners of local businesses. Matthew Wright has observed, in his study of Havelock North, that in the early 1930s, when Smaragdum Thalasses was at its peak in terms of membership of at least 300 men and women, this was also a period 'when (the) village population was only a little over a thousand'.[879] While it is likely that around a third of the Order membership came from outside the area this still presents the possibility that at some point between one third and one half of the village's adult population were members of the Order. Inevitably, this caused some friction and controversy within the community. Robert S. Ellwood has noted that in 1988, when conducting research for his book on alternative spirituality in New Zealand, he was told 'that the subject of the order was still a touchy one to raise, so deeply were neighbours and families divided over it'.[880]

Reference to strong community feelings about the Order is also made by Sydney Grant in his earlier brief study of Havelock North, which was published while Smaragdum Thalasses was still in existence. Grant notes: 'Naturally, the Village being a place where gossip was, and is rife, dark rumours circulated about secret meetings held underground at (Whare Ra), titillating the imaginations of the good, credulous people of

[879] Matthew Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, p. 156.
[880] Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, p. 177.

Havelock'[881] The extensive influence of the Order over local affairs is illustrated ably by an additional anecdote told to Ellwood during his visit to Havelock North:

> One story I heard was that once a newcomer to Havelock, picking up disturbing rumours of dark and mysterious goings-on, went to the town board to request an investigation. He was cordially promised it would be done, and several weeks later the petitioner was reassured to hear the matter had been looked into and there was nothing to worry about. What he did not know was that four of the five members of the board were themselves also members of the mysterious order that had given rise to the gossip.[882]

There is no doubt that the required secrecy of the Order was taken very seriously by all the members of Smaragdum Thalasses. A previous Chief of the Smaragdum Thalasses, Francis G. Salt (1917-1994), who was initiated into the Order as a nineteen year old in 1936, stated that the members would not even acknowledge one another in the street unless they had a relationship independent of their temple membership.[883] He noted that in informing one another of future ceremonies over the telephone they would often use a simple code employing terms for the old sterling currency. With reference to the Grade ceremonies known as the 'Theoricus 2=9' or 'Philosophus 4=7', for example, they would talk about purchasing some item on a particular date for the sum of 'two and nine' (i.e. two shillings and nine pence) or 'four and seven' (four shillings and seven pence).[884] Another story recounted by Salt concerns the efforts by Dr. Felkin to ensure secrecy when the temple was being built. Although much of the work was

---

[881] Grant, *Havelock North: from Village to Borough*, p. 84. Ironically, the Foreword to Grant's book is written by J. H. von Dadelszen who was, at the time of writing, the senior Chief of the Order, a fact he does not disclose. Von Dadelszen was a prominent lawyer in the village and served as both a member of the Town Board and Mayor. His wife was also a member of the Order and the daughter of one of the original Chiefs, Reginald Gardner.
[882] Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, p.177.
[883] Notes made from Personal communication from Salt in 1992.
[884] Ibid.

carried out personally by Chapman-Taylor, himself a senior Order member, the assistance of several Maori workmen was also required. Apparently, before they began their work Felkin gathered them all together and required they provide a pledge of secrecy regarding the work they were about to undertake. Salt observed that this was later recognized as extremely imprudent as it guaranteed that the matter was widely discussed amongst the Maori and European populations and undoubtedly contributed to future rumours.[885]

Piscatores Hominum

Dr. Felkin is clearly the central figure involved in bringing the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina out to New Zealand in 1912, but the origins of the temple actually lie in the village of Havelock North itself and in the development of what John von Dadelszen has described as the 'Havelock Work'. This 'Work', he observes, began in earnest in 1907 and finished in 1914.[886] The driving force behind it was the devout Anglo-Catholic Reginald Gardner (1872-1959) who was initiated into the Order by Dr. Felkin in 1912 as Frater Piscatores Hominum and appointed to be one of the first three Chiefs of Smaragdum Thalasses. These Chiefs governed the Temple until Dr. Felkin, his wife and daughter emigrated permanently to New Zealand in 1916 when the New Zealand Chiefs stood down in favour of the Felkins and assumed lesser roles as Temple 'Wardens' or 'sub-Chiefs'.[887] On the death of Dr. Felkin in 1926 Gardner resumed his previous role as an Order Chief and continued in this capacity for thirty-three years until

---

[885] Ibid.
[886] John von Dadelszen, '*The Havelock Work 1909-1939*', *Te Mata Times* (Havelock North), September 1983, p. 1. This is the most complete general account of the Havelock Work in print. Von Dadelszen was a participant in much of what he describes. Both Wright and Ellwood rely heavily on this work.
[887] Unpublished Smaragdum Thalasses document, 'H.O. 49- Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1959,' dated 28 March 1960. The writer is John Von Dadelszen in his sub-Chief's role as 'Cancellarius'. Private collection.

his own death in January 1959. He was succeeded in his Chief's position by John von Dadelszen at the Equinox ceremony held at the temple in March 1959.[888]

Despite its very small size, it was in the early twentieth century that Havelock North began to acquire a reputation within New Zealand, and even beyond, of being an unusual centre of independent thought, particularly in the areas of 'the spiritual, the artistic, and the imaginative'.[889] Farming and agriculture brought considerable prosperity to the area and it became the favoured place of residence for many of the wealthy elite of the wider Hawke Bay region as well as a preferred location for several popular fee-paying private schools modelled on the English public school system. Ellwood has noted that 'in those expansive and now-distant Edwardian days', Havelock North became 'for a few shining years the Vatican of a peculiar but locally powerful cultural wave, albeit one set in a remote colony of a far-flung empire'[890];

> The Havelock North sensibility paid homage simultaneously to Pre-Raphaelite Romanticism and 'Merry England' idealization of the homeland's rural past, to craftsman architecture and the new century's optimistic expectation that a bright new age was dawning, to liberal Anglicanism and the decade's vogue for an Evelyn Underhill style of interest in mysticism.[891]

Contemporary and more recent commentators agree that the driving energy behind the Havelock Work was Reginald Gardner aided by a group of like-minded individuals deeply interested in the varied current of intellectual, artistic, esoteric and

---

[888] Gardner's wife Ruth, who was Soror Coeli Enerrant in the Order, also spent most of her adult life in Smaragdum Thalasses and died in 1954. She was considered highly clairvoyant and was said to have foreseen Dr. Felkin coming out to New Zealand. She wrote several papers for the Order, one of which, 'On Taking Office', written in April 1937, survives in a private collection. The Gardners' daughter Michael joined as a young woman and she married John von Dadelszen. Because of her extensive influence in the later period of the temple she was sometimes referred to ironically as 'the Fourth Chief'.
[889] Grant, *Havelock North: from Village to Borough*, p. 54.
[890] Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, p. 167.
[891] Ibid.

religious thought especially prevalent in Britain at the *fin-de-siècle*.[892] Wright observes that the legacy of Gardner and his friends 'far transcended... the Havelock Work' and that the 'whole shape of village life in the twentieth century was profoundly affected from before the First World War by Reginald Gardner -- the deep thinking, enthusiastic, community minded villager'.[893]

The son of the Reverend A. W. Gardner, an Anglican missionary, Reginald Gardner was born in Orange, New South Wales in 1872 and, having lost both of his parents by the age of eight or nine, lived most of his childhood with relatives in England until coming out to New Zealand with his stepmother and older sister in 1875. After a return to England, where he met his Canadian-born wife Ruth, and a period working in Canada itself, Gardner and his wife returned to Havelock where his brother, the Reverend Allan F. Gardner, was the Anglican vicar.[894] An important event for Gardner occurred shortly after his return in 1907 when he met up again with an old friend, Harold Large.[895] Large had recently resigned from the New Zealand Theosophical Society, in which he had played an active part and edited the society journal, *The N.Z. Theosophical Magazine*. At around the same time Large had become confirmed in the Anglican Church.[896] This decision was based on his conclusion that the emphasis placed by the Theosophical Society on Eastern methods of spiritual training was mistaken and

---

[892] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', pp. 1-19, and note 18; Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, pp. 168-172, 175-183; Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, pp. 105-107, 164-166, 175-176; James and Aubrey Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment: Lucy Violet Hodgkin in Havelock North', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 56, No.4, (1993), pp. 296-310.

[893] Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, p. 1.

[894] It was not until 1910 that Havelock was renamed Havelock North.

[895] I have not been able to establish the dates for Large's birth and death. He was probably born around 1870 in Napier, New Zealand, and after schooling in Wellington 'went on at age 18 to Caius College, Cambridge,' where he received a B.A. in 1891. By 1893 he had returned to New Zealand and taught Latin for two years at Wanganui Collegiate School. He 'was a capable pianist and popular vocalist' and during several lengthy visits to England was a member of Sir Frank Benson's Shakespeare company. Lille Large, his sister, was evidently a noted singer in England and New Zealand, and was also an ardent Theosophist. There are indications amongst Order papers that she later joined Smaragdum Thalasses. Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', pp. 298-299.

[896] The first New Zealand lodge of the Theosophical Society was formed in Wellington in 1889. By 1901 membership had grown to 209 and monthly lectures included such topics as 'The Rosicrucians', 'Reincarnation' and 'Fear- its cause and Cure'. See James and Audrey Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p. 299.

that these methods were unsuitable for Western people. He believed that a Western equivalent of esoteric training involving Christianity must also exist and he expressed his determination to find it.[897] This belief became the predominant motivation of Gardner and his associates and it was eventually to lead to the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina, or Golden Dawn, being established in New Zealand. From the point of meeting Gardner again, and for the following two years, Harold Large lived with the Gardners and his quest for this esoteric training so enthused and inspired them that each day the three met together 'in prayer and meditation for this purpose'.[898] Shortly after the formation of this group they were joined by Reginald's sister, Rose Gardner and then again in 1907 by Mary Mitchel McLean, a Scottish school teacher who had come to Havelock North from Edinburgh to join her two sisters living there.[899] Apparently, Mary McLean held the same views as Large and 'had already met people with similar interests in Britain'.[900] Amongst these 'people with similar interests' were McLean's friends Father Charles Fitzgerald who, as previously noted, was a member of both the Anglo-Catholic Community of the Resurrection and the Stella Matutina, and Dr. George Carnegie Dickson who served as the most senior Chief of several Stella Matutina temples, including that of Amoun in London and Hermes in Bristol.[901]

This small group soon expanded, consisting of devout members from the Quaker movement, the Anglican Church and the Theosophical Society, meeting regularly together for meditation on Christian topics and to conduct a 'simple form of ritual' they had adopted.[902] Assuming the informal title of 'The Society of the Southern Cross', in many respects it was the precursor to what later became the Smaragdum Thalasses

---

[897] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 10.
[898] Ibid.
[899] Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p. 302.
[900] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 10; Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p. 303.
[901] Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p. 303. A strong 'Edinburgh connection' between leading members of the Stella Matutina, appears to be of some significance and is discussed in Chapter Eight.
[902] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 11

Temple of the Stella Matutina.[903] This Society and its history will shortly be examined in some depth, but it first needs to be placed in the wider context of the Havelock Work which Gardner believed was essentially a 'cultural society'. Gardner viewed this latter group as the 'outward expression' of the more personal spiritual quest which formed a 'silent power station' and around which the Havelock Work was built.[904] Its first expression, also began in 1907 with the same group of people, who met with other each month to read and discuss their own literary work in prose and poetry. Within a few months they decided to produce a monthly journal of their writings and illustrations called *The Forerunner*. Although initially produced on a hand press by Gardner and his wife, with the text being partly handwritten and partly typed, and usually illustrated with water-colours, from May 1909 *The Forerunner* was printed professionally until December 1914 when it ceased, probably due to the restrictions imposed by the First World War.[905]

The Forerunner has been described as 'a journal with philosophic, literary and informative content of remarkable quality and an extraordinarily high level of typographic attainment'.[906] There is a distinctly 'William Morris' appearance to the journal both in terms of stylistic illustration and typeface which closely resembles Morris' 'Golden' typeface, and similarly the use of ornamental initial capitals follows the style of Morris.[907] The Christian influence, and indeed that of Reginald Gardner, are apparent from the covers of the magazine where each issue carries 'the Christian symbol of the fish, surmounted by the orb and the cross and bearing the legend, Piscatores Hominum meaning "Fishers of Men"'.[908] The magazine title was itself significant and John von Dadelszen, the last senior Chief of Smaragdum Thalasses, who

---

[903] Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p.303; Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', pp.10-11.
[904] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 31.
[905] Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p. 301.
[906] Ibid.
[907] Ibid.
[908] Von Dadelszen. 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 8. Gardner's motto appears in many unpublished Order documents.

knew Gardner extremely well and married his daughter Michael, addressed the question of why *The Forerunner* was so named:

> One of the meanings given to the word 'forerunner' by the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary is that of 'one sent to prepare the way' and I suggest this is how the founders of the Havelock Work regarded their publication.

The 'way' being prepared was clearly envisaged as a spiritual one and the overwhelming majority of articles appearing over seven years are concerned with religion, usually from an esoteric Christian or mystical viewpoint, and one which Ellwood has described as an 'idealization of high saintly spirituality'.[909] Reginald Gardner's purpose in producing the magazine is set out in his introduction to the first printed issue:

> We want to show that behind the outward manifestation of things lies Creative Love. It is by the power of harmony and the deep power of joy that we see into the life of things. What I am really doing in this magazine is sending out the light. What is that light, you may ask? Well I think it is knowing the spiritual world as interwoven with our ordinary, everyday world, here and now... My hope is that this magazine may draw nearer together those who live for the same great ideal. As we keep true to the inner light within us we shall steadily grow to express our local conditions, our local environment, in terms of truth and beauty, joy and harmony. Each of us will add their chosen part as individual units of an orchestral band ... Let our aim be Unity in Diversity, and our joy will lie in sounding each

[909] Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, p. 170.

his own life-note, and so producing infinity of opinion on the common theme, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.[910]

The diversity referred to is conveyed both by the mix of artwork, 'stories, poems, philosophy, social commentary, natural history' and by the range of articles on spiritual themes from clergymen, Theosophists, Quakers, followers of Rudolf Steiner and other New Zealanders prominent in local affairs.[911] In the context of the later Stella Matutina temple it may be significant that a noticeable theme in many of the articles is an emphasis placed on the importance of symbolism and ritual. An anonymous article in the 1910 February issue, for example, which dealt with the subject of the Church Sacraments, while applauding the view that 'sturdy, wholesome Protestantism' had removed the abuses of ritualism, nevertheless also welcomed 'a growing interest among church people as to the true value and inner significance of ritual' which the author believed reached its fullest expression in the development and practice of the idea of a 'Word of Power'.[912] In commenting on this article Ellwood observes that 'its compensating admiration for the saintly and mystical,' the focus on the sacraments, and the concomitant emphasis placed on ritual and symbol 'by no means implied an advanced Protestantism'.[913] Ellwood does not define what he considers to be 'advanced Protestantism' but this assessment would be unlikely to find concurrence either within the Havelock group or within the influential and ritualistic Anglo-Catholic faction which at that time enjoyed a position of particular prominence within the Anglican Church. Indeed, amongst the many articles appearing in *The Forerunner* which dealt

---

[910] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 8. Quoted from Skye Isaac, *Tauhara: The Growing of an Educational and Spiritual Centre* (Hastings: Cliff Press, 2002), pp. 13-14.
[911] Skye Isaac, *Tauhara: The Growing of an Educational and Spiritual Centre*, p. 14.
[912] *The Forerunner*, 10 February 1910, (Havelock: privately printed, 1910). The notion of a 'word of power' was important in the Golden Dawn system. It was the theme of at least two novels written by the well known Golden Dawn members Evelyn Underhill and Algernon Blackwood; *The Lost Word* (London: William Heineman, 1907) and *The Human Chord* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1910), respectively.
[913] Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, p. 170.

with church ceremony, ritualism and symbolism, it is apparent that the writers believed fervently that the rediscovery of and access to the secrets which Jesus supposedly conveyed to his followers was the exciting future for Christianity and one which would reinvigorate the Anglican Church.[914] To this degree, one can see a parallel between the Havelock Work and the reforming zeal of those Anglo-Catholic theologians who argued both for the restoration of ritual and the Sacraments within the Church, and for the recovery of the supernatural and esoteric interpretation of the Christian mysteries supposedly emphasized by some of the ancient Church Fathers.[915]

Important as this inner, personal quest was to Gardner and his associates, of equal and possibly greater significance was its 'outward expression', or 'cultural society', which embraced the entire community. The purpose of this was described by Gardner as being 'to encourage the talent of the musical, dramatic and literary people who were attracted to it'.[916] It took many forms, involving the formation of various glee and dramatic clubs, classes in woodcarving and drama, fruit and flower displays, the hosting of concerts by visiting artists, Morris dancing classes, the encouragement of local handicraft through Gardner opening an arts and crafts shop in the village, and the building of a village hall for the express purpose of staging plays and entertainments for the village population.[917] Its most notable achievements were two entertainments staged for the entire village – an 'Olde English Village Fete' in November 1911 and a Shakespearean Pageant in November 1912.

The former is reported at length in the October 1912 issue of *The Forerunner* where it is said that the beginning of the fete was marked by a procession of 'over a hundred men, women and children, dressed in old English costume and carrying

---

[914] Some idea of the nature of the articles in *The Forerunner* can be discerned from the following titles which appeared in various issues: 'Concerning Ceremonial', 'Symbols and Symbolism','The Hidden Treasure' (of Christianity), 'The Daily Sacraments', and 'The Great Work'.
[915] The emphasis found in some Anglo-Catholic theologians on recovering the ancient mysteries found in some Patristic writings, as previously noted, is also evident in the views expressed by many Golden Dawn members, notably Dr. Felkin, and Anna Kingsford.
[916] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 5.
[917] Ibid.

banners emblematic of their position, e.g. King Arthur and his Court were preceded by the "dragon of the great pendragonship" and the Morris dancers by lambs frisking on the Havelock Hills…' Entertainments of many types for all ages were held throughout the day and evening and it is likely that almost the entire village attended, along with visitors from neighbouring towns.[918] The 'crowning achievement of the Havelock Work', and recognised as such by local and national historians, was the 'great Shakespearian Pageant,' intended by Gardner and others to create a solid village spirit by drawing in together the entire village population in a common endeavour.[919] The ambitious programme for the three-day event required weeks of work from several hundred Havelock townsfolk and bypassed the Victorian social boundaries by bringing together people from every social and economic class to assist in the preparations. The programme began at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, 20 November 1912 with a large procession led by two heralds and two 'pursuivants', followed by a 'Court Group', including 'Queen Elizabeth'. Behind the Queen and her courtiers was a 'Shakespeare group' and costumed villagers taking part in Shakespearean games. These were in turn followed by the principal characters from twelve of Shakespeare's plays, interspersed by other entertainments. Over the three day period numerous plays and musical events were staged in different venues by various village and school groups, including children singing sixteenth-century songs, and performances from the glee club, Morris singers and dancers. Evening festivities also included a torchlight procession of villagers and the pageant reached its climax on the evening of Friday 22 November with a ball in Shakespearean costume.[920]

---

[918] See Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, pp. 109-112; Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, pp. 168-169; Grant, *Havelock North: from Village to Borough*, pp. 65-69.
[919] Ibid.
[920] Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, pp. 109-112. Contemporary photographs of these events frequently appear in the local media covering historical aspects of Havelock North and in almost every study of the village.

With few exceptions, the members of the first Executive Committee, and its 'Ladies' auxiliary committee', which directed the Havelock Work, including the fete and pageant, were also involved in producing *The Forerunner* and meeting together to pray, meditate and discuss spiritual matters. These activities were not seen as isolated parts of their lives but as being the preparation for a grander and deeper quest for themselves and for the community. They included some of the wealthiest and most influential members of the community and they had come to adopt the vision of Reginald Gardner which he expressed a few years earlier with respect to his small prayer group.[921]

> We know we are ones sent to show the way. This magazine and our cultural society are just part of our deeper spiritual question. Five of us meet every day to pray and meditate together and we are becoming more aware of the esoteric teachings behind all formal religion. The world today is filled with turmoil because people have forgotten and neglected the inner truth.[922]

The majority of members of both Committees are known to have also joined the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple when it opened within a month of the staging of the Shakespearean Pageant, and it is conceivable that all of them did so.[923] As will be described shortly, there are indications that at least the key figures behind the Havelock Work had made some type of contact with the Stella Matutina Order in 1910 and since that time the group meeting for prayers and meditation appear to have been under a

---

[921] Most of the names listed on the Committees are mentioned in surviving Order papers or in personal recollections as being Order members. Details of their public status are found in Wright, Ellwood, Grant, and also in Grant, *A History of the Chambers Family of Te Mata, Havelock North* (Waipukurau: Central Hawke's Bay Printers, 1980); and Audrey Brodie and James Brodie, *John Holdsworth and the House Called Swarthmoor* (Wellington: The Beechtree Press, 2001).

[922] Isaac, *Tauhara*, p. 18.

[923] Apart from indications within Order documents and in Von Dadelszen's published account that the members of the Havelock Work and The Society of the Southern Cross proceeded into Smaragdum Thalasses, scattered references to particular individuals appear in Mrs. Felkin's monthly newsletter to Order members which she began in 1949 and which finished with her death in 1969.

form of guidance from individual Anglo-Catholics or Anglican priests belonging to the Order.[924] At the time of the Pageant itself Dr. Felkin, his wife and daughter, were en route to New Zealand to found the new temple. They arrived in December 1912 and over a three month period admitted twenty-four men and women, including most of the members of the above committees, as its first initiates.[925] Twelve of these were taken rapidly through the Grades of the Outer or First Order, and were then initiated into the Rosicrucian Second Order during this three-month period.[926]

The Society of the Southern Cross

The Society of the Southern Cross was the name subsequently adopted by a 'strangely-composed company' of Anglicans, Quakers, and Theosophists living in Havelock who first met together in 1907 in order to pray and meditate in silence.[927] Although the custom of holding Quaker 'quiet meetings' had begun at the homes of Reginald Gardner and John Holdsworth (1850-1935), a prominent local Quaker, permission was sought by Holdsworth in 1908 to hold weekly 'quiet meetings' at the Havelock Anglican Church, St. Luke's Church.[928] The Reverend Allan Gardner, brother of Reginald and Vicar of St. Luke's, readily agreed and began to attend the meetings regularly, along with several Anglicans, Quakers and Theosophists. For a period of twelve years this group met weekly on Saturday evenings at St. Luke's Church for 'the corporate silent practice of

---

[924] Von Dadelszen writing as a sub-Chief (Frater A.B.S.) in 'HO.49 Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1959.' In noting the death of Gardner in January 1959 he provides some early history of the Order and states Gardner made contact with the Stella Matutina in Great Britain in 1910. It is not clear whether he is referring to the visit of Fathers Fitzgerald and Rees to New Zealand or whether Gardner had separate contact with the Order in England. This is an unpublished MS. in a private collection.
[925] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 15.
[926] See note 53 where Von Dadelszen provides these figures. In all other published versions the number of those initiated is incorrectly stated as 'twelve' where they have either ignored the Outer initiations or confused them with the same number admitted to the Inner.
[927] E. Herman, *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism*, p. 123.
[928] Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', pp. 300-301; Brodie and Brodie, *John Holdsworth and the House Called Swarthmoor*, p. 31. Holdsworth came from a Lancashire Quaker family, some of whom migrated to New Zealand where they acquired considerable wealth as farmers and landowners. Their very large house, 'Swarthmoor' subsequently was purchased by the esoteric Christian group, 'The Sutcliffe Schools of Radiant Living' and then again by the Anthroposophical Society in the 1980s and 'Weleda', the natural pharmaceuticals company which follows the principles of Anthroposophy.

the Presence of God'.[929] Although Silent Worship, or the 'silent meeting,' is a customary practice among Quakers, the ecumenical combination at St. Luke's apparently produced an unusual and powerful effect. One visiting Anglo-Catholic priest from England noted that his attendance 'was a profoundly new experience, different in kind from other times of realization of the Presence, in that it was... the psychic approach to the spiritual world', and he added, 'I believe our Quiet Meeting to have been the consecrated use of latent psychic forces which led directly and deeply to the spiritual, to God Himself'.[930]

News of these 'experiments' soon reached the Quaker Movement in Britain through the visit to New Zealand in 1909 of the noted Quaker minister Dr. Thomas Hodgkin who was then aged 78.[931] Accompanied by his wife Lucy Anna, and two of their children, Lucy Violet and George, Thomas Hodgkin travelled to New Zealand and Australia for the purpose of meeting and encouraging isolated Quakers, or 'friends'.[932] During a visit to Havelock North they stayed with the Holdsworth family where they met many of those concerned with the Havelock Work and attended one of the ecumenical Quiet Meetings at St. Luke's Church. At this meeting, according to the Quaker historians James and Audrey Brodie, 'Lucy Violet then aged 40, underwent a kind of mystical conversion, a sudden, wonderful revelation of the power of silent worship, that brought at last, a spiritual fulfilment to her inherited Quakerism'.[933] She later wrote of her experience that the words of both the Reverend Allan Gardner and his

---

[929] Bodie and Brodie, *'John Holdsworth'*, p. 31; Herman, *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism*, p. 123.
[930] Hepher, *Fellowship of Silence*, pp. 38-40.
[931] Thomas Hodgkin was the author of the acclaimed eight volume *Italy and Her Invaders,* 8 vols (Oxford, 1880-1899); Brodie and Brodie, 'The Spiritual Ferment', p. 296. 'Experiment' is the term used by Hepher in his *Fellowship of Silence.*
[932] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 296.
[933] Ibid. While outside the scope of this study there are interesting parallels between the Quaker concept of 'Inner Light' and the symbolism of 'light' within the Golden Dawn. This extends to Dion Fortune's Society of the Inner Light, which she founded following her departure from the Golden Dawn. The concept also featured amongst other religious sects, including the so-called Illuminati. In her eccentric *Light-bearers of Darkness,* Christine Stoddart accuses the Golden Dawn of being part of an Illuminati conspiracy. See also the discussion of 'Inner Light' in Ronald Knox, *Enthusiasm* (Glasgow: Collins, 1983, reprint of 1961). The phrase 'The Inner Light' is also the title of a chapter in Canon Hepher's *Fruits of Silence*, note 76.

brother Reginald 'were beautiful. But the silence spoke loudest to some of us'.[934] The Brodies observe that 'the fact of a Friends' Meeting of silent worship taking place among a diverse ecumenical group in the physical structure of the Anglican Church, moved her profoundly and strongly reinforced her sense of mystical communion'.[935] She was eager to share this newly-discovered enlightenment and wrote an account of her experience published in *The British Friend* in July 1909.[936] There Lucy Hodgkin writes, 'It was a Friends Meeting, but it was more. We were in a church, but it was more. The atmosphere was different from anything I have ever experienced. The two forms of worship seemed to unite in a reality. Then I understood'.[937]

As important as this brief encounter with 'searching souls' was to Lucy Hodgkin it is evident from extant documents that at least some of leading members of the ecumenical group of Anglicans, Quakers and Theosophists did not see that the Quiet Meetings were in themselves the answer to their quest for esoteric initiation into the Christian 'mysteries'.[938] The next vital step in transforming the Society of the Southern Cross into the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina occurred in 1910 with a Mission of Anglican priests to New Zealand. Late in August of that year sixteen priests and a lay-missioner arrived for a four-month visit with the intention of covering the six New Zealand dioceses by individual missioners being allotted several parishes within the diocese as their responsibility.[939] The task of the Mission was 'promoting the practice of prayer, the place of the sacraments and "the importance of men in the work of the church"'.[940] It had been preceded by four years of preparation in New Zealand and early in 1910 two 'Forerunners' were sent by the Church of England to draw up an itinerary

---

[934] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 304.
[935] Ibid.
[936] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 305.
[937] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 304.
[938] It is clear from the accounts of Von Dadelszen et.al. that the approach made to the Stella Mautina had the support of the Quaker members of the Society of the Southern Cross. The considerable generosity of the two Chambers brothers, both Quakers, in paying for the land and buildings of Smaragdum Thalasses, and paying for both trips of the Felkins would also appear to support this.
[939] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', pp. 305-306.
[940] Ibid.

and make local arrangements.[941] It seems likely that some members of the Havelock Work within the diocese of Waiapu had made clear at an early stage their desire for a type of esoteric training within the Christian tradition. Besides the apparent coincidence of the term 'forerunner', which was employed by the Church, the selection of the Stella Matutina member, Father Charles Fitzgerald, as one of the three to carry the mission to Waiapu, appears unusually fortuitous. In light of the established friendship which Mary McLean, a keen member of the Society of the Southern Cross, had with both Father Fitzgerald and Dr. W.E. Carnegie Dickson, another Chief of the Stella Matutina, the probability of McLean having made representations in this regard seems high.

Such probability increases further with the fact that another member of the small mission to Waiapu was Father Timothy Rees of Mirfield and later Bishop of Llandaff. Like Father Fitzgerald, Father Rees was also a member of the Amoun Temple of the Stella Matutina in which he was initiated in July 1909, just three years after joining the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, then a small body of only twenty-three priests.[942] A gifted scholar, who had taken Honours in Theology at St. David's College, Lampeter, Rees then became Chaplain and Welsh tutor at S. Michael's College in 1901, a place where he had previously been a student. S. Michael's, founded at Aberdare in 1892 as the theological college in Wales and later moved to Llandaff, 'was one of the fruits of the Oxford Movement' and adhered strictly to 'Tractarian standards'.[943] As Chaplain, with the college library readily available to him, Rees studied more deeply the work of the ancient Church Fathers along with modern writers, such as Charles Gore whom he greatly admired. This admiration assisted his decision to join the Community of the Resurrection which Gore had founded.[944] After twenty-five years as a Mirfield

---

[941] Ibid.
[942] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 165; John Lambert Rees, *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff*, pp. 29-32.
[943] Rees, *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff*, pp. 21-23.
[944] Rees, *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff*, p. 26.

Father 'Timothy Rees returned to Wales as Bishop of Llandaff'.[945] Within the Stella Matutina, following his 1909 initiation, Rees completed the six Grades of the Outer or First Order, and duly passed the corresponding examinations in occult studies, before progressing in 1916 to the 'Inner' Rosicrucian Order, thus achieving at least the first of the three Adept Grades.[946]

The third missioner selected for Waiapu was also a desirable choice from the Havelock Work perspective. He was the Reverend Cyril Hepher who was at that time vicar of St. John the Baptist in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and later to become Canon of Winchester Cathedral. Educated at New College, Oxford, Hepher had previously served in a number of northern parishes and it is apparent from his writings that he was both Anglo-Catholic and sympathetic towards the type of *fin-de-siècle* mysticism discussed by Dean Inge.[947] Hepher's approach to Anglicanism may well have been a factor in his selection for he was subsequently informed by the Reverend Allan Gardner that although he was himself of evangelical upbringing he had previously 'told the Forerunner, not to send us a low-church Missioner. We know here that side of truth, what we want to learn is the other, the sacramental'.[948] A further fortuitous event which helped Hepher prepare for his mission was his meeting John Holdsworth just two months before departure. Holdsworth had been attending the June 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh and continued on a short visit to England where he met Hepher through a mutual friend.[949] Apparently Hepher, who knew by then he was to travel to the small New Zealand village of Havelock North, asked Holdsworth if he knew where the village was. Holdsworth was, of course, not merely able to provide

---

[945] Rees, *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff*, p. 24.
[946] Details of the Golden Dawn membership of Bishop Rees appear on unpublished Stella Matutina indices in a private collection which came to the notice of R. A. Gilbert. His name also appears on a Stella Matutina roll published by Gilbert but there is no indication that he was an Anglican clergyman. See *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 165.
[947] Apart from his *The Fellowship of Silence*, Hepher wrote several other books on similar themes. See bibliography and also Herman's *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism* which refers to Hepher and the 'New Zealand experiment'.
[948] Hepher, *The Fellowship of Silence*, pp. 2-3.
[949] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 306.

Hepher with considerable detail about Havelock North but also to inform him about the ecumenical Quiet Meetings, which he had himself instigated, and to invite Hepher to attend.[950]

The Reverend Hepher took up Holdsworth's invitation and there is no doubt that his attendance at the Quiet Meetings, after his arrival at Havelock North in August 1910, so deeply impressed him that the experience was to influence much of his subsequent work in the Church. On his return to England he implemented the practice of Quiet Meetings in his own church where Thomas Hodgkin accepted an invitation to participate in April 1912. So enthusiastic was Hepher that he 'carried his own ardent response to silent worship to his fellow clergy in England, to America, to Canada and to all who might read of it, in his books *The Fellowship of Silence* and later *The Fruits of Silence*.'[951] Reports of the New Zealand experience were also shared widely with English Quakers, some of whom were moved to attend Hepher's Quiet Meetings, along with Thomas Hodgkin who also contributed an essay on the subject in *The Fellowship of Silence*.[952]

Apart from their mission work of preaching at many different churches throughout New Zealand, the three clergymen also met separately with the members of the Society of the Southern Cross. This was arranged through Mary McLean who organised a meeting at Bishopscourt in Napier, the home of the Anglican Bishop of the Waiapu diocese, the Right Reverend Alfred Walter Averill (1865-1957). Fathers Fitzgerald, Rees and the Reverend Hepher were present and, apart from Reginald and Ruth Gardner, it is likely that other leading members of the Southern Cross Society, which organised the Havelock Work, also attended. These would certainly have included the Reverend Allan Gardner, Mary McLean and the brothers John and Mason

---

[950] Ibid; Brodie and Brodie, *John Holdsworth*, p. 31.
[951] Hepher, *The Fellowship of Silence* pp. 2-3; Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 306.
[952] Thomas Hodgkin, 'On Silent Worship' in the *Fellowship of Silence*, pp. 71-90.

Chambers who were wealthy landowners and ardent Quakers.[953] There is little information available on the meeting itself other than the facts that Reginald Gardner, on behalf of his group, requested assistance in their quest for Christian spiritual training of an esoteric kind. Evidently this request was warmly met and Father Fitzgerald promised his assistance, on the condition that they worked under his guidance.[954] It is presumed that this role fell to Father Fitzgerald rather than to Father Rees because the former had already advanced to the more advanced Second Order of the Stella Matutina, whereas Father Rees did not become an 'Adept' until 1916. The reaction of Bishop Averill to this somewhat unusual situation in his home is not recorded but it is known that his successor to the post, Bishop William Walmsley Sedgwick (1858-1948), joined the Stella Matutina himself following the establishment of the Smaragdum Thalasses temple.[955]

The exact form of the guidance provided by Father Fitzgerald for a period of two years is not known but the last senior Chief of Smaragdum Thalasses wrote: 'Needless to say, this visit filled the group with hope and expectation. They kept in touch with the priest after he returned to England and conducted their meetings as he instructed them'.[956] Some indication of Father Fitzgerald's methods may be seen, however, in his paper 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion', included in Hepher's *The Fellowship of Silence*. Detailed instructions are given for individuals and for groups wishing either to heal or to aid the conversion of a person. Apart from the seemingly magical, if devout, nature of the practices recommended what is of particular interest is

---

[953] The Chambers brothers, and Mason in particular, had a close association with Smaragdum Thallases which they financed almost entirely. See the several works by Brodie and Brodie. Mason Chambers' name appears on the labels affixed to all the early Order documents requesting they be returned, unexamined, to the addressee.

[954] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 11; Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, pp. 172-173; Isaac, *Tauhara*, pp. 23-25. Details also appear in a manuscript of a biography of Dr. Felkin, still in preparation, by Connal Townsend.

[955] Evidence of Sedgwick's membership can be found in several unpublished Smaragdum Thalasses documents, including a reference to a Bishop being a member in a letter Felkin wrote to Westcott discussed subsequently in this chapter.

[956] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 11.

the fact that certain passages of Father Fitzgerald's contribution which appeared in the first edition are omitted from the eight reprints of the book between 1915 and 1918, and from all subsequent reprints. These passages are distinctly of an occult nature and it is conceivable that either Father Fitzgerald felt he had revealed too much, or that the Lord Bishop of Winchester, who provided a somewhat cautious Preface to the reprints, objected to these passages.[957]

As an individual practice Father Fitzgerald recommends to the reader, amongst several other methods, placing a crucifix on 'the East wall, the region of light'. Before kneeling the practitioner should 'stand facing the crucifix, stretch out the arms in the form of a cross, inwardly resolving to put on Christ, to take His yoke and bear His burden... Make the sign of the Cross and realize that the warfare is not with flesh and blood but with the invisible powers of evil'. In a passage omitted from the reprints of the book Father Fitzgerald then goes on to state:

> It is well to make a fence to keep back these powers of evil. Therefore make the sign of the Cross in the east and say 'Jesus', carry the hand around and face south and repeat the sign and the name. Do this again in the west and north and complete the circle with the hand. Before this sign and Name the invisible powers of evil are bound to retreat.[958]

By using this exercise, avers Father Fitzgerald, followed by reciting a Penitential Psalm, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, a person can 'ask for a right judgement in any given matter' and will obtain 'the power of concentration and of banishing thought, and

---

[957] Edward Winchester, the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of Winchester, 'Preface', in Hepher, *The Fellowship of Silence*, pp. v-viii.

[958] J. C. Fitzgerald, 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion' in Cyril Hepher, *The Fellowship of Silence* (London: Macmillan,1915, first edition, first printing), pp. 195-196. All other editions and printings omit these sections. This article by Father Fitzgerald was also republished by the Community of the Resurrection in 1918 but again without the excluded passages.

increase of will power,' along with 'an increase of power in helping others without expenditure of your own vital force'.[959] A cursory examination of Golden Dawn documents would suggest that Father Fitzgerald has adapted for Christian purposes a particular ritual issued to Neophytes of the Order, known as 'The Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram', substituting the sign of the Cross for the pentagram and the name 'Jesus' for such Jewish names as 'Adonai' and 'Elohim', commonly used in magical ceremonies.[960] In fact he has actually used part of a Stella Matutina ritual which was itself modified from the original Golden Dawn document for precisely such a purpose.[961] As an illustration of the type of magical material employed by Father Fitzgerald within the Order the missing portions of the ritual are summarised here as follows.

After the completion of signing the cross and uttering 'Jesus' in the four directions the ritual paper states that the ritualist should continue to turn until facing east, thus having created 'Four Crosses of Light at the Four Quarters, joined by a circle of Light'. It is stated that the arms should now be raised to form a cross, and the words 'Thy Will be done' should be uttered. The same process should then be performed at the angles of south-east, south-west, north-west, and north-east until a circle is completed in the south-east when the ritualist extends his arms in a cross and says, 'The Power of Thy Cross against the evils of the World'. Extending one arm, a circle of Light in the air is now made in the four major directions. The Sign of the Cross is then made underfoot with the word 'Jesus', the circle is carried round through the west and then 'up, overhead' where 'Jesus' is again uttered. After completing the circle again and facing east, the arms are extended in a cross and the following words are said: 'Oh Thou Great

---

[959] Ibid., p. 196.
[960] See Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, I, 106-107.
[961] This unpublished document has additional material which draws also on a Second Order ritual written by Felkin, known as 'The Ritual of the Rose Cross'. Fitzgerald does not use this additional material in his article but as he was a Chief in the Amoun Temple with responsibility for instruction it is conceivable that he adapted the Order rituals specifically for members of Gardner's group. See Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, II, 46-50.

and Mighty Lord Jesus, who didst offer Thy protection to the whole world. Grant that my use of this Cross, symbol of Thy Power may protect this house and all within it from all manner of evil. Amen.' The ritual adds that it can be adapted to suit various purposes.[962]

Father Fitzgerald also provides similar detailed instructions for group work and particularly for enabling the group to heal others, sometimes at considerable distance. He notes that 'healing by suggestion at a distance' can be described as 'the influence of one created spirit on another, and when it tends to lead him to the great Healer it is healthy and lawful'.[963] Fitzgerald gives several examples of such healing, which he connects with conversion, and the first is of considerable interest because it almost certainly involves one of the Havelock group having some type of astral contact with Father Fitzgerald and it is recounted in another passage omitted from subsequent reprints of his article:

> The first is one whom I was allowed to help in New Zealand during the Mission in 1910. On my return to England we arranged a time of meeting, there being no space between spirit and spirit. The following is an account received from New Zealand of one of these meetings: 'Consciously or subconsciously you came, for I saw you. I was lying awake, far into the night, preparing for my first confession, which I was to make the next day, when suddenly far away in the distance I saw you, drawing down the radiance. Then there came a flash, and in the light I saw the Presence, but I could not see the Face. How long that lasted I could not say, but presently the light grew less, when there you were... It was you beyond a doubt, for you were just the same as when I saw you in the flesh, only I noticed that you had not got on your glasses. You stayed quite a long time, and all the

[962] 'Cross Ritual', a one page typed, unsigned and undated, ritual from the Stella Matutina in a private collection. It is currently unpublished.
[963] Fitzgerald, 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion', p. 199.

while the room was filled with that strange blue radiance... The light was, at one time, so bright that I could literally feel it shining on my face, and afterwards I felt the extraordinary exhilaration.'[964]

Common elements in this and other examples provided by Father Fitzgerald, are the idea of 'bringing down' light or 'divine radiance', and the appearance of Father Fitzgerald to others in some type of 'astral vision'. With regard to the former, it is again notable that this bears a close similarity with an established technique taught to Golden Dawn adepts in the Second Order known as 'bringing down the Divine White Brilliance.' It entailed the belief that it was possible for a suitably trained Adept, pure in mind and intent, to invoke the divine light of God, identified in some Stella Matutina documents as the presence of Christ, and this was achieved by means of performing a short ritual involving names considered to have power and by making certain gestures.[965] Without question Father Fitzgerald would have both mastered this ritual and practiced it on numerous occasions. It is tempting to assume here that he also adapted this for the uninitiated Christian members of the Society of the Southern Cross.

References to Father Fitzgerald appearing to other people in some type of astral form have similarly been removed from later printings. Several of these are singularly dramatic involving miraculous cures of blindness and tumours effected by Father Fitzgerald but one especially interesting case involves the conversion of a woman known to be 'a notorious evil liver'. One day while walking along a lonely road to feed her pigs she apparently experienced the vision of a priest who asked her if she was

---

[964] Fitzgerald, 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion', pp. 199-200. It is conceivable that the writer of this passage was Gardner or his wife Ruth who was considered to be extremely 'psychic' and clairvoyant.

[965] Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, II, 232. The Chief Adept says, 'Let the White Brilliance of the Spirit Divine descend. *Chief raises his hands invoking the Divine White Brilliance'*. See R. W. Felkin, 'On the DWB', an unpublished paper, a portion of which is published in Zalewski, *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 59-60.

going to attend a church Mission then being prepared at a north country parish. Accepting this appearance as 'a call' she duly attended on the first Saturday evening:

> When I came into church to conduct the Mission she said at once, 'Why, that was the priest I saw'. The result was, to the great joy of the faithful, that she came out boldly before the whole congregation to confess Christ openly and surrendered her whole life to HIM... In silent prayer for the parish, God the Holy Spirit had conveyed my simulacrum to the parish, and made it visible to this woman in her silent walk.[966]

The projection of the 'astral self' to distant places or people, while the physical body remained elsewhere, in order to carry out certain objectives, was a further Golden Dawn technique requiring mastery by the adept. Indeed, it was supposedly used by the Chiefs to visit potential candidates, often in their sleep, to judge their fitness for entering the Order.[967]

---

[966] Fitzgerald, 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion', pp. 208-209.

[967] Some records of the use of this method survive and in this regard Howe records a description written for *Pearson's Magazine* by Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930) of his encounter with Dr Felkin and another Golden Dawn member, Dr. Henry Pullen-Burry. Following a suggestion made to Conan Doyle by Pullen-Burry that he join the Golden Dawn, Doyle experienced an unusual dream which he equated with 'an "astral visit" made by some member of the Order to discover whether or not he was a suitable candidate.' Conan Doyle decided not to request admission but a month or so later was visited by Pullen-Burry and Felkin who engaged in an 'extraordinary conversation about an "astral journey" they had made together to Central Africa'. On the subject of 'astral travel' Conan Doyle concludes: 'From what I have learnt I should judge that the powers of this society included that of loosening their own etheric bodies, in summoning the etheric bodies of others (mine for example) and in making thought images...in the way that we are assured is possible by will power'. Ithell Colquhoun reports a similar experience in her *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and the 'Golden Dawn'*, p. 23 and a report by J.W. Brodie-Innes survives regarding his performing such an examination of a potential candidate called 'Ferendo et Sperando'. He states, amongst other things, that 'the Aura' of this candidate 'appears to me clear bright & prismatic or opalescent showing disposition good, trustworthy & loveable'. This document is with the papers of W. B. Yeats, housed in the Dept. of Special Collections, SUNY Library, Stony Brook, N.Y. Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 200. It is of interest that a Dr. Felkin appears by name as a fictional occultist in Arthur Conan Doyle's spiritualist romance *The Land of Mist* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1926), p. 238.

These examples may provide a reasonably accurate indication of the type of advice and guidance which Father Fitzgerald extended to Reginald Gardner and members of the Society of the Southern Cross from 1910 to 1912.[968] It was in the latter year that he wrote to Gardner saying 'if any further progress was to be made, people would have to come from England to give personal instruction'.[969] Fitzgerald is said to have told them, 'What you really need is to meet Dr. Felkin' and he suggested they invite him, his wife Harriot and daughter Nora Ethelwyn to visit New Zealand. Within a week of receiving Father Fitzgerald's letter the Quaker brothers, John and Mason Chambers, had cabled the £300 to pay for their fares.[970] Before Dr. Felkin made his decision to travel to New Zealand he consulted with his disincarnate Arab spiritual guide Ara Ben Shemesh who evidently approved, for on 9 June 1912 Felkin recorded brief notes of guidance received from the Arab indicating that either he, Felkin, or both, seemed to envisage the establishment of a Stella Matutina temple in New Zealand as being a kind of magical commune:[971]

> Re: New Zealand, we will have an opportunity such as has not occurred in thousands of years in going to an entirely new and clear atmosphere which leave us free to form fresh symbols unprejudiced by any previous tradition... Select a

---

[968] Within the surviving Smaragdum Thalasses documents can be found a number of simplified and Christianised versions of Stella Matutina or, conversely, Christian prayers given a magical dimension. Examples include instructions for blessing a house, exorcising an evil element, healing, meditating. It is possible that these were developed by Anglican priests in the Order for their work.

[969] 'Address by M.C. (Mrs. Felkin) in Big Room on Recent History of the Order'. This unpublished paper dated 1954 was delivered to members of the Order in the large room of 'Whare Ra' above the temple. Written in a discursive style it outlines the experiences of Dr. and Mrs Felkin starting the Stella Matutina and Smaragdum Thalasses. See also Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', pp. 11-15; Brodie and Brodie; 'Spiritual Ferment', pp. 307-308.

[970] Ibid.

[971] See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 260. Ara Ben Shemesh (A.B.S) was one of several spiritual guides or 'astral teachers' of Felkin who was believed to provide advice for a period of eight years between 1908 and 1916. Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, pp. 102-103. Stoddart, a one time Chief of Amoun and a friend of W. B. Yeats, is critical of the influence of A.B.S. Not entirely without justification she complains that whereas many instructions regarding the Order are given by A.B.S, Felkin also states in 1919 that 'I have written time and time again that A.B.S, the Arab, has nothing to do with the Order'. Despite her obsession with conspiracy, Stoddart rightly considers this an inconsistency. It may be noted in passing that in a lengthy description of an occult working for the Adeptus Major 6=5 Grade, held on 7 May 1916 A.B.S. 'came in a grey-blue cloak' to Felkin and four other members to give them teachings about the higher Grades. This unpublished document is in a private collection.

few people to devote themselves entirely to occult work, including healing, and others to see to the material needs of the few, to live together equal numbers (sic) in a divided sort of monastery; others can go and stay for periods. Must always have a guest-chamber and a sort of healing-wing... Everything we take must be carefully purified, consecrated, and wrapped in white. Will have to look after it for a considerable time. It will develop along independent lines to a great extent. Name of Temple: 'Emerald of the Sea No. 49 -- Smaragdine Thalasses... New venture is much more important (than London)... He is greatly impressed with the importance of virgin soil, no occult order has been there before, Theosophists only breaking the soil.[972]

Dr. Felkin -- Physician and Magician

Within the literature on the Golden Dawn, Dr. Felkin (1853-1926) is presented as being a relatively minor figure and of low-profile until the Order began to fragment in 1902. This impression may be misleading, however, and reflect merely the paucity of documentation relating to lengthy periods and aspects of Golden Dawn history. Howe records that early in 1902 Felkin 'suddenly assumed a prominent position in the Second Order, apparently because he had announced that he had established a link with the Secret Chiefs of the Third Order'.[973] He notes that a senior Chief of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh, John William Brodie-Innes (1848-1923), wrote to Felkin on 2 February 1902: 'Of course it goes without saying that I shall give you the utmost help and support in my power. I rejoice that there is a prospect of so competent a link with

---

[972] Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, pp. 102-103. To some degree the Felkins followed the advice and endeavoured to make the members of Smaragdum Thalasses a type of community. One example was an early requirement for all the women, wives and children of members of the Order to wear red socks. This raised considerable interest in the Village and embarrassment to those affected and the practice was dropped. This and similar examples was provided verbally in a meeting in 1992 with an ex-Chief of the Order, Francis Salt.

[973] Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 240.

the third Order'.[974] It seems hardly plausible that Brodie-Innes, an astute Barrister as well as an Order Chief, would provide such respect to a junior member solely on the basis of such an announcement and, as will be shown later, it would appear that Felkin's increasing importance in both Orders began at least two years prior to this 1902 correspondence.[975]

Judged by either occult or mundane standards Robert William Felkin; M.D.; L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.E., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.E. was a remarkable and enigmatic man who played many different roles in his life. In a biography still in preparation Connal Townsend writes:

> Robert Felkin was a consulting physician and general practitioner, mentor and comforter to the middle class residents of Havelock North; an expert on tropical diseases; a colour therapist; missionary and African explorer; friend of politicians and poets, lay preacher and a pillar of the established Church of England. He was also a wizard, an alchemist, ritual magician, and the last head of the most famous and influential magical fraternity of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[976]

In a letter dated 1 November 1934, one of the Chiefs from the Hermes Temple in Bristol, Mrs Hope Hughes provided a description of Felkin to the Temple's newest Second Order member, Israel Regardie, who subsequently achieved notoriety in the eyes of the Order by, a mere three months after his abrupt resignation in December

---

[974] Ibid.

