

HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN: BIOGRAPHIES OF MEMBERS

by Sally Davis.

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INTRODUCTION December 2017

Below is a list of all the people who were initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its temples in London, Bradford and Edinburgh between 1888 (the year it began) and 1901. There were also temples in Paris and Weston-super-Mare, but I've decided to leave their initiates out.

The list of names is based on the data R A Gilbert put in his book *The Golden Dawn Companion*, published by The Aquarian Press in 1986. Gilbert had inherited the Golden Dawn's Membership Roll and he transcribed all the signatures written on it, for his book. I used the book and the original Members' Roll, to make my list; correcting some wrong spellings and adding in one person who was on the Members' Roll but not in the book - I guess Gilbert must just have overlooked her, amongst so many names.

For the last few years I've been working on biographies of the Golden Dawn members in the list below, using the web and libraries in London. For most members, I haven't found out anything much. For the rest, I'm gradually compiling little (and some not so little) biographies of them and they'll go up on this website in due course.

Two important points about what I've been doing:

1) Those of you who want to find out about the Golden Dawn's magic: these biographies are not for you. I'm no magician and I've concentrated on the members' other lives - their day job, if you like - birth, family/relationships, work/income, death.

2) Some of the people on the list have had biographies done already. There are books on:

Allan Bennett Sir William Crookes

Aleister Crowley; a lot of books on him, of course

Florence Farr with coverage of her sister Henrietta Paget and her brother-in-law Henry Marriott Paget

Maud Gonne, including some coverage of her sister Kathleen Pilcher and her cousin Mary Kimble Gonne

Mary Eliza Haweis

Annie Horniman though these tend to concentrate on her later career as a theatrical impresario

Samuel Liddell Mathers including coverage of his wife Mina (later Moina) née Bergson

Constance Wilde

W B Yeats including some coverage of his uncle George Pollexfen.

And there's also a book in preparation on William George Lemon.

The books aren't always easy to find but it still seemed superfluous for me to do any more work on those people.

As at January 2017 there are also wikipedia pages on some of the people I've already mentioned, and:

Henry Edward Colvile though there's not much on his second wife Zelig née de Préville

Robert William Felkin though without much on his wife Mary née Mander or his sister-in-law Jemima Mander

Henry Pullen-Burry though without much on his wife Rose née Anwyl. I have done a life-by-dates of Henry and Rose.

and William Wynn Westcott.

If you're in a desperate hurry to find out more about anyone on the list, but without a biography as yet, you can email me and I'll try to help:

email: Amandragora@attglobal.net

R A Gilbert's papers, including the Members' Roll, are now in the archives at the Museum of Freemasonry. A big thank you from me to the archivist and volunteers there, for the help they are still giving me. Here is a message from them, because they would love more people to visit the Museum to work on the Golden Dawn archives:

For anyone wishing to explore the membership or development of the Golden Dawn, archives relating to the Order and its successor bodies are available at the Library and Museum of Freemasonry - all resources have been catalogued with full descriptions for each document [reference: GBR 1991 GD] - see details for these records on the on-line catalogue at: <http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/catalogue.php>

The list below with dates of birth, marriages and dates of death where I've been able to find them out. The births, marriages and deaths were determined by correlating the relevant UK Government Census returns with the usual family history sources - FreeBMD, FamilySearch etc. Clerical appointments are taken from Crockford's Clerical Directory.

TS = member of the Theosophical Society

SRIA = member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia; membership available to freemasons only

SOCPR = member of the Society for Psychical Research

AITKEN, Andrew Peebles. C 1854-1904. Analytical chemist, academic.

AITKEN, Georgiana Burnett. Previous surname Brown. C 1856-?? Married GD member Andrew Peebles Aitken 1881.

ATHERTON, Jeremiah Leach. 1838-1908. Worked in the wool industry, Bradford. Freemason. SRIA.

AYTON, Anne. Previous surname Hempson. C 1823-1898. Married GD member William Alexander Ayton 1862.

AYTON, William Alexander. 1816-1909. Married GD member Anne Hempson 1862. Cleric, Church of England.

Family History

Occult Activities

BABINGTON, Anna Mary. 1846-1934. Owner of the Babington Tea Rooms in Rome.

BAKER, Julian Levett. 1873-1958. Friend then brother-in-law of George Cecil Jones. Chemist.

Biography

Partial list of publications.

BARCLAY, Oswald. 1872-??

BARRACLOUGH, James. ?1845-1902.

BATES, Emily Katherine or Katharine. 1846-1922. Traveller, novelist. Spiritualist.

BEASLEY, Thomas Henry. C 1838-1889. Ex-policeman; worked in a coroner's office.

BEAUFORT, Edith Mary. Previous surname Griffith. 1856-1942. Married Leicester Paul Beaufort 1883; 3 daughters. Lived Borneo, South Africa.

BENNETT, Charles Henry Allan. Later known as Bhikku Ananda Metteya. 1872-1923. Analytical chemist. Taught Crowley.

BENNETT, Ida. Previous surname Turner. 1849-1910. Married Adrian Bennett 1869.

BERGSON, Mina. see MATHERS

BERRIDGE, Edward William. 1844-1920. Doctor; homoeopath; writer, editor, compiler of a Materia Medica. Follower of Thomas Lake Harris; writer, editor.

BLACKDEN, Ada Mary. 1872-1965. Sister of GD member Marcus Worsley Blackden.

BLACKDEN, Marcus Worsley. 1864-1934. Brother of GD member Ada Mary Blackden. Artist; Egyptologist.

Family and Youth

Egypt and the Golden Dawn

After the Golden Dawn

Book of the Dead – Chapter 62; Hymn to Osiris

BLACKWELL, Anna. 1816-1900. Journalist. Feminist. Spiritualist. Translator of Kardec.

BLACKWOOD, Algernon. 1869-1951.

BLYTH, Lilian Grace Mary see PRAEGER

BORTHWICK, Gabrielle. 1866-1952. Owner of the Borthwick School of Motoring and Engineering.

BOXER, Edward. 1856-1935. Naval family. Worked in a bank.

BRETTELL, John. C 1830-1901. Founder of T and J Brettell of Smethwick, iron workers and engineers.

BRIGGS, Mary. 1869-1909. Married Howard Swan 1900. IU.

BRODIE-INNES, Frances Annesley. Previous surname Voysey. 1853-1942. Married GD member John William Brodie-Innes 1879. TS.

BRODIE-INNES, John William. 1848-1923. Barrister and advocate. Married GD member Frances Annesley Brodie-Innes 1879. TS.

BROOKES, William Thomas Percy. 1874-??

BROOMHEAD see ROWE.

BROWN, Mrs Mary Catherine.

BROWN, Robert SMITH see SMITH BROWN

BUBNA, Count Franz Otto. ?1847 or ?1841-?? Stockbroker. Born ?Austria.

BUCKMAN, Katherine Julia. 1863-1928. Daughter of naturalist James Buckman. Married William George Hutchison 1898.

BULLOCK, Percy William. 1868-1940. Solicitor's clerk; then qualified as a solicitor and ran

his own business. Married GD member Pamela CARDEN 1894.

BURNETT, Emily. 1839-1915. Sister-in-law of William Wynn Westcott. Copyist.

BURRY, Henry Pullen. see PULLEN-BURRY.

BURRY, Rose Pullen. see PULLEN-BURRY.

BUTLER, Harriet.

BUTLER later HUNTER, Harriette Dorothea see HUNTER

CALDECOTT, Marion. Previous surname Brind. 1850-1932. Married illustrator Randolph Caldecott 1880.

CALLIE, James William Stewart. 1857-1940. Worked for the Financial Reform Association; writer on free trade.

CAMPBELL, John MacNaught. C 1850-after 1915. Naturalist. Curator, Kelvingrove Museum Glasgow. Freemason.

CARDEN, Alexander James. 1839-1897. Married GD member Anne Rule Carden 1863. Man of independent financial means.

CARDEN, Ann Rule. Previous surname Clements. 1841-1924. Married GD member Alexander James Carden 1863.

Joint Entry

CARDEN, Pamela. 1871-1929. Married GD member Percy William Bullock 1894.

See entry for BULLOCK, Percy William

CATHCART, Mrs Agnes. Nee Baxter. First cousin of GD members Cecilia Macrae and Florence Kennedy, through the Laing family. 1835-1913. Married Robert Cathcart 1857; three sons. . See also the LAINGFAMILY file, at MACRAE, CECILIA

CATTANACH, Andrew Petri. 1856-1939. Worked for Cowan and Co of Edinburgh. TS. Bahai. Freemason.

CHAMBERS Violet see TWEEDALE

CLARK, Emmeline Alice.

CLARK, Frederick Stewart.

CLAYTON, Fanny Isabel. 1863-1934. Daughter of GD member Joseph Clayton. Teacher.

See entry for CLAYTON, Joseph..

CLAYTON, Joseph. 1837-1912. Father of GD member Fanny Isabel Clayton. Teacher; then ran the family cookware shop.

COFFIN, Thomas Walker. 1840-1904. GP in Cornwall, then London.

COHEN, Chris. Tentative identification as Mary Ann Louisa BUTLER sister of Harriette Dorothea Butler later HUNTER. 1869-?? Married Max Cohen 1888.

COLLETT, Edith Grace. 1869-1927. Doctor.

COLLINSON, John. C 1835-1906. Worked for the Great Northern Railway. Freemason. SRIA.

COLVILE, Henry Edward. 1852-1907. Married GD member Zélie de Préville 1886. Career army officer.

COLVILE, Zélie. Previous surname de Préville. 1861-1930. Born France. Married GD member Henry Edward Colvile 1886; 1 son.

COOMBS, William Godwin. C 1833-1919. Doctor, specialising mental health.

COOPER, Augustus Montague. 1863-??

COPE, George Cope. Previous surname Pinniger. 1855-1931. Barrister.

CORYN, Herbert Alfred William. Surname spelled CorIn until 1870s. 1863-1927. Brother of GD member Sidney Coryn; brother-in-law of GD member Jessie Louisa Horne. GP. TS. Emigrated 1898 to Point Loma theosophical community, San Diego.

CORYN, Sidney Glasson Pierce. Surname spelled CorIn until 1870s. 1865-1921. Brother of GD member Herbert Coryn; brother-in-law of GD member Jessie Louisa Horne. TS. Worked for Canadian Railway Co. Emigrated to USA 1902; editor of the San Francisco Argonaut.

CRACKNELL, Maud. 1858-1950.

CRAVEN, ELIZA[BETH]. 1867-??

See entry for CLAYTON, Joseph.

CRESWELL, Keppel Archibald Cameron known as Archibald. 1879-1974. Architectural historian specialising in Fatimid Egypt; academic. Lived in Cairo after World War 1.

CROOKE, Herbert. 1860-1931. Worked for insurance companies. TS.

CROOKES, William B. 1832-1919. Chemist, physicist, editor, inventor eg the Crookes tube. Spiritualist. SOCPR.

CROWE, Frederick Joseph William. 1862-1931. Organist, conductor. Freemason; writer on and collector of masonic regalia.

CROWLEY, Aleister. 1875-1947.

CUNNINGHAM, Marion. Previous surname Ellis. 1860-?1930. Married ?Canada c 1890.

DAVIDSON, Alexander Gordon. 1860-1924. GP; after c 1903 worked in Ghana as medical officer, Tarquah gold mines. Freemason.

DAVIES, Jane Anna. Previous surname Greenaway. 1835-1908. Married Charles Maurice Davies 1856.

DE BLAQUIÈRE, [Caroline] Dora. Previous surname Bettridge, sometimes spelled BettEridge. 1838-1901. Born and died Canada. Married Charles de Blaquièrre 1856. Journalist.

DE BRÉMONT, Anna. Previous surname Dunphy. 1852-1922. Born USA. Married Émile Léon, Comte de Brémont 1877. Singer; then journalist, poet, novelist.

1852-1888

1888-1922

DE PALLANDT, Agnes Alicia Margaret. Original surname MacLean. Surname Wade between 1879 and 1881. 1849-1925.

DE STEIGER, Isabel (correctly Isabelle). Previous surname Lace. 1836-1927. Married Rudolph Adelf de Steiger 1861.

1836-1872

1873 to May 1878

June 1878 to December 1882

1883 and 1884

January 1885 to February 1888

March 1888 to 1900, the period she was active in the GD

1900-1927

Some Files on her work as a painter and commentator on art:

Isabel's art works: by date

Isabel's art works: alphabetical by title

Isabel's career as an artist

Isabel on art

Details of works exhibited

DENT, Vyvyan Edward John. 1862-1929. Lived Shanghai. Official in the China Inland Customs service.

DICKSON, Dr George. C 1838-?? Father of Carnegie Dickson. GP.

DODD, Frank. 1871-1955. Worked for the British Bank of South America. Moved to Rio de Janeiro mid-1890s.

DOUGLAS, Emily. B. Previous surname West. 1851-?? Married GD member John Andrew Douglas 1883.

DOUGLAS, John Andrew. C 1849-?1917. Married GD member Emily Douglas 1883.

DRUMMOND, Edith. C 1874-?? Daughter of GD member Emily Ann Drummond.

DRUMMOND, Emily Ann. Previous surname Mason. 1854-1910. Married James Drummond 1872. Mother of GD member Edith Drummond.

Joint Entry

DRUMMOND, Mary.

DUNCAN, Isabella see C W PEARCE

DUNCAN, Thomas Appleton. 1850-1922. Cleric, Church of England. TS.

DUNCKLEY, Joseph, known as Joe. C 1832-1912. Labourer. TS.

DUNN, Edward John. 1867-1926. Surveyor. Lived York, then Middlesbrough. TS.

DUNN, William Arthur. 1866-1921. Musician, conductor. TS. Emigrated 1902 to the Point Loma theosophical community, San Diego.

DURAND, James Madison. Husband of GD member Theodosia Durand. Identification uncertain.

DURAND, Theodosia. Original surname Moore. 1863-1949. Born and died California. Artist. Married GD member James Madison Durand before 1894.

Joint Entry

EDWARDS, Bogdan Edward. Original surname Jastrzebski. C 1860-1923. Brother of GD member Louis/Lewis Stanley Jastrzebski, later Jast. Husband of GD member Henrietta Edwards. Surgeon Halifax; then GP Brighouse. Freemason. SRIA.

EDWARDS, Henrietta. Previous surname Palmer. 1861-1927. Wife of GD member Bogdan Edwards. Worked as a hosier before her marriage.

Joint Entry

ELLIOT, Eleanor Blanche. Previous surname Bruce; mother's original name Corbet. 1864-1947. Married GD member Hugh Elliot 1896.

ELLIOT, John Hugh Armstrong known as Hugh. 1861-1948. Married GD member Eleanor Blanche Bruce 1896. Barrister; editor at Heinemanns; part-owner Rebmans.

Joint Entry

ELLIS, Frank Tate. 1861-1928. Teacher/missionary Bishop Gobat school Jerusalem.

ELPHICK, William Henry.

EMERY, Florence see under FARR

EUSUF, Mohammed. Surname usually spelled YUSUF. C 1872-1928. Born Patna. ICS; judge in Burma, Calcutta. Change of name by deed poll 1926 to Maurice Dean.

FARQUHAR, William Muir. C 1863-1939. Born Amritsar. Cleric, Church of England.

FARR, Florence. 1860-1917. Farr is her original surname. Married 1884 Edward Anderson Emery; divorced 1895 and reverted to original surname.

FELKIN, Mary Jane. Previous surname Mander. 1855-1903. Married GD member Robert William Felkin 1882; sister of GD member Jemima Tertia Mander.

FELKIN, Robert William. 1853-1926. Married 1) GD member Mary Jane Felkin 1882; 2) GD/Stella Matutina member Harriet Miller Davidson 1908. Brother-in-law of GD member Jemima Tertia Mander; father of Stella Matutina member Ethelwyn Felkin.

FFOULKES, Louise Florence Wynne. Original surname Jeffreys. C 1853-1936. Married Rev Henry Wynne ffoulkles 1881; he was first cousin of GD member Marian Charlotte Vibart. Poet.

Life

As a Poet

FIRTH, Oliver and Florence. Both Bradford; both TS. Oliver: 1860-1939. Florence: nee SPINK so see also SPINK SISTERS; 1868-1939, married Oliver Firth 1890, 3 children. Firth owned a TB sanatorium.

FIRTH, Walter. 1859/60-1915.

FORSYTH, Alice Jane. Uncertain identification but probably c 1849-??

FORTESCUE, Ethel Peverel Freda, nee Davis. 1862-1938. Married Frederick Ernest Fryer Fortescue 1886; one child. Friend of Pamela Colman Smith.

FRANKS, Charles.

FREEMAN, Francis. 1848-1920. Worked in a bank.

FRIEND, Elizabeth Mary

FULHAM HUGHES, Helen Priscilla, known as Reena. Born New Zealand ?1851. Died 1916. Married (1) ?1872 Archibald Little RN, 2 children; (2) 1896 Alfred Joseph Fulham Hughes. Had reverted to the use of surname 'Little' by 1911.

GARDNER, Frederick Leigh. 1857-1929. Stockbroker. Book collector. TS.

GARDNER, Joseph Knight. 1864-c 1926. Married GD member Rachel Taylor 1895. Accounts clerk. Emigrated to Canada 1908. TS

GARDNER, Rachel. Original surname Taylor. 1867-1929. Married GD member Joseph Knight Gardner 1895. Emigrated to Canada 1908. TS.

Joint Entry .

GASKELL, Ellen Sophie. Original surname Atkins; 1855-1940; married George Arthur Gaskell 1895. Occultist; writer on diet, occult. Spiritualist medium.

GASKELL, George Arthur. 1843-1933; Not a member. (List of literary and artistic works)

GIBSON, John

GILLISON, Jean Brash. See NISBET.

GLYNES, Webster. 1836-1919. Solicitor. Married 1898 US writer/actress Ella Dietz (1847-1920). Freemason.

GOBERT, Frederic Charles. 1873-1947. Carpenter and joiner.

GOLDIE, Thomas Myles.

GONNE, Mary Kimble. 1863-1929. First cousin of GD members Maud Gonne and Kathleen Pilcher. Married 1902 Neville Sneyd Clay or Bertie-Clay.

GONNE, [Edith] Maud. 1866-1953. Political activist. 3 children. Married 1903 John MacBride.

GONNE, Kathleen see PILCHER

GOOLD, William Albert. 1847-??

GORDON, Alice. Original surname Heath or Heath-Tomlinson. C 1843-?? Married 1863 William Gordon. Spiritualist. . Friend of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

GRAHAM, William Marten. 1848-1911. First cousin of GD member John A S Hastie. Civil servant.

GRANT, Mrs Margaret Jane Dalziel.

GRASON, Charles Herbert. 1867-1916. ?relation of GD member W H Grason. Ran a watch-making and jewellery business.

GRASON, William Hall. ?relation of GD member C H Grason.

GREENHOUGH, William Henry. 1856-1930. Librarian.

HAILEY, Alfred J. Civil servant.

HAMILTON, Lina Rowan. More usually ROWAN HAMILTON so see under ROWAN HAMILTON

HANDYSIDE, James. 1845-1905. Married GD member Lucy Handyside by 1891. Worked for a coal merchant, Edinburgh, TS.

HANDYSIDE, Lucy. Original surname Hurt. 1848-1931 Married to GD member James Handyside by 1891. Edinburgh, TS.

Joint Entry

HARBORD, Lady Eleanor. Daughter of the Duke of Grafton; original surname Fitzroy. 1853-1905. Married 1) 1872 Herbert Fitzroy Eaton; 2) Walter Harbord; div 1900; 3) 1904 Herbert Magniac. TS.

HARRISON, Francis Drake. Co-mason.

HASTIE, John A S. 1862-?? First cousin of William Marten Graham.

Haweis, Mary Eliza. Original surname Joy. 1848-1898. Married Rev Hugh Haweis 1867. Artist, designer; writer of books on good taste.

HENDERSON, George Jacob. 1851-1916.

HERBERT, Albertina. Original surname Denison. 1854-1929. Married Ivor John Caradoc Herbert 1873.

HILL, Amy Jane. Original surname Earp. 1860-1939. Married 1894 as second wife GD member John Hill. TS.

HILL, John. C 1868-1915. Married as second wife GD member Amy Earp 1894. TS.

HILL, Luther. 1864-1909. Cloth-dealer. Died in Canada. TS.

HOPGOOD, William Charles. 1854-1937. GP in Middlesbrough.

HORNE, Jessie Louisa. 1862-1948. Sister-in-law of Herbert Coryn and Sidney Coryn. Teacher; headmistress. TS.

HORNIMAN, Annie Elizabeth Frederica. 1860-1937.

HORTON, William Thomas. 1864-1919. Illustrator. Friend of W B Yeats.

HUMPHRYS, William Evans Hugh. 1876-1950. Motor car enthusiast, journalist, magazine owner, businessman, inventor. Married (1911) Jessie Holliday; 1 son.

1876-1906 including the GD

1907-end 1909

1910-1950

HUNTER, Edmund Arthur. 1866-1937. Brother of GD member Amy Turner; probably first cousin of GD member Fanny Beatrice Hunter. Married 1896 GD member Harriette Dorothea Butler. Designer; owned a company making cloth for churches.

HUNTER, Fanny Beatrice. 1863-1938. Probably first cousin of GD members Edmund Arthur Hunter and Amy Turner. Professional nurse.

HUNTER, Harriette Dorothea. Original surname Butler. C 1868-1958. Married 1896 GD member Edmund Arthur Hunter; 2 sons. Friend of W B Yeats.

HUNTER, William Sutherland. 1850-?? Worked for the family flour importing firm, Glasgow. Freemason. Book collector.

JACOB, George. 1862/63-1939. Solicitor's clerk.

JAMIESON, James.

JASTRZEBSKI, Lewis/Louis Stanley, known as Stan. 1895 changed surname to Jast (pronounced with a 'J'). 1868-1944. Brother of GD member Bogdan Edwards; brother-in-law of GD member Henrietta Edwards. Librarian; poet; dramatist.

A life by dates

Belief, magic and love

Poems and Epigrams

JEFFERSON, George Drinkall. 1843-??

JOHNSON, Frederick Jabez.

JONES, George Cecil. 1873-1960. 1905 became brother-in-law of GD member Julian Baker. Chemical engineer. Occultist. Friend of Aleister Crowley to 1911.

JUBB, Frank. 1864-1932. GP Peckham.

KELLY, Vera(?) Foster(?).

KENNEDY, Florence E S. Original surname Laing. 1853/54-1952. Sister of GD member Cecilia Macrae; sister-in-law of GD member Louisa Ida Macrae; cousin of GD member Agnes Cathcart. Married 1) 1879 Edward Sherard Kennedy; 2) 1902 Ioannes Gennadius. Artist. For her family, see also LAINGFAMILY file, at MACRAE, CECILIA

Florence Kennedy to 1902-ish

Florence and Edward Sherard Kennedy as Artists

KERR, George.

KIRBY, William Forsell. 1844-1912. Entomologist, specialist in butterflies. Worked for the Natural History Museum. Translator. TS.

KLEIN, Sidney Turner. 1854-1934. Worked for the family flour importing firm. Freemason. Writer.

KNEVITT, Herbert Dr. 1867-1943. GP in Ealing.

LACY, John Valentine. 1867-1947. Born Agra, son of a Brahmin convert to Christianity. Worked for Biltor Ltd. Friend of the Vibart family - see Marion Vibart.

LAMBERT, William Henry.

LAMMIN, Harriett Emily. Original surname Skelton. 1853-1938. Married 1888 as second wife Archer Davison Lammin. Lived in Bilbao.

LANCASTER, Harold N. 1872-??

LANGRIDGE, Minnie Constance. 1861-1924.

LAW, forename(s) unreadable so unknown by R A Gilbert.

LEMON, Rev Dr Thomas William. 1846-1919. Cleric, Church of England. Freemason. SRIA.

LEMON, William George. ?1831-1897. Teacher; then barrister. Freemason. SRIA.

LEVETT, Harold John. 1845-1927. Worked for the London Joint Stock Bank. TS.

LITTLE, Helen see FULHAM HUGHES

LLOYD, Irene Augusta Ada. 1861-1959 Married 1898 Alfred Holtzer. Cape Colony 1898 to 1914. TS in South Africa. Divorced 1923. Died England.

LOVE, Laura Gertrude. Original surname unknown.

LOVELL, Arthur; which is a professional name. 1862/63-1930. Original name David Williams or David Coethyr Williams. Therapist. Writer. Freemason.

MACBEAN, Edward. 1846-1919. Owner of Macbean and Co which made waterproofs. Freemason. SRIA.

MACHEN, Arthur. Original surname Jones. 1863-1947.

MCFARLANE (later MACFARLANE), William Evan. 1866-1919. Missionary family. Trained as a doctor. Astronomer. Lived Loyalty Islands, Mongolia, South Africa, Australia.

MACKENZIE, Alexandrina. Original surname Aydin. C 1848-1908. Married 1) 1872 Kenneth MacKenzie the freemason and occultist. Married 2) 1893 George Alfred Parratt.

MACKAY, Edward. C 1848-1925. Pharmacist. TS.

MACLAREN, Mrs Emily.

MACMILLAN, Albert Duncan. C 1863-1945. Civil servant, Inland Revenue. Writer.

THE TWO MACRAES

LAING FAMILY re Agnes Cathcart, Florence Kennedy and Cecilia Macrae.

MACRAE, Cecilia Mary Bruce. Original surname Laing. 1848-1942. Sister of GD member Florence Kennedy; sister-in-law of GD member Louisa Ida Macrae; cousin of GD member Agnes Cathcart. Married 1877 Charles Colin Macrae.

MACRAE, Louisa Ida. 1857-1943 Sister-in-law of GD member Cecilia Macrae and GD member Florence Kennedy.

MAITINSKY sometimes MAITINSKI, Florence Lily. Original surname unknown. ??-?? Married George J Maitinsky, manager of grocer's shop in Bedford Park, 1890s. TS.

MAJOR, Alice Elizabeth 1849-1906 She does not appear in Gilbert's book but she is on the GD Members' Roll now at the Freemasons' Library.

MALDEN, Charles Herbert. 1857-1932. Cleric, Church of England; in India, then England. Freemason.

MANDER, Jemima Tertia. 1857-1935. Sister of GD member Mary Jane Felkin; sister-in-law of GD member Robert William Felkin.

MAPLES, Caroline. ?1854-1922. Original surname Williams. Married Charles Maples 1877; 2 sons.

MARTIN, George.

MARTYN, Elizabeth Anne. C 1850-1897.

MATHERS, Mina; later Moina. 1865-1928. Married Samuel Liddell Mathers 1890.

MATHERS, Samuel Liddell; later MacGregor Mathers. 1854-1918. Married Mina Bergson 1890.

MIDGLEY, John. 1859-??

MILLS, Elizabeth Watkin, see WATKIN MILLS.

MINSON, George Samuel. 1845-1902 Father of GD member Mabel Hathaway Minson. Worked in a bank.

MINSON, Mabel Kathleen. 1876-?? Daughter of GD member George Samuel Minson. Married 1898 GD member Herbert Crossley Morris.

MOFFAT, Kate R. C 1860-?? (after 1922). Younger sister of Sophia Moffat. Member, Independent and Rectified Rite.

MOFFAT, Sophia. C 1856-?? Elder sister of Kate R Moffat. Member, Independent and Rectified Rite.

MOLESWORTH, Arthur Hilton. 1862-1928. Barrister. Astronomer, inventor of astronomical instruments.

MOLLOY, Joseph H Fitzgerald, called Fitzgerald. 1858-1908. Writer.

MONCK or poss MONK, Alfred.

MORRIS, Ronald Arthur Vennor. 1877-1943. First cousin of Herbert Crossley Morris. Married 1898 Eliza Augusta Jevons.

MORRIS, Eliza Augusta Vennor. Original surname Jevons. 1858-?? Married 1898 GD member Ronald Vennor Morris.

Joint Entry

MORRIS, Herbert Crossley. 1870-1899. First cousin of GD member Ronald Vennor

Morris. Married 1898 GD member Mabel Hathaway Minson.

MORRIS, Lizzie. Doesn't seem to be a relation of Ronald A V and Herbert C Morris; so nothing known.

MOSALLI, Selim. 1857-1912.

MURRAY, Grace Amelia. Original surname Abercromby. 1864-1932. Writer, translator.

MURRAY, Joshua Davidson

MURRAY, Oswald. 1850-?? (probably between 1924 and 1940). Writing name Quaestor Vitae or possibly Quaestor Lucis. Journalist for the Times; owner of a paint company.

NELSON, Andrew sometimes NEILSON. ?1841-after 1898. Worked for Union Bank of Scotland.

NISBET, Agnes Elizabeth. Uncertain identification. Probably: original surname Williams. 1865-?? Married 1886 GD member Robert B B Nisbet.

NISBET, Jean Brash; usually known as Jeannie. sister of GD member Robert B B Nisbet, sister-in-law of GD member Agnes Nisbet. C 1858-1920. Married 1) Robert Gillison 1871; 2) 1905 Alexander Armour.

NISBET, Robert Baird Brash. 1857-?? Brother of GD member Jean Brash Gillison. Married 1886 Agnes Elizabeth Williams.

Joint Entry .

NUNN, Richard Joseph. 1819-1910. Born Ireland, emigrated to USA. GP, Savannah Georgia. Freemason.

O'CONNELL, Theresa Jane. 1845-after 1911. Copyist. Friend of Mina Bergson until early 1890s.

OLIVER, Charles Mackay. C 1867-??

O'REILLY, Joseph. ??-1894.

PAGE, Frank Johnston. Uncertain identification; probably 1859-1937.

PAGET, Henry Marriott 1857-1936. Married 1879 GD member Henrietta Farr; brother-in-law of GD member Florence Farr. Artist, illustrator.

PAGET, Henrietta, known as Etta. Original surname Farr; sister of GD member Florence Farr. 1852-1947. Married 1879 GD member Henry Marriott Paget. Artist.

PALLANDT is in as DE PALLANDT.

PARR, Charles Chace. 1848-97. Solicitor.

PASSINGHAM, Catherine Amy. Original surname Staple. 1840-1918. Married 1863 George Augustus Passingham. TS. SOCPR.

PATTINSON, Eliza. Uncertain identification: probably original surname Clerk. 1852-?? Married 1874 GD member Thomas Henry Pattinson.

PATTINSON, Thomas Henry. C 1850-1939. Married 1874 GD member Eliza ?Clerk. Ran his own jewellery and watch-making business. Freemason. TS.

PEARCE, Alfred John. Professional astrologer, writer and editor; as Zadkiel. 1840-1923.

PEARCE, Charles William. 1841-?? Married secondly, date unknown but after 1891, GD member Isabella Duncan. 1890s ran a wine and spirits business. Later ran a publishing firm. Follower of Thomas Lake Harris.

DUNCAN, Isabella. Journalist as Lily Bell. Political activist. C 1861-?? Married as his second wife, date unknown but after 1891, GD member Charles William Pearce. Follower of Thomas Lake Harris.

Joint Entry

PEART, Alfred Henry. 1859-1942. Teacher. TS.

PECK, William. C 1865-1925. Brother of GD member Harriet Peck. Married 1889 GD member Christina Thomson. Astronomer, inventor of astronomical instruments.

PECK, Christina. C 1865-1922. Sister of GD member George Lorimer Thomson and Margaret Kells Thomson. Married 1889 GD member William Peck; sister-in-law of GD member Harriet Peck.

PECK, Harriet. C 1870-?? (after 1901). Sister of GD member William Peck; sister-in-law of GD member Christina Peck.

Joint Entry

PETERSON, Andrew Frater. C 1872-??

PETERSON Jnr, John. E.

PILCHER, Kathleen. Born Ireland 1868. Died Switzerland 1919. Sister of GD member Maud Gonne; first cousin of GD member Mary Kimball Gonne. Married 1889 Thomas David Pilcher; divorced 1912.

POLLEXFEN, George Thomas. 1839-1910. Uncle of GD member W B Yeats.

POULTER, Herbert. 1873-1923.

PRAEGER, Wilfred George Frederick. 1869-1955. Married 1898 GD member Lilian Mary Blyth.

PRAEGER, Lilian Mary. Original surname Blyth. 1864-1942. Married 1898 GD member Wilfred Praeger.

Joint Entry

PREWETT later MARTIN, Minnie. 1863-1909. Married 1897 John William Martin.

PROCTER, Annie Louise. Original surname Horner. 1849-1936. Married 1873 James Procter. Had lived on Madagascar.

PROWER, Nelson. 1856-1943. Teacher; writer. Freemason. SRIA. Went to Canada.

PULLEN-BURRY, Henry. Born 1855 Sussex, registered as Pullen. Family changed its name to Pullen-Burry c 1870. Died 1927 Portland Oregon. Medical practitioner, occultist. Freemason. Married 1882 GD member Rose Anwyl.

PULLEN-BURRY, Rose. Original surname Anwyl. 1859-1922. Married 1882 Henry Burry Pullen-Burry.

The Pullens, the Burrys and the Anwyls

Henry, Rose and the GD

Henry in North America

PURKIS, E Heywood.

RAEBURN, Jessie Ramsay. C 1855-??

RAND, Helen Mary. Original surname Rand. 1864-1953. Married 1888 John Rand who may be a relation. Member Independent and Rectified Rite.

RAND, John. 1864-?. Married 1888 Helen Rand. Surveyor.

Joint Entry

RANKING, H Devey Fearon. 1848-1931. Teacher; folklorist; antiquarian; linguist. Freemason.

RANSTEAD, William. 1860-1944. Manager/part owner, Gandy Belt Manufacturing Co. Political activist. Emigrated to New Zealand 1900.

REX, John. E. C 1860-after 1901. Owned a timber firm.

REYNOLDS, Mary Palethorp(e), known as Sister Mary. 1852-1917. Professional nurse.

RICHARDSON, Charles Lovell. 1868-after 1932. Dentist.

RICHIE, William.

RITCHIE, Frederick Clarence. 1866-1931.

ROBERTSON, Emily.

ROBERTSON, John Charles George. ??-1897. Doctor, specialising mental health. Worked Middlesex County Asylum Hanwell. Freemason.

ROBERTSON, W. W.

ROGERS, George Frederick. 1867-1943. Physician. Academic Cambridge University 1900-14. Home Office 1914-43. Freemason. TS. SRIA. SOCPR.

ROSHER, Charles Henry. 1858-1936. Engineer/architect. Writer.

ROSHER, Caroline Lily. Original surname Porter. 1856-?? Living with Charles Henry Rosher as his wife by 1891.

ROWAN HAMILTON, Lina. Original surname Beaumont. 1857-1934. Married 1876 Gawen Rowan Hamilton of the Irish landed gentry. Lived Northern Ireland.

ROWE, Kate. Original surname Broomhead. 1859-1903. Married 1897 William J M Rowe known as Cosmo Rowe. Musician.

ROWE, Sarah Ann, known as Sissie. IU, then IRRO/R. Born 1856 Manchester. Photograph retoucher. DOD unknown. Sister-in-law of Kate Broomhead Rowe.

Joint Entry

ROWELL, George. 1863-1918. Anaesthetist, academic at the London Dental Hospital.

ROY, Robert. 1847-1916. Barrister. TS. Freemason. SRIA.

RUSSELL, Alexander David. 1864-1934.

SALMON, Frederick George Burton. 1865-??

SANDHAM, Robert. Identification uncertain: probably b 1841.

SCANLAN, Alfred Ernest. 1857-1930. GP Middlesbrough. TS. Acquaintance of W B Yeats.

SCOTT, Maria Jane Burnley. Original surname Hume. 1854-1927. Married 1881 Ross Scott.

SHEFFIELD, Evelyn Diana. Born Eliza Dinah Fairchild 1856. Married Henry Digby Sheffield 1877. Died 1942. THIS BIOGRAPHY IS NOT BY ME, IT'S BY DINAH'S DISTANT RELATIVE TONY MARTIN with some extras by me.

SHERLOCK, Thomas Travers. C 1853-1915.

SHIELD, Elizabeth Key. C 1841-?? (after 1901). Sister of GD member Jane Hunter Shield.

SHIELD, Jane Hunter. C 1849-?? (after 1901). Sister of GD member Elizabeth Key Shield.

SIMMONS, Alpheus Butts. 1865-1915. Medical Doctor, Electro-therapist Georgia USA. Freemason, member of Knights Templar.

SIMONSEN, J Hermann. ??-between 1895 and 1900. Cleric, Lutheran church. Freemason.

SIMPSON, Alice Beatrice. Professional name Beatrice Irwin. 1877-??. Daughter of GD member Alice Isabel Simpson; sister of GD member Elaine Mary Simpson Witkowski. Actress, poet. Ran own lighting firm; writer.

SIMPSON, Alice Isabel. Original surname Hall. 1853-?? (after 1911). Married 1875 William Simpson. Mother of GD members Alice Beatrice Simpson and Elaine Mary Simpson Witkowski.

SIMPSON, Elaine Mary. 1875-?? (after 1929). Daughter of GD member Alice Isabel Simpson; sister of GD member Alice Beatrice Simpson. Married 1) 1900 Paul Harry Witkowski. Married 2) ?(by 1910) Wölker.

SIMPSON, George Lumsden. C 1859-?? (after 1901). ?son of GD member Mary A Simpson.

SIMPSON, Mary. Original surname unknown. C 1828-??. Mother of GD member George Lumsden Simpson.

SIMPSON, Thérèse Charlotte. 1838-1923. Singer, teacher of singing.

SLATER, John Herbert, probably called Herbert. 1853-1921. Barrister; writer on collecting, especially book collecting.

SMITH, James Webber. Is in as WEBBER SMITH

SMITH, Pamela Colman. She's in as COLMAN-SMITH.

SMITH, Thomas. C 1867-??

SMITH BROWN, Robert. C 1837-after 1901. Pharmacist; then worked for the freemasons in Scotland. Freemason.

SNEYD, Ralph de Tunstall. 1862-1947. Poet.

SPINK SISTERS - Catherine Elizabeth (Kate) 1867-1953; Florence 1868-1939, see also FIRTH Oliver and Florence; and Gertrude Jane 1869-1947. All Bradford; all TS.

STEEL, Robert Elliott. 1853-1933. Science teacher, geologist. Taught in Bradford and Northampton and at Sherborne School. Married 1895 Annie Caroline Elliott; one daughter.

STEPHENS, Riccardo. 1860-after 1915. Doctor. Novelist.

STEWART WALKER, Alice; and Jessie. They're in as Stewart WALKER.

STRACEY, Alice Minnie, known as Alice Maud. Original surname Osborn. 1864-1946. Married 1870 William John Stracey.

STREET, Eugène Edward. 1847-1913. Man of independent financial means. Freemason. SRIA.

STRICKLAND, Francis. Uncertain identification: probably c 1849-?? (after 1901).

SWAIN, Rose Mary Howard. 1865-1937. Married 1893 Alfred Robinson.

TAYLOR, Rachel, see GARDNER.

TAYLOR, Thomas A. ??-1893. Businessman in Madras.

THEOBALD, Robert Masters. 1839-1914. Doctor; homoeopath.

THIELLAY, Eugène. Born France c 1840. Died London 1901. Chemist. Hairdresser; inventor of platinum blonde hair dye. Freemason. SRIA.

THOMAS, Robert Palmer; PALMER-THOMAS by 1911. 1851-?1918. Worked for a railway

company. Freemason.

THOMAS, William Eliot. 1866-1929.

THOMPSON, Ethel.

THOMSON, John Lorimer. 1868-?? (after 1901). Brother of GD members Christina Thomson Peck and Margaret Kells Thomson.

THOMSON, Margaret Kells. C 1866-?? (after 1901). Sister of GD members John Lorimer Thomson and Christina Thomson Peck.

THORNTHWAITE, James Falon. 1855-1923. Barrister.

THURNAM, William Rowland, called Rowland. 1868-1941. Doctor; founder of Nordrach-upon-Mendip TB sanatorium. Poet; translator.

TODHUNTER, John. 1839-1916. Doctor but didn't practice in England. Dramatist.

TOLLER, Victor Conyers Ebenezer. 1864-1915. Worked for the General Post Office.

TUCKEY, Charles Lloyd. 1858-1925. Doctor; used hypnotism to treat addiction problems. Writer. TS. Founder SOCPR.

TURNER, Amy. Original surname Hunter. 1865-?? Sister of GD member Edmund Arthur Hunter; probably first cousin of GD member Fanny Beatrice Hunter. Married 1889 Alfred Turner.

TWEEDALE, Violet. Original surname Chambers. ?1862 ?1864-1936. Married 1891 Clarens Tweedale. Novelist. Spiritualist; wrote of her experience with ghosts.

VIBART Marian Charlotte. 1854-1932. First cousin by marriage of GD member Louisa Florence ffoulkes. Investor in Biltor Ltd; friend of Lacy family.

VÖGE, Anton Carl. C 1866-?? (after 1901).

VÖGE, Lily. Original name Bothwell. C 1866-?? (after 1901). Married date unknown GD member Anton Vöge.

VOGT, Carl. C 1856-??

VON WYSS, Clothilde Rosalie Regina. 1872-1938.

A life by dates

Family and teaching career

Personality, Marie Stopes and Ethelwyn Mackie

VOYSEY, Henrietta Annesley. 1855-1905. Sister of GD member Frances Annesley Voysey Brodie-Innes; sister-in-law of GD member John William Brodie-Innes. Professional nurse; at Krugersdorp Concentration camp during Boer War. TS.

WAITE, Ada Alice. Original surname Lakeman. 1866-1924. Married 1888 Arthur Edward Waite.

WAITE, Arthur Edward. 1857-1942. Married 1888 GD member Ada Alice Lakeman. Founder, Independent and Rectified Rite.

WALKER, Alice Stewart. I assume she is the daughter of GD member Jessie M Stewart Walker.

WALKER, Jessie M. I assume she is the mother of GD member Alice Stewart Walker.

WALLACE J William McNair. 1868-1947. Solicitor. Emigrated 1910 to Western Australia.

WALLEEN, Baron Carl Alphonse. 1863-?? Danish. TS. Friend of Strindberg. Lived Copenhagen.

WALTON, Elizabeth.

WARNER, Jemima Tertia. Surname wrongly transcribed by Gilbert. See MANDER
WATERS, Ada.

WATKIN MILLS, Elizabeth. Original surname Hore. 1849-1914. Married 1869
bass/baritone Robert Watkin Mills.

WATSON, Bernard Harry. 1859-1906. Man of independent financial means. Astronomer.

WEBBER SMITH, James. 1845-?1917. Army officer. Stella Matutina.

WEEKES, Charles. C 1868-1946.

WELTCH, Ethel Mary. Original surname Johnson. 1863-1944. Married 1889 GD member
Henry Herbert Weltch.

WELTCH, Henry Herbert. Born 1865. Died between 1911 and 1944. Married 1889 GD
member Ethel Mary Johnson. Teacher.

WESTCOTT, William Wynn. 1849-1925. Brother-in-law of GD member Emily Burnett. GP,
then coroner. Writer. Occultist. TS. Freemason. SRIA.

WESTMAN, Louise. IU.

WILDE, Constance Mary. Original surname Lloyd 1858-1898. Married 1884 Oscar Wilde.
Changed surname to Holland 1895.

WILLIAMS, George Easthall.

WILLIAMS, Thomas. C 1854-??

WILLIAMS, William.

WILLMOTT, John. C 1853-1889. Worked Hong Kong for wine importing firm. Freemason.

WILSON, Arthur. Identification uncertain but probably 1868-after 1911. Music teacher,
Middlesbrough. TS.

WILSON, Samuel

WILSON, Thomas Duddington.

WILSON, THOMAS W.

WILSON, William.

WOLF, Annie.

WOODMAN, William Robert. 1828-91. Doctor. Freemason. SRIA.

WRIGHT, Francis William. 1858-1938.

WRIGHT, Charlotte. 1867-?? (after 1901). Sister of GD members Margaret Elizabeth
Wright and Henry Wright. Teacher.

WRIGHT, Henry. 1858-?? (after 1901). Brother of GD members Margaret Elizabeth Wright
and Charlotte Wright. Rent collector for a local authority.

WRIGHT, Margaret Elizabeth. 1857-1914. Sister of GD members Henry Wright and
Charlotte Wright.

Joint Entry

YEATS, William Butler. 1865-1939.

YUSUF. The more usual spelling; but see under EUSUF.

Jeremiah Leech Atherton was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford. He was the Horus Temple's fifth member, going through the initiation ceremony in May 1888. He chose the Latin motto 'semper fidelis'. He was one of the Horus Temple's most senior members, taking an active role in seeking out new recruits, and serving as its Imperator from 1888 to 1892, and as its Cancellarius from 1892; though he was never initiated into the inner Second Order of the GD.

A WORD OF WARNING BEFORE I START: this is my biography of a member of the Golden Dawn who lived in Bradford. I could have done a much better job of it if I lived in the area myself and could look at local archives.

Jeremiah Leech Atherton's parents were both from Lancashire. Elizabeth Shuttleworth grew up in Prescot, between Liverpool and St Helens; and William Atherton was born in Middleton, a village south-west of Lancaster. They married, in Prescot, in January 1837 and only moved to Yorkshire in 1841 so that William Atherton could begin work as minister of the Congregationalist chapel at Bingley. The Rev Atherton had not had any recognised training for the ministry but despite this, he soon made an impact and a name for himself in the district, with his energy and his sermons. His dramatic preaching style began to attract large crowds - in 1845 the chapel was enlarged to accommodate them - and he also started to receive offers of work from other chapels. He accepted one of these, from the congregation at Idle Upper Chapel. Idle was just east of Bingley. It was another mill town, situated on the Liverpool/Leeds ship canal and the River Aire. Rev Atherton took up his new post in 1849. The offer by his new parishioners at Idle had included building a school, and rebuilding the chapel. Both these promises were carried out but William Atherton didn't live long enough to do more than begin his work in them: he died suddenly on 16 July 1850, aged only 34.

Jeremiah Leech Atherton was William and Elizabeth's eldest child. He was born in Ashton-under-Lyne, east of Manchester, in 1838. He had few siblings by Victorian standards: two brothers, Ebenezer and James; and one sister, Mary. What happened to Elizabeth Atherton and her children immediately after William Atherton died I don't know. The normal procedure was for a widowed women with a young family and a small income to seek a home with her relatives; but I couldn't find Elizabeth or any of her children on the 1851 census. By 1861 Elizabeth and her family had returned to live in the Bowling area of Bradford. On the 1851 census form, the box which should have detailed Elizabeth Atherton's source of income was not filled in; but from later census forms it's clear that she was living on an annuity, one paid for either by her family or by her husband's congregation. By 1861 all Elizabeth's children were working Ebenezer was studying medicine, James was working as an apprentice to an engineer, Mary as a milliner's apprentice; and Jeremiah was employed as a yarn manager in a woollen mill.

In 1860, Jeremiah had married Ann Maria Dobson. I'm not quite sure I have found the correct Dobson family on the 1841 census. If I've got it right, Ann Maria's father, Samuel Dobson, was a farm labourer, but the main bread-winners in the family were her older sisters, who were working in a woollen mill; Ann Maria was still at school. The family was living in Guiseley. If it is the right family, I would imagine Ann Maria would, in due course, have joined her sisters at the mill, and this might have been where she and Jeremiah had met;

though meeting through attending the same church or chapel was a commonplace of the time as well; or they might have met at school.

Jeremiah and Ann Maria had at least eight, possibly eleven children, over the next decade, but - as was typical of their time - several of them died in their infancy. These children died: Thomas Cathcart Atherton (born 1861, the twin of William, there's no death registration for him); Ann Maria (1866-67); and Mary (1868-69); and there may have been as many as three more. Those who survived were William Cathcart Atherton, born 1861, the twin of Thomas; Samuel born 1864; Frances Elizabeth born 1869; and Ursula born 1871. Around 1869, Jeremiah and Ann Maria moved out of Bradford to Keighley, on the edge of the moors (it's just down the valley from Howarth where the Brontë family lived). After the deaths of three (at least) young children they may have gone in search of the better air that (not understanding exactly how germs were spread) the Victorians set such store by. Elizabeth Atherton was still living in the Bradford area at this time, but in Guisborough with her daughter Mary, who had married Robert McTaggart. Elizabeth Atherton died, in Bradford, in 1880.

I can't find Jeremiah and Ann Maria on the 1871 census. By 1881, they had moved again, back to Idle. Jeremiah's brother William Cathcart was still living at home; and Frances and Ursula were still at school. I can't find Jeremiah's son Samuel anywhere in the UK.

William Cathcart Atherton married Alice Jane Smith in 1884 and the following year Jeremiah and Ann Maria became grandparents when Ada was born, the first of nine children.

Ann Maria Atherton, died in the summer of 1887, aged 49. Two years later, Jeremiah got married again, to Alice Mitchell. I think Alice was the daughter of a Thomas Mitchell who was living in the Thornton area, to the south-west of Bradford, in 1881; if this is the right person, Alice was working as a worsted spinner at that time and probably up until her marriage. Jeremiah and Alice had one child, Anne Maria, born in 1890. On the day of the 1891 census Jeremiah, Alice and the infant Anne Maria were living at 21 Fairfield Road Manningham. Living with them were Samuel Atherton, who was working as a butcher; and Ursula, who was a seamstress. It's interesting, and I'm not sure how to interpret it, that neither of the older children was working in the woollens industry which dominated their home town.

A quick resume of what happened to Jeremiah's older daughters: Frances married Herbert Walton Taylor in 1889. And Ursula made what the Victorians would have considered a very good match in 1896, when she married Barnard Hartley, who was clerk to the Bingley School Board.

Now I want to look at Jeremiah Leech Atherton's working life, because he's one of the few GD members even in Bradford who worked in one of Britain's great 19th-century industries. Firstly I'll give as complete a list as I can of what he told the census officials he was doing, in the years between 1861 and 1901; and where he was living at the time as I'm going to use that in a theory.

In 1861 he was living at Bowling, in the south Bradford; and was working as a yarn manager.

He isn't on the 1871 census.

In 1881 he was living in Idle, which is to the north of Bradford, and working as a yarn buyer and it's possible his son William Cathcart was working for him or with him.

In 1891 he was living in Manningham, on the north side of Bradford but nearer into town, and working as the manager of a mohair spinning works. His son was working as a "plush finisher" - that is, velvet plush.

In 1901 Jeremiah had moved to Bingley but had the same job as in 1891.

I do think, based on the census information, that Jeremiah Atherton worked for more than one firm in the course of his working life, rather an unusual career pattern for his time; and that he may have run his own business for a time, as well.

I'm not going to speculate about where Jeremiah Atherton worked in the early part of his life as I imagine all mills needed a manager for their yarn processes. He must have been employed - that is, not in business for himself. There were mills all over Bradford and in every surrounding district. If he was living in Bowling, he might have been working at one of the mills in the Horton district; and that's as far as I'll go.

You can read his reply to the 1881 census official in two ways unfortunately: either he is working as a buyer for a mill-owning company, with his son William Cathcart in his office; or - now he has considerable experience of yarns and is a well-known figure in the industry - he has set up his own business as an independent buyer, working with his son. A reference to him in an obituary I found describes him as "efficient and upright man of business"; which sounds like what you might say about a man who ran his own business, but which I suppose might also refer to his way of doing business for an employer. If Jeremiah and William Cathcart Atherton did run their own business in the 1870s and 1880s, their timing wasn't good: my reading about the woollen industry in Bradford suggests that the 1870s, at least, were a time of depression in the industry, following a period of over-production. Mills had to make changes to the type of product they made; and some firms didn't survive.

I think I'm on safer ground with Jeremiah Atherton at the end of his working life, from 1881 at the latest, and probably up to his death: he was employed at a mill, to manage the mohair spinning works. According to the books I've looked at via googlebooks, the reference to 'mohair spinning' cuts the list of Jeremiah's possible employers down quite a bit, because only a few Bradford firms did mohair: Mitchell Brothers; Titus Salt and Co; Joseph Benn and Son; and S C Lister and Co. I'd love Jeremiah's employer to be John Foster, of the famous Black Dyke mill and band; but John Foster's firm was based at Queensbury, south-west of Bradford on the way to Halifax, and Jeremiah's various addresses are on the wrong side of town - surely he would live near his work? Joseph Benn and Son's mill was at Great Horton, also perhaps a bit far from Manningham and Bingley.

In trying to make a good guess as to where Jeremiah Atherton was working in (say) 1891 I'm also considering exactly how he and his son William Cathcart Atherton were earning their living on the day of the 1891 census. William Cathcart in particular, gave quite specific details to his census official and as a result, I'm going to suggest, cautiously, that in 1891 at least, William Cathcart Atherton worked for S C Lister and Co; and so did Jeremiah.

Samuel Cunliffe Lister (1815-1906) began as a worsted manufacturer in 1838 in partnership with his brother John. As much an inventor as an entrepreneur, his Lister nip comb of 1851

revolutionised the milling of wool by making it much easier and less dirty to straighten the fibres in a piece of fleece, ready for spinning. Around 1855, Lister began a series of experiments that almost bankrupted him before he finally discovered a way to re-use waste silk fibres as yarn. In the difficult economic conditions of the 1870s, his company diversified from worsteds into fake sealskin. However, the invention that made Lister rich was a loom that could weave fabrics which had a very deep pile: velvet and mohair.

In 1871 Lister's original mill burned down. Its replacement was finished in 1873 and with 27 acres of floor-space was the biggest silk mill in the world at that time: see the Italianate design and huge chimney at www.cottontown.org. The mill still exists, as flats and leisure facilities; it closed down as a working mill in 1990. When S C Lister and Co first used the mill, 5000 people (mostly women) worked in it and production concentrated on silk worsted, mohair and chiffon - luxury products where Samuel Cunliffe Lister held patents on the machinery.

I'm suggesting that both Jeremiah Atherton and William Cathcart Atherton were working for S C Lister and Co by 1891. However, if I'm right, what they told the census officials on the day of the 1891 census was only the half of it: father and son were in opposite camps, because in early April 1891 workers at the Manningham Mill were heading for the bitter end of a strike that had begun with the management's announcement (just before Christmas) of 25% wage-cuts for 1000 workers. The workers directly affected had gone on strike almost at once. The finishers - including (if I'm correct) William Cathcart Atherton - had joined them in February. The firm's directors had brought in strike-breaking workers and called in the police to break up the demonstrations at the Mill gates. By mid-April 1891 things were desperate for those on strike: money raised from union organisations all over the West Riding was beginning to run out and the company's directors were still refusing to negotiate or go to arbitration. Over the weekend of 11-12 April 1891 (a few days after the census), the Durham Light Infantry had been called out from their barracks at Bradford Moor to join the police in quelling a crowd of strikers massed outside the Town Hall. Stones and knives had been thrown at them; they had charged with fixed bayonets. The Riot Act had been read.

And then the strike collapsed. It's not clear to me whether the workers were allowed by the Company to go back to their jobs. If they were, it was of course at the lower rate of pay. Meanwhile the Company was still making a profit at that time and just to rub salt into the workers' wounds, Samuel Cunliffe Lister was given a peerage in 1891, becoming the first Baron Masham.

The 1890s and 1900s were hard times for Bradford's mills. The McKinley Tariff Act had been passed in the USA late in 1890 and had put a heavy tax on imported silk and other manufactured textiles. That was, of course, the reason for S C Lister and Co's decision to enforce a pay-cut. The directors knew that the firm's exports to the USA would take a big hit. Another Bradford firm, Joseph Benn and Son, moved most of their woollen production to Rhode Island after 1903. At least S C Lister and Co didn't do that. Jeremiah Atherton was working at the same job, presumably for the same employer, on the day of the 1901 census; and probably until his death.

Jeremiah Atherton's intellectual interests would have come as welcome relief, I imagine, in these increasingly difficult economic times. His interest in the occult may go back a long way. A book I found but would not like to place too much reliance on, describes three of the early members of the Horus Temple - Frank Harrison, Thomas Pattinson and Jeremiah

Atherton - as “old occult students”; and suggests that they had known the alchemist Rev William Alexander Ayton for many years by the time the Golden Dawn was founded. Rev Ayton was one of the earliest members of the Golden Dawn’s Isis-Urania temple in London.

Jeremiah was a freemason in one local lodge and two local chapters: Scientific Lodge number 439, where he served his year as WM; Chapter of Moravia number 387; and Chapter of Sincerity number 600 (it has now been renumbered 61) where he served a year as PZ. The lodge and chapters had all been in existence since before Jeremiah Atherton had even been born and were based in different districts of the West Riding: Scientific Lodge 439 met in the Fleece Hotel, Main Street Bingley throughout the period that Jeremiah was a member; Chapter of Moravia was based in Baildon; and Chapter of Sincerity 61 (ex-600) is now based in Halifax, I’m not sure where it met in Jeremiah’s lifetime.

In 1887, shortly after it was founded, Jeremiah became a corresponding member of the lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076, whose purpose was to bring method and rigour to the investigation of the history of freemasonry. As QC2076’s local secretary for West Yorkshire, Jeremiah went to a meeting in 1889 at which a paper ‘The Advance of Intelligent Masonry’ was read. The Bradford and District Masonic Literary Society was founded at the meeting and Jeremiah became one of its two vice-presidents.

Jeremiah was also a Mark Master Mason and the member of a very unusual MM lodge, the Old York Time Immemorial Lodge, which at least from 1852 to 1873 was its own master, not subject to the rules of any grand lodge, MM masons or otherwise. In 1873 it finally placed itself under the orders of the (Yorkshire based) Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons of England. As preparation for this event, seven of its members were promoted to the Mark Degree; Jeremiah Atherton was one of the seven. Mark masonry was not accepted by the United Grand Lodge of England, which consequently had no authority over it.

As soon as he had two years experience as a master mason, and was the member of a Royal Arch chapter, Jeremiah became eligible to join the Order of the Temple, the knights templar. There was also an assumption that any candidate for membership would of course be a believer in Christianity. The Order of the Temple’s equivalent to a craft lodge was called a preceptory. Jeremiah was a member of Faith preceptory 13 which met at the Masonic Hall in Darley Street Bradford. It was one of the Order’s oldest preceptoriums, with a warrant dating to 1809. He may have been serving his year as its preceptor (the equivalent to a craft Worshipful Master) in 1890: in May 1890 he went to the annual meeting of the Order’s governing body in England and Wales, its Great National Priory. He was there as a representative of the Order in West Yorkshire; and as “Standard Bearer (Beauceant)”. This was the only annual meeting he attended, and by 1897 he was no longer in the Order.

The Ancient and Accepted Rite (AAR) was an organisation of freemasons separate from the craft lodges of the United Grand Lodge; with its own headquarters, in London; and its own lodge equivalents, its Rose Croix chapters. Membership was by invitation only, and like the Order of the Temple it was a consciously Christian organisation - candidates were required to believe in the Christian trinity. Jeremiah became a member of the AAR’s Prince of Wales 69 chapter, which was founded in 1876. It met in Huddersfield; there wasn’t an AAR lodge in Bradford. Jeremiah was serving as the chapter’s Recorder in 1888 and was its Most Wise Sovereign (MWS, equivalent to a craft lodge’s worshipful master) in 1889. He reached the AAR’s 30° in 1887 and was still a member of Prince of Wales 69 in 1900.

As a freemason Jeremiah was eligible to be elected to the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA); he joined its Hallamshire College in February 1883. Membership of SRIA would have put him in touch with William Wynne Westcott, if they did not already know each other through their occult interests. Westcott was a very active member of SRIA, attending nearly all of the meetings of its Metropolitan College, and giving many talks. He was SRIA's secretary during the 1880s before becoming its Supreme Magus (its most senior official) in 1892. Samuel Mathers was also a member but didn't attend quite so many meetings. Hallamshire College was very active, holding four meetings each year and organising visits for its members and their guests, to places of historical and iconographical interest: in the 1880s, for example, they went on trips to York and Fountains Abbey. As a senior member of Hallamshire College Jeremiah used his managerial skills when he served as its Celebrant in 1888-89 and organised College conferences (to take place in Bradford) in 1893 and 1900. (At the 1900 conference the Hallamshire College changed its name to York College.) In 1892 he was elected to SRIA's High Council at the special request of William Wynne Westcott, one of the first decisions Westcott made as Supreme Magus; though Jeremiah didn't get to the High Council's meetings very often as they were always held in London.

When the Order of the Golden Dawn arose out of the desire of Westcott and Samuel Mathers to do practical magic (SRIA was more of a research and discussion group), Jeremiah was one of the senior members of SRIA who they invited to help them by advising on suitable rituals and study-programmes for new initiates. All of those who did give advice were initiated as members of GD, though Jeremiah took a more active role in the GD than some of the others.

Jeremiah Leech Atherton died suddenly, on 14 August 1908. Before that time another of his children had died: his son Samuel died, unmarried, in 1897 and is buried with his grandmother and some of Jeremiah's other children in the Atherton family plot at Idle Upper Chapel graveyard; he was 33. And William Cathcart Atherton died aged 47 only a year after his father, in 1909.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. The records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived beyond 1896 either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned. After surviving some difficult times in the 1890s, Bradford TS still seems to be going strong (as at December 2012). In April 2012 the History page was updated with the names of all the members at least up to 1941.

For the posts Atherton held in the Horus Temple, see Gilbert pp35-37.

The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot and needed careful management!

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

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SOURCES FOR JEREMIAH LEECH ATHERTON

ELIZABETH SHUTTLEWORTH ATHERTON

Via familysearch to details on England EASy film number 148 2456: William Atherton married Elizabeth Shuttleworth or Shuteleworth on 3 January 1837 at Prescott Lancs. There are no details in this record of who her parents were. When I searched with google, I didn't find any information specifically on her on the web; but I did see that there were plenty of people with that surname in the Prescott area: between Liverpool and St Helens.

WILLIAM ATHERTON

The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle volume 19 p354 in the 'Home Chronicle' section: item describing the initiation day of Rev William Atherton "late of Middleton" as minister of the Independent Chapel at Bingley; on 19 May 1841. The ceremonies were attended by what must have been all the dissenting ministers of the district. Middleton is a small village south-west of Lancaster near the sea.

Website //vitaldb.moorlandit.com is called Vital Records Search and there are transcriptions there of registers from the Idle Upper Chapel independent church. The original chapel on the site had opened in 1717; it was rebuilt several times, the latest occasion being 1850.

VILLAGE OF IDLE

There was nothing useful on the history of the village on wikipedia but at www.visionofbritain.org.uk there's a map and description of Idle, published originally in 1870-72 in the Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales by John Marius Wilson; no page

number. Idle is 3 miles north-east of Bradford on the Leeds/Liverpool canal and the River Aire. There were plenty of woollen mills in the district. A rail link to Bradford opened in 1866. Idle is just south of Guiseley where I suggested that Jeremiah's first wife grew up.

Via ebooks to Idle Upper Chapel Burial Register and Graveyard Inscriptions. The Atherton family had 2 graveplots; Jeremiah had paid for several burials in them. The Athertons buried in graveplot AAA13 are:

Samuel died 30 October 1851 infant son of Rev William Atherton

Elizabeth died 16 December 1880 aged 74, wife of Rev William Atherton

Ann Maria died 10 August 1887 aged 49, wife of Jeremiah

another Samuel died 12 Dec 1897 aged 33 (the son of Jeremiah who was born in 1864).

The book also gave dates for Rev William Atherton: born 8 February 1816; died 16 July 1850. He is buried in Wigan.

Ancient Bingley by Joseph Horsfall Turner gives a list of ministers at Bingley with details of their careers. P161 Rev William Atherton confirms information from elsewhere that he came from Middleton in Lancs. He started work at the chapel in Bingley in January 1841.

JEREMIAH ATHERTON'S WORKING LIFE

Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims...Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s, editors Donna R Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder. Leiden and Boston Mass: Brill 2011. I saw this via the web, December 2012, and couldn't see the author of the article that was most useful. On p347 in the article The Transatlantic Worsted Trade: Salt and Sons and Samuel C Lister both diversified into silk plush and artificial sealskin in 1870s, which sold very well in the 1880s. P348 the US McKinley Tariff law of 1890 was a disaster for Bradford's woollen industry.

Technology and Culture volume 51 number 4 2010: article The Yankee Yorkshireman by Mary Blewett 2009 . Published Johns Hopkins University Press 2010. Seen on the web December 2012. On p36: the 1870s were a period of decline in production in the Bradford woollen mills. The decline led to diversification from cloth for women's dresses into p37 suiting for men's suits and outdoor wear.

SAMUEL CUNLIFFE LISTER at Manningham Mills:

See wikipedia on Samuel Cunliffe Lister, first Baron Masham; 1815-1906.

Seen December 2012 at www.cottontown.org. A photo of Lister's Mill - the 1873 one. Its huge Italianate chimney dominates it. Lister's Mill was known for its velvet, silk and mohair plush.

At www.gracesguide.co.uk, the British Industrial History website, a brief time-line for Samuel Cunliffe Lister and his firm.

See wikipedia on Manningham Mill which is no longer in operation though the building still exists and is Grade II listed.

MANNINGHAM MILLS STRIKE OF 1890-91:

I found the date of the end of the strike on website www.socialistparty.org.uk is the website of The Socialist newspaper. An article commemorating the end of the strike, published 27 April 2011, by Manny Dominguez, says that the strike ended on 27 April 1891. The Mill employed 5000 people at the time, most were women. The trouble had begun on 9 December [1890] when a notice from Management had appeared announcing a wage cut for 1000 workers, due to economic troubles; a lock-out was threatened if workers refused to accept it. The firm's managing director at the time was Jose Reixach; as far as I know there was never any question of Jeremiah Atherton reaching that level.

At www.manninghammasterplan.co.uk is a historical walk around Manningham issued by the City of Bradford. The details that accompany the Walk include the information that the company's proposed wage-cut was 25%; and that Lister and Co was still making a profit at the time of the strike. The strikers were supported by unions and other societies in West Riding but in the end they ran out of money and the strikers had to go back to work. The lack of any help given to the strikers by both the major political parties led to the creation of the Independent Labour Party out of a number of Yorkshire-based unions etc in 1893. The new political party held its first conference in Bradford. Manningham Mill closed down in 1990.

I found information on the strike, its causes, and the violence that surrounded its later days in the Times: Times Wed 29 October 1890 p5; Times Thurs 18 Dec 1890 p8; Times Fri 13 Feb 1891 p10; Times Tue 14 April 1891 p10 though I couldn't find any coverage at all of how the strike ended, or when, or on what terms. The Times' coverage was very pro-company.

For further information on this important piece of industrial action: *The Manningham Mills Strike Bradford December 1890 to April 1891* by Cyril Pearce. Published University of Hull 1975. Though please note that I haven't read the book myself.

MY DUBIOUS SOURCE FOR ATHERTON AND THE OCCULT

The Strange World of the Brontës by Marie Campbell. Sigma Press 2001. This book does not give sources but I give this information for what it's worth: p175 Amongst the first members of the Golden Dawn's Horus Templar were F D Harrison and "J Leech Atherton (sic)" whom the author describes as "old occult students". The author names Ayton as a behind-the-scenes originator of occultism in Bradford p175 who had taught Pattinson and (unnamed) others.

ATHERTON AS A FREEMASON

Ars Quatuor Coronati number 2076 is the Transactions of Quatuor Coronati lodge number 2076. Volume 1 1886-88. Unnumbered pages at the back contain a list of the lodge's corresponding members: number 71 is Jeremiah Leech Atherton of 21 Fairfield Road Bradford, with a joining date of November 1887. PM lodge 439; PZ chapter 439; Past Provl GDC West Yorkshire. He was Quatuor Coronati 2076's local secretary for West Yorkshire.

AQC Volume II 1889: p82 in the news section, a report of a meeting held at the Masonic Hall Bradford on 26 February [1889], to discuss a paper: Advance of Intelligent Masonry. This was not a lodge meeting, it was open to all freemasons. Atherton attended it. A decision was taken at the meeting to found the Bradford and District Masonic Literary Society and Atherton was elected one of its 2 vice-presidents.

AQC Volume VIII 1895; p1 Unnumb endpages [p15] listing corresponding members: Jeremiah Leech Atherton now of 2 Leonard's Place Bingley. For the first time he is listed as

a member of chapters 387 and 600 - PZ of 600.

AQC Volume XIII 1900: on an unnumbered page of corresponding members Atherton is now of Beech Grove Bingley (which was his last address).

From the Freemasons' Library Catalogue, some more information on the lodges and chapters Jeremiah Atherton was a member of in Yorkshire:

In the FML, a copy of Chapter of Moravia number 387: presentation of a centenary charter Baildon 1975. This booklet includes a brief history of the chapter. Author is G G Lane. The tenor of the Presentation suggests the Chapter was founded in 1875 BUT:

In the FML: letter written 2 August 1832 by R M Beverley to W H White. The letter's contents makes it clear that the Chapter of Moravia existed by that date; its number at that time was 814.

In the FML: The Chapter of Sincerity number 600 Bradford 1854-1954 by Wade Hurstwick; published 1954.

And some information from websites: both the chapters Jeremiah Atherton was a member of are mentioned at the website of the Masonic Province of West Riding - wrprovince.net:

(There's been a renumbering shuffle since Jeremiah's day and) Chapter of Sincerity is now number 61. It was consecrated in 1790. It now meets in Halifax.

Chapter of Moravia was consecrated in 1835. It now meets in Otley Road Baildon which is just north of a place on the website's map called Idle Moor.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Reguls for the Govt of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. I looked at the issues of 1880, 1885, 1888 and 1900.

Rules and Regulations... to 30 June 1885 was the earliest one in which Atherton appeared, in the issues I went through: p113 Atherton is now a member of AAR's Rose Croix chapter Prince of Wales 69.

Rules and Regulations... to 30 June 1888: p50, p59, p69.

Rules and Regulations... to 31 July 1900 p59, p195.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

Calendar of the Great Priory (of England and Wales) which in 1896 changed its title to Liber Ordinis Templi. I looked at its annual reports from 1870s to 1900 and he only appears once: 1890: p4, p34.

Liber Ordinis Templi volume 1 1896-1900. P256 as part of the 1898 Annual Report, a list of current Order members. Atherton isn't in it.

Ordo Templi Alphabetical List of Great Officers 1846-1915 Atherton isn't in this.

ATHERTON IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

The Freemasons' Library has 2 items written by him, of an administrative rather than an occult nature:

By-laws of the Horus Temple number 5 Bradford

a set of cards to be completed and issued to members, giving date/place of the next meeting

This is a strange one: via www.brad.ac.uk (Seen December 2012) I found a website indicating that the University has records of freemasons lodges based in the Bradford area which were NOT affiliated to the United Grand Lodge of England whose Freemasons' Library is in London WC1. The website is entitled The Web of Hiram; and it's maintained by a University member of staff who's doing research. Atherton's name came up in the full text of a talk given by Bro C J Scott in November 1911 at Old York T I Lodge Bradford: The Tradition of The Old York T I Lodge of Mark Master Masons. Scott had been able to find evidence going back to 1680s to confirm the exist of freemasonry lodges in the Bradford area. TI = Time Immemorial; the lodge doesn't have a number, therefore. The Old York TI lodge became affiliated to the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons of England in 1873 having existed completely independent of any Grand Lodge from January 1852 to October 1873. At its last meeting as an independent lodge, in March 1873, 7 of its members were promoted to the Mark Degree; one of the 7 was Jeremiah Atherton. It had 71 members in 1873. Just to make things clear (from elsewhere in C J Scott's talk): the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons was based in West Yorkshire NOT in London; it was usually known as the Grand Mark Lodge.

C J Scott's talk also mentioned Scientific Lodge 439 in passing, as it was founded by Bro John Craven Taylor who was an important member of Old York TI Lodge. He died in 1891 and is buried in Cullingworth where Scientific Lodge 439 originally met. Its later meeting place, the Fleece Hotel, was in Main Street Bingley.

ATHERTON IN SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900. P21 J Leech Atherton was admitted into SRIA's Hallamshire College, later known as York College, on 24 February 1883. Westcott describes Atherton as having bec an imp member of SocRos since that date. P23: on 22 November 1888 Atherton was elected Celebrant. p24 Hallamshire College as a group was made a member of Quatuor Coronati 2076. Atherton was elected to SRIA's High Council on 2 April 1892 at Westcott's particular request. Atherton organised the meeting of Hallamshire College which took place in Bradford on 10 November 1893; p26 and the meeting at Bradford on 17 November 1900. P31 has a list of the members of SRIA's High Council as at 1900; J Leech Atherton is still a member, representing Hallamshire which is now called York College.

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College has some information on Atherton, but not much. Trans 1892-93 inside front cover Atherton was one of 2 Magistri Templi at SRIA's York (Hallamshire) College this year. He sometimes attends SRIA Metropolitan College meetings as a visitor.

ATHERTON'S DEATH

Seen on the web December 2012 a special edition of *Ars Quatuor Coronati* 2076 entitled *The Collected Works of Sir Humphry Davy*. On p183 was a brief item on Jeremiah Leech Atherton who'd died "suddenly" on 14 August 1908 at Beech Grove Bingley. The notice spoke of him as having "long experience of the worsted trade"; and as an "efficient and upright man of business".

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

William Alexander Ayton and his wife Anne Ayton were amongst the earliest members of the Order of the Golden Dawn, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in July 1888. They both chose Latin mottoes: William Alexander's was 'Virtute orta, occidunt rarius', Anne's was 'Quam potero adjutabo'. Fifteen months later they were both initiated into the GD's inner 2nd Order. Anne Ayton remained a member of the GD until her death; William Alexander until 1903 when he became a senior member of one of the GD's daughter orders, A E Waite's Independent and Rectified Rite (or Order).

Just a note before we start: you occasionally see their surname spelled AytoUn (including by R A Gilbert, my source for the GD members' names) but this does seem to be wrong. There's always confusion about women called Ann, or AnnE; most references to Mrs Ayton, including her death registration, give AnnE so I shall use that spelling.

If you want to cut to the chase and find out about William Alexander and Anne Ayton's lives in the world of the 19th century, occult, go to our web pages at

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

and follow the links. If you want to know more about his family and his day-job, read on...

William Alexander Ayton was by far the oldest man to be initiated into the GD: he was born the year after Waterloo. He was also by far the longest-lived: he died five years before World War 1 broke out. His life spanned most of the 19th century; yet he seems to me to be a very 18th-century figure.

William Alexander was already known to William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers when they founded the GD: as a translator of occult texts from Latin; as a member of several occult societies that they knew of or had joined; and as a practising alchemist. Much if not all of the study necessary to join the GD's inner order was waived in his case, Westcott and Mathers thinking it more appropriate to ask him if he could help them to prepare teaching aids and compile exam papers.

William Alexander also proved willing to lend hand-written copies of his Latin translations to people (GD members and others) who wanted to study them. His letters to one of his manuscript-borrowers, Frederick Leigh Gardner, have survived and been published (see the details in the Sources section below). The letters cover 1889 to 1905 and when William Alexander is not advising Gardner on 'how to be an occultist', he's talking about his and Anne's lives inside and outside the occult. They are virtually the only source I've found that give details of the daily life of a GD member during the 1890s.

The Aytons were a Norfolk family. At the end of the 18th century William Alexander's grandfather, Armsby Ayton, lived in Great Yarmouth, where he ran a business moving heavy goods by horse-and-cart. He married Martha Capon and had at least two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth, and at least one son, William Capon Ayton, born 1786.

William Capon Ayton trained as a solicitor at Barnard's Inn in London and practiced law from various addresses in the Bedford Square area of Bloomsbury. His career as a solicitor seems to have had its ups and downs: I'm never very good at reading financial-cum-legal notices but I think he went bankrupt- or very nearly - around 1831 and I'm not sure whether he worked as a lawyer afterwards.

In 1814 William Capon Ayton married Nancy Mary Nicolson, daughter of Alexander Nicolson of West Harling near Thetford. They had two children: William Alexander the GD member, and Ellen. Nancy Mary Ayton had died by 1837. The fact that there were only two children suggests to me she may have died in the early 1820s. In his continuing search to combine cheap rents with modern facilities, William Capon changed addresses in his private life as often as in his professional one. His children were born in Bloomsbury but spent some years in the new suburb of Kentish Town in the 1820s before William Capon moved them on to Brompton in west London in the mid-1830s. On census day 1841, William Capon Ayton had moved yet again, to Islington. Ellen, now aged 20, was living with him and probably acting as housekeeper as they did not have any servants living-in; and William Alexander was also at home.

William Alexander Ayton was born on 28 April 1816. From March 1830 to May 1831 he was a day-pupil at Charterhouse School which was then still at its original address, in Charterhouse Square on the edge of the City of London. Fifteen months at school doesn't seem like much, but William Alexander was not the only GD member to spend so little time in formal education. All education had to be paid for at this time and many parents spent their education budget in this careful way. The rest of William Alexander's schooling will have been either at home with tutors, or at a local school of lesser reputation. That he did have much more schooling than his short time at Charterhouse implies is clearly shown by the fact that he got into Trinity Hall Cambridge in 1837 and won a prize there for a Latin essay. He graduated in 1841.

A young man from the middle-classes, with a good education but no money or influence in his family background, was destined for the professions. William Alexander opted not to follow his father into the law. He embarked instead on what I've come to believe could have been a brilliant career in the Church of England. He was ordained as a deacon in 1842 by the archbishop of Canterbury and ordained as a priest in 1843 by the archbishop of York. Very few new recruits to the Church of England had two archbishops take such an interest in them. In 1846 the archbishop of Canterbury, William Howley (uncle of GD member Lina Rowan Hamilton) found William Alexander his first job in the Church of England, as vicar of

St Mary Magdalene at Monkton, near Ramsgate in Kent. As well as showing that Howley was taking an active part in promoting William Alexander's career, the appointment was also a generous one financially: in the 1870s the parish of Monkton had an income of about £670 per year, and its income in the 1840s must also have been a very tidy sum.

The problem with having the archbishop of Canterbury as a patron is that the archbishop is an old man by the time he's made it to the top of the tree; he will die soon and his successor may not feel the same way about you. William Howley died in 1848 and was succeeded as archbishop by John Bird Sumner, an energetic church-builder and skilled diplomat, but an Evangelical. And here is one of the things I mean when I say that in many ways William Alexander Ayton was an 18th-century man: I can't see him as an Evangelical, believing in the literal truth of the Bible. Ellic Howe, in his book on the GD, doubts that William Alexander had any deep religious belief at all. I'm inclined to agree, and to say that going into the Church for the assured income and the leisure it could offer you to pursue other interests is a very 18th-century thing to do; not a 19th-century one. I'm not saying that William Alexander didn't believe in God; I'm sure he did and in fact you had to believe in the one god to be a member of the GD, let alone the CofE. But he was not devout, in the way that a 19th-century man of the Church was expected to be devout.

If William Alexander was not an Evangelical - I haven't found any evidence that he was - archbishop Sumner would not have viewed him as suitable for further promotion and it wouldn't have mattered what else if anything William Alexander was doing with his time. I would like to suggest, though, that William Alexander was using his leisure hours to 'pursue other interests'. I think he was already an occultist and alchemist. The study of the occult takes time and effort and I can't see how William Alexander could have got the reputation he had amongst other occultists unless he'd been studying for many years. There's also the question of the gap between his being ordained as a priest (1843) and that first job at Monkton (1846). What was he doing in those three years? Waiting for an appointment, certainly. Dealing with the aftermath of his father's death in 1843, very likely. But supposing he was beginning his work as an occultist? - living on a shoestring, his inheritance from his father (if he had one); working at the many occult texts in the British Library (like Mathers did decades later); setting up his first alchemical experiments. It's possible that he even travelled abroad to do research and meet people there, although the evidence from the 1890s doesn't suggest he did that. The most famous evidence for William Alexander's alchemy is the references to his laboratory made by W B Yeats. Yeats met William Ayton through Samuel Liddell Mathers. William Ayton told Yeats about the alchemical laboratory himself, apparently at their first meeting. Yeats doesn't seem to have visited the Aytons so he never had a chance to see if the tale of the laboratory was true, but surely William Alexander must have been doing alchemical experiments for decades by 1888 when the GD was founded. Yeats writes of William Alexander as continually in fear that his bishop would find out about them.

Being an alchemist, studying occult documents, and being a pious Christian - these things are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Many 17th and 18th-century occultists began their investigations in the hope that they would be led to a deeper understanding of the workings of God, or of the divine mystery - however you like to think of it. But other Christians believed that seeking the details of God's plan in this way was blasphemous, and even dangerous to your immortal soul. William Alexander was probably right to take pains to make sure his church superiors didn't discover what he was doing.

In 1850, after what may have been two rather difficult years under the new archbishop's regime, William Alexander was offered a different job in the Church of England - on terms.

He must, I think, have been actively looking for a change. Sir Digby Cayley of Brompton in Yorkshire came to his rescue. The Cayley family were patrons of the rectory of St John the Baptist, Scampton, a village just north of Lincoln. In due course the rectory would be handed over to Sir Digby's third son Reginald, but Reginald was only 13 in 1850 - he wouldn't be qualified and ready to take it on for at least 10 years. Sir Digby was looking for a man to nurse it in the meantime - a similar situation provides some of the plot of Jane Austen's *Persuasion*. The rectory's income wasn't as grand as Monkton's but it was still pretty good as mid-19th century incomes went: about £300 per year in the early 1870s. William Alexander accepted Sir Digby's offer and left Kent for rural Lincolnshire.

It was during his time at Scampton that William Alexander got married twice. His first bride was Catherine Harriet Moore, daughter of Joseph Moore of Lincoln and his wife Catherine Amelia, née Roe. Joseph Moore worked as a solicitor in Lincoln. However, he told the 1851 census official that he'd been born in Hoxton, then a suburb just north of the City of London; so perhaps he had known William Alexander's father. He certainly kept up his contacts with London: in 1842 he took on an articled clerk who had been born there. Joseph and Catherine Amelia lived at 5 Pottergate near Lincoln cathedral. Catherine Harriet (born in 1835) was the eldest of their eight children. William Alexander and Catherine Harriet married in 1858 but their marriage lasted less than three years. Catherine Harriet may have been sent abroad in an attempt to preserve her health (there's no death registration for her in England), but she had died by census day 1861. If there were any children, they did not survive their infancy.

William Alexander did not remain a widower for long. In 1862 he married Anne Hempson.

The Hempsons were from the Suffolk-Essex border. Anne's father John Hempson farmed about 200 acres of land at Ramsey in Essex, just outside the port of Harwich. In 1818 he married Lydia Davey of Bures St Mary Suffolk. Lydia brought some property to the marriage as her dowry: three cottages, and two tenements in the village of Great Oakley, all of which were rented out to tenants, at least in the 1830s. John and Lydia lived at Hill House in Ramsey. They had three daughters - Lydia, Anne and Mary - and then two sons - George and Amis. I can't find a baptism record for Anne Hempson but from her replies to census officials down the years, she must have been born in 1820 or 1821.

Anne's younger sister Mary Hempson left home quite young - in 1847 she married John Charles Garrad, a businessman from Colchester. John Garrad died childless in 1865 and left Mary rather well-off. She was often abroad in the decades afterwards and it was Anne and Lydia who seem to have been closer as sisters, throughout their lives.

John Hempson died in 1856 and the family broke up. Anne's brother Amis and his wife Sarah Ann took over the farm. Amis became a noted breeder of shorthorn cattle. He also served on the Essex Chamber of Agriculture and on the local Board of Guardians where he seems to have been considered the local expert on rates and rates assessment. Anne's mother and her two unmarried daughters moved to Bures in Suffolk where Lydia Hempson senior had grown up, though Anne was not at home with the two Lydias on the day of the 1861 census. She was visiting family friends - barrister James Cockle, his wife Adelaide, and their two daughters. The Cockles were living at 76 Cambridge Terrace Paddington but James had been born in Great Oakley Essex and Adelaide in Walton Suffolk.

Anne's brothers, George and Amis Hempson, had been sent to school in Colchester, but it's

likely that she and her sisters had their schooling in Ramsey. The Hempson's neighbour at Hill House in Ramsey was the local school-master: perhaps the Hempson girls attended his village school and got their basic literacy and bible knowledge there. In addition, their mother would have taught them the skills that had served her well as a farmer's wife and the owner of some property. Lydia Hempson senior and her daughters Lydia and Anne all told the 1861 census official that they were gentlewomen. Anne went a little further and described herself as a "Gentlewoman of Independent means". I find the use of the word 'gentlewoman' interesting as it has such an old-fashioned ring to it. Taken with the information that all three women had given census official in 1851 - that they were farmers (not farmer's wives and daughters) - it conjures up for me a woman, proud to be descended from the Tudor yeomanry, valuing her country skills - supervising the work of the dairy, making and mending, perhaps cooking, keeping the keys to the spice-box, going out to pick blackberries, coming back to make jam, attending church on Sunday with all the members of her household in tow - a fixed and important part of the rural scene. However, I wonder how much the Hempson women had updated the duties of the 'gentlewoman' to reflect the 19th-century rural scene. Did they include visiting people from their village who'd been sent to the local Poor Law Union workhouse because there was no farm-work for them, for example? Because Anne - like most of the women in the GD - left no papers when she died, we'll never know.

Anne's reference to having her own income, was perhaps made because of the very urban surroundings she was in on census day 1861 - she obviously wasn't quite sure the census official would understand the term 'gentlewoman' like she did herself. She did inherit something from her father, and something more when her mother died (in 1869), I think, because at her death her personal effects came to five thousand pounds or so, a larger sum than I had expected.

William Alexander Ayton was also in London on the day of the 1861 census, staying at a hotel in Paddington. I have no idea how he and Anne Hempson met, but they might have met at this time - April 1861 - through the Cockles. They were married in Ramsey in the autumn of 1862. In 1863 Anne's sister Lydia also married the vicar of a country parish - Mortimer Manley, vicar of Rainham in Essex.

The first few months of William Alexander and Anne Ayton's lives as a married couple were spent at Scampton, but in 1863 the inevitable day of William Alexander's departure arrived: the Cayley family decided Reginald Cayley was ready to take over the vicarage they had earmarked for him. I imagine William Alexander had been on the look-out for somewhere else to go for some time. The offer he accepted was made to him by John Lonsdale, bishop of Lichfield, who in the late 1820s had spent six years as rector of St George's Bloomsbury and may have known the Ayton family slightly. The job was as curate of Oakengates in Shropshire, which to me looks like a significant loss of church income and status for William Alexander: Oakengates already had a vicar who for some reason was not able to carry out his duties at the time; but the curate's salary would be taken out of the salary of the vicarage and in 1872, the vicarage only paid £89 per year. William Alexander did still accept the job. Perhaps Anne's own income made up the difference, financially speaking, and at some stage during his life William Alexander had bought some shares in a railway company, which were still paying him dividends in the 1900s. He and Anne could manage, therefore, on a small Church of England salary, and as long as he was left alone to pursue his own interests, William Alexander was prepared to put up with the job.

Oakengates was a small village on the edge of the industrial west Midlands; it has since been

swallowed by the borough of Telford in Shropshire. The Aytons stayed there for five years until in 1868 they moved on or were moved on again. By this time bishop John Lonsdale had died and George Selwyn had been recalled from his job as Primate of New Zealand to take his place at Lichfield. At least the job Selwyn offered William Alexander was as a vicar not as a curate. Edingale in Staffordshire was an even smaller village than Oakengates but the yearly salary for its vicar was about the same as William Alexander had been earning as Oakengates' curate, so in financial terms nothing much was going to change. He might already have been finding George Selwyn more of a handful as his bishop, though. John Lonsdale was perhaps more William Alexander's kind of bishop - as Principal of King's College London and archdeacon of Middlesex, he was often away! George Selwyn, though, was a different kind of man: energetic, committed and very hard-working, he had done very well in the task set him in New Zealand of creating a Church of England infrastructure in the new colony. He was very hands-on, though, and I'm sure William Alexander would have preferred someone more hands-off! Edingale was closer to Lichfield than Oakengates was, as well - only seven miles away - and the hand of whoever was bishop at Lichfield was likely to be felt more heavily there, as the bishop was the lord of the local manor, as well as the vicarage's patron.

William Alexander and Anne stayed at Edingale for another set of five years before making their last Church of England move in 1873, when Elizabeth Wykeham-Martin chose William Alexander to be vicar of the Martin family vicarage at Chacombe, about three miles north-east of Banbury. Mrs Wykeham-Martin must have been acting on behalf of her husband Philip, MP for Rochester and owner of the estate of Chacombe Priory, of land in Warwickshire, and of Leeds Castle in Kent. Elizabeth's family came from north Kent - her father had been MP for Rochester before her husband was - and perhaps she remembered William Alexander from his time at Monkton. I haven't been able to find out how much the yearly income of Chacombe vicarage was, but I would suppose that it was rather more than the amount the Aytons had been receiving from William Alexander's last two appointments.

William Alexander always described Chacombe as being in Oxfordshire but in fact it's in Northamptonshire which meant that it was part of the diocese of Peterborough. During William Alexander's twenty-one years as vicar of Chacombe, he had to deal with two bishops of Peterborough. William Magee was the man in post in 1873 and must have ratified Mrs Wykeham-Martin's choice. Magee's family had been important figures in the Church of Ireland during the 18th century but Magee had served all his career in England. He had a reputation as an rousing preacher and was given the bishopric of Peterborough by Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli for his fierce opposition to the dis-establishment of the church in Ireland. He had some very radical views - he wanted the Athanasian creed abolished because of its references to eternal damnation, and was an active temperance campaigner. I have no idea whether William Alexander agreed with Magee on these points, but I doubt if he appreciated Magee's skills as administrator and the zealous way he carried out his diocesan work. I assume that Magee was the bishop that William Alexander was so afraid would descend on him and find out about his alchemical laboratory, according to W B Yeats.

Chacombe, of course, was where William Alexander was working and he and Anne were living, during the first few years of the Order of the Golden Dawn. I think it suited them. The Wykeham-Martins did not live at Chacombe Priory, although they owned it, so the Aytons were not bothered by the continual presence of the vicarage's patron. The village was not added to the railway network until after the Aytons had gone - when they wanted to go into Banbury, they walked there. Chacombe was a quiet, easily-overlooked place in rural England - just what alchemist William Alexander wanted and what gentlewoman Anne was

used to and trained for.

At the end of the 1880s, Percy William Bullock, Frederick Leigh Gardner and others were put in touch with William Alexander, probably by William Wynn Westcott who knew all three of them by this time. The idea was that William Alexander would act as guide to Bullock and Gardner, as they attempted alchemy and the study of occult manuscripts. William Alexander's letters provide an account not just of William Alexander's advice and opinions on occult matters, but also a record of the Aytons' lives in that period.

During the summer of 1889 - that is, the year after they joined the GD - the Aytons were away from Chacombe for a month or two. In 1889 they went to Brighton to stay with William Alexander's sister Ellen Riches. Then they spent several weeks at Staverton Lodge near Cheltenham, staying with Henry John Lay, who was possibly another occultist. Anne seems to have got on well with Henry Lay's wife - Isabella Lay and her daughter Robina Ross were staying with the Aytons on the day of the 1881 census. Feeling that the sea-bathing they'd done while at Brighton had done them a lot of good, the Aytons returned to stay with Ellen for a second time, before returning to Chacombe where Anne had visits from a friend (probably called Miss Waterhouse though I can't prove it) and from her sister Lydia Manley while William Alexander visited Gardner and his wife Miriam at their house in Chiswick. Then it was back to normal life at the vicarage.

Normal life included not much visiting or being visited in the rural winter; William Alexander attending to his parish duties; and probably alchemy. The Aytons didn't attend very many meetings of the GD's Isis-Urania temple as they all took place in London; though they did do their best to attend the big GD rituals around Whitsun and at the equinoxes, usually combining them with family and other business that could only be done in London. The 'other business' included going to meetings of the Theosophical Society - both the Aytons had joined the TS in July 1889 - and to more informal occasions with other TS members, like a seance at which Annie Besant was also present: I find it really hard to picture the Aytons round the same spiritualist table with Annie Besant.

What had probably been the Aytons' normal winter routine for many years was interrupted when Anne was ill in March 1890. The bishop allowed them to take a trip at short notice to Yorkshire - probably to Harrogate - to help her recovery.

In May-June 1890, GD member Mina Bergson stayed with the Aytons for three weeks to qualify as a resident of the parish. Then William Alexander officiated at her marriage to Samuel Liddell Mathers in his church. After the Mathers had left, Anne's friend Miss Simpson came to stay.

In February 1891, Frederick Leigh Gardner and Miriam went to stay with the Aytons at Chacombe for a long weekend. William Alexander and Anne had become vegetarians in the early 1880s but were happy to cook meat dishes for the Gardners. The four of them must have had a spiritualist seance, with Miriam Gardner as the medium, because in letters written after the Gardners had returned to London, William Alexander warned Frederick against the danger Miriam was putting herself in, allowing Elementals to speak through her.

Although it did not look like it at the time, June 1891 turned out to be a crucial month for

both the Aytons. There was a flu epidemic that year: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky died in it on 8 May 1891. William Alexander was heading to be 80 and Anne was about to be 70 when they caught it, and they both seem to have been very ill indeed with it. Summer plans were put on hold and by November 1891 William Alexander was wondering if his new bishop would allow him to retire under the Resignation Act, which guaranteed him one-third of his previous income. The new bishop was Mandell Creighton, a very different kind of man from William Magee - not from a Church family, moderate in his religious views, scholarly, a lover of Italy, married to Louise (née von Glehn) an author and suffrage activist; and perhaps more amenable to a request to be allowed to give up work. To retire would mean the Aytons moving house yet again, but by making a careful choice of retirement destination, they would be able to cope financially, and be nearer their relations - William Alexander's sister Ellen in Brighton, or Anne's sister Lydia and brother Amis in Essex.

Over the next years William Alexander's letters were full of anxious references to Anne's health. W B Yeats (many years later) called William Alexander the most panic-stricken man he'd ever met, but in this case, he had something genuine to worry about. In September 1892 he was telling Frederick that Anne hadn't been completely well since the flu, and I get the impression that the attack had caused a permanent decline in her health. The Aytons began to avoid occasions like the big GD meetings for fear that they would catch another bout of flu at one of them.

Retirement took longer to achieve than William Alexander had expected, with one plan falling through in 1892. William Alexander had told Frederick that Hastings was his preferred choice of retirement town; but the south coast proved to be way above the Aytons' means and in 1894, when the Aytons finally left Chacombe, they moved to West Hoathley, near East Grinstead in Surrey.

William Alexander's own health was poor - he had rheumatism and was prey to attacks of bronchitis. During the first few years of his retirement he may not have done much alchemy. He did have more time to read the papers, though and to give his opinion on current politics - he was a staunch, probably life-long Conservative. One opinion that I particularly enjoyed was Ayton telling Gardner that Rosebery (who became Prime Minister in the General Election of 1895) was in league with the Jesuits to bring down the Empire.

Anne's brother-in-law Rev Mortimer Manley died early in 1896 and Lydia Manley moved to Brixton - not an obvious choice for the widow of a country vicar but it did mean that she was nearer to Anne. In October 1897 Anne went to Brixton on what was probably her last visit to Lydia. Anne's health was deteriorating rapidly. By December 1897, she spent most of her time in bed, finding any movement at all very painful. She died on 29 June 1898.

William Alexander went to stay with Ellen Riches and there was talk at least at the start of his second widower-hood of brother and sister pooling their resources and moving in together. This didn't happen though - I think they didn't really get on. William Alexander was telling Frederick Gardner that he was too frail and too ill to live alone (he'd had his 80th birthday in 1896); but Ellen was only four years younger and was perhaps not able, as well as not willing, to act as the carer-cum-housekeeper he felt he needed. Instead, William Alexander moved to Greenhithe in Kent, staying there for a year or so before moving to London's western suburbs. By 8 January 1900, he had moved into 285 Uxbridge Road. I think he took the decision to move back to London so that his GD and other London-based friends could visit him more easily and more often - his health probably being past his visiting them any

longer (even a decade before he'd been finding travelling very stressful). During 1900 he mentioned to Frederick Gardner that Julius Kohn and Thomas W Wilson had been spending time with him at his new address, and it's likely that Gardner himself was a regular visitor - there aren't many letters from William Alexander to Gardner in 1900 and 1901. Percy William and Pamela Bullock might also have gone to see him, though I don't have direct evidence for that.

For a short time during 1900, the GD's most high-ranking woman member, Florence Farr, lived with William Alexander on Uxbridge Road. It should have been to both parties' benefit: William Alexander wanted someone in the house on a permanent basis in case he needed help; Florence Farr had only a small income and she was often short of money for rent. The arrangement didn't last though: no GD history that I've read is quite sure why, and William Alexander's letters don't explain what went on, they only say that what went on wasn't his fault. Knowing William Alexander as a Conservative and conservative man, and Florence as an independent-minded woman, I think they were bound to clash. She left, and by the day of the 1901 census William Alexander had hired Mary A Thomas, a widow in her early 50s, as his cook-cum-housekeeper.

In February 1901 William Alexander wrote to Frederick Gardner that he'd got another cold, and another bout of bronchitis. He was having to use an inhaler and was also taking "a special medicine I have for such emergencies" (given his alchemical and occult experience I dread to think what sort of things were in it!) By the end of 1901 he was admitting defeat: it was nice to live so near his occult friends, but the coal-fires of west London were having their inevitable effect. On 13 November 1901 William Alexander wrote to Frederick Gardner from his latest address, Grove Lodge Saffron Walden. It turned out to be his last, and once he was settled in he either continued, or re-started, his alchemical experiments.

At least up until 1904, William Alexander continued to read the papers and comment on the news to Frederick Gardner. In November 1901 he read with horror of the occurrence of the ultimate disaster in the life of a secret society: its existence being made public. In a hearing at Marylebone Police Court, a "Mr MacGregor Mathers" was mentioned by Mme Laura Horos (not her real name, needless to say), one of two defendants as the head of "a society in Paris called the order of the 'Golden Dawn'". Although the police explained that the society was a reputable one and had had nothing to do with the crimes committed by Mr and Mrs Horos, that the GD should be named in such a case was a truly terrible thing for its members - Mr Horos was being committed on various charges of deception and conspiracy to defraud, but also one of a rape in which stolen GD rituals had been used to frighten the victim. William Alexander expected that the GD would have to disband itself forthwith and it did cause a crisis: of course the ruling committee quickly changed the GD's name, but quite a few members decided to resign anyway. However, it was internal divisions over the future emphasis of the GD - mysticism or magic - that finally caused it to divide into two daughter orders in 1903. William Alexander went with the magicians: led by A E Waite, a group of them founded the Independent and Rectified Rite, which was consecrated in November 1903. William Alexander accepted Waite's invitation to become (with Waite and Algernon Blackwood) one of the Rite's three chiefs; and I guess held the post until his death.

In 1904 William Alexander still expecting the destruction of the British Empire by the Jesuits, possibly using the Russians and/or William Ewart Gladstone as their agent. William Alexander hated the idea of Home Rule for Ireland. Gladstone had been its most consistent supporter amongst English politicians; he'd died in 1898 but to a spiritualist, that was not a

problem! William Alexander was also reading the Scottish magazine Chambers' Journal regularly in 1905. In 1906 he was 90 but possibly still working on occult documents: in 1908, his only venture into print was published by the Theosophical Publishing Society. It was a translation from the Latin of a biography of the Tudor magician John Dee. The British Library doesn't have a copy of it but you can buy copies via the web.

William Alexander Ayton died at Grove House on 1 January 1909.

In November 1898, William Alexander was engaged in the distressing task of preparing a new Will now that Anne was dead. He wrote to Frederick Gardner asking him to be one of its executors. William Alexander told him that he was going to name Percy William Bullock as his second executor, though he hadn't spoken to him about it yet. In naming two GD members to sort out his affairs when he died, William Alexander was probably thinking not so much of the money and assets he had to leave, but of his occult papers. Frederick Gardner replied that he'd be happy to act as executor. But William Alexander changed his mind: when his Will was finally registered at the Probate Registry, there was one executor, a woman called Alys Margaret Paton.

I've done a bit of research and I can't find any evidence that Alys Margaret Paton was a relation of William Alexander Ayton or Anne Hempson Ayton. Though she had spent her childhood in Suffolk, she wasn't living in Saffron Walden around the time of William Alexander's death. She wasn't a member of the GD. None of her family were amongst the visitors that William Alexander and Anne entertained at Chacombe during the early 1890s; nor did William Alexander mention in his letters any visit to her or her family during that time. So why William Alexander picked her to deal with his legal affairs, I do not know. I have one suggestion to make: that she was the daughter of a friend of either William Alexander or Anne. Alice Margaret Paton (she preferred the Welsh spelling of her forename) was born in 1859 to Rev Alexander Paton, vicar of Tuddenham in Suffolk, and his wife Ellen Willerton Paton, née Thorold. It's been difficult to find out much about Alexander Paton as he was born in Scotland. However, he was about William Alexander's age - born around 1814 - so it's possible that they could have done their training for the Church of England together. Ellen Paton came from a Church of England family. Ellen's father was a vicar and her brother Anthony Wilson Thorold became bishop of Rochester in 1877 and then bishop of Winchester in 1891; the historian of Roman Britain, Guy de la Bédoyère, is a descendant of his. Rev Alexander Paton died in 1889 and Ellen, Alys and Alys's brother John moved first to the Isle of Wight and then to Fishbourne in Sussex; another brother, Alexander, emigrated to New South Wales. Ellen Paton died in Fishbourne in 1906. Alys Margaret Paton never married; she died in London in 1922. I haven't paid for a copy of the Will to see what was mentioned in it and who the beneficiaries were. However, some of William Alexander's papers are now in the Freemasons' Library, having been deposited there by the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA). William Alexander must have left them to SRIA; although he was not a member, he knew plenty of men who were including its then head, the ubiquitous William Wynn Westcott.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.

The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER AYTON

HIS CAREER IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Crockford's 1880 misses out this: Charterhouse Register 1769-1872 R L Arrowsmith 1974 p13 says that Ayton was appointed Curate of Monkton Kent in 1846.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1880 p32 has him as William Alexander Aytoun (sic), corrected in the 1891 edition p47.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1900 p49 William Alexander Ayton is now of Horns Cross Greenhithe. He no longer has charge of a parish.

THE LAB IN THE BASEMENT: the well-known reference to this is from The Trembling Veil by W B Yeats. I saw the original 1922 edition: London: Privately Printed for Subscribers Only by T Werner Laurie Ltd. The book is reminiscences. Yeats' meeting with William Alexander (who isn't named, only described) is covered on p70. The bit about the laboratory in the basement is in quotation marks and so is, supposedly, what Ayton actually said; however, the conversation took place around 1888-89 - that is, 30 years or more before Yeats started preparing the book.

Who was archbishop of Canterbury from the list on wikipedia. Who was archbishop of York from www.archbishopofyork.org; the one in post in 1843 was Edward Venables Vernon later Vernon-Harcourt 1807-47.

Details of the places Ayton worked are mostly from the individual villages' pages on wikipedia.

I also used this useful website: www.visionofbritain.org.uk which has items (though without page numbers) taken from Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales by John Marius Wilson published 1870-72

The Cayley family, patrons of Scampton in Lincolnshire: website [//cayleyfamilyhistory.moonfruit.com](http://cayleyfamilyhistory.moonfruit.com) has a detailed list of the descendants of the 7th baronet, Sir Digby Cayley 1807-83 and his wife Dorothy. Their 3rd son Reginald Arthur Cayley 1837-1918 became rector of Scampton in 1863. Other information on the Cayley baronetcy from wikipedia.

The Wykeham-Martin family, patrons of Chacombe in Northamptonshire: at www.accessgenealogy.com, which uses information from The Martin Genealogy. They were the Martin, later Wykeham-Martin family, of Leeds Castle Kent, Chacombe Priory and later on somewhere in Warwickshire too. Member of the family Fiennes Wykeham 1799-1840 took the extra surname Martin by royal patent in 1821. His grandson Philip Wykeham-Martin (1829-78) married Elizabeth daughter of John Ward MP f Rochester. She is the person who appointed Ayton to Chacombe.

The wikipedia page for Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent, says that the Warde family still live there.

Just confirming that Chacombe is in NORTHAMPTONSHIRE not Oxfordshire: The English Counties Delineated by Thomas Moule, published 1837 has a paragraph Chacombe on p231 headed Northamptonshire and listed as part of the Church of England. Midland Circuit. In 1837 there were 87 houses in Chacombe and 485 inhabitants.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER AYTON'S LETTERS TO FREDERICK LEIGH GARDNER are in

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Revd William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited and with an introduction by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985. P16 Ayton's letters to Gardner were sold after his death by his sister. They were bought by Michael Houghton of the Atlantis Bookshop; they then went to Gerald Yorke and are now in the Gerald Yorke Collection at the Warburg Institute, University of London.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER AND ANNE GO VEGETARIAN

Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger via the web got to an issue of 1883 p353 refers to a mtg (I couldn't see where or when in the snippet) at which a "Mr W Ayton" spoke saying that he'd given attention to the matter of dietetics in the past but "would now, with his family, go in for thorough..." I couldn't read any further on the snippet but I think I'm safe in saying that William Alexander and Anne went vegetarian in 1883.

Cultural Encyclopedia of Vegetarianism by Margaret Puskar-Pasewicz published 2010 focuses mainly on the USA, but on p259 in chapter The Vegetarian Society of the UK she says that the idea of being vegetarian only began to attract the middle-classes in the 1870s. Up until that time vegetarians had mostly been from the working-class. Vegetarians were often also anti-vaccination and anti-vivisection. The London Dietetic Reform Society was set up 1875.

AYTON FAMILY

Family history website www.foremanfamilyhistory.co.uk has a reference to a Frances Ayton, born in Great Yarmouth in 1783. On 28 June 1815 she married James Foreman, in Great

Yarmouth.

At www.doun.org/transcriptions/surnames,: b/m/d list for people with the surname Ayton. *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* published by Hamilton Adams and Co 1880. On p357 there's an item I couldn't see very well in the snippet, apparently about the death of William Capon Ayton's aunt (his mother's sister), probably in January 1801. There's mention of Martha Ayton, William Capon Ayton; and of an Elizabeth Capon Ayton who is William Capon Ayton's sister.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk a list of Wills held at the PRO at Kew include PROB 11/1491/224, the Will of Armsby Ayton "Carter of Gt Yarmouth" dated 26 January 1809.

Gentleman's Magazine 1836 list of obituaries p333 include the widow of Armsby Ayton of Great Yarmouth (unnamed, but it's Martha)) on 15 January [1836] at Thorpe near Norwich aged 78.

Baptism of Nancy Mary Nicolson 9 April 1792 at West Harling Norfolk. Her parents are Alexander Nicolson and Margaret née Wright.

WILLIAM CAPON AYTON

Familysearch has 2 marriage registrations for him, but they don't agree on the date or the place!

1 = England EAS-y GS film 1470926: at Roudham Norfolk on 4 October 1814

2 = England EAS-y GS film 1595866: at Thetford Norfolk/Suffolk on 1 October 1814: marriage of William Capon Ayton to Nancy Mary Nicolson. This second registration gives Nancy's year of birth as 1793.

The Monthly Magazine volume 38 part 2 1814 p391 published a marriage: William Capon Ayton of Barnard's Inn London, to Nancy Mary Nicolson; though it doesn't give exact date or place. Nancy is the youngest daughter of the late Alexander Nicolson of West Harling.

On the history of Barnard's Inn, Holborn: wikipedia. See also www.gresham.ac.uk for m info and some pictures.

Did he go bankrupt? -

London Gazette p1483 which unfortunately didn't have the date of the issue: Notices Issued by the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors. Although I can't see the date I think it's 1831 because similar details appear in *The Law Advertiser* volume 9 1831 p488.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER

Tried familysearch for baptism of him and his sister Ellen Ayton: nothing.

Charterhouse Register 1769-1872 R L Arrowsmith 1974 p13.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part 2 Number 1 p105 William Alexander Ayton.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER's first wife Catherine Moore:

Via familysearch: marriage 18 June 1834 of Joseph Moore to Catherine (sic) Amelia Roe; at St Andrew Rugby. England ODM GS film 0554755 and 0554756.

Via familysearch: baptism of Catherine Harriet Moore at St Margaret-in-the-Close Lincoln took place 17 October 1835. Parents Joseph and Catharine (sic). England EAS-y GS film 1542052.

Legal Observer volume 23 1842 p55 for Joseph Moore's London-born articled clerk.

ELLEN AYTON RICHES

Via familysearch: Ellen Nicholson (sic) Ayton married John Louis Riches 29 December 1857 at St Stephen's Norwich. England-EASy GS film 1471611. The name 'Louis' may not be correct: at freebmd the registration has been transcribed thus: Ellen Nicolson Ayton to John LAIN Riches.

I couldn't find either him or her on any census after their marriage: most frustrating. Nor could I find anything which was definitely about him on the web. I tried both 'Louis' and 'Lain'. I couldn't find a death registration on freebmd for Ellen Ayton so she may have died abroad.

HEMPSON FAMILY ARE FROM RAMSEY NEAR HARWICH

The family's involvement in local affairs:

The Farmer's Magazine volume 8 1843.

Reports from Committees House of Commons 1868 p62 as part of the Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Cttee on County Financial Arrangements, p66 evidence of Amis Hempson Friday 12 June 1868 as member of the Chamber of Agriculture of Essex and vice-president of the local Board of Guardians.

Shaw's Local Government Manual and Directory for Unions... 1881 p105. Poor Law unions, that is.

Coates's Herd Book volume 33 published by the Shorthorn Society of the UK 1887 p350.

Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England volume 49 1888 p496.

Essex Review volume 7 1898 p79 reported the death of Amis Hempson of Hill House Ramsey "on March 4th soon after the death of his eldest son". He'd been born in Ramsey 18 September 1827 son of John Hempson.

Lydia Hempson:

Allegations for Marriage Licenses in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury and County Suffolk published 1921: p192 John Hempson of Ramsey marriage to Lydia Davey of Bures St Mary Suffolk n 20 July 1818.

Essex Archives at seax.essexac.gov.uk. Manorial Records and Deeds of NE Essex, their ref D/DU 457/30: a fire insurance policy taken out 2 November 1838 by Lydia Hempson. The amount of the policy is £205; it's with the the Essex and Suffolk Equitable Insurance Co. The properties covered are 3 cottages on the street at Great Oakley; plus 2 tenements at their rear; all currently occupied.

ANNE'S TWO SISTERS BOTH MARRIED BUT NEITHER HAD ANY CHILDREN

MARY GARRAD

The Essex Almanac 1865 p72 lists of current members of the Corporation of Colchester includes J C Garrad, councillor for Colchester's 3rd ward. On p73 his was the first name on

the list of Colchester's "Town and Channel Commissioners".

LYDIA MANLEY

Freebmd's transcription of the marriage registration of Lydia Hempson has got her husband's surname wrong: it gives it as MaUley but all other sources give MaNley. Marriage registered at St Faith's Norfolk April-June 1863.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER 1898-1909

That William Alexander was still doing alchemy in 1902 is mentioned in Yeats's Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper. Wellingborough Northants: The Aquarian Press 1974.

Footnote 17 on p188 quotes a letter Yeats wrote to Lady Gregory on 20 January 1902, in which Yeats was quite disparaging about the whole subject.

DEATH OF HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY

Blavatsky died at the Theosophical Society headquarters in Regent's Park, where she was living in the household of Countess Wachtmeister. Freebmd has the death registration, in the Marylebone registration district, April-June quarter 1891. The exact date is given at //blavatskyarchives.com though the source for the information is not given.

THE HOROS FRAUDSTERS

The trial of Theodore and Laura Horos, real names Frank Dutton Jackson and Editha Loleta Jackson, received huge coverage in the papers. Even the Times succumbed and carried detailed reports on the committal hearings and the Old Bailey trial. You can read the blow-by-blow account in the Times starting on Friday 27 September 1901 and ending on Saturday 21 December 1901. Mr Horos was found guilty of rape and Mrs Horos of aiding and abetting; they both got penal servitude. Mention of Mathers and the GD was made by Mrs Horos during the committal hearing, report published in the Times of Friday 22 November 1901 p13. The Horoses were professional fraudsters. They had been allowed in to Athlone Temple in Paris by Mathers despite the fact that they were never GD members. He'd also lent them GD rituals to copy - rituals they never returned.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER'S EXECUTOR ALICE (ALYS) MARGARET PATON

Her family: at //suffolkurnames.co.uk is Ray Longs Cosford database. It has some Paton burials, with years of birth and dates of death. All were buried at Brent Eleigh Suffolk. Alice/Alys Margaret Paton is amongst them; but she is listed as Ann not Alice/Alys.

Suffolk Returns from the Census of Religious Worship 1851 editors T C B Timmins and D P Dymond published 1997: on p213, Rev Alexander Paton is already vicar of Tuddenham by this time.

At trove.nla.gov.au the Sydney Morning Herald of Friday 2 September 1892 p1 marriages notices includes one for the marriage of Rev J D Paton to Catherine Louise daughter of T P Payne of Southampton; on 13 July [1892] at St Mary's Southampton. J D Paton is son of the late Rev A Paton; his brother Alexander G H Paton is currently living at Carlingford New South Wales. Rev A W Thorold bishop of Winchester, uncle of the groom, officiated. Further details on A W Thorold from wikipedia.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

This is a second file in my biographies of GD members William Alexander Ayton and his wife Anne Ayton née Hempson. Because William Alexander in particular was so involved in the 19th century English occult, in various ways, I thought it deserved separate coverage - with this proviso, that I've never studied the occult myself and I leave in-depth coverage of what he might have been doing to those with more experience. I'll just give an overview of the Aytons' life in the occult and try to identify some of their occult acquaintances.

UPDATE APRIL 2017

I originally sent my work on the Aytons to our web pages in 2013. However, a wide-ranging update is now needed, for two reasons:

1) in March 2017 I was contacted by Chris Bennett of Vancouver BC. Chris has written extensively on the use of drugs in esoteric practice, particularly focusing on cannabis but also covering the more deadly stuff. Many thanks to Chris for sending me lots of information and extracts from his publications and others, on this interesting subject, and making me look with new eyes at what really went on in esoteric circles in the mid-to-late 19th century.

2) information on William Alexander Ayton as a freemason is now available on Ancestry, to which I subscribe. He turns out to have joined more lodges than I knew about before.

TO START WITH

If you didn't bother with the first Ayton file: William Alexander Ayton was born in 1816 and died in 1909. He was a priest in the Church of England - probably not a very zealous one though he took his parish duties seriously enough - and while he was a member of the GD he was vicar of Chacombe, just outside Banbury. Anne Hempson was born in 1820 or 1821, daughter of John Hempson, farmer, of Ramsey in Essex; she married William Alexander in 1862 and died in 1898 after several years of ill-health.

A WORD ABOUT SOURCES

The occult insistence on secrecy gives historians a lot of trouble. Involvement in the occult is governed by two fears:

- of revealing to the unworthy details of the Divine Plan/secrets of the universe - however you like to think of it; and
- being 'outed' as an occultist yourself.

In the past, being outed as possessing occult knowledge might have resulted in charges of blasphemy, heresy or treason. By the 19th-century the consequences were not so serious, though if William Alexander had been found out by his Church of England superiors he probably would have lost his job. Secrecy was still the watchword, however - it was part of the game.

William Alexander's relationship with the occult obsession with secrecy was actually rather ambivalent. On the one hand, he appreciated the need for it and fretted about his activities being found out; and he was a man who worried about doing the correct thing, about keeping the rules. On the other hand, he wanted to talk about his occult work to people who showed an interest, and to share his knowledge with them; he was naturally an indiscreet talker and writer; and he was not a good judge of character in choosing who he blabbed to. Caught between these conflicting character traits, he came over to people who met him as a rather nervous, even highly-strung, man - Yeats and other GD members comment on it - and we know more about his occult activities than we might have done if he'd been more careful!

FREEMASONRY

Freemasonry is a forum where the occult and the world of business and the professions can meet. Individual freemasons have always been free to go more deeply into the occult side of freemasonry if they wish, but it's not a requirement. Despite his involvement in the occult, I think William Alexander thought of being a freemason more as a useful adjunct to his position as a working representative of the Church of England. He was a member of several freemasons' lodges, but kept his involvement at a very low level, acting as a lodge official in only one of them, and being appointed to a provincial rank but never a national one.

ST JOHN'S LODGE 601 was the lodge where William Alexander received his first initiation as a freemason, on 5 January 1866. The lodge was based at Wellington in Shropshire and was meeting at the Bull's Head in New Street when William Alexander was a member. It was probably the nearest lodge to the village of Oakengates, where William Alexander had been curate since 1863. He may have been offered membership of it as part of a recruitment drive undertaken by the year's Worshipful Master, S J Fellows. His name doesn't appear in the account of the lodge's history during those years, and I imagine that he let his membership lapse when he left Oakengates to take up an appointment in Edingale Staffordshire, in 1868.

Again, it took a while for the Aytons to embed themselves sufficiently at Edingale for William Alexander to be offered initiation into a nearby lodge. It was May 1871 - three years after their arrival - before he joined the MARMION LODGE 1060. This was a relatively new lodge (founded 1865) and was based in Tamworth in Staffordshire, a few miles south of Edingale. There's no history of this lodge in the collection at the Freemasons' Library, so the date of his initiation is all I know about William Alexander's time as a member.

At the end of 1871 William Alexander became a member of CHURCHILL LODGE 478, a lodge more in keeping with his educational background and personal interests. Churchill Lodge 478 had originally been based in Henley-on-Thames, but it had been meeting in Oxford - where William Alexander had been a student - since 1851. During the 1870s and 1880s, when William Alexander was living near enough to be an active member, a number of aristocrats joined it including (inevitably, given its name) Lord Randolph Spencer-Churchill (father of Winston Churchill) and the Duke of Marlborough. Prince Leopold became a member; in 1875 Oscar Wilde was initiated; and in 1885 Rev Henry Sayers joined the lodge - chaplain of Christ Church Oxford choir school and future father of Dorothy L Sayers (born 1893). Lodge fees were high - £5 at initiation, £10 per annum subscription during the late 19th century - but William Alexander probably thought of them as a good investment. It was during his active membership of this lodge that he undertook his only county-level role in

freemasonry, serving as Provincial Grand Chaplain.

The lower the lodge's number, the more prestige it has within freemasonry. It must have been through contacts he made at Churchill Lodge 478 that William Alexander was offered membership of a very prestigious lodge indeed, WESTMINSTER AND KEYSTONE LODGE 10, founded (though with a different name) as early as 1722. He was initiated in February 1872 as a joining member and current Provincial Grand Chaplain of Oxfordshire. There was a close connection between Lodge 10 and Oxford at the time, the result of a bringing together - in 1855, by the United Grand Lodge of England - of Lodge 10's current members with a group of freemasons from Oxford who were looking for a freemasons' base in London. As a graduate of Oxford University William Alexander was charged only £5 (instead of the full £15) initiation fee, and the lodge's annual subscription at this time was quite modest - £1 without banqueting, £4 with it. William Alexander was able to afford to remain a member until December 1894, when he resigned as part of his preparations for retirement. While he was a member, on his visits to London he could have gone to the lodge meetings at the hub of freemasonry in England, the Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street. However, he didn't serve in any official capacity as a lodge officer.

In becoming a member of CHERWELL LODGE 599 William Alexander was continuing his policy of involving himself with the freemasons near where he was working. In 1873 he was appointed vicar of Chacombe, a village just outside Banbury in Oxfordshire. Cherwell Lodge 599 met in Banbury and William Alexander was initiated into it in 1875, as a visiting member. The lodge was emerging from a long period in the doldrums - very few members attending meetings, few volunteers willing to serve as lodge officials. Perhaps this was the reason why William Alexander agreed to climb the ladder of official posts within the lodge; though it hadn't persuaded him in other lodges suffering from the same lack of committed members. He reached the point of serving his 12 months as the lodge's Worshipful Master in 1878. He isn't mentioned in any other capacity in the history of the lodge that I read, so he didn't play a major role in the effort to raise funds for the lodge's own masonic hall (opened in 1883), and he didn't become a member of the lodge's chapter (founded in 1887). The information I've found doesn't say for how long William Alexander remained a member of Cherwell Lodge 599 but he would certainly not have been active there after he retired from Chacombe vicarage and went to live in Surrey, in 1894.

It's difficult to know whether William Alexander introduced any friends to the lodges he was a member of, as potential recruits; and how many times an acquaintance made through freemasonry turned into a friendship. I've found evidence of one friendship which extended to the wives of both men and other family members as well. Henry John Lay joined Cherwell Lodge 599 in 1876 and was a visitor at - though not a member of - Westminster and Keystone Lodge 10 between 1855 and 1878. It's not clear from the records I've found whether William Alexander knew Henry Lay before his initiation, but by 1889 he and Anne were sufficiently friendly with him, his wife Isabella and their daughters to spend part of the summer with them at Staverton Court, their house near Cheltenham. Henry Lay was one of the network of occultists that William Alexander knew; see below for more details of the network and some other names.

Two of the lodges William Alexander was a member of have published lodge histories with detailed lists of lodge members - St John's 601 and Westminster and Keystone 10. That's quite unusual - most lodge histories confine themselves to naming those who served the lodge as officers. The Westminster and Keystone 10 lodge history is particularly thorough, listing all those freemasons who were semi-official visitors to the lodge in the mid-19th century as well as all the full members. On the evidence of those two lodge histories, it seems that

William Alexander did not know or get to know through freemasonry anyone who was later in the GD, or with whom he was involved in the non-GD groups I discuss below. Many of those men were freemasons; but not in the lodges William Alexander was a member of. It might be coincidence or just a lack of surviving evidence, but to me it looks like William Alexander kept his life as a freemason carefully separate from his other occult involvement and the contacts that brought him.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

SRIA was a Rosicrucian study-group within freemasonry. GD founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers were both members of it; many of its members joined the GD; and it is one organisation you would think William Alexander would be bound to have joined. A couple of sources I've come across even say that he was a member. I don't think he was, at least, not after 1890. I've looked at SRIA's membership lists from the time they were first published (around 1890) to 1909, and can't find William Alexander's name on them.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (TS)

The TS was founded in the United States in 1875 by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott. It's better known now as one of the main routes by which Eastern philosophy became known in the West, but during its early years, Blavatsky and Olcott were more interested in western esotericism: they read the Kabbala; they studied the techniques of astral travelling and using mirrors for seeing the future (scrying); and Blavatsky acted as a clairvoyant. William Alexander and Anne Ayton were amongst Blavatsky and Olcott's earliest acquaintances in England. The four had met during a stop-over Blavatsky and Olcott made in England between December 1878 and February 1879, on their way to settle in India. Future GD member Isabel de Steiger also met Blavatsky and Olcott during that stop-over, though it's not so clear whether she also met the Aytons then.

At the end of the 1880s, with the TS undergoing a period of rapid expansion, an effort began to keep proper administrative records. Old members had to be signed up anew, and William Alexander and Anne Ayton appear on the TS membership registers with a joining date for each of them of July 1889. Anne remained a member until her death in 1898. William Alexander continued as a member until May 1907, when he became one of many people who decided that they no longer wanted to stay in the Society once Annie Besant was elected its leader-for-life.

The problem with the TS for the Aytons and people like them, was that while she was in India, Blavatsky's occult interests began to move away from the western esotericism towards a more Buddhist-influenced set of views. By as early as 1884 William Alexander was seeing this change in Blavatsky's thinking as a betrayal of the TS's principles. As he often did with occultists he'd fallen out with, he accused her of using occultism for her own evil ends.

Their entries in the TS membership registers describe William Alexander and Anne as members of Blavatsky Lodge in 1889. As its name suggests, during her lifetime it was dominated by Blavatsky and her hand-picked inner circle. It's not very likely that the Aytons were welcome there, by the late 1880s, and when William Alexander wrote to Frederick

Leigh Gardner in May 1889, he mentioned that he was trying to set up a TS lodge in Banbury. Nothing came of it, however, and maybe it no longer mattered much to the Aytons, as they were now in the GD, whose emphasis was very much on the western magical tradition.

Despite the fact that Blavatsky was no longer interested in western esotericism and was not a member of the Golden Dawn, she found out about the GD's existence shortly after the Aytons had been initiated into it. She set up a rival to it within the TS - the TS's Esoteric Section - and issued an order that its members could not belong to any other occult organisation. There's no evidence that Anny Ayton ever joined the Esoteric Section, but William Alexander did. Then he began to worry - as usual - about breaking the rules even by accident, and wrote to Blavatsky to tell her what he'd done. She ordered him to give up the GD, and he did so. Other members of both organisations were less meek - they went to Blavatsky and argued. Probably the gist of their argument was that the two organisations were complementary - the Esoteric Section studying western occultism, and the GD putting study into practice. Blavatsky never really saw it that way, but she backed down; a large group of GD members joined the TS's Esoteric Section including William Wynn Westcott (one of the GD's founders); and William Alexander rejoined the GD.

In the years 1894 to 1896, the TS was - torn apart is not over-stating it - by arguments about who should lead it, and which direction it should go in (east or west) after Blavatsky's death. The dispute became very bitter, very public and caused all the lodges in the USA to secede and probably over half the TS's English members to resign. Many of the TS's most active lodges in England closed down. The Aytons took no part in the arguments and accusations, and they did continue as members, but the Esoteric Section was one of the dispute's casualties - it held no meetings after 1895 - which must have saddened William Alexander.

HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN which originally was meant to be as much a secret as any other occult order

Both William Alexander and Anne Ayton were initiated into the GD in its very early stages, in July 1888. However, as an alchemist and translator of occult manuscripts, it was very definitely William Alexander that GD founders Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers were most anxious to have on board. Anne was a good spiritualist medium, and she could also bring to the GD her experience at scrying and (perhaps) at astral travelling; but the skill of a medium was both more widespread and (particularly in Mathers' eyes) less desirable amongst members of the GD.

Perhaps the most important single thing that William Alexander did for the GD was to pronounce as genuine a cipher manuscript handed to him by Westcott for his opinion as to its authenticity. I shall discuss this more in a section below on frauds in occultism that took William Alexander in.

As I'm not a magician I'm not going to discuss the other work that William Alexander did for the GD. You can get a flavour of it even without being able to see R A Gilbert's GD collection, now in the Freemasons' Library, by using the FML's catalogue search: follow the links at www.freemasonry.london.museum. Instead, I'll just discuss some techniques that William Alexander and Anne were using on a regular basis, while they were members of the

GD but almost certainly from long before they were asked to join.

William Alexander and Anne were using a mirror to do scrying work by the 1880s if not before; I can be fairly sure of the date for reasons I'll attempt to explain when we get to the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor. A biography of the black American occultist Pascal Beverly Randolph mentions William Alexander having a magic mirror specially made for him to a design by a French occultist which involved two mirrors being clamped together so that there was space between them for - say - ink, for writing notes on your visions; or hashish, for helping you get your visions in the first place. This device was made for him by watchmaker T H Pattinson of Bradford, a leading TS and GD member.

The Aytons may have used a magic mirror for six weeks of concentrated invoking that they undertook around Christmas 1891; though William Alexander calls the aid they used a "crystal" so the device might have been a crystal ball rather than a mirror. Each of them took a turn each evening, except for about five days when Anne was ill or away. A summary of what they saw during the sessions was written up by William Alexander and is now in the GD collection at the Freemasons' Library, in the notebook entitled Grade of Geburah.

William Alexander didn't ever write down what he and Anne were actually trying to achieve with this focused programme, which continued right through one of their busiest times of the year as Church of England clergyman and clergyman's wife. However, from his notes I have deduced that it involved invoking a pentagram and placing it in a particular setting; though Anne seems to have departed from that aim quite early on, and gone with the flow more, just to see if she could interpret what did appear.

William Alexander seemed to be wanting to use his invocations to construct a cathedral building, and put his pentagram inside its east window. Perhaps he'd have wanted the east window to be a rose window, like that at Chartres and other cathedrals known to have a lot of magical symbolism in their architecture; that would fit nicely with the Rosicrucian organisation he understood the GD to be. But he just couldn't get the whole of what he wanted, to form! Both he and Anne saw colours in the crystal - William Alexander usually saw strong blue and red - but yellow and ultra-marine smoke would often blow across what he was really trying to invoke (fumes left over from his alchemy perhaps!) He struggled even to create the cathedral building in the crystal - sometimes he got a temple instead, usually the cathedral had no roof - and he also couldn't quite en-vision the full pentagram, he could get two points of it, or a triangle, but never the whole symbol with all its points linked by lines in its interior. And in the whole period he never managed to put more than two points of a star, let alone the full pentagram, into his east window. He did get better at invoking part at least of the cathedral building as the weeks passed - it began to appear almost as soon as he had finished doing the invocation ritual at the beginning of each session - but by New Year he was discouraged and I think, in the end, he was quite glad to bring the whole experiment to a halt.

William Alexander never saw a human figure in his visions; but then, he wasn't trying to invoke any. Anne, on the other hand, saw more and more figures. At the beginning of the six weeks, she was having as little success as her husband with the pentagram, though she did get six- and five-point stars quite quickly. But she always got figures, even in the second session, when a cauldron that appeared first was replaced by what Anne described as a Tudor gentlewoman (if you've read the first part of this biography of the Aytons, you'll know that Anne thought of herself as a gentlewoman). The figures, and the landscapes they inhabited, soon took over her visions. At one rather telling point, she saw a woman standing at a desk

with a man stooping over her as she worked; Anne identified the stooping man as Samuel Liddell Mathers. The next night he was there again and the female figure was creeping past him trying - Anne told William Alexander - to escape. Perhaps the female figure (which Anne later identified as GD member Anna Blackwell) did escape, because Anne didn't see Mathers again in her visions. Instead she saw Anna Blackwell once more, continuing to work at her desk, without anyone looking over her shoulder. More and more people began to appear in Anne's visions. She had a nasty one where "all sorts of elementals" tore at the hair of a male figure Anne identified as a teacher (but not Mathers); apparently she viewed the teacher as hostile, because in her vision she squeezed past him and his attackers and "left him to his fate". Her visions then took an outdoor turn, with increasing numbers of people in beautiful green landscapes. She saw woodland, flowers and lovely sunrises, heard bees buzzing and music playing, and was aware of "a presiding spirit" and a "long ugly thing from the North" which kept interfering with what she was trying to invoke. Anne was eventually to see the presiding spirit she had at first only sensed; she saw it sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman. Several times, Anne tried to build a cathedral in her vision, but she never got further than a few ruined arches in the midst of her green landscapes.

On the last two evenings of the programme, Anne saw William Alexander in her visions. The first time he was looking on in astonishment at the presiding spirit, which was sitting in the east of Anne's landscape surrounded by mathematical symbols. The second time Anne had invoked something she hadn't seen before in all the previous evenings - the arms of England, then a lion and a unicorn, and then a battle at sea. William Alexander appeared on the shore, watching and listening to the battle, and to the sound of the victors rejoicing. The sea-battle scene was replaced by a huge head, asleep. It rose up and disappeared into the clouds - and that was the last vision seen by Anne that William Alexander recorded. On the final night she tried hard, but couldn't invoke anything at all.

I've looked in detail at the Aytons' six weeks of scrying and departed from my practice of leaving the GD's magical practices to the experts for several reasons:

- the source for it isn't on the web and is therefore not easy for most people to see
- it illustrates the kind of magical work GD members were required to do
- there are a lot of websites featuring the GD on the web but they do concentrate on rituals and a few - usually the same few - personalities. I think the work of invocation and focusing your visions has been rather overlooked in comparison.

There's no explanation of why the Aytons brought the programme to an end. Perhaps they were just too busy to carry on. Perhaps the appearance of William Alexander in Anne's visions had disconcerted them. Perhaps Anne, like William Alexander, was becoming weary of not being able to invoke the symbols they wanted.

I think the visions that the Aytons saw during these evening sessions reflect their gender, and their views of their gender, rather well: William Alexander's full of stonework and symbol, definitely the work of Man (not the work of Woman); Anne's full of the natural world, of people, and of the process of learning. Was Anne perhaps conscious of lacking learning? - having never really had the opportunities to learn that the people in her visions were having?

The figures that Anne was able to identify from her visions are interesting. The appearance of Samuel Liddell Mathers, as a teacher-like personality peering over the student's shoulder

as she worked, suggests that Anne was in awe of Mathers, even intimidated by him as a man much younger than herself but very learned, at least in the field of the occult. Anne worried about Mathers' affect on new GD members. The en-visioning sessions took place around the time that Anna Blackwell was initiated into the GD, to become its oldest woman member - like William Alexander, she had been born in 1816. Anna had spent most of the last 30 years living and working in Paris, so it's hard to see how she and Anne Ayton might have met; but Anne probably knew of Anna as a fellow-spiritualist and translator of books by the French spiritualist Allen Kardec, who tried to reconcile spiritualism with reincarnation. I think Anne was aware that Mathers regarded the skills of the spiritualist medium as too passive to make them successful magicians.

Living outside London, William Alexander and Anne were not suited to holding any of the administrative posts in the GD. Nor were they able to attend the monthly teaching-meetings and informal get-togethers that Isis-Urania temple's locally-based members could. However, until Anne's declining health made it impossible, they did go to London to attend the major rituals-plus-administrative meetings (held at Whitsun, and the two equinoxes) as often as they could. In 1900, two years after Anne's death, William Alexander moved to west London to be closer to his occult friends. Although he was now in his 80s he will have hoped to be able to play a more active part in the GD than he had previously. However, his arrival coincided with the beginning of a period of upheaval within the Order that ended with its break-up at the beginning of 1903.

INDEPENDENT AND RECTIFIED RITE

The Isis-Urania temple's annual meeting of spring 1903 ended with such dissent amongst the people that attended it that one group of senior members, led by A E Waite, decided to go its own way. A month or two later the group announced that it was going to form a new order. William Alexander was in that break-away group, and accepted an invitation from Waite to be one of the three chiefs of the Independent and Rectified Rite, which was consecrated in November 1903. The administrative records of the IRR haven't survived. I would suppose that William Alexander remained a member until his death in January 1909; though he may not have been very a very active chief - living on the Uxbridge Road made his bronchitis worse and after a year or two of poor health he moved to Saffron Walden.

The rest of this file concerns William Alexander Ayton only. I haven't found any evidence for Anne Ayton as a reader or translator of occult documents; as an alchemist; or as a member of any of the occult organisations I shall mention below.

TRANSLATION OF OCCULT DOCUMENTS

If you've read the first part of this biography of William Alexander and Anne Ayton, you will know that William Alexander was a graduate of Trinity Hall Cambridge, and that he had won a prize while an undergraduate there, for Latin translation. This gave him a very good basis from which to begin to translate occult manuscripts and books, which even into the 19th century were still written in Latin. He also understood enough French to be able to read books and manuscripts in it, and some of those that he possessed are now in the Freemasons' Library.

Unfortunately, the secrecy of the occult means that there's no list - probably never was a list - of the translations that William Alexander did. If I were an occultist I could probably put together a list of good guesses as to what might have been on the list, had there been one. As I'm not, I'm just going to list below a few that he definitely translated (and some that he definitely didn't) that I found being mentioned in books.

A translation William Alexander did do: in 1898 Helena Petrovna Blavatsky wrote in her diary that William Alexander had sent her a copy of a translation he'd done of Abbot Trithemius' Prophecies.

And another: a text referred to in letters written by William Alexander as Ms 476. Googling on the web, this was not as easy to identify as I'd supposed: I found several manuscripts numbered 476, and none of them looked more likely to be the one William Alexander meant, than any of the others. I'll suggest that he meant Harleian Ms 476, because it's easy to get at: all the Harleian manuscripts are in the British Library. The BL's Ms 476 is volume two of the diaries for 1641-42 written by John Moore, MP and one of the signers of Charles II's death warrant. One source I found said that there were references to astrology in it. It's in English but might well have needed a translation as apparently the writing is so awful it's almost impossible to make any sense of it.

And another, though less details were given about this one: an unidentified manuscript formerly owned (but probably not written) by the French occultist d'Éspagnet.

And one group of translations William Alexander definitely didn't do... In the late 1880s A E Waite was working on the publication of esoteric texts in the collection of a man he identified as Lord Strafford (I think he means Edward Stafford-Jerningham, 11th Baron Stafford). Waite knew that Lord Strafford had employed someone to translate the texts for him; and the translations had been so well done that Waite assumed they were William Alexander's work. However, when Waite asked him, William Alexander said that he was not the translator this time.

By the time the GD was founded, William Alexander's reputation as a translator and interpreter of (often impenetrable) occult manuscripts was well-known in occult circles. He did a lot of copying work for the GD. And he became the central pivot of a kind-of lending library for the texts he had in his possession, lending them to members of the GD and others for them to copy and return. GD members Percy William Bullock and Frederick Leigh Gardner were two of the borrowers and Bullock, at least, was still borrowing after the GD had collapsed: in 1904 William Alexander lent him the manuscript once owned by d'Éspagnet to Bullock.

In the 1880s, William Alexander also gave advice on how to study and interpret these difficult and obscure texts (see more about that below, in the section on the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor) and he continued to help GD members with their studies in the 1890s and 1900s.

It's a pity there isn't more information on this very important part of William Alexander's life as an occultist.

ALCHEMY

There's not much more information either for William Alexander's experiments with alchemy. Of course, part of the reason he was translating occult documents at all was to learn alchemy, to find out what equipment was needed and to try for himself experiments carried out by alchemists in the past. The main source for him as an alchemist is some references by W B Yeats; who was never convinced by alchemy and disparaged it, citing William Alexander's claims as an example of why it should be treated with caution.

W B Yeats and William Alexander were introduced by mutual acquaintance Samuel Liddell Mathers; probably in the British Museum reading room. Yeats wrote about the meeting over thirty years later - so he may not have remembered it accurately. He also didn't name the man Mathers had introduced him to; though the details Yeats gives about him make it clear it's William Alexander. Yeats' account of their first conversation was that William Alexander had told him that he had an alchemical laboratory in the cellar. As far as I can see, Yeats never actually visited the Aytons and saw the laboratory, so he couldn't describe what it looked like and what was in it; and in fact there is no description of it. Yeats asked William Alexander if he had ever been successful with his alchemical experiments; whereupon William Alexander told him that he'd once made the elixir of life, approved as the genuine article by a French alchemist he'd shown it to. However, he had never tried it, because the French alchemist had warned him that the first thing that happened to you after you took some was that your nails and hair fell out. (Isn't that defeating the object a bit?) Instead of swallowing it down, therefore, he had put it away for when he was old; but "when I got it down the other day it had all dried up"! William Alexander didn't name the alchemist he'd gone to, to have his elixir assessed. Yeats thought it might have been Eliphas Lévi but William Alexander knew a couple of other French alchemists so it might have been one of them instead.

The conversation probably took place in 1887 or 1888, just before the GD was founded. In 1902, Yeats wrote to his Irish friend Augusta, Lady Gregory, that he'd heard through the GD grapevine that William Alexander had made what he thought was the elixir of life for a second time, and was trying it out on rabbits to see if it worked.

I'd love to know whether William Alexander's recipe for the elixir of life was going the rounds of the GD members who were interested in alchemy. I wonder if any other GD members made any?

That he should go to the trouble of finding, buying and having made the equipment and materials necessary for a laboratory suggests that William Alexander saw alchemical texts as describing real techniques, not as allegory - a more modern interpretation of their contents. That being so, I would suppose that he didn't just concentrate on brewing the elixir of life. I would suppose he tried the other, time-honoured aims of alchemy, particularly making gold out of base metal. Without more records, though, it's impossible to say.

OCCULT ORGANISATIONS

There's quite a lot of evidence in the Freemasons' Library and elsewhere for a network of men who were involved in the occult in mid-19th century Britain, studying old texts, investigating symbolism, resurrecting or inventing ritual or any combination of the four. It

was inevitable, really, that William Alexander should get to know many of these men and be invited by them to join the occult societies and orders they founded (the GD being one, of course), though I haven't found any evidence that William Alexander ever founded an order or society himself. I use the word 'men' here advisedly: even after the founding of the GD, none of the networkers William Alexander knew were women; and although the rules of one or two organisations that were founded accepted women members in theory, none of them seem to have had any women initiates in England.

This won't be a full list, but below I give the names of some of the other men who were in the network. How many of them William Alexander actually met - rather than knowing them by letter or repute - I really wouldn't know.

The first group were freemasons, though in different lodges from the ones William Alexander was a member of:

Benjamin Cox, who was initiated into the GD (died 1895)

Frederick Holland, chemist and metallurgist and mentor of Samuel Liddell Mathers

Frederick George Irwin (1828-93)

Henry John Lay

Kenneth MacKenzie who worked at the United Grand Lodge of England; compiler of the Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia amongst other works on freemasonry

Samuel Liddell Mathers, ritualist and translator of esoteric texts, a founder of the GD

John Yarker (1833-1913)

William Wynn Westcott physician, coroner, member of both the Theosophical Society and Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, a founder of the GD

The next group were probably not freemasons:

Peter Davidson (1842-1916) violin maker; he knew Paschal Beverly Randolph in the 1870s

Frederick Hockley (died 1885), spiritualist

Julius Kohn, a doctor (died 1934)

Thomas Moore Johnson (1851-1919), president of the Brotherhood of Luxor in the USA, lawyer, publisher of the esoteric magazine The Platonist

The next group is of men who later joined the GD (though not necessarily at William Alexander's instigation); I don't think any of them were freemasons though I haven't investigated all of them:

Percy William Bullock, a legal clerk who later qualified as a solicitor

Dr George Dickson, a doctor, of Edinburgh

Frederick Leigh Gardner, a stock-broker and cataloguer of occult books

Frederick Jabez Johnson of London

Robert Palmer-Thomas who worked in the offices of a railway company

Thomas Henry Pattinson, who ran his own watch-making and jewellery business in Bradford

A E Waite, occultist and publisher

Thomas W Wilson, of York and then of Bradford; a pharmacist

And finally, a group of men that William Alexander knew OF, but probably only through their writings; it's not clear to me whether he had any personal connection with them, even by letter:

Edward Bulwer-Lytton, author of the 'occult' novel Zanon

Eliphas Levi, influential writer on the history and practice of magic

Jean-Marie Ragon (died 1862)

Max Theon

There's something on most of those men on Wikipedia; and plenty elsewhere on the web on some of them. The Freemasons' Library has plenty on Yarker, Irwin, MacKenzie and their circle.

Through these male occult networks, William Alexander was invited to become a member of several occult orders:

William Alexander may have been a member of the SAT B'HAI ORDER OF SIKHA. I haven't found very much evidence for existence of this Order but it seems to have pre-dated the August Order of Light before later being equated with it or even amalgamated with it. Records of membership, if there were any, haven't survived but a copy of a ritual used by the Order, now in the Freemasons' Library, belonged to William Alexander at one time. The Sat B'hai Order was founded by John Yarker and incorporated some rituals that Yarker believed had a Jewish origin.

AUGUST ORDER OF LIGHT which apparently is also known as the Mysteries of Perfection of Sikha and Ekata.

The best source I found for the August Order of Light says that it was launched in November 1881 when its founder, Maurice Vidal Portman, issued a document of rules and rituals and announced himself as the August Order's Grand Hierophant. The document was sent, possibly to William Alexander himself but definitely to acquaintances of his like John Yarker and F G Irwin, both well-known personalities on the wilder shores of 19th century freemasonry.

M V Portman was a naval officer, normally stationed in the Indian Ocean as officer-in-charge at the Andaman Islands; but in 1881 he was in Europe in the middle of a long period of sick leave. In late 1883, he was passed fit and returned to the Andaman Islands, leaving those men who had joined his Order in a state of confusion about what would happen now.

William Alexander joined the August Order and a letter he wrote to M V Portman in January 1886 shows why: excited and intrigued by Portman's long experience of life in the East, he supposed the August Order had oriental origins - the letter was asking Portman to send more information about them. He also asked on what authority Portman claimed to be head of the August Order - perhaps expecting a reply saying that Portman (like Blavatsky) was acting as agent for unnamed orientals of very high occult status; or naming a suitable deputy now that Portman was back at work. He must have been surprised and disappointed at the reply he

got. M V Portman spent as much of his letter moaning about the extra work that would be falling on him shortly as a result of British conquest of Burma, as explaining the status and origins of the August Order. Portman said that the August Order's main ritual was entirely English and that he hadn't compiled it himself anyway, the work had been done by Robert Palmer-Thomas (who later joined the GD). He did admit to having drawn up some rituals of his own; but again, their origins were in the West not the East as he had asked advice from Western occultists. As to the question of who was the head of the August Order, Portman said that he still was, as he had founded it.

I doubt if William Alexander found Portman's letter very satisfactory; and the August Order doesn't seem to have been very active anyway, perhaps suffering from its founder's absence.

HERMETIC BROTHERHOOD OF LUXOR

More is known about William Alexander's membership of this group than about most of his occult involvement, for the simple reason that some manuscripts concerning the HBL have survived in France; and some letters still exist that were written by William Alexander to members of the HBL in the USA in the mid-1880s. No list of members has survived. It's known that women could join, though there were more female members in the US than in Europe.

The HBL was founded by the man usually known as Max Theon, who had a past rather like Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, inasmuch as his life and true origins have been very hard to investigate. Theon was the HBL's Grand Master, but did not take any part in its daily administration. Collecting the money, liaising between members, and distributing the teaching aids was the province (at least in the early 1880s) of Peter Davidson and the man the members initially knew as T H Burgoyne.

The HBL advertised its existence and willingness to accept new members in an occult publication late in 1884. William Alexander was contacted by T H Burgoyne at this time and agreed to be its Provincial Grand Master in England. The HBL published the Occult Magazine during 1885 and 1886, but was primarily a kind-of distance-learning organisation attempting (as one member put it) to teach divine love through psychism and the development of the intuition. Those who found out about its existence could pay to receive occult instruction on these matters. The HBL didn't have meetings or rituals where all the members would gather together. Instead each member initiated themselves with paraphernalia and instructions sent by its administrators, with other members present at the initiation in astral form only. Members paid a fee to be sent occult texts which they studied on their own, though if they found the texts and instructions hard going: they could write to a more senior member for help.

The HBL's self-initiation ceremony involved drinking "soma juice" - cannabis. William Alexander described the effect it had, in a letter to another member of the Brotherhood, in which he makes it clear that he hadn't prepared the drink himself; I suppose it must have been sent from HBL's headquarters. He also makes it casually obvious that he was a regular drug-user - though I imagine some of his use was for medical reasons rather than as an occult aid:

"[W]hat purported to be the real soma juice [was] drunk at a certain stage...I hesitated very

much to drink this drug...I thought of omitting it. However, I opened the bottle & smelt of it. All my life, I have been used to drugs, & I at once recognised this. I knew its effects were most powerful, but I decided to take it. Whether it was hallucination produced by this drug I know not, but I was conscious of another presence... I was fully 3 hours at it from midnight. When over, I felt my pulse, & found just what I expected, that it was intermittent, which was what I knew to be the effect of the drug I thought it was."

Chris Bennett has sent me ample evidence that using drugs as an aid, in occult situations, was fairly typical at that time. I was confused by the reference to drinking the cannabis rather than smoking it but Chris suggested that whatever it was that William Alexander drank was based on cannabis prepared as a tincture.

I think it must have been through his teaching role in the HBL that William Alexander first got to correspond with future GD members like Thomas Pattinson. Originally just involved with his mentees as a guide and teacher, he was soon playing a more active role protecting them from the pitfalls that those new to the occult were all too likely to fall into; in the course of which he blackened several reputations. In 1884, for example, one of his mentees (he called them by the Indian term chela) sent him a manuscript and asked him his opinion of it. It wasn't one that was on the HBL syllabus; the chela had bought it on the occult mail-order market and had paid the large sum of £10 for it. William Alexander later described the manuscript as containing "instructions of the worst kind of Black Magic by means of sexual intercourse". You could see William Alexander as the stereotype of the easily-shocked English country vicar; on the other hand, accusing people of using black magic was something that William Alexander did quite often, when he didn't agree with them. And it seems that it was not the sex magic itself that alarmed him, but the dark purposes it was being used for and "the most devastating results" he feared it could have on inexperienced people who tried it out. The fact that such manuscripts were being sold (and at such a price as well) seems to have brought out the worst in William Alexander and he began to spread hostile stories about its author, Paschal Beverly Randolph, and his works. He later admitted that he'd said and implied things about Randolph that he didn't know were true; but it was too late by then and the accusations have stuck, damaging Randolph's reputation. Amongst the stories that William Alexander spread were: that Randolph had been initiated into the HBL and had then betrayed that trust; and that Randolph had died before the HBL was founded. He also claimed that Randolph had attacked the TS's Colonel Olcott with black magic only to find that Olcott had "turned the circle back upon him". And he said that Randolph had committed suicide - which was true, Randolph did kill himself; but William Alexander told the story in such a way as to make it seem that Randolph's death was a direct result of Olcott's fight-back against magical attack.

As to whether experienced occultists William Alexander and Anne Ayton used sex magic as part of their occult life together... I must say I find it hard to imagine, but that's my problem. An experienced occultist like William Alexander would not have needed telling that the sexual or even symbolic union of male and female, in a ritual setting, raises powerful energies. So who knows?

The supposedly secret Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor managed to survive having T H Burgoyne publish a lot of its supposedly secret documents in 1889, but was moribund by 1909. In England, recruitment of new members had come to an abrupt end in 1886, when the real identity of the man calling himself T H Burgoyne became known; see the FRAUDS section below. However, William Alexander continued to write to other members of the

Brotherhood for several years afterwards. He also continued to use the seal he held as its Provincial Grand Master, at least until 1890.

William Alexander was NOT a member of the SOCIETY OF EIGHT despite knowing virtually all the men who were. It was set up by Frederick Holland (an early mentor of Samuel Liddell Mathers) in 1883 and one of the sources I found suggested that Holland had wanted William Alexander to join it. Two books I found both gave lists of the members; not quite the same lists unfortunately, though most names were on both. William Alexander wasn't on either list.

FRAUDS

I'll just say here that societies of occultists whose existence was supposed to be a secret; and whose members never met face-to-face; were a gift to would-be swindlers.

HERMETIC COLONY ASSOCIATION

In March 1886 a prospectus was issued by the Hermetic Colony Association Ltd, which was hurrying to raise £20,000 via 4000 shares at £5 each, to start a colony in Georgia USA. A site on which to establish the colony had already been found and inspected by one of the men listed as involved with the Association. The land was being held for the Association at a knock-down price, but not for long: time, therefore, was short and those wanting to buy shares had to pay for them in full within the next three months. In addition to six directors, the members of two working committees (one in the UK, one in the USA) were all named, and the names would have shown those in the know that the Association had close ties with the Brotherhood of Luxor: three of the directors were its two administrators - the man calling himself T H Burgoyne, and Peter Davidson - and William Alexander Ayton.

The Association was looking for "progressive minds" to fund and live at the colony, "advanced thinkers" who would pave the way for "the advancement of a new order of Society." Consequently the Association was circulating its prospectus amongst hermeticists, theosophists and spiritualists. Shareholders in the Association would be given preference when choosing who would be allowed to go and settle in the colony. Unlike many such schemes, the Association's colony would have a sound financial basis because the site in Georgia had good farmland - and gold underneath it.

The prospectus is now in the GD Collection at the Freemasons' Library. It's an impressive piece of work, well laid out and printed (a man who owned a printing firm was one of the directors) on very nice paper. The site's agricultural possibilities, and the quality of its gold, are discussed in detail with a wealth of statistics. I haven't been able to work out for sure, quite how the people involved with the Association came to realise it was an attempt at fraud; but a letter William Alexander sent to William Wynn Westcott in November 1888 named Thomas Pattinson as the whistle-blower. Somehow Pattinson had met, or seen a photograph of, the man calling himself T H Burgoyne and realised that as Thomas Henry Dalton, he had been convicted of fraud in Leeds in January 1883, a trial which Pattinson had attended. After serving his sentence Dalton and his family went to the USA. Dalton started calling himself Thomas Henry Burgoyne and with the writing name Zanoni, had articles published in occult magazines. He was thus able to involve himself with the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor as its Secretary, and couldn't resist trying another, grander, fraud scheme.

William Alexander was particularly bitter about being 'had' by Burgoyne/Dalton and his Hermetic Colony Association. If he had ever met T H Burgoyne in person, it would have been different. He would have realised that he'd had an encounter with him in 1881 when the man had contacted him as Thomas Henry Dalton and paid the Aytons a visit. During that visit, he had shocked William Alexander by his boasts of doing black magic. William Alexander had sent him away with a flea in his ear and expected not to hear of him again.

By 1888 William Alexander had come to regard the whole Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor as nothing more than a cover for Burgoyne/Dalton's fraudulent schemes. At least he could take some comfort from realising that he was not the only one amongst his acquaintances to have been taken for a ride. Amongst the names on the Association's prospectus are three other men who would join the GD in due course, probably all of them Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor members: Thomas W Wilson; Dr George Dickson; and Frederick Jabez Johnson. They had certainly all lost money like William Alexander had.

GOLDEN DAWN

I think it is ironic that in his letter to Westcott of November 1888, William Alexander was warning him not to be taken in by the Hermetic Colony Association. Because Westcott had recently sent him one of the documents on which the GD was founded and had asked him to give an opinion on whether it was old and genuine. William Alexander had concluded that it was. The document was the one now referred to as the 'Cipher Manuscript'; and as most GD historians are sure it was a fake, probably compiled by Westcott in the 1880s, what exactly was Westcott's purpose in letting William Alexander assess it? William Alexander might have felt flattered to be asked to vet the manuscript by someone who was no slouch at these matters himself. He would have considered that Westcott was being appropriately cautious, seeking a second opinion about a manuscript of uncertain origin. However, what Westcott was really doing was testing to see whether his fake would pass muster, and passing on to William Alexander some of the burden of proof. If it was vouched for by so senior an occultist, it wasn't very likely that anyone else would have the nerve to challenge it.

What would Westcott have done, I wonder, if William Alexander had raised any queries? Would he have admitted that he'd compiled the manuscript himself - that it was not the ancient piece of esoteric wisdom it purported to be? As it was, Westcott got away with it and the fraud went unacknowledged for a decade, during which every person who was initiated into the GD was a victim of it, including William Alexander. Eventually, Samuel Liddell Mathers' announcement that the letters that went with the cipher manuscript were frauds, caused senior GD members to lose faith in the cipher manuscript as well. Curiously enough, William Alexander doesn't seem to have been all that bothered by the possibility of fraud, when he found out that the Sprengel letters at least were under suspicion. Writing to Westcott in the midst of the controversy (1900), all he seemed to be worried about was whether he can still borrow a particular (unnamed) manuscript Westcott had promised to lend him; or whether he would have to wait until the hubbub had died down. Perhaps, as a long-time occultist, he was rather used to fakes.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.

Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

SOURCES FOR THE AYTONS' LIFE IN THE OCCULT

The reference that I found to William Alexander's only published book:

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Rev W A Ayton to F L Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985. It's a translation from the Latin of Thomas Smith's The Life of John Dee originally published 1707. Howe couldn't find a copy of it in either the British Library or the Library of Congress.

I found Ayton's translation via googlebooks: originally published by the Theosophical Publishing Society. I found several copies for sale on the web, at alibris etc. At Amazon.co.uk they had a facsimile edition published Pentacle Enterprises November 1999. Notes on the Amazon site said it was originally published in 1908.

Ayton's only published article, which was published anonymously:

A mention of it in:

Pascal Beverly Randolph: a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician by John Patrick Deveny. Published 1997 by State University of New York Press in its Western Esoteric Traditions series. In footnotes section p508 Deveny identifies an anonymous article on the Chinese Taro (sic), published in The Platonist (editor Thomas Moore Johnson) as by William Alexander. Deveny didn't give any more details but I found more information in:

Initiatic and Historical Documents for an Order of Practical Occultism. By Joscelyn Godwin, Christian Chanel and John P Deveney. York Beach Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc 1995 on p379: it was published in The Platonist volume 2 number 8 issue of August 1885. The magazine was published by Thomas Moore Johnson, president of the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor in the USA; and also a TS member from 1884.

Neither publication actually gives the source that they used to identify the article's author as William Alexander.

FREEMASONRY

Basic membership records from the United Grand Lodge of England now available through Ancestry.

For basic information on lodges founded during the 19th century see Lane's Masonic Records via www.hrionline.ac.uk/lane or via the Freemasons' Library website.

ST JOHN'S LODGE 601

In the collections at the Freemasons' Library:

By-Laws of St John's Lodge 601 printed Wellington Shropshire 1854.

A Brief History of St John's Lodge 601 Meeting at Wellington Shropshire 1852-1925 by B C W Johnson who is a PM; appendices compiled by George Jeffs. The book is based on the lodge Minute books; in 1925, at least, the lodge still had a good run of them. Printed England 1952: p8; pp26-27, p31. Appendix 1 pp49-51. Lists of officials pp58-61. Meeting places p62.

THE MARMION LODGE 1060

The Freemasons' Library has a history of the lodge's chapter but not one of its lodge.

THE CHURCHILL LODGE 478 p

A Short History of the Churchill Lodge of Antient, Free and Accepted Masons 478 by H R Cooper Smith. Edited by its centenary committee and printed in Oxford 1949. Revision of by-laws 1873 pp9-10. Beginning on p29 it lists everyone who had been initiated since its founding in 1841. For distinguished members see p34, p38, p44, p48, p51, p54; for William Alexander's initiation, p45. For its meeting places: p72, p82. Fees p77. Beginning on p25, a list of the lodge's Worshipful Masters does not include William Alexander.

WESTMINSTER AND KEY STONE LODGE 10

The Freemasons' Library has a large amount on this venerable lodge and its members. There are several lodge histories but I looked at the earliest:

History of the Westminster and Keystone Lodge 10...from date of its constitutions...to the year 1905 compiled by J W Sleigh Godding as a PM. Privately printed Plymouth: William Brendon and Son Ltd. Beginning p268 a list of all members listed in the lodge register between 1761 and 1906; with William Alexander on p269. Lodge meeting places: p267. On pp194-203 a list of lodge visitors. On p265 in a list of lodge members who achieved high rank within the UGLE: no mention of William Alexander. On pp262-263 Appendix B is a list of lodge officers; William Alexander isn't on it. On pp173-174 fees from the revised lodge by-laws issued in 1873. On p191 in a list of members who were initiated or joined the lodge between 1855 and 1878: William Alexander as a member of 1060 [Marmion Lodge Tamworth], initiated as a joining member, 8 February 1872. I didn't see any other GD members in the list for that period.

CHERWELL LODGE 599

William Alexander is not listed as a member of this lodge in the United Grand Lodge of England database of members. The source for his being a member was noticed by Roger Wright at

<http://sueyounghistories.com/archives/2009/01/16>.

Sue Young researches biographies of homoeopaths. She doesn't usually give the sources for her information but confirmation of William Alexander's membership is in this lodge history in the Freemasons' Library:

The Cherwell Lodge 599 1852-1952 prepared by John R Railton, now in the Freemasons' Library. Based on the lodge's Minute Books. Entry for William Alexander Ayton and Capt H J Lay: p31.

Re the Lay family as friends of the Aytons:

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Revd William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited and with an introduction by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985. Letter Ayton to Gardner 25 July 1889 written at the Lay family's house, Staverton Court near Cheltenham.

HENRY JOHN LAY

I've not had much luck finding this man using my usual family history searches. I did find him on the census of 1891, at Staverton Court; aged 55, born in Paisley Renfrewshire. His wife Isabella was 66, born in Liverpool. Also in the household that day was their daughter Elizabeth Lay, aged 35, who told the official she had been born in Montreal Canada. There were four live-in servants: a cook, a housemaid, a footman and a coachman. Henry John Lay described himself as a farmer but he hadn't lived at Staverton Court very long:

www.british-history.ac.uk, on the parish of Staverton near Cheltenham, an on line version of A History of the County of Gloucester volume 8 published Victoria County History 1968. The Staverton Court estate was owned by the St Clair family for most of the 19th century; so the Lays were probably renting the house from them.

I couldn't find the Lay family on the census in 1901; nor on Familysearch.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p92 W A Ayton: application dated 30 July 1889; resigned 8 May 1907. Branch = Blavatsky.

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p97 Ann (sic) Ayton: application dated 30 July 1889. Handwritten note "Died June 29th 1898". Branch = "unattached".

The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section by R A Gilbert. Published 1987, London: Theosophical History Centre. The mention of William Alexander is on p6; Gilbert is quoting Blavatsky's article Lodges of Magic, which appeared in Lucifer's issue of October 1888.

The Theosophical Enlightenment by Joscelyn Godwin. Published by the State Univ of New York Press in its Western Esoteric Traditions series 1994. The meeting of the Aytons with Olcott and Blavatsky: p307-08. The sources for it are The Spiritualist volume XIV January 1879: 41-42; and later Olcott's memoir Old Diary Leaves volume 2 pp 4-9.

Initiatic and Historical Documents for an Order of Practical Occultism. By Joscelyn Godwin, Christian Chanel and John P Deveney. York Beach Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc 1995 and very much focused on the US connection: p35, p60, p166 footnote 1, p334.

Pascal Beverly Randolph: a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician by John Patrick Deveney. Published 1997 by State University of New York Press in its Western Esoteric Traditions series. About astral travelling: p295. About scrying: p297. About Blavatsky's use of hashish in the 1870s: p298.

GOLDEN DAWN

Pascal Beverly Randolph: a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician by John Patrick Deveny. Published 1997 by State Univ of New York Press in its Western Esoteric Traditions series. The mirror device made for the Aytons by T H Pattinson: p56 but unfortunately it doesn't give a date for it.

Items in the Freemasons' Library GD collection:

Most are Flying Rolls written out by William Alexander for the use of new initiates.

GBR 1991 GD 2/1/1 GD's Grade of Geburah notebook, which is more of a motley crew than it sounds. There are a lot of hand-written rituals in it, some in William Alexander's handwriting. But it also has in it the GD members' address book. In the middle is the diary of the Aytons' invoking experiences; with page numbers in pencil added much later pp231-[237]. The diary begins with the session of 4 December 1891 and ends with that of 23 January 1892. As I am not an occultist I don't know how far the title of the whole notebook can be applied to the Diary. Geburah is a Kabbalistic term and is associated with the 6=5 Adeptus Major level.

Further thoughts on the invocation diary, after looking at it again in April 2017:

- I think the notes are too tidy to have been written down during the scrying sessions. They are also all in the past tense. I think that what is in the Grade of Geburah notebook is a fair copy, compiled from jottings and scribbles done during the sessions
- the fair copy is dated, but it's not signed, even with a GD motto. A note in pencil on the top of the first page attributes it to William Alexander Ayton; and "Anne" is referred to several times in the text
- to me, the text begins in the middle! - it goes straight into descriptions of the visions, there's no coverage of where they were seen - crystal ball, mirror or something else - and no description of how the Aytons (assuming it was them) prepared themselves for the sessions.

Some occult works owned by William Alexander, several of which found their way into the collection of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia after his death:

- * La Clef, a key to the work of Abbot Trithemius, by Max Theon.
- * Les Fables Egyptiennes et Greques by Antoine Joseph Pernety. Annotated "Wm Alexr Aytoun (sic) 1880".
- * Maçonnerie occulte suivie de l'initiation hermétique... by Jean-Marie Ragon 1781-1862. Published E Dentu Paris 1853. Annotated "Wm Alexr Ayton 1861" and he's made notes on it as well
- * Manuscript Sat B'hai Order of Sikha dated c 1875-80

Items concerning other occult orders:

- * letter Maurice V Portman to William Alexander 22 Jan 1886 in response to a letter from William Alexander
- * prospectus for the Hermetic Colony Association dated 24 March 1886.

Two letters by Westcott:

- * letter from Westcott to a recipient called Brown 17 April 1888.
- * letter from Westcott to William Alexander undated but March 1900, originally from GD source known as Private Collection A

That the cipher manuscript was a fraud probably compiled in the 1880s:

A E Waite analysed its content and published his belief that it was a 19th-century compilation in his memoir, *Shadows of Life and Thought*. In *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, Ellic Howe's investigations into the paper and the watermarks backed him up; pp2-3. By the time of R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion* p4-5 it's an accepted fact that both the letters and the cipher manuscript were faked; Gilbert says that it's almost certain that Westcott forged the manuscript himself or got someone else to do so.

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn and Blount of Paternoster House EC 1938 .

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. It was Howe's work on the Sprengel letters that established that they were definitely fakes.

The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough Northants: The Aquarian Press 1986.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN - INDEPENDENT AND RECTIFIED RITE/ORDER

A E Waite: A Magician of Many Parts by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough Northants 1987. Appendix C on p178 Appendix C.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER AS TRANSLATOR AND ASSESSOR OF OCCULT MANUSCRIPTS

Pascal Beverly Randolph: a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician by John Patrick Deveny. Published 1997 by State Univ of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Trads* series. Translation of Abbot Trithemius' *Prophecies*: p508, original source Blavatsky's *Diaries* volume 1 p421.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Vol II 1896-1900. That Westcott asked William Alexander to authenticate the cipher manuscript: p543 note 14; original source is a letter now in the Warburg Institute (and therefore in the Yorke Collection) from Westcott to Gardner, undated but assigned by editors to spring 1900.

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn and Blount 1938. William Alexander not the translator of manuscripts owned by Lord Strafford: p134.

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Revd William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited and with an introduction by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985. The letters used for the book were all written by William Alexander Ayton, most of them to Frederick Leigh Gardner who was initiated into the GD in 1894. During the 20th century the letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner made their way into the occult collection of Gerald Yorke which is now in the Warburg Institute, University of London.

What little I know about Harleian Ms 476 I found on a website about the life of John Moore MP: at www.robert-temple.com/articles/john_moore.pdf.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER AS AN ALCHEMIST

The best known reference to William Alexander's alchemical work is: *The Trembling Veil* by W B Yeats. I saw the original 1922 edition: London: Privately Printed for Subscribers Only by T Werner Laurie Ltd; pp69-70. That he's still at it in 1902 is from Yeats's *Golden Dawn* by George Mills Harper. Wellingborough Northants: The Aquarian Press 1974 p188 quoting a letter from Yeats to Lady Gregory January 1902.

OCCULT SOCIETIES HE WAS OR WAS NOT A MEMBER OF AUGUST ORDER OF LIGHT

There's quite a bit of coverage in books and on the web but the most intelligible account I found is in *Masonic Curiosities* compiled by Yasha Beresiner, edited by Tony Pope. Published Melbourne: Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council 2000: pp189-191. Source for the section is letters from John Yarker to Frederick G Irwin 1890.

Freemasons' Library GD collection GD 2/5/4/1: letter from M V Portman to William Alexander, dated 22 January 1886 and written at Port Blair, Andaman Islands.

SOCIETY OF EIGHT

The best list of its members was compiled by Geraldine Beskin, curator of the Yarker Library, in 1989 and referred to in Paschal Beverly Randolph: *A Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician* by John Patrick Deveny. 1997 by State University of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Traditions* series: p508 in its footnotes section. The source is a talk given by Geraldine Beskin and R A Gilbert at the Theosophical History conference in 1989. According to Beskin's list, the members were Walter Moseley; Frederick Holland; Kenneth Mackenzie; Yarker; F G Irwin; Westcott; Benjamin Cox; William Oxley; and Samuel Liddell Mathers. But NOT William Alexander.

The Theosophical Enlightenment by Joscelyn Godwin. Published by the State University of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Traditions* series 1994. On p222 Godwin says that it was founded by Frederick Holland in 1883. Hockley died in 1885 and Mathers replaced him.

That Holland would have liked William Alexander to be a member: Godwin p405 footnote 66 quoting Ellic Howe's article *Fringe Masonry in England 1870-85*, published in *Ars Quatuor Coronati* volume 85 1972 pp242-95.

HERMETIC BROTHERHOOD OF LUXOR

The Theosophical Enlightenment by Joscelyn Godwin. Published by the State Univ of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Traditions* series 1994: pp353-356.

Initiatic and Historical Documents for an Order of Practical Occultism. By Joscelyn Godwin, Christian Chanel and John P Deveney. York Beach Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc 1995 and very much focused on the US connection. Hard to pick out any one page number in this volume, there were so many useful references. There are long quotes and complete reproductions of William Alexander's letters, including his account of the Brotherhood's self-initiation ritual.

On tinctures and how to make them. See wikipedia for an overview. There are plenty of web pages giving detailed instructions on how to make them yourself - I looked at [//aromaticstudies.com](http://aromaticstudies.com).

You prepare a tincture by macerating leaves or roots of the plant in question in a solvent for a few weeks, to make a strong solution. The solvent used is often alcohol but you can use other things instead. When the tincture is ready, a few drops in (say) a glass of water is all that will be needed. At least, it is in modern herbal medicine but perhaps that wasn't peppy enough for the 19th century!

I found wikipedia's page on the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor not as clear as the books by Godwin and Deveney. It also contained some incorrect data, for example on Peter Davidson.

Influence of Randolph:

Pascal Beverly Randolph: a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician by John Patrick Deveney. Published 1997 by State University of New York Press in its Western Esoteric Traditions series. Brotherhood's existence published in an edition of *The Divine Pyramider*: p246. Brotherhood splitting up in 1886: p246. William Alexander on Randolph's sex magic: pp508 quoting letters written by William Alexander to an unknown correspondent, one in May 1885 and one in August 1886. I think the letters are in the Yorke Collection, Warburg Institute but the author doesn't specifically say so.

CANNABIS USE IN THE OCCULT with information and recommendations emailed to me by cannabis use expert Chris Bennett. He also sent me eye-popping details of the use of other drugs by some 19th century occultists - though not the Aytons - including such well-known killers as henbane, belladonna and aconite.

In 1995 Bennett published *Green Gold the Tree of Life: Marijuana in Magic and Religion*. In March 2017, however, he told me that he'd amassed so much more information since then, that he was going to write another account. He is hoping to start work on it this summer (2017); its provisional title is *Cannabis and the Occult*. You can read its chapter on cannabis at www.alchemylab.com/cannabis

On cannabis as part of the Brotherhood of Luxor's initiation ritual:

HERMETIC COLONY ASSOCIATION

Freemasons' Library GD 2/5/4/2 is the prospectus issued p4 on 24 March 1886.

Pattinson's involvement; and William Alexander warning Westcott against T H Burgoyne: Freemasons' Library GD 2/5/4/3 letter 3 November 1888.

Blavatsky warns theosophists against T H Burgoyne:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume V September 1889 to February 1890, published

by the Theosophical Publishing Co of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume V issue of 15 September 1889 p55 and editor's footnote p55.

SOME SOURCES FOR OCCULTISTS KNOWN TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER:

Thomas Moore Johnson 1851-1919, earning his money as a lawyer in Missouri but also a student of platonism. Published *The Platonist* sporadically between 1881 and 1888. Website for Johnson, who left a library: www.johnson-library.org.

Edward Bulwer-Lytton and Eliphas Levi: in *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism* by Wouter J Hanegraff and Jeffrey J Kripal. Pubd 2010. On p356 in a chapter by John Patrick Deveney, footnote 6 and footnote 7 quoting letters written by William Alexander in 1884 and 1886. However, the letters don't say that William Alexander knew either man personally, only that he knew Bulwer-Lytton's reputation, and Levi's work. This is also the source for William Alexander knowing the work of other French occultists.

Peter Davidson:

The Theosophical Enlightenment by Joscelyn Godwin. Published by the State Univ of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Traditions* series 1994: p353.

Davidson's connection with Randolph:

Pascal Beverly Randolph: *a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician* by John Patrick Deveney. Published 1997 by State University of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Traditions* series: p208 quoting a letter written by William Alexander.

A publication by Davidson: *Hidden Mysteries Unveiled: or Vital Christianity* published by *Christian Life* 1895; 28 pp. There's no copy of it in the British Library.

Freemasons:

The Theosophical Enlightenment by Joscelyn Godwin. Published by the State Univ of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Traditions* series 1994: p353 as a friend of F G Irwin, Frederick Hockley and Kenneth Mackenzie.

Frederick Hockley, F G Irwin, Benjamin Cox, Mackenzie:

Pascal Beverly Randolph: *a Nineteenth Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian and Sex Magician* by John Patrick Deveney. Published 1997 by State Univ of New York Press in its *Western Esoteric Trads* series: p34. On p253 Deveney calls William Alexander the "greatest occult gossip of the nineteenth century". Also on p253: that Blavatsky and Randolph loathed each other.

JULIUS KOHN

Wellcome Library has some Manuscript items by him: their Mss 3127 and 3128, typescripts dated 1921 and 1929 on *The Ancient Magic of Charming by Enchantment*. The Wellcome may have bought the typescripts in this sale: via the web to Books Including the Library of Julius Kohn and Stock of G E Friehold a sale catalogue published 1934 by Hodgson and Co auctioneers; the sale was due 24 October 1934.

Also via google to:

Splendor Solis: Alchemical Treatises of Solomon Trismosin, Adept edited by Julius Kohn.
1920

A mention in Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine Society for the Social History of Medicine, published Macmillan/St Antony's College Oxford and edited by Roger Cooter; on p88 footnote 20: Kohn was known to A E Waite

SALLY DAVIS

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Anna Mary Babington was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn during 1893 at its Isis-Urania temple in London. She chose the Latin motto *Perfecta victoria est de semitipso triumphare*. She never really followed up her initiation and resigned from the Order in April 1895. It was probably just too difficult for her to be a committed member, as she had recently gone to live in Italy.

UPDATE DECEMBER 2016

From January to December this year, this biography contained a section on Benjamin Fayle, businessman and industrialist. However, in December 2016 a researcher on the industrial archaeology of Dorset contacted me, pointing out the errors in my account. There were rather a lot of them! - so I have decided to leave that section to the experts.

This file is still a complete rewrite (completed January 2016) of my original biography of Anna Mary. Nothing else was good enough after Terry Sheppard of the Rothley Heritage Trust contacted me to correct my original assumptions about Anna Mary's financial circumstances. Thanks are due to Terry, for drawing my attention to the clay business and the tea rooms; and for sending me his recent booklet, which had copies of all sorts of family documents in it.

THE BABINGTON FAMILY

The surname may ring a bell to those with an interest in Mary Queen of Scots: Anthony Babington of the 1586 plot to free the queen, was a member of the same family. Another line of Babingtons were lords of the manor of Rothley and Soke in Leicestershire until the early 19th century. Thomas Babington of the Rothley and Soke line (1758-1837) was a philanthropist, member of the Clapham Sect and anti-slavery campaigner. Thomas' brother-in-law Zachary Macaulay, another anti-slavery activist, gave his son the 'Babington' name and the son made it very famous: Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-59) became a Whig

politician and very influential historian.

So, plenty of distinguished Babingtons for Anna Mary to be proud of. However, I'm going to begin my rewritten biography with the friendship of physician William Babington and businessman Benjamin Fayle, great-grandfathers of Anna Mary Babington.

WILLIAM BABINGTON (1756-1833) was born in northern Ireland and became a doctor and surgeon. As was usual in the 18th century he began his training by serving an apprenticeship; then he went on to study medicine at Guy's Hospital in London and at Aberdeen University; and learned surgery at the Haslar naval hospital in Portsmouth. He returned to Guy's Hospital, as its apothecary and as a member of its teaching staff; was consulting physician to the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Kent Road; and also ran a successful private practice in the City and the Finsbury area of London. However, if times had been different it's likely that he would not have chosen medicine as his profession: his main interests were in chemistry, and mineralogy. He bought the Earl of Bute's mineral collection and catalogued it. It was on his recommendation that the Government bought the Greville mineral collection which is now in the Natural History Museum. He was one of the founders of the Geological Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He knew Joseph Priestley, probably while the Priestleys were living in Clapton (1791-94); and Humphry Davy, who took up his post at the Royal Institution in London in 1801. Both men were chemists: Priestley has a claim to have discovered the existence of oxygen; Davy discovered the properties of sodium and potassium and did important work on the nature of chlorine. They also both investigated electricity.

Benjamin Fayle (1751-1831) was another Irishman who moved to London. His involvement in the extraction of clay for the Midlands pottery industry, from pits on the Isle of Purbeck, made him a wealthy man. William Babington was not a partner in the exploitation of the clay-pits, but his descendants too were made wealthy by them.

BENJAMIN GUY BABINGTON AND ANNA MARIA FAYLE

As Benjamin Fayle and William Babington were very close friends, both families must have been delighted when William's son Benjamin Guy married Benjamin's daughter Anna Maria, late in 1816.

Benjamin Guy was the fourth son of William Babington and his wife Martha Elizabeth, born in 1794. It was customary for the Babingtons to send their sons to Charterhouse School, which was then still in its original buildings on Charterhouse Square in the City. Benjamin Guy was a pupil there from 1803 to 1807. William Babington's sons all had to earn their own living but Benjamin Guy took a while to find work that he could settle in. He was in the navy long enough to see action at Walcheren and at Copenhagen; but then left to train at Haileybury for a career as an administrator with the East India Company. He held various posts in the Madras Presidency from 1812 until 1819, but then had to resign through ill-health. By 1820, he and Anna Maria were back in England, living at 5 St Mary Aldermanbury in the City of London.

Although it was Benjamin Guy's health that had been such a concern, it was Anna Maria who died young; in 1825, leaving four sons aged from seven to only four. By that time, Benjamin

Guy was several years into a second re-training, studying medicine at Guy's Hospital as his father had done, before going on to Pembroke College Cambridge, qualifying FRCP in 1831. He worked as a doctor at Guy's Hospital until 1855, and like his father worked as physician at the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. Like his father, though, he had wide interests. He invented an instrument for helping doctors see further into patients' throats; he was a founder of the Epidemiological Society; he was one of the first secretaries of the Royal Asiatic Society; and translated religious works from Tamil and medical texts from German.

Benjamin Fayle died on 23 February 1831 at Benjamin Guy Babington's house in Finsbury Square. I think Benjamin Guy Babington; his and Anna Maria's surviving sons; Benjamin Fayle; and Fayle's unmarried daughter Charlotte may all have been living there together. Charlotte Fayle continued to live with the Babingtons for the rest of her life.

BENJAMIN FAYLE AND CO IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY

It looks as though Richard Fayle was Benjamin Fayle's only son. Richard was a director of Benjamin Fayle and Co in the mid-19th century but was not involved with the firm on a daily basis: he became a Church of England clergyman and by 1840 had been appointed vicar of Trinity Church in Torquay. He was married twice, and had four daughters but no sons. With Rev Fayle living outside London and having parish duties to perform, the most active directors of Benjamin Fayle and Co in the mid-19th century were Charlotte Fayle, and Benjamin Guy Babington.

Benjamin Fayle and Co negotiated new leases for the clay pits in 1825, when Benjamin Fayle himself probably conducted the firm's negotiations; and again in 1846, when Benjamin Guy Babington and Charlotte Fayle must have done so. All three directors were present in May 1854 when the new railway from the clay pits at Newton to Goathorn Pier in Poole Harbour was opened. The opening ceremony was followed by a dinner at which the guests included the local vicar, Rev James Higgon Evans of Corfe Castle; Joseph Willis, Benjamin Fayle and Co's representative in Dorset; and 170 workers at the clay-pits. Charlotte Fayle, Richard Fayle and Benjamin Guy Babington were also those named when the Crown took the directors of Benjamin Fayle and Co to court over Poor Law rates liability in Dorset, in 1856.

Charlotte Fayle's role in the firm was at its most important in the late 1860s and early 1870s: Benjamin Guy Babington died in April 1866 and Rev Richard Fayle in 1872. In 1866, it was Charlotte who brought a case against the executor of the late Thomas Hanson Peile when the executor was refusing to act and release what were probably assets of Benjamin Fayle and Co. She was not daunted by the fact that the executor was her own sister-in-law (see below for how the warring women were related). Charlotte was also the one named as representing Benjamin Fayle and Co in a list of suppliers to the Navy, compiled in 1869. When Charlotte took sole possession of the house owned by the family at 1 Seymer Place, in 1878, it was perhaps as a residence for the periods she needed to be in Dorset. And on the 1881 census she was even listed as a "clay merchant". When Anna Mary Babington started the tea rooms, she had Charlotte Fayle as an excellent example of how even in the 19th century, the right kind of woman could be an influential figure in a business.

THE BABINGTONS AND THE PEILES

Benjamin Guy Babington and his wife Anna Maria (née Fayle) had four sons: Benjamin Babington, who was born in Madras in August 1818; the twins William Peile Babington and Stephen Peile Babington who were born at St Mary Aldermanbury in 1820; and Arthur, also

born in the City, in 1821, but who died in 1829. Anna Mary Babington was a daughter of the eldest of the four.

Whereas most male members of the Babington family went to school at Charterhouse, Benjamin went to St Paul's School before going to Trinity Hall Cambridge. He was one of the first members of the family to qualify as a barrister, being called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1844 or 1846 (the accounts I found disagreed about the year). He chose a specialism that was very useful to the family - drafting equity and conveyancing documents. For a time was secretary to the Land Transfer Commission. He was a keen member of the Inns of Court Rifle Volunteer Corps. In 1843, he married his first cousin, Helen Savery Peile.

'Peile' is an unusual surname. 19th century census entries show most people with the name lived in Cumberland. However, by the 1790s, one member of the family - Solomon Peile - was living in the Stamford Hill/Tottenham Green district just north of the London suburb of Dalston. Solomon Peile was in business as a wine merchant. In June 1818, two of his sons - another Solomon Peile, and Thomas Hanson Peile - married two of Dr William Babington's daughters, sisters of Benjamin Guy Babington, sisters-in-law of Anna Maria Fayle. Solomon married Anne; and Thomas Hanson married Elizabeth Helen.

Thomas Hanson Peile worked as a solicitor, based at various addresses in the City of London. The case brought by Charlotte Fayle against Elizabeth Helen Peile in 1866 suggests to me that he might have been solicitor to the Babington and Fayle families, and/or to Benjamin Fayle and Co. Helen Savery Peile was the eldest child of Thomas Hanson and Elizabeth Helen Peile; born in 1820 or 1821.

Benjamin Babington (the barrister) and his wife Helen had four children. Anna Mary was the eldest, born 14 February 1846 at 31 George Street Hanover Square, and named after her grandmother Anna Maria. After Anna Mary came Adeline Charlotte (born 1847); Colville Burroughs (I couldn't find a birth registration for him, but he must have been born about 1848); and Alice Helen (born 1850). The 1851 census shows them growing up in a crowded household: Benjamin and Helen lived with his father, Benjamin Guy; and Charlotte Fayle; and Benjamin's brother Stephen Peile Babington. Charlotte Fayle made sure she told the census official that she had an income from investments; though she didn't go as far as mentioning that the investments were in a firm of which she was a director. Stephen Peile Babington described himself as a "merchant". The census official didn't write down any details of his employer but Terry Sheppard has found that Stephen was employed by Benjamin Fayle and Co - taking the involvement of the Fayles and Babingtons with the firm into the next generation. The family was one of the wealthiest of any GD member; in 1851 it employed a butler, a footman, a cook, two housemaids and a nursemaid.

One of the earliest events Anna Mary may have been able to remember was the death of her infant sister Alice Helen, late in 1852. Even having a doctor as the head of the household had been unable to prevent it - that was the reality of Victorian life. It was followed a few months later by the death of Anna Mary's aunt Catherine Fayle, first wife of Rev Richard. The children of Benjamin and Helen Babington may not have known her well; but there would still have been mourning to observe. However, there were visits to Dorset and to Torquay, I imagine, and lots of weddings to go to in a family with so many cousins. In 1856 Rev Richard got married again, to Eleonora Savile. He lived in great style, at Park Hill Villa, Tormoham, Torquay. On census day 1861 he and Eleonora were living with their daughters Charlotte Bagshaw (a widow at 32) and Agnes (who hadn't yet married). To look after the

four of them a cook, two lady's maids, a housemaid, a kitchen maid, a footman and a groom were employed.

Like most middle-class girls, Anna Mary and Adeline were educated at home: in 1861 the Babingtons employed a Swiss-born governess, who probably spoke French as well as German, to teach them what they felt a wealthy young woman should know. Both the sisters were at home at 31 George Street, Hanover Square, on census day 1861 and so was their brother Colville though I imagine he was being sent to school rather than learning at home. Benjamin and Helen were still living with Benjamin Guy Babington, Stephen Peile Babington and Charlotte Fayle and a slightly larger staff was employed in 1861 to that of 1851: a butler, a footman and a page; with a cook, a scullery maid and two housemaids.

Both Anna Mary's grandfathers died in 1866, when she was 20: Thomas Hanson Peile in March and Benjamin Guy Babington in April. A sad year. Changes were inevitable and by census day 1871, the old, large household had divided into two. Benjamin, Helen and Anna Mary were living in Brompton (I couldn't read the name of the street). Stephen Peile Babington, Anna Mary's sister Adeline, and Charlotte Fayle were living at 22 Taviton Street on the edge of Bloomsbury. Both households were run with a notably smaller staff of servants than when all the family was living under one roof: Benjamin and Helen had just a cook and housemaid; Stephen and Charlotte had the cook and the housemaid, but also a butler. Anna Mary's brother Colville doesn't appear on any census after 1861; I guess that by 1871 he had already gone to live in Argentina, where he married (in 1889) and was still living when he died.

Benjamin Babington became chronically ill with heart and lung trouble at a relatively early age. By the early 1870s, he was too ill to work and he, Helen and Anna Mary (but not Adeline, at least not at first) went to live at Vevey, on Lake Geneva near Montreux in Switzerland. Benjamin died there in August 1875 aged only 57. Their house there was probably the one at rue de Lemane 4 which was still being lived in by family members in 1910. Though a lawyer, he had not been very tidy about his own affairs: it was not until March 1877 that probate was granted to Stephen Peile Babington, acting on Helen's behalf; family members brought a case against the estate which was not settled until May 1877; and Stephen Peile Babington was still tidying up his brother's affairs in 1878. Benjamin had left relatively little money in any case, his income diminished by his ill-health; and the amount that was left for his wife and children was probably further eroded by all the legal action that was necessary in the wake of his death.

Helen Babington may have not liked the climate of Switzerland. She and Anna Mary continued to own the house at Vevey for many years, but very soon after her husband's death Helen moved to Hyères in the south of France. She may, however, have come back to England (like many did) for the London social season each spring - when in 1878 Helen and Anna Mary passed ownership of 1 Seymer Place Swanage over to Charlotte Fayle, their address as given as Gordon Square Bloomsbury.

As census day was in early April, before the start of the London Season, Helen and Anna Mary were not in England for it in 1881. Neither was Adeline - perhaps she was living with them by now, or visiting them in France. Stephen Peile Babington and Charlotte Fayle were still living together at 22 Taviton Street. It was an elderly household by now: Stephen was 60, and Charlotte 87. And James Pelly Babington, who had come to live with them, was 74. James was William Babington's youngest son; another doctor who had worked at Guy's

Hospital, though more recently he had been helping his sister Angel Peile (another Babington sister who had married a Peile) run a boarding school, Northcotts in Hatfield. Five servants (one young boy and four women) were employed; though the census official didn't note down what each of them did.

With the death of Benjamin Guy Babington, it had been up to Rev Richard and his sister Charlotte Fayle to decide whether to appoint a new director of Benjamin Fayle and Co, to replace him; or whether to wait and run the firm between them. Although I haven't found evidence that states it in so many words, I think that Stephen Peile Babington became a director, either in 1866 or in 1872 when Rev Richard died.

INHERITANCE

Charlotte Fayle died in April 1882. That was to be expected, at her age. But in February 1886, Stephen Peile Babington died, in Guy's Hospital, aged 66. He left personal effects to the value of £9500 (which Terry Sheppard computes at about half a million in today's terms), probably mostly in shares in Benjamin Fayle and Co but also - possibly - from whatever income he might have had from a patent he'd been granted in 1848 for a new design of hat-peg. Stephen's Will set up a trust fund, the proceeds of which were to provide for his nieces and nephew as his brother had perhaps not been able to do well. Stephen had never married. Perhaps he thought of Anna Mary, Adeline and their brother Colville as the children he might have had: he certainly left them a very comfortable income.

In 1886 Anna Mary was 40 and Adeline 39 and neither had married. Evidence from later in the lives of the sisters suggested that both may have been glad to remain single. See below for how Anna Mary was not consigned to the fate of so many middle-class spinsters, of continuing attendance on an elderly parent. And her sister Adeline had a vocation. With her inheritance from her uncle, she may at last have had the resources with which to follow it. By 1891 she had become a Sister of Mercy at All Hallows, at Ditchingham in Norfolk; and she remained there until her death in 1923.

All Hallows was an anglican sisterhood, founded in 1854 by Lavinia Crosse (later known as Mother Lavinia), daughter of a surgeon based in Norwich. Such sisterhoods were frowned on by the Church of England as being too close to Catholicism for comfort; so they were very dependent on charitable donations and whatever money those who joined them could bring with them as personal income - which, of course, they would hand over for the good of the convent as a whole. Although not a closed order - the sisters did a great deal of training, nursing and child-care work in their local community, and also took in pupils - it's likely that Anna Mary didn't see her sister very often, after Adeline joined the community.

During the 19th century it was considered perfectly normal for unmarried daughters to live with their parents until they had both died, except perhaps for visits to other relations. Although a lack of money to finance any alternative was often an issue, it was not normally finances that kept unmarried women at home in this way - their filial and religious duty was thought to demand it. However, Helen Savery Babington doesn't seem to have been a typical Victorian, in that respect: when Anna Mary was offered the chance to go travelling in Europe with a younger woman who was looking for a knowledgeable companion, she allowed her to go. And the result was: Anna Mary's life opened out in several unforeseen ways, including the Theosophical Society, the GD, and the tea rooms.

ISABEL CARGILL

The family backgrounds of Isabel Cargill and Anna Mary Babington were similar in some ways. Like Anna Mary, Isabel had a religious martyr in the family though Isabel was a direct descendant of the Scottish Covenanter Donald Cargill who was executed in 1683. The 19th-century Cargills had kept to their ancestor's strict Presbyterian faith; and Donald Cargill's bible was still in their possession in 1903. As with Anna Mary's story, though, Isabel Cargill's can be said to begin with a grand-father, in this case Captain William Cargill who sailed to New Zealand in 1848 to help found the Otago Settlement on the South Island. Captain William and his wife Mary had 17 children (!); Isabel's father was the eighth of them, Edward Bowes Cargill, born in Edinburgh in 1823.

Edward Bowes Cargill didn't go with his parents to Otago: he had joined the merchant navy in 1837 and then gone to live in Ceylon where in the early 1850s he was employed by the Bank of Western India. He married Dora Jemima Newsham of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1854, and after a short time spent living in Melbourne Australia, moved to Dunedin in 1857. I'm not going to go into all Edward Bowes' business dealings as these were many and complex. I'll just say that they involved import/export, shipping, railways, gas and water supplies - all the necessities of 19th-century life - and that he lost money through shipwrecks or investments that went wrong, several times, but still became one of the wealthiest and most prominent of Dunedin's citizens. The big, Italianate house, first called The Cliffs but now known as Cargill Castle, was his pet project, begun in 1876.

Edward Bowes Cargill and his wife Dora had five daughters: Margaret, Frances, Annie, Isabel, and one other whose name I haven't discovered and who died before both her parents. Isabel was born in 1864 so perhaps she was the youngest. She lived in Dunedin until she was in her late twenties, when she left New Zealand for Europe. The story handed down by Isabel's descendants is that she went to Europe in order to marry someone - that is, someone in particular - but that the marriage fell through. The impression that story gives is of Isabel arriving in the UK alone; but her sister Annie was also living in Rome in 1903 and perhaps they travelled to Europe together. If the story's true about Isabel being left stranded at the altar by her intended, she certainly doesn't seem to have wasted much time feeling sorry about it, or planning how to return to New Zealand. She (and possibly her sister Annie) decided that they would see Europe - they had obviously inherited some of their father's willingness to travel. They felt, though, that they needed a companion - a guide, who knew the ropes, someone who could (as they probably could not) speak a European language. Again according to family legend, Isabel advertised for a suitable woman. I would suppose having friends recommend someone was a safer strategy; but however the two women found out about each other's existence, it was Anna Mary Babington that Isabel Cargill chose to go travelling with her. Possibly a certain amount of vetting had taken place before they set out, because Anna Mary's cousin-once-removed Harry Diamond Peile met Isabel; and as he spent most of the 1890s working in India, the early 1890s seem the most likely time for him to have been introduced.

BABINGTON'S TEA ROOMS

Anna Mary, Isabel, and Isabel's sister Annie, if she was with them, arrived in Rome in 1892 and of course they were following a very well-trodden route from Britain to Italy. From the 18th-century, Rome had exercised a particular hold on the British, despite - perhaps even because of - being the headquarters of world Catholicism. Although it was not as high-profile a place for it as the south of France, by the 19th century Rome was a popular choice for wealthy Britons wanting to spend the winter in a warm climate. And throughout the year there was art, there was culture; and by the 1890s Rome was the capital of Italy which meant

royal pageantry to match the religious pageantry of the Vatican.

Isabel told her descendants that she and Anna Mary arrived in Rome with the intention of setting up a business there; so perhaps they didn't arrive in 1892 by accident. Rome was always teeming with foreign visitors but 1893 was going to be a year of higher-even-than-usual volumes of them.

Rome began 1893 with the jubilee of Pope Leo XIII on 19 February, with a procession to St Peter's, starting at 6am and led by pilgrims from Britain. In spring the focus turned to secular matters with the 25th wedding anniversary of King Umberto and Queen Margherita on 22 April. The week of celebrations in Rome included a military review, a garden party, a formal ball and lots of less high-profile meetings and dinners; and then the king and queen with their principle guests set out for Naples and more festivities. The principle guests made themselves very visible - Kaiser Wilhelm and his Empress. Conspicuous by their absence, at least from the official events, were the British royal family; rather pointedly not invited, though Queen Victoria did make her presence in Italy felt by a visit to Florence; and the Princess of Wales, two of her daughters and her son the Duke of York (the future George V) did just happen to be in Rome that April, doing the tourist thing and having an audience with the Pope. In September 1893, Rome should have hosted the 11th International Medical Congress; but in the summer, outbreaks of cholera in France and Germany caused it to be postponed and eventually it took place in March 1894, in time for Anna Mary and Isabel to benefit financially from those who attended it.

In his booklet on Anna Mary Babington, Terry Sheppard quotes a handbook from 1853 which remarked on the very well-organised way the British had made the district around the Piazza di Spagna their own even by then; so that you heard more English spoken in the streets around it, than Italian. The English still dominated the district in the 1890s and there were so many of them in more-or-less permanent residence that they were able to support a couple of English-language newspapers. One thing was lacking, however; and both Anna Mary and Isabel came from families which could spot a business opportunity when they saw it. Rome couldn't provide its British visitors with a decent cup of tea.

Perhaps it took them longer than they had hoped to find premises and fit them out; to order tea, tea-making and tea-serving items from England; and to publicise their new venture - so that they missed the big events of the spring - but Anna Mary and Isabel opened their Babington's Tea Rooms, in Via Due Macelli, in December 1893.

Why 'Babingtons'? Terry Sheppard, on the authority of Isabel's descendants, says that Anna Mary provided the bulk of the money that financed the venture - which she could well afford to do. I think, also, that it weighed with Anna Mary and Isabel that 'Babington' was a name likely to be better known amongst British visitors to Italy, than 'Cargill'. It sounds so very English, as well! - at least, I think so.

Babington's Tea Rooms were so successful that in the next three years they had to move to bigger premises twice. The second move, in 1896, took them to where they still are now, in the unused stable-block of a Roman palazzo just round the corner from the Piazza di Spagna; and by this time Anna Mary and Isabel had enough spare money to invest some in pushing the rooms towards the 20th-century by installing gas lighting. From the beginning they ran the business in person: when the tea rooms were open, one or the other of them would be at

the front desk taking the customers' money. And perhaps this is how Anna Mary got invited to join the GD - Babington's tea rooms became the very hub of English-speaking society in Rome and perhaps one or two people who went there to drink tea and rest their feet were GD members.

By 1894 Anna Mary was perhaps realising how difficult it was to be a member of a society whose meetings were held several hundred miles away. In 1894, she joined the Theosophical Society, a group of whose members were based in Rome and met there regularly. At this time, all applications for membership had to have the support of two people who were already TS members. Anna Mary's two sponsors were a Mr E H J Murphy, and Alfred King. Neither man was a GD member and perhaps they were both visitors to Rome, or resident there. The TS's lodge in Rome had its own library at Via Porta Pinciana 74, and occasionally guest speakers would visit it from London (Isabel Cooper-Oakley, for example, who was in Italy in 1897). By 1897, however, Anna Mary had resigned from the TS as she had done from the GD and perhaps for the same reason. Babington's Tea Rooms was perhaps taking just too much of her time.

The address that Anna Mary gave both the GD and the TS was via dell'Aurora 35, Rome. I guess she was probably living there with Isabel and perhaps Annie Cargill as well. It might even have been the pensione Annie Cargill was running in Rome in 1903. Anna Mary did not spend all year every year in Rome, however - she could hardly do so, as she was the only one of her siblings who could visit Helen Babington, who was now in her seventies. Anna Mary was with Helen Babington on census day 1901, at 120 Madeira Road, in Ventnor on the Isle of Wight, perhaps settling her mother into a new home. Ventnor had a mild climate and may also have been a place that Helen had often visited when her children were young; her cousin the Rev Arthur Lewis Babington Peile was vicar of Holy Trinity Ventnor from 1862 to 1888 and from 1879 he was also honorary chaplain to Queen Victoria when she was at Osborne House - which she often was - so perhaps Helen could remember being invited to meet Her.

AFTER 1900

Anna Mary and Isabel had been friends for at least 10 years by 1903, and they had been business partners for almost as long. 1903 and 1904 were years of great change for Isabel - in May 1903, she married the artist Giuseppe da Pozzo; and in 1904, she had her only child, Dorothy or Dorotea. Although Isabel's sister Annie was in Rome to help Isabel through with the dangerous process of giving birth at the age of 39 or 40, Anna Mary may not have been able to be there.

Helen Savery Babington died in April 1904, in Ventnor. Helen did not have much to leave but Anna Mary was the executor of her Will, and the one to clear the house and deal with the lawyers. I presume it was now that Anna Mary came into possession of one of a group of small statues of her grand-father Benjamin Guy Babington, commissioned by the family and made by the sculptor C A Rivers, using Babington's death mask. The statues show Babington seated with legs crossed in what was probably a typical pose. He's holding a small, long box - perhaps the box in which a doctor would carry the throat-examination instrument Babington had invented.

After her mother's death there was not much for Anna Mary to return to England for; other than meetings with the family lawyers. She might have travelled to England in 1923 when her sister Adeline died in All Hallows Convent. Her brother Colville died in Argentina in 1928; by that time it was probably half a century since Anna Mary had seen him.

The house at rue de Leman 4, Vevey was still in the hands of the Babington family in October 1910 when Anna Mary's aunt Susette Peile (her mother's youngest sister) died in it; she'd probably been living there since the 1890s. Susette's long-time companion Ann Scott Tweedie was the executor of Susette's Will; but Anna Mary went to Vevey to help Ann sort out Susette's possessions, which included another of the small statues of Benjamin Guy Babington, and a signet ring which was to go to Susette's nephew Harry Diamond Peile.

Anna Mary wrote to Harry in November 1910 as soon as she got back to Rome. Left an item in the Will of a woman he doesn't seem to have heard of, he'd been asking Anna Mary exactly how they were related. Anna Mary tried to explain how they were all descended from Thomas Hanson Peile - Susette as a daughter, she as a grand-daughter, he as a great-grandson. In her letter, she mentioned a second house that she now owned, in the countryside of northern Italy. She needed places to retreat to from the heat and dust of Rome by this time. She told Harry that her health was pretty good for a woman of 65, but her eyes were giving her a great deal of trouble: glaucoma had blinded her right eye, and she also had regular attacks of what her doctor in Rome called conjunctivitis, during which she could often not see at all. When in Rome, Anna Mary lived with Isabel and her husband - in 1910 they were all at Via Calabria 56. It's clear from her letter that she and Harry hadn't been in touch for years. Isabel and her husband were Anna Mary's main family now; and Isabel's daughter was to Anna Mary the child she had never had herself.

Babington's tea rooms continued to flourish until 1914 but the outbreak of the first World War began a period of struggle for its owners. Isabel and her husband were particularly hard-hit by the sudden cutting-off of tourists coming from Britain and the USA, as they had less money than Anna Mary from other sources. Giuseppe da Pozzo's main source of income was from his portraits and of course, during the war he had fewer sitters. He died in 1919, from heart disease, just as the peace was beginning to allow visitors back to Rome.

Rome was occupied during the night of 27-28 October 1922 by Fascists demanding the resignation of the liberal government. King Victor Emmanuel II handed power to their leader, Benito Mussolini, who by 1925 had made Italy a dictatorship. He saw Britain and France as threats to his desire to found a new Italian empire. War between Italy and Britain over Corfu, in 1923, was avoided by diplomatic means after Mussolini decided that Italy wasn't yet ready to take Britain on; but life became difficult for English people living in Italy, and deterred visitors as well. Babington's Tea Rooms did stay open, but had to keep a low profile.

Anna Mary stayed at work at the tea rooms through this difficult political period and despite her age and health. But in 1928 she decided enough was enough, and retired from the business. She went back to Switzerland; though not to the house at Vevey. She chose instead to live at Baugy, on the outskirts of Montreux. She died there in August 1934 at her house, called Perceneige.

Isabel da Pozzo took sole charge of Babington's Tea Rooms when Anna Mary retired. The business was inherited by her daughter Dorotea, Contessa Bedini; and is still run by members of the Bedini family.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ANNA MARY BABINGTON

Terry Sheppard's booklet: On the Trail of Anna Mary Babington privately printed for the Rothley Heritage Trust 2015. I have made enthusiastic use of the booklet as its so full of reproductions of exactly the sort of documents I need. Terry's researches into the Babington family confirmed that Thomas Babington Macaulay anti-slavery campaigner and the Babingtons of Rothley and Soke in Leicestershire were related to Anna Mary. He also made

contact with the people who run the tea rooms today, descendants of Isabel Cargill; they gave him all sorts of family history information and sent photocopies of original documents including Anna Mary Babington's birth certificate, reproduced on p22. He also looked at a copy of the Will of Stephen Peile Babington though that's not reproduced in the booklet. On p26: the reference to Benjamin Fayle and Co which I have chased up; and some details of what was in Stephen Peile Babington's Will. On pp30-31 the full text of a very useful letter from Anna Mary Babington to Harry Diamond Peile (1872-1959) dated 12 November 1910, Via Calabria 56, Rome containing family history details (not all of which are correct); the reference to Harry having known Isabel Cargill in England; the mentions of Anna Mary's eye troubles; the references to houses Anna Mary owned in Vevey and north Italy; and Solomon Peile's being in business as a wine merchant. On p32 a photo of the statue of Benjamin Guy Babington, owned by Anna Mary Babington.

BABINGTON PREDECESSORS

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 3 p76 for Anthony Babington 1561-86.

Wikipedia for Thomas Macaulay 1800-59 and the man who was named after him, Thomas Babington Macaulay. Zachary Macaulay also gets a mention. The Clapham Sect are on wikipedia and plenty has been published on them.

DR WILLIAM BABINGTON

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 3 p89 although Benjamin Fayle is not mentioned in William's entry.

A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs published 1831 p28 in its list of asylum charities: entry for the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb; Kent Road.

The connection with Madras involves other members of the Babington family, not just Benjamin Guy: Gentleman's Magazine volume 95 1825 p368 marriages during October included, at Tottenham, that of Captain Babington of the Madras Cavalry, son of Dr Babington of Aldermanbury. He married Adeline 7th dtr of William Hobson of Markfield Stamford Hill. For more on the residents of Tottenham Green at this time, see below, the PEILE family.

BENJAMIN FAYLE: some sources for anyone wanting to follow up.

The original partnership he worked for, which was based in Dublin:

At www.irishtheatreinstitute.com text of 17 Eustace Street: A History by Robert Somerville-Woodward and Nicola Morris. Published Timeline Research Ltd 2007.

London Gazette; I couldn't see the date of the issue. On p8 of that issue, in a list of partnerships dissolved: a notice issued 3 December 1803 by Benjamin Fayle, Richard Chambers and Alexander Jaffray, merchants, of Dove Court London where they were in business as Benjamin Fayle and Co. The partnership was dissolved due to the retirement of Jaffray; Chambers and Fayle would continue in business, under the same name.

Via genesreunited to Staffordshire Advertiser of 3 November 1804 to confirm that Benjamin Fayle was living in London by this time; and was a person important enough in the Potteries to be mentioned in its local newspapers.

London Gazette but again I couldn't see the date of the issue. On p20 in a list of partnerships

dissolved: a notice issued 31 December 1817 by Benjamin Fayle, Richard Chambers and Richard Jaffray of Dove Court, Lombard Street, trading as Benjamin Fayle and Co. Their partnership was dissolved by the consent of all three parties.

Gentleman's Magazine 1831 p282 Benjamin Fayle had died on 23 February 1831 at the house of his son-in-law, Benjamin Guy Babington, in Finsbury Square.

LONDON INSTITUTION

A modern source but relevant to the 1840s: via the web to Annals of Science volume 39 1982 pp229-54: William Robert Grove and the London Institution 1841-45 by M L Cooper and V M D Hall.

PURBECK CLAY

See wikipedia for an introduction to its industrial use; and to the careers of John Calcraft the elder 1726-72 and his son John the younger 1765-1831, who owned the land exploited for clay by Benjamin Fayle and his business partners.

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk to records of land owned by the Calcraft family in Dorset. John Calcraft senior bought the manor of Wareham 1768. The current owner of Rempstone Manor is a descendant, but isn't called Calcraft.

The Middlebere Plateway, an early railway built and used by Benjamin Fayle and Co to get their clay from the pits to the coast:

Web pages at www.semgonline.com are run by the Railway Structures Southern-E Group.

Dorset in the Age of Steam by Peter Stanier. Dorset Books 2002 p[x] gives 1795 as the year Jaffray, Chambers and Fayle began extracting Purbeck clay at Norden.

Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society volume 52 1931 plix gives 1803 as the date the partners took over the Purbeck clay works. It also confirms that Benjamin Fayle and Co was still in existence and still extracting clay on the Isle of Purbeck in 1931; by that date it had been turned into a limited company.

Web pages www.pmmm.org/FaylesCo.htm, the Purbeck Mineral and Mining Museum's page on the plateway of Benjamin Fayle and Co.

PROPERTY IN DORSET

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk records at Dorset History Centre include a conveyance dated 22 November 1878 in which the parties were:

1 = Helen Savery Babington of Hyres (I think it means Hyères) France and Anna Mary Babington of Gordon Square spinster

2 = John Philip Martineau of Gray's Inn

Parties 1 and 2 are on one side of the deal.

3 = Charlotte Fayle spinster of Gordon Sq.

Prop in the conveyance is 1 Seymer Place.

See britishlistedbuildings.co.uk for Seymer Place whose modern address is 1 Seymer Road Swanage.

PORTRAITS OF BABINGTONS AND FAYLES BY SAME ARTIST:

At www.pastellists.com/Articles/SmithJR.pdf is the Dictionary of Pastellists Before 1800 by Neil Jeffares. See p1 for the career of John Raphael Smith 1751-1812 including reproductions of pastels by him of Dr William Babington FRCP and Mrs Fanny Adams, mother-in-law of Benjamin Fayle. They are both now in Sydney Art Gallery NSW, donated by a Brigadier Foot, descendant of Rev Richard Fayle. On p4 there's a reproduction of a pastel of Benjamin Fayle 1751-1831.

The descent of the pictures to the man who gave them to the Sydney Art Gallery is through Rev Richard's fourth daughter Sophia Maria Fayle, who married Cunningham Noel Foot in 1861.

BENJAMIN GUY BABINGTON

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 3 p79. A small statue of Benjamin Guy was done by sculptor C A Rivers in 1867, based on his death mask. Sources for the ODNB entry: Lancet 21 April 1866; 1870.

Charterhouse Register 1769-1872 published 1974 p14; including what little information there was on his time in the navy.

The Monthly Magazine or British Register volume 42 1817 p563 listings for January 1817 though the marriage actually took place the month before: at St George's Bloomsbury, marriage of Benjamin Guy Babington esq of the Madras Civil Service to Anna Mary Fayle of Bloomsbury Square.

A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs published 1831 p28 in its list of asylum charities: entry for the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb; Kent Road.

Benjamin Guy Babington and the Royal Asiatic Society: he's listed on a plaque in the lobby of the Royal Asiatic Society offices in Stephenson Way, Euston: as secretary 1827-30. The Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1823.

ANNA MARIA BABINGTON née FAYLE, and her children

Parish registers of Presidency of Madras. Reference N-2-7: baptism of Benjamin Babington at St Mary Madras 23 September 1818; born 25 August 1818. Mother Anna; father Benjamin. Seen via findmypast at the British Library.

Boyd's Inhabitants of London. Item reference 11223: entries for the household at 5 St Mary Aldermanbury include the birth date of the twins William and Stephen; and date of birth and date of burial of Arthur. Also seen on findmypast at the British Library.

GL Ms 3572/3: City of London burials. Index of burials at St Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury 1825. Seen on findmypast at the British Library.

SCULPTOR C A RIVERS - CHARLES AUGUSTUS RIVERS 1811-70

There's very little information on him; and virtually nothing on the art sales websites.

There's a bit of information on him at sculpture.gla.ac.uk, Glasgow University's Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951. It's taken from the Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain 1660-1851 pp1047-48 and other ref works of that kind.

The one time there's plenty of coverage of him, it's as an expert witness in a murder trial, eg Central Criminal Court: Minutes of Evidence eighth session 1840 p271 Regina v François Benjamin Courvoisier.

The Art-Union volume 9 1847 p334 has his name in a long list of candidates for election as associates of the Royal Academy. I guess he didn't get in, as I couldn't find any item describing him as 'ARA'.

ANNA MARY'S FATHER BENJAMIN BABINGTON

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen on the web so the volume number wasn't visible; but p106 in that volume.

Solicitor's Journal and Reporter 1875 p828: an obituary.

London Gazette 17 April 1877 p2649 notice of hearing in case of Babington v Babington, with family members claiming ag estate of late Benjamin Babington, late of Lincoln's Inn; and Stephen Peile Babington as the defendant, as administrator of the Will.

ANNA MARY'S UNCLE WILLIAM PEILE BABINGTON who doesn't figure much in her life-story. Like his brother Stephen, he never married. He died in 1900.

He's in Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen on the web so no volume number visible; its p108 and just noting, here, that there are lots of other Babingtons on p108 and p107.

Local and Personal Laws part 150 1854 p28.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1868 p23.

London Gazette 13 April 1900 p2451 a 'claims on estate notice'.

ANNA MARY'S UNCLE STEPHEN PEILE BABINGTON of Benjamin Fayle and Co

Charterhouse Register 1769-1872 compiled by R L Arrowsmith published 1974: p14; source for his DOB.

List of Carthusians 1800-79 compiled by W D Parish; p8.

The hat-peg:

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk reference BT 45/8/1596: a "Useful Registered Design" for a hat-peg or hat-stand, owned by Stephen Peile Babington of 31 George Street; dated 27 September 1848.

London Journal of Arts and Sciences 1848 p223: Irish patents. Similar information in the Mechanics Magazine volume 49 1848 p335.

As a freemason in Scotland: see www.thecelticlodge.org, the web pages of Celtic Lodge of Edinburgh and Leith number 291; information based on a list of members 1851-60. A search of the archives at the Freemasons' Library in London didn't produce any Babingtons other than Thomas Babington Macaulay.

London Gazette 9 July 1886 p3360 notice issued by Walker, Martineau and Co of 36 Theobald's Road.

CHARLOTTE FAYLE AS DIRECTOR

Law Times Reports volumes 26-27 issue of 26 April 1856: Regina v Fayle, with details about leases.

The Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory 1869 p337 in a list of suppliers to the navy, und heading RVWQ: Miss Charlotte Fayle of Norden Dorset.

JAMES HIGGON EVANS

My source for the 1854 opening of the railway to Goathorn Pier reads as if Rev J H Evans was a director of Benjamin Fayle and Co. I'm fairly sure he wasn't.

Via genesreunited to the Hampshire Telegraph 29 January 1848 and the Morning Chronicle 12 December 1855 for his time as curate of Corfe Castle.

THE PEILE FAMILY - ANNA MARY'S MOTHER

At www.myheritage.com; but with no source: Thomas Hanson Peile's parents are named as Solomon Peile and wife Jane née King.

Gentleman's Magazine 1818 p17?3 ?8 marriages in June include that of Thomas Hanson Peile son of S Peile Esq of Tottenham Green to Elizabeth Helen eldest daughter of Dr W Babington of Aldermanbury; and that of his brother Solomon Peile eldest son of S Peile Esq to Anne second daughter of Dr W Babington.

Thomas Hanson Peile as a solicitor:

The Legal Observer 1835 p394.

The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Tottenham by William Robinson 1840 has coverage of the Peile family and of two other families who are related: the Hobsons and the Mountfords. See p72 in the chapter The Church; a comprehensive list of people buried in the churchyard.

The Jurist volume 18 part 2 1855 p25 a list of partnerships dissolved included that of Thomas Hanson Peile, Rowland Babington Peile (Helen's elder brother) and William Henry Murch, in business as Peile, Son and Murch of Mansion House Place; on the retirement of Mr Murch.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk, records of Fayle v Peile, Cause Number 1866 P51. Ref C 16/365/P51. Charlotte Fayle is the plaintiff, bringing an administration summons with regard to estate of late Thomas Hanson Peile of 5 Barge Yard Bucklersbury; the defendant is Elizabeth Helen Peile, the widow.

VENTNOR and the Peile family:

Wikipedia on Holy Trin Church Ventnor

See www.isle-of-wight-fhs.co.uk for a list of inscriptions on memorial stones in Holy Trinity Ventnor with family history information on some of the people mentioned.

Helen Peile's younger brother Mountford joined the navy:

At www.pdavis.nl some info on his career in navy and details of his marriage. Admiral Mountford Peile died in 1885.

ANNA MARY'S SISTER ADELIN CHARLOTTE - ALL HALLOWS CONVENT

It still exists, though not in its original form, and is on the web at www.all-hallows.org; where there's an account of its early years. It is mentioned on wikipedia page though not in much detail; and it's on facebook.

The Churchman volume 62 1890 p148: announcement of the death of Mother Lavinia.

Mother Lavinia is in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

Article May 2010 by Simon Knott seen at www.norfolkchurches.co.uk on All Hallows Convent chapel at Ditchingham with details from the original Dictionary of National Biography.

A modern account of 19th-century sisterhoods: *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* by Susan Mumm. London: Leicester University Press 1999.

ROME 1893/94

Pope's jubilee:

Times Mon 20 February 1893 p5

Taken from Wikipedia, the Popes who reigned during the time Anna Mary was living in Rome: Leo XIII 20 February 1878 to 20 July 1903, one of the longest; it's his jubilee in 1893. St Pius X 1903- 20 August 1914; Benedict XV September 1914 to January 1922; and Pius XI February 1922 to February 1939.

Umberto and Margherita's wedding anniversary:

Times Wed 19 April 1893 p5.

Times Sat 22 April 1893 p7.

Times Mon 24 April 1893 p9.

Times Tue 25 April 1893 p9.

Times Thur 27 April 1893 p5.

Times Wed 19 April 1893 p5.

Fall of the Italian government: Times Sat 2 December 1893 p5.

See wikipedia for Umberto I of Italy 1844-1900.

Members of the English royal family in Rome, seen on web at archive.thetablet.co.uk issue of 1 April 1893 p17: a report sent by their Rome correspondent on 26 March 1893.

Cholera in Europe in the early 1890s:

The Conquest of Epidemic Diseases by Charles Edward Amory Winslow. New Jersey: University of Wisconsin Press 1980. P338.

Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence by George C Kohn 2007 p18.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p93.

The TS lodge in Rome:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XVI Mar-August 1895 p78.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XX March-August 1897. Volume XX number 118 issued 15 June 1897.

ISABEL CARGILL DA POZZO

Online The Cyclopedia of New Zealand information on Captain William Cargill and Edward Bowes Cargill.

Via paperspast.natlib.govt.nz to Otago Daily Times number 12737 issue of 10 August 1903 p6 a long and detailed obituary of Isabel's father Edward Bowes Cargill 1823-1903. Very good on his business ventures.

Wikipedia has information on Cargill Castle and it now has its own website as part of an attempt to restore it: www.cargillcastle.co.nz.

It's interesting that Isabel Cargill's marriage to a Roman Catholic was announced in a Dunedin newspaper: via paperspast.natlib.govt.nz to Otago Witness issue 2574 15 July 1903 p51.

There's very little information on Isabel's husband:

Giuseppe da Pozzo 1844-1919 by Raffaella Cargnelutti and Giuseppe Bergamini published Arti Grafiche Friulane 1996.

At www.bbc.co.uk/yourpaintings there are two portraits by him, clearly done as a set: Henry Spencer Lucy and his wife Christina Cameron Campbell Lucy.

THE TEA ROOMS

They have own website is at www.babingtons.com, in Italian and English. The web pages are the source for Isabel Cargill's year of birth.

They have a wikipedia page in English.

The 1853 account of the English in Rome quoted in Terry Sheppard's book is from George Stillman Hillard's *Six Months in Italy*. Two volumes, published London 1853, Boston Mass 1856.

About the English-language newspapers published in Rome: I found references to the Roman Herald and the Roman Times on the web; but not much in the way of detail and I couldn't see either of them in the British Library catalogue. Confirmation that they were both being published in the mid-1890s can be seen at archive.thetablet.co.uk issue of 12 October 1895 p17 in the middle of a rant against anti-Catholic propaganda being published in the press. Both the Roman Times and the Roman Herald are seen by The Tablet as anti-Catholic. The Tablet adds that the Roman Herald has recently become the mouth-piece of the American methodists.

A later mention of the tea rooms when they had become a Roman institution:

A Traveller in Rome by Henry Vollam Morton. London: Methuen and Co 1957. Seen on the web so I couldn't see the page numbers.

The Insider's Guide to Rome by Nick Wyke. Robson Books Ltd 2004 pp27-38 quotes the publicity given to the tea rooms by the Roman Herald around the time of their first day in business.

2 November 2016

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Julian Levett Baker was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 16 June 1894. He chose a Latin motto that reflected his interests: 'Causa scientiae'. Three other people were initiated in the same ceremony: Jean Brash Gillison, Henry Herbert Weltch, and Harold N Lancaster; but I don't think Julian Baker knew any of them before that evening. Although he worked full-time (which a lot of other members didn't) Julian Baker had a head start over many new initiates in undertaking the study required of them before they could get into the GD's inner, 2nd Order and start doing some practical magic. He was initiated into the 2nd Order less than two years later, on 18 March 1896. Julian Baker is best known now for having been the first member of the GD to meet Aleister Crowley.

THE BAKERS AND THE BUCKMANS

GD members Julian Baker and Katherine Julia Buckman were related through Julian's mother, Bessie Helen Buckman. Although I lack one important piece of information with which to prove it, I believe that Bessie Helen and Katherine Julia were first cousins. Katherine Julia's grandparents were John Buckman of Cheltenham and his wife Mary, née Bishop. John and Mary had a large family. Katherine Julia's father James Buckman, the naturalist and supporter of Charles Darwin's theories, was one of their children. I believe Bessie Helen Buckman's father, John Bishop Buckman, was another of them, possibly the youngest child; though I haven't been able to find any firm details of who his parents were. I like to know exactly how people were related but in this case perhaps it doesn't matter: my other evidence shows both the Bakers and the Buckmans acting as though they were related.

Through another of John and Mary Buckman's sons - Edwin Buckman - Katherine Julia and (I argue) Bessie Helen Baker were first cousins to the artist and lithographer Edwin Buckman, who spent several years as art tutor to Queen Alexandra and her daughters; and to his brother, the wood engraver Harry Buckman. Katherine Julia's brothers were the artist and art teacher Percy Buckman, and the palaeontologist Sydney Savory Buckman. So: a very interesting family for Julian Levett Baker to be related to, on his mother's side.

The Bakers: not so interesting perhaps. They worked in the tea trade and had - like John Bishop Buckman - family connections in south Wales.

BESSIE HELEN BUCKMAN

Bessie Helen Buckman was the only surviving child of John Bishop Buckman and his first wife Albinia. John Bishop Buckman was certainly born in Cheltenham in about 1817. John Buckman, who I believe is John Bishop Buckman's father, was a shoemaker in Cheltenham but none of his sons went into the business. I don't know how John Bishop Buckman's

working life began but by 1851 he had taken on the lease of Cheltenham Spa's Assembly Rooms, at 392 High Street; he also acted as the Cheltenham agent for at least one insurance company. He married Albinia Crole in Swansea in 1843. Bessie Helen was probably born in 1844 but I can't find a birth registration for her.

Albinia Buckman died, probably in childbirth, in 1847. The baby Charles, who would have been Bessie Helen's younger brother, died too. In his grief, John Bishop Buckman registered both the birth and death of his son, but not the death of his wife. Bessie Helen was left motherless at three: not such an uncommon fate in the 19th century. A common response to the situation in the 19th century was for a family to select a woman - an unmarried sister, for example - to keep house for the widower and bring up his children; but I don't know whether the Buckmans did this. John Bishop Buckman might have sent his daughter to grow up with her Crole relations in Swansea.

In 1851, Bessie Helen's father got married again, to Eliza Burrows Oakey; although he had no more children. Whether Bessie Helen lived with John Bishop Buckman and his second wife I don't know; I think possibly not, but perhaps I was just unlucky that she was never at home with her father and step-mother on census day. She was at a boarding school in Portishead Somerset on the day of the 1851 census; and at Mary Ann Smith's school in Shire Hall Lane Worcester on the 1861 census day. Mary Ann Smith's school was a large one, as girls' boarding schools went at that time: there were 20 pupils, taught by four teachers, all women (of course), one of whom had been born in Switzerland and probably taught French and German; and a large staff of servants. So no money was being spared by John Bishop Buckman to fund his daughter's education; although he didn't go so far as to send her to the newly-founded Cheltenham Ladies' College. He was investing in his business at this time: encouraged by an increase in visitors to Cheltenham now that Cheltenham College and the ladies' college had been opened there, he organised the renovation of the Assembly Room's ballroom in 1860 and by 1863 had taken over the running of the Pittville spa.

The proof that Bessie Helen Buckman was the daughter of John Bishop Buckman is a lease (dated 1864) now held at Swansea Record Office. Albinia Buckman's family owned a market garden at Cwmdonkin outside Swansea: she was living there with her mother Elizabeth Crole on the day of the 1841 census. In the 1864 lease, Thomas Rees of Swansea, John Bishop Buckman and Bessie Helen Buckman let this land or part of it to market gardener George Nott. I interpret the lease this way: that the land being leased had been Albinia Crole's dowry, inherited by her daughter on her death but held in trust for her with her father as sole trustee or with Thomas Rees as joint trustee - so that all three are involved in leasing it. The rent of £50 per year that Nott was going to pay would have provided Bessie Helen with an income that was a lot more than it sounds now: even in the 1890s the GD's Florence Farr was renting rooms and living an independent life on about £50 a year.

On the day of the 1871 census, Bessie Helen Buckman was still not at home, she was visiting Martha Graham and her mother Louisa, in Portishead. Martha was about Bessie Helen's age and was probably a school friend. One thing Bessie Helen must have had a lot of is friends she had made at school; and it was perhaps through one of them that she met her future husband George Nathaniel Levett Baker.

I haven't been able to find out much about Julian Baker's grandfather George Baker. It's not just that 'George Baker' is a common name; it's more that he gave different information to census officials in 1851 and 1861, both about his age and about where he was born. As a

result I couldn't identify him on the 1841 census; and by 1871 he was dead. Based on census from 1851 and 1861, he was born between 1812 and 1818, either in south Wales or in Somerset. It was much easier to find George Baker's wife, Julian's grandmother on the Baker side of the family. Her name was Melinda Harris Lovell and she was born around 1824 in Pembroke. In 1841, she was still living in the town, in the household of Jenkin Jenkin the schoolmaster - a household of six people where at 18, Melinda was by 35 years the youngest of them. None of them were called Lovell; and nor were any of the neighbours, so perhaps Melinda was an orphan by this early stage. Lodging with James Morris the butcher next door was a woman who figures in Melinda's later life: Elizabeth Harris, a spinster then in her forties. Perhaps she was Melinda's aunt and her closest relation. Both of them told the census official that they had an independent income - which usually meant money from rents, or shares.

THE BAKERS

Not knowing very much about George Baker, it's difficult for me to make a guess as to how he and Melinda Harris Lovell met; but they married early in 1843 in Pembroke. I would guess that George Baker was already working in London and that he, his bride and Elizabeth Harris as well took up residence in Newington on the South Bank immediately after they married. Julian Baker's father, George Nathaniel Levett Baker, was born at the end of 1843, George and Melinda's eldest child.

George and Melinda, their children George, Melinda and William, and Elizabeth Harris were all living in at 9 Manor Terrace Newington on the day of the 1851 census. George Baker told the census official that he was working as a clerk in the tea trade. When I read this, I was excited for a moment thinking that he worked for Horniman's, the firm that invented the pre-sealed packet; Annie Horniman, the grand-daughter of the firm's founder, was a prominent member of the Golden Dawn. However, it turned out that John Horniman didn't move his business from the Isle of Wight to London until 1852. London was the tea-trading capital of the world by the 1850s and there were dozens of firms involved in tea import and sale. I now cautiously advance the idea that George Baker may have worked for a firm called A Barwin and Co of Miles Lane Cannon Street in the City of London. George Baker's youngest son, Lovell Baker (Julian Baker's uncle), went into the tea trade in his turn, and in the 1880s was running A Barwin and Co with a partner, Alfred John Winney. Though I have to say that I couldn't find any evidence for the existence of A Barwin and Co before the mid-1880s.

On the day of the 1861 census George Baker, Melinda and Elizabeth Harris were still living in the same house as they had been in 1851 - I think - but Manor Terrace had been renamed Manor Road. Their daughter Melinda had died; but two more daughters and another son had been born - Emily, Amy and John. Two more children were born - Edith and Lovell - before George Baker died in 1867. I believe Elizabeth Harris may have died too during this decade. It's a common name and I wasn't able to pinpoint a death registration for her, but she was no longer living with Melinda Baker by 1871.

Melinda must have had a few difficult years in the late 1860s, but she was able to continue living in the same district, possibly in the same house. On the day of the 1871 census, her address was 18 Manor Road Newington - which may just be a renumbering of the original number '9'. Edith (aged 8) and Lovell (aged 5) were still at school but all George and Melinda's other children were earning - even the girls were going out to work, which was remarkable in a lower-middle class family in the 1870s. While George Baker had been alive there had been enough money coming in to employ one general servant, but now Melinda

was making do without, even though there was more work to be done as there were three extra people living in her household. All three were described by the census official as boarders, but it's clear from their details that they were also the sons of people known to Melinda Baker or to George Baker. The most important one from my point of view was William H Norman: he had been born in Cheltenham and was probably related to the Buckmans through Benjamin Norman, who was James Buckman's brother-in-law and business partner of James' brother Edwin. William's presence in Melinda's household suggests that the Buckmans and the Bakers knew each other before George Baker and Bessie Helen Buckman married. They continued to keep in touch: way into the future, when John Bishop Buckman died, William Henry Norman was one of his executors; James Buckman's son Sydney Savory Buckman was the other. Melinda's other two boarders were probably brothers - Harry Phillips, a medical student, and Richard Phillips whose profession I couldn't read; they had both been born in Pembroke.

George Nathaniel Levett Baker - whom I shall call George Levett Baker because that seems to be what he called himself - was still living at home on the day of the 1871 census; he was working for a bank and had probably been employed by the same bank since he left school. He and Bessie Helen Buckman were married in Cheltenham in the summer of 1871; after the wedding ceremony perhaps they had a reception at John Bishop Buckman's Assembly Rooms, at 392 High Street. Julian Levett Baker - the future GD member - was their eldest child, born in 1873. His sisters Ethel Melinda and Muriel Albinia followed in 1874 and 1876; Ethel Melinda married Julian's great friend and fellow GD member George Cecil Jones. A fourth child was born to George Levett Baker and Bessie Helen during the 1870s, but had died before 1881.

On the day of the 1881 census the Bakers were living at 15 Windsor Road Camberwell. There were also three boarders in the household - Theodore Tries and Ernest Tries, who were probably brothers and had been born in south London; and Alfons Rehlender who was from Hamburg. The family employed the one general servant that was the basic requirement of middle-classness. By 1891 George Levett and Bessie Helen had moved their family to 57 Hendham Road Wandsworth. There had been a typical trade-off between the better address - there were some very fancy houses in Hendham Road, standing in their own grounds - and the fact that they wouldn't be able to afford a servant; on the other hand Bessie Helen was no longer taking lodgers and her daughters were old enough to help with the housework. Perhaps George Levett Baker had been promoted.

JULIAN BAKER

Julian Baker's first school was probably a local primary school but the main part of his education was at the City of London boys' school in Cheapside. George Baker may have used contacts he had made through his work to get his son accepted by the school - all applications had to have a reference from an alderman or councillor of the Corporation of London, which ran the school. Pupils were taken at any age between 7 and 15, and could stay until they were 19. Although the school was funded by a charitable endowment, pupils' parents had to pay 10 guineas per year, for which their sons received a comprehensive education: English, Latin, French, Greek, German and even Sanskrit were taught; with maths, arithmetic, drawing, basic chemistry, and natural philosophy; and elocution and vocal music. It was at City of London School that Julian made up his mind to be a professional chemist; and it was at City of London School that he first met his lifelong friend and eventual brother-in-law George Cecil Jones. I'm sure those two important things are connected. (For more on

Cecil Jones see my biography of him.) Julian and Cecil were exactly the same age and I suppose were in the same class. Cecil Jones also wanted to work as a chemist; and the two boys shared an interest in their future profession's origins in classical and medieval alchemy. Their approach to alchemy was slightly different though: I haven't found any references to Julian reading medieval alchemical texts like Cecil Jones did, instead there's a reference from Aleister Crowley to Julian making mercury solidify at room temperature - the practical rather than the literary side of alchemy; though Cecil Jones would have been perfectly capable of doing the same, it was Julian that Crowley mentioned doing so, not Cecil Jones.

The best obituary of Julian Baker - which was written by Cecil Jones - says that Julian's days at City of London School ended prematurely and abruptly. Over Easter 1888 Julian came into contact with someone who developed scarlet fever. The school, panicking at the thought of an epidemic breaking out, refused to let him return for the summer term. In this crisis, George Baker asked the advice of a Mr Friswell, a friend of the family and perhaps another influence on Julian's choice of career, as he worked as a chemist at a firm of dyers. Friswell recommended that Julian apply to Finsbury Technical College, which was affiliated to the University of London and had a very active and reputable chemistry department. I was going to say that Julian's going to Finsbury Technical College set the stage for his subsequent career. Cecil Jones says that the contacts he made there - staff and fellow students - were an important feature of his working life, particularly in the 1890s and 1900s. But I think that Julian Baker had the kind of personality that led to his getting the best out of almost any circumstances, especially as regards people: he was both likable, and ready to like people, and people responded to that. He knew his stuff, of course, chemically speaking - Finsbury Technical College saw to that. And the unfortunate brush with scarlet fever - which he didn't catch himself - meant that he was at the College in 1889, when Dr E R Moritz, consultant chemist to the Country Brewers' Society, gave a series of six lectures on the science of brewing that were a turning point for Julian's view of his own future. According to Cecil Jones, Julian made up his mind at about this time that he wanted to work in the brewing industry.

In his obituary Cecil Jones names two friends, both professional chemists, that Julian Baker made at Finsbury Technical College. Of course, Julian made other friends but Cecil Jones mentioned these two because their names would be known to the obituary's readers. The first was Martin Onslow Forster (1872-1945) who went to India and eventually became Director of the Indian Institute for Science. The second was Gilbert Thomas Morgan (1872-1940) who when he left Finsbury Technical College went directly to the Royal College of Science - now Imperial College - as a lecturer, and then spent some years as an academic in Dublin and Birmingham before being appointed to run the government's Department of Scientific and Industrial Research's laboratory at Teddington.

When Julian Baker left Finsbury Technical College in 1891, it was still rare for any brewery to employ a professional chemist. Patience, and the gaining of some work experience, were going to be necessary if he was going to change the reluctance of the brewing industry to invest in the application of chemical know-how to the raw materials and processes of brewing. Julian took a job in the laboratory of London Beetroot Sugar Association, a trade organisation founded and funded by beet importing and broking firms. As well as defending their corner in legal cases the Association also acted to maintain standards, and all members were welcome to send samples to the Association for analysis. Julian's boss at the laboratory for his few first years there was Arthur Robert Ling (1861-1937) and the Finsbury Technical College connection must have helped Julian get the job in the first place. A R Ling had also been a student there and even after he had left, he used to return in the evenings to use the

College's equipment to do research on nitrophenols and quinones; so Julian almost certainly knew him well before he went to work for him. Together, A R Ling and Julian worked on the constitution of starch, and Julian's first published works were two papers that he and Ling co-authored in 1895 (around the time he joined the GD) and 1897. When Ling left the Association in 1898, Julian was promoted to take Ling's job as chief chemist.

According to Cecil Jones, it was during Julian's time at the London Beetroot Sugar Association that he got to know Dr Henry Edward Armstrong (1848-1937). Armstrong had been a teacher at Finsbury Technical College in the 1870s. He had moved on to teach at the Central Technical College by the time Julian started at Finsbury but he often dropped in on Ling and Julian at the London Beetroot Sugar Association's offices. He gave Julian a lot of good advice - which Julian seems to have taken to such an extent that he was widely thought to be Armstrong's pupil. Armstrong was also probably the person who recommended Julian for membership of the Chemical Society of London, which Julian joined in 1893.

Unlike Cecil Jones, who tended to pursue a solitary course and was perhaps not all that sociable, Julian Baker was a great joiner. The Chemical Society of London was the first of quite a few societies for working chemists that he was elected to. John Frederick Briggs (brother of Mary Briggs who joined the GD in 1895) was also elected to the Chemical Society that year, and it's possible the two men knew each other although John Briggs had gone to work in Madras by 1893. Julian was a member of the Society of Chemical Industry from 1894; and a member of the Royal Institute of Chemistry, as an associate from 1894 and as a fellow from 1897. Quite when he joined the Institute of Brewing I'm not clear; there was no point, I suppose, in his joining it while he didn't work in the industry. But shortly after Dr Moritz had given his lectures, he founded the Laboratory Club, which Julian and perhaps Cecil Jones as well were members of. In November 1890 the Club turned into the Institute of Brewing; Julian was a founder member and so, probably, was Cecil Jones.

By the late 1890s Julian was beginning to be restless. He had several years' in a chemistry laboratory under his belt and through his membership of professional groups he knew a large number of chemists, some of whom had jobs to offer the right candidate. But he had not made any real advances towards achieving his ambition of a career in the brewing industry. In 1898, three of London's breweries merged to form Watney Combe Reid and Co. The new firm was the biggest brewer in the UK, with brewing facilities at four sites, and a large staff: if any brewery could afford to employ a professional chemist, it was this one. And it was right on Julian Baker's doorstep. Perhaps this spurred him on to make a life-changing decision: he gave up his job at the London Beetroot Sugar Association and went to spend several months at the University of Birmingham, where the UK's first university department of brewing was in the process of being set up.

My one source for Julian having spent time at the University of Birmingham is Cecil Jones' obituary. Unfortunately, though, he doesn't say exactly when it was that Julian was there, only that it was before he was offered his next job, in 1900. This is a pity - 1899 to 1901 is such an important time at the GD! Nor does Cecil Jones say whether Julian was at the university as a student, or as a staff member. I shall suppose that Julian Baker was in the department of brewing at the University of Birmingham for some months between early 1899 and 1900; and I think he was there to learn and was probably not being paid. He would have wanted to go to this new university department, to get some time working for Adrian John Brown (1852-1919) who had been offered the job as its first professor after 25 years working for Thomas Salt and Co of Burton-on-Trent. Though A J Brown was a specialist in

fermentation, and its mysteries were what Julian most wanted to learn from him, Brown's most important contribution to the chemistry of brewing came in 1907 when he was the first person to describe the process of osmosis in barley seed.

The risk Julian took paid off. In 1900, he was appointed Watney Combe Reid and Co's first-ever professional chemist, to run their laboratory at the Stag brewery in Pimlico - which was presumably a brand new one - and take charge of the analysis of incoming raw materials and samples of barrels returned as unfit to sell; in an era of increasing regulation of all brewery processes. He also worked on making more efficient all the chemical processes involved in beer-making and its residues, and during his early years at the firm, applied for and was granted three patents. The first, in 1903, was for an improvement to the way in which yeast was prepared for use as a manure. The second (1905) was for an improved way of sulphuring hops and malts; he held this one jointly with A R Ling who by this time was working as an independent analytical chemist. And the third, from 1912, was for an improved method of making stout. Later on in his career there, Julian was also assigned two more patents. One in 1925 was for a gas dispenser for beer. The second, from 1944, was for improvements to how maltose was manufactured.

Julian stayed in his dream job for the rest of his working life - for longer than he had intended, in fact, as the outbreak of World War 2 caused him to postpone his retirement until 1946. In 1901, on the strength of his new job and its prospects, Julian Baker married Eveleen Daniel.

I always like to say something about the people GD members married: I think knowing about their wives or husbands can be illuminating. In Eveleen Daniel's case, though, I've found out absolutely nothing about her or her family beyond the facts that she was the daughter of H A Daniel of Fermoy county Cork, in Ireland; and that she never was a member either of GD or any of its daughter orders. She doesn't appear on any UK census before 1911 so I can only suppose that she was living in Ireland until shortly before her marriage. In which case, how and where did she and Julian meet? I can't shed any light on that mystery. However, there's no doubt that Eveleen felt herself to be Irish: she and Julian's three children all had Irish names - Sheila (1904), Patrick (1907) and Desmond (1913).

The high-profile job Julian Baker now had, and the contacts he had made through the various societies for chemists, meant that he was able to develop a parallel career as a writer and editor. Perhaps extra income was a factor in this, as he was now a family man, but I think he also knew the importance of publishing high-quality chemistry research and was prepared to do the extra hours to make sure it happened. I've listed as many of his publications as I can find in a separate file, but here I'll talk about Julian's most important and widely-known publishing work.

The second career began with a commission from Methuen and Co to write a book on brewing for their Books on Business series. Julian's *The Brewing Industry* was published in 1905. He may have drawn on knowledge of GD specialists in ancient Egyptian magic like Marcus Worsley Blackden and Florence Farr for his chapter on the history of brewing, which covered beer making in every culture from ancient Egypt and Greece to the contemporary scene. Then there were three chapters on the raw materials of brewing: barley, hops and water. Several more chapters covered the processes of beer making, including discussions of fermentations and yeasts and not fighting shy of mentioning costs. He also tackled the legal side of brewing - excise charges and the laws governing licensing and tied houses.

He discussed management, the connections between brewing and agriculture, brewing's importance to the economy; and finally lamented that the British industry was so far behind Europe in the education and training of brewery staff - arguing of course that trained chemists would soon repay their salary by the contribution they could make to the quality of the product. A chemist, he argued, could help deliver a standard product by checking the quality of raw materials: "Uniformity in materials means uniformity in the resulting beer, a matter of prime importance for the reputation of a brewery".

Methuen's budget for the book ran to some black and white photographs - none of the Stag brewery, I'm sorry to say - and a great many line drawings. The *Brewing Industry* was very favourably reviewed at the time and remained the best introduction to the industry for many years.

Its critical success led to him being approached to write on fermentation for the next edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in 29 volumes in 1910 and 1911. At the time it got a fair amount of criticism though none was specifically aimed at Julian's contribution; but now it's considered one of the best encyclopaedias ever published.

In 1907 Julian Baker took the job of editor of the magazine *The Analyst*, which published short abstracts of longer and more complex articles on chemistry. As well as the editing tasks, this job meant managing a small group of chemists who worked at reading the original articles and making precis of them. He soon started recruiting friends and colleagues to do this work: Cecil Jones was one of the group for several years, and so was Everard Hulton, who worked for Julian at Watney Combe Reid and Co. Julian edited *The Analyst* from 1907 to 1920, only leaving when A R Ling gave up working as editor of the *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*. Julian took over as editor of the *Journal* and continued in post even after he finally retired from Watney Combe Reid and Co - he only gave it up in 1949. Although he never edited the journal of the Society of Chemical Industry, as an editor of other journals read by chemists he was a member of the Society's publication committee at least from 1914 to 1943, and possibly longer.

Throughout his time working full-time as a chemist and editing as well, Julian found time to publish short articles connected to his work. He was able to pursue the interest in starches he had had since he'd worked with A R Ling. His articles were usually written with a co-author - the idea of the scientist working in splendid isolation was already moving into the past and in any case, Julian was a natural at enterprises undertaken cooperatively. His most frequent co-author was Everard Hulton, who had been hired to work at the Stag brewery's laboratory by 1907 at the latest; and who was actually a visitor at Julian and Eveleen's house on the day of the 1911 census. I haven't been able to discover much about Hulton though I have found that he and Julian had similar backgrounds - they were both Londoners, they were nearly the same age (Hulton was born in 1875); and both had been at Finsbury Technical College where they must have known each other as students. In the 1920s Julian and Hulton published a series of three articles on the amylases of cereal grains and they continued to publish together until the early 1930s. Hulton may have worked for Watney Combe Reid and Co until he died. His death in April 1939 at the age of 64 may have influenced Julian's decision to stay on at Watney Combe Reid and Co in 1939, when (according to Cecil Jones' obituary) he had been thinking of retiring. Another co-author who worked for Julian in the laboratory at Watney Combe Reid and Co was Frank E Day. However, Julian's collaboration with Day only lasted a few years, because Day didn't stay as long as a colleague: by 1929 he was employed on the Brewing Research Scheme at Rothamsted Experimental Station. In the 30s,

a co-author who may have been a third Watney's employee was T J Ward.

Another source of extra income for Julian was working as an examiner of other chemists, and it's a mark of how quickly chemistry was developing as an academic discipline, that he will have been assessing the examination papers of chemists who were going to end up more highly qualified than he was: chemists like Frank E Day, for example - he had a science degree. Julian did a stint as examiner for the City and Guilds London Institute between 1908 and 1911; and from 1928 to 1931 continued his association with the University of Birmingham by acting as an examiner there, presumably of degrees in brewing.

Twice in his working life, Julian did pieces of research work in addition to his normal work; both one-off items, for Government. The first was requested in 1914, probably just before the first World War broke out: Julian was asked by the Local Government Board to analyse a group of 29 widely-available prepared baby foods. Quite why Julian was asked, rather than anyone else, is a mystery: perhaps it was not so much Julian as the resources of his laboratory that were required. Of course, that's not to say that Julian wasn't a good choice - the British Medical Journal later praised the "exhaustive chemical examination" he had carried out on each of his specimens. His work was a 'part 2' to some analysis done in 1911 by the chemist F J H Coutts, who had examined varieties of condensed milk. In each case, the analyst was asked to assess how nourishing the foods were for babies. Julian's conclusions were that the majority had too much carbohydrate and too little fat to be suitable food for infants; and that regular use of some of them would be likely to result in vitamin deficiencies. This report was immediately seen as an important piece of research and was widely referred to in scientific and medical magazines at the time; it has also been quoted several times in books and articles on infant diet since.

The first World War was one in which chemistry and thus chemists played an important, not to say deadly, role. However, it looks as though the other one-off piece of Government research was Julian's sole war work as the war dragged on. The indications are that he stayed in his job at Watney Combe Reid and Co, and was not co-opted onto any war-based chemistry project. In March 1917, food supplies were becoming a serious issue for Government and Julian was approached by the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies to do some research for them on whether brewers' yeast could be used to make bread. If the members of the Commission had known more about how bread had traditionally been made, they wouldn't have needed any input from Julian. However, he did the research and presented his results - that yes, it could be used - at a meeting of the Society of Chemical Industry in May 1917. Julian wasn't paid for this research. However, I imagine he would have been shocked and possibly offended if any money had been offered: he would have seen it as a chance to contribute to the war effort.

Beginning in the 1900s, Julian had begun to take a more active and time-consuming role in chemistry's professional societies. By this time he had been a member of them all for several years; and unlike others, he was happy to do the committee and organising work that running that kind of society involves.

The earliest mention of Julian Baker that I could find in the Times was the result of some very hard organisational work he had put in on the 1905 conference of the Society of Chemical Industry. This was a big 'do' in every sense - two weeks'-worth of meetings, outings and social events, involving the housing in hotels in London and elsewhere of a large number of foreign guests and overseas' members of the Society. No one else was as involved

as Julian in the work needed to ensure the conference's success; although his ex-boss A R Ling sat on more of the organising committees than most other members. Julian acted as honorary secretary of the conference's executive committee, its reception committee and even its ladies' committee though the ladies also had a woman hon sec. He persuaded Eveleen to join the ladies' committee, which liaised with the hostesses of the garden parties and receptions that were part of the conference's social calendar. When the arrangements had been made, Julian edited the conference handbook and saw it through the printing process ready for delegates to receive on their arrival. And as if he had not already got enough to do, as honorary secretary to the Society's London group, Julian was the main organiser of the visit delegates made to Greenwich and Woolwich Arsenal on Tuesday 11 July 1905; though he had some help from the newly-appointed United States ambassador, Whitelaw Reid, in persuading the military hierarchy at Woolwich to allow them to take a tour of the Arsenal. However, he was probably not the person who persuaded Sir John Pound, the current Lord Mayor of London, to host that evening's reception at the Mansion House; I think that would have needed some chemists rather better known than Julian was.

Cecil Jones remembered the day out to Woolwich Arsenal with affection even many years later: he remembered with amusement how all the delegates went from Westminster Pier to Woolwich on a steamer, dressed - rather oddly to modern ideas - in their frock coats and best silk hats.

Julian's contribution to the 1905 conference brought his name to the attention of the Times: he was the last named man in the guest-list (edited for 'well-known names only') that the Times published in its report on the AGM of the Society of Chemical Industry. This and the annual dinner took place on the evening of the trip to Woolwich Arsenal, at Goldsmith's Hall in the City of London: in composing his coverage of it, the Times' reporter decided that the name 'Julian Baker' might be one some of its readers would recognise.

By 1909, as honorary secretary of the Institute of Brewing, Julian Baker was starting to represent the Institute at funerals. Going to funerals is not the most joyful way of keeping in touch with your fellow professionals, but it's in that capacity that Julian Baker's name is most regularly mentioned in the Times.

In 1909, Julian was involved to some degree in the organisation of an even bigger science-cum-social event, the seventh International Congress of Applied Chemistry, which was held in London between 27 May and 2 June. He was not amongst the great and good of this Congress, but even so well-known a chemist as William Crookes - whom Julian Baker will have known through the GD and through the Society of Chemical Industry - hardly gets a mention in the account of what went on. Scientists came from all over the world to attend it, and it was such a prestigious event that the royal family played their part on the social side. The Prince and Princess of Wales (the future George V and Mary) went to the inaugural meeting, which was such a huge affair it was held in the Royal Albert Hall. The socialising during the Congress was on a truly monumental scale, eclipsing even that of the 1905 conference: there were several important social functions each day including a reception at Buckingham Palace, at which Edward VII greeted the guests; a banquet for 1500 at Crystal Palace; and two garden parties, one of which was organised by the Society of Chemical Industry's London branch - meaning, by Julian Baker. All with endless speech-making and hundreds of guests from the political and diplomatic worlds, as well as chemistry professionals and academics. Julian was on the Congress' organising committee; and again, may even have persuaded Eveleen to play a part as well - a Mrs Baker is listed as a member

of the Congress' Ladies Committee, which had the task of organising the garden party at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

If you were still on your feet after all those social events, the Congress did have a scientific side as well and Julian also contributed to this, through two papers: one written with Everard Hulton - On the Behaviour of Wheaten Flours Towards Bakers' and Brewers' Yeasts; and one which he gave on his own - The Purchase of Malt on the Basis of Analysis. Julian was a member of one of the Congress' sub-groups, the starch group; and he spoke up at the Congress' closing session to make the sensible suggestion - which was adopted - that the starch group and the sugar group should be amalgamated as part of their continued existence after the Congress was over.

Julian's involvement in chemistry's professional societies wasn't just about committee meetings and big formal functions. His obituaries all say how much he liked to talk and listen, and he had the gift of being at home in any company (I wish I had it). With chemists, he enjoyed chats which ranged widely over chemistry's burgeoning specialisms. During Julian's lifetime, chemists could still just about manage to understand what specialist in other kinds of chemistry were saying about their work. I'm sure that he enjoyed equally much chatting with the other GD members who were interested in alchemy - Cecil Jones of course, but also Rev William Alexander Ayton, Percy William Bullock and Frederick Leigh Gardner. And on one occasion, on holiday in Switzerland, he even took pity on a non-chemist who was making rather an ass of himself talking about alchemy in a bar - he sought him out and started to chat; more of that later.

He helped - unpaid - to organise conferences, and he went to them too: that's what Julian was like and in this respect he was not at all like Cecil Jones, who didn't really do this sort of socialising. It's surprising even that he went on Julian's trip to Woolwich Arsenal in 1905. He didn't make it to the Times' list of guests at the dinner at the Goldsmith's Hall and probably didn't attend the AGM at all. He was a member of the 1909 Congress - but so was every chemist of note in the UK. I couldn't find his name in the accounts of the sessions at the Congress, though, so he may not have attended any of them, although he was entitled to. That's what Cecil Jones was like. Perhaps the length of the friendship between the two of them was due to each making allowances for the way the other differed from themselves. It's clear from their writings that each of them admired the talents and qualities of the other.

Julian and Eveleen Baker had started out on their married life in west London - daughter Sheila's birth was registered in Brentford, a district that included Chiswick. Julian's grandmother Melinda Baker, and her unmarried daughter, Julian's Aunt Amy, were living in Chiswick, at 10 Mayfield Avenue, where Melinda finally died in October 1910. Several GD members also lived in Chiswick: Edmund and Dorothea Hunter with Edmund's sister Amy Turner living in nearby Acton; Frederick Leigh Gardner; and fellow-scientist W F Kirby. Though the GD had turned into its daughter orders by the time Sheila was born, perhaps Julian kept up friendly relations with his GD neighbours for a time. However, by 1907 when Patrick Baker was born, Julian and Eveleen had decided to leave London. They moved to Staines and on the day of the 1911 census were living in a house called Stainesbury Holt on Kingston Road. Julian's father, George Levett Baker, had lived long enough to retire from the bank and to see Julian's three children and Ethel Melinda's two children born - that was still quite unusual in the early 20th century. On the day of the 1911 census he, Bessie Helen and Julian's unmarried sister Muriel Albinia were enjoying a holiday in Worthing, though they continued to live in south London. George Levett Baker died in 1922 at 16 Slaithwaite

Road Lewisham. Bessie Helen Baker also died in Lewisham, having lived on until 1932; Julian was one of the two executors of her Will, the other being ex-GD member, solicitor Percy William Bullock.

Between 1913 and 1921, Julian, Eveleen and their children moved further still out of London, to Dial Cottage, Cookham Road Maidenhead. There, Julian's hospitable nature, and his new interest in fishing and golf, meant that they were soon moving in quite elevated social circles. In 1940 their son Patrick (who'd joined the RAF) married Helen Gardner, daughter of Sir Ernest Gardner, a local landowner and former Conservative MP. And it was in the local vicarage that Eveleen Baker died - presumably unexpectedly - in May 1945. Her death was the third (after those of Frank E Day and Everard Hulton) in a trend of Julian outliving people who were younger than he was.

Julian was finally able to retire from Watney Combe Reid and Co in 1946 at the age of 72 or 73. It came too late for a life of retirement with Eveleen, but in time for a short life together with Catherine Lucy Paul, whom he married in 1948. The bridegroom was 75; the bride was 72. Catherine Lucy Pearson, the daughter of a civil engineer, had married Arthur Clifford Saint Paul in 1904 in Bristol. Her husband had worked in the finance department of Bristol City Council, but had died in 1924. Catherine Lucy lived with Julian in Dial Cottage, and they had eight years together; but the marriage ended in 1956 with Catherine Lucy's death and Julian being widowed for the second time.

Julian Baker and Cecil Jones had moved from being friends to being in-laws when Cecil married Julian's sister Ethel Melinda in 1905. A few years afterwards, Cecil Jones had decided to leave the security of working for someone else and set up in business as a chemical analyst - following his own path, as so often, a very different one from Julian Baker's. And unlike Julian Baker, until late in 1910, Cecil Jones was still doing magic with Aleister Crowley and thought of himself as Crowley's friend. You can read about how the friendship ended in court in 1911 in my biography of Cecil Jones.

Cecil Jones and Ethel Melinda and their children continued to live in south London, quite near Julian's parents, until the second World War; so perhaps the two friends, the in-laws and their children met fairly frequently. However, Cecil Jones decided to close down his business and retire in 1939 and shortly afterwards he and Ethel Melinda moved to Hastings. Particularly in the difficult travel conditions of the War, he and Julian will have found it difficult to meet, though Cecil Jones was a great letter-writer and perhaps they kept in touch that way and by phone. They had a new interest in common - gardening. But their lives began more and more to touch only when someone had died: Eveleen Baker in 1946 - though it's nice to think of Cecil and Ethel Melinda, also in their seventies, as guests at Julian's second wedding; and then Ethel Melinda Jones, early in 1952. It's a strange thing, I think, that both Julian Baker and Cecil Jones outlived their wives; Julian outlived two. He also survived both his sisters; and Cecil all his sisters-in-law. Muriel Albinia, who had never married, died in 1955, naming Julian and Cecil Jones as her executors.

And of course, as Julian Baker and Cecil Jones entered into their eighties, not only were all their contemporaries in chemistry dying, but also some of the next generation. Cecil Jones' obituary mentions Julian (aged 84) saying sadly about a visit to his club in London (probably the Institute of Brewing's members' rooms), "I hardly saw a man I knew". A generation before, Cecil Jones had made a rare visit to Julian's club and he had thought to himself, "Baker seems to know everyone here and everyone knows Baker".

Julian Baker outlived his second wife by 18 months, dying on 29 January 1958 in Maidenhead Hospital. All his children survived him. It was Cecil Jones' task to write the most detailed obituary of his old friend; Cecil lived on until 1961.

JULIAN BAKER AND THE OCCULT

THE GOLDEN DAWN

Who recommended Julian Baker to Samuel Liddell Mathers and William Wynn Westcott as a suitable member of the GD? If you've read through all the biographical stuff above in this biography, you'll know that Julian Baker had lots of friends. Not many of them will have been in the GD, however. I can't find any specific evidence for this but my guess is that it was either William Crookes or Allan Bennett, who put forward his name. And my money is on Bennett, who was a contemporary of Julian: Crookes was a much older man. Bennett had been initiated into the GD in February 1894 and, like Julian, worked as a professional chemist. Although Bennett and Baker had not been at school or college together, they could easily have met on chemistry's social circuit in London - the world of chemistry as a profession was still quite a small one. If they did meet, say in the early 1890s, they will soon have discovered that they shared an interest in the alchemical origins of how they earned their wages; and as chemists working in laboratories, they were both well-placed to try and see if they could crack some of alchemy's puzzles. Describing the events of 1898 (though looking back from a distance of over 20 years) Crowley wrote that by that time, Julian Baker had "accomplished some remarkable work...he had prepared 'fixed mercury'... the pure metal in some form that was solid at ordinary temperatures". This wasn't, actually, as remarkable a feat as Crowley thought it: as my science advisor, Roger Wright describes it as a party trick, easily within the capabilities of any well-trained chemist: just add a little gold.

Julian Baker was a very well-trained chemist. The alchemical studies that initiates of the GD were required to follow will have been easy for him, therefore; though he may have found the GD's use of alchemical manuscripts to be a very different way of understanding them. Members could and did do alchemical laboratory work if they wanted to and had the facilities, but in the GD as a whole, alchemical texts were understood as metaphorical as well as practical, using the language of alchemy to describe processes of personal growth and training.

A few months after Julian Baker had joined the GD, Cecil Jones was initiated; both Baker and Bennett would have been happy to recommend him as a suitable candidate.

JULIAN BAKER AND ALEISTER CROWLEY

In August 1898 Julian Baker and some friends were on holiday, walking in Switzerland. This was a very popular form of vacation amongst British people at that time and perhaps Julian's group had been visiting the Alps regularly during the past few years; but this year turned out to be different. Staying the night at Zermatt, below the Matterhorn on the Swiss side, they spent the evening in a bier keller where they were obliged to listen to an unknown Englishman holding forth about alchemy. It was Aleister Crowley, who had gone to Switzerland for his health and had taken a copy of Mathers' translation of *The Kabbalah Unveiled* with him; but couldn't understand it, so - on his own admittance - he talked a lot of rubbish in that bier keller. Julian wasn't put off, though: he got into conversation with

Crowley as everyone walked back to the hotel they all turned out to be staying in. He told Crowley that if he was serious about wanting to study alchemy, he could help him. However, that seems to be as far as it went in that first conversation. Julian Baker and his companions left the hotel the following morning and continued their walking tour without any arrangements being made between him and Crowley to meet again. Getting up rather later and finding that he'd missed him, Crowley spent the day chasing Julian Baker all over the valley below Zermatt, finally catching up with him at Brigue and getting him to promise that they would further their acquaintance when back in London. Excited at meeting someone who knew something - anything - about magic, Crowley asked him if he was the Master that he was looking for. Julian Baker was a man honest about his limitations: he said no, he wasn't, but that he could introduce Crowley to someone he knew who was a better alchemist than he was himself - he meant Cecil Jones, of course.

No way was Crowley going to let slip the opportunity that Julian Baker had offered him. The two of them did meet in London and in October - presumably when Cecil Jones was in London for a few days - Julian Baker introduced Jones and Crowley to each other. Thereafter Crowley pursued Cecil Jones more than Julian Baker, even going to stay with him in Basingstoke so that he could learn from him. However, Crowley says that it was Julian Baker who first introduced him to the theory and practice of astral travelling; and to the safeguards anyone should set in place before doing magic. And it was Julian Baker who first mentioned to Crowley the existence of a "Brotherhood of Initiates who jealously guard the perfect knowledge of God, nature and humanity" (that's the GD); though it was Cecil Jones who put forward Crowley's name to Mathers as a possible initiate.

Crowley was initiated into the GD in November 1898. I guess that it was on this occasion that Crowley, overawed by the ritual he was involved in, asked Julian "whether people often died during the ceremony". Julian reassured him. Crowley very quickly became disillusioned with the general mass of the GD's members, but always looked on both Julian and Cecil Jones as exceptions to his view that they were all mediocrities. When he got impatient with the study-material he was given, and moaned about it to them both, he did abide by their reply that he should accept the discipline of the study and the slowness of its progress. At least, he did at first. However, during 1899 he also batted on Allan Bennett to teach him on a one-to-one basis levels of magic that in the GD only 2nd Order members were allowed to do. Julian Baker doesn't seem to have taught Crowley much more; but that may be because this was time he was working at the University of Birmingham department of brewing, and he just wasn't around in London enough.

Living outside London he may have been but by April 1900 Julian had come to some conclusions about Crowley as a person; enough to make him regret having helped bring Crowley and the GD together. I don't know whether Julian was able to attend the relevant 2nd Order meeting in February 1900, the list of those who were present hasn't survived; but if he had been there, he would have been amongst those who voted to refuse Crowley initiation into the 2nd Order, despite Crowley having done all the work that was required and a great deal more. I daresay Julian was not surprised when Crowley refused to accept the vote, though probably even he didn't expect the amount of trouble Crowley would cause the GD in the aftermath of it.

Crowley went to Paris and got Mathers to give him the 2nd Order initiation; he also got Mathers to make him his envoy in London, to act for Mathers in bringing the GD back under Mathers' control. Crowley doesn't seem to have asked the advice of either Julian or Cecil

Jones about doing his visit to Paris and what was agreed there. If he had asked them, it might have led to an argument between them, because the two friends didn't agree about Crowley. As the crisis developed, Julian described Crowley as "a man without principles", a dangerous lack that in his eyes outweighed any magical talent he might possess; whereas whatever Cecil Jones thought about Crowley on a personal level, he was prepared to overlook a great deal, in a man he thought was a particularly gifted magician.

Julian and Cecil Jones both got dragged into the problem of Crowley when Crowley returned to London to find himself still banned from being given documents restricted to 2nd Order members. The three of them, and Florence Farr (as the GD's senior member in London), got together - maybe several times - to try to find some sort of compromise. Inevitably, the subject of Mathers' increasingly autocratic behaviour as the GD's senior magician came up, and again Julian and Cecil Jones were on different sides of the argument. Cecil Jones stuck to the view that the GD would be useless without Mathers' experience and understanding of magic and ritual. Julian may have agreed with him on that point; but he felt that Mathers was behaving very badly as the Order's sole remaining Chief, and that he was a poor leader and manager. He had begun to think so several years before, when Mathers had expelled Annie Horniman from the Order for reasons that had nothing to do with magic; Julian had signed the petition to reinstate her.

The meeting or meetings about Crowley's difficulties didn't reach any conclusion, let alone a compromise that satisfied all parties. Crowley went ahead with a plan to take over the 2nd Order rooms at 36 Blythe Road on Mathers' behalf. And at the same time (but independently) a group of 2nd Order members set up a committee which would rule the GD in Mathers' stead. Julian might declare himself "sick of the whole business", but he was still willing to be made a member of the new committee. However, he was too busy at work to take any active part in preventing Crowley from carrying out his plan. Fearing the worst, he wrote to Edmund Hunter urging him to remove all the books and other 2nd Order ritual paraphernalia that were stored at the Mark Masons' Hall before Crowley could get his hands on them; apologising to Edmund for not being able to take time off work to do it himself. He told Edmund that "we must be prepared for anything" by way of response from Crowley - "a man without principles" - especially as Crowley had Mathers' authority to re-establish control of the Order.

Crowley did take possession of the rooms at 36 Blythe Road for a brief period; Edmund Hunter was amongst those who got him and his main conspirator, Elaine Simpson, thrown out again. A few days afterwards, Julian went to the 2nd Order meeting which voted to expel from the Order Crowley, Mathers, Elaine Simpson and several other members who had acted with them. That wasn't quite the end of it. Immediately after the meeting, the senior members of the GD, and Crowley, both consulted their lawyers: the GD to recover items that had gone missing from the rooms at 36 Blythe Road during the struggle for control of them; then Crowley because the GD's solicitor had said or written something about Elaine Simpson that Crowley thought was a slur on her reputation. Julian was asked by the 2nd Order to act as intermediary. He and Crowley met at the Holborn Restaurant on 24 May 1900. None of the threatened legal action reached court, so perhaps Baker's negotiating skills won the day; but as regards whatever was said or written about Elaine Simpson, it would have had to be Elaine herself who pursued a case - for libel or defamation - and she chose not to do so. Crowley never did go to a 2nd Order meeting or ritual so in the long run, Julian could be pleased with the outcome in that respect, but the whole affair did mark a certain parting of the ways between Julian and Cecil Jones. I can't find any evidence that Jones stayed in the GD after Mathers' expulsion, nor did he ever join either of its daughter orders; he chose to go

with Crowley and did magic with Crowley on and off for the next ten years. Julian isn't mentioned by Crowley in the writings I've seen, after 1900, and I presume they didn't meet again. Julian and Cecil Jones' friendship continued, of course; but perhaps the subject of Crowley was one they agreed not to debate. Julian's anguish at the way Crowley and Cecil Jones parted company in 1911 must have been great (see my biography of Cecil Jones for what happened); but I doubt if Julian was surprised.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

1900 was the year that Julian started work for Watney Combe Reid and Co; 1901 was the year he got married. What with his exasperation at the GD's inability to lead a quiet life, and the big changes he was making in his professional and personal life, it's not surprising that Julian doesn't figure in accounts of the last days of the original GD, the period from May 1900 to spring 1903. He may also have felt that the GD wasn't quite the same without Cecil Jones in it: however, he did return to help the GD at yet another of its times of crisis.

During the spring of 1903 the GD finally split into two camps, the mystical and the magical (very roughly speaking) led by A E Waite and Robert William Felkin. Julian opted to go with Waite: he was one of the 14 members of the 2nd Order who signed the Manifesto of Independence in July 1903 and announced the founding of the Independent and Rectified Order or Rite. The IRRO/R was consecrated on 7 November 1903 and lasted until Waite closed it down in 1914. I don't know how active a role Julian Baker played in the IRRO/R after its first year, though I would think he would have found it difficult to be very committed, with all the other work he had taken on, and especially after he and his family moved out of London. Perhaps the yeasts and sugars that he worked on every day at Watney Combe Reid and Co, and the gardening he enjoyed once he had settled in Berkshire, were alchemy enough for him.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JULIAN BAKER

THE BUCKMAN FAMILY - Julian's mother. AND THE CONNECTION WITH THE NORMAN FAMILY

The common ancestor is John Buckman.

Marriage of John Buckman to Mary Bishop in August 1795: see freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wragg44/leigh/leighvol4.htm

James Buckman is the well-known son of John and Mary Buckman of Cheltenham. He's in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography - see their web page at www.oxforddnb.com. The ODNB entry mentions brother Edwin and Benjamin Norman as a brother-in-law in business with Edwin; but no other family members apart from the parents are mentioned.

Geology and Religion: A History of Harmony and Hostility editor Martina Kölbl-Ebert. London: Geological Society c2009.

Norman's History of Cheltenham by John Goding published 1863 p576 events in 1848 included the death of Benjamin Norman "A few weeks" ago; information originally in The Examiner issue of 30 August [1848].

James Buckman's brother Edwin Buckman was the only member of the family whose baptism was at familysearch.

Bankruptcy of Edwin Buckman and Benjamin Norman: see London Gazette p3505 couldn't see the full date but it's 1844

Edwin Buckman the artist is the eldest son of Edwin Buckman. Harry George Buckman the third son is the wood engraver; he was Edwin the artist's executor when he died in 1930.

At www.allposters.co.uk see posters of works by Edwin Buckman.

Via genesunited to Gloucester Citizen and other papers in that area issue of 16 October 1930 obituary of Edwin Buckman the artist.

BESSIE HELEN BUCKMAN on the assumption that she is niece of James Buckman and therefore first cousin of GD member Katherine Julian Buckman.

JOHN BISHOP BUCKMAN. Familysearch had no baptism details for this man.

At www.cheltenham4u.co.uk there's the 1858-59 edition of Slater's Commercial Directory of Cheltenham which shows him as the lessee of 392 High Street, assembly and club rooms.

PO Directory of Gloucestershire edition of 1863 p226, p238.

Familysearch digital folder 004273261 records the marriage of Albinia Crole to John Bishop Buckman at St James Swansea 6 June 1843.

The exact date of Albinia Buckman's death is given in a probate registry document from 1865.

British Spas from 1815 to the Present: A Social History by Phyllis May Hembry, Leonard W Cowle, Evelyn R Cowle 1997. London: Athlone 1997 p200

THE PROOF THAT BESSIE HELEN IS DAUGHTER OF JOHN BISHOP BUCKMAN: at www.swansea.gov.uk the web pages of Swansea Record Office: their access number D/D Z 97/15 a lease dated 30 November 1864.

Death of John Bishop Buckman in February 1895, and the names of his executors: Probate Registry entry.

FLORENCE FARR'S YEARLY INCOME

Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's New Woman by Josephine Johnson. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1975: p13.

THE BAKER FAMILY - Julian's father's family

LOVELL SELDEN BAKER and A Barwin and Co

London Gazette 27 September 1887 p5281 list of dissolv partnerships

Commercial Gazette 16 March 1892 had the firm A Barwin and Co being run by an F G Honchin or poss Hguchin (sic).

Marriage of Julian and Eveleen's son Patrick

Times 27 November 1940 p7 marriage announcement Patrick Baker to Helen Gardner.

Seen via genesunited: Slough Eton and Windsor Observer 29 January 1910 p4 marriage announcement: Ernest Gardner and Amy Inglis Laurie.

At www.bbc.co.uk Your Paintings page has a portrait by David Lee in 1894 of Sir Ernest Gardner as mayor of Maidenhead.

Who's Who issue 1916 p773.

This was the only information I could find that was definitely about a child of Julian and Eveleen.

CATHERINE LUCY PAUL

At www.cliftonrfchistory.co.uk some information on her first husband Arthur Clifford Saint Paul. London Gazette 16 October 1956 page of notices under Section 27 of the Trustee Act 1925.

JULIAN'S WORKING LIFE

A good statistical introduction to chemistry as a profession in this period is on the web at

www.euchems.eu, article by Anna Simmons of the Open University: Working in a Transitional Territory? Chemical Consultants in the United Kingdom 1870-1914. Read at the 6th International Conference on the History of Chemistry. I think the publication's title is Neighbours and Territories: the Evolving Identity of Chemistry: pp555-563.

Who's Who in Science (International) edited by H H Stephenson. London: J and A Churchill 1912 p38.

Who Was Who 1951-60 p56.

The obituary of Julian by Cecil Jones: The Analyst issue 985 April 1958: 187-88.

Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley CA: NAH Books orig 2000 this revised ed 2010: pp52-53.

A reminiscence of the life of Julian Baker by Professor A C Chibnall: Times 8 February 1958 p8.

EDUCATION

City of London School

Our Schools and Colleges: Volume I Boys by Frederick Shirley de Carteret-Bisson. London: 1879; p703.

Finsbury Technical College

The University of London 1858-1900: the Politics of Senate and Convocation by F M G Willson. The Boydell Press 2004 pp462-463.

Via archive.org to Moritz's A Text-Book of the Science of Brewing London, New York: E and F N Spon 1891: piii

A History of Beer and Brewing by Ian Spencer Hornsey. Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry 2003: p13 is quite useful as an overview; p587.

The Dynamics of the International Brewing Industry by Richard George Wilson and Terence Richard Gourvish. London: Routledge 1998 p101.

FORSTER, Martin Onslow is in wikipedia

MORGAN, Gilbert Thomas

Via archiveshub.ac.uk to material held at the Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine as file GB 98 B/MORGAN

Morgan is in wikipedia but only in German!

LONDON BEETROOT SUGAR ASSOCIATION

I couldn't find an exact date for the Association's founding but The Sugar Cane volume 17 1885 p132 says it existed by December 1884.

Treatise on the Law of Arbitration in Scotland by J C Irons and R D Melville. W Green 1903 p92.

Sugar, Cane and Beet: An Object Lesson by George Martineau. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd in their series Pitman's Common Commodities of Commerce. 1910. Chapter XII p133-136.

The Digest: Annotated British Commonwealth and European Cases: Contract volumes 11-12. Butterworth 2001 p253 on an important case about breach of contract.

The Risk Controllers: Central Counterparty Clearing in Globalised Financial Markets by

Peter Norman. Chichester: Wiley 2011.

ARTHUR ROBERT LING: via www.ncbi.nih.gov to back issues of the Biochemical Journal. Issue of September 1937 volume 31 number 9: 1439-40.

JULIAN'S TIME AT UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Only Cecil Jones' obituary mentions that he did this.

BROWN, ADRIAN JOHN is in wikipedia and there's an obituary via www.ncbi.nih.gov back issues of Biochemical Journal volume 14 number 1 February 1920: 1-3.

WATNEY, COMBE, REID AND CO

Are in wikipedia

Introduction to archives of Watney Combe Reid Ltd held at the London Metropolitan Archive as their reference ACC/2979.

THE PATENTS JULIAN HELD all from his time at Watney Combe Reid and Co:

His own:

At abebooks you could (24 March 2014) buy a copy of UK patent application 7921 for an improved method of treating and drying brewers' and distillers' yeast for use as a manure. Author: JLB. Published HMSO 1903. This patent was granted as 1904 GB190307921: see the details at www.patentmaps.com where you can also see information on the other two:

- The 1905 patent held jointly with Arthur Robert Ling: GB190416992-A
- The 1912 patent GB191123839.

Assigned to him, presumably for items he had not worked on - the 1925 piece of equipment is a bit outside his normal range of expertise. Again, see the details at www.patentmaps.com:

- 1925 GB235646-A
- 1944 GB564895-A.

HULTON, H F EVERARD

I found a little family history information on Everard Hulton, and one or two publications in which he was sole author:

Report on the Relation of the Nitrogenous Matter in Barley to Brewing Value by H F E Hulton. Originally in the Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 28 number 1 as a Supplement; but then published as a pamphlet, by the Institute.

The British Library catalogue doesn't have a copy of the 1922 Report. It had only one item by Hulton: Beer published London: no details of a publisher but the year was 1934. A copy of this I found on amazon said that it was a publication of the 16th Streatfield Memorial Lecture, given by Hulton in 1933.

DAY, FRANK E

The Analyst volume 38 1913: p186a announced the election of F E Day B Sc as a member of the Society of Public Analysts.

List of Research Workers, Agriculture and Forestry, in the British Commonwealth issued by the Imperial Agricultural Bureau 1929 p97.

Records of Rothamsted Staff 1929 issued by the Rothamsted Experimental Station,

Harpenden; p64.

Snippet seen via google: Journal of the Institute of Brewing issued 1936 p183 mentions that Day was dead. I couldn't identify his death on freebmd.

WARD, T J, Julian's co-author from 1935. I tried to find out about him on the web, but was defeated by the number of other people with those initials, including an American sportsman; so I gave up.

MEMBERSHIPS

Chemical Society:

The Chemical News and Journal of Physical Science volume 67 1893 p105.

At pubs.rsc.org Proceedings of the Chemical Society of London volume 9 number 119 issued 9 February 1893; with John Frederick Briggs and Julian L Baker next to each other in a list of men whose certificates in chemistry were being approved by the Society.

Proceedings of the Chemical Society volumes 9-10 1895 p29 and p89.

Journal of the Chemical Society volume 73 1898 p7.

Society of Chemical Industry:

Via archive.org to the earliest issue of the Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry that I could find on the web: volume XIII 1894. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode: piii Julian Baker and pxiii.

On the London group: via archive.org to Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry volume XVII 1897 piii, p4

As a member of the Society's publication committee: Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry volume 33 part 1 1914 p381. And Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry volume 62 1943 p62.

Royal Institute of Chemistry:

Royal Institute of Chemistry Register of Fellows, Associates and Students issued 1901: p13.

Via archive.org to Journal and Proceedings of the Institute of Chemistry of Great Britain and Ireland. 1921 part 1.

Institute of Brewing:

At onlinelibrary.wiley.com, Wiley Online Library, Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 20 number 10 1922/23 p786 as part of the Report of the Malt Analysis Committee there's a list of the current members of the Standing Committee on Analysis: Alfred Chaston Chapman FRS FIC is its chair; Julian Levett Baker, Everard Hulton, A R Ling and Dr E R Moritz are all members. But Cecil Jones isn't.

Times 14 July 1905 p14.

Times 6 Feb 1909 p13.

THOSE BIG CONFERENCES

Society of Chemical Industry AGM 1905: Handbook of London and Provincial Excursions published for the Society by Spottiswoode and Co. Edited for the Society by Julian but

compiled by Miss E Daniels (BA London).

Seventh International Congress of Applied Chemistry published in 6 volumes, editors Sir William Ramsay and William MacNab. London: Partridge and Cooper Ltd 1910. Unnumbered first volume p6, p8, p11, p43, p45, p102, p105, p113, p143-44, p156, p160, p206, p211, p221. And a separate volume - I'm not sure which one but found via google - p6, p105 for the two papers Julian was involved with that were given at the Congress.

Julian at Funerals

Times 21 October 1932 p17.

Times 17 July 1937 p17.

Times 5 Apr 1940 p11.

THE RESEARCH ON BABY FOODS

Reports to the Local Government Board on Public Health and Medical Subjects New Series number 80 Food Reports number 20. 1914. For references to this piece of research in other journals and modern works of history, see my file on Julian's Publications.

THE BIT OF WAR WORK

Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry issued 31 July 1917 reproduced with permission in Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 23 number 6 1917 pp353-54 as an editorial: Julian's Use of Brewers' Yeast in Bread Making, originally read at a meeting of the Society. Via archive.org to Nature volume 100 September 1917-February 1918 for more details.

Use of brewers' yeast in traditional bread-making: see English Bread and Yeast Cookery by Elizabeth David. London: Allen Lane 1977 and Penguin Books 1979.

If you want to see more details of Julian's publications, follow the link [HERE](#).

BAKER AND THE OCCULT

www.lashtal.com/wiki/Aleister_Crowley_Timeline website run by the Aleister Crowley Society.

The two versions of The Confessions:

The Spirit of Solitude: an Autohagiography subseq re-Antichristened The Confessions of Aleister Crowley. London: Mandrake Press Museum St 1929. This version ends at 1904. Volume 1 p229, p243. Volume 2 p40.

The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography editors John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, pubd London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1979: p16, p164-65, p172, p178, p194, p224.

A version of The Confessions is on the web at

Www.hermetic.com/crowley/confessions:

Kabbala Denudata or The Kabbalah Unveiled translated by Samuel Liddell Mathers. Most GD members will have known this work from the 1887 edition. However, it's more likely

that Crowley had bought a copy of the 1898 edition issued in London by Kegan Paul Trench Trübner.

Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley CA: NAH Books orig 2000 this revised ed 2010 p55, p61, p76.

AFTERMATH OF BLYTHE ROAD:

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GD 2/4/3/23 is a letter from Causae Scientiae to "Care Frater"; JLB says at the end of it "greetings to Deo Date" [ie Dorothea Hunter] ((so recip almost cert Edmund Hunter)). Dtd 19 April 1900 on hdd paper: Stamford ?Bendham Road Upper Tooting. ((I think this is part of the new cttee-led GD)): JLB and recip have been made resp f rituals. In this context JLB has just heard from Florence Farr "that Blackden has thrown in his lot with Crowley"; so JLB urges the recip to take possn of "all our belongings" still at the Mark Masons' Hall bef Crowley cld do so, and keep them at his house f the time being ((actually Blackden got there first)). JLB wld do the taking possn himself but he'll be busy in the City f the next few days.

Letter is warning recip that anything might happen next. He says "we must be prepd f anything" and what he's worried abt is Crowley, "a man without principles": "one never knows to what lengths a man like Crowley will go" when he has been gvn "a free hand by Mathers".

Letter ends by saying JLB and the recip will meet on Sat.

--

GD 2/4/3/27a is a long but m corrected a/c of the mtg of the 21 April 1900. Amongst those present at the mtg: PWB; Helen Rand; JLB; WBY who gave a speech abt fraud, and noting that in the past few years one Chief had d and n been replaced ((Woodman)) and one Chief had stepped back/down and n been replaced ((WWW)) so that Mathers was now the only Chief, behaviour ever m "autocratic".

GD 2/4/3/37: typewritten order expelling those who had attempted to take control of the 2nd Order rooms on Mathers' behalf. 5 May 1900.

GD 2/4/3/38 series of letters and a bill for fees to Annie Horniman from solicitor Charles Russell of 31 Norfolk Street.

Meeting of Julian and Crowley at Holborn Restaurant: GD 2/4/3/40, short anonymous note written on Annie Horniman's notepaper.

THE INDEPENDENT RITE

A E Waite: A Magician of Many Parts by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough Northants 1987: p178 Appendix C.

22 April 2014

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Golden Dawn member Julian Levett Baker: list of publications

The list below is definitely not complete. In his biography of Julian Baker's acquaintance Aleister Crowley, Richard Kaczynski says he found 50 publications in which Baker was author or co-author. Below I list all the ones that I've come across; most of them have been spotted using google.

THE FACT THAT THERE ARE 50 PUBLICATIONS:

Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley CA: NAH Books orig 2000 this revised ed 2010 p52. Some of them are listed on p580.

PUBLICATIONS I'VE FOUND THE DETAILS OF - a drop in the ocean, as I say above.

Chemical News and Journal of Industrial Science volume 71 1895: Octaestylmaltose by Arthur R Ling and Julian L Baker. The founder and editor of this magazine was Golden Dawn member Sir William Crookes.

The Brewing Industry Julian L Baker FIC FCS. Published 1905 London: Methuen and Co of 36 Essex St London WC in their series Books on Business.

Julian edits The Analyst from 1907 to 1920. It was a magazine for working chemists, publishing abstracts of longer articles.

Chemical News and Journal of Physical Science volume 98 1908 index p131 lists two articles involving Julian: Action of the Enzymes of Malt on Ungerminated Cereals, in which he's co-author with Everard Hulton. Preparation of Pure Maltose, in which his co-author is F E Day.

Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th edition published 1910-11 in 29 volumes: article on Fermentation. This article received an early quote in Béchamp or Pasteur? A Lost Chapter in the History of Biology by Ethel Douglas Hume. London: Simpkin Marshall Hamilton Kent and Co Ltd 1923: p161.

On the 11th edition: Encyclopaedias: their History through the Ages by Robert L Collison. NY, London: Hafner 1964 and a lot of editions since then.

The magazine Commercial Organic Analysis was taken over by Alfred Henry Allen in 1913. He renamed it Allen's Commercial Organic Analysis and that's how it seems to be most widely known. In the 1913 edition volume 1 there's an article by Julian as sole author: Malt and Malt Liquors. It seems to be still in the edition from 1924, by which time the compilers

are Alfred Henry Allen with Samuel S Sadtler, Elbert C Lathrop and Charles A Mitchell.
by Alfred Henry Allen 1913

Reports to the Local Government Board on Public Health and Medical Subjects New Series number 80 Food Reports number 20. 1914. It consisted of these 2 reports:

1 = F J H Coutts: On the Use of Proprietary Foods for Infant Feeding.

2 = JLB: On the Analysis and Composition of Some Proprietary Foods for Infants.

Via lib3.dss.go.th: abstract of Julian's research in *The Analyst* volume 39 October 1914: 456-71.

References to it at the time:

- Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons and Command volume 25 1914: Appendix 1 p20
- British Medical Journal 1915 p77
- British Food Journal volume 18 1916: p265
- The Chemical Examination of Water, Sewage and Food by John E Purvis and Thomas R Hodgson. Cambridge Public Health Series: Cambridge University Press 1922. Chapter II: p140.

Some more modern references:

War is Good For Babies and other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918 by Deborah Dwork. London and NY: Tavistock Pubns 1987 p251, p268.

Article: Infant Foods in the United Kingdom from Victorian Times to the Present Day; by W F J Cuthbertson, in *Infant Nutrition* editors A F Walker and B A Rolls. London: Chapman and Hall 1994.

Journal of the Chemical Society Transactions volume 105 1914: 1529-36. The Action of Diastase on Starch Granules Part 1. By Julian and Hulston. This was obviously the first of a set of articles; but I couldn't find any of the rest of the set, at least, not on the web. Perhaps the war meant that the rest were never published.

Original Gravity Tables Computed to Hundredths of a Degree, from the table attached to the Finance Act 1914 (Session 2). It's another work with two authors but as G C Jones FIC is listed first, he probably did most of the preparatory work; Julian L Baker FIC as listed as co-author. Originally published in *The Brewers' Journal* 1915, then issued as a pamphlet, again by the *The Brewers' Journal of Eastcheap Bldgs London EC*; price 2/6. There's no publication date on the British Library's copy but the BL stamp says "15MAY15".

The Analyst volumes 41-42 1916. In this edition Julian is editor but also a contributor with co-author H F E Hulston: on p355 continuing on p383: Analytical Examination of Acorns and Horse Chestnuts. It's an abstract of an article originally published in *Proceedings of the Society of Public Analysts* etc.

Journal of the Chemical Society Transactions Part 1 1917: article by Julian and H F E Hulston: ?Evidence of the Existence in Malt of an Enzyme Hydrolysing the Furfuroids of Barley (their

question mark).

Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry issued 31 July 1917 reproduced with permission in Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 23 number 6 1917 pp353-54 as an editorial: Julian's article: Use of Brewers' Yeast in Bread Making, originally read at a meeting of the Society.

Chemical News and Journal of Industrial Society volumes 121-122 1920 p426: the announcement that Julian had resigned from the post of editor of the magazine The Analyst in order to take up the job of editor of the Journal of the Institute of Brewing.

Julian retires as editor of The Analyst in 1920, in order to take over as editor of the Journal of the Institute of Brewing. He continues as the Journal's editor until 1949.

At www.biochemj.org, Biochemical Journal volume LXXIII 1920 pp754-56: The Iodimetric Estimation of Sugars, by Julian and Henry Francis Everard Hulton.

At pubs.rsc.org a series of publications by Julian and Hulton which appeared in the Journal of the Chemical Society. To make the little list below a bit more intelligible: the Journal was published as Transactions from 1878 to 1925 with volume numbers; but in 1925 the word 'transactions' was dropped and so were the volume numbers.

- Journal of the Chemical Society Transactions volume 119 1921: 805-09. Amylases of the Cereal Grains - Rye. By Julian and Hulton.
- Journal of the Chemical Society Transactions volume 121 1922: 1929-34. Amylases of the Cereal Grain - the "insoluble" amylase of barley. By Julian and Hulton.
- Journal of the Chemical Society 1929: 1655-60. Amylases of the Cereal Grains - Oats. By Julian and Hulton.

At www.biochemj.org there are issues of Biochemical Journal. In volume 27 1933: 1040: the Removal of Sugars from Dilute Solutions, by JLB and H F E Hulton "from the Stag Brewery, Pimlico".

Seen at onlinelibrary.wiley.com: Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 40 number 2 March-April 1934 pp171-73: the Estimation of Carbon Dioxide in Beer, by Julian and H F E Hulton.

Seen at onlinelibrary.wiley.com: Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 41 number 5 September 1935 p376: note on the Occurrence of the Khapra Beetle in Malt Lofts. By Julian, this time with co-author T J Ward. And on the same page another article: the Separation of Products Rising from the Enzymic Hydrolysis of Starch, by Julian and his usual co-author H F E Hulton.

Journal of the Chemical Society volume 93 1937 p1749 Julian's obituary of Henry Edward Armstrong.

Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 48 1942: p70 hydrolysis of Potato and Malt Starches by Malt Amylase, with Julian as sole author. This was the latest article by Julian that I was able to spot on the web.

22 April 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Oswald BARCLAY was initiated into the Golden Dawn in February 1897 as a member of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh. He took the Latin motto "Nota bene". His address at the time of his initiation was 11 Picardy Place Edinburgh.

It hasn't been easy for me to identify the members of GD's Amen-Ra group and follow their lives, because living in London I haven't been able to get to historical records for Scotland that aren't on the web, or for which you have to pay a lot. However, the name 'Oswald Barclay' is a rare one. There were only three people with that name in the UK on the 1891 census; and two of those were only six years old. I am suggesting that the GD's Oswald Barclay is the third of the three 1891 Oswald Barclays, who was living at 23 Union Place Edinburgh on the day of the census. He told the census official that he had been born in 1872 in England, so using the usual family history sources, I searched for him there.

Oswald Barclay was born early in 1872. His parents were Thomas, a gun maker by profession who had been born in Limehouse, London; and Emma, born in Staffordshire. On the day of the 1881 census Thomas and Emma had five children living at home - William who was working in a bank; Clara who was doing an apprenticeship as a dressmaker; Ernest, Oswald and Beatrice who were all at school. The census official didn't note anything for Emma in the box for 'income' and it's likely she didn't have any paid work. Instead she was at home running the household and doing the childcare - helped only by her daughters, I should imagine, as the family did not employ a live-in servant. Instead they had a lodger, James Paraham, who added to Emma's work but provided an extra source of income.

19th century census officials weren't interested in who anyone's employer was, only what kind of work they did, so I don't know where Thomas Barclay was working in 1881. He had been around in his time, though: William had been born in Québec; Clara and Ernest were born in Plymouth and Oswald in Portsea, a suburb of Portsmouth; then the family had crossed the Atlantic once again, in time for Beatrice to be born in Nova Scotia. Then they had returned to England and in 1881 were living in Stratford, then a new suburb on the north-east edge of London. Based on the information Thomas Barclay gave to the census official in 1901, he seems to have been working for the British Army, in its ordnance department; so naturally he and his family, went where he was sent; by 1891 he was a master armourer - skilled and experienced. He'd moved at least twice more and was in Daventry with daughter Beatrice; and he and Emma had had one more child, a daughter Maud, who'd been born in

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

If he was like most lower-class boys of his generation, Oswald left school aged 15 or so (around 1887) and got work. In the late 19th century, on the back of Empire and increased levels of bureaucracy, there was a huge increase in the number of jobs in offices, and Oswald told the 1891 census official he was a clerk. In 1909 he was working for the Inland Revenue at its offices in Gayfield Square Edinburgh; he'd probably been employed in the tax office all his working life and continued there until his retirement. His most senior appointment was as Assessor to the Commissioners of Income Tax for Edinburgh, which he achieved in 1920

I think Oswald may have arrived in Scotland only a short while before the 1891 census day, because his mother and sisters Clara and Maude had come with him and were all living together at the Union Place address. Once again, Emma Barclay had taken in a lodger to help her through a tricky time financially; Henry Perkins, a dental student, was living with the Barclays. Certainly by 1901 and probably later in 1891, though, Emma returned to Daventry where she and Thomas were still living (surely the longest they'd spent in one place in all their married life) with Maud (or Maud - census officials can't agree on it) who was now 13.

Oswald Barclay of the GD was not on the 1901 census; he was probably taking a holiday. Having got the job in Scotland he doesn't seem to have wanted to move away and he soon got involved in local life, through freemasonry. By 1896 he had been initiated into lodges 1, 83 and 97 (I believe they are all Scottish ones). In March 1896 he became a corresponding member of the English lodge Quatuor Coronati number 2076, giving 17 Picardy Place Edinburgh as his address. Quatuor Coronati had several GD members amongst its full members but as a corresponding member only, there was no requirement for Oswald Barclay to attend any lodge meetings and I couldn't find that he had done so in the accounts that I looked at, in Quatuor Coronati's Transactions volumes published around the time of his GD initiation. I don't think that it was the English Quatuor Coronati members that were WHO HE KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN - it's more likely to be someone who was a fellow freemason in Scotland. Scotland is completely separate from England for the purposes of freemasonry and has its own archives, in Scotland; so I haven't been able to find out many details of Oswald Barclay's career as a freemason. However, an archive now at Cornell University includes a book on the history of the Royal Arch Chapter of Edinburgh from 1778 to 1911 in which he's listed amongst its most senior officers.

Oswald Barclay's life didn't just revolve around freemasonry, however. In 1909 he was made a fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquarians Edinburgh. And he also became a Justice of the Peace (JP).

It was probably the heights he'd reached in the civil service that led to his appointment as a Deputy Lieutenant for the City and County of Edinburgh in 1926; by this time his address was 17 Carlton Terrace. Being made a Deputy Lieutenant gets you onto government and royal lists for attendance at official functions. As a result, Oswald Barclay began to get some coverage in the Times: in August 1928 he went to the funeral of Lord Haldane at Gleneagles; in 1934 he was chosen by the Duke of Atholl to serve on a committee distributing the money raised by the Duke of Atholl's fund; in the 1920s and 1930s he attended garden parties and dinners given by a series of Lord High Commissioners, the King's official representatives in Scotland; in 1940 he went to the memorial service for Lord Tweedsmuir.

He was made a CBE in the New Year's Honours' List of January 1933 and made a trip to London to collect it at the investiture held by George V on Thursday 23 February 1933.

Not once does any of the coverage I've found for Oswald Barclay mention his going to any event with a wife and family; so I think he remained a bachelor. I haven't been able to discover the date of his death.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Sources specific to Oswald Barclay:

Proceedings of the Society, that is, the Royal Society of Antiquarians in Edinburgh. Oswald Barclay was elected a Fellow at a meeting held on 10 May 1909; giving as his address for correspondent, the Inland Revenue Office at 17 Gayfield Square Edinburgh.

Scottish Law Times volume 2 1920 p55 announcement that Oswald Barclay JP had been appointed assessor to the Commissioners of Income Tax for the Royalty Division of Edinburgh.

London Gazette 10 September 1926 p5912 announcement that Oswald Barclay JP of 17 Carlton Terrace Edinburgh had been appointed a Deputy Lieutenant; issued by the Lord Lieutenant of the City and County of Edinburgh.

London Gazette 2 January 1933 p8, the New Year's Honours List: Oswald Barclay JP DL was made a CBE.

Times; Oswald Barclay didn't appear in it before the 1920s.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

James Barraclough was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford in March 1894, choosing the motto 'Speranza'. At the time he was living at 83 Sydenham Place Bradford. He never seems to have pursued the interest that led him to accept the offer of membership.

James Barraclough is one of my failures: I haven't been able to identify him. I could probably have done a much better job of it if I lived in the Bradford area myself - I could at least have found out a bit more about him by pursuing the address he gave the GD - 83 Sydenham Place - through local directories and electoral registers. I did wonder if I could get lucky and find him on the 1891 census. But Barraclough is a common surname in the Bradford area; and on the day of the 1891 census there were 92 men and boys living in the city.

No one called James Barraclough was a member of the Theosophical Society; and the Freemasons' Library catalogue has no reference to a freemason with that name. Theosophy and freemasonry were two fruitful recruiting grounds for the Golden Dawn. If he isn't involved in either of those, and I don't even know his age...

I make one suggestion and it's a long shot: James Barraclough might have been a member of the Barraclough family of clock and watch-makers. John Barraclough is the best known of them, largely because of the clock he made for the Brontë family which is still in the parsonage at Howarth. As clock-makers, they would have been known to T H Pattinson, the owner of a clock and jewellery business in the centre of the city and one of the most influential members of the GD in Bradford. John Barraclough had a son James; but this James Barraclough was born in 1825 which makes him older than all but two of the GD members I've identified. A grandson of John - born around 1850, say - would be a more likely GD member. I couldn't find such a person, so I have given up.

See archiver.rootsweb.com for the descendants of John Barraclough, the Howarth clock-maker. John Barraclough had several descendants with the name 'James'. The GD member might be one of these; I only suggest it because T H Pattinson, senior figure in the GD at Bradford, was a watch-maker and jeweller and would have known the Barraclough family.

Watchmakers and Clockmakers of the World volume 2 p14 has some information on the Barraclough clock-making family. There is also some information on the web, mostly on the John Barraclough I've mentioned above.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. The records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived beyond 1896 either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned. After surviving some difficult times in the 1890s, Bradford TS still seems to be going strong (as at December 2012). In April 2012 the History page was updated with the names of all the members at least up to 1941.

The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot, and needed a lot of careful management!

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.org); Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

6 February 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Thomas Henry BEASLEY who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in October 1888 - one of its earliest members - and took the Latin motto 'Excelsus'. At that time he was living at 131 Prince of Wales Road, Kentish Town in north London. He didn't remain a member for long,

though; he died very young.

I've found out very little about Thomas Henry Beasley which is a pity as - if I have identified him correctly - he's one of the more interesting GD members, as he seems to have made his way up (the Victorians would definitely consider this progress) during a short working lifetime from manual labour to an office job (albeit a very particular one). If I have identified him correctly; and I'm pretty sure I have, for reasons that will become very clear.

Beasley is a rather unusual surname but despite this, I haven't been able to find out anything, really, about Thomas Henry Beasley's early life. Between 1861 and 1881 he gave census officials data consistent with his having been born in or near Reading, about 1838 so this birth registration might be him: a male baby surname Beasley, forenames not recorded, registered in Reading in the quarter July-September 1838. I couldn't find a Thomas Beasley of the right age, still less a Thomas Henry Beasley, on the censuses of 1841 or 1851 so I have no information about his family.

This is probably him, though, on the 1861 census, living at 3 Rose Court in the St Giles parish of Reading, with his wife Sarah, née Langworthy; they had only just got married. Thomas Henry told the census official that he was a bricklayer. I'd love to know what happened in the next ten years: on the day of the 1871 census he had moved to 152 North Street Westminster. He and Sarah had had two daughters, Theodosia and Sarah, who'd both been born in Woolwich. And he was working - so he told the census official - as a police inspector. In 1881 he was still in the same job but had moved out of overcrowded Westminster to 109 Brixton Road Lambeth. He and Sarah had had three more children - Thomas Henry junior, born in Westminster, and Richard and Amy both born in Lambeth. Theodosia was still living at home; she was working as a dressmaker. Daughter Sarah was not at home on the day of the 1881 census; possibly she was working away from home although it's also possible that she had died in her early teens. The family had a lodger, a Miss Ann Wood. And Thomas Henry had achieved what Victorians understood to be the basis of middle-class-ness - he was earning enough for the family to employ one live-in servant. They were doing very nicely.

Senior officers of the Metropolitan Police were listed in the Post Office Directory for London. So I went to search the directories with reasonably high hopes of finding out a bit more about where Thomas Henry Beasley was working and how high in the Met he had got. I couldn't understand it when I couldn't find his name. However, in my searches for members of the GD I've got rather used to not being able to find people who ought to be easy to spot, and after going through several issues several times, I gave it up as a bad job. Several months later and looking for something else entirely, I found Thomas Henry Beasley in the Times; and realised that either there had been some confusion between him and the census officials, or that he had misled them a little: Thomas Henry Beasley worked for the coroner's office. Specifically for the County of Middlesex Central District coroner's office, where Dr George Danford Thomas was the senior official and Dr William Westcott was Danford Thomas' deputy. So Westcott is WHO BEASLEY KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN.

The Times didn't normally cover inquests; but one in February 1884 was of more than local interest. It concerned the corpse of Thomas Baldwin of Litcham Street Kentish Town, who had died the previous week, allegedly of injuries inflicted by a police constable while the PC was taking him to the police station. Dr Danford Thomas was in charge of this inquest (I couldn't find any instance in the Times of Westcott and Beasley working at the same inquest). Mr Beasley, described in Times' report as "the coroner's officer", took the witness

stand briefly at the end of the session to report that some new witnesses had come forward, other than those heard that day; so the inquest was adjourned. If the Times covered the subsequent hearings, Mr Beasley's part in them was not mentioned.

The following month the Times was back again in north London, for Dr Danford Thomas' inquest on a body that had taken some time to identify; and the report went into a bit more detail of what Thomas Henry Beasley's duties were as coroner's officer. In this case, it had been his task to get the corpse identified, and it had proved to be no easy task. Beasley had interviewed a man called Amos Parsons who had come to see the body in case it had turned out to be his cousin Mary Marshall, who had gone missing. However, on seeing the corpse and again at the inquest Parsons had stated it wasn't his missing relative, so Beasley had had to pursue other possibilities and it had taken him a while to establish that the corpse was Mary Ann Yates. I'm not quite sure why the case of Mary Ann Yates should appear in one of the many journals that (still!) follow Jack the Ripper, as the authors are quite sure the Ripper didn't kill her; but an article in Ripper Notes in 2005 gave more information on the inquest and Thomas Henry Beasley's part in the investigation of the death. Mary Ann Yates was strangled, in her room at 12 Burton Crescent, probably during the night of Saturday 8 March to Sunday 9 March 1884. In this account Beasley's job is described as Summoning Officer, meaning that the basis of his job was delivering summonses to court to anyone whose evidence would be needed during an inquest. However, as the Times' description of his job indicates, Beasley had a more active role than just issuing bits of paper. In the case of Mary Ann Yates he'd carried out a search of her room, including having to rummage through the bed-clothes on which her body had lain. He'd found a half-sovereign amongst the sheets - payment for her services, perhaps?

Those were the only two occasions on which Thomas Henry Beasley appeared in the Times in the course of his duties. He died aged only 54, in Reading, early in 1889.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Specific to Beasley:

Times Monday 4 Feb 1884 p10e report on an inquest which had opened "On Saturday afternoon" [2 Feb 1884] at Crowndale Hall Camden.

Times Thursday 27 March 1884 p11f rpt the inquest on Mary Ann Yates which had resumed "yesterday" [Wed 26 March 1884] at Crowndale Hall, with coroner Dr G Danford Thomas in charge.

Ripper Notes issue of 22 April 2005: Murder by Numbers by Dan Norder, Wolf Vanderlinden and Jeffrey Bloomfield; pp41-42. The inquest on Mary Ann Yates opened on Wednesday 12 March 1884 at the St Pancras Coroner's Court and the coroner in charge was Dr Danford Thomas. Thomas Henry Beasley was the last person to give evidence that day, after which the inquest was adjourned for one week.

Post Office London Directory 1884 Law directory p2011 London and Middlesex coroners' offices. A Dr Danford Thomas is listed as the coroner for the County of Middlesex Central District. Its offices are at 68 St Mary's Terrace Paddington. Only two other people who worked in that office are listed: Westcott, and the Secretary Walter Schröder. Alas same story in PO London Dir 1886 law directory p2036; and PO London Dir 1888 law directory p2086. Beasley just wasn't senior enough to appear.

30 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Edith Mary Beaufort came lately to the Order of the Golden Dawn, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 20 March 1897. She chose the Latin motto 'Caritas'. She does seem to have begun the work of studying occult texts that was required if you wanted to get as far in the GD as doing practical magic. But then - according to the GD administrative records - she decided that couldn't afford to continue to pay her subscription. I used to think that this was a very strange reason for the wife of a barrister to give, for dropping out of the Order; but now, knowing a bit more about her and her husband, I think I can see why that happened.

Edith Mary Griffith was born in 1856, the eldest daughter of Rev Charles Higman Griffith and his wife Hannah, née Mockridge.