[975] Felkin was a member of Florence Farr's secretive small group within the Order known as 'the Sphere Group'which was under the guidance of Farr's astral teacher, 'The Egyptian'. This group was bitterly resented by W. B. Yeats and others, and was to be a factor contributing to the break-up of the Golden Dawn. Material on this group appears in Darcy Kuntz (ed.), *The Enochian Experiments of the Golden Dawn* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996) and Mary K. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn.*

[976] Connal Townsend's manuscript of a biography of Dr. Felkin still in preparation, pp. 1-2. It is presumed that in referring to Felkin as being 'a pillar of the established Church of England' he is alluding to Felkin's active membership of the Church while living in the United Kingdom. Felkin was also a keen member of the Church of England during his final years in New Zealand.

1934, betraying his Obligations and the Order through publishing its secrets in the first of several books.[977]

> F.R. (Felkin) happened to be a many sided personality. He could be a pagan priest and magician with a touch of the witch-doctor about him. He could also be an orthodox churchman as witness the little paper about the Sacraments. He held that the Church was the lineal descendent of the Mysteries and that the way of initiation was there for those who would look for it in a large enough spirit. He thought, possibly wrongly, that the Kabbalist should try to open the eyes of the Christians to their heritage, so that the world might be saved from what he saw at that time was coming to it.[978]

Born in Nottingham in 1853, Felkin was educated at Wolverhampton Grammar School until the age of sixteen when family financial pressures obliged him to leave to work initially in a Wolverhampton railway office and then, to further his career, for five years, as a trainee factory manager in Chemnitz, a city then located in the Kingdom of Saxony. Since a childhood meeting with the famous explorer David Livingstone, who had inspired the boy with tales of the 'Dark Continent' of Africa, Felkin's ambition had been to train as a doctor and become an explorer. Despite the unpromising start to his desired career and future, after returning to London in 1876 Felkin began studying medicine part-time while working in a factory and then as a tutor. Throughout his life Felkin seemed blessed by fortuitous meetings with influential and important people who

---

[977] Letter in a private collection. Notwithstanding Regardie's stated justification for publishing the documents of the Order he had sworn to keep secret it is revealing that in his *My Rosicrucian Adventure* he states 'Almost a year has elapsed since I first discussed...my instinct that this disclosure was necessary'. As this comment is dated by Regardie, 'February 1935' and he delivered his unexpected resignation to the Chiefs in December 1934, only a few months after his initiation into the Second Order, it is abundantly clear that he had every intention of breaking his sworn obligations even before he took them. In a letter to Ithell Colquhoun, dated 22 Nov. 1974, Regardie claims he 'never made a penny from the publication of the Golden Dawn' as he 'was swindled' by his publisher. Private collection.

[978] This letter is part of a large collection of unpublished letters to and from Regardie, which is in a private collection in New York.

were often able to assist him. One such chance meeting at this time was with the prominent Missionary, Alexander Murdock Mackey (1849-1890), who had returned to Britain from Africa to conduct a lecture tour of British cities to raise support for future African missions.[979] This led to Felkin being accepted by the Church Missionary Society as an unqualified medical missionary for work in Uganda. Amongst numerous adventures of a striking kind Felkin is said to have been the 'first white man to measure the pygmies of Central Africa'; one of the last men to have seen his friend General Gordon (of Khartoum) alive before being slain by the 'Mad Mahdi'; and the first white man to see both sources of the White Nile.[980]

Felkin returned to Britain in 1881 and resumed his medical studies, first in Edinburgh and then in Germany at the University of Marburg, where he qualified as Doctor of Medicine in 1885 and which qualified him for his licentiates from the British Royal College of Surgeons and the Royal College of Surgeons of Scotland.[981] He practised as a physician over the subsequent twenty-five years in Edinburgh and London, as well as lecturing on tropical diseases and allied subjects throughout Europe and Britain. He wrote several books during this period, contributed to various periodicals, gave talks to several church groups, and participated in meetings to discuss 'Bible-Readings'.[982] He also found time to join, along with his first wife Mary, whom he had married in 1882, the Scottish Lodge of the Theosophical Society and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.[983] They were initiated in the Edinburgh temple of 'Amon-Ra' on 12 March 1894 as Frater Finem Respice and Soror Per Aspera Ad

---

[979] Connal Townsend. Untitled draft biography of Felkin, pp. 12-13.
[980] Details of Felkin's early African experiences appear in Harriot Felkin's serialised biography of Dr. Felkin , 'A Wayfaring Man' in *The Lantern,* 1936-1949, especially Vol.1, Number 3 (1936). See also Townsend, Chapter Two. Some of Felkin's medical work in Africa is covered in *Medical History,* 3, No. 1 (1959). Material on Felkin also appears in *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 1, 454 (1885).
[981] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', pp. 11-12, 33-34; Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, pp. 157-158; An unpublished set of diary notes by Felkin recording major events in his life, including examinations passed, is in a private collection.
[982] Harriot Felkin, 'A Wayfaring Man', *The Lantern,* I, Nos. 4, 5 (1937); A notebook of Dr. Felkin's studies of bible readings survives, including handwritten cards of meetings attended in 1891. Private collection.
[983] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 168; Kuntz, *The Golden Dawn Source Book*, p. 189.

Astra.[984] Amon-Ra had been opened only nine months previously and included amongst its very small membership the City Astronomer of Edinburgh, William Peck, Professor Andrew Reebles Aitken (1843-1904) from Edinburgh University, and Dr. George Dickson, F.R.C.S.Ed., father of the previously mentioned Dr. W. E. Carnegie Dickson, who became President of the Royal Medical Society, and later senior Chief of the Amoun Temple of the Stella Matutina.[985]

By the end of 1896 Dr. and Mary Felkin had entered the Second Order and transferred from the Amon-Ra Temple in Edinburgh to the 'mother-temple', Isis-Urania in London.[986] This move coincided with the beginning of considerable tensions within the group of senior members, and these were to lead directly to its formal dissolution in 1903 and reformulation into three main splinter groups.[987] The two groups which rejected the leadership of Mathers and contained the large majority of members, were renamed the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina and the Holy Order of the Golden Dawn which were led respectively by Felkin and A. E. Waite. For a brief period these two groups worked together under the common and equivalent title of the 'Hermetic Order of the Morgenrőthe'.[988]

Apart from the personal ambitions of both Waite and Felkin to lead their own groups, the essential difference between their approaches to the Order was that whereas Felkin and his supporters wished to retain and preserve its magical orientation, Waite was determined to minimise, if not discard, the magical aspect and replace it with a mystical emphasis.[989] This distinction did not entail, however, the implication that a

---

[984] Ibid.
[985] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 37-38.
[986] Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 240.
[987] The break-up of the original Golden Dawn has been discussed at length in many works. See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*; Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn*; and the several works of Gilbert listed in the bibliography.
[988] See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*; Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook*. Early documents of both Waite's and Felkin's faction show them both using the name *Morgenrőthe* as an alternate name for their own Orders.
[989] Gilbert, *A. E. Waite: Magician of Many Parts*, pp. 116-123; Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, pp. 220-230; Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 252-255. Waite's unpublished '*Ordo R.R.et A.C.*-

mystical or even orthodox religious interpretation of the Order's mysteries was neglected or considered unimportant in Felkin's Stella Matutina. On the contrary, it is apparent from all of Felkin's work, and from many of his Order's rituals and teachings, that an esoteric and mystical Christian interpretation was as fundamental to Felkin as it was to Waite.[990] But it is clear from Waite's many revisions of the rituals and eventual replacement of the Holy Order of the Golden Dawn by the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross, that he did not accept the validity of the magical approach.[991] A 'Concordat' was drawn up between the two Orders in April 1907 and they worked together in a degree of cooperation until 1912 when differences caused the final split.[992] A legacy of their cooperation, however, can be seen in the Order papers known as 'Allocutions', which were written by Waite for each Grade, and were retained as official documents by the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple until its closure in 1978.[993]

A criticism levelled by Waite against Felkin, and subsequently echoed in one form or another by several modern commentators, was his supposed 'recurring confusion of psychic dreams with events of daily life'.[994] This is a reference to Felkin's propensity to rely on 'information' as factual which he had received during his occult and magical work and from his putative communications with such disincarnate beings as Ara Ben Shemesh and the 'Secret Chiefs' of the Third Order.[995] Waite considers this trait to be worthy of 'derision' and while this may be an expected and not unreasonable response from anyone outside the Order it is difficult to see the grounds for Waite's criticism

---

The Testimonies of Frater Finem Respice', transcribed 1915, also contain valuable information on the relations between Felkin and Waite.

[990] This is particularly apparent in many of the Stella Matutina papers and in other material Felkin wrote, such as his *The Sacramental System* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1918) which he read at an Anglican Missionary Society conference in Wellington.

[991] Waite's Holy Order of the Golden Dawn closed in 1914 and many of his members transferred to the Stella Matutina. See the references in note 121 and Gilbert's *Golden Dawn Companion*, pp. 33, 175.

[992] Ibid.

[993] These 'Allocutions' are attached at the end of each of the Stella Matutina rituals used by Smaragdum Thalasses. It is not know whether they were used by the English temples. They remain unpublished although Gilbert has published the 'Allocution' for the Adeptus Minor Grade in *Hermetic Papers of A.E. Waite: The Unknown Writings of a Modern Mystic*, pp. 150-153.

[994] Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, p. 221; Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 259-262.

[995] Ibid. The same view is expressed, in the context of her conspiracy theories, within Stoddart's *Light-bearers of Darkness*. See also Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 127-133.

when it could equally be applied to virtually every aspect of the Order's teaching and practice.[996] Certainly, it has equal force against many of Felkin's contemporaries within the Golden Dawn and other esoteric, if not religious, groups.[997] The particular context of Waite's remark was the search for the 'genuine', and possibly Rosicrucian, origins of the Golden Dawn, along with the often allied attempts to confirm the existence of the 'Secret Masters' believed to guide the Order, and make contact with them.[998]

Felkin's search for these ends led him, and some of his trusted followers, to Germany on a number of occasions and he subsequently believed that through the contacts he had made and experiences undergone, he had found the proof he and his Order required.[999] Amongst the more important of these contacts was the Austrian esoteric philosopher, Rudolf Steiner. At the time of the most significant meetings between the two men in 1910, that is to say, significant from Felkin's perspective, Steiner was developing his own esoteric views of occultism and Christianity and in the process of breaking away from the Theosophical Society then under the influence of Annie Besant and Charles Leadbeater.[1000] According to Waite, Steiner met with members of Felkin's Order and attended at least one Stella Matutina ceremony during his first trip to London in 1912, and conversely, Felkin and others attended some ritualistic meetings of Steiner's group in Germany.[1001] There is no evidence that Felkin's views left any discernable trace in Steiner's occult philosophy, and the precise nature and extent of the influence which Steiner's views exerted for a period over Stella

---

[996] Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, p. 221.

[997] The notion of receiving spiritual guidance from either supernatural sources or 'advanced' 'Masters' is a feature of both orthodoxy and such heterodox movements as Theosophy and Anthroposophy. Throughout his writings Waite professes admiration for the 'inspired' writings of many such religious 'seers'.

[998] See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 261-268 and King, *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 127-133.

[999] Although Felkin's search for the origins of the Order are largely outside of scope of this study some additional material, where relevant, is presented in the next chapter concerned mainly with the Cromlech Temple.

[1000] See note [redacted] 1002.

[1001] Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, pp. 223-224.

Matutina philosophy remain a matter of speculation.[1002] It is clear, however, that some practices and ideas derived from Steiner were incorporated into the Stella Matutina doctrine, specifically the rituals Felkin wrote for four highest Grades of the Order.[1003] Although the close relations between the Stella Matutina and Anthroposophy weakened in the English temples following the death of Dr. Felkin in 1926, it remained stronger for a lengthier period within the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple and Anthroposophical concepts were included in the eclectic mix of esoteric philosophy that proved, for a period, so attractive to the Anglicans and Quakers of the Society of the Southern Cross.[1004]

As part of an explanation as to why a system of magical practices, espoused in a secret society, should hold the appeal it did for so many orthodox Anglo-Catholics and devout Quakers, it is highly probable that one factor was the charismatic personality of Dr. Felkin. Ellwood notes wryly that 'this level of success in recruiting presumably hardheaded graziers and businessmen and their kin, followed by getting them in class week after week to meditate and chant the names of angels, certainly suggests that Felkin was a man of considerable authority and ability as well as metaphysical vision'[1005] This is also alluded to by his second wife Harriot who noted that after his death many of the more prominent members drifted away from the Order.[1006] In her letter to Regardie, referred to earlier, Hope Hughes writes similarly of this aspect, stating that Felkin's 'large and heterogeneous' following 'were held by his personal

---

[1002] There are few indications within Stella Matutina documentation that Rudolf Steiner's philosophy exercised any significant influence over the development of the Stella Matutina. While Felkin was clearly very impressed by Steiner and sought advanced teachings on the higher Grades of the Order from him, there is no documentary evidence that Felkin's views on Christianity, esoteric or otherwise, were influenced by Steiner. This subject is further addressed in Chapter Nine.

[1003] Influences within the Stella Matutina which are traceable to Steiner include a set of so-called 'Processes' which were individually drawn up for each member, based on the positioning of that individual's 'alignment of Chakras' and the state of their 'etheric aura'. Because an individual was never supposed to discuss his or her unique pattern and 'Process' with another, knowledge of the system was largely lost after the death of Mrs. Felkin. They were apparently also in use within the English temples, because a surviving set has comments written by an English Chief. Steiner influence is apparent to some degree in the symbology of the Stella Matutina higher Grades, and this will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

[1004] Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 308.

[1005] Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn*, pp. 177-178.

[1006] Her comments are contained in an Equinox address to members. Private collection.

magnetism, and scattered as soon as he left'.[1007] Even Waite, who is sparing in his praise of any of his contemporaries, grudgingly acknowledges Felkin's extraordinary character, and concludes:

> It remains only to add (a) that we parted good friends; (b) that to the last day of my life I shall always regard him as a first class medical man and remember that I had his help in this respect; (c) that if I had called him from the Antipodes as the only person who could save my life, I verily believe that he would have come to me at all costs, without money and without price.[1008]

Smaragdum Thalasses

Dr. Felkin, wife and daughter arrived in New Zealand in early December 1912 approximately two weeks following the conclusion of the Havelock Shakespearean pageant. In a period of slightly less than three months the three of them established and consecrated the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple and initiated twenty-four members, with twelve being taken rapidly through six different Grade ceremonies before proceeding to the Second Order. Even allowing for the probability that members were admitted in groups of, perhaps, three or four at a time this must have been a demanding schedule involving at least thirty separate ceremonies, each of which could have taken between two and three hours to perform. The first ceremony of Neophyte requires a complement of seven temple officers to perform and all of these roles had to be undertaken by the three Felkins. Because the permanent temple was still in the early stages of construction the ceremonies were performed in the dining room of a small house set aside for the

---

[1007] Letter from Hope Hughes to Regardie dated 1 November 1934. Private collection.
[1008] Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, p. 223

Felkins' use during their stay.[1009] In her record of this period Mrs Felkin stated that before these ceremonies could take place 'we set to work and made the robes and furniture'.[1010]

Another arrangement made before Felkin departed for New Zealand on 12 October 1912 was drawing up a written Warrant for the New Temple. This authorized the 'three Very Honoured Fratres, Piscator Hominum, Kiora, and Lux Tenebris to form and rule both the Inner and Outer Orders of the R.R. et A.C. and the Stella Matutina in New Zealand and Australasia'.[1011] These three were Reginald Gardner, Mason Chambers, and the third was probably Harold Large but might also have been Mason's brother, Thomas Chambers. At the time of his first visit Felkin did not anticipate returning to New Zealand at a future date and thus considerable time had to be devoted to instructing and training the new Chiefs in the magical work of the Order, as well as its governance. At some point shortly after the visitors' arrival the members of the Society of the Southern Cross being considered for initiation were gathered together and addressed by Felkin, his wife and daughter, each of whom described in the most basic terms some aspect of the Order system and what it would mean for the members. In his 'Preliminary Address 1912' Dr. Felkin sets the scene by providing his understanding of the Order and its relationship with Christianity. As this was almost certainly the first time the small gathering of Anglicans, Quakers and Theosophists would have heard about the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina and its 'magical Christianity', it is worth citing from Felkin's speech in some length:[1012]

[1009] Harriot Felkin, 'Address by M.C. (i.e. Mrs Felkin) in the Big Room On Recent History of the Order'. an unpublished address dated 1954 which was delivered to temple members in the large room; Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 15.

[1010] Ibid.

[1011] This 'Warrant' is in a private collection. It has been reproduced by Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 269.

[1012] These unpublished addresses appear in a surviving notebook of an unknown member of the Smaragdum Thalasses temple. The notebook appears to have been written in the 1930s. The three addresses have the following prefatory comment: 'Bear in mind when reading these addresses that they were delivered on the occasion of the Chiefs' first visit to Havelock. This was in 1912 and was but of brief duration, the Chiefs returning to England before finally settling in this country'. Private collection.

We claim to bring to you the Message of Western Occultism as descended from the Middle Ages and a part of the very fascinating message which, during the past 30-35 years, has come from the East to the West. The message we bring is this… that in the Catholic or Christian Church, as in every great religion that the world has ever known, there is an esoteric as well as exoteric side. We want to try and set forth this esoteric teaching which has been ignored for so very long.

It was said to our Lord: -- 'Lord, how is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us and not unto the World?' The reply was that the disciples were chosen for this esoteric manifestation… The Mysteries of Jesus and the Christian Mysteries are alluded in the Patristic writings of the early centuries, and it may be noted that at the time when our Lord incarnated there were many mysteries in vogue, so that the mass of the people well knew what was intended…[1013]

Felkin provides several biblical references alluding to the esoteric teaching, distinguishing the 'milk for babes' from the 'strong meat for men', noting that the 'Hidden Church may once more materialise and manifest' and that the means for this materialisation in New Zealand would be placed in the hands of those present by the 'Mystic Methods and Formulae' which 'we are permitted to bring to you' and which 'we shall provide for your use'. Stressing the antiquity of a system of 'study, of Ceremony, of Ritual, and of training' which had 'been at work in Europe since 1250'

Also of interest is the fact that a formal 'Trust deed' was drawn up for Smaragdum Thalasses under the name 'Whare Ra' and dated September 1913. It is signed by the Quakers, Mason Chambers, Margaret Chambers, the younger John Chambers and Reginald Gardner. No sign of its esoteric purpose is revealed in the text which states, inter alia, the group is formed 'for the purposes of instituting carrying on or developing such scientific religious charitable and similar work as the trustees shall in this discretion deem expedient and also for the purpose of aiding and assisting the carrying out or developing of literary work in all its branches and crafts work…' Whare Ra Trust Deed dated 1 September 1913 in the possession of Mark von Dadelszen. Quoted in Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, p. 157.

[1013] Ibid. The pages are unpaginated.

Felkin acknowledges that the preparatory work has already been 'so nobly done in Havelock during the past five years'. This, Felkin states, was laying down the essential foundation for building 'a Temple fit for the development of a Centre of Light, Life and Love'. The division of the system into three 'Societies' or Orders is described discreetly by Felkin with the First, or 'Outer', 'teaching the A.B.C. of methods' and testing members for their suitability for admittance into the Second or Inner Order where the more intensive spiritual work occurs, and he adds, 'There is a Third Order but that is not for you at present'.[1014]

The importance of secrecy is stressed repeatedly in all three 'Preliminary Addresses' and Dr. Felkin provides various reasons for its need, concluding that 'the chatter about Holy things is the curse of the present age'. He also gives attention to anticipated Quaker misgivings regarding ritual and ceremony, noting:

> Now as to Ceremonial: we are obliged to use Ceremonial at first for very good reasons. Some people object to it, but I doubt if when they know more about it their objections will hold good. To those who are in doubt I say – just wait and see. Do not reject what may be of great value. I quite admit that by contemplation and Quietism alone great things may be gained, and we do employ these methods in their proper place.[1015]

While this intensive programme of ritual ceremony and training of the twenty-four new initiates was occurring the building of the permanent temple was also underway. This unique structure was not completed until late 1913 although the first part of the structure was consecrated before the Felkins returned to England in February 1913.[1016]

[1014] Ibid.
[1015] Ibid.
[1016] Siers, *James Walter Chapman-Taylor in the Hawke's Bay 1913-1922*, pp. 10-11; Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 15.

The temple building, known as 'Whare Ra' was the first reinforced concrete building in the district, with solid walls of more than a foot thick, and a four-inch thick concrete roof. The underground temple and connected seven-sided vault were built first and served as the foundation for the rest of the house consisting of a large room for meetings, living quarters and several 'cells,' or spartan bedrooms, for members wishing to stay overnight and meditate prior to taking a higher Grade.[1017] The architect, James Chapman-Taylor, who was a member of the Order for more than 40 years, disliked typical New Zealand structures as being ' flimsy and soulless' and had firm views on the nature and purpose of a building:[1018]

Within the Whare Ra building Chapman-Taylor combined the concrete with the solid Australian hardwood Jarrah which he used for beams, frames and doors all of which were hand-adzed. Window frames, hinges and door handles were made of heavy iron and bear the hammer marks of the blacksmith. As the foundational temple and vault are built on the ridge of a slope only the top floor, is visible from the street. Various occult symbols are carved into the wood at certain points and under each gable of the tiled roof was a window in the shape of a 'Tau Cross'. Entrance to the Temple by the candidate for initiation was effected by a secret staircase leading from a large wardrobe housed in a room designated as Dr. Felkin's surgery but rarely used for this purpose. The candidate was required to sit in the surgery until directed by an Order member to enter the wardrobe and walk down some stairs.[1019] Halfway down the stairs,

---

[1017] Ibid; Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, pp. 162-164. Information from personal interviews with several ex-members.

[1018] Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, pp. 94-95. Chapman-Taylor remarked: 'Even in cottages, it is possible to put stone and bricks and wood together so that they become endowed with spiritual qualities. The whole is made greater than the parts and may convey to the human soul a message deeper than words'. James Chapman-Taylor, quoted in Siers, *James Walter Chapman-Taylor in the Hawke's Bay 1913-1922*, p. 10.

[1019] Information from personal interviews with eight ex-members. It has been speculated that the manner of the candidate's entrance into the temple might have inspired C. S. Lewis' motif of a wardrobe being the entrance to a 'magical world'. This is based partly on the probability that Felkin discussed 'Whare Ra' with Waite, and the possibility that Waite passed on this information to the novelist and theologian Charles Williams who was a member of Waite's Order. Williams is known to have been very interested in the Golden Dawn and to have had considerable influence over Lewis. For Williams involvement in Waite's Order see Gavin Ashenden, *Charles Williams: Alchemy & Integration* (Kent, Ohio:Kent State

where the candidate was required to await further instructions, was a landing, known as 'the Cave', lined with hessian curtains on which Egyptian figures were worked in light blue. After an interval of time the candidate was met by two Temple officers dressed in robes and Egyptian headdresses, blind-folded by one of them, and then led into the temple where the ceremony of initiation began.[1020]

One such initiate was Francis G. Salt who was initiated into the Order in 1936 and remained in it for some 40 years, passing through most of the Grades and eventually becoming a Chief in 1959. Salt was a devout Anglo-Catholic and the son of the Reverend Cecil George Salt (1888-1967), Anglican Vicar of the Dioceses of Matawi, Waiapu and of Opitiki. The Reverend Salt and his wife Dora, were both keen and long-serving members of the Order, as was also their daughter Joan Catherine Salt who visited the English temples of the Stella Matutina in the 1930s.[1021] The elder Salt was instrumental in having his son enter the Order by inviting Francis to accompany him on a trip to attend the Anglican Synod held in Napier, a town fairly close to Havelock North. By a clear pre-arrangement the young Salt was billeted at 'Whare Ra' with Mrs. Felkin and daughter while the Reverend Salt stayed with Reginald Gardner. In his unpublished memoir of Smaragdum Thalasses Francis Salt writes of the close questioning he underwent by the Felkins about his spiritual aspirations. He was asked about his interest in the 'Egyptian Mysteries' and the types of books he enjoyed reading. A few days later he was asked to visit the Felkins again and was told that there was a successor to the Egyptian Mysteries which Dr. Felkin had brought to New Zealand.

University Press, 2008); Thomas Willard, 'Acts of the Companions: A.E.Waite's Fellowship of the Rosy Cross and the Novels of Charles Williams', in *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York: AMS Press, 1995), pp.269-302; Elisabeth Brewer, 'Charles Williams and Arthur Edward Waite', in *An Anglo-American Literary Review,* 4 (1983), 54-67. An alternative route for the information to have reached Lewis is via W. B.Yeats whom he met on two occasions and who is reported to have greatly impressed Lewis. Yeats knew about the Whare Ra temple and it is very probable that Yeats was aware of the means of entrance. See Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1974), p.67.

[1020] Francis Gilbert Salt, *My Order Memories.* An unpublished and unpaginated typescript of 26 pages, circa 1992, by an ex-Chief of the Smaragdum Thalasses temple.

[1021] Personal letter from Salt, 10 November 1992.

Young Salt immediately agreed to an invitation from Mrs. Felkin to join and his ceremony of initiation followed shortly after. His memoir notes the deep impact the ceremony had on him, particularly the experience of 'emerging into a magical world, having entered it through a wardrobe'.[1022]

> On being led by the hand, blindfolded and wondering, into what felt like a large hall -- incense was very strong -- I had a sudden feeling -- 'I have come home'. It was very silent, until clear voices spoke, then there was movement… in the total darkness. The atmosphere was very intense, one felt almost as if in outer space, with spiritual forces flickering about one. A sense of deep reverence -- even awe -- as one was led many short distances. It was an 'other worldly' experience, as if being part of a heavenly host among the stars. I was asked to take a solemn obligation, which I did very sincerely, as a personal consecration to the Divine Science…[1023]

In February 1913 Dr. Felkin and Harriot Felkin returned to Britain, while their daughter Ethelwyn remained for a further two months to provide extra assistance and guidance. It had been the hope of all concerned that this concentrated period of intense occult work and the unusually rapid advance of several members through the different Grades would, with continued assistance given by mail, be sufficient to allow the small group to grow and develop spiritually, and to instruct others.[1024] It is likely that the fledgling Smaragdum Thalasses Temple received a boost in late 1913 through a further Anglican Mission made to New Zealand by Fathers Fitzgerald and Rees and that the former, in particular, brought instructions and advice from Dr. Felkin and was able to provide more explicit guidance now that so many of the Havelock group were fully

---

[1022] Salt, *My Order Memories*.
[1023] Ibid.
[1024] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 15.

initiated.[1025] Von Dadelszen states that after a period of just over two years the leadership of Smaragdum Thalasses began to falter and felt in further need of direct assistance: 'the small group left in charge in Havelock North found it difficult to carry on without the leadership and guidance of those more experienced than themselves. So, in 1916, the three pioneers from England, were persuaded to return and settle permanently in Havelock North'.[1026]

The offer made to Dr. Felkin included a permanent home and a guaranteed 'reserve income' for the family, made possible by the generosity of the Quakers John and Mason Chambers who paid for the Felkins' travel and the buildings, house and grounds which constituted Whare Ra.[1027] The return of the Felkins in September 1916 clearly provided a significant boost to the stability and growth of the Stella Matutina in New Zealand. One year later, in September 1917, Felkin proudly wrote to William Westcott, as one of the two major founders of the Golden Dawn and head of the Societas Rosicruciania in Anglia, that the Smaragdum Thalasses temple now had twenty members in the Second Order, thirty-four in the First Order, and ten people waiting to join. Noting that this expanded membership included a Bishop, Felkin writes, 'Not bad, is it?'[1028]

The bishop in question was the Right Reverend William Walmsley Sedgwick (1858-1948). Born in Hampshire and educated at Cambridge, Bishop Sedgwick had a number of clerical appointments in Britain, which included being private Chaplain to the Earl of Home at 'the Hirsel Coldstream diocese, Edinburgh', before migrating to New Zealand in 1901. He was vicar at several dioceses in New Zealand, organising secretary for the 1908 Pan Anglican Congress, and in 1910 was part of the Anglican

---

[1025] Rees, *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff*, pp. 66-76.
[1026] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 15.
[1027] Isaac, *Tauhara*, p. 30, Brodie and Brodie, 'Spiritual Ferment', p. 307; Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 15.
[1028] Unpublished letter in private collection.

Mission of Help for the New Zealand Church.[1029] Undoubtedly, he had close contact with Fathers Fitzgerald and Rees during the Mission when he would also have likely met Reginald Gardner and members of the Havelock Work. In this context, on 22 February 1914 he succeeded Bishop Averill as Bishop of Waiapu who had previously hosted the meeting when Father Fitzgerald extended his offer to help the Havelock North group.[1030]

Other than the fact of his membership little is known of Bishop Sedgwick's magical career within the Stella Matutina. It can be presumed, however, that his involvement provided sanction, if not encouragement, to other Anglican priests in the area to also join the Order. As the membership roll for the Order in New Zealand has not survived it cannot be determined with any precision how many did in fact join. Random surviving documents do reveal that at least two vicars of St. Luke's in Havelock North were members, as was Archdeacon Joseph B. Brocklehurst (1877-1957) who was educated in Manchester where he was ordained as priest, and emigrated to New Zealand in 1907. Between 1919 and 1920 he was vicar at Hastings, Waiapu diocese, a town situated only a few miles from Havelock North.[1031] Francis Salt has reported his father, the Reverend Gilbert Salt, as telling him that during the years following the arrival of Dr. Felkin, several vicars and many parishioners from churches in the Waiapu area were ardent members of the Order.[1032] According to Mrs Harriot Felkin in later years, several of the prominent Order members, who included General Sir Andrew Russell, Lord Jellicoe, Governor General of New Zealand, and Archdeacon Brocklehurst, departed the Order on the death of Dr. Felkin. Whether Bishop Sedgwick was one of this group is not known, but it would seem that the Order retained some appeal for Anglican clergy beyond Felkin's demise as there is firm evidence that on 9

[1029] Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy in the Pacific. It is not clear from the Directory reference whether the diocese is that of Edinburgh or a Coldstream Church within the Edinburgh diocese.
[1030] Ibid.
[1031] Ibid. Brocklehurst is mentioned specifically in an Equinox address given by Mrs. Felkin in the 1950s.
[1032] Personal communication from Salt.

July 1956 Bishop Wirema N. Panapa (1898-1970) was initiated as a Neophyte into the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple.[1033] Bishop Panapa was a Maori with special responsibilities for Maori issues within the Anglican Church. His serving in the Waiapu diocese is again a common feature with the other New Zealand priests joining the Order, for between 1951 and 1967 the Right Reverend Panapa was Bishop of Aotearoa, Suffragan to the Bishop of Waiapu.[1034]

It seems possible, or even probable, that the relatively significant number of New Zealand clergy from the Waiapu diocese joining the Stella Matutina would have been known at least to their brother clergy in the Community of the Resurrection, if not to some senior members of the Church hierarchy in England or New Zealand. The key involvement of the Fathers Rees and Fitzgerald, along with Felkin's friendship with Bishop Frere, would appear to support this. Bishop Sedgwick was closely involved in the preparations for both Missions to New Zealand and there is an indication he made contact with the Community of the Resurrection during a year long visit to England between February 1911 and February 1912.[1035] Bishop Panapa apart, it is also apparent that the impetus for Anglo-Catholics to join Smaragdum Thalasses declined, if not disappeared, in much the same manner as it did in England from the late 1920s onwards. The reasons for this are likely to include several factors which are discussed towards the end of this study. Undoubtedly, however, they will include such local factors as the removal of Dr. Felkin's influential personality upon his death, a broader change in societal interest away from occultism and mystical spirituality, and a reaction against Anglo-Catholic ritualism, especially in New Zealand.[1036]

[1033] Mrs. Felkin's handwriting appears on a 1956 Equinox report stating, 'Please come to Bishop Panapa's 0=0 on Monday July 9. Mark the date !'. Panapa is remembered by several ex-members who recall an exorcism he performed on a site supposedly haunted by Maori spirits.
[1034] Blair Biographical Directory.
[1035] Ibid. John Von Dadelszen informed me in an interview in 1987 that Sedgwick had made contact with Father Fitzgerald 'for Order purposes'.
[1036] Blain's Biographical Directory. Bishop Simkin, who was previously Archdeacon of Hawke's Bay and Mission Chaplain to Waiapu 1918-1926, was said by ex-members of Smaragdum Thalasses, to be 'High Church' yet opposed to Anglo-Catholic ritualism.

But while Dr. Felkin's death in 1926 led to several prominent members leaving the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple it did not endanger the existence of the Order either in New Zealand or in England. If the sources of Wright are correct the New Zealand temple was to grow and reach its peak of '100 Inner Order and 200 Outer Order members' in 1930.[1037] Although subject to almost complete deafness and poor health Harriot Felkin proved a very competent leader and was held in high regard not merely by the Order members and local acquaintances but also by 'the leaders, and other prominent people, of many different schools of thought in various parts of the world'.[1038] These included, besides numerous Anglican church figures, such Theosophists as the clairvoyant Geoffrey Hodson (1886-1983), who visited her on more than one occasion, several Anthroposophists, Asia's first Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and even the notorious Aleister Crowley, who wrote a 'private letter' to her in 1945.[1039] The English temples were governed independently by the time of Felkin's death but Harriot Felkin was still considered the most senior Chief of the Order and she encouraged close contact between them. Various senior members from both countries exchanged visits and all three Chiefs of the Hermes Temple in Bristol travelled to New Zealand in the 1930s and again in the 1950s.[1040]

In August 1936 Harriot Felkin began a small monthly journal of some twelve pages called *The Lantern* which was almost entirely written by her, apart from the editorial provided by Reginald Gardner. Although the articles range over many occult, spiritual and mystical subjects the predominant theme remains an esoteric interpretation of Christianity, including lengthy serial articles such as 'Jesus and His Friends', 'Joseph

---

[1037] Wright, *Havelock North: The History of a Village*, p. 165.
[1038] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 16.
[1039] Von Dadelszen, 'The Havelock Work 1909-39', p. 16. It was claimed by Salt and other ex-members that Hodson was anxious to obtain as much occult information as he could from Mrs. Felkin during his visit. Several ex-members have stated that Tagore corresponded with both Dr. and Mrs Felkin. Copies of all Tagore's works formed part of the Felkin library. These are now in a private collection. See Kenneth Grant, *Remembering Aleister Crowley* (London: Skoob Books, 1991), p. 37. Apparently Grant was admonished by Crowley for signing a personal letter to Mrs. Felkin on his behalf. Grant advised me in a private letter in 2003 that he could not remember the content of Crowley's letter to Mrs. Felkin.
[1040] Communication from Salt, and references in 1954 Equinox Newletters.

of Arimathea', 'Paul the Apostle', and 'The Church and its Sacraments'. Included was a life of Felkin, entitled 'A Wayfaring Man' which she partly drew from his own notes. Monthly production of *The Lantern* was maintained until July 1944 when it became bi-monthly until August 1944. This was replaced by a lengthy monthly letter for all Order members along with a six-monthly account of the Equinox and Solstice meetings.[1041]

Although little information is available on Smaragdum Thalasses and its membership during the years of the Second World War it is probable that its membership declined considerably, partly no doubt, as a result of so many of the population being called up for war duties. It is assessed that by 1949 there were approximately 100 members, as it is known that the Autumnal Equinox meeting held on a Monday in April was attended by 36 members. Francis Salt has stated that because at least half of the membership lived in towns at a considerable distance from 'Whare Ra', and many could not attend during the week, it was normal to expect attendance from approximately one third of the membership. He recounted Equinox attendance during the 1930s as often reaching nearly one hundred members, confirming the peak membership number of 300.[1042] With the death of Harriot Felkin in 1959 and that of Ethelwyn Felkin in 1962 the Order began a slow decline over the next two decades until its closure.[1043]

One legacy of Smaragdum Thalasses, and of Harriot Felkin, which persists today is the 'Spiritual Centre of Tauhara' which consists of several buildings on five hectares of land, half of which is cultivated parkland and lawns, and half is sloping hillside with walking tracks through native bush. Mrs. Felkin had a vision that a 'centre of spirituality' should be established in the middle of the North Island of New Zealand where people from many different faiths could gather together at various times

---

[1041] Most of these survive in a private collection. Following Mrs. Felkin's death in 1959 the Chiefs continued to produce the newsletters until early 1978.
[1042] Interviews with Salt between 1990 and 1994.
[1043] Further details of the last days of the Smaragdum Thalasses and Hermes Temples are found in Chapter Nine.

throughout the year for retreats, meetings and spiritual healing. The first meeting to establish this centre occurred on 7 January 1939 between members of Smaragdum Thalasses and a prominent Anthroposophist, Charles McDowell. The Order raised the necessary money for the centre, which was later enriched further by the sale of Whare Ra in 1979, and set up a Board of Trustees to administer it, almost all of whom were Order members, including Reginald Gardner, the original 'forerunner'. Described as a 'spiritual treasure' of New Zealand, Tauhara continues to play host to innumerable gatherings and meetings from virtually every conceivable form of orthodox and unorthodox organisation with a spiritual or religious dimension. In reflecting on the legacy of Harriot Felkin, one of the Trustees stated in 1988, 'From our beginnings within a secret society in Havelock North, to the establishing of a physical centre in Taupo... Tauhara has not just been a place to hold gatherings in a magical setting and drink from a rather eccentric heritage. The Trust has also been about a group of people who have... been inspired to contribute to the Tauhara Vision and to allow its challenges to work away through their lives'.[1044]

The 'vision' came to both Harriot and Ethelwyn Felkin in 1939 in a message from 'planes other than the material... and from a source with which I had no communication before'.[1045] In a separate address to the members of Smaragdum Thalasses delivered on 12 December 1949 Harriot Felkin articulated this vision in full, noting that urgent need for 'a Centre where the different methods of approach to Spiritual life and teaching could meet on perfectly friendly and unbiased ground...' and where 'all new teaching, and especially that of Spiritual Wisdom, must be the natural outgrowth of the old... In the past there has been too much separation. In Religion and Science we think we are right and others must be wrong. In the future we believe this will no longer be the

---

[1044] Isaac, *Tauhara*, p. 76.
[1045] 'Notes of Addresses by Mrs. H.M. Felkin and Mr. C.McDowell at the Inaugural Meeting of the Mount Tauhara Estate Group on 7 January, 1939.' Interestingly, for his part, McDowell states he was led to 'this place, originally to Havelock North and to Whare Ra in particular' by Rudolf Steiner. The unpublished and anonymous notes appear in a two page typed manuscript in a private collection.

outlook for sincere seekers; rather they will be prepared to receive the contributions of people of different views'.[1046] To what degree the vision of Mrs. and Miss Felkin has been realised in the present Tauhara institute is outside of the scope of this study but it is clear that the remarkable and unusual heritage of the Centre was originally outlined within the philosophy and theology of Gardner's initial comments made in the very first issue of *The Forerunner*, and which dwelt on unity and diversity.

[1046] 'Lecture on the Mount Tauhara Estate Group: Given by Mrs. Felkin at 'Whare Ra', Havelock North, 12/12/49', three page typed manuscript in a private collection.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE HOLY ORDER OF THE SUN

It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the duties of a devout Anglo-Catholic priest, and particularly those of one occupying a position of importance in the Church, would fully engage his spiritual aspirations, if not his time. Evidently this was not so for some Anglican clergymen and was certainly not the case with regard to Dean Bennett of Chester. Dean Bennett also sought knowledge of the supernatural world through the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, in which he passed examinations in occultism, enabling him to progress through seven separate Grades in order to become a practising magician of the Rosicrucian Second Order.[1047] But even this time-consuming activity, involving the taking of 'sacred oaths', which must have required a considerable degree of introspection alongside his clerical obligations and family duties, was apparently still not enough for the Dean. For he also joined the Cromlech Temple of the Holy Order of the Sun, another secret occult group which was run in tandem with the Golden Dawn and its immediate successor Orders.[1048]

Whereas much still remains unknown about the Golden Dawn, and many unanswered questions about its complicated history await further scholarly research, the Cromlech Temple presents an even bigger task for the historian of ideas. Very little information has been published on this mysterious Order, and almost none on its

---

[1047] See Chapter 6. Details of Bennett's membership appear in a set of Stella Matutina indices that have yet to be published. Bennett was evidently active in promoting the Anglo-Catholic vision of the Church and he chaired one of the sessions of the Anglo-Catholic Congress in Manchester in 1920 when he was still an active member of the Golden Dawn. See John Gunstone, *Anglo-Catholic Congresses in the Provinces 1920-1934* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2004), p. 8.

[1048] For Bennett's membership of the Cromlech Temple see Francis King (ed.), *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic and Alchemy*, p. 181.

history, leadership or membership.[1049] The leading Golden Dawn scholar, R. A.Gilbert, includes the Cromlech Temple as one of the temples of the Golden Dawn and, noting the paucity of information about it, or other temples after 1903, attributes this to the decline of the Order rather than 'to any success on the part of latter-day members in keeping their secrets'.[1050] Gilbert is almost certainly mistaken in this assumption and, as will be made clear in this chapter, there is evidence that two temples of the Holy Order of the Sun functioned in Britain until around 1960, and a short-lived temple in New Zealand called 'Io-Ana', which was connected with Smaragdum Thalasses, operated between 1963 and 1965.[1051]

Until recently, all that was known publicly about the Sun Order was confined largely to the somewhat sketchy details provided by Francis King in two of his books concerning the Golden Dawn, one of which includes excerpts from several Order documents and the other which provides the full text of ten instructional papers. It is in the first, published in 1970, where the most detailed information is presented in a brief chapter and where King writes:

> As far as I know, there is not a single printed reference to the Cromlech Temple, an esoteric group, having a close fraternal relationship and many members in common with the Golden Dawn, which produced some extremely interesting

---

[1049] Significant explicit references to the Order appear in four books published between 1970 and 1982. Three of these are by Francis King: *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 134 –140, 207-212; *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic and Alchemy*, pp. 181-242; and (with Isabel Sutherland), *The Rebirth of Magic*, pp.135. The fourth is Ithell Colquhoun's *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and 'The Golden Dawn'*, pp. 138, 185, 195. Numerous indirect references appear in Stoddart's *Light-bearers of Darkness*. In June 2008 the occultist writer Chic Cicero produced the article 'By the Holy Light of the Sun: The Magical Workings of the Cromlech Temple', published in the 'e-magazine', *Hermetic Virtues*, Volume II, Edition 1, pp. 2-16. It should be noted that this article draws heavily on the unpublished text of a lecture given by the present writer in Bayonne, New Jersey in May 1998. Text of this lecture and copies of Cromlech papers in the possession of the present writer were made available to Cicero.

[1050] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 43.

[1051] Evidence emerged through the last Chief of the Io-Ana Temple providing documents and verbal information to the present writer between 1993 and 2003. This Chief is aged 86 and currently in a home for the aged in Havelock North, New Zealand. Further details are provided later in this chapter.

papers on the significance of the higher Rosicrucian grades in general and that of the Exempt Adept in particular.[1052]

Little has changed in the years since King's book was published, nearly four decades ago. His subsequent edition of unpublished Golden Dawn and Cromlech papers, which appeared in 1975, includes only the briefest prefatory note referring to the Cromlech Temple, and all subsequent books by King and others, draw on the material published in his first study. Recent access to the rituals of this Order, and to more than one hundred instructional papers, now permit a more detailed appraisal of the Order and its philosophy, thereby addressing, at least in part, one of the most important lacunae in the history of modern esotericism, as well as casting some light on the minutiae of Anglo-Catholicism.[1053] It has also enabled a greater understanding of both published and unpublished original Order material previously utilised by scholars and authors, where specific references to the Holy Order of the Sun were either overlooked or assumed to have been referring to some non-related activities of Golden Dawn members. The prime example of this is Christina Stoddart's *Light-bearers of Darkness* and her unpublished 'Investigations into the Foundations of the Order G.D. and R.R. et A.C. and the Source of its Teachings', where she discourses at length on correspondence between Dr. Felkin and J. W. Brodie-Innes and which can now be seen clearly to refer to the Cromlech Temple of the Sun Order.[1054] Similarly, as will be

---

[1052] King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 134.

[1053] The Cromlech documents currently form part of three substantial collections in private hands. Two of these came from the last Chief of Io-Ana and because of duplicate copies were separated into two collections. It is understood that relatives of another surviving ex-member have recently made available four individual Sun Order papers which have been placed on a webpage. The third collection was originally housed at the University of Texas but is no longer available for public access. A complete list of the latter is extant.

[1054] Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, and *Investigations into the Foundations of the Order G.D. and R.R. et A.C. and the Source of its Teachings.* Without the recent availability of Sun Order material it was not clear to writers such as Howe and Gilbert that Stoddart's numerous comments about Felkin and the Sun Masters were references to the Sun Order. Further material of Stoddart concerning her objections to the Sun Order can be found in documents and correspondence contained in the W. B.Yeats collection, housed at the Dept. of Special Collections, SUNY Library, Stony Brook University, N.Y. Harper draws

argued, the Cromlech papers have now made it possible to provide plausible explanations of some puzzling aspects of the reported breakdown in relations between the Chiefs of the Rosicrucian Order of the A. O. and the well-known occultists Dion Fortune and Paul Foster Case, who had previously been members of this Order.[1055]

Origins: Shemesh and Hakim

King dates the origins of the Order 'at some time between 1890 and 1910' and considers its rituals to have been developed from 'the dormant Masonic body the Sat B'Hai''.[1056] These are curious statements for King to make on two counts. It is evident from numerous Cromlech papers, which King appears to have had access to, that the Order was functioning long before 1910 and indeed King himself provides one such paper which is dated 1890.[1057] Even a cursory examination and comparison of the rituals of the two Orders reveal not the slightest similarity or textual relationship which might lead one to suppose any derivation.[1058] He notes that the Cromlech Temple has merely transformed the rituals by substituting the religious symbolism of ancient Iran for that of the Vedic symbolism found in the Sat B'hai.[1059] While it is true that the latter does employ Vedic symbolism and true to a degree that the Cromlech rituals involve Zoroastrian religious motifs there is no common ground between the rituals of the Orders, whether in terms of structure, locutionary acts, temple furniture or the numbers

---

on a small proportion of this material in his *Yeats's Golden Dawn*. While Yeats appears to sympathise with Stoddart, or at least humour her, his own attitude to the Sun Order does not appear to be known.

[1055] Both Case and Fortune are major figures in the contemporary field of Western esotericism with many modern groups and their associated literature deriving from the works of these occultists. Case's Builders of the Adytum organisation is claimed to have had in excess of 50,000 people subscribing to its correspondence course, which is largely based on Golden Dawn lines. In 1963 the Chiefs of Smaragdum Thalasses met with Ann Davies, Case's successor as Head of B.O.T.A. with a view to merging the two organisations. This floundered because the different approaches of each could not be overcome. See Chapter Ten.

[1056] King, *Ritual Magic in England*, 134.

[1057] Françoise Strachan (ed.), *The Aquarian Guide*, p. 165.

[1058] Rituals and papers of the Sat B'Hai made available to the present writer are in a private collection. For comparative purposes, however, some details of the Sat B'Hai can be found in Ellic Howe, 'Fringe Masonry in England 1870-85', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 85 (1972), 242-295.

[1059] King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 134.

of officers performing the ritual. In fact, as King acknowledges, the Cromlech rituals contain 'a high, mystical, and authentically Gnostic interpretation of Christianity' along with symbolism drawn from the Kabbalah, Mithraism, Grail mythology, and even aspects of the Inca and Shinto faiths.[1060]

Gilbert has stated categorically, but incorrectly, that 'the Order began at Edinburgh in 1896, its Temple there being called the Cromlech Temple; it was Brodie-Innes' creation and it was he who maintained it... When Brodie-Innes died the Solar Order came to an end'.[1061] While we can safely discount, in anything other than a symbolic sense, the Cromlech Temple's self proclaimed pedigree stretching back 'to the time of the Master Jesus', or even before, there is no doubt that it had its modern origin in Edinburgh no later than 1892, as this date appears on some of the original documents.[1062] Numerous Order papers bear dates of the 1890s and, with respect to King's statement, several items of correspondence between William Westcott and J. W. Brodie-Innes regarding the Cromlech Temple have survived which are dated 1896.

But Gilbert is undoubtedly correct that Brodie-Innes is the central figure in the history of this Order and, with two notable and curious exceptions, it does appear in most respects to be entirely his creation. Although born in England, at Downe in Kent where his father was the parish priest, Brodie-Innes was of Scottish ancestry and in 1894 he inherited the family estate of Milton Brodie, at Forres in Morayshire.[1063] His mundane career in the field of law was successful. Graduating from St. John's College, Cambridge, he then studied law at Lincoln's Inn, was called to the Bar in 1876 and he subsequently became an Advocate of the Scottish Bar. Apparently he enjoyed considerable and continued success as a lawyer and his most significant published work

---

[1060] Elements pertaining to numerous mystical religions permeate the rituals and instructions of the Order. The claim is made that advanced members of these faith joined temples of the Sun Order.
[1061] Gilbert, 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh: J. W. Brodie-Innes – Theosophist and Magician'. Unpublished text of talk given by Gilbert in May 1992, p. 10. In the light of information which has surfaced since 1992 when Gilbert wrote the above it is likely that he has revised his views.
[1062] The Sun Order document 'Concerning Initiation: The Mystery of the Sphinx' is dated 26 October 1892. Private collection.
[1063] Gilbert, 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh', pp. 1-2

was 'the massive, thousand page Comparative Principles of the Laws of England and Scotland: Courts and Procedure'.[1064]

Brodie-Innes maintained a legal practice in London after his marriage in 1879 to Frances Annesley Voysney, 'a daughter of the Reverend Charles Voysney who founded the curious Theistic Church at Swallow Street in the West End of London'.[1065] He did not, however, follow his father-in-law in this religious direction for, as Gilbert observes, he remained his entire life 'a staunch Anglo-Catholic and strong supporter of the Episcopal Church of Scotland'.[1066] Nevertheless, like so many other Golden Dawn members, he was clearly an Anglo-Catholic of an unconventional kind. He shared with Dr. Felkin the belief that occultism and Christianity were not merely compatible but that, when truly understood, Christianity was an esoteric religion containing the very highest spiritual truths, and one which provided secret means for its dedicated and most advanced adherents to achieve a close communion with Christ and God. Many of these ideas were presented in an eight-part study he wrote in 1891 for the Theosophical journal *Lucifer* and which were collected in book form and published as *The True Church of Christ, Exoteric and Esoteric* (1982).[1067] His involvement in esoteric religious activities was extensive: in 1889 he joined the Scottish Lodge of the Theosophical Society and shortly thereafter became its President, contributing many papers and articles both to its *Transactions* and to the Theosophical journal, *The Vahan* which appeared between 1891 and 1920 and was edited by the Theosophical scholar G. R. S. Mead.[1068] In much of his writing Brodie-Innes seeks to demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith while still placing emphasis on the great value he sees as residing in

---

[1064] Ibid.
[1065] Ibid.
[1066] Ibid.
[1067] Ibid; Gilbert, *The Sorcerer and His Apprentice*, p.10.
[1068] Gilbert, 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh', pp. 10-11.

Eastern spirituality.[1069] This attempt at a rapprochement between Western and Eastern methods brought him in conflict with some of the leading Theosophical Society members as did his occasional criticisms of Charles Leadbeater and Annie Besant which in many Theosophical circles was behaviour that 'was already on its way to being considered as the sin against the Holy Ghost'.[1070]

In August 1890 Brodie-Innes was initiated as Frater Sub Spe in the Golden Dawn London temple of Isis-Urania.[1071] His initial progress through the early Grades was slower than most and he did not enter the Second Order until April 1893. This was almost certainly because of his move, shortly after his initiation, to his new home in Scotland and regular travel to London would have involved some inconvenience. It was also undoubtedly a factor in his petitioning the Chiefs of Isis-Urania, soon after his wife's initiation in February 1893, requesting a Warrant to open a new temple in Edinburgh. A Charter was issued for the new temple, to be known as Amen-Ra No. 6, and on 19 December 1893 the temple was consecrated by William Westcott. It is understood that this occurred at the headquarters of the Scottish Lodge of the Theosophical Society and most of the thirty-three men and women who joined in the first two years of the temple were also Theosophists.[1072]

At some point during the period 1890-1892 Brodie-Innes either developed or 'received', or was given, the embryonic foundational materials for the Holy Order of the Sun. The unclarity of this situation arises from several factors. What should be made of the puzzling remark of Brodie-Innes to Waite, noted previously, namely that the 'Order

---

[1069] Ibid. Gilbert provides a selection of such papers reflecting this theme in his *Sorcerer's Apprentice.* Brodie-Innes was also a prolific contributor to the journal *The Occult Review* founded in 1905, edited by the Hon. Ralph Shirley (1865-1946) and published by William Rider in London. Correspondences believed to exist between Eastern and Western religious symbols are found in many Cromlech papers and one such, 'The Seven Principles', which appears to be written by Brodie-Innes, formed part of the staple curriculum of both the Stella Matutina and Mathers' Order of Alpha et Omega (A.O.).
[1070] Gilbert, 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh', pp. 10-11.
[1071] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 145.
[1072] Gilbert, 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh', p.10. The prominent role played by Brodie-Innes in the Golden Dawn, and especially in its break-up, is described in many places and is largely outside of the scope of this study. See note 799.

of the Sun Mss. came into the hands of Alto Peto (Isabelle de Steiger) who lent them to Sub Spe (Brodie-Innes) who did not return them saying that A.P. had no right to them whereas he was in communication with the Order and had been received in it'?[1073] Had it been merely a matter of his close friend de Steiger somehow accessing documents of an existing Order which she had no right to, this would hardly seem to warrant mentioning to Waite, nor his recording the fact in his diary. The implication is rather that these were manuscripts Brodie-Innes had not previously seen but whose significance he could recognize. It is evident that de Steiger did not write the papers herself and no likely evidence exists to suggest where she might have obtained them. But this enigmatic diary note of Waite's does suggest that at least some aspect of the Sun Order came originally not from Brodie-Innes but from an external source.

Whether or not this is the case, it does seem reasonably clear that Brodie-Innes was responsible for the majority of the considerable body of Sun Order material which extends to some 150 documents. In terms of the total number of words, these are approximately equivalent to the entire Golden Dawn corpus.[1074] This is not to say, however, that Brodie-Innes actually wrote this material or was necessarily conscious of doing so. Indeed, none of the papers is ascribed to any individual member. The overwhelming majority carry the signature of □□□ or Shemesh, the Hebrew name for the Sun, and many of these are portrayed as ancient writings. Similarly, there are several indications that the material written under this name had been channelled either though Brodie-Innes, or his wife Frances, acting as amanuensis.[1075] Certainly, the extraordinary range of occult and religious motifs found in the Sun Order documents reflect the interests, knowledge and style of Brodie-Innes which he displayed in many papers

---

[1073] See Note 718, entries dated November 1906, no. 37-39.
[1074] It is estimated that a group of some 60 Cromlech documents, known as 'The Aura Papers' would alone constitute the equivalent of around one third of the published Golden Dawn material. Additionally, there are eight Cromlech rituals, four of which considerably exceed the length of the Golden Dawn rituals, along with a further 70-80 papers, approximately 50 of which are extant.
[1075] Gilbert, 'The Small Poor Pope of Edinburgh', p. 9.

written for the Golden Dawn and the Theosophical Society, in various occult journals, and in his several well-regarded novels with occult themes.[1076] Common aspects to be found in all these writings are his preoccupations with Celtic occultism, Druidism, the use of Sanskrit concepts to explain magical principles, the Kabbalah, and a strong Anglo-Catholic emphasis on the Sacraments and the symbolic role of Mary, mother of Christ.[1077]

There are two apparent difficulties with attributing the entire Cromlech opus to Brodie-Innes. The first is that a number of the papers bearing the signature of □□□ seem to have been written in 1924 and 1925, whereas he died in 1923. In some cases this may be explainable by the dates being a reference solely to the copying of documents, rather than to their production, but the more probable conclusion is that that papers continued to be written either by Brodie-Innes' wife, or his successor as head of the Order, Dr. W. E. Carnegie Dickson, or by an unknown person.[1078] A second oddity, more difficult to account for, is the curious role played by Dr.Felkin in the Sun Order between 1901 and approximately 1910 when he appeared to have become the most senior member of the Sun Order. Several complete letters dated during this period are preserved in Stoddart's manuscript in which Brodie-Innes writes deferential, if not obsequious, requests to Felkin seeking guidance from the Sun Masters, considered by

---

[1076] See note 1069. Some of the articles by Brodie-Innes appearing in *The Occult Review* deal with witchcraft in Scotland, a subject in which he had acquired considerable knowledge, and which is the theme of some of his well-written novels, most notably *The Devil's Mistress* (London: William Rider & Son, n.d. [circa 1915]). This novel has reprinted several times, the most recent being in 1974 when it appeared as a 'mass market paperback' in Volume 11 of Dennis Wheatley's 'Library of the Occult' (London: Sphere Books, 1974).

[1077] Based on the phraseology of some the Cromlech rituals there are indications, requiring further research, that Brodie-Innes may have influenced, or been involved in writing, some of the rituals for the revived Druid movement, known as the Universal Bond. Somewhat loose speculation on a Golden Dawn–Druid connection is made in Colquhoun's *Sword of Wisdom.* She did not appear to have access to Cromlech and Druid rituals but examination of the wording and format does seem to support her claim. See Adam Stout, *Creating Prehistory: Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-War Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 130-133. Mariology, particularly in the broader conceptual context of feminine divinity, is a major theme of the Sun Order and seems to have its doctrinal base in a complex paper entitled 'The Veil of the Eternal Mother ' (also known as 'The Veils of Negative Existence') which was taken into the curricula of both the Stella Matutina and the A.O.

[1078] The dating of many Cromlech papers is made more difficult by the fact that these often bear dates that usually, but not always, refer to the date of copying rather than production.

both men to be highly advanced, and possibly disincarnate, Adepti of the Third Order governing the Cromlech Temple. Whereas Brodie-Innes had previously been the point of contact with these spiritually developed beings, this role had evidently passed to Felkin at some point. Brodie-Innes states in one letter; 'Of course I know you are and must be the Head of the Temple and the channel of communication... my only wish is to work under you and help the Order in any way in my power'.[1079] There is no doubt, incidentally, that in this regard Brodie-Innes is referring specifically to the Sun Order, rather than to the Golden Dawn, in which Felkin had also assumed a prominent position, because the locution 'Sun Masters' appears only in the Cromlech material.[1080] It is also, however, equally clear from the letters and other references found in Stoddart, that Felkin was merging the governance of both occult Orders under the Sun Masters, either on his own initiative or under his belief that the mysterious Third Order of the Golden Dawn was in fact identical with those beings known as the Sun Masters. Evidence for this can be seen in the fact that virtually every question put to the Sun Masters relates to some aspect of the Golden Dawn and the various troubles it was then encountering.[1081] Indeed, it was precisely this issue, perhaps more than the many other

---

[1079] This excerpt, which is quoted by Howe and other writers, is taken from a letter to Felkin, dated 24 April 1906, which appears in entirety in Stoddart's 'Investigation' manuscript. Similar letters appear in the latter with useful, if obscure, detail on the relations between Brodie-Innes, Felkin and the Sun Masters.

[1080] This aspect confused other commentators and led them to believe that the Sun Masters were distinct from Brodie-Innes' Sun Order. See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 241-241; Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 73; King, *Ritual Magic in England,* pp. 97-98, 134-140. A similar unclarity exists in some works regarding Felkin in terms of the distinctions between Shemesh and Ara Ben Shemesh. The latter had no relationship with the former, or with the Sun Masters, other than to sometimes give conflicting guidance. The source for part of this confusion is undoubtedly Stoddart who herself did not understand the role of the Sun Masters and was not satisfied with Felkin's responses.

[1081] Amongst many queries, Felkin was asking the Sun Masters about the legitimacy of the teachings issued by Mathers and Westcott, and about the existence and availability of the rituals for the higher Rosicrucian Grades. See Stoddart's 'Investigation' manuscript. One 'letter' to the Sun Masters, dated 17 November 1906, contains fifteen questions and while clearly (from the context) is meant for the Sun Masters, is nevertheless headed, 'To the Secret and G.H. Chiefs of R.R. et A.C.', showing that Felkin conflated the 'masters' of both Orders.

grievances she nursed, which so deeply disturbed Christina Stoddart who considered the Sun Masters to be an evil influence over the Stella Matutina.[1082]

Irrespective of this interregnum when Felkin ruled, his influence within the Sun Order does not appear to have left any significant or lasting trace for none of the detailed advice he received from the Sun Masters appears to have been preserved in any of the Sun Order documents. The few oblique references to him relate mainly to his occult knowledge in healing given under the name of 'Frater Hakim'.[1083] A further complex and obscure document entitled, 'Some Notes on the Constitution and Rule of the Order of the Sun', dated 20 August 1902, is 'signed for the Order' by Shemesh, Hakim, and Hilarion with the first two undoubtedly being Brodie-Innes and Felkin, and the last possibly being either the former's wife, or Felkin's first wife Mary, who is known to have also acted as his medium and amanuensis.[1084] There is no question, therefore, that any of the large number of documents signed □□□ or Shemesh, were the work of Felkin. Notwithstanding his Sun Order name of 'Hakim', in his dealings with the Sun Masters Felkin was known as Frater Michael, the same name he employed in his communications with Ara Ben Shemesh who, confusingly, had no connection of any form, with the Sun Masters or the Sun Order.[1085]

Exactly when Felkin joined or left the Sun Order is not known and can only be inferred from extant documents. He may well have joined as early as 1884 while

---

[1082] Stoddart's concern is documented in Harper's *Yeats's Golden Dawn.* While she evidently had some sympathy from Yeats and senior members of the Amoun temple, there is no evidence of unequivocal support for her position, and most of the Anglo-Catholic clergy seem to take Felkin's position.

[1083] A short paper amongst the Cromlech documents is headed 'A Note by Frater Hakim on the Origin of Conception' which is presumably by Felkin. This is inserted as an addendum to a paper 'by my dear Frater Shemesh'. Private collection.

[1084] Both of Felkin's wives are known to acted as mediumistic channels for communications. This is recorded in Harriot Felkin's account of Felkin's life, 'A Wayfaring Man', and is evident in several Smaragdum Thalasses manuscripts. Following the death of Brodie-Innes in 1923, his wife Edith refused to recognize or cooperate with his nominated successor, Dr. W. E. Carnegie Dickson. This is noted in a letter from Mrs. Carnegie Dickson (private collection) and is evident from a list of Cromlech documents compiled by Carnegie Dickson where he notes that the Order did not have them, as they were presumably withheld by Edith Brodie-Innes.

[1085] Ara Ben Shemesh appears to have encouraged Felkin both to sever his relations with Mathers and the Sun Order, and to make contact with Rudolf Steiner. See Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness,* p. 93.

studying in Edinburgh where both the Cromlech and Amen-Ra temples were located. He and Mary were initiated into the latter on 12 March 1894 and they were advanced to the Second Order late in 1896. In the same year the Felkins moved to London and transferred to the Isis-Urania Temple then under the rule of the actress Florence Farr, who was increasingly regarded as the most senior Adept of the Golden Dawn in Britain.[1086] At this time, Felkin joined the 'Sphere Group', a small secretive study circle of twelve temple members set up by Farr for the purpose of practising astral travel. Opposition to this group by some who were excluded was later to contribute to the break-up of the Golden Dawn and it would seem that Felkin's more central role in Order affairs began at this point, becoming particularly prominent in the years from 1901 to 1903 when the original Order finally collapsed.[1087] On 28 May 1901 Felkin was initiated into an unnamed Order in London.[1088] It is most unlikely that this is a reference to the Sun Order because on 12 June of the same year Felkin records in his diary of the '2nd and complete founding of the Temple of the Sun in London, No. 5'.[1089] Apart from the obvious fact that he could not have been received into a temple that did not yet exist, references to Felkin's links to the Sun Masters before the Golden Dawn schism make it certain that his admittance occurred in Edinburgh during his close association with Brodie-Innes in both the Golden Dawn and the Scottish Lodge of the Theosophical Society.[1090] The most plausible explanation for the May initiation is that it refers to Felkin being one of the select group of eight people who, like Waite, were initiated into

---

[1086] See, for example, the extensive references to Farr in Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, and Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*, pp. 43, 50.
[1087] Full accounts of the collapse are published in Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*; Gilbert, *Twilight of the Magicians*; and King, *Ritual Magic in England.* Useful primary source documents in this context are contained in Harper's *Yeats's Golden Dawn.*
[1088] Recorded in a diary of significant events kept by Felkin. Private collection.
[1089] Ibid.
[1090] References within Mrs. Felkin's 'A Wayfaring Man', and in Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness,* and the Cromlech papers themselves, show that Felkin joined the Holy Order of the Sun in Edinburgh. Moreover, it is highly improbable that Brodie-Innes would acknowledge Felkin as his senior in the Sun Order after a mere 6-8 months of membership.

Farr's other highly secret and short-lived Egyptian Order known as 'Order of Great Osiris'.[1091]

The London temple of the Sun Order was located in Richmond and was called 'Beacon', apparently being a reference to the fact that it was near to the site of an old Roman lighthouse.[1092] Felkin left this temple and the Sun Order itself sometime around 1911 which was also within a year of Brodie-Innes moving further away from Felkin's Stella Matutina and closer towards a rapprochement with MacGregor Mathers and his Rosicrucian Order of the Alpha et Omega.[1093] Felkin reveals this in a somewhat peevish letter written to Stoddart dated 20 July 1920 stating that he 'stopped working with' the Sun Order 'just after I had heard that Mathers had joined.' Felkin also adds that 'The Sun (Masters) had no connection whatever with our Third Order'.[1094] Perhaps Felkin had forgotten that Stoddart had copies of all the correspondence but there is no doubt that this claim flatly contradicts statements made in correspondence with Brodie-Innes and, as Stoddart correctly notes in her annotations made on Felkin's letter, it is false.[1095] His admission, however, that Mathers, one of the two creators of the original Golden Dawn, joined the Sun Order is of assistance in explaining various aspects of later Golden Dawn history. The admission of Mathers, and undoubtedly of his wife Moina also, must have occurred sometime in 1910, or shortly thereafter, when Brodie-Innes

---

[1091] Only one published, and brief, explicit reference to this Order occurs in Gilbert, *A.E. Waite: Magician of Many Parts*, pp. 116-117. I have sighted the three unpublished rituals written in Farr's handwriting. In an appended note she notes 'This ritual was collected from the AKASIC Records and the PER-EM-HRU during the years 1899 and 1900 by some who had worked under the instruction of the SUTEN AN KEFT ILA and the SEM Priest HU HEN respectively of the Vth and XXVth dynasties. Signed Florence Emery.' Private collection. Although not previously noted by other writers an obvious indirect reference to this Order and the Egyptian teacher appears in an account written by Felkin. See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 251.

[1092] Unpublished letter from Mrs. Carnegie Dickson to Charles Renn, dated 9 October 1963. Private collection..

[1093] See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 267 and King, *Modern Ritual Magic*, pp. 109-112.

[1094] An extract from Felkin's letter appears in Stoddart's manuscript but the entire letter survives in a private collection.

[1095] This is indicated in Stoddart's *Light-bearers of Darkness*, p. 89 but made more evident in the letters between Felkin and Brodie-Innes regarding the Sun Masters in her manuscript.

revived his loyalty to Mathers and joined an Alpha et Omega temple in West London while simultaneously, and deceptively, remaining in the Stella Matutina.[1096]

Other than noting his refusal to work alongside Mathers in matters occult, Felkin never explains why he ceased to receive messages from the Sun Masters or why he dropped his association with the Sun Order which had clearly played an important role for several years of his life.[1097] It is conceivable, however, that the messages and instructions he was receiving from the Sun Masters conflicted both with the astral communications he was obtaining from the Arab guide, Ara Ben Shemesh, and with information gained from the contacts he was beginning to make during this period with Rudolf Steiner.[1098] Nevertheless, it is apparent that at least some of the Sun Order documents retained their value for him because these continued to be used in the curriculum of the Stella Matutina throughout its duration, and one of his disputes with Christine Stoddart in 1920 centred around his attempts to get her to return Sun Order documents he had previously left in her possession.[1099] Despite Felkin's claim of formal severance of the Sun Order from the Stella Matutina from around 1911, this was not strictly maintained in Britain after Felkin's death in 1926.[1100] Brodie-Innes' successor, Dr. W. E. Carnegie-Dickson, appeared to move between the various Order factions with some ease and from 1926 until his own death in 1954, he ended up governing the

---

[1096] King, *Modern Ritual Magic*, pp. 110-112. Brodie-Ines' membership of the competing Orders was discussed by Felkin and Waite and recorded by the latter in his unpublished 'Testimonies of FR'. Private collection.

[1097] Harriot Felkin speaks of their pleasure in working with the 'Aura papers' in her 'Wayfaring Man' but it is notable that these papers were never issued within Smaragdum Thalasses. Whether or not Felkin's withdrawal from the Sun Order was occasioned by his knowledge of Mathers' membership, a falling out with Brodie-Innes, advice to this effect from Ara Ben Shemesh, or some other reason, is not known.

[1098] It seems probable that Felkin first met Steiner in July 1910. Professor Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke has drawn my attention to a recent work by Helmut Zander stating that they were in correspondence as early as 1906: Helmut Zander, *Anthroposophie in Deutschland,* 2 vols (Göettingen: Vadenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), II. 962, 989. This is not mentioned in his *Chronologie;Freimauerei,* (Vol 2, P.962), however, and an early date of 1906 does not seem to be supported by evidence. Moreover, it makes inexplicable the note Dr Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden wrote to Felkin on 30 June 1910 giving him explicit instructions for finding Steiner's houses and suggesting he use his name to facilitate a meeting. See Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 262-263.

[1099] These are 'Jesus Christ' and 'Of Existence on the Astral Plane', which 'refers to instructions for travelling on the astral plane'. Both are Cromlech papers and the last is signed Frater [illegible]: Stoddart's 'Investigations', p. 19.

[1100] Felkin states this in correspondence with Stoddart which she quotes in her manuscript 'Investigations', and he is explicit in his letter to her dated 21 July 1920. (Private Collection).

remnant of the Alpha et Omega, parts of the Stella Matutina, and the Sun Order to which he was particularly devoted.[1101]

Structure and Doctrines

The identities of those who belonged to the Sun Order are almost entirely unknown except for approximately two dozen members who were particularly active in the successor groups to the Golden Dawn. It is due to a small number of surviving papers from these individuals and not to the Cromlech papers themselves that knowledge of their membership is possible. The total membership could never have been large, however, for although the Order persisted for more than seventy years, far outstripping any of its Golden Dawn rivals, the maximum ideal size of a temple was stated to be just twenty-one, made up of twelve males and nine females.[1102] Assuming that King is correct when he states that growth of the Cromlech Temple occurred only 'after the First World War' the total membership of the three temples in Britain and the small, short-lived New Zealand temple, is unlikely to have exceeded eighty.[1103]

A claim repeatedly asserted by King is that the bulk of the membership of the Sun Order came from dedicated Anglo-Catholics, and especially from Anglo-Catholic clergymen.[1104] Because of the complete lack of any surviving membership rolls,

---

[1101] Although Carnegie Dickson was simultaneously involved in both the Stella Matutina and the A.O. this does not seem to have caused any breach with the former, or with Dr. Felkin, in the way that it did with Brodie-Innes. A letter dated 5 December 1921 from Mabel (or Maiya) Curtis Webb (later Tranchell-Hayes) to Frederick Leigh Gardner notes that Carnegie Dickson was then a Chief ('Cancellarius') of the London Branch of Mathers' Order. He was also involved the Amoun Temple of the Stella Matutina and in contact with Felkin at this time. The letter is now in the library of the Warburg Institute.

[1102] Cromlech paper entitled, 'Some Notes on the Constitution and Rule of the Order of the Sun'. It is dated 20 August 1902 and signed 'Shemish, Hakim, Hilarion'. Private collection.

[1103] This is based on the assumption that the 'twenty-one membership' rule was adhered to and on the membership of four Temples, also assuming that none reached their maximum and that some members resigned and were replaced.

[1104] King, *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 134-135; King and Sutherland, *The Rebirth of Magic*, p. 135; King (ed.), *Astral Projection, Magic and Alchemy*, p. 181. In an undated and unpublished letter to Israel Regardie (probably 1983), King writes that he was a 'practising occultist...a member of a very small Temple that originated in the ' thirties from (a) some occultists who had broken away from the Hermes Temple of Bristol in the 'twenties...and (b) occultists who had left a dormant group called the Cromlech Temple...many of its members were Anglican clergymen'. Private collection.

assuming the Order employed these, it is not possible to verify the extent to which his statement may be true although the identity of a small number of Anglican priests can be deduced from existing documentation. It is likely that King was told this by the elderly ex-members from whom he received the Order papers, and to this degree, his statement is supported by the impressions formed both by Ithell Colquhoun from her contact with a previous member of the Cromlech Temple, and from two elderly members of the Io-Ana Temple in New Zealand who have similarly recounted their memories of the Order.[1105]

King asserts also that at one point the head of the temple was 'a priest possessed of mediumistic abilities who was the recipient of much astral teaching from "Masters and Guides"'.[1106] Obviously this was not Brodie-Innes, nor Felkin, nor Carnegie Dickson, but if this is a comment on the early days of the Order it is conceivable that it may be a reference to an unnamed person, with the somewhat prosaic pseudonym 'Brett', who apparently received from the Sun Masters, or Third Order, material and instructions which he then passed to Felkin. At this time, circa 1902-1905, it would appear that Felkin and Brodie-Innes were at least partially dependent on the services of 'Brett', who 'was not a member of the (Golden Dawn) Order', to convey the advice of the Sun Masters. For unexplained reasons, at his own request 'Brett' ceased to be the 'channel of communications' and this role had then fallen to Brodie-Innes.[1107] Of possible relevance in this somewhat confused situation is a comment in Harriot Felkin's biography of her husband where she observes that during the same period (1902-1905) they received important occult knowledge from a mediumistic and 'advanced' Anglican priest who was deeply versed in occult matters but was not a member of the Golden

---

[1105] Ibid. The two surviving ex-members of the New Zealand Temple are currently living in homes for the aged in New Zealand. They have provided both verbal and documentary information to the writer.
[1106] King, *The Rebirth of Magic*, p. 135.
[1107] Letter from Brodie- Innes to Felkin dated 27 June 1906 in Stoddart's manuscript.

Dawn Order.[1108] The identity of this priest is not known although alternative possibilities are presented by Father Fitzgerald, who almost certainly was a member, and the Very Reverend R. O. P. Taylor, both previously mentioned.[1109]

For any Christian, and particularly an Anglo-Catholic priest, who was persuaded of the view, advanced by Anna Kingsford, Brodie-Innes and Felkin et alii, that Christianity possessed both an exoteric and esoteric doctrine, along with secret methods of communing with God, the Holy Order of the Sun would have been an attractive prospect. The ultimate goal of all the Order's teachings was said to be 'to establish closer and more personal relations with the Lord Jesus, the Master of Masters'.[1110] Despite this unequivocal and often repeated statement regarding the purpose of the Sun Order and despite the fact that so many of the Order's teachings were concerned with such Catholic themes as the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the seven Sacraments, Stations of the Cross and the Apostolic Succession, it would nevertheless still be misleading to present the Order, as King verges on doing so, as being an organisation which focused exclusively on Gnostic interpretations of Christian symbolism.[1111] Indeed, for every paper concerned with such symbolism there are numerous other documents which would not be out of place in the Golden Dawn curriculum. These include occult theories written on the significance of 'Elemental Beings', 'Higher Astrology', 'the Astral Plane', 'Practising Clairvoyance', 'Karma' and 'Egyptian Mummies.' To these may be added papers on aspects of Mithraism, Islam,

---

[1108] Harriot Felkin, 'A Wayfaring Man', *The Lantern*, I, No.10, (May 1936), 6.

[1109] Detail on the Very Reverend Taylor is in Chapters Six and Nine. Kathleen Raine has observed that within the Golden Dawn 'there was at one time a strongly Anglo-Catholic bias; besides the scholar Charles Williams, a number of members of the Anglican Society of the Resurrection were members'. In this context she then states that various papers 'were circulated expounding the Catholic doctrines of the Apostolic Succession, the seven Sacraments, the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, or teaching the three grades of prayer'. Raine appears to be using the name 'Golden Dawn' to cover Felkin's Stella Matutina and Waite's FRC. All of the papers listed by Raine are Sun Order documents. See Kathleen Raine, 'Order of the Golden Dawn', in *Man Myth and Magic*, No. 40 (London: Purnell 1970), 1133-1134.

[1110] King, *Astral Projection*, p. 213

[1111] King, *Astral Projection*, p. 181.

the Kabbalah, Druidism, Hinduism, Grail mythology and the Rosicrucian mysteries.[1112] Moreover, the objects of the Order were also frequently described in terms which would have had considerable appeal to the less fervently Christian occultists:

> Our object in all our work is the attainment of the knowledge of the revelation of God to His visible creation, and therefore the inner workings of the Occult and Secret Powers whereby the universe is governed, to the intent that we may ourselves the more perfectly order ourselves in conformity with the Will of the Lord of the Universe and be permitted to work with Him and thus to become more than human, and to attain the Summum Bonum called in our rituals 'the Ruby at the Heart of the Rose'.[1113]

Behind this eclectic and seemingly disorganized mix there was, however, a consistent theology which espoused a form of ecumenical Christianity that was extraordinarily liberal and inclusive. The distinction was not between heathen and non-heathen nor necessarily between Protestant and Catholic, but rather between the religions which were considered 'supernatural' and those that were not. All the former were considered to contain, in a sense, seeds of Christian truth whether their adherents knew it or not and all were working to some extent to become closer to the Master, who is Christ.

> Hence have all the mystic and supernatural religions the germs of truth more or less developed and all are energising upward. All materialising, denying, doubting, religions (whereof are most of those which termed themselves

---

[1112] These themes are found in most of the eight rituals, and in numerous papers.
[1113] Aura paper No. 31 E.1. 'The Exempt Adept'. Private collection. Note here the similarity with wording in several Golden Dawn Second Order documents. For example, the 'Tiphareth' clause of the Second Order obligation. See Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, II, 214.

'Reformed') tending away from the Master. Thou shouldst call nothing common or unclean. That man or woman who seeks a good or fancied good be it what it may -- even if it be merely sensual lust (which to him or her appears the best thing) is, all unknown to him or herself, seeking Him, the Master -- the soul is young, the ideal is low and primitive, nevertheless it is an ideal -- by degrees will higher ideals be substituted for low ones -- 'Feed my lambs' the Master said, not drive them into your own favourite pastures. Nothing is common or unclean -- the sacrifice He asks of thee is the sacrifice of thy prejudices, thy limitations, in order that thou mayest feed His Sheep, above all His Lambs. Well canst thou guide members of his Catholic Church in Catholic ways. This is easy and demands no sacrifice. Thou art asked to see His hand everywhere -- to recognise that faiths thou callest heathen may have a knowledge of Him. That there are grains of Truth everywhere -- that thou art called to be a shepherd.[1114]

In keeping with the above, entry to the Cromlech Temple of the Order was open to anyone of any faith but in order to progress to the Second Grade and beyond, an aspirant had to be both a Christian and a member 'of one of the Three Great Branches of the Holy Catholic Church', which were defined as the 'Roman, the Greek and the Anglican'.[1115] Only these three were considered to truly consecrate the Holy Sacrament, whereas what occurred in 'Presbyterian or Protestant Meeting-Houses' in this regard was considered 'the parody of that Divine Rite'. Even here, however, the members of the Order, known as 'Companions', were cautioned to remember that in such Protestant meetings 'the intention is usually extremely reverent -- the partakers sometimes of

---

[1114] King, *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy*, pp. 218-219.

[1115] This may reflect an aspect of Anglo-Catholic influence on the Order. S. L. Ollard has observed that the 'Oxford Movement led to a serious longing for the unity of Christendom and to more than one effort in that high cause: efforts which were directed towards the Roman and towards the Eastern Church'. See S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 254.

higher ethical character and greater devotion than in the true Church'.[1116] It should be noted also that this restriction regarding the Second Grade applied only to those temples functioning in a Christian society and that equivalent Sun Order temples, with similar grades, were said to exist for other faiths:

> On one facet stands the Christian, on another the Buddhist, and on a third the Jew, on a fourth the Parsee and so on; and for each of these there is a Ceremony appropriate to the symbology of the Faith he holds. So that, though the Temple of the Most High is open to all, yet God has appointed unto different men different modes and doors of entrance... yet in the end all shall worship at the same altar. And he who says in his heart "My neighbour's door is better than the one which the Master has appointed to me" is not yet fit to enter at all.'[1117]

Ostensibly, the Grade structure of the Sun Order was considerably more simple and modest than that of the Golden Dawn. It is worth recalling that within the latter there were ten major stages of occult or spiritual achievement, each of which corresponded to a Kabbalist emanation or characteristic of God, typically portrayed as spheres (sephiroth) in the well-known 'Tree of Life' diagram, and where the aspirant steadily worked up the Tree from Grade to Grade.[1118] The ten stages were grouped into three 'Orders': the First Order containing the lowest four Grades where basic occult knowledge was imparted; the Second being the three 'Adept' Grades of the explicitly Rosicrucian 'Rose of Ruby and the Cross of Gold', in which serious magic was practiced; and lastly, the mysterious and largely inaccessible Third Order which involved participation in the triune Divinity itself. Additionally, there were three

---

[1116] King, *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy*, p. 214.
[1117] Cromlech paper entitled 'Second Grade- Conditions of Admission'. A note appended to this document states 'This was the original instruction sent to the founder of the Cromlech Temple in 1894'. Private collection.
[1118] The system is described in numerous books but see, for example, King, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 56-57.

transitional Grades, or states of attainment, which were not assigned to any of the individual emanations but which preceded entry into each of the three Orders with the very first being that of 'Neophyte'. As a further complexity, the lowest of the Adept Grades, that of Adeptus Minor, was sub-divided into various stages all of which required mastery of specific knowledge and the passing of examinations before progressing to the Adeptus Major Grade.[1119]

Prima facie, the Sun Order avoided this complex hierarchy with just three Grades and no examinations required for advancing through them. The official documents reveal a very different schemata, however, and one which likely caused as much confusion to the Order members as to any scholar studying it. Part of the difficulty in understanding the structure arises from the fact that there is no consistent use of terminology to denote the specific three Grades. It is not clear, for example, whether the First Grade companions are identical with those frequently referred to as 'Neophytes', and whether or not the oft used term 'probationers' refers either to the First or Second Grades or to those in between. All of the existing documents are for the use of those members of the three Grades who are qualified to receive them. Within some documents, however, there is reference to a Fourth Grade which together with the preceding three, constitute the 'Temporary Branch' of the Sun Order. As implied by the term 'temporary', it is claimed that there is a 'Permanent Branch' which has existed eternally and which has an almost infinite number of Grades which terminate with that of God. Apparently, a very small number of 'Temporary Companions' are permitted to enter the exalted but lowest Grade of the Permanent Branch each year and it is in the temporary Fourth that one learns of the conditions for this admission.[1120]

Even within the more prosaic territory of the Temporary Branch, however, some further unclarity results from the fact that in many of the papers there are frequent

---

[1119] Ibid.
[1120] Some detail on the 'Temporary' and 'Permanent' branches of the Sun Order are found in the Cromlech document, 'Some Notes on the Constitution and Rule of the Sun Order'. Private collection.

references to, and indeed instruction for, the various Adept Grades employed within the Rosicrucian Second Order of the Golden Dawn.[1121] This apparent anomaly is partially explained by the fact that the Sun Order was evidently considered to have integral relations with its sister Rosicrucian Order and indeed Second Grade Companions were advised to join either the Alpha et Omega or (in some documents) the Stella Matutina if they wished to acquire practical skills in occultism:

> If you seek for practical instruction in the Occult Arts or Sciences mentioned in the Ritual of this grade instructions may be obtained through the Society of the Golden and Rosy Cross known as the A.O. in the Outer. With the knowledge and training obtained in the higher grades thereof it will be possible for each of you, if ye advance far enough, to communicate personally with the Masters of this Order. And there are good and sufficient reasons why we should direct you to study in this Society rather than give instructions ourselves.[1122]

What is not explained, however, is why these papers containing guidance and explanatory material for the higher Rosicrucian Grades should form part of the Sun Order corpus rather than that of the more practical Order. Similarly, many of the papers issued for all three grades of the Order do actually give 'practical instruction in the Occult Arts' and various rituals and exercises are provided for this purpose. While it is clear that a close relationship is stated to exist between the first three grades of the Sun Order and the more explicitly magical Rosicrucian Adept grades this relationship is never specified in any detail.

In terms of Order hierarchy an equivalent problem emerges in the attempt to understand the roles of five of the temple officers who participate in the eight identified

---

[1121] This note is appended to the First Grade rituals of the Sun Order associated with both the A.O. and Stella Matutina. Private collection. This paragraph is also quoted in King, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 135-136.
[1122] One manuscript version of the First Grade ritual has A.O. crossed out and S.M. substituted.

rituals of the Order. The difficulty is that these roles are not solely confined to performing the ritual but have an elevated status within the governance of the temple and indeed within the doctrine of the Order itself. Precisely how these five officer roles relate to the three or four grades is never made clear. While some papers indicate that the Order is governed by the traditional Golden Dawn 'Three Chief ' system, it is also the case that these five main officers, known as 'the First Five', who appear in all the eight rituals, appear to serve as the governing Chiefs of the Temple. The senior officer or Chief, who is Head of the Temple and said to represent the Inner Chiefs of the Permanent Branch of the Order, is entitled 'Metatron' and is considered to be 'the vehicle and countenance of El Shaddai', one of the Judaic names of God.[1123] Brodie-Innes was the first to hold this position in the Cromlech Temple, and which he retained until his death in 1923.

The remaining four officers in order of descending seniority are: the Neshemah, the Hebrew name for the soul seeking connection with God, intended to symbolise this link; Raphael, the messenger of the Gods who is said to be analogous to the lightning which is the vehicle of Zeus; Anael, the Hebrew spirit of love and light; and lastly Agni, the Hindu name for fire, and who symbolises the 'Spirit of Fire'. In addition to these five there are also two higher and more spiritually advanced 'officers' who appear in spirit, as it were, but are not actually represented by physical members. Together these constitute the 'sacred seven' officers. This arrangement is somewhat disturbed by there also being two further senior officers who appear in only three of the rituals, known as the Naga of Fire and the Naga of Water. While these officers are clearly evocative of

[1123] Details appear in many of the Order documents and the explanations are expanded in the higher grade documents. A simple account of the offices, for example, is found in the document; 'Neophyte Grade No. 2 – A Brief Note of the Symbols in the Temple at the Initiation Ritual' but then elaborated in such documents as 'On Association'. The difficulty is that the descriptions do not define the roles which often appear to overlap, particularly with regard to the governance of the Order and in relation to an individuals progress through the Order.

the mysteries of India, and especially, those relating to serpent mythology, they are deemed to have their Western equivalents which are described in the texts.[1124]

The importance of the celebrants qua 'First Five' is dwelt upon at considerable length in several of the papers explaining the significance both of the Order in general, and the rituals in particular. They epitomise, in a sense, the manner in which the Cromlech and other temples were supposed to function. Unlike the Golden Dawn and other occult groups where the Order existed to help members make individual progress in the occult arts, the Companion members of an individual temple were believed to advance together, almost as one entity. The importance of harmony and of secrecy was thus of prime importance, and the 'First Five' were considered not merely to be symbolic expression of this unity, often compared as the five fingers on one hand, but also to be the means of bringing down the 'power of the Masters' to the temple and to 'every plane'.[1125]

> Though the Order watches and protects every individual Companion, yet it is as a group that each Temple is recognised on the higher planes. And when the First Five are in Association -- all being together -- then a chain of power and protection is formed... It must therefore be the endeavour of every one of that (sic) Grade to bring all Five together. Yet in this expect great opposition from the Hinderers,[1126] for they will strive to break your Group... let the whole

---

[1124] These two officers are described particularly in the 'Circle Ritual' and the 'Beltane Ritual'. The former ceremony was designed 'to commemorate the Supreme Event in the history of our Order in Britain, when the knowledge of the Incarnation of the Master according to their ancient prophecies was made known to that mystic Order of Priests now commonly called Druids, who for many centuries had maintained the true Faith in these Islands.'

[1125] A special ritual designed to help the 'First Five' bring down the power of the Masters was employed. Entitled 'Linking to the Sacred Pentagram', this brief ceremony involved the five linking hands in a particular way and making an invocation where the Master guiding the Order and the Master of Master, the Ineffable One, were beseeched to join the five, thereby making the Sacred Seven. Private collection.

[1126] Cromlech document, 'On Association of First Five'. Private Collection.The 'Hinderers' is a Kabbalistic term referring to the evil equivalent of the Sephira Tiphareth, described as 'great black giants, ever working against each other'. See Mathers, 'The Qliphoth of the Kabbalah', in Gilbert, *The Sorcerer and His Apprentice,* p. 28.

concentrated will of the whole Group of the First Five and all the Substitutes be set to counteract them, and to realise fully that it is... an attempt of the Devil to destroy the power and the usefulness of the Order.[1127]

Rituals and Teachings

The phraseology of the eight rituals and the Temple furniture are strongly reminiscent of the Golden Dawn workings despite the fact that that they are claimed to have been derived partly from the ancient faith of Iran and partly from secret rituals introduced by the Master Jesus for the Apostles. They also contain, as previously mentioned, numerous explanatory references to other mystical religions, most notably those of the Celts and the Druids. It is possible that it was these latter aspects, along with a special reverence for the 'Eternal Feminine' and 'Her Power,' embodied in Isis, Mary and other major symbols of feminine divinity, which especially attracted the later approval and endorsement of MacGregor Mathers and his wife Moina, who themselves were particularly concerned with this aspect of religion.[1128]

At the East of the Temple in both the First and Second Grades there was a 'Shrine of Mithra', which was described as 'the Permanent Symbol of the Revelation of God to Man in its positive aspect of Living Fire'. At the West of the Temple was placed the 'Altar of the Eternal Mother' who was stated to be 'the Symbol of the Revelation of God in its negative Aspect'.[1129] This equates, approximately, to the significance of the two Pillars frequently encountered in ritualistic work of a spiritual nature, notably in that of the Golden Dawn where the black pillar of Boaz represents the feminine and 'negative' power and the white pillar of Jakin represents that of the masculine and

---

[1127] 'On Association of First Five', p. 2

[1128] Mathers' tolerance of, and interest in the Roman Catholic Church has already been noted. It may also be observed that during a meeting of Mathers' Ahathoor Temple in Paris at the end of May 1911 those attending were instructed by Mathers attributing various clauses of 'Hail Mary' and 'Our Father' to the various Sephiroth on the Tree of Life. Minute Book of the Ahathoor Temple. Private collection.

[1129] Notes to First Grade Ritual. Private collection

'positive' forces of the universe.[1130] Between the Revelations of Positive and Negative was considered to be the place of the Material Form where the aspirant and fellow Companions performed the sacred rites, and experienced the alternating powers and energies of the two fundamental forces of the universe. This interplay between two apparently contending, but actually complementary, forces formed the basis of much of the Order teaching.[1131] Other significant pieces of temple furniture were two forms of a 'Veil', one of which was an extremely elaborate and complex piece of apparatus which bore a direct symbolic relationship with a 'Holy Quipus' which each member had to make and keep on their person. The quipus, stated to 'typify the Seven Sacraments of the Christian Church', consisted of seven coloured silk threads bound together at one end and this was used mystically in meditation somewhat in the same manner as a Roman Catholic would recite the Rosary Beads. A more simple veil bearing various occult symbols was also used, along with various forms of the Rose and the Cross, a seven branched candle and also an especially important piece of temple furniture known as the 'Golden Ark' which was explained as the 'Sacred Womb of the Order' and 'a model of that which God Himself commanded should be made for the Children of Israel'.[1132]

Although the very first roots of the Sun Order are claimed to extend back in time to the ancient Persian faith, and even before that period, the Christian Branch was said to have been first formed 'when the Master was incarnate in a human body, and was a

---

[1130] Similar symbology is found in the rituals of Rudolf Steiner, Dion Fortune, Aleister Crowley, Freemasonry and other ritualistic groups. Felkin also employed in his higher Grades additional symbology relating to the pillars which he derived from Steiner. His 6=5 and 7=4 Adept rituals, for example, use red and blue pillars, in addition to the traditional Golden Dawn black and white and these are derived from instructions given by Steiner in 1911. See Rudolf Steiner, *"Freemasonry" and Ritual Work* (Great Barrington, Mass.: Steiner Books, 2007), pp. 142, 360-362. A version of Felkin's rituals, but containing errors and omissions, is contained in Zalewski's *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 100-134. Original and accurate copies of these rituals are in a private collection.

[1131] Cromlech document 'Notes to First Grade Ritual'. Private collection. The affinity to a Hegelian dialectic process is apparent.

[1132] Cromlech Ritual for the Second Grade, p. 40. Private collection.

development of the pre-existing Qabalistic Jewish Branch'.[1133] The 'Secret Signs' of the Second Grade revealed to the Companion in the ritual are claimed to derive from that period and were 'conferred by the Master Himself on the first of His Disciples'. For the Second Grade Companion a special obligation is required where he or she must confess to the utmost belief in 'the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ' and promise to 'accept sorrow and suffering cheerfully for His Name's sake'. Like the Golden Dawn obligation the Companion is sworn to keep all Order matters secret and promises that, 'if ever I meet one professing to be a Companion of the Order, or a member of the Societas Rosae Crucis, I will not discuss the Order and its Mysteries with him, till I have diligently proved and tested him by every test and secret sign known to me. So help me the Mighty Master of All Masters.'[1134]

The ritual for the First Grade, while very mystical in tone, is chiefly concerned to explain the nature of the Order's significance and symbols, particularly those of the 'First Five.' These explanations are extended considerably in the Second Grade and are given a strong Christian and a Rosicrucian dimension. The latter is most apparent at the end of the ceremony when a rose, identified with the candidate's aspiration, is taken from the Ark where it had been placed, and ceremonially burnt as the following words are spoken by the Neshemah:

> Like as the Scent of the Dying Rose arises the Sign of Thy Suffering, O Lord, to the Throne of the Father. Out of Positive and into Negative Existence it passeth; out of manifestation into the unmanifest. There, where in the Bosom of the Father, is the Ruby at the Heart of the Rose, that sacred Heart of Jesus, to the quest whereof as true and faithful Knights of Christ, we are bound. Now is the Rose united unto its Heart of Ruby, through the Gate of Suffering and of Death, and

---

[1133] Cromlech paper, 'Conditions for Entry to the Second Grade'. Private collection.
[1134] Ibid, p. 17.

passing the Veils of Negative Existence, So, O Lord, may this our new Brother (or Sister), attain by suffering and self-sacrifice, unto the Ruby of our Quest. Bless him, O Lord; aid, teach, sustain and comfort him unto his life's end. Amen.[1135]

Following initiation into the First Grade of the Order, the new 'Frater' or 'Fratrix' was given many explanatory papers which provided recommended exercises for meditation, methods for acquiring good health, techniques for 'astral visualisation', breathing techniques to assist spiritual work, along with specific papers commenting on different aspects of symbolism.[1136] It was in the Second Grade, however, that one began to receive papers from a particularly interesting set of documents known as 'the Aura Papers'. These consisted of some sixty separate documents and were issued according to the Companion's progress. No guidelines exist as to when these were distributed and similarly there is no information as to any required period between the First and Second Grades. Some of the Aura papers, however, are annotated to the effect that should only be given advisedly to advanced members.[1137] Because of the extensive lists of subjects covered by these documents it is difficult to summarise their central theme other than the fact that they elaborate on an innovative extension of the concept of 'the Sphere of Sensation' which was partially explained, in Kabbalist terms, to the Golden Dawn Adeptus Minor in a paper entitled 'Ritual U'.[1138]

This theory entails the notion that every aspect of microscopic and macroscopic matter has its own 'Aura', and that each Aura interacts in complex ways with every other Aura, and such interactions leave 'a symbol' imprinted on the 'Sphere of

---

[1135] Ibid, pp. 50-51.
[1136] A feminised form of Frater was used for women.
[1137] These particularly relate to papers marked for the 'Exempt Adept'. For reasons that are not clear they form part of several additional papers to the Aura paper No.31 and are not numbered as part of the sequence 1-46.
[1138] 'Ritual "U" appears in a shortened version in Regardie's *Golden Dawn*, and is divided under the paper's several subtitles. I, 203-227. Several manuscript versions of the complete document exist in a number of private collections.

Sensation'.[1139] One dimension of this theory is that religious and occult symbols 'imprint' and leave very powerful symbols on the Aura, as indeed do less desirable phenomena, and these are strengthened or weakened by everything that a human being does.[1140] Spiritual progress, moral degeneration, and physical and mental well-being, are all subject to this process but whereas the vast majority of people are unconscious of it and thus entirely at the mercy of external forces and 'chance', the Adept or Companion learns how to manipulate these symbols and thereby determine his or her fate.[1141] The theory of the Aura, described at length through the sixty odd documents, purports to explain virtually every conceivable aspect of manifestation. This includes the means whereby humans perceive and are influenced by the world, and the way in which humans affect the world, especially the secret ways taught by the Order whereby occultists can alter events through their knowledge and intervention. Based on this understanding, instruction and practical methods are provided inter alia: to assist in occult healing; comprehending and using the powers of the sexual energies; deploying advanced methods of 'higher' astrology; utilising the Eastern system of 'Tatwas'; making contact with Divine and Elemental beings; and many other subjects drawn from the areas of occultism and esoteric spirituality.

The Sun Order treatment of the 'sexual energies' seems remarkably tolerant for its time, or indeed for any time. Within an explanatory background drawn from the Aura theory, information is provided to the Second Grade Companion noting that for the advanced 'Exempt Adept', who has achieved the highest Grade of the Golden Dawn

---

[1139] Described in Aura papers 1-10.

[1140] The Cromlech Aura theory does not appear to have been influenced by or derived from Charles Webster Leadbeater's accounts of auras in his various Theosophical publications, such as *Thought-Forms* (1901) which was co-authored with Annie Besant. It is of interest, however, that in her foreword to *Thought-Forms* Besant acknowledged a debt to F. Bligh Bond who was known to Brodie-Innes and Carnegie Dickson and may have been a member of both the AO and Cromlech Orders. Further reference is made to Bligh Bond in Chapter Nine.

[1141] Ibid. An ingenious explanation of inattention, prevarication and apparent laziness is explained by a phenomenon known as the 'Flickering of the Aura' where energy passes briefly and constantly between two or more symbols, but not allowing any one to develop. It is claimed this can also lead to disease. This is described and elaborated in several of the Aura papers.

Second Order, no form of sexual expression is worthy of outright condemnation. Conversely, no particular human disgust felt towards some types of sexual activity should be condemned either. Both are understandable when the advanced occultist realises how the human Aura and the laws of the universe operate. The Exempt Adept literally sees as God sees, and looks down on both attraction and repulsion with 'mercy and understanding,' seeing them as simply manifestations of forces between which the universe hangs balanced. Such tolerance is not, however, to be taken by the Companion as a licence for any type of behaviour for it is also stated that human beings must adhere to the particular laws and social mores of the time and society in which they live, for these too are as a result of the workings of the macroscopic and microscopic Auras of societies, institutions and the people who live in them. [1142]

Besides the rituals of initiation into the First and Second Grades there are six ceremonies which, variously, are intended for celebrating the Equinox and Solstices, for the opening and closing of the temple, for the consecration of the 'Golden Ark' and for certain Celtic and Druidic ceremonies known as 'the Beltane', 'the Circles' and the 'Office of Benediction'. Most of these are lengthy, mystical in style, and contain numerous allusions to symbols and themes drawn from Sacramental Christianity and from Golden Dawn doctrine. While there are a number of papers explaining the significance of the Third Grade and giving advanced knowledge and occult techniques associated with it, there is no ritual for this Grade. Moreover, no mention of any such ritual exists in any of the papers, or in the lists of documents held by senior members of the Order. The conclusion must be drawn that a Third Grade ritual was never constructed, and, to judge by the interesting description given of the experience of

[1142] These ideas are discussed in the oddly numbered series which discuss the 'Exempt Adept'. The detachment of the Exempt Adept from the world in not making moral judgements of any description is addressed in Aura Paper No. 31. E. III. No.3A. This is explained by noting that 'The Exempt Adept, by his power of separation, is able to separate his Astral from his bodily consciousness, and thus to prevent those physical conditions which through the nerves would react on the brain, and by disturbing and preventing calm thought, would render him incapable of sound judgement. He can, therefore, consider and enquire into all sex-functions, both those considered normal and those considered abnormal, as calmly and dispassionately as a botanist can consider the fertilizing of a flower.'

undergoing a Third Grade initiation, it seems likely that this was intentional. Indeed, the description involves such a level of complexity and lavish grandeur that it is difficult to imagine how such a ritual could be enacted physically.[1143]

The assumption must be made, therefore, that the candidate for entry to the Third Grade underwent an 'astral initiation' based on the descriptions provided to him. In essence, the Third Grade initiation, which bears some similarity to descriptions in the Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreuz, entails the candidate for initiation entering a vast Gothic Hall which itself leads to an impressive edifice known as 'the Palace of the Rose of the Dawn' which is said to exist on the 'astral plane'. In the Palace the Companion meets advanced and lofty souls who appear to be adorned in the regalia of Knights and Dames of some sort of Arthurian Court. Beyond the Palace Hall, and after having various experiences, the Frater or Fratrix, who is known as 'Novice of the Rose of the Dawn,' climbs a flight of steps and enters the 'Mystic Chapel of the Rose' where he or she eventually reaches the end of the Quest for the 'Ruby at the Heart of the Rose.'[1144]

The First and Second Grades of the Cromlech Temple, in conjunction with the considerable work achieved in the Golden Dawn, were intended to advance the member spiritually in various ways, including the provision of assistance to help release the candidate from the 'thralldom' of matter and thereby both understand and control the Aura and astral world. In the Third Grade, however, the Companion was now expected to move at will within this astral realm in complete control of the individual self and its surroundings, but under the guidance of the Sun Masters, and of the Master of Masters, Christ. And with this capacity, the Third Grade Frater or Fratrix, also by now a

---

[1143] As explained in the Third Grade paper 'The Book of the Palace', an elaborate palace of Gothic architecture, along with associated chapels and 'gorgeous accessories' are required. These, and the many participants dressed as Knights and Princes in 'full plate-armour with gold helmets and steel bars' and Princesses similarly attired militate against the ceremony being on the physical plane.