Griffith is the English spelling of a Welsh surname. Griffith (as opposed to Griffiths) is not a common surname but despite this I haven't been able to find out where in Wales the family originated. However, Edith's parents named her younger brother Llewellyn, so I assume that Charles Griffith thought he was Welsh and was proud of his ancestry. He might even have had reason to think he was descended from the Welsh prince Llywellyn ap Gruffydd who

fought Edward I. He had been born in Bruce Castle, Tottenham, himself - it was then a pleasant suburb to the north of the City of London. His father, John William Griffith, had been born in the City; he worked as an architect and surveyor. Charles' mother, Philadelphia, also had Celtic ancestors - she had been born in Cornwall.

Charles was born in 1829, the youngest of John William and Philadelphia's children. As Charterhouse School was still at its original address, in Charterhouse Square next to Smithfield (it has since moved out of London), Charles was able to attend it as a day boy, from 1839 to 1847. For a couple of years after he left the school he used the education he got there working as a tutor in Classics. I cannot find any evidence that he went to university, but he must have studied theology somewhere because in 1853 he was ordained as Church of England priest. On the strength of having been offered a job as curate of St George's church in Wrotham, Kent, he married Hannah Mockridge, the daughter of a Somerset farmer, in 1853. Charles and Hannah lived in Wrotham for five years - their elder son William, and Edith, were born there - before a great stroke of luck befell them, probably through a recommendation made by the bishop of Winchester, who had presided over Charles' ordination: Charles was offered the job of curate of All Saints, Stratfield Turgis, Hampshire, by its patron, Arthur Richard Wellesley, 2nd Duke of Wellington, with the possibility of his taking over as Rector, if he satisfied the Duke's requirements.

The village of Stratfield Turgis still is owned by the Wellesley family and forms part of their estate; though the village of Stratfield Saye is nearer the house. The Griffiths moved into the Rectory in 1858. On the day of the 1861 census Charles and Hannah were there with William, and two daughters who had been born since their arrival in the village - Gertrude and Catherine - and a nine-year-old visitor from New Zealand. Charles' yearly salary was around £300 at this time, enough for him to afford a cook and a nursemaid. Edith wasn't with her parents on that day; she had gone on a visit to her grandmother, Martha Mockridge, who lived with her two unmarried daughters at Stapleford near Taunton. The following year, any uncertainty that Charles Griffith might have felt about the future was removed when the Duke confirmed him as the Rector of Stratfield Turgis. One more child was born to Charles and Hannah Griffith - the boy Llewellyn that I've mentioned above.

The job of rector or vicar of a parish was one you would hold for life unless circumstances intervened - promotion, for example. So Edith and her siblings grew up in Stratfield Turgis, with very little change to be seen in the household on the census of 1871. Much more change was noticeable on census day in 1881: Charles and Hannah's two sons were not at home on that day (in fact, I can't find Llewellyn Griffith anywhere after 1871); Catherine, too, was away visiting, but Edith and Gertrude were at home. As well as the family, there were four boys living in the household, all teenagers, pupils of Charles. Charles' income as rector was dependent on the profits of agriculture; and these were being squeezed by the 1880s.

1881 was the last census day Edith Griffith spent in Stratfield Turgis with her parents. Early in 1883 she married a barrister, Leicester Paul Beaufort. I have no idea how she met him.

Leicester Beaufort's ancestors on his father's side had come to England at the beginning of the 18th century, as Huguenot refugees fleeing France. The original immigrant, Daniel Cornelis de Beaufort, had joined the Church of England and held several important posts in the Church of Ireland; but the best-known of Leicester's Beaufort ancestors is his great-grandfather Rear-Admiral Francis Beaufort, naval surveyor and inventor of the 'Beaufort Scale' of wind-speeds. Leicester Beaufort's father was Francis' younger son, Rev Daniel

Augustus Beaufort.

Looking at Leicester Beaufort's family for clues about his own life, I found more that was similar in his mother's family, the Davises (no relations of mine as far as I know, though they are - like me - from Bristol). Leicester's mother was Emily Nowell (some sources give Newel) Davis, whose grandfather and father had both had distinguished and lucrative careers in the service of the East India Company. Her grandfather, Samuel Davis, ended a long working life in India as the Company's Accountant General in Calcutta before returning to England and joining its board of directors. Her father, Sir John Francis Davis, worked in the Company's offices in Canton, went on Lord Amherst's diplomatic mission to the Emperor of China in 1816, and ended his working life as the second Governor of Hong Kong. He was created a baronet in 1845. He returned to England in 1848 and retired to his father's estate at Henbury on the outskirts of Bristol. He lived there, at Hollywood Towers; married a woman half his age after Emily's mother's death in 1866 and produced a second family; and died there in 1890 at the remarkable age (for the 19th century) of 95.

Daniel Augustus Beaufort married Emily Davis in 1851. They had two children: another Francis Beaufort, and Leicester Paul who was born in 1853. From 1850-72 Rev Daniel was rector of Warburton in Cheshire; he then retired from the church and went to live at Lee, Lewisham. Francis Beaufort joined the Royal Artillery and was sent to India. Leicester Beaufort went to Westminster School and then to Queen's College Oxford. He graduated in 1875 before becoming a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1879. When he married Edith Griffith he was working as a barrister in courts in the north of England, though he and Edith are more likely to have settled down into married life living near London, where the senior courts and all the barristers' offices were.

Edith began to do the duties of the wife of a professional man: she managed the household, and had children, two daughters - Marion Cicely, born 1884; and Ursula Ernestine born 1885. At some stage Leicester Beaufort was elected to the London School Board (I haven't been able to find exactly when). And their lives were going on in a very ordinary and predictable way when Leicester Beaufort was offered, and accepted, a job that - in due course - sent him and his family to the other end of the world. Of course, Australia and New Zealand are at the other end of the world from England. But I think it's a lot further, psychologically speaking, to Borneo.

I hope I've shown above that Leicester Beaufort's family had a track record of working for companies that traded through, and then governed, parts of the world that were not part of the British Empire - at least, not yet. Usually these parts of the world got absorbed into the Empire once the private companies had done all the hard work of getting their foot in the door. In the 1880s it was no longer an option for Leicester Beaufort to take a job with the East India Company; but there were other, similar, companies - including the British North Borneo Company, which had been (to quote a contemporary Cyclopaedia) "taken under the protection of the British crown" on 12 May 1888.

The British North Borneo Company had been founded in England in 1881 by two of the Dent brothers (of Dent and Co based in Hong Kong and Shanghai). They had got a royal charter issued allowing the Company to administer North Borneo on behalf of the British government. The Company's purpose was to exploit on behalf of its shareholders the northern tip of the larger island of Borneo (now known as Sabah, a province of Malaysia). The Dents had, perhaps, been inspired by the exploits of James Brooke, who in 1841 had

been given the province of Sarawak by the Sultan of Brunei, to rule over it as its first (of three) white rajah. In 1882 the Company began the long project of turning northern Borneo into a plantation-based economy administered on typical British lines through a series of districts ruled by British employees of the Company, with cooperation from local tribal leaders where they could get it and with the help of immigrants, in north Borneo's case from India and China. All this was to be paid for by the profits of the plantations that would be established; and by taxes on the local population.

The Beauforts' long haul to North Borneo began in 1889, when Leicester Beaufort was appointed legal advisor to Charles Vandeleur Creagh, whom the directors of the Company had appointed governor of the territories it had taken. His job was to set up system which would apply the law (English law, of course), and to be the Company's senior legal official. He would also be required to stand in as acting governor for Vandeleur Creagh when necessary - which might have been as soon as the Beauforts arrived because some of my sources say that Vandeleur Creagh was on leave in 1889, back in Europe.

Some wives, when told that their husband was considering taking a job in a country they probably hadn't even heard of, might have opted to stay in England and let their husband take the risks alone, but Edith not only went with her husband herself, she took her two daughters as well. Wasn't she brave? A woman who had grown up in a village in rural southern England and who probably knew very little even about her own country. Weren't they all brave, the imperial wives who took the option to step into the unknown.

I presume that the Beauforts stopped off at Kuching, on their journey, to make the acquaintance of the 2nd white rajah, James Brooke's nephew Charles Johnson Brooke. Although the rudiments of colonial administration were quickly being laid out in north Borneo, and the first British administrators were in post, it's still likely that Charles Brooke's wife Margaret will still have been Edith's nearest European woman neighbour during her years in North Borneo - and Kuching was hundreds of miles away by boat (travel overland all but impossible), far beyond Edith being able to call for help when in need.

When the Beauforts finally arrived in north Borneo they will have set up home in Pulau Gaya where the Company was based. I haven't been able to find out much about what life in this Company town was like, but the number of Europeans living there would have been very small.

I imagine facilities were pretty basic, so that when Edith discovered she was pregnant again she must have felt as much anxiety as delight; but she survived giving birth to her third daughter, Monica, in 1893 and the baby, too, lived through her infancy there (Ranee Margaret of Sarawak had lost her three eldest children to an epidemic in 1873).

Sabah is known for its biodiversity but I doubt if Edith would have had many opportunities to set out in search of it, even if she had wanted to. Her husband may have glimpsed some of it, in their early years there, while out shooting it. However, the impositions of the British North Borneo Company on the native population, and the seizure of their lands, caused an insurrection to begin in 1894 that lasted, on and off, until 1900, threatening the Beauforts' safety and curtailing what little chance they had to travel around. A year into the uprising, Vandeleur Creagh resigned the job of governor. Instead of sending out a new man, perhaps someone with some military experience and who might arrive with a wife family to give Edith a woman friend to talk to, the Company opted to accept the suggestion of its managing

director, William Cowie, to appoint Leicester to be the new governor. No doubt Edith was pleased with the Company's high opinion of her husband's abilities; but she must, surely, have wondered whether he could cope with all the extra demands which would be made of him. And, possibly, thought it unreasonable that he should be asked to take on so much more responsibility in a time of crisis.

Several of the books I referred to for this section of Edith's life say that Leicester Beaufort's promotion to the top job was a mistake; that he lacked administrative experience, and (unlike the Brookes) had no flair for it, and had thus reached the level of his incompetence. And of course, he had restless natives on his hands: as the Company's governor he was also its commander-in-chief, but one with no military experience at all, very few weapons, and probably no fighting men other than the Sikhs who had been brought in to run the Company's police force. It would have taken a man of greater abilities than Leicester Beaufort to make a success of such a situation. The insurrection wouldn't go away and - probably in 1896 though I can't find out the exact date - the Beauforts decided that it was just too dangerous for them all to live in north Borneo. Edith and the children went home - just in time, it would seem, because in 1897 the rebels destroyed the Pulau Gaya township; so thoroughly that it was never resettled. Leicester Beaufort survived the sacking of Pulau Gaya and his most positive contribution to the future of north Borneo was to be in charge of the founding and building of a new Company headquarters at the town now named Beaufort after him.

I can't imagine that Edith had many regrets about leaving north Borneo although to be separated from her husband when he was in some danger must have been a terrible worry; and - I would suppose - she had no idea how long they were going to have to live apart. She arrived back in England at a difficult time in her family. She had already missed her sister Gertrude's wedding in 1893. Her father died in April 1896 - Edith probably got home too late to see him before it happened - and her mother had to move out of the Rectory where Edith had grown up, to make way for the new parish incumbent. And then her father-in-law, Daniel Augustus Beaufort, died in 1898.

By 1898, Edith had moved into a house in Chiswick. I think Marion and Ursula were sent to school for the first time at this point, probably to Sadre School, Gunnersbury Lodge Brentford, a boarding school run by Jane and Elizabeth Spark; Monica was a pupil there on the day of the 1911 census. And it was while she was living in Chiswick that Edith is most likely to have met people who were members of the Order of the Golden Dawn; there were at least 10 GD members living in the district in the late 1890s.

Perhaps, when Edith was about to leave north Borneo, she and her husband had discussed the possibility of her returning when it was safer. In the event, neither Edith nor her daughters ever returned there. Leicester Beaufort carried on as governor of North Borneo until 1900 but then he was replaced; by the day of the 1901 census he was back in England and the family were staying (perhaps for the Easter holidays) in a house in Stratfield Turgis, a few doors away from Edith's mother, who was still living in the village with Edith's unmarried sister Catherine. But for a while Leicester Beaufort didn't have a job; his salary as Governor had been good, but while he looked for employment they will have had to be careful with their money. Hence Edith pleading 'poverty' to the Golden Dawn, and dropping out.

Leicester Beaufort may have had a very difficult last few years in north Borneo, but his work in what he knew - the law - had been good and had attracted notice. In 1901, he was offered a very similar kind of appointment by another of these empire-administering private

companies, the best-known of them all at that time: Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC).

The BSAC had been issued with a royal charter in 1889 which authorised it to act like an extended arm of the British government over whatever lands the Company could lay hold of in southern Africa. In January 1900 the British government issued a constitution for the territory that became known as Rhodesia after Rhodes' death (in 1902) and is now the separate states of Zimbabwe and Zambia. The newly-authorised territory needed English law and English lawyers to administer it, and that was where Leicester Beaufort came in: he was appointed the first judge of the territory of North-Eastern Rhodesia, to be based at the town then called Fort Jameson (now known as Chipata in the independent Zambia) with five British magistrates and 31 native commissioners working for him.

Edith will have known - or thought she knew - a great deal more about southern Africa than she did about Borneo. And at least the climate was rather less sapping and English civilization - in the shape of Cape Town and Durban - was not quite so long a journey from where she was going to live in Africa as they had been on Borneo. However, when I was following the BSAC through the Times between 1900 and 1912, I couldn't help noticing how isolated Edith still was at Fort Jameson: there was no railway link until 1910 and then it went to the Congo not to South Africa and was about exports not passengers; in 1903 letters to and from England took six weeks via Cape Town and Salisbury (now Harare); in 1912 there were still only 1497 Europeans living in all of North-East Rhodesia; and there was a high level of violence, particularly by employees of BSAC against natives objecting to being ousted from their tribal lands (though of course the Times didn't put it like that) and refusing to pay the BSAC's hut tax - with the inevitable resulting fear amongst white residents of native reprisals, which Edith would have known all too well.

Although Leicester Beaufort was the most senior legal official in Rhodesia there were three officials who out-ranked him already in place (though none of them were lawyers) when the Beauforts arrived there late in 1901: W H Milton, the top man, the Senior Administrator for all Rhodesia; Robert Codrington, a personal protégé of Cecil Rhodes, who although only in his early 30s was already Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia; and Codrington's equivalent for North-Western Rhodesia. Milton and Codrington were based in Fort Jameson, where Leicester Beaufort's offices and high court would be; the Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia was based in Livingstone.

Leicester Beaufort might be out-ranked by three old BSAC hands, but at least during 1904, Edith was the senior European woman in Fort Jameson. I'm very grateful to the compilers of the Purchase family history for publishing my only glimpse of Edith doing her duty as an imperial wife: in February 1904, she held the first ever formal dance to take place in Fort Jameson. It was a very sophisticated affair - so much so as to cause consternation as well as excitement amongst the invited guests as they searched or sent for such rarely-used items as evening shoes and long gloves. Despite the lack of resources at her command, Edith did the job properly: there was dancing, there was music, and a separate room for those who despised both of those and only wanted to play cards; there was a big supper at 11; and the guests finally began to go home at 3am.

1904 was a year of highs ending on a terrible low for Edith. It began with the social triumph of organising a dance in such difficult circumstances - the unprecedented event was reported in detail in at least one south African newspaper. In the summer Marion, her eldest daughter,

married James Charles Spillane, a surgeon; though she married him in Lewisham and Edith may not have been able to be there. But at the end of the year Edith's second daughter, Ursula, got dysentery - that well-known killer of residents in the tropics - and died, at Fort Jameson, of its complications. Ursula was 19, and was about to embark on a survey of the flora of Rhodesia on behalf of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, picking up where Robert Codrington had left off a couple of years earlier - he had attached an initial list of local plants to his BSAC accounts for the year to March 1901. In the Kew archive there is a sad little letter from Leicester Beaufort explaining why his daughter would not, after all, be collecting plants for Kew.

The grief that Ursula's death caused both her parents may not have been even slightly lifted until Marion and James Spillane came to visit them at Fort Jameson in 1906. Edith was able to be there when what turned out to be her only grandchild was born - Mona Beaufort Spillane. I haven't been able to find out very much about James Spillane, except that he specialised in tropical medicine. He may have worked in Natal - that was where he died, in 1938. If this is correct, he and Marion had the same difficult decisions to make about where to live, and what to do about the children, as Edith and Leicester Beaufort had done in north Borneo: on the day of the 1911 census, Marion and Mona were staying, or perhaps living more permanently, with Marion's grandmother (Edith's mother-in-law) Emily Beaufort, still alive at the age of 87 and living on Lewisham Hill. James Spillane was not in England or Wales on that day, presumably working abroad.

It was expected by BSAC's hierarchy that employees would cover for colleagues who were on leave or ill and Leicester Beaufort did act as a temporary Administrator several times, the longest-lasting occasion following the unexpected death of Robert Codrington in December 1908. However, these periods did not expose Beaufort's inadequacies and experience to the same extent as his time as Governor of North Borneo, as there were plenty of good and experienced administrators on the spot to help and advise him. The autumn of 1910 brought Queen Victoria's military son, the Duke of Connaught, and his wife to Rhodesia on an official visit, part of a larger tour of southern Africa. I couldn't discover from the coverage of the tour in the Times whether the royal couple actually made it to Fort Jameson - possibly not, as travel to it was still so slow, it took two weeks (for example) to get from Fort Jameson to Livingstone. However, they did go to Bulawayo and Barotseland, and Edith and Leicester Beaufort may have been allowed to travel to one of those places to meet them. In 1911, a big reorganisation of the way Rhodesia was governed included the establishment of its first High Court: Leicester Beaufort became its first High Court Judge. It was his last promotion: he retired in 1918 and was knighted in the 1919 New Year's Honours list, so that Edith became entitled to call herself 'Lady Beaufort' (these things made a big difference to your social life still, in 1919).

1918 was not a good year in which to think of coming back to England, even after many years in the colonies in which you had pinned all your hopes on doing just that. It's possible, though, that Edith and Leicester Beaufort didn't consider returning all that seriously. Edith's mother had died in 1905, Leicester's mother in 1916; as I've said, I think their son-in-law may have been working in South Africa; so they did not have much to return to Britain for. I imagine, too, that Leicester's pension from the BSAC would go a great deal further if he stayed in the area it governed. The Beauforts retired to Wynberg, a pleasant suburb of Cape Town, moving into a house called Sandown, in Broad Road. No doubt the fact that the Royal Cape Golf Club was in Wynberg influenced their decision: Leicester Beaufort was a keen golfer. They had not been there very long, however, when the great flu epidemic engulfed

South Africa.

Spanish flu was first detected in South Africa in Durban on 14 September 1918. In the next seven weeks half of the total population of 6 million people caught it, and 140,000 people died. It is well-known that the Spanish flu tended to take the young and spare the old; quite why that was so still puzzles medical researchers. The Cape was particularly hard hit by the epidemic and one of the casualties there was Edith and Leicester Beaufort's youngest daughter Monica, who died on 21 October of pneumonia and heart failure. She had been training as a nurse at the military hospital in Wynberg.

Both Edith's younger daughters had tried to break out of the limited roles allotted to them by the expectations of their times. I imagine their urge to do more was mainly Edith's doing. It must have added to her grief over their deaths that they had hardly been able even to get started before they died.

Leicester Paul Beaufort died, in Wynberg, on 13 August 1926. At some point between his death and her own, Edith finally returned to England. I haven't been able to find out the exact date but I think the move will have depended on Marion, now Edith's only surviving daughter: Edith will have moved to be near her, wherever she was, and I'm not sure where she was. I've said that Marion's husband died (in 1938) in Durban. Something in the probate registration to do with his death made me think he and Marion were living separately at the time of his death.

Surely Edith came to England, at least for a few weeks, to attend the wedding of her granddaughter, Marion's daughter Mona. Mona Spillane married Brigadier-General Francis Ernle Fowle in 1930. The Fowle family owned the Charlton estate in the vale of Pewsey in Wiltshire, not so far from where Edith had grown up. Whenever it was that Edith returned to England permanently, she went to live near Mona and her family. She and Marion (now widowed herself) were living at a house called Sundown, in Manningford Abbots in the vale of Pewsey by 1942; Edith died there on 17 December that year and Marion was still living there at her death in 1964.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

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THE BEAUFORT FAMILY

Wikipedia has good coverage of the family though as the names 'Daniel' and 'Daniel Augustus' occur several times it's a bit confusing.

County Families of the UK volume 59 published 1919 compiler/editor Edward Walford and it's generally known as Walford's County Families. Confirms the details of Leicester Paul Beaufort's parents, his school, university and qualification as a barrister. His father the Rev D A Beaufort died in 1898; his mother Emily died in 1916.

SIR FRANCIS BEAUFORT Leicester's grandfather. Plenty abt him on the web: 1774-1857, RN, hydrographer, surveyor of the Río de la Plata, trainer of Fitzroy who captained the Beagle when Darwin was on board; inventor of the Beaufort scale. FRS FRGS KCB 1848. Amazing revelation at wikipedia: between his two marriages (during 1830s) had a sexual relationship with his unmarried sister Harriet - he wrote about it in a cipher-code journal; code has now been cracked.

Leicester Paul's father DANIEL AUGUSTUS BEAUFORT

At history/beewarb.org/ is a history of the church at Warburton Cheshire, with a list of its rectors. Daniel Augustus Beaufort was appointed rector 1850 and remained in post until 1872 when a member of the Warburton family took over. Rev Daniel was a son of Sir Francis Beaufort the admiral, who'd had a problem getting his son a living until this one came up.

Via familysearch, England EASy source film 1595677: marr of Daniel Augustus Beaufort to Emily Nowell (sic) Davis 24 June 1851 at St Mary Henbury.

BRIEFLY ABOUT LEICESTER'S ELDER BROTHER

Via familysearch India-EASy source film 510868: Francis Beaufort married Adela Hasting (sic and incorrect) Divett, daughter of Edward Divett. The marriage took place in October 1882 at Ambala Bengal.

Website www.chch.ox.ac.uk is the website of Christ Church cathedral Oxford. It has memorials to the dead of the 2nd Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, including

Francis Hugh Beaufort, born 1883 killed 15 May 1915 son of Major Francis Beaufort, Royal Artillery and his wife Adela Hastings (sic) Divett daughter of Edward Divett MP. This memorial gives details of Francis Hugh's career in the army - he hadn't only volunteered in 1914.

LEICESTER BEAUFORT'S COUSIN

At www.thepeerage.com Daniel Augustus Beaufort's sister Sophia (born 1819) married Rev William Palmer. They had two children:

Francis V Palmer born 1846

Blanche Palmer born 1848.

Francis V Palmer takes on his mother's original surname and becomes Sir Francis Beaufort Palmer. He's a barrister and author of legal text-books, eg Palmer's Company Law, reference works on insolvency etc.

LEICESTER BEAUFORT'S MOTHER'S FAMILY, the DAVISes of the East India Company:

See below the about the views of Bhutan, they were painted by Samuel Davis. The V&A has some of Samuel Davis' other works eg views of India, see [//collections.vam.ac.uk](http://collections.vam.ac.uk). The V&A website has a short biography: 1760-1819. Born in West Indies where his father was Commissary-General. Joined Madras Light Infantry; arrived in Madras 1780. As Lieutenant in 1783, sent with others by Governor-General of India Warren Hastings on a mission to Tibet but refused entry, possibly because his habit of drawing caused suspicion. Various appointments back in India including as Collector, as a magistrate in Varanasi, as superintendant-general of police in Calcutta. Last job before retirement was as Accountant General of India 1804-06; he then returned to England with his family. He served as a director of the East India Company from 1810 to his death in 1819.

At www.holmesacourt.org/hac/4/9466.htm a rudimentary family tree indicates that Samuel Davis 1760-1819 married Henrietta Boileau 1773-1853.

JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS son of Samuel and Henrietta:

There's a wikipedia page on him.

At www.phoenixbonsai.com is a history of Bonsai; John Francis Davis was first English person to describe it, in one of his works on China.

My own list - compiled from the sources below - of John Francis Davis' marriages and children:

By his first marriage to Emily Humphrays:

Florence, who married Lt-Col James Burnie Lind in 1863, in Paris

Julia Sullivan, who married Robert Cann Lippincott of Over Court, Almondsbury near Bristol.

Emily Newel born c 1824, Leicester's mother

By his second marriage to Lucy Ellen Rocke:

Francis Boileau Davis 2nd Baronet born 1871

Henrietta.

At www.holmesacourt.org/hac/4/9466.htm a rudimentary family tree indicates that John Francis Davis' first marriage was April 1822 to Emily Humphrays.

At www.burningviolin.org/family is a family history website though I'm not sure who has compiled it. There's a reference to Julia Sullivan Davis who married Robert Cann Lippincott in 1854. This website confirms that John Francis' first wife was Emily née Humphrays and gives the date of Emily's death as 1866. Just noting that this site also has information on the Lind family, Leicester Beaufort's cousins.

1861 census has Lucy Rocke's father as vicar of Littleham Exmouth; she was living at home on that day: as yet unmarried, aged 31, born Burford Salop.

Confirmation of the death of Emily Davis: death registered Clifton (Bristol) July-Sep 1866; aged 65.

The marriage of Lucy Ellen Rocke to John Francis Davis was registered St Thomas (Exeter) Devon October-December 1867.

Times Fri 14 November 1890 p10 obituary of John Francis Davis who'd died "yesterday" at his home near Bristol. This is the source for the information now on wikipedia but it does add a few more details about his career with the East India Company.

Times Mon 17 Nov 1890 p1 death notices: John Francis Davis 1st Baronet had died on 12 November [1890] at his home at Hollywood Towers.

Times Mon 10 Dec 1890 p5 had a detailed account of John Francis Davis' rather complex will, which created two trust funds, one for his widow Lucy Ellen and the other for his son, now the 2nd Baronet, Francis Boileau Davis, to give them each an income. Bequests were made to all his daughters. In addition, the income from the trust fund for his son would go to his three daughters from his first marriage, on his son's death. John Francis Davis left landed property, together with personal effects worth £167,898/6/6.

LEICESTER PAUL BEAUFORT

The Record of Old Westminsters Volume 1 issued by the School in 1928: p66 has Leicester Beaufort on it though from the snippet I couldn't see which years he was at the school.

BEAUFORT AS A BARRISTER

Law List 1893 p16 Counsel list: Leicester Paul Beaufort called to bar 7 May 1879; Inner Temple. Working on the Northern circuit. He continues to have an entry in the Law List until 1925; I gather from the entries that he never worked as a barrister in England after 1893.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO now called Sabah

My contemporary sources:

The Solicitors' Journal 1889 p111 announcement of the appointment of Leicester Paul Beaufort as "Legal Advisor to the Governor of North Borneo".

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute 1901 (this was a google snippet and I couldn't see the page number): Leicester Beaufort had been elected a member in 1893.

Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia volume for 1893 p326 the British North Borneo Company had been "taken under the protection of the British crown" on 12 May 1888. The current Governor of British North Borneo was Charles Vandeleur Creagh; Leicester Beaufort was Acting Governor.

Nature: International Journal of Science volume 48 1893 p15 a report of Beaufort presenting a crowned gibbon (stuffed, presumably); I couldn't see from the snippet which institution he was giving it to. He probably shot the gibbon himself.

For statistics on Sabah's biodiversity, listen to Brian Cox in episode 1 of his Wonders of Life series, first broadcast Sunday 27 February 2013. The sequence in Sabah shows the tropical rainforest and a sanctuary for orangutans; even in the 21st century, Cox had to reach the sanctuary by boat.

Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia volume for 1898 p317 mentions that Beaufort been chosen for the post of Governor of British North Borneo by the Board of Directors of the British North Borneo Company; but the appointment had required ratification by the Colonial Office.

The Statesman's Year Book 1899 p110 British Empire - British Borneo. There is a political resident, a Col F A Wilson. Governor Beaufort earns a salary of \$9850 pa. The Chairman of the Court of Directors of the British North Borneo Company is Richard B Martin MP, who is based in London.

Wikipedia on British North Borneo Company says that it issued its own currency which was the official currency of the area from 1882 to 1953; Beaufort's salary was paid in that currency.

Colonial Office List 1904 p217 the dist of Labuan was taken into British North Borneo in an agreement dated 1889. The Governor of North Borneo's official title is: "the Governor of the territory of the British North Borneo Company".

My modern sources:

There is now (January 2013) a good deal about the British North Borneo Company on wikipedia. And there's plenty there, too, about the Brookes, white rajahs of Sarawak.

Wikipedia has some information on the modern town of Beaufort: a district, and a town 90km south of Kota Kinabalu, nowadays a good place for white-water rafting. The railway station building is dated 1905 (after the Beauforts left, of course). The website says that Leicester Beaufort arrived in British North Borneo in 1889 and took up his post based at the town of Beaufort but I think that's not correct.

The town of Beaufort figures a lot on the web in English-language Malayan/Indonesian websites on their own history. Eg www.worldstatesmen.org/Malay_states.htm which says that Beaufort's predecessor in the job in British North Borneo was Charles Vandelleur (sic the 2 l's and that's not correct) Creagh who served 1888-95. Then Beaufort did the job 1895-1900 when he was replaced by Hugh Charles Clifford.

A History of Modern Sabah by K G Tregonning. Sabah was called North Borneo between 1881 and 1963. This book says on p42 that Beaufort was sent out to British North Borneo to replace one of the Dent brothers, who'd been thrown "off the Court" (I'm not sure what that means exactly). As the first governor who had never been a colonial official before, Beaufort had a very hard time in the job.

Clifford, Imperial Consul by Harry A Gailey 1982 p27 Beaufort was appointed Governor on the recommendation of William Cowie. Beaufort was appointed in 1895, a lawyer with no

administrative experience.

A Short History of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei 1981 by Constance Mary Turnbull p168 she is explaining that North Borneo was NOT like Sarawak: the British North Borneo Company did not have the political and economic freedom that Rajah Brooke had in Sarawak. Beaufort "held office from 1895 to 1900" (as Governor that is).

THE BEAUFORTS AND THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

Firstly a bit from wikipedia on Robert Codrington mentioned a lot below: 1869-December 1908 in London; one of the Gloucestershire Codringtons. Brilliant career cut short by heart disease. Hand-picked protégé of Cecil Rhodes, very important in establishing government by professional, colonial-style officials in what became Rhodesia. Appointed by Rhodes as Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia (based at Fort Jameson) in 1898 with instructions to get Rhodes' way by any means necessary; in that job till April 1907 when he was moved to become Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia, based at Livingstone; he started work there in February 1908.

Contemporary:

Times articles about the British South Africa Company; I searched the whole period from 1899 to 1918. A general note, especially about the years 1900-05: much of central Africa is still at the 'being explored' stage; very few rail links as yet in what became northern Rhodesia.

Unfortunately I couldn't find any mention in the Times of Leicester Beaufort's appointment.

The most succinct information I got on how the BSAC got into what is now Zambia was wikipedia's page on the Northern Rhodesia Police. Rhodes got the British South Africa Company (BSAC) its royal charter in October 1889; to act as an arm of the British government, including having authority to negotiate treaties and set up police forces. From 1889 to 1899 BSAC ran what became Rhodesia through white "collectors" who attempted to raise money by collecting a tax on hut. An Order in Council issued by the British government in January 1900 formalised a constitution for the territory which became Rhodesia. The constitution established a system of courts to administer English law there. Leicester Beaufort arrived there in 1901 to be its first judge. He was based at Fort Jameson (now Chipata, very close to Zambia's border with what is now Malawi). He worked with 5 magistrates; and 31 native Commissioners who replaced the BSAC's original, white, tax collectors. In 1910 a railway was completed with linked northern Rhodesia to the Congo.

Times 3 August 1901 item on the financial statements issued by BSAC up to 31 March 1901; in which the costs of governing Rhodesia are included. The most senior official in Rhodesia is the Senior Administrator, a Mr W H Milton. Robert Codrington is Administrator for North-Eastern Rhodesia; he completes that part of the BSAC's financial statement which shows the figures for North-Eastern Rhodesia; but he also includes a section on its flora and fauna.

Times Sat 2 November 1901. At the moment what became Rhodesia is called the British Central Africa Protectorate. Very few Eurs lived there but one or two companies had their headquarters in the town, including an exploration company and a telegraph company.

Cecil Rhodes died on 26 March 1902 and in the following years, all my sources show the

British government getting more and more involved in decisions about how Rhodesia is governed.

Times Mon 27 July 1903 (I forgot to get the page number): mention that letters to/from GB to Fort Jameson took 6 weeks and went via Cape Town and Salisbury.

The Genealogy of the Purchase Family in Britain and Southern Africa published 2008, by Nancy R Purchase and H Graham Purchase. On p44 there's coverage of Edith's dance at Fort Jameson, taken from a report in a local newspaper. Harvey George Purchase and his wife Grace Lillie were two of Edith's guests. Harvey Purchase worked for BSAC; and Grace had been a nurse at the Nyasa Industrial Mission until her marriage to Harvey in April 1903.

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute 1908. This was a google snippet and I couldn't see the page number: Beaufort was still a member of the Institute, with address Fort Jameson North-Eastern Rhodesia.

Times Wed 27 January 1909 p6 reported that Robert Codrington had recently died in London; he'd been Acting Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia since April 1907. In the wake of Codrington's death there had been a shift-around of personnel: L P Beaufort had been appointed Acting Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia as part of it. L A Wallace had been appointed Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia. Wallace was senior to Beaufort, he had been working in Rhodesia since 1895. These appointments had to have the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies but the men involved would still be working for the BSAC.

Hazell's Annual 1910 p162 section on Rhodesia. Fort Jameson was the site of the new High Court of North-Eastern Rhodesia, with Beaufort as the senior judge based there.

Times November-December 1910 covered the south African tour made by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. They did visit parts of Rhodesia but I couldn't find a reference to their having spent any time at Fort Jameson.

Times Tue 22 November 1910 p5 the Connaughts had done a day of official engagements in Bulawayo.

Times Thurs 17 August 1911 p3 item on Northern Rhodesia detailing the government reorganisation which was coming into effect there. The report noted that only 1200 white people were living there. As result of the changes, L A Wallace would become Resident Commissioner, governing all of northern Rhodesia as representative of BSAC; the old divisions of Rhodesia into NW and NE would cease. Wallace would rule the larger area with an administrative council which would include legal officials as members. A High Court would come into existence.

LEICESTER BEAUFORT'S KNIGHTHOOD

The Law Times 1918 volume 146 (I couldn't see the page number in the google snippet): the announcement of Leicester Paul Beaufort's knighthood; as "Lately Judge of the High Court of Northern Rhodesia".

Times Wed 1 November 1919 p9g an Honours' list p10 includes Leicester Beaufort's knighthood.

SOME EXTRA INFORMATION ON LEICESTER BEAUFORT

The Rulers of British Africa 1870-1914 1978 by Lewis H Gann and Peter Duignan. P237 Beaufort born Warburton, the son of a vicar. Educated Westminster School, Oxford. Barrister Inner Temple, member of London School Board. Who's Who says recreations shooting, fishing, golf.

EDITH'S FATHER CHARLES HIGMAN GRIFFITH

I couldn't get any information on John William Griffith from the web; nor on his wife despite her unusual name. There was a lot of information on a group of Quakers called Griffith, originally from Gwynedd/Merioneth, but now living in Philadelphia County Pennsylvania. Despite the very detailed accounts of this family on the web, I couldn't spot John William amongst all the references that came up. I couldn't find any details for a marriage of John William Griffith to Philadelphia on familysearch or anywhere else, so I do not know what Philadelphia's original surname was.

Charterhouse Register 1769-1872 editor R L Arrowsmith, published 1974. Charles Higman Griffith was born 14 April 1829, son of John William Griffith of Bruce Castle Tottenham. He was a day pupil from 1839 to 1847.

Crockford's Clerical Directory issue of 1868 p276 Charles Higman Griffith: ordained priest 1853 by bishop of Winchester. Currently rector of Stratfield Turgis, appointed 1862, its patron is the Duke of Wellington.

Wikipedia for which Duke appointed Charles Griffith: he was made curate in 1858 so that means it's the great duke's son, the 2nd duke, Arthur Richard Wellington 1807-84. Royal Horse Guards; then Rifle Corps 1830. MP 1830s. Married 1839 Elizabeth Hay; no children, the marriage was unhappy. On his death he was succeeded by his nephew Henry 1846-1900 as 3rd duke.

Crockford's Clerical Directory issue 1880 gave more details of Charles Griffith's career p413: ordained deacon 1852, priest 1853, both by bishop of Winchester. Curate St George's Wrotham Kent 1853-57; curate of Stratfield Turgis 1858-62.

Crockford's Clerical Directory issue of 1895 p551 has Charles Higman Griffith still in the same job.

None of the Crockford's issues give any details of where he qualified for the priesthood; I'm rather puzzled about that.

A BIT ABOUT STRATFIELD TURGIS

Wikipedia has very little about Stratfield Turgis but there's a picture of All Saints; it's now de-consecrated.

Antiquarian and Topographical Sketches of Hampshire by Henry Moody 1846, curator of the museum at Winchester. On p132 Stratfield Turgis is mentioned in the Domesday Book. It's a smaller parish than Stratfield Saye. It's now part of the lands owned by the Wellesley family, dukes of Wellington. The rectory's current annual value is £320.

Victoria County History of Hampshire and Isle of Wight volume 4 by H A Doubleday

published 1973 p64: the dukes of Wellington own every single thing in the parish of Stratfield Turgis and are lords of the manor there.

Via googlebooks, one publication by Rev Charles Higman Griffith came up: A History of Strathfield Saye published 1892. I checked the British Library catalogue: this was the only item registered under his full name.

EDITH'S MOTHER HANNAH MOCKRIDGE: details from the 1851 census at Greenway House, St James Taunton

head John Mockridge, 52, farmer of 200 acres with 9 employees, born Taunton. Also in the household: his wife Martha 51; his children Hannah 22, Martha 18, John 15, Robert 11, Edward 7. Plus a housekeeper and various farm servants.

EDITH AND LEICESTER IN BRITAIN 1898-1901

Via google to a list of addresses on www.docstoc.com, prob a Directory of some sort but I couldn't see the source details: an address 1898 for Edith Beaufort of 36 Cornwall Grove Chiswick. And another address 1898 at www.genesreunited.co.uk at Newton Abbot but the website says it's a death registration so there's something wrong somewhere.

MARION CICELY BEAUFORT'S MARRIAGE

Law Times volume 117 1904 p328 in a list of marriages: Marion Cicely Beaufort to James Charles Spillane MB MRCS; at St Stephen's Lewisham.

Law Times volume 118 p424 in list of death notices: Ursula Ernestine Beaufort aged 19, at Fort Jameson NE Rhodesia. I couldn't see the exact date on the google snippet though the year was 1904.

DEATH OF URSULA BEAUFORT

At plants.jstor.org/visual/kadc5376, Directors' Correspondence volume 193/181, the Kew Archives on the web: a letter dated 13 January 1905 written at Fort Jameson northern Rhodesia by Leicester Paul Beaufort to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew. Beaufort explains that his daughter has died of heart failure, just as she was beginning to recover from dysentery. As a result, she wouldn't be undertaking the work for Kew that she'd been so looking forward to doing. Nice comments on how happy and loving a daughter she'd been.

LEICESTER BEAUFORT'S RETIREMENT; MONICA'S DEATH

Wikipedia on WYNBERG: it's a suburb on the south side of Cape Town. The Royal Cape Golf Club was established there in 1885. The Wynberg Military Camp is there.

At www.health24.com there was a short article on the Spanish flu in South Africa, added to the website in November 2012. South Africa was hit very hard: ½ million died in all, 62% of whom lived in the Cape. 140,000 people died in 7 weeks during September-October 1918.

At www.sahistory.org.za from these 2 sources:

Nuusdagboek: feite en fratse oor 1000 jaar by F Wallis 2000.

Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa eds D Potgeiter et al 1970. At the time the Encyclopaedia was compiled, Spanish flu was still the worst ever epidemic to hit South Africa. It was first diagnosed in Durban on 14 September 1918. The population of South Africa at that time was 6 million; nearly half of them caught it. This site confirms the data of 140,000 deaths but says it was 6 weeks. Blacks and coloured people were particularly badly hit although death rates were especially high amongst whites, often from secondary infections like pneumonia.

Times Fri 29 November 1918 p1b death notices: Leicester Beaufort's youngest daughter Monica Gertrude Alice had died "On the 21st October [1918]" of pneumonia and heart failure at Wynberg Military Hospital, Cape Colony where she had been training as a nurse.

It's unusual to have so many details of the death in a Times announcement.

Times Sat 14 August 1926 p10d obituary of Leicester Paul Beaufort issued by Reuters "Cape Town, August 13 [1926]".

Probate Registry 1926: Sir Leicester Paul Beaufort died on 13 Aug 1926. Last address Sandown, Broad Road, Wynberg South Africa.

EDITH'S SON-IN-LAW JAMES CHARLES SPILLANE

A quick search with google suggested to me that he was a specialist in tropical medicine. Via Ancestry to the General Medical Council Registers: he's listed in them for the first time in 1907 and for the last in 1919, with the poste restante-type address Royal Societies Club St James's St. MB London 1895. MRCS 1895. LRCP 1895.

Probate Registry: Spillane still has the Royal Societies Club address but it's clear he has been living abroad: he died on 9 April 1938 at 51 Surrey Mansions, 323 Currie Road Durban Natal. Probate London 7 June [1938] to Mona Beaufort Fowle wife of Francis Ernle Fowle; and to Horace Tyrrell Lewis, solicitor.

MONA SPILLANE FOWLE

Francis Ernle Fowle's family owned the Charlton estate in the Vale of Pewsey: via www.british-history.ac.uk information from A History of the County of Wiltshire volume 10, published 1975, on the manor of Charlton, centered 4 miles SW of Pewsey and including bits of the Ridgeway and of the Vale of Pewsey. The manor of Charlton was owned by the Mundy family in the 17th century; then by the Giffard family. It was bought by William Fowle before 1838. By the end of the 19th century, the family was calling itself Ernle Fowle - the Ernle family were also long-time gentry, but based in Sussex, Dorset etc. Thomas Ernle Fowle inherited the Charlton estate in 1893. He sold some of the estate's downland to the War Department in 1902, but bought Drax farm in 1919 and Coombe Farm later. He died in 1932 and his son Francis succeeded (that's Mona's husband). Francis died in 1969; his son W F B Fowle succeeded and still owned the Charlton estate in 1972.

Mona inherited some drawings that had been in the Davis and Beaufort families since the 18th century: part of the collection of drawings done by Samuel Davis, of India and other places that he was sent to in the course of his career with the East India Company. Most of his drawings of India became part of the collection of the Director General of Archaeology of India; Marion and then Mona inherited the others. The pictures owned by Mona Fowle have

now been published as *Views of Medieval Bhutan: The Diary and Drawings of Samuel Davis 1783* by Samuel Davis and Michael Aris. Published Serindia 1982. In the book's introduction, on p39, Aris states Mona was the only child of Marion, daughter of Leicester Beaufort; and that Mona married Brigadier-General Francis Fowle in 1930. The drawings and diary remained in the Fowle family until 1967 when they were bought by the Paul Mellon Collection at the Yale Center for British Art, which is where they are now.

7 January 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Mrs Ida BENNETT was initiated into the Golden Dawn in December 1900 and took the Latin motto 'Bene tenax', a play on her own surname.

By 1900 the administrators at the GD were not noting down the addresses of new initiates. However, in 1896 Ida Bennett had joined the Theosophical Society (TS) and the address she gave them was The Grange, Pulham St Mary, Harleston in Norfolk, so I did have somewhere to start when looking for her. All new applicants to the TS had to have two sponsors and I learned at the outset WHO SHE KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN because both her sponsors were members of the GD already: Louisa Florence ffoulkes and Hugh Elliot (full name John Hugh Armstrong Elliot).

Ida Bennett was born in Birmingham during 1849 into a newly wealthy family. She was a daughter of Wright Turner whose firm, Wright Turner and Sons owned Kingsford Mill at Brindle Heath in Salford where by 1861 250 people were employed to make rope, twine and cotton bands. Wright Turner seems to have been the typical self-made Victorian man: starting out with a small enterprise making twine only, in his home-town of Hayfield in Derbyshire and ending with two seasons as mayor of Salford, 1864/65 and 1865/66 before dying in 1880 with a personal fortune of around £140,000 (which would of course have gone a lot further in 1880 than it does now).

Wright Turner and his wife Anna (or possibly Anne, the censuses are not consistent) had a large family - four girls (Ida was the third) and three boys but there was money enough coming in for them all to live in some luxury: in 1861 a cook, a nurse and a housemaid were employed by them; and Ida was one of only a handful of members of the GD to have grown up in a house that had a butler - this was serious money. However, it may not have gained Ida any better an education than a girl from a less rich background. The family did not employ a governess in 1861, so I suppose the daughters were going to a local school, probably one which didn't provide much in the way of intellectual challenge to its pupils. Certainly her subsequent career gives the impression of a woman for whom marriage and family were all the focus she wanted - more or less.

The sons, of course, were destined to join the family business, although like many newly-rich manufacturers, Wright Turner did encourage at least his eldest boy, William Alfred, to have interests that stretched beyond the mill. William Alfred became the firm's junior partner and took over when Wright Turner died in 1880 but he was also one of the first collectors of the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. He started out modestly by buying a watercolour drawing in the early 1870s but later bought several large works including *Joli Coeur* (painted 1867

and now in the Manchester City Art Gallery) Proserpine (painted 1877); and commissioned A Vision of Fiammetta (painted 1878 and now owned by Andrew Lloyd Webber). William Alfred Turner and Rossetti corresponded from 1873 and finally met in 1877 during negotiations for the purchase of a chalk drawing called Water Willow. It may have been William Alfred's interest in the use of new inventions which prompted Wright Turner's mill to become the first factory in the Manchester area to install electric lighting. William Alfred was a director of the Edison Electric Lighting Company for a time.

Throughout my research on the members of the Golden Dawn it has always been easier to find out about the men in their lives than about the GD's women members. In the case of Ida Turner, however, I'm not sure that there's very much more to find. Her life seems to have been very ordinary!

I hope that Ida saw and appreciated William Alfred's pre-Raphaelite paintings but by the time he had bought the first one, she had left Salford. In the summer of 1869 she had married Adrian Bennett, a captain in the 7th Regiment of Foot. He was considerably older than Ida and had seen a lot of tough service, in the Crimean War at the battles of Alma and Inkerman and the siege of Sebastopol; and then on the Indian North-West frontier in the 1860s in the continuing (and they continue until this day) struggles to pacify the hill-tribes. I think these hard years' work may have damaged his health because although he was promoted to major in 1871 and then to lieutenant-colonel, Bennett seems to have been given two relatively undemanding postings in the early years of his marriage and then gone into semi-retirement. Ida began her marriage following her husband's postings in Weymouth, where her son Lacy Walter Bennett was born in 1870; Portsea (part of Portsmouth); and possibly Colchester for a while; before settling in Norfolk. She and Adrian had two more children, Ethel in 1875 and Ida Gwynedd in 1876.

By the day of the 1881 census and again in 1891 Ida, Adrian and their children were living at a house called The Grange, in the small village of Pulham St Mary Virgin in Norfolk. Do I get the impression Ida was trying to have the quiet, traditional rural life that was as far from the way she had grown up as she could get? Even her household was more modest than the one she had been used to as a child. The only servants to live in were a cook and a couple of housemaids. The only things she did that were not entirely what might be expected of her by her neighbours were joining the TS and the GD; and she can't have been an active member of either, living in a remote part of Norfolk.

Ida's daughter Ethel married the Rev William Cleaver in 1894 and produced Ida's first grandchild, Denis. Her son Lacy married Maude Sutherland in 1900. And her younger daughter Ida (possibly called Gwynedd rather than Ida) married Frederic Doggett in 1908. Despite being so much younger than her husband Ida Bennett died first, aged only 62, in 1910. Adrian Bennett lived on through the world war, dying at the end of 1918.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.

The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

FOR IDA TURNER BENNETT

The Wright Turner and Son Ltd company: lists of archives at Bolton Archive and Local Studies Service and Greater Manchester Records Office both accessed via the web. Also History, Topography and Directory of Derbyshire published by T Bulmer and C0 1895 p184. Transactions of the Manchester Association of Engineers issue of 1887 p255. Probate Registry records accessed via Ancestry.

Connection with Rossetti: Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: the Last Decade edited by William Evan Fredeman 2006 p42-43. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>

For the Theosophical Society (TS): Members' Registers 1888-1900 held at the TS headquarters in Gloucester Place London W1.

2 May 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Marcus Worsley Blackden (known as 'Worsley' not Marcus) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 27 August 1896. Irene Augusta Lloyd was initiated as part of the same ritual, but I don't think the two of them knew each other beforehand. Although he had little occult experience, Worsley Blackden worked his way quickly through the study needed to be eligible for the GD's inner 2nd Order, and was initiated into that on 6 November 1897. He played a prominent role in the turbulent period 1900-1903, and then joined one of the two daughter orders that were founded in 1903.

BEFORE I GET STARTED a huge 'thank you' to MWB's great-grand-daughter Nadine, of Ontario, Canada, for all the photos of paintings and family documents that she sent me.

There would have been much less of this 'life by dates' without them!

There are plenty of sources for some of the events in Worsley Blackden's life, so I've decided to do a 'life-by-dates' set of three files; in which he'll appear as 'MWB'. This is the first file: YOUTH and BACKGROUND. The other two are: Egypt and the GD; and After the GD. Standing rather outside the sequence are two examples of Blackden's work on the Book of the Dead - translations of chapter 62; and of the Hymn to Osiris.

1761

The wealth of the 19th and 20th century Blackden family was established by the latest of many Benjamin Blackdens born into the family, who bought the old City of London gates of Cripplegate, Aldersgate and Moorgate from the Corporation of London, with permission to demolish.

1764

A Benjamin Blackden who may have been the same man as in 1761, or his son, obtained from the Corporation of London a lease of a thousand-foot length of frontage on Fore Street and Coleman Street, where the gates at Cripplegate and Moorgate had stood.

A condition of Benjamin Blackden's lease was that he develop the land within the next four years; a duty he carried out by building warehouses, residences and shops, rents from which formed the basis of the family income for the next 170-odd years.

Sources for 1761 and 1764:

Cripplegate: One of the Twenty-Six Wards of the City of London by John James Baddeley: p15, p244. Privately printed; no date on title page but Baddeley's introduction is dated December 1921. Sources for individual items of evidence are not specified in the book but there are photographs of records now held by the City Lands Committee; and references to contemporary Wills. Text of book seen at www.mocavo.co.uk.

Times Friday 3 August 1934 p6 Estate Market column.

APRIL 1824

Marriage (at St George's Hanover Square) of MWB's grandparents on the Blackden side: John Chalfont Blackden son of Benjamin; and Isabella Worsley.

Sources: Gentleman's Magazine 1824 p368 marriages during April. The New Monthly volume 12 1824 p277.

19 NOVEMBER 1825

Death of MWB's great-grandfather Benjamin Blackden, the grandson or great-grandson of the 1761 Benjamin Blackden.

The marriages of the man himself (to a Cayley), his children and his grand-children, established the thicket of cousin-relationships between the Blackden, Cayley, Worsley, Hollond and Franklyn families; the Hall and Browne families were slightly less closely connected.

Source for his death: PROB 11/1705/322 Will of Benjamin Blackden of Hitchenden Buckinghamshire. Now held at the Public Record Office; see discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk.

Sources for the inter-marriages: look on the web using the individual surnames. For the Cayley family see Debrett's Baronetage issue of 1828 p203 on the family of Sir Thomas Cayley 5th baronet. For the Hollond and Franklyn families see A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry volume 3 p167; from which it becomes relatively clear that MWB and the woman he eventually married were related several times over.

OCTOBER or NOVEMBER 1826

Birth of MWB's father Marcus Seton Blackden, second son of John Chalfont Blackden and Isabella née Worsley.

Marcus Seton Blackden had one older brother and one younger brother - Frederick and Walter; and three sisters - Mary Isabella, Fanny and Ada.

Source: Familysearch England-EASy GS film numbers. Specifically for Marcus Seton Blackden: England-EASy GS film number 1279474 baptisms at Warfield Buckinghamshire.

11 JUNE 1862

MWB's father Marcus Seton Blackden married Fanny Franklyn, daughter of Rev Thomas Ward Franklyn. Fanny's sister Sophia had already married Marcus Seton's brother Frederick.

Sources: Gentleman's Magazine vol 213 p97. A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry volume 3 p167.

FIRST QUARTER 1863

Birth of MWB's elder, military, brother, Leonard Shadwell Blackden.

Source: birth registration freebmd.

JANUARY 1863

MWB's aunt Mary Blackden died. She lived at Radipole near Weymouth, and at 17 Wilton Crescent, with her brother Rev Charles Blackden; and he inherited some at least of her estate.

Source: Probate Registry.

AUGUST 1864

Birth of Marcus Worsley Blackden, known as Worsley'. His parents were living at Upton in Worcestershire at that time.

Sources: A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry later ed 1937 p176 - children of Marcus Seton Blackden.

MAY 1866

MWB's aunt Henrietta Blackden died. Like her sister Mary (died 1863) Henrietta lived with her brother Rev Charles Blackden; and left him some at least of her money.

Source: Probate Registry.

CENSUS DAY 1871

MWB, his brother Leonard and his parents Marcus Seton Blackden and Fanny, were all visiting MWB's grandfather John Chalfont Blackden, in Worcestershire.

Source: 1871 census.

SPRING 1872

GD member MWB's sister Ada Mary born

Source: birth registration freebmd.

FIRST QUARTER 1876

Death of MWB and Ada Mary's mother Fanny Blackden née Franklyn, aged 41.

Marcus Seton and Fanny Blackden had moved from Worcestershire to Malvern, perhaps in search of better health for Fanny. When Fanny died, they were living at Larch Hill Malvern Wells.

Source for the death: death registration freebmd. Source for where MWB was living: The Malvern Register 1865-1904 originally compiled by L S Milward and E C Bullock; I saw the 2nd edition, updated by R T C Cookson and published in 1905: p98.

JANUARY TO EASTER 1876 - that is to say, around the time of his mother's death.

MWB and his brother Leonard were day pupils at Malvern School. Leonard had started at the school in September 1875; they both left at Easter 1876.

Source: The Malvern Register 1865-1904 originally compiled by L S Milward and E C Bullock; I saw the 2nd edition, updated by R T C Cookson and published in 1905: p91, p96, p98.

5 NOVEMBER 1880

Death of MWB's grandfather John Chalfont Blackden, at his house at Aspley Guise Woburn.

He left an estate worth over £50,000. Marcus Seton Blackden and his two brothers were the executors of the Will; and I would imagine they were the major beneficiaries as well.

Source: probate registry.

SEPTEMBER 1880 TO APRIL 1882

MWB was a pupil at Repton School

Sources: Repton School Register Supplement to the 1910 Edition published by the School 1922, edited by the widow of Mr G S Messiter: p89, p94. More generally on Repton School see its own website at www.repton.org.uk and its wikipedia page. Ex-pupils from later eras include Christopher Isherwood, Basil Rathbone, archbishop Ramsey, Graeme Garden and Jeremy Clarkson.

CENSUS DAY 1881

It was term-time so MWB was at Repton School Burton-on-Trent. His widowed father Marcus Seton Blackden had gone to live with his uncle (MWB's great-uncle) Rev Charles Blackden at 17 Wilton Crescent in Belgravia.

Sources: census.

2 JULY 1883

Death of MWB and Ada Mary's uncle Rev Charles Blackden of Wilton Crescent

Knightsbridge.

Sources: Times Wednesday 4 July 1883 p1 death announcements.

Probate Registry; death registration freebmd.

Illustrated London News of 8 September 1883 p246.

Comment by Sally Davis: inheriting money from his dead sisters Mary and Henrietta (see 1863 and 1866) in addition to his inheritance from his father, the Rev Charles left personal effects worth over £66,000, and his share of the family property on Fore Street near Moorgate. The bulk of his property went to his nephews, Marcus Seton Blackden and his brothers Frederick and Walter.

1884

MWB and Ada Mary's father Marcus Seton Blackden married for a second time. His bride was Mary Elizabeth Cotter (born 1851) whose mother was a member of the Hall family.

Sources for Joseph Rogerson Cotter the younger:

At www.bryan-martin.net a family tree of the elder Joseph Rogerson Cotter the elder (1790-1868) and his descendants through his 18 children.

For Joseph Rogerson Cotter the younger see www.thepeerage.com which uses Burke's Peerage as its main source.

1884

Birth of Theodora Cayley Blackden, daughter of Marcus Seton Blackden and Mary Elizabeth; half-sister of MWB and Ada Mary.

Source: birth registration though without full names, freebmd.

SPRING 1885

Birth of MWB's first cousin and future wife Hilda Alethea Franklyn. Her parents were Hollond Franklyn, brother of MWB's mother Fanny; and Hollond's second wife Lottie née Alves Jones, the daughter of a businessman with interests in England and New York.

Comment by Sally Davis: at the time of Hilda's birth, her parents were living at Waltham St Lawrence in Berkshire; Hilda's brother Alwyn was also born there, in 1897. They didn't remain there long, however: by 1896 they had leased Longcroft Hall at Yoxall near Lichfield.

Sources: for the birth - registration freebmd.

For Longcroft Hall see

* www.genuki.org.uk quote from History, Gazetteer and Directory of Staffordshire 1851.

* www.visionofbritain.org.uk which uses Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales compiled by John Marius Wilson and published 1870-72.

* at ln.matthewbeckett.com Lost Heritage there's a photograph of Longcroft Hall, looking rather grim; it has since been demolished.

* at places.wishful-thinking-org.uk there's a transcription done in 2012 of Kelly's Directory of Staffordshire issue of 1896.

AUGUST 1885

MWB came of age.

Source: A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry later ed 1937 p176 - children of Marcus Seton Blackden.

Comment by Sally Davis: unless a different age was specified in the legal documents, on his 21st birthday MWB will have gained access to money and income left to him by the various relations in whose Wills he was a beneficiary. The money was paid through a trust fund, and was enough to make him independent of his father; it also meant he didn't have to work if he didn't chose to. One source says that later in his life he became a journalist; but at least during the time he was going to Egypt and being a member of the GD, he was not doing any paid work.

8 OCTOBER 1885

Death of MWB and Ada Mary's grandmother Mary Blackden née Franklyn, of 6 Norfolk Crescent.

Comment by Sally Davis: Mary Blackden was the most seriously wealthy of all MWB's relations: she left personal estate worth about £90,000. Her nephew Hollond Franklyn (MWB's future father-in-law) was one of her executors.

Source: Probate Registry.

?1886 TO 1888

MWB studied drawing and painting at the Royal Academy Schools. In his last (or only) year there he won a prize in the RA's 'painting of figure from the life' section. As it is not dated, I'm cautiously placing to about this time a self-portrait in oil and pastels that MWB painted.

Sources for the prize: The British Architect: A Journal of Architecture and its Accessory Arts volume 31 July-Dec 1888. Published London: p431 in issue of 14 December 1888: Royal Academy Schools awards. Frederick, Lord Leighton handed out the prizes, in a ceremony on 10 December 1888. And The Magazine of Art London, Paris, New York, Melbourne: Cassell and Co Ltd 1889. At the back in the Chronology of Art section: p xv.

Sources for the self-portrait: the painting, now owned by MWB's great-grand-daughter.

1890

MWB exhibited one work at the Royal Academy and one at the Walker Art Gallery (possibly the same work). The work at the RA was catalogue number 386: An Episode of the Deluge.

Comment by Sally Davis: although MWB had an agent in 1890 - J B Smith of 117 Hampstead Road - he never exhibited any works after 1890.

Sources for what little art work MWB did exhibit:

Royal Academy of Arts. Exhibitors 1769-1904 volume 1 A-D p206.

The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940 published by the Antique Collectors' Club 1976: p61.

Seen 19 July 2013, www.bbc.co.uk/yourpaintings which lists 212,055 paintings now in public collections (though not necessarily on display). The website has no works at all by MWB.

?1890

MWB's sculpture Bather Surprised was exhibited. It might be the work exhibited at the

Walker Art Gallery.

98cm high by 20cm maximum width by 20 cm maximum depth; plaster finished with bronze; signed.

Sources are all websites of antiques dealers, and none give details of where it was exhibited. The statue was sold by Bamfords Auctioneers on 12 February 2014; it had a reserve price of £200. You can see pictures of it at www.dragon-antiques.com and www.sellingantiques.co.uk; and details of the sale at www.bamfords-auctions.co.uk.

LAST QUARTER 1890

Birth of Seton Blackden, youngest child of Marcus Seton Blackden and his second wife Mary Elizabeth; half-brother of MWB and Ada Mary.

Sources: birth registration though without forenames, freebmd.

WINTER 1890-91

MWB was in Egypt - see that file for further details.

CENSUS DAY 1891

MWB hadn't returned from Egypt yet. His father Marcus Seton and his family - wife Mary Elizabeth, daughters Ada Mary and Theodora, and son Seton, were all living at 16a Oxford Square Paddington, where they employed a cook, two housemaids, a nurse and a nursery maid.

Not very many of the GD members came from a family which could afford that many servants.

Sources: census.

THE NEXT FILE IN THE SEQUENCE IS: EGYPT AND IN THE GD.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no

axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 May 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Marcus Worsley Blackden (known as 'Worsley' not Marcus) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 27 August 1896. Irene Augusta Lloyd was initiated as part of the same ritual, but I don't think the two of them knew each other beforehand. Although he had little occult experience, Worsley Blackden worked his way quickly through the study needed to be eligible for the GD's inner 2nd Order, and

was initiated into that on 6 November 1897. He played a prominent role in the turbulent period 1900-1903, and then joined one of the two daughter orders that were founded in 1903.

BEFORE I GET STARTED and in case you haven't seen the first file in this sequence: a huge 'thank you' to MWB's great-grand-daughter Nadine, of Ontario, Canada, for all the photos of paintings and family documents that she sent me. There would have been much less of this 'life by dates' without them!

There are plenty of sources for some of the events in Worsley Blackden's life, so I've decided to do a 'life-by-dates' set of three files; in which he'll appear as 'MWB'. This is the second file: Egypt and the GD. The first is: Youth and Background; the last is After the GD; and standing rather outside the sequence, two items from Blackden's work on the Book of the Dead: chapter 62, and The Hymn to Osiris.

EGYPT AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

Comment by Sally Davis before we start, on transliterations of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. MWB was working in Egypt before the modern standard for transliteration was agreed. So in contemporary sources the place I'm going to type as 'Hatnub' has quite a few other transliterations, for example as 'Hat-nub' and 'Hetnub'.

General information on the personalities of 1890s archaeology in ancient Egypt:

Who was Who in Egyptology London: Egypt Exploration Society 1972 compilers Warren R Dawson and Eric P Uphill. MWB on p29; George Willoughby Fraser p109; Percy Edward Newberry on p216. Also, of course, entries for Howard Carter, Flinders Petrie and others.

?LATE 1880s

By this time if no earlier: MWB was well-acquainted with Egyptian hieroglyphs, both reading and writing them. He'd also read a great deal on ancient Egypt - travellers' tales, accounts of archaeological finds etc.

Comment from Sally Davis on the source for this: I don't actually have a source as such, I've just gained that impression from his work on ancient Egyptian texts.

2 FEBRUARY TO ?SPRING 1891

MWB was working as a volunteer for the Egypt Exploration Fund (not yet calling itself the Egypt Exploration Society) at Beni-Hasan, 170 miles south of Cairo. He had offered to help the expedition members in their task of colouring in tracings of wall paintings, but soon became involved in other tasks. The EEF's surveyor George Willoughby Fraser stayed on at the site until June 1891 but everyone else seems to have left several months before; including MWB I would suppose.

Comments by Sally Davis. The site called Beni Hasan was a set of 11th and 12th dynasty rock-cut tombs, on the eastern side of the Nile. The EEF's work there was part of its Archaeological Survey of Egypt project. Winter was the digging season in Egypt so the EEF's two-man survey team arrived in November 1891 and set up home in one of the tombs. MWB seems to have been acquainted already with Percy Newberry, the survey team's leader. MWB appeared at Beni Hasan some weeks after the survey work began, as an

independent traveller. As a trained artist his offer to help out was very welcome, both to those doing the survey and to their bosses in London. Newberry might also have welcomed a third person to the team as he and George Willoughby Fraser were very different types and didn't really get on. The task facing the survey team was enormous: the tombs were being robbed and left open to the elements and 12000 square feet of wall-paintings needed recording before they disintegrated. His main task was to take the tracings already done by Percy Newberry as his template, and colour them in, trying to use colours and shades as close to the original colours as he could. But he helped out in other ways as well: he designed a set of pulleys to help lift a fallen column upright; and a hoist to speed the removal of 40 tons of debris from two shafts which led down to the tomb of Khnumhotep. Despite the trouble they had reaching Khnumhotep's tomb, the EEF's men still found that tomb-robbers had got there first.

Sources:

Times Monday 23 February 1891 p13 Amelia Edwards' report to the EEF's 4th ordinary general meeting held in London.

Times Thursday 18 June 1891 p12 The Royal Society - Ladies' Conversazione.

Egypt Exploration Fund Special Extra Report: The Season's Work at Ahnas and Beni Hasan. This volume covers work done in 1890-91 and contains an introduction by Amelia Edwards and reports by Édouard Naville on Ahnas (also spelled Hanes or Henassieh); and by Percy Newberry and George Willoughby Fraser on Beni Hasan. Published 1891 London: Gilbert and Rivington Ltd for the EEF.

Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Beni Hasan Part 1. As volume one of the EEF's Archaeological Survey of Egypt, series editor: F L Griffith BA FSA. Authors Percy Newberry with plans and measurements by George Willoughby Fraser. Published 1893 London: Gilbert and Rivington Ltd for the EEF.

That MWB and Newberry had met before 1891; and more on Beni Hasan:

Howard Carter: the Path to Tutankhamun by T G H James. Kegan Paul International 1992: pp12, pp15-28.

17 JUNE 1891

The Egypt Exploration Fund took some wall space at a Royal Society evening event at Burlington House; and showed some of MWB's coloured copies of wall paintings from Beni Hasan. There were also some wall paintings from the tombs of Ameni and Khnumhotep on display.

Times Thursday 18 June 1891 p12 The Royal Society - Ladies' Conversazione. The guest list as reproduced in the Times only covered the great and good, unfortunately, so it's not clear whether MWB actually went to the soirée.

MID-DECEMBER 1891 TO 2 JANUARY 1892

MWB was in Egypt again, doing another session with the EEF as a volunteer. This time he was at El Bersheh, a site of middle-kingdom tombs. As well as doing copying and colouring work he also acted as George Willoughby Fraser's assistant surveyor.

Comment by Sally Davis: perhaps this time MWB was taken on as a volunteer by prior arrangement rather than just turning up. Percy Newberry and George Willoughby Fraser were working together again at El Bersheh; but this time they had with them Howard Carter, just starting out on his career. With Carter doing most of the work tracing and copying the wall-paintings, MWB and George Willoughby Fraser worked together to survey the whole

valley; unlike Beni Hasan where the tombs were all in a line like a street of houses, the tombs at El Bersheh were scattered over a wide area.

Sources:

For the survey at El Bersheh: Archaeological Survey of Egypt: El Bersheh. Part I: The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep by Percy E Newberry; with a plan and measurements of the tomb by G Willoughby Fraser FSA. London: Special Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund 1895. Based on Newberry's records and his reports to the EEF Council. The frontispiece of this volume is MWB's copy of part of a frieze from El Bersheh Tomb 2, the tomb of Tehutihetep. It shows a young woman holding a lotus flower. MWB's copies of wall-paintings also appear in later volumes on El Bersheh.

Archaeological Survey of Egypt: El Bersheh. Part II series editor F L Griffith, BA FSA. Authors: F L Griffith and Percy E Newberry with plan and measurements of the tombs by George Willoughby Fraser FSA. London: special publication of the EEF 1895. This volume contains most of the reproductions of the wall-paintings but only Plate V was coloured by MWB. Most of the reproductions were coloured by Percy Newberry and by another, later, volunteer, Rosalind Paget. For MWB's surveying work at El Bersheh: Willoughby Fraser's report: p55.

CHRISTMAS 1891

MWB, Percy Newberry and George Willoughby Fraser spent the Christmas holiday as guests of Robert Hanbury Brown, an Irrigation Inspector working for the Egyptian government.

Source:

Howard Carter: the Path to Tutankhamun by T G H James. Kegan Paul International 1992: pp12-15-28.

More on Major Brown, Royal Engineers:

The Knights of England p393 Major RHB was knighted in the list issued 6 December 1902, as Inspector-General of Irrigation for Lower Egypt.

At www.sussex-opc.org LG 25 June 1926 p4161 list issued und Trustee Act 1925 includes Robert Hanbury Brown of Newlands, Crawley Down Sussex WHO'D DIED on 4 May 1926 CHECK WHO WAS WHO. THIS WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL YOU GET BACK TO LONDON

Some publications by RHB:

The Fayum and Lake Moeris London: Edward Stanford 1892.

The Land of Goshen and the Exodus London: Edward Stanford 1899.

Irrigation: its Principles and Practice as a Branch of Engineering London: A Constable and Co 1907.

28 DECEMBER 1891

Percy Newberry, MWB and George Willoughby Fraser made a short trip to what they had been told was a tomb but turned out to be the alabaster quarries at Hatnub. The quarries had supplied the alabaster for the rulers who had been buried at El Bersheh but Newberry decided that they didn't really have time to investigate them further at the moment. This annoyed MWB and Willoughby Fraser who sent a report on their discovery to London for publication.

Sources:

Times Monday 3 October 1892 p14 The Alabaster Quarries of Ha-Nub: letter from MWB and

G Willoughby Fraser.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology volume 16 November 1893-December 1894 published 1894 by the Society. In the full volume pp78-82 an article that had originally appeared in issue number 19, that of the 9 January 1894: G Willoughby Fraser FSA: Hat-Nub.

Howard Carter: the Path to Tutankhamun by T G H James. Kegan Paul International 1992: pp12-15-28 though James seems to imply that only MWB and Willoughby Fraser went to Hatnub; that Newberry wasn't with them, having had a surfeit of their company over Christmas.

EARLY-JANUARY 1892

The work at El Bersheh was finished and Percy Newberry returned to England to begin the follow-up work. MWB and George Willoughby Fraser went back to Hatnub and started to survey and record the inscriptions that they found there.

Sources: G Willoughby Fraser in Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 1894: 78-82.

Comment by Sally Davis: MWB and Willoughby Fraser's work at Hatnub was their own idea, and they seem to have financed it themselves (that is to say, MWB probably came up with the money); it wasn't an official part of the EEF's survey work.

23 JANUARY 1892

MWB and Willoughby Fraser's account of the discovery of the quarries at Hatnub was published in London.

Howard Carter: the Path to Tutankhamun by T G H James. Kegan Paul International 1992: pp12, pp15-28. The account appeared in the magazine The Academy issue of 23 January 1892.

LATER IN JANUARY 1892

MWB returned to Beni Hasan to finish off the work he had been doing there; but he became ill in February, and had to stop.

Source for the dates and what MWB did on his return to Beni Hasan:

Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Beni Hasan Part 1. As volume one of the EEF's Archaeological Survey of Egypt, series editor: F L Griffith BA FSA. Beni Hasan Part 1 by Percy Newberry with plans and measurements by George Willoughby Fraser. Published London 1893. Printed for the EEF by Gilbert and Rivington Ltd of London.

Comment by Sally Davis: it's easy to get ill in hot climates, of course, but even contemporary sources suggested that MWB's illness was the result of the bad feeling that now existed between him and senior EEF employees (mainly Newberry but also Flinders Petrie and others) over the expedition to Hatnub made by MWB and George Willoughby Fraser. They had made it without Newberry's consent and had used time which he wanted Willoughby Fraser to spend concentrating on writing up El Bersheh - Newberry had a deadline of November 1892 to meet, by which time all the work on El Bersheh had to be finished. Later in 1892 the artist Percy Buckman was sent by the EEF to finish the tracing and copying work MWB had not been able to; Percy Buckman's sister Katherine Julia later joined the GD. It had been mooted within the the EEF that MWB might be offered more training with

Newberry at Beni Hasan and Flinders Petrie at Tell al Amarna during the 1891/1892 digging season, with a view to employing him as an archaeologist. Newberry was also considering publishing a book of MWB's watercolour copies of wall paintings. But MWB's behaviour over the quarries at Hatnub changed people's minds. MWB never worked for the EEF again, even as a volunteer; George Willoughby Fraser ceased to be an EEF employee; and when Percy Newberry left the EEF in 1894, the difficulties he'd had with the two men were thought to be one of his reasons for seeking another employer. The EEF trained Howard Carter instead.

Sources for the bad feeling about the behaviour of MWB and George Willoughby Fraser, all of which are using the EEF's own records amongst others:

Saluki: *The Desert Hound and the English Travelers who brought it to the West*. By Brian P Duggan with foreword by Terence Clark. Jefferson North Carolina: McFarland 2009: p55.

Flinders Petrie: *A Life in Archaeology* by Margaret S Drower. University of Wisconsin Press 1st edition 1985; this is from the 2nd edition, published 1995: p171, pp186-193.

Howard Carter: *the Path to Tutankhamun* by T G H James. Kegan Paul International 1992: pp12-15-28.

DURING 1892

MWB remained in Egypt for at least part of the year. He and George Willoughby Fraser made two more expeditions to Hatnub, surveying the quarries, compiling a map and tracing and copying the many inscriptions (in ancient Egyptian hieratic script) that they found there.

Sources: G Willoughby Fraser *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1894: 78-82; and *Times* Monday 3 October 1892 p14.

Comment from Sally Davis: there was no water supply at Hatnub so each night a camel had to be sent to bring back a day's supply. However, the results were worth the difficult conditions: MWB and Willoughby Fraser found a second quarry, evidence of several rockfalls, and remains of the houses and tools used by the masons. From the graffiti they identified several kings previously unknown to archaeologists; and they were able to work out that the quarries had been in use from the time of the 4th ancient Egyptian dynasty to about the 12th.

MID SEPTEMBER 1892

MWB and George Willoughby Fraser, finishing off their work at Hatnub, sent a short account of what they had found there to the *Times* newspaper.

Source: *Times* Monday 3 October 1892 p14 *The Alabaster Quarries of Ha-Nub*: letter from MWB and J Willoughby Fraser; written 15 September [1892] at Dahobyah Strange Hathor, Manfalût.

Comment by Sally Davis: I think the letter was by way of preparation for the publication of the graffiti they had copied at Hatnub:

Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarry of Hat-nub (sic) situated near Tell el Amarna. "For Private Circulation Only"; there's no indication of how many copies were printed. No date of publication appears in the volume but the British Library catalogue dates it as 1892. Just noting that T G H James thought the publication was a poor-quality one, particularly in not having an introduction: see *Howard Carter: the Path to Tutankhamun* by T G H James. Kegan Paul International 1992: p27.

3 OCTOBER 1892

Times published MWB and G Willoughby Fraser's letter.

BY 1894

MWB was back in England - at least, I think his two paintings dated 1894 were done in England. Never exhibited to my knowledge, they were two portraits, meant to be a set. They're both now owned by MWB's great-grand-daughter. Both dated "1894" and initialled "WB". One of the two was a self-portrait.

Source: the portraits, photographed 2014 by MWB's great-grand-daughter.

Comment by Sally Davis: In his self-portrait MWB showed himself wearing a light brown suit, sitting in a chair against a dark background. MWB has a neat beard; both it and his hair are grey, making him look older than you'd expect a man who was 30 to look. Perhaps this was the effect of a couple of years in north Africa. MWB's great-grand-daughter is sure the companion portrait is of Hilda Franklyn, MWB's wife-to-be. However, I would question this: Hilda (born 1885) was only 9 at the time it was painted. The subject is clearly a woman in her twenties or thirties, sitting reading in what looks like a nice conservatory. It's more likely to be Hilda's mother Lottie Franklyn, née Alves Jones; or maybe his sister Ada Mary (then aged 22). Either that or MWB is looking to a future in which he and an adult Hilda will be companion pieces; that might also explain how old MWB looks in his self-portrait - that's how he will look when Hilda is an adult.

1895

MWB bought a copy of Collectanea Hermetica volume 6 - The Chaldaean Oracles of Zoroaster.

Source: the book, now in the Freemasons' Library, with MWB's name in pencil on it and annotations to some pages, also assumed to be by him. Publication details: Collectanea Hermetica Volume 6: The Chaldaean Oracles attributed to Zoroaster. Series editor: Sapere Aude. Introduction by LO. Translated and with a preface by William Wynn Westcott. Published 1895 London: Theosophical Publishing Society. And Madras: office of The Theosophist, Adyar.

Comments by Sally Davis: there's nothing remarkable in MWB buying a book, of course, and this book was not so far from his interests as you might think - the introduction argued that the Oracles should be studied with the Kabbalah, Egyptian theology and the tarot (which was also thought to have Egyptian origins) in mind. However, probably unbeknown to him at this stage, MWB was making first contact with the GD. The Collectanea Hermetica series, though available to the public, was a GD project: William Wynn Westcott as Sapere Aude was the series' editor and the contributors were GD members, the contributor in this case being Levavi Oculos - Percy William Bullock.

See wikipedia for more on the Chaldaean Oracles which are now thought to be not ancient Persian as Westcott assumed, but Hellenistic, probably from 2nd century AD.

17 FEBRUARY 1896

Several years after he had gone off in a huff (his own account) or become persona non grata (account of the GD's SRIA members) a ballot of members allowed A E Waite back into the GD's Isis-Urania Temple.

Source for the readmittance: Freemasons' Library GD collection GD 2/3/1/9: the certificate which readmitted him.

Comment by Sally Davis. There was an on-off friendship between A E Waite and Robert Palmer-Thomas during the 1890s and early 1900s. It was Palmer-Thomas whose enthusiasm for what was going on in the GD persuaded Waite to ask to be taken on again. During his second-time-round membership Waite despised William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers just as much as he had done after his original initiation in 1891. But he did stay a member for rather longer this second time; and got to know MWB well.

Source for AEW's side of it:

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn & Blount of Paternoster House EC4 1938 pp159-160.

LATE 1896

Florence Farr's treatise on Egyptian Magic was published.

Source:

Collectanea Hermetica volume VIII, which contains the article Egyptian Magic by SSDD (shorthand form of Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data - GD motto of Florence Farr). Series editor William Wynn Westcott as Sapere Aude. London: Theosophical Publishing Society 1896.

Comment by Sally Davis: there's no direct evidence that MWB owned a copy of Florence Farr's treatise but I find it hard to believe he would not want to have a copy, once he'd found out about it. It's just possible, I suppose, that MWB joined the GD in time to have been able to contribute some input to Florence Farr's work - but that's just speculation on my part.

27 AUGUST 1896

MWB was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, at its Isis-Urania temple in London.

Source: R A Gilbert's The Golden Dawn Companion p156.

Comment by Sally Davis: MWB may have had friends in the GD in 1895-96 - though they weren't supposed to let on about it to non-members - but he could equally easily have contacted Westcott or Bullock via Collectanea Hermetica's publisher, and been drawn in to the GD that way.

MWB's motto is an interesting one: Ma Wahanu Thesi, which I've never seen translated. I very cautiously suggest that it's MWB's transliteration of some Egyptian hieroglyphs.

MWB will have been particularly sought-after as a possible initiate: although many members of the GD were interested in the religions and magic of ancient Egypt, hardly any members had actually been to the country to see its famous sites or had been able to master ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs and hieratic script. Once he was a member, MWB would have gained access to the GD's own literature on ancient Egyptian magic, much of which circulated amongst the members in manuscript; including Florence Farr's The Book of the Concourse of the Forces which contained watercolour drawings of Egyptian gods.

Source for the book: Freemasons' Library GD collection GD 2/1/8: The Book of the Concourse of the Forces; with date 12 October 1893.

A more mundane comment: in 1896 MWB's address for post from the GD was 16a Oxford Square, Paddington but he didn't do more than stay there occasionally, it wasn't his home but

his father's. Marcus Seton Blackden seems to have moved into the house in preparation for his second marriage to Mary Elizabeth Cotter in 1884. They were living there with their daughter and son, and MWB's full-sister Ada Mary.

6 NOVEMBER 1897

MWB was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order - until you had achieved this second initiation, you were not allowed to do any practical magic.

Source: RAG Companion p156.

Comment by Sally Davis: from original initiation to 2nd Order initiation within 15 months was rare in the GD for a number of good reasons. MWB had an advantage over most new initiates when it came to doing the study-work and exams quickly - he knew a lot about Egyptian magic and symbolism already; and he didn't have to go to work or run a household and family. Nevertheless, the speed at which he gained that level of proficiency in the western occult tradition is impressive.

DURING 1898

MWB spent much of the year living in East Anglia, in Norwich and at Oulton Broad in Suffolk. He joined the Norfolk and Norwich Art Circle and exhibited with them.

MID-1898

MWB joined the Sphere Group, a sub-group within the GD led by Florence Farr.

Sources:

R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion*

Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* (full details in the Sources section below) pp250-51; quoting a later account of the Group, written by one of its members, Robert William Felkin: *The Group As I Knew It*.

For the Sphere Group's purpose:

A E Waite: *Magician of Many Parts* R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint. 1987. Chapter 12 p113.

Cauda Pavonis volumes 11-16 1992: article on the Sphere Group by Sharon E Cogdill pp7-12. Cauda Pavonis was the newsletter/journal of the Hermetic Text Society, published by the Department of English, Washington State University at Pullman, beginning in 1982 though I'm not sure when publication ceased. Some at least of its volumes can be seen at www.alchemywebsite.com/cauda.html

Comments by Sally Davis: information on the Sphere Group isn't all that easy to find - it was an informal group which didn't really keep records. However, Sharon Cogdill was able to say that Florence Farr had originally founded the group to teach Egyptian symbolism and invocation, and it seems to have developed and matured from there. Felkin listed its human members: himself; Ada Waters; Cecilia Macrae; Helen Rand; Florence Kennedy; Florence Farr's sister Henrietta Paget; Robert Palmer Thomas (of whom more later); Edmund Hunter; Dorothea Hunter; Fanny Hunter; and MWB who must have known as much about the subject in terms of ancient Egypt as Florence Farr, but perhaps not as much about the way the ancient symbols might be used in a modern magical order. An astral entity understood by the group's members to be "an Egyptian figure" (to quote Felkin) appeared at the centre of the sphere during the ritual, which lasted about an hour. The members of the group didn't have to be in the same place to play their part in the ritual; but they did have meetings, which would have been an opportunity for MWB to get to know Robert Palmer-Thomas. According to Felkin's

account, the group lasted from mid-1898 to 1901, when the astral entity announced that he (sic) would no longer be available to the group; so that it had to be reconstituted.

Sources for East Anglia though unfortunately neither of the websites gives details of what works MWB exhibited in 1898.

Website www.suffolkpainters.co.uk, entry for MWB which has a lovely illustration, one of the copies MWB did at Beni Hasan - a bush full of birds, part of the larger fishing scene from Beni Hasan tomb 14, the tomb of Khnumhotep.

Website www.nnartcircle.com

22 JUNE 1899

MWB's sister Ada Mary was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn.

Source: RAG The Golden Dawn Companion p160.

Though never as active a member as her brother, Ada Mary did do the work necessary to be admitted to the 2nd, inner order, on 22 November 1900. She was not a member of either the Independent or Rectified Rite or Stella Matutina.

DATED JUNE 1899

MWB copied out Samuel Liddell Mathers' "Abridged Treatise on the Taro" (sic). This was a set of instructions on how to use tarot cards for divination; and some tables of correspondences between particular tarot cards and symbols from the Kabbalah, colours, and the signs of the zodiac.

Source: the original 214-page volume, now in Freemasons' Library GD collection and signed by MWB: call number GD 2/1/23.

Comment by Sally Davis: being handed a manuscript of magical instructions, for you to copy out, was the usual way of learning in the GD.

1900

Some of MWB's work at Beni Hasan appeared in two small volumes on the site.

Sources:

Beni Hasan 1900, 9 pages. Contributors: Howard Carter, MWB, Percy Brown. I take it this is not the same book as

Zoological and Other Details Volume 4 of Beni Hasan, Volume 7 of Memoir. Published by the Archaeological Survey of Egypt. 9 pages. 1900. Contributors: Howard Carter, MWB, Percy Brown, Percy Buckman, Percy Edward Newberry.

DURING 1900

MWB was living at 6 Topsfield Parade Crouch End.

Sources: some of the documents I mention as sources for the trouble in the GD in spring 1900 have this as MWB's address.

DURING 1900

MWB was working on Egyptian compilation known as The Book of the Dead: the meaning of the Pillars which are often referred to in it.

Comment by Sally Davis: this was the beginning of a programme of translating and interpreting The Book of the Dead, which continued until around 1914.

Source:

Yeats's Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned, and now in the Yeats' collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974.

The papers include The Scribe's Account of the Executive Difficulty, prepared 26-27 February 1901 by Annie Horniman, to give her side of the events of a particularly rumbustious meeting of the new GD Council; about which, more below. Specific reference to MWB's talk is on p61. Annie H was infuriated because in order to allow him more time to prepare his talk, MWB was let off doing the "D exam". London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974.

FEBRUARY TO APRIL 1900

MWB got caught up in the aftermath of a letter Samuel Liddell Mathers sent Florence Farr, in which he told her that the GD's founding documents were faked.

A summing-up of what happened, in date order: RAG The Golden Dawn Companion pp73-78. See also Ellic Howe.

EARLY MARCH 1900

MWB agreed to join a committee set up by Florence Farr and Percy William Bullock to investigate whether Mathers' allegations were true. At some point before April 1900 he also agreed to take charge of the contents of the Isis-Urania temple, which included manuscripts as well as furniture and other paraphernalia used in rituals.

Comment by Sally Davis: Mathers swore Florence Farr to silence on the subject but after several days of worry she decided she really must tell other senior members of the GD. Although he had not been a member as long as some others, Florence trusted MWB's opinion and discretion enough to make him one of the few people she told.

Source: Freemasons' Library GD collection call number: GD 2/4/3/2.

END MARCH 1900

As the investigation began, Mathers attempted by letter to reassert his authority over the GD members in London.

MID APRIL 1900

Threatening letters having failed, Mathers authorised a group led by Aleister Crowley to take possession of the 2nd Order's rooms at 36 Blythe Road Hammersmith and restore his authority by making every 2nd Order member take a new oath of allegiance. Crowley and his group failed to keep control of the Blythe Road rooms, partly because MWB did not give them the help Mathers and Crowley had expected from him.

A good source for the events in date order: RAG The Golden Dawn Companion pp73-78.

The source I usually use: Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: p220; p222 Howe had access to GD archives and also to a copy of Crowley's Abra-Melin diary in which Crowley wrote up his view of what was going on (which is not necessarily to be relied on).

Comment by Sally Davis: not all 2nd Order members had a key to the rooms in Blythe Road. MWB was one of those who did have a key and initially, Mathers hoped that MWB would

hand it over to Crowley when asked. But he didn't; Crowley had to ask Dr Berridge instead. Mathers had also told Crowley to ask MWB for a list of the 2nd Order's current members. But MWB didn't hand that over either.

21 APRIL 1900

MWB went to the Mark Masons' Hall in Covent Garden, which was rented by the GD for rituals and meetings involving all the members. He took away various GD props and paraphernalia that were stored there, and hid them in a safe place. He wrote a note to the investigating committee saying he wouldn't allow anyone access to them until the situation with Mathers and Crowley had been resolved.

Source:

Freemasons' Library GD collection call number: GD 2/4/3/28, MWB's note to the other members of the investigating committee, dated 21 April 1900.

Comment by Sally Davis: as you can also see from his actions in Egypt, MWB was rather high-handed. However, his quick action probably saved a lot of the GD's property from falling into the hands of Mathers' supporters in the GD. It seems that the GD's contemporary members never got their possessions back: the hoard passed into the keeping of MWB, and then Helen Rand, as senior members of the Independent and Rectified Rite (for more of this Order see the net file in this life-by-dates sequence) resurfacing in 1930 after Helen's death.

Source: Yeats's Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned, and now in the Yeats' collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974: p155.

21 APRIL 1900

The 2nd Order held a hastily-arranged meeting. At this meeting, MWB was deemed no longer to be a member of the investigating committee. Helen Rand replaced him.

Source: Freemasons' Library GD collection call number: GD 2/4/3/26a, GD 2/4/3/35.

Comment by Sally Davis: Not all the people who attended the meeting of 21 April 1900 are named; but MWB is not amongst the names that are listed. I think he didn't attend the meeting; perhaps if he had, there wouldn't have been so much doubt about which side he was on.

AROUND 21 APRIL 1900

MWB wrote to Samuel Liddell Mathers, asking why Mathers' had refused to cooperate with the investigating committee; and exactly what Crowley's involvement was.

Source: Mathers' reply, in the Freemasons' Library GD collection, call number GD 2/4/3/31.

Comment by Sally Davis:

The letter MWB wrote has been lost, but in his reply Mathers did quote from it and it does seem that MWB had not been tactful in his approach. He had written not in bewilderment, but in some anger at the way Mathers was behaving: "Am I to understand", he'd said, "that there is never to be any truth and light let in upon the Order?" However, he did warn Mathers that the GD members in London were seriously considering a future without him; and asked him what he should do about it. Any criticism of his actions, however slight and politely phrased, always brought out the worst in Mathers and MWB received in reply a rant in which other GD members were called "swine" and "rebellious children" though he himself was only accused of acting with "more precipitation than discretion" and condemned for "the liberty of

speech that you have dared to indulge”.

27 APRIL 1900

MWB received a telegram from Aleister Crowley asking him to keep secret the fact that he was acting as Mathers’ agent in London.

Comment by Sally Davis: MWB might have dropped out of the investigating committee, but he was not completely on Mathers’ side either: he handed over Crowley’s telegram to the investigating committee. It was far too late for Crowley to be seeking anonymity: that he was the man who had acted for Mathers in attempting to seize the rooms at Blythe Road was widely known in the GD’s 2nd Order.

Source: Freemasons’ Library GD collection call number GD 2/4/3/33a-c, which is the telegram, one copy of it and the envelope it was delivered in.

19 APRIL 1900

Mathers and his supporters were expelled from the GD.

21 APRIL 1900

A new, post-Mathers, constitution and administrative/ritual hierarchy was formulated for the GD, in which MWB agreed to serve, as Adeptus Litteratus with responsibility for ceremonial.

Sources: RAG The Golden Dawn Companion pp77-78.

Ellic Howe The Magicians of the Golden Dawn p228. There were seven adepts litterati, each with responsibility for teaching and advising on their particular area of expertise.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-94 pp32-33 lists the Council members.

Comment by Sally Davis: the other members of the Executive Council to run the GD from now on were Florence Farr; Dorothea and Edmund Hunter; Henrietta Paget; Helen Rand; and Robert Palmer-Thomas, all of whom were in the Sphere Group; so MWB was amongst friends.

AROUND END APRIL 1900

If MWB had any doubts about whether to remain loyal to Mathers, these must have been eased by receiving SLM’s ranting letter from Paris, written on 26 April 1900.

Source: the letter, now in the Freemasons’ Library GD collection, call number GD 2/4/3/31.

Comment by Sally Davis: as with the telegram from Crowley; MWB felt enough loyalty to the GD in London to hand them the letter.

NOVEMBER 1900

MWB gave his talk to GD members on the meaning of the Pillars in the Book of the Dead.

Source: Yeats’s Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned, and now in the Yeats’ collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974; p61.

1901

The Egypt Society was founded, with MWB as its first president.

Source for its founding though the founding date isn’t mentioned: Collected Letters of W B

Yeats Volume III 1901-94 p121 note 7.

Comment by Sally Davis: there doesn't seem to be much information on the Egypt Society and perhaps it didn't last very long. It may have only had one purpose: to get a play put on in public, whose subject was taken from ancient Egyptian myth. I would suppose that MWB was elected its first president because he had been very active getting the Society off the ground. It's likely Florence Farr was active too - it was her play.

1901

The Sphere Group was reconstituted with less Egyptian input: the figure at the centre of the sphere now being the Holy Grail.

Source: Robert Felkin's account of the Sphere Group, quoted in Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* pp250-251 though it's not clear from the account exactly which Sphere Group members moved on to the new group, and which dropped out.

MID-FEBRUARY 1901

GD Council members began to prepare for a Council meeting at which they would discuss a way of holding elections to the Council. MWB sent a letter to the Council secretary (Scribe) Annie Horniman, putting forward 3 motions to be discussed at the meeting; one about alterations to the 5=6 ceremony; 2 others about how the voting in Council elections was to be counted and by whom.

Source: Yeats's *Golden Dawn* by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned, and now in the Yeats' collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974; p37, p41 and p229 et seq.

Comment by Sally Davis: after the meeting Annie Horniman was quite sure that MWB had been acting, not alone but as spokesman for a group of Council members who opposed the ideas she was proposing; I imagine she was right about that.

25 FEBRUARY 1901

MWB played a major role at the GD Council meeting - 2 hours of acrimonious debate over electoral procedure and the existence of cross-rank sub-groups, in which Annie Horniman and W B Yeats were opposed by the majority of the GD Council members. MWB apparently acted as the main spokesman for the majority group, as the meeting fought its way through the agenda.

Sources:

Yeats's *Golden Dawn* by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned from the Order; now in the Yeats' collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974. Particularly the Appendix *The Scribe's Account of the Executive Difficulty*, Annie Horniman's take on what happened p229 et seq, in which she seems to be blaming MWB for all the uproar; but also pp37-45 and pp61-64.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-94 pp32-33.

Ellic Howe *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* pp247-251.

Comment by Sally Davis: the meeting went on so long that some of the 12 Council members who'd been there at the start had had to leave. Although most of the debate was about how to carry out elections to the GD Council, the real point on which Annie Horniman and W B Yeats disagreed with everyone else at the meeting was the existence of sub-groups within the Order. The Sphere Group and others like it, had broken the rule of magical orders that sub-

groups within them could only consist of members at the same level of initiation - that is, the same level of learning and understanding. The 12 who argued against Annie Horniman and W B Yeats had all been members of the Sphere Group - Annie Horniman was all too aware of that; but she didn't understand how much the Sphere Group's members had got, out of being members of it. The meeting ended with a vote 6:2 in favour of the continuation of the sub-groups; Annie Horniman's ideas for the handling of Council elections were also voted out. Annie Horniman and W B Yeats were the '2'; they both resigned from the GD on 27 February 1901.

FEBRUARY 1901-END 1902

Nearly all of the GD Council members who had attended the meeting of 25 February 1901 resigned from the GD; for a variety of reasons. MWB and Helen Rand became de facto leaders of those who remained.

Source for the resignations: Yeats's *Golden Dawn* by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned, and now in the Yeats' collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974: p96. Those who left included some of the GD's most long-serving and respected members: Florence Farr and Henrietta Paget; and Dorothea and Edmund Hunter.

CENSUS DAY (April) 1901

MWB had moved into what might have been a Blackden family-owned house in London - 3 Wells Road Regent's Park. Ada Mary was keeping house for him there.

Sources: family papers; census 1901

SEPTEMBER 1901

MWB and A E Waite were initiated as freemasons at Runymede Lodge. They were both recommended to the Lodge by the GD's W F Kirby who was already a member.

Comment by Sally Davis: there's much more about this in the next of the Blackden 'life by dates' files.

16 NOVEMBER 1901

The Egypt Society staged the play *Beloved of Hathor, the Shrine of the Golden Hawk*; written by Florence Farr and her friend Olivia Shakespear.

Comment by Sally Davis: the Egypt Society members hired the Victoria Hall, at 21 Archer Street Westbourne Grove, for their production of the play. Olivia Shakespear was not in the GD.

Sources:

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Vol III 1901-94 p121 note 7.

At www.archive.org you can see the full script of *Beloved of Hathor, The Shrine of the Golden Hawk*. There's an outline of the plot and an introduction about how it should be staged and what the characters in it should wear.

Website www.arthurlloyd.co.uk is a music hall and theatre history site which uses local sources. There's a good section on the Victoria Hall, with photos.

SPRING 1902

The GD changed its name, and a new set of bye-laws was issued.

Comment by Sally Davis: with so many senior GD members resigning, it's likely that MWB played an important role in getting these changes agreed.

Source I used (though there's plenty of other information out there): Yeats's Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper using GD papers kept by Yeats after he resigned, and now in the Yeats' collection in Ireland. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1974; p96.

21 and 22 APRIL 1902

There were two more performances of Beloved of Hathor, The Shrine of the Golden Hawk, and the text was published.

Source:

Freemasons' Library call number SRIA 399: Text of Beloved of Hathor and The Shrine of the Golden Hawk, by Florence Farr and Olivia Shakespear. Printed by Farncombe and Son. A note on the upper flyleaf of the SRIA's copy gives the dates in April 1902 that the play was performed.

BY AUTUMN 1902 probably long before this date

Sub-groups of the GD like the Sphere Group had ceased to function.

Source:

Ellic Howe The Magicians of the Golden Dawn p251.

END OF FILE ON MARCUS WORSLEY BLACKDEN: EGYPT AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 May 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

30 March 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright

Marcus Worsley Blackden (known as 'Worsley' not Marcus) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 27 August 1896. Irene Augusta Lloyd was initiated as part of the same ritual, but I don't think the two of them knew each other beforehand. Although he had little occult experience, Worsley Blackden worked

his way quickly through the study needed to be eligible for the GD's inner 2nd Order, and was initiated into that on 6 November 1897. He played a prominent role in the turbulent period 1900-1903, and then joined one of the two daughter orders that were founded in 1903.

BEFORE I GET STARTED and in case this is the first of the files that you've seen: a huge 'thank you' to MWB's great-grand-daughter Nadine Artemis, of Ontario, Canada, for all the photos of paintings and family documents that she sent me. There would have been much less of this 'life by dates' without them!

There are plenty of sources for some of the events in Worsley Blackden's life, so I've decided to do a 'life-by-dates' set of three files; in which he'll appear as 'MWB'. This is the last file: After the Golden Dawn. The first two are: Youth and Background; and Egypt and the GD. And standing rather outside the sequence is a copy of his translations of parts of the Egyptian Book of the Dead - Chapter 62; and The Hymn to Osiris.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

?LATE 1890s, ?AROUND 1901. POSSIBLY MANY YEARS EARLIER

MWB began his work on the compilation known as the Egyptian Book of the Dead, or the Book of the Coming Forth by Day. It continued to be the most important occult work in his life until about 1914.

Source: there isn't a source for when MWB began this great work. I've deduced a possible start-date from the time he was ready to publish his first article on it.

DURING 1901

MWB and A E Waite, already friendly through the GD, began to wonder whether being freemasons would help them understand particular kinds of symbolism and ritual more deeply.

Sources:

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint. 1987; using Waite's diaries where they still exist; they exist for the period October 1902 to October 1903. P127 quoting A E Waite's memoirs Shadows of Life and Thought p161.

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn and Blount of Paternoster House EC 1938: p161-62 though Waite has got it wrong about who introduced him and MWB to Runymede Lodge 2430; he says it was Robert Palmer-Thomas but Palmer-Thomas was not a member of it as far as I can see; Kirby (see 1902 below) was.

19 SEPTEMBER 1901

MWB and A E Waite were both initiated as freemasons in Runymede Lodge 2430.

10 FEBRUARY 1902

The two of them were raised as Master Masons in St Marylebone Lodge 1305.

Source for both the initiations: R A Gilbert in Magician of Many Parts, in which he's quoting from from Shadows of Life and Thought p161 and p127.

Comment by Sally Davis: as the GD continued through a period of growing pains, MWB and others began look for similar experiences elsewhere. MWB and A E Waite were introduced to the members of Runymede Lodge 2430 by GD member William Forsell Kirby, the naturalist and translator. The members of Runymede Lodge 2430 was a rather light-hearted group. Many of them worked in the publishing industry and the lodge existed largely to organise pleasant days out on the Thames in summer; it didn't take itself too seriously. I wasn't able to find out how long MWB remained a member of the lodge; but he never served as an officer in it.

Source:

Runymede Lodge no 2430: Centenary 1892-1992

The only source I could find for St Marylebone Lodge 1305 was Bye-Laws of the St Marylebone Lodge no 1305 printed 1898 London: G S Beeching 174 Strand, Beeching being a member of the lodge. No history of the lodge seems ever to have been written so it wasn't possible for me to try to discover what entrée MWB and A E Waite had there. I suppose one of them knew one of the members.

1902-08

A series of articles by MWB was published in Theosophical Review. The articles were all commentaries on and translations of chapters of the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

MARCH 1902

MWB became a corresponding member of the freemasons' lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076. Corresponding members were not permitted to take any part in the running of the lodge but they could attend its meetings and they received its magazine Ars Quatuor Coronati.

Sources: Ars Quatuor Coronati...being the Transactions of Quatuor Coronati lodge 2076 volume XV 1902 p50, p69, p177; and list of corresponding members p19, p50 and p64.

AQC...Transactions...QC2076 vol XXIII 1910; main text and corresponding members' list p20, p63 and p81.

Comment by Sally Davis: QC2076 had been founded as a forum for the study of the origins and symbolism of freemasonry; so it was an ideal place for MWB, Waite and Palmer-Thomas to find out more about freemasonry's rituals. Palmer-Thomas had been a corresponding member since June 1891 - he probably recommended it to the two others, who joined at exactly the same time, as part of the bigger plan. In later years none of the three went to many meetings but in this first year they made more of an effort. MWB went to the meeting of 7 March 1902 (as a visitor, probably making up his mind whether to invest in being a member); and as a corresponding member to that of Friday 2 May 1902 when Palmer-Thomas and Waite were with him. They all went to the meeting of Friday 3 October 1902 when E J Castle gave a talk on The Reception (Initiation) of a Templar; and MWB and Palmer-Thomas also went to the Four Crowned Martyrs meeting on 8 November 1902, when the worshipful master for the next 12 months was installed.

All three were still corresponding members in 1910 but none of them went to any meetings that year.

10 APRIL 1902

MWB and A E Waite were made members of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA).

Comment by Sally Davis: it was as members of SRIA that William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers had founded the GD. In its first years (though not so much later) the GD focused on rituals derived from Rosicrucian sources and some of SRIA's most senior members were initiated into the GD to help put the rituals together and advise on symbolism. In 1892, Westcott was elected the SRIA's Supreme Magus, a post you held for life. SRIA was not a freemasons' lodge; but it was organised along similar lines and you did have to be a freemason to be a member of it.

Source:

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College 1902 p2-3 meeting of 10 April 1902.

SRIA's Transactions volumes 1902 to 1925 to see how active MWB was as a member, particularly Transactions... 1909 p2 meeting of 14 January 1909.

JULY, SEPTEMBER and OCTOBER 1902

MWB's first article in Theosophical Review, which was published in three parts, with the overall title The Mysteries and the Book of the Dead, also known as the Book of Epiphany.

Sources: Theosophical Review volume 30 March-August 1902. Volume 30 number 179 issue of July 1902: pp393-406. MWB's article: The Mysteries and the Book of the Dead, also known as the Book of Epiphany. Part 1. Theosophical Review volume 31 September 1902 to February 1903. Volume 31 number 181 issue of September 1902: pp9-19. Part 2 (I). Theosophical Review volume 32 September 1902 to February 1903. Volume 32 number 182 issue of October 1902: pp 105-110. Part 2 (II).

Comment by Sally Davis: It's clear that this three-part article was the first of a series and perhaps MWB already knew which chapters he would be covering in future articles. The beginning of the first part of the article is an introduction to the Book of the Dead and an explanation of why MWB preferred to translate the title as 'The Book of Epiphany'. MWB touched on a subject that exercised the minds of many GD members - what place there was now for the study of "the infinite", the "Cause of all existence", in a world in which science was increasingly looked to for all the answers. MWB was sure that science had not replaced the search for these Truths, and stated that he believed freemasonry to be the modern descendant of an ancient Mystery tradition which searched for them; now "deformed out of all recognition" and detectable only by the "most persevering student". Next came a short section on the vexed questions of on the origins of the Book of the Dead and the different versions of it.

MWB's argument throughout the series was that the chapters of the Book of the Dead that he had chosen were evidence of an ancient Egyptian Mystery tradition, with later commentaries that (either by accident or deliberately) had obscured their original meanings. In his view, very little of the Book of the Dead was actually to do with funeral rites. Some chapters were initiation rituals; others were to help the successful initiates go further, to aid their meditations on the themes of death and rebirth. In this, he was going against other contemporary work on the Book of the Dead, a fact he was very well aware of. He was trying to defend his corner as well as he could. He argued that the Mystery tradition could also be found in the Chaldaean Oracles, Gnostic texts and the Kabbala. How far he was influenced in his views by discussions with A E Waite is difficult to tell - he may have had 'ancient Mystery tradition handed down in secret' idea in his mind for a long time. A E Waite

also believed it but the two men were looking at different traditions (and consequently different eras) for their evidence: Waite wanted to find such a thing in relatively recent Christianity; MWB, of course, went and looked in Egypt.

With his general introduction to the series out of the way, MWB moved on to this first three-part article, laying it out in a way that he continued to use in the rest of the series: he explained how he had translated certain hieroglyphs or sets of hieroglyphs and why; he would discuss which sources he had used; and he would then give the translation of the chapter or chapters that were the subject of the article, with notes, particularly on the more obscure symbolism.

2 DECEMBER 1902

At A E Waite's suggestion, The Secret Council of Rites was founded (with a Constitution drawn up in May 1903). A E Waite, Robert Palmer-Thomas and MWB were its members and they agreed to work together collecting examples of rituals from freemasonry and quasi-freemasonry groups; in the hope of finding a line of descent for them from the Middle Ages.

Comment by Sally Davis: the sources for this are books by and about A E Waite and MWB's part in the collecting of rituals is rather hard to ascertain. I don't think the other two worked as hard at it as Waite; nor were the other two initiated into nearly so many orders of freemasons and quasi-freemasons. MWB kept his eyes firmly on The Book of the Dead.

Source:

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint. 1987: p201 about the sources - A E Waite's diaries for the period October 1902 to October 1903 are extant. And p116 on the Council of Rites. The 3 men I've named were probably its only members.

LAST MONTHS OF GD

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn and Blount of Paternoster House EC 1938: p227 when A E Waite is discussing the period in which John William Brodie-Innes, Robert William Felkin and MWB were the 3 GD Chiefs; and p222 where Waite describes MWB as having "general charge" of the GD (by which I suppose he means daily charge, as the other 2 had jobs to do).

MAY 1903

The next of MWB's articles on the Book of the Dead was published, a translation of its chapter 17: An Ancient Cantata, the Triumph of Man Made Perfect.

Sources: Theosophical Review volume 32 March-August 1903. Volume 32 number 189 issue of May 1903 pp258-70.

Comment by Sally Davis: MWB believed that chapter 17 was one of the few parts of The Book of the Dead that was a genuine funeral rite. But he told his readers that the ancient Egyptians thought of death very differently from modern Christians - death to them was not a putting out to sea on an uncertain voyage; but a coming home to a safe harbour. For his translation, MWB removed 70 of the 290 lines that appeared in Wallis Budge's translation, on the grounds that they were commentary not the original text. The chapter emerged from the cutting process as a song of triumph to be sung (MWB reckoned) by two soloists and a chorus; the triumph being a spiritual one. In the course of his explanations of what was going on in the cantata, MWB wrote that the ancient Egyptians "believed that the Gods were liable

to be compelled by the powers of magic” - shedding some light on why a modern man might join the Order of the Golden Dawn.

The book by Wallis Budge that MWB used as his starting point is: *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day...* by E A Wallis Budge. London: Kegan Paul and Co 1898. See wikipedia for work of Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge 1857-1934 Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities British Museum 1894-1924 and a representative of the more orthodox school of translation of hieroglyphs that MWB disagreed with.

BY MARCH 1903

After a couple of years helping to keep the GD afloat, MWB believed that it needed a good shake-up to bring back some vitality.

Source: A E Waite, diary entry for 12 March 1903 quoted in *A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts* R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its ‘Crucible’ imprint 1987: p116.

Comment on the source by Sally Davis: not sure I’d trust Waite’s word on any of this. It’s so easy, long after the original events, to give them a coherence and a plan that they didn’t really have at the time.

MAY 1903

GD met to decide its future after a year being run by three chiefs. A E Waite got together a voting block with the intention of returning the GD to the state that it was in, in 1890. MWB was one of three men elected to run the GD for the next year; but disagreements about what kind of Order the GD should now be, were so deep that the Order never recovered. MWB became a senior member of one of the two daughter orders that emerged from the wreckage.

The source for A E Waite’s part in it is not a particularly reliable one: diary entries of A E Waite (who benefited very much from the chaotic results of the meeting) in *A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts* R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its ‘Crucible’ imprint 1987: p116-120. However, other sources do agree that the meeting of the May 1903 was the last one of the GD in its original form.

Comment by Sally Davis: A E Waite was aware that his proposals would never get the support of the other two chiefs, John William Brodie-Innes and Robert William Felkin. Waite had organised a group of long-serving members to vote with him, and with their help he did get some of his proposals through; but it was against the wishes of a great many of the other members and at the end of the meeting the GD was in complete disarray. In the uncertainty that followed, Waite was able to do what he’d probably always intended - set up a new Order with himself in charge. His voting block became the first members of the Independent and Rectified Rite; including MWB.

Source for the break-away group that became the Independent and Rectified Rite: *RAG The Golden Dawn Companion* p169.

24 JULY 1903

Waite’s voting block issued a Manifesto of Independence (independence from the GD, that is).

Source: *RAG The Golden Dawn Companion* p169.

7 NOVEMBER 1903

The Independent and Rectified Rite was formally inaugurated. In theory it was run by three chiefs - MWB, Rev Alexander Ayton, and A W Waite; but it was Waite's baby and what he said, went. For its first two years, the IRR's meetings were held at the Mark Masons' Hall in Great Queen Street.

Sources:

RAG The Golden Dawn Companion p169.

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint 1987: p118-122 and based on Waite's diaries and other contemporary sources.

1904

Death of MWB and Ada Mary's step-mother Mary Elizabeth Blackden née Cotter.

Source: death registration at freebmd.

MAY and JUNE 1904

Somehow MWB had managed to keep working through all the uproar within the GD, and the next, two-part, article on the Book of the Dead was published: An Invocation and Vision of Horus from the Book of Transformations.

Sources: Theosophical Review volume 34 March-August 1904. Volume 34 number 210 issue of May 1904: pp260-66. MWB's article: An Invocation and Vision of Horus from the Book of Transformations. Part 1. Theosophical Review volume 34 March-August 1904. Volume 34 number 211 issue of June 1904: pp313-19. An Invocation and Vision of Horus from the Book of Transformations. Part 2.

Comment by Sally Davis: the Book of Transformations was the 78th chapter of the Book of the Dead whose title MWB translated as Chapter of Making Transformation as a Divine Hawk. MWB saw the chapter as a series of meditational aids, with the meditator lying in a specially-prepared room whose decoration (specified quite minutely) was meant to represent the cosmos. Part two of the article was MWB's translation of the Invocation.

1905

MWB moved into 16 Allison Road Acton where the Independent and Rectified Rite held its meetings until 1909. Although his sister Ada Mary had been keeping house for him in 1901, she had had to return to Tunbridge Wells after her step-mother's death to look after their father, Marcus Seton Blackden, and their two much younger step-siblings.

Source:

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint 1987: p118-122 and based on Waite's diaries.

JUNE 1905

MWB's latest article on the Book of the Dead was published: The Garden of Rest, Chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead.

Source: Theosophical Review volume 36 March-August 1905. Volume 36 number 214 issue of June 1905: pp313-25. MWB's article: The Garden of Rest. Chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead.

Comment by Sally Davis: in which MWB disagreed with the orthodox view of the time - that there was somehow not enough religion in the Book of the Dead - saying that the spirituality was there, but you had to know how to read it; of course implying that orthodox translators couldn't do that bit. In his article that MWB argued that the Garden of Rest wasn't a physical place (it has no entrances) it was a place that the initiate could enter in his mind, not with his body.

JUNE and JULY 1907

MWB's latest article, on Chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead was published, in two parts.

Sources: Theosophical Review volume 40 March-August 1907. Volume 40 number 238 issue of June 1907: pp 297-306. London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 161 New Bond St. Chicago: Theosophical Book Concern 26 van Buren Street. Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society. Madras: office of The Theosophist Adyar. MWB's article appears in volume 40 number 238 pp297-306; and in volume 40 number 239 pp393-401.

Comment by Sally Davis: if he had not been from the start (the earlier articles don't actually say), by this time MWB was working on the Book of the Dead from original papyri, as well as from Wallis Budge's translations. At the start of this 1907 set of two articles MWB took his argument about the Mysteries being passed down through history one step further, saying that in his view there was only one Mystery (not several) and that in printed books, errors had been introduced deliberately to prevent it becoming more widely known; the error-free information was passed down in manuscripts only. In taking this view he was following the opinion of William Wynn Westcott - he quoted at length from Westcott's edition of the Sepher Yetzirah. MWB was also heavily influenced by Waite: the article mentioned Waite's *The Real History of the Rosicrucians* and his *A Book of Mystery and Vision*.

As well as studying manuscripts of the Book of the Dead Chapter 64 in the British Museum's selection MWB had been travelling in Europe so as to compare them with manuscripts in Basel, in Turin; and in Paris at the Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale. He may have dropped in to see Samuel Liddell Mathers while he was in Paris though I don't think he will have had a pleasant welcome there.

Introducing his translation of The Book of the Dead Chapter 64, MWB seems (for once) to have agreed with contemporary scholars, that it was the oldest part of the Book, and consequently the most ravaged by later copying errors. His comparisons of the versions of it now available in Europe had led him to conclude that there were two versions of chapter 64; always differing in the same ways in different manuscripts. He'd taken a common-sense approach to translating the chapter, choosing whichever of the manuscripts had the "clearest rendering" of the hieroglyphs.

Chapter 64 as MWB translated it was instructions for someone preparing to undergo a particular initiation involving passage through a gate into a chamber where the usual mystical (not actual) death and rebirth would take place; particular phrases in the chapter were meant as hints for the guided visualisation of the gate and the chamber, and the final "Coming-Forth into the Day".

Part 2 of the article was a discussion of the meaning of the pentagram in the Book of the Dead - MWB sees it as symbolising the tomb of Osiris - and his translation of Chapter 64.

Works by Waite mentioned by MWB in his 1907 articles:

The Real History of the Rosicrucians by A E Waite. London: George Redway 1887. If

MWB wanted to keep 'in' with the members of the SRIA it was best not to go on about this book and its author too much. Westcott had taken the lead in demanding from Waite an apology for gross breach of copyright after Waite had quoted the SRIA's regulations without permission. Transactions of the SRIA Metropolitan College issue of 1887 pp8-9.

A Book of Mystery and Vision by A E Waite. London: Philip Wellby 1902.

JULY 1907

An article by MWB was published in Occult Review volume 5 number 6 pp305-17: The Wisdom of the Mysteries in Egypt.

Source: Occult Review volume 5 number 6 June 1907 pp305-17 including pp315-316 the translation of Chapter 62, clumsily entitled "Chapter of Repelling the Dismemberment which is carried out in the divine underworld" - see the fourth, separate file in MWB's biography for the full translation. Published London: William Rider and Son. Editor Ralph Shirley.

Comment by Sally Davis: though published in a different magazine, this article stuck to the formula MWB had adopted for the Theosophical Review: introduction; translation; discussion of difficult points in the translation. In the first few pages, MWB considered ancient Egyptian religion as the source material for both Judaism and Christianity; and wondered - in that case - why it was so little studied. One answer to this puzzle was the difficulties of making a good translation of such manuscripts as survived, littered as they were with copying errors, and full as they were of concealed meanings. MWB was sure that a definitive translation of the Book of the Dead papyri could only be achieved by those who studied the Mysteries - people like himself, in fact, who "learn, not in order to know, but in order to be". He then gave his translation, and in the last few pages explained why he had chosen to interpret some important hieroglyphs in a manner very different from the more orthodox academic translations, resulting (he argued) in a spell that could be easily understood by any mystic.

APRIL and MAY 1908

MWB's articles in Theosophical Review came to an end with the translations of two more chapters from The Book of the Dead: number 65, A Chapter of Coming Forth into Day Victorious over the Opposer; and Chapter 15, the Hymn to Osiris.

Sources: Theosophical Review volume 42 March-August 1908. Volume 42 number 248 issue of April 1908: pp105-113. Publication details as for 1907. MWB's article: Some Fragments of the Book of the Dead. Part 1 - The Chapter of Coming Forth by Day. Theosophical Review volume 42 March-August 1908. Volume 42 number 249 issue of May 1908: pp233-40. MWB's article: Some Fragments of the Book of the Dead. Part 2 - The Hymn to Osiris.

Comment by Sally Davis: in these two last articles, MWB tidied up his work on The Book of the Dead. He now saw the whole work as a set of texts that even in ancient Egyptian times had lost their original purpose as aids to the initiates of a Mystery tradition. With their meaning no longer understood, the texts had then been made unintelligible by the addition of ill-informed commentary and explanation; and by the adding in of spells and supposedly magical formulae designed to make money for temples by giving the living a chance to buy happiness for their dead relations. In his work on them MWB had been attempting to strip away all the later verbiage and get back - as far as was possible - to the original texts. He thought that, stripped back to basics in this way, the chapters of the Book of the Dead could still be used as they had been originally.

The action in Chapter 65 follows on from Chapter 64 the subject of MWB's articles of 1907. The initiate, now in the chamber, is given instructions on how to get to the other side of a veil that he or she can see there.

5 NOVEMBER 1908

The Times announced the engagement of MWB to his first cousin Hilda Alethea Franklyn, the daughter of MWB's mother's brother. He was 44; she was 23.

Times Thursday 5 November 1908 p11: court circular.

14 JANUARY 1909

Extracts from a work by MWB were read at a SRIA meeting though apparently MWB wasn't at the meeting himself.

Source:

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College 1909 p2 meeting of 14 January 1909. Comment by Sally Davis: in MWB's absence, A J Cadbury read the extract from what was called MWB's "Egyptian Ritual of the Dead". The work was probably an early version of, or an extract from The Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgement of the Soul (see 1914 below). MWB might have had two reasons for wanting the SRIA members to find out about what he was doing. Firstly, he was looking for a publisher. And secondly, he was working on a version of a ritual not just as an interesting piece of translation, but in the hope that it would be used - that people would speak the words in it; and he might have wanted some feedback on how the text sounded when spoken. It's a pity he wasn't able to be there to speak it himself. I think he was busy:

3 FEBRUARY 1909

MWB and Hilda Franklyn were married at St Paul's Knightsbridge. After a reception at 11 Lowndes Square (which I think was Hilda's parents' house) MWB and his bride went to the south of France for their honeymoon.

Sources: marriage registration at freebmd.

Times 5 February 1909 p11 court circular.

A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry 1937 edition p176.

1909

MWB and Hilda set up home at Langley Lodge at Fawley, near Southampton. For nearly five years, MWB seems to have dropped right out of the Independent and Rectified Rite, not going to any rituals and losing contact with its members. MWB's marriage was thus a big break with the past; and it seems as good a place as any to mention two features MWB's later life that I haven't been able to tie down very well. The first was that MWB was a keen yachtsman and wanted to live nearer the sea; the second was that MWB became a journalist.

Sources for Langley Lodge:

census 1911

History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Hampshire issue of 1878 p243 was the earliest mention of the house that I could find on the web.

Lawrence of Arabia by David Murphy. Oxford: Osprey 2011 p7 for the house's connection with T E Lawrence.

Source for the yachting and the journalism:

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint. 1987. On p201 Gilbert discussed the sources he used, which included appointments diaries covering 1909-42 (1911 and 1914 were missing). The reference to MWB dropping out of the Independent and Rectified Rite is p197 footnote. The reference to the yachting and the journalism is p122 though no date is given for either of them and I haven't been able to find any other references to MWB in connection with either yachting or work as a journalist.

Another source for the yachting but only from 1929:

Armorial Families 1929 p163 entry for the Blackden family in which MWB is described as a member of the Royal Southampton Yacht Club.

15 JANUARY 1910

MWB and Hilda's only child was born: Olive Hermione Blackden (always called Hermione).

Sources: birth registration of a female child with the surname Blackden, registered New Forest district January-March 1910; freebmd.

Times Tuesday 18 January 1910 p1 births announcements, though the child's name is not given.

CENSUS DAY 1911

MWB, Hilda and Hermione were living at Langley Lodge. The Lodge was a substantial residence (it had 18 habitable rooms) and stood in its own grounds. The Blackdens employed a German cook, a housemaid and a children's nurse.

Source: census form completed by MWB.

1914

Publication of MWB's The Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgement of the Soul, a culmination of his work on The Book of the Dead.

Source: The Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgement of the Soul. Undated. Printed for Societas Rosicruciana In Anglia in London by Bernard Quaritch of 11 Grafton Street. MWB as translator and editor, with a note on the illustration by William Wynn Westcott as the SRIA's Supreme Magus. MWB had used three different papyri in the British Museum collections to put together a text in which a would-be initiate has to answer for his or her sins in life; and - if he or she is judged sufficiently sin-free - is guided by Thoth to the throne of Osiris.

Comment by Sally Davis: the small book is the only work by MWB that is in the British Library. It was his last work on the Mysteries of ancient Egypt. He didn't publish anything more, either as article or as book.

1914

MWB was appealed to by a number of members of the Independent and Rectified Rite, to settle a dispute they had with A E Waite.

Source:

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Pubg Group Ltd

und its 'Crucible' imprint. 1987. Sources used by Gilbert: p201. What happened in 1914: p122.

Comment by Sally Davis: the question of the forged documents used to found the GD had raised its ugly head again and caused strife. It's clear from what happened in the Independent and Rectified Rite that not even everybody who had been in GD in 1900 had been informed that they were forgeries when Samuel Liddell Mathers had admitted they were. A E Waite had been amongst those who had not been told they were fakes, although by 1914 he had worked out that they must have been. The trouble was that when he told the other members of the Independent and Rectified Rite, they didn't believe him. They appealed to MWB to give his opinion and MWB strongly defended the documents' authenticity. Waite was furious. The two men had a row and didn't speak for over a decade. And unable to control the order's members any more, Waite disbanded the Independent and Rectified Rite altogether and blamed MWB for it.

16 JUNE 1916

Marcus Seton Blackden, father of MWB and Ada Mary, died at the age of 89. The Blackden estate on Fore Street, City of London, had been run for many years by a family trust (with family members as trustees) and so didn't figure in the Will. Marcus Seton Blackden still had plenty of movable goods to leave his five children though - paintings (including family portraits) jewellery, china, glassware and furniture to the value of £35862/0/8 . MWB and Seton were the Will's executors. All three sons became trustees of the family's City property.

Sources:

A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry edition of 1937 p176.

Extract from the Will of Marcus Seton Blackden; sent to me by MWB's great-grand-daughter.

Comment by Sally Davis: with Marcus Seton Blackden so old, it's likely that MWB at least was already one of the family property's trustees.

DURING 1919

MWB took over the management of the Blackden Estate on Fore Street.

Source: deeds, Wills and trust documents now held by descendants of the Blackdens; details sent to me by MWB's great-grand-daughter.

Comment by Sally Davis: this handing over of the day-to-day business of the Blackden family's City property was really just a recognition of the situation that had prevailed since 1916; because Leonard, an army officer, was stationed in the West Indies, and the third brother, Seton, was so much younger than the other two - 26 to MWB's 52 - it had been up to MWB to make the decisions.

11 OCTOBER 1919

Death of MWB's father-in-law Hollond Franklyn. MWB was one of the Will's executors, this time together with Hilda's mother Lottie and Hilda's brother Alwyne.

Sources: probate registration.

Comment by Sally Davis: all the Blackdens and their relations were wealthy: Hollond Franklyn left £53220/7/5's worth of movable goods; though probably not any land as Longcroft Hall in Yoxall, Staffordshire, where he and his family had lived since the 1890s, is likely to have been rented rather than owned by him. I haven't seen the Will but I would suppose that everything was left to Hollond Franklyn's wife and two children, increasing

MWB's wealth but adding to the time he must have been spending on estate administration and leases.

1924

After ten years of estrangement, MWB and A E Waite were reconciled. They remained friends until MWB's death.

Source:

A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Thorsons Publishing Group Ltd under its 'Crucible' imprint. 1987: footnote p197.

Comment by Sally Davis: Waite went to visit MWB and Hilda at Langley Lodge as part of the efforts they were making to patch up their differences. The two men held a little ceremony in which - alas! they burned MWB's copies of GD rituals and other GD papers. What an act of vandalism!

1925

MWB was still a member of SRIA although no longer an active one.

Source:

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College 1925 p57 show he was still a member.

1927

As trustees of the Blackden Estate, MWB and his brothers Leonard and Seton decided to sell the land in the City of London.

Sources: deeds, Wills and trust documents now held by descendants of the Blackdens; details sent to me by MWB's great-grand-daughter. Also Times Friday 3 August 1934 p6 Estate Market column.

Comment by Sally Davis: Blackdens and relations of Blackdens had done very well out of the 1000-feet of Fore Street that their ancestor had leased from the Corporation of London in the mid-18th century. This decision to give the land up seems rather odd to me; maybe their lease was going to run out soon. The Corporation was likely to demand far more income if it was renewed. And perhaps the family had spent all the income they had received in living well; and had not put any of it back into keeping the properties up to date, so that now, putting in modern facilities and refurbishing the buildings would involve serious investment.

?LATE 1920s, though possibly as late as EARLY 1930s

MWB refused to allow his daughter Hermione to study art in Paris.

Sources: information from Hermione's grand-daughter; sent by email 1 December 2014 with photos of two works that Hermione painted later in life.

Comment by Sally Davis: the reputation that Paris had in the 1920s might have given any careful father pause, but MWB's great-grand-daughter says of MWB's refusal, that "he questioned her artistry, he so precise and she more abstract". I think you can take that interesting comment on two levels, both of which show the wideness of the gap between a father born in the 1860s and a daughter born in 1910. Firstly: as a comment on Hermione's preferred style of drawing and painting, it illustrates rather nicely how even in Britain, art had changed between the late 1880s when MWB did his training and the late 1920s when Europe

had moved through post-Impressionism, fauvism, cubism and expressionism to dadaism. I can almost hear MWB saying what he thought of those! British art had stood aloof from much of this turbulent and almost continual change. Though it had made changes of its own, particularly in subject-matter; I have to say, from my researches into the GD's other artists, that even in the late 1880s the Royal Academy's emphasis on the classical and its view of what was the proper subject-matter for 'great art' was seen as behind the times. Secondly: I talk about this more in my biography of MWB's sister Ada Mary Blackden, but I detect a very conservative attitude in the Blackden family and its cousins towards the proper roles for women; and even (now I think about it) for men. I think MWB may even have admitted to the disparagement of women's creativity that Virginia Woolf puts into the mouth of Mr Tansley in *To The Lighthouse* as: "women can't paint, women can't write".

Source for the quote:

To The Lighthouse by Virginia Woolf. First published in 1927, right about the time MWB and Hermione may have been falling out over Hermione's wish to be a trained painter. In my Penguin Popular Classics edition I've quoted from p75 when artist Lily Briscoe has just found her painting "bad, it was bad, it was infinitely bad". Every artist should be their own critic; but to have a man peer over your shoulder and condemn your painting - any painting - just because a woman had painted it, is a different matter.

1930

I seem to have lost the source I had for the assertion that Charles Williams lampooned as Sir Giles Tumulty, one of the villains in his novel *War in Heaven*. So you need to take this item with a pinch of salt.

The novel in question was: *War in Heaven* by Charles Williams, published Faber and Faber 1930 and you can read the full text and get a good feel for Tumulty and his crass, arrogant behaviour

at gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0601451.txt

That Charles Williams knew A E Waite: *Charles Williams: An exploration of his life and work* by Alice Mary Hadfield. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1983: p6, p10. Charles Williams was a member of Waite's Fellowship of the Rosy Cross from 1917 and a friendship of sorts continued between them until 1931.

Comment by Sally Davis. Clearly, MWB could have met Charles Williams once he and A E Waite were friendly again. I sincerely hope my source (whatever it was) for the Tumulty connection was wrong: Tumulty was an objectionable man.

21 SEPTEMBER 1934

MWB died, aged 70. He left movable goods worth £26380/2/6 and some land that was not held in trust for the family - perhaps the land at Langley Lodge.

Sources: probate registry; *Times* Monday 24 September 1934 p1 death announcements.

AFTER MWB'S DEATH

DECEMBER 1935

Hermione Blackden married James Plomer in St John, New Brunswick Canada. James Plomer joined the Canadian navy and retired in the late 1950s with the rank of admiral. The marriage didn't last, and they had separated by 1942.

Source for the marriage: Times Saturday 7 December 1935 p1 marriage announcements.
Source for its failure: MWB's great-grand-daughter, by email 6 July 2015.

James Plomer was a brother of the author, poet, editor and librettist William Plomer (1903-73), friend of Leonard and Virginia Woolf whose Hogarth Press published several of his works; and later of Ian Fleming, who dedicated *Goldfinger* to him. See wikipedia for more information.

GRADUALLY BETWEEN 1919 AND THE LATE 1940s

MWB's family moved to Canada, where their descendents still live.

Source: MWB's great-grand-daughter by email 6 July 2015 though further information including exact dates was lost in a fire a few years ago.

Comment by Sally Davis: the process began with Hilda's mother and brother: they may have emigrated as early as the 1920s and it seems likely that Hermione was visiting them when she married James Plomer. Information at familysearch shows Hilda crossing the Atlantic several times during the 1930s and 1940s but in the end she too, settled down in Canada. Originally settling in New Brunswick, they all ended up in British Columbia.

1942

Hermione and James' only child, Deirdre Plomer, was born. As a child she lived mostly with Hilda Blackden.

Source: MWB's great-grand-daughter by email 6 July 2015.

?1950s

Hermione married Douglas Dixie, a British civil servant who worked in Sierra Leone and later in the Bahamas. Although she never did do a proper, full-time art training, Hermione did paint, and some of her works are still owned by her descendents.

Source, for the marriage: MWB's great-grand-daughter by email 6 July 2015. And for the paintings although without a precise date for them: information from MWB's great-grand-daughter; sent by email 1 December 2014 with photos of two works that Hermione painted during her time in Sierra Leone. The paintings show the influence of expressionism and Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. M.)*.

NOVEMBER 1965

MWB's sister Ada Mary Blackden died - the last surviving member of the 1890s GD as far as I know.

Source for her death: Probate Registry.

1987

MWB's widow Hilda Blackden died, in British Columbia. She was 102!

Source: MWB's great-grand-daughter by email 6 July 2015.

2002

Hermione Dixie died, in Victoria British Columbia. She had called her house there Langley Lodge, in memory of her parents' home at Fawley.

Source: MWB's great-grand-daughter by email 6 July 2015.

Comment by Sally Davis: Langley Lodge Victoria still exists, I saw several references to it on the web; it's a care home now.

Some at least of MWB's abilities and interests have gone down the generations in his descendents. Deirdre Plomer worked as a designer and her son is a photographer. However, MWB's interest in alternative ways of understanding the cosmos skipped a couple of generations, before coming out again in his great-grand-daughter Nadine. Times have moved on since MWB's time, though and the knowledge and understanding of cultures that looked primitive to people of MWB's time is now valued: Nadine trained with a shaman in the western USA, which I don't think MWB would ever have considered doing even if such training had been available to him. Nadine describes herself now as a "botanical muse", making beauty and health products from plants - perhaps the oldest form of alchemy and again, a type of occult knowledge that MWB wasn't all that interested in, his was a very cerebral approach. It's also fitting - at least it seems so to me - that Nadine's partner is a yoga practitioner. See their website at livinglibations.com.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: [freebmd](http://freebmd.com); ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.org); Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

15 August 2015

">mailto:

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

From: SALLY DAVIS (for contact details see below)

May 2015

This is the last in my sequence of 'life by date' files charting the life of Marcus Worsley Blackden who was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in August 1896. It contains two translations Blackden made of passages from the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

There's no explanation in either article for the [] brackets but I imagine they are words inserted by Blackden to make the text clearer, and perhaps also to make it easier to chant or sing.

1) Repelling the Dismemberment which is carried out in the divine underworld (though Blackden notes that the concept 'underworld' was completely unknown in ancient Egypt). It appeared in Occult Review volume 5 January-June 1907; volume 5 number 6, June 1907: The Wisdom of the Mysteries in Egypt. Published London: William Rider and Son, editor Ralph Shirley. The quotation marks are Blackden's.

P315

"I am" is the divine luminary of each day [and] I cannot be taken by my arms. I cannot be seized by my hands; neither men, nor gods, nor shining ones, nor the dead, whether mortal or immortal, whether Initiate or yet unborn can work me Violence.

“I am” is the manifestation of wholeness; his Name is not known.

“I am” is of the Past, but beholder of the Aeons [of futurity] is my name.

Pass! Pass! Along the paths, O ye awarding judges, for “I am” is the lord of Eternity, and my award, yea, even mine, is to be like the Creator.

“I am” is the Lord of the Royal Crown.

“I am” is the dweller in God’s Eye [even in] my dual egg, my twin eggs whence I derive my life.

“I am” is in God’s Eye when it is closed, and I am the protector thereof, for I have come forth; I have risen cloudless; I have entered into my life.

P316

“I am” is in God’s Eye, and my place is upon my Throne; yea, I sit thereon within my shrine.

“I am” is Horus, the traveller of the Aeons, and I have commanded my throne; yea, I rule it, for behold! between utterance and silence I am balanced, and lo! my thoughts are cast down.

“I am” is “Beautiful Being”, and season after season he hath his possessions therein, one by one as it passeth round.

“I am” is the dweller in God’s Eye, and no evil thing can happen unto me; the makers of turmoil are not for me.

“I am” is the opener of the five-rayed star in Heaven, the ruler of the throne, the appointer of the births in to-day of the smitten child declared of yesterday.

“I am” is “to-day”.

O! Nation after nation, “I am” is your protector unto the Aeons; but whether ye are of Heaven or of earth, of the south, the north the east or the west, my fear is in your bodies.

“I am” is the ideal in his eye, and I die no more, but my moment is in your bodies and my thought is within me.

“I am” is the unknown, but the Red Ones turn their faces unto me.

“I am” is the unbinder, and this season cannot find what he hath done for me, yet heaven is revealed, earth is discerned, births cease, they cannot bind, that my name should pass away, by any evil thing.

O! Great one of utterance in Speech, I speak to thee. "I am" is risen cloudless, illuminating wall after wall, one after the other, until the day lacks nothing that it should possess, passing! Passing! Past! Past! Lo! I have spoken to thee.

"I am" is the flower-bloom manifesting in the primeval waters, and my mother is the abyss of Heaven. Hail! to my creator.

"I am" is the motionless [one], the great knot within the past, and the power of binding is within my hand; I am not known, he knoweth me. I am not grasped, he graspeth me. Hail! to my Egg, my Egg.

"I am" is Horus, ruling within the Aeons, but my flame is toward their faces, and their hearts flee from me.

I rule my throne; the present passes along the path I have appointed, for I am set free from all evil.

"I am" is the essential spirit of the gold of [the balance(1)] having neither hands nor feet, yet ruling within the temple of the pattern (2) of the artificer (3), and my wholeness is the wholeness of the essential spirit who ruleth within the temple of the pattern (2) of the artificer (3).

**

Blackden's notes:

- (1) 'balance' is Blackden's best guess at a word in the text which is now indecipherable.
- (2) Blackden has translated this word as 'pattern' but he says that it could equally well be translated as 'shape'; original word was 'Ka'.
- (3) the 'artificer' is the god Ptah.

2) The Hymn to Osiris, his translation of a passage from the Egyptian Book of the Dead. It was published in Theosophical Review volume 42 number 249 May 1908: p238-40. The capitals are Blackden's.

P238

Worship OSIRIS, Lord of Eternity,
Beautiful Being,
Horus of the East and of the West,
[Whose] shapes are countless [in variety],
[Whose] forms are infinite,
Opener and Closer,
Master in the City of the Sun,

p239 Lord of the Hall of Mystery,

Designer of the Archetype of Deity.

The Leaders of the Pentagram give glory unto Thee,
[When] Thou retest in the firmament,
[When] ISIS folds Thee in her arms in peace,
[When] she turns back the storm from the gate of Thy paths,
[When] Thou showest Thy face to the West,
Lighting up the Two Lands with Thy silver gold,
[And] the dead rise up to look towards Thee,
[For] they taste of the winds when they see Thy face,
Like the disk rising cloudless in his horizon.
Their heart knows peace because of Thine act,
Thou who art the eternal Aeon.

The lamps of ON give homage unto Thee
[With] the unborn souls in the City of Strife,
O Being more glorious than the gods of the mystery
Which dwells in the City of the Sun.

The Pillars of the Altar give Thee homage,
Vast [One], Horus of the Twin Horizons;
The span of whose stride crosses the Heavens,
Who art Heru Ikhuti.

Homage unto Thee, Soul of the Aeon,
Dual soul dwelling between the Pillars,
Beautiful Being, Child of the Heavenly Abyss,
Who art Lord of the Silent Mountain.

Homage unto Thee when Thou rulest the Pillars;
The double crown is firm upon Thy brow,
Thou art UNITY making his own protection,
Thy peace is between the Pillars.

Homage unto Thee as Lord of the Tree,
Placing the Barge of Finality upon her launching-slip,
Repelling the Demons of Destiny,
Giving rest to the Eye at her place.

P240

Homage unto Thee, Strong One in His moment,
Great chief, ruling within the Desert Shrine,
Lord of the Aeon, Maker of Eternity,
Thou art Lord of the Royal Child.

Homage unto Thee, resting upon Truth,
Thou art Lord of the Shrine of the Unmanifest,
The Holy Land hath formed Thy Limbs,
Thou art He whose abomination is deceit.

Homage unto Thee in the midst of His Barque,
[Whom] the Heavenly Nile beareth from His cavern,
[When] the Light riseth cloudless upon his body.
He is the dweller in the Child.

Homage unto Thee, Maker of Gods,
King of the Upper and the Lower, OSIRIS! True of voice;
Grasping the Two Lands in his times of perfection,
He is Lord both of the Outer and the Inner.

Give Thou unto me a path that I may pass into Peace;
[For] 'I am' is [the] Balanced [One];
[Yea], I utter no lie, because I know.

**

If you want to read the other files in this sequence, Worsley Blackden's 'life by dates' 1864 to 1934, find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

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large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 May 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

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http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Ada Mary Blackden was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 22 June 1899. She chose the Latin motto 'Volo aspirare'. Eliza Augusta Venner Morris and Frederick Charles Gobert were initiated as part of the same

ceremony, but I don't think it's likely that Ada Mary knew either of them beforehand. Ada Mary worked quickly on the study necessary to be eligible for the GD's inner, 2nd Order, and was initiated into that order on 22 November 1900.

Ada Mary's older brother, Marcus Worsley Blackden, had been a GD member since 1896 and was one of the order's experts on the religions of ancient Egypt. In 1903, when the GD turned into its two daughter orders, both siblings decided to become members of A E Waite's daughter order, the Independent and Rectified Rite; though for reasons I give below, Ada Mary may not have been able to be a very active member of it.

BEFORE WE START yet another moan on the lack of sources for the lives of 19th-century women. Whereas Marcus Worsley Blackden's life is quite well documented, as non-famous people's lives go, I have found a pitiful amount of information on his sister's. However, I do have a feeling that in this case it's not just the lack of sources that's a problem; it's how a very conservative family saw the role of its women, even in a time when some women were challenging the restrictions that social and class expectations imposed on them.

Ada Mary Blackden was born in 1872, only daughter of Marcus Seton Blackden and his wife Fanny née Franklyn. Both her parents came from families with backgrounds in business but also in the landed gentry; and I get the impression that both families were rather anxious to leave the business side of their ancestry behind them. Fanny Franklyn's grandfather George had founded a tobacco firm based in Bristol. Fanny's father, Thomas Ward Franklyn, had gone to Cambridge University and was ordained as a Church of England priest. His younger brother George Woodroffe Franklyn ran the family firm with two partners, as Franklyn, Morgan and Davey. Thomas Ward Franklyn's income from the tobacco business was large enough for him to pay £8500 to buy himself a church building and thus a parish, in 1840. The church was the partly-built Christ Church, on the High Street in Tunbridge Wells - a town that Ada Mary would live in twice, at different times in her life. But by the time of Fanny's marriage, the Rev Ward Franklyn was no longer active as a priest and the family had gone to live on Sydenham Hill in south London, in a house called Birchwood.

The Blackdens were probably the wealthier family. A mid-18th century ancestor had founded the family fortunes by leasing part of Fore Street from the Corporation of London. Fore Street was near where Moorgate station is now, and the Blackdens lived off the rents they were paid on warehouses, shops and offices the 18th-century Blackdens had built.

Marcus Seton Blackden and Fanny Franklyn had probably known each other for years. They had certainly known each other since 1856 when Marcus Seton's elder brother Frederick married Fanny's sister Sophia. Marcus Seton and Fanny married in 1862. There was no need for Marcus Seton Blackden to work for a living and he never did so. He and his wife lived firstly in north Wales, where their first son, Leonard Shadwell Blackden was born in 1863; and then at Upton-on-Severn in Worcestershire, where the GD member Marcus Worsley (known as Worsley) was born in 1864. There was a gap of several years before another son was born to them late in 1871 - Nugent Lyttleton Blackden, who died after only a few weeks. Ada Mary, Fanny's last child, was born a few months after Nugent's death, in the spring of 1872. Nugent and Ada Mary were both born in Tunbridge Wells, where the family had perhaps gone in an increasingly anxious search for better health for Fanny. However, the Blackdens were back in Upton-on-Severn when Fanny died, aged 41, in 1876. Ada Mary was three.

I couldn't find out exactly when Marcus Seton Blackden moved from the house in Upton-on-Severn but he was no longer living there by 1880. He was staying with his uncle, the Rev Charles Blackden, at 17 Wilton Crescent in Belgravia on the day of the 1881 census, in between temporary rentings; by 1883 he had moved into 3 Wells Road Regent's Park and by late 1884 he had leased 16a Oxford Square of Edgware Road. On census day 1881 all Marcus Seton's children were away at boarding schools: Leonard Shadwell and Marcus Worsley were at together at Repton School. Ada Mary was back in Tunbridge Wells, at age 9 the youngest of 21 pupils in the school run by Susan Oken at The Mount, Albert Road. I couldn't find out anything more about Miss Oken's school so it's impossible to know what Ada Mary might have been learning there; apart from German, which was taught there by a woman born in Switzerland. All of the Blackdens will have been in mourning on census day, for Marcus Seton Blackden's father, John Chalfont Blackden, who had died the previous November. The Rev Charles Blackden died in July 1883. Inheritances from those two Blackdens increased Marcus Seton Blackden's income a great deal - Rev Charles, a bachelor, left personal effects alone worth £66059 in the money of time. Marcus Seton also began to accumulate the large number of movable goods that were later mentioned in his Will - pictures, jewellery, silverware, chinaware, furniture - the comforts of upper-middle-class life.

Ada Mary was 10 when her father (aged about 58) married Mary Elizabeth Cotter (aged 34), the daughter of Rev Joseph Rogerson Cotter, rector of St Mary Magdalene Colchester. Was Ada Mary's life turned upside down by this - yet again? Did she get on with her new step-mother - did she resent her intrusion or welcome her as a substitute for the mother she could barely remember? I don't know. As well as needing to adjusting to having a step-mother in 1884, within two years she was no longer her father's only daughter: her half-sister Theodora Cayley Blackden was born in the autumn of 1886. A half-brother, Seton Cotter Blackden, followed in 1890, the last of Marcus Seton Blackden's children, whose births spanned nearly 30 years. There is some evidence - if you want to interpret it that way - that all was not sweetness and light between the children of Marcus Seton's first wife and the children of his second. Leonard Shadwell and Marcus Worsley Blackden don't seem to have lived with their father after the late 1880s. I'll speculate about Ada Mary and Theodora later in this biography; though Ada Mary and Seton seem to have been friendly enough.

Perhaps I'm making too much of the fact that Ada Mary's older brothers don't seem to have been part of the family after their father's remarriage. They both had excuses that would serve if they wanted not to live at home while not creating bad feeling; and they had the financial means to live independently. Unlike nearly all the men in his family, Leonard had chosen to pursue a career, joining the army in 1885. After training as an artist, Marcus Worsley Blackden chose to go travelling. In 1891 he went to Egypt, which I think he had been longing to visit for years. Ada Mary (now in her late teens) did not go with him. Maybe neither of them had wanted her to tag along. But I suggest that even if she had wanted to see Egypt, her family was in a position to have prevented it. Evidence from Marcus Seton Blackden's Will suggests that not only did Ada Mary not have much money (if any) of her own until he died; but also that the income she had after his death was managed by her male relatives, through their position as trustees of the Blackden family trust. As far as I can see, no women ever served as trustees of the Blackden family's money. Ada Mary's situation was typical of young women of her class. Even in wealthy families, a lack of any money which was their own to spend, restricted young women's opportunities. With many families including the Blackdens, however, there were other restraints. The Blackdens and all the families that they were related to - the Cotters, the Hollonds, the Cayleys, the Worsleys and

others - were very conservative, socially. They were pillars of the church - until Leonard Shadwell Blackden bucked the family trend, being a clergyman was the only profession that seemed to be acceptable to any of them. And they were Conservative in their politics - Ada Mary's uncle George Woodroffe Franklyn was a Tory MP and member of the Tory Carlton Club, and he seems typical of the family in general. It was inevitable, I think, that expectations for Ada Mary would be limited to a suitable marriage (preferably with a family member - marriages between cousins were commonplace in all the families); or to dutiful attendance on an ageing parent or step-parent until their death left her, in middle-age, without a role in life.

What did Ada Mary think of her options? I don't know. If she hated them, she left no record of it. If she rebelled against them; the details were kept a secret and she wasn't able to get away. Alas! It's much more likely that she did - even thought - exactly what was expected of her. I could only find two instances where she showed a little independence of mind: when no one else in her family would do so, she donated some money towards relief of a famine in Bengal; and she joined the GD. Significantly I think, she decided to do both these things when she was living with her brother, a period of relative freedom for her in between two periods living in her father's household.

In 1891 Ada Mary, 18, was living with her father, her step-mother and their two children at 16a Oxford Square. Unless she enjoyed looking after Theodora (4) and Seton (6 months) there was little for her to do in the house: a cook and two housemaids were employed. She was probably superfluous even in the nursery as Mary Elizabeth Blackden had both a nurse (for the baby) and a nursery-maid to look after her children. Both Ada Mary's full-blood brothers were abroad; let's hope she had some good friends amongst her cousins (there were loads of those) or girls she knew through church or from her school-days.

In the late 1890s, Marcus Seton and Mary Elizabeth decided to move out of town. Marcus Seton was entering his 70s; perhaps London life was beginning to affect his health. They chose to move to Tunbridge Wells and leased 9 Boyne Park in the Mount Ephraim district of the town, a house well-suited to the social status they wanted to advertise: detached (at that time), double drawing-room and conservatory, dining room, seven bedrooms plus a boudoir for Mary Elizabeth, a bathroom (the house was modern as well as opulent) and a kitchen and other offices on the ground floor. Although 9 Boyne Park was certainly bigger than 16a Oxford Square, Marcus Seton and Mary Elizabeth cut down on the number of staff they thought necessary: Theodora and young Seton no longer needed nurse-maids so in 1901 only a cook and one parlourmaid were employed. If Ada Mary had been living there she might have found more to do in the house; but she had been sent by her father or claimed by her brother when Marcus Worsley Blackden set up his own household; just around the time Ada Mary joined the GD. She might have been keeping house for him as early as 1898, when he was living in East Anglia; and in the early months of 1900 when he was at 6 Topsfield Crescent Crouch End. They were definitely living together by census day 1901, at 3 Wells Road, Regent's Park; the house that Marcus Seton Blackden had lived in during 1883-84 and which perhaps was owned by the family. Ada Mary was managing the house for him, probably taking that role for the first time. She had the help of one general servant who I imagine did the cooking as well as all the cleaning, though washing was probably sent to a laundry; whatever Ada Mary learned at her boarding school or schools, it won't have been how to cook.

Marcus Worsley Blackden had joined the GD in August 1896. When Ada went to keep house

for him she will have been able to study at leisure the paintings, artefacts and perhaps papyri he had brought back from Egypt. Even if Ada Mary had not shared his interest in ancient Egypt before this time, her curiosity was aroused when - as a new GD initiate - he started bringing home the manuscripts on the western occult that he needed to study to progress into the GD's 2nd Order where you were allowed to do practical magic. One thing led to another and resulted in Ada Mary being initiated in 1899; and joining the 2nd Order in November 1900. There was a lot of work required of those who wanted the 2nd Order initiation - a wide range of esoteric material had to be studied and exams in it had to be passed. If she got in a jam with any of Ada Mary will have had her brother to help her out, but it will have been as a result of her own efforts and her own persistence that Ada Mary became eligible for that second initiation - showing what she might have made of her life if her circumstances and her personality had been different.

Ada Mary was needed more by Marcus Worsley than by her father and step-mother, so I think she lived with her brother until 1904. She will have been around, therefore, as Marcus Worsley began his decade and a half of work on the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, and perhaps read or even edited and commented on the earliest articles he published on it. 1900 to 1904 was a turbulent period in the GD's history but unlike Marcus Worsley, Ada Mary did not play a prominent role in all the disputes that arose between the factions the order was falling into. She might have been a member of one of the groups that had been formed within the GD in the late 1890s. Lists of members of most of these groups haven't survived, if they ever existed, and most of them seemed to be defunct by 1902. Slightly later, she must have got to know her brother's closest allies in the GD - Robert Palmer-Thomas and A E Waite. At the spring meeting of the GD which led to its collapse and the formation of the two daughter orders, both Marcus Worsley and Ada Mary chose to be a member of the voting block that A E Waite organised. In July 1903, a group of those who had voted with A E Waite issued a Manifesto of Independence from the GD: both Marcus Worsley and Ada Mary were amongst the 14 people who signed it. The result of the Manifesto was the setting up of the Independent and Rectified Rite (or Order), whose first ritual was held on 7 November 1903; though no list has survived of those who attended, it's likely both Marcus Worsley and Ada Mary were there.

For a few months Ada Mary would have been able to go to the Rite's rituals, which were held in those early years at the Mark Masons' Hall in Covent Garden. However, in the spring of 1904 Mary Elizabeth Blackden - although a generation younger than Marcus Seton Blackden - died before her husband.