[1144] Ibid. A translation of *The Chemical Wedding,* Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) *Chymische Hochzeit Christian Roisenkreutz Anno 1459* (1616) appears in Benedict J. Williamson (ed.), *The Rosicrucian Manuscripts* (Woodbridge, VA: Invisible College Press, 2002), pp. 135-246.

competent Exempt Adept of the Rosicrucian Order, would be able to bring all this spiritual knowledge, skill and inner transformation to bear on the physical plane in a practical way.[1145]

Influence and Legacy

When Brodie-Innes abandoned his alliance with Dr. Felkin and returned to the fold of McGregor Mathers and his Rosicrucian Order of Alpha et Omega, he brought with him the Holy Order of the Sun. Precisely when this occurred is not clear but it was certainly no later than 1909-1910.[1146] It was in December 1910 that Brodie-Innes revived in Edinburgh the defunct Golden Dawn temple of Amen-Ra No. 6 under the aegis of Mathers' A.O. Order. Gilbert has observed that it was in fact an amalgam of the members of the Stella Matutina and the Holy Order of the Sun.[1147] Like all of the previous Chiefs of the Golden Dawn, and including A.E. Waite, Mathers was well aware of the existence of the Cromlech Temple and evidently thought well enough of it, and of Brodie-Innes, to join the Order and allow it to form part of the A.O. structure. Following the 1903 schism Mathers implemented a number of changes to his branch of the old Order and made minor revisions to some of the rituals.[1148] Part of his re-organisation involved the appointment of a supreme Chief over the traditional triad, who was given the title Archon Basileus. Not surprisingly he reserved this role for himself but gave the position of Deputy Archon Basileus to Brodie-Innes.[1149] It is

---

[1145] Given the relatively straightforward nature of some of the practical instructions for Third Grade members it seems likely that this state of high attainment and mastery was achieved only once the Third Grade was completed and the Companion was ready to enter the Fourth Grade.
[1146] As recounted in the works of Howe, Gilbert and King, already cited.
[1147] Gilbert, *Golden Dawn Companion*, p. 38.
[1148] In particular he altered the opening and closing ceremonies of the Neophyte and Equinox rituals, and changed some of the Order terminology. The five elemental Grade rituals remain unchanged. These adaptions were taken up by Paul Foster Case and incorporated into his rituals for his Builders of the Adytum.
[1149] Brodie-Innes wrote in this capacity to Felkin, boasting of the advanced instruction he has received from Mathers but noting that he would provide these new papers to Felkin subject to the latter recognizing his authority and that of Mathers also. See Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, pp. 95-96.

apparent from A.O. documents dated from 1910, at least, that joint membership with the Sun Order was occurring, as was still the case with the Stella Matutina.[1150]

This did not extend, however, to the several American temples which remained loyal to Mathers after the 1903 split. Not a single reference to the Sun Order appears in any of the surviving American A.O. documents. The American temples were, in fact, isolated from the governance of the Order and as late as 1921 still lacked much of the basic documentation necessary to carry out the curriculum of the first Adept Grade. The well known American occultist Paul Foster Case, who joined the A.O. in November 1918, became head of the Thoth-Hermes Temple for a brief period in 1921 and was subsequently expelled by Moina Mathers in January 1922, complained bitterly about the situation in a letter to Israel Regardie, dated 25 October 1933:

> Thoth-Hermes, the oldest Temple in America did not have any definite information as to what MSS. were in the Second Order curriculum, the sequence in which they were to be studied, or what examinations were to be taken by Second Order members. Michael Whitty died without ever knowing, though he had asked S.R.M.D. (Mathers) and V.N.R. (Moina Mathers) for this information, over and over again.[1151]

Like their British Golden Dawn counterparts the American temples of the A.O. began to experience considerable internal conflict in the early 1920s and they do not appear to have survived beyond 1926.[1152] Paul Foster Case played an important part in

---

[1150] There is no indication that Felkin ever forbade Stella Matutina members to join the Sun Order or required those who were already members to leave.

[1151] Ronald Ferrara, archivist for Builders of the Adytum around 1980-1985, wrote a confidential and unpublished biography of Paul Foster Case and his relations with the Order of Alpha et Omega entitled *Light in Extension*. Details of the A.O. lacking the appropriate instructional material appear in Chapter Two, 'Paul Case and the Golden Dawn', pp. 46, 89. Private collection.

[1152] In one letter to an American member dated 10 April 1922 Brodie-Innes states, 'It was obvious that the Order in America had to be broken up – in fact it didn't exist -- more than half should never have been admitted at all -- others beginning well had fallen away'. He adds, 'I enclose a brief note written below to

this conflict and one of the several points of major contention which arose was a complaint levelled against him that he had taught aspects of the 'Sex Theory' to those in the lower Grades. In a letter sent in July 1921 Moina Mathers rebuked him and noted:

> I regret that anything on the Sex question should have entered into the Temple at this stage for we only begin to touch on sex matters directly, in quite the higher Grades. In fact, we only give a rather complete explanation of this subject in that Grade where the Adept has been proved to be so equilibriated and spiritualized that he is complete lord of his passional self.[1153]

Case responded with a vigorous defence that he had never had access to any higher Grade material, and it is clear from his entirely innocuous paper which caused the furore that he was not releasing any Order secrets.[1154] In view, however, of the undoubted fact that not a single reference to 'sex theory' appears in any of the Golden Dawn instructional material, this statement of Moina Mathers has puzzled a number of commentators on the Golden Dawn. Mary. K. Greer conclues that the letter provides 'proof that a sexual theory was taught in the original Golden Dawn although probably only a few of the most advanced initiates were privileged to learn it'.[1155] Greer is wrong on this issue for, with one minor exception, virtually every official document relating to the curriculum of the 'original Golden Dawn' survives, and these, which relate solely to the lowest of the Adept Grades, do not refer to any sexual teaching.[1156] The answer to

---

show how our very existence depends on S.R.M.D. (Mathers).' The letter and note are in a private collection.

[1153] Letter from Moina Mathers to Paul Case, dated 18 July 1921. Private collection. Also noted in Ferrara, *Light in Extension*, Chapter Two, p. 107. See also Gareth Knight, *Dion Fortune & the Inner Light* (Loughborough: Thoth Publications, 2000), p. 81.

[1154] An abstract of part of this seemingly innocuous paper, which was an address to 2=9 members of the New York Thoth-Hermes Temple, appears in Ferrara, *Light in Extension* as an unpaginated appendix.

[1155] Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, p. 352.

[1156] The exception is a paper intended for the Second Order Sub-Grade of Theoricus Adeptus Minor. Entitled 'The Opening of the Knowledge of the Masculine and Feminine Potencies necessary unto the Manifestation of all things symbolized in the diagram of the Flaming Sword between Metatron and

this puzzle almost certainly lies in the fact that the 'Sex question' was taught in the Second Grade Aura papers of the Sun Order and that there is some evidence that membership of this Grade was confined to the higher Grade members of the Alpha et Omega.[1157]

Almost the identical issue arose with the prominent occultist Violet Mary Firth ('Dion Fortune') (1890-1946), who had been initiated into an A.O. Temple in 1919 under the jurisdiction of Brodie-Innes, but then transferred in 1920 to a London-based temple under Maiya Curtis-Webb, who later became Mrs Tranchell-Hayes.[1158] One of the biographies of Dion Fortune notes that she considered Curtis-Webb to be 'an excellent teacher (who) had a great influence over Dion Fortune's future'.[1159] Apparently she 'was a walking encylopaedia of occult knowledge... and had known Dion since she was a girl'.[1160] It can be presumed that a great deal of this knowledge was acquired from the A.O. but undoubtedly much else was gained from her membership of the Sun Order in which she was known as Fratrix Ishtar.[1161] Amongst the considerable number of her Sun Order documents which have survived it would appear that Curtis-Webb entered the Second Grade, probably in 1923 when she would have accessed the Aura papers which contained the material on sexuality.[1162] The

---

Sandalphon,' it is an entirely bland discussion of a symbol appearing in the Zelator or 1=10 Grade. It does refer to sexual energies and it is possibly for this reason that a copy in the possession of Carnegie Dickson shows it to have been regarded for release only to those of the Magister Templi or 8=3 Grade. This paper, in a private collection, remains unpublished but is mentioned in Howe, *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 289.

[1157] Apart from the implication of Moina Mathers' comment about sexual matters being taught in the higher grades the surviving New Zealand ex-members claimed that only the higher Adepts were permitted to enter the Second Grade of the Sun Order.

[1158] Alan Richardson, *Priestess: The Life and Magic of Dion Fortune* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1987), p. 111; Charles Fielding & Carr Collins, *The Story of Dion Fortune* (Dallas: Star & Cross Publication, 1985), p. 39; Knight, *Dion Fortune & the Inner Light*, pp. 56-57.

[1159] Fielding & Collins, *The Story of Dion Fortune*, p. 39.

[1160] Richardson, *Priestess: The Life and Magic of Dion Fortune*, p. 111.

[1161] Her documents from both Orders, recording her Order names have survived and are in a private collection. The extraordinary recovery of these documents, which she had buried in a box on a cliff edge, is recounted in King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 155.

[1162] A most interesting report is provided by Knight, that in the 1940s Tranchell-Hayes took up work again with Dion Fortune and evidently used her Sun Order knowledge to try and get in contact with the Sun Masters. Knight seems unaware of the significance of these references and their connection with the Cromlech Temple. See Knight, *Dion Fortune & the Inner Light*, pp. 254-265. Further material linking Fortune and Tranchell-Hayes appears in Alan Richardson, *Aleister Crowley and Dion Fortune*

following year, in 1924, Dion Fortune published her *Esoteric Philosophy of Love and Marriage* which appalled both Curtis-Webb and Moina Mathers.[1163] The latter refrained from expelling Fortune for betraying the secrets of the Order only when it was made clear that she had not reached a sufficiently high Grade to have had access to the teaching.[1164] Even avoiding the temptation to suggest that Tranchell-Hayes may have provided Dion Fortune with some privileged information, it is clear that for the same reasons as applied to Paul Case's situation, the accusation could only have applied to the unauthorised disclosure of Sun Order teaching.

For other reasons Dion Fortune was subsequently expelled from the A.O. by Moina Mathers in 1927.[1165] Her contact with the Golden Dawn did not finish there, however, for by the following year it appears that she had formed a close friendship with Mrs. Hope Hughes, a Chief of the Stella Matutina's Hermes Temple, based in Bristol. She not only attended meetings of the Order, including the initiation of Israel Regardie, which she had facilitated, but progressed to a higher stage of the Second Order.[1166] Her own Society of the Inner Light evidently worked closely with the Stella Matutina at this time and records of meetings of the former under the title, 'Lodge of the Lesser Mysteries,' show that in 1932 another Chief of Hermes, Soror Lux Orta Est, or Catherine E. Hughes, attended these ceremonies as a guest.[1167] Of more significance in the present context, however, is the fact that by 1940 Dion Fortune had resumed occult work with Maiya, now Mrs Tranchell-Hayes. Under her Sun Order name of Ishtar and assisted by Dion Fortune, Tranchell-Hayes attempted to make contact with the Sun

---

(Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 2009), pp. 90-91. In the same context Fortune is associated with Bligh Bond and Glastonbury and there are clear references to Cromlech Temple/Sun Order themes. It is apparent that Richardson, like Knight, is unaware that these individuals are very likely linked through the Cromlech Temple teachings.

[1163] Fortune, *Esoteric Philosophy of Love and Marriage* (London: Wlliam Rider & Son, 1924)

[1164] Knight, *Dion Fortune & the Inner Light*, p. 81.

[1165] King, *Ritual Magic in England,* pp. 143-144.

[1166] Details appear in a 1933 letter from Fortune to Regardie about attending his initiation. Private collection. Some of her Second Order papers, which are clearly from the Hermes Temple and are marked with her signature,, have survived and are also in a private collection.

[1167] Minutes of these Lodge meetings are held in a private collection.

Masters, and apparently succeeded in communicating with one Shemesh who told Ishtar that 'I am not the Shemesh you knew... There is always a Shemesh, the Teacher, and Hakim, the Healer'.[1168] From the messages received, where many of the terms and titles employed are taken directly from the Sun Order -- such as 'Metatron' and 'Hilarion' -- it is abundantly clear that Tranchell-Hayes was introducing material drawn from the Cromlech Temple although it does not appear from Gareth Knight's recent account of these meetings that either he, or Dion Fortune for that matter, were aware of this fact.[1169]

Following the death of Brodie-Innes in 1923 the leadership of the A.O. and the Sun Order passed to Dr. William Elliot Carnegie Dickson. Very little has ever been published on this unusual man who seemed to have had an almost ubiquitous presence amongst the various groups derived from the Golden Dawn following the 1903 schism. Apparently a close and trusted friend of Dr. Felkin and Brodie-Innes, he was also both friend and medical doctor to W. B. Yeats, as well as having significant contacts with Anglican clergy.[1170] It was Carnegie Dickson whom Felkin chose as his representative to visit Rudolf Steiner during the difficulties with Christina Stoddart, and it was Carnegie Dickson who acted as intermediary between the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple and A. E. Waite during the 1930s.[1171] Catherine Hughes from the Hermes Temple recommended him as a very senior Chief whom Regardie should certainly meet, and it seems that he had the trust of Westcott, from whom he inherited many

---

[1168] Knight, *Dion Fortune & the Inner Light*, p. 256.

[1169] Knight, *Dion Fortune & the Inner Light*, pp. 254-267. Although Knight's account might suggest that Dion Fortune was unaware that she was working with Sun Order/Cromlech Temple concepts, symbols and terminology, this seems extremely unlikely in view of her status as a Golden Dawn Second Order member and her association with Chiefs and ex-Chiefs of that Order. The material Knight is working with is clearly slender in quantity and he is himself unaware of the content of Sun Order material. The high probability therefore, and one of some consequence for scholars interested in Dion Fortune, is that she became a member of the Sun Order.

[1170] Details appear in various places in Harpers' *Yeats's Golden Dawn*, but particularly p.155.

[1171] Several references outlining Carnegie Dickson's role in helping to resolve the problems caused in the Amoun Temple by Stoddart, including visiting Steiner, are in papers held in a private collection, in Stoddart's manuscript, and in Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn*, pp. 133-135, 138-139, 141.

Order papers.[1172] Notwithstanding his later headship of the A.O. he revived the Amoun Temple of the Stella Matutina, which was still functioning in 1938. In 1945, a time when most of the Temples had either closed or shrunk dramatically, he endeavoured to revive the 'Adept College of the Two Sister Rosicrucian Orders', made up of the most senior Chiefs of both the Sun Order and the R.R. et A.C. This 'Senate of the College of Adepts' had originally been set up by Brodie-Innes, presumably in conjunction with the Mathers, and Carnegie Dickson inherited the additional role of 'Chief Adept in Charge of the Adept College'.[1173]

He was the son of George Dickson, M.D. Aberdeen, F.R.C.S.Ed., a practitioner in Edinburgh who joined the Golden Dawn in its earliest days, being initiated in October 1888 and became a founding member of the Amen-Ra Temple where he progressed to the Second Order of Adepts in 1896. Educated at the Edinburgh Academy and University he took his B.Sc. degree in 1898 with distinction in anatomy and anthropology. This was followed by the M.B., Ch.B. with first-class honours in 1901. His medical career was particularly distinguished throughout his life and this was marked as early as 1903 when he was elected President of the Royal Medical Society, having previously served as its secretary. Carnegie Dickson won several prestigious scholarships and 'it was while holding the Crichton Research Fellowship that he completed his well-known work on the cytology of the bone marrow which in 1905 secured him the M.D. with gold medal'.[1174] He occupied several important posts in clinical pathology, was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh

---

[1172] Carnegie Dickson states that he inherited Westcott's Order papers in the introduction to a paper he delivered to Order members in 1935, entitled, 'Some Introductory Remarks Upon Frater Felix Felicitas Exita's Critical Investigation of the Forty-Eight Angelical Calls, 1934'. The paper is in a private collection. Frater F.F.E. was a senior member of the New Zealand Temple Smaragdum Thalasses, then visiting Order Temples in Britain and obtaining photostat copies of all the Enochian manuscripts of Dr. Dee. A facsimile of this paper is in Appendix 1.

[1173] Dickson states this in his introduction to his copies of the ritual for the Adeptus Major Grade. This ritual remains unpublished and is held in a private collection.

[1174] Obituary for Dickson published in *The Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology,* 69 (Jan-April 1955), 341-344. The journal is the official publication of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of which Dickson was a founding member.

in 1908, which followed his 1907 'classical paper' on the disease polyarteritis nodosa, which he was the first to describe.[1175] He wrote extensively on the results of his work and research, particularly on histopathology, but is said to be best remembered in his field for the *Textbook of Pathology*, written in conjunction with Professor J.M. Beattie, which first appeared in 1908 and ran through five editions.[1176]

Described as both 'an individualist and a perfectionist' it appears that while he was usually courteous and kindly he could also be extremely demanding in requiring that others meet his meticulous work ethic and that 'he was always working', even while on holiday. His 'Obituary' for the Royal Society notes variously that his 'hobby was photography, with astrology as a pleasant diversion', that 'he was a good craftsman and he enjoyed drawing, 'that 'like his father before him he was keen Freemason' and it also notes that he was married with four children.[1177] It is not surprising, of course, that Carnegie Dickson's obituary contains no mention of his extensive involvement in the various secret occult societies of which, in most cases, he was not merely an active member but was actually the head. This must have required an immense investment of his time for apart from participating in ceremonies, governing and administering the various temples, carrying out the demanding daily routines of a serious occultist, there was the sizeable burden of assisting and instructing the membership and the associated task of managing the Order's documents. In the latter regard it is remarkable how frequently Carnegie Dickson's Order names of Fortes Fortuna Juvat (A.O. and Stella Matutina) and Amenti (Sun Order) occur on numerous surviving papers connected with different temples and Orders. In many cases these are additional comments and

---

[1175] Ibid.
[1176] Ibid.
[1177] Dickson was also a member of the quasi-Masonic Societas Rosicrucia in Anglia (S.R.I.A.) of which Westcott was the Supreme Magus.

annotations he has made but some are complete documents he has copied or written himself on some aspect of magic or esotericism. [1178]

The volume of work entailed by the copying alone must have occupied almost every spare moment in Carnegie Dickson's life. One such transcript is his copy of a ritual for the advanced Grade of Adeptus Major in the Golden Dawn entitled, 'Ritual of the 6=5 Grade of Geburah: The Book of the Conference of Signs in the Grade of Adeptus Major'. Carnegie Dickson produced four copies of this ritual, each of which contains small coloured illustrations and is bound by hand in a small booklet. In his prefatory comments to the ritual, which are dated 'All Souls Day, 2nd November, 1945', he notes:

> Notes by F.F.J.; I have copied this Book of the Signs from two copies made by the late G.H. Sub Spe (Brodie-Innes)... They give the details of the Grade of Adeptus Major as used by himself and Frater D.D.C.F. (Mathers) in the early days of the Orders of the G.D. and the R.R. et A.C., and are of importance to those of our Fratres and Sorores who value our Apostolic Succession...The strict conditions upon which I myself received these G.D. Grades when I was appointed G.H. Sub Spe's successor as 'Chief Adept in Charge of the Adept College of the Two Sister Orders in Brittania' was that I should <u>personally</u> pass them on to any Fratres or Sorores, deemed fit by the Adept College to receive them, and that all pledges in these Grades should be made to me as Chief Adept in Charge for the time being of the College.[1179]

[1178] With regard to the Sun Order and the A.O., there is an extremely large collection of documents Dickson painstakingly copied himself, sometimes in different versions, and bound in little attractive booklets. Hundreds of these papers typed, annotated and bound were sent to New Zealand in 1962 by his widow. As these represented just a portion of Mrs Carnegie Dickson's collection of her husband's Sun Order papers, and included some from the Golden Dawn, it is clear that a vast amount of papers testifying to her husband's industry remained with her.

[1179] This unpublished ritual in booklet form is in a private collection.

From other comments made by Carnegie Dickson in the preface it is very clear that the number of senior Adepts qualified to form part of the 'Senate' was very few, as most had died or were too elderly, and undoubtedly this situation reflected a major decline in the membership of all the temples since the late 1930s. It is presumed that the Second World War had an adverse influence but the process would have been hastened by Regardie's exposure of the Order secrets earlier in the decade, and also by an Anglican Episcopal enquiry into the Cromlech Temple and other occult orders, which occurred around 1939, and which forbade Anglican clergy from belonging to them.[1180]

By the late 1940s all of the A.O. temples, along with the revived Amoun Temple, were extinct and it would seem that by this time Carnegie Dickson, and his wife Edith, were working more closely with the last surviving British temple having a connection with the old Golden Dawn, the Hermes Temple No. 28 in Bristol.[1181] The Beacon Temple of the Sun Order in Richmond was also still operating but moved to Bristol and, as with the A.O. Order, the more senior members of Hermes became Companions in the 'Sister Order'. One such was the committed Anglo-Catholic Charles Renn (1913-1965) and his wife Beryl (1921-), who joined Hermes in the later 1940s and then the Sun Order a few years later.

Carnegie Dickson died in November 1954 and his wife succeeded to his posts, largely nominal as they now were. Within the Hermes Temple the aged Chiefs John and Marjorie Hall had become too ill to continue and in early 1956 Edith Carnegie Dickson agreed to become the senior Chief. Despite a small number of initiations in both Orders throughout the 1950s, and a closer working relationship between Hermes and Smaragdum Thalasses, it was clear that by 1962 Hermes was finding it difficult to operate.[1182] This was made apparent when in that year Charles Renn, who had

---

[1180] King & Sutherland, *The Rebirth of Magic*, p. 135.
[1181] Mentioned in Whare Ra newletters 1950-1953 held in a private collection.
[1182] A photograph (in a private collection) taken of the entire Second Order of Hermes in 1956 shows just seven members.

progressed to the Adeptus Major in the Stella Matutina, and to the Second Grade in the Sun Order, was deemed ready to move the higher Grade of Adeptus Exemptus. Because of the unavailability of sufficient senior Adepts in Hermes, he and his wife visited the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple in 1962 where this Grade was conferred.[1183] The couple were so impressed with the edifice of the permanent Whare Ra temple, and with what appeared to be a thriving Order, they emigrated the following year to New Zealand. Edith Carnegie Dickson provided them with numerous Order documents not available in New Zealand and also, at Renn's request, with a Warrant for Renn to open a 'daughter temple' of the Holy Order of the Sun. This Warrant is dated 9 October 1963 and is signed with both her Order names:

> I, Fratrix Tharphesh, as the sole remaining member of the 'College of Adepts' appointed by Frater Metatron (Brodie-Innes) of the original Temple of the Cromlech in Edinburgh to carry on the work of the Sun Order, do hereby authorise Frater Anubis (Renn) of the Southern Branch of the Cromlech Temple, to start a daughter Temple in New Zealand.
>
> Tharphesh., Dominus Illuminatio Mea. 9=2 of R.R. et A.C.[1184]

Preparatory work to open the Temple had been underway for some months prior to the Warrant being issued and detailed information on aspects of the symbolism and the temple furniture were sent to Renn in several letters from Edith Carnegie Dickson.[1185] Approximately ten senior members of the Smaragdum Thalasses joined the

---

[1183] Personal communication from Mrs. Renn 1990. A brief and, according to Mrs Renn, highly inaccurate version of their coming to New Zealand, appears in Zalewski's *Secret Inner Order Rituals* op.cit., pp. 12-13.

[1184] This document was provided by Mrs. Renn and is now in a private collection. A facsimile is in Appendix 10.

[1185] Mrs Carnegie Dickson notes in a letter dated 9 October 1963 that no Equinox ceremony was held at the Hermes Temple in September and that a senior member of the Second Order had 'deconsecrated' his implements. While individual members were still performing their Order work it is clear that the temple had ceased to function.

new Io-Ana Temple of the Sun Order. In March 1965 Charles Renn died of a massive and unexpected heart attack. While Beryl Renn succeeded Charles, she felt intimidated by the fact that the membership consisted of high-ranking members of Smaragdum Thalasses. Because of the view within the Sun Order that it represented the link with, if not the actuality, of the Third Order of the Rosicrucian Order, she felt it inappropriate that she continue as Metatron. Equally, she was convinced that none of the present members were ready for this role and she sought the advice of Mrs. Carnegie Dickson who advised putting the Io-Ana Temple in 'abeyance'.[1186] This was duly performed and all the temple furniture, containing some original items from Cromlech, and a large amount of documents, were placed in storage.

Mrs. Renn has stated that over the following years of the existence of Smaragdum Thalasses, until its closure in 1978, she was not persuaded that the situation had changed sufficiently to justify taking the Holy Order of the Sun out of abeyance. With Mrs. Carnegie Dickson dying in 1968 and with the visible decline of Smaragdum Thalasses over subsequent years being apparent to her, she felt that it would be wrong to resuscitate the Third Order when the First and Second Orders were manifestly failing.[1187] Like her predecessors, she firmly believed that the Sun Order, in both symbol and reality, was the occult, religious and spiritual climax of the other, more famous, Golden Dawn Order. For just as a dawn later gives way to the risen sun in all its strength, so did she, and the previous Metatrons, see the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn reaching its zenith in the form of the Holy Order of the Sun. But equally, she was convinced that the important spiritual and religious dimensions of both Orders, epitomised by an essential Anglo-Catholic link, had largely vanished, and that this absence degraded and profaned doctrines and teachings which she considered Holy.[1188]

[1186] Communication from Mrs. Renn in 1994.
[1187] Ibid.
[1188] Ibid.

CHAPTER NINE
STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN

> You will do well to be attentive to this as to a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts.
>
> 2 Peter 1:19

Dr. Felkin's Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina was in several respects a very different institution from that of the original Golden Dawn. Although it embraced the magical system of the latter in toto, there is little doubt that Felkin's ardent Anglo-Catholicism shaped the direction which the Order took, and thereby the nature of at least some of its membership.[1189] Whether or not he was influenced by 2 Peter 1.19 in his choice of title for the reborn Order, there are surviving papers to show his pronounced interest in the study of scripture and it is clear, for example, from his detailed notes on Revelation that the equation between Christ and the 'bright morning star' would not have escaped him.[1190] For at least the first two decades of its existence and until his death in 1926 the Stella Matutina was unquestionably a Christian Order in a manner in which the Golden Dawn was not.[1191] Felkin's friendship with Bishop Frere

---

[1189] Felkin did not seek to depart from the statement of one of the two principal founders of the Golden Dawn, William Westcott, that, 'Every shade of unorthodoxy is represented amongst us' but his interpretation of the Hermetic philosophy of the Order was clearly that Christianity, as seen through the eyes of an Anglo-Catholic, was the apogee of Divine Revelation. The Stella Matutina was as inclusive as the Golden Dawn was of other faiths In its membership, and indeed utilised many of their symbols, but these were seen by Felkin as a dimension of Christ's mission. See Westcott, 'Flying Roll No.XV' in Francis King, *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy*, p. 125.

[1190] A notebook of Felkin's survives consisting of a detailed analysis of the Book of Revelation (Private collection). The impression is gained that it was written prior to the formation of the Stella Matutina but Revelation 22:16 has been especially marked.

[1191] Apart from the factor of the membership of Anglo-Catholic clergy Felkin sought to give a particular Christian purpose to the Order as a whole with regard to influencing society. This feature was entirely

and his association with the Community of the Resurrection invite questions not merely with respect to the motivations of the Anglo-Catholic clergy who joined the Order but also with regard to the degree of influence which such associations may have exercised over Felkin and the Stella Matutina itself.[1192]

Faced with the absence of any surviving documents relating to the Order which were either owned or written by the clergy and with only the most oblique of references within biographical material to their possible esoteric interests, the question of why they joined must remain a matter of conjecture.[1193] It is clear that all would have been well aware of the likely opprobrium with which knowledge of their occult activities would be received, but it seems equally likely that none would have perceived any incompatibility between the Order and their religious vocation. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to assume that they, like Felkin, believed the methods of the Stella Matutina to represent the esoteric side of Christianity which was, according to Clement of Alexandria, to be understood as a mystery religion. Encouragement for such a view, if not an inculcation, was to be found in a considerable body of Tractarian and other Oxford Movement literature which, as discussed in a previous chapter, gave emphasis to the patristic testimony of definite parallels between the ancient pagan mysteries and Christian rites.[1194] Newman's appeal for 'the notion of a *disciplina arcani* or secret tradition within the bosom of the church' was answered by the appearance of a number of 'Guilds' established for specific devotional purposes and secret Anglo-Catholic groups, such as the Society of the Holy Cross. As will be further demonstrated, the

---

absent in the Golden Dawn, which limited itself to providing what it perceived to be a path for students of occult teachings, leading to 'Adeptship'.

[1192] Felkin's first stay at Mirfield was in May 1900. It seems that he already had an association with some of the very small group of Fathers at this point. As recounted elsewhere in this study his 'Retreat' at Mirfield made a deep impression on him and it is plausible to suggest that these experiences helped shape his plans for both the Stella Matutina and the Holy Order of the Sun in the ensuing three years.

[1193] It should be noted that the same absence of material applies to the overwhelming majority of known members of all the Orders under discussion. There are surviving papers, in varying quantities, of perhaps no more than 25 people out of a total approximate membership of 700.

[1194] Frere, *The Anaphora*, pp. 232-33.

conclusion that the Stella Matutina was regarded by its clerical members as part of this very secret tradition seems highly probable.[1195]

Within a significant body of Anglo-Catholic literature appearing from the mid-nineteenth century onwards an emphasis was placed both on the need to recall and revive the practices of the early Church, and on the desirability of restoring 'the practice and cult, with some modification, which existed in England, in the high middle ages'.[1196] This was much the same message, albeit with considerable modification, which Felkin brought to the fledgling community in New Zealand following the intercession of Father Fitzgerald, when Felkin stated that the Stella Matutina was the 'esoteric side' of the Catholic Church which 'had descended from the Middle Ages'.[1197] For some of those clergy already steeped in the writings of the Tractarians and Oxford Movement, where enormous focus was placed on the power of Christian ritual and its associated sacred symbolism to provide the means of experiencing supernatural divinity, the Stella Matutina is likely to have appeared almost a natural and logical extension of their Christian devotion.[1198]

Numerous Anglo-Catholic publications were also available to guide not only the devoted lay congregations in deepening their spiritual experience of Christianity and its sacraments but also the priesthood itself.[1199] In the works of such prominent Anglo-Catholic theologians as Henry Parry Liddon, for example, the priest is urged to give consideration to 'the quality of his *inner* life' and to learn how to develop it.[1200] Bishop Frere stressed the importance of symbolism in religious ceremonial and, drawing on the

---

[1195] Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 110.
[1196] Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity*, p. 26.
[1197] Felkin, *Preliminary Address*, cited in Chapter 7.
[1198] This was certainly the view espoused in some documents of the Holy Order of the Sun which shared papers in common with the Stella Matutina. See 'Teachings on the Church: Apostolic Succession' and 'Various Teachings on Church for Second Grade Only' in Francis King (ed.), *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy,* pp. 230-233 and pp. 239-242.
[1199] The previously cited *Parson's Handbook* of Percy Dearmer is a case in point. This was also the stated purpose, at least in part, of the SSC. See Yelton, *Anglican Papalism*, p. 21.
[1200] The Reverend Dr. Barry A. Orford, *H. P. Liddon & the Priestly Ideal* (Oxford: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2009), pp. 2-3.

examples of Alexandrian influence and the views of Origen, argued for the need to interpret symbols and ceremony from a mystical position.

> Mystical interpretation is an attempt to give not the primary meaning of things, but their hidden and recondite meanings. It is addressed not to the plain man, but to the man who is initiated, who has a certain insight into what lies below the surface, and an interest in the hidden principles and obscure workings of things... Consequently mystical interpretation has from the earliest times been applied to all the objects of thought... As applied to religious thought, this method has the highest sanctions.[1201]

Emphasis on the importance of mysticism to the Christian, and especially the power of symbols and sacraments to transform the spiritual life of the Christian, is also given by Dean Inge in his *Personal Devotion and the Life of Religion:*

> The particular sacraments are meant to teach us that all life is sacramental. Every deliberate act should be, in a sense, the outward sign of inward grace. A sacrament is more than a symbol. A symbol leads us from the lower to the higher; a sacrament brings us back to earth, but infuses a heavenly meaning and divine potency into common things and actions.[1202]

[1201] Frere, *The Principles of Religious Ceremonial* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1906), pp. 3, 162-163.

[1202] Inge, *Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1924), pp. 47-48. Peter Davie has emphasized the importance of sacramentalism in Anglo-Catholic pastoral care noting, 'The Catholic system... is rooted in the principle of priestly-sacramental mediation. Salvation is a process, a growth in the holiness of life, made possible by the grace of the sacraments. So the parish priest's chief duties are his sacramental duties...Thus the prescriptions for pastoral practice given in Episcopal charges and pastoral handbooks were more than mere practical advice based on experience, they involved fundamental theological presuppositions about the nature of salvation and the work of divine grace. The Tractarians transformed the Anglican conception of pastoral care, when they established the principle of sacramentalism as the basis of pastoral practice.' Davie, *Sacramentalism and Pastoral Care,* p. 13.

Inge also refers to 'the spiral stair by which man may ascend' and in regard to this ascension says 'we know we must climb by degrees'.[1203] If the *fin-de-siècle* preoccupation with Romanticism and occultism and the contemporaneous Anglo-Catholic movement, which re-invested supernatural power in the initiatory sacraments and symbols of the Church, can be seen to have created a highly conducive environment for a magico-religious nexus to develop, such comments by Frere and Inge, would have provided some reassurance, if not a degree of 'sanction', for clerical initiation into the Grades of the Stella Matutina. Indeed, in terms of individual motivation, the particular Grade structure of the Order which promised a disciplined method of ascending by degrees ever closer to God is likely to have held a strong personal attraction for those clergy dedicated to developing their inner life and to uncovering the 'hidden glory' in the material world.[1204]

As was discussed in some detail earlier, the notion of climbing to heaven through progressive stages had an ancient pedigree and was by no means an innovation of the Victorian occult revival. The biblical story of Jacob and Beth-El had itself, as noted by Veenstra, drawn people's attention to the fact that 'there is... a stairway to heaven, if only a metaphorical one'.[1205] Whether metaphor or not, such a locution naturally invites the questions of whether and how it can be mounted. Certainly the methods and means of ascending to heaven were the subject of considerable ancient Jewish mystical and Neo-Platonic reasoning but they were also of particular interest to many Christian

---

[1203] Inge, *Personal Relgion*, pp.47, 28.

[1204] Reed comments on a supposed Anglo-Catholic tendency, especially amongst the young, to enjoy the one-upmanship which came from 'immersion in the Anglo-Catholic subculture and the acquisition of detailed ritual knowledge'. He observes that, 'like cricket, Anglo-Catholicism offered its young enthusiasts a heady blend of partisanship and arcana to be mastered'. See his *Glorious Battle*, pp. 213-216. Similar satisfaction may well have been derived from acquiring the exclusive and somewhat elite ritual knowledge obtained from the Stella Matutina.

[1205] Jan Veenstra, 'The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic', in Jan Bremmer & Jan Veenstra, *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 189-215 (p. 191). Also, as previously noted, there are numerous ancient Jewish texts on ascent. See, for example, Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*; Janowitz, *The Poetics of Ascent*; Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations in Early Jewish Mysticism*; Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*.

clergy in the late Middle Ages.[1206] In fact, considerable evidence exists to show that during the Middle Ages an interest in learned magic was extensive at all levels of the Church even if the precise nature of this interest remains imperfectly understood.[1207] Frank Klaassen has remarked that 'the most significant producer of a written (magical) literature was the church itself... principally monasteries'.[1208] In a similar context Benedek Lang has referred to the St. Augustine's library at Canterbury where 'the concentration of magic books in the library, copied and collected by monks' was so high that one observer has described it as 'a centre for magical studies'.[1209]

Notwithstanding the fact that Christian monotheism and the perceived role of the Church as being the sole means for salvation were undoubted impediments to receiving ecclesiastical approval for undertaking individual journeys of spiritual ascent it was clearly never a complete deterrence for either the lay congregation or the clergy.

> The general idea was that if there is a stairway to heaven, or at least a passage to a numinous beyond, one should venture to climb or explore it without allowing oneself to be put off by institutions or authorities claiming to dominate that access.[1210]

Father John Charles Fitzgerald, whom we have already encountered in some detail, was evidently one of those most willing to make such an exploration. In his case,

---

[1206] Veenstra considers this late medieval interest, which drew heavily on Neo-Platonic theurgical philosophy, to provide subsequently the 'backbone' for 'all scholarly and humanistic interest in the occult'; 'The Holy Almandal', p. 190. Medieval ritual magic has received considerable scholarly interest in recent years. See, for example, Claire Fanger (ed.), *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* ; Don Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* ; Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* ; Benedek Lang, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* .

[1207] The motivation of medieval clergy in producing magical manuscripts is no clearer than it is in the modern era.

[1208] Claire Fanger & Frank Klaassen, 'Magic III: Middle Ages', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism,* I, 724-731 (p. 728).

[1209] Lang, *Unlocked Books,* p. 201.

[1210] Veenstra, 'The Holy Almandal', p. 191.

as indeed with his clerical peers within the Stella Matutina, such adventures were being undertaken in far more favourable conditions than those enjoyed by his medieval monastic forbears. While it may be stretching the evidence to suggest that Bishop Frere gave the 'highest sanction' to the 'Mirfield Monks' becoming engaged in magical work, there seems little doubt that membership of the Stella Matutina must have had his tacit approval.[1211] Given the extremely high Grade which Father Fitzgerald attained in the Order, it is useful to examine the theological implications that the Grade system may be seen to hold in terms of both the Stella Matutina and its perceived interrelationship with Anglo-Catholicism.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the particular 'stairway' open for Stella Matutina initiates to climb was the Kabbalistic 'Tree of Life' which, considered as a symbolic diagram, comprised ten circles, or Sephiroth, variously described as 'emanations' of Divinity or God. The most distant from God, placed at the bottom of the Tree, was associated with Malkuth or Earth and while still considered as holy was nevertheless deemed to represent all those aspects of life pertaining to matter where the spirit of God was least evident. Conversely, the highest at the top of the tree was the undifferentiated and pure Spirit of God which had the Kabbalistic name of Kether, meaning 'Crown'. Between these two were the eight Sephiroth each of which denoted a particular aspect of divinity, or spiritual awakening, and which in theory became increasingly pure in spiritual terms as these approached the source of all manifestation, Kether.[1212] Arthur Green has observed that in considering the profound symbolic associations of the Sephiroth, they 'may be viewed not as hypostatic "entities" but as

---

[1211] It seems inconceivable that it would have been possible for Fathers Fitzgerald and Rees to carry out their Grade work in the Stella Matutina while resident at Mirfield without the knowledge of Frere. The routines and intimacy of the Community would have made it extremely difficult as would the requirement to make regular confession.

[1212] R. A. Gilbert, 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Hermeticism*, I, 544-550 (p. 546).

symbol clusters, linked by association, the mention...of any of which automatically brings to mind all the others'.[1213]

To each Sephiroth there corresponded a Grade within the Order and, in principle, a particular ritual for attainment of that Grade along with secret teachings and prescriptions regarding the activity of the initiate. Of particular significance was the division of these ten Grades into three groups. The lowest four Grades comprised the First or 'Outer' Order, named the 'Stella Matutina in the Outer'; the next three formed the Second or 'Inner' Order which, as previously noted, was specifically Rosicrucian in symbolism and called the Ordo Roseae Rubeae et Aureae Crucis (R.R. et A.C.); while the last three were considered to be the Third Order corresponding to the 'Supernal Triad', comprising the undifferentiated Creator, the Divine Masculine or spiritual Father of all manifestation, and the Divine Feminine or spiritual Mother of all created matter. [1214] Prior to the first Grade of Malkuth was the probationary Grade of Neophyte and between the First and Second Orders was the Grade of 'Portal', symbolically considered to be the biblical veil of 'Paroketh', dividing the outer temple from the Holy of Holies. Between the Second and Third Orders there was a further stage requiring the initiate to cross the 'Abyss' of 'Da'ath' where one made the significant step, at least in symbolism, of leaving the world of physical manifestation and entering the world of pure spirit, the domain of the Divine Triad. [1215]

In theory, therefore, there were thirteen Grades from Neophyte, bordering Malkuth, to that of Ipsissimus in Kether. Within the original Golden Dawn, however, the Third Order was never implemented and this was probably on the premise that it was unrealistic, if not blasphemous, to suppose that a corporeal human being could readily attain a state of spiritual consciousness commensurate with that of the Supernal

---

[1213] Arthur Green, *A Guide to the Zohar* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), p. 56.
[1214] In addition there were three Grades which were not associated with Sephiroth but which served as transitional bridges between the three Orders and which were a prerequisite for entry.
[1215] Ibid. See also King, *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 56-65.

Triad, or of God Himself. Indeed, even the higher Second Order Grades of Adeptus Major and Adeptus Exemptus were only nominally applied as titular positions of authority within the original Order. While in theory the adepti occupying these two Grades were engaged symbolically with occult and spiritual work which corresponded respectively, according to one document, with Christ's descent into hell and His resurrection after the three days, all of their actual magical work within the Golden Dawn concerned that of Adepti Minores (5=6), the first of the Second Order Grades, which flowed in symbolism from the crucifixion of Christ.[1216]

It is of some interest that the fervent Anglo-Catholic Dr. Felkin apparently felt no inhibitions in opening up the Third Order to his Stella Matutina initiates. Although even he may have stopped short of making the final Grade of Ipsissimus available, he nevertheless provided rituals and exercises for the next two highest Grades of the Supernal Triad.[1217] These were entitled Magister Templi denoting the spiritual consciousness of Binah, the Divine, Archetypal Feminine Mother, and Magus corresponding to Chokmah, the Divine Archetypal Father.[1218] Most of the Anglo-Catholic clergy members entered the Second Order and some achieved at least the Grade of Adeptus Exemptus. Father Fitzgerald, however, is one of the few members known to have entered the Third Order where he became Magister Templi. Given the symbolic correspondences of these Grades, the question must arise as to whether he really believed that, like Enoch and Ezekiel before him, he had ascended so high up the

---

[1216] The unpublished document is entitled 'The Apotheosis' and is one of the manuscripts written and/or owned by Frater Vincit Patitur, or George Slater who was a member of Mathers' Rosicrucian Order of the Alpha et Omega. See R. A. Gilbert, 'Seeking the Light that was Lost: More Light on the Origins and Development of the Golden Dawn,' in *Yeats and the Nineties: Yeats Annual No. 14*, edited by Warwick Gould, pp. 41-42.

[1217] There is conflicting evidence as to whether Felkin was influenced by his meetings with Rudolf Steiner in constructing his higher Grade rituals. Commentators such as King and Howe (and others who rely on these two) claim this is so but their own accounts are based on the ambiguous and often unclear statements of Miss Stoddart in her *Lightbearers of Darkness*, pp. 91-92. In any event, apart from the use of red and blue pillars in these ceremonies, there are few elements in any of Felkin's higher grade rituals which are clearly suggestive of Steiner's influence. For Steiner's use of this pillar symbolism see Rudolf Steiner, *"Freemasonry" and Ritual Work* (Great Barrington: Steiner Books, 2007), pp. 142, 360-361.

[1218] See King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 56.

stairway to heaven that he now dwelt spiritually within the Supernal Triad, at one with the very highest Archangelic and Divine beings, Christ included. The same question can equally be asked of Dr. Felkin and other Chiefs of the Order who achieved the still higher Grade of Magus. In Fitzgerald's case, however, the question is of greater significance in virtue of his membership of a monastic Anglican community.

An indication of the answer can be found to some degree in a small number of unpublished documents of the Stella Matutina which contain references to the highest Grades of the Third Order. Whereas the First Order Grades and the initial Grade of the Second Order blend an esoteric and mystical understanding of Christianity with a considerable body of rituals and practices that are unmistakeably magical in their intent and execution, the Third Order, and even the higher levels of the Second, appear to be entirely mystical in nature.

> The 7=4, the 8=3, the 9=2 do not belong to this Earth as we understand it, but are suggestions great and beautiful, portrayed in ritual as an illustration to which the flower of humanity is progressing.[1219]

Some weeks, and possibly months, before entry into the Third Order candidates were given a short document entitled 'Preparation for Receiving 8=3 Grade' which prescribed a number of activities to be undertaken before the ritual of initiation.[1220] The first instruction was to study all the Second Order rituals with 'special reference' to the following quotation:

[1219] Unpublished address to Adepti Majores by Mrs. Felkin made on 8 November 1936.
As previously noted the Golden Dawn ascribed an odd numbering system to each of the Grades which reflected progression through the grades of the ten Sephiroth. Thus the first full grade of Malkuth, the tenth Sephirah, was denoted as 1=10, the second as 2=9 and the last as 10=1. The preliminary 'Neophyte' Grade was 0=0. The highest grades available were those of 7=4, 8=3 and 9=2.
[1220] Unpublished Stella Matutina document in a private collection.

> We have to lay down one irrevocable law -- that he who has resolved, setting all things else aside, to enter the Path of the Quest must look for his progress in proportion as he pursues holiness for its own sake. He who in the Secret Orders dreams of the Adeptship which they claim, ex hypothesi, to impart to those who can receive, and who does not say 'Sanctity' in his heart till his lips are cleansed, and then does not say it with his lips, is not so much far from the goal, as without having conceived regarding it.[1221]

It is likely that the strong emphasis on 'sanctity' in this high Grade is derived in part from the particular text of a Jewish Kabbalistic document, required reading for all Stella Matutina members, which corresponds to the Sephirah of this Grade, where it is stated, 'The Third Path is the Sanctifying Intelligence, and is the foundation of Primordial Wisdom, which is called the Creator of Faith...'.[1222] While cultivating sanctity for its own sake is mentioned occasionally in several Order papers as being desirable for all Order members it does appear to be the identifying central motif of this Grade. Manifestly, the injunction would not be out of place as a desideratum for any priest or monk and the following requirements of the aspirant are not dissimilar from many of the 'Brotherhood Rules' of the Society of the Holy Cross or their equivalents in the Community of the Resurrection:[1223]

[1221] Ibid. The quotation is taken from A.E. Waite, *The Hidden Church of the Holy Graal* (London: Rebman, 1909), p. 486. At a time of fairly close cooperation between Felkin and Waite (1903-1912) the latter wrote several papers on aspects of the Grades which were incorporated into the Stella Matutina.

[1222] See William Westcott's edition of *The Thirty Two Paths of Wisdom* which formed part of his edition of the *Sepher Yetzirah* originally published individually as one of ten volumes in the *Collectanea Hermetica* series which first appeared in 1893. See Robert Gilbert ed. *Collectanea Hermetica* , p. 33. An alternative translation for the Hebrew of 'Sanctifying Intelligence' is given by Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan as 'Sanctified Consciousness' in his *Sefer Yetzirah: The Book of Creation* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1990), p. 297. The ten volumes of the series were required reading for members of the Golden Dawn and Westcott's edition of the *Sepher Yetzirah* was retyped and issued to members of the Stella Matutina, with an introduction from one of the Chiefs, as an Order paper.

[1223] See William Davage (ed.), *In this Sign Conquer*, pp.44-50 and Wilkinson, *The Community of the Resurrection*, pp. 40-43. It is of curious interest that each day the brethren of the Community of the Resurrection recited all, or the first thirty-two verses, of Psalm 119. This Psalm is divided into twenty-two sections corresponding to each of the Hebrew twenty-two letters. Whether coincidental or not the Stella Matutina expended considerable effort on the mystical and Kabbalistic significance of these letters

Each day for three weeks spend three periods of eight minutes each in contemplation in the following order. (a) Before you rise in the morning review your past life, seeking out and acknowledging the errors you have made...(b) Between the hours of noon and 3 p.m. consider your present mode of life and how you may rectify past errors and bring a more spiritual atmosphere into your existence. (c) Look forward fearlessly into the future. Endeavour to comprehend the meaning of repentance and forgiveness of sin -- that therein lies the true secret of Alchemic Transmutation of base metal into pure gold. Consider how ... you may be of the greatest service to God and humanity. Try to understand the meaning of Incarnation and Redemption. This should be done after withdrawing to your own chamber at night... Write out notes on the above and, if you wish to, bring them to the Chiefs and ask their advice.[1224]

The Layman, the Priest, and the Monk: the influence of Joachim of Fiore

Further evidence of the manner in which Father Fitzgerald, and other Anglo-Catholic priests, may have regarded the Stella Matutina, and specifically the Grades of the Third Order, can be traced to a potential source of influence on several leading exponents of Anglo-Catholicism which may have, in turn, played a part in the development of the pronounced Christian emphasis within the Stella Matutina.