At the point where he became a widower for the second time, Marcus Seton Blackden was nearly 80. He had probably supposed if he thought about it at all, that he would die before his second wife. If he had at any time blamed Ada Mary for not attracting a husband to herself, he was now likely to be grateful she wasn't married; because he needed not only a housekeeper and hostess but possibly also a nurse. In addition - he might die himself at any moment - someone was needed to take care of his two younger children, Theodora (aged 18 in 1904, and marriageable) and Seton (aged 14 and still at school). Marcus Seton Blackden made a Will that shows his intention to continue to make maximum use of Ada Mary even after his death. With or without her consent: though I can't believe she would willingly have left her two step-siblings to fend for themselves, duty to her relatives, at the cost of her own freedom of action, was something that would have been dinned into Ada Mary from an early age in such a family, and reinforced by the teachings of the Church. In Marcus Seton Blackden's Will he left Ada Mary and Mary Elizabeth's sister Katharine Louisa Cotter to look after Theodora and Seton until they were of age. The children were to live with Ada Mary in

a house within walking distance of Holy Trinity Church in Tunbridge Wells; presumably the church where Marcus Seton Blackden and his family were parishioners. Despite having the charge of two young people and being in her late twenties if not early thirties (I'm not sure when the Will was prepared) Ada Mary was not, however, to have any charge of the finances of the household: Leonard Shadwell and Marcus Worsley were to find a house and pay the lease and household expenses. Marcus Seton did, however, make provision for Ada Mary to have an income of her own after his death - possibly the first money she'd ever possessed on her own account: Leonard Shadwell and Marcus Seton were to invest £2000 for her and pay her an income from the profits.

In the meantime, and probably as soon after Mary Elizabeth's death as could be managed, Ada Mary will have left her brother to his own devices in London, and moved back into 9 Boyne Park Tunbridge Wells. Though it won't have been impossible for her to continue to be an active member of the Independent and Rectified Rite, it will have been increasingly difficult for her to leave her and the household, to make visits to London.

This is speculation on a small amount of evidence, but I think that if any woman in the Blackden family resented the restrictions of the life she was expected to lead, it was Ada Mary's half-sister, who had a father old enough to be her grandfather and with notions of behaviour to suit his age. As soon as she was 21, Theodora married. Like so many in the Blackden family tree, she married a cousin; though in her case it was at least a cousin she had only met recently - perhaps that was what made him attractive to her. Frank Arthur Worsley was related to the Blackdens several times over, through marriages in the first half of the 19th-century. His particular branch of the Worsleys had emigrated to New Zealand in 1851 and Frank (born 1872) had grown up on the North Island.

Being related to them, however distantly, Arthur was taken in socially by his Worsley and other relations when he arrived in England after a spell working in the Pacific as a merchant seaman with the New Zealand Government Steamer Service. I don't suppose Marcus Seton Blackden saw any reason to object to Theodora marrying him, which she did in December 1907 at Marcus Seton's preferred church of Holy Trinity Tunbridge Wells. However, the marriage went horribly wrong, very soon after the wedding, possibly as early as the honeymoon (which leaves me wondering whether the problems were sexual). Certainly, Arthur and Theodora were not living together on the day of the 1911 census. Of course, Arthur might have been away at sea anyway on that day. However when Theodora filled in the census form she admitted she was married, but described herself as the head of the household - the usual practice in this situation was for the husband to be depicted as head of household despite his absence. It's clear that Theodora had gained possession of some family money at least, at her marriage. Her father had given her a dowry; and she was holding on to it even though she and her husband had probably split up. Perhaps Marcus Seton Blackden would not allow a woman who was separated from her husband to live in his house, be she never so much his daughter; but there's also the possibility that Theodora had used her dowry income to get away from her father, her aunt Ada Mary and Tunbridge Wells. She was living in The Rectory, Erpingham, on the north Norfolk coast, an area with no Blackden connections at all. It was a large house (it had 10 habitable rooms) which she ran with the help of two servants. Her cousin Ellen Harriet Cotter, and a friend, Margaret Gertrude Turner, were visiting her.

Census day 1911 found Ada Mary at 9 Boyne Park in the household headed by her father. Her half-brother Seton, a law student, was at home as it was the Easter holidays. Marcus

Seton had taken on more staff than he had employed in 1901: Ada Mary had the help of a cook, a housemaid, a tweenie and a parlourmaid in running the house. I note that he was not employing a nurse, or at least not one who was living-in; though now in his mid-80s, perhaps Marcus Seton was still able to get about. Marcus Worsley had married his and Ada Mary's first cousin, Hilda Alethea Franklyn, in 1909. I don't know whether she and Ada Mary were friends but Hilda was a contemporary of Theodora, not of Ada Mary; Marcus Worsley had continued a family tradition of husbands old enough to be their wife's father. On his marriage, Marcus Worsley had dropped out of the Independent and Rectified Rite. He and Hilda had moved to Fawley, near Southampton, and now had a baby, Hermione. Leonard Shadwell Blackden was stationed in the West Indies. It's likely that Ada Mary's membership of the Rite had lapsed when her brother's had, if not earlier - in 1906 meetings of the Rite had moved from central to west London making them harder to get to from Kent. So Ada Mary was now rather isolated, even from close family, in Tunbridge Wells.

A lot of the anxieties that beset Marcus Seton Blackden when he made his Will didn't come to pass: he out-lived Katharine Louisa Cotter which would have left Ada Mary as his two youngest children's sole carer had the situation arisen; but Theodora and Seton were well over 21 at his death. He died in June 1916 at the age of 89. As well as possibly her first independent income, Ada Mary (like all of the children) was left a few of the possessions that Marcus Seton had accumulated over many years of inheritance and gift-receiving: a portrait of Barbara Worsley (for a tentative identification of this woman, see the Sources section); and some of her mother Fanny's jewellery and other personal items. However, some of Marcus Seton's possessions Ada Mary had the use of during her lifetime only, before they were handed on to Theodora at her death: a silver tea service; a Dollond telescope. They were not hers to do with as she chose. And all the other contents of 9 Boyne Park were left to Leonard Shadwell and Marcus Worsley to be held in trust: Ada Mary, Theodora and Seton could continue to use them, but none of them owned any of them, so they couldn't get rid of them without their elder brothers' consent.

Ada Mary was 44 when she came - or had to come - out of the shadow of her father. Was she her own woman at last? Or was she bewildered and frightened by the chance to decide for herself what she was going to do next? What happened in the next 15 years or so isn't clear to me - not without at least the 1921 census to look at - but I think she remained in the house at 9 Boyne Park until 1931, when it was put up for sale. She did at least have some relations living near her from 1919 onwards: when Leonard Shadwell Blackden retired from the army after World War 1 was over, he and his wife Mary Helen moved to within a few miles of Tunbridge Wells, to the The Jewell House, in Marden. Neither Theodora nor Seton needed her however and neither lived near her. In the early 1920s Theodora was still living in Norfolk, though she had moved from Erpingham to Sheringham. Seton lived mostly in London and (from the 1930s) in Shropshire.

By Marcus Seton's death there were signs that the changing times had reached as far as the Blackden family. Seton had refused to follow the programme laid down for him by his family; and been allowed to choose a very different way of life. In 1916, he was studying singing, and during the 1920s he became one of the proprietors of the Kingsway Theatre, appearing in minor acting roles in some of its plays. In one production he was on the same cast list as the young Ivor Novello. He married Mary Stewart Earle (or possibly Earle Stewart, I'm not too clear on the woman's surname), an independently wealthy woman, in 1924. In 1923, Arthur and Theodora Worsley dragged the family further into the 20th century by getting divorced. Arthur took the blame for the breakdown, as was standard at the time, and produced evidence of adultery (a woman and a hotel bill); but it was still divorce and I

wonder how the Blackdens coped with it. And in 1927 the Blackdens made a further big break with the past when the trustees of the Blackden estate on Fore Street decided to sell the land. Ada Mary had not been made a trustee as far as I know; so presumably had no say in this, but if I understand Marcus Seton Blackden's Will correctly, the sale probably didn't make much difference to her. Ada Mary's income was derived from other investments, not the Fore Street rents. It may have declined due to the hard times of the 1920s - and probably declined more after the Wall Street Crash - but it won't have changed as a result of the sale of the land.

Was it Ada Mary's choice to leave 9 Boyne Park? Probably not, I think. I think the house was owned by the Blackden family trust after Marcus Seton Blackden died; so it was the trustees - Ada Mary's brothers - who had the final say. She might have been relieved though - she was now in her 60s and it was a big house for just one person to live in, on an income that didn't go as far as it had once done. As seems typical of her, she made the best of decisions made largely by other people. She moved to a place which perhaps she knew from holidays but which the Blackdens had never lived in, though the Cotters had once lived in the same county. By 1937 she had found a house in Uplyme, in Dorset, on the hill above Lyme Regis. Perhaps she felt her decision had been justified - moving so far from the rest of the family - when first Marcus Worsley died, in 1934, and then Leonard Shadwell did, in 1937, cutting more of the old ties. The house where Ada Mary lived - the only home of her own choice that she ever had - still exists, with the same name: Clanbury, on Rhode Lane in Uplyme. The views from above Lyme Regis are fabulous and perhaps Ada Mary made good use of the Dollond telescope that was hers to use though not hers to bequeath.

Ada Mary lived in Uplyme for the rest of her life. By the early 1960s, Seton and his wife Mary had moved to within a few miles of her, to a house called Wayside (which also still exists) in the village of Chardstock between Chard and Axminster. Perhaps Ada Mary and Seton visited each other occasionally although they were both very old by now. Theodora, however, continued to live near London; despite the lack of evidence I've built up a picture of there being no meeting of minds between Theodora and the rest of the family.

Ada Mary Blackden has the distinction of being the last member of the 1890s GD to die. She lived until November 1965. She died, aged 93, not at home in Uplyme but in Buckfield House nursing home, on West Hill Road further down the hill. Seton Cotter Blackden was her executor.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have

survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ADA MARY BLACKDEN

THE FRANKLYN FAMILY

The will of George Franklyn founder of the tobacco firm is at the Public Record Office at Kew: see discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk PROB 11/1634/301, dated 22 September 1820.

Burke's *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry* 1863 p1605-06.

George Woodroffe Franklyn:

Walford's *The County Families of the UK* p238 on George Woodroffe Franklyn.

Bristol and its Municipal Government 1820-51 by Graham William Arthur Bush. Published 1976 by Bristol Record Society; p128.

Bristol Mercury 15 April 1880, glimpsed via genesreunited.com.

W D and H O Wills and the Development of the UK Tobacco Industry by Bernard William Ernest Alford. Published London: Methuen 1973: p161, p202,

Rev Thomas Ward Franklyn:

Career details from db.theclergydatabase.org.uk. His dates are 1801-1876. He married Sophia Hollond in September 1825.

The British Library catalogue has one item by him: *The Kingdom of God: A Sermon on Acts 20: 25-27* by Thomas Ward Franklyn. Published London 1830.

Colbran's Hand-Book and Directory for Tunbridge Wells issue of 1850 p28.

Colbran's Hand-Book and Visitor's Guide for Tunbridge Wells by John Colbran 1863 p33.

THE HOLLOND FAMILY

Burke's A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry volume 3 p167
Hollond family of Benhall Lodge Suffolk.

FIRST MARRIAGE OF MARCUS SETON BLACKDEN TO FANNY FRANKLYN

Gentleman's Magazine volume 213 1862 p97

THE COTTER FAMILY

BEWARE! There are several men of different generations with exactly the same name - Joseph Rogerson Cotter. The habit continued into the 20th century - the Ellen Harriet Cotter of the 1911 census married an engineering lecturer called Joseph Rogerson Cotter - see probate registry for 1948.

At www.bryan-martin.net a family tree of the elder Joseph Rogerson Cotter and his descendants via two marriages.

See www.thepeerage.com (which uses Burke's Peerage) for Mary Elizabeth Cotter's parents and sisters.

SECOND MARRIAGE OF MARCUS SETON BLACKDEN TO MARY ELIZABETH COTTER

Essex Standard of 8 November 1884 glimpsed via [genesreunited](http://genesreunited.com).

ADA MARY'S DONATION FOR THE FAMINE IN INDIA

Times Wed 25 July 1900 p10, list of those who had recently donated to the Lord Mayor's fund. She gave £1.

BARBARA WORSLEY whose portrait Ada Mary inherited in 1916. I'm not sure of the identification but this woman - despite apparently being Anne Barbara - does seem very likely:

Debrett's Baronetage edition of 1840 p594 on Sir William Worsley 1st baronet of Hovingham Hall North Yorkshire. He married Sarah Philadelphia, 4th daughter of Sir George Cayley Baronet. Their daughter Anne Barbara was born 8 December 1833.

Anne Barbara is the only Barbara Worsley on the 1851 census; written in as "A B".

I then skipped to 1901. The only Barbara Worsley on that was the 33-year-old wife of an accountant in Prestwich. Anne Barbara Worsley was not listed as 'barbara'.

Probate Registry 1909 entry for Anne Barbara Worsley, spinster of Hovingham Yorkshire, who had died on 26 October 1908. Probate to Sir William Henry Arthington Worsley* and one other man. Wikipedia page on the baronets Worsley of Hovingham indicates that this person was the 4th baronet, 1890-1973.

I looked on the web to see if the portrait still existed but couldn't find anything. If the painting still exists, the sitter's name has been lost. I didn't find any evidence, either, about who painted it.

9 BOYNE PARK; BLACKDEN FAMILY TRUST WHICH RAN THE ESTATE ON FORE STREET CITY OF LONDON; ADA MARY'S MOVE TO UPLYME

Deeds, Wills and trust documents now held by descendants of the Blackdens; details sent to me by Marcus Worsley Blackden's great-grand-daughter.

Sale of 9 Boyne Park: Country Life volume 70 1931 p458.

WILL OF MARCUS SETON BLACKDEN

Sent to me by email by Marcus Worsley Blackden's great-grand-daughter though I couldn't see the date it was signed.

BUCKFIELD RESIDENTIAL HOME which still exists

Website exeter.yalwa.co.uk gives its full address as West Hill Road Lyme Regis.

Some ads from the 1960s all of which say phone and TV in each room - unusual for the time - and all of which stress the beautiful views.

Medical Social Work volume 21 1969 p60, p232, p333.

Social Work Today vol 1 1970 p55.

D Ada M Blackden r Bridport Dorset Oct-Dec 1965; aged 93. Probate Registry: Ada Mary Blackden of Buckfield House Nursing Home Lyme Regis Dorset d 14 Nov 1965. Probate Exeter 11 Feb 1966 to Lloyds Bank Ltd and Seton Cotter "of no occupation". Personal effects £5383.

ADA MARY BLACKDEN'S SIBLINGS

LEONARD SHADWELL BLACKDEN

Times Wednesday 8 April 1891 p1 announcement of his marriage on 24 April at St Paul's Cambridge, to Mary Helen daughter of the late Rev William Bennett Pike, fellow and tutor at Downing College.

Magazine Saddlery and Harness volume 7 1898 p199 has their current address as Paston House Cambridge.

Armorial Families for details of Leonard Shadwell and Mary Helen's five sons.

Two of the sons died in the world wars: see www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead

Who Was Who volume III 1929-40 p119 gives details of his army career. He fought in Sierra Leone in 1898 and during World War 1 was in charge of the British troops in the West Indies.

MARCUS WORSLEY BLACKDEN the GD member: see his three-part 'life by dates' biography elsewhere on this web page.

THEODORA CAYLEY BLACKDEN WORSLEY

Theodora's unloved husband is quite well-known: he went with Shackleton's expedition, as captain of the Endeavour.

The ill-fated marriage: via trove.nla.gov.au to The Argus (Melbourne) of Monday 12 October 1908 p1 marriage announcements including one that had actually taken place 17 December

[1907].

See www.enduranceobituaries.co.uk for a short biography of Frank Arthur Worsley DSO OBE RD RNR. He married for a second time in 1926.

See also his wikipedia page.

The divorce: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies>

Times Wednesday 18 April 1923 p5 Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division. The article makes it clear that it had been Frank Arthur Worsley who had wanted the divorce. However, the Blackden family was against him starting the proceedings, fearing the social consequences for Theodora. So Frank agreed to get some evidence of adultery and it was Theodora that brought the 1923 petition; an earlier petition having been refused because of suspicion that the divorcing parties were colluding.

Theodora never married again. She died late in 1967.

<http://www.uk.mundia.com><http://www.uk.mundia.com>

SETON COTTER BLACKDEN

As an actor and theatrical impresario:

The London Stage 1920-29: A Calendar of Productions by J P (John Peter) Wearing: p174 in Productions 1922; no 193. Published Metuchen New Jersey: Scarecrow Press 1984.

I had trouble down-loading all of this but at [fultonhistory.com/Newspaper 15/Variety/Variety 1922](http://fultonhistory.com/Newspaper%2015/Variety/Variety%201922) there was some information about the Kingsway Theatre and a group calling itself Ben-rimo and Associates. Seton Blackden is one of the associates, described as an actor and translator.

I couldn't see the date of this but it's likely to have been the late 1930s: Spotlight issue 60 p156.

Armorial Families: p163.

Seton Cotter Blackden killed his wife:

Website discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk lists documents at the Public Record Office under reference ASSI 26/437: the trial of Seton Cotter Blackden for murder; 1967. Details of what happened can be found at <http://www.blackkalendar.nl>

<http://www.nationalarchive.gov.uk>www.blackkalendar.nl. Seton beat his wife to death early in the morning of 1 November 1966. He was convicted of manslaughter on 16 January 1967. He died in Exe Vale Hospital Exminster, while serving his sentence.

London Gazette issued 15 January 1970, p634: appeals under the Trustees Act 1925: Seton Cotter Blackden had died on 3 September 1969.

14 April 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Anna Blackwell was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn in January 1892 at its Isis-

Urania temple in London. She took the Latin motto 'esse quam videri'. She worked hard and quickly to do the required study and was initiated into the GD's inner Second Order on 27 July 1893.

This can't be a thorough biography, unfortunately. During a long life, Anna Blackwell lived in the USA; and then in France for 42 years; but in England for only a few years, when a child and then at the end of her life. In order to do her justice I'd have to do research in countries as far-flung as France, South Africa and the USA, and I can't afford to do that; my French isn't up to those 42 years either!

Anna Blackwell was the oldest woman, almost the oldest person, to be initiated into the GD in the period I'm looking at - 1888 to 1901. She was born in 1816, daughter of Samuel Blackwell and his wife Hannah. The Blackwells were a Worcestershire family but Samuel Blackwell had moved to Bristol and become a partner in a sugar-refining firm. He had married Hannah Lane, the daughter of a Bristol jeweller and goldsmith. Anna Blackwell was the eldest of their eight children, five girls and three boys. In 1832 a fire destroyed Samuel Blackwell's business and he opted to take his family to America rather than start again in Bristol. Anna was 16 when the family left England and she always considered England to be her native land. On arriving in the United States, the Blackwells settled in New York, but they all moved to Ohio shortly before Samuel's death in 1838.

Samuel and Hannah Blackwell held views far in advance of their time and brought up their children accordingly. When living in Bristol they were already involved in the anti-slavery movement. Their involvement in the cause continued when they moved to the United States and through it they met a great many of the social and political radicals of New England. Their children grew up hearing their parents and their friends discuss some of the most advanced - and therefore the most contentious - issues of the day, including abolition, property rights and the position of women in society.

The Blackwells brought up their daughters, as well as their sons, to expect to work and with the skills to do so. Compared to most of her female contemporaries, Anna was very well educated: she was able to read French and German and was happy to tackle difficult metaphysical tomes in both those languages. She wrote for publication in English and in French. She read voraciously throughout her life and (at least by the 1870s) had a grasp of the scientific method - the importance of having testable hypotheses and of getting evidence to prove (or disprove) them.

Samuel Blackwell never made a success of business in the US, so his death left the family short of funds, but Anna and Elizabeth set to and founded a school, to earn money for the family's keep and to ensure that their brothers (who were still of school-age) could continue in education until they were qualified for a profession. All the Blackwell daughters taught in the early years after their father's death, but only Ellen focused on teaching as her profession. Elizabeth and Emily were two of the first women to qualify as doctors - Dr Elizabeth Blackwell is the 'Blackwell' most people have heard of. Marian combined teaching with looking after Hannah. None of the five married; although Ellen and Elizabeth both adopted children.

It must have been through acquaintances like Oliver Wendell Holmes and the Beecher family

that Anna Blackwell discovered the existence of the Brooke Farm community, at West Roxbury, near Boston Massachusetts. The community had been founded in 1841 as an attempt to put into practice the ideas of the French philosopher Charles Fourier that any society should be based on the principles of concern for others; cooperation between members; and equal opportunities for women. All those living at Brooke Farm had to do some hours of manual labour each day - Fourier believed that events in the physical world had a spiritual side to them; and the residents also thought that a healthy mind needed a healthy body. If all this sounds rather high-principled and stoic, the members of the community had fun, too, and many of them looked back on their time at Brooke Farm as one of enjoyment, though they did also feel that the whole concept of it had, perhaps, been rather naïve. For the community lasted only until 1847 - it had never been financially secure and was pushed over the edge when a building burned down that the community had not been able to insure.

Anna Blackwell wasn't one of the 15 founding members of the Brooke Farm community. She joined it in 1845. Members had to buy a share in the community's joint stock company, to help its funds, at \$500 per share; so Anna may have needed to work for several years to raise the money - which she subsequently will have lost. Leaving the community after the fire in 1847 she may have been feeling the effects of doing all that physical farm labouring work, which I'm sure was not what her parents had meant when they had expected their daughters to earn their own living. She spent some time in 1848 recovering at a 'water cure' spa in New York state and then its owner, Mrs Gove Nichols, arranged for her to go and board with a friend of her's in the country for a few weeks. The friend was Mrs Clemm, mother-in-law of Edgar Allan Poe.

All the sources I found agreed that Anna Blackwell's acquaintance with Poe was slight. The two did meet - although his wife Virginia had died in 1847, Poe was still living with Mrs Clemm in 1848; but during Anna's stay in the house, he was away a lot. Nevertheless, Anna felt she knew him sufficiently to write to him for some help, after she had left the household. She had been writing poetry for some time. In 1846 she had had four poems published and one song, for which she had written both words and music. They had appeared in the new New York literary journal *The Columbian Magazine*. And during 1848 one poem, *Legend of the Waterfall*, was chosen to appear in an anthology that matched poems with engravings of landscapes by American artists. That was all very encouraging, but what was the next step?

Anna's letter to Poe doesn't seem to exist any longer, only his reply. The reply is on the web in full but I couldn't decide from it exactly what advice it was that Anna had been wanting: was it practical help in getting more of her poems published, this time in book form? Was she asking him to recommend her to a publisher he knew? Or was she wanting something far more difficult to provide? - some lit crit? In his reply Poe announced himself as quite incompetent to act as literary critic of Anna's work; and chose to concentrate on some honest, but pessimistic, advice - as from an old hand - about the finances of having books of poetry published. The poet Sarah Helen Whitman, a friend of both Poe and Anna in the 1840s, said many years later that Anna had given Poe the brush-off after receiving this reply: the following year (1849), while staying with friends in Providence, Anna was invited to a social function where Poe was to be one of the main guests, but had not shown up. There are other reasons why you might not go to a particular party; but it's true that Poe and Anna didn't meet again and that Anna's friendship with Mrs Whitman didn't last much longer either.

Anna did get her book of poems published; though I daresay Poe was right in warning her

that she'd be expected either to pay all the costs herself, or to wait to be paid until the publishing firm had seen its costs recouped in full. The poems were published in 1853 by the London firm of John Chapman.

I couldn't discover exactly when Anna left the United States to live in Europe; though a date in the late 1840s seems most likely. Anna herself mentioned in one of her books that she was in England during 1845, but that was just a visit. Anna's sister Elizabeth moved to England in 1849, to work at St Bartholomew's Hospital; Anna may have sailed to London with her. A couple of years after Elizabeth Blackwell moved to London, their sister Ellen also arrived, intending to spend time enhancing her teaching by studying art and design. Perhaps Anna came with her. Whenever it was that Anna arrived back in Europe, family contacts and friends of her parents made establishing herself in London very easy. The short biography of Dr Elizabeth Blackwell that I list in my Sources section (below) says that Elizabeth quickly got to know Bessie Rayner Parkes (who was a cousin of the Blackwells anyway), Barbara Leigh Smith and Frances Power Cobbe who all later became well-known as women's rights campaigners. Through them, Elizabeth met the Herschels, Faraday, Herbert Spencer, Mary Ann Evans (who was not George Eliot yet), Rossetti and others. Anna also knew these people, perhaps better than Elizabeth who was so committed to her career in medicine. When Ellen arrived in Europe, she went first to Paris, and then spent time in London taking lessons with John Ruskin so that Anna met him and his social circle as well. There was one group of London residents that Anna met that Elizabeth and Ellen didn't, however - the spiritualists.

Spiritualism is generally thought to have begun in 1848 with some larking-about by the Fox sisters of Hydesville New York State. A very bald definition of what its followers thought it consisted of is 'communication with the dead'. I find it astonishing, how quickly spiritualism became accepted by people in the United States and the UK. One source I looked at suggested that most major radical American families had at least one spiritualist member by the early 1850s. Spiritualism spread into Europe within a few years, too. Writing in the 1870s Anna claimed that it had been an article of hers in the magazine *Journal du Magnétisme* that had first introduced spiritualism to the French (in 1850).

In 1872 Anna wrote that she had believed in what she called the "pre-existence of the soul", and that the souls of the dead could communicate with the living, since her childhood. Such deeply-held beliefs have a tendency to be reinforced by experience, and on many occasions things happened to Anna that confirmed them. She saw at least one ghost, "the spirit of a man...in broad daylight", at which she "nearly died of the shock". She was contacted during a seance by a spirit that she understood to be her own guardian angel, predicted by a clairvoyant she had consulted many years before. She communicated with entities who described her past incarnations and told her of their current ones. And she endured "spirit tormentings" - by which she seems to have meant spirits which threatened her. Eventually got so difficult to cope with that she kept away from spiritualism for a short time (in the late 1850s/early 1860s) though she soon went back, and the problem never affected her belief in spiritualism which lasted till her death.

Anna seems to have received a lot of invitations to seances - perhaps the mediums hoped she would be sufficiently impressed to publish an article about their medium-ship skills. Spending some time in London during 1853, for example, she went to a seance held by the American Maria Hayden, one of the earliest professional mediums, who was on her first visit to Europe. Another guest at Mrs Hayden's seances was Edward Bulwer-Lytton, author of *Zanoni* (published 1842) which first brought the Rosicrucians to the attention of the novel-

reading public; though I couldn't work out from my source for Mrs Hayden, whether he and Anna had actually met.

Sister Elizabeth, though a staunch non-believer in spirit manifestations, turned out to be good at automatic writing - the medium allowing a spirit to communicate by using the medium to write messages down. Anna, however, seems to have thought herself lacking in what was required to be a successful medium. Though she did have some 'medium-istic' experiences when on her own in her own house, on the whole she confined herself to going to seances; acting as hostess; and writing on spiritualism, explaining it and defending it. She soon became the most well-known English-speaking proponent of a particular sub-set of spiritualism which had begun in France and became popular in Europe: spiritism. John Ruskin for example, in a letter written in 1866, mentions a seance in Paris held by Anna, Ruskin identifying her to his correspondent specifically as a "disciple" of Kardec. Allan Kardec was the writing name of Léon Hippolyte Denisart Rivail (1804-69), the French teacher, amateur scientist and medium who formulated spiritism.

In 1869 Anna and a variety other spiritualists were interviewed by members of a committee formed by the Dialectical Society to investigate the claims of spiritualism and decide whether what happened at seances was genuine contact with the dead, or just a series of manipulative hoaxes. In 1870, as the Dialectical Society prepared to publish its findings, she wrote a very long, considered piece, expanding what she had told them the previous year. With an approach she continued to use whenever she wrote about spiritism, Anna tried to describe spiritism in terms of a logical argument. She wrote that spiritism argued for a universe created by an intelligence according to a plan, and called the creating intelligence an Engineer (in much the same manner as freemasons call it the great Architect). The Engineer's universe had in it entities with varying degrees of spiritual awareness from the very basic - animals, perhaps even stones - to Great Souls. Souls made their way to higher levels of spiritual awareness (and also downwards to lower levels, presumably, though I can't find a work in which Anna says so) via a series of reincarnations. Spiritism believed that when souls reincarnated as human beings, they were in the middle of the process, with quite a number of reincarnations to go until they reached the point where they would be reincarnated as a Great Soul.

Now things get a bit circular because I don't know in which order these two important events in Anna's life happened - when exactly she first heard of Allan Kardec; and when she first moved to France. In the middle of the 19th century, no one needed to find any particular justification for going to live in Paris: it was the agreed centre of the cultural and artistic world. I think, though, that Anna moved to France because of her interest in spiritism, intending to finance her life there by her writing.

According to the Scoop! database of 19th-century journalism, when Anna left the US for Europe she already had a great deal of experience of writing for newspapers - she had begun to do so in the 1830s, just after the Blackwell family moved to Ohio. The only certain dates I could find, however, for her career as a newspaper correspondent are:

- she was appointed by the Sydney Morning Herald to be its foreign correspondent, based in Paris, late in 1860
- she continued to work for the SMH until 1890
- she stopped working for a newspaper based in Montreal, Canada, in 1885.

Anna's newspaper work is one of the parts of her life that I'd have to do a great deal of travel to research thoroughly. None of Anna's newspaper articles was credited to her by name - that was standard practice at that time but it does make individual writers hard to spot. Two pseudonyms used by Anna for her newspaper writing have been discovered (not by me, I hasten to add - I wouldn't have known how to go about it): she wrote for the SMH as Fidelitas; and some other newspapers as Stella. Articles signed with just 'AB' are also assumed to be by her. If I spent time in Ohio and in Canada I might be able to work out which newspapers she worked for in those two places, and possible dates during which she was employed by them. But she also worked for newspapers in India and South Africa - I've no idea which papers or when and it's just too time and money-consuming for me to attempt to find out.

The Scoop! database states that Anna was living in Paris from as early as the late 1840s. I've already mentioned evidence I've found that she often spent part of each year in England. Although Anna might have struggled at first to converse in French with French people, as early as 1847 her French had been capable of translating George Sand's novel *Jacques* (published in 1833). As she only ever translated one other fiction-work, *Jacques* must have had a particular resonance for Anna and might even sum up one important reason why she never married. *Jacques* is about the marriage of mismatched partners who cannot escape and start their lives again because there is no divorce. George Sand shows a teenage bride pushed into the marriage by her family; and puts some arguments into the mouth of the hero Jacques, that all the Blackwells could identify with - about education and independence for women.

You will have noticed that one thing Anna doesn't seem to have done, was work for a newspaper in Britain. These GD members, they never do the easy thing! But I think there's a reason why Anna didn't. To have a woman reporter was very unusual for a 19th-century newspaper. Newspapers - both writers and readers - were a man's world. Anna Blackwell was not the only GD woman writer to find that British newspapers were particularly resistant to the idea of women on the staff. Newspapers in newer countries were rather more flexible.

Anna was happy to write about anything her editors asked her to cover, from politics to 'high-life' gossip; but her relaxed, chatty style was something very new, and caused her Australian employer, John Fairfax, some qualms when he read the first piece she sent him. However, his son's support for her style won him over, and Anna must also have been professional and reliable about copy deadlines to keep the job for so long.

Anna did write a few articles for journals, but not very many as what time she could spare from her newspaper work was taken up, especially after the mid-1860s, with her efforts to promote spiritism. In 1858 and 1860 she wrote two short biographies for the *English Woman's Journal*, which was produced by her friends Barbara Leigh Smith and Bessie Rayner Parkes. The subjects of both Anna's articles were contemporary French women artists - Rosa Bonheur and Henriette Browne. She did also write one article for *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature Science and Arts*. This piece was written in the 1860s but not published, for some reason, until 1897.

In 1869, Anna's translation of *La Petite Bohémienne* was published as *The Little Gipsy*: it had been written for a child, Edma Fröhlich, by Élie Sauvage (normally a playwright) and illustrated with pictures by Edma's father, the illustrator Lorenz Fröhlich. The illustrations to

the French original were put into Anna's English version.

The years between 1868 and 1873 were a turbulent time in Anna's life. This rough period began with the sudden death of Allan Kardec (Hippolyte Rivail) in April 1869. Just three weeks later, a spirit made contact with Anna in a seance Anna was having with her sister Marian, a good medium and like Anna a believer in spiritism. The spirit gave Anna an answer to a question about Kardec which she later found to be correct; from then on she believed that the spirit was the archangel Uriel, come to be the guardian angel she had been awaiting for many years. A couple of months after that, Anna gave her evidence to the Dialectical Society's investigating committee.

The three events caused Anna to think deeply about what exactly she believed, and to begin work on two major pieces of writing (in English) about the meaning of spiritism - the follow-up to her Dialectical Society evidence which was published as part of the final Report and which I've talked about above; and a book called *The Philosophy of Existence*. *The Philosophy of Existence* was meant to be in three parts: Soul and Body; The Testimony of the Ages; and Christ and Antichrist. Part two, *The Testimony of the Ages*, was published, firstly as articles in the magazine *Human Nature* and then in book form, the printing of which Anna paid for herself. The book version went on sale in June 1871 at London's Progressive Library at 15 Southampton Row in Bloomsbury. It is, essentially, a defence of reincarnation, Anna quoting an astonishing range of sources from the ancient mystery cults through the Vedas and Confucius to the Edda tales and the Kabbala, to justify her belief in the continually-reborn soul; though she didn't go quite as far as to say that the soul was eternal - in a later work she suggested only that it could exist, being reincarnated, for perhaps millions of years.

The other two parts of Anna's *The Philosophy of Existence* never got as far as being published. Further disruption in her life may have thrown her off-course permanently - the Franco-Prussian war broke out. When Napoléon III declared war on Prussia in July 1870, Anna was still in France completing her written evidence for the Dialectical Society. She must have left, though, before the Prussian siege of Paris began on 19 September, or she would have been trapped in the city. The siege was lifted on 28 January 1871 because the French sued for peace, but the citizens of Paris rose up in revolt against the terms France was having to accept, and the Paris Commune began. The only time I caught Anna Blackwell on the UK census was 1871 - the Paris Commune was still hanging on at this point (early April), and Anna was stuck in London, staying with her spiritualist friend María, Condesa de Pomar. The Commune collapsed in May 1871. I haven't been able to find out when Anna thought it safe to return to Paris, but she was able to give vivid descriptions to her newspapers of what the city looked like, after all the violence and destruction.

Then Anna's mother died, in 1872. Late that year, Anna was still talking of *The Philosophy of Existence* as a work in progress, but all the recent upheaval and distress in her life had sapped her momentum, and she abandoned what would have been her great work on spiritism. Instead she began working her way through translations into English of Kardec's three major works, which provided a kind-of 'how to' and 'what to expect' manual for mediums. Anna's translations of *The Spirits' Book*, *The Mediums' Book* and *Heaven and Hell* were published in 1875, 1876 and 1878 respectively.

It was inevitable that senior spiritists would worry about what would happen to spiritism after the death of its founder: hence the translations into English of his major works. Anna also

took the initiative in September 1872 when the beliefs of spiritists were attacked by other spiritualists. Anna was a member of the Paris Spiritist Society. Ordinarily she would have looked to its president to make a response to the attack, but he was away travelling, so - though on holiday herself (at Wimereux in the Pas de Calais) - Anna undertook to write two long replies to letters by a Monsieur Clavaïroz which had appeared in Human Nature magazine. In those replies she defended spiritism as a “broad, rational, coherent theory” and contrasted it with spiritualism in general which she described as a “parcel of incoherent guesses”.

At the end of 1872 - already a difficult year - Anna Blackwell was mentioned by name in one of the Times’ occasional attacks on spiritualism; and her written evidence to the Dialectical Society committee was described as such as to make the reader believe either himself or the author mad. The article also made a silly typographical error, describing Anna’s deity as a “Casual” rather than a ‘causal’ being. Or was it an error? - there are not many typo’s in the Times at this period, so perhaps it was a joke; one that spiritists would not find very funny. Anna was spending Christmas in Paris, at her flat in Avenue d’Eylau, and might have got away with not knowing anything about the Times’ jibes; but a friend in London undertook to send the relevant copy of the Times to her and having read the offending article, she felt she had to respond. She tried to keep her annoyance out of it and make a rational response to the Times’ criticisms of spiritualism. She also asked the pertinent question why Materialists seemed to feel it so important that spiritism should be disproved (she did not say ‘ridiculed’ although she could have). She wrote her reply on 6 January, the day that the Times brought an end to the affair by printing a short piece in response to several other spiritualists who had written in to express their indignation and whose letters they had published. The Times never published Anna’s letter, so she put it together with the two letters replying to Monsieur Clavaïroz and had them all printed herself, by H Nisbet of Glasgow, publishing them in 1873 as *Spiritualism and Spiritism*. I do think it was very unsporting and ungentlemanly of the Times to criticise Anna by name and then refuse to print her response.

Anna’s belief in spiritism fitted with the wish of all members of the Blackwell family to work for a better society. As Anna saw it, spiritism could rid the world of the evils that beset it by enabling humans to communicate with spirits on a higher level of existence and learn from them a better way of organising things. With this in view, she took part in a competition organised by the British National Association of Spiritualists for essays on the subject *The Probable Effect of Spiritualism upon the Social, Moral and Religious Condition of Society*. Her essay won first prize and was published in 1876.

Despite Anna’s efforts, spiritism never really caught on in England; though I notice from the web that there are spiritist organisations still active in several countries, notably Brasil.

Anna’s kind of long-distance writing work - about six weeks in 1860, for example, between her writing the article and the SMH publishing it - was superseded in the end as cables were laid under the oceans. Communication got speedier and editors began to expect more up-to-date copy; and perhaps shorter articles - the first submission Anna sent to SMH was six pages long! And handwritten, I suppose. My best source for Anna’s newspaper career says that by 1890 the SMH was Anna’s only employer, all her other employers having, gradually, dispensed with her services (including the newspaper in Montreal in 1885). In 1890, Anna was over 70 and may have accepted her redundancy as an enforced retirement.

Anna was never a person to give money much priority in her life. In any case, taking the

advice of her brother George Washington Blackwell (who had turned out to have a real talent for buying real estate) she had built up a nice portfolio of investments that added to her income. However, in 1885 put her financial circumstances in jeopardy when she moved out of Paris at least for a few months, to Triel-sur-Seine a few kilometres west of the city, for the most extraordinary, 'Dan Brown'-like reason: she wanted to dig for James II's jewellery.

When Britain's James II was deposed in 1688, he and his family went to live in France at St Germain-en-Laye in a chateau lent them by Louis XIV. James II died there and was buried in the parish church. So far so truthful, but by the middle of the 19th-century a rumour had got about that James had fled England with some of the British crown jewels and his own personal jewellery packed up in crates, and that the crates had been buried in Triel-sur-Seine to await better times. Several investigations by various French authorities have all found that there was no evidence at all that James II ever had such a hoard, let alone buried it under a garden in Triel; but when has that ever stopped anyone? Before Anna arrived on the scene, large sums of money had been spent by a number of people trying to find the supposed crates and grab their contents - steam diggers had been used, long and large (and dangerous) tunnels had been dug. A body had been found and some coins, but nothing like James II's crates had been seen. In 1886, Anna agreed with Madame Deville (the owner of the land under which the crates were supposed to be) to live with Mme Deville and pay her for board and lodging while she took her turn at trying to find the hoard. And according to the biographical section of the Schlesinger Library's Blackwell Collection, Anna wasted a lot of her money doing so, and found nothing at all before she gave up, probably when Mme Deville died in January 1886 and the land passed into the ownership of a Monsieur de la Bastie.

Throughout the decades she spent living most of the year in France, Anna had the habit of making regular visits to England to see friends and relations and keep up to date with trends in British thought. In July 1857 Anna, Barbara Leigh Smith and Bessie Rayner Parkes were three of the 15 women present at Lord Brougham's house at the meeting which founded the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS). In 1864 she was available (so presumably in London) to sign Barbara Bodichon's first petition to the Houses of Parliament for legislation to allow married women's their earnings and property - what became the married women's property acts. In 1869 while she was in London to speak to the Dialectical Society, Anna, María de Pomar and a number of other women friends went to a seance at the home of Samuel Carter Hall and his wife. And in the 1880s she must have gone to meetings of the Theosophical Society in London (there wasn't a branch of the TS in Paris until the 1890s) because William Forsell Kirby wrote in a theosophical magazine about having a discussion with her at a TS meeting about whether theosophy should include a belief in reincarnation. Anna's translations of Kardec were known to members of the TS - Isabel de Steiger mentions in her Memoirs that she had read them - but the ideas in them were controversial amongst TS members. William Kirby describes how he and Francesca Arundale were "regarded almost as heretics" by other theosophists for defending the idea of reincarnation as a part of theosophy. The fact that other theosophists rejected the idea is almost certainly why Anna didn't join the TS officially (though her sister Marian was a member in the mid-1890s). De Steiger and Kirby both later joined the Golden Dawn.

Anna was always broad-minded. Just as she went to TS meetings while not really identifying with Eastern philosophy, she also kept abreast of developments in other strands of spiritualism. She was a subscriber to the weekly spiritualist newspaper *Light*, probably from its first issue in 1881, and continued to read it until her death.

Scoop! database states that Anna lived in France until 1896 but Golden Dawn and census evidence shows that she moved to live permanently in England at the end of 1891. She settled in Hastings, in a house that was a short walk from where Elizabeth Blackwell had been living for some years. Sunnyside, Dudley Road Hastings was the address Anna gave when she was initiated into the Golden Dawn. After Hannah Blackwell's death (1872), sister Marian had moved to Europe, dividing her time between living with Anna and living with Elizabeth. This had meant a lot of travelling between France and England until Anna's return, but when Anna rented the house in Hastings, Marian Blackwell moved permanently into another house on Dudley Road; she died in 1897.

Anna might have been in her mid-70s but moving to England was not an indication that she was ready to take life easy. She kept up with many of the interests that had always been important to her.

Anna had felt moved and excited by looking up at the stars and planets all her life, and in the 1890s she was (still?) a member of the Société Astronomique de France. The wonder of the night sky is a recurring theme in Anna's Poems of 1853, particularly the one entitled A Song of the Stars which has a sub-section called 'Urania's song', rather apt for a future GD member. The stars and planets were an important part of theory of spiritism: spiritism argued that the stars and planets were inhabited by the higher intelligences spiritists sought out through seances. Anna and Marian will have seen some wonderful starscapes from the cliffs at Hastings. Perhaps Anna wondered which of the stars or planets (she wouldn't have known of galaxies) she might inhabit in a future reincarnation; she had learned in one seance that a father from a previous incarnation of hers was now incarnated on Jupiter.

Anna's mind in the 1890s was still in full working order and she was able to write one last attempt to get spiritism accepted. In Whence and Whither? she wondered what the outcome would be of the "general throwing of Beliefs into the crucible of analytic examination" that had occurred in her lifetime: it was obvious that society would change as a result of changes in the beliefs that underpinned it, but what sort of society was going to emerge from the changes she had observed? Although as a spiritist she viewed all things as subject to continual change, Anna thought that the changes currently being brought about by the rise of Materialism were likely to end in the destruction of the human race. To prevent that, and to steer society through difficult times, she advocated a concerted effort by Materialists and others to contact entities in higher spheres who could tell mankind how to prevent disaster. She reminded Materialists that even Materialism was a transitory state, and would not last. And though a human life was "but one step of the endless career we have before us", "the use we make of each phase of our existence decides the character of the next phase of our career" (all Anna's italics): it was in the individual's interests to do the right thing in this life, so that the next incarnation would be at a higher level. Anna was right about humankind being in the process of destroying itself; the process continues. But of course, as Anna's way of saving mankind involved spiritism and an assumption of reincarnation, no one took any notice of her.

Seeking, perhaps, a different way of putting her spiritist point over, Anna looked again at the poems she had written in her 20s and 30s, and re-published the last poem in her Poems book: A Vision. Her views - on work, on people working together, on the possibility of a society based on justice and freedom for all - had not changed, in the years since she had written it. A Vision is a description of a dream/vision in which the poet first looks out over an all-too-real world full of poverty, disease, war, crime and vice; and then is gently taken in hand by an

Angel (who is female) and shown what the world could become if humanity were one: enough food for all, physical work as enjoyment not drudgery, all men and women united in faith and Truth, an end to the horrors of violence and starvation. It ends with the poet awaking to a dawn of renewed hope and belief.

Anna was in her mid-70s when she accepted the offer of initiation into the Golden Dawn. I've indicated above that Anna had some experience of many of the skills that GD members were expected to learn, even if it was only as a client, not as a practitioner. She had consulted an astrologer in England (in 1845) and the clairvoyant 'Edmond' in France (in 1856), so she had seen the use of birth data and cards (tarot cards I presume) as aids to prediction; and she at least knew about the existence of the Kabbala although I don't think she would have claimed to be an expert in understanding it. I don't think she knew much about any western occult texts, but her habit of reading metaphysical and philosophical works made her more able than most of the GD's women members to cope with the study required by the GD of initiates who wanted to make progress. And her lack of skill as a medium was actually a help, rather than a hindrance, in the GD. A good medium was receptive, open to communications that spirits were sending. Good medium-ship was a listening, almost a passive skill - which is why women were so good at it. Magic, on the other hand, required decision and action, even the willingness to take risks - completely different qualities.

Anna used days in London to borrow and return copies of study-items prepared by William Wynne Westcott for his GD students: a description of the lesser pentagram ritual, for example, and a lecture on pillars; signing them out in the GD's Lending Book in dashing purple ink. It might have been William Wynne Westcott who saw Anna as a likely candidate for initiation into the GD: although Kirby didn't mention Westcott in the article in which he remembered talking to Anna at a TS meeting, Westcott had also been a member of the TS since the early 1880s and would have known Anna and her writing (though he was never a spiritualist himself).

Anna Blackwell died on 4 January 1900. If she was right about reincarnation, I wonder where - and who - she is now.

ANNA'S PUBLICATIONS (other than the newspaper columns)

SOME POEMS

The Columbian Magazine volumes 5-6 1846

p6 Night and Morning

p128 Invocation

p208 To the Artist

p280 The Persian Wife, for which Blackwell wrote both words and music

p286 The Lay of the Lady Alice.

The Columbian Magazine was published in New York by John Inman and Robert A West.

Searching with google I found editions of this magazine from volumes 1-2 (1844) to volume 7 (1847) but nothing any later so I guess volume 7 was the last one issued.

ANNA'S POEM LEGEND OF THE WATERFALL

This poem was published in the painting anthology *The American Gallery of Art*, edited by J Sartain, published c 1848 Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. Each poem is illustrated by an engraving by Sartain from an original painting by an American artist. The Legend of the Waterfall was also included in Anna's volume, *Poems*, published in 1853.

ARTICLE SAID BY ANNA TO HAVE INTRODUCED SPIRITUALISM TO THE FRENCH

In the *Journal du Magnétisme* volume issued 1850. Article by Anna: *Les Coups Mystérieux*. I haven't seen this journal. I only found out about it because Anna mentioned it, and the article she had written, in *Spiritualism and Spiritism* (1873).

ANNA'S ARTICLES IN THE ENGLISH WOMAN'S JOURNAL

- June 1858: Rosa Bonheur, An Authorised Biography; and
- April 1860: Henriette Browne.

I must say that I haven't read either of these, I have just noted down the details from *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture in Britain 1850-1900* by Deborah Cherry, who is also the source for Anna's work being signed sometimes with the initials AB. Cherry discusses Anna's two articles on pp53-54 - in which she confirms that Anna knew Bonheur personally - and pp91-92.

Wikipedia on the 2 artists:

ROSA BONHEUR full name Marie-Rosalie Bonheur. 1822-99, artist and sculptor particularly of animals. Her best-known work is *The Horse Fair* (1853).

HENRIETTE BROWNE is the professional name of Sophie de Boutellier (1829-1901), later Mme Jules de Saulx, traveller and artist specialising in oriental subjects. The Tate has some of her works, see www.tate.org/art/artists/henriette-browne.

THE ONLY OTHER ARTICLE BY ANNA THAT I KNOW OF, IN A NON-SPIRITUALIST MAGAZINE

Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature Science and Arts vol 74 1897 p425 article by Anna Blackwell: *The Providence of Book Hunters*. It's about book collecting and there's a note with it saying that in the 1860s Anna was a friend of Robert Browning's father and sister (though not, apparently, of the poet himself), and that Mr Browning senior had told her some of the anecdotes related in the article.

ITEMS IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUE

Just noting, firstly, that I did search the catalogue using Anna's writing names 'Fidelitas', 'Stella' and 'AB'. I didn't see anything that was likely to have been written by Anna though I did get vast numbers of responses on Stella and AB so I might have missed something.

1847 *Jacques*, translated by Anna from the French novel by George Sand. Published in New York. Wikipedia on George Sand, real name [Amantine Lucile] Aurore Dupin, who married Baron Casimir Dudevant but left him later; 2 children. Series of relationships including the famous one, with Chopin. First novel as George Sand published 1832. *Jacques* originally published in French 1833.

1853 Poems published London: John Chapman of 142 Strand. On p29, in her poem De Profundis, Anna says, "There is no Death; but only Change" - which sums up her beliefs in a few words.

Apart from the re-publication of A Vision, I couldn't find any poems by Anna published later than this volume. Via google, I found a review of the book in Westminster Review volume 61 1854 p165 the (anonymous) reviewer feels Anna is imitating Tennyson, probably without being aware of it. I imagine half the poets writing in English were doing that at the time!

1869 The Little Gipsy translated by Anna from the French children's book by Élie Sauvage. Published London: Griffith and Farran.

French wikipedia on Élie François Victor Sauvage 1814-71. He seems to have lived most of his life in Paris though he wasn't born there. His earliest work is a play published 1833; he wrote 13 plays in all, some with collaborators, including one on Jeanne d'Arc; he also did a translation of King Lear. Most of his output is plays but he published one book of poetry and two novels. La Petite Bohémienne is mentioned on this website as having been translated into English; but the translator isn't named.

Anna's English translation is available on the web via archive.org. Text by Sauvage, pictures (lots) by Lorenz Frölich. On pi a translation of Sauvage's dedication, to Edma Frölich, daughter of a friend of the author. On piv there's a short note by Anna as translator, just saying that the book is very popular in France and is used by some schools.

1871 The Philosophy of Existence: the Testimony of the Ages published London June 1871: sold by J Burns at the Progressive Library, 15 Southampton Row. It is comprised of articles by Anna originally published in the magazine Human Nature. On the last page, p92, The Philosophy of Existence is described as having 3 parts, 2 of which are forthcoming. The magazine Human Nature London was published in London between 1867 and 1878.

1873 Spiritualism and Spiritism. Published privately for Anna by H Nisbet of Glasgow and consisting of 3 letters, written in 1872 and 1873. In the first two letters, Anna talks more about her own beliefs and experiences than in anything else she ever published; perhaps because she was writing them for a spiritualist audience and contributing to debates amongst spiritualists. She also mentioned that her sister Marian was a spiritist, not just a spiritualist.

What provoked Anna to write the third letter in Spiritualism and Spiritism:

Times Thursday 26 December 1872 p5 long article Spiritualism and Science purporting to commemorate the 20th-anniversary of Faraday's offering of proof that table-turning is/can be done by human muscle movements; and noting how little difference this proof had made to people believing in spiritualism. The writer (who's anonymous of course) uses the word "epidemic" to describe how widespread belief in spiritualism has become. Half way through this denunciation, the writer gets to the report issued by the Dialectical Society on its investigations into spiritualism. The writer mentions 2 submissions to it in particular, both by women (though the writer doesn't comment on that fact) and who are both named: Anna Blackwell and the then Condesa de Pomar who is now Countess of Caithness. The writer mentions Anna's "fifty pages of close print" expounding Kardec's belief that the Deity is a "Casual Being" (sic) and ending by saying that Anna's piece must surely convince any reader

that “either he (again sic) or the author is stark and staring mad”. Anna’s work is described as putting “Spiritualistic experience side by side with her philosophic convictions”. The writer describes Anna as one of the group of followers of the school of “spiritist philosophy” founded by the late Allan Kardec. Then the writer goes on to quote Pomar and rubbish her submission at length as well. The Times writer is firm in refusing to believe in a “Psychic Force”. The writer applauds G H Lewes for “Distinguishing between facts and inferences from facts”: when spiritualists talk about tables being lifted by spirits, the Times is not doubting the rising tables, only the spirits.

Following the Spiritualism and Science article, the Times printed several replies between 1 and 6 January 1873. Please note that I didn’t look at any of the contents of the replies, just who had written them, so I don’t know whether they agreed with the Times’ scepticism or not - though I suppose not. The authors of the replies were: Edward W Cox; Henry Dircks FCS; “F.G.S.”; Alfred R Wallace; “An Eight Years’ Spiritualist”; John Algernon Clarke; and Fenton Cameron MD. In response to the replies, the Times printed a final article on Monday 6 January 1873, sticking to the view of its original article and closing the debate. Searching using ‘spiritualism’ I didn’t get a single response from Times for the rest of 1873.

Anna’s translations of Allan Kardec, writing name of Léon Hippolyte Denisart Rivail 1804-69:

1875 Spiritualist Philosophy: The Spirits’ Book

1876 Experimental Spiritism: The Mediums’ Book

1878 Practical Spiritism: Heaven and Hell, Divine Justice Vindicated in the Plurality of Existences

All published London: Trübner and Co.

1898 Whence and Whither? Correlation between Philosophic Convictions and Social Forms
Published London: G Redway.

1898 A Vision. Published London: G Redway.

NOT IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

Via google I was able to look at this work via a copy now in the library at Cornell University:

1876 Probable Effect of Spiritualism upon the Social, Moral and Religious Condition of Society. Published for the British National Association of Spiritualists by E W Allen.

The volume contains the first and second prize-winning entries in a competition to write on that subject. The first prize in the competition was a gold medal and £20; Anna’s essay won it! The second-prize essay was by a G F Green. In the Preface (unnumbered page): the competition entries had been judged by a committee which included Alfred Russel Wallace. Anna’s essay occupies pp5-40 in the volume; on p5 is a handwritten dedication by Anna sending this copy to Mr and Mrs ?H Stanton, on 20 April 1888 “with the Authoress’s Kind Regards”.

If I’ve read the dedication correctly, the most likely dedicatee is H B Stanton, son of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a friend of all the Blackwells.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources for history, biography etc. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ANNA BLACKWELL

ABOUT WHAT ANNA BORROWED FROM THE GOLDEN DAWN'S TEACHING COLLECTION:

Freemasons' Library Golden Dawn collection GBR GD2/2/8a Receipts for items (usually books) borrowed from William Wynne Westcott during period 1891-1892.

THE BLACKWELL FAMILY OF ENGLAND AND USA

At oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~sch00050 is a list of the Blackwell collection in the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University. The collection covers 1832 to 1981 and begins with a biographical section and discussion of the people they knew. Eventually, family members were scattered from Wisconsin to India but they remained a very tight-knit group, exchanging letters constantly. It's those letters that are the basis of Harvard University's collection.

The Schlesinger website recommends *Those Extraordinary Blackwells* by Elinor Rice Hays

published 1967, for further information.

THE BRISTOL BOOK ON THE BLACKWELL FAMILY Elizabeth Blackwell of Bristol: The First Woman Doctor by Mary Wright. Pamphlet printed by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association. No date of publication but the British Library accession date-stamp says 1996.

BROOKE FARM COMMUNITY

There's plenty on it on the web, largely through its connection with Ralph Waldo Emerson though he never lived there. My information is based on its wikipedia page.

ON EMERSON'S TRANSCENDENTALISM from //transcendentalism.tamu.edu which is the website of the American Transcendentalists - the idea still exists and is seen as an American contribution to the subject, not anything imported from Europe.

AND ON CHARLES FOURIER: see wikipedia he's François Marie Charles Fourier, 1772-1837 French philosopher and proponent of social and moral views way ahead of his time; generally credited with having invented the word 'feminism'. Ideas tried out in the 1848 revolution in France, and the Paris Commune were influenced by him.

EDGAR ALLAN POE

On the web, www.eapoe.org has letters to/from Poe available to read including LTR-270 from Poe to Anna Blackwell, dated 14 June 1848 from Fordham.

Elsewhere at www.eapoe.org/studies/ps1970/p1979202.htm more on this exchange of letters, in an article originally in Poe Studies volume XII number 2 issued December 1979: Poe and Miss Anna Blackwell by John C Miller of Old Dominion University. This was helpful about what happened after the exchange of letters.

Wikipedia on Whitman: she's Sarah Helen Whitman, friend/correspondent of Poe; her Poe collection is at the University of Virginia now.

ANNA AS A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

A general work on women in this job: *Battling for News: the Rise of the Woman Reporter* by Anne Sebba. Hodder and Stoughton 1994.

The British Library has a database of 19th and 20th century journalists called Scoop! The database doesn't give many sources for the information in it. Scoop gives Fidelitas, and Stella, as the writing names Anna used but only has information on what she wrote as Fidelitas. It's this database that has the information on when Anna began writing for newspapers. It also reckons she moved to Paris as early as the late 1840s; though it says she lived there until 1896 which I have found is wrong. Scoop! is also wrong about the period in which Anna wrote for the Sydney Morning Herald, which makes me a bit worried about some of the other information in the database.

At www.austlit.ed.au is the Australian Literature Research site, which knows of 8 works by Anna as Stella; 1 by Anna as Fidelitas; and none at all by her as AB. You needed to subscribe

to get into the full database, so I couldn't get any more information.

At www.uow.edu.au/cgi/ is the University of Wollongong's Research Online Thesis Collection including the full text of G R Tucker's thesis from 1991: *From Novelist to Essayist: the Charmian Clift Phenomenon*. The thesis' Chapter XI is called *Woman Columnists* and discusses the situation pre-Clift. On p228 the Sydney Morning Herald had been happy to employ woman journalists right from its foundation. A job as a foreign correspondent was "coveted" by aspiring journalists. Anna wrote as 'Stella' for the SMH. She was appointed its foreign correspondent in 1860 and kept the job for over 30 years. Her first column was 6 pages long, written in Paris October 1860 and published by SMH in its edition of 18 December 1860. Tucker describes Anna's style as "chatty" and says she wrote her columns in the first person. This was so different from what was typical of newspaper writing styles at the time - formal, 3rd-person, unpersonal - that SMH's owner, John Fairfax, had to be reassured that it would appeal to the readers by his son James, who supported Anna's approach when they discussed it. Tucker p229 notes that this kind of column-writing became obsolete with the advent of communication by cable. As a result Anna's newspaper employer in Montreal "dispensed with" her column in 1885 so that SMH was her only employer. I looked at the footnotes for this chapter but couldn't figure out where Tucker had seen the information about Anna's employer in Montreal.

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND PARIS COMMUNE

From wikipedia: war was declared July 1870; fighting stopped with an armistice January 1871 and a peace deal was signed May 1871. The war had rather a lot of important consequences including the fall of Napoléon III amidst a general feeling that France was behind Prussia in technology and had been inadequately prepared for war; and the Paris Commune which lasted from January to 28 May 1871.

ANNA AND SPIRITUALISM

Some good modern sources for spiritualism in general:

The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England 1850-1914 by Janet Oppenheim. Cambridge University Press 1985.

The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England by Alex Owen. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 2004.

Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in 19th Century America. Ann Braude. Boston Mass: Beacon Press 1989. This is a good source for how many of Anna's siblings and their spouses were spiritualists.

Some contemporary sources for Anna's involvement in spiritualism:

At www.woodlandway.org is the electronic newsletter *Psypioneer* founded by Leslie Price, edited by Paul J Gaunt. In volume 2 number 10 issued October 2006 is a long article p221 about the impact of the first visit to Britain by the American medium Mrs Maria Hayden, in 1853; based on letters sent during her visit by her husband W R Hayden to his friend Samuel Britten. On p224 Anna is mentioned by W R Hayden as someone who went to one of Maria Hayden's seances; the novelist Edward Bulwer Lytton is also mentioned as having gone to at least one of them.

Alex Owen p19 describes Maria Hayden as beginning her career as a public medium in October 1852 and as having introduced spiritualism “to the fashionable world” (in England), the first of a flood of mediums from the US to do a tour in Britain.

Christmas Story: John Ruskin’s Venetian Letters of 1876-77 edited by van Akin Burd. P63 is part of a chapter on Ruskin’s Inquiry into Spiritualism and covers letters written in 1866. “In Paris in August” Ruskin’s friend Cowper went to a séance held by “the English spiritualist Anna Blackwell, a disciple of the French medium Hippolyte Rivail”.

Oppenheim (index) identifies Cowper as later being given a peerage as Lord Mount-Temple. Wikipedia: William Francis Cowper 1811-88, 2nd son of 5th Earl Cowper and wife Emily who later married Lord Palmerston. Liberal MP. When Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister, he gave Cowper several appointments including a spell as First Commissioner of Works. Emily Palmerston died in 1869. Later Cowper inherited estates including Broadlands from Lord Palmerston and added Palmerston’s surname ‘Temple’ to his own. Became a peer as first and only Baron Mount-Temple. Married twice, no children. The 2nd marriage was to Georgiana Tollemache who died 1901.

Via google: The Spiritual Magazine volume 4 1869 p473 has a list of people attesting the contents of an article by S C Hall describing events during a seance at his house on 18 July [?1869], one of a series of five using a Mrs Everett (sic) as medium. The list is of people who are defending Everett against accusations of fraud; it included Anna Blackwell and María de Pomar.

Oppenheim p34, 35 and Owen p89 both know who the medium was, but spell her name Everitt. Oppenheim p42 says she was the wife of Thomas Everitt, a tailor. Owen p89 describes Mrs Everitt as a talented medium but never a professional one. S C Hall is identified by Oppenheim p34 as Samuel Carter Hall, a journalist and editor of the magazine Art Journal 1839-80. His wife was also a writer - Anna Maria Fielding Hall. The Halls were champions of the famous medium Daniel Hume. Oppenheim thinks them both rather credulous. P35 Ruskin knows both S C Hall and Mrs Cowper.

ANNA’S EVIDENCE TO THE DIALECTICAL SOCIETY 1869

Report on Spiritualism of the Committee of the London Dialectical Society, Together with the Evidence.... London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1871.

Preface pvi: the Society agreed to carry out the investigation at a meeting held on Wednesday 6 January 1869; the members of the investigating committee were appointed at the meeting of 26 January 1869; they included Charles Bradlaugh and Alfred Russel Wallace. T H Huxley and George Henry Lewes were asked to help the committee but were not official members of it. The committee heard evidence from 33 people including 9 women. In the Report, the evidence heard was published as a summing-up of what had been said, not verbatim.

P217-222 Anna Blackwell and María de Pomar both gave evidence to the committee during the afternoon of Tuesday 20 July 1869. Anna was asked about whether spirits would manifest themselves in the presence of people who didn’t believe in spiritualism; whether bad spirits as well as good ones (whatever that might mean) could manifest themselves during seances; and if and how people at a seance could distinguish between a good spirit and a bad one. In her evidence, Anna used the example of her sister (Anna didn’t give her name but I

think it's Elizabeth) as someone who could communicate as "a writing medium" despite being a firm non-believer in spirit manifestations. Anna had experienced manifestations of bad spirits herself during seances - one spirit had hit her, but she and her sister had continued to let it communicate in the hope of improving its behaviour. Dr Edmunds, who was chairing that afternoon's session, asked Anna if she thought this violent spirit was a devil; and in her reply Anna began to expound the spiritist argument that she wrote up the following year at much greater length. She said, "I do not believe in a special devil but the imperfect spirits are all in a manner devils". Dr Edmunds followed this up by asking Anna whether she believed spirits could go back and forth between animals and people. Anna said no, but that she did think that there was a general progression of spirits "from gases to crystals, from animals to man" although "there was a reason why one thing is a cress and another a flower". Dr Edmunds wasn't satisfied with this reply - which does seem to contradict itself - he asked Anna if she thought that "the spirit which animates a man" might once have animated a horse. Again Anna gave a rather contradictory set of answers, by saying no but adding that in spiritism a spirit could progress and "become purified...so as to reach a higher stage".

As this is a biography of a member of the Golden Dawn, I thought I'd note it down that (p224) another person giving evidence that afternoon spoke of using what must have been a kind of banishing ceremony, at the end of a seance. And (p222) Anna said that she and her sister "never begin [a seance] without a prayer".

It seems from Anna's published work of 1870 that after giving evidence formally to the committee, she was asked to return the following day. What was said at that second session is unknown, unless the details made their way into Anna's written submission to the Committee, because that second session was an informal session and not included in the committee's Report.

Anna's evidence confirms what I've said in the main biography, about Anna never seeing herself as a good medium - I daresay that by this time she had tried and failed.

Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi; first issue 1881. In its early years Light was published by the British National Association of Spiritualists. By 1890, however, it had been taken over by the London Spiritualist Alliance of 2 Duke St Adelphi. In Volume 22 January-December 1900: p14; number 992 issue of Saturday 13 January 1900, a one paragraph obituary of long-time reader Anna Blackwell.

SPIRITISM and ALLAN KARDEC, Léon Hippolyte Denisart Rivail 1804-69.

Virtually all Anna's appearances via google are as translator of Kardec's works into English. Editions of Anna's translations are still in print - on the web I saw one of Heaven and Hell published in 2003. While I was searching google for spiritism I noticed that it's still fairly active in Roman Catholic countries especially Brasil: eg at www.geae.inf.br/en/books/codification/ there's the entire text of Heaven and Hell in a pdf file.

At the spiritist website reflight.blogspot.com/2007/07/carrying-on-spiritist-tradition, Anna's translation of The Spirits' Book is described as a "decent introduction" to spiritism.

Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology part 2, Lewis Spence 2003 seen via google p865 short entry for spiritists describes them as the group within spiritualism who believed in reincarnation. Spence describes Anna as spiritism's only proponent in Britain; he sees her as having tried "without success" to establish spiritism in Britain.

ANNA AND THEOSOPHY

Biography of Anna Bonus Kingsford and her founding of the Hermetic Society by Samuel Hopgood Hart. My copy was printed in 2013 by Kessinger Publishing but originally it was the Biographical Preface to a much longer work, Hart's Credo of Christendom and other Addresses and Essays on Esoteric Christianity. Via the web it looks like the full book was published in 1930. On p5 Hart is discussing reincarnation. He specifically states that as Helena Petrovna Blavatsky had not mentioned it in her (1877) Isis Unveiled regarded by all TS members as the TS's "chief text-book", reincarnation was not a doctrine put forward by the TS. Further down the page, Hart mentions some criticisms of Kardec's works made by Kingsford who was president of the TS during the early 1880s; Kingsford called them "unscientific and erroneous" and based on "ordinary mediumship...no true spiritual vision but only the ideas of living persons, whom they reflected."

Confirmation that Blavatsky had tried and rejected Kardec's ideas in the early 1870s: H.P. Blavatsky: Collected Writings volume VI covering 1883-85. Compiled and with notes by Boris de Zirkoff. Published Los Angeles California: Blavatsky Writings Publication Fund 1954: p308-12.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI covering September 1892 to February 1893. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XI number 66 issued 15 February 1893 p515 news item on Chiswick Lodge which met at the house of Golden Dawn member Frederick Leigh Gardner: in January [1893] W F Kirby had lectured on French Spiritism in Relation to Theosophy.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893. Volume VII number 69 issued 15 May 1893. Kirby's lecture on French spiritism was printed, beginning on p193. Kirby described modern spiritualism as following 3 main lines of enquiry:

- 1 in England: attempting to interpret spirit manifestations in a manner as close to orthodox Christian teaching as possible;
- 2 mainly in United States: interpretation with a "more general and Pantheistic character";
- 3 a particularly French line of enquiry advocated by Allan Kardec, J B Roustaing and Anna Blackwell.

The rest of Kirby's lecture focused on the French interpretation: he saw it as the nearest of the three variants to theosophy, because it assumed reincarnation. Although he wondered whether it was, "too orthodox and too dogmatic" he still viewed spiritism as "one of the most satisfying systems of Western Philosophy with which I am acquainted". He thought spiritism was particularly suited to people who had been educated in the western tradition and were interested in theosophy, but who found theosophy's basis in eastern philosophy rather hard to accept.

The publication of Kirby's lecture provoked a number of responses from readers. In Lucifer:

A Theosophical Magazine volume XII number 71 issued 15 July 1893, p514 in the letters section, he replied to them, and to a note posted at the end of his lecture by Lucifer's editor (Annie Besant). Kirby reminded readers that reincarnation had not always been a tenet of theosophy: "I have been in touch with the movement ever since its commencement", he said, and as a result he was able to be very sure that, "before Mr Sinnett's arrival in London very little was heard of Reincarnation". In the days before Sinnett, he and Francesca Arundale had been almost the only theosophists in London to think that theosophy must contain reincarnation; they were p515 "regarded almost as heretics in consequence". During the pre-Sinnett period, Kirby had discussed the omission of reincarnation from theosophy with Anna Blackwell. He still felt that those theosophists who wouldn't countenance reincarnation were giving "exaggerated importance" to "personal identity".

Memorabilia: Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Writer by Isabelle de Steiger. London: Rider and Co; no publication date but the British library accession-date stamp says "27 May 27". On p153-54 de Steiger is talking about her acquaintances in the 1880s when she was living in London. She had read works by Kardec and she notes that some of them had been translated into English by Anna Blackwell. de Steiger and Anna had a mutual friend in Emily Kislingbury, secretary of the British National Association of Spiritualists. However, from the way de Steiger writes this passage, it's not clear to me whether she actually knew Anna personally, or just knew of her. On p246 in a passage on the Hermetic Society (the GD's immediate predecessor from the mid-1880s), de Steiger makes one more brief mention of Kardec, saying that Anna Kingsford taught Kardec's "new doctrine of reincarnation". De Steiger doesn't mention it, but it's possible that Anna Blackwell knew Anna Bonus Kingsford, founder of the Hermetic Society.

THOUGH IT'S MARIAN NOT ANNA WHO'S A MEMBER OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY:

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p133 entry for Miss Marian Blackwell, who paid membership subscriptions to the TS from 1894 to 1898. The address she gave was South View, Dudley Road, Clive Vale Hastings. The sponsor of her application to be a member was TS General Secretary G R S Mead. While I was researching the (strong) connections between the TS and the GD I went through all the TS Membership Registers for the period 1888 to 1901; I couldn't see any evidence that either Anna or Elizabeth Blackwell were members of the TS during that time.

ANNA AND JAMES II'S JEWELLERY

She didn't invent the idea! - the first rumours are from a lot earlier in the 19th-century. There's quite a lot about this on the web.

Wikipedia short article on St Germain-en-Laye, in the Île de France about 11m/19km west of Paris. Louis XIV was born at the royal chateau there. On the arrival of James II and his family in France in 1688, Louis XIV gave them the chateau to live in. James II's last child was born there; and he died there in September 1701 and is buried in the parish church in the town.

However, everybody's looking for James II's jewellery in Triel-sur-Seine not in St Germain-en-Laye and I'm not quite sure why. At www.triel-sur-seine.fr/Le-mystere-du-tresor-de-Jacques-II.html there's an account of the various treasure-hunters which I'm prepared to trust: posted 20 September 2002 by Daniel Biget as co-author of Triel, son histoire, ses légendes.

Please note that as the account is in French, and my French is not good, I'm not sure how many of the details I got. But it's pretty clear that people have been searching one particular place in the town for a bit of the British Crown Jewels, and jewels owned personally - some sources say there were three crates-full - supposedly brought into exile by James II. Though right at the end of this article the author reminds us that at no time did James II ever mention bringing into exile anything of the sort - not to his son, and not even when making his final confession on his death bed.

It wasn't clear to me from the article exactly when the first rumours about the jewellery and/or the three crates got about, but as early as 1800s Lord Palmerston was nosing about in French archives trying to find evidence of the jewellery being in France; and as the 19th and 20th century progressed there were several official French investigations into its supposed existence. People began actually digging, on the site of a particular group of houses and a garden in Triel-sur-Seine (all one property and owned by one person at a time) opposite the parish church of Triel-sur-Seine, as early as 1845. A particular thread I noticed through in this account and elsewhere on the web, was how much of the digging was financed by women of unknown ancestry using wealth from unknown sources. Anna Blackwell comes into the process in 1885, when the land had been owned for many years by a Madame Deville who is definitely one of the dubious women. In 1885 Mme Deville was 78 and had nearly bankrupted herself trying to find this jewellery hoard without any more success than anyone else. Anna is described in the article as "curieuse femme à la personnalité ambiguë". Anna and Mme Deville came to an agreement the exact details of which my French isn't up to understanding - I got stuck on how you translate the verb 'louer'. But the results of the deal were clear enough: Anna lodged with Mme Deville and her daughter in one of the houses on the property; and Anna would be allowed to have a part of whatever treasure was found by the digging funded by Anna. That's the only mention of Anna in the article so I take it she dug and found nothing. (The biographical sketch of Anna in the Schlesinger collection suggests she lost a lot of money through her involvement with Mme Deville.) Whatever Anna did, it didn't help Mme Deville's financial situation and in May 1885 Mme Deville sold the property to a Monsieur de la Bastie with the proviso that she was able to continue to live on it for the next three years. In fact she died on 29 January 1886 and Monsieur de la Bastie took full possession of it (and carried on the digging I presume - I didn't follow the rest of the tale in detail).

I think that Daniel Biget doesn't believe there's anything of James II's to find in Triel-sur-Seine; though via trove.nla.gov.au (the Trove Digitised Newspapers) I found an article in the Launceston Examiner of Monday 30 December 1895 p3 which said that by 1892 a burial had been found on the site, of a woman, with coins thought to be 15th or 16th century. The plot of land was now owned by "an American lady; she is over eighty, and is confident of finding the treasure". She wasn't named and I don't think she can be Anna as Anna had moved to England by then.

ANNA INTERESTED IN ASTRONOMY at least later in life.

Bulletin de la Société Astronomique de France volume 9 1895 p41 probably a list of members though I couldn't see the top of the list on google's snippet: Anna Blackwell, of Sunnyside, Dudley Road Hastings.

ANNA AND FEMINISM

Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain by Lawrence Goldman. Cambridge

University Press 2002. Anna Blackwell is mentioned on pp29-32 which cover the meeting which founded the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. It took place on 29 July 1857 at Lord Brougham's house in Grafton Street. P30: 43 people were there, and Goldman argues that the interests and concerns of those who were present set the agenda for what the new association would do - what subjects it would discuss. Therefore it's relevant to Goldman's argument that (p30) 15 of those present were women including (p31) Barbara Bodichon, Bessie Rayner Parkes and Anna Blackwell. On p32 Goldman says that six of the 15 women would sign the first petition demanding a married women's property act and the whole 15 represented the beginnings of an organised feminist movement in the UK.

The Jurist volume 12 March 1864 p134 contains the petition to the Houses of Parliament organised by Barbara Leigh Smith and her circle as part of the campaign for married women's property rights. By virtue of having a surname beginning with B, Anna Blackwell heads the list of signatories as laid out in The Jurist. The list also includes Amelia Edwards, Elizabeth Gaskell, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Anna Jameson, Bessie Rayner Parkes and Barbara Leigh Smith. There's plenty of information on all those women on the web, if you don't already know who they are.

Frances Power Cobbe: Victorian Feminist, Journalist, Reformer. Sally Mitchell. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press 2004. P3 on Cobbe's 80th birthday in 1902 a testimonial with 400 signatures was presented to her. Elizabeth Blackwell was one of the 400; of course Anna had died by then but it does indicate a link between the Blackwell sisters and Cobbe.

ANNA'S SISTER DR ELIZABETH BLACKWELL. There isn't much mention of Anna in books on Elizabeth.

Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860-1914 by Susan Kingsley Kent. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1987.

The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland by Elizabeth Crawford. Routledge: 2006. Reforming Women's Fashion 1850-1920: Politics, Health and Art. Patricia A Cunningham 2003. Kent State University Press. This book also talks about Elizabeth Blackwell as the dress reform movement saw women's fashion as a health issue.

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume 4 1889-90, published by the Society for members only: on p201 issue of February 1890: Elizabeth Blackwell had asked to change her membership from full member to associate member. On p203 it says that even associate members had to be elected.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XI 1895 p 606 Elizabeth Blackwell is still an associate member, at Rock House Hastings.

I went through the Journal from the 1880s to 1900: at no time was Anna Blackwell a member of the Society for Psychical Research. The Society was founded by a group of academics at Cambridge University to do scientific research into the phenomena of spiritualism.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Wilfred George Frederick Praeger was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 28 May 1892, taking the Latin motto 'Perficit qui mavult'. There was some confusion in 1894 as to whether he'd resigned; but he hadn't and in fact he was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order on 3 March 1897.

R A Gilbert believes that Lilian Grace Mary Blyth was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus temple in Bradford in 1893; though as the Bradford records have been lost, he couldn't be sure. Later, she was a member of the Isis-Urania temple in London, where she used the motto 'Deo volante'. It was in London that she was initiated into the 2nd Order, on 6 April 1897; though she was excused the yearly subscription on grounds of poverty (the GD hierarchy was very generous about this sort of thing, with a member they thought was good).

Wilfred Praeger and Lilian Blyth were married in 1898. They may be one of several couples who married after first meeting at the Golden Dawn; but I think they might have known each other before they were initiated, because of this man - a third person in their marriage, you could say he was - William John Manners Tollemache (1859-1935), 9th Earl of Dysart.

I'm going to start this Blyth-Praeger biography with the Earl, a generous benefactor of both the Blyth and the Praeger families.

The Dysart earldom was created in the 17th century and is a very rare bird - it can be inherited by a woman and has been so inherited many times in its history. In September 1878 the 9th earl succeeded to the title in the more time-honoured way when his grandfather died, his father having been dead several years by this time. Along with the earldom went 27000 acres of land in Surrey, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire and two houses: Buckminster Park near Grantham, built in the 1790s and with grounds landscaped by Repton; and the 17th-century Ham House on the Thames near Richmond, built by the first earl of Dysart and his daughter Elizabeth the 2nd Countess, who married the Duke of Lauderdale. His grandfather's Will prevented the 9th Earl having sole control of these estates until September 1899, but with the consent of the his trustees he had already begun to spend money making much-needed repairs to Ham House before this time. He travelled widely, farmed, bred shorthorns and Shire horses, and took an interest in the history of the counties in which the family lands were situated.

However, his life had a tragic side to it, because he went blind at quite a young age. Music became his solace - that's where the Praeger family comes in. And although he came to need secretarial and other help to make his way through his days, he was a wealthy man - even in the 1920s and 1930s he could still afford to employ 20 servants and keep four fancy cars. And he could still make all the decisions that went with wealth and the power of patronage - that too involves the Praegers and is also where the Blyth family comes in.

In 1885 the 9th Earl married Cecilia Florence Newton, daughter of George Newton of Croxton Park Cambridgeshire; but relations between them deteriorated so that she left him at some time during the 1900s. The 9th Earl and his wife had no children, so on the earl's

death, the title was inherited by Wenefryde Greaves, daughter of his sister Agnes Lindsay-Tollemache-Scott; the lands were divided between members of the Tollemache family.

9TH EARL OF DYSART AND THE BLYTH FAMILY

One of the duties of the earls of Dysart was to appoint and to pay suitable men to work as Church of England priests in the churches situated on their lands. When a vacancy arose in 1881 at the church in Buckminster, the 9th Earl remembered a clergyman who had been curate at Kew-with-Petersham, and appointed him - Lilian Blyth's father the Rev Frederic Cavan Blyth - to the job.

LILIAN BLYTH

The Blythe or Blyth family claimed to be able to trace itself back through 40 generations to a Duke Altorf of Bavaria who was alive in AD820. Lilian Blyth was descended from the Yorkshire branch of the family, which had begun with the purchase (in 1367) of land at Norton Lees, near Sheffield by a man called John de Blida in the Latin of the time. John Blythe's descendants married over the next several hundred years into similar families in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire - Sir Isaac Newton's grandmother was Margaret Blythe. Lilian's great-grandfather Joseph Blythe was the man who dropped the 'e' and became Blyth. He lived at an estate that he had bought from the Duke of Kingston, at Cotness on the River Ouse. Lilian's grandfather, Joseph's son George Blanshard Blyth, was the vicar of a parish near Brough in Yorkshire. He married Mary Popham, the daughter of an army officer, who had grown up in Paris and the West Indies where her father had been stationed. George and Mary had a large family including five sons, two of whom joined the army and three of whom joined the church.

Frederic Cavan Blyth was the youngest of the three sons who joined the church. After following his older brothers to St Paul's School in London, he went to Oriel College Oxford. In 1860 he was ordained by the bishop of Lincoln, who also found him his first job, as curate of Kirkby-with-Asgarby in Lincolnshire. Frederic Blyth went from there to two more short-lived appointments (at Wimbleton and at Frittenden in Kent) before becoming curate at Kew-with-Petersham in 1867, where he stayed for ten years. During 1873 he was also chaplain to the Richmond Poor Law Union, but this seems to have been a temporary appointment. The job at Kew-with-Petersham brought him to the attention of some very influential people, including the Dysarts and John, Earl Russell, who lived with his large family at Pembroke Lodge in Richmond Park.

In 1863 Frederic Blyth had married Eliza Ann Holder Christie, the daughter of Robert Christie (a surgeon) and his wife Matilda. Lilian Grace Mary was their eldest child, born in Sleaford Lincolnshire in 1864. Frederic and Eliza had five more children: Edith born in 1866; twins Gertrude and Frederick William born in 1868; Mary Agatha born in 1869; and William born in 1873. Frederick William was either born dead or died shortly after his birth, but all the other children grew to adulthood. The curate of Kew-with-Petersham didn't have a vicarage to live in, so on the day of the 1871 census, Frederic and Eliza Blyth and their children were living at 8 Cambridge Gardens Richmond. Also in the household were Frederic's unmarried sister Alice, and two young boys, Frederic Blyth's pupils, whose fees were helping the Blyths afford a cook, as well as a nurse and a housemaid.

In 1877, Frederic Blyth moved to his next job, as vicar of Quatford in Shropshire and chaplain to the Bridgenorth Poor Law Union. On the day of the 1881 census the Blyths were

living in the Vicarage at Eardington just outside Bridgenorth. Alice Blyth was no longer living with them; and Frederic had no pupils at the time, but he was still able to employ a cook as well as a housemaid. He could not afford a governess, I should imagine; certainly the Blyths didn't employ a resident governess in 1881. However, Frederic Blyth told the census official that Lilian (now 16) and Edith (now 15) were still in education, so either he had found the money to send them away to school, or he was teaching them himself; I haven't been able to find out which. What Lilian was being taught will become clear.

The Blyths' time in Shropshire was short. The offer to Frederic of an appointment in a county they knew, with an employer they were acquainted with and perhaps a better salary, was too good to be turned down. In 1882 Frederic Blyth became vicar at Buckminster - a village more or less entirely owned by the Tollemache family. He remained there until 1896, when he moved to another of the Earl of Dysart's vicarages, at Silk Willoughby, near Sleaford where he and Eliza had lived just after their marriage 30 years before.

On the day of the 1891 census, Frederic and Eliza Blyth were well settled at the Vicarage in Buckminster. I cannot find their daughter Gertrude on any census after 1881; and Edith wasn't in the UK on 1891 census day; but Mary Agatha, William, and Lilian were all at home. Mary Agatha's occupation or source of income was left blank; as it usually was with unmarried middle-class women, whatever they spent their lives doing. William's was as well although it's obvious from later information that he was still at school or about to go to university. However, Lilian (now 26) told the census official that she did have a profession: she was a musician, and a member of the National Society of Professional Musicians (NSPM). She could also have told him that she was a composer: in 1890, the German music publishing firm of Schott and Co had published a Prelude for organ by "L G M Blyth".

I know it's only one, probably quite short work, but Lilian's Prelude does show how much effort she put in to her music and how much she wanted to be taken seriously as a professional. I think she didn't tell her contacts at Schott and Co that she was a woman, so that her work would be considered on its merits, not on her gender: no one took women seriously as composers. Although I haven't found any evidence that she went to music college, she must - surely - have studied composition somewhere. Perhaps with Ferdinand Praeger who might also have had the contacts in Germany to put her in touch with Schotts. But then again, perhaps not: my modern source for late 19th century musicians says that Praeger was one of the many who believed that women were intellectually inferior to men. I hope Lilian found someone more sympathetic to teach her. If she did study with Praeger despite his attitude, she may not have been his only woman pupil: Ethel Smyth might also have studied with him.

You couldn't just pay a yearly subscription and get to be a member of the NSPM. The Society had been founded in 1885 with the specific aim of raising standards of musicianship amongst players in Britain and getting in was meant to be a challenge: you had to be recommended by a proposer and a seconder who were already members; then your musical competence was assessed; your social status was scrutinised (this was still Victorian England after all); and if you survived all that investigation, your name was put forward to an election process. It's no wonder Lilian Blyth was so proud of being a member that she insisted the census official make a note of it.

Getting in to the Order of the Golden Dawn was peanuts in comparison!

That I haven't been able to find out much about Lilian Blyth's career in music is one of my greatest disappointments in all my work on the members of the Golden Dawn. Her prelude for organ is the only information I've found. I haven't come across a single reference to her playing in concerts either as a soloist or with other musicians; though it's possible that most of her engagements - if she had them (see below) - were at private functions in people's houses where there was a portable organ or harmonium. I've had to fall back on more general histories of women musicians in the late 19th century to get a feel of how her life in music might have gone.

Of course, plenty of vicars' daughters were proficient enough on the organ or harmonium to play in church services; as volunteers. But in 1891 Lilian was claiming a proficiency and a seriousness about her music that were on an altogether different level. My best general source says she would have found the going tough, forging a professional career. There was an assumption that instruments like the violin were too technically demanding for women; and that the way you have to move your mouth to play a wind instrument was unladylike. By the 1890s women were proving these prejudices outdated. However, there were also too many professionals (male and female) chasing too few engagements; and if Lilian had chosen the organ as her main instrument, she might have found it difficult to get paid work even in the women's orchestras that were being founded, which focused on music for strings.

Put simply: unless you were brilliant, very very determined, and knew the right people, you would struggle as a female musician. The lack of information I've found on Lilian's career suggests she struggled. That doesn't mean she was only an adequate musician - obviously not, as she was a member of the NSPM; but you had to be SO good, so outstanding, as a woman, to get any work at all.

If you were not able to make ends meet through being paid as a performer, there was one other way to make music your profession. Lilian didn't take it, but her sister Edith did. Edith told the 1901 census official that she was a musician but she also said she gave singing lessons. When the family broke up after Frederic Blyth's death, she got a job teaching music at the Girls' Grammar School run by Charlotte M Hopkirk at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

If you were determined to be a professional musician in the 1890s it would help you to live in London, at least during the 'season' (roughly April to July), and that was no less true for a woman than for a man. R A Gilbert's evidence about where Lilian joined the Golden Dawn suggests that she wasn't living in London before 1893. Although times were changing, the proper place for an unmarried woman was still thought to be 'living with her parents'. But then, I can't explain how she came to be initiated in Bradford - if R A Gilbert's correct about that (I'm sure he is). Perhaps she played in concerts or a church there sometimes and got to know people. I don't know who she knew there - that bit of her life is a mystery. By the end of the 1890s, though, Lilian does seem to have been living in London at least some of the year and - I hope - doing her best to be a professional organist. In 1894 she had reached the age of 30, regarded as a watershed after which the chances of a woman's marrying were assumed (erroneously, if members of the GD are typical) to be in steep decline. In some families, when an unmarried woman reached 30, control over what she did was relaxed. Frederic and Eliza Blyth seem to have let Lilian go to London on her own, at least sometimes. It was not as though she had no friends there, after all - she knew the Russell family, the Earl of Dysart and his wife, and - probably - the Praegers.

Lilian and Frances, Countess Russell kept in touch after the Blyths had moved away from

west London - a letter from the Countess to Lilian written in 1883 still exists. And Lilian also knew Countess Russell's grandson Bertrand, though probably not very well; Bertrand was much younger than her, and he and his siblings had only come to live with their grandmother the Countess after their father's death in 1876. Lilian's acquaintance with the Earl and Countess of Dysart was probably more formal, but the Earl took the concept of noblesse oblige seriously and I'm sure he would have helped Lilian out if she needed it while living in London, as the daughter of a man who was one of his dependants. As for Lilian knowing the Praegers, that's a bit speculative for the years before the 1890s. It depends on whether the Praegers attended the parish church in Hammersmith. The Praegers were living in Hammersmith by 1871, and from 1871 to 1878, Lilian's uncle, Rev Edward Hamilton Blyth, was vicar of Hammersmith. However, even if the Blyths and the Praegers hadn't met then, I do think Lilian will have met the Praegers in the early 1890s if not sooner, especially if she admired Wagner.

THE PRAEGERS

Wilfred Praeger was a son and a grandson of composers. His grandfather was Heinrich Aloys Praeger (1783-1854), a Dutch composer and conductor. His father was Ferdinand Praeger, pianist, composer, teacher and London correspondent of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, the journal founded by Robert Schumann. Ferdinand Praeger was born in 1815 in Leipzig but came to England in 1834 and lived in London - with trips abroad - for the rest of his life. My best source of information on Ferdinand Praeger that says his mother was English, and although I can't find out anything more about her, it's likely Ferdinand Praeger could speak some English before he arrived here. In 1849 he married Léonie Eugénie Alexandrine Bazile, another woman I've failed to discover anything much about. Although Léonie had been born in Paris, she and Ferdinand married in London. They had the typical Victorian large family, although half the children that were born to them died young. Wilfred George Ferdinand Praeger was the youngest son, born in 1869. Surviving with him to adulthood were the eldest child (born 1850) Henry John (Heinrich Johann) Ferdinand and two sisters; Léonie (born 1866); and the youngest child, Brunhilde (born 1871).

Ferdinand Praeger's obituary in the *Times* says that he wrote 36 sonatas, 25 quartets, some orchestral works, a sacred cantata called *Magdalene*, a large number of songs and many short pieces for the piano. During his lifetime these were better known, because played more often, in Europe than in Britain. In Britain his main claim to fame was his relationship with one of the greats of 19th-century music and the name Ferdinand gave his youngest child will have given you a clue as to which one it was. However, it turns out to be a moot point exactly how well Ferdinand Praeger knew Richard Wagner.

Although Ferdinand Praeger was based in London he travelled abroad a great deal and met Wagner in Dresden, through a mutual friend, in about 1843. In the years that followed they corresponded, and met occasionally. Whenever Wagner was paying a visit to London he was always grateful for the help Ferdinand Praeger gave him, describing him later as, "uncommonly good-natured". In 1855, when he was in England for several miserable months as the much-criticised conductor of the Philharmonic and Sacred Harmonic Societies' concerts, Wagner stood as godfather to Ferdinand's son Richard Wagner Charles Henry Praeger. (The child was still alive in 1861 but disappears from view afterwards and is generally assumed to have died young.) It's possible that in 1876, Wagner sent Praeger a copy of the first edition of the score of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*; certainly, a first edition of it was later owned by Lilian's daughter-in-law Sheila, presumably inherited from Lilian and

Wilfred. But it's also possible that Praeger had had to buy a copy; perhaps while at Bayreuth to see the first production of all four operas that year. Because...

As early as 1859, a concerned friend had warned Wagner that Praeger was developing a tendency to claim more friendship with him than actually existed. Praeger was also not doing as much as a friend might have, to get Wagner's music played more often in England. It wasn't Praeger's idea to found the Wagner Society, for example, that was the work of the German-American composer Edward Dannreuther, in 1872. Once the Bayreuth festival was up and running (first year, 1876) the Society organised trips to see his operas there; but it was set up to get extracts from Wagner's big operas played in England. A high spot in the Wagner Society's efforts was a festival of Wagner's music, held in London in 1877. It was Dannreuther that organised it and Dannreuther that Wagner stayed with on his visit to it; not the Praegers.

By 1890, though, it was generally accepted in musical circles in London that Ferdinand Praeger was someone who had known Wagner well; and by this time, being understood to have known Wagner well counted for something. A big milestone in the process of establishing Wagner as The Great Composer had been passed in May 1882 when the complete Ring cycle received its first performances in London. Even the Times, though rather reserved about the increasing influence in Britain of German culture, described Wagner as the composer who "at present above all others occupies the attention of the musical world"; and looked forward to the London performances as an event whose importance "can scarcely be over-rated".

I think Praeger encouraged people to bracket his name with Wagner's, because as Wagner-fever began to grip English musical circles, the relationship got him noticed. In April 1888, for example, the Royal Musical Association was due to hear a talk by J S Shedlock on the correspondence between Wagner and Liszt, and Praeger was asked to chair the meeting: if you couldn't get Wagner (and you couldn't - he'd died in 1883) Praeger was the next best thing. Praeger was finding, too, that the great and good, who otherwise would not have known his name, were seeking him out: people like the 9th Earl of Dysart wanted to know him.

Praeger seems to have seized the opportunities offered by a very rich man, a great admirer of Wagner, making his acquaintance: by 1890 he had persuaded the Earl to pay him to compose music. In an exhibition of some works by Ferdinand Praeger at the University of Buffalo music library in 2012, one of the exhibits was a contract dated March 1890 in which the 9th Earl promised to pay Praeger £2400, in instalments of £200 per quarter, for new works composed by Praeger. Provided he produced music, Praeger would earn £800 a year (an enormous sum in the money of the day, though one the Earl could well afford) for the next three years. On the day the contract was signed, Praeger delivered to the Earl the first two compositions, his fourth and fourteenth string quartets. I don't quite understand why - if the Earl was such a Wagner fan - he should commission works from someone else. Perhaps the idea was that the works would show the influence of Wagner - Praeger once more being the next best thing.

It may have been in his capacity as president of the Wagner Society that the Earl commissioned another work from Ferdinand Praeger: he asked Praeger to write a book on his friendship with the great man.

Which was a bit of a problem...

Ferdinand Praeger's *Wagner as I Knew Him* was published on 17 February 1892. A one-paragraph review in the *Times* a few days later gave no hint of what was to come, but within a very short time there was gossip about the content of the book. Praeger had included a set of letters written to him by Wagner; and if he had wanted to keep his status as Wagner's great friend he had made a very great mistake, because he published them in the original German and with his own translation into English. Anyone with sufficient knowledge of German - and there were plenty of those amongst Wagner lovers - could compare the two versions. The Germanophile Houston Stewart Chamberlain gained access to 34 of the original letters which were by then owned by the Earl of Dysart (yet another thing he had paid Praeger for, I suppose) and published his own translation of them in 1894. Stewart Chamberlain's work showed all-too-clearly that Praeger's translations were not accurate, and in particular had greatly exaggerated not only the closeness of the two men but also Praeger's influence over Wagner (which seems in reality to have been non-existent). Stewart Chamberlain had not found all the letters in *Wagner as I Knew Him* amongst those now owned by the Earl of Dysart. He speculated that the missing ones had been invented by Praeger.

Ferdinand Praeger was not around to defend himself. He had died on 2 September 1891. His sons Henry John and Wilfred, and the rest of the family, had pressed on with the publication of the book perhaps in ignorance - maybe they too believed Ferdinand's version of his friendship with Wagner and wanted to have it honoured; perhaps for the money it would bring in, especially to help Léonie Praeger in her widowhood; and of course to fulfil the contract. They took no active part in the uproar; I suppose there was nothing much they could say. After Stewart Chamberlain's translations were published, *Wagner as I Knew Him*'s publisher - not the Praeger family - withdrew the book from sale and issued a public apology. However, that wasn't the end of it. The feathers began to fly in the Wagner Society: *Wagner as I Knew Him* was attacked by prominent members like William Ashton Ellis, while other members took great offence, on Praeger's behalf, at the accusations Stewart Chamberlain was making. When the different factions took to airing their views in the newspapers, the Earl of Dysart - unwitting instigator of the disaster - decided that he had to resign as the Society's president.

I think it was very generous of the Earl not to visit the sins of the father upon the sons: instead of thinking that the Praeger family might have known better than to let Ferdinand's book be published, and refusing to have any more to do with them, he offered Wilfred Praeger a job.

I know very little about Wilfred Praeger's early life, except one piece of what you could call negative information: he and his siblings grew up in a household full of music, but none of them became musicians or composers. They probably didn't inherit any musical talent from their father; if they did, they didn't feel any burning need to develop it, except as well-taught amateurs. Wilfred and Ferdinand did have an interest in poetry that Wilfred's siblings didn't share, though neither of them ever published any poetry and they probably never wrote any. In 1890, it was to Wilfred that Ferdinand Praeger handed on his copy of *Joseph and his Brethren: A Dramatic Poem* by Charles Wells. Ferdinand's copy had been given him by George Ernest John Powell, the poet and friend of Algernon Swinburne. Powell had contributed to the Wagner-fuelled English interest in ancient Germanic culture by translating some of the Icelandic sagas. I would guess that Powell was a friend of both Ferdinand and

Wilfred.

Wilfred's youthful ambitions were to have a career in art: he told the 1891 census official that he was an artist and art critic. However, I couldn't find any evidence that he was able to work as a professional artist, and I could only find three short pieces of writing on art published by him. They appeared in the magazine *Atalanta*, in 1891 and 1892, and were all profiles of well-known artists: Frederick Leighton; William Blake Richmond; and Louise Jopling. They don't seem to have led to more regular art-critical work and in the end Wilfred followed his siblings, who seem to have sought out safe occupations, as if knowing where next year's income was going to come from was important to them: Henry John went into the offices of a City business and was an important member of London's voluntary militia; sister Léonie married a civil servant; and even while he was hoping to be an artist Wilfred, in 1890, was not working at his painting, but was probably employed in the office of one of the local committees of the Charity Organisation Society (I've had trouble following up my one reference to this so I'm not clear whether he was being paid).

Moving in artistic circles in west London, Wilfred Praeger got to know W B Yeats; or perhaps it was their two families that knew each other. In 1891-92 Wilfred was a regular guest at the Butler family's house in Bedford Park, where they were all 'at home' on Monday evenings, and it must have been during those evenings that he found out about the existence of the GD and probably met other members, like Annie Horniman, Florence Farr and the Pagets - Henry and Henrietta - who were all friends of W B. W B Yeats recommended Wilfred to the GD hierarchy as a suitable member, and meant to facilitate Wilfred's application by getting the necessary forms sent to him; but then he forgot and Wilfred seems to have had to prompt him about it. In the end, Yeats just gave Wilfred Annie Horniman's telephone number, and Wilfred organised the sending of the pledge form himself.

LILIAN AND WILFRED

How did Wilfred and Lilian meet?

Although I've suggested that the Blyths and the Praegers may have known each other since the 1870s, Wilfred and Lilian may not have met as adults until they were both in the Order of the Golden Dawn. They could, however, have met through Ferdinand Praeger and Wagner and they had at least two chances to do this. The first chance, I've mentioned already: Lilian taking lessons with Ferdinand Praeger in musical composition. The second is if Lilian was thrilled by the operas of Wagner. I hope I've illustrated that if you liked Wagner in the 1880s in London, you would have been bound to come across Ferdinand Praeger sooner or later: the Great Composer's friend. I take it that Wilfred Praeger, too, would have been curious at least, to know more about Wagner and his music - I think he may have been too young ever to have met him.

Hoped-for careers in the arts, that never really materialised, were something that Wilfred and Lilian had in common; although perhaps they never talked of it in quite that way. (It was something they also shared with Annie Horniman, who had wanted to be an artist but soon realised she didn't have the talent.) Whenever it finally was that Wilfred and Lilian met, their backgrounds and interests were enough to form the basis of a marriage. They needed enough money to get married on, of course; and this once again is where the 9th Earl of Dysart comes

in.

I haven't been able to find, from the documents I've been able to consult, exactly when Wilfred Praeger went to work for the 9th Earl of Dysart. All I can say for certain is that Wilfred was a member of the Earl's staff by the day of the 1901 census. He was working as assistant to the Earl's private secretary, and I'm going to speculate that he'd been on the Earl's payroll for a few years by 1901 - though I may be quite wrong about this. I also don't know what salary the Earl was willing to pay Wilfred, but the job did come with perks as well as money, in the shape of a house on the Buckminster Park estate for when the Earl was in residence there; and he possibly contributed to the rent of the flat in Putney that Lilian and Wilfred lived in when the Earl was at Ham House. Definitely the sort of job you could get married on.

Lilian and Wilfred were married at All Saints Marylebone on 19 July 1898, with Lilian's father, Frederic Cavan Blyth taking the service; and Wilfred's mother Léonie and Lilian's sister Edith amongst the witnesses. On the day of the 1901 census, the Praegers were one of three households living at 21 Chelverton Road Putney; from the way the census entry was laid out, I'd say they were occupying the top floor.

Lilian was 34 when she married. By the mid-1900s she and Wilfred might have resigned themselves to being childless; but in the autumn of 1906, while they were living at Buckminster Park, Lilian (now 42) gave birth to John Frederic Blyth Ferdinand Praeger. John Praeger - later Blyth-Praeger - turned out to be not only Lilian and Wilfred's only child, but probably the only child born to any of the children of Frederic and Eliza Blyth. Lilian's sisters Edith and Mary Agatha never married; Lilian's brother William married Constance Norah McDermott in 1905 but by 1911 they hadn't had any children. William had succeeded his father as vicar of Silk Willoughby: another instance of the 9th Earl of Dysart's continuing support of the Blyth and Praeger families.

Frederic Cavan Blyth had died very suddenly in August 1904. In the years after, the health of Eliza Blyth began to deteriorate. It's likely that Mary Agatha cared for her at first but by 1911 she needed professional and perhaps constant attention, and her children had installed her in a house in Westcliff-on-Sea, with a full-time nurse-companion, who filled in the census form as head of the household, and described Eliza as her "patient". Mary Agatha had gone to live with William and Norah at Silk Willoughby. On census day 1911, Lilian and Wilfred were once again in the flat at 21 Chelverton Road. I think Wilfred had been promoted (or perhaps he was exaggerating a little - his family did have a track record of that, after all): he described himself as "private secretary to peer": no mention this time of being an assistant. Their son John was now five and at school, and Lilian was working on the Blyth family history that was published in 1912. Between 1911 and 1914 Eliza Blyth was moved either to live with Lilian and Wilfred or near them; her death was registered in Wandsworth in 1914.

I've made it fairly clear, I hope, that Lilian was the daughter of a Church of England vicar. I also assume Ferdinand Praeger to have been brought up as a Protestant and to have remained one. However, Lilian and Wilfred sent their son to the co-ed Roman Catholic school Stonyhurst College, in Lancashire. The choice of Stonyhurst College is one of two pieces of evidence I have that Lilian at least had become a Roman Catholic convert; several Golden Dawn members did so, though not (I think) while they were still active in the GD. The second piece of evidence for Lilian's conversion is the church where her funeral took place.

Although the wikipedia page on Ham House describes the 9th Earl of Dysart as “eccentric and difficult”, Wilfred Praeger was still working as his private secretary in the 1930s. The first world war had not interrupted this because by 1916 Wilfred was too old to be called up; but he did join the London volunteer militia. By the 1930s, as a senior and long-serving member of the Earl’s staff, Wilfred and Lilian had a status with the Tollemaches which was more than just employee and employee’s wife - occasionally they got invited to family marriages. The Earl had a flair for investment, he’d made a great deal of money that way. In 1934 Wilfred had acted for him in the negotiations when he had bought some bearer certificates from Howie Gold Mines (which in due course caused his heirs a great deal of trouble). In November of that year, Wilfred represented him at Howie Gold Mines’ AGM. Perhaps taking the Earl’s advice, Wilfred also invested some money on his own account. He bought shares in the British Empire Academy Club Limited, of 19 Dover Street, and as one of its directors, suffered all the embarrassment of being charged with selling alcohol without a licence and after hours, when the Club’s ballroom in New Burlington Galleries was raided twice by the police. All the directors, and the Club’s secretary, had to appear before the magistrates at Marlborough Street Police Court in May 1931; I wish I knew what happened afterwards but I can’t find any coverage of a trial. Perhaps they all just admitted they were guilty - though they probably hadn’t been in the ballroom on the nights in question - paid the fines and hoped that was the end of it.

The 9th Earl of Dysart died on 22 November 1935. He was 76. With heavy death duties to pay and the estates being broken up, there was no chance that the the large number of staff employed by the Earl could all continue in their jobs. Within a few weeks, the Earl’s valet was advertising for work; and I imagine Wilfred - who was nearly 70 himself - was encouraged to retire.

Lilian Blyth died on 16 April 1942. I don’t know where she is buried but her funeral service was held at the convent of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Roehampton. The convent was an English branch of a Roman Catholic women’s teaching order founded in France by Madeleine Sophie Barat (1779-1865); and is my second piece of evidence for Lilian having become a Roman Catholic convert. I’ve found some evidence that the Blyths were high church Anglicans, so Lilian would have grown up familiar with the emphasis on ritual and perhaps even with the idea of the use of ritual as an aid to mystical experience. That upbringing would have served her well in the Golden Dawn; and the move to Catholicism perhaps wouldn’t have been as far for her as for other people. But actually taking that final step and becoming a Catholic was still a controversial move, in the early part of the 20th century.

Whether Wilfred also converted to Roman Catholicism I haven’t been able to discover. He lived for many years after Lilian’s death; and died in a mental hospital. Holloway Sanatorium at Virginia Water was founded by Thomas Holloway, who also sponsored and funded Royal Holloway College. From when it opened in the 1880s, until 1948 when it was incorporated into the new NHS, it was a mental hospital for the middle-classes, with a suitably splendid building, high-quality facilities and - I would suppose - fees to match. Wilfred may already have been an inmate there at the time of Lilian’s death: their daughter-in-law was Lilian’s executor. Wilfred died at Holloway Sanatorium on 10 October 1955.

Lilian and Wilfred’s son John became a civil servant. He inherited his parents’ interest in alternative ways of understanding how the world works - he became a well-known dowser

and served as vice-president of the British Society of Dowsers.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR LILIAN BLYTH, WILFRED PRAEGER and 9TH EARL OF DYSART

THE BLYTH FAMILY

Lilian's contribution to the family genealogies is:

Notes on the Yorkshire Branch of the Family of Blyth of Norton Lees published by The Pan Press 1912, by L G M Praeger. On pp47 and 50 Lilian mentions the Descent of the Family of Blyth from the Royal Houses of Guelph and Este, also published by the Pan Press. P50: the descent is through 40 generations beginning with Altorf D of Bavaria fl AD820 and ending with John Frederic Blyth Ferdinand Praeger, born 1906, son of Wilfred and Lilian. The gist of Lilian's book is that the Yorkshire branch of the Blythe/Blyth family has been excluded from earlier genealogies despite plenty of evidence establishing the fact that they are family members. The exclusion has resulted from an assumption made by previous family histories that William Blythe, and Elizabeth Stapleton, who married in the first half of the 16th century, did not have any male descendants. Lilian is actually a descendant of these two people and she proves it.

Lilian mentions the sources she used to put the Yorkshire Blyths and Blythes back into the family: details from tombs of Blyth/Blythe ancestors in the Sheffield, York and Lincolnshire areas; Harleian Mss 4630 and 1468 in the British Library; Wills written in the 17th and 18th centuries; and information compiled by a distant cousin of hers, John Blythe-Robinson, from parish records in the Beverley and York area. It sounds like a very good piece of genealogy. At the end of the work is a family tree, details of the careers and marriages of her uncles and father, and a list of Yorkshire Blyths alive in 1912.

Lilian's is a great-grand-daughter of Joseph Blythe later Blyth is through his son the Rev George Blanshard Blyth. George Blanshard Blyth's sons are:

- Rev George Francis Popham Blyth, 1st bishop of Rangoon and then 4th Church of England bishop of Jerusalem, who will have known Golden Dawn member Frank Tate Ellis
- Rev Edward Hamilton Blyth, the one with the possible Praeger connection as he was vicar of Hammersmith from 1871 to 1878
- Joseph Harry Franklyn Blyth who joined the Connaught Rangers and fought in the Crimean War

[Frederic Cavan Blyth fits here]

- Cheslyn Abney Blyth, who also went into the army.

Lilian's father:

Frederic Cavan Blyth, 5th child, 4th son. Like all the boys, he went to St Paul's School; he was School Captain. Oriel College Oxford. Ordained priest 1860. His work as a clergyman, as listed by Lilian:

curate Kirkby-la-Thorpe Lincs
 Wimbledon
 Frittenden Kent
 Kew-with-Petersham 1867-77

vicar Quatford Salop 1877-81
 Buckminster Leics 1881-96

rector Silk Willoughby Lincs from 1896 to his death on 14 August 1904 from what sounds to me like a stroke or brain haemorrhage.

MORE INFORMATION ON FREDERIC CAVAN BLYTH, Lilian's father:

Crockford's Clerical Directory issues of 1880 p 101 and 1895 p134 confirm Lilian's details.

At www.familysearch.org some information on the parish of Kirkby Laythorpe with Asgarby.

This website quotes A Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England volume 2 by Frederic A Youngs, published by the Royal Historical Society 1991: the parish was created in 1737 by an amalgamation of the 2 original parishes, its parish church is St Denis. The website also quotes A Topographical Dictionary of England by Samuel A Lewis published 1848: the amalgamated parish had a rector (rather than a vicar). The parish's patron was the Marquess of Bristol; and its income at 1848 was £287 pa.

The parish of Kew-with-Petersham: London Gazette 27 March 1866 published the full text of a plea submitted to Queen Victoria by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners dated 24 March 1866 to do a swap deal in patronage. Currently the Provost and scholars of King's College Cambridge owned the advowson of the vicarage of Kew-w-Petersham; and the Crown was currently patron of the rectory of Great Munden Herts. Subject to Queen Victoria's approval, the swap would see King's College Cambridge taking over the patronage of Gt Munden; and the Crown taking over Kew-with-Petersham. John, Earl Russell is mentioned in the plea as bringing the request of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the Crown's attention. The attached schedule showed Kew-with-Petersham didn't have a vicarage building; the parish currently had a population of 1736; and the yearly income of the vicar was £485. The plea, and thus the swap, was agreed by the Queen and its details were issued on 24 March 1866 by Buckingham Palace. Frederic Cavan Blyth was therefore appointed to the vicarage of Kew-with-Petersham by the Provost of King's College Cambridge; which was odd, seeing he was an Oxford man.

The British Library catalogue had a few publications by Frederic Cavan Blyth:

Thoughts on the Seven Last Words of Christ Crucified

Thoughts on the Lord's Prayer published 1882

Invitation to Confirmation; and several other works addressed to people preparing for their confirmation.

LILIAN AND THE RUSSELLS

At www.archive.org you can read the full text of a copy of Lady John Russell: A Memoir now in Cornell University Library; published in 1910 or shortly after, editor Desmond McCarthy. On a website at www.munseys.com I found a letter dated 16 November 1883 from Countess Russell (now a widow) to Miss Lilian Blyth, written from Dunrozel Haslemere; number 104 in a collection of her letters. The text begins: "Your letter is just like you, and that means all that is dear and good and loving"; it goes on to say that Lady Russell feels even this late in her life it's better to look forward than back.

Via the web to snippet of The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell edited by Kenneth Blackwell Volume 1 published 1983 p383 Annotations to Paper 9, footnote 44:5 is a brief note on Lilian Blyth, called "Lilly". The footnote describes her as a "close friend of the Russell family". However, the footnote is the only mention of anyone called Blyth in this Volume and Lilian's only other appearance in any of the Collected Papers is in Volume 14, edited K Blackwell published 1988. I think I'm safe in saying that Lilian's closest friend amongst the Russells was Countess Russell. See wikipedia for Bertrand Russell's childhood.

LILIAN'S ONE MUSICAL COMPOSITION

Bibliography of Organ Music by W B Henshaw. The 2nd edition, published 2002 by Bardon Enterprises of Portsmouth. The main text is composers for organ, with lists of their organ works. On p120 ONE piece of music by "L G M" Blyth. It's a prelude for organ, published in 1890 by Schott. On p1316 in a list of the main music publishers: Schott and Co of Mainz Germany www.schott-music.com.

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS

A precis of the coverage by Times of National Society of Professional Musicians. The Times' earliest coverage of the Society was 1886, the latest 1892; so I'm not sure whether it continued after this date. The Times covered the Society's annual conference, and reported its keynote speech at some length. The general gist of these was the poor quality of musical education in Britain, leading to a lack of sufficiently trained musicians for orchestras etc. Every person mentioned in the Times' coverage was male; in most years the Times only noted the names of the important speakers. These items seemed more relevant to Lilian Blyth:

Times 9 January 1886 p10 report on the Society's first ever annual conference, at the Charing Cross Hotel. An effort had been made to encourage musicians based in London to attend it; the Society was actively canvassing for new members. Mr Chadfield was its secretary; his speech was about the need for potential concert audiences to be sure that the musicians they might hear had been properly trained. This report described the organisation of the Society in some detail, including the vetting process. The Society was divided into two sets of sections: one with reference to the instruments the members might play; and one based on regions within Britain. In each instrumental section, there would be a secretary and a ruling Council with 15 elected members.

My modern source: *Musical Women in England 1870-1914: Encroaching on all Man's Privileges*, by Paula Gillett. Macmillan 2000. Lilian Blyth is not in the index.

Books; Ltd Editions... 22pp catalogue issued by Phillips, Son and Neale of New Bond Street 1973 for an auction due Tuesday 26 June 1973. The items for sale included a "presentation" copy first edition of Wagner's *Der Ring*; plus maps and other Mss previously owned by Mrs Blyth-Praeger.

FERDINAND PRAEGER

Times 3 September 1891 p7: obituary.

The University of Buffalo's Music Library has the largest set of pieces composed by Ferdinand Praeger. The University's websites were a good source for Praeger. The University's catalogue Mus.Arc.46 lists 480 scores, the majority of which are works for piano.

Musical Women in England 1870-1914 by Paula Gillett, see above for its publication details. Just noting that on p25 Gillett describes Ferdinand Praeger as agreeing with the widely-held belief that women were intellectually inferior to men.

At www.jstor.org a copy of the Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association's 14th session 1887-88. The Association's meeting of 2 April 1888 was chaired by Ferdinand Praeger. J S Shedlock read a paper on the correspondence between Wagner and Liszt.

Richard Wagner and the English by Anne Dzamba Sessa 1979 p43 says that the Royal Musical Association was founded in 1874; for the study of music rather than the performing of it. See the web - it still exists.

WAGNER AND PRAEGER

At www.wagnersociety.org you can see that the Wagner Society is still very much alive. The London branch is just one of many all over the world.

The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London by Christina Bashford 2007. On p304: London Wagner Society founded 1872 by Edward Dannreuther. Its 1st president was Lord Lindsay. Beginning in 1873 it organised performances of “sections” of Wagner’s operas and helped fuel (quoting Bashford) “the first upsurge in Wagnerism in Britain” which she dates to the 1880s and 1890s. The Society publishes a journal, originally called Meister but having various other titles since.

Historical Dictionary of English Music c1400-1958 editors Steven E Plank and Charles E McGuire. 2011. NB that this book wasn’t in the BL catalogue so I haven’t been able to get full publication details. However, you can read the entire text on the web. Entry p104 for Edward Dannreuther. 1844-1905. With William Ashton Ellis, one of the great promoters of Wagner’s works, in late 19th century Britain. He translated Wagner’s prose works and wrote on Wagner for Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Born Germany, childhood in US before studying at Leipzig Conservatory 1860-63. Arrived London 1863. Professor of piano, Royal College of Music. In 1877 organised a London-based Wagner festival; Wagner came to it and stayed w Dannreuther.

The Wagner Society journal Meister:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine published London: George Redway of York Street Covent Garden. Volume I September 1887-February 1888. Volume 1 number 6 issued 15 February 1888 p500 mentioned the publication of a new journal devoted to Wagner, called The Meister and published by George Redway for the Richard Wagner Society. It was edited by William Ashton Ellis, author of Theosophy In The Works of Richard Wagner. On p501 there’s a reference to one member of the committee of the Richard Wagner Society being also a member of TS’s London Lodge; unfortunately it doesn’t say who.

A modern assessment of Wagner and Praeger:

Wagner: A Biography by Curt von Westernhagen 1981 in the Chapter Der Ring des Nibelungen on p208 von Westernhagen says that Wagner mentioned Ferdinand Praeger in his Mein Leben as having helped Wagner when Wagner was visiting London. Von Westernhagen quotes Wagner’s description of Praeger: “uncommonly good-natured...too touchy about his educational qualifications”. According to this biography, Wagner visited Ferdinand Praeger occasionally, but in Europe not in London. I used Von Westernhagen as my main source for the controversy over Wagner as I Knew Him; he covers it on pp 208-09.

THE BOOK WAGNER AS I KNEW HIM a reprint of the original 1892 edition, published 2003 by the University Press of the Pacific in Honolulu Hawaii is on the web via googlebooks.

Times Wed 17 February 1892 p11 Publications To-Day includes Wagner as I knew him.

In Times Thursday 25 February 1892 p4 Books of the Week, Wagner as I knew him gets a paragraph.

See wikipedia on Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Richard Wagner and the English by Anne Dzamba Sessa 1979 also covers the uproar, pp42-44.

Despite being discredited Wagner as I Knew Him was often used as a source in early biographies of Wagner, eg Wagner and His Works: the Story of his Life with Critical Comments by Henry T Finck.

WAGNER'S OPERAS IN LONDON

Times 2 Jan 1882 p4 reported the details of Carl Rosa's opera season at Her Majesty's Theatre, which had just been released.

Times Wed 26 April 1882 German opera season gave full details of the coming Ring cycles.

Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre by Sheila Gooddie. London: Methuen 1990. On p23 Gooddie says that the Ring cycle of 1882 used the scenery from original 1876 performances at Bayreuth. Annie and her brother Emslie went and became (quoting Gooddie) "disciples of Wagner". Annie was Wagner's "devoted pilgrim" going to Bayreuth every year but one in the next 30. She also became a Germanophile, particularly liking Munich's cleanliness and its beer. Her interest in Wagner led to a friendship p24 with William Ashton Ellis, editor of *Meister* magazine and translator of Wagner's prose works and his journal. Annie helped Ellis with those translations.

FERDINAND PRAEGER'S OTHER INTERESTS

Via google to A Bookman's Catalogue Volume 2, its section on Swinburne. One of the books listed there is a copy of Charles Wells' *Joseph and his Brethren: A Dramatic Poem*, published by Chatto and Windus 1876; to which Swinburne had written the introduction. The book is inscribed "Dr Ferdinand Praeger with George E J Powell's friendly regards"; and it's also signed Wilfred G F Praeger 5 January 1890.

At www.archiveswales.org.uk: the George Powell archive. George Ernest John Powell 1842-1882. Son of a landowner; estate is Nanteos nr Aberystwyth. Eton. Brasenose College. Traveller. Collector. 3 volumes poetry. Translated some Icelandic sagas. Knew Swinburne and Longfellow. Inherited the Nanteos estate 1878. Married 1881 Dinah T Harries of Goodwick Pembrokeshire. No child.

FERDINAND PRAEGER MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

Marriage of Ferdinand Wilhelm Christian Praeger to Léonie Eugenie Alexandrina Bazile registered Marylebone January-March quarter 1849.

Birth Henry Johann (John) Ferdinand Praeger registered Marylebone October-December 1850.

Birth Adele Mary Franciska Praeger registered Marylebone April-June 1852; her death registered Marylebone Apr-June 1853

Birth Richard Wagner Charles Henry Praeger registered Marylebone July-September 1855. I found him living at home on the 1861 census but he wasn't on any census after that. Writers on Praeger and on Wagner assume that the boy died. I couldn't find a death registration on freebmd but that's actually not unusual with the deaths of young children.

Birth Edward Paul René Praeger registered Kensington January-March 1858; his death registered Kensington October-December 1858

Birth Ferdinand Ernest Frederick Praeger registered Kensington April-June 1861; his death registered Kensington Apr-June 1863.

I found no further death registrations in this Praeger family before end 1881.

Birth Léonie E C Praeger registered Kensington January-March 1866

Birth Wilfred George F Praeger registered Kensington January-March 1869

Birth Brunhilde Claire M Praeger registered Kensington January-March 1871

I found no further birth registrations in this Praeger family after 1871.

WILFRED PRAEGER'S SIBLINGS

Marriage Léonie Elise C Praeger to John Andrew Edwards registered Fulham July-September 1887

Times 24 June 1902 p1a: marriage notice for Wilfred's brother Lt-Col Henry, to Kate Lucy Houtchen.

Kate Lucy Houtchen Praeger must have died, though I couldn't find a death registration for her on freebmd. Because

Marriage Henry John F Praeger registered Fulham January-March 1907; the bride was either Agnes Wallace or Lucy Anna Dawes; I haven't been able to find out which.

Wilfred's brother Henry John F Praeger is the Colonel Praeger Henry Norris knew:

Times 18 October 1909 p12 Col H J F Praeger is chair of the board of management of Kensington and Fulham General Hospital.

Seen via Ancestry: marriage of Brunhilde Claire Myria Praeger to Frederick James Harriman took place 1919 in Winnipeg

Times Saturday 7 April 1951 p1a death notices: Léonie Edwards had died on 5 April 1951; widow of John A Edwards of the War Office. Mother of Dick [Edwards] and of Muriel Monier-Williams.

WILFRED PRAEGER

A possible first job for him: via google to a snippet from a Charities Digest issued by the Charities Organisation Society (now known as the Family Welfare Association) in 1890; on p271 Wilfred Praeger is described as Assistant Secretary, working for an elected Management Committee and with an Honorary Lady Superintendent. I've tried to follow up this snippet, to find out exactly where Wilfred was employed, but I can't track down a paper version of this book. It's most likely that he was working for one of the COS's local committees - the COS had one for each Poor Law Board.

ARTISTIC INTERESTS and the GD

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume IV covering 1905-1907 but also containing an Addenda section of newly-discovered letters from earlier, which would have been published in volumes I-III if they had been known then. Editors John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Published Oxford University Press 2005. On p935 in the Addenda section; letter to W Praeger, apologising for the delay in sending Annie Horniman's telephone number so that Praeger can ask her to send a GD Pledge Form; and inviting him to next Monday's 'at home'. From W B Yeats to W Praeger at 23 Brackenbury Road; no date but postmarked "AP 1 92". The biographical details attached to this letter are not good: they call Wilfred 'William' and suppose that he was related to an Irish family of Praegers, which as far as I could discover, he wasn't.

The Musical World 1866-91 by Richard Kitson and Liesbeth Hoedemaeker 2006 p2057 mentions a letter written by Wilfred Praeger to the magazine Musical World, in response to an

article by Cave Thomas about beauty in art. I couldn't see a date on this for Wilfred's letter on this snippet and I couldn't find a copy of the book at the British Library.

The website www.philsp.com/homeville/FMI/1854.htm is The Fiction Magazines Index. There are three entries only from Wilfred Praeger, all in the magazine Atalanta:

March 1891: Sir Frederick Leighton PRA

May 1891: W B Richmond ARA

March 1892: Women in Contemporary Art Part I: Mrs Jopling.

See wikipedia for more on Atalanta magazine which ran from 1887 to 1898.

World War 1: London Gazette Supplement issued 3 July 1917 p6642 in the middle of a very long list of temporary promotions and appointments: Wilfred George Ferdinand Praeger is promoted as of 15 June 1917 to be a temporary 2nd Lieutenant in the 20th battalion, County of London Volunteer Regiment.

LILIAN AND WILFRED ARE MARRIED

Times 21 July 1898 p1a: the marriage of Lilian Blyth and Wilfred Praeger had taken place "on the 19th inst" [19 July 1898]. Rev Blyth had conducted the marriage service.

Via Ancestry's London marriages to the entry for Wilfred and Lilian. As you don't seem to be able to access these any more I give the details: the marriage of Wilfred George Frederick Praeger to Lilian Grace Mary Blyth took place on 19 July 1898 at All Saints Marylebone.

Wilfred: 29; bachelor; "Gentleman"; of All Saints Margaret St; father Ferdinand, professor of music.

Lilian: 34; spinster; rank/profession crossed through as it usually was with brides; I couldn't read Lilian's address which was a pity; father Frederic Cavan Blyth, clerk in holy orders.

Witnesses included: Léonie Praeger; Edith Douglas Popham Blyth; Frank ?Ainley; Frank Edward P[surname]

THE PRAEGERS IN THE 1930s

Times 15 April 1931 p17 a "Mr and Mrs Praeger" attended the marriage of Lieutenant-Commander D H Tollemache RN son of Mr H G Tollemache of Ham House Richmond, and his late wife. The bride was Alys K Bebbington daughter of Canon J H Bebbington of Slinfold Sussex. The Times printed only a short list of guests; no one else called Blyth or Praeger was mentioned.

BRITISH EMPIRE ACADEMY CLUB

Times 1 June 1931 p11 reported two police raids, on 3 December [1930] and again in January [1931] on the British Empire Academy Club, during which they caught the club infringing the licensing laws. An initial hearing in the case had taken place "on Saturday" at Marlborough Police Court. The accused was the British Empire Academy Club Ltd of 19 Dover St which had a place for dancing etc like a nightclub at the BEA Club in the New Burlington Galleries; it was there that the offences and the raids took place. The BEA Club was now being accused of selling alcohol without a licence and selling it after hours. In the dock were: W G F Praeger, one of BEA Ltd's directors, of Werter Road Putney; Charles Pears of Bedford Park, Thomas Henry Dey of New Bond Street, and the BEA Club's secretary Ursula Dimsdale. Other named people were accused of aiding and abetting them. The court heard that BEA Ltd

had first been registered on 24 December 1927; and that its Club had been registered on 5 February 1930. They were both private limited companies; Lord Howard de Walden had originally been a director. The case was adjourned and I couldn't find any other reports on it in the Times.

LILIAN'S DEATH

Times 18 April 1942 p1a death notice for Lilian Grace Mary wife of Wilfred Praeger late of Buckminster and Putney; eldest daughter of the late Rev F C Blyth rector of Silk Willoughby. She had died on 16 April 1942 in London. Times 20 Apr 1942 p1b repeated the information given in the notice of the 18th, and added that the funeral would be at 12 noon "to-day (Mon)" at Sacred Heart Convent Roehampton.

Further information on Sacred Heart Convent from Roehampton University's website as the Convent's teacher training college is now part of the university. There is still a Society of the Sacred Heart at 83 Roehampton Lane.

For an account of a father-in-law who gained custody of his grandchild in 1915 on the grounds that the child's father was a Roman Catholic convert, see *Bosie: A Biography of Lord Alfred Douglas* by Douglas Murray. Published Hodder and Stoughton 2000.

WILFRED'S DEATH

Probate Registry: Wilfred George Frederick Praeger of Holloway Sanatorium Virginia Water died on 10 October 1955. See wikipedia for Holloway Sanatorium including an engraving of the hospital as originally built.

LILIAN AND WILFRED'S SON JOHN BLYTH-PRAEGER

Times 4 July 1932 p15 report on the Stonyhurst Association dinner held at Claridge's "on Saturday". Mr J Praeger was at the dinner; and he was in the list of people who were not guests, so I assume he's an old-boy of the school. See wikipedia for further information on Stonyhurst College, first founded in 1593.

Times 14 June 1933 p17 engagement announcements: John Frederic Blyth Praeger only son of Mr and Mrs W Praeger, to Sheila daughter of the late Mr and the late Mrs W Rice Healy. The marriage would take place in July.

Times 3 July 1934 p1a birth notices: John Blyth Praeger and Sheila née Healy had had a daughter, born 1 July 1934 at Wimbledon.

This is probably the daughter: *Ampleforth Journal* volumes 65-66 1960 p54 reported the wedding of Ann Blyth-Praeger to John Peter Harvest.

John Blyth-Praeger's interests:

1) Aylesford Mss now in the Lilly Library Indiana University: covering the period 1941-68, material (letters notes etc) collected by Father Brocard Sewell when he was editor of the *Aylesford Review*, a literary quarterly magazine sponsored by the British Carmelites and which ran 1955-68. John Blyth-Praeger has some material in the collection; so has Gerald Yorke. Not all of the writers are Roman Catholics.

2) the *Radionic Journal* 1954-2003, magazine of the Radionic Society, has articles and

lectures by John Blyth-Praeger covering 1958, 1963, 1966, 1970, 1972 (2 pieces), 1974, 1978 but not later. In 1963 Blyth-Praeger was vice-president of the British Society of Dowzers. Website www.radionic.co.uk descs radionics as a method of “sending precisely defined healing energy” over distances; based on a belief that every living body has an energy field arnd it which is weakened by stress or pollution, making it vulnerable to illness. This is definitely Golden Dawn territory! At [//homepage.ntlworld.com](http://homepage.ntlworld.com), information that the Radionic Association was founded in 1943 for professionals and interested lay-people.

At www.britishdowzers.org: the British Society of Dowzers was founded in 1933 and is still in existence.

THE 9TH EARL OF DYSART

Descent of the earldom to the Manners and Tollemache families: see www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk

Wikipedia on the earldom of Dysart: it's a Scottish peerage, created 1643 for William Murray. The 8th Earl is Lionel William John Tollemache 1794-1878. It's the 9th Earl who knows the Blyth and Praeger families: William John Manners Tollemache 1859-1935. The 9th Earl was President of the London Wagner Society from 1884 to 1895. As earl of Dysart he owned these houses: Ham House, Petersham Surrey; and Buckminster Park Grantham. At his death his sister's daughter, Wynefryde succeeded him as the 10th Countess; and the house and land at Ham went to relations called Tollemache.

9TH EARL OF DYSART AND THE PRAEGER FAMILY

Rediscovering Pieces of the Past: Ferdinand Praeger is the catalogue, now online, of an exhibition in the University of Buffalo Music Library during 2012, curated by Jessica Nay. On p2: the British Library has 93 of Ferdinand Praeger's works. On p8 there's a reproduction of an Impromptu by Ferdinand Praeger composed in June 1889 and dedicated to Ethel Smyth (1858-1944). On p12 is the reproduction of the contract between the Earl of Dysart and Ferdinand Praeger, dated 1 March 1890. A note on p12 says it was also the Earl who commissioned from Praeger the book that became Wagner as I knew him. On p14 there's a reproduction of Praeger's last composition, with a note to that effect written on it by his wife Léonie; it's the Volkslied of 7 June 1891.

OTHER INFORMATION ON 9TH EARL OF DYSART

Reports and papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the Counties of Lincoln and Northamptonshire volume 18 1885 pli has the Earl of Dysart in a list, probably of current members.

Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society volume 6 1888 pxiii the Earl of Dysart in another list, again probably of current members.

Coates's Herd Book volume 41 issued 1895 by the Shorthorn Society of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; p684 refers to an animal bred at Buckminster Park.

Notice of the death of the 9th Earl's mother, I couldn't see the month on the snippet: Annual Register volume 138 1896 p192 list of death notices includess one for Lady Huntingtower - Katharine Elizabeth Camilla, daughter of Sir Joseph Burke 11th Baronet of Glinsk; who'd died “on the 20th, at Buckminster Park, Grantham”.

Bristol and West and Southern Counties Society [1897] pviii and pix lists 2 separate horses bred by the 9th Earl of Dysart at Buckminster Park.

Shire Horse Stud Book volume 26 1905 issued by the Shire Horse Society; p891 the 9th Earl of Dysart has been a member since July 1885. He's a registered breeder with 2 horses in this year's book, both foaled in 1903.

Armstrong Siddeley Motors: The Cars, the Company and the People by Bill Smith 2006; has a list of all cars sold, with details of their purchasers. On p199 in section The Roaring Twenties car number 6070, a Grasmere 34 Landaulette was sold on 17 February 1928 to William Tollemache 9th Earl of Dysart. A note says that the 9th Earl owned 27000 acres, in Surrey and around Grantham.

There don't seem to be similar books listing who bought which Rolls Royce! Still a company secret I guess.

THE 9TH EARL'S DEATH

Times Saturday 23 November 1935 p16 obituary of the 9th Earl of Dysart who had died "yesterday" at Buckminster Park.

Times Tuesday 26 November 1935 p17 a very short report on the 9th Earl's funeral; the only mourners mentioned by name are members of the Tollemache family.

9TH EARL AND HAM HOUSE is from the wikipedia page on the HOUSE not on the Dysarts. Source for the information is probably articles in Ham House and its Owners through Five Centuries editor Evelyn Pritchard, published Richmond Local History Society; though wikipedia page had no footnote indications on the paragraph on the 9th Earl.

BUCKMINSTER PARK

At [//lh.matthewbeckett.com/houses/lh_leicestershire_buckminsterpark_info_gallery.html](http://lh.matthewbeckett.com/houses/lh_leicestershire_buckminsterpark_info_gallery.html) the Lost Heritage site, there are some pictures of the Buckminster Park, the house the 9th Earl knew and lived in. It's a pity they are only of the outside and don't include the top-lit staircase mentioned in Pevsner.

Leicestershire and Rutland by N Pevsner, E Williamson and Geoffrey K Brandwood 1985; on p37 Buckminster Park house is described as the "grandest" classical-style building in Leicestershire; designed by Samuel Saxon built 1793-98 with a spectacular staircase. P37 says this house was knocked down "in 1950" but on p117 in the section on the villages of Buckminster and Burbage, the date of the demolition is given as 1952. The big house was replaced by a smaller neo-Georgian building. Landscaping of the estate was to a design by Repton c 1793; some of it is still there. P116 St John the Baptist church has the Dysart mausoleum. The church was restored 1883-84 by C Kirk of Sleaford; Pevsner describes it as "dull". A footnote on p117: the 1790s big house was built for Sir William Manners. It had a "spectacular top-lit staircase hall". Its architect Samuel Saxon had been a pupil of Sir William Chambers.

It's clear from various websites including nationalarchives etc that records for the Ham House estate and Buckminster Park, and records of the Tollemache family, are still kept at Buckminster; and that various historians have been allowed to look at them. I haven't tried to gain access to them myself.

THE 9th EARL'S EXECUTORS SUE HOWIE GOLD MINES

At www.bonhams.com an advert dated 25 October 2005 for a forthcoming sale which would include 20 bearer certificates issued by Howie Gold Mines Ltd in 1934. I think it was bearer certificates issued at around this time that became the subject of the court case.

Times 29 November 1934 p23 in the business news: a news:long report of a meeting of Howie Gold Mines “yesterday” at Winchester House Old Broad Street. This is the meeting Wilfred Praeger attended. The report said of Praeger, not that he was a shareholder himself but that he “represented a very substantial holding in the company and its allied interests”.

[THE 9TH EARL OF DYSART DIED AT THIS POINT, November 1935]

Times Wednesday 30 December 1936 p17: a report on the AGM of Howie Gold Mines Ltd which had been held “yesterday”. Three of the firm’s directors had died during the past 12 months, and as a result A Garner Stevens (see below, he’s the company secretary) had joined the board. The meeting had been dominated by the mine the Company owned in Sumatra. The company had used up all its cash reserves trying to develop it, and had had to take out a loan. An action being brought against the board of directors by an unnamed person or persons had held up the company’s attempts to raise money. The action was about “transactions in the Bearer shares”.

London Gazette 8 February 1938 p857: notices under the Companies Act 1929 included one issued 5 February 1938 by A Garner Stevens, as company secretary of Howie Gold Mines. A meeting of the company’s creditors would be held at Winchester House Old Broad Street.

Times Fri 21 April 1939 p4 Shares Sold to the Late Earl of Dysart: announcing that a date of 6 June 1939 had been set for this case in which the executors of the Earl were the plaintiffs; and the defendants had all been directors of Howie Gold Mines when the Earl had bought shares in the company. The hearing was having to wait until Edward Lionel Fletcher, one of the defendants, had returned from Australia. The Earl’s executors were alleging that the directors had made false claims to induce the Earl to buy shares. The defendants were countering that there had been no fraud, that they had been acting on “information on which they were entitled to rely”. At the time he had bought the shares the Earl had been “very old and unable to do business properly by himself”. His private secretary (that’s Wilfred Praeger) had represented him in the negotiations; he (Praeger) was now described as “also an old man, about to undergo a serious operation”.

Times Friday 9 June 1939 p4 Law Notices: actions today has “Dysart and anr” v Howie Gold Mines and Others at the top of the waiting list.

There was no more coverage of the case in the Times or on the web. However, the outcome of the trial didn’t benefit Howie Gold Mines:

London Gazette 28 February 1941 p1238 Companies Act 1929, voluntary liquidations. Notice issued 28 February 1941 announcing that a final meeting of creditors of Howie Gold Mines would take place on 31 March 1941.

Howie Gold Mines did continue to exist after the liquidation:

At www.geology.ontario.mndmf.gov.on.ca is a list issued by the Ontario Ministry of Northern Dvpt and Mines; a list of possible and actual mining sites in the province. They include Hutchison Lake Mine; Howie Gold Mines had held an option on mining at the Lake, but dropped it in 1946.

Canadian National Magazine volumes 41-42 1955 p15 a reference to what I suppose is the same firm but now it’s called Consolidated Howie Gold Mines.

11 August 2015

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Bogdan Edward Jastrzebski Edwards was one of the earliest members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, being initiated in November 1888 at its Horus Temple in Bradford, which he had helped to found. He chose the Latin motto "Deus lux solis", a motto he also used in another secret order. He was an experienced occultist so the work demanded of initiates before they could progress further in the Order was no problem for him. However, he was a very busy man so it was February 1893 before he was initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order (where you were actually allowed to do practical magic). He continued to be an important member of the Horus Temple at Bradford during the 1890s and was the temple's Praemonstrator as late as 1900; though I think he did not remain committed for much longer than that. His wife Henrietta Edwards was initiated into the GD several years later, in March 1892, choosing the Latin motto "Spes et caritas". Her commitment was not as great as her husband's; she doesn't seem to have done much of the study that was required for initiation into the GD's 2nd order and may not have gone to many rituals.

Bogdan Edwards' brother, Stanley Jastrzebski (later Jast) was also a member of the GD.

A WORD OF WARNING BEFORE I START: this is my biography of two members of the Golden Dawn who lived in Yorkshire. I could have done a much better job of it if I lived in the area myself and could look at local archives. In this particular case I could also have done a better job were it not for the family's original surname! (It's Polish and is pronounced Yast-shemb-ski.) And all the times it was mis-spelled by British officials!! It's no wonder several members of the family opted to give it up as a bad job and take a surname whose spelling and pronunciation weren't in doubt.

THE JASTRZEBSKI FAMILY

Bogdan Edwards and Stanley Jast were sons of a man who had moved to England from the Austro-Hungarian empire. A short but thorough biography of Stanley Jast was published in 1966 (for details see the Sources section below) and here I borrow from the biography the story of why Stanley's father came here. It was a typically 19th-century story, of political struggle, failure and exile.

Stefan Louis de Jastrzebski had been born in 1823 near Cracow. He had become an activist on behalf of an independent Poland in his early twenties and had visited England and France to try to drum up support for the cause. When Lajos (Louis) Kossuth had attempted to lead Hungary out of the empire, in 1848, he had joined the Polish Legion that fought on Kossuth's

side. Kossuth was defeated, however and he and many people who had fought for Hungary's independence fled abroad. Stefan Louis de Jastrzebski was one of them and he never went back to his homeland, becoming a British citizen in the 1870s.

I haven't been able to find out exactly when or how Stefan Louis de Jastrzebski got to England; I can only say that he will have arrived between 1849 (when the Austrians forced Hungary back into the empire) and 1859. Quite how he ended up in Kidderminster is a mystery, but that was where he met Elizabeth (Lizzie) Morgan, whom he married in 1859. Soon after they married, Stefan and Lizzie moved to the wealthy mill town of Halifax in west Yorkshire, and set up a tobacconist's business in the street that was known then as Barum Top but is now called George Street. They lived in Halifax for at least the next thirty years.

Stefan and Lizzie had three sons: Bogdan, Thaddeus and Louis (or Lewis) Stanley. Stefan and Lizzie were both great readers. They also believed in education as a way into the middle-classes and financial security, and were prepared to make sacrifices to ensure their sons got the kind of schooling that would lead to jobs in the professions. The boys all attended Park Congregational Chapel school to begin with, but then Stefan and Lizzie found extra money to pay for them to go to Field's Academy (sometimes referred to as Mr Field's Academy) in Halifax. Stefan and Lizzie's efforts were successful: Bogdan became a doctor and surgeon; Thaddeus joined the English civil service; Stanley became a librarian. Bogdan studied the Kabbala and the religions of ancient civilizations; Thaddeus wrote poetry; Stanley read theosophy and wrote plays.

Bogdan Edward Jastrzebski was the eldest son, born in 1860. After school, he went to Edinburgh University to study medicine. He graduated in 1884 and - in preparation for a lifetime of needing to have a name his patients could say - decided to change his surname. He opted to make his second forename into a surname, and so was known as Bogdan Edwards for the rest of his life.

Bogdan began his working life as house doctor and surgeon at Halifax Infirmary. After several years gaining experience there - I'm not sure exactly when but perhaps around the time of his marriage - he decided to become a general practitioner. By 1891 he was working as a GP in the village of Brookfoot, near Brighouse, living above his consulting rooms at 138 Elland Road. He had married Henrietta Palmer in 1887.

Henrietta Palmer was born in 1861 in Halifax. Her mother Ellen (sometimes spelled Hellen) was a local woman but her father, John Castledine Palmer, had moved to Yorkshire from Huntingdonshire. I couldn't identify either Ellen or John Castledine Palmer on the 1861 census but in 1871 John Castledine Palmer was in business for himself as a tailor, at 8 Waterhouse Street Halifax. A bit of evidence from the 1881 census suggests that Ellen might have helped run the business. Henrietta had two elder brothers, William and Thomas; and two sisters, Emily Ann who was older than her, and Louisa who was by several years the youngest in the family.

I don't know where Henrietta and her siblings went to school. By 1881 Henrietta was working as a hosier, probably in her father's business which was expanding at that time to include drapery as well as tailoring. But John Castledine Palmer over-reached himself: I found some evidence on the web that the business went into liquidation around 1889.

In 1891 Bogdan and Henrietta Edwards were living in the village of Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse with their son Harold (born 1890). They had one more child, Elsie, born in 1897. By 1901 they had moved to 46 Bradford Road Brighouse where they were still living in 1911. They lived modestly with the one live-in servant regarded by Victorians as the base-level for describing yourself (and being seen by others) as middle-class. Bogdan continued as a GP until his death though he did take on two other jobs as well. I haven't been able to check the references as they are in local government records, but articles on him on several websites say that Bogdan was appointed Medical Officer of Health for the parish of Southowram in 1890. Later he also worked as Medical Officer for the district of Brighouse, Clifton and Hartshead. As a medical officer he was in charge of compiling health statistics for the parish (later the local council) and overseeing the testing of water supplies. In addition to this heavy workload he also did a lot of voluntary work. He helped to set up the local brigade of the St John's Ambulance corps; and was Scoutmaster of the local Boy Scouts and on the executive committee of the Boy Scouts Association. Henrietta also volunteered with St John's Ambulance and I'm suggesting (for the evidence see the War years below) that she helped Bogdan with his medical practice, perhaps not so much as a nurse but as her husband's receptionist/secretary.

I haven't been able to find out exactly when Bogdan Edwards first became interested in the occult but I would guess it was during his 20s - the 1880s. He learned Hebrew in order to study the Kabbalah from original texts. He had grown up bi-lingual, I imagine (Polish and English) and even learned Esperanto later in life. This ability to learn foreign languages quickly and easily meant that he was able to read some Hindu texts, and perhaps Mexican and Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs (he is known to have studied both).

It was probably through his interest in the Kabbalah that Bogdan became friendly with Thomas Henry Pattinson, who ran his own watch-making and jewellery business in Bradford. Pattinson was a keen occultist with many contacts in English occult circles including the alchemist Alexander William Ayton (who became a senior member of the GD) and freemasons like F G Irwin and John Yarker who researched symbolism and reconstructed/invented freemasonry rituals.

This allowed him to become a member of the Halifax Past Masters' Association; and he also rose through the local freemasons' ranks to be Provincial Senior Grand Deacon of West Yorkshire. He served as a governor of the West Yorkshire Educational and Benevolent Institution.

I think it was through Pattinson that Bogdan became involved with the August Order of Light, confusingly also known as the Oriental Order of Light.

The exact date that Bogdan and Pattinson found out about the AOL's existence is a matter of some debate amongst historians of 19th century freemasonry. Yasha Beresiner's *Masonic Curiosities*, the most intelligible account of the A/OOL that I found, argues that Bogdan and Pattinson got permission from M V Portman to set up an offshoot of the August Order of Light in Bradford as early as 1890; though that date is a deduction by Beresiner as the warrant that Portman issued to them (which still exists, in the Masonic Hall in Blackwell, Halifax) is undated. It was not until 1902 that the Bradford Garuda Temple of the Oriental Order of Light was officially launched. Although it was organised and ordered like a freemasons' lodge, with a proper hierarchy of officials and job titles for them, set dates for meetings, the idea of the senior officers serving for one year in the job etc, it wasn't affiliated to the United Grand Lodge of England and - I suppose and at least to begin with -

membership was open to non-freemasons. Its most senior officer seems to have been called the Guardian of Light. As the A/OOL's founders, Thomas Henry Pattinson (1902) and Bogdan Edwards (1902-03) were its first two Guardians of Light; later they were given the title Arch-President to denote their status as founders. The Garuda Temple held its meetings during Bogdan's lifetime at 81 King's Arcade, Market Street Bradford, very near to where Pattinson had his shop. Bogdan lectured regularly at the Temple's meetings.

Portman had given Bogdan and Pattinson a copy of the ritual he had devised for his August Order of Light when he'd sent them their warrant. Between that date (whenever it was) and 1902, the two of them had worked on it, adding in symbolism and ritual inspired by ancient Greece and Rome, ancient Egypt (probably Bogdan's contribution) and ancient and modern India.

In Bradford, the August or Oriental Order of Light (A/OOL), the Order of the Golden Dawn, and the Theosophical Society all started up at about the same time. Pattinson was a prime mover in all of them: he was a freemason and he was the one who knew William Wynn Westcott, senior member of the Theosophical Society in London and one of the founders of the GD. Bogdan almost certainly met Westcott through Pattinson and was probably offered initiation into the GD on the strength of his interest in the Kabbala and his ritual-writing for the A/OOL. He joined the Theosophical Society a little later, in 1891. He and his brother Louis Stanley were both founder-members of the TS's Bradford Lodge in February 1891 and at this stage all the Lodge's committee and nearly all its ordinary members were members of the GD as well. Bogdan was elected vice-president for its year 1892-93 but left Bradford Lodge in August 1893 to become a senior member of the city's other lodge, called Athene (there was never a TS lodge in Brighouse).

Freemasonry was a men-only preserve of course. But the GD and the TS both allowed women in. Henrietta Edwards did not perhaps have much time for studying occult texts and rituals, and it may have been more difficult for her to find time to attend meetings in Bradford; but she did join the TS, in 1893, and remained a member for longer than her husband. She was never a member of Bradford Lodge, only of Athene Lodge, its opponent in what might have been a Bradford reflection of the bitter power struggle that tore apart the TS in the mid-1890s. Like many other members, Bogdan and Henrietta let their membership lapse as the power struggle continued. Many TS members who had supported the side that eventually lost never renewed their membership, and Bogdan was one of them. Both Bradford lodges were in abeyance in the late 1890s and neither Bogdan nor Henrietta were active members after Bradford Lodge was set up for a second time in 1902. Perhaps Bogdan's interest in the A/OOL was rekindled by the rows that beset the GD as well as the TS at this time; and in 1902 he finally became a freemason, joining Brighouse Lodge 1301.

Brighouse Lodge 1301 was a typical local freemasons' lodge, its members being local professionals and tradesmen. It did not have many members, so Bogdan served his year as the lodge's Worshipful Master only a few years after being initiated, from December 1907 to December 1908.

Despite no longer being active in the GD, Bogdan and Pattinson both kept in touch with William Wynn Westcott, who often went north to give talks at the A/OOL in the early 1900s. In 1908 or 1909 Bogdan joined the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA), of which Westcott was Supreme Magus. Not exactly a freemasons' lodge, but open to freemasons only, SRIA members studied Rosicrucian texts, history and symbolism. Though Bogdan was a member of SRIA's Woodman College which was based in Bradford, in 1911 he did submit one paper to the London college (known as the Metropolitan College): The Vision of Mer-

Amen Ramzes 12th king of the 19th dynasty. He was too busy to get to London to read it himself, however - or maybe wanted to avoid awkward questions; so it was read by T W Lemon. Purporting to be a fable from ancient Egypt, the Vision was in fact a modern piece of fiction; I'm not sure how many of the listening SRIA members were aware of that! Bogdan's little leg-pull, perhaps; and very much in the GD tradition.

Bogdan continued to be a member of the A/OOL Garuda Temple, of SRIA, and probably of Brighthouse Lodge 1301 until his death.

The life of general practice, housework and voluntary work that Bogdan and Henrietta were leading was interrupted by World War 1. In late 1915 or early 1916 the Brighthouse corps of the St John's Ambulance brigade began to raise money to set up two field hospitals to help cope with the ever-increasing number of seriously injured casualties being sent back from the trenches. As senior members of the brigade, Bogdan and Henrietta led this fund-raising effort. Boothroyde Hospital at Rastrick (now the William Henry Smith school) opened in February 1916. This of course was the year of the Somme and by mid-summer its original 20 beds were totally inadequate. At first, tents in the grounds were set up, but with winter coming on, more money was raised and a second hospital set up in Brighthouse: Longroyde Hospital which opened in November 1916. Though some of the staff of both hospitals were paid, most (including Bogdan and Henrietta) were volunteers, with Bogdan Edwards as Commandant and head of the medical staff and Henrietta as Matron (of both hospitals, that is). Boothroyde Hospital treated 1082 patients before it was able to shut down in February 1919; Longroyde Hospital treated 893 patients and was needed for a little longer, the last of the inmates being moved to other hospitals only days before it closed in May. On Saturday 31 May 1919 the people involved at Longroyde held a closing and presentation ceremony: Bogdan and Henrietta were given a silver tea-set, Bogdan made the 'thank-you' speech. Both Bogdan and Henrietta got their due rewards elsewhere too: they met George V, who visited the hospitals several times; and Bogdan was awarded the MBE in 1920 and Henrietta the Royal Red Cross in 1918. Henrietta went to Buckingham Palace on 26 July 1918 with a group of VADs from the British Red Cross, to receive her award. I haven't found information confirming Bogdan at the Palace to receive his MBE.