Some reference has already been made to the significant effects of German Romanticism which, along with Hegelian philosophy, have been shown to have shaped

---

which also, in their system, corresponded to the number of paths connecting the Sephiroth and to the twenty-two cards of the Tarot Major Arcana. Similarly, 'thirty-two' is the number of the Kabbalist 'Paths of Wisdom' when one includes the ten Sephiroth. It is known that there was a Stella Matutina document (not apparently extant) entitled, 'The Mystical and Magical Significance of Psalm 119'. The latter information was provided to me by an ex-Chief of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple.

[1224] 'Preparation for Receiving the 8=3 Grade', p.1.

the views of Charles Gore through the teaching of T. H. Green. The influence of Green has also been detected both in the controversial *Lux Mundi* and in the creation of the Community of the Resurrection, the source of several Stella Matutina recruits and where Dr. Felkin is known to have stayed on at least two occasions and consulted with Bishop Frere.[1225] Such connections are important in the light of an entry made in an Order member's notebook which is attributed to Mrs. Felkin and dated 14 March 1928:

> The old Chief (i.e. Dr. Felkin) always held that our Holy Order came down to us from the Middle Ages. It is the Hidden Church and its three secret Orders are linked according to God's plan. The First Order is but a probationary first step in preparation for the Second and reflects God the Father as revealed in the Old Testament and also in the true ancient mysteries of our tradition. The initiates of these Mysteries are the Catechumens or laymen. The Second Order is that of God the Son as revealed in the New Testament and pertains to the secret teachings which the Master taught His disciples. These initiates are the true Priests. And that of the Third concerns the Holy Spirit of which no more may be spoken here.[1226]

Of interest is the fact that this description of the three Orders of the Stella Matutina matches closely an *eidos* of history advocated by the twelfth-century Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Fiore (c.1135-1202). Ernst Benz, whose works include a volume on the Christian Kabbalah, is quoted by Glenn Magee in a reference to the work of Joachim, as follows:

> Ernest Benz writes that in Joachim, 'Development and progress are not understood in human terms… They are, rather, considered as steps in the

[1225] See Chapter 5.
[1226] Unpublished Notebook of 'Frater S.S.' Private Collection. No information of the identity of this man is available.

progressive self-realization and self-revelation of the divine Trinity in the history of mankind'. Joachim speaks of the 'Age of the Father', 'Age of the Son' and 'Age of the Holy Spirit'... Each age is seen as representing an advance in spirituality and in freedom, and each is dominated by a different archetype: the layman, the priest, and the monk.[1227]

While there is no evidence to indicate that either Dr. Felkin or his followers followed Joachim in his Trinitarian division of history or millennial expectations the apparent use of Joachimist terminology in Mrs. Felkin's statement invites the suggestion of an exposure to Joachimist influence. Although the term 'monk' is not used there are scattered references throughout several Stella Matutina documents to indicate that the Third Order members were envisaged as being 'Indwellers', devoting their time to contemplation and a monastic 'inwardness'.[1228] Some affinity of ideas may also be seen here in the notion of a secret and, presumably, more spiritual church, which was entailed by Cardinal John Henry Newman's views and embraced by Felkin, and that of Joachim who, Geoffrey Rowell notes, 'looked for the emergence of an *ecclesia spiritualis,* a spiritual church, setting it in a dynamic Trinitarian conception of history'.[1229] These parallels might well be dismissed as no more than an interesting, but accidental, confluence of ideas were it not for the fact that Joachim of Fiore is beginning to emerge in scholarship as being a potent source of influence. Rowell has observed that Joachim's vision of the future church 'fired many in the Middle Ages, in the Renaissance, and was powerfully influential in more secular forms in some of the

---

[1227] Glenn Alexander Magee, *Hegel and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 237.
[1228] Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness,* p. 90. Scattered references also appear in some of Mrs. Felkin's monthly newsletter to Order members.
[1229] Geoffrey Rowell, *Prejudices & Perspectives: Anglo-Catholic History Reconsidered* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2000), pp. 3-4.

philosophies of history of German Romanticism in particular'.[1230] Katz and Popkin have found 'the rudiments of modern messianism in the work' of Joachim and they quote Norman Cohn's description of Joachim's system as being 'the most influential one known to Europe until the appearance of Marxism'.[1231] Joachim's particular vision referred to by Rowell involved replacing the 'institutional church of Peter' with the 'spiritual church of John', a substitution which has often received favourable attention in many modern accounts of 'esoteric Christianity', including that of the Stella Matutina.[1232]

In her *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* Marjorie Reeves traces what she believes to be a pervasive influence of Joachite thought on both Protestant and Catholic reformers through the later Middle Ages and Renaissance and beyond to the twentieth century.[1233] This influence is said to involve many 'points of cross-reference' between Joachimism and those religious radicals, even occultists, who claimed 'a gift of spiritual understanding to interpret the hidden secrets of the Scriptures'.[1234] Also included in this regard are a number of seventeenth-century Rosicrucians, such as Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654), 'perhaps the chief initiator of Rosicrucianism'.[1235] Reeves argues persuasively that in many different ways, these diverse religious reformers, theorists and prophets appeared to draw inspiration from Joachite symbolism and to employ or adapt his ideas within their own 'dreams' and

---

[1230] Ibid, p. 4. Rowell observes here that Cardinal Ratzinger did 'his doctoral work on Joachim of Fiore' and wonders whether, given Joachim's belief that 'the spiritual church of John would replace the institutional church of Peter', he had 'put my finger on one of the sources of his ecclesial concerns'. The attraction of Joachim's ideas for 'Renaissance hermeticists' is discussed in John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 13.

[1231] David S. Katz and Richard H. Popkin, *Messianic Revolution: Radical Religious Politics to the End of the Second Millennium* (London: Penguin, 1999), p. xxi.

[1232] This view is increasingly endorsed by modern scholars including Magee. Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz describe the state of 'Joachim studies' in the last chapter of their *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 113-121. The importance of Joachite ideas for Rudolf Steiner is described in Virginia Sease and Manfred Schmidt-Brabant, *Thinkers, Saints, Heretics: Spiritual Paths of the Middle Ages* (Trowbridge: Temple Lodge, 2007), 'Lecture 9', pp. 136-149.

[1233] Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* .

[1234] Ibid, p. 145.

[1235] Ibid, p. 150.

prophecies.[1236] This is a view shared to some degree by Christopher McIntosh who notes 'The Tűbingen circle from which the (Rosicrucian) manifestos emerged was composed of men who desired and anticipated the golden age foreseen by Joachim of Fiore'. [1237]

Reeves also gives some attention to the considerable interest which Joachim held for W. B. Yeats, noting his use of Joachite themes in some of his stories about alchemy, suggesting to Reeves 'the possible connections between Joachimist prophecy and Rosicrucian alchemy in the seventeenth century'.[1238] Her unanswered question as to how 'Yeats got onto Joachim' is surely answered by the fact that he was a member of both the original Golden Dawn and the later Stella Matutina.[1239] There is extensive evidence to show that Yeats took his magical studies very seriously and there is little doubt that, like the majority of Order members, he would have been very familiar with the works of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) and Dr. John Dee (1527- 1608 or 1609), both of whom refer to Joachim in their works.[1240] Yeats was also an intimate of A. E. Waite, a fellow member of the Golden Dawn and its schismatic successors, who wrote of Joachim in several of his works on Christian mysticism and referred to him in his extensive treatment of the esoteric 'hidden' Christian Church.[1241] Yeats was also closely acquainted with Dr. Felkin, who was indeed his Chief in the Stella Matutina, and is known to have advanced to the highest Second Order Grade which Felkin produced for the Order following his visit to Rudolf Steiner from whom he supposedly

---

[1236] Ibid, pp. 149-152.
[1237] McIntosh, *The Rosy Cross Unveiled*, p. 48
[1238] Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore*, p. 172.
[1239] Ibid,, p. 171.
[1240] See Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment*, pp. 66-75; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Chthonios Books, 1987 facsimile), pp. 172, 539; Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore*, p. 150; Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 166, 221. Considerable material appearing in the Golden Dawn curricula is drawn from the works of Agrippa and Dee.
[1241] See Waite's *The Hidden Church of the Holy Grail*; Waite, 'On Intimations Concerning the Interior Church in Schools of Christian Mysticism,' republished in R. A. Gilbert's *Hermetic Papers of A. E. Waite*, pp. 215-230 (p. 230); and his *Lamps of Western Mysticism* (New York: Rudolf Steiner Publications, reprinted 1973), pp. 147-148.

received advanced occult knowledge in the summer of 1912.[1242] Consequently, there is no shortage of likely sources for Yeats' interest in Joachim and similar reasoning could be applied regarding any Joachimite influence on Felkin.[1243] In Felkin's case, however, it is almost certain that Rudolf Steiner would have been a major additional conduit through which Felkin would have become aware of the application of Joachite ideas and symbols to an occult and purportedly Rosicrucian Order. Indeed, Steiner discusses Joachim in detail in a number of his works and regarded him as an 'initiate' of what he considered to be the 'Christian Stream of Initiation,' which preceded, and is curiously distinguished from, the 'Rosicrucian Stream of Initiation'.[1244]

In terms of the present context, however, a less obvious and additional, if not alternative, explanation for the apparent presence of Joachite thought in Felkin's reconstruction of the Golden Dawn may lie within his exposure to aspects of Anglo-Catholicism in general, and to the Community of the Resurrection in particular. This possibility inheres in the influence which, Magee has argued, Joachim of Fiore and his Trinitarian metaphysics exercised over Hegel and his threefold idea of thesis -- antithesis -- synthesis.[1245] As previously discussed, Magee's thesis is that Hegel was immersed in the Hermetic tradition and, from the occult perspective, several of its cognate subjects such as alchemy and the Kabbalah, particularly the Kabbalah of Isaac Luria (1534-1572). Magee believes it to be 'very likely' that Hegel read Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* which we have already seen was a major source of material for the

---

[1242] King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 100.

[1243] The emphasis on particular symbols within the Golden Dawn which are also the preoccupation of Joachim of Fiore is a subject requiring further research. The latter, for example, gives considerable attention to his interpretation of I John 5:8 which is given some prominence in the Golden Dawn Second Order ritual, following the symbolic crucifixion of the candidate. See Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 176-177 and Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, II, 215. Again, Joachim's diagram 'Trinitarian Tree Circles,' and its correspondences, have a close similarity with an important Golden Dawn diagram known as the 'Caduceus of Hermes'. See McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, pp.187-188 and Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, I, 131. Many other similarities and parallels, such as the perceived significance of the numbers 5,7 and 12, and of the use of colour, are also apparent. See West and Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History*, pp. 19-21.

[1244] Rudolf Steiner, *Three Paths of the Soul to Christ* (New York: Anthroposophic Press, 1942). The two lectures Steiner gave on this topic were delivered in Stockholm on 16 and 17 April 1912.

[1245] Magee, *Hegel*, p. 236.

Golden Dawn, including its rituals.[1246] In fact Magee goes further in asserting that, 'in the sense in which Yates uses the term, Hegel is a Rosicrucian' although he concedes that any proposition that Hegel was actually a member of a Rosicrucian group or 'some other mystical sect, is tantalizing but, at present, devoid of proof'.[1247]

It is far beyond the scope of this study to assess the strength of Magee's contentious argument but it is most apparent that he has amassed considerable evidence to establish that Hegel was familiar with many of the sources which informed the Golden Dawn and the Stella Matutina, including some relating to magic, which he regarded as 'an unmediated act'.[1248] Indeed, Magee presents a plausible case that Hegel utilised and adapted many ideas contained within this material, as well as those of Joachim of Fiore. Given Felkin's well documented fascination with Steiner's conception of Rosicrucianism, and his efforts to obtain additional occult teaching from Steiner, it is tempting to employ 'Occam's razor' and simply conclude that any Joachite influence within the Stella Matutina can be attributed to Steiner.[1249] Under this supposition it might be proposed that members of the Community of the Resurrection who had absorbed a flavour of Hermetic and Joachimite influence from Gore's exposure to Hegelianism would have felt encouraged to have found some familiar views, if somewhat more elaborated, within Felkin's Hermetic Order. The difficulty with this as a complete explanation is that the reverse could equally be true, namely that Felkin was profoundly influenced by his unwavering Anglo-Catholicism, which may have included Joachimite ideas, and that these were reinforced through his contact with Frere and other Community of the Resurrection fathers. If so, his discovery of sympathetic ideas being articulated within Steiner's philosophy would have provided

---

[1246] Chapter Four.
[1247] Magee, *Hegel*, p. 254.
[1248] Magee, *Hegel*, p. 222.
[1249] Virtually all published accounts of the Golden Dawn consider Steiner to have had a major effect on Felkin. These depend to a considerable extent on Stoddart's hostile account of Felkin in her *Light-bearers of Darkness* and on Waite's account in his autobiography *Shadows of Life and Thought*. While a degree of influence from Steiner can be detected within the Stella Matutina documents it appears to be very slight.

some endorsement of Steiner as being a genuine source of Rosicrucian teaching. Within the available Stella Matutina documents there is in fact, little evidence of Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophical ideas but there are many and diverse references to Christianity and particularly to Anglo-Catholic preoccupations with the Sacraments, exorcism, and healing through prayer.

Felkin's interest in Steiner appears to have arisen sometime between 1908 and 1910 when Steiner was the General- Secretary of the German Theosophical Society and it is from the latter date that Gilbert states that Steiner's teaching 'rapidly gained prominence amongst the gathered wisdom of the Stella Matutina'.[1250] By 1908, however, Felkin had already forged a close relationship with the Community of the Resurrection over at least the preceding eight years. In May 1900 he stayed for nearly a month with the Community at Mirfield to recover from the death of his first wife. By this time Felkin had been a member of the Golden Dawn Second Order for some six years and it is apparent from all extant sources that the Order was a major part of his life.[1251] According to Mrs. Felkin's account, Father Fitzgerald facilitated an introduction to Charles Gore, then Superior at Mirfield, who invited Felkin to stay with the fledgling community which numbered at that time no more than ten resident members.[1252] Precisely why such a courtesy was extended to him at a time when Charles Gore and the Community were still becoming established at Mirfield is not known but (in the following words of Mrs. Harriot Felkin) it evidently made a deep impression on him:

[1250] See Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 74, Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Daw,* p. 262 and 260, King, *Ritual Magic in England,* p. 99. All these accounts appear to rely heavily on Stoddart. While there is no doubt that Felkin was deeply impressed by Steiner and sought teaching from him very little of this teaching appeared to find its way into the Order's curriculum. It can only be assumed that Felkin encouraged Stella Matutina members to study Steiner's work but kept it separate from the Order.

[1251] Felkin's diary notes written in a prayer book give prominence to Order activities and Mrs. Felkin's account of her husband's life in several issues of the journal *The Lantern* and in the newletters make it clear that the Order was Felkin's life work.

[1252] For the growth of the Community of the Resurrection, see Wilkinson *The Community of the Resurrection,* pp. 38-70. Canon Wilkinson has since produced a brief study showing the decline of the Community over the last twenty years. Current numbers have fallen to the level of 1900 and 'since 1990 the CR (associated College) has been so short of numbers that the post of Principal has been filled from outside'. Alan Wilkinson, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Kelham & Mirfield,* pp. 14-15.

> I got an idea of real Religious Life; the quiet regular life, the simple food, and the hours of silence and prayer; the wonderful talks with men who had dedicated their whole lives to the service of God. All these brought me to a deep inward realisation of the reality of the unseen.[1253]

Apparently Felkin was so affected by his experience that he broached with Gore the subject of his joining the Community of the Resurrection as a lay brother but his request was declined on the grounds that his work was 'in the outer world' although he would always be welcome as a guest.[1254] The invitation to visit again was taken up in March 1908 when Felkin returned to Mirfield to recuperate from a serious accident. The Community, which was now under the rule of Father Frere, had expanded considerably in both membership and in the scale of its activities at home and abroad, which included missionary work, and opening a community in South Africa.[1255] As previously, Felkin was reported as having been deeply impressed by his experience, and supposedly stated that 'up there, away from everyone, living by a rule, with fresh air and simple food, I seemed to return from a long journey'.[1256] Such positive impressions were clearly reciprocated for between his two visits both Fathers Fitzgerald and Rees were initiated into the Stella Matutina, followed by at least one other Father and it seems plausible to assume that Dean Bennett was introduced to the Order through his close connections with the Community of the Resurrection.[1257] Were Gore and Frere aware of Dr. Felkin's magical Order and the fact that a small number of the professed Fathers were being initiated? There is no known evidence to decide this question, but the very nature and intimacy of life at Mirfield and the apparent respect in which Felkin was held by Anglo-

---

[1253] Harriot Felkin, 'The Wayfaring Man', *The Lantern,* I, No. 8 (1937), pp. 12-17 (p.15).
[1254] Ibid.
[1255] *CR Diamond Jubilee Book*, pp. 31-52.
[1256] Hariot Felkin, 'The Wayfaring Man', I, No.10, (1937), pp. 8-12 (p. 10).
[1257] See chapters One and Six.

Catholic clergy in both England and New Zealand would seem to suggest that this was so.[1258]

What was it that so attracted these clergy to join a magical Order which demanded a heavy level of commitment in terms of study and 'magical examinations', and one that had on several occasions during its short existence been the subject of considerable unsavoury publicity in the media?[1259] This question has potent relevance in the particular case of Father (later Bishop) Timothy Rees who joined the Order in 1909, a mere two years after making his profession to the Community of the Resurrection.[1260] Beyond any personal charisma and authority which Felkin must have been able to display, it is evident that several other motivating factors had to converge. Whereas it might be plausible in certain cases to attribute clerical membership of the Golden Dawn to eccentricity in a period of great public interest in the occult, this clearly will not serve as a satisfactory explanation for the complete acceptance by manifestly 'Orthodox' clergy of Felkin's methods of achieving spiritual ascent in a Christian context. The emphasis on ritualism, supernaturalism, and a *disciplina arcani*, supported by renewed interest in the ancient mystery cults and a possible exposure to the Hermetic tradition, can be seen to have established almost a minimally necessary condition for the entry of Anglo-Catholic clergy into the Grades of the Stella Matutina. It is difficult to conceive of a Lutheran, Methodist or even Evangelical Anglican minister taking the same

---

[1258] An interesting anecdote told to me by an ex-Chief of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple was that Mrs. Felkin claimed that 'the old Chief' (i.e. Felkin) was friends with Father Hugh Benson, son of Archbishop Benson, who achieved some notoriety by converting to Roman Catholicism. Benson was a novitiate at Mirfield when Felkin made his first visit. At that time there were less than ten members resident and clearly the two would have had some contact. Benson was later an advisor to Evelyn Underhill at a period when she was both contemplating a similar conversion and when she was a member of Waite's Holy Order of the Golden Dawn.

[1259] Adverse publicity for the Order ensued after the notorious 'Horus case' and Mathers' attempt in court to prevent Aleister Crowley from publishing Order material. These are covered in depth in the works of King, Howe and Gilbert. For the Horus case see, for example, Gilbert *Twilight of the Magicians*, pp. 42-43.

[1260] Similarly, the Reverend Charles John Bucknall joined the Order some two years after his Ordination at the College of Mirfield. See *The College of the Resurrection Mirfield: College Roll* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co., 1964), p. 7. The College Roll is published every third year.

step.[1261] Yet clearly this would not have constituted a sufficient condition unless these priests were also convinced that the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina was a genuine aspect of the Christian Church, its putative hidden and esoteric dimension. While such a conviction might have been reached by those deeply conversant with the literature surrounding the Christian Kabbalah, it is unlikely that this would have applied to all, or even most of the clergy in question. Nor could they have formed such a conclusion solely from the rituals and accompanying instructional material which formed the bulk of the Golden Dawn material, and adopted in its entirety by the Stella Matutina. In fact, the First Order literature is almost devoid of any reference to Christianity. More importantly, they would not have had access to Order material until after initiation and therefore this belief can only have been gained through its prior portrayal by Felkin as an overtly Christian, albeit secret, organisation within the Catholic tradition.

The Shield of the Trinity

How was Felkin able to convince Anglo-Catholic priests and professed members of a monastic Order to join, virtually on trust, an organisation espousing and practising magic, thereby exposing themselves and their church to potential embarrassment? An intriguing clue may be provided by Francis G. Salt (1917-1994), one of the last ex-Chiefs of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple in New Zealand. Salt's father, Gilbert Salt, was an Anglo-Catholic clergyman and also an initiate of the Stella Matutina.[1262] Gilbert Salt's date of initiation is not known but it is likely that Felkin was alive at the time of his joining. To the question as to how his father, who was reported by Francis as being 'deeply devout', came to join the Order the answer was that 'they (the Chiefs) explained

[1261] Still less does it explain the even greater oddity of so many Quakers being attracted to join the Order in New Zealand.
[1262] For details of Gilbert Salt see Chapter Seven.

the Shield of the Trinity to him. My father was a great student of Athanasius'.[1263] Now the so-called 'Shield of the Trinity', or Scutum Fidei, is supposed to represent in diagrammatic form the first part of the Athanasian Creed and the relationships of the constituent parts of the Trinity. Even a cursory glance at most renditions of this symbol shows it to be identical in structure to the lower four Sephiroth of the Kabbalist Tree of Life, including the connecting Paths between the Sephiroth.[1264] In place of the Hebrew names of the Kabbalist Sephiroth are those of Deus, Pater, Filius and Spiritus Sanctus although the positioning of the latter two (as occupying the last circle) are reversed in variant diagrams.[1265]

The earliest known form of the diagram, which is evidently 'attested in various manuscripts c. 1208-1260' contains a cross surmounting the last circle and has a striking resemblance to several Golden Dawn diagrams of the lower Triadic portion of the Tree of Life. Within the Hermetic Order the four circles pictured and their connecting paths represent the First Order of the Golden Dawn and Stella Matutina. It may be noted in passing that the Christian terms appearing on the *Scutum Fidei* and the inherent relations between what is symbolised, can be subsumed within the Golden Dawn Kabbalistic understanding of the Grades and it most probable that this is precisely what the Chiefs conveyed to Gilbert Salt. Of particular interest is the claim that while the exact provenance of the diagram is unknown it has been claimed to have been influenced by Joachim of Fiore's various triadic representations of both the Trinity and the Tetragrammaton, the latter which figured predominantly in Golden Dawn symbolism.[1266]

[1263] Personal communication from F. G. Salt, 15 November 1993.
[1264] I have been unable to determine to what extent, if any, this somewhat obvious link between the Kabbalist Tree of Life and the Shield of the Trinity has previously been noted.
[1265] Edward N. West, *Outward Signs: The Language of Christian Symbolism* (New York: Walker & Co, 1989), p. 34. See also W. Ellwood Post, *Saints, Sign and Symbols* (London: SPCK, 1974), p. 16.
[1266] Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore*, pp. 6-8.

As previously noted, there was a major interest by many leading Anglo-Catholic clergy in working more closely with the Eastern Orthodox Church and even in the possibility of reunification, a subject sometimes discussed favourably by Mrs. Felkin in her monthly 'Whare Ra' newsletters.[1267] Such interest appropriately embraced an equal interest by Father Frere and others in the work of Athanasius who, while evidently not the author of the so-called Athanasian Creed, nevertheless propagated the notion of a triune God, and especially the deity of the Holy Spirit within that Trinity.[1268] Most importantly, apart from being 'the first to introduce knowledge of monasticism to the West', he expressed the theological notion of *theosis,* declaring that the 'Word of God "became man that we might become God"'.[1269] In his discussion of the potential transformation involved in *theosis* Robert Mathiesen has noted:

> This experience transforms one completely, in a way that is precisely specified by the Orthodox Church. One undergoes a process that is called *theosis*... a word which (in Greek) means *becoming God*, but which may conveniently – yet somewhat misleadingly -- be rendered as *deification*... This is the ultimate goal of human life, which every member of the Orthodox Church is allowed to pursue to death: an esotericism that is wholly integrated into Byzantine culture.[1270]

Whether or not this referred to the Shield of the Trinity, as in Salt's case, it is reasonable to suppose that this was the attractive prize which Dr. Felkin held out to the Anglican priests: an esotericism that was wholly integrated into an Anglo-Catholicism

---

[1267] For example, Fitzgerald stated in 1918, 'The Greeks are certainly looking forward in hope to reunion with the Church of England and I do pray that this may be one result of the war'. See Wilkinson, *The Community of the Resurrection,* p. 145. Alan Wilkinson observes that the Community of the Resurrection 'developed major links with Orthodoxy. Frere paid four visits to Russia before 1914. Serbian refugee clergy stayed at Mirfield. Frere helped to look after Serbian ordinands in Oxford. Frere was the first Anglican President of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius founded in 1928.' Wilkinson, *A Tale of Two Monasteries,*p.11.

[1268] 'Athanasius', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, pp. 99-100.

[1269] Robert Mathiesen, 'Byzantium', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Esotericism*, I, 218-225 (p. 224).

[1270] Ibid.

which was already deeply sympathetic to both the notion of spiritual ascent and to Eastern Orthodoxy. The system of Grades whereby the aspiring believer climbed the spiritual ladder from Neophyte to Ipsissimus was manifestly one of becoming god-like, angelic and becoming part of the Divine Triad or Trinity. With the more expressly Christian interpretation of the Order which Felkin supplied, and the Trinitarian explanation of the three Orders, it is not difficult to see that the Stella Matutina began to be viewed as an Anglo-Catholic process of *theosis*. Thus, the First Order (Father) could be seen to match the first Eastern Orthodox stage of catharsis, the Second Order (Son) matched that of 'illumination', while the Third Order stage, developed through contemplation and meditation, led to full *theosis* or deification where the illuminated soul is taken up to 'dwell' in the Supernal Triangle.

An Anglo-Catholic description of the ascent of the soul, which bears close similarities in many respects to that of Theosis, appears in *The Spiral Way* written by the popular and influential writer on mysticism Evelyn Underhill, under the *non de plume* John Cordelier. As previously observed, Underhill had herself been a member of Waite's Holy Order of the Golden Dawn, and in view of several common friends and acquaintances it seems most likely that she was known to Felkin. She was clearly of some influence within Anglo-Catholic circles and in 1927 was one of the main speakers at the Anglo-Catholic Congress where she presented a paper on the Eucharist.[1271] Copies of *The Spiral Way* were in the libraries of Felkin and of the Smaragdum Thalasses, as were copies of her similar work, *The Path of the Eternal Wisdom* (1911).

> Here is the true vocation of the race: resisted only at the cost of a complete stagnation… There is a Voice that cries to us from out the storm of Becoming: that demands our co-operation: that invites us to great surrender and great joy.

[1271] Evelyn Underhill, 'Sacraments and Mysticism', in *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress: London 1927* (London: The Society of SS. Peter & Paul, 1927), pp. 43-50.

The Spirit of Christ sweeps through the world on its journey to the Father... It cries "Follow! Follow!" to recalcitrant life lagging behind it... he who hears it, is caught by that cosmic music to the high enchantment of the lover, for in its cadence is the very sorcery of love. Celestial beauty lingers in its accents, and all the magical appeal of ecstasy and pain. It speaks to us in every growing, changing thing, it speaks in solemn stars and shrouded fields; calling us to a conscious sharing in the mighty business of the spiritual world... Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis: so runs the dialectic of the soul. As with the mysteries of the Christian drama, so too with the experience of the individual soul... In joy, in sorrow and in triumph the romantic melody of our inner life is expressed: the "ecclesiastical music" of our eager yet imperfect imitation of Christ... A threefold ascent, a spiral way, is then disclosed to us, as the pathway from Appearance to Reality.[1272]

Physician Extraordinary

In the context of literary influence a favourite book of Dr. Felkin was said to be *The Light Invisible,* a book of short stories, first published in 1903, by Robert Hugh Benson, son of Archbishop Edward White Benson, and a famous convert to Roman Catholicism. The stories involve an elderly priest whose assistance is sought by various people in a state of spiritual despair. They are delicate and understated stories but all involve a supernatural element requiring the priest's expertise to resolve. Although not explicitly portrayed as a 'Magus', he impresses in some stories as a kind of benign 'white magician'. In the Preface Benson gives a description of the priest who is evidently fictional but could have been based on one or more of the Mirfield Fathers:

[1272] Evelyn Underhill, *The Spiral Way* (London: John M. Watkins, 1912), pp. 8-17. Undoubtedly Underhill was well aware that the Golden Dawn method of 'climbing the Tree of Life' was by means of an undulating spiral, which symbolically was considered to be the winding undulations formed by the Paths between the Sephiroth and thereby illustrating the folds of the Snake by which humanity was expelled from the Garden of Eden. Her use of the Hegelian terms 'thesis', 'antithesis', 'synthesis' and mention of the 'dialectic' is clearly of interest.

> He would be the first to disclaim… the role of an accredited teacher, other than that which his sacred office conferred on him… His power… was no more than a particular development of a faculty common to all who possess a coherent spiritual life. To one Divine Truth finds entrance through laws of nature, to another through the medium of other sciences or arts; to my friend it presented itself in directly sensible forms. Had his experiences, however, even seemed to contravene Divine Revelation, he would have rejected them with horror: entire submission to the Divine Teacher upon earth… should normally precede the exercise of all other spiritual capacities… I have taken pains to submit the book before publication to the judgment of those whose theological learning is sufficient to reassure me that at least I have not so far misunderstood my friend's words and tales, as to represent him as transgressing the explicit laws of ascetical, moral, mystical, or dogmatic theology… To these counsellors I must express my gratitude.[1273]

There are some interesting aspects to Benson's book which are worth elaborating. In his *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians* Gilbert refers to a species of popular occult fiction which 'rely upon an unquestioned acceptance of the reality of supernatural forces' and employ the device of a 'White Magician' or 'hero who fills the role of a supremely wise Initiate… using his occult training to solve supernatural problems'.[1274] Gilbert cites Algernon Blackwood as being the first author to use this

---

[1273] Robert Hugh Benson, *The Light Invisible* (London: Pitman & Sons, 1903), pp. vii-viii.

[1274] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians,* p. 82. See also Mike Ashley, 'Algernon Blackwood and the Golden Dawn', *AKLO,* (Summer 1989), 34-48; Mike Ashley, *Algernon Blackwood: An Extraordinary Life* (London: Constable, 2001), pp. 130-133,135-137; R. A. Gilbert, 'Two Circles to Gain and Two Squares to Lose: The Golden Dawn in Popular Fiction,' in Marie Mulvey Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon (eds.), *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York: Ams Press, 1995), pp. 303-321; Robert C. Cary, 'Williams, Waite, and the Golden Dawn', *AKLO*, (1983), pp. 35-36; Elisabeth Brewer, 'Charles Williams and Arthur Edward Waite', *An Anglo-American Literary Review*, 4, (March 1983), pp. 54-67.

idea in his *John Silence: Physician Extraordinary* (1908) and in which the hero, John Silence, 'was modelled on a real member of the Golden Dawn'.[1275] Other authors amongst the earliest to produce such fiction were Evelyn Underhill, Dion Fortune and Charles Williams, all of whom, like Blackwood, had been members of one or other of the Golden Dawn factions in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although in later years this type of theme was picked up by several writers of popular fiction, such fiction 'could not have been written' according to Gilbert, 'without the existence of the Golden Dawn... so closely does it depend on the activities and ideas prevalent in the Order'.[1276]

Gilbert is probably correct in his estimation of the influence of the Golden Dawn in this regard but it seems more likely that the ideas behind this type of fiction first originated in Benson's hugely popular *The Light Invisible* and his subsequent *A Mirror of Shalott* (1907).[1277] At the time Benson wrote *The Light Invisible* he was completing his lengthy period as a probationer in the Community of the Resurrection and he was professed in the same year of its publication. In 1900 Benson was one of the small group of perhaps eight or nine residents at Mirfield (including Father Fitzgerald) when Dr. Felkin made his first visit.[1278] It is almost certain, therefore, that the two met and held discussions. Wilkinson has remarked that Benson's *The Light Invisible* was 'written in feverish excitement' and shows that 'fundamentally he located authority in

---

[1275] Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 82.
[1276] Ibid. The character of a benign magician battling the forces of evil is widely present in popular, mass-culture and can be seen in such diverse forms as the tales of Dennis Wheatley and in the film 'The Exorcist'.
[1277] It is conceivable that Benson's tales may also have influenced G. K. Chesterton in his Father Brown stories, the first of which appeared in 1914. In this case the 'detective-priest' invariably dispels the apparent supernatural elements in each case through a rational explanation, although Chesterton wrote many of these tales before his own conversion to Roman Catholicism.
[1278] In 1912, following a period of steady expansion, there were still only twenty-eight 'professed brethren. See Wilkinson', *Community of the Resurrection,* p. 170.

subjective religious experience and romantic supernaturalism', a description which would not be out of place if applied to Felkin.[1279]

It is not possible to determine any specific flow of influence between Felkin and Benson, or between these and other members of the Community, but it is an intriguing possibility that the notion of a 'spiritual specialist' or 'physician extraordinary', which was developed for fictional purposes, was itself derived from a conception of what the Community of the Resurrection should be. Father Paul Bull, one of the earliest members of the Community declared that those called to the Religious Life and to 'special intimacy with Christ' were "an expression of that 'differentiation of function' appropriate to every developed society. Just as family doctors need the help of specialists, so parish priests need 'the more mobile cavalry of the Religious Orders'."[1280] Certainly, as we have already seen, this was the role undertaken by Fathers Fitzgerald and Rees in their visit to New Zealand and indeed in Father Fitzgerald's case there is some evidence that he often provided spiritual and magical expertise to a number of people in both England and New Zealand.[1281]

Such expertise took various forms, ranging from the provision of spiritual direction, in the form in which both Father Benson and Bishop Frere advised Evelyn Underhill at different times, to carrying out specific ceremonies for particular needs.[1282] Amongst surviving papers from the Smaragdum Thalasses temple are some which are purported to have been sent to the Order by Father Fitzgerald. One of these is entitled 'Benediction of a House' and provides directions for a Priest and Deacon to offer

---

[1279] Wilkinson, *Community of the* Resurrection, p. 86. Although Wilkinson appears to intend his comment as a criticism of Benson, it ignores the fact that a significant emphasis was placed on the value of religious experience within the Community of the Resurrection which was derived in part from the views of Charles Gore and others expressed in *Lux Mundi*. See Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, pp. 222-225.
[1280] Wilkinson, *Community of the* Resurrection, p. 79.
[1281] A few of the fleeting references to Fitzgerald in those works referring to the Community suggest that his occult interests were well known. Wilkinson, for example (p. 196), notes that Fitzgerald had 'lovingly brought the ashes' of Charles Gore to Mirfield but 'had once worried about the effect of cremation on the astral body'.
[1282] Dana Greene, *Evelyn Underhill: Artist of the Infinite Life* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1991), pp. 25-30, 103, 120, 121, 127.

prayers in the 'principal room of the house' and to seek God's blessing on the house.[1283] Others include different versions of how to exorcise evil spirits and some suggested 'reflective meditations' to assist sending out 'streams of God's Light' into 'the minds of men and enabling 'Christ's Love' to 'stream forth into the hearts of men'.[1284] In Fitzgerald's published papers, as well as in those Order papers associated with him, there is a clear conviction that devout prayers and symbolic gestures by priests and laymen carry genuine supernatural force, derived from God, and that these duly performed will always produce beneficial results. In his paper 'The House of Prayer', for example, Fitzgerald laments the fact that 'the parish church which was so attractive at one time, encircled by the mystic rainbow around the presence of God, is now so dark and unattractive'. He attributes this to the failure to use it as a 'House of Prayer' which otherwise would radiate the '*force* of prayer' and make the church 'a spiritual power', or 'a spiritual power-station', which is 'a real blessing on the neighbourhood'. Fitzgerald urges members of the Community to encourage 'every church member' to go into church when passing and to lift' up his heart to God in the fellowship of silence' in order that the church 'would become still more of a spiritual power-station'.[1285]

Although Pickering has asserted that Anglo-Catholicism did not produce any 'outstanding theologians of international stature', he acknowledges that it could 'muster a large number of very learned men.'[1286] Within this group must certainly be included most of the clergy who joined the successor groups to the Golden Dawn. Nearly all were educated at either Oxford or Cambridge University and an impressively large

---

[1283] One page typed manuscript. Private collection.

[1284] Some of these suggested methods are written in notebooks and others are typed manuscripts of no more than two pages. Although some refer to a priest carrying out the ceremonies, others imply that they can be performed by a Second Order member. All these ceremonies invoke the name of Christ and some invoke the names of Archangels. Similar papers existed in the Holy Order of the Sun where it is notable that there are more references to Mary, Mother of God.

[1285] In the *Community of the Resuurection Diamond Jubilee Book*, p. 72, Evelyn Underhill is given the last word and compares the Religious Life to a 'hidden powerhouse of surrendered personalities'. 'Death of the personality' was considered to be involved in the Golden Dawn symbolic crucifixion of the Adeptus Minor or 5=6 Grade.

[1286] W. S. F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity* , p. 124.

number wrote books, pamphlets and papers on a wide range of Church issues, including important contributions to the study of New Testament writings and theology.[1287] Because of the paucity of evidence on individuals it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty whether their industry in this regard bore any relationship to their membership of a magical Order but it does appear that they were not content to remain just 'parish priests' but rather to develop and share their expertise in particular areas of the Christian Church in general, or Anglo-Catholicism in particular. Some of them, as in Father Fitzgerald's case, combined their writing with dispensing a type of personal advice on spiritual matters which was clearly a blend of their religious experience and the techniques of the Stella Matutina.[1288] Given the practical nature of the Stella Matutina curricula, and the considerable commitment required of a Second Order member, it would be highly implausible that no use would have been made of the theurgical methods of the Order. There is evidence in the case of several of the medical practitioners, such as Doctors Felkin, Carnegie Dickson or Pullen-Bury, that they employed a variety of occult techniques in their medical practice and it is reasonable to suppose that the priests followed suit.[1289]

In view of the secrecy demanded of the members it is not surprising that no specific Order teachings or methods can be identified in their published work. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect in the writings of some of the Order priests an

---

[1287] A major example is the Reverend Robert Oswald Patrick Taylor who was Lecturer in Pastoral Theology at Cambridge (1933-4). His *The Athanasian Creed in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1911) was well received and is still considered authoritative. Taylor wrote many scholarly articles for theological journals. He was a senior member of the Cromlech Temple and the Amen-Ra Temple of Brodie-Innes. Given Felkin's close Edinburgh connection and close association (for a lengthy period) with Brodie-Innes it is likely he knew Taylor.

[1288] Some of these used a Christian variant of the Golden Dawn so-called 'Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram'. See Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, I, 106-107. In the case of healing, for example, some methods used a photograph of the subject to be healed and an improvised ritual with prayers and invocations.

[1289] Felkin in particular developed a set of techniques which he termed 'Rosicrucian Medicine'. He delivered a short paper on the subject to the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia on 13 April 1916. Included in these methods are the use of consecrated talismans, breathing exercises and meditations, exorcisms and 'the use of the rainbow colours'. It is understood that Dr. Carnegie Dickson also deployed such methods along with many exercises drawn from the Holy Order of the Sun. See Felkin, *Rosicrucian Medicine* (London: Privately printed for the S.R.I.A, 1916). Also issued as an expanded booklet with commentary by the S.R.I.A. in 1996.

interest in particular subjects, and the particular approach to these, which are consistent with an intense Anglo-Catholicism yet are suggestive of a level of interpretation to be found in the Golden Dawn *Weltanschauung*. This is most apparent in Father Fitzgerald's writings but can also be seen, albeit more faintly, in the works of several other priests including, for example, Dean Bennett's several books or Reverend Alfred Lamplugh's *The Gnosis of Light* (1918).[1290] No apparent traces of the Order can be discerned, however, in the prodigious literary output of either Father Alban Baverstock or the well regarded New Testament scholar and theologian, the Reverend Robert Oswald Patrick Taylor. As noted in Chapter Six, the Reverend Taylor became a senior member of the Edinburgh-based Amen-Ra Temple and the Holy Order of the Sun subsequently ruled by Felkin's close friend Dr. Carnegie Dickson. It would have given some satisfaction to Felkin to have learned of Taylor's steady rise through the hierarchy of the Episcopal Church and of his reputation as a scholar, as indeed would also the knowledge of Father Rees' elevation to bishop.[1291]

It is improbable that any of these clergy became the type of 'white magicians' portrayed in fiction yet to some extent, whether intentional or not, they fulfilled Felkin's vision of his Adepti achieving positions of some prominence within the two areas which, within his own life, were of supreme importance: religion and health.

Rosicrucian Healing

Some attention has already been given to the importance of healing within twentieth-century Christianity and it was noted that much of the impetus for this recalling of

---

[1290] Two examples of several books by Bennett are his *A Soul in the Making or Psych-synthesis* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1924) and *M. Coue and his Gospel of Health* (London:Simpkin, Marshal & Co., 1922); Reverend F. Lamplugh, *The Gnosis of Light: A Translation of the Untitled Apocalypse contained in the Codex Brucianus with Introduction and Notes* (London: John M Watkins, 1918).

[1291] Taylor took his M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge in 1907. Amongst his many ministries are Curate of All Saints, Edinburgh, Vice-Provost and Canon of Cumbrae, 1917-19, Canon of St. John's Cathedral, Oban, 1920-6, Lecturer in Pastoral Theology at Cambridge University, 1933-4. Like so many of his Anglo-Catholic brethren, Taylor showed a strong interest in the theology and beliefs of the Eastern Christian Church.

Christ's command to 'Heal the sick' came from the efforts of the Anglo-Catholic Dr. Percy Dearmer.[1292] Along with other prominent Anglo-Catholics advocating reform in various areas of Anglican Church activity, Dearmer formed in 1904 'the Guild of Health to encourage cooperation with the medical profession in the practice of healing'.[1293] Although the dimensions of this study preclude any extended comment on the history and increasingly important role of the Healing Ministry within the Anglican Church some further mention is necessary with regard to its connection with the Stella Matutina.[1294] This connection also sheds some further clarification on the notion of Order members, and particularly that of priests, being 'spiritual specialists' or 'physicians extraordinary'.

In her capacity as the 'Ruling Chief' of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple Harriot Felkin devoted the entire July 1955 issue of the Order newsletter to the subject of healing. Noting that 'healing is an integral part of the Order work' she insisted on the importance of prayer for Order members:

> We can all send out healing thought and we can all cultivate the habit of prayer. People are too apt to think that prayer is merely the use of a form of words, very often repetition; but real prayer demands as much care and practice as playing the piano, or painting a picture. We have to practise prayer – that is the realisation of Christ in our daily lives. It has been said that a cross is made by laying our will across the Will of God. When we lay our will in alignment with His Will, then the cross becomes a staff, "Thy rod and Thy staff shall comfort me".[1295]

[1292] See Donald Gray, *Percy Dearmer: a Parson's Pilgrimage*, pp. 4, 81.
[1293] Morris Maddocks, *The Christian Healing Ministry* (London: SPCK, 1981), pp. 99-100.
[1294] The growing importance of the healing ministry in the Anglican Church since Dearmer's time is reflected in the large number of books on topic written by clergy, one of the most recent being the anonymous, *A Time to Heal: A Contribution to the Ministry of Healing* (London: Church House, 2000).
[1295] Private collection. These newsletters were produced from the mid-1940s until her death in 1959. They consisted of 1-2 closely typed pages of topics of interest to Stella Matutina members but were often concerned with some aspect of the Anglican Church. Mrs. Felkin also occasionally included snippets of

Mrs Felkin also refers in the same issue to the statement by 'one of our Bishops... at one gathering' saying that 'he considered the revival of the ministry of healing in the church to be one of the most important spiritual tasks of the present day'. Apparently the unnamed bishop stated, "Our task is to form a connecting link between Jesus and the sufferer... We need to be channels through which the Healing Love may flow... just as the electrical current flows through a connecting wire". Although she does not identify the Bishop as being an Order member, such an implication resides in her newsletter and it is conceivable that she is referring to bishop Panapa of the Waiapu Diocese who was described in a previous chapter. Some attention is also given to the views of the well known Anglican layman James Moore Hickson who had proclaimed Christ as 'the Healing Saviour' and who in 1905 'founded "The Society of Emmanuel" which changed its name to "The Divine Healing Mission" in 1933'.[1296] Hickson had so impressed Archbishop Randall Davidson with his pamphlet *The Healing Ministry of Christ in the Church* that Davidson requested it be sent to all bishops following the 1920 Lambeth Conference which, as previously seen, had noted the spread of 'Spiritism, Christian Science and Theosophy'.[1297] Both Dr. Felkin and Mrs Felkin met Hickson when he visited New Zealand from Britain in 1923. On this first of several trips to New Zealand, and to the particular area where the Order temple was located, Hickson addressed the Waiapu Synod on the subject of 'spiritual healing' and it is highly probable that clerical members of the Order (and possibly an 'initiated' bishop) were amongst his audience. Although there is no evidence to suggest that he was himself a member of the Stella Matutina it has been claimed by an ex-member that his

---

Order history. At every 'Equinox' a similar additional newsletter was sent to each member which gave a brief description of the ceremony, the numbers attending and a statement from each of the three Chiefs. The latter also often include details of Order history regarding Felkin and other older members.

[1296] Maddocks, *The Christian Healing Ministry*, p. 100.

[1297] Anonymous, *A Time to Heal*, p. 5.

meeting with the Felkins occurred in the 'Whare Ra' building where the temple was housed.[1298]

One of the views shared by Hickson and the Felkins was the belief that it was necessary to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ, an expectation which apparently had come to Hickson as a 'prophecy'. An essential part of this preparation was the 'healing ministry' which 'the Lord desires to use... especially for the healing of His body, the Church'.[1299] Mrs Felkin continues this theme also in her newsletter on healing where she praises the work of Hickson, noting that 'We believe that a Great Teacher is about to become among us in the near future to prepare the Way for the Coming of the Lord; it is... a very important part of the Order training to enable us to recognize Him when He comes, and to co-operate wholeheartedly with Him'.[1300] These somewhat Messianic views were subsequently taken up with enthusiasm by Bishop Morris Maddocks in his various books on healing where he notes approvingly the declaration of Hickson's onetime successor George Bennett that: 'Many of us believe that with this century has begun the new age of the Holy Spirit.'[1301] This was undoubtedly Felkin's belief also who echoes the ideas of Joachim of Fiore that the 'new spiritual men' of the three Orders will 'lead the church' when the age of the Holy Spirit 'descend(s) upon the cosmos'.[1302]

The perceived need to heal Christ's 'body', or the Church, as a 'very definite means of preparation for the Reappearance of the Christ on earth' would have been a familiar idea to members of the Stella Matutina which, like the Golden Dawn, was

---

[1298] There is no extant evidence to indicate that Hickson was a member of the Stella Matutina but an ex-member of the Smaragdum Thalasses temple claimed that he did go to the Temple where he met the Felkins. This is consistent with the fact that he visited the Waiapu church diocese (in which the temple was located) in 1923 and 1929 and that he addressed the Waiapu Synod on the subject of 'spiritual healing'. See Bryant, *The Church Awakes: The Guild of St Raphael in New Zealand,* (Wellington: Kotuku Media, 1972), pp. 5-6. As previously noted, at least two Bishops of Waiapu were members of the Stella Matutina.

[1299] Maddocks, *The Christian Healing Ministry*, p. 101.

[1300] Mrs. Felkin, 'Newsletter', (July 1955), p. 1

[1301] Maddocks, *The Christian Healing Ministry*, p. 99.

[1302] For this description of the Joachite vision see David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, pp. 136-137. Felkin's view is repeated variously in Stoddart and in several Order papers.

based on a Christianised version of the Lurianic Kabbalah. An important aspect of this theosophic system is the belief that the original Divine Equilibrium was shattered at two critical stages, the second, and most important for humanity, being the Fall of Man, when Adam ate of the Tree of Knowledge, thereby 'destroying the purity of his spirit and the effectiveness of his prayer'.[1303] The task of the initiated Lurianic Kabbalist, whether Jewish or Christian, is to actively engage in assisting the process of healing both the Divine and temporal worlds. Over a period of time, this process of spiritual repair would eventually restore the Divine stasis, or in Hebrew terminology, the *Tikkun Olam.*[1304] Within the Golden Dawn system, from the macrocosmic perspective, this entailed the birth, death and resurrection of the Second Adam, the Christ, who occupied the very centre or 'heart' of the Tree of Life, emanating the Holy Spirit of 'Christ Consciousness' out to the rest of the Tree and drawing towards to itself (or 'rescuing') the Divine 'sparks' of pure spirituality that had become imprisoned within the 'evil' realms of creation that were most separated and distant from God. This occurred only within the lower seven Sephiroth, which constituted the Creation of the physical universe as recorded in Genesis, and not the Supernal and Divine Triad which remained unaffected by the Fall of Man. Microcosmically, this meant that each human being had to become like Christ and only when this had occurred, or at least to a sufficient degree,

---

[1303] Herbert Levy, 'A Note for the General Reader: being an effort to explore some of the sources of the Sabbataian heresy…' in Alexander Krausar, *Jacob Frank: The End to the Sabbataian Heresy* (Lanham, ML: University Press of America, 2001 translated from 1895 Polish edition), p. 13. It should be noted that a cognate and central concept within the general notions of *tikkun,* the restoration of God's original design, and the ending of the mystic exile of the *Shekhina*, or Holy Spirit, is that of *shevirah*, or the 'breaking of the vessels'. At the point of the very first manifestation of Divinity, the Sephiroth, or 'vessels', below the Supernal Triad were unable to contain the outpouring of Divine Light, and hence 'broke' or 'cracked'. This led to instability and to the 'exile' of the 'spilled' or scattered light, which became the source of gross matter, and dark or evil forces. All creation subsequent to this cosmic and mythic catastrophe, which has to contend with the instability, has the divine purpose of restoring the lost equilibrium. A special responsibility, however, lies with humanity, or Adam, whose 'religious or contemplative activity' is closely connected with the final restoration and redemption. See Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah*, pp. 135-144. Of further interest in this context is Scholem's comment that within the description of this Kabbalistic cosmogony 'we find a most astonishing tendency to a mode of contemplative thought that can only be called "dialectic" in the strictest sense of the term as used by Hegel'. See Scholem's *Kabbalah*, p. 143.