My research on Henry George Norris has left me with the strong impression that 1917 was the worst year in World War 1. It was a terrible year personally for the Jastrzebski family. In the spring, Thaddeus de Jastrzebski's only son Hubert was killed in France; and in December 1917 Bogdan and Henrietta's son Harold died. Harold died in Brighthouse and was consequently able to be buried in the family plot; though I'm sure that was not much consolation to his parents. I haven't found any evidence that Harold fought in the war. In 1911 he was training to be a civil engineer so his skills may have been needed for the war effort at home. However, he might have volunteered, or been called up, and then failed his medical - perhaps that was the reason why he was not in the armed forces, as he was only 27 when he died. Grief and the strain of working at both the hospitals and in his GP practice took their toll particularly on Bogdan Edwards - his friends in the A/OOL agreed that his war experiences shortened his life. He died on 23 February 1923; aged only 63. Henrietta lived until 1946.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. The records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived beyond 1896 either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned. After surviving some difficult times in the 1890s, Bradford TS still seems to be going strong (as at December 2012). In April 2012 the History page was updated with the names of all the members at least up to 1941.

The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot, and needed careful management!

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR BOGDAN AND HENRIETTA EDWARDS

As the Jastrzebski surname is so problematic I give below census/freebmd details I normally don't include in my Sources section:

Marriage of Elizabeth Morgan to Louis Tastrzebski (sic) registered Kidderminster January-March quarter 1859.

Birth of Bogdan Edward Iastizebski (sic) registered Halifax January-March quarter 1860.

Yet another spelling: marriage of Thaddeus T S de Jastestaski registered Halifax April-June quarter 1890; his bride was Frances Elizabeth Thackrah.

Then brother Thaddeus muddied the waters even further by adding a 'de' in front of the surname: his daughter was registered Halifax July-September quarter 1891, as Norah de Jastrzebski. At least the registrar got the surname spelled correctly this time: perhaps Thaddeus did the registration himself, as he worked in that government department.

STEFAN JASTRZEBSKI AND BOGDAN'S CHILDHOOD

Louis Stanley Jast: A Biographical Sketch published London: The Library Association 1966. By W G Fry and W A Munford. Both Fry and Munford knew Stan Jast professionally. Mr B Klec-Pitewski had given them details of Stefan's early life in Poland and fighting for Kossuth's revolution. They had asked Bogdan Edward's daughter Elsie for details of the Jastrzebski family's life in Halifax.

For the life of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth: wikipedia.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 29 p816 has an entry for Stanley Jast, based on the book by Fry and Munford but also adding these details: Stefan and Lizzie's sons had all gone to the Halifax Park Chapel (probably the Sunday school); and that the third brother, Thaddeus, who never joined the GD, joined the civil service and ended his career as Assistant Registrar of England, in charge of births, marriages and deaths.

For more information on the schools that the Jastrzebski brothers attended see freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com at Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion.

Details of Bogdan's work as a Medical Officer; and the early addresses of his GP's practice were at this website though the sources of the information were not given: lowcalderlegends.wordpress.com, its Ghosts and Legends of the Lower Calder Valley page, where Bogdan is called "The Brighthouse Magus". At the bottom of the page is a photograph of the headstone on the Edwards family plot, with dates of death carved on it for Bogdan, Henrietta and Harold, but not for Elsie.

BOGDAN AND HENRIETTA IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Bogdan Edwards: Theosophical Society Membership Register vol January 1889-September 1891 p106 in a Bradford batch of people almost all of whom were in the GD as well.
Henrietta Edwards: Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p65.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893. Published by

Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII number 67 issued 15 March 1893 p78 news section: report on the officials elected to serve at the Bradford Lodge for the year 1893-94.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893. Volume XIV number 79 issued 15 March 1894: p82 news section report that "Dr Edwards" had given the first talk at the newly-founded Athene Lodge.

Bradford Lodge is one of the best documented TS lodges, with a history on its website at www.ts-bradford.org.uk, compiled as far as the 1920s by F D Harrison, a founder-member and (for a short while only) a member of the GD. There's a list of members, which includes Bogdan, but not Henrietta. The history says that both lodges were moribund by 1899. The remaining members of each got together to re-found Bradford Lodge in 1902. It's still going (September 2013).

MY BEST SOURCE FOR THE AUGUST/ORIENTAL ORDER OF LIGHT

Masonic Curiosities compiled by Yasha Beresiner, edited by Tony Pope. Published Melbourne: Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council 2000. Section on the August Order of LIGHT is p189-95 in the section Some Judaic Aspects of Freemasonry though one influence the ritual of the A/OOL doesn't seem to have is the Jewish one.

BOGDAN AS A FREEMASON; AND IN THE ORIENTAL ORDER OF LIGHT which in this volume is still called by M V Portman's original name, the August Order of Light:

Masonic Secrets of the Antient Mysteries subtitle In Memoriam Worshipful Brother Dr Edwards MBE. Privately printed limited edition of 200. I saw copy 191, now in the British Library. Clarence Press Bradford 1923. The frontispiece is a photograph of "Brother Dr Bogdan E Jastrzebski Edwards...Passed within the Veil, 23rd February 1923...Deus Lux Solis". Short biography pp7-20.

OTHER SOURCES FOR THE AUGUST/ORIENTAL ORDER OF LIGHT

New Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry by GD member A E Waite: p214

Encyclopaedia of Occultism and Parapsychology by Lewis Spence P70.

WESTCOTT AT THE A/OOL:

Representative British Freemasons published 1915 by Dod's Peerage Ltd p160.

National Union Catalog pre-1956 Imprints volume 657 1979 p466 lists a printed version of a lecture The Serpent Myth, given by Westcott to the Bradford lodge of the August/Oriental Order of Light in 1906.

BRIGHOUSE LODGE 1301

Brighouse Lodge 1301: a History of Brighouse Lodge for the Period from the Consecration in 1870 to the Centenary Year 1970 written by Arthur Murray MM, PPGD and based on Minutes of Lodge meetings: p28, p29, p30.

BOGDAN IN SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA. Its Minute Books and Transactions are now in the Freemasons' Library in Covent Garden.

Transactions 1909 et seq to 1924 on inside cover: group of members at the 8th grade honoris

causa. Transactions 1911 p29 for The Vision of Ramzes which was read at the meeting of 13 July 1911; Transactions 1918 p3. Transactions 1923 p24.

Bogdan's paper, as printed, did give a clue about where he had got the original story of The Vision; but you would only have been able to guess what was up if you had known him well. Westcott knew him well, but was ill and couldn't attend the meeting. The Vision of Ramzes XII had been translated by Bogdan from "Faraone" by "B. Prus". For more on Polish freedom-fighter, journalist and novelist Boleslaw Prus, see wikipedia. His novel Faraon was written in 1894-95. Part of it was translated into English (not very well, I gather) in 1902; not by Bogdan Edwards. It had to wait for a good translation until 2001.

BOOTHROYDE AND LONGROYDE HOSPITALS; NB some sources spell them 'boothroyd' and 'longroyd' and as a non-local I'm not sure which spellings are correct. Location of both hospitals from website www.halifaxgreatwar.org which is the forum of the Halifax Great War Trail Association.

Website www.yorkshireindexers.co.uk had a series of articles originally in the local papers, covering the closing of both hospitals:

Brighouse Echo 7 March 1919 p3; Brighouse Echo 23 May 1919 p3; and Brighouse Echo 30 May 1919 p6.

For Henrietta's award:

Via www.archive.org to the British Journal of Nursing volume LXI issue of 20 July 1918 p43.

Via archive.org to British Journal of Nursing volume LXI issue of 3 August 1918 p78.

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AMandragora@attglobal.net

Gabrielle Margaret Ariana Borthwick was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in July 1891. She chose the Latin motto 'Sine metu'. Although she worked only slowly at the required reading (for reasons I'll guess at below) she eventually passed the exams was initiated into the GD's inner order, the 2nd Order, on 8 July 1897. As a member of the 2nd Order she will have been able to begin doing practical magic; but she wasn't able to be as active as she might have liked as she lived abroad for most of the year at this time.

UPDATE MAY 2017

I've recently read two memoirs by members of the Theosophical Society in England in the

early 1880s: Alfred Percy Sinnett, and George Wyld. They both mention Gabrielle's family.

UPDATE JANUARY 2017

My biographies tend to run out of steam in the 1920s! There's a lack of sources for GD members who lived longer than that. So it was great, in November, to be contacted by Nina Baker with news of Gabrielle's doings in the 1920s and 1930s. Many thanks to Nina for alerting me, and for emailing me copies of documents that she was using for her own research. Inspired by her enthusiasm, I also found some newly available information on my own account.

Dr Nina Baker researches the history of engineering. She also works as a voluntary historian for the Women's Engineering Society: see their blog at

[//womenengineerssite.wordpress.com](http://womenengineerssite.wordpress.com)

THE BORTHWICK FAMILY

The Borthwick family were Scottish. At [//clanborthwick.com](http://clanborthwick.com) you can read more about the clan they belonged to. Gabrielle was the eldest child of Cunninghame Borthwick, who was either the 16th or the 19th Baron Borthwick, depending on how you count it.

I shall go into this business of how you count the barons Borthwick as I think it really mattered to Gabrielle's father in a way that is difficult to appreciate from the 21st century. The barony of Borthwick had lain dormant since the death of a Baron Borthwick in 1772 without any obvious heirs. Cunninghame Borthwick's father, Patrick Borthwick, had claimed the dormant peerage in 1816. Cunninghame's elder brother Archibald took up the claim when Patrick died; and when Archibald died in his turn in 1867, the baton passed to Cunninghame as Patrick's younger son. Cunninghame went into the matter with a great deal more energy and determination than either his father or his brother: he spent a great deal of time and money petitioning the House of Lords to agree that he was the true baron, against the claims being made by two other members of the clan. After four years of effort by Cunninghame, the House of Lords' Privileges Committee finally agreed with him, and he was declared the 16th Baron Borthwick on 5 May 1870.

Barons occupied the bottom rung of the peerage: viscounts, earls, marquises and dukes all out-ranked them. But in an era in which precedence and deference still really counted, some men were prepared to move heaven and earth even to be a baron. Cunninghame Borthwick really did want to be a baron. He wanted to claim what his branch of the family thought was their rightful place in the social hierarchy; and to have all the privileges that went with it. By the mid-19th-century the Borthwick barony lacked one of the most important defining characteristics of a peerage: it no longer had a landed estate. No matter: Cunninghame bought one in 1870. It was on the Machars peninsula in what was then the county of Wigtownshire (it's now in Dumfries and Galloway). The land came complete with a castle, Ravenstone Castle, some parts of which dated back to the 15th-century. The Borthwick barony was a Scottish one, and not all Scottish peers had a right to sit in the House of Lords. No problem for a man who was patient: for 10 years after becoming the 16th Baron, Cunninghame worked for the Conservative Party in Scotland and joined the right clubs in London to build up a circle of useful acquaintances, and in 1880 he was elected as what was

called a 'representative peer' for Scotland, and took up one of their seats in the House of Lords.

What a fuss about a barony. But as a historian I'm delighted with it: in order to make his claim to the barony stick, Cunninghame Borthwick was obliged to produce evidence the House of Lords' Privileges Committee would believe, of births, marriages and deaths in his family. The evidence he produced was that it showed that the family was known and respected in Scotland, and was well-off as well. But the family money came from business - and in the endless hierarchy the mid-Victorians always carried in their minds, business always soiled your hands and mattered less than land, no matter how successful you were at it.

Patrick Borthwick was appointed the first manager of the National Bank of Scotland, when it was founded in Edinburgh, with a salary (enormous for those days) of £1000 per year. He married Ariana Corbett, daughter of Cunninghame Corbett of Tolcross and Glasgow, in 1804. I've seen two descriptions of what Ariana's father did: one says he was a businessman based in Glasgow; the other says he was a landowner in Renfrewshire. Of course he could have been both.

Patrick and Ariana's second son Cunninghame was born in 1813. By the mid-1830s he was working as an actuary in the family accountancy business in Edinburgh. However, his father and his younger brother died around 1840 and although the business in Edinburgh may have continued, at some point in the 1840s Cunninghame had cut loose from it. He moved to London and became a partner in the stockbroking firm of Dowling and Borthwick of 75 Old Broad Street. The partnership with Dionysius Wilfred Dowling (what a wonderful name!) was ended by mutual agreement in 1853, I think because Cunninghame had received a better offer. For the next 20 or so years he was a partner - I think, the senior partner - in another stockbroking firm, Borthwick, Wark and Company of Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane (also in the City). Cunninghame's daily involvement with Borthwick, Wark and Company ceased in 1877 but the firm continued in business, keeping the full name, and after Cunninghame's death his son Archibald joined it as a partner.

I think it was as a partner in a City firm, rather than as a would-be Scottish peer, that

Cunninghame Borthwick married Harriet Alice Day in 1865. If he was looking for a bride as the hopeful baron Borthwick, Harriet was rather a strange choice, in that she was not related to any peer's family as far as I can discover, nor from a family of particularly great wealth, from any source. Harriet - who was over 20 years Cunninghame's junior - was the daughter of Thomas Hermitage Day, whose family ran a bank in Rochester Kent. The bank doesn't seem to have survived long after T H Day's death in 1869. One of Harriet's brothers became a clergyman, the other two joined the army - the kinds of career that bring a regular income and respectability as a professional, to men without a high-society or wealthy backgrounds. Cunninghame was marrying a woman who was like what he was, not like what he wanted to be.

From the point of view of the Day family, Harriet made a very good marriage: they probably didn't rate her prospective husband's chances of becoming a baron very highly, but they could appreciate the more tangible advantages he offered Harriet. Between 1865 and 1880 the Borthwicks lived most of the year in various houses in fashionable and expensive

Mayfair; and after 1870 there was the estate in Scotland where they could spend summers and Christmas.

In her biography of Alva and Consuelo Vanderbilt, Amanda Mackenzie Stuart credits Consuelo with inventing the neat summing-up of the duty of a peeress to her husband: the 'heir and a spare'. Consuelo was speaking in the 1890s but of course the understanding of what was required was centuries old. Harriet Borthwick did part of what was expected, giving birth to a son in 1867 - I think it's significant that Cunninghame's efforts to get the barony resuscitated became more systematic from that year. However, Harriet was not able to supply a spare as well. Cunninghame and Harriet had five children, but the other four were daughters. In one other respect, Harriet didn't measure up to the job-description for the wife of a peer or other man who wished to be upwardly mobile: from my readings of the Court Circular pages in the Times I've come away with the impression that she didn't work the social scene in the way you needed to, to get your husband noticed when jobs were being handed out - giving dinners and balls, holding house parties, attending royal events - meeting and cultivating the right people. More or less the only times I found her in the Court Circular reports was when she went to Buckingham Palace (on four occasions over 10 years) to launch her daughters' social careers by presenting them to royalty. It was not, of course, a way of life Harriet had been bred to; but she didn't do it. From what I've read of her, I think she was just not very sociable.

Despite the fact that the Borthwicks were not really a part of the upper-class social whirl, they lived in opulent style. I can't find them anywhere in the UK on the 1871 census but on the day of the 1881 census they and their daughters were at their Mayfair house, where their household included a butler, footman, cook, a lady's maid, the daughters' governess, two housemaids, two nursemaids and a kitchen maid. Although Cunninghame Borthwick seems to have drawn the line at having his own personal valet, the employment of two male servants indicates the amount he was prepared to spend on giving visitors a good impression, and on his family's comfort - male servants came expensive. In addition, he will also have employed a coachman and one groom, perhaps two, to drive at least one carriage and look after its horses; but they were living in a separate household, probably in the rooms over the stables round the back of the house. Even as a widow, Harriet Borthwick was able to maintain a high standard of living; and she hadn't had to move out of Mayfair to anywhere cheaper. On the day of the 1891 census she was living at 14 Seymour Street, and could afford to employ a governess for her youngest daughter, a butler, footman, cook, two housemaids and a kitchen maid. Almost certainly - although again the coachman and groom lived in a separate household - she will still have had one carriage.

Gabrielle Margaret Ariana Borthwick was the eldest of the five children growing up in the Borthwicks' lavishly-funded household. She was born on 30 June 1866. The heir Archibald was born in 1867; Alice in 1868; Violet in 1871; and Mary in 1876. I haven't found out much about Gabrielle's childhood other than what I can deduce from her parents' way of life. She must have spent her first few years based in London, as her father was still working for the stockbroking partnership; though after 1870, the family had the estate at Ravenstone Castle to go to for summer, and Christmas, and of course they had relations living in Scotland. From 1877, when Cunninghame left Borthwick, Wark and Co, to 1880 when he got his seat in the House of Lords, it's possible that the family spent most of the year at Ravenstone. Archibald was sent away to school; but Gabrielle and her sisters were educated by the governesses I saw on the 1881 and 1891 censuses. A conscientious member of the House of Lords needed to be in London when Parliament was sitting, so from 1880 the Borthwicks' yearly schedule changed again. And as the 1880s advanced, the future began to

loom large in the family's planning - the need to set the heir up for his future career, and find the right kind of husband for the daughters.

In March 1884, Harriet Borthwick overcame her reluctance to socialise with her peers and went with her daughter to Buckingham Palace to introduce the Honourable Gabrielle Borthwick to the Princess of Wales (who was standing in, as she normally did these days, for Queen Victoria). This bringing of your daughter to the attention of royalty was an important event in what was a longer round of social occasions covering (roughly) April to July each year and referred to as 'the season'; occasions where social and political links were restated and reinforced; and daughters were introduced to a carefully-selected short-list of possible marriage partners. If their daughter had the kind of looks, personality and financial backing, she might be lucky and find a husband even in Victorian England, where demand out-stripped supply. Any one daughter only had a limited time in which to achieve this, especially in families where there were several daughters...

Gabrielle had been through two 'seasons' when, on the day before Christmas, 1885, Cunninghame Borthwick died. It may have suited Harriet Borthwick's un-social personality to have an excuse to observe the one-year-long period of mourning that was expected of the widow and children; but Gabrielle's momentum as a young woman of marriageable age in British high society was slowed down and I get the impression that it never really speeded up again. With three other daughters and the heir to establish, Harriet moved on: Alice had her first 'season' in 1888; Violet her's in 1890 and Mary her's in 1894. Archibald was introduced to the Prince of Wales by the Earl of Orkney during a levee - the male equivalent of the women-only 'drawing-room' - in 1889.

Harriet Borthwick married off three of her daughters, but she failed with Gabrielle. That might have been intentional - some mothers hoped to have, or even schemed at getting, one daughter who remained unmarried to look after them when they were old. However, Gabrielle and her mother have bit-parts to play in two sets of memoirs that suggest a variation on that story.

Both the memoirs are from Gabrielle's time in the Golden Dawn and the years immediately after it; and concern a group of wealthy ex-pats who spent all or part of their year in Florence. The memoir-writers are Walburga Paget, widow of the English diplomat Augustus Berkeley Paget; and Mabel Dodge Luhan, an American banker's daughter. And of course, in such a small social group, they knew each other. I'll start with Walburga Paget as she seems to have moved to Florence first, in about 1894 while her husband was still alive. After his death she continued to spend the winters and springs at her house there - the Villa Bellosguardo - before going to England for the summer to spend time with family.

Walburga Paget must have been a very effective diplomat's wife - even in her widowhood she entertained constantly, and she knew a great variety of people. She even knew some Italians, which for ex-pat residents in Florence was very unusual. Everybody from Cosima Wagner through Indian brahmins to Wilfred Scawen Blunt spent time as her guests in Florence. She was interested in spiritualism and was also a member of the Theosophical Society. It may have been through the TS in London that Walburga Paget got to know Gabrielle Borthwick - Walburga's daughter was married to an Englishman and Walburga visited her very often during the London 'season'. By June 1900, Gabrielle and Walburga Paget were well enough

acquainted for Walburga to write to a friend that, “Miss Bayly with red hair and Gabrielle Borthwick with black, both handsome, are staying with me”. I couldn’t figure out from Walburga’s memoirs how long Gabrielle was her guest at Villa Bellosguardo, but a typical stay would have lasted weeks - after all, none of these ex-pats had a job to go to. Harriet Borthwick had not been included in Walburga Paget’s invitation and I think that Gabrielle was able to accept it because her absence in Italy would not have been leaving Harriet alone: Violet was not married yet so she was still living with her mother that summer.

Walburga Paget doesn’t mention having Gabrielle to stay again but will have seen each other regularly over the next few years. In November 1900, Violet was the last of Harriet’s other daughters to get married. With that marriage Harriet decided that her social duties were finally done, as far as they could be, and for the next few years she spent her winters in Florence. It was Gabrielle’s duty, as her only unmarried daughter, to go with her.

Apart from confusing one year’s events with another’s, Walburga Paget strikes me as a fairly reliable memoir-writer. I’m not so sure about Mabel Dodge Luhan, however: she exaggerates, and I feel she is a bit too anxious to portray her lifestyle as one of conscious and unashamed rule-breaking. So I am not quite sure how much reliance to place on Mabel Dodge Luhan’s suggestion that she and Gabrielle Borthwick had a lesbian relationship; although an attraction to women rather than men could be one reason why Gabrielle didn’t marry.

Mabel Dodge Luhan arrived in Florence in 1905, moved into the Villa Curonia, and with Walburga Paget’s help quickly got herself established among the ex-pats. Here’s how Mabel describes Gabrielle: “Plump and pretty, though her skin was so gray”. It’s an odd way to describe a woman who had her 40th birthday in 1906, but in my reading around the period I’ve noticed a tendency for unmarried women to be seen as somehow not quite adult, however old they were. But then Mabel says that Gabrielle, “used to sniff something from a little bottle, and then her child-like, deep-set gray eyes would lighten up a little.” What would this curious substance have been? Smelling-salts? If it was smelling-salts I don’t think Mabel would have mentioned them: too conventional! If any reader can guess what was in the little bottle, do let me know. And did Gabrielle first find out about this useful aid to cheering yourself up, from members of the Golden Dawn?

Mabel admits in her memoir that she was strongly attracted to Gabrielle from the start; and she means sexually. Before long she was inviting Gabrielle to stay at her villa. These visits seem to have taken place in a hot-house atmosphere of the sort that ends in tears. Mabel likes to feel that everyone she meets is sexually attracted to her; but she describes her son’s nanny, Marguerite, as having feelings towards Mabel that were certainly possessive, if not sexual, and sufficiently out-of-control as to be obvious to others in the house. She says that Gabrielle was one of several women-friends of Mabel’s who “made Marguerite suffer” over it, but goes further in Gabrielle’s case, describing how “her own [Gabrielle’s] muscles dimpled, reflecting the titillation of her being at someone else’s pain”. That’s not the way to behave towards anyone, least of all a servant; Gabrielle and Mabel ought both to have been ashamed of themselves. According to Mabel’s memoir, Gabrielle’s particular way of getting at Marguerite was to suggest to Mabel that they go and lie down together for a while. Does this mean there was a lesbian relationship between Gabrielle and Mabel? Maybe. Or maybe not, but they both wanted Marguerite to think so, and be jealous and hurt.

I wonder if it doesn’t just mean that these restricted societies full of people with nothing

much to do, encourage everyone to act their worst.

Writing her memoir in the 1930s, Mabel hadn't had second thoughts about Gabrielle's sexuality - she still believed Gabrielle was a lesbian, and grouped her with women she knew in Florence whom Mabel thought of as never having any men in their lives, the group's leader (if it had such a thing) being Violet Paget (not sure whether she's a relation of Walburga), who dressed as a man and preferred to be known as Vernon Lee. Marriage was not had not been a bar to being one of this group: Mabel includes in it Mary Berenson despite her being married to Bernard Berenson who in his turn seemed to hate all women.

As regards relations between Harriet Borthwick and Gabrielle, Mabel's memoir does suggest that she was in Gabrielle's confidence, or close enough to her to make a good guess about things not actually stated in so many words. Mabel writes that, "The Honorable Gabrielle was in a hateful position of dependence upon her mother whom she disliked but lived with because they were so poor." I'm not sure I agree that Harriet Borthwick was poor; she was certainly managing well enough in 1891. (Neither Harriet nor Gabrielle was on the census in the UK in 1901 or 1911; they were in Italy, I suppose.) It's probably true, though, that Gabrielle was financially dependent on her mother at this stage in her life. And I think Mabel got it right when she surmised that mother and daughter had very little in common. But as the only remaining unmarried daughter, it was expected of Gabrielle that she would live with her ageing mother.

Cunninghame Borthwick had leisure interests which Harriet doesn't seem to have shared but which he did share with some of his children. None of them shared his curiosity about spiritualism, but Gabrielle, Archibald and Mary were all interested in that area where archaeology, antiquarianism and folk history all meet. Archibald was a member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society; Mary's first book was a selection of folk tales from Lancashire; and in the years before the first World War Gabrielle was a member of the Gypsy Lore Society.

Gabrielle and her mother were the only members of the family who joined the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society. They had joined it by August 1885, when the Sinnetts - Alfred Percy and Patience - came to stay with the Borthwicks at Ravenstone. In his autobiography, Alfred noted that he found Gabrielle's mother "not altogether an easy person to get on with" but Gabrielle became a close friend of both Sinnetts. Gabrielle kept up her membership of London Lodge until Patience died, in November 1908. When the time came for Patience's friends to pay their subscriptions for 1909, Gabrielle and her mother were amongst several who decided they didn't want to continue in the TS now she was gone; but Gabrielle was still in touch with Alfred Sinnett as late as 1912. Another member of London Lodge in its early years (but not later) was George Wyld. Gabrielle will have known him too, as a friend and business acquaintance of Cunninghame Borthwick.

London Lodge held itself rather aloof from the TS in general, particularly after Alfred Sinnett and Blavatsky fell out, but the TS held other, regular meetings in London, with a programme of lectures by members and visitors, followed by time for discussion. If you went to those meetings on a regular basis in the 1880s you will soon have met people who were later in the Golden Dawn - William Forsell Kirby for example, Isabel de Steiger, Lady Eleanor Harbord, Agnes de Pallandt (although these people were all much older than Gabrielle); and GD founder William Wynn Westcott. The TS was a very fruitful source of GD members especially in the early 1890s. As Gabrielle was thought interested enough in western

occultism to be offered membership of the GD, she might also have gone to meetings of the Hermetic Society, which started out within the TS but became a separate society in 1884; but that Society's records are lost and I can't be certain she knew of it. If she did go to any Hermetic Society meetings she will have met another founder of the GD, Samuel Liddell Mathers.

During the 1890s Gabrielle kept up her theosophy-based friendship with the Sinnetts and also worked when she could at the reading and other study required of Golden Dawn members if they wanted to be initiated into its inner, second order and do some real magic. Her progress was slow, though. In 1896 Gabrielle reached her 30th birthday and passed through the barrier that separated the possibly-still-marriageable from the unlikely-ever-to-marry. Given the lesbian feelings that Mabel Dodge Luhan was sure Gabrielle had, she may have seen reaching 30 as a release from a burden and a source of tension in the family; but she still would have had social duties to perform, as a member of the upper-classes, and it's extraordinary how much time these took up: visits to well-known and influential hostesses in Florence, for example. However, there was another reason why Gabrielle wasn't willing to give the attention to the GD's programme of learning that some more enthusiastic members did: Gabrielle had discovered the excitements to be had from another kind of alchemy - the internal combustion engine.

In 1915 the Times described Gabrielle as having many years' experience as a car driver. Although they were still very unreliable, the internal combustion engine was still being developed, and petrol had not yet won the battle to be the major source of fuel, cars were beginning to be everywhere in the 1890s. A quick search of the web established that both Benz and Daimler were attempting to make cars in numbers rather than as one-offs by 1890; the first organised motor race was held in 1894 and the first grand prix in 1901 (both in France). Bridget Driscoll became the first UK pedestrian to be killed by a car, in 1896; and in 1898 Henry Lindfield was the first UK car driver to be killed in a car crash. The UK Association of Motor Manufacturers and Traders was founded in 1902 and held its first motor show in 1903.

The Automobile Club of Great Britain (now the Royal Automobile Club) was founded in 1897. Like most clubs, it had a 'men only' policy; but by 1903 the agitation from women drivers was so noisy that it authorised the setting up of a Ladies' Automobile Club. The early members of the LAC were all wealthy aristocrats - Consuelo Duchess of Marlborough was one of them. Like the fledgling RAC, the LAC was as much a members' club as a car club - membership was by election; though motoring was such an expensive hobby (both in money and time) that only the rich were able to indulge in it. By August 1903 the LAC had rented rooms for club meetings and a garage, and in the summer of 1904 it organised its first trip out for its members - a drive beginning on Piccadilly and ending at Ranelagh, the sports club in Fulham, where all the participants had tea. A few years later the LAC had 400 members.

I'm assuming that Gabrielle's interest in cars dates from the 1890s but when I researched the founding of the LAC, I didn't see her name mentioned in connection with it; I suppose being so often in Italy with her mother meant she couldn't take a very active role.

The fact that the LAC so quickly organised access for its members to a garage reflected the hazards of early motoring: cars broke down so often! Even a woman driver was going to need to know how to fix the engine; or at least what was wrong with it so she could direct someone else while they attempted repairs. By 1906 the LAC was employing Mr R

Sedgewick Currie to teach its members car mechanics. By 1907 he'd given four sets of lessons, each attended by 20-30 LAC members. He taught theory but also practice, on a six-cylinder Minerva supplied by a garage in Marylebone. I've said that I couldn't find Gabrielle's name as a member of the LAC in its earliest years, but I'm pretty sure she must have been elected a member of the LAC and done one of the LAC's courses in car mechanics. And then practiced a lot on her own cars, despite how unfeminine her mother probably thought it.

Georgine Classen's research for her book *Eat My Dust: Early Women Motorists* has established that Gabrielle went into business as a woman garage proprietor at some time before the first World War, firstly in Slough, later in Northwood in west London. Late in 1915 Gabrielle rented a garage at 8 Brick Street, a side-alley off Piccadilly. I think it was in Brick Lane that Gabrielle posed with her great dane dog for a photograph now (February 2013) available through the website www.topfoto.co.uk. Topfoto dates the portrait to the 1920s or 1930s but for several reasons I think it was taken in 1915 or early 1916. In it, Gabrielle's wearing a black dress covered with a loose, long black overall, exactly what she's wearing in another of the photographs which shows her bending over a car engine watched by two other women, obviously her students. She must be working on the four-cylinder chassis that she was using at Brick Street to show her students how to take an engine apart. They also learned how to maintain the car's valves with grinding equipment, to change a wheel, to take off and put on tyres, and to make running repairs using a soldering iron, screws and a screwdriver, and a hacksaw.

The photographs were part of Gabrielle's attempt to show that her driving and vehicle maintenance courses could help women make a contribution to the war effort. Many women had already joined the work-force to do the work of men who had volunteered for the armed forces. On 11 December 1915, Gabrielle was mentioned by name and her garage featured by the Times in an article called 'Increasing demand for women drivers'. A series of adverts for the garage at Brick Street appeared in the Times in January and February 1916, just as the first conscription laws were passed.

In 1918 Gabrielle advertised her courses again, this time focusing on ambulance driving. A course of 10 lessons would cost 5 guineas. Later coverage of Gabrielle's courses said that some of the women she'd taught had gone to drive ambulances in France and Serbia, but they were also needed in the UK. Georgine Classen feels that charging 5 guineas meant that learning driving and maintenance with Gabrielle was not for the hard-up; but by 1918 enough women had found the money for her to rent a second garage in Kinnerton Street Knightsbridge; which means that by this time she must have had a second tutor.

Running a garage and trying to get women to think of motoring as a source of employment, brought Gabrielle into a world she may not have experienced quite so directly in the rest of her life: the world where women worked, at a disadvantage. Although the motoring industry was a new one, it was already seen by men and women as a male preserve, so that women seeking a foothold in it were struggling against the same attitudes that prevailed in older industries. By the time World War 1 began, Gabrielle was taking part in the formation of a trade union for women, the Society of Women Motor Drivers, founded to fight women's corner in the battle to be taken seriously in the motoring trade and have the same rights as its male workers. Another of the Society's founder members was Barbara, social campaigner and wife of Bernard Drake who was a nephew of Beatrice Webb; so Gabrielle was making some very radical acquaintances through her garage business.

The Society's Secretary, writing in 1918, described how much prejudice there was against the idea of trade unions, amongst upper-class women who might otherwise have joined the Society; Gabrielle may have had to overcome such prejudice in herself before she was able to become a member. Other women weren't able to overcome their distrust, unfortunately, and the Society struggled to campaign effectively. In March 1918, after some difficult negotiations, it became a branch of a union it had probably seen as a rival until then - the (male dominated) Licensed Vehicle Workers' Union; though the skill of the women in the negotiations ensured their women's branch was allowed to be self-governing; that women members would pay the same subscriptions as the men and be entitled to the same protection from exploitation; and that the women's branch would continue to hold its own monthly meetings. The idea of forming what became the Society of Women Motor Drivers had originally come from the London Society for Women's Suffrage, and the Society met at its Women's Service Bureau in 58 Victoria Street London. I haven't been able to decide, from the information I've found, whether Gabrielle was a member of the London Society for Women's Suffrage; or whether she was just recruited by them as a well-known woman motorist. I'd like to think that she was already a member.

Whether Gabrielle was still living with her mother while she was running her garage businesses and getting involved in all this politicised campaigning work, I don't know. 1910 was a year of tragedy for the Borthwicks: in June Gabrielle's sister Violet died aged 38; and then Archibald died at the age of only 43. I imagine Harriet Borthwick was hit hard, especially by the death of her only son. She was getting very old (she was 80 in 1914). She will have needed extra care, perhaps even nursing care, and may have been dogged, too, by a sense of her husband's great project having failed. The Borthwicks tended to run to daughters, and Archibald had married into another family with the same problem. He and his wife, Susanna MacTaggart Stewart, had not produced a male heir to the barony Cunninghame had worked so hard to revive. Apparently, there was some discussion in the family about whether the Borthwick peerage could be inherited by Archibald's only child, Isolde; but there was no documentation to back that argument up, so the matter was allowed to drop. The barony went into abeyance again on Archibald's death and remains dormant to this day.

Harriet Borthwick died at Sevenoaks in Kent, on 17 February 1917. Gabrielle was the chief mourner when she was buried. The restrictions of wartime meant that the funeral was a small one. Gabrielle's brother-in-law Harold Chaloner Dowdall (husband of Gabrielle's sister Mary) managed to attend - he was the executor of Harriet's Will; Harriet's brother Francis Day and his wife and daughter were there; and Archibald's widow Susanna who was now Countess of Euston. In January 1916 Susanna had married Alfred Fitzroy, heir of the 7th duke of Grafton; he was a brother of TS and GD member Lady Eleanor Harbord.

It was either when her father died or - more likely - now on her mother's death, that income from a trust fund became available to Gabrielle; probably with Harold Chaloner Dowdall (who was a barrister) as a trustee. However, Gabrielle didn't consider shutting down her garages and retiring, even after the war finally dragged itself to a conclusion. The Borthwick Garages and her campaigning work gave her a purpose that she had not had before. She found being in business a challenge, though. The type of education given to upper-class girls in the 1870s and 1880s didn't include book-keeping, let alone mechanics and engineering, and Gabrielle was really stretching her mental resources taking them on. Her campaigning work, too, moved her into areas where a woman needed to put ideas across by speaking in public and debate complex issues with a well-educated and possibly hostile audience. I think this must be why Gabrielle became involved with the Pelman system of mental training.

There's a good website on the Pelman system of mental training at www.ennever.com, compiled by descendants of the man most associated with it in the UK. The system can be thought of as a kind of mental equivalent of working-out, and was popular from the 1890s (when it was formulated) until the 1960s, with (during Gabrielle's lifetime) such prominent men (the names I found were all of men) as Herbert Asquith and Lord Baden-Powell using it. I haven't been able to find out when Gabrielle started using the Pelman system but she was convinced it had benefited her: in April 1920 she chaired an evening meeting at the Pelman Institute at 4 Bloomsbury Street, during which a lecture on how it worked was given by a senior employee, who took questions from the audience afterwards. I wish I could find out whether she had recently been elected to the board of governors; but I don't think any such records have survived.

The other photograph I've found of Gabrielle comes from this period of her life. She had it taken on 5 September 1951 by the fashionable photography firm of Bassano Limited, and it may have been connected with the role she was taking at the Pelman Institute. Part of the Bassano Collection of portraits is now at the National Portrait Gallery and you can see this photograph of Gabrielle via the NPG's website.

I have only one source for this, and that from Australia not from the UK, but one thing seems to have led to another with The Borthwick Garages and by the early 1920s Gabrielle's business had branched out into the running of a restaurant and a hostel (I couldn't find out where these were located). She had acquired a business partner, Lady Gertrude Crawford.

If Gabrielle was a rare bird - a female member of the aristocracy working as a garage proprietor - so was Lady Gertrude though in a rather different way: she was an experienced and talented worker with lathes. Lady Gertrude Crawford (1868-1937) had been born Lady Gertrude Eleanor Molyneux; she was the daughter of the 4th Earl of Sefton. Both her father and her grandfather the third earl had been enthusiastic 'turners' - they used a lathe to make things out of ivory and wood - and Lady Gertrude's father had started her off in the craft by buying her a lathe when she was two! She inherited both his talent and his enthusiasm and continued to do 'turning' work all her life, exhibiting her work, winning awards and being made a Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Master Turners in 1907; although she never took payment for her work. Lady Gertrude married Captain John Halket Crawford in 1905. They lived mostly in London, where Crawford was stationed. Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude were nearly the same age and could have known each other at least slightly from their days doing the London 'season'; but it's nice to speculate that they came together over the question of lathes and car engines and met - for example - on one of the mechanics courses run by the Ladies Automobile Club.

In 1924, Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude expanded their business yet again, opening an estate agency (again I don't know where its offices were, but they were probably in or near Brick Street). But taking on yet another outlet was a step too far, in very difficult economic times, and later that year a receiver was appointed to take control of Borthwick Garages Ltd after a court order against Gabrielle's firm had been obtained by one of its creditors. Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude seem to have been able to fight off bankruptcy that time but the firm's financial situation didn't improve and at the beginning of 1927, another set of bankruptcy proceedings began and this time Borthwick Garages Ltd shut up shop for good. As the firm was a limited company, neither Gabrielle nor Lady Gertrude will have lost their shirt or their home as a result, but the failure of their firm must still have been very hard to take. Lady

Gertrude held an exhibition of her turning work at Leighton House in 1929 where, for the first time, some of the exhibits were for sale; I couldn't help wondering if this was a rather forelorn attempt to raise money to pay some of Borthwick Garages Ltd's creditors and save at least some dignity from the wreck.

At the same time as they were expanding the number of their own businesses, Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude also committed themselves to another company run by a woman, someone Gabrielle at least almost certainly knew as a fellow woman motorist. The gloriously-named Cleone de Heveningham Benest was from a well-known Channel Islands family, though she herself was born in London; for reasons that aren't quite clear, between about 1915 and about 1927, she called herself Cleone Griff. Cleone had taken advantage of the options open to those born a generation after Gabrielle, and had a certificate in motor engineering. In 1915, she too was running a garage for women, in Dover Street Piccadilly, a short walk away from Gabrielle's own garage; though later in the war she was employed by Vickers as an inspector of aircraft. In 1922 or 1923, Cleone had founded the Stainless and Non-Corrosive Metals Company Ltd, based in Birmingham, to make high-quality household goods. Cleone herself was chairman and managing director, and a list of shareholders in the firm shows that the overwhelming majority of them were women. At the beginning of 1924, Cleone was planning an expansion of the firm's range of products and wanted to move to bigger premises. As part of the fund-raising effort she sold 100 shares from her original holding of 1000: 50 to Lady Gertrude, and 50 to Gabrielle. Lady Gertrude and Gabrielle joined the Company's board of directors; though Cleone remained its chairman. It seems, though, that the Company over-reached itself: at a meeting in December 1925, the shareholders agreed that as it couldn't pay its current debts, it should be wound up. Even in this crisis, though, the preponderance of women involved with the Company continued: the liquidator was a woman, Florence Durant of 230 Rotton Park Road Edgbaston.

Gabrielle had celebrated her 60th birthday in 1926, in the wake of the collapse of Cleone Griff's business and while she was trying hard to prevent herself from going bankrupt a second time. Lady Gertrude was only two years younger, and after the winding-up of Borthwick Garages Ltd neither of them seem to have ventured into business again. Gabrielle was by no means finished with cars, however: in 1929 she got involved with the Women's Automobile and Sports Association, which was founded to organise and promote sports events for women competitors.

As you would expect, WASA was a moneyed, upper-class club. Its first headquarters were at the St Ermin's Hotel Westminster and it had negotiated a deal whereby its members could have rooms there, presumably at a discount. Later it had enough funds to lease its own headquarters building, at 17 Buckingham Palace Gardens. It held its annual dinners at the Savoy Hotel. When it decided to hold a motor rally to raise funds for George V's jubilee, in 1935, it was able to hire the very exclusive Hurlingham Club as the venue.

WASA's first president was Irene Mountbatten, the Marchioness of Carisbrooke; formerly Lady Irene Denison, a relation of GD member Albertina Herbert. Its second was Ermine Oliphant-Murray, Viscountess Elibank. WASA's secretary was the author Edith Waldemar Leverton. Gabrielle was an active member of WASA from the beginning. At one of its first meetings she was elected chairman of its executive committee and she continued in that role until the second World War.

Although it held other events from time to time, WASA's main function was to organise

cross-country trials for vehicles whose drivers were mostly women. The trials were mostly for cars though one or two, especially in WASA's early days, were for motorbikes. The first trial was held in 1929, from Slough to Exeter and back again, and from that year until 1939 there were three trials a year, noted for their good organisation and the level of challenge presented to the drivers and navigators. The one held on a circuit around Llandrindod Wells was regarded as particularly tough. Lord Wakefield of Hythe was persuaded to donate a trophy for the trials' overall winner, which was presented at the annual dinner. WASA also took part in motor-racing at Brooklands and at Montlhery in France.

None of the references I found for WASA suggested Gabrielle had ever taken part in any of its trial-races: she was probably too busy running them. She was also in her 60s and then 70s and might have reached the stage when cross-country driving at night was a step too far for her.

During the 1920s and probably until the second World War, Gabrielle was still living in London, at 106 Ebury Street. However, she may have had a place in the country for when she could spare a weekend: a house called Wickhurst, in Broadbridge Heath just outside Horsham. By her death it had become her main residence. WASA went into abeyance at the start of World War 2 and was not reconstituted afterwards, so Gabrielle would have been free to leave London permanently if she had wanted to.

The women in Gabrielle's life had begun to die off in the 1930s. Lady Gertrude Crawford died in 1937 at her house near Lymington in Hampshire. Gabrielle's sister Mary died a few months before the 1939 Register was taken; and her sister Alice died only a few weeks before it, leaving Gabrielle the last survivor of Cunninghame and Harriet's children, though the oldest. On the day of the 1939 Register - 29 September 1939 - Gabrielle was at Wickhurst. With her were two women, though whether they were living there or just visiting isn't clear, because the Register didn't note that kind of information down. Either way, they were friends of Gabrielle, so it's a pity that I didn't recognise either of their names and I haven't been able to identify either of them for sure from other sources. They were both widows, Mrs Evelyn C White, and Mrs Mary B Carleton. Mrs White's year of birth was not transcribed for the Findmypast edition of the Register; but Mrs Carleton was a contemporary of Cleone Griff rather than Gabrielle - born in 1886. Gabrielle and Mrs White both told the Register official that they had no occupation, but Mrs Carleton told him or her she was a company director.

Gabrielle died, at Wickhurst, on 10 October 1952, leaving personal belongings valued at about £10,000 - which was worth a lot more than it is now, if you see what I mean. A few months later some jewellery Gabrielle had owned was sent for sale at Christie's by her executors.

Gabrielle's barrister brother-in-law, Harold Chaloner Dowdall lived on until 1955 and she could have made him the executor of her Will. But he was in his 70s and she could not be sure he would still be alive to do the work, so instead, when she made her Will, she chose two women as her executors: not Evelyn White or Mary Carleton, her friends from 1939, but a Mrs Teresa Mary Cecilia Muckleston, and a Miss Mary Charman.

Teresa Mary Cecilia Healy was born in 1893. I found her on the 1901 census living in Hornsey, north London, with her mother Margaret and a step-father, Alexander Cheffins, who worked for the Post Office. In 1901 Teresa had one full sister, Dorothy, and a step-sister,

Gladys. In 1919 Teresa married Bertram Brookes Muckleston, whom she may have known from her childhood as he'd also grown up in north London, in Muswell Hill. The only information I found about what Bertram Muckleston did for a living was from an official employees list issued in 1941 when he was working in the office of the Permanent Under-Secretary for the Air Force. What he was doing in 1941 may not have been typical of his working life, but perhaps he was a civil servant. Bertram Muckleston was born in 1888. If he was able to retire he would have done so around 1950; perhaps he and his wife retired to Broadbridge Green. I can't think how else the upper-class Gabrielle Borthwick would have got to know the wife of a civil servant.

The Charman family had been living in Sussex for many centuries. Looking on the web and the 1911 census I saw several women called Mary Charman. The Mary Charman named by Gabrielle must have been over 21 to be old enough (legally speaking) to act on her behalf; but I feel myself that Miss Charman was probably well over 21 at Gabrielle's death. On freebmd I also found two girls called Mary Charman born in Sussex in 1911; one in Horsham. Both of these women would have been 41 when Gabrielle died and, if unmarried, might have had the kind of relationship with Gabrielle that made her trust Mary to act as executor. This could have included a lesbian relationship, but the Charmans I found on the web seem to be ordinary people; so I suggest the relationship was more likely to be that of elderly upper-class village resident and neighbour who did some work for her.

Rather an uncertain note to end with; but that's history for you!

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

CLAIM TO THE BARONY BORTHWICK

At www.clanborthwick.com there's a timeline indicating that Cunninghame's branch of the family had been claiming the title since 1816. Some details on Cunninghame Borthwick: educated Edinburgh High School and Edinburgh University. Member of London Stock Exchange 1853-77. Cunninghame's claim to be barony as 19th baron was allowed on 5 May 1870.

Sessional Papers House of Lords 1869 p6 Cunninghame Borthwick's plea to revive the barony of Borthwick was heard by the House of Lords Privileges Committee. This family history evidence formed part of his case and was included in the the Minutes of the hearing:

pA6

- marriage record of Patrick Borthwick to Ariana Corbett daughter of Cunningham (sic) Corbett "merchant in Glasgow"; the marriage took place on 13 November 1804
- baptism record, parish of South Leith: Archibald Borthwick, August 1811
- baptism record, parish of South Leith: Cunninghame (sic) Borthwick, born 6 June 1813
- burial record of Patrick Borthwick dated 16 April 1840; he was buried in the Centre Lair, Borthwick's Tomb, West Ground

pA7 Patrick Borthwick described as manager of the National Bank of Scotland

- burial record of Archibald Borthwick, 8 July 1863.

Verification that Patrick Borthwick had three sons: Archibald, Cunninghame and Thomas

- confirmation that Archibald Borthwick had died without male heirs; he'd only had pA8 daughters

pA9

- confirmation that the last holder of the title recognised by the House of Lords, Henry Lord Borthwick, had died in 1772 without issue.

There were two other men with surname Borthwick attempting to claim the barony.

Notes and Queries 4th Series number IV issued 18 December 1869 p535 has an article: *Filius naturalis: Borthwick Peerage*. In it there are a few more details of the evidence Privileges Committee was having to consider. There were allegations from the other claimants to the barony that Cunninghame's claim was invalid because of an illegitimacy (I think it was in the 14th century!). Cunninghame in his turn was alleging that documents supporting the other claims were forgeries. Evidence p536 was being heard dating back to 1511!

Times Wednesday 4 May 1870 p13 rpt of House of Lords business, about the Borthwick barony. On behalf of the Crown, the Attorney-General had said at the hearing that he was satisfied that Cunninghame's claim had been "satisfactorily established"; and so the Committee had allowed Cunninghame's claim.

Times Thursday 12 May 1870 p9 A Scotch Barony Revived: this report said the barony had

originally been created during reign of James II of Scotland, in the mid-15th century. Cunninghame's revival of his family's claim to the barony had begun in 1867.

HE'S VERY ANXIOUS TO ENSURE HIS NEW STATUS IS RECOGNISED: Times Saturday 8 April 1871 p4 letter dated 6 April [1871] to Times from Grahames and Wardlaw of 30 Gt George Street Westminster, who act for Baron Borthwick. On Lord Borthwick's behalf, Grahames and Wardlaw were protesting that he had been left off a list of peerages issued by the Times recently. The letter reminded the Times that Borthwick was now a peer and should have been included in the list.

EXERCISING HIS RIGHTS AS A SCOTTISH BARON AND WORKING TOWARDS BEING A REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR SCOTLAND

Times Fri 5 August 1870 p7 Election of a Scotch Representative Peer. Election held "yesterday" at Holyrood House. Baron Borthwick attended and voted. Voting ended with the Earl of Strathmore being unanimously elected in place of the late Earl of Haddington.

Times Fri 8 March 1872 p7 coverage of another election of a Scottish representative peer. Baron Borthwick was there and voted. This time there was much more argument between advocates of several possible candidates; though eventually the Marquis of Queensberry was elected unanimously.

CUNNINGHAME GETS ELECTED HIMSELF: Times Saturday 17 April 1880 p12 report on elections for Scottish representative peers, issued Edinburgh 16 April [1880]. The elections took place (as usual) at Holyrood Palace and this time there were 10 slots available. The meeting lasted 4 hours and was very fractious. Baron Borthwick got elected to one of the 10 slots.

FIRST SPOTTED IN HOUSE OF LORDS: Times Thursday 17 June 1880 p6 report House of Lords business Tuesday 15 June [1880] - voting on the Burials Bill. Baron Borthwick was in House of Lords and voted.

HE'S A TORY: at [//special.lib.gla.ac.uk](http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk) are listings of archives held in Glasgow University's Special Collections. The University has a collection of manuscripts from Paisley Beaconsfield Club and Conservative Association, covering 1880-1905. It includes one letter from Cunninghame Borthwick to Sir A Campbell dated 1 November 1884, apologising for not being able to attend a particular meeting.

RAVENSTONE CASTLE which is the correct sp - with the 'e'.

Burke's Peerage states that the estate at Ravenstone Wigtownshire was bought by Cunninghame Borthwick in 1870. Wife Harriet Day was dtr of Thomas Hermitage Day, banker.

Wikipedia: Wigtownshire is now part of the county of Dumfries and Galloway. The website on Wigtownshire has a picture of Ravenstone Castle which is at Glasserton.

Website www.francisfrith.com is the site of Francis Frith Nostalgic Photographs, maps etc. Another pic of Ravenstone Castle, taken in 1951.

At [//canmore.rcahms.gov.uk](http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk) there's a section on Ravenstone Castle: it's an L-shaped tower house w interesting barrel-vaulted basements. In the 18th cent alterations were made to 16th-century oblong tower. This website isn't quite up to date - it describes the Castle as derelict and roofless. It had been put on Buildings at Risk register in 1992.

However, Ravenstone Castle has recently been rescued:

The website www.buildingsatrisk.org.uk says a wing was added in the early 19th century. There were more additions to the house c 1875 - by Cunninghame Borthwick. The result of the alterations was the alteration of the original floor-plan to more or less cruciform shape. The website has some sad-looking pictures of the Castle without roof and windows. However, it changed hands in 2000 and by 2008 the new owners had put a new roof on, renewed the windows and replaced a rotten door. As at July 2011 the Castle is still privately owned, by Mr and Mrs S Atterton, who were engaged in a room-by-room refurbishment of the interior (which sounds like Grand Designs!!)

NOT CLEAR EXACTLY WHERE THIS IS, BUT PRESUMABLY ON THE RAVENSTONE CASTLE ESTATE: Times Tuesday 16 September 1884 p3 Ancient Lake Dwellings in Scotland: there had been an archaeological dig at the crannog at Airrieouland, Dowalton. Lord Borthwick was now owner of the bed of the lake in which the crannogs were; he had lent some estate workers to help at the dig.

A BIT MORE ON BORTHWICK FAMILY BUSINESS CONNECTIONS

Seekers of Truth: The Scottish Founders of Modern Public Accountancy T A Lee 2006 p80 on Patrick Borthwick, whom the author describes as “a leading merchant and Burgess of Edinburgh”. In 1825 Patrick was appointed the first ever manager of the National Bank of Scotland on a salary of £1000 pa. His sons were all in practice together as accountants in the 1830s but the youngest of the brothers died in 1839 aged 22. This book is the source for two items of information I haven’t found elsewhere: that Archibald made a formal claim to the Borthwick barony, which was rejected; and that the father of Patrick’s wife Ariana was a landowner (rather than a businessman).

CUNNINGHAME’S BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN LONDON

London Gazette no date at the top of the page at this early date but p1246 is a list of legal notices issued dissolving partnerships. The list includes one issued 29 April 1853 by the partners Dionysius Wilfred Dowling and Cunninghame Borthwick dissolving of their partnership. They had been stockbrokers at 75 Old Broad Street. D W Dowling would be carrying on the business.

I searched the Times for mention of Borthwick, Wark and Co but didn’t find a single item between 1850 and 1870; I think that the firm was under the Times’ radar during those years.

Times Thursday 7 September 1871 p5 Money Market and City Intelligence: Borthwick, Wark and Co, the Imperial Bank and Messrs Clews Habicht and Co were all acting together as “authorized agents of the State of Georgia” which was looking to float a loan of \$1,400,000. Clews Habicht and Co were the main contractors for the loan; Borthwick, Wark and Co’s role was subsidiary.

Times Monday 15 February 1875 p13 advert issued by Robert Benson and Co: Bensons and Borthwick, Wark and Co had been authorised to sell 6% Construction Bonds about to be issued by the Illinois Central Railroad and Co. Borthwick, Wark and Co’s current address is Bartholomew House London EC.

Times Friday 6 July 1877 p10 Money Market and City Intelligence: an announcement that Cunninghame Borthwick had retired from Borthwick, Wark and Co. Andrew Wark and John Wark junior would continue “under the same style”. The firm’s address would continue to be Bartholomew House.

The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914 by Mira Wilkins 1989. P490 Chapter 14: Financial, Commercial and Communication Services, Section on Stockbrokers:

Borthwick, Wark worked with London-based merchant bankers “in U.S. (sic) transactions”. No Other references in the same paragraph are to events in the 1870s and 1880s.

Slow Train to Paradise: How Dutch Investment Helped Build American Railroads by A J Veenendaal 1996. California: Stanford University Press. On p213 not in main text but in a section called Alphabetic Survey: an entry dated 1881 for Borthwick, Wark and Co; they had sold some stocks in Chicago and Lake Superior “div. gold loan” in London though most of the shares were sold in Netherlands.

Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society volume 1 1890 p118 a reference to Baron Borthwick (that’s Gabrielle’s brother Archibald) as “now head of the firm Borthwick, Wark and Co of London, stock-brokers”.

For the location of Bartholomew House: via the web to From Tinfoil to Stereo which is an account of the early record industry, by W W Welch and Leah B S Burt 1994. On p108 refers to the Edison Bell Phonograph company opening offices in 1892 at Bartholomew House, Bartholomew Lane London.

The firm moved shortly afterwards: at //search.freefind.com a London Directory issued 1894 lists Borthwick, Wark and Co stocks and shares brokers at 11 Caphall Court London EC.

CUNNINGHAME’S ADDRESSES

PO Court Directory 1880 p2049 Lord Borthwick’s current address is 35 Hertford Street.

PO Court Directory 1881 p2075 Lord Borthwick FSA can now only be contact at Ravenstone, Whithorn Wigtownshire or via the Junior Carlton Club. He doesn’t have a house in London.

CUNNINGHAME’S OTHER INTERESTS

Proceedings of the Society for the Encouragement of the Useful Arts in Scotland issued 1836 p164 at a meeting held at the Royal Institution Edinburgh on 9 March 1836 p166 Cunninghame Borthwick of 27 Albany Street Edinburgh was one of several men elected as Ord members.

Transactions of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts 1841 p45 at a meeting held at the Royal Institution Edinburgh on 13 November 1839 p46 Cunninghame Borthwick “actuary” of 5 North Street David Street Edinburgh was one of several men elected as Ordinary members.

Report on Spiritualism of the Committee of the London Dialectical Society, Together with the Evidence.... London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer 1871. Pvi the had been formed and the research begun in January 1869. On p145 giving evidence to the Committee on Tuesday 11 May 1869 was Mr Borthwick now (that is, by the time the Report was published) Lord Borthwick. His evidence concerned “some spirit drawings that had been produced in his presence” - he couldn’t explain how they had been done.

Probate Registry: notice dated 12 March 1886. The Rt Hon Cunninghame Lord Borthwick had died at Ravenstone Castle Wigtownshire on 24 December 1885. This notice is confirmation of the Commissariat of the County of Wigtownshire dated 6 March 1886 that the Rt Hon Lady Borthwick is the “Executrix Nominated” - (the only one!!). As was usual with notices concerning deaths in Scotland, no financial details were given - alas!

Website www.forum/gravestonephotos.com has a photo of the grave of Cunninghame

Borthwick, their reference GPR 73728; it's at Dean 2e Cemetery Edinburgh. Harriet Borthwick is in that grave as well.

GABRIELLE'S MOTHER

THE DAY FAMILY

Via familysearch reference England-ODM 9002530: baptism record for Thomas Hermitage Day, 10 February 1802 at St Nicholas Rochester. His parents were David Hermitage Day and wife Mary Ann.

Via familysearch reference England EASy 1469314 first marriage: Thomas Hermitage Day to Harriet Stone; at Bexley Kent 10 June 1828.

Twiggs' Corrected List of the Country Bankers of England and Wales by T Twigg issued 1830 p67 bankers in Rochester: the only ones listed are Day and Sons, with conns to (the London firm of) Glyn and Co. The partners in Day and Sons are David Hermitage Day, David John Day and Thomas Hermitage Day.

At www.serendib.co.uk is a full transcription of the Will of William Alston of Rochester; from 1833. It mentions David Hermitage Day, David John Day and Thomas Hermitage Day, all "of the city of Rochester aforesaid Bankers".

Via familysearch reference England-ODM 0992530: baptism record for Harriet Alice Day, 1 January 1835 at St Nicholas Rochester.

At [//freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com) is a trans of a Directory issued 1838 and covering Frindsbury in Kent. Listed under "clergy, gentry etc" are a William Day of Little Hermitage; and Thomas H Day of Frindsbury Road.

Freebmd: birth of Francis Harry Emilius Day registered North Aylesford Kent July-Sep 1839

<http://www.genesreunited.co.uk> death of Harriet Day registered North Aylesford Kent July-Sep 1839.

Via familysearch ref England EASy 1835969 2nd marriage: Thomas Hermitage Day to Emma Bingham, at St Margaret Next Rochester on 19 May 1846.

Via familysearch but I didn't note down the dtls: Thomas Hermitage Day's children. From the first marriage:

- Hermitage Charles Day born 1833
- Harriet born 1834
- Francis Harry Emilius; he marries Elisa Boulcott Taylor at St James Westminster in 1863

From the second marriage:

- Thomas Hulkes Bingham-Day; he marries Katharine Margaret Watts in 1884 in Bengal
- and two more daughters, seen on the 1851 census

Website www.frindsburyextra-pc.gov.uk is the site of Frindsbury Extra Parish Council. St Philip and St James Upnor, a chapel and a school-building, were built in 1869-78 and paid for by Thomas Hermitage Day and his wife (the second wife, that is - Emma).

London Gazette 5 April 1870 p2076 legal notice issued by Tathams Curling and Walls of 3 Frederick's Place Old Jewry following the death of Thomas Hermitage Day on 9 December 1869. The notice mentions a Will and a Trust; Emma is one of a number of executors.

Website www.stwerburghhoopeninsula.webeden.co.uk is the site for the church of St Weburgh on the Hoo peninsula in north Kent. The church's east window is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Hermitage Day.

HARRIET'S BROTHERS

At [//singletonsdiary.wordpress.com](http://singletonsdiary.wordpress.com) is a transcription by Radley College of the 1847 "Diary of a Victorian Educational Reformer": Robert Corbet Singleton, co-founder of Radley College. There's a note on H Charles Day, taken from College records: born 1833, son of Thomas Hermitage Day. A pupil at the College 1848-51. Then Brasenose College Oxford 1851; BA 1855. Ordained priest 1856. Vicar of Bredhurst Kent 1864-78. Died in Frindsbury Kent 29 September 1917.

London Gazette 13 November 1860 p4178 promotions from cadet to Lieutenant include that of Francis Harry Emilius Day, as from 1 November 1860.

Hart's New Army List 1868 p71 long list of lieutenants in the Royal Artillery includes Francis Harry Emilius Day.

London Gazette 10 November 1871 p4598 Lieutenant Francis Harry Emilius Day had been allowed to retire from the army with an annuity; issued 11 November 1871.

Probate Registry: Francis Harry Emilius Day of West Malling Kent died 21 December 1915. Probate granted at London 18 January [1916] to Francis Hermitage Day "gentleman" (a son of Francis, I guess)).

At www.cwgc.org there are notes on Harriet's half-brother Thomas Day, though I don't know why because he didn't die as a result of injuries incurred during World War 1: Thomas Hulkes Bingham-Day had died on 11 April 1917; son of Thomas Hermitage Day and his wife Emma. Husband of Katherine Margaret Bingham-Day. A career army officer: 5th Batt Devonshire Regiment. Served in South Africa (they mean the Boer War, I think). Buried in Bishopstrow churchyard Wiltshire.

THE HEIR AND THE SPARE

Consuelo and Alva Vanderbilt: the Story of a Mother and a Daughter in the Gilded Age by Amanda Mackenzie Stuart. New York London Toronto Sydney: Harper Perennial 2005. Pushed into it by her mother, Consuelo married 9th Duke of Marlborough in 1895. She duly produced two sons but the marriage was unhappy from the start and the miserable parties to it agreed a separation in 1906. The 'heir and a spare' phrase is mentioned on p224 though Mackenzie Stuart does say it's not absolutely certain who it originated with.

Harriet Borthwick must have been presented at court sometime, because she presented all her daughters and she could only have done so if she had been presented herself. I searched Times 1865 and 1866 to see if she had been presented on her marriage; but she hadn't been. So I searched 1870 and 1871 to see if the presentation had happened on her husband getting the Borthwick peerage, but it didn't. I'm a bit puzzled about that.

Details of Harriet Borthwick's death and funeral were published in Times Fri 23 February 1917 p9.

GABRIELLE'S SIBLINGS

At [//clanborthwick.com/lineage09.htm](http://clanborthwick.com/lineage09.htm) there's stuff on GMAB's siblings. Confirmation of most of it is on www.thepeerage.com

- Archibald 1867-1910 - see a bit further down, for more details on him.
- Alice Rachel Anne born 17 December 1868 married July 1893 Captain Alexander Stratton Campbell of Weasenham Norfolk. She died in August 1939
- Violet Dagmar Marion Olga born 3 June 1871 married November 1900 Captain Lewis Grey Freeland. Violet died in June 1910.
- Mary Frances Harriet born 11 February 1876 married July 1897 Harold Chaloner Dowdall (1868-1955); barrister of Inner Temple - see below.

MARY DOWDALL Gabrielle's youngest sister and the most interesting of them.

Times Wed 28 Feb 1894 p7 report on the Drawing Room held "yesterday" at Buckingham Palace. Queen Victoria attended it (she usually didn't); the Prince and Princess of Wales and Princess Alice of Hesse (Queen Victoria's second daughter) were also there. Amongst those presented: Hon Mary Borthwick, presented by her mother Lady Borthwick.

Times 2 July 1897 p10 Court Circ report issued Windsor Castle 1 July [1897]. A short paragraph, with no guest list, giving notice of the marriage of Harold Dowdall to Mary Borthwick at St Mary Abbot's Kensington. The service was taken by the bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, assisted by the Rev Lancelot D Dowdall and Rev Charles Ridlay. Lady Borthwick gave a reception afterwards.

Mary was an author. Between 1911 and 1927 she published a book of folk tales; several novels; and some essays.

Via the web to a copy of Mary's novel *The Book of Martha*. It has a frontispiece by Augustus John. Published 1913 by Duckworth and Co. NB that it is NOT a bible story; it's a modern-day tale.

At www.ngv.vic.gov.au website of the National Gallery of Victoria: a reproduction of a portrait by Augustus John now in its collection, of Harold Chaloner Dowdall dressed for his role as Lord Mayor of Liverpool; portrait by Augustus John. Apparently there was a companion portrait of Mary Dowdall; but I can't find a picture of it on the web.

Times Sat 20 May 1939 p14: one-paragraph obituary of Hon Mrs Chaloner Dowdall, wife of Judge Dowdall KC, who'd died "on Thursday after a long illness" at Melfort Cottage, Boar's Hill Oxford. Born 11 February 1876; married 1 July 1897; 1son 3daughters. No mention of her career as a writer.

The obituary of Mary's husband has more information on Mary: Times Fri 22 April 1955 p15 obituary of Harold Chaloner Dowdall QC who'd died "on Good Friday" at his home near Oxford. The Dowdall family was Irish. Harold was the youngest son of Thomas Dowdall, who was a stockbroker. Trinity College Oxford where he studied Natural Sciences. Qualified for the bar 1893. Inner Temple. Practised as a barrister in Liverpool until 1917. QC1920. County Court Judge on Circuit 6 - Liverpool - May 1921 to 1940. Held a number of posts in the CofE - chancellor etc. Wife Mary: "a lady of intellect, wit and charm"; a "prominent figure" in Liverpool's social life especially the circle around the University. She wrote novels and "amusing sketches and essays". There are portraits of Mary by Augustus John and Charles Shannon. Mary and Harold's son was also a barrister; and they had three daughters. All their children were still alive in 1955.

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a to list of contents of Liverpool Record Office. List includes a large collection, correspondence and other papers of Harold Chaloner Dowdall and Mary Dowdall, covering 1901-54. Part of the collection is letters to/from Augustus John, who taught at Liverpool School of Art; and became friends with both the Dowdalls then.

One of Mary Dowdall's daughters, probably a god-daughter of Gabrielle is mentioned on www.thepeerage.com: Ursula Gabrielle Borthwick Dowdall who married 1920 Charles Alexander Petrie later 3rd Baronet but got divorced quite soon afterwards. Ursula died in October 1962.

GABRIELLE'S BROTHER ARCHIBALD, the 17th Baron Borthwick:

Times Wed 8 May 1889 p13 report on the levee at St James's Palace yesterday, with the Prince of Wales presiding. Amongst the presentations made to the Prince: Baron Borthwick, who was introduced by the Earl of Orkney. In next few years I saw Baron Borthwick named in the Times as attending quite a few royal functions.

Wikipedia: it must have been the 6th Earl of Orkney: George Fitzmaurice 1827 to 21 October 1889; married, no children, succeeded by his nephew Edmond 1867-1951.

Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society volume 1 1890 p118 a reference to Baron Borthwick "now head of the firm Borthwick, Wark and Co of London, stock-brokers". (Presumably, Lord Borthwick is a member of the Society).

Times 19 July 1901 p10 Court Circular, short report on the marriage of Baron Borthwick to Susanna Mary daughter of Sir Mark and Lady Stewart, at Ardwell Church. Gabrielle was a bridesmaid.

Armorial Families p300 on Mark John Stewart, later MacTaggart Stewart. He's 1st Baronet and his main estate is Southwick Kirkcudbright. Born 1834. Tory MP 1874-80 and again 1885. Married 1866 Marianne Susanna Ommoney whose mother was the only child and heiress of Sir John MacTaggart of Ardwell. Sir John MacTaggart died in 1895 and Mark inherited Sir John's estate on condition that he take the MacTaggart surname. Mark and Marianne had a large family, Susanna being one of the younger daughters. My Book of the Road shows Ardwell on the east side of the Mull of Galloway peninsula; originally it was in Wigtownshire, it's now in Dumfries and Galloway.

Times 5 October 1910 p11 obituary of 17th Lord Borthwick who'd died "at his town house yesterday". He was Archibald P T Borthwick, only son of 16th baron and his wife Harriet Alice née Day. The 17th baron was born in 1867. He became a partner in the stockbroking firm Borthwick, Wark and Co which had been founded by his father. The 17th baron was also an accomplished musician. In 1901 he married Susanna MacTaggart Stewart. They had one child, a daughter, and the barony would probably have to go into abeyance again. The funeral would be on Saturday at Kirkmadrine Ardwell Wigtownshire. The Hon Gabrielle Borthwick, Lady Cassilis (one of Susanna's sisters) and Mr E O Stewart, Grenadier Guards (Susanna's brother) were comforting Lady Borthwick.

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage etc... 1910 p191 a note about the Borthwick barony: "Recently it was a question whether it was open to female succession" as no papers existed any longer which indicated exactly the conditions under which the barony could be inherited.

Using Burke's Peerage on the dukes of Grafton. P1193 the 8th Duke of Grafton's 2nd marr, in January 1916, was to Susanna Mary, widow of Baron Borthwick.

GABRIELLE'S SISTERS ALICE AND DAGMAR

Times Sat 25 April 1888 p10 rpt on Queen Victoria's drawing-room held at Buckingham Palace "yesterday afternoon". Lady Borthwick presented the Hon Alice Borthwick.

Alice had children, including three sons: at genforum.genealogy.com/campbell there was a message posted February 2007 by Ian Campbell who's a descendant of Alexander Stratton Campbell and his wife Alice, via their middle son of three, Michael; Patrick was older, David was younger.

Times Thurs 6 March 1890 p10 report on the drawing room at Buckingham Palace yesterday; at which Queen Victoria was actually present, with the Prince and Princess of Wales and Princesses Victoria and Maud. Amongst those presented was the Hon Violet Borthwick, by her mother Lady Borthwick.

Times Fri 23 Nov 1900 p7 Court Circular issued 22 November [1900] includes a brief notice of the marriage of Violet Borthwick to Captain Lewis Gray Freeland of Northamptonshire Regiment, "lately invalided from South Africa". The wedding at Holy Trinity Sloane Square "yesterday afternoon". Archibald Borthwick gave Violet away. Other guests included a Colonel Freeland (probably the groom's father), another Captain Freeland (a brother?) and his wife; Vicountess Gage; Lord Glenesk; Miss Borthwick (Gabrielle); Captain and the Hon Mrs Campbell (Alice); and Hon Sydney St John. The Dowdalls aren't listed so I suppose they couldn't go to the wedding.

Probate Registry: Hon Violet Dagmar Marion Olga Freeland of Gestingthorpe Castle, Hedingham Essex wife of Lewis Gray Freeland had died on 13 June 1910. Administration 26 Aug [1910] London to Lewis Freeland as Captain (ret'd). At tribalpages.com Freeland family page but no source: Lewis Gray Freeland born 1867 Marylebone, died 1938 Bath.

GABRIELLE:

Via google books found these:

Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain 2001 ed p77 gives Gabrielle's date of birth as 30 June 1866: Gabrielle Margaret Ariana.

SHE COMES OUT

Times Sat 15 March 1884 p12 The Drawing Room held "yesterday afternoon" at Buckingham Palace, at which the Princess of Wales had stood in for Queen Victoria. Amongst those presented was Hon Gabrielle Borthwick; presented by her mother.

THE GIPSY LORE SOCIETY

Seen via archive.org/stream at the online collection of the University of Toronto:

- Journal of the Gipsy Lore Society New Series Volume 2 July 1908-April 1909. Printed for the Society by Edinburgh University Press though the offices of the Society are at 6 Hope Place Liverpool. On pxii a list of members: Gabrielle at the Ravenstone Castle address.

- Journal of the Gipsy Lore Society New Series Volume 5 July 1911-April 1912. Printed for Society by Edinburgh University Press; offices now at 21a Alfred Street Liverpool. On pxii in members list: Gabrielle still at the Ravenstone Castle address.

No other person called Borthwick is a member; in either publication.

SHE'S IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 has her sponsoring a new member: p21 July 1898 it was Miss Annie Roby Evans of Boundary Road London NW. Annie's other sponsor was A P Sinnett. On p184 of the 1898-1901 volume there's finally a membership entry for her, in a group of members known personally to Patience Sinnett; the details of this group of people only got added to the membership list after Patience Sinnett's death on 9 November 1908. None of this group of members has an application date, there are no details of subscriptions paid, no proper addresses and their sponsors are not named: on p184 against the entry for Gabrielle Borthwick are membership dates of 1900-09 (which can't be correct) and then a note, "Resigned March 1. 1909". Gabrielle's address from 1900-09 was: Viale Regina, Vittoria, Florence, but she was a member of the London lodge, not the active lodge based in Florence. The only other GD member in Patience Sinnett's personal group of friends was Lina Rowan Hamilton.

The Sinnetts:

Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett published in an unedited version by the Theosophical History Centre, Gloucester Place, 1986: pp32-33 although Gabrielle's parents' titles are wrongly given as "Lord and Lady Northwick".

George Wyld:

Notes of My Life by George Wyld MD. London: Kegan Paul Trench Trübner and Co 1903: p42.

HERMETIC SOCIETY: there's a very short account of it on pp322-23 of Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times by R van den Broek and Wouter J Hanegraaff, 1998. There's more but possibly not so reliable on the web; and search also for Anna Bonus Kingsford, the Society's president.

THE TWO MEMOIR-WRITERS

FIRST is Mabel Dodge Luhan. Wikipedia on her: 1879-1962, wealthy American patron of the arts. Married 4 times (though she was on number two when Gabrielle knew her):

Married (1) 1900 Karl Evans, who was killed in an accident while out shooting, in 1902. Mabel's son from this short marriage was her only child.

Married (2) 1904 in France, architect Edwin Dodge.

Mabel is described on her wikipedia page as actively bisexual. She lived in Florence from 1905 to 1912; and then again for a few months in 1913 with her lover Maurice Sterne (who became husband number 3). The wikipedia page has a great deal more on her extraordinary life but from 1912 she lived in the USA.

Mabel Dodge Luhan's memoirs are in 4 volumes. Gabrielle Borthwick appears in the 2nd: Intimate Memories published 1935. The references to Gabrielle come on p164, where Mabel writes that Gabrielle called her 'hourì'. The fuller description of Gabrielle and her circumstances, and the unpleasant goings-on in Mabel's house when Gabrielle was a guest there is at p280; and the placing of Gabrielle in a wider group of women-without-men is on p283. Again on p450 Mabel speaks of Gabrielle as very intimate with her at a time (p445-46) when Mabel's marriage to Edwin Dodge is in a bad way but she can't yet face the social consequences (which were very great) of getting a divorce. Mabel speaks of Walburga Paget's socialising and her social status in Florence on p450. On p183 Mabel says that Walburga Paget actually helped to launch Mabel on the Florence social scene when she first

came to live there.

I checked the third volume of Mabel Dodge Luhan's memoirs - *Movers and Shakers*, published in 1936. It concerns the years after Mabel returned to live permanently in the USA. Gabrielle's name doesn't appear in it and in *Intimate Memories* p185 Mabel states that she kept up with very few of her acquaintances in Florence after she stopped living there.

SECOND is Countess Walburga Paget often wrongly spelled WalPurga. Wikipedia, in French but not in English, on Walburga Paget: Walburga Ehrengarde Helen von/de Hohenthal, daughter of Count Charles von Hohenthal, born 1831 in Berlin. Lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria's eldest daughter Victoria after she married Prince Frederick of Prussia. Marries Augustus Berkeley Paget (1823-96) British ambassador to Denmark; then Rome; then Vienna. After her husband's death Walburga spent winters at Villa Bellosguardo in Florence. She died in 1929 at Newham-on-Severn.

Wikipedia in English, on Augustus Berkeley Paget: 1823-96 son of Sir Arthur Paget and his wife Lady Augusta née Fane; grandson of the 1st Earl of Uxbridge who led the cavalry at the battle of Waterloo. Married Walburga 1860; 2sons 1daughter. British minister to Italy 1867-76; British ambassador to Italy 1876-83; British ambassador to Austria-Hungary 1884-93.

Not always trustworthy website thepeerage.com says Walburga and Augustus' two sons both married but neither had any children. Their daughter married the 1st Earl of Plymouth.

In *My Tower* by Walburga, Lady Paget. London, Hutchinson and Co 1924 and it's volume 2 of 2 with the index to both volumes. The 'name' Borthwick doesn't appear in the index which seems just to consist of the famous and the titled. The book is based on diary entries and letters. It's not organised very systematically and has very few fixed dates, so I could anchor events in Walburga's life only when she referred to events which were taking place in the wider world. There is a yearly pattern in the book, though: Walburga seems to go to London from about July to about October, most years. The section containing the reference to Gabrielle begins on p321 with a diary entry p323 dated "January 27"; by p324 we're at April 28th. On p327 Walburga says her daughter and daughter's family have all come to visit. The quote about Gabrielle being one of her houseguests the week is on p330. A diary entry on p328 gives this houseparty as including "June 19th"; I established the year from a reference on p329 that it's one week after Lord Airlie has been killed while on active service in the Boer War.

DATING GABRIELLE'S VISIT TO WALBURGA PAGET IN FLORENCE AS TAKING PLACE IN 1900:

The date of Lord Airlie: wikipedia on the earls of Airlie establishes that Walburga means the 11th earl, David Stanley William Ogilvy, born 1856 in Florence, son of 10th earl and his wife Henrietta née Stanley. Career army officer. He'd married in 1886 and had 6 children; his eldest son inherited the earldom at the age of 6. At time of his death he'd been fighting in South Africa for a while and had already been badly wounded once. He was killed during a battle at Diamond Hill Pretoria, leading his troops in a charge, on 11 June 1900.

A BIT MORE ON WALBURGA PAGET:

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume 4 1889-90. Published by the Society for members only. On p65 issue of May 1889; a list of new associate members includes Lady Paget c/o The Embassy, Vienna. Just noting p203 that even associate members have to be elected. Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XI 1895 p618 Lady Paget is still an associate member but now at Villa Bellosguardo Florence. Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XV 1900-01 p502 Lady Paget still an associate member at the Florence address.

FOUNDATION OF THE LADIES' AUTOMOBILE CLUB

I followed it through the Times from February 1903 to June 1904.

A Monthly Magazine devoted to the interests of New York Athletic Club volume 12 1903 p20 describes looking down the list of members of the LAC as like reading an edition of Burke's Peerage.

Good Housekeeping volume 38 1904 p343 names the Duchess of Marlborough as one of the the LAC's members.

Via google I reached www.gracesguide.co.uk/1904_Ladies_Automobile_Club where there was a list of the members of LAC in that year. Gabrielle was not on the list.

The Horseless Age volume 17 1906 p56 noted that the LAC had taken on an engineer to teach car mechanics, a Mr R Sedgewick Currie. P604 the LAC's members had a special day at the Crystal Palace Show in February 1904.

The Auto: The Motorist's Pictorial volume 12 1907 p329 gave a description of Mr Sedgewick Currie's classes and the car the students worked on.

Automobile Topics volume 16 1908 p1157 the LAC was already organising races for its members.

Royal Automobile Club Yearbook 1908 p1 lists member clubs, which include the LAC. On p217 a note that you had to be elected to be a member of LAC.

Gabrielle's work during the war:

Times 11 December 1915 p11 an article with title 'Increasing demand for women drivers', as indicated by large number of adverts now appearing in the Times' small ads for women who could drive and act as companion.

Times 4 February 1916 p13 and 17 February 1916 p2 in small ads: adverts for driving courses at Gabrielle's driving school, where she was the Principal. There were no such adverts during the whole of 1917 but in Times 18 September 1918 p3 and 22 October 1918 p13, the advert does appear again. A slightly different wording was published in Times 27 February 1918 p14a this time specifying a training in driving ambulances.

Woman's Leader volume 10 1918 p58 and again p223: an advert for a course in driving motor ambulances: 10 lessons for 5 guineas with "individual tuition" though the advert doesn't say who will do the teaching. The lessons will take place at "the Hon Gabrielle Borthwick's workshops" at 8 Brick Street; there's a telephone number, which wasn't the case in the adverts in the Times.

Aeronautics volume 14 1918 p540 also has an advert for Gabrielle's training courses. This gives two addresses: Brick Street, and 87 Kinnerton Street Knightsbridge.

Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality volume 115 number 1493 1921 p360 confirms that Gabrielle herself was able to strip down a car engine.

A TRADE UNION FOR WOMEN IN THE MOTORING INDUSTRY

Via the web to The Common Cause issue of 3 May 1918 article: the women motor drivers TU. This had been formed at the outset of World War 1 by Mrs Bernard Drake; “the Hon Gabrielle Borthwick, of the Borthwick garage”; Miss McLaren; Miss Tynan, who had experience of trade union organisation; and Mrs Chettle who became its first Secretary.

Via the web to Women’s Leader volume 10 1918 p145 refers to 58 Victoria Street as the headquarters of the Women’s Service Bureau and of the London Society for Women’s Suffrage.

Women in Trade Unions by Barbara Drake. Saw one via archive.org from Cornell Univ’s library but couldn’t find a date of publication on it; though all research ended with 1918. It’s TU Series no 6, published jointly by the Labour Research Department of 34 Eccleston Square; and George Allen and Unwin. Couldn’t find a page number for this but somewhere in the text it says that the women motor drivers’ union was formed by the London Society for Women’s Suffrage.

Barbara Drake is Mrs Bernard Drake; Bernard Drake is Beatrice Webb’s nephew: all quite clearly stated in a letter from Sidney Webb to John Maynard Keynes dated 6 Dec 1930. In The Letters of Sidney and Beatrice Webb volume 3, ed Norman Mackenzie, published 2008.

Modern sources on early women motorists:

Eat My Dust: Early Women Motorists by Georgine Classen. Johns Hopkins University Press 2008. Gabrielle is the only GD member mentioned in this book.

Dictionary of British Women’s Organisations 1825-1960 Peter Gordon and David Doughan 2005 On p70 this book states that the LAC was founded because the RAC had decided that it wouldn’t have women as members. The LAC was formed by a group of women led by Lady Cecil Scott Montague and had a number of objectives: to fund and find a place where women drivers could meet; to help women drivers get the necessary technical skills and experience; to provide driving lessons; to organise touring and competitions; and to help women obtain the necessary papers to drive abroad.

Via the web to The Car and British Society by Sean P O’Connell. Published Manchester 1998: Manchester University Press p48 the meeting that led to founding of LAC was held in April 1903 and only 17 women were present at it. However, by 1909 the LAC had 400 members. (Unlike the RAC) the AA always has allowed women to be members.

THE PELMAN SYSTEM

Wikipedia: a system of mind-training popular in the first half of 20th century. Devised in the UK and taught by the Pelman Institute of London through correspondence courses. Pelman training can be seen as a mind-equivalent of physical training; it was claimed it would get rid of forgetfulness, depression, phobias etc.

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Website www.ennever.com is run by a descendant of William Joseph Ennever who developed the Pelman system though the name comes from a man claiming to be Christopher Louis Pelman, who is generally thought to have put together the actual course by which the system was taught. Very little is known about Pelman. A suggestion made by this site is that he was American but he might also have been German, with his surname originally spelled Poehlman or Pöhlman.

Ennever's Pelman course was probably launched in 1900 and in 1901 the School of Memory Training was listed at 70 Berners St, the same house that Ennever's wife was living in. The Institute's office was at 4 Bloomsbury Street until the 1920s. In 1930s it was at Adam House, Strand.

These people were listed by www.ennever.com as using the Pelman system: Herbert Asquith the Liberal Prime Minister; Baden-Powell founder of the scouts movement; H Rider Haggard, author of She; and others, mostly men but also including the composer Ethel Smyth.

Pelman training was especially popular between the world wars but even survived Ennever's bankruptcy which happened in 1940; the last ads for the training that the website could find were from 1967. Some good illustrations on this website.

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The Accountant volume 62 1920 p82 advert for an evening meeting due at the Pelman Institute on 15 April [1920]: a talk on the Pelman system would be given by the Institute's Director of Instruction, T Sharper Knowlson; followed by a discussion. Gabrielle Borthwick would be chairing the meeting. Woman's Leader volume 12 1920 p191 has the same advert.

GERTRUDE ELEANOR MOLYNEUX CRAWFORD:

At [//ornamentalturning.net/history](http://ornamentalturning.net/history), website of the Worshipful Company of Turners; and entry for her in their page 'Turners of the Victorian Era': Lady Gertrude Crawford 1868-1937, daughter of the 4th Earl of Sefton. Both the fourth and third earls were expert turners, using ivory - a collection of pieces they made is still on show at Croxteth Hall. Gertrude's father bought her her first lathe when she was 2! He and his father both used Holtzapffel lathes and in 1897, Lady Gertrude commissioned her own lathe from Holtzapffel - the firm's number 2332 which is now at Croxteth Hall. Lady Gertrude moved to live in London on her marriage. She had received several awards for her turning already, and in 1907 she was made a Freeman of the Company as John Halket Crawford's wife. She later won the Company's silver medal, and then its gold medal, for her work. In 1923, G A Grace's Ornamental Turning Design featured illustrations of 10 items by Lady Gertrude. In 1929 she organised an exhibition of her own work at Leighton House; some items were for sale. This exhibition was covered in the magazine English Mechanic. Gertrude had an article on her work in Society of Ornamental Turners Bulletins 88. The Company of Turners created the Gertrude Crawford medal in her honour.

Times Sat 27 April 1907 p11 Court Circular issued Marlborough House 26 April [1907]. Gertrude Eleanor wife of Captain John Halket Crawford of 32nd Lancers Indian Army had been admitted to the freedom of the Turners' Company "yesterday" as a "skilled amateur". She was a frequent exhibitor with the Company. Just noting that Angela Burdett-Coutts had also been a member of the Company. Gertrude made a speech of acceptance saying that her father had taught her her skills; he'd been an "enthusiastic amateur". The ceremony was at the Guildhall.

Via web I came across a book for sale: Original Patent Application Number 4169... pubd HMSO 1898; it's a patent owned by Lady Gertrude for improvements to the design of the pocket knife.

List of the Fellows...of the Zoological Society of London issued 1922 by the Society; p39

Gertrude Eleanor Crawford is a Fellow; elected 1900.

List of the Fellows...of the Zoological Society of London issued 1926 by the Society; p49
Gertrude is still a Fellow.

SHE MARRIES JOHN HALKET (SIC) CRAWFORD

At www.thepeerage.com: Gertrude Eleanor Molyneux married John Halket Crawford on 25 April 1905. There's no indication that they had any children. He died 23 September 1936; she died 5 November 1937.

Visitation of England and Wales volume 17, privately printed 1911; by Joseph Jackson Howard. On pxxxiv report of the marriage of John Halket Crawford to Gertrude Molyneux 25 April 1905. Crawford was a Captain in the 31st Lancers, Indian Army at the time.

Times Sat 26 Sep 1936 p1 death notices: John Halket Crawford had died "On September 23 1936 at Dieppe". He was the eldest son of John Thomson Crawford BCS.

OBITUARY OF GERTRUDE CRAWFORD:

Times Mon 8 Nov 1937 p19 Gertrude Crawford had died in Lymington Hospital "on Friday". She had been the wife Lieutenant-Colonel John Halket Crawford; and daughter of the 4th Earl of Sefton. In 1918 she had become the first ever Chief Commandant of the Women's Royal Air Force. She had been known as an "amateur wood turner". In 1915 the Turners' Co had given her a special badge to commemorate her work as an amateur turner and her "patriotic efforts in supervising the manufacture of munitions". Her work as a turner had been "distinguished by ingenuity and discovering new possibilities of the lathe and tools". She'd been given the freedom of the City of London in 1934.

At her death she was still preparing to show her work: Times Tue 9 November 1937 p13: Gertrude Crawford had got a stall of her work at the 15th Annual Exhibition of Applied Arts and Crafts which had opened "yesterday" at the Royal Horticultural Halls Westminster. She was the "only woman master turner". More coverage of her work appeared in Times Wed 10 November 1937 p16: she worked in wood, ivory and plastic. Times described Gertrude as a "sound craftswoman" though "a little inclined to over-elaborate".

Times 24 December 1937 an advert for Gertrude's house, Coxhill near Lymington, now up for sale.

WITH GABRIELLE'S GARAGE ONE THING LED TO ANOTHER: via trove.nla.gov.au to Launceston Examiner Tue 6 May 1924 p7 short item saying that Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude Cochrane, sister of Lord Sefton, were in business together. They had been running a garage at Piccadilly, a restaurant and a hostel; and now they were setting up as estate agents. Gabrielle was described in the article as, "A qualified engineer". Gertrude was a master turner and freeman of the Turners' Company.

NB the Launceston Examiner has got Lady Gertrude's surname wrong: the woman who fits the description as a master turner and sister of the Earl of Sefton is Lady Gertrude CRAWFORD.

BANKRUPTCY OF GABRIELLE'S BUSINESS

The only other references I found for the businesses run by Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude were these:

RAC Guide and Handbook for 1927 p50 has an advert for The Borthwick Garages.

The World's Carriers and Carrying Trades' Review pubd 1925 by the Carriers Pubg Co; p132 notice about Borthwick Garages ltd: Sir William H Peat of 11 Ironmonger Lane had been appointed Receiver and Manager by a court order issued 26 November 1924.

Gabrielle and Lady Gertrude seem to have stayed that one off but in 1927:

London Gazette 18 March 1927 p1845 a set of winding-up petitions issued under the Companies Acts 1908-17 includes one issued 15 March 1927 for The Borthwick Garages Ltd of 8 Brick St.

London Gazette 24 May 1927 p3435 winding-up orders under the Companies Acts 1908-17; re The Borthwick Garages Ltd of 8 Brick Street. The first meeting of the firm's creditors would take place on 2 June 1927 at 33 Carey St L Inn.

London Gazette 14 Aug 1928 p5496 Notices of Release of Liquidator: the list includes a Notice for Borthwick Garages Ltd, registered office 8 Brick Street Piccadilly. This company was released 18 July 1928 by the liquidator George Digby Pepys of 33 Carey Street Lincoln's Inn.

London Gazette 13 March 1931 p1727 and again London Gazette 16 June 1931 p3922. Both under the Companies Act 1929 Section 295(5): long lists of companies recently dissolved, including Borthwick Garages Ltd.

Sent to me by Nina Baker in her email of 7 Nov 2016: list of items at the National Archives concerning the winding up of Borthwick Garages Ltd, company reference number 150653. Incorporated 1918. Document references J 13/11308; J 107/39; BT 34/4281/150563 the liquidator's accounts; and BT 31/24082/150563.

CLEONE GRIFF'S STAINLESS AND NON-CORROSIVE METALS COMPANY LTD

Items sent in November and December 2016 by Nina Baker PhD who researches the history of engineering and runs the occasional blog Women in Engineering History:

- extract from The Woman Engineer volume 1 number 17 1923 p280: profile of Cleone Griff.
- London Gazette 29 Dec 1925 p8674 re the winding-up meeting.
- items now at the National Archives concerning the winding-up of the company: list of shareholders with their addresses and the number of shares they owned; and a list of the company's directors - Cleone, Lady Gertrude and Gabrielle who was described as a "motor car business proprietor" (though Lady Gertrude wasn't).

And a couple of items I found:

Via www.newspapers.com to the Albuquerque Journal of New Mexico Sunday 2 December 1923 p9 a photo of Cleone Griff dressed as a pilot; and as Managing Director of the Stainless and Non-Corrosive Metal (sic) Co ltd of GB, which had what was thought to be the only all-woman board of directors in the world.

At archive.commercialmotor.com, a short reference to the Company in Commercial Motor 8 September 1925 announcing its new address - 149 Sherborne Street Birmingham. Its expanded range of products would include stainless steel castings and pressings, particularly suitable for car dashboards.

A modern reference to Cleone Griff, in Women, A Modern Political Dictionary by Cheryl Law. 2000 London: I B Tauris: p70

WOMEN'S AUTOMOBILE AND SPORTS ASSOCIATION

Sent by email 9 Nov 2016 by Nina Baker. From The Woman Engineer vol 3 issue 1 1929 p4:

The Women's Automobile and Sports

Association. An interesting new Club has been formed, with headquarters at St. Ermin's Hotel, Westminster, to promote women's interest in automobile and sports events. The President is the

Most Hon. the Marchioness of Carisbrooke, and the Vice-President the Viscountess Elibank. We

are pleased to see that Miss Borthwick has been elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Full particulars of the Club can be obtained from the Secretary, Mrs. Waldemar Leverton, St. Ermin's, Westminster. This Association is responsible for the first girl road scout, Miss Grace New, who made her appearance recently on the roads. It also organised the first Women's Classic Motor Trial London-Exeter-London.

Follow up WASA:

Times didn't have anything on a rally of cars orgd by the Wood Green and Dist MC but on Tue 11 Jan 1927 p12 there was a short rpt on their wmn-only motorcycle trial, through Herts. There were 50 competitors; some were named but no mention of Gabrielle or Benest/Griff.

Times nothing on the setting up of WASA but Times Wed 6 Nov 1929 p17 in the Arrgts of Today section of the Ct Circe page: annct of the inaugural dinner of WASA at the St Ermin's Hotel 8pm.

Wiki on St Ermin's Hotel wh still exists, horseshoe shaped bldg at 2 Caxton St W/m. Orig built as a block of flats 1880s converted to a hotel reopening 1899. Long assoc w MI5 and MI6.

Times Wed 4 Dec 1929 p1 Personal Ads; in the Club Anncts section an ad for WASA "a club for sportswomen" but also offering hotel accomm. The first 3000 members wldn't be charged an "entry fee". Contact is the Sec. Club already has a tel number. Ad rptd in Times 9 Dec and 11 Dec 1929.

From 1929 no coverage in Times of any event orgd by WASA.

Times 2 Jan 1935 p13 had a ref to a wedding reception held in WASA's hq at 17 Buckingham Palace Gdns ((so they've still got the bldg at that stage)).

Times 27 March 1935 p11 at the bottom of an article on events orgd to benefit the ((GV)) Jubilee Trust Fund: WASA Ltd (sic) wld be holding a motor gala w proceeds going to the Fund; on Sun 14 July. Fur dtls wld be avail 8 April [1935]. Lord Rothermere had donated 50gns to get the prize fund started. After that, Times had no fur coverage of it. Next mention of WASA was:

Times Fri 22 Nov 1935 p17 Court Circe: Vcts Elibank wld preside at the annual dinner of WASA on "Tues" [26 Nov 1935] at the Savoy Hotel ((perhaps Elibank is the pres now)). The year's trial prizes wld be pres'd at the dinner, incl the Lord Wakefield Trophy. No coverage of the actual event.

Via www.motorsportmagazine.com to issues of Motorsport in which WASA figured. I searched for Borthwick but all responses were men; searching for Gabrielle got no responses. Issues of:

December 1931 p32 WASA members were eligible to compete in the 21st London to Gloucester trial.

July 1932 p10.

April 1934 p34 descg WASA's trials as "well-orgd".

Dec 1935 p17

Aug 1937 p24 WASA did allow men into some but n all of their Wakefield Trophy trials.

Aug 1938 p20 another mention of the Wakefield Trophy named after Lord Wakefield of Hythe. WASA's 3 trials per year were consid the "most difficult" trials competitions.

And a mod take on it:

April 1996 p76 by "WB" who mentiond sevl drivers at the time thinking that WASA putting its own scouts out on the road was "overambitious". The Wood Green and Dist Motor Club ran a trial f wmn in Jan 1927: Ally Pally to tring in a set time; lunch; then back again. No mention of any of WASA's first-year officers in the a/c of that trial but the formn of WASA was a direct res of it. WASA's first compv event was a night drive from Slough to Exeter and then back to Basingstoke; some of the navigators were men. In 1930 there was a trial to Land's End; and trials at Montlhery in France and at Brooklands. WASA took part in inter-club racing at Brooklands; some of the team members named in the article - not Gabrielle. WASA did a Welsh trial bsd round Llandrindod Wells wh was regarded as partic chall. In 1935 WASA held a gala at Hurl Club as part of King's Jubilee.

End Motorsport mag

WASA's first-year officers:

Pres Mcs Carisbrooke who's a ?niece ?gt-niece of Albertina Herbert:

Wkp on the only Mqs of Carisbrooke, title cr 1917 f P Alexander of Battenberg 1886-1960, gson of QV via her ygt dtr Ps Beatrice; his sister marr Alfonso of Spain. Surname change July 1917 to Mountbatten. Marr July 1917 Irene Francis Adza Denison 1890-1956 only dtr of 2nd E of Londesborough. They had 1 child, Iris, 1920-1982 but Cecil Beaton's diaries allege that the Mqs had a long-term male lover. The Mqs was the first member of the royal family to do a proper day's work: starting in the offices of Lazard Brothers.

V-pres Vcts Elibank. Wkp on the viscounts Elibank. Viscountcy cr 1911 f a man who was already a baron; old Scottish title. WASA's vcts is wife of the 2nd Vct: Gideon Oliphant-Murray 1877-1951; colonial cvl serv; unionist MP to 1922. V conserv; v implt. Marr 1908 Ermine M K Aspinwall née Madocks. No child. They moved to S Africa 1950 and he d there 1951.

At www.npgprints.com item X121207 is a photo of Vcts Elibank tkn 1948 at Bassano and Vandyk. She d 1955.

Sec Mrs Waldemar Leverton. Cldn't see m abt her or indeed abt him via google - no dates, no wkp page. Google had books incl

householdbooks.com a copy of her The Veg Cookery Book pubd George Newnes Ltd; no pubn date.

BL catal had others but n that one. Her name's Edith:

Little Economies and How to Practice Them. C Arthur Pearson Ltd 1903

Small Homes and How to Furnish Them. C Arthur Pearson Ltd 1903

Little Entertainments and How to Manage Them. C Arthur Pearson Ltd 1904

In entry f mag The World of Dress, pubd 1898-1905 by C Arthur Pearson Ltd she's listed as the editor of its last volume; but there's a diff name editing the first few vols.

Dressmaking Made Easy. London: George Newnes 1910

Housekeeping Made Easy. Subtitle states it's aimed at the m-c mistress of h/h. London: George Newnes 1910

Servants and their Duties. A Helpful Manual for Mistress and Servant. London: C Arthur Pearson Ltd 1912

Modern: Women, Clubs and Assocs in Britain by David Doughan and Peter Gordon 2007. In section Sporting Clubs p81 it's mentioned in their a/c of the Wmn's Billiards Assoc, founded 1931. Its first Pres was Vcts Elibank; v-chair Teresa Billington-Greig. Had its hq at 17 Buckingham Palace Gdns SW1 courtesy of WASA. NB that's the only ref to WASA in the book. At speedqueens.blogspot.co.uk, item added 6 Nov 2016 on WASA. Anon; no sources. Lots of names of participants but I cldn't see any ref to Gabrielle in the a/cs of the trials. WASA was founded fllwg the success of the Wood Green and Dist wmn-only trial of early 1927. The first event staged by WASA was in 1929: Exeter, w 38 cars and 17 all-wmn crews ((driver and car mech)). 1930 trial to Land's End staged by WASA. The WASA trophy (pictured on the site) was awarded at least up to 1938; but WASA didn't get started again after WW2.

GABRIELLE'S DEATH

Probate registry: Gabrielle Margaret Ariana Borthwick of Wickhurst, Broadbridge Heath Sussex, spinster, died on 10 October 1952. Probate granted at the London office on 9 January 1953 to Teresa Mary Cecilia Muckleston, married woman, and Mary Charman, spinster. Effects £10589/10/7.

London Gazette 27 February 1953 p1208. As sent to the web, the page doesn't say what list this is, but I can tell from experience with other GD members that it's a list of people lately dead who had an income from a trust fund. The people are listed in accordance with the Trustee Act 1925 as part of the winding-up of the dead person's estate. The list includes Gabrielle Borthwick. Interested parties were to contact Eager and Sons solicitors of 8 North Street Horsham; who were acting for Teresa Mary Cecilia Muckleston and Mary Charman.

Muckleston:

At www.mytrees.com there's a page for the Healy family. Teresa Mary Cecilia Healy is 1893-1973; she married 1919 Bertram Brookes Muckleston 1888-1983 - marriage details from freebmd.

Via archive.org/stream to the Air Force List for July 1941. On p7 a B B Muckleston is working in the Department of the Permanent Under-Secretary; he is not on active duty.

Charman:

A Complete Memoir of Richard Haines.. by Charles Reginald Haines, published 1899 pxxi describes the Charman or Carman family as "an old and important clan in Sussex...in the neighbourhood of Horsham, Warnham and Shinfold".

At www.wscountytimes.co.uk an article from Tue 10 April 2012 about Mike Holmwood, who had traced his family history back to the 16th cent and discovered people called Charman in it. A John James Charman had gone down with the Titanic (April 1912) aged 26; he was a son of Solomon and Mary Charman who lived in the Gardner's Cottage, Pondtail Road Horsham.

Times 3 March 1953 p14e in set of adverts for forthcoming sales at Christies: some jewellery once owned by Gabrielle Borthwick was part of a bigger sale of such items; they were being sold by her executrices.

PORTRAITS OF GABRIELLE

At www.npg.org.uk there's a portrait of her done by Bassano on 5 September 1921. NPG x121152.

Wikipedia on Bassano. The firm was started by Alexander Bassano 1829-1913, born London of Italian extraction. He opened his first photography studio in Regent Street in 1850 and became THE society photographer at that and various other addresses. His main studio was at 25 Old Bond Street from 1876 to 1921; during 1921 it moved to 38 Dover Street. Many of Bassano's company's original glass plates are now held by the National Portrait Gallery so Gabrielle's photograph at their website must be one of those.

Confirmation that Gabrielle's photo is in the Bassano archives: at [//library.temple.edu/collections/scrc/bassano-ltd-photograph](http://library.temple.edu/collections/scrc/bassano-ltd-photograph), there's a list of their collection of photos of society figures taken by Bassano Ltd between 1920 and 1939. The photograph of Gabrielle Borthwick is in the collection's Box 3. The list doesn't include dates for any of the photographs in it.

A couple of Gabrielle, and several of the garage including her working on an engine: at www.topfoto.co.uk/gallery.wwiwomenatwork.ppages/ppage44.htm

- number 1067006 is Hon G M A Borthwick School of Motoring and Engineering, Piccadilly London. Showing 3 women removing a car axle.

At [//cache33.fkft02.de.topfoto.co.uk](http://cache33.fkft02.de.topfoto.co.uk) file number 1067012

- a photo of Gabrielle posing with her Great Dane. The website suggests the photograph is from the 1920s or 1930s but her dress is nearly to her ankles and her hair is long and done up Edwardian style, so I think it must be earlier. She's standing in an empty side-street, between imposing looking stone walls. I think she must be near her School of Motoring therefore it's probably Brick Street Piccadilly. She's wearing the same dress/overall in the photograph below:

At thumb16.jpg@theimageworks.com:

- She's leaning over a car engine, watched by 2 other women also in grubby overalls - probably trainees.

14 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

July 2015. This file is a complete rewrite of my original biography, the result of being contacted by two members of the Boxer family and being handed more, and more accurate, information on Edward and his family. Thanks are due to a descendent of one of Edward's brothers; and to a descendent of William, a brother of the Rear-Admiral Edward Boxer I mention below.

Edward Boxer was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 18 December 1894. He chose the Latin motto 'Nec temere nec timide'. Two other men were initiated at the same ritual - Victor Toller and George Minson - and Edward might have known George Minson through their work, though he probably didn't know Victor Toller. Although Edward doesn't seem to have resigned in so many words, he doesn't seem to have followed up the initiation, either; he made no attempt to do the work necessary for progression into the GD's inner, 2nd Order.

THE BOXERS

The Boxer family historians have traced their ancestors back to a Daniel Boxer who lived in 18th-century Dover. He, poor man, ended up in the workhouse, but his male descendents went into the navy and there are records of them in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. Edward's grandfather and one of his many uncles made it to rear-admiral. However, family members also succumbed to the hazards of life in the navy. Some had to retire before their time, and some died young.

Perhaps the glory of the 19th-century Boxers was Edward's grandfather, after whom the GD member was named. Rear-Admiral Edward Boxer (1784-1855) died of cholera on board ship at Balaklava on 4 June 1855. At the time he was blamed by officials who were no nearer to the war than London for the logistical disasters of the Crimea. More recent accounts credit him with bringing some kind of order to the supply situation there. He'd had a distinguished career before that, in Canada, the West Indies and the Mediterranean and had taken part (in 1840) in the capture of Acre.

Edward was too young to know Rear-Admiral Edward but he did know Edward's son Charles Richard Fox Boxer who served in China, the Pacific and North America before being invalided out with the rank of rear-admiral in 1884 after a tour of duty in the West Indies. Rear-Admiral Charles died in 1887 but Edward was in touch with his family until his own death.

JAMES MICHAEL BOXER

Edward's father, James Michael Boxer was born in 1816 when Rear-Admiral Edward and his wife Elizabeth were living in Deal. He took the path followed by so many of his forebears and joined the navy aged only 11, in 1827. He too served at Acre, on the Vesuvius, and as a result of his actions during the siege, was promoted to lieutenant in 1840. However, he was unlucky: after spending three years based in Canada, he was either injured or became ill, and had to retire in 1844 on half-pay (which wasn't much - in 1858 his total income was £91 per

year). He may have done one more tour of duty in the late 1840s; and he appeared in the Navy List as late as 1861; but was on half-pay in 1861 and had probably been so throughout the 1850s.

In 1839 James Michael had married Elizabeth Kingston. Elizabeth, too, had been born in Deal and perhaps they had known each other from childhood. They had four children, the first of them not born until they had been married nearly a decade: Harriet Elizabeth (1847); Charles (1850); Frederick Thomas (1852); and the GD's Edward, born in 1856. Harriet Elizabeth was born in Canada; but the three boys were all born in Kent, where James Michael and Elizabeth were living - sometimes in Deal and sometimes in Faversham - in the 1850s and 1860s.

The navy took care of its own, and ensured that James Michael's children got a basic education. In 1861 both Harriet Elizabeth and Frederick were being educated at the Navy's expense: Harriet Elizabeth was at the Navy's Royal Female School at Richmond Green; and Frederick was at the Royal Mathematical School Christ's Hospital, at Hertford near Rochester, having followed oldest brother Charles there. However, Edward did not follow his brothers there: instead, he was sent to the Royal Naval School at New Cross in south London; he was there on the day of the 1871 census. Both the schools offered education to the sons of impoverished naval officers with the proviso that on leaving school, the boys should join the navy.

Years later, in 1886, Edward and another ex-pupil, George Murray Rolland, had belongings stolen from them at the Royal Naval School, by Mark Oborn (17) and Robert Jones (15), presumably during a school reunion. Edward's missing possessions were his hat, and his cigarette case; worth 10 shillings. Oborn had worked at the school in the past; this was the third or fourth time he'd been caught, breaking and entering its buildings stealing from the residents. He and Jones pawned most of the items they stole but it sounds as though Edward did get his cigarette case back - Jones seems to have had it on him when he was arrested.

The navy also took care of Edward's mother Elizabeth Boxer. By 1881 she had been allocated a naval almshouse, number 7 Royal Naval Cottages, on St John's Road in Penge; her income came from an annuity which may have been something she had inherited, but was more likely to have been a naval pension. She lived at the Royal Naval Cottages until her death 20 years later.

James Michael Boxer died in 1865; and his family dispersed. His widow's sister-in-law Mary Eliza Kingston died in 1870 and by census day 1871 Elizabeth Boxer had moved into 3 William Terrace Chiswick to keep house for her brother Thomas Kingston and be a mother to his children, the youngest of whom was only three. Edward was at school. Frederick had gone into the navy and was serving overseas. Charles had started work in an accounts office and was living on his own in Hampton. And Harriet Elizabeth had gone to live in Tenbury, Worcestershire, with a cousin, Mary K Woodward, whose husband - another naval officer - was also abroad. In 1877 Harriet Elizabeth married a man whom she had met while living in Tenbury - Arthur Priestman Bloome who later added on another surname and became Bloome-Ansley.

Of the three Boxer brothers, only Frederick stayed in the navy for more than the length of time they were all obliged to serve as a condition of their education at a charity school. As

the Navy Lists only deal with officers, I haven't been able to ascertain when Edward joined, or when he left; but 1871 seems a likely date for his joining. During his short period of service he was a crew-member on the frigate Phaeton and the family still has a photograph of him in his uniform. Not for Edward the excitement - and the dangers - of sailing far-off seas like Frederick, who in 1874 went to the East Indies to join the crew of the Glasgow. During the mid-1870s the Phaeton doesn't seem to have left Chatham! As soon as he was entitled to leave the navy, Edward did so. His education at the navy's expense stood him in good stead at this planned change of career, and he was able to get work in a bank. He stayed as a bank employee until his retirement, probably staying at the same bank throughout and definitely being promoted several times, to end his working life as a departmental manager. I do not know which bank this was: that's not the sort of information that appears on a census form, unfortunately, and no one in the family can recall any mention of Edward's employer.

It was probably during Edward's short term as a seaman that a big break with the past occurred in the family, with the death in April 1873 (at the age of 82) of Edward's grandmother Elizabeth, Rear-Admiral Edward Boxer's widow. For some of her widowhood she had been living in a grace-and-favour apartment at Hampton Court Palace; but by the end of her life she had moved into town, to 3 Sumner Terrace, Onslow Square in South Kensington. Her unmarried daughter Mary was probably living with her; Mary certainly inherited a lot of the memorabilia Elizabeth had collected during her long life.

EDWARD AND EDITH

On the strength of finding work that suited him, that he thought he could stick to, that Edward married in 1876. His bride was Harriet Edith Mitchell (known as Edith, not Harriet), the daughter of Rev Thomas Mitchell and his wife Sarah. The Rev Thomas led a peripatetic life as a Church of England clergyman, working in parishes in south London, Surrey, Berkshire and Oxfordshire, and was vicar of Little Tew in Oxfordshire when Edith married. Edith (born 1850 and so several years older than her husband) was born while her father was rector of Catmore near Newbury.

On the day of the 1881 census Edward and Edith were living in Camberwell. Their only child, Arthur Edward (named for his uncle Arthur Bloome-Ansley) was 4. They were being cautious with money, I think, because on census day they were not employing even the basic live-in general servant; though I daresay they found the money to pay a woman to come in to clean by the day. By 1891 they had moved to 39 Hurstbourne Road Lewisham. Their financial situation had improved. Arthur was 14 but was already working, as a clerk; possibly for the diamond merchant's firm that employed him in 1901. And Edward and Edith had one lodger, Arthur Pugh, a bank clerk who might have worked in Edward's office. So they could afford that one live-in servant that made all the difference to a middle-class woman's view of her life.

On the surface, therefore, all was well with Edward and Edith Boxer in 1891. However, under that surface things had probably gone wrong already and by 1901 they had separated. When he joined the GD, Edward gave as his address Inverness House, Carshalton Grove Sutton. I wondered if this was a boarding house and might indicate that Edward was on his own by 1894; but I haven't been able to find anything about the house as yet (July 2015) so I can't be sure. If it's just an ordinary house where any family might live, the Edward and Edith were probably living in it together still and their marriage had a few more years in which to stagger on.

On the day of the 1901 census, Edith was living alone at 133 Upland Road Camberwell; when the census official asked her what was her marital status, her answer was so equivocal, that that box on the form is just a big blot. Edward had moved to the north side of the river and was lodging with Mrs Jane Gatliff in Fulham; he gave his marital status as 'married'. And Arthur wasn't living with either of his parents; he too was in lodgings, at 58 East Dulwich Grove, boarding with Mrs Clara Ansell and her daughters.

Was Edward's interest in theosophy one of the subjects on which he and Edith could not agree? It might have been, though it might also have been something he took refuge in, as his relationship with his wife deteriorated. Though the Theosophical Society did have members who managed to believe in both theosophy and Christianity, they found it a challenge to reconcile the two, and Edith might have considered Edward to be in danger of losing his faith; or of encouraging her to lose her own. I don't know, of course, whether theosophy widened the breach between husband and wife; but it wasn't an interest they shared - Edith never joined the TS; but Edward did do so. When I was going through the TS's records, I missed his membership application, but he was definitely a member by 1891. In December 1891 Edward was one of two TS members who sponsored the application of William Jameson. Jameson's other sponsor was Harold Levett. Levett worked for the London Joint Stock Bank. Perhaps Edward worked for it too. Or perhaps they met at a TS meeting and found themselves with banking as well as theosophy in common. They will have been able to meet quite a number of GD members at meetings of the TS, including its founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers; and Harold Levett followed Edward into the GD, being initiated in 1895.

More people joined the GD from the TS than from any other one source of recruits. Most were initiated in the early 1890s; Edward and Harold Levett were a little behind the curve, waiting until 1894 and 1895. During those years, the TS was in the throes of an internal dispute, essentially about the direction and leadership of the Society now that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky had died. The dispute got very bitter and eventually very public. A lot of people let their membership lapse, did their study at home, and just met in informal groups if they met at all. However, like most members of the GD who had come from the TS, Edward didn't stay. Theosophy and western esotericism could be seen as complementary, but both had a demanding programme of study; so that people who were working, especially, couldn't really do justice to both at the same time. Most theosophists opted to go with eastern philosophy rather than western magic, when presented with that problem, and dropped out of the GD as a result. It looks like Edward was one of them and so, I think, was Harold Levett.

EDWARD ALONE

All the evidence is that Edward and Edith never lived together after they split up at some time during the 1890s. At that time it was still an unusual step for a no-longer-consenting couple actually to go their separate ways; so whatever had been wrong between them must have been very wrong indeed. They must both have been aware when they parted, that they could not afford either the financial or the social consequences of a divorce; even Edward's career at the bank might have been blighted by such a thing. And of course not being divorced would mean that even if they met somebody whom they cared for that much in the years ahead, they would not be able to marry them. I daresay they reached an agreement whereby Edward continued to support Edith financially. By 1901 Edward had been promoted to the position of cashier at his bank and perhaps had a little more money with which to fund a separate household for Edith. But that - most unsatisfactorily - would have been that; until the death of one of the partners released the other. Edith was the one that was released, in 1935; but it was a pyrrhic victory. In his will, Edward left everything he had to leave to a

woman Edith had probably never even heard of, Ellen Boyce Miller.

THE GATLIFF FAMILY

On census day 1901, Edward was living with the Gatliffs at 10 Burnfoot Avenue, All Saints, Fulham; near where Allen and Norris (see my other history work on our web-page: The Life and Times of Henry George Norris) were building new houses in Fulham borough. Jane Gatliff had been widowed in 1894. Her husband, William Goodman Gatliff, had been a civil servant and they had been comfortably off while he'd been alive; but his death made Jane decide she would take in lodgers, and her daughter Maude decide that she would go out to work - by 1901 she had trained as a typist. Also in the household was Jane's son Ralph, who worked as a broker; probably in offices in the City of London.

Edward stayed as a lodger with the Gatliff family for many years; perhaps to as late as 1919. Certainly he was Maude's lodger on census day 1911, while Jane and Ralph were out of the country. Maude (listed as head of household) had rented Huntley Cottage in East Malling, Kent.

By the first world war, the Gatliffs were living at 13 Dealtry Road Putney; presumably they moved in when Jane came back from wherever she was in April 1911. Isobel Rebecca Gatliff (a cousin whose parents were in India) may have been living with them by the outbreak of World War 1; and I think, so still was Edward Boxer. Jane Gatliff died in July 1916; and Isobel married Frederick Marshall Cowan in 1918; but Maude was still living at 13 Dealtry Road when she too died, in March 1919. Isobel Cowan and Edward Boxer were Maud's executors.

Isobel's marriage and Maude's death (at only 51) meant the end of Edward's association with the family, if he hadn't left the household already. But the 1911 stay in East Malling had had lasting results: Edward probably remembered the area well, from his childhood, and he decided that he would move there when he retired. When Maude died he was still working; but by 1925 he had retired. By 1929 he was living at More Cottages, East Malling; and Ellen Boyce Miller was almost certainly living there with him - she, not he, was the holder of the cottage's lease.

ELLEN BOYCE MILLER

Edith and Arthur supposed that Ellen Boyce Miller was Edward Boxer's housekeeper; and that, consequently, was the tale that went down through the generations. However, when I did my usual 'family history' searches on Ellen, I soon began to doubt that view (though I could quite see how it had arisen). My opinion now is that although Ellen might have kept house, she was not being paid to be Edward's housekeeper. She was not of the social class from which servants tended to be drawn; and in any case, the census information indicates that she did very different work.

Ellen Boyce Miller was born in 1873, the youngest child of William Miller, who worked as an actuary for a savings bank in Sherborne, Dorset. He had died by 1891 and had left his family not especially well off; so that his widow Emily, and all her daughters except the eldest, were working; though none as a servant. Ellen and her older sister Emma were working at home making gloves, but Ellen clearly had ambitions above the long hours and poor pay of such work. By 1901 she had left home, moved to London, and got herself qualified as a typist. On the day of the 1901 census Ellen and three other working women

were all living together at 31 Arvon Road Highbury, about five minutes' walk from where I live in north London. The other women in the household were Annie Smith and Mary Archer, who both worked as clerks in the offices of an engineering firm; and Marianne Shaw, another typist, whom the census official wrote down as head of the household, as she (at 40) was the eldest. Marianne and Ellen were still living together on the day of the 1911 census though they had moved a few streets, to 23 Corsica Street. Smith and Archer had left the household, but Ellen's sister Emily had joined it, working as an accounts clerk. Both Marianne and Ellen were keeping up with the rapidly-moving technology and expectations of office work: they had both learned shorthand and were working as shorthand typists. The way they both filled in the census form suggests that by this time they might have been running their own typing and shorthand bureau: they both described themselves as 'employer', not employee.

Ellen, then, was an independent woman with very saleable skills, working in offices and later, possibly, as a partner in a business: a middle-class woman. She and Edward might have met through leisure interests they had in common or people they were both acquainted with (Maude Gatliff, for example); but they could also have met in a way that had hardly been possible before the end of the 19th century - through work. Perhaps, at some time, Ellen had worked in Edward's bank.

EDWARD AND ELLEN

I don't know when and how Edward and Ellen got together. Their relationship was complicated, obviously, by marriage being out of the question; but get together in some sense - possibly even the sexual sense - they definitely did. Perhaps the big step was taken when Edward retired: in a new place, where no one really knew them, they could live together, perhaps telling everyone they were brother and sister, or calling themselves Mr and Mrs Boxer - though I note that Ellen used her usual name on the lease and that was how she was referred to in Edward's Will.

EDWARD AND THE BOXERS

It's hard to tell how Edward and Edith's separation went down with their families though I imagine none of the Mitchells had anything to do with Edward ever again. On Edward's side of the argument, the Boxer family historians mentioned to me that their older relations couldn't remember having met Edith; though they knew Arthur and his son. One person who did find it very difficult to come to terms with the breakdown of the marriage was Edward's mother Elizabeth, who was still alive when the separation took place. When she died, in February 1901, Elizabeth's Will named her son Frederick Thomas, and her son-in-law Arthur Bloome-Ansley, as executors. Edward may have been a witness of course (I haven't read the Will) but that would have meant he wouldn't be inheriting anything from her - a Will's witnesses can't inherit - so either way it does seem like a snub, especially when so many other people thought Edward would be a good executor. Nor did his brother Frederick Thomas Boxer get Edward involved when he died in 1908: Frederick's Will had one executor, his wife Agnes (he had married Agnes Pope in 1890).

Deaths, weddings and births: tricky times when you no longer live with your spouse. Arthur married Ada White in 1903. I presume Edith was at the wedding but Edward was not and it's not clear, even to family members, how much contact Edward had with Arthur and Ada, though their son was named Edward Vincent (Teds), keeping to the family tradition. The Boxer family know that Arthur took over the diamond business he was working for in 1901

or launched a rival business of his own; but it didn't do particularly well - dragged down by the depression of the 1930s, perhaps - and he set up a wireless business with his son.

Edward continued to have good relationships with his cousins, the children of Admiral Charles R F Boxer. Charles had married Harline Kimber, a member of a prominent French-Canadian family, in 1874 when he was stationed in Canada. They had five children before Charles died. As a widow Harline was very well off indeed; so well off that I wonder if the money hadn't been hers to start with; because the rest of the 19th-century Boxers were genteel, but noticeably not wealthy. In the 1890s Harline and her children were living in Upper Norwood, so Edward and Edith probably saw them quite often. By 1901, they had moved into town, to 8 Lancaster Gate; still easy to visit. I presume that Edward would have been invited when Harline's daughter Eveline married Cyril Longhurst at St George's Hanover Square in 1906. From 1901 to 1904 Cyril had worked for Sir Clements Markham at the National Antarctic Expedition, which launched the short but eye-catching career of Robert Falcon Scott. During the later part of the first World War he was private secretary to Lord Curzon.

By 1911, with only daughters Cecile and Violet still living at home, Harline had decided to leave London. On the day of the 1911 census she was living at the house that's still called 'Firwood', on Burnaby Road, Alum Chine, in Bournemouth. She died there in 1933 and Cecile was still living there in 1961.

Edward's relationship with his maiden aunt Mary Fox Boxer (sister of Lt James Michael Boxer and Admiral Charles R F Boxer), can only have been intermittent, at least before the first World War. She seems to have lived abroad a great deal (I can't find her on the censuses of 1891, 1901 or 1911); though by the 1920s she had moved into a flat in York Mansions, Earl's Court Road. When she died in 1925, Edward and Cyril Longhurst were her executors. Mary Fox Boxer had inherited a lot of Boxer family memorabilia, and she left Edward his choice of her pictures, specifically including portraits of Rear-Admiral Edward Boxer and his wife (another Elizabeth); and a painting of HMS Pique, the ship that Rear-Admiral Edward had commanded from 1837 to 1839 in the north Atlantic and the West Indies. Eveline was left Mary's emerald bracelet; and Cecile got Rear-Admiral Edward's Turkish Order of the Medjidie for her lifetime before being required to pass it on to her brother Hugh.

Edward also acted as executor when his brother-in-law Arthur Bloome-Ansley died in 1929; with sister Harriet as co-executor. Though he wasn't called on when Harline Fox Boxer died in 1933.

Edward seems to have got on particularly well with his cousin Cecile. Cecile had been born in 1875, the eldest of Harline's children. Perhaps she seemed like a daughter to Edward. In late 1924 Cecile was inspired to enter the National Festival of Community Drama - maybe Edward was amongst those encouraging her to do so. Her one-act play *The Call* won its local heat, and was broadcast on BBC radio on 23 January 1925 with 'Cuckoo' Savelli and Jim Crawford in the leading roles; but only in the Bournemouth area, so while Edward and Ellen must have read Cecile's script, they may not have been able to hear it broadcast. It was published in 1929. Cecile's two novels weren't published until 1953; but perhaps she was already writing fiction pieces while Edward was alive.

The Boxer family historians suggest that Edward was visiting Cecile when he began to suffer

from his last illness. I wonder if Ellen was with him? When Edward was given a grim prognosis on the illness, it was certainly Ellen he worried about - as his Significant Other, but with no automatic entitlement to his estate. His Will in her favour was signed on 16 August and he died two weeks later. Edith and Arthur were outraged when they found out. They challenged the Will on grounds of 'undue influence' but Edward had had Cecile Boxer's help in making sure its credentials were impeccable. Cecile witnessed the Will herself; with Archibald Langworthy (a local businessman who was not a relation either of the Boxers or of Ellen). Though Edith's legal challenge delayed the granting of probate by nearly a year, it did fail; and Ellen inherited an estate worth £7313, including (presumably) the pictures left to Edward by his aunt Mary.

Edward died on 2 September 1935 and was buried at Brompton Cemetery. There's no account of the funeral - it would be interesting to know who attended it. After the question of Edward's Will was settled, Ellen Boyce Miller left East Malling and moved to Reculver Lodge, Beltinge, Herne Bay. She died in 1943, and sister Emily was her executor, probably inheriting everything as well. Emily died in Sherborne in 1951.

Edith Boxer died, probably still rather bitter, in 1941. Arthur died in 1960 and Teds in 1992. Teds never married, so Edward has no known descendents.

Cecile Boxer died in 1961. In 1953 she had had two novels published. In the wake of her death, the Boxer family memorabilia were sold at auction and sent all over the world; it is a dreadful shame.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families;

thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR EDWARD BOXER

INFORMATION FROM THE BOXER FAMILY HISTORIANS sent in emails during June 2015: including the text of Wills and details of the executors; family trees and explanations of how everyone was related; details of naval careers; letters about Arthur and Teds; and lots of stories that only family members would know. Included was a transcript of James Michael Boxer's petition of 1858 for a place for Charles Edward Boxer at the Royal Mathematical School; which quoted his current income. They also gave me more information on Edward's eldest brother Charles Edward; one of the family historians is working (July 2015) on an article on him, so in this biography I shall only say that he died in 1884. Once again, thanks to you both.

IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register for September 1891 to January 1893 p44 application of William Jameson of Essex, December 1891.

Kelly's Royal Blue Book Court and Palace Guide 1911 edition p239 Harold J Levett was by then manager of the London Joint Stock Bank's branch on the corner of Gloucester Terrace in Bayswater.

OTHER SOURCES OF BOXER FAMILY HISTORY

EDWARD'S GRANDFATHER REAR-ADMIRAL EDWARD BOXER

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 7 p8. Beware however: it says that the Rear-Admiral's wife Elizabeth died in 1826. Thanks to the Boxer family historians for drawing my attention to this error and giving me the proper date of death.

EDWARD'S FATHER JAMES MICHAEL BOXER

Birth at Deal in May 1816: Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1786327.

At en.wikisource.org is a Naval Biographical Dictionary. Author, William Richard O'Byrne.

Evidence of where James Michael Boxer was living from 1838 to 1855: Familysearch had set of records, I'm not quite sure what they represented, probably men eligible to vote.

Navy List 1860 p44

Navy List 1861 p19.

ADMIRAL CHARLES RICHARD FOX BOXER

At www.pdavis.nl a short account of career of Charles Richard Fox Boxer (1833-87).

HARLINE KIMBER FOX-BOXER

Pierre Berthelet and his Family by Édouard Fabre Surveyor. Printed for the Royal Society of Canada 1943. On p67 Harline Kimber married Charles Richard Fox Boxer on 28 November 1874.

CECILE BOXER'S PUBLICATIONS:

1929 The Call. Published in London and New York in the French's Acting Edition series.

1953 Light in Darkness. London: Hutchinson

Little Girl with a Bell. Also London but Frederick Muller.

EVELINE BOXER'S HUSBAND CYRIL LONGHURST 1879-1948; Eveline's dates are 1879-1952

I thought I'd include some further reading for Longhurst's interesting career.

At the National Antarctic Expedition 1901-04, where his immediate boss was Sir Clements R Markham 1830-1916; see wikipedia for Markham, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society 1863-88..

The Voyage of the Discovery by Robert F Scott. London: Smith Elder 1905 p35.

The Lands of Silence: A History of Arctic and Antarctic Exploration by Clements R Markham. Cambridge University Press 1921 p467.

The Life of Sir Clements R Markham by Albert Hastings Markham. London: John Murray 1917. In his introduction, A H Markham describes Longhurst as a friend of Sir Clements, not just an employee. Longhurst had helped A H Markham by compiling the book's index.

I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination by Francis Spufford, who suggests on p406 that Longhurst may have been Sir Clement's lover. London: Faber and Faber 1996.

The Voyages of the Discovery by Ann Savours. London: Chatham 2001.

And later as private secretary to Marquis Curzon during the first World War:

Curzon and British Imperialism in the Middle East by John Fisher. London: Cass 1999 p65 footnote 94 referring particularly to September 1917.

HARRIET EDITH MITCHELL daughter of Rev Thomas Mitchell (1819-79) and his wife Sarah née Trevett (1818-1905). See also collins-family-site.

At www.connectedhistories.org a newspaper announcement of Rev Thomas's appointment to the rectory of Catmore; which was in gift of the dean and chapter of Windsor.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1872 p596.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1880. From 1877 until his death Rev Thomas Mitchell was vicar of Great Tew, Enstone, Oxfords, in the gift of M T W Boulton.

FREDERICK THOMAS BOXER AND EDWARD BOXER IN THE NAVY

Navy List 1860-61 p172 for more details of the Phaeton.

Navy List January 1874 p469 only has Charles R F Boxer; and Frederick Thomas Boxer who gets in because he has reached the rank of “navigating Midshipman”. Whereabouts of the frigate Phaeton. Frederick en route to the far East: p469, as navigating sub-Lieutenant.

ELLEN BOYCE MILLER

Information on Ellen’s early life: see colinmiller.com.

London Gazette 24 September 1929, a notice issued by the Land Registry of properties whose title is about to be registered.

DEATH and notice of funeral OF EDWARD BOXER

Times Thursday 5 September 1935 p1.

22 July 2015

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

John Brettell was one of the first people to join the Golden Dawn. He was initiated in April 1888, taking the Latin motto ‘Luci’. In January 1893 he reached the GD’s 2nd Order level, at which you could start to do some practical magic rather than just reading about it. Although he was a member of the Isis-Urania temple, which held its meetings and rituals in London, he lived and ran his own business in the Midlands so he may not have been able to be a very active member.

November 2014: a big update to my biography of John Brettell is required after family historian Mary Brettell contacted me from Brisbane Australia. See her web pages tracing some lines of the family back as far as the Middle Ages, at

[//freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~brettell/BRETTELL/Brettell_Families.html](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~brettell/BRETTELL/Brettell_Families.html)

Her distant cousin Shane Brettell then sent details of his web pages; he’s a direct descendant of John Brettell through John’s son Thomas. As a result I’ve been inspired to widen my look at John Brettell’s life and to embed him a bit more in the 19th-century industrial Midlands. The ‘family history’ side of John’s life uses information collected by both of them, from original sources.

THE BRETTELLS, SMETHWICK AND WEST BROMWICH

Mary Brettell’s history of the family of Brettell (and its many other possible spellings) shows it to be a rather rare surname. Owners of it were concentrated in the south Midlands with offshoots in London by the late 18th century and in Liverpool by the mid-19th. John Brettell’s father Thomas was baptised (as Brittel) in 1799 at St Giles Cripplegate; one of the

children of Nathan Brettell and his wife Leah. Although he grew up in London, family ties with Brettells in West Bromwich were still close, and it's likely that Thomas moved there to serve an apprenticeship and then to work as a smith, taking advantage of the recent growth of the West Bromwich/Smethwick area as an iron- and brass-working district.

The West Midlands had been known for its nail and chain-making industry at least since the 16th century, but production was largely on a domestic scale, with people making the goods in their back yards, until the building of the Birmingham Canal in the 1760s and the invention not long afterwards of steam-powered engines. The Birmingham canal passed between West Bromwich (to its north) and the small villages of Harborne and Smethwick (to its south). It met the Wednesbury Canal near Spon Lane, an old route between West Bromwich and Smethwick. The first iron foundry in the district was opened in West Bromwich a few years later, by Matthew Boulton and James Watt. In 1795 the two men leased land on Merry Hill, beside the canal, and began to make steam engines at their Soho Foundry. Other factories followed including the iron-foundry of Henry Downing; and Thomas Shutt's window-making business, taken over by the Chance brothers in the early 1820s. At the end of the 1820s Thomas Telford was called in to design a big re-digging of the Birmingham canal, already seen as inadequate and slow: it was made deeper and its route was made straighter, a set of six locks was dispensed with, and the Galton Bridge was built over it, at the time the longest single-span in the world. Housing for workers in these factories was being built on farmland near to the canals by this time. Skilled and even unskilled people could move to the area with a realistic hope of finding regular work.

Thomas Brettell was living in West Bromwich by the mid-1820s when he married Catharine (or Catherine, both spellings appear on different census forms) Ensor, a woman from Birmingham. Their son John was born in 1829 or 1830, the youngest of four sons in the family. On the day of the 1841 census John and Catharine were one of several couples named Brettell who were living on Spon Lane. John, aged 12, was probably still at school but all his older brothers were working. The writing on the 1841 census is always a trial to interpret but I think that at least one brother, Thomas (aged 15) was working as a smith; though the eldest son, William, had left the shop-floor for the office and was working at a foundry, but as a clerk.

Thomas Brettell seemed always to have worked for other people: as late as 1851 he was describing himself to a census official as a "jobbing" smith, which I read as meaning that he did not run his own business. One of the firms he worked for may have been the Britannia Bedstead Works, owned by Thomas and James Middleton and based at the Victoria Iron Foundry in Smethwick's Rolfe Street; though he won't have worked for them at that address before the 1830s, as Rolfe Street was not laid out and built on until then. If he didn't actually work for the Middleton brothers he might have been employed by one of their many sub-contractors - makers of tubes, angles and brass mounts. There must have been some connection between Thomas Brettell and the Middletons, because (probably as soon as he left school) John Brettell was taken on by the Middletons as an apprentice iron-moulder, possibly following in the footsteps of his elder brother Joseph, who had finished his apprenticeship and was working as an iron-moulder by 1851. The Britannia Bedstead Works was not a particularly large employer by local standards - in 1851 it employed 80 men - but it was profitable enough to enable James Middleton and his wife Elizabeth to live in a house in New Street, North Harborne, and to employ a servant - one of the first they will have had - a cook. John was nearing the end of his seven years as an apprentice on the day of the 1851 census, and was living in James Middleton's household. In 1853, his apprenticeship over, he married James Middleton's daughter Anne (or Ann), at Smethwick's Wesleyan Methodists' chapel.

The early 1850s were a very exciting time to be living in the Black Country. 1851 was the year of the Great Exhibition and two of the district's biggest firms were heavily involved in the creation of the ground-breaking and breath-taking Crystal Palace which housed it: Fox Henderson and Co built the Crystal Palace's steel core; and Chance Brothers, already famous for making windows for Big Ben and the new Houses of Parliament, made its huge expanses of glass. Perhaps John Brettell regretted, from time to time, that he wasn't working for either of those firms. I'm sure he will have made the trip to London to see the Exhibition. The following year was also a landmark year for Smethwick: the London and North Western Railway built a railway station at Spon Lane. However, as so often in Victorian industry, boom and bust existed close together: in 1856 Fox Henderson and Co went bankrupt, a disaster for the local economy as about 2000 local people were economically dependent on the firm, either directly as employees or indirectly through sub-contractors.

T AND J BRETTELL

Perhaps John Brettell had been all set to become a senior employee of Thomas and James Middleton; with maybe even the possibility of being taken into partnership in due course. But if there were any such plans they were upset by one of those tragedies that were all too familiar in Victorian England: Anne Brettell died in childbirth in 1854, and the baby, Samuel Brettell, died as well. John's father Thomas had also died, in 1853, and John Brettell's life took a different course. By 1859 he was one of the proprietors - or possibly the sole proprietor - of T and J Brettell of the Spon Lane Foundry at 193 Spon Lane, iron founders and engineers. The name of the firm has confused me; because I'm not sure which 'T' is 'J's partner in it. At different times, three different men called 'thomas brettell' may have been involved in the business: John's father (though only for a short time), John's brother, and one of John's sons (other sons also worked for him). However, none of them seem very likely partners to me, for various reasons, and perhaps John always ran the firm alone while remembering his father in the name he chose for it.

By setting up in business for himself in the mid-to-late 1850s, John Brettell may have been able to take advantage of the misfortunes of others by offering work to some of the skilled men made unemployed by the collapse of Fox Henderson and Co. However he may also have learned caution from the misfortunes of that big, but surprisingly vulnerable, firm. In my reading about the industries of Smethwick in the 19th century, I didn't find any mention of T and J Brettell; which means that the firm never got very big, it never dominated the local economy. I found an advert in a Black Country yearbook published some time during the 1890s in which T and J Brettell, iron-founders and machinists, described themselves as makers of boot rivets, nuts and bolts; and I imagine the firm had specialised in these items from its beginnings - products needed by a wide range of other local businesses.

In 1857, with his firm negotiating its first few years, John Brettell married again. His second wife was Elizabeth Nock, the daughter of a man who worked as an engineer on the canals. John and Elizabeth set up home in Harborne; Elizabeth's mother Ellen who lived with them until her death in 1876, aged 84. John and Elizabeth had six children with (like John's father) a preponderance of boys: Edward Nock Brettell, born 1858; Samuel born 1860; Thomas John born 1862; Walter born 1863; Howard Ridsdale born 1865; and the only daughter, Mary Ellen, born 1867. By the day of the 1871 census, the Brettells and Mrs Nock had moved to 68 Union Street, a house they still seemed to be living in, in 1901. By that time, John's foundry was making enough money for him to employ one live-in servant to help his wife with her household chores; by doing so, John and Elizabeth had achieved one of the basic

requirements of middle-classness in Victorian Britain. In 1873 there was money enough, or need enough, for a programme of rebuilding walls at the Spon Lane Foundry; perhaps the opportunity was taken, to enclose a larger area. And in the mid-1870s some of the burden of command should have been lifted from John Brettell's shoulders by his eldest son Edward leaving school and starting work in the foundry's offices; except that it didn't work out like that.

On the day of the 1881 census, John and Elizabeth Brettell's youngest child, Mary Ellen, was still at school. All her elder brothers were working, however, and most were still living at home, so I found it quite surprising that the Brettells were still only employing the one live-in servant. The details of how Samuel and Thomas were earning their money are very difficult to read; but Walter was described as "engineer fitter at works" and was probably working the family firm. Howard was employed as a clerk; the census official didn't give any details of where, but information from later in the century suggests that he was not employed by T and J Brettell, which perhaps hadn't got enough work for two sons in the office. Edward had moved out of his parents' house. He had married Elizabeth Povey in 1878, when both of them were 20 - I get the impression that's rather a young age at marriage for people in the lower-middle-classes at the time. Their address was 193 Spon Lane so they must have had rooms within the foundry walls; their daughter Sarah had been born a few weeks before.

So that was the situation at the end of the 1880s when John Brettell was initiated into the GD: family firm in one of the Midlands' basic and best-known industries, with some at least of John's sons working with him and perhaps giving him a little leisure time after many decades of effort.

OUTSIDE INTERESTS

In the 1860s and early 1870s especially, John Brettell probably had little time for leisure: his business was still establishing itself, and his children were too young to be able to help him run it. He did, in 1859, join the Phonetic Society, but this may have been connected with the burdens of his work, not something he was pursuing in any spare time he did have. The Phonetic Society had been founded in 1843 as one of the many ideas put forward by Isaac Pitman. John Brettell, struggling with office work and accounts, perhaps for the first time in his life, probably appreciated the Society's intention of working towards "the general introduction of phonetic spelling both in writing and printing". However, I found very little about the Society on the web; I think it didn't last long and John Brettell was obliged like the rest of us to grapple with the English language as it still is, with all its idiosyncracies.

John Brettell did, in the end, get leisure enough; and he chose to use it by becoming involved in local public life: Sandwell Community History and Archives Service has evidence of him serving in local government. He was also an active supporter of Smethwick's free library. Libraries which anyone could use, without paying a subscription, were such an important feature of 19th-century life. One of the earliest such libraries had been set up in the West Midlands: in 1680, Rev Thomas Hall had founded one in King's Norton. King's Norton looks a little far away from Smethwick for John Brettell to have been a regular borrower or reader there; but he will have known about it and wanted his own town to have something similar. A lot of the voluntary work John did for the free library would have been in the area of seeking donations - books, and money for a suitable building. Smethwick free library was opened in August 1880; and moved to new premises in 1899.

JOHN BRETTELL IN THE GD

John Brettell's involvement with the GD is one of the few pieces of evidence I have for his use of such leisure time as he was able to find. He might have had an interest in the occult from long before he discovered the GD - after all, iron-making is alchemy - but it is the very nature of the occult, that evidence for people being involved in studying it, is hard to find; and the first definite indication that John had an interest in western esotericism is his GD initiation date, April 1888.

It's often hard to figure out how members of the GD came to know about the Order and be recommended as suitable initiates. Most of the GD's earliest initiates were freemason friends of William Wynn Westcott. I haven't found any evidence that John Brettell was a freemason, but he was asked to be present at a ceremony with several other GD members in 1890 - when he had been in the Order for two years - and may have known them for several years before he was initiated.

John Brettell must be the man wrongly spelled and named (by Ellic Howe and Ithell Colquhoun, presumably using the same mis-transcribed source) as 'John W Brettle' who acted as one of the witnesses when GD member Rev William Alexander Ayton officiated at the marriage of GD members Mina Bergson and Samuel Liddell Mathers, on 16 June 1890 at the parish church in Chacombe, just north-east of Banbury in Oxfordshire, where Ayton was the vicar. Mathers was one of the GD's founders, but his interest in western magic was mainly theoretical and theatrical - the translation of important esoteric texts and the creating of magical rituals. I'm more inclined to think that it was Rev Ayton and his wife Anne (also a GD member and the other witness of the Mathers' marriage) that John Brettell knew. Like Mathers, William Ayton was a keen translator of alchemical texts; but he was also a practising alchemist with a laboratory in his basement. He will have required, from time to time, individually made metal bits and pieces for his experiments; and John Brettell might have made and supplied him with those; though how and when the two of them first got to know of each other's existence I cannot explain. They are not likely to have met each other before 1868 when William Ayton became vicar of Edingale in Staffordshire (he moved on to Chacombe in 1873); though they could have corresponded before that time, as William Ayton was at the centre of a web of occult students to whom he lent items from his collection of alchemical manuscripts; but again, I don't know how Ayton and Brettell would have found out about each other - these were very secret, loosely-based groups. The Aytons were actually initiated into the GD a couple of months after John Brettell but that's probably because they were by this time quite elderly and didn't travel a great deal; their initiation had to wait until they made one of their two trips a year to the capital.

It's just possible that it was Samuel Liddell Mathers whom John Brettell knew; not William Ayton; and that they knew each other through the Theosophical Society. There's no question that John Brettell was a member of the TS: there's a membership record for him in the TS's Membership Registers. His application to be a TS member was dated 5 July 1889 - after he'd been a member of the GD for over a year. Most people applying to join the TS at this time needed to be sponsored by two people who were already members. No sponsors' names were noted down in John Brettell's case however. This might just have been a mistake by the TS member compiling the ledger; but in 1888 and 1889 the TS was going through a programme of updating and collecting in one place all the details of all its current members; and those who had been members for a long time were judged not to need sponsors. So: either John Brettell was one of the TS's earliest members; or he was a completely new member but someone forgot to note his sponsors down. I'd actually prefer the second explanation, despite the absence of the names of his sponsors which could have told me so much. The first

explanation needs John Brettell to be able to spare the time to visit London on a regular basis to attend TS meetings and to socialise enough at them to be known well by at least some of the TS's senior members. That's not to say he wasn't an enthusiast for theosophy; but by 1888/89 there were quite a few books on the subject that you could read in Smethwick, perhaps even books borrowed from your local free library.

Although John Brettell continued to be a member of both the TS and the GD until his death, he

was not able to play a prominent role in either organisation; though he will probably have tried - like the Aytons did - to get to the GD's main London ritual-cum-meeting of the year, held around Whitsun. However, he did do the study required to be eligible for the GD's inner, 2nd Order; he was initiated into it in January 1893. And late in 1896, he felt strongly enough about Mathers' expulsion of Annie Horniman from the GD, to sign the petition to have her reinstated that Frederick Leigh Gardner circulated just before Christmas (to no avail). By this time, any friendship he may have had with the Aytons had become more difficult to pursue: in 1894, Rev William retired from his parish work, and he and Anne left Oxfordshire to live near East Grinstead in Surrey.

John Brettell's reading on theosophy and the study he did for his GD exams (there were exams!) might have been a welcome distraction from family troubles. There's evidence that he and his eldest son - the one most likely to have had the business handed on to him - did not get on. Although Edward Nock Brettell was employed by T and J Brettell in 1881, he probably left it in 1884 - I don't see how you can work for the family firm and run a pub at the same time. For two years from 1884, Edward was the licensee of the Brewers' Arms at the West Bromwich end of Spon Lane, but his career as a publican came to a halt during 1886 when he was unable to pay some of his bills and was taken to Court by one or more of his creditors. Outright bankruptcy was avoided, and the official receiver did find enough money in the accounts for some of the debts to be paid; but it seems that Edward had to return to his old job and his father had to take him back on. On the day of the 1891 census Edward and Elizabeth were living at the Spon Lane Foundry again, with their children Sarah, John, Albert and Mary; and Edward was once again working as an "iron founders' clerk". No doubt both father and son were very fed up about it; and John must have been worried about what would happen to the firm he had founded if it was ever left in the hands of Edward.

At least John's younger sons were turning out all right. By the day of the 1891 census both Walter and Samuel had left home: Walter married Kate Angelina Howle in 1887, Samuel married Clara Hudson in 1888. It's hard to tell from their census entries for 1891 whether they worked for their father, though they probably did (not so sure about Samuel). Walter was employed as a machine fitter, working on lathes; he and Kate were living at 12 Side Street Harborne with their daughter Glendora. Samuel was a turner and fitter in an engine works; he and Clara were also living in Harborne with their son Frederick. Only Mary Ellen, Thomas and Howard were still living at home. The census official didn't note down any employment for Mary Ellen and she probably didn't have a job. Thomas was working as a travelling salesman and Howard was still working as a clerk; evidence from later that decade suggests that neither of them worked for T and J Brettell, they were involved in another of the district's industries, a left-over from its days as farmland - brewing. In 1896 they were both described as "maltster's manager" with Thomas also working as a traveller.

The late 1890s were a time of tragedy and worry for John and Elizabeth Brettell; and it's likely that John - with other things on his mind - was less and less active as a GD member.

The tragedy happened late in 1896: John's sons Thomas and Howard Brettell both died; Thomas in mid-October of a tumour in the brain, Howard in late November, of meningitis. Howard was still single and living at home at the time of his death. But Thomas had married Mary Jane Snape, of Wem in Shropshire, in 1893; they had two small children. John Brettell was left to wind up the financial affairs of Howard, and to help Mary Jane with Thomas's estate; there hadn't been time for either man to write a Will.

I think John Brettell's death might even have been hastened by the deaths of two of his sons; and it might also have been hurried along by eldest son Edward's troubles which ended by becoming something that it was difficult for his family to ignore. John died in February 1901. In his Will he left his personal estate (as opposed to the assets tied up in the business) to Elizabeth for her life. At her death (she lived until 1913) they were divided between his daughter Mary Ellen; his grandchildren Frank Snape Brettell and Kathleen Mary Brettell, the children of his dead son Thomas; and his sons Samuel and Walter who I suppose also inherited the family business. To the troublesome one, Edward Nock Brettell, he left £50, and nothing else.

Mary Brettell and I have been speculating as to quite how much John and Elizabeth Brettell knew, before John died, of the affair between Edward Nock Brettell and Alice Turberfield, the wife of a man who worked on the narrow boats. Of course, it's impossible now to tell when the relationship began. In terms of a broken-down marriage it doesn't mean a great deal, but in 1901 Edward and his wife Elizabeth were still living under the same roof. In 1911 Edward and Alice were living as man and wife in a flat in Aston on the other side of Birmingham. Completing the census form as head of the household, Edward wrote down Alice's name as 'Alice Turberfield Brettell'. They had two children, both with the surname 'Brettell', born in 1907 and 1909. Edward's abandoned wife was described as a widow by the head of her household; she and her three youngest children had moved in with her daughter Sarah Stone and Sarah's husband Thomas. Alice Turberfield had also abandoned a husband and children. Divorce and remarriage in such a case were only for the rich; and even for them the social consequences were very serious. For the less well-off, the options were not even as good as that. And rather than admit to the failure of a marriage and the abandonment of or by a partner, people pretended.

T and J Brettell actually benefited from Edward and Alice running off: Edward left his job at the firm behind him - probably without much regret on either side - and in 1911 he was employed as a time-keeper at a firm of lamp manufacturers. John's other sons managed the family firm well and in 1938 it was still in business, as a limited company. Most of its directors at that time had the surname Cook, but there was one director who was still a Brettell - Kate.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.
Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names,

initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web. Particularly for the Brettell family: via www.genealogyforum.co.uk to Ancestry where there is a family tree.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JOHN BRETTELL

FAMILY HISTORY

See Mary Brettell's family web pages at

[//freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~brettell/BRETTELL/Brettell_Families.html](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~brettell/BRETTELL/Brettell_Families.html)

During October and November 2014 Mary also sent a series of emails answering my bombardment of queries and correcting my wrong guesses about John Brettell's early life.

ABOUT SMETHWICK v imp indl and comms area

See Wikipedia on Smethwick, now in the Metropolitan Borough of Sandwell

Excellent coverage of the history and architecture of the area at www.british-history.ac.uk, British History Online, using A History of the County of Stafford volume 17 published 1976 in the Victoria County History series. The firm of T and J Brettell is not mentioned anywhere on these web-pages; from which I deduce it was not a big, or a particularly innovative firm.

I saw several adverts for the Middleton's Victoria Iron Foundry while searching with google; all from around 1877-78.

T AND J BRETTELL

Seen at blackcountryhistory.org, in list of archives at Sandwell Archives: a couple of relevant planning applications:

* 1873 one for rebuilding walls, by John Brettell at the Spon Foundry

* 1936 T and J Brettell of Spon Lane, application to build a steel-framed building.

Adverts for T and J Brettell and its products, seen at www.blackcountrybugle.co.uk article posted 2006 by author 'Black Country Bugle User' on adverts appearing in a yearbook undated except to "1890s".

Commercial Directory and Shipper's Guide issue of 1862 Black Country Section.

The Foundry trade journal volume 48 1933, I couldn't see the page number.

PHONETICS

Aims of the Society from List of New Members... Of the Phonetic Society. 24pp issued by the Phonetic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1851. Published by Isaac Pitman 1852.

The Phonetic Journal volume 18 p434 issue of 10 September 1859 short list of new members.

I also saw on the web a Constitution for the Society published in 1856. The Society's publishers were T and F Brettell of London, distant relations of John Brettell.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Unfortunately I couldn't find any evidence on the web about exactly what variety of local government John Brettell was involved in: there were the Poor Law Board, the Vestry (later Urban District Council) and (from 1870) the School Board for him to have got involved in; and you would have to visit Sandwell Archives to resolve the issue.

At www.bookrags.com I found a list of local free libraries in Showell's Dictionary of Birmingham compiled by Thomas T Harman and published in 1885.

At www.emeraldinsight.com I couldn't get through to the full text of Library World volume 1 issue 12 published 1899: but within pages 241-64 there was mention of the opening on 8 May of a new building to house the Smethwick free library. I couldn't see John Brettell's name in the account; the opening ceremony was carried out by a local councillor, name of Jones.

There was a catalogue of Smethwick free library at scans.library.utoronto.ca but I had a lot of trouble trying to get it to download, so I couldn't see the date it was compiled.

FOOTBALLER/MANAGER FRANK BRETTELL

Points at which my GD research touches my first project, the Life and Times of Henry George Norris, are few and far between! But John Brettell was a distant relation of the footballer Frank Brettell who was born in Smethwick though he grew up in Liverpool. See toffeeweb.com, an article by regular contributor Tony Onslow: The Life and Times of Frank Brettell.

PROBLEMATIC CAREER OF EDWARD NOCK BRETTELL

London Gazette 8 March 1887 p1279 a notice issued by Luke Jesson Sharp of Whitehall Chambers, 25 Colmore Row Birmingham, as official receiver.

Brettell and the Brewers' Arms also came up in Law Journal volume 22 1887 p79.