[1304] On *Tikkun* see, for example, Gershom Scholem (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 110, and Lawrence Fine, *Physician of the Soul, Healer of the Cosmos: Isaac Luria and His Kabbalistic Fellowship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 243-244.

would the Second Person of the Trinity, the Son, descend again from the Supernal Triad to elevate all of Creation.[1305]

Thus, a special responsibility was believed to lie with the Religious Orders, the clergy and with members of such specialist groups as the Stella Matutina, not merely to advance the *Tikkun Olam* along with the Second Coming of Christ, through their own spiritual ascension, but also to promote the microcosmic 'healing of the Universe' through encouraging the performance of prayer and other Godly acts by humanity in general. It was for this reason that Dr. Felkin, under the guidance of his supposed 'Hidden and Secret Chiefs', wrote in 1917: 'We are the little leaven that leaveneth the lump'.[1306] He clearly believed that through the magical training and the special techniques for prayer which the Stella Matutina provided to its members passing through the Grades of the three Orders a specialised group of highly advanced adepts, who had recovered 'the purity of spirit' and 'the effectiveness of prayer,' would be instrumental in healing the world for Christ's pending reappearance.

> Our function is to direct the new life which will spring up when present disturbances (i.e. the 1914-18 war) have cleared the ground; it is as if a giant harrow were passing over the face of the world, and when that is done those like us must be ready to *sow the seed...'* and '*store up a power to be set free as soon as the conflict ceases*... The means towards this end are found in meditation and prayer... In Meditation, contemplation, and ecstasy the human spirit seeks to free itself from earth and rise to the greatest heights of which it is capable... And prayer is an invocation; it not only brings you into communion with that which

[1305] Although clearly the majority of humanity would not be at the spiritually advanced level of others, who were considered to include the Second and Third Orders of the Stella Matutina, they too would assist the Divine process of healing and restoration every time they performed on earth a Godly act, particularly that of prayer. As the *Zohar* had noted: 'the act below affects the activity above'.3 Zohar 352. Harry Sperling, Maurice Simon and Dr. Paul P. Levertoff (trans.), *The Zohar,* 5 vols (London: Socino Press, 1933), III, 390-393.

[1306] Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, p. 109.

you pray to, it also awakens and formulates (spiritual) forces which were previously latent...[1307]

Establishing a special group within the Stella Matutina dedicated to healing and another within the Anglican Church was a significant part of 'sowing the seed'. As we saw previously, in January 1915 Felkin 'received' instructions from his supposed spiritual guide, Ara Ben Shemesh, to set up a special healing group 'called the Healers or Therapeuts, and Father Fitzgerald should be made specifically and definitely the head of it'.[1308] Stoddart states in both her unpublished manuscript dated 1923 and her published *Light-bearers of Darkness* (1930) that the group led by Father Fitzgerald was 'the Stella Matutina Healing Guild of St. Raphael'.[1309] There is no doubt that this group is identical with the Anglican Guild of St. Raphael founded in 1915 by Canon T. D. Roseveare, Father Fitzgerald, and several lay members of the Church.[1310] Although there is no evidence that Roseveare was a member of Felkin's Hermetic Order it seems certain that the initiative came from Father Fitzgerald under Felkin's instruction and, as Colquhoun has stated, was supported by 'several clergy and laymen' associated with the Order.[1311] One such lay member was Caroline Amy Bigge who was its first Honorary Secretary and whose flat was the Guild's original address. Colquhoun considers it likely she was a member of the Stella Matutina.[1312] The incomplete membership rolls cannot confirm this although the name 'Miss. Bigge' appears on the cover of an early Stella

---

[1307] Maddocks, *The Christian Healing Ministry*, pp. 103-104.
[1308] Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, p. 102.
[1309] Ibid, p. 102 and Stoddart's unpublished 'Investigations into the Foundations of the Order and the Source of its Teachings', p. 18.
[1310] Maddocks, *The Christian Healing Ministry*, p. 102, Colquoun, *Sword of Wisdom;* p. 197. Bryant, *The Church Awakes*, p. 4.
[1311] Colquoun, *Sword of Wisdom*, p. 197. Francis King offers no proof for his sweeping statement that 'the founders of (the Guild of St. Raphael) were, almost without exception, members of the Stella Matutina.' This seems most unlikely but there is little doubt that the Guild was initiated by Felkin and that some of its earliest members belonged to the Stella Matutina. See King, *Ritual Magic in England*, p. 129.
[1312] Colquoun, ibid.

Matutina document.[1313] One other documentary connection between the two organisations is a short paper written by Dr. Felkin, presumably for the Guild, entitled 'The Raphael Formula'. It is written in a similar style to other Order instructions for prayer and ritual ceremonies and conforms to the various illustrations of healing techniques given by Father Fitzgerald in his 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion' which were discussed in Chapter Seven.[1314]

The Archangel Raphael has particular significance within the Golden Dawn tradition. It is associated with the 'sacred' direction of East from which, it was believed, the spiritual sun rose, and was, therefore, the symbolic place where the 'Golden Dawn' occurred. Raphael is invoked in various ritual ceremonies of the Order and is considered within the Golden Dawn symbolic system to be the Archangel of Healing. It is also the Archangel assigned to the Sephirah Tiphareth where the initiate enters the mysteries of the Rosicrucian Second Order and is ceremonially 'crucified' with Christ. Indeed, within Felkin's revision the Rosicrucian Second Order is identified with the Trinitarian Son who is Christ. Undoubtedly Felkin also saw special significance in the fact that within this chain of symbolic correspondences the foremost requirement of the original seventeenth-century Rosicrucian brotherhood, stated in the very first manifesto, was '... That none of them should profess any other thing, than to cure the sick, and that *gratis*'[1315]

The Guild remains particularly active today as part of the Anglican healing mission in several countries, including New Zealand, and has at various times attracted to its membership a number of prominent clergy and theologians. Additional to dispensing a Rite of Exorcism, the Guild lays special emphasis on the use of the sacraments of absolution, unction and the Eucharist in its work and has been

---

[1313] Private collection. The document is undated.
[1314] Private collection.
[1315] *Fama Fraternitatis*, in *The Rosicrucian Manuscripts* (Arlington: The Invisible College Press, 2002), p. 105.

subsequently endorsed by Archbishop Dr. Lang and later by Archbishop William Temple who stated, 'The witness of the Guild of St. Raphael has been a strong emphasis, not only on intercession, but upon the priestly sacramental ministry of healing alongside the other ministries of healing our Church is raising up at the present time'.[1316] Although now an accepted part of the Anglican establishment some traces of its origins can perhaps still be discerned in the official Guild publications over many years. In the May 1970 issue of the St. Raphael quarterly *Chrism*, for example, the stated aims of the Guild refer to the use of 'spiritual forces of meditation and silence,' a notion which was emphasized and readily used by Father Fitzgerald and one which he evidently derived not solely from his vocation as an Anglican Religious but from his experiences within the 'Fellowship of Silence' in New Zealand and the Stella Matutina.[1317] Similarly, an 'esoteric' dimension to the Guild was evident to one reader who, as recorded in the Editor's Notes for the October 1935 issue, praised *Chrism* while considering it to be 'intermediate between High Church and Spiritualism'.[1318] A familiarity, if nothing else, with some of the symbolic imagery deployed in the rituals and teaching of the Stella Matutina, might also be detected in the design for a different cover of *Chrism* planned by the new editor, one Father Hopkinson, who was appointed in January 1936. Father Hopkinson describes his plan as thus:

> The design will include angels, swastikas, trees of healing, Aaron's rods and many other fascinating symbols. Imagination boggles at the vision of its colour; a "jazz-rainbow" is only an inadequate description.[1319]

[1316] Bryant,*The Church Awakes*, p. 6.
[1317] It is notable that there are several references in the same issue to such aspects as demonology and exorcism.
[1318] 'The First Fifty Years' by A. H. Purcell Fox in *Chrism* (Photcopied pages sent to me by the Guild. No publisher's name included. Six issues from February 1956 to 1957. The pagination is unhelpful as it is not continuous over the selected pages taken from the six issues.).
[1319] Ibid.

While none of these symbols is peculiar to the Stella Matutina it is noteworthy that all appear in one or other of the Order's rituals and their particular concatenation on the cover of an Anglican journal is curious and suggestive of some knowledge of their connection with the Stella Matutina.[1320] But how much knowledge? Perhaps one of the more intriguing, if unanswered, questions to arise out of this study is the degree to which others, notably the Church hierarchy and family members, were aware of the priestly involvement in an occult organisation. As previously observed, it seems inconceivable that Father Frere and other members of the Community of the Resurrection were not aware that Fathers Fitzgerald, Rees and others, were engaged in theurgic magic. As is made clear in every study of the Community the daily routine and close intimacy left almost no time or occasion for activity that was not known to others. At the time of Father Rees joining Mirfield there were still only twenty-three members and perhaps only eight when Father Fitzgerald became a probationer. As J. Lambert Rees has noted, 'It was a small body... The brethren knew each other familiarly, and shared each other's interests and activities'.[1321] The requirement to pass examinations for advancing through the Grades of the Stella Matutina entailed the copying of numerous occult manuscripts and diagrams, the making of magical equipment and the consecrating of the same through complex rituals, along with daily rituals in the Second Order. These, and the need to attend ceremonies of advancement in temples, would have been impossible to have kept secret from others in close proximity. To some degree, of course, this was equally true of their magical peers who occupied positions of prominence in other professions, academic, medical and educational. But in the case of the Church, its entire *raison d'etre* impinged upon that of the Golden Dawn and its derivatives. For a brief period early in the twentieth century an alliance between magic

---

[1320] The swastika is used as an important symbol for of the ritual officers but is also examined in depth as an occult symbol in the Second Order. The 'rainbow' appears prominently in the 1=10 First Order ritual and 'Aaron's Rod' is the major symbol of Felkin's Second Order 6=5 ritual. Angels and 'Trees of Healing' appear in many Stella Matutina contexts.

[1321] John Lambert Rees, *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff*, p. 32.

and orthodox Christianity was tolerated on a small scale and even encouraged. That it did not persist or develop is addressed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER TEN
CONSUMMATUM EST

> The ultimate meaning of the esoteric imagery of darkness and light is the search for God.
>
> Frances A. Yates

The closure of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple in New Zealand on 24 August 1978 was the end of the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina and, in a certain sense, it concluded the ninety-year history of the Golden Dawn.[1322] It was also, however, the end of Felkin's dream of a magical Order acting within Anglicanism to transform both the Church and society. Yet it is clear that the dream had begun to fade long before this date. The death of Dr. Felkin in 1926 and the disturbances within the Amoun Temple throughout the early 1920s, caused by its increasingly paranoid Chief, Miss Christina Stoddart, undoubtedly contributed towards many clergy leaving the English Temples during this period. Another factor was likely to have been the steady trickle of hostile publicity, some of which alluded to the Golden Dawn and the Stella Matutina.[1323] The Anglican Episcopal enquiry into clerical membership of the Holy Order of the Sun

---

[1322] Although the Golden Dawn collapsed in schism in 1903, the Stella Matutina, with many original members from its predecessor, had continued the Golden Dawn system in its entirety, albeit with a greater focus on its Christian dimension. Other groups formed by ex-members which are still in existence have modified the Golden Dawn rituals and methods considerably. These include the various organisations of Aleister Crowley, Paul Foster Case's Builders of the Adytum, and the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross founded by A. E. Waite.

[1323] While much of this publicity revolved around the activities of Aleister Crowley, conspiratorial theories about the Golden Dawn and the Stella Matutina appeared throughout July 1920 in *The Morning Post*. These were written by Mrs. Nesta Webster and in 1924 were published as a book, *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (London: Boswell, 1924). A modern but undated reprint was published by the 'Christian Book Club of Americ. No other publishing details appear in either version. Webster evidently received her information from Christina Stoddart. See Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook*, p. 191.

(Cromlech Temple) and related Orders, which evidently occurred around 1939, is unlikely to have had significant impact at this late date on the declining Stella Matutina in England although some clergy, such as the Very Reverend Robert Oswald Taylor, would have been affected by the Episcopal ban on membership of these bodies.

The Temple in New Zealand was relatively undisturbed by these events although the death of Felkin in 1926 also led to the withdrawal of a number of prominent members. The initiation of Bishop Wirema (William) Panapa into the Order on 9 July 1956, and the continuing close relationship between some clergy in the diocese of Waiapu and the Temple Chiefs, suggest that no prohibition similar to that in Britain was enacted in New Zealand.[1324] The monthly newsletters and Equinoctial reports sent out by Mrs. Felkin from 1949 to 1959, along with testimony of ex-members, indicate a temple membership of between eighty and one hundred during this time, which was considerably larger than that of the sole remaining English Temple in Bristol (Hermes Temple) for the same period.[1325] The majority of these newsletters contain a definite emphasis on Christianity, stressing the importance of ritual in the traditions of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Until 1959 the original three Chiefs appointed since the death of Dr. Felkin were regular attendees at St. Luke's Anglican Church in Havelock North and one of these, Reginald Gardner, was 'for many years a lay reader… as well as serving as a synodsman' in the Diocese of Waiapu. [1326]

All this was to change with the deaths of the Chiefs, Reginald Gardner and Harriot Felkin, in 1959, and finally with that of Ethelwyn Felkin in 1962. Although their replacements as Chiefs were themselves staunch Anglican communicants, a sense of

---

[1324] See Chapter Seven.
[1325] The Newsletters also indicate that the Hermes Temple in the 1950s struggled to find both members and qualified Chiefs. Unpublished recollections of ex-members and a photograph of its Second Order members suggest a total membership of less than twenty at this time.
[1326] John Von Dadelszen, *The Havelock Work, 1909-1939*, p. 19.

loss of direction and demoralization manifested swiftly in the Order from this time.[1327] Whereas, prior to this the occult teachings and methods of the Order were subsumed under an Anglo-Catholic mystical approach, this element appears to be increasingly absent from the Order under the new Chiefs. Both longstanding and more recent members, including the newly appointed Chiefs, sought to supplement the Order teachings from the writings of other occultists, and factions began to appear amongst the membership, centred around several assertive individuals.[1328]

With the Felkins absent in New Zealand it is not remarkable that the declining fortunes of the Stella Matutina, and its Anglo-Catholic component, were first apparent in the English Temples. At a time when communications were slow and infrequent between countries, the relative isolation of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple in a small New Zealand village, under the rule of the earliest Chiefs, undoubtedly preserved it for a time against the changes occurring in Britain. A signal feature of the decline in both countries, however, was that the dwindling intake of newer members appeared to have little, or only a nominal, connection with the Anglican Church and still less with Anglo-Catholicism.[1329] A recurrent criticism of some ex-members was that their elderly Chiefs were remote and incapable of providing the inspiration and direction they claimed to need.[1330] Without the overarching religious framework within which their Chiefs, and the Stella Matutina in general, had espoused and taught occult techniques, their search

---

[1327] A previous Chief, Francis G. Salt stated that: 'The problem was that the last Chiefs inherited the roles. For many years they had been dutiful members working on their own transformation but they were quiet individuals and had nothing to impart or inspire others. As good deputies they were habituated to secrecy and discretion and found it difficult to respond to the more questioning attitude of newer members'. Letter dated March 1992. Private collection.

[1328] Information provided to the writer from interviews with several ex-members between 1988-1994. Frances Salt stated that amongst at least five factions were those pursuing biblical interpretation, the works of the occultists Dion Fortune and Paul Foster Case, and the members of an additional chivalric Order which Dr. Felkin brought to New Zealand from England, called 'The Order of the Table Round'. For the latter see Robert S. Ellwood, *Island of the Dawn,* pp. 183-184.

[1329] It may be an indication of the decreased involvement of the clergy in the Order but whereas previously a significant number of new members came to the Order from contacts made attending Anglican churches, this was no longer the case from the late 1950s. From this time members arrived through Masonic connections or through acquaintances.

[1330] This was a criticism levelled at the Hermes Chiefs by Israel Regardie in his *What You Should Know About the Golden Dawn* (Phoenix, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 1993), pp. 38-44, 48-50. Smaragdum Thalasses members made similar criticisms both before and after the Temple's closure.

for additional teaching led them increasingly towards what Hanegraaff has described as 'secularised esotericism' and what many members portrayed critically as 'New Age' beliefs.[1331]

This was certainly the case with Smaragdum Thalasses where many members became engaged in the so-called 'New Age Movement', a term which David Katz claims was coined by Alice A. Bailey (1880-1949), who founded the Arcane School in 1923.[1332] This 'School', as James A. Santucci has noted, was 'modelled after the original Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society founded by Blavatsky'.[1333] A considerable number joined the Arcane School and were undoubtedly encouraged by the high regard in which Mrs. Felkin held Alice Bailey, with whom she corresponded for several years and quoted extensively in the Order journal *The Lantern*.[1334] There is some irony in the fact that several elderly ex-members were later to complain that the Order collapsed precisely because it had 'become far too New Age'.[1335] Yet it is clear that it was Mrs. Felkin's vision of the 'Spiritual Centre of Tauhara', where 'different methods of approach to Spiritual life and teaching could meet', described by one Order member as 'quintessential New Age', hastened this process considerably and in the final two decades of the Temple, the Tauhara Centre was to become the pre-eminent concern of the Chiefs and many members.[1336]

At least a quarter of the membership of Smaragdum Thalasses, including its Chiefs, were also strongly attracted in the early 1960s to the Builders of the Adytum

---

[1331] David. S. Katz, *The Occult Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), p. 196. Katz cites Hanegraaff in his discussion. The ex-Chief Francis G. Salt stated that the criticism came mainly from members initiated into the Temple before the mid 1950s.
[1332] Katz, *The Occult Tradition*, p. 195.
[1333] James A. Santucci, 'Alice Ann Bailey', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Esotericism*, I, 159.
[1334] Francis G. Salt is the source of information regarding Mrs. Felkin's contact with Bailey. *The Lantern*, op.cit., contains numerous excerpts throughout various issues.
[1335] Francis G. Salt advanced this view in discussion. Evidence of the New Age style of beliefs can be seen in any issue of the *Tauhara Centre News* (Taupo: Tauara Print), a quarterly which in 1991 had reached 98 issues.
[1336] Until the closure of the Temple virtually all of the Trustees, listed in the Charity's annual reports, were members of Smaragdum Thalasses. For many years after the majority were ex-members. The last senior Chief John Von Dadelszen stated that one of the several factors behind the closure of the Order was ensuring that sufficient money from the sale of the Temple was available for Tauhara.

(BOTA), founded in 1923 by Paul Foster Case, who previously belonged to a New York schismatic successor to the Golden Dawn, formed by MacGregor Mathers.[1337] This entirely secular organisation provided correspondence courses on most of the areas covered by the Golden Dawn, particularly the tarot cards, as well as ritualistic ceremonies and Grades based closely on those of the Golden Dawn.[1338] BOTA was at that time led by Ann Davies and Case's widow Harriot Case, who had previously worked as a secretary for Alice Bailey.[1339] So close were relations between the two organisations for a short period that Ann Davies, the 'Prolocutor-General' of BOTA, made several visits to New Zealand from her base in Los Angeles and it was proposed that the two groups merge. When this amalgamation floundered in 1963, at least a dozen members of Smaragdum Thalasses resigned to form a BOTA 'Chapter'.[1340] Others were drawn to the numerous works of Corrine Heline, mainly published in the 1930s, who advocated an explicitly 'New Age' interpretation of Christianity, blending it with such notions as healing through music and colour, 'mystic masonry', the tarot and themes drawn from the Theosophical Society.[1341]

But the Smaragdum Thalassses Temple seems also to have been preceded by the Hermes Temple in Bristol in venturing into New Age spiritual interests, although less information is extant on this period of the Stella Matutina in England. Mention was previously made of the close association in the 1930s between Hermes and the occultist Dion Fortune (Violet Mary Firth) who, besides herself being a member of Hermes,

---

[1337] Information from various ex-members of the Order and from the private records of BOTA for the period.

[1338] BOTA subsequently became a 'registered Church' within the USA and later in New Zealand but evidently this was for tax purposes. A special Sunday 'Qabalist Service' ritual was written and is performed weekly in both countries.

[1339] This information is mentioned in various of the taped talks which Ann Davies gave to BOTA members. It is also mentioned in correspondence occurring in late 1963 between Ann Davies and John Von Dadelszen.

[1340] Correspondence between Ann Davies and the two successive heads of BOTA in New Zealand, William A. Chesterman (1917-2002) and Alistair Wallace (1900-1968). Private collection.

[1341] See Daren Kemp, *The Christaquarians? A Sociology of Christians in the New Age* (Charleston, SC: BookSurge Publishing, 2003), p. 170. An example of Heline's prolific output is *Color and Music in the New Age* (Los Angeles: New Age Press, 1964). A list of thirty-six other works appears in the back of this volume but the list is not exhaustive.

'blended Christianity with elements of Celtic paganism' in her own organisation and pursued distinctly New Age interests, including the supposed connections between the Holy Grail and Glastonbury Abbey.[1342] Like Dion Fortune, Dr. Carnegie Dickson, the most senior Chief of the Stella Matutina in England at this time, is understood to have had significant contact in the late 1930s with Frederick Bligh Bond (1864-1945), who has been described in a recent biography as the 'Architect of the New Age'.[1343] Bond achieved a degree of notoriety following the 1918 publication of his *The Gate of Remembrance* where he disclosed that, in his capacity as the Director of Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey, he had used psychical methods, including the use of mediums, to guide his excavations. The Anglican Church, which had appointed Bond in 1908, was embarrassed by these revelations, as presumably were some of the prominent clergy he worked closely with, and he was sacked by the Church in 1921. It was probably at around this time that Bond joined a London Temple of the Golden Dawn faction, known as the Rosicrucian Order of Alpha et Omega, then ruled by Dickson's close friend and mentor, John Brodie-Innes, who was also reported to be 'much interested in Bligh Bond's Glastonbury work'.[1344]

It is perhaps an indication of the extent to which Anglo-Catholic influence within the Hermes Temple had withered that around 1948 one of its members, Dennis Claude Green (1904-1970) resigned to form a new Christian-based Order because, it is claimed, 'his fellow members... derided him for his interest in Christianity'.[1345] His new Order

---

[1342] Juliette Wood, *Eternal Chalice: The Enduring Legend of the Holy Grail* (London: I. B.Tauris & Co., 2008), pp. 38-45.

[1343] Tim Hopkinson-Ball *The Rediscovery of Glastonbury: Frederick Bligh Bond, Architect of the New Age* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2007). Hopkinson-Ball has unpublished material relating to meetings between Carnegie Dickson and Bligh Bond although I have yet to sight this material. The Holy Order of the Sun, or Cromlech Temple, which was ruled by Brodie-Innes and Carnegie Dickson, contained much material relating to Glastonbury, the Grail and Arthurian mythology. It is conceivable that Bligh Bond was a member of the latter Temple also, particularly in the light of the fact that the psychic 'seer', Geraldine Cummins, with whom he later worked closely, has been identified as a member. See Chapter Six.

[1344] Hopkinson-Ball, *The Rediscovery of Glastonbury*, p. 139.

[1345] Allan Armstrong, 'The Order of Dionysis & Paul: Its place in the Western Hermetic Tradition', in *The Golden Dawn Conference, London* 1997, pp. 17-20.

evidently underwent several changes of direction and name during the 1950s including the 'Order of St. Raphael, based to some extent upon the Anglican Guild of St. Raphael, and dedicated to Healing'.[1346] In company with a surprisingly large number of persons attracted to forming small schismatic sects espousing esoteric Christianity, Green received episcopal consecration from a 'bishop at large' and duly passed on his apostolic succession to the leadership of a successor group now functioning under the title, 'the Order of Dionysis & Paul'.[1347] Notwithstanding any influence from the Guild of St. Raphael, Green's tiny Order was an astonishingly eclectic mix of Rosicrucianism, the Catholic Mass, 'Yogic Christianity', 'Celtic Catholicism', and various New Age themes, including the supposed occult significance of the Great Pyramid and the Holy Grail, which involved an elaborate Glastonbury Rite.[1348]

Following the closure of the Hermes Temple in the early 1960s and Smaragdum Thalasses some fifteen years later, several groups claiming descent from the Stella Matutina emerged briefly but there is no evidence regarding either their claims or to suggest they continued beyond a few years at most.[1349] Since the 1980s, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in the Golden Dawn and its schismatic successors. At least a dozen occult groups purporting to follow Golden Dawn methodology advertise their existence in books and on the internet.[1350] Most of these are founded on the published works of Israel Regardie and some of their leadership regard an acquaintance

---

[1346] Armstrong, 'The Order of Dionysis & Paul', p. 20 and Peter F. Anson, *Bishops at Large*, p. 493.
[1347] Armstrong, 'The Order of Dionysis & Paul', p. 19.
[1348] Anson, *Bishops at Large*, pp. 499-501.
[1349] One example is the short-lived 'Thoth-Hermes Temple' started by Patrick J. Zalewski in the early 1980s in Wellington, New Zealand. Zalewski is the author of a number of books on the Golden Dawn, some of which mention the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple. These books include information he derived from ex-members but are mainly his own ideas about the Golden Dawn. The Temple had closed by the time Zalewski met ex-members, but he was for a brief period a member of the still functioning Order of the Table Round which Felkin also brought to New Zealand. It is notable that one ex-member, Jack Taylor, whom Zalewski claims gave him a 'warrant' to open a new temple, wrote to Zalewski in 1983 stating, 'Forget the Golden Dawn. It is old hat. New Age is the way of the future'. Thoth-Hermes had a membership of around eight people during its 4-5 year existence. Taylor's letter is held in a private collection.
[1350] The largest is probably the 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn' ostensibly headed by Chic Cicero, an American who has written several books about his understanding of the Golden Dawn. See Bibliography. All of the groups project a secular image and many have contested on the internet the 'legitimacy' of their rivals.

with Regardie before his death in 1985 as providing some kind of legitimate succession. Putting aside claims to 'astral links' with the deceased founders of the Golden Dawn, only one current group, based in New Zealand, appears able to demonstrate a direct link with a previous Chief who authorised and guided the forming of a new Temple.[1351] What is very apparent from the literature of these modern groups, however, is that they eschew any suggestion of the Order being Christian. In a reversal of the reasoning of the Felkins and other original Golden Dawn members, the Christian symbols of the Order are reinterpreted from a secular perspective, or sometimes in a supposedly 'holistic' manner where all deities and expressions of spirituality are considered to have equal validity.[1352]

Whether or not the Golden Dawn in the twenty-first century can be viewed as being absorbed into the New Age Movement cannot be addressed here but it may be noted that the three aspects of New Age ritual, which Olav Hammer asserts as being characteristic of the movement 'which emerged in the 1970s and increasingly during the 1980s', were all present in the original Order founded in 1887.[1353] These aspects are: spiritual healing, 'channelled messages of prophetic revelation,' and divination.[1354] To this degree the influence of the Golden Dawn has been formidable in terms of Western esotericism and it may well appear that, as David Katz put it, 'New Age philosophy is nothing more than a *réchauffé* version of Western esotericism as it stood c. 1900.'[1355]

Given the brevity and scale of the Stella Matutina and Anglo-Catholic nexus it is not remarkable that no trace of remaining 'occult' influence, if there ever was any, can

---

[1351] Francis G. Salt, an ex-Chief of Smaragdum Thalasses, attempted to revive the Order in the 1980s and trained two individuals whom he provided a written 'warrant' to resume the Order. It is understood that one of these operates a small Temple in Dunedin, New Zealand which is based on his guidance and the Whare Ra teachings.

[1352] A typical example can be found in Zalewski's *Secret Inner Rituals of the Golden Dawn* , p.60. Many ex-members were reported to be dismayed by Zalewski's exposure of material he had only recently been given and considered that some parts of the book dealing with the history and those drawing on his own views needed to be treated with caution. Letters of Francis Salt and ex-member Valerie Hatherell, Private Collection.

[1353] Olav Hammer, 'New Age Movement', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, II, 856-857.

[1354] Ibid.

[1355] Katz, *The Occult Tradition*, p. 96.

be discerned in the mainstream Anglican Church or in Anglo-Catholicism as they stand today. Nevertheless, it is possible to find in the ideas of several Anglican New Age groups, such as the Omega Order of Canon Peter Spink, many features identical or consonant with those of the Stella Matutina.[1356] It may be relevant in this context to note that after the closure of the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple, its last senior Chief, John Von Dedelszen, made contact with Canon Spink who subsequently visited New Zealand for discussions, and Von Dadelszen later stated that the old Order had given way to the new Omega Order as being 'more suited to the present age'.[1357]

It is as difficult to determine with precision the reasons why ostensibly orthodox clergy found personal and spiritual satisfaction within a Hermetic magical Order as it is to locate the reasons why they departed. It is likely that the two situations are connected and that both to some degree reflect changes that were occurring within Anglo-Catholicism and within society itself. The founders and long-serving Chiefs inspired and led the Order during a period when Anglo-Catholicism had reached an influential peak but one which was to reduce significantly over the ensuing decades.[1358] Pickering has said of this well-documented decline that the Anglo-Catholic 'movement is but a shadow of its former self -- the self of the 1920s and 1930s'.[1359] The heyday of Anglo-

---

[1356] Kemp discusses the Omega Order at length in his *The Christaquarians*, pp. 111-123. See Canon Peter Spink, *Religion in the New Age* (Crowborough: Bija Press, n.d.).
[1357] Information provided verbally by von Dadelszen in 1989.
[1358] The loss of influence of Anglo-Catholicism within the Anglican Church is discussed at length in various works. See particularly W. S. F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity*, pp. 246-269 and Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910*, pp. 333-374.
[1359] Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p. 247. Michael Yelton remarks that at the time Peter F. Anson finished his 'great work *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* ...many Roman and Anglo-Catholic churches were being vigorously stripped out of all the elaborate accoutrements which had been introduced over the preceding decades'. See Yelton, *An Anglo-Catholic Scrapbook, Produced to Mark the Tenth Anniversary of the Foundations of the Anglo-Catholic History Society* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2010), p. 104. As Anson completed his work in 1960 it would appear that the final days of the Golden Dawn coincided with a signicant reversal of many of the achievements of the Anglo-Catholic ritual revival which, from the perspective of such scholars as Nigel Yates, have been largely discussed in terms of the external aspects of ritual change, including the ceremonial accoutrements. As noted at the outset I have deliberately focused on what I have seen as the major fundamental theological presuppositions of the Anglo-Catholic ritual revival rather than on the external aspects. If it is the case, however, that such external aspects are largely the outward expression of sacramental theology and its pastoral implications, as Jeremy Morris has argued, then it seems probable that the doctrinal foundations of Anglo-Catholic ritualism similarly declined from this period. Morris remarks of the Anglo-Catholic success that, 'This Anglo-Catholic summer lasted perhaps through to the late 1850s or early 60s, when it

Catholicism was an unusual time when interest in the 'supernatural' and occultism was so extensive that it attracted the attention of a significant section of society within the Western world, including many people prominent in various professions. The Anglican Church, which benefited from the wide-spread interest in the supernatural, was no exception. The question of its response to the growing popularity of Spiritualism, Theosophy, and other expressions of unorthodox spirituality between the two world wars, was often the subject of deliberations at a senior level of the Church hierarchy.[1360] Yet this degree of interest by the Church persisted only as long as these esoteric groups attracted a significant and growing membership. Perhaps more importantly, both the Church interest and the growing membership of these groups owed their existence to the public interest in the supernatural realms. As this waned so did the congregations of Anglican Churches and occult groups alike.[1361]

One of the driving forces of the Oxford and Anglo-Catholic Movements was an attempt to revive the spiritual life of the Anglican Church and of those who attended. Two of the principal ways this was to be achieved were by appealing to the 'writings of the early fathers of the church' and by making use of the various methods of spiritual devotion as recorded by the mystics, saints and Religious Orders of the traditional

---

began to fade'. See Morris, *Communicants' Guilds in the Late 19th Cenury,* p.2. See also Peter F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: The Faith Press, 1960).

[1360] Additional to those already discussed was the reluctant involvement of the Anglican Church in 1927 in opening the 'Great Box of Sealed Writings' supposedly containing writings of the prophetess Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), regarding which special instructions had been made that the contents 'should be made public during a national emergency in the presence of twenty-four Anglican bishops'. Such disclosure would lead to a period of peace. The risible outcome is described in Rene Kollar's *Searching for Raymond: Anglicanism, Spiritualism and Bereavement between the Two World Wars*, pp. 78-79. Christine Stoddart, who draws connections between the Stella Matutina and the Panacea Society, which was partly inspired by Southcott, gives an entertaining account of the Great Box farce in her *Trail of the Serpent* (Hawthorne, CA; Omni Christian Book Club, no date but reprint of 1935). See also Frances Brown, *Joanna Southgate: The Woman Clothed with the Sun* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2002).

[1361] The complex subject of why Western public interest in the supernatural declined so steeply in the early twentieth century is worthy of extended study. Although there were subsequently upsurges in attendance at more evangelical churches and the formation of new and successful occult societies (e.g. Scientology), it would seem that the majority of these bodies either collapsed or encountered significantly reduced membership. An account of the decline of Theosophy can be found in Peter Washington's *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), pp. 265-280.

Church.[1362] There was also an emphasis placed on the priest being a genuine professional in his field of devotion, and thereby being qualified to advance the spiritual life of those in his care through comprehensive training for the role, an understanding of theological issues, and personal spiritual experience. Undoubtedly, similar considerations were factors in the reintroduction of the religious life and the founding of orders for men and women.[1363] In terms of the method of conveying the reality of supernatural divinity to ordinary men and women it was the 'firm conviction of Anglo-Catholics that religion was communicated by visual means, by pictures, symbols, and ceremonies and not just by words' as was so often the case in Protestant churches.[1364]

Such means of communication were developed to a high degree in the Hermetic Orders of the Golden Dawn and Stella Matutina through rich and highly symbolic ceremony which exemplified the Order axiom that 'by Names and Images are all Powers wakened and re-awakened'.[1365] Against this background, and within the context of an Anglicanism reinvigorated by ritual and the perceived supernatural power of the Sacraments, it is not difficult to see how some priests may have come to see the Stella Matutina as fulfilling many of these *desiderata* in an enhanced and privileged manner. To actually experience a form of the ancient mystery schools described favourably by the early church fathers and to participate in receiving what was claimed to be the secret teachings of Christ, thereby enabling the initiate to ascend closer and closer to God, undoubtedly proved attractive to a small number of Anglo-Catholic priests and bishops. Moreover, the nineteenth-century revival of Hermeticism, first revived in Western Europe in the early Renaissance, was evidently seen as an opportunity to restore the 'magic' to Anglican Christianity in a potent manner that far exceeded the ambitions of even the most extreme Anglo-Catholics. It entailed viewing Catholic Christianity not as

---

[1362] Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p. 128.
[1363] Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, pp. 129-131. See also Peter Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*.
[1364] Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p. 127.
[1365] Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, I, 14.

the irrevocable displacement of ancient religion and magic, and whatever verities and values they contained, but rather as their culmination and fulfilment in an eternal *prisca theologia.*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

Facsimile of an unpublished manuscript, 'Some Introductory Remarks Upon Felix Feliticitas Exita's Critical Investigation of the Forty-Eight Angelical Calls – 1934, by Frater F.F.J., London, 1935.'

This manuscript is of some historical interest as it is one of the few surviving papers written by Dr. William E. Carnegie Dickson and one of the few which provides historical comment on aspects of the Golden Dawn. This comment includes impressions of the history of the so-called 'Cipher Manuscripts', of the founders William W. Westcott and S.L. MacGregor Mathers, and of some aspects of the Order teachings. The 'Frater Felix Feliticitas Exita' referred to was Hugh (also known as Ewan) Campbell who was a senior member of the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple. Campbell was a wealthy landowner and farmer in the Hawke Bay region of New Zealand and one of the earliest to join the Order when Dr. R.W. Felkin visited New Zealand in 1912. He was considered by his fellow Order members to be an expert on 'Enochian Magic' and during his 1934 visit copies of all Dr. John Dee's manuscripts were made for him by the British Museum. These copies, and some of his work on them, survive in a private collection.

SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS UPON FRATER *Felix Felicitas Exita's*

"CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE FORTY EIGHT ANGELICAL CALLS" 1934.

by

Frater F.F.J. London, 1935.

I heartily congratulate Frater F.F.E. of the New Zealand Temple of our Order upon his interesting, important, and laborious work upon certain aspects of the Enochian System, which forms an essential, but extremely difficult, part of the curriculum and training of our Inner Order of the R.C. et A.C.

With some of his remarks in his introduction I am in hearty sympathy, for example, his criticisms of the methods sometimes used in copying Order manuscripts - the carrying on of older, and the perpetration of new, errors, both of omission and commission, have been a constant source of trouble to those of our members who possess the accurate and scientific mind - unauthorised variations, additions, and sometimes subtractions, careless misspellings and inaccuracies in copying diagrams - all these have in the past added to the difficulties of our studies, and, I fear, are still doing so.

It has been my good fortune to have entrusted to my keeping, not only copies of our Order rituals and manuscripts transmitted through the Branches guided and ruled by our G.H. and much beloved Fratres, the late Frater Finem Respice and Frater Sub Spe, but also most of the original G.H. documents from which these subsequent copies have been made, these originals being in the handwriting of one

or other of the Chiefs who re-founded the Order in Great Britain in the late eighties and early nineties of last century - mostly in the handwriting of the S.R.Frater Sapere Aude or of his "Official Copyist", Soror "Mens Conscia Sponsus", who was appointed for this special function on April 9th, 1888.

Frater S.A. also left us his personal diary, commencing in February 1888, in which he has made an extremely interesting series of entries connected with the history of the Order, and commencing with the following items:-

"Feb. 1888. Revd. A.F.A.Woodford converses with W.W.W. re cypher M.S.S. in his possession; he promises to shew them, or give them to W. at some future time."

"Aug. 9. 1887. Revd. A.F.A.Woodford sent to W.W.W. his collection of cypher M.S.S."

"Aug. 12 - 30. W.W.W. occupied with study of M.S.S. Finds them to be English in a peculiar cypher unknown to him. He deciphers almost all the letters".

"Sept. 30. W.W.W. hands M.S.S. to S.L.M.Mathers for opinion".

"Oct. 3. Heard from Mathers, with his report on the M.S.S., dated October 1.".

"Oct. 4th. 1887. W.W.W. offers Mathers to be his co-adjutor in working up the M.S.S.".

"Oct. 8th. 1887. Heard from Mathers accepting the post. He proposes Woodman as a 3rd".

"Oct. 12th 1887. Wrote to Sap.Dom.Ast".

"Nov. 16th.1887. Heard from Sap.Dom.Ast. first time".

This Soror, Sapientia Dominabitur Astris, was the Continental Adept of high grade whose name was given in the cypher manuscripts.

Much else of very great interest follows in the diary, but

this is scarcely the place in which to continue the subject in detail. The notes already given are sufficient to indicate the link which was then established with Continental Rosicrucianism, and, in addition to the original cipher manuscripts, further manuscripts, diagrams and teachings were received from Soror S.D.A., ⑦ = [4].

Of special interest to students of the Enochian System is the title-page of Ritual H., as follows:-

English title letter .... H.

Clavicula

Tabularum

Enochi

from [illegible]*

A [illegible] escaped from the Rituals of

Ordinis Nos. Rub. et Aur. Cru.

Tablet Letters Corrected

and alterations added, 1891

Authorised by [illegible] Soror Sap. Dom. Ast.

The property of

V.N.Fra. Sapere Aude.

the Registrar of Second Order.

Aug. 1888.

A copy made by S.D.A's order
for S.A. - Aug. 1888.

The whole being in S.A.'s own hand-writing.

[*Note by F.F.J. This is in the original S.D.Cipher, and, when

4.

transliterated and the order reversed, reads:-
EKDAM ADI SOT.
A reference to the Sloane Collection of M.S.S. in the British Museum. W.L.W.

I, therefore, take it that our older members believed that the Enochian manuscripts were really Rosicrucian in origin, and "escaped" only after they had passed through the hands of Edward Kelly and John Dee.

Whenever I think or read about these two men, the one a scientist, trained in mathematics, astronomy, languages, and all the knowledge of his day: the other a curious and wayward individual, sensitive and psychic, "mediumistic" if you will, unprincipled and egotistic, but equipped with such unusual and out-of-the-way knowledge - working together in such a curious partnership and with such startling results - the more I am reminded of the partnership between our Frater S.A. and Frater S.R.M.D. in the '80s and '90s of last century, which led to the re-founding of the Order of the G.D. in Great Britain. Dr William Lynn Westcott was one of the foremost scientists of his day, a learned chemist, who, with his co-author, Martindale, in 1883 compiled and wrote a very learned and compendious work, the "Extra Pharmacopaia", which has now reached its 18th and 20th editions, and is still found upon the consulting-room table of practically every up-to-date medical practitioner in the English-speaking world. Many of the descriptions of the character of Dr John Dee which one finds in accounts of his life, (for example, that by Charlotte Bell Smith, 190X) might apply

almost word for word to Frater Sapere Aude. For example, upon page 62 of that biography, one finds the sentence:-

> "Unfeigned humility towards GOD, a certain unconsciousness "of self and of his own particular acquirements, are mingled "with a calm assumption of authority and power to enter into "the heart of knowledge".

Or again, on the next page:-

> "His hope and his confidence were alike fixed on nothing less "than wresting all the secrets of the Universe from the abyss "of knowledge, or, at any rate, as many of them as God willed".

One might draw numerous other parallels between the two. Both held minor offices under great Queens of England. Both were honest truth-loving men with a curious combination of weakness and self-reliance - both had "two or more distinct hand-writings", as is noted in Miss Smith's biography of John Dee, and, as I have myself often noticed in reading the diary and manuscripts of Dr W.W.W. Both were slandered and mis-understood, and were often betrayed by their "friends"; but the fact which I particularly wish to emphasise here is that each of them was dependent upon another much less balanced and reliable individual for the carrying out of their occult work. Dee was dependent upon Edward Kelly as his "skryer" for his communion with the spirits; and, as indicated by the foregoing extracts from his diary, S.A. depended upon S.R.L.D. for the working up of the cipher manuscripts into the rituals and manuscripts of the G.D. Each pair of partners called in a third person to work with them. On page 69 of Miss Smith's

biography, occurs the statement:-

"Quite early in the actions, it was told them that a third person "was necessary to the complete work. Adrian Gilbert was the first "selected....."

and, as noted above, "Mathers proposes Woodman as a third".

Kelly and Mathers had various curious idiosyncrasies and characteristics in common. Both juggled with their names, and were, or considered themselves to be, possessed of Continental titles of honour. Both would interrupt their occult work, for which they were paid, in much the same way. Both made marriages apparently on similar lines. Both were extremely inconsiderate (perhaps an even stronger word might be used) of their more stable and scientific partners.

Much more might be written with regard to the parallelism of these two talented and unique, if somewhat unscrupulous characters, but this is enough for our present purpose. "History repeats itself", and I have many times wondered, almost to the point of certainty, whether these two senior Fratres of our Order were not Dr John Dee and his skryer, Edward Kelly, come back again to carry on their occult work together. The question may, at all events, interest and intrigue our Frater Felix, and others of our members who study such problems. It may perhaps add zest to their studies and perhaps particularly to their investigations into the accuracy of the "Angelical Calls", based upon "A True and Faithful Relation of what passed for many Yeers between Dr John Dee, a Mathematician of Great Fame in Q.Elizabeth and K.James their Reigns, and some Spirits...; and shewing the several good Uses that a sober Christian may make of all"

Lastly I am in full accord with what Frater F.F.H. writes as to tampering with and ignorantly altering the manuscripts of our Order, the "foundations on which our spiritual advancement rests". This is particularly true, not only of the rituals of our ceremonies and of the explanatory manuscripts, but also especially of the "Knowledge Lectures". These consist of very carefully selected and tabulated items of knowledge, which are specially chosen to impress a corresponding series of symbols upon the Aura, and they are also very carefully arranged to correspond with the ceremonies to which they lead up and which follow upon them. Thus, in the First Knowledge Lecture, leading to the ⊙ = [10], there is a pentagram of items. In the Second Lecture, there are fifteen items, to correspond with the Divine Name, Yod, Hē. יה In the Third Lecture, leading to the ☽ = [9], there are twenty-two items, a number corresponding with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; whilst the Fourth Lecture, leading to the ⊙ = [7], contains twenty-six items, corresponding with the number of the Great Name, Tetragrammaton. How these items work out and are appropriate to the ceremonies which follow upon them, the order in which the items are given and the effect upon the Aura of studying them, may well repay prolonged investigation and research on the part of our members; and hence extreme accuracy in copying them is an essential part of our curriculum and Order training.

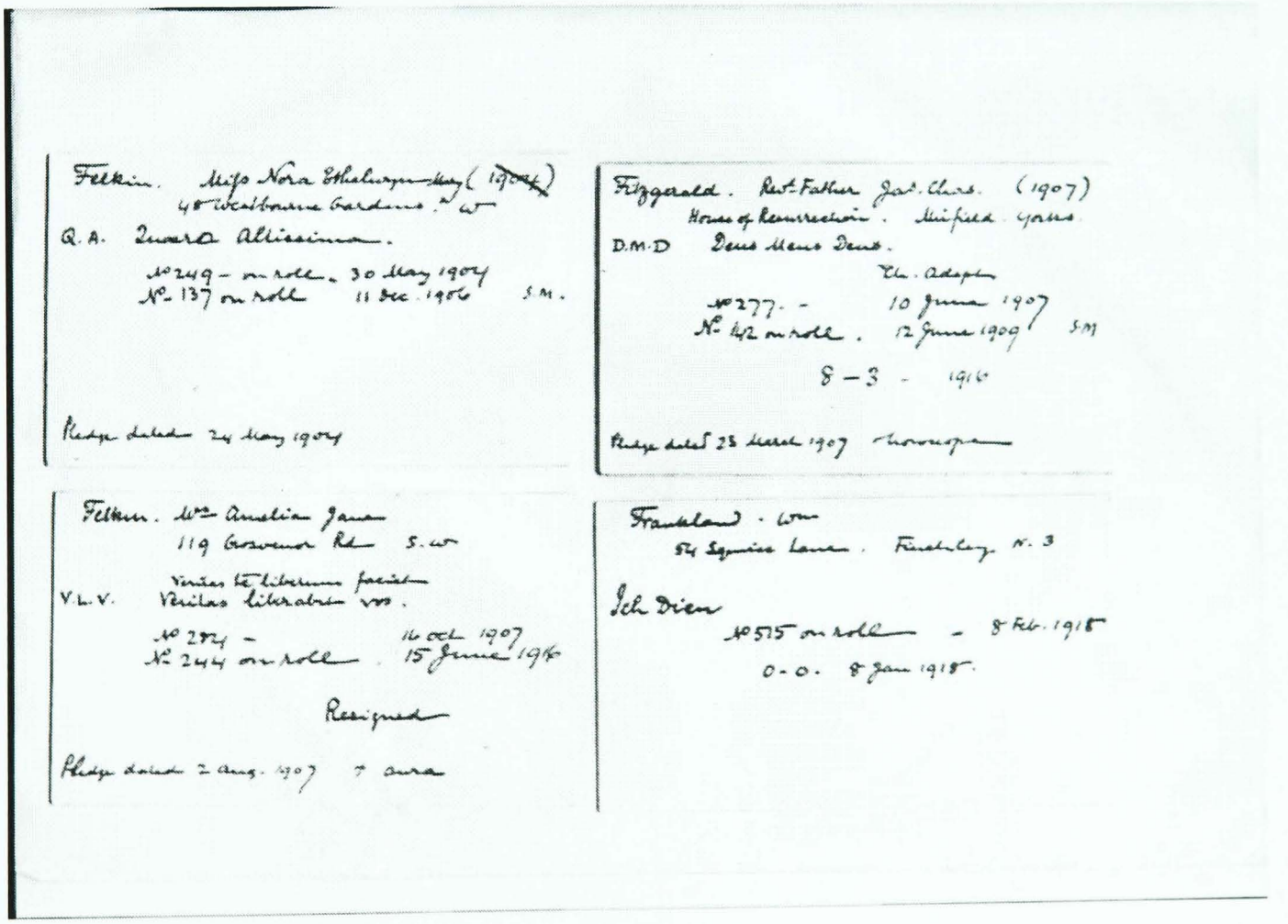
Fortes Fortuna Juvat.

London, 1935.

APPENDIX TWO

Facsimile of unpublished Membership Card of the Reverend Father J.C. Fitzgerald.

This one page document shows the membership card of Father Fitzgerald, a member of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield. It shows that he joined the Order on 10 June 1907, entered the Second Order on 12 June 1909, and entered the Third Order in 1916. The facsimile provides details of three other members, including a daughter and relative of Dr. Felkin. The membership cards containing several hundred names are part of the private collection of Mr. R. A. Gilbert.



Felkin. Miss Nora Ethelwyn May (1904)
40 Westbourne Gardens. W
Q.A. Quæro Altissimum.
No 249 – on roll. 30 May 1904
No. 137 on roll 11 Dec. 1956 S.M.
Pledge dated 24 May 1904

Fitzgerald. Revd Father Jas. Chas. (1907)
House of Resurrection. Mirfield Yorks
D.M.D Deus Meus Deus.
Th. Adeptus
No 277. – 10 June 1907
No 42 on roll. 12 June 1909 S.M
8 – 3 – 1916
Pledge dated 23 March 1907 Thoroughgood

Felkin. Mrs Amelia Jane
119 Grosvenor Rd S.W
V.L.V. Veritas Libertas Vivo.
Veritas et libertas praesidium
No 294 – 16 Oct 1907
No 244 on roll 15 June 1916
Resigned
Pledge dated 2 Aug. 1907 7 aura

Frankland. W.
54 Squires Lane. Finchley N. 3
Ich Dien
No 515 on roll – 8 Feb. 1915
O.O. 8 Jan 1915.

APPENDIX THREE

Facsimile of an unpublished Stella Matutina Second Order Instruction, 'Daily Rhythm of An Adeptus Minor'.

Dr. R.W. Felkin introduced a number of innovations within the Hermetic Order of the Stella Matutina which were not present in the original Golden Dawn Order. These included daily prayers for each Grade to be said at various times of the day. This document came from an ex-Chief, Francis G. Salt and is now part of the collection of A. C. Fuller.

DAILY RHYTHM OF AN ADEPTUS MINOR.

First thought on waking: "And I heard the voice of the King of Earth cry aloud: "He that aideth me in my suffering, the same shall partake with Me in My uprising.

"I accept the bonds of suffering and self sacrifice,
For my victory is in the Cross of the Rose."

At Morning Prayers, with arms folded on breast:

"Be my mind opened unto the Higher,
Be my body a centre of Light.
Be my body the temple of the Rosy Cross."

On Going Out:

"God me merciful to me a sinner, and
keep me in the Pathway of truth."

AT NOON. Visualise the Risen Christ as a glorified Adept, and, realisir that we have to be formed in His Image, formulate in colour, the Paths, and Sephiroth in your sphere of Sensation, in rotation, with revision also in rotation. After five minutes say:

"To the glory of the Rose and Cross I construct this Compendiu of the Universe, as a symbol of the Universal unity."

At Night Prayers:

"From Thine Hand O Lord, cometh all good: the characters of Nature with Thy Fingers Thou hast traced; but none can read them unless he hath n been taught in Thy School. "Therefore, even as servants look unto the hands of their masters and handmaidens unto their mistresses, even so our eyes look up unto Thee, for Thou alone art our help."

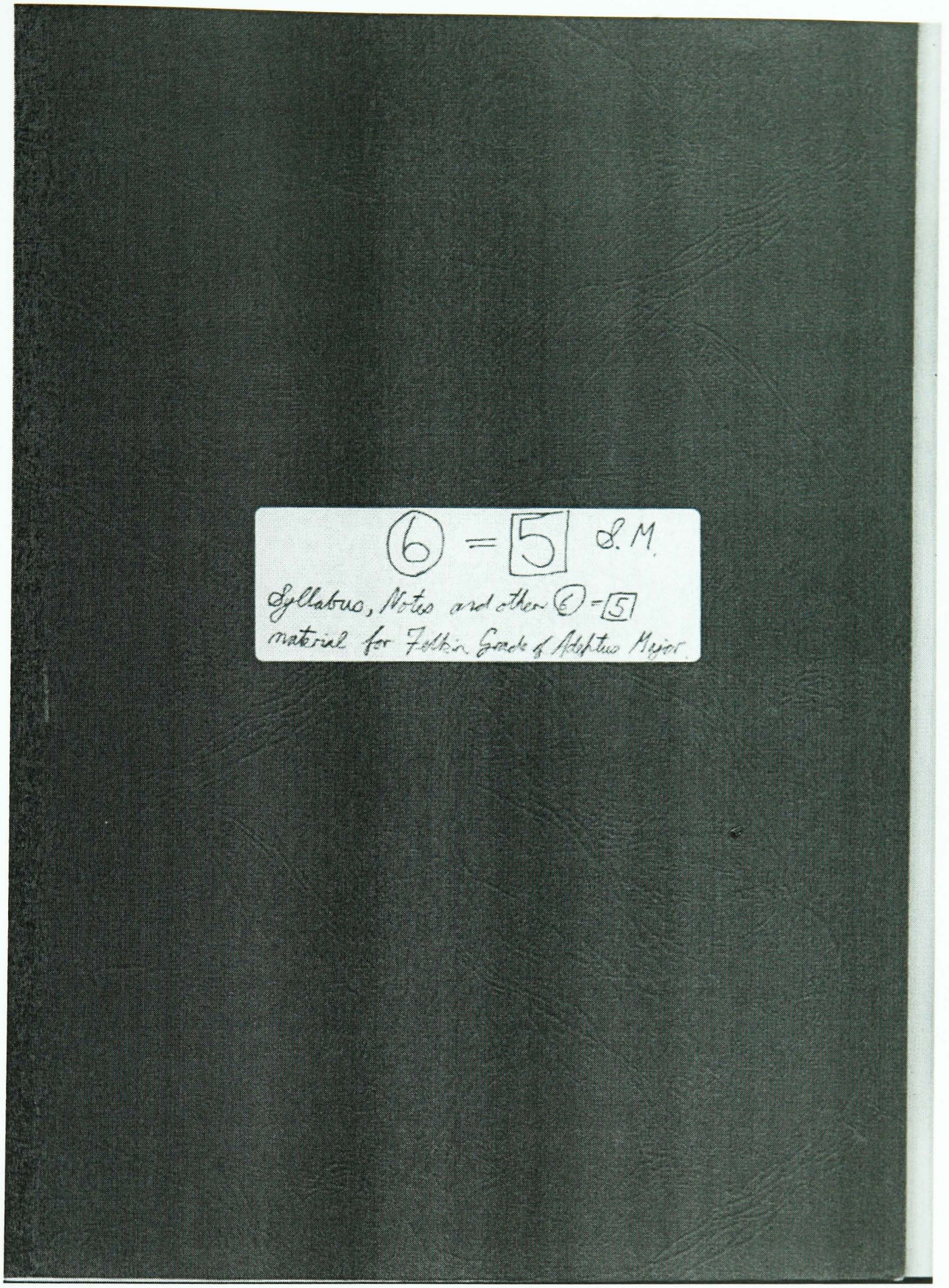
" O Lord our God, who should not extol Thee!
Who should not praise Thee!
"All belongeth unto Thee, either Thy Love or Thy anger- All must agair re-enter. Nothing canst Thou lose, for all must tend unto Thy Honour and Majesty.
"Thou art Lord alone, and there is none beside Thee.
"Thou dost what Thou wilt with Thy Mighty Arm, and none can escape from Thee."
"Thou alone helpest in their necessity the humble,the meek-hearted and the poor, who submit themselves unto Thee: and whosoever humbleth himself in dust and ashes before Thee, unto such an one art THou propitious. "Who should not praise Thee then, O Lord of the Universe, unto Whom there is none like: Whose dwelling is in Heaven, and in every virtuous and God-fearing heart. "O God the Vast One, Thou art in all things!
"O Nature, Thou Self from Nothing - for what else can I call Thee ? I am nothing. In Thee I am Self, and exist in Thy Selfhood from Nothing. Live Thou in me, and bring me unto that Self which is in The

Amen.

APPENDIX FOUR

A facsimile of an unpublished Stella Matutina document for the Second Order Grade of Adeptus Major, entitled 'The Cross'.

The five-page document describes the significance of the symbol of the Cross as it appears in the eight Grades from Neophyte to Adeptus Major. Copies of this document are known to exist in two private collections.


6 = 5 L.M.
Syllabus, Notes and other 6 = 5
material for Fifth Grade of Adeptus Major

THE CROSS.

0=0. 1.1.

"Rejoicing I come to thee, thou Cross, the Life-Giver, Cross whom I now know to be mine. I know thy mystery, for thou hast been planted inthis world to make fast things unstable."

Let us strive to understand the divine ideas underlying these ceremonies, and the use of the Cross as the Master-Symbol by which all transmutation is effected. Our Lord said: "Ye must be born again of water and the spirit, and He referred, no doubt, to initiation, and the great Master-Symbol of initiation is the Cross.

As a symbol it is as old as the planet for it has been used in one form or another by almost every nation, in every civilisation. The the 3rd Root Race formed it from the ash-tree, whence issued the men of Bronze. The called it the Tzite Cross. There was also the Swastika, the most sacred symbol of India, sometimes called by the Masons the Jaina Cross, the Greeks the Tau Cross.

In our Order in the 0=0 Ceremony, we see the cross of the four elements in perfect balance. It is balanced because it holds at its centre the spiritual power of the Hegemon, the symbol of balance in the Piscean Age as shown by the fish-headed sceptre - in Egypt by the feather of Truth head-dress, in the Aquarian Age no doubt, by the symbol of balance.

There are four lustrations, markings of the Cross upon the candidate; his bodies, physical and psychic, are consecrated simultaneously. Eventually, the lustrations flower upon the altar, for he himself handles the Cross of the Four Elements. There are four lustrations, and in the middle of the Temple is the Cubical Cross: the Candidate as yet unfolded for service - nevertheless he flowers in the Mystic Repast.

1=10.

The Order by its drama, enacts the evolution of the race - from animal man to divine man, and its magic is in the Tree - the Cross, by the Cross, which in a certain sense represents the personality of man, the slow emergence of the useful and proper faculties takes place.

After the first purification, we rise from our knees and seal our promises by the oblation of salt - the emblem of purified earth. We are beginning to grow the wood of the Cross- its upright beam; in the choice of the central pathway we know that the arms of the Cross are still beyond our ken.

The Master Symbol junctions in the 1=10 by means of the whirling cross, the Swastica, the Hermetic Cross, which bears upon its arms 17 squares as the ritual explains; the Sun, the Four Elements and the 12 Signs of the Zodiac - all the powers requiring integration by the initiate on his long journey. Such a symbol, by its whirling brings to life the latent powers within those who contemplate it. And so- we start our journey.

"Therefore, with Jesus Christ, true God, ascend the Cross, the One and only Word."

2=9.

"The Word in truth is symbolled forth, by that straight stem on which I hang."

"Lo ! The Central Cross, the cubical Cross is unfolded, it bear upon it all the signs and powers for thy redemption!

The Candidate has within him a stirring, a budding of life, he has purified the soil where the tender roots of the Cross shall sojourn and grow. He can be trusted to contemplate a glyph of its perfected man, his powers unfolded, to which he is pledged to attain; his mind therefore must be purified before a further step on the journey can b attempted. The Light-bearer, therefore, guides him to the abode of the Kerubim, the guardians of the arms of the Cross, with whose symbol he is sealed. He begins to hear the sweet voice of the Master as he chants the litany of the Cross: "Thy head stretched forth and up into heaven that thou mayest symbol forth the Heavenly Logos, the Head of all things. Thy middle parts are stretched forth as it were hands to right and left, that thou mayest gather together into one thoses that are scattered abroad.

"Thy foot is set in the earth, sunk in the deep, the abyss- that thou mayest draw up those that lie beneath the earth, and mayest join them to those in heaven.

"Hear, therefore, my brothers, the Truth expounded; the path Tau is the Ladder of Jacob, and the sure testimony that man was made for the heights."

In the Cubical Cross the whole destiny of man is revealed, every path is indicated, every Sephirah named.

So by the Path Tau does the candidate finally emerge from Malkuth, and begins his outward and upward journey,

3=8.

Our candidate has become the poet, the artist, discovers in himself hidden faculties; from the solid Greek Cross he gains balance, from one arm power, another vision, another strength, another energy, from theSun in the midst he rises like Casmillos to the trumpet call of the Archangel; on the bitter Cross of his personality he may place the great symbol of the Star of the Grade, the Planet Mercury - he must learn to hold his soul sup-like to receive the divine-love, that he may give of its fulness to others, From the portals of Shin, Tau and he gains balance in diversity, he begins to hear the voices of the elementals: the organ-like notes of the water, the flute-like notes of air, the sibilant sighing of air, the drum-like beat of the heart of the Mother of the earth.

He has a great vista before him, for in this grade he can find power in perfect balance, but he must hold the Cross with both hands! "For power in no way differs from thought, and yet are one; from the things above is discovered power, from those below Thought." We presume that the candidate can now be trusted with power, for he is given the first of the planetary symbols to contemplate, the planet Mercury- the Messenger of the gods. Upon the Cross of his own weak personality is superimposed this mighty symbol. Dedicated power is of the armour of God.

"Light looked down and beheld darkness, Thither shall I go said Light "Peace looked down and beheld war; Thither shall I go said Peace! Love looked down and beheld hate, Thither shall I go, said Love!

So came Light and shone, So came Peace and gave ease,
So came Love and brought Life! And the Word was made flesh
And dwelt among us.

4=7.
The Candidate has become the Warrior, he is one of the great company of Warriors; those who wrested from the Tree, the Cross, the Sword, to fight for righteousness. He aspires to be one with the Warriors of the past.

Arthur and his gallant company, the Black Prince, Baldwin, first King of Jerusalem, whose body was buried near the Holy Sepulchre, COeur-de Lion, who is entrusted with the Sword Excalibur, which he gave to Tancred - the Maiden - Knight Sir Galahad. ALL those who fought for the Cross, with Divine fire.

The Calvary Cross of 12 squares to my poor mind the symbolism is lost in the Waters of Nu! Perhaps the ancients juggled with the Zodiac, and the symbo settled hap-hazard!

The Calvary Cross of 10 squares refers to the ten Sephiroth in balanced disposition as the ritual sets forth - therefore, we assume that the candidate's Sephiroth, those peaceful Chakras are in active motion - the candidate is ready for service because he has attained to a certain degree of equilibrium.

There is much profound teaching hidden in this symbol, and the Candidate has now access to their treasures, and it is a very beautiful Cross for contemplation.

I kneel at its feet and feel the stability of our Lord in Malkuth; in Yesod I see His exalted Vision; in Hod I gather His tears for the purification of mankind; in Netzach I bathe in His purifying fire, in Tiphareth I feel the beat of His Heart, in Kether I am filled with the perfume of roses - therefore I say:

"O fairest Queen of Roses! flower
Bedew our parched ground from out Thy Heart,
Whence soul-reviving Waters flow increasing
Till Mercy's dower makes each of us a part
Of Thy true Self - each soul a pure reflection
Of Love's red, flaming Rose, its own Perfection."

The Calvary Cross of 6 squares is a tremendously powerful symbol containing as it does, the old form of the Cubical Cross and the unfolded Calvary Cross. This grade is a synthesising of the Candidate's powers in the fires of the Spirit, enabling him to lift the small cross of his personality to receive the exalted symbol of Venus, for only through the door of Love can he pass into the heights. All the great mystery traditions set forth chiefly the mystery of Man; and the Order in its wisdom chooses the greatest of the four great Initiations: the Egyptian, Jewish, Chaldean and Persian to bring the Candidate from darkness to light, to give him a glimpse of his past, and by the power of the Cross to correct those ancient failings - by the power of the Cross to overcome them. By the fire in the heart which purifies the fires of the mind which enlightens the fire of the will when the Spirit is turned to God, may you be carried up the Holy Mountain.

THE PORTAL.

The candidate's Cross has budded, put on colour, turned inwards for service - he carries the dedicated Cross of the great human Order the Knights of Malta, of St. John of Jerusalem - the Maltese Cross.

He advances alone, he is ready for his personal Gethsemene, he sees three strange officers, and one Valient one the Hiercus, his own dedicated self.

By the power of his Cross he is permitted to invoke the Deity Name of the four Elements, and be sealed by that great ancient form of the Cross, the Qabalistic Cross - to have the 4 Elements of his body consecrated and strengthened for service. He is ready in the Spirit of Sacrifice for service, but can he face the World Karma, the world Gethsemene?

Slowly the great monsters of the world's subconscious arise - with such he must be willing to cope.

He who would dare beyond his strength, the Path of Kaph - Beware! thunders the Valient One, his own purified lower self. He who would dare beyond his strength the Path of Nun. Beware! again- He who would dare along the middle path armed with a bright and glowing Cross the Spirit in its centre, receives the confirmation of his aspiration: buries his old self beneath the Cross' shadow.

The 5 = 6.

And then at the dawn of the cosmic year, when the Cross of wood has become the Cross of Light, we shall discern them- on not only the radiant figure of our Lord, but our own features mingled with His and the features of our friends; then the divine secret shall have been revealed, and the Cross of transmutation become the weapon of the Warrior of Christ.

This is a stark drama, this drama of the Cross; men flee from it in horror because they cannot bear this tragedy of love. Let us learn the secret of this divine alchemy.

We see the sind of the nations before the judgment seat of Pilate, staggering along the Via Dolorosa, becoming absorbed in a multitudinous figure, even you and I my brothers, and countless brothers and sisters, striving to mount Golgotha, striving to lay ourselves upon the Cross.

This meditation upon the drama of the crucifixion is no new philosophical speculation, it is a preparation we are receiving, those added spiritual powers enabling mankind to pass from the state of self-seeking to the stage of enlightenment. By the contemplation of the life and passion of Christ the divine Love is engenderdd in the crucible of the heart, and in that crucible all that is unworthy perishes.- In therefore the secret of transmutation!

But we, who have been in turn the mystified women, the careless onlookers, the blaspheming thief, if we be content to bear our burdens to carry our Cross, shall see, when that Cross is lifted up on the Golgotha of our woe, our own dear shining Christ appear, and shall pass, with Him into the Paradise of a new day!

Gethsemene.

Four timid disciples went to the Mount of Olives - they had an Arab guide, a tall , quiet, dignified man who had a special devotion to our Lord.

They passed by the sleeping disciples, penetrated deeper into the wood, where the young olive trees clustered about a large stone, and there they saw Him lost in an agony of prayer: "Father, if Thou be wi willing, remove this cup from me!" Whereon a great multitude arose, the poor, the forlorn, the forsaken, the sinner, the criminals, and a great murmuring, a great cry met our ears - and then - the Golden Voice: "Nevertheless, not my will but Thine be done." And He was among them - the Healer, the Comforter.

There was a flash of light and a drawn sword: "Come no closer said a voice, "Your Lord has conquered."

We saw no more- not the bewildered disciples, nor the miracle of the High Priest's servant, nor the trial, nor the scourging - but we saw the Cross being lowered, and Jesus received into His Mother's arms -- then the slow descent along the stony path to the Garden - and we heard the piercing wailing of the Magdalene.

Once more we were in the Garden- the moon was rising serene and milk-like, shadowy and gentle like the early Church, and the almond trees were in bloom.

Presently there arose a little gurgle of water from the brook near by, the birds stirred,there was a sound of running feet, and the great stone moved away.

This then, fratres and sorores is the ardour and the xision the Order gives its children, and those who form His bodyguard in the past, the present and the future have in their hearts the passion and pain of the Cross, the triumph and the majesty of His Resurrection - for all such we give thanks.

To us, Fratres and Sorores, we who are cross-bearers, await the touch of Pentcostal Fire, that Fire which touched the Tree, the Cross, and turned it to a Rose - whose shining petals are the adoring saints; Whose stem we are, Whose thorny stem mayhap - yet carrying the sap of everlasting Love.

We have studied the Fatherhood of God, speaking, through the Cross- now let us picture the Method of God on the descending Cross-bearers,.

.....

APPENDIX FIVE

Facsimile of unpublished Stella Matutina document, 'On the Exorcism of Evil Spirits'.

This one page document employs Order methods to exorcize evil spirits. The abbreviation 'L.B.R.' refers to the 'Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram' (published in Regardie's Golden Dawn) and the abbreviation 'D.W.B.' refers to the 'Divine White Brilliance' (referred to in Regardie). The latter is a Second Order concept which entails a form of pure and spiritual light flowing into the Adept and, according to some accounts, available to the Adept for dispensing on matter external to the Adept. This ritual was in a folder of similar material, some with markedly Christian content, and it is possible that was produced and/or used by clerical members. The folder is in a private collection.

-On the Exorcism of Evil Spirits-

1. For the timing of the ritual, select the Planetary hour of Venus or Sol, on the day of one of these two (friday or sunday).
2. Advise the victim to set aside 3 to 4 days for recovery.
3. Prepare oneself for 3 days(72 hrs), by abstaining from any activity which may be harmful to the purity of the ritual - i.e. alcohol or drug intake; also meditate each day on the purpose of the exorcism, making oneself fully clear on both Microcosmic and Macrocosmic levels.
4. Prepare the victim by communicating closely during these 3 days on the subject of what is to be happening.
5. The Temple is to be bare of all except a chair, Magical Sword and Holy Water, also Incense appropriate to day & hour of ritual.
6. To commence ritual, proceed to seat victim in centre of room. Bid him or her to close eyes.
7. Do L.B.R.
8. Invoke Pentagrams with Sword.
9. Call down D.W.B. by using Analysis of the Keyword.
10. Sprinkle Holy Water in form of ✝ in four quarters, going via E, S, W, N, completing circle in E. then repeating symbol over victim.
11. Using Incense instead, repeat step 10.
12. Standing at E., face the victim and say (so that he/she cannot hear): "I (magical name), Frater of the R.R. et A.C., by the power transmitted to me hereby and now in this day and hour of Venus (or Sol) determine and Will by the Divine Permission to cast out the Evil One from the Soul of this person (mention christian name), that his/her life may be freely lived, with a Spirit truely sacred in the Light of the Higher."
13. When and only when filled by the energy of the D.W.B., proceed to project your Will definitely, through the eyes and onto the Heart & Solar Plexus (moving straight down), and say: "Go thou obsessing spirit & entity and leave this person (give name) in perfect freedom from thy wiles. Depart into the region consonant to thy Being and may the Lord on High be gracious to thee. Go! Go! Go! I Command thee DEPART!"
14. Project yourself once on persons aura, then withdraw and stamp (as in Sign of Harpocrates).
15. Do L.B.R.

APPENDIX SIX

Facsimile of the final letter, dated 24 August 1978, from the Chiefs of Smaragdum Thalasses to the members.

A copy of this unpublished letter was sent to all members of the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple announcing the closure of the Order. It is signed by the Order mottos of the last three Chiefs. The address of 'Whare Ra' refers to the name given to the building in which the Temple was housed. The Maori word 'Whare' means 'house'. Copies of this letter are in several private collections.

H.O. 49

Whare Ra,

August 24. 1978.

Dear Fratres and Sorores,

This letter is addressed to all members of the Order of the S.T., including members of the Second Order.

It is with great great regret that we write to inform you that the Temple is closing and there will be no Vernal Equinox Ceremony.

Those of you who have been present at recent Equinox Ceremonies will surely have been aware, not only of the lack of numbers, but also of the lack of power, in the Temple. Those who have read their annual reports can scarcely have failed to notice that no new members have been admitted since 1975. Indeed there have been no Grade Ceremonies at all for the past two years or more.

It is difficult for those who have made the Order the focal point of their lives to realise, and accept, that its particular method of working is no longer appropriate to the times in which we live. The Chiefs have very reluctantly reached the conclusion that the Order, at least in its present form, has served its purpose and the Divine Guardians have withdrawn themselves. "May what we have partaken of sustain us in our search for the Quintessence, true wisdom and perfect happiness, the Summum Bonum."

We wish to make it clear that the decision to close the Temple at this time has not been made for financial reasons, though it seems obvious that we could not have carried on much longer without selling part of the land in order to meet the rates.

The disposition of the property, which is held upon trust for charitable purposes, is under consideration but has not yet been decided upon. A meeting of members will be called as soon as possible to discuss the matter.

Yours Fraternally,

CANTATE DOMINO

LEVAVI OCULOS

A BEAU SION.

APPENDIX SEVEN

Facsimile of an unpublished document from the Holy Order of the Sun, or Cromlech Temple, ' Second Order-Conditions of Admission', originally dated 1894.

This one page document makes clear the requirement for candidates for the Second Order to be Christian. Copies are known to exist in three private collections.

SECOND GRADE . CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION.

Concerning the New Grade, know that the First Grade, wherein you all are, is open to all the world of every race and faith, or of no faith expressed in definite and outward creed. Only the Atheist, by reason of his narrow dogmatism, and the materialist, by reason of his invincible ignorance, are excluded therefrom.

But in the Second Grade it is necessary that the Neophyte profess outwardly the belief in a supernatural and revealed religion, and hence this step has various facets. For on one facet stands the Christian, on another the Buddhist, on a third the Jew, on a fourth the Parsee, and so onm; and for each of these there is a Ceremony appropriate to the symbology of the Faith he holds. So that, though the Temple of the Most High is open to all, yet God has appointed unto different men different modes and doors of entrance, so that there be no confusion, so that the Christian enter not by the Buddhist door, nor the Jew by that of the Parsee. Yet in the end all shall worship at the same altar.

And he who says in his heart" My neighbour's door is better than the one which the Master has appointed to me", is not yet fit to enter at all until in humility he seeks the direction of the Master herein and follows the counsels given him with a pure heart and steadfast faith.

Now seeing that for you,Brethren, the Faith of Christ is that which the Master has prescribed, and wherein He has revealed Himself to you, therefore on this facet of the Second Grade do we invite you to stand; and we invite none who are not prepared to stand before the Holy Altar and with the right hand on the Cross, confess the true Faith of a Christian. We do not ask in what manner you hold it. We do not ask if you belong to the Catholic Church(in its widest sense) or not. We simply ask of you if you believe the Gospels and if you confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, Very God and Very Man. If you confess this, you may enter on the Second Grade.

(This was the original instruction sent to the founder of the Cromlech Temple in ~~1894~~ 1894).

APPENDIX EIGHT

A facsimile of an unpublished Cromlech Temple paper entitled, 'On the Trinity'.

This two-page document provides the Cromlech interpretation of the Trinity, giving some emphasis to the Athanasian Creed. Private collection.

On the TRINITY.

Great is the Mystery of the Ever Blessed Trinity and not to be expressed in human words or apprehended by human thought. Hence is it that since this mighty teaching was first revealed to man there have been never-ending disputes thereon - and all the disputants have been right in their affirmations but wrong in their denials of each other. Catholic, Arian, Trinitarian and Unitarian or Socinian, Monotheist and Pantheist have seen phases or facets of the mighty Mystery and, thinking they saw the whole, have anathematized all who saw not eye to eye with them. Not in words can the truth be stated - for it transcends all human words. Yet did it please the Holy Spirit - in order that mankind should have some form and limitation to define the revalation, to inspire a great Initiate with the sublime treatise known as the Athanasian Creed - which, though it explain not - and is in no sense a definition of the mystery, yet is the most accurate summary whereof human speech is capable.

Perchance the following short abstract of a lecture by one of our advanced brethren to a class of neophytes may make the mystery clearer and more comprehensible.

Follow all the teachings of all science from effect to cause - to the cause of that cause and so on till science stays and imagination herself fails to conceive what is beyond. There is then beyond an Infinite chain of cause and effect - and this Infinity is God. God therefore is The ALL. He is in everything, yet He is also outside of everything. Everything in the Universe moves, acts and lives because He is in it and animating it. Yet because He is also in His Infinity outside of it - He is the Ruler and Judge of its action. Incomprehensible to the uninspired man is even this - for God the Father - the One Infinite Supreme cannot be thought of or spoken of by man. He is - and everything that is, is part of His Ineffable Glory and His Infinite Power.

Now when He is in a finite being - there be various laws which that being obeys, for in the finite universe is there constant change, decay and rebirth - and the finite body is bound by and obeys this law of metabolism, and every being hath, as has been

said, many sheaths - and each sheath is less subject to change than the one immediately outside of it. Till innermost of all is the Divine Spark which being of the essence of God knows no change. Thus everything that exists (including every living thing) is a manifestation of Him, it is only the Manifesting Power which we can cognise in any sense - that Power which made the worlds and which we call the Word - or the Emanation of the Father. We may say then that God is the Informing Power of the Universe - the Physical Universe is, as it were, the Body of God - the manifestation of that physical universe - i.e. all that it does - its actions and reactions - not only all the science of this world and the laws thereof - but even to the remotest star - these are the Word of the Father - whereby we know Him - and are one with the Father. Man cannot even think of the Father - but man can think of the signs he knows by which the Father is manifest - and this is the Son - and the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son is the Influence going forth from the Word - whereby the Word influences and rules the world. Thus consider thine own personality. Thy soul is the source and reason of all that thou art - yet no man can see or know thy soul save by the actions of thy body. Thus thy body is not the manifestation of thy soul - but the sum of all the actions, thoughts, words and works of thy body during all its life is the manifestation of thy soul - and these actions are in accordance with the Spirit (or one might say the temperament) of thy body. Here mayest thou see a rough analogy - for in thee as in every other created thing is the manifestation of God The Father.

APPENDIX NINE

Facsimile of an unpublished Cromlech Temple document, 'The Formula of the White Light in the Pentagram and the Cup' was restricted to the Third Order.

This document is of particular interest for the elaboration it provides of the Golden Dawn notion of the 'Divine White Brilliance' and also for the Cromlech adaption and expansion of the Golden Dawn pentagram ritual.

TRIDANTIN ALPHA:
THE FORMULA OF THE WHITE LIGHT
IN THE
PENTAGRAM AND THE CUP.

(For Members of the Third Grade only)

(The Holy Order of the Sun)

OTO: 3° No. III.A.

TRIDANTIN ALPHA:
THE FORMULA OF THE WHITE LIGHT
IN THE
PENTAGRAM AND THE CUP.

Here shall be given two very simple Formulas for the use of what is known as "The White Light," whereby the Student who has advanced thus far may draw it into his own Body, and may thus direct and make use of it in certain easy and elementary ways, with no danger to himself and others. This paper must be confined to members of the Third Grade, except where, in special circumstances and for a particular purpose, it is directed to be given to any of a Lower Grade.

The Student who has attained thus far will naturally have had some experience of what we call "The White Light." He should already have perceived and felt it, and should have been able, at all events occasionally, to draw it down and, as it were, to immerse himself in it — for healing or for the restoration of equilibrium, if the same have been lost. He is now to begin to learn scientifically somewhat of the nature of that Light, and how it may be utilised as a magical instrument.

First, then, let us consider what it is that we call "The White Light." In the first place, then, it is not "light" properly so called, though for convenience we call it so, and though usually to the clairvoyant eye it appears as light. In reality, it is more than physical light. It is a system of vibrations — not only of those so-called "aetheric" vibrations that we term "light," but of any and all vibrations that make themselves perceptible to any of our senses, whether conveyed by aether, air, moisture, etc., in the form of sight, and sound, and touch, and scent, and many others for which we have as yet no names at present.

Why, then, do we call it "White"? White is the perfect union in

quilibrium of all colours. The white Light, then, is a system of vibrations appealing to all the Senses, and in perfect equilibrium, and its effect, so far as it enters the Body and affects the Nerves, is to produce equilibrium. The effect upon the eye has been described as a sensation as "of a shower of warm moonshine," at once soothing and stimulating. Hence, by common consent, it has been called "White Light." But the perception depends upon the individual "nerves" (or the sensitivity of the "nervous system") and on what is called the "personal equation," and probably no two persons perceive it in exactly the same way and in similar degree and intensity. Many incorrect ideas have been set forth by certain of those who have only a very elementary perception of the "Light," and have never been taught or comprehended its true scientific nature.

Now, in the Aura of every individual, immediately above his head, there is a point or focus where the vibrations are in exact equilibrium, a centre, as it were, of "The white Light." But, in the masses of the outer and uninitiated of mankind, there is no connection between this point and the physical brain. These, therefore, never attain to equilibrium, or even an approach thereto. But, with the development of Adeptship, the connecting-lines between this point and the brain form and develop, and the consciousness of the Light grows clearer, and the power of "bringing it down" in the way we have described.

There is, however, a great difference between thus "bringing it down" and, as it were, "bathing in the Light" and taking it into oneself, mak- it part of oneself, and utilising it for the benefit of others. For, understand that, though elementary students may speak of "sending currents of White Light to others,"and may even by an exercise of will succeed in bringing a certain radiance of equilibrised vibrations around another, wherebv that other may be soothed or healed, yet is there no

scientific or certain method of directing or using this great magical instrument, until its nature and properties are accurately and scientifically known, and the proper formulae are employed.

Let us understand, then, these points. The manifestation of the Light is shewn by the perception of those senses which are most sensitive. It may be by the seeing of a white radiance. It may be by the hearing of a transcendentally exquisite harmony. It may be by the feeling of a pleasant warm glow. It may be by the sensing of a beautiful perfume, or as a sweet taste. Or it may manifest merely as a feeling of wonderful peace and joy, with no distinct physical perception, or it may be by a combination of several or of all of these.

The source of the manifestation to the human-being is in the spot or focus immediately above his head — in the Kether of his Aura. The source from whence the white Light in the Kether of the Human Aura is fed and replenished is the Kether of the World, the spot immediately above the North-pole of the Earth, around the Pole-Star; and this has been already partially demonstrated in the Pole-Star Exercise, with which the Student is, of course, already well acquainted.

The natural course is for the white Light or Equilibrated Vibrations to pass from the Pole-Star to the Kether of every human-being, and from thence to flow through the material human body, forming in it a species of store-house wherefrom it can be sent forth to accomplish any desired end. Why, then, does it not always do so ? Why are we obliged carefully to <u>invoke</u> the Light ? And why have to learn <u>Formulae</u> for bringing it down ? Because vibrations from without can only enter into a brain and nerves which are sensitive and negative to these particular vibrations; and the White Light, being a system of all vibrations equilibrated, can enter only when there is a negative condition of the whole body to all vibrations.

This farther consideration should also be borne in mind. It is the pace and rhythm of vibrations that constitute the individuality of every human-being; but what we call "The White Light" , being the equilibration of all vibrations, is the same in all and for all. It is, therefore, an influence the manifestation of which is to form a union of every human-being one with another, which abolishes all differences , all disharmonies. That Love, in short, which binds the Universe with Golden Chains around the Feet of God.

Let the Student, then, who desires to practise the Formula now to be given first endeavour to become as negative as possible, especially towards other Members of the Order, and through them to the whole Human Race, expelling from his mind every thought of disharmony or unkindness, and stilling every bodily movement, and then, as far as possible, every thought of any kind; and let him then endeavour to perceive the "Light," either by sight or sound or feeling, or in whatever way it comes easiest. He should be able without difficulty to realise the great source of equilibrated vibrations around the Pole-Star, and the corresponding centre in his own Aura and above his own head.

The Formula of the Pentagram is simple and easy and is thus performed:

THE FORMULA OF THE PENTAGRAM

First, perform the ordinary Invoking Pentagram, according to any Formula which thou hast been taught — for there are many such Formulae , and they differ little in efficacy. Having done so, visualise the Flaming Pentagram, shining before thee in silvery lines of light. Thou must now place it upon thyself, stretching out both arms in the form of a Cross, and placing the feet somewhat apart (eighteen inches to two feet is a good average distance, according to stature).

In placing the Pentagram on thyself, thy head is the uppermost point, immediately below the Kether of thine Aura. Thy two hands form the upper

points, thy two feet the lower; but the Pentagram thou hast drawn must be turned round or reversed; for, as drawn, it faces thee, so that the Point of Earth, which is opposite thy left foot, comes on to the right. Remember, also, in this Formula, especially the interchangeable quality of Air and Water; and regard the two arms as equally belonging to both. Now raise the right hand above the head, joining the thumb and the first two fingers, and endeavour to feel that thou art grasping and drawing down the Light from the Kether of thine own Aura. Bring this to the top of thy head, and thence to the centre of thy forehead at the root of the nose. Thou shouldest feel the flow of the Light into the brain. Until this is felt, it is useless to proceed; but, as soon as it is clearly perceived, the stream has begun to flow, an entrance and a union has been effected, and the Light will flow continuously more and more.

Now, make the Sign of the Cross on the forehead and say:-

"All ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord; praise Him and magnify Him for ever."

Now, by an effort of will and of thought, draw the Light down to the right foot, saying:-

"Let the Earth bless the Lord, yea, let it praise Him and magnify Him for ever."

So draw it up to the left hand, and then across to the right hand, saying:

"O ye Winds and all ye Seas and Floods, bless ye the Lord: praise Him and magnify Him for ever."

"Draw it similarly down to the left foot, saying:

"O ye Fire and Heat, bless ye the Lord: praise Him and magnify Him for ever."

Then up again to the head, saying:

"O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord; praise Him and magnify Him for ever."

The Light has now been brought down from the Kether of the Earth into

the Kether of thine own Aura, and thence to thy physical Brain, there being, as it were, concentrated into a stream of equilibrated vibration, and thence conducted throughout the entire body.

Now cross the arms upon the breast, and seal and preserve the Light which thou hast taken into thyself — Bow the head and say:

A M E N .

APPENDIX TEN

An unpublished facsimile of an open letter dated 9 October 1963 from Mrs Carnegie Dickson.

Mrs Carnegie Dickson, writing both as Soror Tharphesh of the Cromlech Temple, and Soror Dominus Illuminatio Mea of the Stella Matutina Order, authorises Frater Anubis (Charles Renn) to start a 'daughter temple of the Cromlech' in New Zealand. It should be noted that she has the highest Grade of the Stella Matutina, namely 9=2 or Magus.

11, St. George's Road,
St. Margaret's
Middx.
England.
9th Oct 1963.

I, Fratrix Tharphesh, as the sole remaining member of the 'College of Adepts' appointed by Frater Metraton of the original Temple of the Cromlech in Edinburgh to carry on the work of the Sun Order, do hereby authorise Frater Anubis of the Southern Branch of the Cromlech Temple, to start a daughter Temple in New Zealand.

Tharphesh.

Dominus Illuminatio Mea. 9=2 of R.R. et A.C.

APPENDIX ELEVEN

A facsimile of an unpublished letter dated 9 October 1963 from Mrs Carnegie Dickson to Charles Renn.

This four-page letter provides considerable detail regarding the establishment of a Cromlech Temple, and makes reference to other Order members including the possibility of Bram Stoker, author of Dracula, being a member of the Order. It also provides some detail on the state of the Hermes Temple of the Stella Matutina, and comments on the visit to the New Zealand Smaragdum Thalasses Temple of Ann Davies, then Head of Builders of the Adytum.

11 St George's Road
Teddington
Middx.

9th Oct. 1963.

Dear Anubis,

I seem to have three letters of yours to answer, which involve so many queries that I am not using the usual letter form. But it is perhaps as well that I waited, as your last letter, which arrived yesterday needs an immediate answer, as I seem to have given you incomplete directions about the Veil and so on.

One reason for my delay in answering has been that for the past few weeks I have been really trying to get my various MSS in order, as Capio and Una were to come yesterday to look through them and take any that would be useful for their own study or the Group - especially in view of Spem's decision (if it is genuine) to get rid of everything. Capio tells me that he does not think Spem will carry out my request that he(Capio) should be allowed to look at the papers and take what are of use. He says that he and Una went once by special appointment for that very purpose and Spem never even mentioned the subject or let them go near the properties. However Spem is still away abroad, I believe, so we shall see what happens. THis by way of apology.

They did come yesterday, and we spent some hours - 11.30 to 5 more or less, with an interval for lunch, but even so we did not nearly go through them all. Your letter arrived only just before they did, so I just glanced at it for any news and had to leave it for proper consideration till the evening, when my brain was hardly able to cope with it.

Now about the Sun Temple. May I say that I think your feeling of inadequacy as △ Metraton is a very good sign! But no one has been in any way equal to the first holder of the post and what he said of his own function must be your guide-" My function is merely to preserve the clearness of the medium, free from all mirage of self" a thing I know you understand. Admission to the Palace must be gained by the sign of self sacrifice you gave in the first Initiation Ceremony. If you cannot get coca leaves(though I thought I gave you enough to start with) is there no suitable New Zealand tree which would have a suitable symbolism? I think the coca leaves were used to demonstrate the link with the Incas of Peru, but the symbolism is" of the gifts of our lord the Sun".

You ask about the Grip of the Order, but there is no manual sign except the 'Sign of the First Five' and I feel sure I gave you the paper about that. There was a manual sign given by the Ard Druid in the Circle Ceremony, but I must confess I don't remember it. I always have great difficulty in remembering such things, and, as you say, one gets confused as so many are similar. The Sign of the 1st Five is with the fore-fingers and the crossed thumbs forming a triangle, and the other 6 fingers closed to form a cube behind. But no sign is given in the 1st Grade.

I sympathise with your difficulty about details of Temple arrangement. I

P.S. I see, according to my list, that you had the paper on 'Symbols * in the Temple' in 1954 — but perhaps you did not copy it. If not, I will send you a copy, with the 'Emblems in the West'.

I was always so dependent on Amenti, whose memory was wonderful about practical details, that I was rather at a loss when I had to get the Temple ready myself.

The black part of the Veil goes <u>under</u> the white cubical altar, which keeps it in place. The Altar should be on a box or table, preferably black, large enough to put the ~~altar of Incense and~~ the folded stoles of the First Five on ,in front of it. The Veil is rolled up, lying there until it is opened out for the Ceremony of the Veil, near the end of the Initiation Ceremony. I think we used the double cubical altar for this, but a larger table about that height is more convenient. In the Cromleeh Temple, the curtains behind the Altar(Blue, Purple , Scarlet and White= fine twined linen as in the Jewish Tabernacle) were supported on a frame of wood, with steel rods to hang them on. I don't know what else the 4 rods can be; but it was rather a flimsy arrangement, and no doubt you can devise something better. I see that in the original instructions, the stoles were said to be <u>on the floor</u> below the altar, but I feel sure that we had them at a higher level and the Veil. The Ark is inside the Altar. The white Altar cover had the symbol of two Yods in a Triangle. In * a note on the subject it is said that". The Triangle on the front of the Altar shews the means of approach. On it is the name of God יה. This is a glyph for the אהיה. It is pointed like Adonai and is pronounced as such when it has to be spoken, the true pronunciation being a profound secret". But if Beryl has already embroidered the Yod He Vau He it has the same symbolism and it would be a pity to ~~[illegible] possible to embroider a triangle round the~~ letters, or above them to complete the symbolism?

Then about the Altar of the West. I am afraid I cannot have given you the paper on the subject, but you speak of making the Great White Cross for it, which is a mistake. It, the G.W.C, is only used in the 2nd Grade for the Obligation. The Cross on the Altar of the West is quite small, just a little higher than the 7 candlesticks. We used 7 little brass ones, like those used on small R.C.shrines. I might have given you ours if I had thought of it - but in any case they should be smaller than the 7 branched candlestick on the Altar of the East. I had a strong impression that there was no lighting of the Altar of the West at my Initiation. The symbolism is not explained till the 2nd Grade, as it has to do with the teaching about the Negative in that Grade - but it was lit ceremonially at the Lodge of Instruction and the Soul's Path.

~~Ixlikexyourxxxxxxxxf~~ I 2nd Order Members may all wear cloaks. They are potential 1st Five..

I like your name of IO ANA very much. The idea of Gods Cave is singularly appropriate, as there are frequent references in the 2nd Grade to the Mysteries of the Cave and the Lake, though no exact teaching on the subject - just one of those carrots that were dangled in front of us. But obviously the Cave has the same symbolism as the Ark and the Lake as the Waters of the Negative.. The name also, of course, suggests Ø IONA to me - that sacred Isle of the Druids, which even now attracts occultists and spiritual seekers.

The Symbol too seems appropriate, though I should like it to have some local sig-nificance. The Cromleah is a Druidic and Celtic sign, and there was a Beacon T. in London because it was near the site of an old Roman Lighthouse, and so on. I don't know what emblems the Maoris use.

- I don't think the 'Palace of the Rose' should be mentioned until you get the reference to the Quest of the Ruby at the Heart of the Rose in the 2nd Grade, but if the members have been used to visiting the Sun Temple astrally you yourself should try to visit the T. as described, and see what they get.

I have been wondering about names for the members. In the past, as you know, it was the custom to go through the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and then give an appropriate name when conferring the Pre-bationary Grade. In Bristol we had begun a new series with Una as Aleph, but I feel you should start again. You have already got your name of Anubis and Office of Metraton, and therefore it might be suitable to give the first initiates the titles as Names, as was done in the original Temple, appointing Thalia as Anael and the other three as you feel most appropriate.

I think that answers all your immediate queries. I believe I had promised to make the Quipuses for you, but I haven't got down to it, partly because my fingers are getting stiff for such fiddly work, and not smooth enough for working with silk. Anyway I know Thalia will make a much better job of them. Remember that the White thread must be longer than the others.

I wonder who 'Draculus' may be! Of course the name suggests Dracula, not a very pleasant association, but the curious thing is that a few days before your letter arrived I was reading a Vision which B.I. our Metraton, had at the beginning of the 1914 war, when he went astrally to Glastonbury Abbey and had a vivid vision of the Holy Graal. He mentioned several members of the Sun who were there with him and also Bram Stoker(author of Dracula) who was a great friend of his. I don't know whether Bram Stoker belonged to the Order, but he was obviously interested in occultism, so he might still be in touch. I suppose the name Draculus has something to do with Draco, the Dragon - perhaps the 'little Dragon'.

Your suggestion of a written authority to start a new Temple is perhaps a wise one, though I do not know in what form this was dome in the past, so I will enclose a note with this. I can claim no authority except that of succession, as I am the only remaining member of a College of Adepts proposed by B.I. before he died, to carry on both Orders in Scotland. But it never functioned, as Mrs B.I. would not co-operate. As you know, I cannot, alas, claim any direct teaching from the Masters and have only been able to hand on what I have received - hoping always that someone else would get that direct contact - which may be possible for you and Beryl.

4.

Just one other point. It is not necessary to have black curtains. We used them to hide the ordinary furniture of the room, but when we used a Masonic Temple, as we did often in Edinburgh, there was no need. But of course the room must be dark.

To refer to the other Order. I was interested to hear your impressions of the Equinox Ceremony, and glad to know that you had it on Monday 23rd, as I heard that Libra and S.I.A. both remembered it on the 21st. S.I.A. and Mnanka made it the occasion of de-consecrating their implements, with a very full Ceremonial, which shows that he has not forgotten much. But he has an amazing memory. I read through the Ceremony and meditated on it on the Monday evening at about 6 p.m. the time of the Eqx according to my diary, but the ceremony I got must have been largely memory, for I was conscious only of members who have passed over, with F.F.J. as Hiero. and Spes and L.O.E. and others on the dais . But when it came to the installation of the Hiero. in the Inner Ceremony the part of Chief was taken by an Angelic figure with great wings and surrounded by a circular rainbow, like the figure in the key of Shin. It gave me a feeling that our Temple in this country is still being kept alive on the Astral plane, waiting for a material manifestation, perhaps in another form.

I should have thought that having the Inner part first ought to create the right atmosphere for the subsequent Outer Ceremony. I am ~~sure that was the intention of whoever altered the sequence.~~ I don't know whether it was before or after F.R's death. The Inner was entirely of his devising- obviously with the help of the mystical A.E.Waite; and I always felt it was a great improvement, but I know it was felt that the Outer members did not benefit by the break.

I don't know what to think about Dr Ann Davies. Your impression of her did not appeal to me at all, nor the idea of publicising the Order in America. Too much has been done in that line already and any mention of money paid for occult teaching was always anathema to F.F.J. perhaps because none was ever charged in the Sun. All contributions were voluntary. I think it was perhaps a pity to have mentioned what might be a controversial matter before the end of the Ceremony - but don't say anything about this. I can't judge, but I just don't like the sound of it. You have not told me what B.O.T.A. stands for. I have an idea that I have heard somewhere of the Adytum T. but I don't know where.

I should be very glad if you can send me a list of the Sun papers you have as I don't seem to have kept a proper list. As to papers of the other Order, I thought I had already sent any they were short of, and which I have. The only MSS of the Grades above 6 - 5 are, I think by Mathers and on rather different lines from the teaching in N.Z.

I have come across letters from F.R. about his contacts in Germany and the teaching he received there, which prove beyond doubt that he ha had it from genuine Rosicrucians, but they seemed to lay such stress on the Processes that I am surprised that the members there are so uncertain about them.

I am only too glad to have your letters, but I hope this may keep you going for a little. I am glad your weather is warmer. = It is very perfect weather to-day, not too hot + dry + a good wind to fan both, thanks, M.M.

* and is still very wonderful, dull + drizzly

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival and Private Collections

A. E. Waite Collection, J. R. Ritman Library, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam

Archives of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield

Gerald Yorke Collection, The Warburg Institute, University of London

Havelock North Library Archive, Havelock North, New Zealand

HRHRC, Harry Ransome Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin

Paul Case Collection, Archives of Builders of the Adytum, Los Angeles

Paul Case & Golden Dawn Collection, Fraternitas Lux Occulta International Headquarters, Covina, California

R. A. Gilbert Collection, now at Library and Museum of Freemasonry, United Grand Lodge of England, London

Dion Fortune/Stella Matutina Collection, Maria Babwasingh, New Jersey

Letters of Israel Regardie Collection, Maria Babwasingh, New Jersey

Holy Order of the Sun, Cromlech Collection, A.C. Fuller, Dover, UK

Stella Matutina/Dr. R.W. Felkin Collection, A.C. Fuller, Dover, UK

W.B. Yeats Collection, Stony Brook University Library, New York

Unpublished Papers Not in Specific Collections

Bromley, Donald Howard. 'Jesus: Magician or Miracle Worker?' Master's dissertation: Faculty of Ashland Theological Seminary (2004).

Gilbert, R. A. 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh: J W Brodie-Innes- Theosophist and Magician' (1989).

Gilbert, R. A. 'The Unsolved Riddle of the Golden Dawn'. Paper delivered to the Golden Dawn Conference, London (March 2008).

Tingay, Reverend Kevin. 'The Clergy of the Golden Dawn' (1993).

Townsend, Connal, 'Biography of Dr. Robert William Felkin' (1992).

Interview Material and Notes

Beryl Renn, interviews and letters 1990 - 2009

Francis Salt, interviews, letters and notes 1991 - 1994

John von Dadelszen, interview and letters 1988

Published Sources

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, ed. by Donald Tyson (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1993).

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Chthonios Books, 2nd reprint of original. 1986).

Aho, Barbara. 'The Nineteenth Century: The Legacy of Westcott & Hort' http://wwwwatchpaircom/occulthtml [accessed 10 October 2007].

Åkerman, Susanna. *Rose Cross over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

Allchin, A.M. *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities:1845-1900* (London: SCM Press, 1958).

Allen, Michael J. B. *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1984).

Allen, Michael J. B. and Valery Rees. *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology his Philosophy his Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Allen, Michael J. B. 'Marsilio Ficino' in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* ed. Woulter J. Hanegraaff et al. 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2005), I.

Angus, S. *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity -- A Study in the Religious Background of Early Christianity* (London: John Murray, 1925)

Ankarloo, Bengt and Stuart Clark, eds. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe,* 6 vols (London: The Athlone Press, 2001).

Anonymous. Obituary for Dr. W. E. Carnegie Dickson published in *The Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology*, Vol. 69 (January-April 1955), 341-344.

Anson, Peter F. *Abbot Extraordinairy: Memories of Aelred Carlyle, O.S.B.* (London: Faith Press, 1958).

Anson, Peter F. *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: The Faith Press, 1960).

Anson, Peter F. *The Call of the Cloister* (London: SPCK, 1964)

Anson, Peter F. *Bishops at Large* (Berkeley: Apocryphile Press, 2006, reprint of 1964).

Armstrong, Allan. 'The Order of Dionysis & Paul: Its place in the Western Hermetic Tradition', in *The Golden Dawn Conference London 1997* (Chippenham: Antony Rowe, 1998).

Ashenden, Gavin. *Charles Williams: Alchemy & Integration* (Kent, OH: Kent University Press, 2008).

Association of Tamils of Sri Lanka in the USA, 'Ponnambalam Ramanathan' 2006 < *http://sangamorg/taraki/articles/2006/04-13_Ponnambalam_Ramanathanphp?vid=1652*> [accessed 2 August 2008]

Atton, Christopher and Stephen Dziklewicz. 'Palaces Mansions and Shells in a Kabbalist diagram of Rosenroth', *The Hermetic Journal*, No. 38 (Winter 1987), pp. 20-27

Atton, Christopher and Stephen Dziklewicz, *The Kabbalistic Diagrams of Rosenroth* (London: The Hermetic Research Trust, 1987).