Mary Brettell recommends this website for details of the pub: web page of Hitchmough's Black Country Pubs, copyright Tony Hitchmough 2008.

1911 census at various addresses in the Birmingham area. Mary Brettell and I found family history evidence that could suggest an early date for the onset of the relationship between Edward and Alice; but it's not provable so I've left it out.

Will of John Brettell, 1901, now in the possession of Shane Brettell.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register covering January 1889 to September 1891 p95.

JOHN BRETTELL IN THE GD

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Pages 97 139, 143.

Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and the Golden Dawn, by Ithell Colquhoun. Published London: Neville Spearman 1975: p52.

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Revd William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited and with an introduction by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985: p77.

6 May 2012

Big revision 15 November 2014 using the information gathered by Mary Brettell of Brisbane Australia, who's a family historian not especially closely related to John and his family; and then by Shane Brettell, farmer in Shropshire.

See Mary Brettell's research at "Some Spon Lane Brettells" pdf document, which you can reach via

http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~brettell/BRETTELL/Brettell_Families.html.

Contact Sally at Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Mary Briggs was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 16 December 1895. She chose the Latin motto 'Per mare ad astra'. She worked through the necessary study quickly and was initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order on 1 April 1897. W B Yeats regarded her as one of the best seers in the GD. However, I believe she may have dropped out of the GD; possibly in 1900 when she married; but definitely after 1901 when she and her husband went to live in the United States.

A NOTE ON TRYING TO FIND OUT ABOUT VICTORIAN WOMEN

I've said this in other biographies I've written on women members of the GD, though it actually applies to most Victorian men as well: they have left virtually nothing behind them

which you can use to write about their lives. In the case of the GD's women, I've been reduced to trying to sketch out what they might have been like by using the sources that exist for the men in the lives. That's true of Mary Briggs. Better than nothing, certainly; but I always end up feeling that I've missed the essence of them.

INTRODUCTION TO THE UPDATE OF OCTOBER 2014

This update, with lots of extra information on Howard Swan, and on Mary Briggs' father and his radical political connections, was prompted by Genevieve Kang of Sydney New South Wales. She has been using the National Library of Australia's on-line newspaper collection, and Pro Quest, to research the ramifications of her own family, the Fergusons. She has also managed to establish contact with Australian descendants of Mary's brother C T Briggs, as a result of which she discovered the existence of Mary's daughter. The connection between Mary Briggs and Genevieve shows how wide Genevieve has been spreading her net: Mary Briggs' niece Amy Briggs married into a branch of the Ferguson family in the 1880s. Many thanks to Genevieve for sending all that wonderful stuff on Mary, Thomas Briggs the first, Howard and his family, and Radia.

THE BRIGGS FAMILY OF SALFORD and the family business

At the beginning of the 19th century, Manchester and Salford were a magnet for young people hoping to better themselves. Thomas Briggs (born around 1809) was one of them, leaving behind the village of Milnthorpe in Westmorland to set up the business that was later called Thomas Briggs (Manchester) Limited. Thomas Briggs was living and working in Manchester by the mid-1830s, and had probably founded the firm by then. Later, production was moved out of the city to Richmond Hill and Springfield Mill in Salford. The firm he founded made canvas covers for railway wagons, tarpaulins and oil cloth, using manufacturing processes which Thomas Briggs patented. By the end of the 19th century it was also making hessian sacks for the transport of dry goods such as sugar and coffee. Not glamorous or exciting products, but very necessary. Thomas Briggs prospered: by 1851 the firm was employing 104 people, and Thomas had been able to move out of industrial Manchester and take on a farm at Great Warford Cheshire. The farm wasn't big - 68 acres - but employed three labourers and probably provided the family with a lot of its food. I shall call this man Thomas Briggs the first as the tale is about to get complicated.

Thomas Briggs the first was married twice. His first wife was Mary, a girl he'd known in Westmorland. They had three children: James; Elizabeth; and (born 1836) the Thomas Briggs I shall call 'the second', who took over the running of the family firm. Mary died in 1866, and at the end of the 1860s Thomas Briggs married a second time and had another five children, the youngest being born in 1877, about 40 years after his first. The huge difference in dates of birth between eldest and youngest half-siblings meant that the youngest few had nieces and nephews that were older than they were.

At some point during the 1860s, Thomas Briggs the first decided to step back from active involvement in his firm and hand over management to the second Thomas. During the 1870s and some at least of the 1880s, Thomas Briggs the second ran the firm in partnership with his sister Elizabeth's husband, John Breakell, and a third man, Andrew McQuade; and the three were also in partnership at Lees near Oldham, as owners of a cotton spinning mill. However, it does seem to have been Thomas Briggs the second who had the major say in the oil cloth firm's continued expansion and in the keeping up of the reputation it had established. Amongst the firm's customers by the end of the century were the War Office, for whom it

made canvas tents, and some other government departments, which it supplied with sacking. The second Thomas Briggs was also married twice. His first wife was his sister-in-law Mary Jane Ellis, sister of his brother James's wife Sarah Ann Ellis; they were the daughters of Samuel Ellis and his wife Jane, née Irlam. Mary Jane died young, though, and then he married Emily Gittings. Both marriages produced large families. By the 1880s he, Emily and Thomas the second's children by both wives were living at a house called Hazelslack, on Old Hall Road in the exclusive Salford suburb of Broughton Park. The eldest of Thomas Briggs the second's daughters was the Amy Briggs whose marriage (in 1883) led to Genevieve Kang getting in touch with me. Amy married Robert Ferguson Miller, of R F Miller and Co, chartered accountants in Salford.

Thomas Briggs the second died in 1894 and management of the firm passed into the hands of his son, the third Thomas Briggs, Thomas Ellis Briggs. There doesn't seem to have been any decline in the firm's reputation and amount of business under the third generation's leadership and in 1905, as well as its offices in Manchester and its mills in Salford, the firm had two depots in London and one depot each in Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast and Dublin.

THOMAS BRIGGS THE FIRST, AND SARAH JANE BREAKELL

In 1868, Thomas Briggs the first got married for the second time, to a woman 30 years his junior, the sister of his daughter Elizabeth's husband. Sarah Jane Breakell had been born in central Manchester in 1839, to John and Mary Breakell. John Breakell was a book-keeper and worked for the same firm - Samuel and Thomas Ashton, of York Street Manchester - for 42 years. In 1841 he and his family were living on Regent Road Salford. John was earning enough by this stage to employ one general servant. However, he died in 1848, aged only 54 and there's evidence that his wife and daughters may have struggled, financially, in the next few years. In the early 1860s Mary Breakell was living in Southport, trying to make ends meet by taking in lodgers; but on the day of the 1861 census, no lodgers were living in her house at 11 Higher Bold Street, North Meols. She got married for a second time in 1864, to a widower with the wonderful name of Caesar Lawson.

John and Mary Breakell's son John William also trained as a book-keeper, and this is how he described himself to the census official in 1861. By that time, however, he had married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Briggs the first; and the marriage led in due course to his becoming a partner of his brother-in-law, Thomas Briggs the second, in the oil cloth and cotton spinning businesses. Later, he ran his own quarrying and colour manufacturing firm although he did go bankrupt around 1890.

THOMAS BRIGGS THE FIRST IN RETIREMENT

Thomas Briggs the first had radical political views and had done some active campaigning in support of them even while still running the family firm. He had been a member of the Anti-Corn Law League, through which he had met its leader in Parliament, Richard Cobden. Thomas Briggs the first and Cobden had a lot in common: whatever education they had obtained, they had got for themselves; they had both built up businesses in Manchester from very humble beginnings; and they saw the repealing of the corn laws as only part of a wider campaign for the abolition of all restraints to complete free trade. In this context, slavery was seen as a kind of protectionism. Thomas Briggs was an opponent of slavery at a time when the British cotton industry was dependent on supplies of raw cotton from the slave-owning estates of the southern United States. His views didn't endear him to his fellow businessmen in Manchester, but they brought him into contact with many American anti-slavery

campaigners including the political economist Henry George, their friendship lasting until Thomas Briggs the first's death.

With slavery abolished in the USA and the Civil War over, Thomas Briggs the first turned his attention to the need (as he saw it) for financial reforms in Britain. Between 1868 and 1875 a series of pamphlets advocating free trade and direct taxation were published, based on talks given by Thomas Briggs the first at the annual congresses of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS) and at the East India Association. Thomas Briggs the first also joined the Financial Reform Association, which in the 1890s and 1900s had as its secretary GD member James W S Callie. The FRA was a protégé organisation of the Gladstone family and I imagine that as a member, Thomas Briggs the first became acquainted with Henry Gladstone and possibly even the Liberal Prime Minister, Henry's brother William Ewart Gladstone. Henry George was inclined to criticise the FRA and other British free trade campaigners for not having the courage of their convictions when it came to abolishing British laws protecting owners of property. However, he exempted Thomas Briggs the first from this general criticism, saying that he had "constantly advocated the carrying of free trade to its final conclusions" - those conclusions being the complete abolition of private property. A radical indeed!

THOMAS BRIGGS IN LONDON

After their marriage, Thomas the first and Sarah Jane moved to Richmond, south-west of London, and never lived in Manchester or Salford again. The GD's Mary Briggs was the eldest of their five children. She was born in 1869 and named after a number of Marys already in the family. Her full siblings were John Frederick (born 1872), Maggie (born 1873), Frank Cobden (born 1875 and named in honour of his father's friend Richard Cobden) and Charles Tennant (born 1877, the last of Thomas Briggs the first's sprawling brood).

On the day of the census 1871, James Briggs and his wife and family were visiting Thomas Briggs the first and his wife and family at their house, Holmstead, on Sion Row in Richmond. Despite the large number of people staying in his house on census day, Thomas Briggs the first was employing rather fewer servants than I would expect - just the two, and a nurse. James' wife had given birth only a few days before and was not (according to the customs of the time) likely to be able to travel for several weeks. However, James could spare the time for a long visit to his father - he had not joined the family business. In a big step up the social ladder for the Briggs family, he had been ordained as a priest in the Church of England. However, he was not working as a parish priest on census day and was, I suppose, maintaining his family with income from the family firm. His health seems to have been uncertain: he died in 1874, in his early forties leaving a wife and seven daughters.

By 1881 Thomas and Sarah Jane had moved from Richmond to Dulwich and were living in Bela House, Allwyn Park. Sarah Jane's mother Mary (now widowed for a second time) and her unmarried sister Maria Abigail were living with them and the household now employed a nurse, a housemaid, and a dressmaker, though I find it a bit odd that they didn't have a cook. There was a governess, Anna Munkton (sic - there are so many different ways to spell this surname!) for Maggie, Frank and Charles; but neither John Frederick nor Mary was at home. I couldn't find Mary anywhere in the UK; perhaps she was at school abroad. Back in Broughton Park Salford, Mary's half-brother Thomas Briggs the second, his wife Emily and their children were already living at the house called Hazelslack. Their next-door neighbours, George R Clayton and his wife Caroline, had some visitors: the writer and needlework expert Sophia Caulfeild and her journalist friend Dora de Blaquièrre. Dora was initiated into the GD

in 1888, six years before Mary Briggs was. If Dora met any member of the Briggs family on that visit to the Claytons, she may have sought out the Briggs's who lived in Dulwich when she and Sophia returned to London; so that Mary would have known Dora from her early teens. Dora had recently moved to England from Paris and might have been looking to build up a network of acquaintances here.

I find it annoying and depressing how many male political radicals return home and leave their views behind them at the front door. Thomas Briggs' expectations for his daughters were limited to what was the badge of status of the middle-classes: a life of charity work, visiting, and social engagements while they waited to marry someone; then, the same life with the addition of child-bearing and household management, only dominated by a husband not a father. His daughters were all educated to this very limited end. Of course, Thomas Briggs and his wife were new entrants to the middle-classes, still finding their feet and probably anxious not to draw attention to themselves. Mary and her sister may have been conscious, as a result, of needing to conform to some rather narrow preconceptions. If Mary might have preferred a more challenging education and a different kind of life to the one her parents envisaged for her, I couldn't find any evidence of it. On the day of the 1891 census, Mary Briggs was carrying out at least one item on the normal programme for a young middle-class woman - she was visiting. She had gone to see the family's ex-governess, Anna, who had married Henry William Morris. Anna and Henry William were living at 11 High Street, Thame Oxfordshire. Henry Morris described himself to the census official as a chemist, which I presume means that he ran his own pharmacy in the town. It's probably not a coincidence that on census day Thomas Briggs and Frank were staying in lodgings in Christchurch operated by a Miss Mary Monckton; I found some information on the census to indicate that Anna Morris and Mary Monckton were sisters (despite their surnames being spelled differently by different census officials). Sarah Jane Briggs, John Frederick, Maggie and Charles were at home, which by this time was 70 St Ann's Hill Wandsworth, the address Mary gave when she joined the GD.

Until the late 1880s there had been a great deal of continuity in Mary's life. But a period of uncertainty had begun for her in 1887 with the death of her grandmother, Mary Breakell Lawson. Then the businesses run by Mary's aunt's husband John William Breakell, went bankrupt. By the early 1890s the health of Thomas Briggs the first was causing concern. He was now over 80 and on the day of the 1891 census he was staying in lodgings by the sea in Dorset, probably on the orders of his doctor. He died, of a chill that turned into pleurisy and pneumonia, at home in Wandsworth, in April 1892, worrying to the end about who would carry on the baton of arguing for free trade after he was gone. (No one in his family did, that I can see.) Thomas Briggs the second was one of his executors, representing the firm's interests as well as the family. Only a few months after her father's death, Mary's half-sister Elizabeth Breakell also died, aged 60 (Mary was 22 or 23).

Now a widow, Sarah Jane Briggs was probably not short of money - she was even able to stay at 70 St Ann's Hill for the next few years. However, there was more change for the family to negotiate in the mid-1890s. Thomas Briggs the second only survived his father by two years, dying shortly after he had completed the acquisition of the Barrow Flax and Jute Company Limited, which I imagine was meant just to be a particular high point in the expansion of the firm, not the end of his contributions to it. Mary's first cousin Thomas Ellis Briggs took over the business; but although Thomas Briggs the first had been buried back in Cheshire (in a family plot in the church at Prestwich), old ties with Salford were being replaced by ones in London and further afield. Mary and Maggie, now in their mid-twenties, may have gained a little more freedom as a result of the years of upheaval and mourning; and

it was in these changing circumstances that Mary joined the GD.

MARY IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

Mary was an enthusiastic GD member - witness the speed at which she got through the work needed to reach the 2nd Order. The GD had given her intellectual challenges like she'd never been offered before; she got stuck into the required study with a will. In 1897, although she was one of the 2nd Order's newest members she was also one of the keenest, and took on the secretarial work of notifying members of forthcoming rituals. Unfortunately, in July, she somehow left Frederick Leigh Gardner's name off her list of members and didn't send him the letter giving details of the ritual due on 7 August; and he was not the kind of person who would excuse her mistake as 'just one of those things'. He found out about the ritual through other GD members and wrote to Mary about her lapse in such language that she complained about it to Florence Farr, the current Praemonstrator. For Florence this was the last straw, because Mary's complaint was just the latest in quite a long line of them - many members found Gardner's attitude was not what they expected from a fellow member of a magical Order. Mary was not the only person hurt and offended by his abrasive and condescending manner; and Florence was getting fed up at fielding complaints about Gardner's way of taking command of the rituals - more like a drill-sergeant than a celebrant. In this way Mary contributed her mite to Florence's decision to ban Gardner from taking any further part in Isis-Urania's rituals; she told him to go to the Horus Temple in Bradford and join in their rituals instead.

The incident with Gardner was upsetting but in general, Mary's experiences in the GD were very positive and she was seen as a productive and skilled member. It's infuriating but I haven't been able to see a very good piece of evidence for the kind of thing Mary Briggs was doing when she was in the GD: it's a manuscript called (in a kind of shorthand) *Visions on The Paths, Explorations of Paths in Tree*, now in the Yeats papers in Eire. The manuscript was Mary's notes on a series of visions she had between 8 July and 21 September 1897 in which she focused her attention on the Kabbalistic tree of life - presumably that part of the GD syllabus for study that most appealed to her. She showed the results of her visions to Yeats (and probably others), and Yeats was particularly impressed by one vision, in which the Ark of the Covenant gave Mary details of how to use the image of the sphinx to search out past and future lives. Mary showing Yeats the results of her visions was timely, because Yeats was trying to get a project started on the theme of re-visiting and re-creating Irish myths. He asked Mary to be a member of a small group he was forming to do some astral travelling and see what they could en-vision in the way of old Irish gods and goddesses. Writing to GD member Dorothea Hunter, asking her and her husband Edmund to join the group as well, he described Mary as "one of the best of our seers". Mary was delighted to be asked and suggested to Yeats that she and Dorothea spend an evening, just the two of them, working on "some visions of the Divine World".

Yeats's en-visioning group of GD members held their first session on 29 December 1897 in the 2nd Order rooms at 36 Blythe Road Hammersmith. Yeats, Mary, Ada Waters, Dorothea Hunter, Dorothea's husband Edmund, and William Forsell Kirby were all there. There was a second session, round the table at the Hunters' house in Chiswick on 1 January 1898, with more or less the same people present except that Ada Waters couldn't go, and Florence Farr did go. Mary acted as scribe at least at the second session and probably at both of them, writing down what everyone saw in them, even drawing little sketches of the gods and goddesses who appeared in their visions. No more sessions took place, however, and although Yeats kept writing to people about his Celtic project for several more months in early 1898, and went to see the Mathers about it in Paris, the scheme seems to have petered

out for some reason. Mary must have been disappointed.

GOLDEN DAWN, CHEMISTRY AND ELECTRICITY

I think of the GD, and late 19th-century science, as having more in common than either side would have liked to admit: they were both searching for explanations of how the universe worked, particularly the universe that no one could really see but which was obviously acting on the world that people could experience. Magic, theosophy, even spiritualism thought of this world beyond sight as full of beings with powers that - perhaps - people could access or even use. Some GD members even believed that when human beings died, they were reincarnated as those beings: this was the essence of 'spiritism', a version of spiritualism put forward by the French psychic Allan Kardec. GD member Anna Blackwell translated Kardec's major works into English in the 1870s and was widely known as his most active English-speaking defender. Such beliefs also informed the visions and visionary writings of the American Thomas Lake Harris; GD members Edward William Berridge, Charles W Pearce and Isabella Duncan were followers of Harris. Science rejected the idea of a universe full of beings with amazing powers, of course, preferring explanations involving forces like electro-magnetism and chemical elements. But by the 1890s scientific discoveries were challenging old theories. What were X-rays? - discovered by Wilhelm Roentgen in 1895. Or radio-waves? - Heinrich Hertz demonstrated that you could detect them and even produce them, in experiments between 1888 and 1894. GD members might have considered that x-rays and radio-waves could be thought of along lines that Arthur C Clarke later formulated into his Law that any sufficiently advanced technology looks like magic.

Mary Briggs' life in the 1890s was balanced between the two approaches. On the one hand there was the GD, where rituals were carried out to offer the opportunity for beings from the world beyond sight to bring new knowledge to suitably prepared magicians. On the other hand there were Mary's brothers, who had inherited the technical interests of their father and chosen to work in contemporary science. Perhaps Mary had inherited these interests as well; but as a woman, she was given no chance to follow them up through a career in science, or even - probably - by studying them seriously. Only magic was open to her and at least it made good use of her psychic and artistic talents and her imagination.

The eldest of Mary's three brothers, John Frederick, trained and worked as an analytical chemist: that is, he studied the properties of chemicals and the way complex chemicals were put together from simpler elements; and worked out how chemicals could be used in the service of Man. I haven't found out where John Frederick studied chemistry, but he joined the Chemical Society in 1893 in the same batch of newly-qualified men as Julian Levett Baker, who had trained at Finsbury Technical College. Baker and his close friend, chemical engineer Cecil Jones, had one foot in each camp as regards explanations of how the universe worked: although trained as chemists in the latest manner, they were both interested in the subject's roots in medieval alchemy; and both joined the GD. Baker was universally friendly; it seems inconceivable to me that he didn't know John Frederick Briggs, at least as a professional acquaintance; and Mary may have met Baker through John Frederick. At the very least Mary would have been aware of chemistry as a descendant of alchemy, and as an alternative to the GD's magic, in explaining the universe's mysteries. However, John Frederick was never in the GD himself: by 1893 he had moved to Madras (Chennai) to work for Parry and Co.

Mary's younger brothers both became engineers. Frank Cobden Briggs died in 1904. After training as an electrical engineer, Frank had gone to work for the electric lighting department

of the Postal Telegraph Factory. He was elected an Associate of the Institute of Electrical Engineers in 1894. I think he was still in the same job on census day 1901, living in the Midlands.

Mary's brother, the youngest child of Thomas Briggs the first, was Charles Tennant Briggs, better known as C T Briggs. He specialised in mechanical engineering and there is a biography of him that focuses on his contributions to the technology of coal-fired power - the GD's Cecil Jones was doing similar work in the 1890s. Charles was working in the north of England around 1904 - at the end of that year he married Clara Clark in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They emigrated to Australia around 1910, probably to South Australia where he was employed by Messrs Charles Atkins and Co Ltd of Adelaide in 1919. Later, he was one of the first employees of the Australian State Electricity Commission and remained on its staff until 1943, when he went into private practice. He died in 1954 in Mornington, south of Melbourne, Victoria. He and Clara had a large family and he has descendants in Australia, including his biographer.

Even Mary's brother-in-law was a scientist. Mary's sister Maggie married Sydney George Starling in 1899. He was a physics teacher, employed by West Ham council at least until 1911. He had a long parallel or second career as a writer of physics and maths textbooks for Longmans and Macmillans. Some of the books originally written by him and his co-author John Duncan were still in use in the 1950s, re-written several times to take account of the extraordinary developments in the subjects during the first half of the 19th century - the work of Einstein and the quantum theorists and the splitting of the atom, to name three.

HOWARD SWAN

It's very likely that it was through her brothers' friends that Mary Briggs met her future husband, Howard Swan, who was trained as an electrical engineer, and also a member of the Society of Telephone Engineers; although he doesn't seem to have worked as either for more than a short time. Howard was over a decade older than Mary's brothers and perhaps more en-meshed in the mid-Victorian certainties: his writings in the 1890s show him trying to maintain his Christian belief in an age increasingly dominated by the scientific-materialist view of how the world worked. Mary may have known these religious struggles in her own life.

Howard Swan, his sister Mabel and his brother Godfrey, were children of Henry Swan and his wife Emily Elizabeth, née Connell. Both his parents were Quakers, and they had met in London in the 1850s, where Emily's family lived and Henry Swan had moved to train as an engraver. While he had been in London, Henry Swan had attended some of the classes Ruskin taught at the Working Men's College, and the two men had become friendly despite their very different backgrounds. Impressed by Henry Swan's skills, Ruskin asked him to engrave some of the plates for his book *Modern Painters*; once qualified, Henry also worked for Isaac Pitman. His interests spread a lot wider than his work, however: he experimented with photographic techniques; and invented a system of musical notation and one of writing English phonetically. Though he was better at inventing things than he was at publicising them and earning money from them. After Henry and Emily were married in 1859, they moved to Sheffield, where Henry set up in business there. Ruskin often visited them there, so Howard must have known him quite well. During one particular visit, in 1875, the idea was born between John Ruskin and Henry Swan of creating a museum that would focus on the history and traditions of iron-working in the area. Later that year Ruskin bought a cottage in the village of Walkley, within walking distance of the city, and gave Henry Swan the job of

curator at what became known as St George's Museum. Henry, Emily and Howard moved out of Sheffield to rooms at the Museum. Henry Swan was a diligent worker and the number of exhibits rapidly outgrew the space available in the cottage; so that Howard's teenage years were spent in the midst of an increasing clutter of industrial artefacts and of building work, as extensions were added to the original cottage.

The life of Howard Swan deserves a biography; though as he was never in the GD, I'm not going to do one myself. His interests and talents were as wide and multifarious as his father's and he clearly inherited many of his father's skills.

By 1881, Howard had left school and begun work as a clerk at a Sheffield steel works. However, within a few years (probably by 1886) he had left office life behind and moved to London in search of new scientific skills, particularly those connected with lighting. One source from his later life seems to suggest that he'd got this technical education at the City and Guilds College in London, now part of Imperial College London.

Howard Swan was certainly living in London by 1889. In the late 1880s he and John Ruskin were working together on a catalogue of St George's Museum, which was published in 1888, a few months before Henry Swan died. As well as working on that catalogue, Howard was a member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers and assistant editor of its magazine and was also employed as a demonstrator at University College London. Comments he made in 1899 and 1890 on two papers heard at Institution meetings led to his being involved in two important publications: *Electrical Distribution, its Theory and Practice* published in 1893; and the first volume of *Practical Electrical Engineering: A Complete Treatise...* published in 1894; though he was not the main author of either work. As late as 1897, by which time he was very very busy with other projects, he still found time to do some work on how the eye reacts to light and to sound. And he continued to keep up with scientific publications into the early 1900s.

It was probably because works on the fast-moving fields of electricity and engineering were being published as much in other languages as in English that Howard first became interested in learning the basics of a foreign language quickly. He himself had already learned two foreign languages - one dead (Greek, for bible study) and one living (French). In 1891 or 1892 he met François Gouin (1831-96) in Paris, while on an assignment for the Institution of Electrical Engineers to cover an exhibition for its magazine. Gouin was developing a method of quick language-learning where students learned to remember foreign words by associating them with particular objects, pictures and even gestures; for this reason it was often referred to as the 'psychological' method of language learning. By the early 1890s Gouin already had one man, Victor Betis, working for him; but he authorised Howard to write the preface to the first translation into English of his book *L'art d'enseigner et d'étudier les langues - the art of teaching and studying languages*, published in Britain in 1892. The book launched Howard on a third career (he was just over 30), as a promoter - some commentators even called him a disciple - of the Gouin language-learning system. An important step along the way was taken when Howard cornered the journalist W T Stead in the office of Stead's magazine *Review of Reviews*, and persuaded him to write an article publicising the Gouin system. He also lectured widely on the subject - George Bernard Shaw went to hear him at the Latin Hall in Gray's Inn in May 1892, and going to one of these lectures might have been another way in which Mary first came across him. The lecture Shaw went to was aimed at the general public, but Howard also spoke to teachers and later became an advisor on language teaching to the London School Board.

Howard and Victor Betis went into partnership. As a result of their work, Gouin's methods of language learning became very popular in the UK and the USA in the 1890s and 1900s, with the 1892 translation in its sixth edition by 1906, and schools teaching languages using the Gouin method opening in London and several American cities. Howard and Betis collaborated on two different series of textbooks. One, with the overall title Facts of Life, purported to translate a Gouin original; but a reviewer in the magazine Education Outlook commented that Howard Swan and Victor Betis were no longer sticking religiously to Gouin's methods - they had begun introducing their own improvements to his ideas. A slightly different series was the one with the over-arching title Travellers' Colloquial..., the sort of handbook a tourist could use, beginning with a volume for Italian and including one for Spanish although Spain was not yet a popular tourist destination.

The Central School of Foreign Tongues was founded in London to teach the Gouin method, with Howard Swan and Victor Betis as joint owners; though in 1896 Betis went to Boston to set up the first Gouin school in America, leaving Howard as sole director of the London School. The School's address in 1894 was Howard House, Arundel Street in the Strand. Courses lasted two months and by 1896 the curriculum had broadened out from the original French classes to include German, Italian and Greek. Perhaps Mary took some classes at the School. Howard also founded a school to teach Classics using the Gouin method. The school was open to boys and girls and was in Bedford Park in West London, where several GD members lived.

In the late 1890s - at the time that Mary Briggs was most involved with the GD - Howard Swan was getting through an amazing amount of work. 1899 was an *annus mirabilis* for him with a novel set in South Africa; two poems for children; a play about the Dreyfus case; a 'fairy tale' about Old Age pensions; several works on the Boer war; and a religious work published. His Quaker beliefs informed his politics and some of his published works; and he was a member of the Fabian Society. He still made time to attend Quaker services where people came together in silence to contemplate God's word. An article by Howard appeared in 1900 in which he talked of how important the Quaker habit of silent devotion still was in his life. The GD also emphasised the importance of silent focus on the end in view, so the Quaker way was something Mary Briggs would have been able to appreciate; although I'm not sure from the sources I found that she went so far as to join the Society of Friends. Nor could I find any evidence that she was a Fabian - at least, not from sources available on google.

Howard's answer to the problems of Christian belief in the era beyond Darwin and Lyall was to attempt to do what one reviewer called a "retranslation" of parts of the Bible he thought could still be relevant in an increasingly science-based and materialist age. His book *The Voice of the Spirit* was published in four volumes in 1898. The 4th volume presented Howard's modernisations of the Gospel of St Matthew and the Letter of St Paul to the Galatians; translated from the Greek. In a long preface, Howard spoke particularly to scientists, urging them not to limit their imagination to what they could see or prove, to accept that Man was Spirit as well as Body and that the Spirit was a Force of nature which was governed by laws which could be used if understood. Like many authors either in the GD or known to members of the GD, Howard was sure that Man was on the threshold of some great revelation, that the "final Unveiling" of Jesus' Truth was near at hand. He quotes St John's Gospel (the most gnostic of the four) and Plato in his Preface and I thought I could detect some theosophy in his argument though he wasn't a member of the Theosophical Society as far as I know.

Perhaps the arguments of people like Percival Lowell that there was intelligent life on Mars added to Howard's feeling of being on the threshold of something. He used his electrical engineering knowledge in an article for *Anglo-Saxon Review* in which he speculated on what sort of message intelligent Martians might send to Earth and how they might send it. Geometry, and radio waves were his answer.

I wonder if Howard introduced Mary Briggs to John Ruskin? I haven't discovered any GD members so far (May 2014) who knew the grand old man of art criticism and I'm afraid that it's not likely that Mary did. By the time Mary and Howard met Ruskin was in poor health, living a retired life at his house in Coniston. He died there in January 1900, a few months before Mary and Howard Swan were married. Their marriage led to a further opening up of both their lives though they both had to leave a great deal behind as well, including Mary's involvement in the GD. They were still in England on the day of the 1901 census but I think it can't have been very long after that day that they went to America; they might even have been and returned already. Howard certainly got some higher qualifications in the United States, and Mary would have broaden her outlook; though as I mentioned above when talking about the education she is likely to have been given, her life as a married woman was dictated by her husband's work and the places he was employed in. Of course, she may not ever have thought of it in those terms. On the contrary, she may have seen her marriage as liberating, especially if she had always wanted to travel. Once married, travel she got, in full measure.

Howard and Mary went to the USA so that Howard could do postgraduate study at Harvard and at Berkeley universities. He studied language and linguistics, rather than electrical engineering. It may have been at this time that he got his qualification in teaching English as a second language; and when he first began to learn Esperanto - which I should think he found fascinating, as a recently constructed language. When Howard had completed his studies to his satisfaction, he and Mary spent a short time back in England before going by sea from Southampton via Vancouver BC to Japan. It's not clear whether Howard had a job to go to before they set sail, but once in Japan, he became a professor at the University of Tokyo. Part of his job there may have been preparing the book published as *Thesaurus of Everyday English* in 1903, one of the earliest aids to learning English for Japanese-speaking people; he worked on this with Senkichi Katsumata. Howard also wrote a travel book, covering the long voyage to Japan and some tales of his and Mary's life there: *Flashes From the Far East* was published in 1902 in America but probably not in the UK. Subtitled 'book one' it was meant to be the first part of a series, but I haven't found any evidence that any sequels were published.

The job at Tokyo university seems to have been a temporary contract. After about two years in Japan, Mary and Howard went on to China. If Mary had wanted to see what life was like on the edge, China was a good place to go. As in Japan, Mary would have found herself in a situation that mirrored her family life in the 1890s - ideas ancient and modern jostling for position, co-existing uneasily. However, while Howard could still associate Japan with Gilbert and Sullivan (in his travel book he calls Japan 'Mikado land'), as the Qing dynasty staggered towards its end, China was an increasingly unpredictable and lawless place to live. Howard got a job for six months in Suchow/Soochow - now Suzhou - the trading city in the delta of the Yangtse River. After six months there, he and Mary moved on again, when Howard was offered a job for six months at a college in Taiyuan-fu, Shanxi province, setting up an English language course. He and Mary must have known Taiyuan-fu's recent history; I'm not sure whether they were brave or foolhardy, being willing to move there. In the 1890s Taiyuan-fu was a centre of baptist missionary work in China. In July 1900 the city's

governor took advantage of the breakdown of law and order resulting from Boxer rebellion to do his best to eliminate the missionaries - 45 were murdered in Taiyuan-fu on his orders. In 1901 once the authority of the Qing dynasty government had been restored, compensation was levied on the whole province as a punishment. Some of the money was used to found the Shanxi Imperial University, which may have been where Howard was employed; although there was also a Western College in the city. Both institutions were headed by a baptist minister, Rev Timothy Richard.

After the end of the job in Taiyuan-fu, Mary and Howard went to Peking. Howard had heard rumours of a job being available at the university there, and on 21 September 1904 he called on the very influential British diplomat Ernest Satow to put himself forward for the post. Making a note in his diary about the interview, Satow was not overly enthusiastic: he wrote that Howard had been "Very full of his way of doing it"; but he had decided that Howard was a good person to recommend for the job, and had asked Howard to call back a few days later to pick up a letter of recommendation. The episode resulted in Howard being appointed a professor at the Imperial College of Languages in Peking; a job he held until early 1906.

Control of Peking, of course, had been a main target of the Boxer rebellion forces. European residents of Peking and a large number of Chinese converts to Christianity had been besieged for 55 days in the foreign quarter of the City in 1900 by forces taking part in the Boxer rebellion. The siege had been lifted not by the imperial army but by a force of western troops. The rebellion had eventually fizzled out but foreign residents of China were still not very safe - the Qing dynasty had given tacit support to rebel attempts to rid the country of their presence.

It was possible that while Mary and Howard were living in Peking Mary met (or met again) GD member Vyvyan Dent; though whether GD members knew each other outside GD rituals and meetings is always difficult to tell and tends to depend on the individuals involved. Vyvyan Dent had been born in Shanghai. He worked for the Imperial Maritime Customs department and was stationed in Peking in the early 1900s though I haven't been able to ascertain exactly when he was there. As an old China hand (he had been born there) and a collector of Chinese Buddhist artefacts, he would have been a good guide for Howard and Mary to the districts of Peking outside the foreign enclaves, if they had wanted to visit them.

Though teaching at the Imperial College of Languages was probably in English, Howard had already picked up enough Chinese to read Confucius and to read and try to translate Laotzu - his work with those classical Chinese philosophers was part of his calling-card when meeting with Ernest Satow. From classical Chinese, Howard duly moved on, to take an interest in Chinese dialects. And after his American training in the building-blocks of language, he was developing a method of transliterating the characters of Chinese language writing into the western alphabet.

How did Mary manage? - having been married for four years by the end of 1904, she had lived with her husband briefly in England, on the east and the west coasts of the United States, in Japan and in Tokyo. Living in her mother's household until her marriage, she perhaps lacked experience in the decision-making of running her own household, and those years of continually packing up and moving on were not an ideal way to learn. Her households in the Far East probably had more servants than she had ever had to deal with before - salaries going a lot further in Japan and China - but they were servants whose command of English may have been as slight as Mary's command of Japanese and Chinese.

Mary can scarcely have had Howard's ability to learn foreign languages - very few people are blessed that way - but she will have needed to pick up enough Chinese to get by, even if all she could manage was giving orders to the servants. And - with her husband either studying or working - how did she spend her days? The end of 1904 may have been a difficult period for her, after the news had reached her of her brother Frank's death: she must have felt particularly cut adrift as she mourned him.

On the other hand, maybe she enjoyed every minute.

By having moved on from San Francisco by 18 April 1906 Mary and Howard missed being caught in the San Francisco earthquake. However, they had friends in the town about whom they were very worried as the extent of the devastation became clear. They had a photograph of themselves taken in Peking by the Japanese photographer S Yamamoto, and sent it to their friends the Nash family - Mr, Mrs, and their daughters Fredericka and Carolyn - to say how glad they were to hear that the Nashes were all still alive. The photograph shows Mary and Howard in the company of several men in Chinese dress; perhaps some of Howard's colleagues at the College, or Mary's household servants.

Shortly after the photograph was taken, Mary and Howard were on the road again - back to the USA, though not to San Francisco. In June 1906, a profile of Howard appeared in the Los Angeles Sunday Times, as a newcomer to the town. Howard doesn't actually seem to have had a job to go to when he and Mary arrived - he had told the newspaper that he was intending to stay in Los Angeles for about a year, campaigning for a reform of language teaching. Howard quickly made contact with James Main Dixon of the University of Southern California, who arranged for him to deliver a series of lectures on Esperanto. Los Angeles had an active Esperantist Society and by the autumn, the YMCA had been persuaded to set up a course for beginners in Esperanto, which Howard taught during the academic year 1906-1907. He also taught French, English as a second language, and a specialist class for language teachers who wanted to use the Gouin method.

It was during the time that she and Howard were moving from China back to California that Mary became pregnant. Her only child, a daughter, was born in Los Angeles in December 1906, and given the modern and significant name of Radia.

In the years 1901 to 1907, Mary Swan became one of the most widely-travelled members of the GD. It's such a pity she didn't write up her experiences; but I suppose she never thought to do so. Her world travels ended in 1908. She and Howard were back in England early that year, when an advert for Howard's Gouin school in London - which had been going throughout Howard's long absence - advertised him as a teacher not just of languages, but of psychology, phonetics and teaching method. Family concerns may have played a part in the decision to return home. Howard's mother Emily Swan may never have felt particularly settled in Yorkshire: after her husband's death she had moved south again and by the early 1900s she was living in north London. Over the next few years, however, Emily's mental state had declined to the point where she needed professional care. On their return from China, Howard and Mary set up home in Ilford, near where Mary's mother and sister both lived. A place was found for Emily Swan at the Quaker mental hospital The Retreat in York; where she died in January 1909. Mary herself may have been ill by 1908 - another reason to return to England. Perhaps she had not recovered well after Radia's birth - she was 37 when her daughter was born. She died on 30 October 1909 at Lausanne, Switzerland, at the age of 39.

Information on Howard Swan and Radia Mary Swan after Mary's death has been hard to come by. Most of what there is has been found for me by Genevieve Kang. Howard did at least one more, small, piece of language work, writing a preface to Fannie Ball Perrin's *The Method of the Whole Series* (a book about the teaching of English grammar) in 1911. I think it must have been in connection with Fannie Ball Perrin's book that he was in St Louis Missouri in April 1910 - he appears on its list of residents on the day of the 13th United States census.

Perhaps feeling that as a widower he was unable to take proper care of his daughter, Howard allowed Radia to be brought up by a couple in Cincinnati; though she kept her original surname and he was living near her while she was at school in Cincinnati. He died in Hamilton Ohio in 1919; Radia was living and teaching in Hamilton in 1930. Radia had the kind of education that Mary Briggs could only have dreamed of: a university degree and a masters in fine art and literature. Like two of her female relations, she had considerable talent as an artist - works by her can be seen on the web and are in a number of American galleries. She kept her painting as a leisure-time pursuit and then a retirement interest, however; she was a career teacher. She married Erwin Pfingstag in 1933 but they don't seem to have had any children. Radia kept in touch all her life with her first cousins in Australia, the children of Charles Tennant Briggs.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR MARY BRIGGS SWAN

THOMAS BRIGGS (MANCHESTER) LIMITED

London Gazette 12 March 1872 p1416 patents number 2971 held under the Patent Law Amendment Act 1852.

London Gazette 11 October 1878 p5524 patent number 3508.

The firm advertised regularly in Bradshaws Railway Manual Shareholders Guide... at least from its 1881 issue. You can see some of them at

www.mocavo.com/Bradshaws-Railway-Manual-Shareholders-Guide-and-Official-Directory/416543/698, though they were difficult to date.

THOMAS BRIGGS THE FIRST AS A POLITICAL CAMPAIGNER

Works by him in the British Library catalogue:

1868 edition of 2 papers by Thomas Briggs. First is: Proposal for an Indian Policy under the New Reform Parliament... Second is: The Development of the Dorman Wealth on (sic) the British Colonies...; this paper was read at the NAPSS annual congress 6 October 1868 and then published in London for NAPSS by W W Head.

1868 a second copy of the Proposal For an Indian Policy.... It was originally a paper read by Thomas Briggs at the meeting of the East India Association at Caxton Hall Westminster on 1 February 1868.

1869 Paper on the Relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country... Read at the NAPSS by Thomas Briggs and published by NAPSS.

1874 The Peacemaker: Free Trade, Free Labour, Free Thought; or Direct Taxation the True Principle of Economy. By Thomas Briggs.

1875 entitled Poverty, Taxation and the Remedy but apparently a reissue of the 1874 volume. This time published by W Reeves. There were two subsequent editions of this paper, published in 1882 and 1884.

East India Association: see www.open.ac.uk

Henry George:

At www.wealthandwant.com what looks like verbatim coverage of a speech given by Henry George at a meeting on financial reform in Britain, held at Liverpool Rotunda and published in

The Standard of 10 August 1889. The website quotes it from Kenneth C Wenzel's An Anthology of Henry George's Thought: University of Rochester Press 1997 p26.

At www.econlib.org, the Library of Economics and Liberty, what seems to be extracts from memoirs of Henry George 1839-1897. Published New York: Doubleday, Page and Co 1905. In Chapter 29, p28 and p28 note 39.

The Financial Reform Association which GD member James W S Callie worked for:

On the website nzetc.victoria.ac.nz, reproductions of their The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout; Volume 14.

Thomas Briggs the first gets a brief mention on wikipedia's page on William Ewart Gladstone.

Profile/obituary of Thomas Briggs the first, sent to me by Genevieve Kang: Pall Mall Gazette 25 April 1892.

THOMAS BRIGGS THE FIRST'S CHILDREN

Rev JAMES BRIGGS 1830-1874

Marriage notice and death notice, both sent to me by Genevieve Kang:

Herald 18 June 1859. Sarah Ann Ellis was the daughter of Samuel Ellis of Barr Hill House, Pendleton Bucks.

Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser 28 September 1874.

James Briggs married Sarah Annie Ellis, daughter of Samuel Ellis and Jane Irlam. Her sister Mary Jane Ellis married his brother Thomas Briggs junior.

James and Sarah Ann's daughter EMMA IRLAM BRIGGS (1897-1950) became an artist, usually known as Irlam Briggs. Information again from Genevieve Kang: see

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/emma-irlam-briggs>

Genevieve Kang knows of one painting by her, owned during his lifetime by Robert Ferguson Miller but bequeathed back to Irlam Briggs at his death in 1937. There are also images online of Emma's painting of her sister Agnes playing the violin.

THOMAS BRIGGS THE SECOND with information about the family firm. Sent to me by Genevieve Kang.

Manchester Courier 14 July 1894, obituary of Thomas Briggs JP who had died on 6 July 1894.

Details of his will published in Dundee Evening Telegraph 8 October 1894. He left over £166,000, a very big sum in those days; and was unusually generous to his daughters with it.

Genevieve Kang's interest in the Briggs family came through Thomas Briggs the second. I quote an email from Genevieve, October 2014: "My interest is through the marriage of Robert Ferguson Miller to Amy Briggs, the oldest child of Thomas Briggs junior...Robert Ferguson Miller... belongs to a branch of my Ferguson family tree, [and] was an accountant in Salford. Although he died in 1937 without leaving any children, R F Miller & Co, Chartered Accountants operated using his name until 2005.

He married Amy Briggs on 6 December 1883 at St John's Church Higher Broughton Manchester, Robert Ferguson Miller, eldest son of the late Joseph Miller, Newcastle on Tyne, to Amy, eldest daughter of Thomas Briggs, Hazeldock, Broughton Park, Manchester."

MARY'S MOTHER SARAH JANE BREAKELL

I wasn't very successful finding this family on the census; due, I think, to the number of ways you can mis-hear or mis-spell that surname.

At www.lan-opc.org.uk, the Lancashire Online Parish Registers Project: baptism record for Maria Abigail Breakell (1837). I couldn't find any baptism records for Sarah Jane or for any of her other siblings.

Sarah Jane's father: a brief death notice sent to me by Genevieve Kang, from Manchester Courier 11 March 1848.

MARY BRIGGS IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972 p181-182.

Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses by Mary K Greer. Rochester Vermont: Park Street Press 1995: p195-98.

Yeats and Women edited by Deirdre Toomey. 2nd edition Macmillan Press Ltd 1997. Chapter 3: "The Music of Heaven", by Warwick Gould, about Dorothea Butler Hunter, was based on Dorothea's reminiscences of her time in the GD.

The Letters of W B Yeats which is a selection, not the full set; edited by Allan Wade. London: Rupert Hart-Davis 1954. There were no letters from Yeats to Mary Briggs in this volume but she was mentioned in letters to Dorothea Hunter: p264-65, p293-94, p296, p300.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume II 1896-1900 is the full set of those that still exist. Editors Warwick Gould, John Kelly and Deirdre Toomey. 2001: Yeats Annual volume 14: p51 note 4 and p109 note 1 about Mary Briggs' notebook; p151; p665.

More generally on Yeats and the GD: Yeats's Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1974.

THE SWANS AND JOHN RUSKIN

For general information on Ruskin, there's a detailed page on wikipedia.

Genevieve Kang found a long and detailed obituary of Howard's father Henry, in the Sheffield Independent of 30 March 1889. There are some very personal details in it and an emphasis on Howard's rush from London to the dying man's bedside; so the obituary is probably based on information from Howard.

Preliminary Catalogue of the St George's Museum, Walkley Sheffield.. by Howard Swan "A. S. Tel Eng" and John Ruskin. Sheffield: W D Spalding and Co 1888.

The Life of John Ruskin volume 2 covering 1860-1900 by Edward Tyas Cook. London: George Allen and Co 1912 p350 footnote 2.

The St George's Museum at Walkley still exists. It's now run by the Corporation of Sheffield: see www.ruskinatwalkley.org. The information on the website is taken from Ruskin at Sheffield by Janet Barnes, published Sheffield: Arts Department 1985.

HOWARD'S SISTER AND BROTHER again with information found by Genevieve Kang:

A handwritten note of Godfrey Swan's time as a freemason from the records of Stope Lodge of Gardner, in Worcester county Massachusetts. Godfrey Swan was initiated into the lodge on 21 March 1911. He was working as an engineer. Date of birth 28 January 1862 in Highgate UK. He died 13 June 1913.

Incoming passenger lists show that Godfrey first arrived in the US in 1887.

Incoming passenger lists: Mabel Swan born 1860 arrived in the US in July 1912. Passenger details show that she was unmarried and living in London where she was working as a teacher.

There's very little else on either of them and it's reasonable to assume that neither ever married.

HOWARD SWAN'S VARIOUS CAREERS

CITY AND GUILDS OF LONDON INSTITUTE

See www.britannica.com article on chemist Henry Edward Armstrong (1848-1937) who taught there from 1879 to 1884. Armstrong was a close colleague of GD member Julian L Baker.

British Library catalogue has no works by Mary Briggs. Here's a selection of some of Howard's.

The 1899 works, all published London: Samuel Baxter.

- The Great Battle: War News from the Chronicles
- Alice's Puppy Dog
- Dreyfus and the Army. A tragi-comedy
- Paul and Joseph. Or God and Mammon in the Transvaal...An unfinished drama.
- The Man from the Clouds...A Fairy Story
- South Africa Up to Date. The Manifesto of Peace: The Letter of Paul to the Trekkers. The author of this is S J P Kruger President of the South African Republic. Howard is named as a contributing author
- The Sad Story of Jack and His House, and Old Age Pensions. In verse.

And the popular series of phrase books, which are original works, not translations of Gouin:

Travellers' Colloquial.... volumes are all published in London by David Nut. Italian 1892. French 1897 and later editions. German 1897 and later editions. Spanish just the one edition 1903, perhaps it was a bit soon for Spain.

HOWARD SWAN AND ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

Earliest evidence of Howard's involvement in the electric supply industry is an advert spotted by Genevieve Kang; probably sent to the Sheffield Daily Telegraph of 6 January 1886 by Howard and giving his (obviously temporary) address as the Wharncliffe Hotel, Sheffield: "Of 15,000 Lamps in the Inventions Exhibition, 12,000 were supplied to the Commissioners by The Edison and Swan United Electric Light Company, 57 Holburn Viaduct E.C".

Telegraphic Journal and Electrical Review volume 20 1887 ?p474 and Electrical Engineer 1888 both refer to an article by Howard: Artistic Electric Lighting.

At digital-library.theiet.org there are back-copies of the journal Electrical Engineer, the journal of the Institution of Electrical Engineering. Howard Swan was its editor at least during the 1890s and there were also two other mentions of him:

- Electrical Engineer volume 18 number 78 1889: 147-60 article Remarks on Mr Kenelly's Paper "On Certain Phenomena Connected with Imperfect Earth in Telegraph

Circuits". Howard was amongst many members commenting on this paper.

- Electrical Engineer volume 19 number 89 1890: 594-606 article The Working Efficiency of Secondary Cells. Again Howard was one of many members commenting on this article.

Electrical Distribution, its Theory and Practice. This is a 2-volume work. Part 1 is by Martin Hamilton Kilgour only. Part 2 is by Howard Swan and C H W Biggs. London: Biggs and Co 1893.

Telephone Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly Mag volume 1 1893 p266: lecture by Howard Swan: The Series Method as Applied to the Technical Professions. Given 22 February [1893] at the City [and] Guilds Institute Old Students' Association.

Practical Electrical Engineering: A Complete Treatise... Volume 1. Main author is William Worby Beaumont. Other contributors include M H Kilgour, C H W Biggs and Howard Swan. London: Biggs and Co 1894.

Anglo-Saxon Review volume 9 issue of June 1901 p108-09 article by Howard: Signalling to Mars. Managed to see the article at www.forgottenbooks.org though the grammar was scrambled and there were mis-spellings throughout

HIS EYE EXPERIMENTS, following on from his father's interest in photography and vision. These were the scientific work by Howard most mentioned in other publications:

Scientific Corroboration of Theosophy by A Marques. London: Theosophical Publishing Society 1908. On p91 a reference to a work by Howard published Electrical Engineer in 1897 in which he reported on experiments to find out what goes on inside the eye when people are listening to words and music.

The experiments also got a mention in Musical News volume 13 1897 p579.

Electrical Engineer volume 21 1898 also mentioned "some experiments of Mr Howard Swan on the interrelation of thought and light waves" and said that his conclusions had since been verified by work done independently in the USA.

The Theosophic Messenger volume 13 1912 published by the American Theosophical Society. On p666 (!!)) the conclusions are described as: "thoughts cause light-forms to be created in the eye. Tesla mentions the same fact".

LANGUAGE TEACHING and the GOUIN SYSTEM, which is still in use, see its English-language website at [//gouinseries.com](http://gouinseries.com)

Its methods are criticised in Modern Language Teaching by Charles Hart Handschin. Yonkers: World Book Co 1940 p62-64.

A modern reference to Gouin:

Britain and Scandinavia in the Modern Language Teaching series volume 4. A P R Howatt and Richard C Smith. Routledge 2013: px.

The Art of Teaching and Studying Languages first English language edition. Translated by Howard Swan and Victor Betis. London: G Philip and Son 1892: particularly pxiv.

Aspects of Education: Journal of the Institute of Education, University of Hull volumes 23-26 1980 p4 confirming that Howard's edition of Gouin's book was the first in English.

Bernard Shaw: The Diaries 1885-1897 in 2 volumes, annotated and edited by Stanley Weintraub. University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Univ Press 1986. Volume 1 p496 in a note; Volume 2 p816.

Howard's visit to Stead: Maiden Tribute: A Life of W T Stead. Article by Grace Eckley in Journal of the Society of Psychological Research number 895 2009 p199. The result was article by Stead: How to Learn a Language in Six Months, published Review of Reviews volume 5 1892 p511.

British Books volume 8/ 61 1894: earliest advert I found for the Central School of Foreign Tongues. Directors Victor Bétis and Howard Swan; address Howard House Arundel Street, Strand London WC.

The Academy and Literature volume 50 1896 p370 names Victor Bétis as director of the Normal School of Languages based in Boston Mass.

The Literary World volume 53 1896 p518.

Review of Reviews volume 13 1896 p515 earliest advert I saw for Howard Swan's translation of Gouin's Facts of Life language-learning series.

British books volumes 11-12/64-65 1896 in the Publishers' Circular section: Swan and Betis were suing a publisher for infringement of copyright.

Journal of Education and School World volume 29 1897.

Report of the British and Foreign School Society volumes 94-96 1899 p97.

The Education Outlook volumes 53-54 1900 p455 review of The Facts of Life Part 1: A Text-Book for the Methodical Study of the German Vocabulary.

Journal of Education volume 22 1900 adverts on p411, p579 and p718

The Practical Study of Languages by Henry Sweet. H Holt and Co 1906 p86.

HOWARD'S STUDY IN THE USA

Journal of Education volume 30 1908 p530 a revised advert for Howard's Swan's Central School, now at 1 Albemarle Street. Gives an impressive list of Howard's credentials.

THEN MARY AND HOWARD GO TO JAPAN

Found via www.worldcat.org but the British Library doesn't have a copy, so I haven't been able to read it: Flashes from the Far East: Book 1 to Mikado Land by Howard Swan. Tokyo: Hakubunkan 1902. The only knowledge I have of what was in the book comes from the newspaper website, trove.nla.gov.au which has a one-paragraph review of it from the Brisbane Courier 27 September 1902 p13.

Thesaurus of Everyday English for Japanese-language speakers. Howard and Senkichi Katsumata as co-authors. Tokyo: ABC Publishing House 1903.

Sir Ernest Satow's Peking Diary Volume II 1906-04 by Satow, Ian Ruxton and Ian C Ruxton. Morrisville North Carolina: Lulu Press 2006. P112 diary entry for 21 September [1904].

At www.mocavo.com there is a reproduction of pages from a publication issued by the American Women's League and the People's University. From the web page I couldn't work out what the publication was, nor what date it was; but Howard and Fannie Ball Perrin are both listed on the same page in it, with details of their past and current employment. Although I couldn't find a date, I believe that it's from the period 1908 to 1912, partly because of information on Fannie Ball Perrin I found at phdtree.org: an abstract of the PhD dissertation for the University of St Louis Missouri 1997 by Laura Kelley Fisher entitled Historical Documentation of Teaching Careers: A Legacy that Strengthens the Teaching Profession. Fannie Ball Perrin was one of the 4 subjects of this PhD. She taught at Principia Upper School St Louis Missouri from 1898 to 1912.

MARY AND HOWARD IN CHINA

Sir Ernest Satow's Peking Diary Volume II 1906-04 by Satow, Ian Ruxton and Ian C Ruxton. Morrisville North Carolina: Lulu Press 2006. P113 diary entry for 27 [September 1904].

American Anthropologist volume 7 1905 p741 article by Howard: A Systematic Arrangement for Recording Dialects.

American Review of Reviews volume 37 1908 p213 article by Howard: China and the Language Question.

The photograph: at www.worldcat.org, as now in the library of the California Historical Society in San Francisco as catalogue number 82544600; dated "[ca 1900]". Of course, the date's out by six years; the photograph has to be from later than the day of earthquake. I haven't actually seen the photograph! It's only available to readers in the library.

HOWARD AND MARY IN LOS ANGELES

October 2014: I knew nothing about this time spent by Mary in LA until I was contacted by Genevieve Kang. The newspaper extracts below were all found by her using Pro Quest.

LA Sunday Times 17 June 1906 p8 in their "Among Men of Action" column.

Los Angeles Times 29 July 1906.

Los Angeles Times 8 September 1906.

Los Angeles Times 11 September 1906.

Los Angeles Times 29 January 1907.

HOWARD SWAN AS A QUAKER:

The Voice of the Spirit: Literary Passages from the Bible Rewritten, Idea for Idea, in Modern Style by Howard Swan, as Principal of the Central School of Foreign Tongues. London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co 1898. The British Library only has the 4th of 4 volumes which make up the total work. On piii the 4 books in order are:

1 = Afflicted - Job

The Spirit Uplifts - Joel

Songs of Beloved - Psalms LXIX and XXII

2 = Spirit is Safety - Isaiah; subdivided into Distress; and Comfort

3 = Uplifting is Strength - Ezekiel

Song of Solomon

4 = The Glad Message according to Matthew; which when you reach the title page, includes A Spiritual History with an Inner Meaning, by John of Patmos; originally in Greek and published in Athens

Letter of Paul to the Galatians

Notes on the Greek Text.

The Academy volume 53 1898 p500 has a scathing reference to The Voice of the Spirit, as "a retranslation" of the Book of Job from the Quaker point of view.

Via archive.org to The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal volume LXXIII published

Philadelphia 1900. On p20 there's a reprint of an article by Swan originally in the London Friend: Silence in Our Meetings.

Friends' Intelligencer volume 74 1917 published by the (American) Society of Friends: p541 Howard Swan is listed as present at a Quaker meeting in Cincinnati.

HOWARD IN THE FABIAN SOCIETY

Fabian News volumes 10-17 originally 1900-07 republished 1971 p26 "Howard Swan has married Mary Briggs". I'm not quite sure whether to read this as meaning Mary too is a Fabian Society member.

DEATHS OF EMILY SWAN AND MARY BRIGGS SWAN

The Annual Monitor for 1910: Obituary of Members of the Society of Friends of Great Britain and Ireland covering period 1 October 1908 to 30 September 1909. London: Headley Brothers 1909 for the Society: p173.

RADIA AND HOWARD AFTER MARY'S DEATH

Details of Radia's life were found by Genevieve Kang; the source isn't given but the piece has the air of being an obituary from a paper published where Radia died, in the town Montgomery, in Hamilton county Ohio. The date isn't given either but must be after 1995. In an interesting departure from the views of both her birth parents, Radia was an active member of the Presbyterian church in Montgomery; she was not a Quaker or a Church of England equivalent.

That Radia was always in touch with some at least of the children of Charles Tennant Briggs: emails to Genevieve Kang October 2014 from members of the Block family.

Genevieve Kang found an index of death registrations for 1919 in Hamilton Ohio. They included one for a Howard Swan who died on 27 July 1919 at Hamilton.

MARY BRIGGS' SIBLINGS

JOHN FREDERICK BRIGGS

At www.euchems.eu paper by Anna Simmons of the Open University read at 6th International Conference on the History of Chemistry: Working in a Transitional Territory? Chemical Consultants in the UK 1870-1914. I think the publication is called Neighbours and Territories: The Evolving Identity of Chemistry pp555-563. The article is mostly statistics and tables but on p562 John Frederick Briggs 1871-1963 is cited as an example of a typical career.

At pubs.rsc.org, Proceedings of the Chemical Society of London volume 9 no 119 issued 9 February 1893: list of certificates being read: John Frederick Briggs is c/o Messrs Parry and Co of Madras; next in the list is Julian L Baker at his home address.

Proceedings of the Chemical Society volume 9 number 124 1893 p117 rpt of a mtg of the Chem Soc w Dr Armstrong in the chair; held 4 May 1893: a list of those elected fellows of the Society at that meeting began with John Frederick Briggs and Julian L Baker.

Madras Tercentenary Commemorative Volume published 1994 p270 firm founded as Chase and Parry. The 'parry' is Thomas Parry a son of Edward Parry of Leighton Hall near

Welshpool. Thomas Parry arrived in Madras in 1788 and set up an import/export business which later moved into industrial production. In 1803 Thomas Parry bought the land in city of Madras (Chennai) now known as Parry's Corner.

Chemical News and Journal of Industrial Science issued 1918 p141 report of the meeting of the Society of Public Analysts held 6 March 1918. John Frederick Briggs was in a list of people whose Certificates had been recently been approved by the Society.

Probate Registry 1963: John Frederick Briggs died in June 1963 and left personal effects to the value of £118205/0/11.

MAGGIE and SYDNEY GEORGE STARLING

British Library: works by S G Starling as sole author and with co-authors

1904 Preliminary Practical Maths. Starling and Frederick Charles Clarke as co-authors. E A Arnold in Arnold's School Series. Another edition 1910.

1912 Electricity and Magnetism: For Advanced Students. Starling as sole author. Longmans.

Later editions from 1916, 1920, 1924 reprinted 1925, 1929, 1932, 1937; 1943. And some daughter publications, also with Longmans Green and Co:

1920 Electricity and Magnetism. Another ed 1943.

1931 Electricity and Magnetism for Higher School Certificate and Intermediate Students. Another edition "1949 [1951]".

1919 A Textbook of Physics: For the Use of Students of Science and Engineering.

John Duncan and Starling as joint authors. Macmillan and Co. Later editions 1922, 1939, 1948, 1950, 1963. And a series of rewrites:

1933 A Textbook of Physics Parts III and IV: Light and Sound. 2nd revised edition.

1948 A Textbook of Physics Part V: Magnetism and Electricity. 2nd completely revised edition.

1950 A Textbook of Physics Part IV: Sound. Revised edition.

1921 An Introduction to Technical Electricity. Starling as sole author. Macmillan's Life and Work Series.

1922 Science in the Service of Man. Electricity etc. Starling as sole author. Longmans. 2nd edition 1949 revised by H J Grey.

1922 Electricity. Starling as sole author. Longmans.

1923 Elementary Electricity. Starling as sole author. Longmans.

1935 The Mechanical Properties of Matter. Starling as sole author. Macmillan and Co.

1937 A renamed and revised version of Electricity and Magnetism, this time For Degree Students. Further editions of this: 1945, 7th edition 1948, and 8th edition 1953 revised by Starling with A J Woodall

1949 Electricity in the Service of Man. Starling as sole author. Longmans.

1950 Physics. Starling and A J Woodall as co-authors. Longmans Green and Co.

Starling also held a couple of patents.

At www.google.com/patents/US1377032 patent application US1377032-A filed December

1918 by inventors Sydney George Starling of Forest Gate and Arthur Joseph Hughes of London. The patent was for a new design of aneroid barometer. Further details on this website. Once granted, the patent assigned to Henry Hughes and Son Ltd.

At patentimages, details can be seen of another patent applied for jointly by Sydney George Starling and A J Hughes this time in 1919: US 1307935.

On the strength of all these textbooks, Sydney and Maggie were able to retire comfortably to Chislehurst. Maggie died in December 1950, Sydney in 1955. They had two children.

FRANK COBDEN BRIGGS

Found on the web October 2014 by Genevieve Kang: Institution of Electrical Engineers Membership Record Book: Frank Cobden Briggs' election as an Associate in March 1894 is on p279; with details of his current employment. The entry is signed by one of the Institutions's senior members: the name looks like "Alec Siemens".

Via archive.org to Journal of the Institution of Electrical Engineers volume 23 1894 p8 where he was in a list, presumably of current members.

Via archive.org to Journal of the Institution of Electrical Engineers volume 32 1902-03 p8 report of the meeting of the Institution held 4 December 1902: Frank Cobden Briggs was one of those elected Associate members at that meeting.

CHARLES TENNANT BRIGGS

At search.ancestry.com.au, the sets of electoral rolls indicate that Charles moved around a lot between the earliest issues and his death. His earliest appearance on an electoral roll in Australia that I could see was 1916 in Perth WA. He was in Victoria by 1924, but still moving regularly until the last listing, in 1954 in Flinders VI.

Journal of the Junior Institution of Engineers of London volume 29 1919 p181 Charles T Briggs is listed c/o Messrs Charles Atkins and Co Ltd of Adelaide SA.

He's listed in the Transactions of the Institution of Engineers Australia volumes 1-2 1921.

There's a biography but I couldn't find a copy either at the British Library or on Amazon.co.uk. A Biography of Charles Tennant Briggs 1877-1954: Coal Machine Power by Phillip Block 1912. Block was a descendant of C T Briggs' daughter Phyllis.

These sources were sent by Genevieve Kang using the newspaper archive at <http://trove.nla.gov.au/>

Retirement notice: The Argus 13 September 1944.

Death of C T Briggs at Mornington: The Argus 24 July 1954.

Coverage of the funeral: The Argus 26 July 1954.

14 May 2014

25 October 2014 incorporating the family history research of Genevieve Kang of Sydney NSW.

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

William Thomas Percy BROOKS who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in May 1899. Unfortunately when he was transcribing all the members' details from the GD's own list, R A Gilbert couldn't read William's motto, so we don't know what it was.

Very short biography as he's one of my failures - I've hardly found out anything about him. He's probably the baby who was registered as William Thomas P Brooks at Norwich registry office in the autumn of 1874. On the day of the 1881 census, that baby (now aged 6) was living with his parents in a house on Church Street in Heigham, Norwich. Both his parents came from East Anglia: his father Thomas had been born in Norwich, his mother Jane had been born in Cambridgeshire. Thomas Brooks, ran his own business making fertiliser. His wife Jane was probably not asked how she spent her time or whether she earned any money. It's possible that she worked in her husband's business; but more likely that she organised the household, did the shopping and cooking, looked after William when he wasn't at school and gave orders to the one general servant that she and Thomas thought they could afford to help her with the heavy work. William seems to have been an only child.

That's all I know for sure!

WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? I haven't a clue! Except that there may be a connection through his father's involvement in chemistry, to some of the other chemists/alchemists in GD. But then again, there may not.

I couldn't identify William for certain on the censuses from 1891 to 1911. Google led me to the website at www.yasni.co.uk/victor+biddlecombe, which had baptism records for the church at Heigham Norwich, but I couldn't find William's baptism amongst them. None of the other sources produced anything I was sure was the right man.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk;

familysearch.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

BROOKS, WILLIAM THOMAS PERCY

motto unreadable on the roll

I May 1899

27 Dec 2011 tried searching on full name and got one response only:

www.yasni.co.uk/victor+biddlecombe. Led to a transcription of baptism records f church of Heigham Norwich w DOB 25 Feb 1878. Cldn't find the baptism ref'd to but on the strength of it tried freebmd and got b regn: William Thomas P Brooks r Norwich Oct-Dec 1874.

1881 census, unnumb house on Church Street, Heigham, Norwich

head Thomas Brooks, m, 33, chemical manure manufr, b Norwich

wife Jane, 41, no occup/source of inc gvn, b Hardwich Cambs

child William T P aged 6, b Norwich

+ 1 genl serv.

Cldn't find the boy b 1874 on 1891, 1901 or 1911 censuses. On 1901 found another William Thomas P Brooks but he was born c 1899.

Mrs Mary Catherine BROWN was initiated into the Golden Dawn in April 1894 and chose

the motto 'Pax'. She remained a member for 18 months or so, resigning in December 1895.

WHO DID SHE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? I start with this, because I only came across two clues about who Mary Catherine Brown was: the address she gave when invited to join the Golden Dawn; and some details of membership of the Theosophical Society (the TS) of a woman with that name, and I always assume that TS members with the same name as a GD member are the same person, because they are the same person so often.

In April 1894 Mary Catherine Brown was living at 11 Marlborough Crescent in Bedford Park, the housing estate most closely associated with the architect Norman Shaw and then very recently built, convenient for travel into London but with relatively low rents. Several other GD members also lived in or very near to the estate: John Todhunter, Henrietta and Henry Marriott Paget, W B Yeats and Florence Farr. It's a reasonably safe bet that Mary Catherine Brown had got to know one of them since she had arrived in the area; but I don't know which one.

I thought that knowing Mary Catherine's address would be a help when I tried to find out more about her; but it wasn't. Her TS membership details give 5 different addresses for her in the 10 years she was a member, starting in Harrow and ending in Godalming with none of them being in Bedford Park - she was a lady who kept moving on. And I couldn't identify her for certain on the censuses in 1891, 1901 or 1911: there are just too many Mary Catherine Browns, and none of them were living in any of the right areas to be the woman I was after.

One thing I can say about Mary Catherine from her TS membership is that she knew at least one senior member there. In order to join the TS you had to be recommended by people who were already members. Mary Catherine was recommended by G R S Mead, TS general secretary and editor of its magazine Lucifer. The TS was divided into lodges; most members joined the one that met nearest their home. Mary Catherine joined Blavatsky Lodge, which met at the TS headquarters near Regent's Park and had many members who had known Helena Petrovna Blavatsky personally; but later moved to the West London lodge.

That's all I know about her. She is one of my failures.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families;

thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Count Franz Otto BUBNA was initiated into the Golden Dawn in December 1889, when he took the Latin motto 'Nunquam dormio'. By March 1892, however, his membership was described in the GD's records as "in abeyance".

I was only able to find this man on two censuses - 1891 and 1901 - and I think of him as a bird of passage, living in the UK for a short time only.

Count Franz Otto Bubna was a member of the Austrian nobility by birth, born during the 1840s. When he joined the GD he gave 55 Egerton Gardens as his address and was still giving it as his address in 1892. But on the night of the 1891 census he was staying at the Brunswick Hotel at 51 Jermyn Street Piccadilly, and by 1901 he, his wife Bertha and their son Egon had moved out of London to Upton Towers, in Upton St Mary near Slough. Their staff at Upton Towers was a large one. The Count had his own valet - a male servant who helped with his employer's wardrobe and personal appearance; and Countess Bertha had the woman's equivalent, a lady's maid. Only the wealthiest could afford to employ servants of this kind. In addition to those two personal servants, the household had a cook, a parlour maid, two housemaids and two maids to help in the kitchen. Living in this kind of style in the country required a carriage and horses, for the lady of the house to make her social calls in, so the Count employed a coachman. However, he did not employ a butler or a footman - rather a strange omission, I think. I suppose one of the housemaids answered the door when the bell rang.

Count Franz Bubna had moved to England to work in the City. In 1891 he told the census

official he was a shipping agent; in 1901 he was still doing that kind of work but had also started dealing in shares. His office in 1902 was at 76 Palmerston Buildings on Bishopsgate Street. He was a well-known figure amongst the Austro-Hungarian population in London. He attended dinners organised by the Association of Foreign Consuls. At a dinner organised by Austrians living in London in 1893, Count Franz Bubna was second on its guest-list, immediately after the imperial Consul-General. And in 1895 he was serving on the committee of the Austro-Hungarian Chamber of Commerce in London. He was also enjoying the kind of leisure pursuits where you meet the English upper-classes, attending the Brookfield Stud sale (of racehorses) in 1895.

However, Count Franz Bubna's character had a more enquiring and reflective side and he joined the Theosophical Society in London in October 1889. Those wanting to join the TS had to be recommended by two people who were members already. Unfortunately, Count Franz Bubna's records at the TS don't say who his sponsors were. However, Countess Bertha also joined the TS, in March 1890; her two sponsors were her husband, and future GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner. Gardner worked in the City, so that might be how he and Bubna first got to know each other.

During their first years in the TS, Count Franz and Bertha were members of its Blavatsky Lodge, where Helena Petrovna Blavatsky herself held forth. There may have been conflict between the Count Franz and Blavatsky: A P Sinnett says that the Count was a psychic who was "in touch with his Master Mahatma Morya", a channel of communication that Blavatsky liked to keep to herself. Either because Blavatsky disapproved of Count Franz's claims; or because the Bubnas felt that Blavatsky Lodge after Blavatsky's death (in the spring of 1891) would never be the same, by 1892 they had joined the London Lodge. They were made welcome there and became members of its inner group, with A P and Patience Sinnett, the Arundales and others. London Lodge held itself aloof from the TS as a whole: it did not send in lists of members and subscriptions paid, and these administrative records have now been lost. Consequently it's not possible to say whether the Bubnas were members of London Lodge during the years in which a bitter argument was fought in the mid-1890s after someone else - William Quan Judge - claimed to be in touch with the Mahatmas. The Count did take up paying his subscription to the TS again when the dispute was settled with the defeat of Judge's followers. He continued to pay it until 1900; but by 1901 he (though not his wife) had joined the Society for Psychical Research, which had investigated some of the spiritualist claims made by Blavatsky and declared them fraudulent, to the fury of Blavatsky and her followers.

Count Franz Bubna and Countess Bertha were not on the census for 1911. A note on their record at the TS indicates that they had left the UK by 1903 and I presume they had moved back to Austria. I don't know when the Count died.

Relatively few members of the GD are described at all in someone else's writings, but Count Franz Bubna is one of them. In June 1895, the Count called on Henry Olcott (the surviving founder of the TS) during one of Olcott's short stays in London. Writing up the social call in his diary, Olcott described the Count as "tall and handsome", so I'd say that the Count had those features that the Victorians admired in a man: a moustache, possibly even a beard, long sideburns, and a very upright almost military bearing. Olcott was sufficiently impressed with Count Bubna to suggest (though apparently not to the man's face) that they had both known each other in previous lives. This was the only mention of Count Franz Bubna in Old Diary Leaves so in their current lives at least, the meeting didn't lead to a lasting friendship.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

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Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Count Franz Otto Bubna as a prominent member of London's Austro-Hungarian community: Times Digital Archive.

Theosophical Society: Theosophical Society Members' Books 1888-1900, held at the TS headquarters building in Gloucester Place W1.

Olcott's impression of the Count: Old Diary Leaves: The True History of the Theosophical Society by Henry Steel Olcott. 5th Series published Madras: Theosophical Publishing House 1932 but according to a note on p331 prepared for publication by Olcott in 1903. The Count's call was covered pp328-34, during Olcott's tour of Spain, France and England in the summer of 1895. The call was paid on 20 June.

Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett: unedited version published Theosophical History Centre Gloucester Place 1986 and now available online. It's based on the diaries of Alfred Percy and Patience Sinnett: pp43-44.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XV 1900-01 p490 shows Count

Francis (sic) Bubna as a full member, at Upton Towers Slough. He's not in the list of members in volume XI 1895.

26 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Katherine Julia Buckman was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 25 June 1896, taking the Latin motto 'Hic habitat felicitas'. She resigned from the Order less than a year later, in April 1897.

Once again I begin a biography of a woman member of the GD with a moan about the almost complete lack of sources for her life. In fact, the lack of sources is true of most of the men who joined the GD, as well; but I feel it more with the women - having to make guesses about what their lives were like from the few hints that are available, mostly gathered from information on the men in their lives. However, I must say that in Katherine Julia's case, the men in her life were a very interesting bunch.

THE BUCKMANS AND THE BAKERS

Although I lack one important piece of evidence, I believe that GD members Katherine Julia Buckman and Julian Levett Baker were related. Katherine Julia certainly was, and Julian Levett Baker probably was, a descendant of John Buckman and his wife Mary, who lived in Cheltenham in the late 18th and early 19th-centuries. John had his own shoemaking business in the town. John and Mary had at least three sons. Katherine Julia was the daughter of John and Mary's son James. Julian Levett was a grandson of John Bishop Buckman of Cheltenham; unfortunately the missing piece of evidence is definite proof that John Bishop Buckman was one of John and Mary Buckman's other sons. Though if he was not a son, he was closely related and knew James Buckman's son Sydney well enough to appoint him an executor of his Will. Assuming my guess about John Bishop Buckman is correct, Katherine Julia Buckman was the first cousin of John Bishop Buckman's daughter Bessie, who was Julian Levett Baker's mother; falling between the two of them in age - about 16 years younger than Bessie and 10 years older than Julian.

I have found a bit of evidence that Katherine Julia might also be related to GD member Charles Chase Parr (initiated 1892); but the relationship must be quite distant, based on marriages in the mid-18th century, and I haven't checked it out.

JAMES BUCKMAN

Katherine Julia's father James (1814-84) had a working life which embodied the change in the 19th century approach to science research: the professionalisation of work previously the preserve of the leisured, moneyed classes. It seems that none of John Buckman's sons followed him into the shoe-making business. James started out training as a pharmacist in Cheltenham. He then spent several years in London in the 1830s studying medicine, but never practised and probably returned to Cheltenham not fully qualified. On the day of the 1841 census he was in business, as a pharmacist, in Peterville Street Cheltenham, employing one trainee and earning enough to employ one household servant as well. Even by this stage, however, his main interest was the study of the the area around Cheltenham: field-walking and digging, collecting and identifying plants and specimens of the local rocks. A series of publications beginning in the late 1830s led to his being elected a fellow of several national scientific societies including the Geological Society (as early as 1842) and the Linnean Society (1850).

The financial troubles of others led to a change of direction for James. He had agreed to act as guarantor for the ironmongery business of his brother Edwin and Edwin's business partner Benjamin Norman; so when the business went bankrupt in 1844, James too lost a lot of money. Inevitably, his own business suffered from the lack of investment, and James decided that he would look for work that reflected his leisure interests, rather than continue to struggle as a pharmacist. Paid work in the sciences was still rather rare, but more and more institutions were being founded that needed secretaries, curators and teacher/lecturers to run them on behalf of their management committees. After a couple of years in Birmingham working at the Birmingham Philosophical Association, he was appointed in 1848 to the post of professor of geology, botany and zoology at the newly-founded Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester, where to start with, he was encouraged and funded to do the kind of research that he had been doing for nothing.

It was James Buckman's research on identifying species, particularly grasses, that led him to become embroiled in the greatest scientific debate of his day. His work on grasses was funded from 1857 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). He also corresponded with Charles Darwin about his work, which supported the arguments Darwin put forward in *On the Origin of Species* and was mentioned in the book. The meeting of the BAAS at Oxford in 1860 is best known for the argument between T H Huxley and bishop Wilberforce over Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection. But the day before that famous set-to, Buckman had presented some results that had caused a controversy of their own. He read a paper which suggested that grasses could hybridise - a conclusion which challenged the Church of England's teaching that God's Creation was unchanging and unchangeable.

The paper inflamed an ongoing struggle at the Royal Agricultural College as its Principal, Rev John Constable, fought with most of his staff for control of the syllabus. Rev Constable regarded Buckman's research as not only heretical, but immoral, and the suggestion that grasses could hybridise only served to make him more certain of the rightness of his position - that teaching along those lines should not be allowed in the College. The majority of the teaching staff opposed this conservative attitude, but the Principal gained the upper hand as the controversy over Darwin's book raged during the next two years. So that several professors, including James Buckman, duly resigned from the College in July 1862. They took with them quite a lot of the students but the field was clear for Rev Constable to replace

them with men more amenable to Church of England teaching; and to destroy completely James Buckman's experimental garden.

Katherine Julia Buckman was born the year after her father's resignation, into an atmosphere of scientific uproar in the nation and financial uncertainty in the family. However, James and his family were rescued, and their futures put on a secure footing, through the support and generosity of his wife's family.

James Buckman's married life was tragic: he was married twice and both his wives died after only a few years of marriage, as a result of childbirth as so many Victorian women did. James' first marriage, early in 1852, was to Louisa Elizabeth (born 1826), daughter of William Dunn and his wife Elizabeth née Hammond. William Dunn worked in an office in Worcester. James and Louisa's son Conrad was born a year later in Cirencester; but both Conrad and Louisa died a few weeks later at Dawlish in Devon, where perhaps they had been taken because they were both so weak.

In 1858 James Buckman married again. His second wife was Julia, daughter of John Savory and his wife Martha, née Hames. James Buckman may have first met the Savory family when doing his unfinished medical training in London in the 1830s - John Savory was a pharmacist and a doctor, a member of the Apothecaries' Hall. On the day of the 1851 census, John and Martha were living above their pharmacy shop with their children Thomas (22), Charles (21) and Julia (17) - but it was a big shop, at 143 New Bond Street in the fashionable area of Mayfair. John Savory's two sons and eight other young men worked as assistants in the shop; and the household employed a very long list of servants with an unusual number of men in it - most of them, I should imagine, working for the pharmacy business. There was a porter, an errand boy, a coachman, a footman, a page and a groom; plus a cook, a ladies' maid, two housemaids and a kitchenmaid. This was a very wealthy family: male servants, and ladies' maids, didn't come cheap.

James and Julia Buckman had five children in the seven years after their marriage: Sydney Savory born 1860; Ada Hames born 1861; Katherine Julia born in the spring of 1863; Minnie Georgina born 1864; and Percy Warner James born late in 1865. On census day 1861 James, Julia and Sydney were at home in their house in Dollar Street Cirencester where Julia was coping with a rather more modest staff than she would have been used to in her parents' house - just the three servants, all women. Sydney was less than a year old, Ada would be born within two months. After James had resigned from his post at the Royal Agricultural College, he and Julia tried at first to stay on in Cirencester, James giving private tuition to ex-students of the College. They did remain for a year or two, and Katherine Julia was born there. Their situation was untenable in the long term, however, and in the autumn of 1863 the family moved to Bradford Abbas near Sherborne in Dorset. John Savory had bought a farm there for his son-in-law, to give him income, and the security of not having to find employment working for someone else where it was likely that the same troubles that had dogged him at the College would probably revisit him.

John Savory's idea was to expand on the private teaching that James was already doing, by buying land where he could continue his botanical experiments and use them as the basis for his lessons, without interference from those who opposed James' results. And the idea did work to a certain extent. There was never any shortage of families willing to pay for their sons to be educated in the latest agricultural methods by James Buckman: there were always more applicants than would fit into the farmhouse. James was able to continue his botanical

and geological studies, and his horticultural experiments resulted in a new, improved variety of parsnip which is still for sale now. He resumed his walking and collecting and was a founder member of what is now the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society. However, he had to do all this as a widower again. Julia Buckman died in 1865, either at her last child's birth, or a few days afterwards.

It looks from the census evidence as though, after Julia died, the decision was taken to break up the family to relieve James Buckman of the care of his children. On the day of the 1871 census Katherine Julia, her sisters Ada and Minnie, and her brother Percy were all living with John and Martha Savory at 22 Sussex Place Marylebone. John Savory had handed the pharmacy business on to his son Charles and to William Robert Barker who was probably an ex-apprentice. He and Martha were still very comfortably off - six female servants were employed to help Martha (now 63) with her young grandchildren; and one male servant probably worked directly for John Savory, who was still in practice as a GP. Sydney was probably at school: both he and (later) Percy went to Sherborne School.

John Savory was 71 on the day of the 1871 census. He died in October 1871 while on holiday in Sussex. His son Charles survived him by less than three years, dying in 1874. Katherine Julia and her siblings went through another period of upheaval. The Savory family ended any active involvement in the pharmacy business and William Robert Barker took it over. And Martha Savory chose to leave London after her husband died. She went to live at Little Oat Hall House in Burgess Hill Sussex. She took her grand-daughters Ada and Minnie with her and was still - even in her widowhood - able to pay a housekeeper, two ladies' maids, a housemaid, a kitchenmaid, a footman and a coachman, as well as a bailiff to run the farm that supplied the house. Katherine Julia probably went with her grandmother and sisters immediately after John Savory's death. By 1881, though, she was living in Dorset - probably for the first time since her infancy - and keeping house for her father: she and eldest brother Sydney were both at home at the farm in Bradford Abbas on the day of the 1881 census, with James Buckman and Thomas Dickinson, one of his pupils who perhaps couldn't get home for the Easter holidays. Katherine Julia was running the household - which was usually a lot bigger - with four servants. And Percy was at Sherborne School.

I have not been able to find out anything at all about any education Katherine Julia might have had. If John and Martha Savory had opted for a governess to educate their three grand-daughters at home, no such servant was being employed by them on the census days of 1871 or 1881. It's possible that the grand-daughters went to school; but they were not at school on the day of the 1871 census, or on the day of the 1881 census. I give evidence below that suggests Katherine Julia had had the religious education given to all middle-class girls. In most cases I'd expect that, but Katherine Julia's case is a bit different and I'd really like to know whether James Buckman's experiments in botany had caused him to have any religious doubts. However, in the 19th century it was still largely true that even if men doubted, their women were not expected to follow suit. Did James Buckman allow Katherine Julia to take any part or even to observe his work with parsnips or to go with him on trips in search of Dorset's geological and archaeological heritage? Historical work on James Buckman concentrates on his career as a naturalist and hardly mentions his family at all. I haven't found anything in the sources for his life which says what he believed or what he allowed his daughters to learn; and in any case, the decisions about his daughters' education may have been left to John and Martha Savory. Result: Katherine Julia's education - like the education of most women who joined the GD - is a complete mystery.

At the beginning of the 1880s, Katherine Julia's life so far had been characterised by death and dislocation and this pattern continued. James Buckman died in November 1884, and none of his children lived at the farm afterwards. Four months later, in March 1885, Martha Savory died. There's evidence to suggest she did leave at least her grand-daughters Ada and Minnie, and presumably Katherine Julia as well, some money; but again, none of her grandchildren lived at the house in Burgess Hill afterwards. Katherine Julia's sisters Ada and Minnie were living near Andover on census day 1891, at St Vincent Lodge Upper Clatford; and between them, they had enough income to afford a maid - most likely a housemaid - and a general servant. The two of them seem to have been particularly close; with Katherine Julia possibly playing an 'odd-sister-out' in their relationship. I believe neither of them married - Minnie definitely didn't - and that they lived together until Ada's death, which happened before 1901, I believe, though I haven't found any proof of that.

Katherine Julia was not living with her sisters on census day in 1891. She was keeping house for her younger brother Percy, who had trained at the Royal Academy schools as an artist and etcher. Brother and sister were living modestly, without servants, in a flat in Colville House, on Colville Square in Bayswater. Percy's career had either recently taken, or was about to take, a most exciting turn - he'd been recruited by the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) as an artist/illustrator. On census day 1891 he may have just returned from his first winter in Egypt. He was definitely there, with the EEF, for the 1891/92 digging season, working at Deir-el-Bahri, with Howard Carter amongst others; before being sent to Beni Hasan to take over copying the wall-paintings there from Marcus Worsley Blackden, who had left the camp mid-season, after disputes with Percy Newberry, who was leading the dig.

Having a brother return from exotic Egypt, laden down with illustrations of ancient tombs, must surely have caught Katherine Julia's imagination. Work by Percy was shown in the Egypt Exploration Fund's 1893 exhibition of recent work in Egypt, and I'm sure she went to see them, to fly the flag as his sister as they were some of the first paintings by Percy that had been exhibited in public. Perhaps the friends Percy made on these trips with the EEF talked to Katherine Julia about their work there and about ancient Egypt as a society where people used magic every day. Perhaps she invited her cousin Julian Baker and his schoolfriend Cecil Jones - both had trained as analytical chemists but they also shared an interest in alchemy - to hear these travellers' tales. Blackden may have been one of those travellers - he was initiated into the GD two months after Katherine Julia and his sister Ada (born 1872) became a member later. However, Katherine Julia had other contacts in the kind of social circles where the artistic, scientific and academic worlds came together. Her first-cousin Edwin, son of Edwin the bankrupted ironmonger, became an artist and printer and also taught art to Queen Alexandra and her daughters for several years. When Edwin and his wife Annie were in England - which they often were not - they lived in west London; as did Edwin's father Edwin, still alive in the early 1890s. The artist Edwin's younger brother Harry became a wood engraver; though he didn't live in London. Katherine Julia's elder brother Sydney was his father's heir in terms of James' work in geology and palaeontology. He earned a living by writing fiction under the professional name James Corin, while preparing the series of publications on the geology of the Cotswolds and Jurassic coast for which he is best known now. Sydney and his wife Maude were living in the Cotswolds in the 1880s and 1890s but Sydney was often in town for meetings of the Geological Society and Palaeontological Society. Though visits by Sydney to London won't have been an unadulterated pleasure for him or his relations: his palaeontological work was quite as controversial as his father's on grasses had been. Both its high standards of accuracy and its conclusions brought him into conflict with the scientific societies that had elected him a member.

Katherine Julia probably continued to keep house for her brother Percy until 1894 but in that year - the same year Julian Baker joined the GD - Percy acquired a different kind of housekeeper by marrying Caroline Bent. When Katherine Julia was initiated into the GD in her turn, two years afterwards, she was living at 20 St Charles Square, off Ladbroke Grove in Notting Hill. It is most likely that she was living with Percy and Caroline and their children. Though she might have been living in her own flat, most people still thought that was not something a respectable unmarried woman really did while she had relatives around to take her in, and in any case, Katherine Julia may not have been able to afford that level of independence. If she was living with her brother and sister-in-law, all parties may have been seeing the arrangement as a permanent one, given that she was now in her 30s and not likely to marry; and not having responsibility for running the household any longer should have freed up Katherine Julia's time for other pursuits - like being a member of the GD.

Or helping with the translation from French of a notorious book on the life of Jesus, part learned treatise on the origins of the works of the New Testament, part biography, but more like a novel than either of those genres. Early in 1898, aged 35, she married the book's main translator, William George Hutchison, a man ten years her junior.

William George Hutchison had been born in Scotland although his mother, Rosa, was from Devon. His father, Thomas Hutchison, was in business as a silk mercer and draper, and the family lived in Kirkcaldy. William George was born in Kirkcaldy around 1874, the second of four children. Neither he nor his elder brother Montague went into their father's business. Instead, they moved to London in the early 1890s. William Hutchison embarked on a career as a translator and editor, mostly working for The Walter Scott Publishing Company Limited and specialising, at least to begin with, in translating from French the works of Ernest Renan (1823-92), the political philosopher and expert on semitic languages and civilization. Renan had been brought up in Brittany as a Roman Catholic but had abandoned his faith for a scientific rationalism. His series of seven books grouped under one heading as *The Origins of Christianity* were all controversial but his *Vie de Jésus* outraged many conservatives. Published in 1863 (the year of Katherine Julia's birth) *Vie de Jésus* rapidly became hugely popular with those who were too aware of modern developments in science and textual criticism to continue with the religious beliefs they had been brought up with. But it offended others on a number of counts. To devout Christians, even the idea that Jesus could be the subject of a biography was heretical, as it reduced him to the level of any human being instead of a man set apart from all humanity as the only Son of God. The biography also denied Jesus' miracles. Jews were offended by Renan's portrayal of Jesus as a Jew who had to purge himself of all Jewishness before he could carry out his mission.

William Hutchison chose to begin his work of translation with the third book in Renan's set of seven: *Antichrist* (originally published in 1873) was published in 1892. Then he seems to have spent five years translating *Vie de Jésus* and must have met Katherine Julia Buckman during this time. When the book was finally published, his "chief thanks" went to her for her help which had been "as constant as it was valuable" during what he seems to have found a demanding and difficult process. There had been an English translation of the first edition of *Vie de Jésus* as early as 1863; and quite a few since. William Hutchison opted to translate the 13th edition, which contained Renan's later reflections on his subject matter. As part of the work of translation, the quotes used by Renan were collated with the Revised Version of the English bible; and I guess that it was this work that Katherine Julia contributed to the final product, which was published in 1897 and included a long Preface by William Hutchison on the context in which the original work had been written.

Katherine Julia's collation work on *Vie de Jésus* was probably done in 1896 and 1897. As she carried out this exacting task, she might have spent time reflecting that whereas books like *On the Origin of Species* and *Vie de Jésus* put into words the doubts that many people had about their faith in a rationalist age, some people still had no religious doubts at all, and that there were more monks and nuns in Britain than at any time since the reign of Henry VIII. In the middle of St Charles Square stood the new buildings of a Carmelite monastery, founded as an offshoot of a French order as late as 1878.

At the beginning of 1897, a deadline may have been looming which made Katherine Julia feel she must choose between her collation work and further involvement in the GD. Perhaps she and William Hutchison were engaged by this time; even if they weren't, quite yet, she was not going to let him down by saying she had other commitments, especially as the process of producing the book was proving so wearing. William Hutchison was having arguments with the publishers over exactly how much of Renan's original text to include. Many English-language editions of *Vie de Jésus* had left out the scholarly analysis and textual criticism with which Renan had introduced the main text. William Hutchison wanted to keep them in, in this new translation, but his bosses at The Walter Scott Publishing Company wouldn't have it. Katherine Julia may have felt that without her support, the translation would never even make it to the publishers. In addition, William Hutchison was never a member of the GD himself. Perhaps he disliked and resented Katherine Julia's involvement in an organisation about which she could tell him nothing.

For whatever reason, Katherine Julia left the GD after only a few months as a member, and it was clear that this was the result of careful thought and a clear-cut decision. Unlike many initiates, who just stopped going to the rituals and doing the study-work without telling anyone, Katherine Julia sent in a letter of resignation. If the myths and magic of ancient Egypt did inspire and intrigue her, it's a pity she didn't hang on a bit longer in the Order. She might then have had the chance to become a member of Florence Farr's Sphere Group which Florence founded specifically to study Egyptian symbolism and methods of invocation.

Perhaps it was Katherine Julia who persuaded William Hutchison to bow to the inevitable, because his *The Life of Jesus* was published with his own long preface in it but with Renan's original introduction cut. Hutchison worked on one more of Renan's seven-volume set for The Walter Scott Publishing Company: *Marcus Aurelius*, published 1903. But when it came to publishing his translation of another of Renan's seven, *The Apostles*, he put his foot down about Renan's chapter of textual analysis of the original documents, and insisted it be included with no cuts. *The Apostles* was published by Watts and Co for the Rationalist Press Association Ltd, a publishing company founded with the express purpose of getting the works of agnosticism and atheism to the wider public. In another departure from the approach of The Walter Scott Publishing Company, *The Apostles* was printed on cheap paper so that it could be sold at a low price and reach a wide public. Perhaps this was what William Hutchison had wanted for his *The Life of Jesus*.

In the years between 1898 and 1905 William Hutchison edited and prepared other translations and compilations (particularly of British poetry) for The Walter Scott Publishing Company; he wrote introductions to other works for them; and had books commissioned by other publishers as well, building up a reputation, particularly as a translator from the French. However, Katherine Julia wasn't thanked for her contributions to any of the other works by William Hutchison that I looked at. *The Life of Jesus* was published late in 1897 and - with the work finally done and some money coming in from its sales - Katherine Julia and William

Hutchison were married. Household management and children duly followed and took up Katherine Julia's time. On the day of the 1901 census, William and Katherine Julia Hutchison were living in Hammersmith, at 5 Melrose Gardens, with their daughter Corinna (born 1899) and son Keith born just a month before census day. A month-nurse was a member of the household on census day but would be leaving soon. In general, Katherine Julia was managing with one general servant to help her. A second son, Laurence, was born in 1902 and sometime before 1905, Katherine Julia's sister Minnie came to live with the family. This was probably because Minnie was in poor health, no longer able to live alone: she died in December 1905, and left Katherine Julia her farm, Sandpits, at Bledlow in Buckinghamshire.

1904 to 1907 were years of very great difficulty and distress for Katherine Julia, certainly emotionally, perhaps financially and legally. Whatever religious beliefs she had must have been tried to the utmost. It's likely she was having to nurse her sister Minnie. Her brother Sydney's troubles with the Palaeontological Society came to a head in 1907 when the Society refused to publish his latest work on the Jurassic - it was published in the end but these disputes take their toll and his health was suffering. However, by far the most intractable problem for Katherine Julia during those years was the mental health of her husband. An increasing mental instability was perhaps reflected in or possibly even exacerbated by the kind of books he was working on in the early 1900s. In 1904 he wrote an introduction for The Walter Scott Publishing Company's new edition of James Anthony Froude's *The Nemesis of Faith*, a novel (originally 1849) about a priest's crisis of belief. Then he was asked to prepare a new, abridged edition of *Tracts for the Times*, originally published between 1833 and 1841 by members of the high-church Oxford Movement, to argue their case for a very conservative view of Christian religion. Bishop Wilberforce of the 1860 argument over *On the Origin of Species* was an Oxford movement member. William Hutchison's selection was published in 1906 and was the last work in which he was involved that was published in his lifetime.

Mental illness is still a taboo subject: we like to think it doesn't happen, or wouldn't happen to us. In Edwardian England, a toxic mixture of Christian morality and Darwinian evolutionary theories made its occurrence so shaming, some families locked away their mentally ill relations and pretended they had died. Katherine Julia first tried a different approach - the family moved to the farm at Bledlow, presumably in the hope that William Hutchison's health would improve in peaceful rural surroundings. Bledlow was near Thame, where Katherine Julia's brother Sydney and his family had moved in 1904. Living nearby, it would be easier for Katherine Julia to call on Sydney and Maude's help, now she was left having to cope with erratic behaviour - perhaps even violent behaviour - on her husband's part, as well as care for her children, who were not yet of school age. The move didn't work, however, and the decision was made to remove him from the family home to the City of London Mental Hospital at Dartford, which took fee-paying patients as well as people detained under the mental health acts. William Hutchison died at the hospital in May 1907, in his early 30s.

This is a bit speculative, but I think Katherine Julia felt the shame of mental illness in the family, though probably more on her children's account than on her own - the Darwinian idea of inherited characteristics had made people aware that the tendency to mental illness could run in families. She may also have wanted a fresh start after several years of traumatic events and the mourning of those who had died before you might have supposed they would. The difficulties Katherine Julia had faced as the wife, and then the widow, of a man who was mentally ill, may have influenced her brother Sydney to step right outside his normal sphere

of subject-matter to write *Mating, Marriage and the Status of Woman*, published in 1910.

On the day of the 1911 census Katherine Julia and her children were at 2 Spenser Road Harpenden. Rents would be cheaper in Harpenden than in London, and the suburban setting better for her children's health; but Harpenden was also a place that none of the Buckmans had lived in or near before. Marian Lois Durnford, a teacher, was a member of the household on that day. Katherine Julia, filling in the census form as head of the household, described Miss Durnford as a visitor, but she may have been boarding with them during term-time - she was much younger than Katherine Julia and wasn't likely to have been a friend. Katherine Julia's income, from her own inheritance and perhaps from her dead husband's books, was enough for her to employ one servant to help her, but she might have been grateful - with the children all now at school - for a bit more from a lodger.

At least Katherine Julia didn't have to face mourning sons killed or lost in battle - Keith and Laurence Hutchison were born too late to fight in World War 1. Two of Katherine Julia's children did inherit something from their father; but it was not mental illness, it was writing and book-production skills. I believe Corinna went to university and graduated from Durham, taking advantage of opportunities Katherine Julia had never had. Corinna donated to the British Library a manuscript which contained some leaves of music probably written in the late 14th or early 15th century. It's believed that she had inherited it from her grandfather James Buckman, who had found it while doing antiquarian or possibly even archaeological work in the Augustinian abbey at Cirencester. Later Corinna followed in Katherine Julia's footsteps by helping prepare a book whose main author was a man in the family: her brother Keith thanked her for her proof reading of his *Labour in Politics*, published by the Labour Publishing Company in 1925. I haven't been able to find out anything more about Corinna's life. It would be nice to think of her as working as a proof reader; but I think I would have found out more about her, if she had. I've also found very little information on Laurence Hutchison except that he may have been a member of the Royal Aero Club; and might have moved to Australia. Keith Hutchison followed his father by becoming a writer and editor: he worked in London for the *New York Herald Tribune* and as financial editor of the magazine *The Nation*.

By the late 1920s Katherine Julia had moved back to London, to 35 Lancaster Road (now Lancaster Grove) in Belsize Park. Percy, Caroline and their family were living in south London: since 1898, Percy had been teaching art at Goldsmiths' College. In the early 1920s he was helping the art historian George Charles Williamson prepare *The Art of the Miniature Painter*; published in 1926 it was for several generations the standard work on the subject. Sydney, despite the opposition that his work on fossils provoked amongst other scientists, had doggedly continued his research, and he had - for the first time in his life - was even being paid to do work on specimens by the Canadian Geological Survey.

Katherine Julia Hutchison died on 23 August 1928. Her distant cousin, solicitor Ernest Jeffrey Charles Savory, was one of her executors. Her two brothers and her three children survived her. Sydney's conclusions about the Jurassic have been vindicated by subsequent research.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR KATHERINE JULIA BUCKMAN HUTCHISON

KATHERINE JULIA BUCKMAN AND JULIAN LEVETT BAKER ARE RELATED

The common ancestors are John and Mary Buckman who may be the people referred to at freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wragg44/leigh/leighvol4.htm, a list of marriages that took place at Leigh Gloucester between 1754 and 1807. They include the marriage of a John Buckman of the parish of Deerhurst, to Mary Bishop of Leigh parish. By licence 11 August 1795. Witnesses: Ann Trinder, William Freeman.

KATHERINE JULIA BUCKMAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO JULIAN LEVETT BAKER

Julian Levett Baker's mother BESSIE HELEN BUCKMAN was the daughter of John Bishop Buckman and his wife Albinia: at www.swansea.gov.uk, items at Swansea Record Office, their access number D/D Z 97/15 a lease dated 30 November 1864. The parties to it are (1) Thomas Rees of Swansea, wine and spirit merchant; John Bishop Buckman of the Assembly Rooms Cheltenham "gentleman"; and Bessie Helen Buckman spinster daughter of John Bishop Buckman. (2) George Nott of Swansea market gdnr.

John Bishop Buckman lived in Cheltenham where he was lessee of the assembly rooms:

British Spas from 1815 to the Present: A Social History by Phyllis May Hembry, Leonard W Cowle, Evelyn R Cowle. London: Athlone 1997: p200.

At www.cheltenham4u.co.uk there's the 1858-59 edition of Slater's Commercial Directory of Cheltenham showing John Bishop Buckman as the lessee of 392 High Street, assembly and club rooms.

PO Directory of Gloucestershire issue of 1863 p238 shows John Bishop Buckman of the High Street as insurance agent for Scottish Amicable Life, as well as being lessee of the Assembly Rooms; and on p239, under the heading "Spas", as proprietor of the North Pittville Spa. On p226 the list of Cheltenham residents by surname has him as lessee of the Assembly Rooms, at 392 High Street.

KATHERINE'S FATHER JAMES BUCKMAN

Oxford DNB volume 8 p538 on James Buckman 1814-84, naturalist and agriculturalist. ODNB is now online at www.oxforddnb.com. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/WHAT'S>

Geology and Religion: A History of Harmony and Hostility editor Martina Kölbl-Ebert. Published by The Geological Society in 2009 as their Geological Society Special Publication 310. One of the articles in the Evolution section 245-56: James Buckman (1841 to 1884): The Scientific Career of an English Darwinian Thwarted by Religious Prejudice. By H S Torrens, whose sources include a manuscript autobiography by Katherine Julia's elder brother Sidney Savory Buckman, written 1928; and papers held by Peter Buckman (b 1918) and Olive Buckman his sister (b 1919).

BANKRUPTCY OF JAMES BUCKMAN'S BROTHER EDWIN

London Gazette p3505, I couldn't quite see the date but it was 1844: legal notice of impending bankruptcy proceedings against Benjamin Norman and Edwin Buckman of Cheltenham, ironmongers. A hearing due 4 November following a bankruptcy order against them issued 1 June 1844.

On the Origin of Species by Charles Darwin. First edition London: John Murray 1859. 2nd edition 1860; into its 4th 1866, still in print, of course. See the text at darwin-online.org.uk. Wikipedia gives the exact date of publication as 24 November 1859.

LOUISA ELIZABETH DUNN

Her baptism: [familysearch](http://familysearch.org) England-EASy GS film 350598.

The marriage: [familysearch](http://familysearch.org) England-ODM GS film number 0376937 to 939

JOHN AND MARTHA SAVORY and JULIA SAVORY - it's amazing what you can piece together from Ancestry's census and probate records!

JAMES' SONS AT SHERBORNE SCHOOL

Via archive.org to The Sherborne Register 1823-92; compiled Harry H House published for the school 1893: p171.

KATHERINE'S BROTHERS

SYDNEY SAVORY BUCKMAN 1860-1929

See catalogues of the British Library and the British Museum of Natural History for lists of his works on geology and palaeontology, particularly his seven-volumes on ammonites. The volume that so offended the Palaeontological Society was: *A Monograph of the Ammonites of the Inferior Oolite Series* published by the Society in 1907.

American Journal of Science volume 18/218 1929 p96: an obituary.

Some modern assessments:

Milestones in Geology: Reviews to Celebrate 150 Volumes of the Journal of the Geological Society edited by Michael John Le Bas. Geological Society 1995 as Geological Society Memoir Number 16. Article by J H Calloman of University College London pp127-150: *Time From Fossils: S S Buckman and Jurassic High-Resolution Geochronology*. Most of the article is serious geology but there is some biographical information. This is the source for Sydney as a novelist with the writing name of James Corin. However, the only work I found in the British Library catalogue under that name is *Mating, Marriage and the Status of Woman*. London and Felling-on-Tyne: Walter Scott Publishing Company Ltd 1910. Google didn't come up with any novels by James Corin either. It might just mean that Sydney's fiction works were published in instalments in magazines rather than as books. However, I'm a bit uncomfortable about this.

Comparative Planetology, Geological Education and History of Geology by Wang Hongzhen 1997 p205-206 S S Buckman 1860-1929.

As well as his palaeontological and geological books and - possibly - works of fiction, there are a couple of other kinds of books by Sydney in the British Library: *Arcadian Life* by S S Buckman Fellow of the Geological Society. London: Chapman and Hall 1891. It's a fictional account of a walking holiday in a rural Arcadia; with illustrations by his brother Percy.

Sydney's wife Maude Mary Holland:

At tribalpages.com information on the Holland family including births and deaths.

Via google to *A History of the Family of Holland of Mobberley* by Edgar Swinton Holland.

PERCY BUCKMAN 1865-1948

Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940: p84.

At www.artfact.com in 2013 I saw reproductions of some works by him: *Goring Church*; *Valley of the Kings*; 2 nudes.

Percy's work for the Egypt Exploration Fund:

Nature: *International Journal of Science* volume 48 1893 pxix and p159.

Times 15 July 1893 p7: exhibition of recent work in Egypt, organised by the EEF.

Beni Hasan published by the Egypt Exploration Fund 1893 authors Newberry, Griffith, Fraser.

Site report Beni Hasan: Zoological and Other Details published 1900 by the Archaeological

Survey of Egypt. Authors: Howard Carter, Marcus Worsley Blackden, Percy Brown, Percy Buckman, Percy Edward Newberry.

American Journal of Archaeology volume 8 1893 p583.

Archaeological Survey of Egypt editor F L Griffith. Zoological work and other facsmiles by Percy appear in Part IV: "Seventh Memoir Beni Hasan". Published EEF 1900.

The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi Part I 1902: the plates are Percy Buckman's work.

Percy Buckman's later career:

Studio International volume 73 1918 pxi staff list Goldsmiths' College.

lists staff at Goldsmiths' College School of Art. Percy Buckman teaches life drawing and painting.

Works by Percy in exhibitions of the Society of Miniature Painters are mentioned in the Times: 16 May 1930 p14; 16 May 1933 p12; and 12 May 1936 p14, in which his work catalogue number 200 was singled out for special praise.

THE ART OF THE MINIATURE PAINTER in which Percy Buckman was co-author with the collector and art historian George Charles Williamson.

Times 21 May 1926 p12: next week's publications.

The Art of the Miniature Painter by George Charles Williamson with Percy Buckman. London: Chapman and Hall 1926.

Times 18 February 1953 p10 in the obituary of miniature painter Nellie M Hepburn Edmunds, Williamson and Buckman is mentioned as the standard work on the subject of miniatures.

George Charles Williamson: there's a wikisource listing his (many) contributions to the 1911 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica and to the 1913 edition of the Catholic Encyclopaedia.

Who Was Who volume IV 1941-50 p 1243. Just noting that he also wrote books of advice for antique collectors and so probably knew GD member Herbert Slater.

Some modern works which mention Percy:

Saluki: The Desert Hound and the English Travelers who brought it to the West. Brian P Duggan and Terence Clark 2009. P55 on Beni Hassan.

Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun by T G H James. London: Kegan Paul 1992 p46-47. And one which doesn't:

Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology by Margaret S Drower. University of Wisconsin Press 1st edition 1985; 2nd edition 1995. Percy Buckman isn't in the index so I guess he and Flinders Petrie never met.

KATHERINE JULIA'S COUSIN THE ARTIST EDWIN BUCKMAN

At www.allposters.co.uk you could buy (as at 3 April 2014) prints of works by him, with titles such as A Match at Football (rugby not football); The Flower Market Covent Garden. None were dated.

Via genesunited to Gloucester Citizen and other papers in that area issue of 16 October 1930 - an obituary of Edwin Buckman.

And again via genesunitied to Gloucester Journal of 22 November 1930 Edwin's wife's name is Annie MacDonald Buckman.

KATHERINE JULIA AND THE GD

Cauda Pavonis was the newsletter/journal of the Hermetic Text Society. At www.alchemywebsite.com/cauda.html there is a list of articles pubd in it, beginning 1982 but it's no longer being published unfortunately. When it was published it was issued by the Dept of English, Washington State Univ at Pullman. In volumes 11-16 1992 pp7-12, article by Sharon E Cogdill on Florence Farr's Sphere Group. Cogdill lists the group's "mortal" members - there were others, of course, from the universe beyond sight; Katherine Julia was not amongst them.

Florence's article Egyptian Magic was published in Collectanea Hermetica volume VIII 1896, not under her own name but using the short-form of her GD motto - SSDD; editor of the series was William Wynn Westcott.

A compendium of Florence's writings on magic has now been published by the Golden Dawn Research Trust as volume 1 in its The GD Legacy series: The Magical Writings of Florence Farr edited and with a foreword by the Trust's Darcy Küntz. 2012.

Marcus Worsley Blackden did publish some short works on the Egyptian mysteries but not until years after Katherine Julia had left the GD:

An article in Occult Review volume 5 number 6 June 1907 p305: The Wisdom of the Mysteries in Egypt.

A short pamphlet: Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgement of the Soul in which Marcus Worsley Blackden published his translations of selected pieces of the Book of the Dead, put together to form a modern ritual. London: Rosicrucian Society of England 1914.

WILLIAM GEORGE HUTCHISON

Works in the British Library catalogue:

1892 Renan's Antichrist. As translator and editor. The Walter Scott Publishing Company Ltd as The Scott Library volume 108.

1897 Life of Jesus by Ernest Renan. As translator and writing the Introduction. The Walter Scott Publishing Co Ltd. Katherine Julia is thanked on pvii of the preface but is not a co-author.

1898 Lyra Nicotiana: Poems and Verses Concerning Tobacco. As editor. The Walter Scott Publishing Co Ltd

1900 Home in War Time. Poems by Sydney Dobell 1824-74. As compiler and editor. Vigo Cabinet Series number 2.

1902 The Cynic's Breviary. Maxims and Anecdotes from Nicolas de Chamfort (?1740-94). As compiler and translator. London: Elkin Mathews.

1903 Poor Robin's Almanack: Selected Verses, and a Calendar of British Poets. As author of the Preface but not as compiler. Orinda Booklets Extra Series number 6.

1903 Marcus Aurelius by Ernest Renan. As translator and writer of the introduction. The Walter Scott Publishing Co Ltd. With a second edition 1904.

1904 Songs of the Vine; With a Medley for Malt-Worms. As the editor and compiler.

London: A H Bullen.

1905 The Apostles...by Ernest Renan. As translator. London: Watts and Co.

1905 Words of a Believer originally by Hugues Félicité Robert de la Mennais. As translator.

London: S C Brown, Langham and Co

1905 Sir John Suckling: Ballads and Other Poems. Sir Charles Sedley: Lyrics. John Wilmot Earl of Rochester: Poems and Songs. As author of the preface. Pembroke Booklets number 4.

1906 Tacitus and Other Roman Studies. By Marie Louis Antoine Gaston Boissier. As translator. London: A Constable and Co.

1906 The Oxford Movement. Being a Selection from Tracts for the Times. As editor and writer of the introduction. London and Felling-on-Tyne: The Walter Scott Pubg Co Ltd.

Listed in the BL catalogue under FROUDE:

1904 The Nemesis of Faith by James Anthony Froude. As author of a new introduction. The Walter Scott Publishing Co Ltd. The Scott Library volume 121.

Apparently not published in Hutchison's lifetime:

1970 The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Studies As translator and author of the introduction and notes. London: Kennikat Press.

ERNEST RENAN

See a thorough biography on wikipedia.

A modern reference to Renan's work and Hutchison's translation, in *The Historical Jesus and the Literary Imagination 1860-1920* by Jennifer Stevens. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2010 p75 in a section headed 19th Century Lives of Jesus: footnote 29 and footnote 39.

RATIONALIST PRESS ASSOCIATION

A brief page on it, based on the RPA's annual reports, is at humanistheritage.org.uk, the website of the British Humanist Association.

Blasphemy Depot: A Hundred Years of the Rationalist Press Assoc Bill Cooke. Published by the RPA 2003 gives details of how, when and by whom it was founded. William Hutchison was not in the index and he wasn't listed as a founder member.

CITY OF LONDON MENTAL HOSPITAL

Wikipedia on Stone House, previously the City of London Lunatic Asylum; at Stone near Dartford.

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/hospitalrecords to further information.

KATHERINE JULIA HUTCHISON'S CHILDREN

All of them are named in Cassell's Little Folks volume 75 1911 p394 in the middle of a big list, possibly of current readers.

CORINNA

I searched freebmd for a marriage registration for her but couldn't find one 1925-35.

For information on the manuscript with music in it see www.diamm.ac.uk the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. British Library additional Ms item GB-Lbl Add.39255(N).

Searching for her on google, I got very little response. I did get a link to Durham University calendars 1918-19 and 1921-22 but when I got the calendars on the web and did a search, nothing was found.

KEITH

Labour in Politics by Keith B Hutchison. Labour Publishing Co 1925: in the preface p5 he thanks his sister Corinna Hutchison for her proof reading. So Corinna hadn't married by 1925.

Familysearch had 3 records of him arriving at Ellis Island: 1925; 1937; 1944. Eventually he must have taken US citizenship. Familysearch had US social security number 061-12-0461 for him, and a date and place of death: 15 July 1987 at 661 Heritage Village, New Haven Connecticut. Described as a retired writer and editor.

Collected Letters of Robinson Jeffers by Robinson Jeffers, James Karman and Una Jeffers. Keith Hutchison was a correspondent of Jeffers: brief details of him on p733.

LAURENCE

Using google, the only response I got was at ancestry.com.au so perhaps he emigrated. It was a GB Royal Aero Club aviator's certificate issued to him at some date between 1910 and 1950.

26 May 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Percy William Bullock was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in September 1890. He chose the Latin motto 'Levavi oculos'. He was well-versed in the occult already, and worked through the GD's study programme for initiates quickly. He was initiated into its inner, 2nd Order on 3 July 1892. For over ten years he was one of the GD's most committed and hard-working members. He also married another GD member.

Pamela Carden was initiated into the GD at its Isis-Urania temple on 22 March 1892. Her father and her mother were both members already. Pamela chose the Hebrew motto 'Shemeber'. She too completed the GD's study programme very quickly and was initiated into the inner, 2nd Order on 20 June 1893.

Percy William Bullock and Pamela Carden were married in 1894.

THE BULLOCK FAMILY

Percy William Bullock was the son of a man who owned a ladies' outfitters in central London. Percy William's father, Francis, was born in Abingdon on the border of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. In the 1850s he did an apprenticeship in a draper's shop in Leighton Buzzard and then went to work in Henry P King's draper's shop at 139-140 High Street Southwark - a big business by 1850s' standards, where Francis was one of 14 employees - before setting up in business for himself in the mid-1860s at 72 Edgware Road, a short distance from Marble Arch. Francis Bullock married a woman called Annie Elizabeth; but I can't find any record of the marriage. Annie Elizabeth was a Londoner, possibly born in Whitechapel. Her original surname might have been Straughan; but I couldn't find any evidence to prove that. I don't really know anything about Percy William's family on his mother's side.

Once married, Annie Elizabeth spent the best part of 15 years being pregnant. Percy William, born in 1867, was Annie Elizabeth's and Francis' eldest surviving son; but two boys may have been born before him and died as infants. Percy William had one older sister, Clara Annie; and at least seven, possibly nine, younger siblings: Ethel Mary (born 1870); Mary or possibly Mary Ann (born just before census day 1871); Fanny Maud (born 1872); Nellie Florence (born 1873); Horace Straughan (born 1874); Eva Agnes (born 1875); Minnie Daisy (born 1876); and Albert Edward (born 1879).

The Bullock children were born in time to benefit from the 1870 Education Act, and it's likely that they were all educated at schools run by the London School Board. Percy William's sister Ethel Mary later worked for the LSB as a teacher of deaf children. In 1881, Francis Bullock employed five assistants, including two young women; but by 1891 Annie Elizabeth and Clara were working in the shop and only one person outside the family was employed in it. It might have been the long hours of shop-work and the uncertain income; it might have been a wish to educate some at least of their children out of the commercial classes (a very Victorian desire); but

none of Francis and Annie Elizabeth's sons went into the family business. Horace emigrated to New South Wales (probably in the 1880s) and I don't know what work he did there. Albert Edward trained as an architect (which you did on the job at that time). And Percy William went to work as a clerk in a solicitor's office.

Percy William will have left school aged 14 or 15 - in 1881 or 1882. I don't know where he worked in his first few years out of school. He might have been worked for Ashurst Morris Crisp and Co, whose managing clerk William Capel Slaughter and newly qualified solicitor employee William May left in 1889 to found the legal firm Slaughter and May. Slaughter and May specialised then, as they do now, in company law and finance. Percy William Bullock was definitely working for them in 1893, and was still doing so in 1902. His place of work will have been Slaughter and May's original offices at 18 Austin Friars in the City of London.

PERCY WILLIAM IN THE TS AND THE GD

Outside his working hours, Percy William was heavily involved in the occult in the early 1890s and probably in the 1880s (I don't have so much information about the 1880s). He

was a member not only of the Golden Dawn but also of the Theosophical Society (TS): his application to the TS is dated 1891 but the impression I've got from my research is that he had been interested in western occultism for several years by then. He could have begun his voyage of discovery, for example, by reading Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled*, which was published in 1877; it dealt with the relationship between religion and contemporary science. He could have found out more about Christian esotericism in 1884, by reading articles on the subject published in the spiritualist weekly *Light* by Anna Bonus Kingsford, who founded the Hermetic Society as an offshoot of the TS in that year. This might have encouraged him to read Kingsford's *The Perfect Way*; or the *Finding of Christ*, which was an account of a series of visions she had experienced. He definitely did read Kingsford's 1885 publication, *The Virgin of the World* as one source for the talk he gave on hermetic philosophy in 1892.

The Hermetic Society only met between 1884 and 1886. I don't think it's very likely that Percy William was a member - what little records exist of it suggests that the members were above his social milieu; and even if I'm wrong and he had been a member, he couldn't have got to meetings of the Society very often - they were held on weekdays during working hours. However, an interest in Dr Kingsford and her works will have led him to the TS in the end; where he would

have met G R S Mead, whose research into the supposed works of Hermes Trismegistus was published as *Thrice-Greatest Hermes* in 1906. He would also have met William Wynn Westcott, who was a senior member of the TS and already an experienced occultist. In the mid-1880s Westcott was working on his translation of the Hebrew esoteric text *Sephir Yetzirah*. It was published in 1887 as *The Book of Creation* and in a talk on hermetic philosophy in 1892 (see below for more on that), Percy William mentioned *Sephir Yetzirah*; he didn't specifically say he'd read Westcott's translation but I imagine he had.

Percy William will also have got to know Frederick Leigh Gardner at the TS; they shared an interest in alchemy. It's most likely to have been William Wynn Westcott who put Percy William and Frederick Leigh Gardner in touch with his alchemist acquaintance the Rev William Alexander Ayton; both men knew Ayton before the GD was founded. From the late 1880s at least until 1905 if not longer, Ayton was sending manuscript copies of the many alchemical texts he possessed, for Percy William and Gardner to copy and return. Ayton and Gardner corresponded regularly from 1889 to 1905 and Gardner and his wife stayed with the Aytons several times. No letters sent between Percy William and Ayton survive but there definitely was a correspondence, though it seems that Percy William didn't go and stay with the Aytons. How friendly Percy William and Gardner were is not clear to me; I haven't found any evidence - for example - that the two of them worked on Ayton's manuscripts, or alchemical experiments together.

It was probably so that he could study in peace and have somewhere to copy the manuscripts he had borrowed, that Percy William moved out of his family home and took lodgings nearby, at Miss Inglis's boarding-house at 22 Upper George Street Bryanston Square, in the late 1880s; though his absence will also have freed up valuable space at 72 Edgware Road where the family and Francis Bullock's unmarried employees were all cramped in above the shop.

The Hermetic Society closed after Anna Bonus Kingsford died in 1888 and all its members had to seek western occultism elsewhere. I'm sure many of them joined the GD as Percy William did. Percy William also became a regular at the TS's Friday evening discussion

group where you could hear talks on a wide range of theosophical and occult subjects. In due course, the discussion group became a TS lodge in its own right - Adelphi Lodge. William Wynn Westcott lectured regularly at the discussion group; and Jabez Johnson and Oswald Murray were both members of Adelphi Lodge in the early 1890s and later joined the GD, possibly recommended to Mathers and Westcott by Percy William. In 1893, Percy William, William Wynn Westcott and GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner attempted to revive the Hermetic Society under the wing of the TS. However, the Esoteric Section lasted only 18 months, rather overtaken by the power struggle that consumed the TS in 1894-95.

Percy William was a very busy man in the early 1890s, heavily involved with both the TS and the GD; though I'm sure that he saw them not as rivals for his time, but as two sides of the same occult coin: at the TS you talked about or listened to occult theory; at the GD you put occultism into practice as magic.

During 1891-92, when he was doing the study necessary to get into the GD's inner, 2nd Order, Percy William was also working on a series of talks for the TS. He gave his talk on hermetic philosophy twice, in March 1892 at the TS's Friday discussion group, and in December 1892 at the TS's Brixton Lodge. In this talk, which was aimed at people who knew a little but not a lot about the subject, Percy William kept it simple and based his argument on named texts that his audience might have heard of: the Smaragdine (or Emerald) Tablet - particularly the French 19th-century occultist Eliphas Levi's work on it; The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus; and Sephir Yetzirah. As he reached the end of his talk, Percy William departed slightly from the academic and rather earnest tone that was typical of talks at the TS and gave one of the few glimpses I've found in all my GD researches, into the true feelings of any of its members - about the world he lived in, and his employment in the City of London, financial and legal centre of the British Empire: he described the majority of people he saw as "callous" and as existing in a state of "oblivion about things spiritual". He hoped, though, that the oblivion was just a phase, to be replaced in due course by "a clearer and more universal illumination".

His hope was quite misplaced.

Between his two talks on hermetic philosophy, in April 1892, Percy William also lectured at the discussion group on Electricity and Occultism. In February 1893 he gave a talk to the discussion group on Egyptian Belief Theosophically Considered. His choice of subject was influenced by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled*, regarded as a text-book of theosophical belief by TS members. Percy William had been working on the ideas in that book with Herbert Coryn, a leading member of Brixton TS Lodge who was also in the GD. Later in 1893 Percy William gave one final talk, *Occultism past and Present*, also at the discussion group. The hermetic philosophy and Egyptian belief talks were later published in the TS's compendium volume, *Theosophical Siftings*, together with Percy William's essay *On Gems* (1893). The last item that Percy William worked on in this period of intense study was the introduction to Westcott's edition of a copy *The Chaldaean Oracles of Zoroaster* (owned by GD member Marcus Worsley Blackden) which was published in 1895. However, the most sustained piece of work he did at this time was a translation of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (part of the sixth book of Cicero's *De Re Publica*), which had interested occultists for many centuries because it was about astrology and astronomy. The translation was published in late 1894, in *Collectanea Hermetica* volume 5 as *The Vision of Scipio Considered as a Fragment of the Mysteries*; Percy William appearing as *Levavi Oculos* rather than under his real name, as its translator and as author of an essay on its occult importance.

The Collectanea Hermetica series is eight volumes (I think) published during the 1890s, edited by William Wynn Westcott and containing many contributions by GD members. As Westcott was a senior member of the TS, most of the eight volumes were reviewed in Lucifer, the TS's main magazine during the early 1890s. However, in Lucifer's review of Somnium Scipionis both Percy William and - by implication - Westcott, fared badly at an anonymous reviewer's hands. The problem the reviewer found was not with the translation: he (I'm sure it was a he for reasons I'll state in a minute) thought that was "creditably" done. It was Percy William's essay that he didn't like - the attempt to connect the Somnium to the ancient mysteries failed to convince him. He also criticised Percy William's understanding of the classical world, saying (for example) that he didn't know enough about the Stoic tradition to write about it with authority. And that's why I'm sure the reviewer was a man, and from a particular social group as well: in the 19th century, with very few exceptions, only boys of the professional and upper classes received the kind of education that was based on the classics - Latin, Greek, ancient civilization. Percy William's attempt to translate an item from the classics had exposed the limitations of his local school board education. The reviewer might also have felt that those who had not had a classical education should not muscle in on the ground of those who had, and if they dared, then woe betide them. The reviewer's picking out of an error in attribution, however, brought Westcott into the sphere of his criticism: he thought Westcott should have spotted it and corrected it (Westcott was another man unlikely to have had a classical education).

Lucifer's review must have been tough to swallow. A second unenthusiastic review, this time in the occult magazine The Unknown World, might have been a little easier to bear because it was almost certainly by A E Waite, whose magazine The Unknown World was. Percy William will have known that Waite had no time for Mathers or Westcott or any of their works. However, two such reviews perhaps encouraged Percy William to feel that in translating occult works he was getting out of his depth. His introduction to The Chaldaean Oracles was his last published work as far as I can see; and he also gave no more talks at the TS. He did, however, continue to work on the alchemical texts the Rev Ayton was lending him; though probably not at quite the same level of commitment.

Percy William's willingness to volunteer, and his ability to think 'organisation and method' in the midst of all the occultism, meant that at the same time as he was doing all that occult study he was also spending time helping run both the TS and the GD. In 1892 he was honorary secretary to the TS's Blavatsky Lodge. In the first half of that year he was sub-cancellarius of the GD; being promoted to cancellarius by August of that year. As cancellarius he was in charge of the GD's move from Thavies Inn to Clipstone Street; a process that took from August to October 1892. He continued in-post - doing things like reminding members to pay their annual subscriptions - until March 1896.

For some of his period as cancellarius, Percy William was also honorary secretary of the Ananda Lodge, part of the TS's Esoteric Section. This was founded at a meeting in November 1893 and was intended to meet on one Sunday afternoon each month for work on strictly Indian texts and disciplines, including meditation and probably yoga. At the outset it had eight members, all men. Percy William and William Wynn Westcott were two of the eight and the only ones to be GD members as well. In July 1894 Frederick Leigh Gardner became a member at about the same time he was initiated into the GD, but that was bad timing: in the next few months the controversy over the claims of William Quan Judge began to engulf the TS and attendance at Ananda Lodge's meetings declined. Percy William went to his last Ananda Lodge meeting in September 1894, and the Lodge was disbanded in

November 1895.

Ellic Howe reports in *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn* that Percy William was amongst those who didn't really want Annie Besant to run the TS. Those who took this attitude were no doubt aware that Besant preferred Hinduism to Buddhism as a basis for western theosophy and was likely to take the TS in that direction; however, they may also not have cared for Besant's style of management. For whatever reason, Percy William and the Cardens too had all resigned from the TS by 1896. Percy William's spell as the GD's sub-imperator (March to December 1896) was also the last administrative job he did for the GD until the crisis of spring 1900.

There are a couple of reasons why Percy William might have curtailed his work for the GD in December 1896. One was the ejecting of Annie Horniman from the GD by Samuel Liddell Mathers, for reasons more to do with money than with magic. But another was the changes in his life that were being brought about by his marriage to Pamela Carden.

The very latest that Percy William Bullock could have encountered members of the Carden family was during March 1891, when Alexander James Carden and his wife Anne Rule Carden had their initiations into the GD. I think it's just as likely that Percy William met them earlier than that: Alexander James was the first to join the TS officially, in November 1891; but the sponsors of his application were W R Old and Alice Gordon, both long-standing friends of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, so the whole family could have been moving in theosophical circles for years before. Alexander James' wife Anne Rule Carden joined the TS in 1892; and their elder daughter Pamela joined in 1893, the only one of their children to do so. By the time of her application to the TS, Alexander James and Anne Rule Carden were members of the GD and Pamela had been in the GD for a year (again, the only one of their children to be initiated), so all three of the Cardens knew Percy William Bullock very well.

The Cardens have their own biography in my set, with Pamela's early life (what I know of it) included there. Here I'll just say that, like the Bullocks, the Cardens came from a business background, though a very different business background. Alexander James' father was Sir Robert Walter Carden, stockbroker and banker. When I first started investigating the Cardens I assumed that all Sir Robert's descendants were very wealthy. Now I'm not so sure, but Alexander James had enough income from investments and dividends to be able to choose not to follow any profession. He and his wife and their children lived rather modest lifestyles, on the whole, and in the first two decades of the 20th century Percy William may have had a larger annual income than some of his in-laws.

When Pamela Carden applied to be a member of the TS, Percy William Bullock was one of her sponsors; so they were at least very friendly by then, and may already have been engaged to be married. They married in June 1894 and began their life together at 62 Oakley Square, near Euston Station, a house taken on a short lease by Percy William on behalf of the GD, which used some of the rooms for its meetings and rituals. By 1898, however, Percy William and Pamela had moved 69 Thornton Avenue in the new estate of Bedford Park. Several GD members lived in Bedford Park but by 1890s standards it was quite a long way out of town - it was in Chiswick, West London - and it wasn't so easy for Percy William to drop into the GD offices on the way home from work, as he had often done when living off the Euston Road. You could have many more rooms for much less rent in Bedford Park, however, and the air was better, less polluted by the smoke of coal fires and industry - a health factor that Victorians set much store by and something that may particularly have weighed with the

Bullocks and the Cardens as I've got the impression (perhaps a mistaken one) that Pamela Bullock's health may have been such as to worry her family. There are letters from Pamela to Frederick Leigh Gardner, for example, from 1897 and possibly 1898, in which she mentions being so ill as to be in bed and in "the depths of invalid misery" when he called on the Bullocks one day; and another mentioning that she was hoping to make up some cures from a copy of Culpeper's Herbal that she'd recently bought. With the spells of illness went periods of depression, when she thought of herself as "no use to anyone, but only a burden". The quotes come from a letter in which Pamela was obliged to refuse Gardner's invitation to undertake some magic with him. Pamela was flattered that Gardner had asked her, amongst all the GD members who were more experienced than she; it must have been a continual frustration for her to have to refuse chances like this because of her ill-health.

Although Pamela smoked, so knowing what we know now, we might think she contributed to her own health problems. Percy William smoked as well, a habit that Samuel Liddell Mathers found a bit difficult to cope with (not being a smoker himself) when Pamela and Percy William were staying with him and Mina Mathers in Paris in September 1895. Annie Horniman was visiting Mina and Samuel Liddell at the same time and she was a chain-smoker - poor Mathers!

It's hard to know, now, exactly who was friends with whom amongst the GD members outside the GD meetings; but in the Warburg Institute collection there are letters to Gardner from William Wynn Westcott indicating that their families knew each other well; one from Helen Rand inviting the Gardners to Sunday lunch with her and her husband; and one from Pamela Bullock, dated 3 February 1896, accepting Gardner's invitation to her and Percy William to have dinner at Gardner's house and meet Gardner's wife. Mrs Gardner was never a GD member, so this dinner party moved the relationships between Frederick and the Rands and the Bullocks out of magic and into the ordinary social world.

Gardner ran an informal book buying service, specialising in occult works, and quite a few GD members used this service. Letters in the Warburg Institute show Westcott and William Sutherland Hunter regularly buying books through him. In 1897 Pamela Bullock asked Gardner to find her a copy of Culpeper's Herbal and both she and Percy William were delighted with the one he got for them. In her thank you letter Pamela makes it clear that she's intending to make some of its herbal remedies. Medical herbalism is a very old form of alchemy but in deciding she would try it out, Pamela was going well beyond what the GD expected of its members; as far as I know, the GD never studied medical herbalism, either in theory or in practice. Perhaps she was hoping that herbal remedies would cure her ills when ordinary doctors seemed unable to.

PERCY WILLIAM TRAINS AS A SOLICITOR

I don't know enough about the law during the 1890s to be sure when and under what circumstances Percy William was allowed by his employers to change jobs from being a clerk like many others, to being an articled clerk, training to qualify as a solicitor. Whether it was policy at Slaughter and May to promote their better clerks like this; or whether the influence of Pamela Bullock's family was brought to bear, I can't say. Either way, it was an opportunity Percy William did not turn down. A need to study for professional exams would certainly help explain why he dropped out of the TS and cut back on his work for the GD in the mid-1890s. Percy William described himself as an articled clerk to the 1901 census official, and took his final exams late in 1903. It was probably this serious commitment of

time and effort that he was thinking of when, in a letter to Annie Horniman in mid-December 1900, he wrote "I can do no work for a long time to come" (he means magical work, of course).

THE SPLITS IN THE GD

In the late 1890s Samuel Liddell Mathers' behaviour as one of the GD's rulers became more and more dictatorial. Despite Percy William's need to concentrate on his legal studies, he and to a lesser extent Pamela were senior figures in the GD and could not help but be dragged in to deal with the consequences of Mathers' increasingly arbitrary and paranoid behaviour. In December 1896, both Percy William and Pamela signed a petition to try to get Mathers to rescind his expulsion of Annie Horniman from the GD; but both of them submitted - with most of the other people who signed it - when Mathers reminded them of their magical vows and ordered them to obey him. As Mathers hadn't bothered to tell Westcott he'd expelled Annie, it was left to Percy William and Pamela to do so. These days it seems to be understood by all GD historians that it was Mathers who, early in 1897, told Westcott's employers that he was a prominent member of a secret society. They ordered Westcott to resign from all his official positions in the GD and of course Westcott had to do what they demanded. Percy William and Pamela were amongst those GD members who wrote to or visited Westcott to say how very sorry they were that he felt he had to limit his involvement in the GD from now on. Whether they realised Mathers' part in the affair we don't know. It all seems to have hit Pamela particularly hard: writing to Frederick Leigh Gardner in May 1897, Westcott mentioned that Pamela was considering resigning from the GD herself. However, there may have been another reason why Pamela Bullock should have been feeling like that: her father, Alexander James Carden, was possibly very ill by this time - he died on 23 July 1897.

Between 1897 and 1900, Percy William and Pamela continued to be friends with Westcott and did their best to stay on good terms with the Mathers; though it looks like they stopped visiting them in Paris. I doubt if Samuel Liddell Mathers was at all grateful but in 1897, Percy William organised a whip-round of GD members to help him and Mina through a difficult time financially. Pamela thought better of her wish to resign from the GD, and in the reallocation of administrative tasks made necessary by Westcott's resignation (he had quietly got through a lot of the GD's membership and exam work in the years between 1888 and 1897) she agreed to take responsibility for organising meetings and collecting annual subscriptions. She continued to do that job through the series of shocks that hit the GD between 1900 and 1903.

In February 1900 three years of upheaval within the GD began when a group of its most senior members held a meeting to discuss the possibility - spelled out by Samuel Liddell Mathers in a letter to Florence Farr - that the documents on which the GD based its legitimacy as an occult order were fakes. Percy William was at that meeting, and he became secretary to the committee set up as a result of it, to discover whether what Mathers had told Florence Farr was true. The obvious person to interview on the matter was William Wynn Westcott; and Percy William was the second person to attempt to get some kind of statement out of him. He - like W B Yeats before him - failed to get Westcott to say anything definitive, and during the rest of 1900 the committee began to act on the assumption that Mathers had been telling the truth, and to move towards a future in which the GD would operate without either Westcott or Mathers. Pamela was not a member of the committee and in any case, after there will have been several months in which she will have been in mourning and so not around to help: at the end of July 1900 her younger brother Alexander died of enteric fever in South Africa.

In 1901 Percy William acted as the GD committee's secretary in two incidents that have become well-known in GD history: Aleister Crowley's attempt to take possession of the 2nd Order's headquarters in Blythe Road Hammersmith, on Mathers' behalf; and the seeing off of two dubious Americans who later came back to haunt the GD as Mr and Mrs Horos. In April it was Percy William who struck Crowley's name from where Crowley had written it on the list of 2nd Order members; and who informed Crowley that the committee did not recognise his initiation into the 2nd Order by Mathers. These assertions of the committee's right to rule were a big step on the road to leaving Mathers behind. And in December Percy William was the third GD member to encounter Mr and Mrs Horos in London. He met Mr Horos rather than Mrs - she was too stout to climb the stairs! Percy William did allow Mr Horos to attempt to spin a yarn for him, but realised that his visitor must be the male half of a couple he'd been warned about by GD member Robert Nisbet some months before. He told Mr Horos that he and his wife's dubious reputation had preceded them from Paris (where they had talked their way into Mathers' confidence) and, "To cut a long story short he [Mr Horos] retired discomfited".

In the summer of 1901, Pamela's brother Robert Walter had married Ethel Johns. I hope that Percy William and Pamela had brought their respective brothers together, because Robert Walter Carden and Albert Edward Bullock had things in common: they had both trained as architects, and they were both interested in the history of art and architecture, both publishing books on the subject in the years before World War 1. Though the specific art they studied reflected their very different backgrounds: Albert Edward focused on English sculpture and wood-carving and one of his books was an early account of the work of Grinling Gibbons; unlike Robert Walter and Ethel he couldn't spend several years in Italy translating Italian art books.

Robert Walter and Ethel Carden had only been married a few weeks when Percy William's father died. Percy William's mother Annie Elizabeth had died in 1896 and on the day of the 1901 census only Clara, Ethel and Albert were still living above the shop with Francis Bullock. Clara described herself as a milliner's assistant which I'm supposing meant that she was helping her father run the business. Percy William's sisters Mary and Eva were married by this time and Minnie may have been; as far as I can tell, Nellie never married and I don't know where she was living in 1901. As his father's executor, Percy William's main task was to close down the drapery business - Clara got married as soon as her period of mourning was over, and no one else was willing, let alone experienced enough, to take the shop on. The winding-up of his father's affairs occupied Percy William during the early part of 1902 and was probably the reason why he didn't act as Chief Adept at the GD's Whitsun ritual - he'd been specially invited to take that role but wasn't able to get to the ceremony. In 1903, Francis Bullock's ladies' outfitters was being run, at its old address, by Pettit and Co.

Percy William had managed to find time to attend the 2nd Order's annual meeting on 3 May 1902. At that meeting a public acknowledgement of the GD having moved on from Mathers and Westcott was made when its members voted to hand decision-making to three 'chiefs' - Percy William, Robert Felkin and John Brodie-Innes - for the next 12 months. All three stood for re-election in June 1903 but none got enough votes to serve; and that year's annual meeting ended with A E Waite taking charge of the 2nd Order. This opened up the biggest breach yet within the GD, which ended with it dividing into two daughter orders, Waite's Independent and Rectified Order (or Rite) and Felkin's Stella Matutina.

Such a vote of 'no confidence' in his, Felkin's and Brodie-Innes' actions during their one year in office caused Percy William to send in his resignation from the GD: he was a man who could take it on the chin when he had to and in any case, he had his legal studies to focus on. Pamela, however, did play an active part in the break-up of the GD. She was one of fourteen 2nd Order members who signed Waite's manifesto (dated 24 July 1903) for what became the Independent and Rectified Order/Rite (known in shorthand as the RR et EC). She probably attended the new order's inauguration on 7 November 1903. R A Gilbert has described the RR et AC as leaning more than the GD had ever done towards freemasonry, while still allowing women a role. Percy William was one of eight ex-GD 2nd Order members who joined the RR et AC during its first year. He never played a big role in it, though, opting instead to pursue his interest in alchemy alone when he had time. At least up until 1905, he was still borrowing manuscripts from Rev Ayton and the two men were still in touch on a regular basis - so much so that Ayton wanted Percy William and Frederick Leigh Gardner to act as executors of his Will (though when he died in 1909, someone else was his executor).

Pamela was probably a member of the RR et AC until Waite closed it down in 1914. In 1913 she introduced her friend Lucy Waterfield as a prospective member: it seems that Lucy had been living with the Bullocks, at least some of the time and at least since 1911, perhaps keeping Pamela company. Pamela and Percy William did not have any children. Pamela's mother Anne had been living with Pamela's younger sister Rowena since Alexander James Carden's death; they seem to have spent quite a lot of time abroad perhaps visiting Robert James and Ethel in Italy.

I haven't been able to find out whether Pamela and Percy William were members of magical orders in the 1920s; the membership records for those orders seem to have been lost. In the early 1920s Pamela, at least, was still pursuing her interest in the mystical side of the occult, and in 1923 she wrote a short play, *An Advent Mystery*. She had kept up with occult contacts she had made in the 1890s: John M Watkins of Watkins' Bookshop (known to many GD members in the 1890s though never a member himself) published her play for her, using the women-run Women's Printing Society of 31 Brick Street W1 to print it, perhaps on Pamela's instructions. Having read the play, I have no real idea what to make of it - but then I make no secret of the fact that I'm no occultist. The main characters are biblical: Mary mother of Jesus; Martha as her sister; and their mother Anne. However, Mary is married not to the biblical Joseph but to Phildeus. Phildeus - the love of God - can only be seen by those whose Souls have reached a certain level of awareness that - as Pamela says in her foreword - the love of God is all around. The play is not a straightforward update of the biblical Mary and Martha; nor of the Annunciation. It's an allegory of the Soul's journey towards Love, full of symbolism which is spelled out very carefully in the stage directions as well as clear in the text. Its plot, such as it is, is Martha's journey from sisterly jealousy and resentment to the same level of awareness of the Love of God that Mary shows from the beginning.

Just a thought: in the play's first scene, Mary and Phildeus have been married for several months but their marriage has not been consummated. Consummation has to wait until Mary is ready; and takes place in between acts 1 and 2. Pamela makes clear that the consummation is as much spiritual as sexual; which almost made me wonder whether Percy William and Pamela had agreed on a marriage without a sexual relationship, like Samuel Liddell Mathers and Mina Bergson are thought to have done. But that's just my wild imagination and I daresay the Bullocks were childless because it didn't happen, not because they wanted to be. If Pamela had wanted children but never had any, she must have found writing the long scene in Act 2 in which Mary looks forward to the birth of her son rather difficult.

One aspect of An Advent Mystery that interested me as a researcher of the GD is that a lot of the text is laid out as poetry not dialogue and it's clear from Pamela's stage instructions that some of it was to be sung or possibly chanted. It sounds as though Pamela was thinking of the method of performance - for example of poetry by W B Yeats - that GD member Florence Farr developed in the 1900s where the words were not actually sung, but were definitely more chanted than spoken, and in which she accompanied herself on a lyre made for her by Arnold Dolmetsch. Two other women in the GD also had a go at this kind of almost-musical method of recitation, so Pamela could have been quite familiar with the idea, at least.

In a paragraph before the Foreword, Pamela says that some music had been composed for the play, which would be published with the text if public interest justified it; which it apparently didn't, because I haven't found any copies of a words-plus-music edition of An Advent Mystery. Pamela didn't give the name of the composer; perhaps she had written the music herself.

Here is a song/chant from the end of the play (Pamela's capitals):

Holy Mystic Numbers, Numbers One to Ten,
Breathing out from Unity, breathing back again.
ONE is the Beginning, ONE the utter end,
ONE is Peace and Harmony, ONE is Love and God.

When we broke the crystal ONENESS
Into countless jagged shards
We drowned the shrinking spirit in diversity and drea.
ONE is the Beginning, ONE the utter end,
ONE is Peace and Holiness, ONE is Love and God.

From ONE to ten the stream flows out,
Then turns again to ONE;
But slow the second journey is and sluggish flows the stream.
ONE is the Beginning, ONE the utter end,
ONE is Peace and Harmony, ONE is Love and God.

We are many,
We are ONE
ONE is many.
Many, ONE.

'Holy Mystic Numbers' isn't, actually, a very good illustration of what I mean, but I found An Advent Mystery antiquated, in style and in concept. By the time An Advent Mystery was published, we'd had The Waste Land, Ulysses and Jacob's Room (all 1922) and early work

by e e cummings (1923). Not that any of those sold in huge numbers, and perhaps Pamela had never heard of any of them; but they did help fire the starting-gun for modernist literature. Pamela's dancing flowers and fairies (bringing gifts for Mary's son-to-be) and the use of 'nay' and 'tis' do seem very Victorian to me. However, *An Advent Mystery* did show that Pamela's interest in Christian mysticism continued beyond any definite involvement in occult societies. Not just Christian mysticism, either: at the start of the book are two short quotes, a couple of verses by Hafez or Hafiz; and an aphorism by Jalaluddin-Rumi, both translations from the Persian - an interest Pamela had probably inherited from her father (see my biography of the Cardens for a bit more on that).

PERCY WILLIAM AS A SOLICITOR

In December 1903, Percy William took and passed his final law exams and qualified to practice as a solicitor. Early the following year, he resigned from Slaughter and May and set up his own business, Bullock and Co. From 1904 to 1919 the company worked from offices 65 London Wall in the City, and in the early years at least it also had bases at Bedford Park and in Bournemouth. In 1919 it moved to 7 Stone Buildings in Lincoln's Inn. Because of some misfortunes which I'll deal with below, I know that until around 1925 Bullock and Co did well, earning Percy William between £400 and £500 per year. Percy William became known for his excellent financial dealings on his clients' behalf. The company was able to fund Percy William's and Pamela's move to 90 Sunningfields Road, an 11-roomed semi-detached villa in the north London suburb of Hendon. They were also able to employ more servants. On the day of the 1901 census, still living in Bedford Park, Percy William and Pamela were employing the one live-in servant considered to be the basic requirement of middle-class-ness. By 1911 they employed a cook and one housemaid.

Bullock and Co may have specialised in patent applications - though I don't want to read too much into the patent applications I found via google, as patents are well-represented on the web while the other elements a solicitor might specialise in are not. Patents were certainly not the only thing Percy William did as a solicitor: I've also found evidence of him doing mortgage deals and conveyancing - typical solicitor stuff. Did members of the GD use him as their solicitor? He was liked and trusted by most of the Order's members who knew him (for a notable exception, read on a little way). Unfortunately, though, it's been difficult to find any evidence. I have only one piece of evidence, in fact, and it might be a special case.

Late in 1910, the racing paper *The Looking Glass* involved itself in occult matters by printing an article on Aleister Crowley's Rites of Eleusis, which had recently been staged in London. Ex-GD member George Cecil Jones was the last member of the GD to still be friendly with Crowley and do magic with him. Jones took exception to something that was said in the article, which - he thought - implied that the friendship was a criminal one, that (though the word was not used) it was homosexual. Jones went to Percy William for advice about whether he could sue the paper for libel.

Percy William and George Cecil Jones had kept up their friendship in the years since they had ceased to be active members of the GD. Jones shared Percy William's interest in alchemy, although he was much more knowledgeable, especially on the practical side - he was a trained chemist. After a couple of decades spent working for other people, Jones had set up in business as a chemical analyst and I think it's likely that Percy William was the business' solicitor. But even if he was not, Jones might have chosen to consult Percy William on the question of whether he had grounds to sue, given the people he might have to call as

witnesses in a trial - such a trial might turn out to be a rather occult affair. I'd love to know what advice Percy William gave Jones when Jones consulted him. In his place, I would have suggested that Jones grit his teeth and try to ignore it - after all, *The Looking Glass* was not a paper likely to be read by many people who knew him, and the offending paragraph was quite discreet really, with no names mentioned. But a solicitor can only advise. If the client insists on carrying on with legal action that's likely to end in embarrassment or worse, the solicitor must do his best for him or her despite their reservations. Jones insisted on going ahead and Percy William's first step will have been to take the advice of a barrister on the likelihood of winning the case; perhaps hoping the barrister might talk Jones out of going further. Either the advice favoured Jones' case; or Jones was too determined for his own good; because the case did go to court, in April 1911, generating plenty of publicity, with names, and being covered in detail by the *Times* amongst other papers.

Although Crowley was the other person supposedly libelled in the paragraph Jones found so offensive, he didn't sue; and he didn't appear in the *Jones v The Looking Glass* case as a witness. In his *Confessions* Crowley suggests that Jones hadn't wanted to ask him to give evidence, in case he made things worse; though it might equally well have been Percy William who had advised against letting Crowley say anything in court. Jones and his advisors called on Samuel Liddell Mathers and Edward William Berridge as more trustworthy witnesses to the nature of the friendship he had with Crowley; and both men did give evidence. Writing about the trial, Crowley described Percy William as a "mild mystic addicted to alchemy". Though Crowley did not intend it that way, he makes Percy William sound like a very nice person; but perhaps Crowley was right when he also suggested that such a person was not at all suited to giving legal advice in such a difficult case. Crowley blamed both Percy William and Jones for their choice of barrister, saying that a more experienced man was needed to argue Jones' case than the newly-qualified Mr Simmons who had represented him. I'm sure Percy William hired the best man he could, but Crowley was ignoring the fact that as a self-employed married man with a family, Jones' financial means were limited.

The outcome of the trial was farcical but I don't think what happened was the fault of any lack of effort on Percy William's part. After two days of evidence and cross-examination, the jury gave a most peculiar verdict that suggested they did think Jones and Crowley were in a homosexual relationship; but that they still thought Jones had been libelled. As to whether it damaged Jones' reputation; or the friendship with Percy William, I can't say. I hope that Percy William didn't have to handle too many cases as awkward and public as that one; and that if Jones had been a regular client of Bullock and Co, that he continued to be so.

As I mentioned just above, all went well for Bullock and Co until the mid-1920s. In the early 1920s Percy William got together with George Handley, a garage owner and inventor based in Palmer's Green (at that time on the very edge of north London). I found several patents registered in both the UK and the USA in their joint names and although I don't fully understand how the patented machinery worked, it all involved different types of rotary pumps. One of the patents was for a pump for a refrigerator; but most were for pumps in vehicles, including one which (according to my scientific advisor Roger Wright) sounds like an early attempt at getting fuel injection to work, thus dispensing with the need for a carburettor. In his partnership with George Handley, Percy William provided the finance and the legal expertise, while Handley was the technical expert. The combination worked well and earned both parties money; and Percy William began to look around for other inventions he could invest in. Unfortunately, he was a bit too keen, and got involved with someone who had - to put it mildly - a chequered past, money-wise.

Percy William met Robert Brownlow of Hendon Scientific Laboratories in 1925. Brownlow called himself a chemical engineer and inventor, and he probably was those things, but... Anyway, he persuaded Percy William to fund some inventions he was working on. Percy William raised £15,000 from various sources including his own money, and set up a company, Scientific Research Limited, with him and Brownlow as its share-holders (each owning at least 100 shares) and its two directors. The company rented premises at Brent Green in Hendon and kitted them out as laboratory in which Brownlow could work on his ideas. There was one in particular, apparently, coyly described by the Times as “a new proprietary article of universal utility” - I suppose we’ll never know what it was.

As 1925 turned into 1926, Brownlow was asking for ever more money, so in the autumn of 1926 he and Percy William advertised for more investors, offering a wage and a directorship in return for their money. Emil Schwarz was amongst those who answered the advert; but very shortly after handing over his cash, he began to smell a rat and went to the police. Why Percy William had not smelt one already I do not know. I think he was in dereliction of his duty as a solicitor in not checking up on Brownlow. Perhaps he was too excited about Brownlow’s inventions to act properly; perhaps he thought he needn’t be so stringent in his checks as usual, as he was the major investor. Goodness knows - the whole thing is very out of character for Percy William. Bankruptcy is a rather public process - finding out whether someone has gone bankrupt is not difficult. It didn’t take Schwarz and the police long to discover that Brownlow was an undischarged bankrupt; I presume it was Schwarz who informed Percy William of the fact, in November 1926. There are restrictions on what any undischarged bankrupt can do, financially. One of them was that he was not allowed to act as the director of any company; and yet in December 1926, Scientific Research Ltd was set up with Percy William, and Brownlow, as its two directors. Brownlow resigned as a director only a few weeks later; but then Percy William compounded the mess he was getting into, by appointing someone to take Brownlow’s place who did not own the requisite 100 shares in the company. All this was breaking the law - what was Percy William doing?

Brownlow was sent for trial in January 1927, charged with breaking the rules covering the actions of undischarged bankrupts. Charges of fraud were considered, but dropped. I haven’t been able to find out whether he was found guilty, but in the initial hearing it was revealed that he’d been bankrupt three times before - so he really couldn’t say he didn’t know the rules.

Scientific Research Ltd Brownlow went bankrupt, owing £3408, and Percy William seems to have been left by Brownlow to deal with the creditors. As early as June 1926 Percy William been so involved raising money for Scientific Research Ltd that Bullock and Co had been suffering because he wasn’t doing any legal work; and in October 1927 he’d been obliged to take a job as a manager at someone else’s solicitor’s firm - a step that pushed him back 20 years into his own past. In January 1928 the Board of Trade called in a firm of accountants to act as official trustees of Bullock and Co. Percy William was declared personally bankrupt, with claims against him totalling £7836. The Law Society revoked his licence to practice and he had to go to court to get it back.

In May 1928 the bankruptcy court decided to allow Percy William to practice law again, as in general he’d had (I quote the Times’ report on this, perhaps based on the Judge’s actual words) “an honest and good business record”. By November 1928 Bullock and Co were back at work, doing the conveyancing in the sale of a shop in south London. I don’t think that

Percy William ever recovered financially though; I wonder, too, whether a lot of his former clients stayed away from a man who'd come such a financial and legal cropper. One client who did not stay away was GD member Julian Levett Baker, a professional chemist who shared Percy William's interest in alchemy. Julian and Percy William were joint executors of the Will of Julian's mother, who died in 1932.

Percy had only been back in business a few months when on 30 September 1929, Pamela died, aged only 58 and about 20 years before any of her siblings died (apart from Alexander). Her mother Anne had lived until 1924 so Pamela only survived her by five years. Perhaps Pamela's days were shortened by the financial traumas of 1925 to 1928; though I do stand by my belief that her health may never have been very good. She seems not to have been able to do anything to prevent her husband getting so far out of his financial depth; and may even have been persuaded to invest Carden family money in Brownlow's schemes.

Percy William and Pamela were childless and I do see Percy William's last few years as rather lonely. He carried on working - he had no choice, really, having lost all his savings. He died in September 1940. I hope that in this last decade of his life, Percy William stuck by the sentiments he had expressed at the end of his 1892 talk on hermetic philosophy. He had said: "Hermetic philosophy is...a union of the reason and the religious instinct" offering "a key to unlock the mysteries of being and is a testimony to the eternal aspiration of man to become united with the Divine". I hope that he still believed in the truth of that, and that his belief helped him rise above what I think must have been some bleak last years, both personally and when he looked at what was happening in the wider world.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR PERCY WILLIAM BULLOCK AND PAMELA CARDEN BULLOCK

For Francis Bullock's business at 72 Edgware Road: Post Office Directories.

PERCY WILLIAM'S ADDRESS IN 1893

R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook: The Rise and Fall of a Magical Order*, published 1997 York Beach Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc. On p45 there's part of letter from Percy Bullock 1893 giving the address 22 Upper George St, Bryanston Square, requesting the GD's yearly sub of 10 shillings per person. PO Directory 1893 street directory section p693 for Miss Inglis.

DEATH OF FRANCIS BULLOCK

Probate Registry volume for 1902: Francis Bullock of 72 Edgware Road died 25 July 1901. Probate granted London 30 January 1902 to Percy William Bullock "articled clerk". Personal effects £2732/10/6.

London Gazette 28 February 1902 p1814 notice issued 25 February 1902 by Slaughter and May of 18 Austin Friars, solicitors for Percy William Bullock, executor of the Will of Francis Bullock of 72 Edgware Road, "Draper", who had died 25 July 1901. All Francis Bullock's creditors were to contact Slaughter and May by 10 April 1902.

PO Directory 1903 street directory section p378 Pettit and Co, ladies' outfitters, now at 72 Edgware Road.

PUBLICATIONS BY ALBERT EDWARD seen on Amazon.com

- 1908 Some Sculptural Works of Nicholas Stone Statuary 1586-1647
- 1914 Grinling Gibbons and his Compeers
- 1917 English Architectural Decoration
- 1920 Westminster Abbey and St Margaret's Church

PERCY WILLIAM AND PAMELA'S HOUSE IN HENDON

90 Sunningfields Road Hendon.

Website www.thepeerage.com which is based on information in Burke's Peerage 107th edition, gives it a name: The Staithe.

The Estates Gazette volume 159 1952 p560 had an advert for the one remaining flat in 90 Sunningfields Road. House described as double-fronted, semi-detached.

PERCY WILLIAM AS A LEGAL CLERK

That Percy was employed by solicitors Slaughter and May: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 includes a note from Percy to Frederick Leigh Gardner, dated 14 November 1893 and written on Slaughter and May's headed notepaper.

Post Office London Directory 1900 law directory p2624 Slaughter and May's offices are at 18 Austinfriars.

Dictionary of Business Biography Volume V p187 for details of Sir William Capel Slaughter and Slaughter and May. Born 1857 son of Secretary of the London Stock Exchange's share and loan department.

Seen 16 February 2010 www.slaughterandmay.com now work from offices at 1 Bunhill Row: international lawyers specialising in mergers, acquisitions and corporate finance. Founded by William Capel Slaughter and William May in 1889 after they had qualified doing their training together, at Ashurst Morris Crisp and Co.

PERCY WILLIAM AS A SOLICITOR

Law Lists don't have his name in them until 1905.

The Weekly Notes of the Incorporated Council of Law Reporting for England and Wales, volume 38 1903 p319 in a list of people taking the solicitor's Final Exam on 2 and 3 November 1903: Percy William Bullock.

Law List 1905 p396 London solicitors: Bullock with date January 1904 and 2 addresses - 65 London Wall and Turnham Green.

Times Thursday 11 July 1907 p16 Partnerships and Investments Section: advert from Bullock and Co of London Wall, on behalf of clients wanting to mortgage a property for £550; the property is in the City and has leasehold tenants in it.

Law List 1907 p413 London solicitors: Bullock at 65 London Wall and Bournemouth.

Law List 1908 p413 London solicitors: Bullock at 65 London Wall only.

Law Journal Reports New Series volume 80 part 7 1911 p88 refers to Percy William Bullock acting as solicitor in p89 *Curtis v Beaney* in the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division.

BULLOCK GETS INVOLVED IN JONES V THE LOOKING GLASS The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: an Autohagiography editors John Symonds and Kenneth Grant. London, Boston Mass, Henley: RKP 1979: p635, 641-42, 759.

Coverage of *Jones v The Looking Glass* from Times 27 April 1911; you can now download this as a pdf file.

Law List 1920 p483 London solicitors: Bullock and Co is now at 7 Stone Buildings Lincoln's Inn.

PERCY WILLIAM AND GEORGE HANDLEY some patents from 1920s

Official Gazette of the US Patent Office volume 299 1922 p134 patent on a rotary pump with ejector. The holders of the patent were George Handley of Palmer's Green London with half of the patent assigned to Percy William Bullock. Note filed 23 November 1920.

At www.patentmaps.com a series of references to patents applied for by George Handley and PWB:

- ref GB 147283 and GB 147280 applications for patent 16 April 1919; patent granted 16 July 1920. For a mount for a pump
- ref GB 159258 application for patent 13 November 1919; patent granted 14 February 1921. It's f a rotary pump discharge outlet
- ref GB 171860 application for patent 8 October 1920; patent granted 1 December 1921
- ref GB 187115 patent granted 19 October 1920; an endless chain machine

At this website I also saw one patent held by George Handley alone; and several held by George Handley and J B Carr from 1943-45.

At the US equivalent, www.freepatentsonline.com patents held by George Handley and Percy William Bullock presumably on the same inventions as the UK patent website:

- US Patent Number 1335577 30 March 1920; rotary pump
- US Patent Number 1353745 21 September 1920; rotary pump for pumping liquids
- US Patent Number 1418921 6 June 1922; rotary pump with ejector

Refrigerating World volume 55 1920 p24 has exactly the same description of the item as that in US Patent Number 1353745 so it's probably the same invention: Serial Number 333022 filed 24 October 1919.

Seen April 2013 at website www.alladdress.co.uk a garage called George Handley is still in operation in Palmer's Green: car body repairs on a site behind the ex-Woolworths.

PERCY WILLIAM AND ROBERT BROWNLOW

The Times had no mention of Brownlow in 1923, 1926, 1928 and the item below is the only one for 1927, so I don't know very much about his previous three bankruptcies.

Times Sat 22 January 1927 p9 Industrial Chemist Sent for Trial: report covered the appearance of Robert Brownlow at Bow St police court "yesterday". The third bankruptcy (1923) was mentioned in this report. Brownlow pleaded not guilty and was sent for trial. There was no more coverage of the case in the Times.

Chemist and Druggist volume 106 1927 p122 also had a report on Brownlow's Bow St appearance and gave a few more details about his past ventures.

PERCY WILLIAM'S PERSONAL BANKRUPTCY

Times Wednesday 1 February 1928 p24 Legal Notices: an announcement dated 30 January 1928 by the Board of Trade that it had appointed an official trustee for Percy William Bullock as he was bankrupt.

Times Thursday 17 May 1928 p5 A Solicitor's Discharge: barrister Mr Warrington acted for Percy William Bullock.

Times Monday 26 November 1928 p28 Property Page: Bullock and Co acting as solicitors in the sale by auction of 8 Spring Gardens. The auctioneers are Hiller, Parker May and Rowden who specialise in shops.

BANKRUPTCY OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LTD

The Chemical Age volume 19 1928 p586 issue of 22 December 1928. Under the heading "Winding-up", a statement from the official receiver in the winding-up of Scientific Research Ltd of Brent Green Works Hendon: a statement of the firm's liabilities had been submitted by directors Robert Brownlow and Percy William Bullock on 11 October 1928.

Chemical Trade Journal and Chemical Engineer volume 83 1929 p552 also covers the winding-up of Scientific Research Ltd and gives a few more details.

PERCY WILLIAM'S DEATH

Law Times volume 190 1940 p158 a very short note recording the death of Percy William Bullock, solicitor, on ?14 (I couldn't read the number clearly) September 1940.

Last appear of Bullock and Co is in Law List for 1940 p482 London solicitors - still at 7 Stone Buildings Lincoln's Inn. Firm is not in the Law List for 1941.

PERCY WILLIAM BULLOCK AND THE OCCULT

ISIS UNVEILED

Biography of Anna Bonus Kingsford and her founding of the Hermetic Society by Samuel Hopgood Hart. My copy was printed in 2013 by Kessinger Publishing but originally it was the Biographical Preface to a much longer work, Hart's Credo of Christendom and other Addresses and Essays on Esoteric Christianity. Via the web it looks like the full book was published in 1930. On p5 Hart states that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's Isis Unveiled was regarded by all TS members as the TS's "chief text-book". For example: as she had not mentioned reincarnation in the book, reincarnation was not a doctrine put forward by the TS, at least during the early 1880s.

ANNA BONUS KINGSFORD

Biography of Anna Bonus Kingsford and her founding of the Hermetic Society by Samuel Hopgood Hart. I got my copy in 2013 from Kessinger Pubg but originally it was only the Biographical Preface to Hart's Credo of Christendom and other Addresses and Essays on Esoteric Christianity published in 1930. The Biography: footnote on p2 says that many of Kingsford's talks at the Hermetic Society were also published in the journal Light. In the book Hart describes his search for Kingsford's papers, and his eventual conclusion (p70) that Maitland had destroyed virtually all of them, on finishing his biography of Kingsford. So no list of the members of the Hermetic Society is extant. Hart reproduces an invitation to the 1884 series of talks at the Society on p29: the talks would be on Thursdays at 5pm. On p29 Hart describes the inauguration of the Society on 9 May 1884; some scant details of where it took place, and who was there. Because of Kingsford's illness (p47) no sessions of the Society were scheduled for 1887 and in fact it never met after 1886. Kingsford died (p52) on 22 February [1888].

Re the journal Light: Janet Oppenheim's The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England 1850-1914. London Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985. It was founded (p42) by Edmund Dawson Rogers, founder-member of the British National Association of Spiritualists; and also of the Society for Psychical Research. (P46) Light was founded as a weekly spiritualist newspaper in January 1881. It still exists, though now as a quarterly.

Website www.answers.com says both Samuel Liddell Mathers and William Wynn Westcott gave lectures at the Hermetic Society; website does not give a source for this information. No talks by either of them are mentioned in Hart's book, which I'm a bit worried by, but Hart is concentrating on Kingsford, he doesn't even cover talks at the Society by Maitland.

Influential publications by Anna Bonus Kingsford; from the British Library catalogue:

The Perfect Way; or the Finding of Christ. London: Field and Tuer 1882; revised and enlarged edition 1887. And several later editions including one published in 1890.

The Hermetic Works: The Virgin of the World. This was a translation, not an original work, with an essay, introduction and notes by Dr (sic) Anna Kingsford and E Maitland. London: G Redway 1885.

Dreams and Dream Stories, edited by Edward Maitland. London: G Redway 1888

The biography referred to by Hart is: Anna Kingsford, her life, letters, diary and work. By Edward Maitland. London: G Redway 1896.

There is one modern biography: Red Cactus: the life of Anna Kingsford by Alan Pert. Watson's Bay NSW 2006. Pert is highly critical of Maitland's work, suggesting that Maitland was going out of his way to play down Kingsford's role in her own life, and to exaggerate Maitland's own.

GRS MEAD's work on hermeticism: Thrice-Greatest Hermes. London and Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society 1906.

MANUSCRIPT LOANS

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Revd William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited and with an introduction by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985. The letters used for the book were all written by William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner; Howe didn't find any letters from Ayton to Percy William. During the 20th century the letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner made their way into the occult collection of Gerald Yorke which is now in the Warburg Institute, University of London.

PERCY WILLIAM IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Just noting that the TS only began keeping systematic records in the late 1880s, when it had already been in existence for nearly a decade. Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p97 immediately after Annie Besant, the application of Percy W Bullock. No application date (this usually indicates someone who's been a member for some time). Subscriptions paid 1892-94 only. Addresses during membership:

22 Upper George Street Bryanston Square

62 Oakley Square Hampstead Road

Branch = Adelphi

THE TS'S ANANDA LODGE IN ITS EASTERN SCHOOL OF THEOSOPHY

The information on Ananda Lodge was kept by its president, William Wynn Westcott, and has found its way into the Freemasons' Library. It includes:

- FML's call number GD 7/4/5 Westcott's set of Lodge rules, prepared by Percy William as its Secretary.
- FML's call number GD 7/4/6 the Lodge Minute book covering its monthly meetings

during the whole period of the Lodge's existence - 19 November 1893 to 3 November 1895. The Lodge had eight members including three who were in the GD: Westcott, Bullock, and Frederick Leigh Gardner who didn't join until July 1894. Westcott's record-keeping had got very desultory by early 1895; very few of the members were coming regularly to the meetings by that time; and I think that in practical terms the Lodge was non-functioning by the end of 1894.

The reference to Percy William's lack of enthusiasm for Annie Besant as leader of the TS comes from *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn* p74.

Theosophical Siftings volumes 4-5 1892-95 published by the Theosophical Publishing Society, Adelphi London. These volumes bring together recently published talks and pamphlets. This volume contains these works by Percy William Bullock, given as talks and then published as pamphlets:

- * Hermetic Philosophy
- * Egyptian Belief Theosophically Considered
- * Occultism Past and Present.

My quotations from the talk on Hermetic Philosophy are from the original pamphlet published London: Theosophical Publishing Society 1892 p15.

May 2013: Wikipedia had articles on the Smaragdine Tablet, with Isaac Newton's translation; on the Divine Pymander; and on Sephir Yetzirah though wikipedia's editors were calling for input from an expert on the Kabbalah. At www.sacred-texts.com I also found full texts in English of *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* - the 1650 translation by John Everard; and Westcott's 1887 translation of Sephir Yetzirah as *The Book of Creation*. Websites www.theosophical.ca and www.alchemylab.com also had translations of *The Divine Pymander*.

The dates the above talks were given on; and Percy William's administrative work for the TS, appear in:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volumes

- * X March-August 1892
- * XI September 1892-February 1893
- * XIII September 1893-February 1894

THE REVIEWS OF PERCY WILLIAM'S SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XV September 1894 to February 1895; edited by Annie Besant and G R S Mead. Volume XV number 189 issue of 15 January 1895 p426 review of *Collectanea Hermetica* volume 5

The Unknown World covering Alchemy, Magic, Divination, Rosicrucianism, Witchcraft, Astrology, Mysticism. Volume 1 no 6 issued 15 January 1895 p283.

Wikipedia on the publication correctly called *De Re Publica* written by Cicero 54-51BC.

SOME WORKS IN THE FREEMASONS' LIBRARY

NB: there is nothing by Percy William in the British Library catalogue.

The Freemasons' Library has two items by him and none about him:

* Somnium Scipionis translated into English and with an essay by LO (ie Levavi Oculos, Percy William's GD motto). Theosophical Publishing Society 1894

* M W Blackden's copy of The Chaldaean Oracles of Zoroaster edited and revised by Sapere Aude (one of Westcott's GD mottoes) with an introduction by LO (Bullock). Theosophical Publishing Society 1895.

Via google books:

Egyptian Belief Theosophically Considered by P W Bullock and Herbert Coryn. Published 1893 as a TS pamphlet.

PERCY WILLIAM AND PAMELA CARDEN BULLOCK IN THE GD:

Because Percy William did so much administrative work for the GD, a lot of material by him is now in the Freemasons' Library Golden Dawn collection. A letter and the notes of a meeting are the sources for Percy William's encounter with Mr Horos:

- FML call number GD 2/4/3, unsigned but in Westcott's handwriting. Dated 15 June 1900, it's a record of a meeting between the writer and GD member Robert Baird Brash Nisbet, who'd been living in Paris for a couple of years. He was a member of the GD's Ahathoor Temple there, and was a long-time friend of Samuel Liddell Mathers; but he'd got very worried (as well he might) about Mathers' recent behaviour.

- FML call number GD 2/4/4/2, a handwritten letter by Percy William to Annie Horniman, with an extra paragraph added by Pamela on the end. The letter is dated 10 December 1900.

THE BULLOCKS AND FREDERICK LEIGH GARDNER:

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - letters mostly to but occasionally copies of letters from, Gardner, covering the mid-1890s to the mid-1920s. Including a set from Pamela Bullock, sent between 1896 and 1897; and one from Westcott to Gardner also mentioning that Pamela had been ill, in such a way as to make me wonder whether he was Pamela's doctor. Also letters from Helen Rand to Gardner 28 February 1897; from Westcott to Gardner, 17 March 1897; from Helen Rand to Gardner 1 April 1897; and from Ada Waters to Gardner 8 May 1897.

Nicholas Culpeper (1616-54) botanist, pharmacist and political radical: see wikipedia, www.sciencemuseum.org etc. His The English Physician was published in 1652, in English (not Latin); given the title by which it's now known, Complete Herbal for the edition of 1653.

More easily accessible sources:

The Magicians of the GD: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. His sources had all been published already; see his pxxiii for a list of them. When his manuscript was finished he was given access to documents kept by A E Waite, mostly from the late 1890s and later; he made some alterations based on them.

R A Gilbert The Golden Dawn Companion.

The Golden Dawn Scrapbook: the Rise and Fall of a Magical Order by R A Gilbert published 1997 York Beach Maine: Samuel Weister Inc.

THE HOROS FRAUDSTERS

The trial of Theodore and Laura Horos, real names Frank Dutton Jackson and Editha Loleta Jackson, received huge coverage in the papers. Even the Times succumbed and carried detailed reports on the committal hearings and the Old Bailey trial. You can read the blow-by-blow account in the Times starting on Friday 27 September 1901 and ending on Saturday 21 December 1901. Mr Horos was found guilty of rape and Mrs Horos of aiding and abetting; they both got penal servitude. Mention of Mathers and the GD was made by Mrs Horos during the committal hearing, report published in the Times of Friday 22 November 1901 p13. The Horoses were professional fraudsters. They had been allowed in to Ahathoor Temple in Paris by Mathers despite the fact that they were never GD members. He'd also lent them GD rituals to copy - rituals they never returned.

PAMELA and PERCY JOIN WAITE'S IND AND RECT RITE

A E Waite: A Magician of Many Parts by R A Gilbert published Wellingborough Northants 1987. P178 Appendix C lists the original members of the RR et AC.

LUCY WATERFIELD, WHO APPLIES TO JOIN INDEPENDENT AND RECTIFIED ORDER/RITE

Freemasons' Library GD database. records that a Miss Lucy Waterfield applied to join A E Waite's Independent and Rectified Rite on 4 September 1913. She gave as her address: c/o P W Bullock, 90 Sunningfields Road Hendon. The information in FML's GD database is all from original sources now in the FML's collection; but exactly which records the information was taken from is not in the database, for reasons of space.

R A Gilbert's GD Companion.

Lucy Waterfield, from the census and freebmd. I don't think she's a relation of either Percy William or Pamela. She was born in 1877, the youngest child of Henry Waterfield and his first wife, Katherine Jane née Wood. Her mother died in 1882. In 1885 her father got married again, to Mary Augusta Shee. Henry Waterfield worked in the financial department of the India Office.

By 1901 he had been knighted. He and Mary Augusta retired to Bournemouth, where Henry died on 5 July 1913 - only a couple of months before Lucy considered joining the RR et AC.

PAMELA'S PLAY

An Advent Mystery. [A Play] by Pamela Bullock. London: John M Watkins of 21 Cecil Court 1923. The last page, p52, has a British Library date-stamp on it "12 Dec 23" so Watkins published the play in time for Christmas.

AUTHORS OF THE TRANSLATIONS FROM PERSIAN see wikipedia though there's very little more detail on Hafiz.

1 = Hafiz. Pamela must mean Khwajeh Shams al-Din Muhammed Hafez-e Shirazi, 14th century Persian mystic.

2 = Jalaluddin. Wikipedia has a long article on Jalal ad-Din Muhammed Balkhi, also known as Jalaladdin Rumi or just Rumi. 1207-1273, poet and Sufi mystic, his work is seen as one of the pinnacles of writing in Persian.

For more on Florence Farr's chant-plus-lyre see Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's 'New Woman' by Josephine Johnson. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1975.

11 August 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Emily BURNETT who was initiated into the Golden Dawn between July and October 1888 and chose the Latin motto 'Meus conscia sponsus'. Her GD records show that she never took her membership of the GD any further, and she was probably never meant to. She was a special case, as you will see below.

I'll take the question of WHO SHE KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN first in Emily's case, as it is very easy to answer and is the crux of why she was a GD member: she was the sister-in-law of William Wynn Westcott. A note on her GD records (which in 1888 were being kept by Westcott) says "copyist". I think Westcott was trying to put some work Emily's way by employing her to make copies of the occult texts initiates would have to study. It was unthinkable that someone who had not been sworn to silence about the texts' contents should be allowed to carry out such work; so Emily underwent the initiation ceremony.

Emily Burnett was born on 24 November 1839, the third child of Edmund Crawford Burnett and his wife Charlotte. She was baptised in St Pancras Old Church and lived in its parish, Somers Town, until she was in her forties, in streets crammed between Euston, St Pancras and King's Cross stations and increasingly blighted by railway sidings and the dirty steam of coal-fired trains.

Emily's baptism record describes Edmund Burnett as a clerk to a printing firm and he seems to have continued to do that kind of work, probably with the same firm, all his working life. On the day of the 1841 census, as well as the family, the Burnett household also included

Daniel Robertson, a Scotsman who worked as a printer, possibly with the same firm; he was still living with the family in 1861. In due course, Emily's only brother, Crawford Burnett, served an apprenticeship and became a printer/compositor.

Edmund and Charlotte Burnett had one more child, Louisa (born in 1843) before Emily's mother died, in 1846. In 1848 Edmund - a widower with several young children - got married again, to Susan Prior. I think that the family was feeling the financial pinch at this time in a way it would not do again for many years. On the day of the 1851 census, the Burnett family was one of two households living at 15 Charrington Street Somers Town; they didn't share a house this way again until the late 1880s. Crawford was still serving his apprenticeship, so he was not being paid a full wage yet. Although Edmund and Charlotte's eldest daughter, also called Charlotte, told the census official she was working, her income may not have been something the family could count on each week - the census describes her as a "pianofortist", which seems to have meant teaching rather than performing, with her income depending on how many pupils she had at any time. Emily, like her younger sister Louisa, was described by the census official as "school at home"; meaning that both daughters were getting a better education than most children at that time, but they were not helping the family budget. There was another child expected too: Eliza Burnett was born at the end of 1851, Edmund's fifth child and Susan's only one.

In 1853, Edmund was widowed for the second time when Susan died; he did not marry again. Crawford left home to marry, in 1854, and I can't find Louisa on the 1861 census so I don't know whether she was still living at home, but the remaining members of the household settled into a pattern that remained essentially the same for the next decade. In 1861 Edmund, Charlotte, Emily, Eliza and their lodger Daniel Robertson were still all living together. Mr Robertson had now retired, Charlotte was still giving piano lessons, but it seems the household finances were now less straitened and they had decided they could manage without renting out any of the house at 15 Charrington Street.

Emily was now 21. The census official did not fill in any occupation or source of income for her. It's possible he did not ask her whether she was working; but seeing he did ask Charlotte, or Charlotte (proud of her contribution to the family budget) volunteered the information, this doesn't seem very likely. It's more likely that Emily was acting in place of a mother to Eliza (now 9) and running the household, probably with Charlotte's help but without being able to employ a servant. Not for Emily any chance to follow her brother into the printing industry, even if she had wanted to do so. The printing trade was men-only and in any case, if there was no wife and mother, one of the daughters had to take charge of the shopping, cooking and cleaning in any Victorian lower-middle-class family; either helping and giving orders to the servant (if they could afford one) or doing the work herself; and in this family it was Emily, elected - perhaps - merely because she did not play the piano well.

Eliza Burnett married William Wynn Westcott early in 1873. And I believe that by 1881 Daniel Robertson had returned to Scotland. On the day of the 1881 census the Burnett household had moved to 11 Oakley Square Marylebone and was down to three members: Edmund, still working as a printer's clerk; Charlotte, still giving piano lessons; and Emily, still with no source of income mentioned by the census official. But at some time between 1881 and 1891, probably before 1888, a big change occurred in their circumstances. Edmund Burnett retired. This was unusual in the days before entitlement to pensions. Most people worked until they dropped. Perhaps Edmund Burnett's health (he was in his mid-70s) made it impossible for him to do his work any longer and his employer found the money for a

pension for him. For whatever reason, he retired. He and his daughters moved house again, but this time they chose to go right away from Somers Town, to the suburb of Upper Holloway, where houses were modern and had gardens and there was less noise and air pollution. They were following in the footsteps of many middle-class families but in particular of their own family. On the day of the 1891 census Edmund, Charlotte and Emily were living at 150 Tufnell Park Road, within a short walk of both Emily's married sisters.

The move to Upper Holloway may have involved Emily filling the gap in wages caused by her father's retirement. For the first time in her life, she told the 1891 census official that she was doing paid work. She said she was a dress-maker. Perhaps she had done sewing work all along, when she had time to spare from her housekeeping duties, but had just never bothered to say so when the census official came as it wasn't a regular income. However, dress-making was a rotten trade, in Victorian England as in the globalised modern world: unregulated and exploitative. And this is where William Westcott comes in, with his need for a copyist for the Golden Dawn. In the years around the founding of the GD he was helping Samuel Mathers by paying his rent; I think he was trying to do something similar to help Emily by giving her an income or an alternative one. However, Westcott's kindly idea doesn't seem to have worked out. My own researches on the GD administration papers for the 1890s indicate that most new initiates preferred to make their own copies of the material they were given to study. Certainly, in 1891 Emily only told the census official about the sewing work she was doing; she never told any census official that she was earning money as a copyist.

Edmund Burnett died in 1896 and it may have been at that point that Charlotte and Emily Burnett moved again, though they only went round the corner, to 16 Huddleston Road Upper Holloway, off the main road. Again they were helping to pay the rent by letting part of the house to another family. Charlotte was still teaching piano, but Emily said she told the census official that she wasn't doing any paid work, she had a private income. Perhaps her father had been able to leave her money enough for her to give up the sewing (or copying).

Emily's sister Charlotte - with whom she had lived all her life - died in 1905. However, even without the income from Charlotte's lessons, in 1911 Emily was still living at 16 Huddleston Road, still with that private income. Both her married sisters were still within walking distance and Emily may have been making trips to stay with relatives who were now living on the south coast. The artistic talent which Emily's sister Charlotte had showed had resurfaced in some family members in the next two generations. Crawford Burnett's son became a glass decorator while his son (also called Crawford), another of Emily's nephews and one of her nieces all inherited Charlotte Burnett's musical abilities. All three probably had their first music lessons with Charlotte and if this was so, Emily would have got to know them all well. However, it seems as though she had an especially close relationship with her niece Amy Louisa Reeves.

Emily Burnett's younger sister Louisa had married Robert Reeves in 1867. I should imagine the Burnetts thought he was a good catch as a husband: he worked in a bank, which in those days meant a modest but predictable income and very little chance of losing your job. Louisa and Robert had four children including Amy Louisa, born in 1872. Their son Herbert Wynn Reeves (surely a god-son of William Wynn Westcott) became a professional violinist and in 1891 Amy Louisa told the census official that she too was studying music and teaching it. However, she did not become a professional musician; she married Lawrence Waddell in 1895. Waddell was in the Indian Army Medical Corps so Amy Louisa's early married life

was spent in Calcutta; but by 1911 her husband had retired and the family was living at a house they called The Kite's Nest, at 8 St Helen's Park Road Hastings. When Emily made her Will, she named Amy Louisa Waddell as her executor. I haven't seen the Will but in such a close family I would expect it to leave what Emily had to leave either to Amy Louisa herself, or to her three children, Gladys, Frank and Clara. And there was more to leave than I'd expected: personal effects worth £725 or so - would they include Charlotte's piano? Emily Burnett died on 9 November 1915.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census, probate, baptism record); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

14 May 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Miss Harriet BUTLER who was initiated into the Golden Dawn on 24 April 1895 and took the Latin motto 'A posse ad esse'. In July 1896, she was initiated into the GD's 2nd Order - the inner order where you started actually to do magic rather than just reading and learning occult texts. On the day of her first initiation she was living at 47 Chelsea Gardens, Chelsea Bridge Road London.

Abject failure with this woman: couldn't identify her for certain via any of my sources. I can only say that in 1903 she was one of the group led by A E Waite that founded the Order of the Morgen Rothe, with its inner Independent and Rectified Order, at a meeting on 24 July 1903.

SOURCES I TRIED: ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch. Without having some clue as to her age there was no real point in trying freebmd for a year of birth. Google, Google books, British Library catalogue in case she was a writer - didn't find anything likely on any of them. I gave up.

13 August 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Marian Harriett Caldecott who was initiated into the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in September 1892 and took the Latin motto 'Ad sidera sursum'. Her address at that time was 56 Addison Mansions West Kensington. She doesn't seem to have been a very active member, and her membership was described as "in abeyance" by June 1895.

I thought for a long time about how to present the information I'd found, about Marian Caldecott's life, because there was so little of it. In the end, I decided to take Marian as an example of what you're up against when you try to trace the lives of the majority of people who have lived.

I find the people of the Golden Dawn a fascinating group. But except in a very few cases their lives have not been thought of as important enough for their stories to be kept. Most people have not been. It's bad enough with the men of the GD but it's even worse with the women and Marian Caldecott is typical: I could find plenty of information on the web and elsewhere about the men in her life; but almost nothing about Marian herself. What to do, in such a case? Well, the reaction of most historians of the GD has been to look again at the members that are well-known and leave the others untouched, as too difficult and obscure to follow up. Before the arrival of the WWW, that was definitely the sane choice. However, the web is here now, and I'm taking a different option: I've studied what's known about the significant others in Marian's life and hoped to spot Marian in the background.

Marian's family, the Brinds.

A website for the Brind family was not quite as helpful as I had hoped but it did show that the family had been living in London at least since the 17th century; and that several of its members had worked as goldsmiths or silversmiths and been members of the Goldsmiths' Company. The practical artistic skills seem to have given out in the family by the late 18th century but an interest in art and a connection with the Goldsmiths' Company continued.

Charles Brind was born around 1788 and is thus of an age to be Marian's grandfather but I

think it's more likely that he was her great-uncle. When Charles Brind died in 1848 he named Marian's father as his executor though I haven't seen the Will so I don't know if he was also one of the beneficiaries. It seems to have been Charles Brind that started the family wine and spirits shipping business, which during the 19th century operated from various addresses around Bishopsgate in the City of London and which was still going in 1913. He was a member of the Goldsmiths' Company and served one year as its Master, the most senior elected officer. He collected paintings, particularly works by 17th century Dutch artists such as van Ruysdael, Wynants, Steen and members of the Maas (sometimes spelled Maes) family. However Marian's father, as executor, sold some at least of these in the years after Charles' death, and gave two more to the National Gallery, so there may not have been very many left in the family for Marian to see as she grew up.

Marian's father

Frederick William Brind (known as William) was born, probably in London, around 1824. If Charles Brind was Frederick William's father, he was not living with Frederick William's mother Ann on the day of the 1841 census. Ann Brind and her children were living in Islington. Besides Frederick William Ann had two other sons, Edward and Charles, and one daughter, Susan. Even if Ann was a widow by this time, she seems to have been comfortably-off: she employed one servant. All three of Ann's sons went into the family wine and spirits business. Frederick William was working in it by 1851, probably by 1849 when he continued the family tradition by accepting an invitation to become a member of the Goldsmiths' Company. To the various census officials he spoke to between 1851 and 1891 he described himself as a wine merchant, but in fact he was involved in a number of business ventures.

The biggest, and the one that gave him most trouble, was the Patent Woollen Cloth Company, whose main line of business was making felt carpets but which also produced table cloths, curtains, and cloth for upholstery and industrial cleaning. It seems to have been a pretty big firm. It operated two mills, the Elmwood Mills at Camp Road Leeds and one in Borough Road south London. It had a large warehouse in Cheapside and offices at 8 Love Lane Aldermanbury in the City of London. It sent examples of its products to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1868 so perhaps it sold them overseas as well as in the UK. The firm was founded in 1845 and had rather a chequered history, going bankrupt twice. Exactly when Frederick William Brind got involved, I'm not sure. I don't think it was in the early years because his name doesn't appear in legal notices and adverts from the 1840s, but it was before 1859, when he was granted a patent for some particular improvements to sewing machines. He was still involved with the company over 30 years later, when he was one of the people who attended a meeting in 1893 which put it into voluntary liquidation. I wasn't clear from the information I found about this process whether he was a director, just a shareholder, or a creditor; I suspect he was all three. He was one of the three men chosen to oversee the liquidation process. The company survived this second bankruptcy, moving into new areas of production by starting to make making heavy-duty felt for use in the construction industry.

One thing led to another, no doubt. In 1869 Frederick William Brind was approached by the British Imperial Insurance Corporation of Manchester which was about to open a London office in Old Broad Street, very near premises of Brinds the wine merchants; he agreed to join a group of men who would oversee the workings of the new branch. I presume buying or being given shares in the Corporation would have been part of the deal. He may also have

owned shares in the Midland Railway.

Marian

On the day of the 1841 census, Charles Brind had been living in the household of a Mrs Elliott, in the new north London suburb of Stamford Hill. In 1848 Frederick William Brind married Mrs Elliott's daughter Mary Ann. Their elder daughter Marian Harriet was born in 1850. On the day of the 1851 census Frederick William, Mary Ann and Marian were living at 52 Stamford Hill with a cook, a housemaid and a nursemaid - a large staff for such a young couple. A second daughter, Amy Alice, was born in 1852, but the family was broken up in 1854 when Mary Ann Brind died. Frederick William's mother Ann, and his younger brother Charles, had already moved out of London to Sydenham, and in the wake of his wife's death, left a widower with two small children, Frederick William moved to the south London suburbs too.

In 1861 Frederick William Brind married Julia Mary McRae in her local church in Upper Holloway, north London. Reading between the lines of the few sources I've found, I've come to think that - although this was no wicked step-mother relationship - Julia Mary and her two step-daughters wasn't particularly close. During their years without a mother, a bond had been forged between Marian and Amy that would have been beyond Julia Mary's ability to break even if she had wanted to do so. It lasted until Amy's death: possibly not even excepting the period of Marian's marriage (I don't have any evidence for where Amy was living then) they always lived together. The day of the 1861 census came three weeks after this second marriage and found the larger family shaking-down together at Weldon Lodge, Lawrie Park Beckenham: Frederick William, Julia Mary, Frederick William's mother Ann, Marian and Amy; a cook, nurse (perhaps for Ann, who was 70 now, rather than the two girls) and housemaid. Frederick William and Julia Mary had three children: Walter, who died aged only a few weeks, in 1863, within a few weeks of Ann Brind's death; Frank (born 1866) and Julia Margaret (born 1869). The family moved, firstly to 2 Annandale Bromley, where they were living by 1871; and then, around 1879, further out of London again, to Chelsfield near Orpington, where they leased Chelsfield Lodge.

Dependent on the censuses for my information on Marian's youth, I haven't been able to come by much information on her education. I can say that on the days of the censuses in 1861 and 1871, the Brind family was not employing a live-in governess. Of course, censuses come 10 years apart so they might have employed one for nearly a decade without my being able to tell; but it's just as likely that Marian was sent to a boarding school for a while - two or three years seems to have been typical - but I haven't found any details of exactly how and where she was educated. From what little I have been able to find out about her, it looks as though she did not take part in any of the campaigns to broaden and deepen the education of women, so perhaps she was usually content with the education she had received. Free from governesses (if she had any) or finished with school (if she was sent to one) Marian spent her teens and twenties living the life led by the middle-class women of Britain, still residing with her family, helping in the home and doing the social round and either caring for ailing parents, and/or waiting to be married.

She did marry. It was while the Brinds were living at Chelsfield that they met Randolph Caldecott.

Marian and Randolph

There's plenty of information on the web about Marian's husband Randolph Caldecott, and many websites have good reproductions of his art works. In this account of Marian's life I will summarise the best biographical source I found, at the website of the Randolph Caldecott Society UK - www.randolphcaldecott.org.uk and let me say here how much I'm indebted to that website for details of Marian. The Society says that Randolph was born in 1846 in Chester. He had one drawing published as early as 1861 and was getting his work published regularly in a variety of magazines by the late 1860s but he didn't give up his job in a bank, to work full-time as an artist, until 1872. As part of this big change in his life, he also moved to London, the centre of the book illustration world in the UK. He was best known in his life-time and is most appreciated now for the series of children's books he illustrated for the printer Edmund Evans - two books each year from 1877 until his death; though he also illustrated travel books; continued to have work published in *The Graphic* and other magazines; and exhibited some paintings at the Royal Academy. He moved in artistic circles in London, and knew Dante Gabriel Rossetti, George du Maurier, Millais and Leighton (Randolph did some work on Leighton's spectacular house in Kensington).

It seems from a talk given by a local historian to the Randolph Caldecott Society that Marian Brind and Randolph Caldecott are not likely to have met before 1879. Their romance must have moved very swiftly, then; and there must have been no problems on either side with the finances, at least, of a marriage. For they were married, in Chelsfield Church where Frederick William was a church warden, on 18 March 1880.

How much the Brind family knew about Randolph Caldecott before Marian married him is an interesting question; because Randolph and Marian's married life was dictated as much by Randolph's health as by his work. That's not to say that he wasn't as physically active as the next man - perhaps more so...BUT he'd had rheumatic fever during his childhood and this had left him with a weak heart and a tendency to bouts of stomach trouble. Although he kept 24 Holland Street in Kensington as a studio, by the mid-1870s Randolph had realised that living in London made his health problems worse and had rented a house at Kemsing in Kent where he recover after time spent in the pollution of the city. After their marriage, he and Marian spent time each year in both the properties. They spent the winters around the Mediterranean, in accordance with what was the typical advice given by doctors to people whose health was problematic and who could afford to leave the British climate behind them. The French resort of Mentone was one place they stayed. In the new year of 1886 they made what turned out to be a disastrous decision, to go to the United States, combining a lecture tour with a few months in Florida, already known for its mild winters. They had a particularly rough Atlantic crossing; and when they reached Florida they found it in the grip of unseasonably cold wet weather. Randolph got ill, and died of heart failure on 13 February 1886, aged only 39.

After Randolph

Randolph had a high opinion of his wife's capabilities - and why not? she came from a family of business-people - he made Marian the sole executor of his Will. I assume she was also its main beneficiary (I haven't read the Will) but if she was, she inherited less money than you would think, leading me to suppose that Randolph's illustration work had been paid by the picture, and didn't involve his having copyright over any of the publications he illustrated. However, she was well-enough off not to have to return to her family unless she chose to; and

she did not choose to. If Amy hadn't been already living with Marian and Randolph during their married life she went to live with Marian in her widow-hood. They were living in the flat in Addison Mansions that Marian told the GD was her current address by the day of the 1891 census. By 1901 they had moved, to 30 Hampden House in Green Street Westminster, but by 1911 they were no longer living in London.

Between 1891 and 1893 the lease of Chelsfield Lodge ran out and Frederick William Brind, Julia Mary and Julia Margaret moved to St Leonard's-on-Sea in Sussex. As the journey from St Leonard's-on-Sea to London was not an easy one, I think this was the point at which Frederick William retired from the wine merchants' business (and perhaps from all his other business ventures). He certainly thought of himself as retired by the time of the 1901 census. The business continued, at least until 1913 with Marian's first-cousin Ernest Walter Brind in charge. Frederick William, Julia Mary and Julia Margaret had moved to 13 Maze Hill, St Leonard's-on-Sea, Sussex by 1901. They were still living there when Frederick William died in 1908.

Frank Brind had not wanted to join the family firm and - rather unusually for the times - his parents had allowed him to have his way, and to work as an architect instead. In 1891 he was learning his trade in London, working for the architects William West Neve and Ernest Newton, who had both been pupils of Richard Norman Shaw. This was a job that Frank might have been offered through Randolph Caldecott's good offices as they were just the kind of artistic people he knew but the Brinds probably didn't. Frank's career in architecture never had time to develop, though: like Randolph, his health was poor, and he died in 1898 aged 32.

When they left London, Marian and Amy did not join the rest of their family in Sussex, either to live with them or live near them. They went to Kent, settling in Tunbridge Wells where they lived together until Amy died in 1931. At first they lived at Balmoral House, 51-53 London Road (there's now a block of flats on the site); later they moved a few streets to 2 Vale Road. Marian still owned 2 Vale Road at her death, but she died in Lonsdale House nursing home, on 12 June 1932. Following Amy's death she had made a Will (or a new Will) in which she seems to have snubbed her half-sister Julia Margaret by not leaving her anything, though she left sums of money to people called Brind who were not nearly so closely related. Julia Margaret had not married and she might have been glad of some. Most of Marian's money went to two charities: the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital for women; and Miss Sheppard's Annuitants' Homes, of 27 Ossington Street London.

What to make of Marian Brind Caldecott? It's all too easy to define her with a set of negatives: she had no children, she never worked, she was left a widow after only six years of marriage. You can make a bit more of her than that, though. I think she inherited the Brind feeling for the arts and could have seen her destiny - once she had met Randolph Caldecott - as supporting him as a Victorian wife was expected to do as he continued to work as a self-employed man and in the face of uncertain health. If she had any artistic talent herself, she never developed it.

What social circles did Marian move in, in the years when she was still living in London after Randolph had died? She was not involved with spiritualism, at least not to the extent of being a member of any of the societies devoted to it. And she was not a member of the

Theosophical Society. These were two groups of London-based people amongst whom you were likely to meet people who were members of the Golden Dawn. However, I imagine that she was still seeing Randolph's artist friends, and they too were a good way of coming across the GD; though I'm not going to hazard a guess as to who exactly it was she knew. Having been initiated, Marian did start to work through the programme of learning required by the GD if you were going to take your membership seriously. She reached the level referred to as 4=7 (you started as 1=10 and went up the numbers on the left, down the ones on the right, as you progressed in your occult education). And then never went any further. Why? Family troubles and obligations may have overtaken her: it was and is part of being a woman to have your time at the disposal of others. And there may have been other reasons. Several devout Christians did find the GD a little too pagan for their liking, and dropped out, and Marian may have been one of them. But there was also the question of the education Marian had most likely had - it did not equip you for the intellectual study that new initiates were expected to follow. Initiates were also supposed to be examined on what they had learned. It was a very daunting prospect, especially for narrowly- and shallowly-educated women. Another negative about Marian, then - she dropped out.

I think that the two charities Marian benefited in her will do indicate that she was aware of the disadvantages under which women laboured in late 19th century England (and still do). The Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was a hospital founded by women for women, to counter the prejudices of the medical profession about women as patients and as practitioners. And the Miss Sheppard's charity addressed the results of the education of women for a life of continued dependence on the incomes of other people for the means to live, in a society where a large percentage of them would not marry or do paid work. The ageing, unmarried spinster, or widow, trying to keep up middle-class appearances on a tiny and falling income was a stereotype of the Victorian period. Though they had to go through the humiliation of applying for help, and being interviewed by its committee, Miss Sheppard's charity gave some of these women a roof over their head and some dignity. Perhaps Marian thought, of both the undertakings she chose to leave money to, 'there but for the grace of God...' Whatever feelings of sympathy and common cause with other women she had, or with the down-trodden generally, though, Marian didn't go as far as to campaign for change. She can scarcely have ignored the battle for women's votes, but she played no prominent part in it either as suffragist or suffragette. Nor did she get involved, as far as I can see, in any of the other campaigns that increasingly brought women into the public domain in the late 19th century, though these were many and varied and surely some must have aroused her sympathy and interest.

So what did Marian do with her life? Especially after her husband died so young? Of course, you didn't have to do anything much with your life if you were a woman with a reasonable income in the late 19th century; you could stick to the social round defined by church and afternoon teas, with a little gentle foreign travel if you fancied and could afford it; and no one would criticise you for it, they were more likely to criticise you if you departed from it. But it's just occurred to me, as I struggle to put together a good summing-up paragraph for Marian Caldecott, that she could have been active from morning until night for all her life, being a support to her friends and relatives or doing good in her parish or down her street, and now we would not know it. Minutes of parish committees get to clutter up cupboards and are thrown away; house clearers put appointment books and account books into the skip instead of into the local record office; and lifetimes of quiet, non-world-shaking experience are lost to history. Particularly the lives of women. Which brings me back to where I started with this biography.

Pictures of Marian

It looks as though no photographs of Marian Brind or Marian Caldecott have survived: the Randolph Caldecott Society has certainly not found any. However, members of the Society have identified two pictures of Marian amongst Randolph's book illustrations, though neither are portraits as such, as she is not centre-stage in either. There are reproductions of both of them on the page dedicated to Marian at www.randolphcaldecott.org.uk. The first is in Randolph's travel book *Breton Folk*, in the illustration facing p96 and called *The Gavotte*. Marian is shown on the right of the picture, watching the dancers. The second is in the book *The People* which is full of sketches of people Randolph knew from Chelsfield. A sketch-book annotated by Randolph indicates that the character illustrated in the book and called *Mlle Marie*, is Marian. Her home in Chelsfield is in the background of this picture.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*; *Burke's Landed Gentry*; *Armorial Families*; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. *Who Was Who*. *Times Digital Archive*.

Catalogues: *British Library*; *Freemasons' Library*.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Source for Marian Caldecott:

For the Brind family:

Brind family history website www.brind.tv/html/brind2.html. Men in the Brind family who were goldsmiths or silversmiths and in the Goldsmiths' Company begin with William Brind

who was given the freedom of the Company in 1654. Walter Brind b 1763 served as its Prime Warden in 1820. NB there's no mention on this website of Charles Brind who died in 1848; or of Marian's father Frederick Williwmm Brind. There was mention of a family history compiled by General Sir John Brind published in March 1936 and described on the website as "thorough". I haven't been able to track down a copy of this work; it was probably a privately printed work for family members only.

Information on Charles Brind found via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk in the Guildhall Library catalogue. The Guildhall has the records of the company now known as Sun Assurance. As Sun Fire Office, it insured Charles Brind of 14 Devonshire Street Bishopsgate, wine merchant. Guildhall Mss 11936/478.

The Goldsmiths' Company is on the web. I couldn't find any information there about any of the Brind family but at www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk/membership-governance there was general information about membership of the Company. The membership is comprised of 1550 freemen and 285 liverymen. It is governed by a Court of Assistants, with committees and a permanent staff.

Charles Brind's art collection:

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of David Tenniers by John Smith published 1831 p382 number 467 A Landscape; and number 468, a Hilly Landscape; are both owned by Charles Brind.

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of John Wynants by John Smith published 1835 p247 number 66 is Sportsman and Travellers, now owned by Charles Brind.

The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction 1837 p322 report on the day in 1837 when the new queen Victoria gave an audience at the Guildhall. Charles Brind lent a painting for the occasion. P323 Charles Brind's address at that time was Devonshire Street Bishopsgate.

Jacob van Ruisdael: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings by Seymour Slive published 2001 p135 notes on Ruisdael's Two Water Mills and an Open Sluice; bought by Charles Brind Antwerp 1838 sold at Christie's 19-20 May [1840].

Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres... 1840 p380 report on an art exhibition organised by the British Institution; Charles Brind was amongst those lending pictures for it.

The Art Journal volume 21 1840 issue of June [1840] p94 more coverage of the art exhibition at the British Institution p95 mentions a picture by Ruysdael, catalogue number 49, loaned by Charles Brind.

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Jan Steen volume 9 1842 by John Smith published p503 number 77 is Card Players; owned in 1831 by N Baillie but now (that's 1842) owned by Charles Brind Esq. Charles Brind also owns number 78, A Twelfth Night's Scene.

Dictionary of Painters and Engravers by Michael Bryan published 1849 p427 has notes on several of the Maas or Maes family. In the section on Nicholas Maas or Maes b 1632, a note that Charles Brind owned a painting by him called The Milk Maid.

Gentleman's Magazine volume 185 1849 p102 death notices from January [1849] includes that of Charles Brind who'd died on 12 November [1848] at Stamford Hill; aged 60.

The Pharmaceutical Journal volume VIII no 6 issue of 1 December 1848 p253 discussing an outbreak of cholera which so far at least had not turned into an epidemic. One of the few casualties amongst the middle-classes had been Charles Brind, who'd died of it on 12

November [1848] “after twenty-two hours illness”, at Stamford Hill. Brind described as “late Prime Warden or Master of the Goldsmith’s (sic) Co”.

House of Commons Papers 1845 section on Minutes of the Trustees of the National Gallery. P22 at the meeting of April 1845 the trustees considered a letter from Frederick William Brind offering the National Gallery two pictures, one by Fuseli and one by Breughel, previously owned by “the late Mr Charles Brind”. The Trustees decided that they would take the paintings, but on condition that Brind should understand that - with wall space at the NG now so short - they reserved the right to offer the paintings to other art galleries.

The Athenaeum no 1124 issue of 12 May [1849] p497 a reference to Dutch pictures owned by Charles Brind which were currently on show (before sale) at Christie and Manson.

MARIAN’S FATHER FREDERICK WILLIAM BRIND

Uppingham School Roll 1824-1884 published 1885 has Frederick Brind’s name on it.

Illustrated London News volume 4 issue of 16 March 1844 p176 an advert for the Patent Woollen Cloth Co as if it had only just been founded.

Law Journal 1845 p4 notices about bankruptcies included proceedings against George Jackson of Hertford, trading as the Patent Woollen Cloth Co of Love Lane, “woollen cloth manufacturers”. No one called Brind is on the list of the firm’s creditors.

Strakers’ Annual Mercantile Ship and Insur Register 1862 p22 in the wine shippers and merchants list: C Brind and Co of 14 Devonshire Street; and F W Brind and Co of 9 Throgmorton Street. It’s not clear to me whether these are two separate businesses; or whether - after Charles Brind’s death - they are one business now but with two premises.

A List of Wardens, Assistants and Livery of the Worshipful Co of Goldsmiths London issued 1907; p20 Frederick Brind admitted to the Goldsmiths’ Company in 1849; address at publication is 13 Maze Hill, St Leonard’s-on-Sea. On p38 Ernest Walter Brind admitted to Goldsmiths’ Company in 1900; at 6 Gresham House Old Broad Street. Seen at the website of the Allen Co Public Library (Indiana) Genealogical Section.

The Critic volume 10 1851 p423 adverts: including one for the Patent Woollen Cloth Co of 8 Love Lane Aldermanbury. The company manufactures Royal Victoria brand felt carpeting; printed and embossed table cloths; curtains; and cloth for use in upholstery. They were made at two locations: at Borough Road London; and Leeds. The company’s warehouses were at 8 Love Lane, Wood Street.

The Economist issue of 1 May 1852 p500 another advert for the Patent Woollen Cloth Co but listing other items that it manufactures including felt for cleaning plate glass, steel, marble and tortoiseshell. The address at Leeds is Elmwood Mills. The Company has warehouses at 8 Love Lane Cheapside.

While scanning googlebooks I saw several other similar adverts for the Patent Woollen Cloth Co from early 1850s; but none from later - which may just be the result of googlebooks’ scanning processes not having done the later era yet.

Reports of Cases in Chancery volume 16 1852 p338 has a case involving the Patent Woollen Cloth Co’s shares, with a man called James Hay involved.

Chronological Ind of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted issue of 1859 p128 lists application number 2024 made by Frederick William Brind of 14 Devonshire Street Bishopsgate. The device was nothing to do with being a wine merchant; it was for “improvements in sewing-machines”.

Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Patents Granted issue of 1860 p195 application number 2019. The applicant is Edward Smith, described as “gentleman” but also

as of the Patent Woollen Cloth Co of Love Lane. His invention is for "An improved mode of manufacturing carpets". Date of application: 31 Aug 1853.

The Monthly (Alphabetical) Record of Births, Deaths and Marriages 1861: p246 on 12 March 1861 at St John's U Holloway, Frederick William Brind of Weldon Lodge Sydenham to Julia Mary 3rd dtr of John McRae of Park Road Upper Holloway.

Catalogue of the British Section, Paris Universal Exhibition 1868. Group III: Carpets, Tapestry etc p104 the exhibitors include the Patent Woollen Cloth Co of "Leeds", which exhibited wool carpets etc.

The Railway News volume 12, issue of 21 Aug 1869 p181 financial news items: announcement that the British Imperial Insurance Corporation of Manchester had just opened a branch in London. The branch would be governed by a local committee. All members of it were given, including Frederick William Brind Esq of F W Brind and Co of Old Broad Street.

Journals of the House of Lords volumes 107-108 published 1875 p171 has Frederick Brind's name in it in the margin, apparently against an Order concerning the Midland Railway.

Capital and Labour vol 2 1875 in a report of a tour of industrial sites in Yorkshire; one of the places visited by the group (I couldn't see who they were) was the Patent Woollen Cloth Co works, described as in the charge of "(Messrs T E Clarke)".

Kelly's Dir of Leather Trades 1880 p548 the Patent Woollen Cloth Co's mill is at Elmwood Mill, Camp Road Leeds.

London Gazette 11 July 1893 p3982 legal notices, section on bankruptcies of companies. Notice re the Patent Woollen Cloth Co of 8 Love Lane Aldermanbury. An Extraordinary General Meeting of the company at that address on 14 June 1893 had agreed to put the company into voluntary liquidation. Three men were chosen to be its liquidators:

Henry Phillips Whisson of 8 Conduit Street, as chairman of the company being liquidated

Frederick William Brind of 1 The Lawn, St Leonard's-on-Sea, "Gentleman"
and George Walter Knox of 16 Finsbury Circus, chartered accountant.

The liquidators would register a new company, to be called The Patent Woollen Cloth Co Ltd. It's not clear to me from this notice whether Frederick Brind is a creditor, a shareholder and director; or all three. I suspect he's all three.

Empire Review volume 7 1904 p269 advert from The Patent Woollen Cloth Co Ltd for its "pure wool in the form of sheets which show considerable elasticity even after subjection to severe pressure"; it was already being used on railway bridges.

The Builder 1905 p279 reported that the journal had been sent samples of "impregnated felt" by the Patent Woollen Cloth Co "of Leeds"; for use in the building industry.

Chelsfield:<http://www.randolphcaldecott.org>

Via www.randolphcaldecott.org.uk again, the text of a talk to the Randolph Caldecott Society given by Geoffrey Copus on 19 September 1996. The talk was entitled Randolph Caldecott: the Chelsfield Connection. Copus seems to live in Chelsfield and explains to his audience that he's a local historian, not an expert on Caldecott. He says Caldecott moved to Kemsing, about 7 miles from Chelsfield, in 1879. He couldn't find out how Caldecott and Marian met, but Caldecott married Marian Brind in Chelsfield Church on 18 March 1880. The Brind family were living at Chelsfield Lodge at the time, having moved there in the late 1870s; by

1879 Frederick William Brind was a church warden. Chelsfield Lodge was still there in 1928. Copus searched the local Record Office but couldn't find the lease of the Lodge by the Brind family though he did know that the Brinds leased Chelsfield Lodge from the freeholder, Thomas Waring of Woodlands. Copus searched for a photograph of Marian, to illustrate his lecture with, but couldn't find one in his local sources.

Marian's half-brother Frank Brind:

Wikipedia on the architects William West Neve and Ernest Newton, both pupils/assistants of Richard Norman Shaw who then went into business together in 1877 at 4 Chilworth Street; from 1878 at 5 Bloomsbury Square. In 1893 William West Neve and Frank Brind (described on this web page as "a relative of the client") were working on designs for remodelling Chelsfield Church. The designs are now in the archives of the archbishopric of Canterbury. According to Geoffrey Copus, the alternations to the church were never carried out.

Marian's cousin Ernest Walter Brind:

A List of Wardens, Assistants and Livery of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths London issued 1907; p20 Frederick William Brind admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company in 1849; address at publication was 13 Maze Hill, St Leonard's-on-Sea. On p38 Ernest Walter Brind was admitted to Goldsmiths' Company in 1900; at 6 Gresham House Old Broad Street. Seen at website Allen Co Public Library (Indiana) Genealogical Section.

For Marian's husband Randolph:

The most detailed account of his life was at the website of the Randolph Caldecott Society UK at www.randolphcaldecott.org.uk. The website also had a page on Marian, where I found the details of the two illustrations by Randolph in which she appears. Randolph Caldecott's web page on Wikipedia didn't add much to the Society web page's information and read as if it had been based on it.

Plenty of Randolph Caldecott's illustrations can be seen on the web.

30 July 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

James William Stewart Callie was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in September 1892, taking the motto 'Expertus metuit'. Over the next three years he did the reading required of members who wanted to progress further; and was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order in February 1896 - only members of the 2nd Order were allowed to do any magic.

A WORD OF WARNING BEFORE I START: this is my biography of a member of the Golden Dawn's Horus Temple at Bradford. The Horus Temple had two groups of people in it: one group who actually lived in Bradford or the surrounding villages, and a second group who lived in Liverpool and Birkenhead. I'm fairly sure that people in the two groups knew each other through the Theosophical Society. This person was one of the Liverpool/Birkenhead group. Anyway, I could have done a much better job of this person's

biography if I lived in the Liverpool area myself and could look at local archives.

The surname 'Callie' is a very rare one. I couldn't find much information about the name or people who had the name on the web, but it does seem to be Scottish and both James Callie's parents told successive census officials that they had been born in Scotland. It's a pity they weren't a bit more specific, but via familysearch and the web I found evidence that there were people called Callie living in the town of Kirkcudbright (in what is now the county of Dumfries and Galloway) in the early 19th-century; the significance of that being that Kirkcudbright had a regular steamship service to Liverpool. A boy called James was born to John Callie and his wife Janet, in Kirkcudbright, in 1818 and this may be the GD member's father.

James Callie's father - I'll call him James senior - moved with his wife from Scotland to Liverpool and went into business there as a joiner and builder. Exactly when this happened I haven't been able to establish for certain, but it must have been by 1852 when James Callie senior's oldest child, Albert, was born, in Liverpool. James William Stewart Callie was James senior and Jane's youngest child, born in Liverpool in 1857.

The city of Liverpool was expanding rapidly all through the mid-19th century and a building firm must have had plenty of work. Unfortunately, I couldn't find the Callie family anywhere in the UK on the censuses of 1861 and 1871, but on the day of the 1881 census, they were living at 226 Netherfield Road in the Everton district of Liverpool. They had moved there within the previous year, from 8 Roscommon Street. James Callie senior's firm was employing 18 men on that day. I'm not sure whether the 18 includes his sons John, and James, but John was by this time his father's partner in the business and the GD's James was working as a joiner, presumably for the family firm. The firm's name was Callie and Son, not sonS, meaning that the GD's James was an employee not a partner. There was a good reason for this: in 1870 the firm had got into financial trouble and in 1881 James Callie senior and John Callie were still struggling with the consequences. Money had been tight for years - in 1876 James Callie senior was struck off the list of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners because he was in arrears with his membership fees. James junior - only a child when the trouble started - was being kept out of the mess.

Callie and Son, of 11-19 Sheridan Street Liverpool, was declared bankrupt on 6 August 1870. As it was not a limited company, creditors were entitled to seize the owners' personal assets (if they had any of course!) to pay off the money they were owed. Henry Bolland, of accountants Gibson and Bolland, was appointed by the Liverpool courts to deal with the creditors; and he was still trying to sort the situation out 13 years later! It wasn't until March 1883 that a Court agreed with Bolland that he had taken the bankruptcy proceedings as far as he could, and Callie and Son was finally freed from the need to pay any more to its creditors.

At some point between 1881 and 1891, the GD's James Callie left the family firm to take up a very different kind of job - a middle-class kind of job, in that it didn't involve hard physical labour and took place mostly in offices and meeting-halls. At least up until 1911 - and I would suppose, until he retired or died - he never worked as a joiner again. I can't understand how the change happened, though it could have been a consequence of his marriage. James William Stewart Callie married Catherine Emma Lancaster in 1883. Although Catherine Emma had worked as a school-teacher until her marriage, her father,

John Lancaster, didn't need to work for a living. He told the 1881 census official that his income came from dividends - that is, investments. The family was living in the middle-class Liverpool suburb of West Derby, at 20 Marmaduke Street on the day of the 1881 census. This is pure speculation but I wonder if the GD's James Callie got his new job through John Lancaster's contacts.

All I can say for certain about the GD's James Callie during the 1880s is that he and Catherine Emma had four, possibly five, children during those years. Harold Stewart Callie was born in 1884 and Jean Stewart Callie in 1886. A first daughter, Ellen, may have been born to them in 1885 but I can't find Ellen on any census, so if she is their daughter she must have died in her infancy - though on the other hand there doesn't seem to be a death registration for her, so that's a mystery. James and Catherine Emma and their children were living in the West Derby district for most of the 1880s but by 1889 they had moved across the Mersey to the new housing estates of Birkenhead, where they continued to live until at least 1911. The death of James Callie's mother, Jane, in 1886 may have provided an impetus for the change. James and Catherine Emma's son James Lancaster Callie was born in Birkenhead in 1889.

I think James Callie made his change of career several years before my first evidence of it; because it was not usual, in the 19th-century, to appoint as secretary to an important national organisation someone from outside it; promotion from within was the norm. However, I can only say for certain that on the day of the 1891 census, James William Callie described his current employment as "Secretary to Financial Reform Association". Which makes him one of the few members of the Golden Dawn who gives any indication of being involved in contemporary politics.

The Financial Reform Association was founded in April 1848. Although there were branches in other major cities, the FRA's headquarters was in Liverpool. According to a document published in 1852, the FRA's aims were economical government; abolition of customs and excise duties and their replacement by direct taxation; and freedom of trade. One modern history describes what it was aiming for as taxation of real property - that is, land; and moving the tax burden from necessities to luxuries. In *British Society 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment and Change*, Richard Price describes the FRA as "the most extreme free traders" and says that the FRA's emphasis on free trade was based on the Evangelical concept of self-help, and a fear of organised labour. However, I found that the modern histories tended to overlook the fact that the FRA also campaigned for more and better housing for the working-class.

In 1891 the Times said that a prominent FRA member had described the FRA as "a Gladstonian Association", emphasising its links with the Liberal Party. However it was not William Ewart Gladstone who was involved with the FRA - at least, not on a daily basis - but his brother Richard Gladstone (1805-75), who worked for the family firm in Liverpool. Richard Gladstone was quite fanatical in his pursuit of the idea of free trade and became the FRA's first president.

In an era without even radio let alone TV, publishing was a very important part of getting your message out to the people. It was part of James Callie's job as FRA Secretary to edit and prepare for publication the FRA's yearly almanac and its magazine *The Financial Reformer*. The FRA had always published small pamphlets arguing its case on specific issues, and James Callie was required to edit these and see them through the process of

printing, publicising and selling them. Increasingly, though, he was also expected to write them, particularly the kind of pamphlet - needed quickly, while the issue was still fresh in the public mind - which was a reply and a challenge to a pamphlet published by somebody else.

The passing of the very un-free trade McKinley Tariff Act in the United States in 1890 may have given the FRA renewed energy, because the consequences of the Act fell heavily on Britain's cotton and woollen industries. (See my biography of GD member Jeremiah Leech Atherton for its impact on one Bradford family.) The GD's James Callie's first entry into the world of argument-by-pamphlet may have been a result of the FRA deciding to up its game. Callie's first pamphlet was issued in 1892, the nine-page *Criticisms...*, replying to a pamphlet entitled, "Is the Present Low Price of Agricultural Produce Beneficial to the Prosperity of the Nation?"

James Callie was sometimes under pressure at times to get publications printed and distributed for particular occasions: in May 1892, the *Times* mentioned that the FRA had sent a circular to every MP, ready for the debate on the Budget (the Conservative Party was in power at the time).

For most of the 19th-century, politics had been a question of Conservative or Liberal but by the 1890s there were new players in the field; the organised labour movements which Price says the FRA was so afraid of; and socialism. In 1895, the FRA asked James Callie to produce a series of articles for the *Liverpool Post and Echo*, countering a pamphlet called (with deliberate irony) *Merrie England*, published in 1893 by the socialist journalist Robert Blatchford. Callie's articles were published in pamphlet form in 1895 as John Smith's *Reply to Merrie England*. In 1901 the FRA required James Callie to produce a leaflet called *Better homes for the People of Liverpool*.

1906 was a General Election year and as part of the FRA's campaigning on behalf of the Liberal Party cause, James Callie was asked to write another set of articles for a local newspaper, this time for the *Liverpool Post and Mercury*. These were turned into a booklet, at 94 pages the longest work Callie had yet produced: *Socialism is not the best remedy - an interesting reflection of the FRA's anxieties about the politics of that year*. After over a decade of rule by the Conservatives, in 1906 Asquith's Liberal Party had a landslide victory. Sensing that the time was ripe, the FRA got James Callie to write a leaflet for the Liberal Party, on financial reform.

By the late 1890s James Callie had sufficiently impressed his FRA employers to be entrusted with representing the organisation at meetings; and even with the task of lecturing on its aims. In 1897 he read a paper called *The Social and Economic Effects of Disarmament*, at a meeting of the *Liverpool and District Bankers' Institute*. The lecture was later published by the Peace Society. In October 1901 he may have given another talk, this time on *Famines and the Famine*; he was certainly at the meeting at which this paper was read but the snippet I found wasn't clear as to whose talk it was; he may just have been in the audience. In 1905 he attended the annual meeting of the *National Liberal Federation*; with a General Election likely to happen soon, this was an important occasion for free traders so I am pleased the FRA wanted James Callie to be their representative at it. And in the midst of the turbulent year 1910 he wrote for the FRA a statement (presumably of its arguments, I haven't actually read the statement myself) which appeared in the magazine *The Public: A Journal of Democracy*.

I find it interesting that James Callie should lecture on disarmament in a decade in which the arms race began which culminated in World War 1. He was - of course - giving the talk on behalf the FRA, but I believe that the subject was one he felt strongly about: in 1892 he had joined the Theosophical Society, whose teachings contained the idea that all humanity was one. Each new member had to be sponsored into the TS by two people who were already members. James Callie's sponsors Robert Baird and Joseph Gardner, both of whom were initiated into the Golden Dawn later.

Baird and Gardner were actively recruiting new members as the TS underwent a rapid expansion in the early 1890s, with lodges being set up all over England. The Liverpool Lodge met every Thursday in those years, at 62 Dale Street. The lodge had a study group, which wrestled with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's monumental *The Secret Doctrine* (which even most theosophists found all-but-impenetrable). There was also a lecture programme. Most of the talks were given by local members but speakers from the TS headquarters in London regularly took in Liverpool on lecture tours of the north of England; usually before travelling on to Bradford. Each lodge was run by elected officers and a committee. In 1893 James Callie was elected Liverpool lodge's vice-president. During that year he gave one of the talks - on Palmistry. So many new members had been recruited that the Lodge had had to find a bigger room to hold its meetings; they were now being held at Crossley Buildings, 18 South Castle Street. There was also a new class on Sunday evenings, to study *The Key To Theosophy*.

I'm sure James Callie would have stayed a committed member of the TS, but the TS was torn in two in the years 1894-96, by a dispute that showed how far from the ideal of a united humanity some members of the organisation were. I won't go into what the dispute appeared to be about; what it was actually about was who would lead the TS now that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky was dead. James Callie's membership record shows that he was a member of the committee formed in Liverpool to support the American James Q Judge against his opponents in TS headquarters (it was based in London) as led by Annie Besant. When Judge was censured by the TS hierarchy, many English theosophists left the TS including all the members of his supporting committee. James Callie paid his last subscription to the TS in 1894. However, he may have kept up informal links with those who stayed in the TS, because the TS lodge in Liverpool was a very tight-knit group and seem to have been friends as well as TS members. The theosophists in Liverpool also had close ties with theosophists in Bradford; again based as much on friendship as membership; and that's how the GD's Horus Temple in Bradford came to have so many Liverpool-based initiates. The GD also had its disputes but not until 1901 did any of them go as far as splitting the Order apart. In the late 1890s, James Callie may have thought of it as an orderly refuge after the TS, where he could study the occult in such peace as his busy working and home life gave him.

In 1894, James and Catherine Emma's youngest son, Douglas, was born; they had one more child, Doris, born in 1899. At some point in the early 1890s, James Callie senior came to live with them. He died in 1896, aged 78. By 1901 James and Catherine Emma's children were growing up: James junior was working and was living elsewhere. Harold was working and Jean had also left school; both of them were still living at home. The Callies didn't have any live-in servants so it's likely that Jean - who was not listed as having a paid job in 1901 - was helping her mother with the housework. The family had moved to Wallasey. By 1911 Harold also had left home, Douglas had started work, and James and Catherine Emma had moved

again, to New Brighton. Shortly after 1911 census day, Jean married Sydney Francis; Harold married Lilian Gillies in 1913.

James Callie's life had pursued more or less the same track since 1891 but the first World War made a big difference to it: all the modern works I consulted when I was researching the Financial Reform Association said that it doesn't seem to have operated after World War 1 was over; and I certainly couldn't find any reference to the FRA after about 1914 when looking for references to it on the web (though I realise that, as at 2012, google didn't cover that period as well as it covered the 19th-century). Certainly, the 1920s were not a decade in which many people wanted to espouse the free trade cause; times were too uncertain. I suppose that the FRA was wound up - in which case, what happened to James Callie? He was 60 in 1917 so he may have just retired; if the FRA had been able to fund a pension. Or he may have found another job until he could retire. With a lack of sources for the 1920s, I can't say for sure.

The World War affected James and Catherine Emma in a more direct way: I found evidence that their son James Lancaster Callie was - inevitably - called up, probably in 1916. In 1911 he was working as a chauffeur - that is, he was driving and maintaining someone's car for a living. The War Office decided that men with this kind of experience were what they needed in the fledgling Royal Flying Corps, so in 1917 James Lancaster Callie was transferred to the RFC probably as a mechanic but possibly as a pilot.

I would have thought that Douglas Callie might have been called up too; but I couldn't find any evidence that he was, so perhaps he worked in a protected profession. Douglas Callie married Marjorie Massey in 1924. I couldn't find a marriage registration for Doris Callie - or any reference to her via the web - so I guess she remained at home caring for her aging parents.

James William Stewart Callie died shortly after the second World War broke out, in 1940, aged 82.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. The records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived beyond 1896 either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned; though no one who lived in Liverpool is. After surviving some difficult times in the 1890s, Bradford TS still seems to be going strong (as at December 2012). In April 2012 the History page was updated with the names of all the members at least up to 1941.

The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot, and needed a lot of careful management!

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JAMES WILLIAM STEWART CALLIE

At www.old-kirkcudbright.net reprinting of an article orig in the Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser on 17 and 24 June 1921: Galloway 100 Years Ago, by James Affleck.

J W S CALLIE'S FATHER IS A BUILDER WHO WENT BANKRUPT

Via the web to A Green and Co's Directory for Liverpool and Birkenhead issue of 1870 in the Private House section p36 a James Callie of 8 Roscommon Street is the only Callie listed.

London Gazette <http://www.london-gazette.co.uk> 9 August 1870: two notices of bankruptcy proceedings in Liverpool County Court against James Callie and John Callie, joiners and builders of 11-19 Sheridan Street Liverpool, trading as Callie and Son. Both men were officially declared bankrupt on 6 August 1870 and ordered to produce a financial statement at a hearing to be held on 23 August 1870.

Proceedings against Callie and Son were recorded in the London Gazettes of: 6 October 1871; 17 October 1871; 11 May 1875; 29 September 1882; and 20 March 1883.

The 17th Annual Report of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners covering December 1875 to December 1876. P245 James Callie in a list of members struck off f being in arrears w payts. Google books also has other annual reports issued by the Society; no one called Callie is mentioned in any of them.

Proof that Callie and Sons continued in business after the bankruptcy: The Furniture Gazette issue of 1892 p162 has a reference to J Callie of 8 Roscommon Street Liverpool, still working as a joiner.

THE FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

The FRA held annual conferences and representatives of it went to the meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. There were a great many references to it and its works both in contemporary sources and in modern financial/social histories of the 19th century.

Blackwood's Magazine volume 66 1849 p667 says the one of the FRA's aims was to lower taxation.

The Eclectic Review volume 3 1852 couldn't see the page number on google's snippet: a reference to an FRA based in Edinburgh.

Report on Taxation, Direct and Indirect published by J R Williams and Co of Liverpool 1860. This is an early FRA publication, giving its history so far and its aims, which are:

- economical govt
- abolition of customs and excise duties and their replacement by direct taxation
- "perfect freedom of trade".

Membership for one year cost 5/- so it wasn't a working-class organisation. The current hierarchy was:

President Robertson Gladstone

Vice-Presidents Charles Holland; Lawrence Heyworth; Charles Robertson; Francis Boulton; James Reddecliffe Jeffery.

Treasurer Edmund Knowles Muspratt

Secretary C E Macqueen Collector W L Smith

The FRA was governed - and its employees hired - by a 16-man council. Its office was currently at 46 Church Street Liverpool.

By James Callie's time, the FRA had moved to new offices; but they were still in the centre of Liverpool.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates 1864 p265 covering the Select Committee on Taxation: a quote from estimates of current tax revenue calculated by the FRA.

A contemporary history which looks at the FRA and the arguments put out against its ideas, is

The History of England from the Year 1830-1874 in 3 volumes all published 1874; by William Nassau Molesworth MA; pp144-146.

The Radical Programme by Joseph Chamberlain 1885 quotes some FRA publications, for example, on the question of reducing government spending.

Times Thursday 22 October 1891 p10 called the FRA "a Gladstonian Association" in a report on a Liberal Unionist conference held the previous day in the Co-operative Hall Sunderland. The man who gave that description wasn't named by the Times; he was answering questions from the floor.

Times Mon 16 May 1892 p6b mentioned the FRA leaflet that had been sent to all MP's. The leaflet pointed out that despite what the government had been saying, it had actually presided over a period of tax INCREASES.

My modern references to the FRA:

An Economic History of England 1870-1939 by William Ashworth 1972. In a footnote on p232, Ashworth mentions an FRA jubilee volume published in 1898 to celebrate 50 years since its founding. In the main text on p232 Ashworth describes the FRA as being a pre-World War 1 organisation.

British Society 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment and Change by Richard Price. Cambridge University Press 1999. On p90 in chapter called The Ambiguities of Free Trade Price gives specific dates for the existence of the FRA: formed 1848, lasted until 1914. It advocated the abolition of import duty on the grounds that it distorted trade and encouraged tax evasion. Further on in same chapter, on p109, Price describes the FRA as “the most extreme free traders”. On p141 in the chapter The Reach of the State: Taxation, Price says that the FRA extended its arguments in favour of a complete abolition of tariffs, away from commodities into the labour market, thereby rendering impossible (Price says) any “meaningful connection with the organised labour movement”. It’s Price who makes the connection between free trade and “evangelical economics” ie the self-help concept.

The Social Sources of Financial Power by Leonard Seabrooke 2006. On p57 in the chapter: The Financial Reform Nexus in England, Seabrooke says that as well as its narrowly-economic aims the FRA also campaigned for more access to credit for the poor; and housing reform to address the problems of over-crowding.

A series of the FRA’s publications was reissued in 2008 as Tracts of the Financial Reform Association.

For a short while from 1862 the FRA issued a monthly magazine called The Exchange.

On the web I found the Financial Reform Almanack issues of 1880 and other years, all published in Liverpool. I also noticed a pamphlet The Case for Free Trade: 1910 Election Supplement of the Financial Reform Almanack and Year Book.

The Labour Annual issue of 1971 edited by Joseph Edwards p136 mentions a different magazine issued by the FRA, the Financial Reformer described as published only “irregularly”. When the the Financial Reformer was published, its editor was J W S Callie.

CALLIE’S PAMPHLETS ON POLITICAL ISSUES, now in the British Library catalogue

1892 Criticism by Mr J W S Callie...on the Pamphlet; “Is the Present Low Price of Agricultural Produce Beneficial to the Prosperity of the Nation?”. Also in this pamphlet was a reply to the FRA’s criticisms by the original pamphlet’s author, P H Andrew. 9 pages.

1895 John Smith’s Reply to “Merrie England”. A note in the British Library catalogue says taht the pamphlet Merrie England, to which ‘John Smith’ is replying, was written by Robert Blatchford under his pseudonym Nunquam. Callie’s own pamphlet was published by Liverpool Post and Liverpool Echo office. There’s more on the career of Robert Blatchford in wikipedia. Merrie England was published in 1893 after originally appearing as a series of articles in The Clarion, a weekly for working people, founded and edited by Blatchford.

Other pamphlets written by James Callie but not in the BL catalogue:

The Reformer’s Year Book published originally in 1901 then published again in 1972 by The

Harvester Press. On p114 Callie is described as the editor of a leaflet Better homes for the People of Liverpool available from 18 Hackins Hey Liverpool

Socialism is not the best remedy published 1907 but originally a series of articles in the Liverpool Post and Mercury during 1906. In July 2102 I found a copy of this on the web available for download.

The Public: A Journal of Democracy volume 13 1910 has the statement by James Callie as Secretary of the FRA.

CALLIE'S OTHER WORK FOR THE FRA

The Herald of Peace and International Arbitration published 1897 by the Peace Society. On p152 a report that Callie had read a paper at a meeting of the Liverpool and District Bankers' Institute on 1 November: The Social and Economic Effects of Disarmament.

Speeches and Papers on Industrial Questions 1891 and 1902 editor Romesh Chunder Dutt. Elm Press 1902. On p51 there's a reference to a speech given in Liverpool 18 October 1901: Famines and the Famine. Callie's name is mentioned but I couldn't see from the snippet whether he delivered it or was just amongst the audience for it.

Proceedings in Connection with the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation 1905 p46 Callie's name is in a list, presumably of those who attended the meeting: he was there as representative of the FRA.

In Land and Liberty: Monthly Journal for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade published by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values 1939 p41 seems to be a reminiscence either including or actually by Callie. But it says that he was first appointed Secretary of Liverpool FRA "early in 1865", which cannot possibly be true, perhaps it's a typing error.

JAMES CALLIE IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p155 entry for J W S Callie. Application dated 13 October 1892. Subscription paid 1892-94. Handwritten note says "Judge Society 27/4/96". Address during the time he was a member: 11 Massey Park Liscard Birkenhead. Member of Liverpool Lodge. Sponsors: R B B Nisbet and J K Gardner.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893, sole editor is Annie Besant. Published by the Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII no 67 issued 15 March 1893 p78 news section included an item on Liverpool Lodge sent in by its assistant secretary, Gustave E Sigley. The lodge met on Thursdays at 62 Dale Street. The study group was still working on The Secret Doctrine, with some discussion of Letters that Have Helped Me. Volume XII no 69 issued 15 May 1893 p253 news section had a report on Liverpool Lodge's annual mtg had been held at the Nisbets' house on 1 May [1893]. Officers for the coming year included: J W S Callie as vice-president; treasurer W Ranstead; secretary J Hill; librarian T Duncan. Lodge council members included Mrs Nisbet; Mrs Gillison; and Mr Sandham. All the people I've named were initiated into the Golden Dawn.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIII covering September 1893 to February 1894 with Annie Besant as sole editor. Volume XIII no 73 issued 15 September 1893 p71 item on Liverpool Lodge sent in by J Hill as its honorary secretary. Forthcoming lectures would include, on 5 October [1893], one by J W S Callie on Palmistry.

WORLD WAR 1

London Gazette 9 June 1917 p5715 lists issued by War Office on 9 June 1917 includes one of cadets to be made temporary 2nd Lieutenants as of 17 May 1917 in the Royal Flying Corps. James Lancaster Callie is one of those cadets.

Via nationalarchives.org I got to a reference to there being some records of him dated 1918-19, at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. But I couldn't see the details on the web.

7 February 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

John McNaught Campbell was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh, on 21 January 1895. John Gibson of Edinburgh was initiated during the same ceremony but I imagine this was a coincidence and the two men hadn't met before that evening. John Campbell chose the Latin motto 'Sequor'. He doesn't seem to have done a great deal towards following up his initiation.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

March 2016

This is what I have found on JOHN McNAUGHT CAMPBELL.

IN THE GD

Each GD temple kept its own records. I haven't come across any mention of John in the GD collections I have access to in the Freemasons' Library and the Warburg Institute.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes, John Campbell was an active and important freemason. He confined his freemasonry activities to Scotland, which is a pity from my point of view: the Scottish freemasons keep their own records, which I don't have access to.

The one English lodge John was a member of was Quatuor Coronati 2076, founded as a forum for the study of the history, mythology and symbolism of freemasonry. It always met in London but had a world-wide reach through its journal, *Ars Quatuor Coronati*, which was sent out to a large number of corresponding members. John was one of those, joining the list of them in March 1889 and remaining on it at least until 1900. All members of Quatuor

Coronati 2076 had their freemasonry credentials listed in the journal and these show the extent of John's involvement in Scottish freemasonry. He was a member of two lodges and one chapter and had served as WM of one lodge and PZ of the chapter. He had held various posts freemasonry in the city of Glasgow and the county of Lanarkshire and had served on the Supreme Committee of Scotland, as its Scribe.

It's almost certainly through freemasonry that he came to know members of the GD and be recommended for initiation. So senior a freemason was an important recruit to the GD, even if he didn't stay for long.

Sources for the lodges and chapter John was a member of: Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volume VIII 1895; endpapers list p20 gives the numbers - lodges 0 and 408 and chapter 69 - but not the names. I went on the web to find out more and give the details below but with caution, as lodges have often had their numbers changed or re-allocated.

At www.standrew518.co.uk/address/view_all.php there's a list of Masonic Lodges in Scotland. Lodge Mother Kilwinning Ayrshire is lodge number 0, founded as far back as 1598 and still in existence with (apparently) its original number. It acted as de facto grand lodge of Scotland until 1736 when the official one was founded. It has its own website at www.mk0.com.

Lodge Clyde 408 was founded in 1860; it still exists and is based in Glasgow.

At www.supremegrandchapterofscotland.co.uk I found a list of all Scottish chapters. However, 69, Kelvin Chapter, seems not to have been founded until 1918, long after AQC says John was a member.

Source for Quatuor Coronati 2076.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume II 1889 unnumbered pages at end of volume [p9].

AQC2076 volume VIII 1895; endpapers list p20 shows J M Campbell still on the list; and gives details of his posts in Scottish freemasonry:

- past Pr GJW, Glasgow
- past PG Tr (RA) Lower Ward Lanarkshire
- Grand Bible Bearer (Craft) and Member of the Grand Committee
- Grand Representative Dakota
- Grand Scribe N and Member of the Supreme Committee (RA) Scotland
- Grand Representative of Grand Chapter of Maryland.

The AQC2076 Volume XIII 1900 endpapers p21. John was probably a corresponding member for far longer than this, but I haven't checked volumes any later than 1900.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

I didn't find any. There ought to be some in the magazines listed in the 'work/profession' section.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

John McNaught Campbell was the eldest child of Thomas McKell Campbell and his wife Jane, née McNaught, who married in Glasgow in 1849. He had one younger brother, Thomas; and a younger sister, Margaret. Thomas McKell Campbell ran a wine merchants' business in Glasgow.

Sources:

Thomas McKell Campbell and Jane McNaught seem to have got married twice. There are two records of their marriage at Familysearch: Scotland-ODM GS file number 1042982 for 1 June 1849 in the Gorbals; and Scotland-ODM GS file number 1041057 for 12 May 1849 at Eastwood, Renfrew. Most peculiar!

Census 1871.

EDUCATION

I haven't been able to find out where John McNaught Campbell went to school. I don't think he went to university - he went into the kind of work that (in the 19th century) you learned on the job.

WORK/PROFESSION

John McNaught Campbell trained as a surveyor and was already working as one by 1871. However, he didn't stay as one for very long. He was a keen naturalist and had been elected a member of the Natural History Society Glasgow in 1870. His hobby, and the contacts he made through it, led to his being appointed (probably in 1876) as assistant to the dynamic and persuasive James Paton, curator of the Kelvingrove House Museum. He and Paton were at that time the only employees apart from the maintenance and cleaning staff. John supervised the natural history and anthropological collections while Paton concentrated on the City's art works. John remained as an employee of what became the City of Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery until he retired. Particularly in the early part of his career, the subjects that fell within his remit were so varied that he became a member of a wide range of specialist societies: the Royal Scottish Geographical Society; the Zoological Society; the Folklore Society; and the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh. He and James Paton were founding members of the Museums' Association - a society for professionals in the field. They were in-post during two Glasgow International Exhibitions, in 1888 and 1901, which involved royal visits. Money from the 1888 exhibition was spent on purpose-built buildings in which to house the city's collections.

The number of staff employed in the museums and galleries had increased to 60 by 1909 and the two original curatorial employees' duties and job titles had grown accordingly. In 1883 John was still assistant curator but by 1894 he'd been promoted to curator. By 1908 he was curator of ethnography and antiquities with at least one specialist working for him - Peter McNair, the curator of natural history.

I haven't been able to find out whether John retired from work at all; or whether he continued to work until his death. The source below about the retirement party might actually refer to John; but it could equally well refer to his boss James Paton.

Sources:

For John McNaught Campbell's training and work as a surveyor: census 1871.

For the former Kelvingrove House Museum: www.glasgowlife.org.uk/museums:

Campbell's boss James Paton:

See www.theglasgowstory.com for a portrait and some information on his work in Glasgow.

Via www.glasgowwestaddress.co.uk, to Paton's entry in the Index of Glasgow Men issued 1909.

John McNaught Campbell at the Kelvingrove House Museum:

Nether Lochaber: the Natural History, Legends and Folk-lore of the West Highland by Rev Alexander Stewart, FSA Scotland. Edinburgh: William Paterson 1883. On p387 Rev Stewart mentions a trip he made to Glasgow in January 1878. He spent two hours one morning going round the Kelvingrove Museum with Paton and John, whom Stewart described as "of course, a Highlander" - a reference to John's membership of the clan Campbell.

Seen on the web: Zoologist: A Monthly Journal of Natural History issue of 1894.

Seen on the web: Minerva: Jahrbuch der gelehrten welt volume 18 1908, in English.
Proceedings of Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow volume 38 1907 p264.

The Book of Arran editor James Alexander Balfour. Archaeology volume 2: History and Folklore, by William Mackay MacKenzie. Illustrations p130 credits John with having photographed the three cremation urns from the Kelvingrove Museum collection. Series published by the Arran Society of Glasgow 1910, 1914, so I imagine Balfour and MacKenzie were acquaintances of John.

Membership of societies:

Transactions, Natural History Society of Glasgow 1900 p309.

Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Report of Council volume 4 number 2 covering 1887-88 p675.

Scottish Geographical Magazine volume 4 1888 published by the Royal Scottish Geographical Soc p676.

Folklore Records: Relics of Popular Antiquities Part 2 published London: Folklore Society; in journal form between 1878 and 1882: p16 in a list of officers and members of the Society.

Seen on the web: Science-Gossip issue 257 1886 p112 in which I think John is listed as the President of a local natural history society, most likely the Natural History Society of Glasgow.

Proceedings of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh volume 10 1891 p14, p397.

History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club volume 14 1894 pv.

Report of the Proceedings...Museums Association volume 5 1894 p145: an article by John, as a Fellow of the Zoological Society.

The two Glasgow International Exhibitions:

Times Friday 6 April 1888 p13a: the Prince and Princess of Wales would open the exhibition.

Times Thursday 23 August 1888 p4a a report on Queen Victoria's state visit to the exhibition, during which she had opened the Corporation's new buildings.

Times Fri 26 April 1901 p7a: this time the Duke and Duchess of Fife would open the

exhibition.

For those who aren't au fait with Queen Victoria's descendants, see wikipedia on the Duchess of Fife - Princess Louise, eldest daughter of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. Louise had married the 6th Earl of Fife in 1889; two days after the wedding, Queen Victoria made her husband a duke.

John at a retirement party, probably that of James Paton but possibly his own: English Mechanic and World of Science volume 100 1915 p115.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

I only came across the one mentioned in the 'work' section above:

Report of the Proceedings...Museums Association volume 5 1894 p145 has a report by John of the Association's first meeting.

I'm sure there must be more, in the journals of some of the societies he was a member of, not online as yet.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

See the 'membership of societies' section above: John McNaught Campbell had the kind of job where it's hard to tell between work and leisure. Freemasonry would also have taken up a lot of his spare time.

ADDRESSES

1881 district of West End Park Glasgow.

1891 in the Assistant Curator's house in the grounds of Kelvingrove Museum Glasgow. I presume he will have continued to live here at least until he retired.

Sources: census 1881, 1891. I couldn't identify him on the 1901 census.

FAMILY

By 1881 John McNaught Campbell had married Jeannie. Their daughter, another Jeanie, was aged three. The younger Jeannie was not in their household on census day 1891. She might have been away at school; I didn't look for her in case I got her forename wrong (Jean/Jane/Jeanie). She might have died young. In 1891 a cousin of John's was living with John and Jeanie, Bessie MacFarlane, born in Glasgow around 1871.

Sources: census 1881, 1891. I couldn't identify John and his family on the 1901 census.

DEATH

I haven't been able to discover when John McNaught Campbell died. Ancestry now has Scottish probate records on it but he doesn't seem to have been listed there under his full name. There were rather a lot of 'john campbell's so I didn't look through them.

DESCENDANTS?

Not sure.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Alexander James Carden was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in March 1891, choosing the Latin motto 'Fide'. His wife Anne Rule Carden was initiated in the same month; she opted for a motto in Italian - 'Amore'. Both did the study, and passed the necessary exams, required of initiates if they wanted to join the GD's inner, 2nd Order, and were initiated into it in March 1893. Then, however, things seem to have gone rather wrong: Alexander James Carden's membership of the Order was in abeyance by June 1894; and his wife's name was removed from the Roll of GD members, though the date of the removal isn't clear.

In March 1892 the Cardens' elder daughter Pamela Carden was initiated into the GD, also at the Isis-Urania temple, taking the Hebrew motto 'Shemeber'. She was initiated into its 2nd Order in June 1893 and remained a GD member until 1903 when she helped found one of the GD's daughter orders.

When the three Cardens became members of the GD they were all living at 32 Leinster Square in Bayswater, west London. Pamela moved away in 1894 when she married another GD member, Percy William Bullock.

Alexander James Carden came from a background of law, finance and news. His grandfather, a barrister, married a daughter of John Walter, the founder of the Times newspaper; their descendants inherited shares in the newspaper. Alexander James' uncle, George Frederick Carden (1798-1874) also became a barrister. He was the main driving force behind the founding of Kensal Green Cemetery which opened for business in burials in 1833.

Alexander James' father, Robert Walter Carden (1801-88) spent a few years in the army before setting up in business in the City of London as a stock-broker. In 1855 he was one of the founders of the City Bank, which had branches in London and its suburbs. He also was a director of the Royal Exchange Bank and the Canada Company. He was a member of the Cutlers' Company and served as its Master three times. He was a City of London alderman; and served as Lord Mayor of London in 1857-58. He was elected an MP twice, for different constituencies. As a Conservative, and an Evangelical christian who funded schools for very poor children (before the passing of the 1870 Education Act, this would be) and even taught in them, he was rather an outsider in the City of London. He seems to have moved more in charity than in financial circles, and was a friend of the great supporter of causes, Angela Burdett-Coutts. He also gained royal and governmental recognition, being knighted in 1851 and made a baronet in 1887.

In 1827 Robert Walter Carden married Pamela, daughter of William Smith Andrews, a doctor who lived in Richmond. They had seven daughters, and three sons; though only five of their

children survived into adulthood. Alexander James was the youngest son, born in 1839.

Alexander James Carden's childhood was a privileged one, though as the family were Evangelicals there was likely to have been a touch of the hair-shirt about it. Robert Walter Carden's main residence was at 64 Wimpole Street in Marylebone, but he and Pamela also had a country house, Mole Lodge at West Moulsey in Surrey, where the rest of the family would probably spend the summer while Robert Walter stayed on at Wimpole Street making the money that made this style of life possible. On the day of the 1841 census the family was not at either of those addresses - probably travelling abroad. In 1851, however, Robert Walter and Pamela were both at home in Wimpole Street with their eldest son, Frederick Walter; their daughter Edith; a butler, a footman and four women servants. I couldn't find Alexander James anywhere in the UK on the day of the 1851 census; I suppose he had been sent abroad to school (I'm not sure where but Germany or France were likely destinations).

On the day of the 1861 census, Robert Walter and Pamela were at 64 Wimpole Street again, and again Edith was with them; also at home on that day was their other surviving daughter Clara; and Alexander James, now 21. Although there was money - or at least expenditure - in the family, all three sons were gainfully employed in 1861. Frederick Walter had joined the army; second son Robert was a Church of England vicar; and Alexander James told the census official that he was a stockbroker. I presume that means he was working for the family firm, in its offices at 3 Threadneedle Street in the City. The bank and the stock-broking firm must have been doing well - or needed to be assumed to be doing well - because the Cardens had increased the number of servants they employed to seven: butler, footman, cook, lady's maid, two housemaids and a kitchen-maid.

Alexander James Carden got married in 1863. He never told any subsequent census that he was doing any paid work; in fact he made a point of telling the official that he did not need to follow a profession. He and his family lived modestly, at least when compared to his parents, and to eldest brother Frederick Walter. He is not on the list of people attending the funeral of Robert Walter Carden in 1888. These pieces of information may not be connected, but I believe they are. I think Alexander James was seen by his family to have made a bit of a mis-alliance when he married Anne Rule Clements, the daughter of a Deptford butcher.

John Thomas Clements, of the butcher's shop, Deptford Broadway, married Jane Major, from another Deptford family, in 1840. Anne Rule Clements, born in October or November 1841, was their only child as far as I have been able to discover. Anne was given rather an odd second name, often mis-spelled 'Raile'. I think she was named for a Jane Rule who was living with John Thomas and Jane Clements on the day of the 1841 census. Relationships between members of the household are not given in 1841; but Jane Rule was of an age to be the grandmother of John Thomas or of Jane.

Jane Rule died in 1844; and Jane Clements in 1845 at the age of 26. Anne doesn't seem ever to have lived with her father again; and I haven't been able to find out anything at all about the relations or friends she did grow up with. From 1845 to the day of her marriage, her life is a complete mystery to me.

About the marriage of Anne Rule Clements to Alexander James Carden: I checked to see if he had committed the ultimate middle-class crime of marrying one of the servants. I looked to see if Anne was actually employed in the Carden household: but she wasn't, at least, not in

1861. Of course, she could have been a servant somewhere else! But I don't think it's likely. The Clement family were skilled working-class and small-business people. John Thomas doesn't seem to have had any close relations but I was able to find Jane Clements' brother George Henry Major, who was a gas-fitter. George Henry's elder son was in the navy for a while before joining the coastguard service; the younger son was apprenticed to John Thomas as a butcher. They were respectable people, with a reputation to keep up in their own communities; unless times were very hard indeed their daughters didn't go working as servants. But what Anne Rule Clements did do, where she lived and with whom, how or if she was educated and how she met the son of a banker/stockbroker, I can't imagine.

Alexander James Carden and Anne Rule Clements were married at the old St Pancras parish church near King's Cross station, on 12 April 1863. I found that much information on website familysearch, but the names of both parents are missing from its database and familysearch does not normally leave these details out. The lack could just be some rather sloppy record-keeping by the verger at old St Pancras, not making the proper entries in the marriage registration book. But it could also mean that neither set of parents were present. Both the newly-weds were over 21 and did not, in theory, need their parents' consent. However...

Even if they did feel that their son had married beneath him, Robert Walter and Pamela did not leave Alexander James without any money at all, and some contact between the two families was kept up as well. Alexander James and Anne seem to have had an income that meant they could live comfortably without his having to work. On the day of the 1881 census their income was enough to pay three women servants: a cook, a nurse and a housemaid. Until the late 1880s they seem to have resisted the more lively but more expensive option of living in London, and spent most of their time in north Kent - perhaps that was where Anne Rule Carden had grown up. They spent the early 1870s living in France.

Alexander James and Anne Rule Carden had seven children: James William (1864); George Frederick, named after his uncle (1868); Pamela, named after her grandmother (1871); Henry (1872); Robert Walter, named after his grandfather (1875); Alexander (1877); and Rowena, named after her aunt-by-marriage, Frederick Walter's wife (1880).

Though I doubt if it impinged much on her, Anne's father married for a second time in 1865; Anne may hardly have known him or his bride. John Thomas Clements married Elizabeth Brown, a middle-aged woman who lived locally. George Henry Major had died in 1863, and John Thomas and Elizabeth took in two of his children, Edwin and Alice. John Thomas trained Edwin as a butcher; Alice was also involved with the butcher's business and she and her husband Charles Deacon eventually inherited it.

Two deaths in the Carden family also occurred during the sequence and may have brought the survivors closer together. Robert Walter and Pamela's second son Robert Augustus died aged 36 in 1873. Pamela Carden (senior) survived this latest death of a child by just over a year, dying in 1874.

A difference to Alexander James and Anne's income may have been made in 1880 when Robert Walter Carden's bank became a limited company. If their incomes were increased the Cardens were grateful for it because their children needed educating and despite the 1870

Education Act, the middle-classes were still expected, and preferred, to pay to have their children educated (with much more spent on the boys than on the girls). On the day of the 1881 census, Alexander James and Anne were living at 14 Bunch Road Northfleet in Kent. Pamela (now 10), Robert Walter, Alexander and Rowena were all at home but the older boys were boarding at schools in nearby Gravesend: Henry at a school with only a handful of young boy pupils - a prep school perhaps - and James and George Frederick at James Mallinson's school at Park Place, a much bigger establishment with more than 50 teenage pupils and three teachers. Three sets of school fees weighed fairly heavily on the Cardens' income, I should imagine. Later Alexander - though not, apparently, the other boys - was sent to Haileybury School for a couple of years.

After his wife's death, Robert Walter Carden (senior) had continued to live in the family house in Wimpole Street, with his unmarried daughter Edith and a staff which was still large but rather less in number than in previous decades. There was an air of fin-de-siècle about the baronetcy he was awarded in 1887 and he died a few months later, on 1 January 1888. Quite what happened to the bank I'm not sure, because as I've made clear in the biography so far, none of Robert Walter Carden's sons had been working at the bank since Alexander James had left it, probably in the early 1860s. Alexander James doesn't seem to have become involved in its management after his father's death, even though he was the only son with any City experience at all. Frederick Walter, as the eldest son, might have felt he had a right to succeed his father as its leader, but he would have needed someone to tell him what to do - possibly the George Mayor who was co-executor with him of Robert Walter Carden's Will and who had probably been Robert Walter's business partner as his address in the Probate Register is 3 Threadneedle Street, the headquarters of the bank. A long-term solution to the bank's future was not arrived at for ten years and in the meantime something extraordinary happened to the personal effects at least of Robert Walter Carden: originally assessed for probate at over £100,000-worth; they were re-valued a year later at only £24000 or so. Where did the rest of it go? If it was a modern Will I'd suppose it had all been carefully slithered away into a series of off-shore accounts.

By 1891, Alexander and Anne Rule Carden had moved to London. I assume money or income inherited under Robert Walter Carden's Will had put living in the capital within their means, but they may also have seen a period spent in the capital city of the British Empire as an investment: they had several sons and two daughters to establish and needed to widen their social circle.

Alexander James and Anne Carden, and their children, spent a period around 1870 living in France, and their children Pamela and Henry were both born there. Pamela Carden was born on 20 March 1871 at the village of St Servan on the north coast of Brittany, close to St Malo. Brittany was definitely off the beaten track for British people choosing to live abroad; but for that very reason it will have been within Alexander James' financial means. The Cardens may only have returned to England when the time came to send their sons to school; but they were back by 1880 when Pamela's sister Rowena was born, and didn't live abroad as a family again. Pamela may have been able to speak French and even a smattering of Breton, but in all other respects her education - like that of most female middle-class members of the GD - is something I can only speculate about. Census officials wrote 'scholar' in the correct part of the census form to cover children of the correct age but it's a word without any helpful information in it, it seems to cover every form of education from Eton to a charity school to a day-governess. The right of middle-class girls to receive the same education as middle-class boys was the subject of various campaigns by the time of Pamela Carden's childhood but I have only found one GD member, and two GD members' sister, who (for instance) attended

university. There was a bias against it in parents, backed up by pronouncements by physicians about its dangers: a fear that too much education might make women unmarriageable. The prejudice was especially strong amongst Evangelicals, who were taught the ideology of 'separate spheres' - he for the world, she for the home. I shall assume Pamela Carden's parents felt the usual bias.

Pamela was not at a boarding-school on the day of the 1881 census; nor were her parents employing a live-in governess to teach her. It's possible that she did have a day-governess - that is, one who didn't live with the family; or that she was sent away to school for a couple of years, later in the 1880s. Neither of those options would show up on the census. Another that wouldn't is Alexander James and Anne teaching her themselves - he theosophy, she household-management on a limited budget. One thing Pamela does seem to have been taught somewhere by someone is to apply herself to study. I think the occult texts and exams demanded of GD members wanting to get into its 2nd Order defeated quite a few women initiates whose education had not prepared them for that kind of systematic effort. Pamela, on the other hand, did all the necessary study in 15 months - a considerable achievement, even if she had help from her parents and the man she was to marry.

Having given Pamela all the education they thought was suitable for a girl of her social class, Alexander James and Anne will have overseen her move into the adult world by introducing her to their friends and acquaintances. Pamela was probably the only one of the Carden's children to be on the social circuit in the late 1880s and early 1890s: some at least of Pamela's brothers were training for professions; professions that they then seem not to have followed - saved from the daily grind by the Carden family's money, I suppose. Pamela's eldest brother James claimed even at his death to be a Church of England vicar, but never seems to have held any CofE post. George Frederick may have inherited money from his uncle, the Kensal Green Cemetery George Frederick; I did find one reference to his following his uncle into the law as well but if he did, he didn't practice because his name never comes up on my usual law sources. Henry was living in the USA by 1894. Robert Walter trained as an architectural surveyor but then went to Italy to study art. Anyway, while her brothers were dabbling in the professions, Pamela was being taken about by her parents to the social gatherings they regularly attended. Some of the circles in which they moved were quite radical: Jane Anna Davies, wife of the journalist and lapsed CofE vicar Charles Maurice Davies, was a friend of theirs. Jane Anna and Charles Maurice had been very dedicated believers in spiritualism in the 1860s and 1870s and had tried to set up a Christian-spiritualist church; both had rather lost their faith in the existence of a spirit world by the 1880s. Jane Anna was a good, though reluctant, spiritualist medium. Which leads us to the Golden Dawn and the Theosophical Society.

I've done quite a lot of research into the TS through its membership registers and it's quite clear that it was a great recruiting centre for the GD, especially in the early 1890s. William Wynn Westcott, a senior member of the TS, invited quite a few TS members with an interest in the western esoteric tradition, to join his new Order of the Golden Dawn; and then they began to invite their friends. The Cardens buck this trend however: all three joined the GD first and the TS a few months later, so it's not so clear to me, who thought they were suitable initiates for the GD - especially Alexander James Carden as he was the first to join each.

Alexander James Carden joined the TS formally in November 1891; Anne in June 1892; and Pamela in September 1893. But I've suggested in my biography of Percy William Bullock that they may have been involved with the TS for some years before - my investigation of the

TS's membership registers showed me that the TS only began to keep membership details in a systematic way in the late 1880s by which time it had been going in England for over a decade. When Alexander James applied to join, he was sponsored by W R Old, and Alice Gordon (Alice later joined the GD), two people who had known Helena Petrovna Blavatsky for many years. I'm assuming that Alexander James had known Old at least for several years - Alice Gordon perhaps not so long as she had only recently come to live in England after several decades spent in India with her husband. Anne's application was sponsored by her husband; and Pamela's by Percy William Bullock and F Hills.

It's possible that Alexander James Carden began to move in theosophical circles as a result of an interest in, and study of, Sufism - the mystical aspect of Islam. That is, if he is the writer just identified as "AJC", who had three articles published in the TS's main magazine, *Lucifer*: *A Sufi's Mystical Apologue*, and *Commentary by Sadi of Shiraz* both published in 1888; and *A Vision Produced by Music*, published in 1889. Some support for thinking that the writer 'AJC' is Alexander James comes from his daughter Pamela's play, *An Advent Mystery*, published in 1923. She prints two quotes, both translations from Persian, one by Hafiz and one by Jalaluddin, better known as Rumi. Persian mystical poetry seems to have been an interest Alexander James and Pamela shared.

If AJC is Alexander James Carden, then he had departed radically from the Evangelical Christianity he had been brought up in, to the extent of looking at some interesting alternatives to it - even if it was only study and he never even considered becoming a convert. The works of Sa'adi were known in translation in the 19th-century - Ralph Waldo Emerson read them and that may have been how 'AJC' came across them. However, as I'm not sure of the identification, I won't comment any more except to say that IF the three articles were by Alexander James Carden they are his only published works. There was nothing in the British Library catalogue by him, for example - and neither Anne Carden nor Pamela Carden had any articles published in a theosophical magazine, nor any larger theosophical work catalogued in its own right by the BL. None of the Cardens wrote anything about magic, as far as I can see.

Some members of the GD recommended a large number of their friends as suitable initiates but - apart from each other - the Carden family only brought one person into the GD: their friend Jane Anna Davies. Both Alexander James and Pamela, however, were willing to offer their time to the GD by taking on some of the administration of the Order. Alexander James took over from Percy William Bullock as Isis-Urania temple's cancellarius in mid-1892 and did the job - which involved organising meetings amongst other things - until March 1894. Pamela did the same job for Isis-Urania from 1896 to 1898.

1894 was a year of changes in the Carden family. Three of Alexander James and Anne's children got married. On 2 June, Pamela Carden married GD and TS member Percy William Bullock. I cover the rest of her life in Percy Bullock's biography. A couple of weeks later James Carden married Cornelia Charlotte Turner. And later in the year - but in Cook County Illinois, with none of his family present - Henry Carden married Winina Tronson. However, I speculate that Alexander James' resignation as cancellarius in March of that year indicated the beginning of something sadder. Only three months after he stepped down as cancellarius, his membership was noted down by William Wynn Westcott as in abeyance - a wording that I've come to see as an indication of crisis in the member's life. And in the autumn of 1895, Alexander James, Anne and Pamela all resigned from the TS as well; though this decision may have been dictated as much by the TS's inner turmoil at that time, as by trouble in the

Carden family.

If you want to skip straight to the rest of Pamela Bullock's life you need to go to the Bullock biographies by following the link [HERE](#).

I think that Alexander James began to be ill in 1894. It's fairly speculative on my part to suggest he was ill at all, so I shan't try to put a name to the illness I'm not even completely sure he suffered. I can say that either financial considerations, or a wish to be near good medical advice, meant that the Cardens didn't leave Britain in search of a warmer climate - often a treatment recommended to those who could afford it, by doctors who saw the end coming and could do nothing but try to delay it. They stayed living at 32 Leinster Square.

Although there's no date to identify when Anne Carden dropped out of the GD, she wasn't involved at all in the events surrounding the resignation of William Wynn Westcott, early in 1897; so it had happened by then. It's clear that Anne found some of the requirements of practical magic difficult: a letter from Samuel Liddell Mathers, written in 1896 but referring to events several years earlier, describes her as having a "want of self-control" when attempting to summon spirits, putting herself at risk of invoking negative energies rather than positive. Jane Anna Davies - who I guess was Anne's friend in particular though she knew all the Cardens - had left the GD quite soon after being initiated; perhaps it was harder for Anne to go on without her, and if I'm right about her husband being ill after 1894, she now had nursing, and family burdens she hadn't had to shoulder falling on her; and worry.

In 1895 Alexander James (if he was able) and Anne attended another wedding: their second son George Frederick married Katherine Mannix. This was the last family event before Alexander James Carden died, at 32 Leinster Square, on 23 July 1897.

The merger, in 1898, of the bank founded by Robert Walter Carden (senior) with the London City and Midland Bank might have affected Anne Carden if her husband had had shares in his father's firm. I would suppose that he did have some, and that the income from the dividends was an important part of the family's income. If Alexander James had been a shareholder in City Bank, Anne would have been allocated shares in the merged bank to replace them. The merged bank was called London City and Midland Bank, later renamed as just the 'Midland Bank'. Whether Alexander James also had shares in the Times I don't know. Whatever the extent of her income as a widow, Anne was able to continue to live at 32 Leinster Square at least until 1900. In 1900, however, another death struck the family.

I haven't been able to find out what if any profession Alexander James and Anne's youngest son, Alexander, was pursuing in the 1890s. Whatever he was doing, when the Boer War broke out, he gave it up to volunteer. He went to South Africa as a Private in the London City Imperial Volunteers. In July 1900 he died, not gloriously in military action, but squalidly, of enteric fever, in the camp at Germiston. He is buried in the Primrose Cemetery there, with a headstone the Cardens had made for his grave.

On the day of the 1901 census, Anne and Rowena - the only child Anne still had living at home - were not in England. I imagine they were travelling, probably in Europe but perhaps in South Africa, arranging for that headstone. They must have returned shortly after census day, however, to be at the wedding of Anne's son Robert Walter (the younger) to Ethel May Johns that spring. Anne did not return to live in 32 Leinster Square; she and Rowena moved

into to a more modest house, 29 Sinclair Gardens, in Shepherd's Bush. Inflation may have eaten into Anne Carden's income during her long widowhood but in 1911 she was still able to employ two servants - she did not specify what tasks her servants did, when she completed the census form, but I'd say Anne had a cook and a housemaid - the same two servants that her daughter Pamela Bullock was employing on census day 1911.

I believe Anne and Rowena continued to be live in Sinclair Gardens until the 1920s, but by the time Anne died they had moved out of London. Anne Rule Carden died on 6 July 1924 at Rowan Wood, her house in Southwell Road, South Benfleet Essex.

A BIT MORE ON ALEXANDER JAMES AND ANNE'S CHILDREN, PAMELA BULLOCK'S SIBLINGS

JAMES is the eldest, ordained as a Church of England priest but apparently never in charge of a parish. On 19 June 1894 he married Cornelia Charlotte daughter of Cornelius Turner. Their only child, Cornelia, was born in South Africa in 1895 - what James and family were doing there I have yet to discover. By 1901 they were back in England and were - according to the census form, living off private means. On the day of the 1901 census, they were living in Truro. They were not on the 1911 census, probably living abroad again. I know nothing of James, really, between census day 1901 and 6 January 1946 when he died at 36 Niagara Avenue Ealing west London. His wife Cornelia died in 1941. His daughter Cornelia was living with him at the time of his death; she died unmarried in 1954.

GEORGE FREDERICK was named after his Kensal Green cemetery-founding uncle and may have inherited money from him - the uncle died a bachelor. I can't find any evidence that the younger George Frederick ever followed a profession; he and his wife must have had other financial means. I didn't find them on the 1901 or 1911 censuses so I guess they were living abroad. Katherine Carden died in 1935 and George Frederick in 1952; they had no children.

PAMELA married Percy William Bullock so see his biography for her. She and Percy William had no children.

HENRY was married twice, each time in the USA to American women. He and his first wife Winina had one daughter, Florence, born in 1895. Winina died in 1918 and the following year Henry married Mildred Kedge. He died in 1948 in New Orleans. In 1924, Florence married Francisco Rabia Muñoz, an officer in the Mexican army.

ROBERT WALTER was working as a self-employed architect's surveyor on the day of the census in 1901. On that day he was a boarder at Martha Shepherd's lodging house at 141 Millbrook Road, Shirley Southampton, presumably while he was working on a contract. Three months later her married Ethel May Johns, whose father, Lemuel Johns, lived in New Zealand. Although their elder son, Derick, was born in Southampton, they then went to live in Italy for several years. Their younger son Ronald was born in San Remo and I think they must also have spent time living in Genoa. During this period abroad, Ethel May kept a journal - which I saw for sale in May 2013 on the web - and Robert Walter worked on these books:

Ornamental Details of the Italian Renaissance; by George A T Middleton and R W Carden.
London: B T Batsford 1900

The City of Genoa by R W Carden. Methuen and Co 1908

The Life of Giorgio Vasari by R W Carden. Warner 1910

Michelangelo, by R W Carden; a book of translations of the artist's letters and other papers.
London: Constable 1913.

And published much later:

North Italian Painting of the Quattrocento; Robert Walter's translation of the Italian original
by Adolfo Venturi. Pegasus Press 1930

In 1908 Robert Walter and his family returned to England. By 1911 they were living near
Anne and Rowena Carden, at 16 Brook Green Hammersmith. Robert Walter died in 1943.

ROWENA lived with her mother until Anne's death. Then - it would appear - she went
travelling. I have no idea how she might have met him, but in 1927, she married Daniel Hall,
a businessman without any English ancestors, despite his surname. His father, Moritz Hall,
was born in Cracow; he went to east Africa as a Protestant missionary in the 1860s and
married a woman generally known as Katarina, a member of the Ethiopian aristocracy. They
had a large family; the actor Peter Ustinov was descended from Magdalena, their eldest
daughter. Moritz and Katarina left Ethiopia in the late 1860s and eventually settled in Jaffa,
where Moritz ran various businesses which his sons carried on after his death. Daniel Hall
was born in Jaffa in 1870. When Rowena married him, he was a widower, with businesses
based in Ethiopia; but at the time of his death, in 1943, they were living in Famagusta,
Cyprus - probably driven out of Ethiopia when the Italians invaded it. Though Daniel
actually died in Tanganyika - what is now Tanzania. Rowena died in 1967.

One last comment: despite having seven children, Alexander James and Anne have relatively
few descendants. George Frederick, Pamela and Rowena all had no children. James and
Henry had one daughter each and James's died unmarried. I don't know how to find out
whether Henry's daughter had children. Robert Walter's sons both married; their children are
the only descendants of Alexander James and Anne that I know about.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.
Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the
names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the
Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.
The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the
large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All
this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the
United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note,
though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As
far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR THE CARDENS

In May 2013 I came across a blog for Carden family history: //cardenhistory.blogspot.co.uk

I used www.thepeerage.com which in turn uses Burke's Peerage and Baronetage 107th edition 2003.

Alexander James' uncle GEORGE FREDERICK CARDEN 1798-1874: see www.kensalgreen.co.uk for information on his part in the founding of the cemetery. <http://www.londongardensonline.org.uk>

London Gazette 26 January 1875 legal notice issued 20 January 1875 by Shum, Crossman and Crossman of 3 King's Road Bedford Row, solicitors for the Administrators of the estate of George Frederick Carden who'd died 18 November 1884. G F Carden had two houses: 2 Sussex Gardens; and The Grove Hendon. He was unmarried.

Alexander James' father ROBERT WALTER CARDEN

The best account I found is at www.london-city-history.org.uk/biography, which is based on an obituary in City Press 21 January 1888 which summed him up as "frosty but kindly".

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 10 p20 had a bit more on his family background but also used the City Press obituary as its main source.

Wikipedia has a short page on him with a bit more about what happened to the bank after he was dead.

Times Friday 27 January 1888 p6 had a short report on the funeral, but no obituary, presumably because the Carden family didn't want one published. It also didn't print any details of the main provisions of his Will - it would usually do so for a Will leaving so much money.

CURIOUS CAREERS OF PAMELA'S BROTHERS

Among the sources I checked for sightings of them were Crockford's Clerical Directory 1900 and Hart's Annual Army List 1900 p803 for the active list; and p832 for the retired list. Also Oxford and Cambridge lists of graduates; Who Was Who, Boase's obituaries.

Details of the death of Alexander Carden in 1900 from www.haileybury.com/ the site's section on honours by ex-pupils.

PAMELA'S FULL DATE OF BIRTH AND DATE OF MARRIAGE FROM

General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire
Burke's Peerage Ltd 1914 p339.

ROBERT WALTER CARDEN'S PUBLICATIONS details from the British Library catalogue.

Ethel Carden's diary seen May 2013 at www.worthpoint.com: Journal of an English Lady in Italy 1904 by Ethel May Carden, née Johns.

ROWENA's exotic in-laws: via google to portal.svt.ntnu.no, Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Trondheim 2009. Article in English by Toby Berger Holtz: The Hall Family and Ethiopia: A Century of Involvement.

Mention of a previous marriage - apparently in 1902 - for Daniel Hall: The Foreign Politics of Lag Iyasu 1915/16 by Wolbert G C Smid. I searched freebmd and familysearch but couldn't find evidence of it.

Times Saturday 26 April 1943 p1a death notices: Daniel Hall, normally of Famagusta Cyprus had died on 6 April 1943 at Tanga Hospital, Tanganyika, aged 72; "dearly loved husband of Rowena (née Carden)".

Cyprus in World War II: Politics and Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean by Anastasia Yianghou. London/NY: I B Tauris and Co Ltd 2010. In section 3.1: Cyprus was not invaded during World War II.

ALEXANDER, ANN AND PAMELA BUT NO OTHER OF THEIR CHILD ARE IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p35 entry for "Alex J Carden". Application dated 24 November 1891; sponsors W R Old and Alice Gordon. Subscriptions paid 1891-95 then "Resigned 8/10/95". Address 32 Leinster Square Bayswater. Member of Blavatsky Lodge. On p107 entry for "Annie R Carden". Application 10 June 1892; sponsor A J Carden. Subscription paid 1892-94 then "Resigned 11/10/95". Address 32 Leinster Square Bayswater. Branch = Adelphi Lodge.

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p34 the entry for Pamela Carden. Application 4 September 1893; sponsors P W Bullock and F Hills. Subscription paid 1893, 1894 then "Lapsed". Address 32 Leinster Square Bayswater. Branch = Adelphi Lodge.

ARTICLES BY 'AJC' WHO COULD BE ALEXANDER JAMES
CARDEN <http://www.companydirectorcheck.com>

Just noting that I haven't read these in Lucifer. I found the article titles and supposed author via www.austheos.org.au/indices/LUCIFER; a very useful resource when I was studying the GD members who were in the TS as well:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine

volumer for 1888	July p390	A Sufi's Mystical Apologue
	July p391	Commentary by Sadi of Shiraz
volume for 1889	Jan p405	A Vision Produced by Music.

CARDENS IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

The Magicians of the GD: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. His sources had all been published already; see his pxxiii for a list of them. When his Ms was finished he was given access to documents kept by A E Waite, mostly from the late 1890s and later; he made some alterations based on them. P98 and p100 where Howe mentions Alexander James and Anne attending a talk by William Wynn Westcott; also there were Florence Farr, Cecilia Macrae, Edward Berridge and Minnie Langridge. The meeting was at 3pm on 25 July 1893 and Howe makes the point that people who worked office hours couldn't attend meetings like this. Westcott was in full-time employment but he was a Coroner; if he wasn't actually holding an inquest his time was to a certain extent his own to organise.

The Golden Dawn Scrapbook: the Rise and Fall of a Magical Order R A Gilber 1997 York Beach Maine: Samuel Weister Inc. Alexander James doesn't figure at all in this volume but the quote about Anne Carden's problems with invocations was on p135: Mathers mentioned them in a letter 8 January 1896 to Annie Horniman.

R A Gilbert The Golden Dawn Companion p32 for Alexander James' period as Isis-Urania cancellarius; and for Pamela's period doing the same job.

PAMELA POST 1894 - SEE PERCY BULLOCK

17 May 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Agnes Cathcart was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at is Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh. She chose the Latin motto 'Veritas vincit'. It was a busy night at Amen-Ra - Robert William Felkin, his wife Mary Jane Felkin, and Dr George Kerr were all initiated in the same ritual. I'm sure that Agnes knew the Felkins, at least. She also had two

first cousins who were members of the GD at its Isis-Urania temple in London.

Agnes was a keen GD member over the next few years. She studied the texts provided for new initiates, and did the exams that were necessary to reach a point where she could do some practical magic; and was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order in June 1896. That second initiation took place in Edinburgh but shortly afterwards, Agnes and her husband started spending the winters in Bath so she began to attend rituals at the Isis-Urania temple as well. I don't think she joined either of the GD's daughter orders when they were founded after 1903, but in 1906 she was still keeping up with the friendships she'd made in the Order.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. There was a lot of information on Agnes Cathcart, even using only the web and sources in London. There will be more in Scotland but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at it, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

February 2016

This is what I've found out about AGNES BAXTER CATHCART

IN THE GD

Letters from Agnes to Frederick Leigh Gardner survive in the Warburg Institute. The earliest is dated December 1896 and was forwarded from her home in Scotland to where Agnes was staying in Bath. Samuel Liddell Mathers had just banished Annie Horniman from the GD. Gardner was organising a petition asking for Annie to be reinstated. Agnes was happy to sign the petition and also took the opportunity to return some study documents she had borrowed. After that, three years went by before she and Gardner made contact again. A lot had happened in the GD though I'm not sure that Agnes was aware that Gardner himself had been forced to resign in 1897 - if she'd known I'm sure she would have sympathised with him over it. She wrote to him in November 1899 from her country home in Fifeshire, in gloomy mood. There were other reasons for that (see the Descendants section below) but she was also finding her occult studies difficult, and missing the people she knew through the GD. At Pitcairnie, she said, "We are here quite isolated from Amen-Ra" where she could at least have heard the latest GD news.

In April 1901, Agnes wrote to Gardner twice within a few days, lamenting again that she was "so little in town". This time she had received recent news of trouble in the GD and was wanting to find out what was rumour and what was true. She also mentioned her fears for the young British soldiers presently in South Africa (she won't have been aware that the Boer War was actually drawing to a close). Agnes' final letter, written in August 1901, explained that the Amen-Ra temple was "pretty much broken up". Agnes was wanting to join a specifically Rosicrucian group and wondering if Mathers' Ahathoor temple in Paris was still functioning.

Agnes' letters to Gardner have a rather desponding tone. I think it was because rumours that

the GD might be on its last legs made her fear for the friendships she had made through being a member. She needn't have worried though. One of those friends was Annie Horniman, who was not one to cast people aside lightly. Annie went to stay with Agnes at her country home in April 1901; and as late as 1906 and with very little time at her disposal, she'd paid a call on Agnes during a visit to Edinburgh with the Irish National Theatre Society. As Agnes was spending winters in England from the mid-1890s, they probably met on many other occasions.

As Agnes was interested in Rosicrucian ideas and rituals, she would have found conversations with Isabel de Steiger rewarding. Perhaps a friendship developed, though evidence for one is lacking. Isabel lived in Edinburgh during the 1890s, was a member of Amen-ra temple and the TS at the time; and thought of the GD as a specifically Rosicrucian order. However, Isabel left Edinburgh in 1900 and I'm not sure that the other GD members in the city were quite so interested in the subject. Hence Agnes' search for a Rosicrucian group elsewhere.

I expect that Gardner was aware that Agnes knew GD members John William and Frances Brodie-Innes in Edinburgh. It's curious, though, that she doesn't mention her first cousins Florence Kennedy and Cecilia Macrae. They were both committed members of the GD in the 1890s. Though they may have been the source of the news that was reaching Agnes in Scotland about the GD in London, around 1900.

Sources:

Warburg Institute: letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner. Gerald Yorke Collection, folder catalogued NS73.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume IV 1905-1907. Editors John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Published Oxford University Press 2005: p429 and p430 footnote 9.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes, Agnes was a member of the Theosophical Society for longer than she was in the GD. She made her application to join in July 1892. At that time, applications had to be sponsored by two people who were members already. John William and Frances Brodie-Innes were Agnes' sponsors. They had founded the TS's Edinburgh group, and it met in their house. John William was also a member of the GD - he'd been initiated in London in 1890. He was a founding member of its Amen-Ra temple, which had many members drawn from the TS in Edinburgh, including the Robert and Mary Jane Felkin. I'm sure it was through John and Frances Brodie-Innes, rather than through her cousins Florence and Cecilia, that Agnes found out about the GD's existence.

If Agnes was worried about the GD's internal troubles, I can't imagine what she made of the series of very divisive disputes that rocked the TS in the 1890s and 1900s. She continued to pay her TS subscription and to go to meetings in Edinburgh and London, until 1907, the year her husband died. She sent in a letter of resignation in March 1909.

Agnes was one of those GD members who used Frederick Leigh Gardner's informal book-buying service. In 1901 she told Gardner that was reading A E Waite's biography of Louis de St Martin, the 18th-century French freemason; perhaps she had bought it through him. She was asking Gardner if he still had any copies of Annie Besant's "little handbooks". I imagine

that even after she had ceased to be an active member of the GD and the TS, her book-buying and reading continued; although there are no later letters from her in the Gerald Yorke Collection, they may just not have survived.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p122 entry for Mrs Agnes Cathcart. There's a note on the entry that she sent in a letter of resignation dated 1 March 1909 though her last annual subscription had been paid two years' before.

Warburg Institute: letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner. Gerald Yorke Collection, folder catalogued NS73.

See Waite's book on St Martin via archive.org. It's The Life of Louis Claude de St Martin and Agnes was reading it hot off the press: it was published in London by Philip Welby, in 1901.

The Theosophical Publishing Society printed a large number of works by Annie Besant in 1900 and 1901, early efforts in what later became called the Adyar Pamphlets:

in 1900 Avataras: Four Lectures

in 1901 Esoteric Christianity; or the Lesser Mysteries

Death and After

Ancient Ideals in Modern Life

Thought Power: Its Control and Cultivation

and Light from the East, a choice of Buddhist texts for which Annie Besant wrote the foreword.

I don't think they were available at bookshops. Most readers bought them through the TS but perhaps Agnes preferred to ask her friend Frederick Gardner for them.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Agnes Cathcart was a member of the Scottish social elite, with family in the landed gentry, the professions and in business.

THE LAINGS AND THE BAXTERS

The GD's Agnes Cathcart, Cecilia Macrae and Florence Kennedy were all members of the Laing family. They were grand-daughters of Samuel Laing of Papdale, Kirkwall in Orkney, who made a fortune from kelp production in the 1820s only to lose it to expensive political campaigns and changing Treasury rules during the early 1830s. After selling his land, Samuel Laing of Papdale left Orkney and embarked on a second career as a traveller and writer on Norway; and translator of Norse sagas. Agnes was the daughter of Samuel Laing of Papdale's daughter Elizabeth Dorothy and was named after Samuel Laing of Papdale's wife Agnes, née Kelly. Cecilia and Florence were daughters of his son, the better known Samuel Laing MP, government financial advisor and writer of popular books on science.

Elizabeth Dorothy Laing, after a period travelling around Europe with her father, married

Henry Baxter of Idvies in 1834. Henry Baxter was born in 1799, the son of John Baxter, a banker and businessman. He was related to the Baxters of Dundee who owned Baxter Brothers, the largest linen-manufacturing firm in the world for much of the 19th century; though he was not involved in the firm himself. After graduating from Edinburgh University, he qualified as an advocate in 1828 and also represented Forfar at the Church of Scotland General Assembly.

Elizabeth Dorothy Laing and Henry Baxter were married in two separate ceremonies in March 1834, one in Edinburgh and one at Kirkwall. They had two children, Agnes (born 10 March 1835) and a second daughter, Mary (born March 1837) before Henry Baxter died, of some kind of seizure, in August 1837.

Elizabeth Baxter was a very wealthy widow - she had £600 a year as her jointure plus £300 for Agnes and Mary, administered by trustees. While her daughters were very young, Elizabeth rented a house at Bangholm Bower; but when its lease expired in 1844 she moved to Edinburgh so her daughters could go to school. By 1847 she was living at 30 Saxe Coburg Place with her father and daughters. They were all there on the day of the 1851 census, with four servants; and Agnes was probably married from that address. Her sister Mary married Arthur Charles Pretymann in 1858. In 1868, the estate at Idvies was sold.

Sources:

Some information on the Laings of Orkney: see www.aboutorkney.com

For the Laing family and Samuel Laing of Papdale:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000. The Autobiography section p51, pp153-176 which includes Elizabeth's marriage, Henry Baxter's sudden death, and Agnes' marriage. Samuel describes Agnes when a child as "bold, firm and impetuous". Samuel Laing of Papdale had a severe stroke in 1864; and died at his daughter's house in Edinburgh in 1868.

For Samuel Laing of Papdale's political involvement on Orkney during the 1820s, see R P Fereday's article on it, at www.ssns.org.uk.

There's plenty of information on the Baxter family of Dundee on the web. See wikipedia and wiki articles on William Edward Baxter 1825-1890; his son George Washington Baxter 1st and last Baronet 1853-1926. And Sir David Baxter, first (and last) Baronet 1793-1872.

On Henry Baxter:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000: p195 footnote 220 for Henry Baxter's dates; and p196 footnote 226 for the sale of the Idvies estate to John Clerk Brodie.

The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943 published 1944 by the Faculty: p11.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland p1031.

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to an item in Perry Bankrupt Gazette of 28 July 1838 notice issued by 13 July 1838 mentioning Henry Baxter is dead.

The Court of Session Garland by James Maidment, which seems to be a stud book for racehorses. Published 1839 p7: Henry Baxter as owner of a chestnut colt.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 1066694; and Scotland-ODM GS film number 990505 for the two weddings of Henry Baxter to Elizabeth Dorothy Laing.

At www.genesreunited.co.uk a marriage announcement from the Perth Courier 3 April 1834.

Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1066691: birth of Agnes Baxter 10 March 1835 in Edinburgh. Parents Henry Baxter and Elizabeth Dorothy née Laing. Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to the Perthshire Courier of 19 March 1835: a birth announcement for her, "on 10th inst" [10 March 1835] though without her name.

Marriage of Agnes' sister Mary: via archive.spectator.co.uk to the issue of 30 October 1858: marriage announcements on p20 include: on 26 [October 1858] at Idvies, Mary Baxter to Arthur Charles Pretymann, grandson of the bishop of Winchester, youngest son of Rev G T Pretymann Chancellor of Lincoln (I think that means the diocese of Lincoln).

I tried to find information on the death of Elizabeth Dorothy Baxter; but there was no entry for her in the probate registries of Scotland or England. Ancestry's probate registry entries for Scotland begin in 1876; and Elizabeth is on the census for 1871 but not that of 1881. I cautiously conclude she probably died between 1871 and 1875.

EDUCATION

Elizabeth Laing had never been to school. Her grandfather had taught her to read and write himself but she had no accomplishments other than the ability to speak some French and German, which she had learned on their travels in Europe. Samuel Laing of Papdale says that Agnes went to school in Edinburgh from the age of 9. However, which school she attended and what she learned there are a mystery as Samuel doesn't mention it.

Source:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000: p51, p169.

WORK/PROFESSION

None.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

None.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

None other than her esoteric interests.

ADDRESSES

Birth to 1837: Edinburgh and Idvies estate.

From her father's death until 1844: Bangholm Bower.

Aged 9 until her marriage: 30 Saxe Coburg Place Edinburgh; and the Idvies estate.

From 1857: Pitcairnie estate near Newburgh in Fifeshire and - possibly - a house in Edinburgh (though Agnes never mentions one).

December 1896 to January 1897 and thereafter most winters: Brook Street in the Walcot district of Bath.

April 1901: Seaton House St Andrews - they were probably there for the golf.

August 1901: Pitcairnie.

At death: Pitcairnie.

THE CATHCART FAMILY

The important person in Agnes' husband's family was her father-in-law, Taylor Cathcart. After working as manager of the Cunningham family's Grandvale Plantation in Jamaica, in 1823 he married Frances Marcy, a member of another family of land- and slave-owners on the island. He owned a few slaves himself, at Brustrode Farm. In 1833 Taylor Cathcart inherited an estate at Pitcairnie, near Newburgh in Fifeshire. He and Frances had a large family. Robert, born in Glasgow in 1833, was the second son, but his elder brother died in 1850 and so Robert inherited Pitcairnie when his father died in 1857.

Sources for the Cathcart family:

Some exhaustive family history details were compiled when the family claimed compensation for the loss of their slaves after the ending of the slave trade. See www.ucl.ac.uk, their Legacies of British Slave Ownership pages. Taylor Cathcart's Will shows that in addition to land, the Cathcarts owned railway and other shares.

Death of Taylor Cathcart's eldest son James: Glasgow Herald 23 December 1850: death announcement.

A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry volume 3 1853 pp60-61 shows the descent of the family up to Taylor Cathcart.

Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Men of Fife 1866 editor Matthew Forster Connolly: p110.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 1040169 for the birth of Robert Cathcart on 20 February 1833 son of Taylor Cathcart and wife Francis (sic); baptised Newburgh August 1833. A 2nd baptism record for him: Scotland-ODM GS film number 1042982: in the Gorbals March 1833.

AGNES' HUSBAND ROBERT CATHCART

Not expecting to inherit the family estate, Robert Cathcart had originally joined the army. He fought with the 74th Highlanders in the Kaffir War in 1852; but I think was then called home, as his father's heir after his elder brother's death. He managed the Pitcairnie estate well once he had succeeded to it in 1857, a few months after he and Agnes were married. He bred Clydesdales; he worked as a magistrate; he was Vice-Lieutenant for the County of Fifeshire. He was a keen golfer and was elected the Captain of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St

Andrews as early as 1857, keeping the position until his death. And he was an enthusiastic gardener, a founder and first president of the Scottish Auricula and Primula Society.

Sources:

Pitcairnie Estate:

See www.pitcairnie.co.uk, the house still exists though it only has 100 acres attached to it now, much less than it must have had in Agnes' time. The house earns its keep through holiday lets. The estate belonged to the Leslie family until the 17th century when the house was built. It was bought by the Cathcarts in the mid-18th century and the family continued as owners of the estate until the 1960s.

Via www.genesreunited.com to St Andrews Citizen of 8 July 1899: an item mentioning family portraits owned by Mr Cathcart of Pitcairnie [Robert], including one by Sir Joshua Reynolds. (See Cathcart v Cathcart below; he might be having to sell them.)

A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds PRA by Algernon Graves, William Vine Cronin and Sir Edward R P Edgcumbe published 1901 uses what looks like Reynolds' appointments diary. Beware portraits of Earl and Countess Cathcart, also by Reynolds; but in add to those on p1531 a MR Cathcart is mentioned as having a sitting (just the one, apparently); and on p1555 Mr Cathcart's sitting was February 1761.

Sources for Robert Cathcart:

Cambridge History of the British Empire by Eric Anderson Walker 1963 pp342 et seq for an official account of the Kaffir War 1850-53.

The 74th Highlanders have a wiki page with coverage of their involvement in Kaffir War September 1851 at www.nam.ac.uk: Kroomie Forest.

Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England volume 25 1864 p xv lists R Cathcart of Pitcairnie as a member. Just noting that his eldest son, James Taylor Cathcart became a member in his turn: RAS Journal issue of 1907 pcviii.

The Clydesdale Stud Book 1885 p620 lists Robert Cathcart as the breeder of particular named animals; and p701 as on its list of accredited breeders.

Proceedings of the Royal Horticultural Society of London volume 1 p233 Robert Cathcart of Pitcairnie's election as a fellow at the meeting of 26 June 1860.

At www.thescottishauriculaandprimulasociety.com has some information on the founding of the society, originally published in the Edinburgh Evening News 14 February 1887. He was elected its first president and was still in post at its 4th exhibition in 1890.

Journal of Horticulture and Practical Gardening volume 16 1888 p202 an article on the gardens at Pitcairnie.

Robert Cathcart's death:

Highland Light Infantry Chronicle issue covering January 1905 to October 1907 p95 printing an announcement originally in the Glasgow Evening News of 21 May 1907 but issued at St Andrews: Robert Cathcart had died at his house (that's Seaton House) in St Andrews "last night". Who Was Who volume 1 1897-1915 p91.

On Seaton House in St Andrews:

At www.bw-scoreshotel.co.uk it's part of a Best Western hotel now. Built in 1864 for John

Buddo; architect was George Rae.

At www.todaysgolfer.co.uk report 2 July 2012 mentions it being next door to the St Salvator Boys' School built 1880. With a photograph.

AGNES AND ROBERT'S FAMILY

Agnes Baxter and Robert Cathcart were married on 26 November 1856. Samuel Laing of Papdale considered that Agnes had made a good enough choice; though there's that about his wording that suggests he thought she might have done better. He assessed the value of the estate at Pitcairnie as about equal to that of Idvies - about £60,000 - and Agnes had taken to the marriage a dowry of £30,000 (add a nought? - at least one nought - to get a feel of today's equivalent values) so the Cathcarts would be very comfortably off. In Samuel Laing of Papdale's Autobiography there's no mention of the Cathcarts in his exhaustive account of his friends and extended family. That's not to say that the two families didn't know each other at all; just that they were not close friends and weren't related.

In terms of Victorian expectations of the wife of a landowner, Agnes did her duty, providing Pitcairnie with an heir, and two spares. She and Robert had three sons, all of whom were given the name of the grandfather on the Cathcart side: James Taylor Cathcart born 1858; William Taylor Cathcart born 1859; and Alan (or Allen) Taylor Cathcart born 1861.

On census day in 1871 and again in 1881, the Cathcarts were at Pitcairnie. In 1871 they employed a cook, a housemaid, a kitchenmaid and a maid who waited at table. Agnes and Robert were there on their own, as it was term-time: all three of their sons were staying with their grandmother Elizabeth Baxter at 4 Osborne Terrace, while they were at school in Edinburgh. Later in the 1870s the boys went away to England, to Marlborough College.

By 1881 William had gone to India. On census day that year James and Alan were at home, though, and the Cathcarts also had Robert's mother Frances, his unmarried sister (another Frances) and his aunt Mary Hunter living with them. To cope with this larger household, Agnes and Robert were employing a sewing maid, a laundry maid, a dairymaid and a footman in addition to a cook/housekeeper, housemaid and kitchenmaid.

By 1891, James Taylor Cathcart had married. After beginning to train as a barrister and then changing his mind, he had begun to help run the Pitcairnie estate; which meant that Agnes and Robert had more freedom to get away. It was perhaps at this time that they began to rent Seaton House, very convenient for the golf course at St Andrews. On census day 1891, however, they were staying at a boarding house in Brook Street, in the Walcot district of Bath. They were in Bath again over December 1896/January 1897; again on census day 1901, in another lodging house on Brook Street; and perhaps spent a month or two there most winters until Robert's death. Certainly they were in England enough for Agnes to transfer her GD membership from Edinburgh to the Isis-Urania temple in London.

Though they may have moved south in the spring of 1891 for a warmer climate, Agnes and Robert may also have decided to go where they were not well known, to hide from the consequences of James Taylor Cathcart's marriage (in 1887) to the heiress Mary Unwin of Wootton Hall in Staffordshire. Agnes may also have been grateful for the distractions offered by her occult reading and her involvement in the TS and GD; as the disaster of James' marriage was played out in public.

The bride fled after only a couple of months and wouldn't come back. In 1888 the groom cornered her in a hotel in Ashbourne in Derbyshire, and tried to force her to return; and in February 1891 he had her incarcerated at The Priory lunatic asylum at Roehampton, under the 1890 Lunacy Act. Questions were asked about that in the House of Commons. The hearing of the case by the Lunacy Commissioners in June 1891 was covered by newspapers as far afield as New Zealand; and I read the outcome of it in the New York Times. The couple tried twice to get divorced through the courts, but were refused. Eventually (in 1899) James was divorced by Act of Parliament, a very expensive procedure. If Agnes' letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner in the 1890s have a desponding and weary tone, you can hardly blame her. She will have hoped, I daresay, that the divorce would finally end the long and embarrassing saga; but litigation between James and Mary was still going on in 1902.

Sources:

Agnes' marriage:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000. The Autobiography section p176.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 6035516: marriage of Robert Cathcart to Agnes Baxter 26 Nov 1856 at Kirkden Angus.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 6035516 for the births of their three sons:

- James Taylor Cathcart on 2 March 1858 at Newburgh, parents Robert Cathcart and Agnes née Baxter. NB that there's a spelling mistake on this one: CathcUrt instead of CathcArt.
- William Taylor Cathcart on 26 May 1859 at Newburgh.
- Alan Taylor Cathcart on 12 May 1861 at Newburgh.

James' marriage to Mary Unwin, including the Cathcart Lunacy Case:

Seen via google at hansard.millbanksystems.com: Hansard's Parliamentary Debates volume 351 House of Commons proceedings 6 March 1891 pp433-34, p648: question asked by Dr Fitzgerald MP for Longford South, about the seizure of Mary Cathcart of Wootton Hall Staffs.

A summary of the Cathcart Lunacy Hearing, which may have been the first such enquiry under the new Act, in The Law Reports and Cases in Lunacy volume 2 1896 p690.

Times Saturday 14 March 1891 p4 coverage of court hearing following a request by James Taylor Cathcart to have his wife Mary arrested for paying a man to paste placards denouncing him, on walls near his home in Fifeshire.

The lunacy hearing figured in the Times from Monday 11 May 1891 to 24 July 1891 though I couldn't find any coverage of the Commissioner's decision. See the outcome - that Mary Cathcart was sane and should be set free - at query.nytimes.com of 24 July 1891 quoting a report from a correspondent in London 23 July [1891].

Seen via www.genesreunited.com, in the Dundee Advertizer of 14 December 1892: the Court of Appeal was now hearing Mary Cathcart's challenge to a legal directive ordering her to pay 2/3 of the costs of the Lunacy Commission Enquiry.

Times Tue 14 March 1899 p9 brief note, with no details: the Cathcart Divorce Bill got its 3rd reading.

Times Fri 28 April 1899 p6 the Cathcart Divorce Bill got the Royal Assent.

Times Thurs 29 June 1899 p10 the divorce was re-heard at Edinburgh Court of Sessions after Mary had appealed against it and been allowed to amend her defence. Judgement was reserved.

Perhaps the Cathcarts were only divorced in England by the parliamentary Act:

Scottish Law Reporter volume 36 1900 p338-339 report on divorce case Cathcart v Cathcart, heard 18 January 1900. The petitioner was James Taylor Cathcart of Pitcairnie Fife, claiming desertion by his wife Mary.

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Edinburgh Evening News 12 December 1902: report on the continuing litigation between James and Mary Cathcart.

DEATH

Robert Cathcart died in May 1907 at his house in St Andrews. Agnes died at Pitcairnie in December 1913.

Sources:

Robert - Who Was Who volume 1 1897-1915 p91.

Agnes - Probate Registry for Scotland 1914. James Taylor Cathcart was her executor.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

I haven't found evidence of any grand-children being born to Agnes and Robert Cathcart.

JAMES TAYLOR CATHCART inherited Pitcairnie on Robert Cathcart's death although he had been running it or helping run it for some years by then.

Marlborough College Register 1843-1904 p257. After leaving Marlborough College James had gone to Christ Church Oxford; graduating BA 1880.

London Gazette 24 March 1885 p1315 in list of army promotions: James was promoted to Major in the 1st Fife Shire Regiment, as of 25 March 1885.

London Gazette 15 August 1890 p4438 James and one other man were appointed deputy Lord Lieutenants of the county of Fife.

Aberdeen Angus Herd Book volume 22 1898, issued by the Aberdeen Angus Cattle Society; p611 has James as a member.

Probate Registry Scotland: James Taylor Cathcart died at Pitcairnie 1 May 1935. There's also an entry for him in the Probate Registry of England. Confirmation of his English property granted London 24 October [1935] to William Taylor Cathcart.

A sad footnote to the life of Mary Unwin Cathcart:

See Law Reporter volume 87 1903 p750: another examination of Mary Unwin Cathcart's mental state, took place in May 1902 to judge whether she was fit to continue to act as

executor of her mother's Will. The decision was that she was incapable of so doing, and the Official Solicitor's office took charge of her financial and legal affairs.

WILLIAM TAYLOR CATHCART went to work in India. I don't think he married:

Thacker's Directory of Bengal 1881 p962 William is in it, as assistant manager at the Silcoorie tea plantation at Silchar in the Cachar district of East Bengal.

Thacker's Directory of India 1885 p1067; and on p331-35 some information about his employer and the plantation on which he worked, in the Directory's list of tea plantations and plantation-owning firms in India. At this stage the Silcoorie tea gardens were owned by Jardine Skinner and Co who were also its agents at their offices in Calcutta. Silcoorie was the biggest of the firm's plantations in the Cachar district. E F Skinner was the district superintendent, working with three assistants, William Taylor Cathcart being 2nd of the three.

The tea-growing industry in India then entered a period of rapid growth and change; from which William benefited.

Thacker's Directory of India 1888 p1177 had William as having succeeded E F Skinner as manager of the Silcoorie plantations in Cachar district.

Thacker's Directory of India 1901 p1704: William's original employer had been taken over by Cachar and Dooars Ltd. William had kept his job, though it had changed and I think he had had to move; he was manager of Cachar and Dooars Ltd's estates in the Cachar district, with two assistants and an engineer working for him.

Thacker's Directory of India 1910 Part 2 p59. William had moved again and I'm not sure whether his second employer had been taken over or whether he'd been head-hunted by a rival firm. He was now manager of the Consolidated Tea and Lands Company's Amrail Division, based at the railway station at Satgaon, Sylhet. On p152-53 of the list of tea plantations in India: as its name suggests, Consolidated is a big firm, with many sub-divisions answering to an HQ in Khadimnagar. William was the Amrail Division's divisional manager, with four managers working for him. Consolidated had agents in Calcutta, Glasgow and London.

India Office List 1911 p55 lists all the current members of the Legislative Council of East Bengal and Assam, whose permanent president was the lieutenant-governor of Bengal. There were two groups of members: those who had been nominated to their post (mostly British) and those who had been elected (mostly Indian, although William was one of the elected ones).

1911 was a very good time to be a member of that kind of government body because this was the year the new king George V and queen Mary made their official visit to India. William might have been asked to attend the great Delhi durbar held during their stay.

The King and Queen in India by Sir Stanley Reed. London: Bennett Coleman 1912. William and the other members of the legislative council are listed on p338. And see meerutup.tripod.com the visit was from 2 December 1911 to 10 January 1912.

The royal visit probably explains why William Taylor Cathcart was awarded the CIE:

India Office and Burma List 1928 p156 begins a list of all those who have been awarded the Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire - CIE - since the Order was founded in 1880. On p158 William's name is with a number of men, British and Indian, who received the Order on 12 December 1911.

Thacker's Directory of India 1914 Part 2 p66 was the last time William was listed in Thacker's as an British resident of India. He was still in the same job as when listed in 1910.

This must be him, I suppose, returning to Europe to fight in the first World War: London

Gazette 17 October 1916 p9967 a man called William Taylor Cathcart, described as "late lieutenant in the Surma Valley Light Horse" had been made a temporary Major, as of 18 October 1916.

As James Taylor Cathcart doesn't seem to have had any children, I think William must have inherited Pitcairnie when James died.

Probate Registry England 1940; entry for William Taylor Cathcart of Pitcairnie Newburgh who had died on 2 May 1940. Confirmation of his English property granted London 24 July [1940] to Philip George Moncrieff Skene and John Christopher Laidlay.

Via findmypast I saw a reference to a Probate Registry Bengal entry for him, as well; 1942.

At findagrave.com, William was buried at Newburgh Cemetery.

Who Was Who volume 3 1929-40: p231. William is the only brother who is listed in Who's Who.

ALAN TAYLOR CATHCART

On his census entry for 1901, Alan described himself as a retired tea planter. Unlike William, Alan went to Ceylon.

Dundee Courier 20 October 1906 has a reference to Alan Taylor Cathcart as living in Ceylon in 1883.

Alan married Isabella Ginevra Galton, a grand-child of banker J H Galton who had bought Hadzor House, near Droitwich in 1821. She was related to the evolutionary biologist Francis Galton; to Charles Darwin; and to the Wedgewoods. I haven't been able to find out when and where Alan and Isabella were married, but the marriage was being prepared for in 1893:

Cases Decided in the Court of Session issue of 1948 (though I think the case is much earlier) pp457-59. This was a snippet so I couldn't see what kind of court case it was; but there was a reference to a pre-nuptial agreement dated 1893 between Alan Taylor Cathcart and Isabella Ginevra or Geneva Galton or Cathcart.

On the day of the 1901 census, Alan and Isabella were living in Martley Worcestershire. They had no children - or at least, none were living with them on that day. I couldn't find them on the 1911 census but they were probably living in Scotland then.