Atwood, Mary Anne. *Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery* (Belfast: William Tait, 1918).

Ayton, the Rev. W. A. 'The Ten Lucan Hymns of the Nativity in Their Original Language', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 18, No. 72 (1917), pp.18-30.

Bailey, Michael D. *Battling Demons: Witchcraft Heresy and Reform in the late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1971).

Barlow, Kate. *Abode of Love* (Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane, 2006).

Barrett, David V. *The New Believers, Sects 'Cults' and Alternative Religions* (London: Cassell & Co, 2001).

Barrett, Francis. *The Magus or Celestial Intelligence* (York Beach, ME: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2000, first published 1801).

Barry, The Rev Dr A Orford. *H P Liddon & the Priestly Ideal* (Oxford: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2009).

Baverstock, A.H. *The Eucharistic Year: Seasonal Devotions for the Sacrament* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2001, published as *Annus Eucharisticus*, 1930).

Bennett, F. S. M., Dean of Chester. *M Coue and his Gospel of Health* (London: Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1922).

Bennett, F. S. M., Dean of Chester. *A Soul in the Making or Psych-synthesis* (London: Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1924).

Bennett, F. S. M., Dean of Chester. *Expectio: An Essay towards A Biology of the World to Come* ((London: Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1926).

Bension, Ariel. *The Zohar in Moslem and Christian Spain* (New York: Herman Press, 1974, 1932).

Benson, Arthur Christopher. *Edward White Benson -- Archbishop of Canterbury,* 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Co, 1899).

Benson, Robert Hugh. *The Light Invisible* (London: Pitman & Sons, 1903).

Betz, Hans Dieter (ed.). *The Greek Magical Papyri: Including the Demotic Spell* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Betz, Hans Dieter. 'Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri' in *Magika Hiera* ed. by Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Beyer, Berhard. *Das Lehrsystem des Ordens der Gold- und Rosenkreuzer* (Augsburg: Hiram- Edition 1978, reprint of 1925).

Blair, Father Andrew. 'The Apostolic Church' in *Mirfield Essays in Christian Belief* (London: The Faith Press, 1962).

Blau, Joseph Leon. *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

Blavatsky, Helena. *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science Religion and Philosophy,* 2 vols (London: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1888).

Bloom, Harold. *Omens of Millennium* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1996).

Bogdan, Henrik. *Western Esotericism and Rituals of Initiation* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007).

Bradshaw, Paul. *Early Christian Worship* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996).

Brann, Noel. *The Abbot Trithemius: The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1981).

Brann, Noel. L. *Trithemius and Magical Theology: a Chapter in the Controversy over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1999).

Brewer, Elisabeth. 'Charles Williams and Arthur Edward Waite' in *An Anglo-American Literary Review*, 4, (March 1983), pp. 54-67.

Briscoe, J. F. *Holy Communion* (London: Anglo-Catholic Congress/Society of SS. Paul and Peter, 1923).

Brodie, Audrey and James Brodie. *John Holdsworth and the House Called Swarthmoor* (Wellington: The Beechtree Press, 2001).

Brodie, James and Audrey Brodie. ' "The Spiritual Ferment": Lucy Violet Hodgkin in Havelock North', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 564 (1993), 296-310.

Brodie, James and Audrey Brodie. *Seeking a New Land: Quakers in New Zealand* (Lower Hutt: Beechtree Press, 1993).

Brodie, James and Audrey Brodie. *Keeping Track: Quakers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Lower Hutt: Beechtree Press, 1999).

Brodie, James and Audrey Brodie. *A View of the Bay: Its inhabitants seen through the eyes of the 53-year-old Lucy Holdsworth the newly-wed wife of John Holdsworth of 'Swarthmoor' in Havelock North* (Lower Hutt: Beechtree Press, 2000).

Brodie-Innes, J. W. *The Devil's Mistress* (London: William Rider & Son, 1915).

Brooke, John L. *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Brown, Dan. *The Da Vinci Code* (London: Bantam Press, 2003).

Brown, Frances. *Joanna Southgate: The Woman Clothed with the Sun* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2002).

Bruce, Alex. *The Cathedral 'Open and Free' - Dean Bennett of Chester* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000)

Bryant, Margaret. *The Church Awakes: The Guild of St Raphael in New Zealand* (Wellington: Kotuku Media, 1972).

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Amulets and Talismans* (New York: Collier Books, 1970, 1930)

Butler, Alison. 'Beyond Attribution: The Importance of Barrett's *Magus*', *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, 1 (2003).

Butler, E. M. *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Case, Paul Foster. *The Tarot* (New York: Macoy Publishing Co, 1947).

Case, Paul Foster. *The Magical Language* (Los Angeles: Builders of the Adytum, 1961).

Cassirer, Ernst, and P. O. Kristeller, J.H. Randall (eds.). *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

Chadwick, Henry. *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 1976).

Chadwick, Owen. *The Victorian Church,* 2 vols. (London: A & C Black, 1966)

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. *Secrets of a Golden Dawn Temple* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1992).

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. (eds.). *The Golden Dawn Journal: Divination* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1994).

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. *The Golden Dawn Journal: Qablah: Theory and Magic* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1994).

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. *The Golden Dawn Journal:The Art of Hermes* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1995).

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. *Self-Initiation into the Golden Dawn Tradition* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1995).

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. *The Golden Dawn Journal:The Magical Pantheons* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1998).

Cicero, Chic and Sandra Tabatha Cicero. *The Essential Golden Dawn* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 2003).

Cicero, Chic. 'By the Holy Light of the Sun: The Magical Workings of the Cromlech Temple', in the 'e-magazine' *Hermetic Virtues* Vol.II, 1 (2008), 2-16. <http://www.hermeticvirtues.org/>

Clark, Francis. *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967).

Clark, Paul A. and J. B. Morgan. *The Secret Cipher of the Golden Dawn* (Covina, CA: Fraternity of the Inner Light, 1995).

Clulee, Nicholas H. *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988)

Clutterbuck, Ivan. *Marginal Catholics* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1993).

Coghill, N. K. H. A. 'The Sacraments of the Church and the Presence of God in Nature' in *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress 1927* (London: The Society of SS Peter & Paul, 1927).

Cohn, Norman. *Europe's Inner Demons* (London: Chatto Heinemann and Sussex University Press, 1975).

The College of the Resurrection, Mirfield: College Roll (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co 1964 – published every third year).

Collins, John J. 'Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre', *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* ed. by J.J. Collins, *Semeia* 14 (1979), 4- 10.

Colquhoun, Ithell. *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and the 'Golden Dawn'* (London: Neville Spearman, 1975).

Colquhoun, Ithell. 'Memoir of E.J.L. Garstin' *The Hermetic Journal*, No. 6 (1979), 11-13.

Community of the Resurrection, *CR Diamond Jubilee Book* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co, 1952).

Conybeare, F.C. *Myth, Magic and Morals* (London: Watts & Co, 1909).

Copenhaver, Brian P. 'Introduction' in D. P. Walker, *Spiritual & Demonic Magic* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000,1958).

Copenhaver, Brian P. and Charles B. Schmitt. *Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Copenhaver, Brian P. *Hermetica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Coudert, Allison P. *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Coudert, Allison P. *Leibnitz and the Kabbalah* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994).

Couliano, Ioan P. *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

CR Diamond Jubilee Book (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing, 1952).

Cropper, Margaret. *The Life of Evelyn Underhill: An Intimate Portrait of the Groundbreaking Author of 'Mysticism'* (Vermont: Skylight Paths, 2003).

Cross, F. L. ed. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Cross, F. L. and E.A. Livingstone eds. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Crossan, John Dominic. *The Historical Jesus* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991)

Crowley, Aleister. *Liber 777* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1973 expanded edition of 1909).

Culiano, Ioan P. *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and Its Relevance* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

Cummins, Geraldine and Signe Toksvig. Ed. and Foreword by C.D. Broad. *Swan on a Black Sea: A Study in Automatic Writing: The Cummins-Willett Scripts* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1970).

Cummins, Geraldine. Foreword by Rev BA Lester. *The Manhood of Jesus: His Early Years his Trial and Crucifixion* (London: Andrew Dakers, 1949).

Cumont, Franz. *The Mysteries of Mithra* (New York: Dover, 1956).

Dadelszen, John von. *The Havelock Work 1909-1939* (Havelock North: Privately Published, 1983), and in *Tauhara News* No. 57 (1984), 1-20.

Daniel, J.W. 'Canon George Raymond Portal, MA (1827-89): from Rebel to Ruler' in Andrew Prescott (ed.), *Marking Well: Essays on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons of England and Wales and its districts and Lodges Overseas* (Hersham: Lewis Masonic, 2006), pp. 135-159.

Davage, William (ed.). *In this Sign Conquer* (London: Continuum, 2006).

Davidson, Gustav. *A Dictionary of Angels* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1967).

Davie, Peter. *Sacramentalism and Pastoral Care: The Oxford Movement and the Anglican Pastoral Tradition* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2002).

[Davies, Revd C.M.], *The Great Secret: And its Unfoldment in Occultism: A Record of Forty Years Experience in the Modern Mystery.* ' By A Church of England Clergyman' (London: George Redway, 1896).

Davies, Revd. C. M. *Orthodox London* (London: Tinsley Brothers,1873).

Davies, Revd. C. M. *Heterodox London* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1874).

Davies, Revd. C. M. *Mystic London* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1875).

Davies, Revd. C. M. *Unorthodox London* (New York: Augustus M Kelley, 1969, 1875).

Dawkins, Richard. *The God Delusion* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006).

Dearmer, Percy. 'Outward Signs and Inward Light', in Reverend Cyril Hepher (ed.). *The Fellowship of Silence* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1915).

Dearmer, Percy. *The Parson's Handbook* (London: Oxford University Press,1889).

Dearmer, Percy. *Body and Mind* (London: Pitman & Sons, 1910),

Dee, John. *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for many Yeers Between Dr: John Dee...and Some Spirits* ed. by Meric Casaubon (New York: Magickal Childe Publishing,1992, facsimile of 1659 with additional commentary).

Dickie, Matthew W. *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2003, 2001).

Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism eds. Wouter J. Hanegraaff, Roelof van den Broek, Jean-Pierre Brach. 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

Dodds, E. R. *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1997, 1951).

Doyle, Arthur Conan. *The Land of Mist* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1926).

Duncan, Anthony D. *The Christ Psychotherapy and Magic* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969).

Duncan, Anthony D. *The Priesthood of Man* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1973).

Duncan, Anthony D. *The Fourth Dimension* (Oxford: The Alden Press, 1975).

Durrant, Michael. *The Logical Status of 'God'* (London: St Martins, 1973).

Durrant, Michael. *Theology and Intelligibility* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

Edersheim, Reverend Dr. *The Temple: Its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ* (London: The Religious Tract Society, nd).

Egmond, Daniel Van. 'Western Esoteric Schools in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in *Gnosticism and Hermeticism: From Antiquity to Modern Times*, eds. Roelof van den Broek and Wouter J Hanegraaff (New York: SUNY, 1998). pp.311-346.

Eitrem, S. *Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament* (Oslo: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1950).

Eliade, Mircea. 'The Occult and the Modern World' in *Occultism Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions: Essays in Comparative Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

Elior, Rachel. *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford/Oregon: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004).

Ellwood, Robert. *Islands of the Dawn: The Story of Alternative Spirituality in New Zealand* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

Embry, J. *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross* (London: The Faith Press, 1931).

Encyclopedia of the Unexplained (London: Arkana Penguin Books, 1989).

Endecott, Phillips Osgood. *Religion Without Magic* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954).

Faber, Geoffrey. *Oxford Apostles* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954, 1933).

Faivre, Antoine. 'Egyptomany,' in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*, I.

Faivre, Antoine. 'Introduction I', in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality* ed. by Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman (London: SCM Press, 1992).

Faivre, Antoine. *Access to Western Esotericism* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994).

Faivre, Antoine. *The Eternal Hermes: From Greek God to Alchemical Magus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1995).

Fama Fraternitatis, in *The Rosicrucian Manuscripts* ed. Benedict J. Williamson. (Arlington: The Invisible College Press, 2002).

Fanger, Claire & Frank Klaassen. 'Magic III: Middle Ages', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism,* II.

Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

Farr, Florence and Darcy Kuntz ed. *The Magic of a Symbol* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996).

Farrer, Michael. *Faithful Cross: A History of Holy Cross Church, Cromer Street* (London: Cromer Street Publications, 1999),

Felkin, Harriot. 'A Wayfaring Man', in *The Lantern*, (1936-1937); I, No. 5, (1937) 10-14, 1, No. 6, (1937) 8-17, I, No.7 (1937), 6-16, I, No.8, (1937) 7-16, I, No. 9, (1937), 6-18, I, No. 10, (1937), 6-18, I, No. 11 (1937), 7-16, I, No.12 (1937), 6-15, II, No. 2 (1937), 5-14, II, No. 4, (1937), 8-14, II, No. 5 (1937), 8-14, II, No. 6 (1938), 7-14.

Felkin, Dr. R.W. *Rosicrucian Medicine* (London: Privately printed for the SRIA, 1916).

Felkin, Dr. R.W. *The Sacramental System* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1918).

Ferrara, Ronald. *Light In Extension: B.O.T.A. An Official History* (Los Angeles: privately printed for BOTA, 1981).

Fine, Lawrence. *Physician of the Soul, Healer of the Cosmos: Isaac Luria and His Kabbalistic Fellowship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

Finneran, Richard, J. George Mills Harper and William M. Murphy eds. *Letters to W.B. Yeats* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 2 vols.

FitzGerald, J. C. *The Power of Silence* (Westminster: Guild of S. Raphael, nd.).

Fitzgerald, J. C. 'The Power of Silence for Healing and Conversion', in Cyril Hepher *The Fellowship of Silence* (London: Macmillan, 1915, first edition first printing).

FitzGerald, J. C. 'The House of Prayer' in *C.R.: Chronicle of the Community of the Resurrection*, 86 (1924), 8-11.

Fleg. E. *The Life of Moses,* tr. Haden Guest (London: Victor Gollancz, 1929).

Flint, Valerie J. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Flowers, S. Edred. *Fire & Ice: Magical Teachings of Germany's Greatest Secret Occult Order* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1990).

Fortune, Dion. *Esoteric Philosophy of Love and Marriage* (London: William Rider & Son, 1924).

Fox, A. H. Purcell. 'The First Fifty Years,' in *St Raphael Quarterly* 1956-1957.

Franck, Adolph. *Kabbalah* (New York: The Kabbalah Publishing, 1926, 1843).

Frazer, J.G. *The Golden Bough* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1900).

French, Peter. *John Dee: the World of the Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, 1972).

Frere, Walter Howard. *The Anaphora or Great Eucharistic Prayer: An Eirenical Study in Liturgical History* (London: SPCK, 1938).

Fridrichsen, Anton. *The Problem of Miracle in Primitive Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House: 1972, 1925).

Frost, Thomas. *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution: 1776-1876,* 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876)..

[Fuller, Anthony]. "Anthony Fleming". 'Introduction' to J.W. Brodie-Innes *The Astrology of the Golden Dawn*, ed. by Darcy Kuntz (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing, 1996).

[Fuller, Anthony]. "Anthony Fleming". 'Introduction' to Darcy Kuntz ed. *The Golden Dawn American Source Book* (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing, 2000).

Gager, John G. *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1972).

Gager, John G. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Gallagher, Eugene V. *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1982).

Garrett, Susan R. *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press 1989).

Gauld, Alan. *The Founders of Psychical Research* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

Gay, Peter. *Deism: An Anthology* (Princeton: Krieger Publishing, 1968).

Gibbons, B. J. *Spirituality and the Occult: From the Renaissance to the Modern Age* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

Gilbert R. A. *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983).

Gilbert, R. A. *A. E. Waite: A Bibliography* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983).

Gilbert, R. A. ed. *The Magical Mason: Forgotten Hermetic Writings of William Wynn Westcott Physician and Magus* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983).

Gilbert, R. A. *The Sorcerer and His Apprentice: Unknown Hermetic Writings of S. L. MacGregor Mathers and J. W. Brodie-Innes* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983).

Gilbert, R. A. *Hermetic Papers of A. E. Waite: The Unknown Writings of a Modern Mystic* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985).

Gilbert, R. A. *The Golden Dawn Companion: A Guide to the History, Structure, and Workings of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1986).

Gilbert, R.A. 'The Poor Small Pope of Edinburgh: J. W. Brodie-Innes – Theosophist and Magician'. Unpublished text of talk given by Gilbert at the G.R.S.M.Mead Conference,Temenos Academy on 17 May 1992.

Gilbert, R. A. *The Rosicrucian Seer: Magical Writings of Frederick Hockley* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1986).

Gilbert, R. A. *A. E. Waite: Magician of Many Parts* (Wellingborough: Crucible, 1987).

Gilbert. R. A. *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1987).

Gilbert, R. A. 'Provenance Unknown: A Tentative Solution to the Riddle of the Cipher Manuscript of the Golden Dawn', in *The Complete Golden Dawn Cipher Manuscript* ed.by Darcy Kuntz (Edmonds WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996), 17-26.

Gilbert, R. A. 'Supplement to "Provenance Unknown": The Origins of the Golden Dawn', in *The Golden Dawn Sourcebook* ed by Darcy Kuntz (Edmonds WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996), pp. 11-13.

Gilbert, R. A. *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1997).

Gilbert, R. A. 'Trail of the Chameleon – The Genesis of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn' in *The Golden Dawn Conference-London 1997* (Chippenham: Antony Rowe Ltd, 1998), pp. 117- 135.

Gilbert, R. A. 'The Lost Step-Child : Tale of the Societas Rosicruciana in America' in *Proceedings of the Golden Dawn Conference: London 1997* (Chippenham: Antony Rowe, 1998), pp. 139-155, .

Gilbert, R.A. 'Seeking that which was Lost: More Light on the Origins and Developments of the Golden Dawn' in *Yeats and the Nineties: Yeats Annual No14* edited by Warwick Gould (London: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 33-49.

Gilbert, R.A. 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn' in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Hermeticism* (2005), I, 544-550.

Godwin, David. *Godwin's Cabalistic Encyclopedia* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1989).

Godwin, Joscelyn, Christian Chanel, and John P Deveney, eds. *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor* (York Beach ME: Samuel Weiser, 1995).

Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994).

Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, IL: Phanes Press, 2002).

Goodenough, Erwin R. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 12 vols (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964).

Goodrick-Clarke, Clare & Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke. *G. R. S. Mead and the Gnostic Quest* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2005).

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. "The Rosicrucian Prelude – John Dee's Mission in Central Europe", in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, ed. by Ralph White (Hudson, NY; Lindisfarne Books, 1999).

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008),

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. 'Hermeticism and Hermetic Societies', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, I, 550-558.

Gould, Warwick ed. *Yeats and the Nineties: Yeats Annual No.14* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

Graf, Fritz. *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Grant, Kenneth. *The Magical Revival* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973).

Grant, Kenneth. *Remembering Aleister Crowley* (London: Skoob Books, 1991).

Grant, Kenneth, and Steffi Grant. *Hermetic Glyphs* (London: Fulgar, 2006, 1959-1963).

Grant, Sydney W. *Havelock North: from Village to Borough 1860-1952* (Hastings: Herald Tribune, 1978).

Grant, Sydney. *A History of the Chambers Family of Te Mata Havelock North* (Waipukurau: Central Hawke's Bay Printers, 1980).

Gray, Donald. *Percy Dearmer: a Parson's Pilgrimage* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000).

Gray, Donald. *The British Museum Religion: Percy Dearmer in Context* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2001).

Green, Arthur. *A Guide to the Zohar* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Green, Roger Lancelyn, and Walter Hooper, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1974).

Greene, Dana. *Evelyn Underhill: Artist of the Infinite Life* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1991).

Greensill, T. M. *History of the S.R.I.A.* (Tunbridge Wells: Broad Oak Press, 1987)

Greer, John Michael. "Osiris and Christ", in *The Magical Pantheons -- The Golden Dawn Journal Book IV* (St Paul MN: Llewellyn, 1998), pp. 229-251.

Greer, Mary K. *Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses* (Rochester VT: Park Street Press, 1995).

Griffin, Roger. *Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion* (London: Routledge, 2005).

Grözinger, Karl Erich, and Joseph Dan. eds. *Mytsicism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

Gruenwald, Ithamar. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

Gunstone, John. *Anglo-Catholic Congresses in the Provinces 1920-1934* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2004).

Hammond, Peter C. *The Parson and the Victorian Parish* (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).

Hadfield, Alice Mary. *Charles Williams; An Exploration of his Life and Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Hamill, John. ed. *The Rosicrucian Seer: Magical Writings of Frederick Hockley* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1986).

Hanegraaff, Wouter J. 'Romanticism and the Esoteric Connection', in *Gnosis and Hermeticism: From Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. by Roelof van den Broek and Wouter Hanegraaff (New York: SUNY Press, 1998).

Hanegraaff, Wouter J. 'Tradition', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), II, 1125-1135.

Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Magic I", in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 716-719.

Harkness, Deborah E. *John Dee's Conversations With Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Harnack, Adolf von. *History of Dogma* (New York: Dover, 1961,originally published 1886-1889).

Harper, George Mills. *Yeats's Golden Dawn: The Influence of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on the Life and Art and Work of W. B. Yeats* (London: Macmillan Press, 1974).

Harper, George Mills. *Letters to W. B. Yeats Volume 2* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1977).

Harris, Charles. 'The Meaning of Sacraments', in *Word & Sacraments – The Anglo-Catholic Congress Books Volume Two 17-36* (London: The Society of SS. Peter & Paul, n.d. c. 1924).

Hart, Samuel Hopgood ed. *"Clothed With the Sun": Being the Book of Illuminations of Anna Bonus Kingsford*, Third edition (London: John M Watkins, 1937).

Hazelgrove, Jenny. *Spiritualism and British Society between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Heazell, F. N. *The History of S Michael's Church Croydon* (London and Oxford: A.R. Mowbray, 1934).

Heazell, F.N. *Confirmation Instructions* (London: The Faith Press, n.d.).

Heline, Corrine. *Color and Music in the New Age* (Los Angeles: New Age Press, 1964).

Hepher, Cyril *The Fruits of Silence* (London: Macmillan, 1915).

Hepher, Rev. Cyril. ed. *The Fellowship of Silence* (London: Macmillan, 1915).

Herman, E. *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism* (London: James Clarke, 1915).

Herring, George. *What Was the Oxford Movement?* (London: Continuum Books, 2002),

Hick, John ed. *The Existence of God* (New York: MacMillan, 1964).

Hightower, Rev. Dr. Thomas. 'A Brief History of the Early Years of the Society of the Holy Cross' *www.sscamericas.org/resources/history.htm* -[accessed 10 February 2010].

Himmelfarb, Martha. *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Hopkinson, Arthur. *The Seven Sacraments* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1940).

Hopkinson-Ball, Tim. *The Rediscovery of Glastonbury: Frederick Bligh Bond Architect of the New Age* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2007).

Howe, Bea. *Arbiter of Excellence* (London: The Harvill Press, 1967).

Howe, Ellic. 'Fringe Masonry in England 1870-85', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 85 (1972), 242-295.

Howe, Ellic. *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

Howe, Ellic (ed.). *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: The Letters of the Revd W. A. Ayton to F. L. Gardner and Others 1886-1905* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985).

Howes, Michael. *Amulets* (New York: St Martins Press, 1975).

Hügel, Baron von. *Eternal Life* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1912).

Hughes, Dom Anselm. *The Rivers of the Flood* (London: The Faith Press, 1961).

Hull, John M. *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (Naperville IL: Alec R Allenson, 1974).

Hulse, David Allen. *The Key of it All,* 2 vols. (St.Paul MN: Llewellyn, 1993).

Iamblichus. *De Mysteriis* (San Diego: Wizards Bookshelf 1984).

Idel, Moshe. *Kabbalah: New Perpectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988)

Idel, Moshe. "Jewish Magic from the Renaissance Period to Early Hasidism" in *Religion Science and Magic* ed. by Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs & Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 82-83.

Idel, Moshe. *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism* (Budapest/New York: Central European Press, 2005).

Idel, Moshe. *Hasidism: Between Ecstasy and Magic* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1995).

Idel, Moshe. *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany: State University of New York, 1988).

Illingworth, J.R. 'The Incarnation in relation to Development' in *Lux Mundi* ed. by Charles Gore, 12th ed. (London: John Murray, 1891), 147-151.

Illingworth. J.R. *Divine Immanence* (London: Macmillan, 1898).

Inge, W.R. *Christian Mysticism* (London: Methuen, 1899).

Inglis, Brian. *Natural and Supernatural: A History of the Paranormal from Earliest Times to 1914* (Dorset: Prism Press, 1992).

Isaac, Skye. *Tauhara: The Growing of an Educational and Spiritual Centre* (Hastings: Cliff Press, 2002).

Janowitz, Naomi. *Icons of Power* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2002).

Janowitz, Naomi. *Magic in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Janowitz, Naomi. *The Poetics of Ascent: Theories of Language in a Rabbinic Ascent Text* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1989).

Jasper, Ronald C.D. (ed). *Walter Howard Frere: His Correspondence on Liturgical Revision and Construction* (London: SPCK, 1954), pp. vii-xiii.

Johnson, Josephine. *Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's 'New Woman'* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlehead, 1975).

Johnson, K. Paul. *The Masters Revealed: Madame Blavatsky and the Myth of the Great White Lodge* (Albany, NY: State University of New York. 1994).

Johnson, Maxwell E. *The Rise of Christian Initiation* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999).

Jong, Albert de. 'Zoroaster', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism,* 2 vols. II, 1182-1183.

Kaplan, Aryeh. *Sefer Yetzirah* (York Beach ME: Samuel Weiser, 1990).

Kaplan, Rabbi Aryeh. *Inner Space* (Jerusalem: Vagshal Ltd, 1990).

Katz, David S. *The Occult Tradition -- From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005).

Katz, David S. and Richard H. Popkin. *Messianic Revolution: Radical Religious Politics to the End of the Second Millennium* (London: Penguin, 1999).

Katz, David S. *The Occult Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005).

Keck, David. *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Kee, Howard Clark. 'Magic and Messiah', in *Religion, Science and Magic* ed. by Jacob Neusner, Ernest S Frerichs and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Kee, Howard Clark. *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1980).

Kemp, Daren. *The Christaquarians? A Sociology of Christians in the New Age* (Charleston, SC: BookSurge Publishing, 2003).

Kempis, Thomas à. *The Imitation of Christ* (New Kensington, PN: Whitaker House, 1975; orig. c.1418).

Keyserling, Graf Hermann. *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher,* trans. J. Holroyd Reece, 2 vols (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1925).

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

King, Charles W. *The Gnostics and Their Remains* (San Diego, Wizards Bookshelf, 1982, reprint of 2nd enlarged edition 1887, 1864).

King, Francis and Isabelle Sutherland. *The Rebirth of Magic* (London: Corgi Books, 1982).

King, Francis ed. *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, revised & expanded 1987, 1975).

King, Francis. *Modern Ritual Magic- The Rise of Western Occultism* (Bridport: Prism Press, 1989).

King, Francis. *Ritual Magic in England 1887 to the Present Day* (London: Neville Spearman, 1970).

King, Francis. *The Flying Sorcerer: Being the Magical and Aeronautical Adventures of Frances Barrett author of The Magus* (Oxford: Mandrake Press, 1992).

King, Karen. *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Kingsford, Anna Bonus and Edward Maitland. *The Perfect Way: or The Finding of Christ* (London: Field & Tuer, revised and enlarged ed. 1887, 1882).

Kingsford, Anna Bonus. *The Credo of Christendom* (London: John M. Watkins, 1916).

Kirk, Kenneth. *Some Principles of Moral Theology* (London: Longmans, 1965, 1920).

Klauck, Hans-Josef. *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003).

Klauck, Hans-Josef. *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003).

Klutz, Todd. 'Reinterpreting "Magic" in the World of Jewish and Christian Scripture: An Introduction,' in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon*, ed. by Todd Klutz (New York: T. & T. Clark, 2003).

Kollar, Rene. *Abbot Aelred Carlyle, Caldey Island and the Anglo-Catholic Revival in England* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).

Kollar, Rene. *Searching for Raymond: Anglicanism, Spiritualism and Bereavement between the Two World Wars* (Lanham ML: Lexington Books, 2000).

Krakauer, Jon. *Under the Banner of Heaven* (New York: Doubleday, 2003).

Krausar, Alexander. *Jacob Frank: The End to the Sabbataian Heresy* (Lanham ML: University Press of America, 2001, transl. from 1895 Polish edition).

Krzok, Paul. 'The Sevenfold Kabbalah', *The Hermetic Journal* 37 (Autumn 1987), pp. 40-44.

Kuntz, Darcy ed. *The Enochian Experiments of the Golden Dawn* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing, 1996).

Kuntz, Darcy ed. *The Golden Dawn Source Book* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing Group, 1996).

Kuntz, Darcy ed. *The Complete Golden Dawn Cipher Manuscript* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing Group, 1996).

Kuntz, Darcy ed. *The Golden Dawn American Source Book* (Edmonds, WA: Holmes Publishing Group, 2000).

Kuntz, Darcy ed. *Sent From the Second Order: The Collected Letters of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn* (Austin, TX: Golden Dawn Trust, 2005).

Lamplugh, Reverend F. *The Gnosis of Light: A Translation of the Untitled Apocalypse contained in the Codex Brucianus with Introduction and Notes* (London: John M. Watkins, 1918).

Láng, Benedek. *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

Layton, Bentley. *The Gnostic Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1987).

Lee, Frederick George. *The Directorium Anglicanum; Being a Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion. For the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*, (London: Thomas Bosworth, 1865).

Leijenhorst, Cees. 'Neoplatonism III: Since the Renaissance', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism,* II, 841-846.

Lenormant, François. *Chaldean Magic :Its Origin and Development* (London: Samuel Bagster, 1877).

Leslie, Shane. *The Oxford Movement 1833-1933* (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Publishing, 1933).

Lesses, Rebecca May. *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels Incantations and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press International. 1998).

Levine, Philippa. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian Britain 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Litten, Julian. 'Introduction' in A. H. Baverstock, *The Eucharistic Year: Seasonal Devotions for the Sacrament* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2001, published as *Annus Eucharisticus*, 1930).

Long, Asphodel P. *In a Chariot Drawn by Lions: The Search for the Feminine in Deity* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1993).

Longbridge, W. H. (ed.). *Further Letters of Richard Meux Benson S S J E Cowley* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co,1920).

Luck, Georg. 'The Doctrine of Salvation in the Hermetic Writings' in *Ancient Pathways & Hidden Pursuits: Religion, Morals and Magic in the Ancient World* ed. by Georg Luck (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

Luck, Georg. 'Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism' in *Religion, Science and Magic* ed. by Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 1989).

Luck, Georg. *Arcana Mundi: Magic and Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985).

Luscombe, David. 'Dionysius Areopagita Pseudo-', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* I, 312-213.

Maddocks, Morris. *The Christian Healing Ministry* (London: SPCK, 1981).

Magee, Glenn Alezander. *Hegel and the Hermetic Tradition* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001).

Maitland, Edward. *Anna Kingsford: Her Life Letters Diary and Work*, 2 vols. (London: George Redway, 1896).

Mallary, G. Masters. 'Renaissance Kabbalah' in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality* (New York: SCM Press, 1992), pp. 132-153.

Martin, Stoddard. *Orthodox Heresy: The Rise of 'Magic' as Religion and its Relation to Literature* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1989).

Martindale, C. C. *The Life of Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1916).

Martinez, Florentino Garcia. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

Maskell, William. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae: The Occasional Offices of the Church of England according to the old use of Salisbury the Prymer in English and other prayers and forms with dissertations and notes,* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882, 1842).

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor. *The Kabbalah Unveiled* (London: George Redway, 1887).

Mathers, S. L.MacGregor. 'Iamblichos the Chaldean of Cœle-Syria: His Writings Concerning the Mysteries,' in *Anubis: The Occult News and Review*, No. 2. (1902), 3-11.

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor. 'The Real and True Rosicrucian Order' in *Azoth Monthly* (April 1917), 210-212.

Mathers, S,L. MacGregor and others. *Astral Projection, Magic, and Alchemy: Important Golden Dawn Material previously unpublished*, ed. and introduced by Francis King (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975).

Mathiesen, Robert. "Byzantium", in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism,* I, 222.

Matt, Daniel C. ed. *The Zohar: The Pritzker Edition*, 3 vols. (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2003-2005).

Mauss, Marcel. *A General Theory of Magic* (London: Routledge, 2001, 1906).

May, J. Lewis. *The Oxford Movement* (London: Bodley Head, 1933).

Mead, G. R. S. *Thrice Greatest Hermes* (London: John M. Watkins, 1964, 1902).

McCalla, Arthur. 'Romanticism', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* II, 1000-1007.

McGinn, Bernard. *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985).

McIntosh, Christopher. *Eliphas Levi and the French Occult Revival* (London: Rider and Co., 1972).

McIntosh, Christopher. *The Rosy Cross Unveiled: The History Mythology and Rituals of an Occult Order* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1980).

McIntosh, Christopher. *The Rosicrucians: The History and Mythology of an Occult Order* revised and expanded (Wellingborough: Crucible, 1987).

McIntosh, Christopher. *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason: Eighteenth-Century Rosicrucianism in Central Europe and its Relationship to the Enlightenment* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

McLean, Adam ed. *The Steganographia of Johannes Trithemius Book 1* (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Books, 1982).

Mclean, Adam ed. *A Treatise on Angel Magic, being a Complete transcription of Harley Mss 6482 in the British Library* (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, 1982).

McLean, Adam. *The Magical Calendar: A Synthesis of Magical Symbolism from the Seventeenth-Century Renaissance of Medieval Occultism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1994).

Mead, G. R. S. *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1900).

Meurs, Jos Van. 'William Blake and his Gnostic Myths', in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times* edited by Roelof van den Broek and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (New York, SUNY, 1998), pp. 269-309.

Meyer, Marvin W. *Hermetica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Meyer, Marvin W. and Richard Smith eds. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (New York: Harper, 1994).

Meyer, Marvin W. *The Ancient Mysteries – A Sourcebook of Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).

Middleton, John. "Theories of Magic", in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. by Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), vol. 9, p. 82.

Milik, J. T. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Moore, Virginia. *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality* (New York: Macmillan, 1952).

Moorhouse, Geoffrey. *Against All Reason: The Religious Life in the Modern World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972, 1969).

Morgan, Michael A. trans. *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

Morris, Jeremy. *Communicants' Guilds in the Late 19th Century: Implanting Anglo-Catholicism in the Parish* (Oxford: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2007).

Morse-Boycott Desmond. *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London: Skeffington & Son, 1933).

Nauert, Charles G. *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

Neill, Stephen and Tom Wright. *The Interpretation of the New Testament:1861-1986* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1988).

Newman, John Henry. *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1908).

Newsome, David. *Two Classes of Men: Platonism & English Romantic Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.

Newsome, David. *The Parting of Friends: The Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1993).

Nichols, Aidan. *The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993).

Nockles, Peter Benedict. *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

O'Keefe, Daniel L. *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (New York: Continuum, 1982).

Ollard, S.L. *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1915).

Oppenheim, Janet. *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Ordinances of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (London: privately printed for SRIA Revised 1985).

Orford, Rev. Dr. Barry A. *H.P. Liddon & the Priestly Ideal* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2009).

Owen, Alex. *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century England* (London: Virago Press, 1989).

Owen, Alex. *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Pailing, Jean M. *Frances Murray of Chislehurst* (Orpington, privately published, 2002).

Parrott, Douglas M. 'Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples in the Second and Third Centuries', in *Nag Hammadi Gnosticism and Early Christianity* edited by Charles W Hedrick and Robert Hodgson Jr. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publications, 1986), pp. 193-219.

Patai, Raphael. *Man and Temple* (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1967).

Patai, Raphael. *The Hebrew Goddess*, third enlarged edition (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

Pavitt, William. *The Book of Talismans Amulets & Zodiacal Gems* (Hollywood CA: Aquarian Press, 1970, 1914).

Pawson, G.P.H. ed. *Edward Keble Talbot: His Community and Friends* (London: SPCK, 1954).

Pearson, Birger. A *Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990).

Pels, Peter. "Introduction: Magic and Modernity", in *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment*, ed. by Birgit Meyer & Peter Pels (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

Pert, Alan. *Red Cactus: The Life of Anna Kingsford* (Watson Bay: Books & Writers, 2006).

Peterson, Joseph H. trans and ed. *Arbatel: Concerning the Magic of the Ancients* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2009).

Phillips, D.Z. *The Concept of Prayer* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

Phillips, C.S. 'and others'. *Walter Howard Frere Bishop of Truro: A Memoir* (London: Faber & Faber, 1947).

Philo. *Collected Works of Philo*. trans. F.H. Colson and Rev. G.H. Whitaker, 12 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1962, 1937).

Phipps, William E. *Paul Against Supernaturalism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987).

Pickering, W. S. F. *Anglo-Catholicism – A Study in Religious Ambiguity* (London: Routledge, 1989).

Popper, Karl. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

Post, W. Ellwood. *Saints Sign and Symbols* (London: SPCK, 1974).

Pratt, James B. *The Religious Consciousness* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

Prickett, Stephen. *Romanticism and Religion: The Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Victorian Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Pym, T. W. *Psychology and the Christian Life* (New York: George H Doran Co.,1921).

Raine, Kathleen. 'Order of the Golden Dawn', in *Man Myth and Magic* No.40 (London: Purnell 1970), 1133-1134.

Raine, Kathleen. *Yeats, the Tarot and the Golden Dawn* (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1976, 1972).

Rámanáthan, P. *The Culture of the Soul among Western Nations* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907, 1906).

Ramsay, A.M. and A.M. Allchin. *Evelyn Underhill: Anglican Mystic* (Oxford: SLG Press, 2002, 1996).

Ramsay, A.M. *From Gore to Temple* (London: Heinemann, 1935).

Reason, W. ed. *University and Social Settlements* (London: Methuen & Co.,1898).

Reason, Will. *Poverty* (London: Headley Brothers, 1909).

Redles, David. *Hitler's Millennial Reich: Apocalyptic Belief and the Search for Salvation* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

Reed, John Shelton. *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996).

Rees, John Lambert. *Timothy Rees of Mirfield and Llandaff* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1945).

Reeves, Marjorie. *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: SPCK, 1976).

Regardie, Israel. *My Rosicrucian Adventure* (Chicago: Aries Press, 1936).

Regardie, Israel. *The Golden Dawn*, 4 vols (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1982, 1937-1940).

Regardie, Israel. *The Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic* (Phoenix, AZ: Falcon Press, 1984).

Regardie, Israel. *What You Should Know About the Golden Dawn* (Phoenix, AZ: Falcon Press, 1985).

Rex, Richard. *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Richardson, Alan. *Dancers to the Gods: The Magical Records of Charles Seymour and Christine Hartley, 1937-1939* (Wellingborough: Aquarian, 1985).

Richardson, Alan. *Priestess: The Life and Magic of Dion Fortune* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1987).

Richardson, Alan. *Ancient Magicks for a New Age* (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1989).

Richardson, Alan. *Aleister Crowley and Dion Fortune* (Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 2009).

Roberts, Marie Mulvey and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon eds. *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York: AMS Press, 1995).

Romer, Thomas C. 'Competing Magicians in Exodus 7-9: Interpreting Magic in the Priestly Theology,' in *Magic in the Biblical World*, edited by Todd Klutz (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2003), pp. 12-22.

Rowell, Geoffrey. 'The SSC in context' in William Davage ed. *In this Sign Conquer* (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 1-14.

Rowell, Geoffrey. *Prejudices & Perspectives: Anglo-Catholic History Reconsidered* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2000).

Rowell, Geoffrey. *The Vision Glorious* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Rowland, Christopher. *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982).

Ryan, W. F. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: Magic in Russia* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

Runyon, Carroll 'Poke'. *Secrets of the Golden Dawn Cypher Manuscript* (Pasadena, CA: C.H.S., 1997).

Salter, W.H. *The Society for Psychical Research an Outline of its History* (London: Society for Psychical Research, 1948).

Santucci, James A. 'Alice Ann Bailey', in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, I, 158-160.

Savelow, Steve ed. and transl. *Sepher Rezial Hemelac* (York Beach, ME: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2000).

Schäfer, Peter. *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from The Bible to the Early Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Scholem, Gershom G. *Zohar: The Book of Splendour* (New York: Schocken Books, 1949).

Scholem, Gershom. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York/Jerusalem: Schocken Books, 1967).

Scholem, Gershom. *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

Scholem, Gershom. *Kabbalah* (New York: Dorset Press, 1987, 1974).

Scholem, Gershom. *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990, 1962).

Schrire, T. *Hebrew Magic Amulets* (New York: Behrman House, 1966).

Sease, Virginia and Manfred Schmidt-Brabant. *Thinkers, Saints, Heretics: Spiritual Paths of the Middle Ages* (Trowbridge: Temple Lodge, 2007).

Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians of the 16th and 17th Centuries (Chicago: Aries Press, 1935, translation of *Geheime Figuren* 1758-8).

Sedgwick, Mark. *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Tradition of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Shaw, Gregory. *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

Siers, Judy. *James Walter Chapman-Taylor in the Hawke's Bay 1913-1922* (Napier: Brebner Printing, 1991).

Siers, Judy. *The Life and Times of James Walter Chapman-Taylor* (Napier: Millwood Heritage, 2007).

Simon, Maurice and Harry Sperling. *The Zohar*, 5 vols. (London: The Soncino Press, 1934).

Skemer, Don C. *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

Skinner, Stephen & David Rankine. *Practical Angelic Magic of Dr John Dee's Enochian Tables* (Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2004).

Smith, Jonathan Z. "Trading Places", in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. by Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 13-27.

Smith, Morton. *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

Smith, Morton. *Jesus the Magician* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985).

Smith, Morton. *The Secret Gospel* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1985).

Smith, Warren Sylvester. *The London Heretics, 1870-1914* (London: Constable, 1967).

Spink, Canon Peter. *Religion in the New Age* (Crowborough: Bija Press, nd.).

Stadling, Jonas and Will Reason. *In the Land of Tolstoi: Experiences of Famine and Misrule in Russia* (London: James Clarke, 1897).

Stegner, Wallace. *Mormon Country* (New York: Penguin, 1992).

Steiger, Isabelle de. *Memorabilia: Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Scholar* (London: Rider & Co., 1927).

Steiner, Rudolf. *"Freemasonry" and Ritual Work* (Great Barrington, MA: Steiner Books, 2007).

Steiner, Rudolf. *Three Paths of the Soul to Christ* (New York: Anthroposophic Press, 1942).

Stephens, W.B. ed. 'Religious History: Protestant Nonconformity' in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 7: The City of Birmingham* 1964 pp 411-434; http://british-historyacuk [accessed 5 February 2009].

Stephenson, Colin. *Merrily on High* (New York: Morehouse-Barlow, 1973).

Stewart, H. A. L. *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism* (London: JM Dent, 1929).

[Stoddart, Miss C.M.]. "Inquire Within". *Light-bearers of Darkness* (Hawthorne CA: Christian Book Club, 1969, reprint of 1930).

Stoddart, Christina. *Trail of the Serpent* (Hawthorne CA: Omni Christian Book Club, nd., reprint of 1935).

Stout, Adam. *Creating Prehistory: Druids Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-war Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).

Strachan, Françoise ed. *The Aquarian Guide to Occult Mystical Religious Magical London and Around* (London: Aquarian Press, 1970).

Stuckrad, Kocku von. *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge*, trans. and Foreword by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (London Equinox Publishing, 2005).

Stump, Eleonore. 'Petitionary Prayer,' in *American Philosophical Quarterly* 16 (1979), 81-91.

Stutfield, Hugh. *Mysticism and Catholicism* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925).

Szönyi, György E. *John Dee's Occultism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

Tabor, James D. *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts* (New York: University Press of America, 1986).

Temple, Richard. *Icons and the Mystical Origins of Christianity* (Oxford: Luzac Oriental, 2001, 1990).

Thiessen, Gerard. *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983).

Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1971).

Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* 8 vols. (New York Macmillan and Columbia University Press, 1923-58).

Tishby, Isaiah. *The Wisdom of the Zohar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Toorn, Karel van der, Bob Becking and Pieter W. Van der Horst. eds. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Torijano, Pablo. A. *Solomon the Esoteric King* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Torrens, R. J. *The Secret Rituals of the Golden Dawn* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1973).

Trachtenburg, Joshua. *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Atheneum, 1982).

Treitel, Corinna. *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Trinkaus, Charles. "Marsilo Ficino and the Ideal of Human Autonomy" in *Ficino and Renaissance Neoplatonism* ed. Konrad Eisenbichler and Olga Zorzi Pugliese (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1986), pp. 141-153.

Tugwell, Simon. transl. and ed. *Albert & Thomas: Selected Writings of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988).

Tuohy, Frank. *Yeats* (London: Macmillan Publishing, 1976).

Turner, C.H. 'The Faith and Modern Criticism' in *Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Congress* (London: SPCK, 1920), pp. 20-33.

Turner, Robert. ed. *The Heptarchia Mystica of John Dee* (Édinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, 1983).

Turner, Robert. *Elizabethan Magic* (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1989).

Ulansey, David. *The Origins of Mithraic Mysteries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Underhill, Evelyn. ' Sacraments and Mysticism' in *Report of the Anglo-Catholic Congress 1927* (London: Society of SS Peter & Paul, 1927), pp. 43-50.

Underhill, Evelyn. *The Lost Word* (London: William Heinemann, 1907).

Underhill, Evelyn. *Mysticism* (London: Methuen, 1967, 1911).

[Underhill, Evelyn] 'John Cordelier'. *The Spiral Way* (London: John M. Watkins, 1912).

Underhill, Evelyn. *Worship* (London: Nisbet & Co, 1946, 1936).

Varley, Desmond. *Seven: The Number of Creation* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1976).

Veenstra, Jan. 'The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic' in Jan Bremmer & Jan Veenstra *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 189-229.

Versluis, Arthur. *The Egyptian Mysteries* (London: ARKANA, 1988).

Versluis, Arthur . *Wisdom's Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition* (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 1999).

Voss, Angela. *Marsilio Ficino* [Western Esoteric Masters Series] (Berkeley CA: North Atlantic Books, 2006).

Waite, A. E. *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Rider & Son, 1924).

[Waite, A.E.] 'Notes of the Month: Appreciation of SL MacGregor Mathers' by the Editor of *The Occult Review'* in *The Occult Review* Vol 29; No 4. (1919), p. 285.

Waite, A. E. *The Holy Kabbalah* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1929).

Waite, A. E. *Ordo Sanctissimus Roseae et Aureae Crucis* (London: Privately printed for A. E. Waite, 1928).

Waite, A.E. *Lamps of Western Mysticism* (New York: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1973, 1923).

Walker, D. P. *Spiritual & Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Sutton Publishing, 2000, 1958).

Walsh, Walter. *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London: Church Association, 1899).

Washington, Peter. *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995).

Webb, James. *The Flight from Reason: The Age of the Irrational* (London: Macdonald & Co.,1971).

Webb, James. *The Occult Establishment: Vol. II The Age of the Irrational* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1981).

Webster, Nesta. *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (London: Boswell, 1924).

West, Delno C. and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz. *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

West, Edward N. *Outward Signs: The Language of Christian Symbolism* (New York: Walker & Co, 1989).

Westcott, Brooke Foss. *The Gospel of Life: Thoughts Introductory to the Study of Christian Doctrine,* (London: Macmillan & Co.,1892),

Westcott, William Wynn. *Collectanea Hermetica* (York Beach ME: Samuel Weiser, 1998, published as 10 individual volumes, 1893).

White, James F. *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

Wilberforce, Robert Isaac. *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (London: John and Charles Mozley,1853).

Wilken, Robert. *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

Wilkinson, Alan. *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SCM Press, 1978).

Wilkinson, Alan. *The Community of the Resurrection* (London: SCM Press 1992).

Wilkinson, Alan. *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Kelham & Mirfield* (Oxford: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2009).

Willard, Thomas. 'Acts of the Companions: A. E. Waite's Fellowship of the Rosy Cross and the Novels of Charles Williams' in *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* ed. by Marie Mulvey Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon (New York: AMS Press, 1995), pp.269-302.

Williams, H.A.A. *Some Day I'll Find You* (London: Collins, 1982).

Williams, Michael Allen. *Rethinking Gnosticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Wind, Edgar. *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1967, 1958).

Wirszubski, Chaim. *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Witt, R.E. *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971).

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 'Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough' reprinted in *Philosophical Occasions 1912-1951'* edited by Klagge James and Nordmann (Indianapolis & Cambridge: Alfred Hackett Publishing Co, 1993), pp.116-117.

Wood, Juliette. *Eternal Chalice: The Enduring Legend of the Holy Grail* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2008).

Woolley, Benjamin. *The Queen's Conjuror: The Science and Magic of Dr Dee* (London: Harper Collins, 2001).

Wright, Matthew. *Havelock North -- The History of a Village* (Hastings: Hastings District Council NZ, 1996).

Yates, Frances A. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1991,1964).

Yates, Frances. *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

Yates, Nigel. *Leeds and the Oxford Movement: A Study of 'High Church' Activity in the Rural Deaneries of Allerton, Armely, Headingley and Whitkirk in the Diocese of Ripon 1836-1934* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 1975).

Yates, Nigel. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* (London: The Chameleon Press, 1983).

Yates, Nigel. *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Yeats, W.B. *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan & Son, 1961).

Yelton, Michael. *Anglican Papalism* (London: Canterbury Press, 2005).

Yelton, Michael. *The Outer Limits of the Church of England* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2005).

Yelton, Michael. *An Anglo-Catholic Scrapbook, Produced to Mark the Tenth Anniversary of the Foundations of the Anglo-Catholic History Society* (London: Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2010),

Zalewski, Patrick J. *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn* (Phoenix, AZ: Falcon Press, 1988).

Zalewski, Pat. *Z-5: Secret Teachings of the Golden Dawn: Book I The Neophyte Ritual 0=0* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1991).

Zalewski, Pat & Chris. *Z-5: Secret Teachings of the Golden Dawn: Book II The Zelator Ritual 1=10* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1992).

Zalewski, Patrick J. *The Equinox & Solstice Ceremonies of the Golden Dawn* (St Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1992).

Zalewski, Patrick. *Inner Order Teachings of the Golden Dawn* (Loughborough: Thoth Publications, 2006).