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Edinburgh Evening News of 20 June 1905: mention of a legal case in which Alan and Isabella were suing solicitor Charles Thomas Arnold for damages. The Cathcarts' address at that time was 15 Coates Crescent Edinburgh. And via [genesreunited](http://www.genesreunited.co.uk) to Derby Daily Telegraph of 21 June 1905: coverage of the same case reported that Alan and Isabella were suing Mr Arnold for £1000 each.

Alan does seem to have been very litigious:

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Dundee Courier of 17 February 1920: a report that Alan Taylor Cathcart was bringing a case against two trustees - presumably trustees of a fund he benefited from. The trust must be connected in some way to Alan's grandfather Henry Baxter, because the two trustees in question are Edward A Baxter of Dundee and George Washington Baxter of Inverighty, both businessmen and both (see Henry Baxter above)

members of the Baxter family of Dundee. Agnes might have been a beneficiary of the trust fund while she was alive.

I couldn't find any entries for either Alan or Isabella in the Probate Registries Scotland (which goes to 1936 only) or in England. If Alan was still alive in 1940 he will have inherited Pitcairnie from his older brother William.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Mrs Emmeline Alice CLARK who was initiated into the Golden Dawn at the Horus Temple Bradford in September 1895. She chose the Latin motto 'Vade' and was one of a group of members of Horus Temple who actually lived in Liverpool, not Bradford: 40 Claremont Road Smithdown Road.

I tried looking for Emmeline Clark on the censuses of 1891 and 1901, feeling quite hopeful of finding her because of her relatively uncommon forename. But there was no one of that name living in Liverpool on either census. Just in case the census official had spelled Emmeline's surname wrongly, I checked under Clarke but still couldn't identify her.

I can answer the question WHO DID SHE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN however, because I found Emmeline in the Members' Register of the Theosophical Society (TS), which she joined in November 1894 giving them the same address as she subsequently gave the GD. She paid her subscription to the TS in 1894 and 1895 but then seems to have let her membership lapse. On her record at the TS was a note to indicate that she had sided against the eventual winners of a dispute within the TS in the aftermath of Blavatsky's death. And/or she had just moved away. As a member, however briefly, of the TS in Liverpool she will have met these people who were members of both TS in Liverpool and GD in Bradford: the Nisbets, John Hill, William Ranstead and Isabel de Steiger.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female

members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

27 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

I am putting Golden Dawn members Joseph Clayton, Fanny Clayton and Eliza Craven in a file together.

Joseph Clayton was the second person to become a member of the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford; only Thomas Pattinson got there before him and I'm sure it was Pattinson that invited him in. This was in May 1888. Joseph did choose a motto - 'Tollere velum' - but his membership may only have been nominal and he was never initiated into the Second Order where you actually tried doing practical magic. In March 1893 his daughter Fanny Clayton (I shall call her Fanny Isabel) was initiated at the Horus Temple. She chose the motto 'orare' and was a more committed member than her father, being initiated into the inner, Second Order, probably in March 1896. In September 1895, Eliza Craven joined the Horus Temple, taking the motto 'Semper eadem' but never making much progress in the study required to reach the Second Order. Eliza and Fanny Isabel were sharing a house in 1901.

A WORD OF WARNING BEFORE I START: these are my biographies of members of the Golden Dawn who lived in Bradford and Liverpool. I could have done a much better job of it if I lived in Lancashire or Yorkshire myself and could look at local archives.

A further caveat about Joseph Clayton. Looking in the Freemasons' Library catalogue, and on the web, I came across books written in the early 20th century by a Joseph Clayton. This writer is NOT the GD's Joseph Clayton, he's a much younger man.

THE CLAYTON and CRAVEN FAMILIES

I've been able to draw on some very well-researched family history websites for some of my GD members, but not for the Claytons or for the Cravens. From the mid-19th century censuses I have gained the impression that both families had been living in the West Riding of Yorkshire for many years, possibly for centuries. There was a village called Clayton to the west of the town of Bradford; it's now a Bradford suburb. I make the tentative suggestion that Joseph Clayton could trace his family back to that village. It's harder to figure out where the Cravens originated and I don't have enough information for a good guess.

The families didn't help me much: too many Janes; too many Ellens; too many Josephs; too many Elizas; too many surnames!

When he was getting married for the first time, Joseph Clayton said his father was a man called William Clayton who lived in Bradford where he was a dealer in glass and chinaware. As yet there are relatively few directories on the web. If I'd lived near Bradford I could have looked through many more. However, I did find one published in 1837 and now transcribed onto a family history website, which listed a Thomas Clayton as a dealer in earthenware, at Providence Street Bradford. No one called William Clayton was listed in the directory but perhaps Thomas Clayton and William Clayton were brothers or cousins, working in the same business, with Thomas as the senior partner.

William Clayton was married to a woman called Jane; I haven't been able to find details of their marriage so I don't know what Jane's original surname was. Perhaps they weren't married. I daresay they were, but with the Claytons I'm no longer sure. If a marriage took place, it took place in the mid-1820s because Joseph had four older sisters - Sarah and Mary (who may or may not have been twins), Jane and Isabella. Joseph Clayton gave information to every census official between 1861 and 1911 consistent with his having been born in 1837. He had one younger brother, William, who died in childhood.

Joseph's father had died before 1841, probably in 1838 shortly after his younger son was born. Joseph's mother Jane took over the business, and was running it with the help of her two eldest daughters in 1841. In 1845 she got married again, to Martin Beanland, whose family had a building and joinery business in Bradford. The Beanlands were another family who had been living in the district for a long time: one family history website I found traced them back to the 16th century. In 1851 Martin and Jane Beanland and Jane's younger children Jane, Isabella and Joseph, were all living at 144 Westgate in the centre of Bradford; from which both his business and her's were probably being run. Joseph had left school and was employed as a plane maker, probably by his step-father's firm. My science, technology and IT advisor Roger Wright says that planes were still being made in the 1850 in the same way they had been for thousands of years: the maker built a long, rectangular wooden box and chiseled a groove in it, into which a piece of iron was inserted which had the planing surface on it. This old method was about to be swept away by the invention (by the American Leonard Bailey) of the cast-iron plane that is still in use for ordinary joinery today; but in the 1850s the skills of the wooden box plane maker continued to be in demand. I don't think Joseph Clayton actually hung around to find his plane-making skills being superceded by new technology: in the autumn of 1851, Martin Beanland died and although the firm continued in business for at least another 20 years, probably employing several other members of the Claytons' extended family, sometime between 1851 and 1858, Joseph left it and Bradford too, to work as a teacher.

I think that Joseph Clayton had been educated at a National School; on the grounds that if he had not been, he wouldn't have found work in one later. The National Schools were run by the National School for Promoting Religious Education (the NSPRE), which had been founded in 1811 to build and run a school for the children of the poor in each parish in England and Wales. Although the NSPRE received some funding from central government, the rest had to be found from the individual parish. Costs were kept down by employing very few paid teachers and using selected older children to teach the younger ones (without pay): the 'monitor' system. The NSPRE was closely associated with the Church of England and all

pupils had to attend church on Sundays. I haven't read that staff had to do so too but I think it's a reasonable assumption that this was required of them: so Joseph Clayton must have been a parish-church goer at this point in his life. Teachers learned their trade by doing an apprenticeship - work in class plus study at home. I think Joseph's apprentice-job must have been in Aigburth, then a separate village but now a suburb of Liverpool south of Sefton Park; because that was where he married Louisa Shelcott in the spring of 1858.

I cannot find Louisa Shelcott on any census before 1861; but her marriage registration at St Michael-in-the-Hamlet Aigburth says that she was the daughter of a master mariner, so perhaps that's not surprising. Louisa was several years older than her husband but I've found in my researches into the members of the Golden Dawn that that's not so surprising either.

Joseph and Louisa Clayton left Aigburth shortly after their marriage and moved to Northampton: perhaps they had married on the strength of his apprenticeship being over and his having been offered a job in the National School there. Their son William Charles Edward Clayton was born there in 1859 and on the day of the 1861 census all three were living as boarders in Maple Street Northampton, in the household of Elizabeth Shepherd whose daughter Sarah was also a teacher, probably at the same school as Joseph. Louisa was pregnant on census day: daughter Cora was born in the summer; but Louisa died either at or shortly after the birth.

The dangers of childbirth and the days immediately after it meant that it was not especially unusual, in the 1860s, for a man to be left a widower with very young children. Within a few months Joseph Clayton left Northampton for the village of Thorpe Hesley, north of Sheffield - I imagine that he left his two children with his mother or one of his sisters, and this was the nearest job he could get to them. Infants in this situation were very vulnerable, and Joseph's son William died early in 1862. Three or four months later, Joseph married Jane Arkell.

The only thing I've been able to find out about Jane Arkell is that on the day of her marriage she already had one child, a daughter called Ellen. Ellen Roberts. On censuses later in the century, Jane Clayton was fairly (but not entirely) consistent about having been born in Liverpool; and having been born around 1840. In the 'Sources for the Claytons' section below I give a blow-by-blow account of my search for Jane Arkell and/or Jane Roberts for those readers who might be interested. Here I'll just say that my cautious conclusion is that IF her surname at birth was Arkell, she had not been married before when she married Joseph Clayton; and that she had given her daughter Ellen her father's surname. IF her surname at birth was Roberts, she must have been a widow when she married Joseph Clayton; but I can't find evidence of a first marriage for her, to a man called Arkell.

Joseph Clayton and Jane Arkell married in Newington: there's another puzzle. Newington was the registration district for London's South Bank, in the 1860s; if either or both of them lived there, it must have been for a short time only. Just long enough to get married? If so, where did they meet? Perhaps Liverpool, several years before? Who knows.

Joseph and Jane married in London but never lived there. They set up home in Thorpe Hesley, Jane adding her daughter Ellen to the family and taking on the care of Joseph's daughter Cora (who was still less than a year old). Fanny Isabel Clayton was born at Thorpe Hesley a year later, the first child of Joseph and Jane. In between Fanny Isabel's birth and that of her next sister, another Ellen (as if there was not enough confusion about names already) the family moved to Liverpool, I suppose so that Joseph Clayton could take up

another teaching appointment, perhaps one with rather higher pay. Joseph and Jane's daughter Jenny was born in Liverpool in 1867; and then they had no more children until the mid-1870s - at least, none that survived.

At some point between 1867 and 1871, Joseph Clayton returned to Bradford and took over the family china and glassware business. Thereby hangs another confused tale.

Because of a blip in Ancestry's census coverage of Bradford in 1861, I can't tell where Joseph's mother Jane Beanland was living; nor whether she was still running the family business that year - I suppose she must have been, but I can't confirm it. I was able to read that Jane Beanland, her daughter Isabella and her grandson James Clayton were all living together on the day of the 1861 census, and that all the rest of the family were living elsewhere. Jane Beanland's grandson James Clayton, was born in Bradford in 1854: he was Isabella's son but she wasn't married yet. It wasn't until 1865 that she married John Walton, a stuff packer at a woollen mill. He was six years younger than Isabella, too young to have been James' father, but he adopted him and James became James Clayton Walton. By 1871 James was working as a joiner-cum-office boy, probably for the building firm run by the Beanlands. Where this is leading is that Isabella's getting married would have meant that her mother wouldn't have been able to count quite so much on her help in housekeeping and running the china and glassware business, so it was probably at that point that Jane Beanland began to think of handing the business on. By 1871 she had retired, and gone to live with Isabella, John Walton and James, in Horton.

I get a strong impression that Joseph Clayton did not particularly want to get involved in the family firm. And of course, although it had been a part of his childhood, he had never gained any experience in managing it by the day. Now, though, it seems he was the only child left; so he gave up teaching and returned to Bradford to pick up the burden. How long he carried it for is not clear from what he told the census officials between 1871 and 1911: in 1871 he certainly said that he was a "shopman" dealing in china and glass; but in 1881 he said his shop was selling stationery; in 1891 he told the official he was a confectioner, and an accountant - did this mean he was doing accounts for other people?; but in 1901 he was back to describing himself as a dealer in chinaware; and in 1911 he said he was retired from business as a dealer in china and glass. Did he do or sell all those things? At the same time? If he was a confectioner, who was making the sweets? The one thing that was more or less consistent about Joseph's livelihood in this long period was the business' general location - always on Manchester Road Bradford though not necessarily at the same address.

The births and deaths of several more children punctuated the lives of Joseph and Jane in the 1870s and 1880s. Their daughter Jenny died in 1873, aged 6. Then two sons were born to them - Robert in 1876; and Harold in 1878 (he died in 1881). Oswald was born in 1881 and Joseph and Jane's last child, Hilda, in 1883. By the day of the 1881 census, Jane Beanland had come to live with Joseph and Jane and all their children and step-children. Ellen Roberts, Cora, Fanny Isabel and Ellen Clayton had all left school and all but Cora were both working, bringing money home. Ellen Roberts was serving in a pub. Ellen Clayton had gone to work in a woollen mill; the only one of Joseph's children who did so. I'll explain what Fanny Isabel was doing below. Cora was not doing any paid work; as the eldest daughter (step-daughter in Jane Clayton's case, of course) she was probably helping with the housekeeping and cooking necessary to feed and clothe such a large household. Jane Beanland may have needed special care by this time, too. This appearance on the 1881 census is the last information I have about Cora Clayton: after this, she disappears - I can't find a marriage or a

death registration for her and she doesn't figure in any later census.

Fanny Isabel Clayton was following her father, by training to be a teacher. Perhaps he encouraged her to do this; at the very least he must have seen that the Education Act of 1870 would lead to more job opportunities for the right kind of woman, alternatives to the physical labour of the factory and the drudgery of domestic service. The Act was being rolled out throughout England, but gradually, and Fanny Isabel's training probably didn't differ very much from her father's for the same job: training colleges for teachers were still very much in the future. If Fanny Isabel's training did follow the usual pattern, it will have begun before she left school, by her being chosen as an older pupil to help teach the younger ones. On leaving school, which she may have done at the age of 12 (in 1875) Fanny Isabel will have needed Joseph Clayton to sign forms for her, committing her to four years as an apprentice on a small wage. At the end of the four years, most - but not all - apprentices were offered a job. Fanny Isabel definitely got work at the end of her apprenticeship, though I don't know which School Board it was with; I haven't been able to find out anything about her employer or employers. I assume it was the Bradford school board at this stage in her life; I think that's a reasonable guess.

What and who Fanny Isabel will have taught was governed by the ideologies and stereotypes of the era. Women teachers taught the infants and the older girls; they did not teach the older boys. They were paid less at every level than a man. Expectations of them and their female pupils were low, and based on the assumption that working-class girls would work in the home, either as a married woman in their husband's home or as a paid servant in someone else's, in either case doing the same tasks; so that - particularly in years immediately after the 1870 Act - the curriculum for girls concentrated on very basic literacy, sewing and laundry skills. Even domestic economy and practical lessons in cookery didn't come in until later in Fanny Isabel's career; technical skills were not taught at all; and nothing much was expected of girls in the way of arithmetic. Essentially, if a woman teacher couldn't teach sewing, she was not likely to keep her job. I'd like to think that Fanny Isabel had a higher opinion of her pupils' abilities than that; but she would not have been allowed to make anything of it.

As the 1880s progressed, though Joseph and Jane Clayton did have the one last child, the large household of 1881 did begin to break up. Jane Beanland died early in 1884 at the age of 84. Ellen Roberts married Bowker Kay in 1888; by 1891 they were owners of the Coffee Tavern in Market Street Cleckheaton. And by 1891 Fanny Isabel was living with her aunt.

In 1856 Fanny Isabel's aunt Jane Clayton (Joseph's youngest sister) had a daughter who was registered as Sarah Clayton. The following year, Jane married Joseph Waring. Joseph and Jane Waring had no children, which leads me to suppose that Joseph Waring was not Sarah's biological father. However, like John Walton, he was happy enough to act as a father to Sarah in all other respects and was probably quite as devastated as Jane was when Sarah died, in 1869, aged 13. The Warings ran a grocery business in Little Horton from the 1860s to the 1880s. In addition, at least around 1870, Joseph also did carpentry work and employed one man to help him; perhaps he worked as a sub-contractor for the Beanland joinery and building firm and that was how Jane Clayton had met him. By 1881, Joseph Waring was no longer doing the carpentry and perhaps that made money a bit tight for him and Jane: on the day of the 1881 census they were renting out some rooms above the shop.

I haven't been able to find out when Fanny Isabel Clayton first went to live with aunt Jane Waring but I imagine she moved in during 1889, the year Joseph Waring died. Jane Waring

carried on with the grocery business, which - like Joseph Clayton's business - always been on Manchester Road, so Fanny Isabel hadn't moved very far from home. However, I think it was a move that benefited both parties: Jane Waring had a young niece to cheer her loneliness and give some help in the shop perhaps; and Fanny Isabel might have had - probably for the first time - space of her own and a bit of peace and quiet in which to work. Fanny Isabel probably continued to live with her aunt until Jane Waring died in 1896 and so was there when she joined the Order of the Golden Dawn (I wonder what her aunt made of it). Fanny Isabel never returned to live with her parents. Instead - she had been a professional woman for many years now - she rented a house which she shared with a colleague - Eliza Craven.

Quite how Joseph Clayton found the time and energy for his intellectual pursuits, in the midst of such a busy household, I can't imagine; but he was a Biblical scholar, and a theosophist. Going through the Theosophical Society (TS) Membership Registers, I found evidence to show that he joined the TS during the early 1880s, when it was in its infancy and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky was still living in India. He was a keen-eyed reader of the TS's members' magazine *The Vahan*, and in March 1893 a letter from him was published in it which started quite a debate about how a passage in Romans VII should be understood, particularly the word 'atonement', which according to one of those who got involved in the argument, only occurs that once in the whole New Testament. Joseph's had written in to report that he had noticed a tendency in recent articles in *The Vahan* to write of the word as meaning at-one-ment - being together or coming together. In the face of much criticism from several respondents who disagreed with him at great length and with many classical and other references, Joseph stuck to his guns that it should be translated as something more like expiation - making amends. I mention this exchange of opinions (in which even the editor found himself obliged to defend his own position) because one of the others who took part in it was also a Golden Dawn member, one much better educated than Joseph Clayton and boy! Did he let him know it. I will not name this other GD member; he is one of only three GD members that I really do dislike. My sympathies are all with Joseph Clayton, who probably would have loved a university education but never had the chance of one. Instead, he had done his best to educate himself. 1893 was the last year that Joseph Clayton paid his membership fee to the TS. It would have been a sad thing if these supporters of 'at-one-ment' had driven him away.

Fanny Isabel, and her much younger brother Robert, were the two children of Joseph Clayton who shared his philosophical tastes. They, and Robert's wife Ada, were long-serving members of the the Theosophical Society in Bradford, though Ada didn't join until after she married (in 1900). The TS was active in Bradford in the early 1890s, and again from about 1902, but Fanny Isabel's membership record shows that she joined the TS in the early 1880s, perhaps at the same time as her father, and when the only places where TS members met to discuss theosophy and hear talks on the subject were in London. The TS had been founded to study the western occult tradition. It wasn't until Helena Petrovna Blavatsky went to India in the late 1870s that its teachings and discussions became influenced by Asian philosophy, particularly Buddhism. I've painted a pretty grim description of what Fanny Isabel would have spent her working days teaching. Her own abilities and interests raced far ahead of the intellectual level expected both of girl pupils and their women teachers. Surely her involvement in the TS and the GD must have stemmed, at least partly, from a desire to give her brain a challenge, a proper work-out. By the time she joined the GD she had been teaching hemming and stain-removal for nearly 20 years. Being in the TS and the GD covered all the options in the early 1890s - Asian thought at the TS, the western occult authors and rituals at the GD - and many of those initiated into the GD were also members of the TS in Bradford, including Fanny Isabel; they were a close-knit group. Fanny Isabel worked very hard and consistently at the reading required by the GD of those who wanted

initiation into its inner (Second) Order, and reached that level in three years (some GD members took twice as long). At the same time, she and Joseph were members of Athene Lodge, with other GD members like Bogdan Edwards, Eliza Pattinson and Joe Dunckley. Athene Lodge split off from Bradford Lodge in the mid-1890s but the two lodges got back together in 1902, reforming the Bradford TS lodge, which still exists today. So close were the GD and the TS in Bradford that the impetus for this getting-back-together may have been the splitting-up into various daughter orders of the GD, in the years 1901-03. Fanny Isabel and Joseph Clayton were not members of either of the GD's two main daughter orders. CJoseph Clayton doesn't seem to have joined the reformed Bradford TS Lodge either, but Fanny Isabel did so. Robert and Ada Clayton joined it a few years later and were very committed members for the next 30 years, both serving as president and Ada running its Ladies' Sewing Circle (formed in 1914).

A daughter lodge of Bradford, Minerva TS Lodge, was founded in 1917 by Fanny Isabel and another ex-GD member, Edward Jonathan Dunn; though its other prime movers - Eliza Pattinson's daughter and Edward Jonathan Dunn's wife - had never been GD members. Miss Pattinson was Minerva Lodge's secretary from 1917 until her death; and then Fanny Isabel took over the role, probably until her own death.

Joseph and Jane Clayton were still living on Manchester Road on the day of the 1901 census but their household was much smaller: their daughter Ellen had married in 1895 and their son Robert - now a printer/compositor - in 1900. Oswald and Hilda were still living at home, but they were working: Oswald was a plumber and Hilda worked in a bakery. Fanny Isabel was living at 141 Grafton Street Little Horton, with Eliza Craven.

I know very little about Eliza Craven. In 1901, sharing a house with Fanny Isabel, Miss Craven told the census official that she was 34 and had been born in Kirkstall (just north of Leeds). The only birth registration I could find which came near to fitting that information was for an Eliza A Craven early in 1866; not quite right for the age she gave, but taking a year or two off your age is a common enough habit. The registration didn't get me very far: I couldn't spot a convincing Eliza Craven born in Kirkstall early 1860s-ish on any census between 1871 and 1901. There were just too many Eliza Cravens: like Clayton, it's a common surname in Yorkshire and half the female Cravens seemed to be called Eliza. I looked for the GD's Eliza Craven in the West Riding but also in Liverpool, because when she was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn she gave an address in the Gillington district of Liverpool.

Where did Fanny Isabel Clayton and Eliza Craven meet? If Eliza had been born in Leeds but had grown up in Liverpool they could have known each other from their childhoods. They could have met later, through the Golden Dawn. But they could have got to know each other only after Eliza Craven moved to take up a job in Bradford. How long they lived together I don't know. I can't find Eliza Craven on the 1911 census. She may just have been travelling during the Easter holidays, of course. I don't think she had married. It's possible she might have died: on freebmd I saw several death registrations that might have been her, between 1901 and 1910.

By the day of the 1911 census, Joseph Clayton had retired. None of his children had ever had anything much to do with the china and glassware business. On the contrary - Joseph seems

to have gone out of his way to ensure they did other work. So I suppose it just got wound up, or sold to someone new. After four or so decades of living on Manchester Road, Joseph and Jane moved to Tichborne Road, presumably as part of Joseph's retirement. Hilda was the only child still living at home in 1911. Oswald had moved out; I think he married in 1905.

Fanny Isabel had moved to Baildon by 1911 and was living at 28 East Parade. She was there on her own on census day. She had been promoted: she was a head teacher now and may have been earning as much as £100 a year. And she might have been beginning to look forward to retiring, with a pension (she was 60 in 1923 but I'm not certain of official retirement ages at that period).

Joseph Clayton died early in 1912. Daughter Hilda married in 1913. Jane Clayton died at the end of the horrible year 1917.

I hope Fanny Isabel enjoyed her retirement. She certainly kept up her interest in theosophy to the end. She died in 1934.

Fanny Isabel Clayton never married. Was this by choice? Difficult to tell. The prevailing ideologies expected all women to marry; marriage and motherhood were seen in Fanny Isabel's lifetime as not only a woman's true destiny, but also as her duty to the Empire. But that all women should marry was quite impossible in England in the late 19th century, with so many young single men emigrating, dying in the armed forces, or simply not wishing to take on the economic burden of wife and family. Most likely, Fanny Isabel didn't get married because nobody asked her. However, there were other reasons why a woman might opt to remain single.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. The records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived beyond 1896 either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned. In April 2012 the History page was updated with the names of all the members at least up to 1941.

The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot, and needed a lot of careful management!

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees and family histories on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JOSEPH and FANNY ISABEL CLAYTON and ELIZA CRAVEN

CLAYTON/BEANLAND/WARING IN BRADFORD I have had v little luck w this.

Baines's Directory and Gazetteer of Bradford published in 1822, transcribed at www.genuki.org.uk. It covers the surrounding villages as well as the town of Bradford, and has several businesses run by people called Clayton and people called Beanland.

CLAYTON GLASS AND CHINA

My only directory reference was in History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, published by William White in 1837: p454 Bradford directory under china, glass and earthenware. There's no reference to such a business run by a William Clayton. The death of a Thomas Clayton was registered in Bradford Yorkshire, quarter April-June 1838; perhaps it was that Thomas Clayton.

WILLIAM CLAYTON, Joseph's father, Fanny Isabel's grandfather:

Even on familysearch I couldn't find a marriage of a William Clayton to a woman called Jane in the mid-1820s; not even looking outside Bradford. I may be wrong in assuming William Clayton was dead by 1841; but he must have been dead by the summer of 1845. These 3 death registrations are possibly him; the age at death was not included in the registration until 1868:

death William Clayton registered Bradford Yorkshire Oct-Dec 1837

death William Clayton registered Bradford Yorkshire Apr-June 1838

death William Clayton registered Bradford Yorkshire Oct-Dec 1838

JOSEPH CLAYTON'S SISTERS Sarah Mary Jane and Isabella. Sarah and Mary are never part of any household with Joseph after 1841; I guess they marry.

WILLIAM CLAYTON, Joseph's younger brother who doesn't appear on any census after 1841:

I found two possible birth registrations in Bradford Yorkshire: 1 in Apr-June 1839; and 1 in April-June 1840. A death registration for a William Clayton registered Bradford Yorkshire

Jan-Mar 1842 is probably the correct one.

BEANLAND

About the Beanlands: at www.tribalpages.com there was a very well researched and presented, exhaustively-detailed list of people called Beanland, all descended from one particular man. Some people in the list were living at Bingley in 1597/1620. HOWEVER I couldn't see anyone called Martin Beanland in this list, so he may not be related to this branch of the family.

Evidence that Martin Beanland's business continued after he died in 1851: The British Architect volume 2 1874 p264 it's a google snippet so I couldn't see the name of the building which was the subject of the article but it's a prestigious one, at Manningham Park, and includes an assembly room, lecture rooms, a library etc. The architects were Messrs Lockwood and M[I couldn't read the rest] of Bradford. Amongst the contractors working on the building were Messrs Beanland, joiners of Bradford.

Death of Martin Beanland was registered Bradford Yorkshire Oct-Dec 1851. Via familysearch England EAS-y 1849274: a very brief burial record for Martin Beanland: he was buried on 14 October 1851, in Bradford, the record didn't say exactly where.

JOSEPH CLAYTON AS A PLANE MAKER

Wikipedia on planes has pictures of ancient ones looking very modern - the design hasn't changed much! Wikipedia on Leonard Bailey: born 1825 in New Hampshire; died 1905 in New York City. In the mid-1860s he came up with a series of inventions including a cast-iron hand plane. Later his designs were bought by Stanley Rule and Level of Connecticut, now known as Stanley Works, who still make them.

Website www.davistownmuseum.org was founded by H G Skip Brack partly as a museum of tools in history. He dates Bailey's series of inventions as beginning c 1858 and says that the first ever plane with a cast-iron body was made as early as 1827. The museum is in Bar Harbor Maine. Website has some good pictures.

JOSEPH AS A TEACHER: the National School for Promoting Religious Education (NSPRE).

See wikipedia on NSPRE for the general principles on which it worked. I got further details of how it worked by the day from

www.barnes113.karoo.net/History/bromley_national_school.htm which has an account of Bromley's NSPRE, apparently based on its records and including useful stuff like how many teachers were employed at any time, and how much they were paid.

JOSEPH CLAYTON'S FIRST MARRIAGE

LOUISA SHELCOFF is born in 1834: Lancashire On-Line Parish Project (see below for more information on this) gives the names of Louisa's parents as Simon and Maria.

Lancashire On-Line Parish Project at www.lan-

opc.uk/Liverpool/Aigburth/StMichael/marriages_1855-60.html

On 10 April 1858 at St Michael in the Hamlet, Aigburth Lancs: marriage of Joseph Clayton to Louisa Shelcott. Source: LDS film 2147881.

JOSEPH CLAYTON'S SECOND MARRIAGE

I have to say that it's very perverse that Joseph Clayton should marry two successive women with rare surnames, and that I shouldn't be able to find anything much out about either of them!

FANNY'S MOTHER, THE MYSTERIOUS JANE ARKELL OR POSS ROBERTS.

Arkell is a very unusual surname: only about 15 people in England had it in the mid-19th century. And I still cldn't find her. I've search everywhere for her.

She was fairly consistent about being born in Liverpool c 1840. Birth registrations for girls with surname Arkell: in the years 1839 to 1841 there's only 1 registration for a child called Jane: a Jane Elizabeth, registered Tynemouth. Jane Clayton never says she is Jane Elizabeth to any census official and her death registration is just Jane. There are no registrations at all for anyone called Arkell in Liverpool or West Derby (the main suburb of Liverpool). There are very few births at all with this is a rare surname, most of those that there are, are in the Cotswolds. A 1840 birth registration in Cirencester for an unnamed female could be her I suppose.

Birth registrations as Jane Roberts c 1840: there are some in Liverpool and/or West Derby in the period 1839-41. Most such are registered in Wales, with some in London. There was one in Bradford quarter Jan-Mar 1840 but Jane Clayton is only described as being born in Bradford once, and I think that was just a muddle on the census official's part..

There are too many women called Jane Roberts to find her easily but no one called Jane Roberts married anyone called Arkell in the period 1857-1860; if Jane was born c 1840 they can't have married much earlier.

1841 census re Jane Arkell: there are nine infant girls with that name in the UK, all in England. None is said to have been born in Liverpool. The only one born c 1840 was born in Oxfordshire where there is at least one family with that surname. Ditto 1851, still couldn't see anyone called Arkell answering the description Jane Clayton gave on later censuses.

AND ABOUT JANE ARKELL'S DAUGHTER ELLEN FROM A PREVIOUS RELATIONSHIP: information about Ellen on the censuses was consistent about her having the surname Roberts, and being born in Liverpool in 1860. There is this registration: Ellen Roberts Liverpool quarter Jan-Mar 1860. I couldn't find this child, or a mother Jane Roberts or Jane Arkell on the 1861 census. There's a birth registration for an Ellen Arkell, Pancras quarter July-Sep 1860, but perverse though it seems, I don't think this is her. I've found a marriage registration which is probably her, as Ellen Roberts. Cautious conclusion: Ellen Roberts was the illegitimate daughter of a young woman called Jane Arkell; and was given her father's surname.

FANNY ISABEL and ELIZA AS TEACHERS - SOME GENERAL INFORMATION ON

WOMEN TEACHERS AND WHAT THEY TAUGHT DURING FANNY AND ELIZA'S LIVES

Using findmypast, I searched the records of the Teachers' Registration Council, set up as part of the Education Act of 1899 but was abandoned as teachers refused to cooperate with it. A second attempt to get a TRC going began in 1912 with registration from 1914. This effort got more cooperation, but as an historical resource it's still pretty poor: firstly, registration was voluntary; secondly neither the Board of Education nor any local authorities referred to the registration list when deciding who to promote. Inevitably, registration was patchy. No one called Fanny Isabel Clayton or Eliza Craven registered with the TRC between 1902 and 1948.

London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism 1870-1930 by Dina M Copelman. London and New York: Routledge 1996. Of course, not all of this will have applied in Bradford.

On what the typical woman teacher would be teaching, and what the elementary school girl pupils would be learning: History of Education volume 17 no 1: a special issue on Women and Schooling, published March 1988. London, New York, Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis. Edited by Roy Lowe. Pp71-82 The Education and Employment of Working-Class Girls 1870-1914, by Pamela Horn.

FANNY AND JOSEPH IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Membership details from the Theosophical Society Membership Registers which are housed at the

TS headquarters in England, Gloucester Place London W1.

For an account of the involvement of Fanny Isabel, Robert and Ada in the Bradford TS Lodge after 1902, see the website in the Bradford Sources above.

JOSEPH CLAYTON IN THE VAHAN which was the magazine for members of the TS European section.

The Vahan volume II no 8 issued 1 March 1893 p1 has Joseph Clayton's letter to the editor; and a note from the editor acknowledging the point Joseph had made.

The Vahan volume II no 9 issued 1 April 1893 pp1-2 had the replies I've referred to above. Unlike Joseph Clayton who gave his full name, the people who wrote in criticising him only gave their initials: JC and JWBI.

The Vahan volume II no 10 issued 1 May 1893 p1 has Joseph Clayton reply, focusing particularly on the comments made by JWBI.

There was no more follow up in any future issue of The Vahan.

28 December 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Thomas Walker Coffin was initiated into the Golden Dawn very early on, in June 1888, taking as his motto the Latin phrase 'Per angusta ad augusta'. At the time of his initiation he was living at 22 Upper Park Road in the Haverstock Hill part of Hampstead, north London. By the end of the following year he had tendered his resignation.

Thomas Walker Coffin was born in 1840 in the Devonport district of Plymouth in Devon. My knowledge of his early life is a bit sketchy. It's particularly annoying that I couldn't find him living at home with his parents on any census, but other evidence I've found has made me confident that he was the son of another Thomas W Coffin and his wife Elizabeth. The elder Thomas Coffin worked for the Post Office, possibly spending time as the postmaster in Stoke Damerel, on the outskirts of Plymouth; but definitely also doing at least two tours of duty as the postmaster of Malta. I can't find the family on the census in 1841 so I guess they were in Malta at that time and the younger Thomas Walker spent some of his childhood abroad. However, he was sent home to go to school - on the 1851 census, now aged 10, the GD's he was a boarder at a small school in Tiverton.

The younger Thomas Walker Coffin (the future GD member) will have left school in his mid-teens. In 1862 he was working for the navy as a civilian clerk, based at the dockyards at Devonport; in 1864 he was listed as working there again, in its Victualling and Transport department. He doesn't appear on the 1861 census and I've found some evidence that makes me wonder if he was already working for the navy and had been sent to do a tour of foreign duty, either in Hong Kong or in China. In 1864 he gave a talk called 'The Chinese: Sketches of their History and Customs'; the imperial British were very arrogant about their understanding of the rest of the world, but I can't believe Thomas Coffin would have attempted that talk without actually having observed, or even met, some Chinese people in their home environment. However, I haven't found any direct evidence that he spent time in the Far East.

Thomas Walker Coffin senior was a devoutly religious man, a stalwart of the British and Foreign Bible Society for thirty years. When living in Plymouth during the 1850s and 1860s he was secretary of the Society's Devonport and Stonehouse branch; back on Malta in the 1870s and 1880s, he collected donations to the Society from wealthy English residents. The young Thomas Coffin inherited this serious Christianity, becoming a member of the Royal Naval Scripture Readers' Society which held its meetings in the Temperance Hall in Devonport. However, he had other interests - he learned photography; he made scientific studies of the weather; he went to meetings of the Plymouth Institution (that's where he gave the talk on the Chinese); he became a freemason (more of that later); and he served in the 12th Devonshire Artillery, a local volunteer militia, reaching the level of captain in 1869 but rising no further before his resignation in 1879.

Early in 1868 Thomas Walker Coffin married Mary Augusta Tause, in Plymouth. On the day of the 1871 census, he and his wife (who is always called Maria on the census, not Mary) and their two eldest children Ernest and Ethel, were living in Stoke Damerel. Maria's brother Hector was boarding with them and two servants were employed, a cook and a housemaid. So far, then, Thomas Walker Coffin's life had followed a rather conservative pattern, and there didn't seem to be any particular reason why it should not continue on the course already laid down until he retired or died. But in the early 1870s he departed from it radically, to qualify as a surgeon. Perhaps he was inspired by the work of his brother Richard James Coffin, who - though younger than Thomas - qualified as a doctor earlier than he. I cannot find out where Thomas Coffin studied; I've been hampered in my web-based searches by

Lucretia Mott's family (she was the daughter of a Thomas Coffin) many of whom were doctors. I couldn't spot the Devon-based Thomas Walker Coffin amongst them. By the mid-1860s some universities, but not all, were publishing the results of their students' medical exams; Thomas Walker Coffin's name didn't come up on any of these bulletins via the web. So I am rather at a loss to explain how and where he qualified; perhaps he did so in the manner that was already rather old-fashioned, by working an apprenticeship with a practitioner. Nor do I know how the family managed for money during this time; surely Thomas couldn't have continued to work as a clerk while he studied medicine.

In another departure from what might have been expected, the family moved to London, perhaps so that he could study and do the necessary work in a hospital. They did not return once he had become eligible to practice. The move was made around 1874, between the birth of Hugh (who died in 1873 aged only a few months) and of Thomas and Maria's last children, the twins Algernon and Claud (born in 1875 in Fulham).

Thomas Walker Coffin had qualified as a surgeon by August 1877 and been received as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons by 1879. From 1879 to 1903 he was listed on the General Medical Council's register of doctors and surgeons in practice. He seems to have been based in the new suburb of Clapton, just north of Hackney, around the time he qualified, in 1877; and then moved to Marylebone. For a while he was in a business partnership with John May Andrew, as surgeons, apothecaries, accoucheurs (doctors who advised on childbirth) and general practitioners. The practice was based at two addresses, 140 Haverstock Hill; and 81 Queen's Crescent Marylebone, Thomas Coffin's home address on the day of the 1881 census. However, the partnership only lasted until October 1884 and after it was officially ended, Thomas Coffin worked alone. Why did the partnership with Dr Andrew last such a short time? Perhaps Dr Coffin wanted to concentrate on general practice and surgery. That's how he's described in later censuses; no mention is made in them of the midwife or pharmacy work although that may just be an over-simplification by the census officials. But perhaps Dr Coffin was not good at money, to his partner's annoyance. Perhaps he could not find enough patients, in a very competitive profession. Or maybe he just overreached himself, trying to impress future patients by employing too many servants, for example: in 1881 a cook, housemaid and a nurse; in 1891 a cook-cum-housekeeper, a parlourmaid and a housemaid. Somehow or other, Thomas Walker Coffin lost control of his budget and was declared personally bankrupt in 1895. The official notice of the bankruptcy appeared in the Edinburgh Gazette, but not the London one where it might have been more useful to those he owed money, but would also have been more embarrassing. Perhaps because his patients and would-be patients didn't know about it, he was able to continue in medical practice after this financial disaster, but seems to have retired in or shortly after 1903, when all his children were off his hands; in that year, he and Maria, and Thomas' mother, moved to 31 Maldon Crescent Haverstock Hill. Though by as late as 1906 he was still active as a volunteer fireman in London.

In London, Thomas Walker Coffin's leisure activities reflected his new career. He joined the Obstetrical Society in 1879 and the Linnean Society in 1883, focusing on the zoological side of its interest in species classification. It's likely that, in due course, he became acquainted with Sydney Turner Klein who was elected to the Linnean Society in 1887. Klein was initiated into the GD, but long after Coffin had come and gone. Thomas Coffin had much closer links with the Golden Dawn through north London medicine and freemasonry, both of which would have brought him into contact with William Woodman and William Wynn Westcott.

Thomas Walker Coffin had accepted an invitation to become a freemason during the first phase of his life, being initiated into the Plymouth's Lodge of Sincerity, number 189, where the most senior figure was the important local landowner the 4th Earl of Edgcombe. By 1870 Thomas Coffin was climbing the ladder towards doing a year as the lodge's master, though I haven't found out whether he actually served his year before he moved away. When he moved to London, he would have been able to use his status as a freemason as an introduction to freemasonry circles in the city. He could also have met William Westcott in medical circles as early as 1881, when Coffin was living in Marylebone and Westcott was working as deputy coroner for that part of north London. Woodman and Westcott were both active freemasons, and Woodman was another man with family in Devon; so I think they were THE PEOPLE COFFIN KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN because - by the late 1880s - Thomas Walker Coffin had become a member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA). As its name suggests, SRIA was a group of freemasons who were particularly interested in the legend and rituals of Christian Rosenkreuz. In the 1880s William Woodman was SRIA's Supreme Magus and Westcott its secretary; Samuel Mathers also attended its meetings from time to time, though he was never a member. Westcott and Mathers invited several members of SRIA to join the Golden Dawn in its first few months; the early date of his initiation makes me think that Thomas Walker Coffin was one of them. At that time Thomas Coffin was working his way up the ranks in the SRIA's London group, known as its Metropolitan College. He reached the top and served as its Celebrant (the most senior official) in the year from April 1892 to April 1893; though he seems to have let his membership lapse by 1898, probably because - with his financial troubles - he couldn't afford to pay his yearly subscription.

On the day of the 1881 census the Coffin household included a young assistant surgeon who was presumably employed by the Andrew-Coffin partnership. I should imagine Thomas Walker Coffin hoped that, eventually, one of his sons would join him in the business and in 1891 that seemed destined to be Ernest Coffin, who was doing his medical training. However, the best-laid plans went quite arigh, and Ernest doesn't seem ever to have practised medicine and may never even have qualified. Instead he became an artist; there are a few examples of his work on the web, particularly a pencil drawing of the interior of St Bartholomew's church. He married a woman called Almeida Roberts who may have been an actress. Neither Algernon nor Claud practised medicine. I can't find Claud on any census after 1891 so I don't know what he did for a living. Algernon continued the family commitment to active Christianity by becoming a baptist minister. And Ethel married Hubert Royse (later Russell-Royse) who worked in a bank.

Thomas Walker Coffin's mother Elizabeth lived with him and Maria after he retired. It might have been a coming-home for her, moving to London in her widowhood - she had been born in Southwark. She died in 1908 aged 90. Thomas only lived 18 months longer, dying in 1910.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the

large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census, probate and GMC records); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web. There was also an entry for Thomas Walker Coffin and his children at genforum.genealogy.com/coffin/messages/2686/html; and more or less the same information on familysearch.org.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR THOMAS WALKER COFFIN:

Thomas Walker Coffin senior:

British and Foreign Bible Society annual reports from the period 1850 to 1880.

Dietrichson and Hannay's Royal Almanack 1868 p91 in the section on The British Colonies: T W Coffin as postmaster in Malta.

The Royal Kalendar...for England, Scotland, Ireland and the Colonies 1879 p498 lists T W Coffin as postmaster in Malta.

Thomas Walker Coffin junior, the GD member:

As a naval clerk:

Navy List 1862, Googlebooks' snippet didn't show the page number. A list of clerks working at HM Dockyards all over the world included T W Coffin, currently based at Devonport.

Navy List 1864 p247 list of clerks working at the Victualling and Transport departments included T W Coffin currently based at Devonport. NB that as at 24 May 2012 these 2 navy lists were the only ones on Googlebooks that had his name in; I think putting the navy lists onto google is an ongoing project.

His leisure time:

Photographic News for Amateur Photographers volume 3 1860 p12 issue of 9 September 1860 has a list of current members of the Stereoscopic Exchange Club; it includes T W Coffin jnr with address c/o the Post Office Devonport. The editor of Photographic News... at that time was the chemist William Crookes who was a member of the Golden Dawn though not at the same time as T W Coffin was.

The British Flag issue of 1 September 1862 p71 had a report on the meeting of the Royal Naval Scripture Readers' Society held on 17 January at the Temperance Hall, Devonport. T

W Coffin made a short speech in front of several senior naval officers and Sir Thomas S Pasley, baronet, who was chairing the meeting. Rather brave of him, I think.

Annual Report and Transactions of the Plymouth Institution volume 1 1864 p8 in a list of recent events: T W Coffin jnr had given a talk on 19 January entitled The Chinese: Sketches of their History and Customs.

Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall issue 14 part 2 1873 p177 mentions a report in the Western Morning News (published in Plymouth) of a lecture by T W Coffin at the Plymouth Institution on 1 March: British Storms.

Freemasons' Magazine and Masonic Mirror issue of 30 July 1870 p93 covered the dedication ceremony of Tiverton's new masonic hall, held on Monday 21 July; T W Coffin was there as junior warden of lodge 189.

In medicine:

For a general summing-up of the rise of the medical profession during the 19th-century, see chapter 1 of *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* by Janet Oppenheim. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991.

GMC records (see Ancestry) and Calendar of the Royal College of Surgeons 1875.

London Gazette 24 Oct 1884 p4606 notices dissolving business partnerships included one of the dissolving by mutual consent of the partnership John May Andrew and Thomas Walker Coffin. Partnership dissolved as of 29 September 1884; document signed by both partners, and witnessed on 21 October 1884.

Edinburgh Gazette of 17 July 1896 p6996 list of people recently declared bankrupt included Thomas Walker Coffin on 22 Upper Park Road Haverstock Hill "surgeon".

The Linnean Society:

Zoological Journal of the Linnean Society volume 17 1884 p7 Thomas Walker Coffin is in a list of people who'd been elected as members at the Society's latest mtg.

Linnean Society's database of members held at their offices in Burlington House Piccadilly: Thomas Walker Coffin was elected a Fellow of the LS on 19 April 1883; he'd been nominated by R Bentley, T S Cobbold and H C Rose and declared his main interest to be zoology. Other memberships held by him: FRCS.

Proceedings of the Linnean Society 123rd session November 1910-June 1911 p12 death of T W Coffin is in a list of fellows who'd died since the last anniversary of the Society; the list was announced at the LS meeting of 24 May 1911. There was no obituary of Coffin in the volume.

Obstetrical Society: Transactions of the Obstetrical Society 1879.

SRIA: Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College, particularly volume for 1892-93 p1 which shows that, having worked his way up SRIA's metropolitan college's official hierarchy, at its obligatory meeting of 21 April 1892 Coffin became the Celebrant for 1892-93. However, the Transactions of 1898-99 p3 minutes of the meeting of 14 July 1898 show that the membership of someone called Coffin - I presume that it's Thomas Walker - was declared lapsed after he had failed to pay his annual subscription or go to any meetings for three years on the trot.

As a volunteer fireman: Insurance Year Book: Fire and Marine volume 34 1906 p B-6 a list of items in a particular fire depot ends by naming Thomas Walker Coffin as the chief volunteer fireman; I couldn't see where this depot was on Googlebooks' snippet.

24 May 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Edith Grace Collett was initiated into the Golden Dawn at its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh on 8 June 1896, taking the Latin motto 'Caritas nunquam excidit'. She did not give the GD any address at which they could contact her; and when she moved to England she did not continue her membership of the GD at its Isis-Urania temple in London.

She had more important demands on her time and effort: when she was invited to join the GD she was in the process of qualifying as a doctor. In terms of the women who were in the GD, she was a rare bird indeed.

May 2014: I've been able to update this biography with more details of the sanatorium where Edith Grace was working between 1901 and 1903. I was emailed by a researcher saying: did I know that Emily Carr had been a patient at East Anglia Sanatorium? I had never heard of Emily Carr, who turned out to be an artist renowned in her native Canada but virtually unknown here - hopefully that will change following the exhibition of her work due this autumn at Dulwich Art Gallery. It turned out that Emily Carr was never Edith Grace's patient, but despite that disappointment I've been able to add a lot more detail about Edith Grace's working life in what was probably her first important post. Many many thanks to the researcher, who prefers to remain anonymous.

Edith Grace's family

The family history website www.collettfamilyhistory.net is a collaboration between many people with the surname Collett (originally Colet). They trace their ancestry back to 1360 in Suffolk, branching out into Buckinghamshire; and to 1485 in Gloucestershire. According to this exhaustive website, Edith Grace was a descendent of the Suffolk Colletts. Her grandparents on the Collett side were Cornelius Collett and his wife Amelia. Cornelius Collett was probably dead by the day of the 1841 census, because Amelia Collett was head of the household, living in North Lane, Beverley, Yorkshire with three of her four sons: Charles and Samuel described incorrectly as both aged 15; and Daniel aged 12. The youngest, Trusson, was not at home. He was probably at school but I couldn't find him, probably because of his odd forename, mis-spelled several times in subsequent censuses.

None of the Collett boys went to university, there was probably not money in the family for that expense. Samuel doesn't seem to have worked at anything; Daniel became an engineer; and Trusson worked in the offices of a London wine merchant. Charles joined the Madras Civil Service, arriving in India in April 1845 and spent about ten years working as a tax collector with the Madras magistrates' service, being posted to Malabar and Calicut (now Kozhikode). In the 1850s he began to study law, intending to qualify as a barrister. He took

two periods of leave in England, in 1856 and 1859, to do the bar exams and the social side of qualification, and was called to the bar of Lincoln's Inn during his second period of leave, in January 1861. He had already spent periods standing in as a judge for people on leave, and in March 1866 he was promoted to the Madras high court as one of four judges serving under one senior judge.

In 1869 Charles Collett was living at 2 Harrington's Road, in the Chetput district of Madras (largely occupied by European residents and businesses) and was earning 3750 rupees per year. This is important information because it was in 1869 that his daughter Edith Grace was born, on 18 July. Her baptism record survives, though without the details of which church the service took place in (probably the Cathedral); it gives her parents as Charles Collett and his wife Dahliah, née Phillips.

The baptism record has been put online at familysearch. I have hunted high and low, in Indian records and UK ones, for the record of Charles Collett's marriage to Dahliah Phillips and not been able to find it. The best I can do is suppose that he married the daughter of another English resident of Madras, and look for people called Phillips. The highest-ranking and longest-serving candidate is Henry Dominic Phillips, who went to India in 1829 and who by the 1860s was the most senior paid official in the whole of the Madras civil service. There are two other possible candidates, another judge and an army officer, but they had both spent less time in that part of India and may not have been old enough to have daughters of marriage-able age.

Nor can I find any record of the death of Edith Grace's mother. She must have died, probably in India, between Edith Grace's baptism and 1871, because by the day of the 1871 census Charles Collett was in England, staying at a lodging house on Piccadilly, and describing himself as not married. He had retired from the Madras Civil Service and was back in England for good. Charles' mother Amelia Collett and his brother Samuel had moved south and were living at Clare Lodge, Spring Grove Isleworth by 1871, according to the Collett family history website. I'm suggesting that Charles Collett came back to England partly to leave Edith Grace with her grandmother, at least as a temporary measure.

In 1872 Charles Collett married Lucy Ellen Daniels. They had five children, half-siblings for Edith Grace: Phyllis, Margaret and Charles, all born in London; and Laura and Arthur, born after the family moved to Torquay. I say 'the family' but I do wonder whether Edith Grace ever lived with them: all those involved with the situation may have thought it preferable for her to stay with her grandmother. She was not living with her father, on the census day of 1881. She was at school; one of the few GD members whose schooling I have any direct evidence of. Edith Grace was one of four boarders at the school on that day; perhaps most of the pupils were day-girls; or had gone home for the holidays (the habit of holding the census during the Easter vacation has been a real curse on my research work - everybody goes away!) The school was a small one, contained in one house in the St Andrew's district of Bristol and was run by Mary Robe, a local woman, and Elizabeth Crampton, who'd been born in Ireland. They both described themselves as school-mistresses so I guess they took most of the lessons between them; but they employed Phébé Trouzel (or possibly Touzel), a Frenchwoman, to teach French.

I've tried to discover a bit more about Miss Robe and Miss Crampton's school - especially what was taught there - but I haven't had any luck except to find that it was still going in 1901, having moved to Frenchay on the outskirts of Bristol. This argues that generations of

parents were satisfied with what it taught; but when it came to what girls were taught, 19th century parents tended to be satisfied with very little. And of course I don't know how long Edith Grace stayed at Miss Robe's school; or whether she went on to another school elsewhere; or whether she studied on her own or was lucky enough to find a man willing to teach her (it would have had to be a man, I think). I would really like to know, because by the late 1880s, Edith Grace had persuaded Glasgow and Edinburgh universities to take her on to study medicine. Where did she learn enough science to do it? She would have had to persuade her father to allow it, as well, particularly as she was very young to be taking such a big step, a step that most parents would have viewed as lowering the chances that she would marry. She was only 20 when she began her studies.

Edith Grace passed her final medical exams in 1892, one of five women out of 106 students in total who took the exams that year and 56 who passed them. By passing these exams the five were automatically licensed by the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh and the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh; and could practice medicine. On 27 October 1892, Edith Grace went through the final hoop in the process of preparing to start work, by registering with the General Medical Council (GMC). She was now ready for a job. IF she could get one. If you were a woman doctor, qualifying was often just the start of your problems. (Perhaps I should say here that registration with the GMC is permission to work; it's not an indication that you are working.)

Charles Collett had died while Edith Grace was an undergraduate, on 28 January 1891, at his home at Highclere, Warberry Hill, Torquay. Lucy Ellen was his sole executor. He left a tidy sum, eventually assessed as £25036. I haven't seen the Will (copies are quite expensive) but I'm rather supposing that Edith Grace did inherit some kind of income from her father; otherwise she might not have been able to finish her studies. Money was not the issue, I think, in her decision to become a doctor.

When Edith Grace registered with the GMC in 1892 she was living at 27 Comiston Road in the Morningside district of Edinburgh. She was still living in Edinburgh in 1896 when she joined the GD there. Once more, I have to guess what she was doing in these years, but it's a good bet, I think, that she was gaining practical experience; probably unpaid but valuable just the same. Perhaps she even got as far as setting herself up as a general practitioner; but I have to say that I haven't found any evidence of it. Five or six members of the GD in Edinburgh were medical practitioners, and it's very likely that Edith Grace was acquainted with some, if not all, of them. However, when she joined the Theosophical Society in August 1894 her application was sponsored by Dr Robert Felkin and his wife Mary, so it was mostly likely to be the Felkins who recommended her for GD membership. Edith Grace may have been one of Robert Felkin's students: from 1886 to 1896 he taught tropical medicine at the University of Edinburgh medical school.

I daresay Edith Grace realised quite soon after her GD initiation that to follow up her initiation properly she would have to dedicate more time to it than she was willing to. She opted to stick with the TS, continuing to pay her yearly subscriptions, at least, until 1899 when the TS in Scotland lost contact with her. She had moved to England, because she had got a job.

The job had come through Jane Harriett Walker. She and Edith Grace had either been fellow students at Edinburgh for one year, or just missed each other, because in 1890 Jane Walker gone to Brussels to qualify rather than stay and get her qualifications in Scotland. After a visit to the Nordrach Sanatorium in the Black Forest in 1892, where the new 'fresh-air' treatment

for tuberculosis was being pioneered, Dr Walker had returned to England determined to set up the first such sanatorium to operate in the UK. She had started small, in a building converted for the purpose, in Downham Market, in 1896, and spent the next three years raising money and searching for a suitable site on which to build. The East Anglia Sanatorium Company was founded in 1899 to run the new hospital, which opened in January 1901 on a site in the village of Nayland-with-Wissington, in Suffolk. Dr Walker was its medical superintendent, but spent most of her time working in London. She was already known for an active policy of employing women - in 1903 the driver of the sanatorium's horse and cart was the only man on the staff - and I think this where Edith Grace Collett came in, either as someone Walker knew personally, or as someone with family in the district, who recommended her; or both.

On the day of the 1901 census, two months after it had opened, the East Anglian sanatorium already had 15 patients and a large staff: a matron, a gardener, three nurses, a cook, and seven domestic servants. Described by the census official as the head of this household was Edith G Collett, house surgeon.

From 24 June to 10 August 1901 Edith Grace would have found herself treating the writer George Gissing, who had been recommended to go to Dr Walker by a mutual friend, after not recovering well from a severe cold he'd had in the spring. Dr Walker had diagnosed emphysema, rather than TB, but she had sent him to the sanatorium anyway. Something very similar happened to the Canadian artist Emily Carr early in 1903: although there was no question of her having TB - she knew herself that all she needed was a period of rest - Dr Walker sent her to the sanatorium anyway and Carr remained there for over a year. The notes and sketches she made at the time were published after her death, giving an account of what life was like in the sanatorium just after Edith Grace had left it. Carr's biographical writings are not always an accurate representation of what actually happened, apparently, but her descriptions of the treatment regime followed by the sanatorium's TB patients are confirmed by other evidence I've read.

It's clear from Carr's book that the sanatorium stuck closely to the Nordrach system of fresh air and lots of food. The Nordrach treatment focused on fresh air day and night whatever the weather; eating well in order to regain weight lost because of the illness; and exercise for those judged fit enough. Carr arrived in January 1903, but all doors and windows in the sanatorium were still open, blowing snow into her room. Treatment was based on a weekly schedule, agreed for the next seven days during a Saturday morning round of the wards, led by Dr Walker with the resident doctor and the senior nurse in tow. All the patients were weighed and the TB sufferers were expected to weigh more than they had the previous Saturday. After the ward round, all the TB patients who were able to get about went in turn to the consulting room for further assessment. The TB patients were fed enormous meals. Carr describes watching at mealtimes as the resident doctor and senior nurse stood over patients who hadn't gained weight, making sure they cleared their plates. As regards exercise, the Nordrach system divided patients into three groups which Carr calls 'down' - she was 'down' in her first three months of bed-rest; 'semi', those who were allowed to get up and sit outdoors and do some gentle exercise; and 'up', those who were getting well, and who were expected to do a lot of walking and were the only patients allowed to go to the local village.

It was not Edith Grace's job to assess prospective patients. Although she had probably never intended to live at the sanatorium, Dr Walker still undertook all first examinations of prospective patients, and these took place at her rooms in Harley Street. Dr Walker was also

the only person allowed to decide when a patient could leave. However, Dr Walker worked in London all the week, going down to the sanatorium on Friday evening and returning to London late on Sunday. To assist her she had a matron who took charge of the domestic arrangements, one trained nurse and a number of untrained nurses, most of whom were ex-patients. An extra trained nurse was hired when Dr Walker felt one was necessary to care for a patient in their last few weeks of life. Edith Grace carried considerable responsibility, therefore, overseeing treatment of the patients from Sunday evening to Friday afternoon with a limited number of experienced helpers.

Edith Grace was not expected to play an active part in the management of the limited company which owned the sanatorium. This was done by a board of directors with Dr Walker as managing director. She may have been glad not to have that responsibility in what was almost certainly her first job at such a senior level; but it did mean she did not have a great deal of say in decisions about the sanatorium's future. Emily Carr's descriptions of the doctor she calls "Dr Bottle" - that is, Dr Walker - are borne out by all the other evidence I've read: she was a strong and dominating personality, she had drive and confidence and energy; but she can't have been easy to work for. It's not clear, for example, how much say the resident doctor had in decisions on patients' treatment. Carr believes Edith Grace's successor in the job had very little say. As a patient, Carr could only observe the relationship between the doctors from the outside; but I have a feeling she was right and that might have been one reason why Edith Grace might choose to leave the sanatorium after gaining two years' experience; another might have been that Edith Grace had decided she didn't want to specialise in TB or in a sanatorium environment.

Edith Grace had left the East Anglian Sanatorium by the beginning of 1903, when she was listed in the GMC register as living at a house called Marcina, on Down View Road in Worthing. I haven't found any evidence of her working in another hospital so I suppose she was now in general practice. However if she was, she didn't do go about it in the way I would have expected, always staying in the same place once her practice had been established. Quite the contrary, she seems to have moved quite a few times and spent periods out of the UK altogether - for example, for a couple of years around 1911. I haven't been able to find out where she went. Was she working? Did she return to India? - she can hardly have remembered it, having left when she was two, but goodness knows there was need enough for doctors there. Or did she set up in practice in a town in Europe with a number of British residents?

By 1914 she was back in England, living in Sidmouth, in a house called San Michele on Salcombe Hill. From there she played her part in an exchange of opinions published in the British Medical Journal, showing herself to be keeping right up to date with new techniques in her profession. Sticking her neck right out on a subject which is still quite controversial, she said that she was in favour of the use of Freudian psychoanalysis. She did qualify this view by saying that they must be properly trained (her letter reads as though she was not trained in psychoanalysis herself) and that the technique should be used only when the experts deemed it appropriate. However (I think with some amusement) she noted that its more fervent supporters were actually putting doctors off its use: she said that they "appear to discern sex from A to Z in almost any given problem". One of Freud's acquaintances in England sent copies of the whole correspondence to Freud to read; so Freud did actually get to hear of Edith Grace Collett.

According to the GMC Registers Edith Grace was living in Sidmouth between 1914 and

1919. I can't quite square this with evidence I came across by accident in December 2015 indicates that she was working in the Midlands, probably from 1912 to 1916. A job for a resident medical officer at the Ransom Sanatorium near Mansfield had been advertised in January 1912 at £160 per year in salary, plus board and lodging and all washing. Applicants had to be female, so I take it that the successful applicant would be working on the women's wards. Edith Grace Collett resigned from such a post, at that sanatorium, at the end of 1916; so I assume she was the successful applicant.

The Ransom Sanatorium had been founded in 1902 by the Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Association for the Prevention of Consumption. It was taken over by Nottinghamshire County Council in 1910 and the post advertised in January 1912 was probably part of this process. There were other changes too: after taking only private patients in its early years, the sanatorium started to take patients paid for by the new National Insurance scheme as well (or possibly instead). And the name of the sanatorium was changed, to honour William Bramwell Ransom (1861-1909), physician at the Nottingham General Hospital and a pioneer of the Koch treatment for TB.

Her work at the Ransom Sanatorium might have given a Edith Grace a second chance to have come across someone who was very famous later; though he was never a patient, only a visitor at the most (if visitors were even allowed), and at the time he was only a teacher called 'Bert' with literary aspirations. In 1911 (though I don't know about later) a young woman called Hilda Shaw was a patient at the Ransom Sanatorium, a friend of Louie Burrows and Louie's then-fiancé D H Lawrence.

Edith Grace resigned from her job at the Ransom Sanatorium at the end of 1916. This was a very serious time to be doing such a thing - the end of the year of the Somme - and I don't suppose she made the decision lightly. Why she left, where she went, and what she did afterwards I don't know, but she was no longer giving Sidmouth as her address by 1923 - the GMC listings have only a 'care of' address, that of her bank. She had gone abroad again and this time she didn't come back. She died on 23 September 1927, in Susa, a town in northern Italy.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR EDITH GRACE COLLETT:

THE COLLETT FAMILY

The Collett family website at www.collettfamilyhistory.net is thorough but isn't aware of a first marriage for Edith Grace's father Charles. Its coverage of his second marriage, and the children of that second marriage, peters out a bit after about 1890.

Edith Grace's father CHARLES COLLETT

India Office and Burma Office List 1845 p10 Madras Civil Service. Madras Almanac and Compendium of Intelligence 1846 p134.

Madras Almanac... 1847 p132 Madras Civil Service list.

Madras Almanac... 1851 p132 Madras Civil Service list.

All the Madras Almanac... published in the 1850s have lists of European births, marriages and deaths but I couldn't find a marriage of either Charles Collett or a D Phillips. With its issue for 1862 the Madras Almanac... became the Asylum Press Almanac and gave up publishing birth/marriage/death data alas! The section on the Madras Civil Service contains biographies of its senior personnel to date. Both the men called Phillips are still in the Madras Civil Service.

Asylum Press Almanac 1862 continuing the career details of Charles Collett, starting from the job at Malabar:

19 Feb 1855 acting sub-judge at Calicut

April 1855 sub collector and joint magistrate, Malabar

Aug 1856 acting deputy collector of sea customs Madras but he'd gone home for a period of leave in Europe, departing 29 July 1856.

Oct 1857 acting deputy collector of sea customs Madras

June 1858 additional sub-collector and joint magistrate Bellary

March 1859 another period of leave in Europe, from which he didn't return until

April 1861 collector of sea customs Madras. 1861 was on the organising committee based at Madras for the London Exhibition of 1862

Aug 1861 commissioner for assessment of income tax

Aug 1861 sub-judge at Calicut

Just noting that there are 5 men called Phillips in the list of European residents in the presidency. Indian Army and Civil Service List 1863 Madras Civil Service list p236.

London Gazette issued 6 March 1866 p1647.

Indian Army and Civil Service List July 1866 Madras Civil Service: p272, P280.

Asylum Press Almanac for Madras 1869 issue: P83, P87, P107-09.

Indian Army and Civil Service List July 1871 p253 which is the last time Charles Collett is listed in any Indian directory.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1885 p1075 just to confirm he wasn't there.

Charles Collett had several books published:

The Malayalam Reader: A Series of Original Papers, published by the Church Mission Press in 1856. As compiler.

Charles Collett's other publications are all his own work:

1869 A Treatise on the Law of Injunctions

1882 The Law of Specific Relief in India. In the book The Malavikagnimitra: A Sanskrit Play pubd 1891 p121 there is an advert for Collett's The Law of Specific Relief, confirming that he has retired.

1886 A Manual on the Law of Torts.

THE MARRIAGE OF EDITH GRACE'S PARENTS; AND HER BIRTH

Madras Marriages 1698-1948 at the British Library India Office Collection in which I couldn't find anything.

India List for 1869 there were 3 quite high-ranking men called Phillips in the Madras presidency including H D Phillips the highest-ranking civil servant in the presidency; a judge currently based at Chingleput; and a lieutenant-colonel in the Madras army.

Baptism record for Edith Grace, via familysearch: Edith Grace Collett was baptised in Madras on 19 September 1869; she'd been born 18 July 1869. Her parents were Charles Collett and Dahliah (sic) née Phillips.

A supplement to the website www.collettfamilyhistory.net dated Feb 2012 says that Samuel Collette, still unmarried was living with his mother Amelia at Clare Lodge, Spring Grove Isleworth by 1871. I searched diligently for them on the 1871 census in case Edith Grace was with them, but I don't think they were in the UK on that day.

List of Shareholders in the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, published October 1875 p33.

EDITH GRACE AS A DOCTOR

For a general summing-up of the rise of the medical profession during the 19th-century, see chapter 1 of Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England by Janet Oppenheim. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991.

Glasgow Medical Journal volume 32 1889 p134.

British Medical Journal issue of 12 November 1892 p1088

General Medical Council Registers: Edith Collett was first registered with the GMC on 27 October 1892, giving 27 Comiston Road Morningside Edinburgh as her address: Licensed by the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh 1892; Licensed by the Royal College of

Surgeons at Edinburgh 1892; Licensed by the Faculty of Physical Surgery Glasgow 1892.

Robert Felkin at Edinburgh University: his obituary in British Medical Journal issue of 12 February 1927 p309.

East Anglian Sanatorium

See www.pastscape.org.uk for some local detail. The sanatorium at Nayland-with-Wissington was opened in 1901. It was purpose built to an Arts and Crafts design by Smith and Brewer. It's now listed, but has been turned into eight houses.

Good information on it in www.nationalarchives.gov.uk hospital records database but beware it being known by a number of different names, which confused me when I was researching it.

Via Access2Archives further information on what exactly is held at the Record Office at Bury St Edmunds:

ID 507/1 is records of the limited company covering 1899-1904

ID 507/2 is committee records and minute books BUT ONLY from 1940s

ID 507/3 is staff records BUT ONLY nursing and administration, AND ONLY 1905-19. The web-page has a summary of the history of the sanatorium including the opening date, 22 January 1901.

The Contemporary Medical Archives Centre at the Wellcome Institute says that Walker's diaries from 1896-97 are amongst the archives at Suffolk Record Office.

On George Gissing at the East Anglia Sanatorium:

The Gissing Journal volume XXIX number 2 issued April 1993 and found July 2012 on the web, has an article pp1-10 by Martha S Vogeler in its series People Gissing Knew: Dr Jane Walker.

On Emily Carr at the East Anglia Sanatorium:

Emily Carr by Doris Shadbolt. Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre 1990: p21-23; pp28-30 and its Chronology pp219-222.

Emily's own take on her time at the East Anglia sanatorium:

Pause: A Sketch Book by Emily Carr. Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Co Ltd 1953 passim. This sketchbook only mentions two doctors, "Dr Bottle" - that is, Jane Walker - and the resident doctor, whom Carr calls "Dr McNair". From the details Carr gives of Dr McNair, she wasn't Edith Grace Collett.

From my anonymous researcher of Emily Carr's time at the East Anglia Sanatorium, some follow up if you're interested in finding out more about Carr's work:

A web copy of the manuscript sketchbook that was the basis for Carr's book Pause, containing more sketches than in the published version:

http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/emily_carr/en/search/index.php

Try limiting the search by institutional collection and tick McMichael Canadian Collection.

Carr and others in Cornwall:

Women Artists in Cornwall exhibition catalogue by Catherine Wallace, 1996. Wallace is an expert on the art of the Newlyn School. Copies of this book are very hard to find so try the website cornishmuse.blogspot.co.uk.

Carr's later brush with theosophy:

Canadian painting in the 1930s exhibition catalogue by Charles C Hill. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada 1975.

The Logic of Ecstasy: Canadian Mystical Painting 1920-1940 by Ann Davis. Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press c 1992.

Defiant Spirits: The Modernist Revolution of the Group of Seven by Ross King, a Canadian historian who lives in the UK; editor, David Staines. Kleinburg Ontario: McMichael Canadian Art Collection and Vancouver BC: Douglas and McIntyre 2011.

Edith Grace on Freud:

[Www.bmj.com/cgi/reprint](http://www.bmj.com/cgi/reprint) shows the content of British Medical Journal Volume 1 no 2771, issued 7 February 1914: p341.

At www.pep-weg.org, the Psychoanalytic Electronic Publishing site, there's the text of a letter from Ernest Jones to Sigmund Freud dated 6 February 1914 about the letter to the BMJ by Mercier that had started off the exchange; and enclosing copies of all the replies it had elicited, including Collett's. Jones tells Freud that Mercier has a French father, but still manages to be paranoid about "everything from the continent" and obsessed with "English clean-mindedness". Jones notes that all the replies which he encloses with his letter do favour the use of psychoanalysis in Britain.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP

Theosophical Society: Membership Register for June 1893-March 1895, held at the TS headquarters building on Gloucester Place in London.

Edith Grace's employer at the East Anglia Sanatorium, Dr Jane Harriett Walker:

The Hospital Gazette and Student's Journal 1885 list of doctors recently licensed to practice after qualifying in medicine at King and Queen's College of Physicians at Dublin. Walker was licensed to practice both medicine and midwifery.

Edinburgh Medical Journal volume 35 part 1 1890 which confirms that she and Edith Grace were both studying medicine at Edinburgh in the same academic year. Walker qualified as LRCS at Edinburgh.

General Medical Council Registers in which Walker never gave the East Anglia Sanatorium as her address.

The Gissing Journal vol XXIX no 2 April 1993 found on the web, has an article pp1-10 by Martha S Vogeler in its series People Gissing Knew: Dr Jane Walker.

Dr Jane Walker and Her Hospital by Anna and Michael Smith. Printed The Lavenham Press Suffolk. No printed publication date but in the copy at the British Library a pencil note

“[1999]” is written on the title page. This booklet includes reproductions of some of Emily Carr’s sketches, with the people identified by their correct names. The resident doctor Carr calls “Dr McNair” is named as Eleanor Soltau, not Edith Grace Collett.

The Collected Letters of George Gissing: 1900-02 by Gissing, Paul F Mattheisen and Arthur C Young 1990. Fnp203

Tubercle: the Journal of the British TB Association volume 20 1938 p137, an obituary.

ELEANOR SOLTAU

I couldn’t find anything much about her, at least on the web, just hints at a fascinating and far-flung life as a medical missionary and daughter of missionaries. Some sources of what little information I did find:

History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church USA 1884-1934 by Harry Andrew Rhodes and Arch Campbell. Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church USA 1934: p669.

Via archive.org to Through the Serbian Campaign: the Great Retreat of the Serbian Army by Gordon Gordon-Smith. London: Hutchinson and Co 1916: pp264-66.

At www.cmf.org.uk the web pages of the Christian Medical Fellowship: article in its series Looking Back - Working Visionaries. From 1997, the reminiscences of medical missionary Henry Backhouse originally published in the magazine Among All Nations number 3 spring 1998.

At www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives, Billy Graham Center. Introduction to the Center’s collection Papers of Roy W Gustafson.

Via web to graceandpeacepc.org the website of the Presbyterian Church in America: a review dated May 2013 of The Desert Rat, biography of Annette Adams by Aileen Coleman. And the book itself p32.

Via google to Christian Herald volume 104 1981 p7.

Eleanor Soltau is buried next to Jane Walker in the graveyard of the church at Wissington. Source for this: photo of the two graves, taken by the anonymous researcher.

RANSOM SANATORIUM

Burdett’s Hospitals and Charities issued 1918 p862.

At www.nottinghamhospitalhistory.co.uk re William Bramwell Ransom 1861-1909. He died of TB himself. The British Medical Journal has an obituary: issue of 18 December 1909 pp405-06.

Chemist and Druggist volume 76 1910 p871 for the Sanatorium’s change of name.

<http://www.28dayslater.co.uk>

The job advert that Collett probably answered: it’s in the British Medical Journal issue of 27 January 1912 pp109-110 and in The Lancet 1912 p206.

Local Government Board Annual Report volume 43 1915 issued by HMSO plxvi-lxvii: a brief history and some current statistics of the Sanatorium.

Via archive.org to a National Insurance Acts. Handbook for the Use of Approved Societies revised to August 1915 and issued HMSO 1915.

The Medical Officer volume XVI July-December 1916. Published by Macmillan Ltd; London; 36-38 Whitefriars St EC. P428 issue of 18 November 1916: announcement of Dr Collett's resignation. Her replacement, Dr Ethel Dukes, was going to earn a great deal more than she had.

The connection with D H Lawrence:

At mss-cat.nottingham.ac.uk, the catalogue of the university's D H Lawrence collection has two letters from a woman called Hilda, to Louie Burrows although its clear from the text that she knows DHL as well. Letters La B 195 and La B 196. Neither letter has a full date on it but the archive assigns them to 9-12 February 1911; and between 16 April and 18 May 1911. Of course, the letter writer signs herself only as 'Hilda'. That she is Hilda Shaw is also a deduction by the cataloguers and there's no indication in the letters as to how Hilda, Louie and DHL knew each other. I rather hoped I'd get some clue as to how, from this book:

Louie: Her Remarkable East Midlands Life by Jon Turner. Dave Dover Reprint of Loughborough 2010. Unfortunately, Hilda was never mentioned in it. However, see pp8-45: Louie and DHL met while training to be teachers at Ilkeston Pupil Teacher Centre in 1905. They got engaged in December 1910 but DHL broke it off on Louie's 24th birthday, in February 1912.

29 January 201

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

John COLLINSON was initiated into the Golden Dawn as one of its earliest members, in March 1888, taking the Latin motto 'Servabo fidem'. A note on his GD papers says "resigned" but doesn't give a date for his resignation.

At the time of his initiation John Collinson was living in the suburbs on the northern outskirts of London, at 5 Lightfoot Road Hornsey, but he was not a native Londoner. To several census officials down the years, he said he had been born in York. He gave an age to the officials that equates with his having been born in 1834 or 1835, making him one of the GD's oldest initiates.

I couldn't identify him for certain on the censuses of 1841 or 1851 so I don't know who his parents were.

I think John Collinson must have had an education that was rather better than the majority of

his contemporaries because he was able to take advantage of a new career, only open to those who were literate; and to undertake in his spare time a study only possible if you had been taught, or had taught yourself, Latin. By 1861 he was working as a clerk for the Great Northern Railway. The Ancestry.co.uk website now (June 2012) has some records of employees of railway companies but unfortunately these don't include the Great Northern Railway so I haven't been able to get the full details of John Collinson's career. He stayed working for the company at least until 1891, probably until his retirement; and so he worked for the railways through the period of their most massive expansion and played his own small part in the huge changes they brought about in the British landscape and society. I am going to assume that he spent his whole working life in GNR's employment.

In this paragraph I condense Wikipedia's detailed article on the Great Northern Railway. GNR was created by an Act of Parliament in 1846 with an original brief to link London with York, with spurs to several other important towns near its main line. Construction began in 1846 with the London and the Yorkshire ends of the original line. As early as 1851 the GNR began to broaden its original remit, with a line to Manchester via Retford and from 1860 it was one of the partners in the East Coast Joint Stock Company which extended the main line from York to Edinburgh. The 1860s also saw the beginning of GNR's involvement in suburban railways around London, working out from Farringdon and eventually threading throughout the northern Home Counties; in 1870s the Company concentrated on branch lines connecting to its main line.

John Collinson probably got in on the ground floor of GNR's expansion (in both railway track and the need for office staff) and perhaps started in the company's offices at York railway station, but he later in the Company's relentless expansion he moved south. In July 1850 GNR opened a spur line from the main line to Nottingham and I think Collinson spent some years working in Nottingham, where - in 1856 - he married Julia Hall Reeve. Their eldest child, Nina, was born in Newark in 1856 (within six months of her parents' wedding) but by the time her brother Abraham was born, in 1860, the family had moved to London. On the day of the 1861 census they were living in Islington. The nearest Great Northern Railway station to Islington at that time was King's Cross, which had opened in 1852, and John Collinson was probably working there in 1861 although he might later have moved to Seven Sisters Road station, opened in 1861 and renamed Finsbury Park in 1868. If he was ambitious and wanted promotion, however, he would more likely have stayed at King's Cross.

In the next decade John and Julia had three more children: Leonard (born 1863); Grace (born 1867); and Rosalind (born 1870). By 1871 they had moved out to Hornsey where, in 1873, their last child, Ernest, was born. The Collinsons had moved to 5 Lightfoot Road Hornsey by 1881, and they were still at that address ten years later. By 1881 Abraham had left home and Leonard was working, in the same office as his father. Leonard was still living at home in 1881 (though he'd left by 1891), so that if family finances had been tight for the past few years they were easing a bit; though John and Julia never employed any servants who lived in. In due course, Ernest also the Great Northern Railway, and Grace and Rosalind left home.

Outwardly, then, John Collinson was living the typical life of a Victorian clerk and family man. However, his horizons were rather broader than that. He was a freemason and in his leisure time, pursued the more esoteric side of freemasonry. If he had been born later he might have gone to university and become an academic, but even in his own time he was

known amongst his circle of acquaintances for his work on late-medieval hermetic books and manuscripts (written in often-obscure Latin), especially those of Cornelius Agrippa (Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, 1486-1535). These studies led to his being recruited into the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA)'s Metropolitan College (based in London) at some time during the 1880s. Even if they did not recruit him themselves, John Collinson would have met William Woodman and William Wynn Westcott at the first SRIA meeting he attended and they were WHO HE KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN. Samuel Mathers also went to SRIA meetings regularly in the late 1880s although he was not a full member. SRIA colleges were organised like freemasons' lodges, with a hierarchy of offices in which you served for one year at a time until reaching the highest point and spent a final year leading the rituals and chairing the meetings. Once a member of SRIA, John Collinson climbed this hierarchy and would have been due to spend his year as its Magister Templi from April 1889 to April 1890. However, at the last minute he declined to serve, on the grounds that (according to that year's Transactions written up by Westcott as the Metropolitan College's secretary) "his energies were being devoted to another purpose". The Transactions never give any clue as to what this other purpose was. Perhaps John Collinson just found that attending SRIA meetings and outings just took too much time away from his occult readings. Unfortunately, the purpose was not to prepare any of his research for publication: I've searched the catalogues of the British Library and the Freemasons' Library but neither have any work by him - at least, not under his proper name. It does seem a shame that, if his work was good enough to be valued by his SRIA colleagues, none of it got into print.

It was almost certainly John Collinson's knowledge of late medieval/Renaissance occult works that led to his being invited to join the Golden Dawn. However, he does seem to have stuck with his decision of 1889, to be less active in the SRIA, and after that year he did not attend so many of its meetings. I suggest he was never very active in the GD either, except as an advisor on (for example) astrology, which Cornelius Agrippa had written about - which might have been all that Westcott and Mathers expected of him.

John Collinson, after a working lifetime apparently with the same employer, was able to retire, with a pension and possibly even some shares in the Company; and I think he did so in or around 1896. Up until 1897 he was at least nominally a member of SRIA, but in 1900 he was struck off the list of its members on a rule (which I think Westcott also applied to the GD) which declared that you had forfeited your membership if you had not been to any meetings or paid your yearly subscription for three years. It doesn't seem to have bothered him; he never told the SRIA that he had retired; and he never rejoined. By 1901 he and Julia and daughter Nina had moved to the Isle of Wight and were living at Delphi Cliff House, Culver Road, Shanklin. I hope John Collinson's enjoyment of his retirement was not interrupted too much by his son Ernest going to court to divorce his wife Rosetta for adultery with one Charles Cox, in 1904. I was amazed myself when this information came up via google (in June 2012) because divorcing and being divorced were so scandalous and so expensive at that time that most miserably-married people preferred to suffer. Knowing that his son's marital problems were being aired in court where any member of the public could go in and hear them can't have been easy experience for this man who was born before Victoria came to the throne; but the divorce didn't cause a breach between father and son: Ernest was named executor when John Collinson wrote his Will.

John Collinson died, at Delphi Cliff House, on 23 May 1906.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

On Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, whose published Transactions begin with those of 1888-89.

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College for the period 1888 to 1901: P9, minutes of the meeting of 10 Jan 1889 which Collinson attended. A typical meeting would be organised around a paper read by one of the members, followed by discussion of the issues raised. At this particular meeting, Edward Macbean (also a GD member) read a paper on A E Waite's book The Real History of the Rosicrucians, which had caused such offence to the SRIA that its members considered suing him. Collinson took a part in the discussion, saying that he thought Macbean's paper was "a fair criticism" of Waite's "strictures on Christian Rosenkreuz". Westcott's minutes describe Collinson as very learned on the hermetical works of late middle ages and Renaissance, especially those of Cornelius Agrippa whose works were a very important part of SRIA's rituals and research.

I also looked at History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900.

On Cornelius Agrippa: wikipedia, but there's information rather more relevant to the Golden Dawn at www.renaissanceastrology.com/agrippa.html (seen 4 June 2012). He wrote on astrology, geomancy and talismans. This website considers these works by Cornelius

Agrippa as particularly relevant:

1530 De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium ie The Vanity and Uncertainty of the Arts and Sciences

1532 but written 1509: De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Foemini Sexus ie Of the Nobility of the Female Sex and the Superiority of Women over Men ((no wonder he cldn't get it pubd!!))

4 June 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Godwin Coombs was initiated into the Golden Dawn in June 1890, choosing the German motto 'Mehr licht'. There's no evidence in the GD papers to suggest that he was a very active initiate; and a note on them says that he resigned in January 1894. At the time of his initiation, Coombs was living at Wyke House Isleworth; about which, more information below.

William Godwin Coombs was born around 1833. The surname is a common one in the Dorset/Somerset/Wiltshire area. William's middle name, too, has a Wessex ring to it; though Godwin father of King Harold is thought to have been from Sussex. In the mid-19th century censuses the clan Coombs encompassed everyone from members of the landed gentry, living at Haddon House in Axminster, to agricultural labourers. William Coombs' father Thomas occupied a half-way status within it: he was a farmer, living in Felton House, just outside Winford in Somerset, near where Lulsgate airport is now. William's mother Eliza, née Elliott, had been born as far away as Huddersfield but Eliza's mother, Harriet (or Harriett - the censuses don't agree), who lived with the family when William was growing up, was also from Somerset, she'd been born in Nailsea, now part of Bristol. Felton House is a stone-built farmhouse in an L-shape, possibly late 17th century but with 19th century additions including a three-storey bay. You can see it at www.imagesofengland.org.uk. It is Grade II listed now. The Coombs family no longer lives in it; it has been turned into three flats. In William Coombs' youth the household was a modest one, with only two servants - a man to work on the land, and a woman to help with housework.

William Coombs was the second of three sons and was not going to inherit his father's farm. Instead, he studied medicine at St Andrew's University, graduating in 1856. The General Medical Council (GMC), which licenses doctors to practice medicine in the UK, was not founded until 1859. Before that date, licenses to practice medicine in England were issued by the Society of Apothecaries. William Coombs was given his licence by the Society in 1856 and he also became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, in that year, which qualified him to work as a midwife.

Despite the amount of information on 19th century doctors and hospitals, on the web and elsewhere, I have had quite a lot of trouble piecing together William Coombs' working life as a doctor because - in a very un-Victorian manner - he changed jobs frequently. He also spent several periods out of the UK, working perhaps, or just travelling; I haven't been able to find out anything about these times in his life. Here's the best list of his jobs that I can devise, from a variety of sources (see the Sources section for more details):

- house surgeon, Birmingham Lying-in Hospital
- assistant medical officer Devon County Asylum. Several medical journals announced his appointment to this post in November 1862.
- house surgeon, Torquay Infirmary and Dispensary
- assistant medical officer Dorset County Asylum

Coombs could have held the two Devon-based appointments at the same time, I suppose; or even the two asylum posts in adjoining counties. His entry in a medical directory published in 1877 reads as though he had held all of those posts by 1877; but gives his current address as the family home at Felton House Winford, as if he was not employed at all at the moment.

- assistant medical officer, Fisherton House Salisbury. Coombs was employed there by 1881 and was still working there in 1883; but he seems to have left the job by 1887
- Wyke House at Isleworth, definitely from 1891 to 1903, possibly starting earlier and leaving later.

William Coombs was still registered with the GMC until 1915, giving the address at which he died - 13 Scott Ellis Gardens, St John's Wood north London, but I rather think he may have retired in 1903, when he was 70.

Even as scant a list as the one I've been able to compile does show that William Godwin Coombs

was fairly typical of the GD members, very many of whom were able to take advantage of the new kinds of work that resulted from the huge expansion of government and in the number of charitable institutions in the latter stages of the 19th century.

I'm assuming that the job at the Birmingham Lying-in Hospital was William Godwin Coombs' first professional appointment and that he started work there soon after qualifying. The hospital changed its name in 1870 so I think he had moved on by then. The hospital had opened in 1842 in the Islington area of the town. It was run by a charity, and as well as the hospital there was a dispensary which treated children.

Coombs' post at the Torquay Infirmary may have been very similar, in terms of daily routine and the kind of cases taken; though I haven't been able to find out quite so much about the services the Infirmary offered. It too was run by a charity, as most hospitals were at this time, though unlike the Birmingham Lying-in Hospital it had its own, purpose-built premises, opened in 1851 on a site in Union Street, Torquay. The building is still there, though it has been turned into flats and renamed Castle Chambers. You can see it at www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1842628. The Infirmary's first house surgeon, the marvellously-named William Wilking Stabb, retired in 1859; so this is a possible date for William Godwin Coombs being offered the job.

The Madhouse Act of 1828 began the professionalisation of the treatment of the mentally ill, by requiring most asylums to have a weekly visit from a qualified doctor; and asylums with more than 100 inmates to have a resident medical officer. William Godwin Coombs' next

change of employer took advantage of the expansion of employment begun by the 1828 Act. One of the only firm dates I have about William Coombs' career is his appointment as assistant medical officer to the Devon County asylum in 1862 and I'm wondering if he held that and the Infirmary post together. Medical officers employed by Poor Law Boards did not at this stage have to have any specialist knowledge; because there was no way in which to get that knowledge, except by learning on the job: treatment of the mentally ill was hardly covered at all in most medical training courses. By this time, William Godwin Coombs was an experienced physician, and that was enough for the local Poor Law Board.

In 1845 two acts of Parliament, the Lunacy Act and the County Asylums Act, began a new era for the care of the mentally ill poor: one of more provision and more regulation. For the first time, under the two acts, Poor Law boards were required to house those diagnosed as suffering mental illness in purpose-built asylums; to assess new inmates quickly and treat them humanely; and to have these processes monitored by inspectors employed by a new government office, the Lunacy Commissioners. There were still enormous difficulties to be faced - the lack of understanding of mental illness (that's still true, of course); where and how to house those deemed incurable; what to do with the violent and the criminally insane; and how to do all these things while keeping rates down. Nevertheless, the acts represented a big step on the road away from viewing the mentally ill as possessed by the Devil and treating them as less than human.

The county of Devon had no Poor Law board asylum until it was ordered to have one by the 1845 Act. However, the board then did the job thoroughly, financing an asylum capable of holding 800 inmates and standing in its own grounds, on a site at Exminster, just outside Exeter. It was designed by the architect Charles Fowler and his complex of buildings still exists, redeveloped as housing and renamed Devington Park. There are many pictures of Devington Park on the web, some even taken from the air, so that you can see the scale of it, and the interesting layout. Fowler's design had a cube-shaped administrative building in the curve of a semi-circle of wards, with six wings jutting out in a fan-shape from the semi-circle. When William Godwin Coombs was appointed, his immediate boss was George James Byrne, who may have been an administrator rather than a physician, as he is not in the GMC Registers - an indication of the Poor Law board's priorities, perhaps, in providing this new facility while not antagonising the rate-payers with ever-larger bills. Was this a problem between Coombs and his employers, I wonder?

Unlike Devon, the Poor Law authorities in Dorset had been operating an asylum since the 1820s, at Forston outside Dorchester where new wings had been added to an old manor house. William Coombs' boss in Dorset was a qualified doctor and surgeon, Joseph Gustavus Symes. He had held the post of medical superintendent to the asylum at least since 1848, although he may also have been in private practice at the same time, which might be why he wanted an assistant. However, a second asylum building was opened at Charminster, in 1864; Symes' address in 1879 was Charminster not Forston, so Coombs may have been needed to work in the original buildings. Symes seems only to have retired in 1887 or 1888 so he was in post all the years - whichever they were - that Coombs was employed at this particular asylum.

Perhaps it was the lack of possibilities for promotion that encouraged William Godwin Coombs to take a new job; or perhaps he liked a challenge. His next job was at Fisherton House in Salisbury, Wiltshire, run by the Finch family and by the 1850s it was the biggest privately-run asylum in England, with 700 beds. Although it was run as a private concern,

Fisherton House took patients sent there by Poor Law boards from all over England. From 1850 until 1870 it was also the place that the criminally insane ended up. By the time Coombs took up his post, Broadmoor had been finished and the criminally insane were being sent there; but I still get an impression of Fisherton House as a place full of Poor Law boards' hopeless cases. It must have been grim.

What would the typical tasks of an assistant medical officer in an asylum consist of? The mere existence of the 1845 acts indicates that mental illness was beginning the long trail from manacles to care. The 1844 Report had investigated two asylums which were run on very different lines from the norm - those at Lincoln and at Hanwell - and had used them as a template of 'best practice'. Hanwell Asylum had particularly impressed the researchers. Its governor chose to employ more staff, and better-educated and better trained staff than any other asylum; but clawed back some of its higher wages bill by using some inmates to do work in the asylum; inmates willing and able to cooperate in this way were rewarded with beer and tea. And both asylums regarded physical restraint of individuals as a last resort, not as a normal part of the asylum's routine.

But how far might Coombs have been able to apply these new ideas? The bedrock of his job was the early assessment and diagnosis of new inmates that the 1845 Lunacy Act insisted on; and he must have become an expert in detecting the typical signs of mental illness. This he will have had to do on the job, as mental illness as a specialism was in its infancy. In addition, all the publicly-funded asylums Coombs worked in had so many inmates and so few medically-qualified staff that I can't believe he will have been able to do a great deal to help any one patient. And with so many people in close confinement, medical officers may have spent just as much time being concerned with symptoms of epidemics as they did looking for symptoms of psychosis. In any case, Poor Law Boards expected their Medical Officers to do administrative work as well as their medical tasks and these took up so much time that very little was left over for carrying out rehabilitation or research. James Crichton Browne was Medical Officer at Wakefield Asylum from 1866 to 1876 and letters that he sent to Charles Darwin during those years continually bemoan the hours he spent every day writing reports and collecting statistics for his Poor Law Board employers and central government departments. Crichton Browne wanted to do research on his patients. Coombs may just have wanted to help them be better, but with admin taking up so much time, and the numbers of inmates overwhelming the possibility of cures, he may have despaired of ever making any real difference; because his next job was in a very different setting.

Wyke House as William Coombs knew it was the brainchild of Robert Gardiner Hill, whose work in the Poor Law asylum at Lincoln had attracted the notice of the 1844 Lunacy Report researchers. Gardiner Hill was one of the most vocal of those who advocated the abandonment of the use of physical restraints in the control of people with mental illness; and at Lincoln he had been able to demonstrate that it could be done without mayhem resulting. He also favoured small institutions, as being more likely to achieve cures, and it was perhaps this preference that made him give up his job with the Poor Law board and go into private medicine. Wyke House, in Sion Lane Isleworth, had been licensed for operation as a private asylum since the 1840s but in 1859 Dr Gardiner Hill and his partner Dr Edmund Sparshall Willett bought it and its sister-asylum Inverness House at Brentford, presumably with the intention of carrying out Gardiner Hill's favoured regime in full. However, such innovations in a private asylum couldn't be paid for by the rates.

As early as 1884, Wyke House had been described as an asylum "for Nervous Invalids of the

Upper and Middle Classes". Conditions for the patients throw those of the average Poor Law asylum into unflattering relief: they were allowed baths and showers, they were encouraged to go out into the extensive grounds, either on foot or by carriage; they could help in the gardens, play tennis, visit the farm; while inside there was a billiard table as well as the usual padded cells. Under Gardiner Hill and Willett these comforts continued and following the attempt in 1858 by the Bulwer family to incarcerate Rosina Bulwer Lytton at Inverness House they were widely talked of in the press and thus came to the attention of people who never otherwise would have heard about them - possibly including William Coombs, who had only just qualified when the scandal happened. Gardiner Hill and Willett advertised for potential patients in magazines likely to be read by the leisured and moneyed upper classes - the Ecclesiastical Gazette and The Athenaeum, for example. And as even the upper classes had the problem of what to do with their mentally ill, some of them sent their relations to Wyke House.

Robert Gardiner Hill died in 1878 and Willett became sole proprietor of Inverness House and Wyke House. William Coombs may have got the job at Wyke House through the St Andrew's University connection - Willett also studied medicine there although he was several years Coombs' senior. But Coombs may also have sought the job out as an admirer of Gardiner Hill's ideas. Though Gardiner Hill's work at Lincoln asylum had been in the 1830s, a lecture on it had been published in 1857, just after Coombs had passed his medical exams; and Gardiner Hill had published a book, essentially a justification of his methods, in 1870 - Lunacy, its Past and Present.

At no time between 1861 and 1891 was I able to catch William Coombs on the census in any of the medical posts he held and thus see him on the job. But he appears as a member of staff at Wyke House in the 1891 census. On that day Wyke House had 16 male patients. They included ex army and navy officers, a clergyman, a barrister and a surgeon; and their ages ranged from late 30s to 70s, with most being over 60. There were also 10 women patients; no profession was given for any of them nor any source of income with which to pay the fees; most were in their 60s so they were rather older than the male patients. I couldn't help wondering, given these high average ages, whether the most common mental problem at Wyke House was dementia rather than any classic form of mental illness. I noted that none of the patients were identified on the census form by their full name; only their initials appear on it.

For the small number of patients, Wyke House had a large number of staff and I'm sure William Coombs appreciated the change from staff to patient ratios in a Poor Law asylum. All staff lived on the premises. The 16 male patients had seven male attendants to care for them; the 10 women patients had eight attendants, all women. All attendants lived as part of the household; with Dr Willetts as its head, still living on the premises with his family. Supervising the attendants were William Coombs as resident medical superintendent; and Harriett Edwards as resident lady superintendent. Harriett Edwards was not registered with the General Medical Council so she was not a doctor. Her qualifications, if any, and her experience, were of course not written on the census form. I would suppose she had been trained as a nurse and that at Wyke House she acted as a matron. I suppose, also, that William Coombs was senior to her in the Wyke House hierarchy and that she reported to him. Wyke House also had a large domestic staff - a butler, a cook, two housemaids, a dairymaid, a kitchen-maid and a scullery maid. Surely the Claridges of 19th century mental institutions!

From William Coombs' time as an employee at Wyke House comes my one glimpse of the medical officer of an asylum at work. Maud Mary Roth was sent to Wyke House by the Lunacy Commissioners in November 1898 and William Coombs carried out the required assessment of her mental condition. (Did Willett ever carry out the assessments? If he did, wouldn't that represent a conflict of interest?) Coombs' report described symptoms which included delusions and hallucinations, and as a result of this evidence, Mrs Roth was kept at Wyke House continually from 1898 to 1919. Comfortable the asylum may have been, but she still doesn't seem to have been allowed to leave; and her case wasn't reassessed until 1920.

William Coombs was employed at Wyke House between 1891 to 1903 and possibly longer. I think it was the longest period he spent in any one job. By 1901 Dr Willett had retired and moved to Eastbourne. William Coombs is not on the 1901 census so I haven't been able to discover whether anyone was appointed to replace Dr Willett, or whether Coombs became head doctor at Wyke House himself. He doesn't seem to have bought Wyke House from Dr Willett; I suppose that in due course, it was sold to someone else. Perhaps Coombs retired at the time of the sale. He moved to 13 Scott Ellis Gardens, in St John's Wood north London.

So that's William Godwin Coombs' career as a doctor. But where did it bring him into contact with members of the Golden Dawn? I haven't really got an answer to that question. As far as I can tell, Coombs wasn't a freemason; and so he wasn't a member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia or lodge Quatuor Coronati number 2076, which were used by William Westcott as recruiting grounds for GD initiates, especially in the GD's early years. Nor does Coombs seem to have been in the Theosophical Society - a second very common route into the GD. He never published anything, or gave any public lectures, either on his work or anything else, that might have drawn the attention of GD members to him. And he doesn't seem to have been related to any of them. The only suggestion I can make is that it was through his work that he met some GD members, some of its doctor members, or its scientists - William Crookes was initiated into the GD in the same month as Coombs. That's just a bit of speculation though.

William Godwin Coombs continued to be registered with the General Medical Council until 1915. He died, at his home in Scott Ellis Gardens, on the 20 June 1919. He had never married.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Sources specific to William Godwin Coombs:

For a general summing-up of the rise of the medical profession during the 19th-century, see chapter 1 of *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* by Janet Oppenheim. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991. The chapter also covers the changes that took place as part of that process in how and where doctors were educated; and talks about the legislation that was passed that affected how and where they could practice. It makes the point several times that doctors working with the mentally ill, especially those working in Poor Law financed asylums, were regarded as second-class citizen doctors even by other doctors.

General Medical Council Registers, available via Ancestry.co.uk. The GMC started life in 1859 and that's the date of its first Register. Coombs does not appear in the Registers before the issue of 1867.

Association Medical Journal published by the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association; issue of 1855 p1153 William Godwin Coombs became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons England 21 December 1855.

Association Medical Journal issue of 1856 p198 William Godwin Coombs of Winford Somerset had been admitted to the Apothecaries' Hall on 28 February 1856.

Medical Times and Gazette issue of 1 November 1862 p477 William Godwin Coombs MD University of St Andrews MRCS England had been appointed Assistant Medical Officer to the

Devon County Lunatic Asylum at Exminster, where his immediate boss would be George James Byrne. Coombs' current address was given as Haddon House Axminster.

Transactions St Andrew's Medical Graduates Association volume 2 1869 pviii William Godwin Coombs was in its current list of senior members; current address Felton House Winford Somerset.

Medical Bibliography for 1877 p404 entry for William Godwin Coombs, whose current address is Felton House, Winford Bristol. It wasn't clear to me from Googlebooks' snippet exactly how the information was collected; so I'm assuming it was collected from the doctors themselves. Coombs' entry described him as "late assistant" Medical Officer at Dorset Co Lunatic Asylum and at Devon County Lunatic Asylum. Other posts he had held were resident surgeon Birmingham Lying-In Hospital and house Surgeon Torquay Infirmary and Dispensary. No dates were given for any of these posts.

For the 1844 Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy; and the two Acts of 1845: //studymore.org.uk, run by Andrew Roberts, lecturer in sociology at Middlesex University. A very good, thorough site, based on and with long extracts from original sources; though I did find a couple of its links were no longer working.

Birmingham Lying-in Hospital

Good local history website //billdargue.jimdo.com/placenames-gazetteer-a-to-y/places-i/islington, is a History of Birmingham Places and Placenames, compiled by William Dargue. The district called Islington, self-consciously named for Islington north London, was built c 1780 on land belonging to the Church of England and held by rector of Birmingham. The lying-in hospital opened in 1842 in a converted house next to the Islington Glassworks. It changed its name in 1870 to Birmingham and Midland Free Hospital for Sick Children.

At www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov.uk I found a reference to an item in Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal ((I think that's its correct name)) volume 9 no 3 issue of January 1845, giving the full title of the hospital as Birmingham Lying-in Hosp and Dispensary for the Diseases of Women and Children. Via google, a reference to the British Medical Journal (BMJ) issue 21 1907 saying that the hospital was run as a charity. At website www.bhamb14.co.uk/index_files/LOVEDAYSTREETMATERNITYHOSPITAL.htm a note that the original address of the lying-in hosp was St Mary's Square; then it moved to Broad Street; it moved to Loveday Street 1906. When it first opened, there were 13 beds and only married women could use them.

Torquay Infirmary (originally known as Torbay Infirmary)

At www.devonheritage.org there's a contemporary picture of the infirmary, from Devon County Council's collection. Purpose-built and standing in its own grounds behind a gate, the infirmary opened 1851. At www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1842628 there's a modern photo of it, now converted to flats and known as Castle Chambers; Union Street Torquay.

The //genuki.cs.ncl.ac.uk/DEV/Tormoham/Kelly1856.html website is compiled by Terry Leaman from Kelly's 1856 Directory for Devonshire. The infirmary is in Tor Moham parish and is called TorBAY infirmary at this stage; it's definitely the same place, the address is Union Street. The house surgeon at this date is William W Stabb.

A couple of items on the career of Dr Stabb:

The Lancet volume 1 1853 p561 medical news: a list of members of the Royal College of Surgeons England who have recently been licensed by the College to practice as midwives includes William Wilking Stabb, described as of "Ilfracombe", at least at this date.

Medical Times and Gazette issue of 16 July 1859 p73 has a short item on the retirement of William Wilking Stabb from the post of house surgeon at Torbay (sic) Infirmary and Dispensary, which are run by a board of governors. The job of house surgeon was thus available in 1859.

Devon County Asylum to which Coombs was appointed assist Medical Officer in 1862; and he's no longer working there by 1877. Wikipedia on Exminster says that the asylum opened in July 1845. It was built on a hill overlooking the estuary and Exminster at this stage is a village outside Exeter. The asylum had 800 beds and was built with six arms radiating from a central administration block. It closed in the 1980s; the site was redevelopd as housing and is now known as Devington Park.

The GMC does not having anyone called George James Byrne registered with them in the 1860s and 1870s.

Dorset County Asylum

It was built 1827-32 in the village of Forston near Dorchester, incorporating an old manor house. All the inmates were paupers, that is they had been sent there by the Dorset Poor Law authorities and were being paid for by its ratepayers. The 1844 Lunacy Report listed Dorset asylum amongst those existing asylums which never used physical restraints on patients. A second hospital building was opened at Charminster in 1864 and from that date the two sites were both in use. In 1881 the MO was Joseph Gustavus Symes.

On the web I found a series of Annual Reports of the Dorset County Asylum; the earliest of these was published 1865, the latest in 1886, with these years missing from sequence: 1866-72, 1875, 1877, 1882-83. A Thomas Coombs is listed as an author on the Annual Reports of 1881 and 1884-86 but not earlier or later. Assuming the Annual Report of 1884 to be typical, I looked at the contents and found that Thomas Coombs was working at the Asylum as a clerk - that is, clerk to the Poor Law Board. His contribution to the Annual Report was to prepare the statistics and the accounts. I tried to find him on 1881 census, to see if he might be William Godwin Coombs' elder brother, but I couldn't identify him.

A bit more on Dr Symes:

Gentleman's Magazine volume 190 1851 p424 Joseph Gustavus Symes is described as a surgeon based in Devizes; the son of Rear-Admiral Joseph Symes of Crewkerne.

The Lancet volume 2 p348 issue of 6 October 1848 Symes is now Medical Superintendent of Dorset County Asylum; address Forston House Dorchester.

London Gazette 24 May 1887 p2876 legal notice following the death of John Fox. One of his executors is Joseph Gustavus Symes of Dorset County Lunatic Asylum at Charminster.

Calendar of the Royal College of Surgeons England issue of 1888 p223 has J Gustavus Symes with an address in Weymouth.

Fisherton House

Its archives are now at Chippenham in the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. A blog at website //history/wiltshire.gov.uk has a query dated 9 July 2011 from someone chasing a relation who'd died as an inmate at Fisherton House. The reply to the query says Fisherton House and Laverstock House were 2 asylums in Salisbury both owned and run by the Finch family. Laverstock House opened in 1754, Fisherton House in 1813 originally for 75 patients. It always took in paupers, from all over England, including London; and in the 1850s it was the largest private mental hospital in England, with 700 beds. From 1850 until 1870 and the building of Broadmoor, it took the criminally insane. Its name was changed to Old Manor Hospital in 1920.

There's a chapter on the life and career of James Crichton Browne (later Sir James Crichton-Browne) in *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England* by Janet Oppenheim. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991. Although depression and its treatment is the core of the book, it's also very good on 19-century understanding of mental illness in general, and on the struggles of doctors to establish themselves as the experts on it, despite the plentiful evidence that they knew not that much more than their patients.

Wyke House asylum

Local history evidence found via google shows Wyke House had been a private residence in 18th cent; and a school in the 1820s. Local history website www.brentfordtw8.com item on

Inverness House Brentford put on website by Jim Lawes on 2 February 2005 says that shares in Inverness House as a limited company were issued by a Dr Costello in 1846 but in 1850 he was replaced in the company by doctors Bascombe and John Gregory. In 1859 Wyke House was licensed to R Gardiner Hill and E Willett. In 1867 the assistant medical officer at Wyke House was George Mickley; he had left the job by 1881. Wyke House seems still to have been registered as a mental nursing home in 1959.

In *Medico-Chirurgical Review and Journal of Practical Medicine* volume 41 1844 issue of 1 July p296 an article - not a straight-forward advert - on Wyke House refers to it as recently set up by Dr Costello as a model of modern treatment: "Wyke House Asylum for Nervous Invalids of the Upper and Middle Classes". Article describes middle-classes and upper-classes as lagging behind poorer patients (ie those who have to go to a Poor Law asylum) as regards treatment for mental problems. At Wyke House, treatment "embraces all the modern improvement - baths, douches, padded rooms, chair and carriage outings etc"; patients were allowed outside, there were gardens, a farm, tennis, skittles, walks; and billiards inside.

The case of Rosina Bulwer Lytton. There's plenty on the web about it; try Wikipedia. She also wrote about the incident herself, in two books. She was certified insane by a doctor on the orders of her estranged husband, Edward Bulwer Lytton, after she had heckled him at a political meeting. She was sent to Inverness House in June 1858 but the public outcry about what had happened to her was so great that the family gave in and she was allowed to leave the following month. At the height of the tumult, Robert Gardiner Hill had to issue a statement assuring the public that she was not being kept under restraint. The circumstances of Rosina being an upper-class woman definitely contributed to the outrage of the public.

Medical Times and Gazette Advertiser volume II no 531 issue of 1 September 1860 on its back page, an advert for Wyke House where it is described as "a Private Establishment for the care and recovery of Ladies and Gentlemen mentally afflicted". Applications were to be sent either to R Gardiner Hill "late resident proprietor" but now of Eastgate House Lincoln and 8 Hinde Street Manchester Square; or to Dr E S Willett MD at Wyke House. The advert describes both men as proprietors of the establishment. Similar adverts appeared in *Ecclesiastical Gazette* 1859 p251; *The Athenaeum* 1860 p730; *London and Provincial Medical Directory* 1860 p836; *Rapport du Comité Consultatif International Financial Conference League of Nations* 1861 p671.

Times 20 November 1920 p6 report on a Lunacy Inquiry involving Mrs Maud Mary Roth, of independent means, who was in court to hear the evidence as to her own mental state; and she was considered to be sufficiently compos mentis to give evidence as well. The 1920 Inquiry heard that in November 1898 she had been sent to Wyke House on the orders of the Lunacy Commissioners. She had remained there until the September previous to the current Inquiry, when she had been moved to a similar institution in Hastings. It came out in the 1920 evidence that the current proprietor of Wyke House asylum was Dr Findlay Murchison. In 1898, Dr Coombs had given evidence as acting Medical Officer at Wyke House; he was asked to describe Mrs Roth's symptoms.

13 June 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Augustus Montague COOPER who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in May 1891 and took the motto 'Cassiel'. At the time of his initiation he was living at 11 Upper Spring Street, near Portman Square London. In 1903, as a result of an update of GD's administration, he was assumed to have resigned.

This young man is one of the most elusive of all the GD members and I've found out virtually nothing about him or his family.

I had one piece of luck: on the day of the 1891 census, Augustus Cooper had been living at the address he gave the GD. The house was divided into three, and Augustus Cooper was a member of the third household on the census list, presumably the one on the top floor, headed by Mary Gotts, or possibly Notts, an unmarried woman. Augustus Cooper said he was married. A Marion Cooper, a married woman, was the third member of Mary Gotts' household and I suppose the two Coopers were married to each other. I say 'I suppose' because I could not find a registration of their marriage in England and Wales, at least not between 1886 and 1891 and it could hardly have taken place any earlier. They must have married outside England and Wales.

Augustus Cooper told the census official that he was 28 and that he had been born in Bangalore.

When asked his occupation, Augustus Cooper's reply was such as to cause the census official to write down "professor of music" on the form. That might mean that Augustus taught music in a conservatoire, but he seemed to me to be rather young to have been given such a post. I think it is more likely that he was a professional musician; but I haven't had much luck, on the web or in the Times, finding any evidence of this.

I attempted to find Augustus Montague Cooper a family, based on his having been born to English people living in India, in the Madras presidency, around 1863-64. I couldn't find a baptism notice in the Madras Presidency files in the British Library India Office collection; though I wasn't sure I was expecting to, as Bangalore was outside the full jurisdiction of the British government, being in the domains of the ruling family of Mysore. By looking at the army and other directories for India in the second half of the 19th century I did find two possible fathers for him.

The first of them shares the GD member's name, in full: Augustus Montague Cooper, born in 1820 to a family from Lewes in Sussex. This man had gone to Tonbridge School before joining the army in 1838 and being sent to India as an officer in the 52nd Madras Native Infantry. In 1846 he married Elizabeth Borthwick, a daughter of another army officer. This Augustus Montague Cooper was obliged to cut short his military career through injury or illness in 1852 and seems to have returned to England. He died in 1892 in Brighton.

It might seem a bit strange for me to say that I don't think a man who even had the same name is the GD member's father. My main reason for deciding that he wasn't was that he was no longer living in India when the GD member was born there. I prefer my second candidate.

He is William Wright Gilbert Cooper, born 1823 into a family that had been of the Nottinghamshire landed gentry but had had to sell their estate. William W G Cooper went to Westminster School, and then Oxford University before becoming a vicar. From 1845 to 1855 he acted as a curate at St Mary's Dover but then he took a job with the East India Company and spent the next 20 years or so in a series of posts in the Madras presidency including two spells as chaplain at Bangalore. In 1877 he returned to England and was appointed vicar of Burwash in Sussex. He retired in 1887. I couldn't find a death registration for him in England and Wales; he was probably still alive in 1891.

There are two problems with Rev William W G Cooper as father of Augustus Montague Cooper. The first is that I can't tie him down to being in Bangalore in 1863/1864 when Augustus Montague Cooper was born there. And the second is, I can't find father and son on the census together. Of course, I didn't actually have many opportunities to find them in the same household. But the one time William W G Cooper appears on a census between 1861 and 1901, Augustus Montague Cooper is not living at the same address. On the day of the 1881 census, William W G Cooper was living at the vicarage in Burwash with his wife Catharine, daughter Edith (aged 22), three domestic staff and two visitors. Augustus Montague Cooper was not living anywhere in the UK.

And I couldn't find any information about Marion, either.

How did Augustus Montague Cooper meet someone or several someones who were in the GD? Especially if he spent so little time in England in his life. Well, he was too young to be a freemason, I don't think he took that route. And though I didn't find his name in the Theosophical Society's membership books (I may just have missed it) someone called Montague Cooper (not Augustus) is listed in the first volume of Theosophical Society's members' journal *The Vahan*. The TS seems to me to be a more likely way in; though his work as a musician may also have brought him into contact with people who turned out to be members. Without knowing more about him, it's impossible to tell.

It was clear from the 1891 census entry that 11 Upper Spring Street was a lodging house. It is in the nature of lodging houses that no one stays very long and I'm sure the Coopers were soon on the move. I haven't been able to find out where they went - abroad, possibly, as neither of them appears on the censuses of 1901 or 1911.

Very much a bird of passage!

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the

United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Membership of the Theosophical Society: TS membership books, held at the TS headquarters building on Gloucester Place in London.

Data for possible father number 1: Augustus Montague Cooper.

The Town Book of Lewes 1702-1837 published by the Sussex Record Society 1973 p77 a Robert Chester Cooper described as owning The Castle Yard in Lewes.

County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Sussex by William Berry. Published 1830. P377 re the Cooper family of Icklesham. Augustus Montague Cooper was born 2 March 1820 at Adur Lodge; son of Robert Chester Cooper of Lewes and his wife Caroline daughter of George Shum. He was their second son and his baptism was registered in Old Shoreham Church.

Register of Tonbridge School 1826-1910 editor H A Steed, published 1911. I couldn't see the page number on the snippet: Augustus Montague Cooper son of Robert Chester Cooper was a pupil at the school 1830-31. Born 1820. He joined the 52nd Madras Native Infantry in 1838, retiring from the army in 1855 with the rank of captain. There was no entry in this book for anyone with that name who might have been a son of the 1820 Augustus Montague Cooper.

Annual Register vol 87 1846 p216 Lieutenant Augustus M Cooper of the 32nd Madras Native Infantry had married Elizabeth daughter of the late Major-General Borthwick of the Royal Artillery. The marriage had taken place at St James Colchester; p215 I couldn't read the exact date but it was April 1845.

Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs 1852 p281 news section on the Madras military establishment. Augustus Montague Cooper was in a short list of people who had been "invalided". At the time this happened, Cooper was a Captain in the 52nd Madras Native Infantry.

The last army list in which Augustus Montague Cooper appears is the India Register 1855

p103 and he's no longer on the list of active officers in the the 52nd Madras Native Infantry; he's on p108, in the invalid establishment list where he's described as "on furlough". Just confirming his army career details: joined 1838 as a lieutenant; was made captain 17 September 1850; and was invalided out 30 November 1852.

India Register 1856 doesn't have Augustus Montague Cooper anywhere in it, either as military personnel or as a civilian.

A likely death registration for him: Augustus Montague Cooper registered Brighton July-September 1892.

Data for possible father number 2: William Wright (army sources say WrightE) Gilbert Cooper.

Family history website at

[//spuddybike.org.uk/familyhistory/madras/priests/detail/priest_3041.html](http://spuddybike.org.uk/familyhistory/madras/priests/detail/priest_3041.html) is a list of Church of England personnel who served in the Madras presidency. I couldn't find any indication on the website for the source of the information but it is laid out as if it was originally published in Crockford's Clerical Directory. The details: William Wright (sic) Gilbert Cooper. Born 1823, no date of death known but assumed to be post-1887. Magdalen Oxford BA 1845 MA 1853. Curate of St Mary's Dover 1845-55, then went to work for the East India Company in the Madras Presidency: Trichinopoly 1855-58; Mysore 1858-65; Black Town ((Madras)) 1865-66; Bangalore twice 1866-69 and 1871-73; Ootacamund 1869-71; chaplain to bishop of Madras 1873-75; St Thomas Mount 1875-77. He then returned to the UK and was appointed vicar of Burwash Sussex; he kept that job from 1877 to 1887.

William Wright Gilber Cooper is somewhere in The Record of Old Westminster: Biographical list...[of pupils] to 1927 Volume 1 published by Westminster School 1928; I couldn't see the page number or any further details from the googlebooks' snippet.

Confirmation of much of the spuddybike website's information, from India Office library reference works:

Papers of the House of Commons 1859 (that is, in the wake of the Indian Mutiny when the British Government was preparing to take over the East India Company) p155 is p3 of a set of papers describing Troops at Stations in India; William Wright (sic) Gilbert Cooper is at Mysore; p154/p2 in a list of assistant chaplains currently working in the Madras diocese, compiled 1 October 1857.

Indian Army and Civil Service List for Jan 1867 p279 Rev W W G Cooper MA is a chaplain based at Bangalore.

The Army Lists all have Wright spelled with an E - Wrighte. Army List 1870 p507 gives the current personnel in the Madras ecclesiastical establishment: Rev W W G Cooper is in its list of senior chaplains; appointed 1855; currently based at Ootacamund

Indian Army and Civil Service List for 1871 p261 says the Rev W W G Cooper is now back at Bangalore.

India Army and Civil Service List 1874 and again 1875 both on p261 the Rev W W G Cooper is now chaplain to the bishop, the Rt Rev F Gell.

India List 1877 p131 the Rev W W G Cooper is now second from the top of the list of senior chaplains in the diocese of Madras; he's now based at St Thomas' Mount and Palaveram.

India List Jan 1878 p131 the Rev W W G Cooper has now reached the top of the list of senior

chaplains diocese of Madras; but he's on leave at the moment.

India List 1881 p131 the Rev W W G Cooper is now on the retired list, with date 19 July 1879.

India List for Jan 1891 Rev W W G Cooper is still on the list of retired officers.

One website suggesting that the family is from Nottinghamshire:

Website www.thurgartonhistory.co.uk about Thurgarton village in Notts quotes from a letter by Lt Cecil Gilbert-Cooper (sic) who visited it in 1869. Lt Gilbert-Cooper was a member of the family that had owned the village's Priory estate from 1538 to 1820. The letter was to Rev William W G Cooper. However, the website does describe Cecil Gilbert-Cooper as Rev William W G Cooper's son, which I don't think can be right, he's too old; they might be brothers.

17 June 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

George Cope Cope was initiated into the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 18 June 1895. He chose the Latin motto 'Pax nobis ille'. His address while he was a member was 14 Pembridge Square London. He didn't ever take his initiation any further.

George Cope was a member of the Irish landed gentry, a member of the Cope family of county Armagh. His father, John Alexander Mainley Pinniger had married Georgina Garland in 1848. Georgina's mother, Anna, was the daughter of Nicholas Archdall Cope of Drumilly. When Anna Cope Garland died in May 1867 John and Georgina Pinniger inherited her estate at Drumilly on condition that they change their surname to Cope, which they did in August of that year.

John Alexander Mainley Pinniger (later Cope) was a solicitor, originally working for a firm in Gray's Inn but later as a partner in Messrs Cope, Rose and Pearson of 26 St George Street Westminster. He was the personal legal advisor to the Sackville-West family who owned Knole House in Kent, and his other clients included members of the Tyzack banking family. He also acted as solicitor to the pioneer of international communication by telegraph, John Watkins Brett - something of an onerous task, it seems, as Brett's cable-laying companies seemed to have had more than their share of financial crises. However, through his involvement with Brett, John Pinniger, later Cope, got to know the directors of the various companies Brett founded to lay cables across the UK, under the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic to Canada; the directors included several men whose children became members of the Golden Dawn. The Pinniger family also knew John Lettsom Elliot and his family. John Lettsom Elliot managed the Elliot brewery in Pimlico. Perhaps John Pinniger was the brewery's solicitor; or the families may just have been friendly. John Lettsom Elliot's grandson, Hugh Elliot, was a member of the Golden Dawn.

John Pinniger, later Cope, and Georgina had three daughters, and four sons of whom George was the youngest, baptised as George Cope Pinniger on 29 July 1855 in the church at Parkstone near Bournemouth. I can't find the family on the 1861 census, I suppose they were visiting relatives in Ireland. I can't find George on the 1871 census either, but his

family were in their house at 4 Cambridge Square in the triangle between Edgware Road and Hyde Park, in one of the best-served households of any GD member. John A M Cope employed a butler, a footman and a lady's maid; as well as a governess for George's sisters, a cook, a nurse, two housemaids and a kitchen maid. Victorian servants may have been badly paid on the whole, especially the female ones, but this was still serious expenditure on the part of George's parents.

I don't know where the boy now known as George Cope Cope went to school, but in 1873 he followed his elder brothers Edgar and Frederick to Pembroke College Cambridge; the fourth brother, Arthur, didn't go to university but joined his father's firm and qualified as a solicitor. George graduated in 1877, and - again like brother Edgar - qualified as a barrister in 1879, becoming a member of the Inner Temple. He had offices at 12 King's Bench Walk in the Inner Temple precinct and earned his living at the Surrey court sessions for many years but I do question his commitment to his profession. He didn't rise through the legal hierarchy, never became a King's Counsel (they earn the highest fees) or a judge; never took on the kind of case that was reported in the Press; and may have all but retired while still quite young.

In November 1871 John A M Cope was appointed a JP for the county of Armagh, so he had to spend some weeks of each year carrying out his duties as a magistrate there, but the family home was still in London, at 14 Pembridge Square, north of Notting Hill Gate, where John Cope died in 1892. Although George Cope gave his mother's home as his address when he joined the GD, he wasn't actually living there by then. According to a memoir by the social reformer Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, he was living in a block of flats in Somerset Terrace Euston Road with a friend, John Greenhalgh, who was on a long leave from his job as a judge in Burma. Two of their neighbours in the block of flats were Emmeline Pethick (not married to Lawrence yet) and her friend Mary Neal. Emmeline and Mary both did voluntary work at the West London Mission in Marylebone, and after getting to know them, George Cope started to volunteer there too, at the children's club they ran. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence's memoir is written with a great deal of hindsight, in the mid-1930s. She describes the George Cope she knew in the mid-1890s as wanting to "to turn to the simple life as a change" having got bored, as she had done, with the social round. Emmeline describes how George's "Irish wit and irrepressible gaiety" and his "leadership against all restriction and restraint" made him very popular with the children; and says that if ever there was trouble at the girls' club, George Cope Cope was likely to have caused it. I'm not sure, from this account, how far Emmeline approved of George Cope's anarchic behaviour but she couldn't help but admire an "innate sense of harmony and beauty" that she felt that he had.

This sense of beauty must have been challenged by the things George Cope learned at the West London Mission about the lives of the children who spent their leisure hours there. Through Emmeline Pethick and Mary Neal he met other men and women with strong views on the social issues of the day. In 1897 he sent his first letters to the Times, querying a recent decision made by the military hierarchy in India to close its lock hospitals, where prostitutes had been imprisoned while being treated for venereal diseases given them by their soldier clients. George was only asking whether there was any actual evidence for the argument being put forward by the military, that the lock hospital system didn't work. However, his letter seems to have hit an exposed nerve amongst the members of the committee which had taken the decision, two of whom wrote to the Times vigorously defending the committee's choice but in the process making it fairly clear that they had not gathered any evidence as to whether lock hospitals worked before the decision was made. The correspondence ended with George Cope pointing out that, without any data on the subject, the opponents of the decision that had been taken were finding it very difficult to argue their case. In this, George

Cope was not just thinking about the situation in India, I'm sure: the Contagious Diseases Acts, under which the lock hospital system operated, also applied in the UK, in military and non-military situations, and were being bitterly attacked by women campaigners as enshrining the sexual double-standard and treating the ill like criminals.

George Cope's initiation into the GD happened around the time he met Emmeline Pethick and Mary Neal, and was another attempt to break out into new territory with his life outside his work as a barrister. Hugh Elliot was a member of the same barristers' chambers as Cope at 12 King's Walk in the Inner Temple - he'd probably joined that chambers because Elliots knew the Copes. He was initiated into the GD a few months before George Cope and almost certainly was the man who recommended Cope as a suitable initiate. However, the GD didn't work for George Cope; unlike Elliot, he gave it up shortly after being initiated. With John Greenhalgh, he continued to try out the simple life. On the day of the 1901 census, they were sharing a cottage (on holiday, I think, as both are described as "visitors" and there is no head of household) at 65 Broadmoor, Wotton, Dorking, surrounded by households headed by either a gardener, an agricultural labourer, or a gamekeeper. And he continued his involvement in social issues to the extent of dipping a toe in local politics. In 1902 he stood in a bye-election at St Pancras Board of Guardians, as a Liberal candidate, against Edith Mary Rendel. Unfortunately his decision to stand caused consternation and division in his own party. The members had no problem with him declaring that he would campaign against the interference of central government in local decision-making. However, a lot of them really didn't like his decision to make arguing against compulsory vaccination an important feature of his campaign speeches. And a further group would have preferred a woman candidate, if they could have found one; some even wrote to Miss Rendel saying how much they hoped she would win. She did win, and I can't find any evidence that George Cope stood as a political candidate any other time. However, his involvement in social issues continued and he kept the friends he had made in campaigning circles. When Margaret Macdonald, of the Women's Industrial Council, died in 1911 he was on the committee of friends and colleagues that worked to set up a suitable memorial to her work as a collector of statistics on women's employment and working conditions.

John Greenhalgh's long leave seems to have turned into a decision to take early retirement and remain in England. He organised holidays for working people; and acted as advisor to tenants' associations. He and George Cope continued to share flats, probably for nearly a decade - in 1897 they were living at 20 Endsleigh Terrace, Duke's Road - but in 1906 George Cope got married, at the age of 51. His bride was a widow of nearly his own age, Maria Catherine Christian. Born Maria Catherine Pittar, she was the daughter of Sir Thomas Pittar, a civil servant in the Board of Customs department. In 1882 she had married Richard Christian, who was a lawyer and perhaps known to George Cope from those days, but he had died aged only 41 in 1895; they had had no children.

I haven't been able to find out very much about George Cope after his marriage. I presume he continued to work as a barrister, but the Probate Registry records for him and his wife show that they were comfortably off and he may have retired from legal work. He and Maria Catherine set up house as a married couple at 2 Harley Gardens London SW10, in the district between the Brompton and Fulham Roads. They also kept the house called Darnhills, at Radlett in Hertfordshire, where Maria Catherine had lived before they had married, although on the day of the 1911 census, they were visiting Maria Catherine's in-laws from her first marriage.

Maria Catherine died in February 1921 leaving George Cope a childless widower.

In 1927 a new series of letters from George Cope to the Times began to appear, one or two a year, beginning with a set on the Oxford v Cambridge university match, hying back to the 1870s when he had been a Cambridge undergraduate. There's no evidence that he played in the Cambridge team so he must have watched, noting down the batting and bowling statistics, which he had kept ever since. In 1928 he sent in letters about the Jesus College rowing team of 1877, and in 1929 he commented on a recent article in the Times which had listed some members of that team who were now judges in the High Court. In 1929 he changed subjects from sport to politics, commenting rather dourly on the poor arithmetical sense displayed by those who had panicked when early counting in the General Election which had taken place on 30 May 1929 had showed the Labour Party in the lead. The final result was a hung parliament.

According to Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, George Cope pursued the harmony and beauty she saw in him by writing poetry. I'm sorry to say I haven't been able to find any published poetry by him; perhaps he just showed his verses to his friends. However, in his last ever letter to the Times, he contributed his own theory as to the meaning of the enigmatic last two lines of Keats' Ode to a Grecian Urn:

Beauty is truth, truth beauty, that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.'

I took the text of Ode from Oxford Book of English Verse, 1919 edition, edited by Arthur Quiller-Couch, which is now on the web.

The letter on Keat's Ode appeared in the Times on 29 August 1930. George Cope Cope died on 28 February 1931 and was buried at Radlett.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Sources for George Cope Cope:

The Pinniger/Cope connection:

Website www.igp-web.com/igparchives/ire/armagh/cemeteries/loughgall.txt, part of the Ireland Genealogy Project for details of Anna Garland Cope.

London Gazette 16 Aug 1867 p4548 and Edinburgh Gazette 20 Aug 1867 p956 for the change of surname from Pinniger to Cope and also details of the descent of Georgina Pinniger from Anna Garland Cope.

Armagh, City of Light and Learning by Joe Hynes and Maureen Campbell, published 1997 by Cottage Publications of Donaghadee Northern Ireland. P38 says that the association of the Cope family with the city of Armagh goes back to Anthony Cope of Hanwell Oxfordshire who was created 1st baronet in 1611. He had bought the two manors of Derrycreevy and Drumilly, which were inherited by his sons Richard and Anthony.

Armorial Families: A Directory of Gentlemen of Coat-Armour Volume 1, published 1929, edited by Arthur C Fox-Davies. P428: George Cope Cope, born 1855; married 1906 Maria Catherine, daughter of Thomas John Pittar and widow of Richard Christian of Radlett Hertfordshire. Currently (that is, 1929) living at 2 Harley Gardens SW10.

At [//henlyfamilytreeguide.com](http://henlyfamilytreeguide.com) is a note of the baptism of John Alexander Mainley Pinniger, on 20 Sep 1824 in Chippenham Wiltshire; his parents are Broome Pinniger and wife Martha.

John A M Pinniger as a solicitor:

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk to document lists for the East Sussex Record Office and the London Metropolitan Archive. For the life of John Watkins Brett go to [//atlantic-cable.com](http://atlantic-cable.com), the website of the History of the Atlantic Cable and Undersea Communications; a very detailed biography by Steven Roberts.

His involvement in a firm proposing to lay a cable from New South Wales to London: Sydney Morning Herald of 22 May 1857 p2 and 30 Oct 1857 p4.

The Spectator volume 45 1872 on p831, a group of legal notices includes one issued by J A Mainley Cope on behalf of Messrs Cope, Rose and Pearson, solicitors, of 26 St George Street Westminster.

The Economist 1874 p150, a page of legal notices has one issued by J A Mainley Cope on behalf of Messrs Cope, Rose and Pearson solicitors of 26 St George Street Westminster.

The Pinniger/Cope family's connection with the Elliots

Lettsom: His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants by James Johnston Abraham. Published London: William Heinemann Medical Books Ltd 1933. On p475 reference to a letter from George Cope Cope to the Times on 16 October 1926 in which he mentioned knowing John Lettsom Elliot very well when he was younger. John Lettsom Elliot was Hugh Elliot's grandfather. I have to say that on 9 November 2013 I looked for Cope's letter in the Times Digital Archive and couldn't find it; a bit puzzled about that.

George Cope's professional life:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis 1752-1900 Part 2 Volume 2 p132 George Cope Cope who went to Pembroke College in 1873. Born 12 July 1855 at Parkstone Dorset. Graduated with a BA 1877. Began study at the Inner Temple May 1876; called to the bar 1879. Barrister on the Surrey sessions "for some years".

Times Saturday 14 June 1879 p5c Legal Education: a list of men who had recently passed the bar exams included George Cope Cope of the Inner Temple.

Times 18 Nov 1879 p11f a list of men called to the bar (that is, qualifying to practice law) included George Cope Cope BA Cambridge, of the Inner Temple.

Men at the Bar: A Biographical Hand-List of the Members of the Various Inns of Court by Joseph Foster, published 1885. P99 has Edgar Broome Cope, called to bar January 1875 eldest son of John Alexander Mainley Cope of Drummilly (sic), Loughall. Now (1885) at the high court in Lahore. Also p99 George Cope BA Pembroke College Cambridge, called to the bar 17 November 1879, fourth son of J A M Cope; born 12 July 1855.

I only looked at one Law List: 1895 p52 in the list of Counsel (that is, barristers): George Cope Cope Inner Temple, working on the Surrey sessions and with offices at 12 King's Bench Walk.

George Cope's obituary in Times 3 March 1931 speaks also of his brother Frederick L Cope p132, also a graduate of Pembroke College. Frederick Cope was ordained a Church of England priest and held various livings in the Durham area before being sent to the Falkland Islands in 1906, dying on the islands in 1910. The Times obituary drew on Burke's Landed Gentry's Irish Supplement for its information on George Cope Cope's family: his father John Alexander M Pinniger married Georgina Cope of Drummilly county Armagh and took the surname Cope, by royal licence, on 10 August 1857. There was no mention in the obituary of George Cope's involvement with the West London Mission or of his having any knowledge of the Contagious Diseases Acts and their effects.

My Part in a Changing World by Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence though if you want to look at this book at the British Library, be aware that the BL has got her surname wrong, spelling it PethWick. Published London: Victor Gollancz 1938 pp112-113.

The lock hospital dispute:

Times 17 Aug 1897 p6, letter dated 16 Aug 1897 from George C Cope: The Health of the Army in India, though it wasn't the start of the correspondence on this subject, Cope himself was replying to a letter published in Times on 12 Aug [1897] written by someone calling himself only

Two replies both Times Sat 21 Aug 1897 p13, from Major General Richard Dashwood; and a man calling himself 'Senior', though he does describe himself as an Indian Army officer.

Cope replied to Dashwood and 'Senior'; in Times Tue 24 Aug 1897 p6. And also on that day the Times published a letter from Colonel A G Wymen querying something alleged by 'Senior' in his letter.

Another letter from Cope in Times Tue 31 Aug 1897 p8

And a reply from Dashwood, now not bothering to conceal his annoyance; published in Times Wed 1 Sep 1897 p2

The correspondence ended with a final letter from Cope published Times Tue 7 Sep 1897 p9 saying that Dashwood had ignored his two requests for details of any research that had been done on the efficiency of voluntary lock hospitals. Cope therefore concludes that no such research has been done. If any such research has been done, Dashwood and those who agree with his point of view are not aware of it.

George Cope's foray into politics:

Times Monday 10 March 1902 p14 The Vaccination Question in St Pancras: a report on the bye-election campaign in No 7 Ward, Borough of St Pancras Board of Guardians, caused by the death of Edith Gresham. George Cope of 20 Endsleigh Terrace, described as a barrister, was standing as a Liberal, with an endorsement from the South St Pancras Liberal and Radical Association. However, the Times noted that not all Liberals were that enthusiastic about him as he was making it plain he was standing on a platform of being against compulsory vaccination. He was also taking a stand against the "undue" interference by central government in local government affairs. A lot of local Liberals had said since his candidacy was agreed, that if they'd known he was against compulsory vaccination, they wouldn't have supported him as a candidate. Standing against him was Edith Mary Rendel. Some Liberals had come out as preferring a woman Poor Law Board representative, because if Cope was elected, the number of women on the Board would be reduced (the Times noted that it was already at a pretty low level). One Liberal had written to Rendel apologising that he had promised to vote for Cope when he would actually rather she won, as he believed that much Poor Law work was best carried out by women.

NB there was no further comment on the bye-election in the Times, and searching on 'George Cope' I didn't find an article on the result of the bye-election, either. However, the sources below make it clear that Rendel won it:

Report of Proceedings of the International Congress for the Welfare and Protection...of Children; held at the Guildhall (City of London) May 1906. Via googlebooks, saw the copy now in the Reese Library, University of California. A list of those who attended included "Miss E Rendel (St Pancras)".

Report of Proceedings of the National Conference on Infantile (sic) Mortality held Caxton Hall Westminster, March 1908. Miss E M "Rendell" represented St Pancras Board of Guardians at the conference.

Via its page to the University of Birmingham Research Archive. Rendel's name had come up in a PhD thesis 1991 by Kenneth H Brill, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, which referred to Rendel running a day nursery in St Pancras. I couldn't see any dates connection with this, but I think that she must have been doing it before she stood as a Poor Law Board candidate, and that it was what her reputation was based on in the bye-election.

George Cope's friend John Greenhalgh:

Saturday Review volume 97; I couldn't see the year from googlebooks' snippet. On p277 a letter from John H Greenhalgh: A Seaside Hotel for Working People.

Practical Housing published 1908 by Garden City Press. On pvii a list, not in alphabetical order, all male, all either MP's or representatives of housing groups; perhaps subscribers, or attenders at a conference? The list includes John H Greenhalgh as representative of Hampstead Tenants Ltd. On pxxi his name comes up again, again in a list, probably of committee members this time, as a secretary is named.

Town Planning Conference held in London 10-15 October 1910, its Transactions volume 1, published 1911 by the Royal Institute of British Architects. I couldn't see the page number on google's snippet but the list was very similar to that in Practical Housing and again Greenhalgh is representing Hampstead Tenants Ltd.

Margaret Macdonald:

Times Mon 18 Dec 1911 p10 The Margaret Macdonald Memorial. A report of a meeting of her friends and acquaintances, held on 13 November [1911], at which they tried to decide on a suitable memorial to her. Three ideas were considered:

Option One was a sculpture

But a lot of people at the meeting felt that a practical project would be a more fitting way to commemorate her.

Option Two was donating more money to the Baby Clinic already set up and working as a memorial to Margaret's friend Mary Middleton.

Option Three was particularly preferred by people who knew her in Leicester. They suggested raising money to pay for a new ward at Leicester Children's Hospital.

At the end of the meeting, the issue was still undecided but while everyone was still making up their minds, the Appeal had been launched. George C Cope was on the Memorial Executive Committee; his name was 6th on the list of signatures to the Appeal letter. Another member of it was T Fisher Unwin, founder of Stanley Unwin the publishing firm.

Some further information on Margaret MacDonald:

Home Industries of Women in London, Report of an Inquiry by the Investigation Committee of the Women's Industrial Council (Great Britain) 1908 and published by the Council. The authors were Margaret MacDonald and B L Hutchins.

On the Women's Industrial Council from Women's Library website at [//calmarchive.londonmet.ac.uk](http://calmarchive.londonmet.ac.uk), which begins by saying that as at 2006, no archive of the WIC's papers is known to them. The website manages a small paragraph on the WIC just the same: it was founded in 1894 and still operative in 1917. Its function was collecting data to argue for lessening women's working hours; improving their working conditions; and recruiting more inspectors for factories where they worked. Members of the WIC gave evidence to Parliamentary committees several times. Leading members of the WIC were: Clementine Black; Margaret Bondfield; Margaret MacDonald; B L Hutchins; Catherine Webb. It had a jnl: The Women's Indl News.

George Cope's father-in-law:

Re Thomas Pittar: Chemist and Druggist volume 101 1924 p123 has an obituary of Sir Thomas J Pittar KCB CMG, who had died on 20 July. He was a former chairman of the Board of Customs, having worked in that department all his career, working his way up from a clerk.

George Cope's sporting letters to the Times. There are none before 1927.

Times Friday 1 July 1927 p17 letter from George C Cope at 2 Harley Gardens SW10, referring to the Times's coverage of the recent Oxford v Cambridge university cricket match (which now had quite a long tradition behind it). Cope remembered a match in 1877 in which F M Buckland's performance was particularly notable. His reminiscences received a reply, published in Times Thursday 7 July 1927 p12 from F M Buckland's son, F E Buckland, making a small correction to Cope's figures of the 1877 match, by saying his father had been 117 not out, not 114 not out as Cope's letter had said.

Times Monday 23 July 1928 p10 letter from George C Cope, 2 Harley Gardens; with more statistics on Oxford v Cambridge university cricket.

Times Sat 29 December 1928 p4 letter from George C Cope at 2 Harley Gardens, again about the Cambridge University cricket team of the late 1870s, linking the prominence of men from Jesus College in it, to the brilliance of the College's contemporary rowing team. This got a response published in the Times on Thursday 31 January 1929 p5 from a Steve Fairbairn, who was an undergraduate at Jesus College in the early 1880s; written from the Golf Hotel, St Jean de Luz.

Times Saturday 16 March 1929 p13 letter dated 14 March [1929] from George Cope Cope at 2 Harley Gardens, referring to a recent Times article on the Boat Race; in which Times had noted the number of team members from 70 years before who were now gracing the High Court. George Cope Cope added some more names.

Times Monday 3 June 1929 p12 letter from George Cope Cope, undated but same address, in which he criticises the number of people panicking at the amount of votes the Labour Party had got in early counting. Cope says that the arithmetic of the panickers "is not apparently that taught in schools".

Times Tuesday 3 March 1931 p1 death notices include one for George Cope Cope of 2 Harley Gardens SW10. He'd died on 28 February [1931]. The only family details are that he was the 4th son of J A M Cope of Drummilly county Armagh. The funeral would be at Aldenham Church Radlett.

Probate Registry: George Cope Cope of 2 Harley Gardens Middlesex had died on 28 February 1931 at 5 Collingham Gardens Middlesex. Probate granted London 14 April 1931 to Harold Burn Hopgood, solicitor; and Arthur Vere Rolleston Woods. Personal effects: £20593/9/1.

Sources I checked for any poetry published by George Cope:

Mid-Victorian Poetry 1860-79: An Annotated Biobibliography by Catherine W Reilly p108.

Late Victorian Poetry 1880-99: An Annotated Biobibliography by Catherine W Reilly; no entry p106 for Cope.

And Oxford Companion to 20th Century Poetry in England ed Ian Hamilton. Oxford: OUP 1994 p99 the only Cope is Wendy.

His letter on Keats' Ode to a Grecian Urn appeared in the Times Fri 29 Aug 1930 p8 and was the last letter by him to appear in the paper.

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9 November 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Golden Dawn members Sidney Coryn and Herbert Coryn were brothers. Their sister-in-law Jessie Horne (Sidney's wife's sister) also joined the GD but I believe she did not stay long. I was going to put all three of them in the same file, but I had so much to say on Herbert alone that they're now in separate files.

Dr Herbert Alfred William Coryn, Sidney's elder brother, was the last of the three to become a member, being initiated in August 1893; the GD's administrative records say that he resigned, but don't give a date (I suggest one below). All three were committed theosophists.

Three years later: update September 2016. Having fixed Herbert Coryn in my mind as a convinced theosophist, I was very surprised indeed, a few weeks ago, to find his name in a list of members of a Mark Masonry lodge. I've added a short section on Herbert Coryn as a freemason.

In March 2013 I keyed 'Herbert Coryn' into google. Amongst the list of responses were two photographs of Herbert.

THE CORIN FAMILY

The Corin family came from the far west of Cornwall. There's a thorough and well laid-out family history website at [//hectordavie.Ch/Corin/Corin_L.html](http://hectordavie.Ch/Corin/Corin_L.html), which shows that the Corins ran shops and other small businesses; and that the two names 'William John' were traditional in the family. Herbert and Sidney's father grandfather William John Corin, was born in 1813 and married (in 1837) Jane Glasson, the daughter of a man who ran a shop selling groceries, china and earthenware. Herbert and Sidney's father, also William John Corin (with an 'I' at this stage) was their eldest child, born in 1838.

William John Corin born in 1838 qualified as a doctor, almost certainly by the traditional method of being apprenticed to a general practitioner. In 1860, after serving his apprenticeship, William John Corin was issued with a licence to practice by the Society of Apothecaries. In 1871 William John Corin had an apprentice of his own, but by the 1870s, university teaching, exams and letters after your name had replaced learning on the job, so that William John's eldest son qualified as a doctor in a very different way. In 1861 William

John Corin (born 1838) married Mary Jenkin, whose father is thought by the hectordavie website to have been a mine owner. They married at the baptist chapel in Redruth and had the large family typical of mid-Victorian England (actually it wasn't as large as some of that period): Ida born 1862; Herbert born 1863; Sidney born 1865; Edgar born 1866; Frances born 1868; and three other children who died as infants. I note that William John and Mary Corin did not call any of their sons 'William John'. This was not their only break with the past.

In the late 1860s William John and Mary were living at Gwennap, a village between Redruth and Penryn, and the hectordavie website suggests that William John may have worked as a doctor at his father-in-law's mine for a few years. However, by 1871 they had moved to Church Street Liskeard and William John Corin was in business as a GP in the town. On the day of the 1871 census William John and Mary's household was a large one, including an assistant doctor and the apprentice in addition to the children; and a cook and one housemaid.

The normal practice for a GP is to stay in one place, in the same practice, for life; but at some time in the 1870s (the hectordavie website says 1876) William John Corin moved his family to London, setting up in practice as a surgeon (rather than a doctor) in Brixton. And it seems to have been as part of the move to London that he changed the spelling of his surname to CorYn with a 'y', a spelling used from then on by all his children. On the day of the 1881 census the Coryns were living at 68 Acre Lane Stockwell; William John and Mary, and other members of the family, continued to live in the Brixton/Stockwell area until the 1900s. Herbert by this time was studying medicine at University College London; perhaps it was to open up new educational opportunities for their children that William John and Mary had taken the big decision to leave Cornwall. There was more work available in London, too: Ida and Sidney had left school and had both found work. Ida was a governess. The 1870 Education Act was being rolled out gradually in London so she could have been teaching in a school; but at this stage she could also have been employed by a family to teach its daughters and young sons at home, going to their house each day while still living with her parents. Sidney was a clerk in a business (no more details as to where, but possibly in the City). Edgar and Frances were still at school. William John's unmarried sister-in-law Sarah Perkins was living with them; so too was a cousin from Cornwall, Frederick Abbott, while he studied medicine; and the Coryns employed two servants, probably a cook and a general maid though their daily tasks were not specified.

I am presuming that - seeing they married in a Baptist chapel - both William John and Mary Corin were from Baptist families. However, their children Herbert, Sidney and Frances all became very active theosophists, Herbert and Frances even making theosophy their life's work. You could - people did - attempt to combine Christianity with theosophy, but the main sources of theosophical ideas are eastern. The involvement of Herbert, Sidney and Frances does argue a moving away from the old Christian certainties; which was typical of people of their generation, the generation that grew up (as it were) with Darwin.

HERBERT ALFRED WILLIAM CORYN

Herbert was licensed to practice medicine by the Society of Apothecaries in 1888 and became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1889. However, it's been difficult to find out whether he ever worked as a doctor in England, as he was never registered with the General Medical Council (GMC). You didn't have to be, if all you were intending to do was go into general practice, but the GMC records have been my best source for the qualifications and working lives of the Golden Dawn's doctors. Herbert's obituary says that he worked for a

few years in his father's practice in south London. I'm sure he didn't shirk his duties there but already the main thrust of his time and effort was concentrated not on medicine but on the study of theosophy. According to a talk given in 1998, Herbert had been an agnostic until he came across a copy of A P Sinnett's *The Occult World* (which he must only have found several years after it had been published). Reading the book caused him to undergo an almost instantaneous conversion to all that it was arguing. However, he didn't seek out Alfred Sinnett; he went straight to the top, and got an introduction to Helen Petrovna Blavatsky. He became a member of the Theosophical Society on 7 February 1889.

Herbert didn't see spirituality and medicine as occupying completely separate areas of his life. Like many other GD members, particularly its doctor-members, he had an interest in the power of the mind to affect the health of the body. The connection between morality and health is something that the 21st century finds harder to appreciate, but it was an important feature of health campaigning in the 19th. In 1886, while still an undergraduate, Herbert had attracted wider notice when his essay, *The Moral and Physical Advantages of Total Abstinence*, had won a prize at the National Temperance Society and been published by the Society as a pamphlet. The importance of total abstinence for physical and mental health was something he continued to believe in. In the early 1890s he wrote an article on subject specially for teetotallers in the Theosophical Society - *Theosophy and the Alcohol Question* - to help them argue their case against the TS's alcohol-drinking members; in Herbert's view, drinking alcohol hindered the development of the Soul.

The importance of the Theosophical Society as a recruiting ground for the Golden Dawn can't be overstated. Here I'll just say that the Coryns were some of the TS's most active members in the late 1880s and early 1890s, a period when the TS had a great influx of new members: they helped found several new lodges, they put forward their friends for membership, they wrote articles, they gave talks on theosophical philosophy, they attended conferences and Herbert got elected to committees. Sidney gave more lectures; Herbert did more writing. Sidney and Herbert were also willing - as few theosophists were willing - to take theosophy to the public at large, by giving lectures to non-theosophist audiences and writing about it in the papers (usually correcting mis-assumptions about what it was). Herbert, Frances and Sidney all joined the Theosophical Society together, in 1889 and by 1890, Herbert was being seen as one of the TS's young stars-in-the-making, being welcomed into the inner circle (of about 12 people) who were taught personally by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. He was also a member of the TS's (rather short-lived) Esoteric Section, again something presided over by Blavatsky personally. The Esoteric Section was the only part of the TS that studied the western occult tradition. I've never found a list of its members but I'm sure that William Wynn Westcott was one of them - it was just the sort of group he would be a member of. As Westcott was one of the Golden Dawn's founders, it was only a very short walk from the one group to the other, and I think several of the TS's Esoteric Section made it. They included Percy Bullock, with whom Herbert worked on the pamphlet *Egyptian Belief Theosophically Considered*, published in 1893.

It was through Herbert Coryn's privileged position in the TS that the existence of what should have been a third volume of Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine* became known many years after she had died. Herbert told a friend about seeing the manuscript of it on Blavatsky's desk one day. (Not everybody in the TS was allowed to go into Blavatsky's study.) The third volume was left out of the book as published, and by the time Herbert talked of having seen the preparation work for it, the papers had already disappeared.

Another member of Blavatsky's select group - who were often referred to in the TS as her disciples - was the engineer Frederick J Dick, who came to Blavatsky's notice despite living and working in Dublin. He and Herbert struck up a friendship that lasted the rest of their lives; involved them working together as editors and producers of several theosophical journals; and culminated some time before 1920 (I can't find an exact date) in Frederick marrying Herbert's sister Frances.

In the years after Blavatsky's death in 1891, a struggle broke out for control of the Theosophical Society, between the English Annie Besant, favoured candidate of the TS's co-founder, Colonel Olcott; and the American William Quan Judge. Although other issues were involved, the debate focused on Judge's claims that since Blavatsky's death, her Mahatmas had started communicating with him; claims that offended the many TS members. The TS split in two: the TS's worldwide headquarters in England supported Besant and attempted to impose sanctions on Judge; but the American TS declared itself independent, and most lodges in Europe tended to favour Judge. In England, very many individual members resigned as the dispute raged, and most never returned; a lot of the lodges founded in the early 1890s - the period of TS's greatest expansion - shut down for lack of members.

The reason I've given these details of the power struggle in the TS is that the Coryn family all supported Judge. Though Frances didn't take any active part in the increasingly bitter debate, Sidney and Herbert were vocal champions of Judge's rights to communicate with Blavatsky's Mahatmas and to continue in his posts (to which he had been elected) in the TS in the USA and Europe. They criticised publically (that is, publically within theosophy) the attitude towards him taken by the TS worldwide's hierarchy. Herbert and B Keightley (A Keightley's brother, I think) wrote to the TS worldwide's magazine Lucifer making out Judge's case and demanding that their letters be published in full; I imagine Herbert was annoyed to find the editor, G R S Mead, refusing to do this or make a response in Lucifer, preferring to answer their criticisms in *The Vahan*, the TS European Section's in-house magazine which was of course much less widely-read.

Herbert, Frances and Sidney all resigned from the TS worldwide in 1895 over its handling of the Judge affair, though Frances seems to have had second thoughts, and rejoined, a few years later. I can think of several reasons why they might have decided that they didn't want to be members any longer: but the one that seems to have mattered most to Herbert was the way the dispute exposed the inability of theosophists to rise above their all-too-human failings to seek out common ground. The divisions in theosophy went right to the top: according to Alice Leighton Cleather, she herself, Herbert, and Dr Archibald Keightley were "a minority of three" amongst Blavatsky's old inner group who "declined to follow Mrs Besant's lead" (though Keightley, in the end, decided not to resign). I presume some of Herbert's friendships came to an end over it all and I suggest that he decided to have nothing further to do with the Golden Dawn when he discovered that William Wynn Westcott was amongst senior members of the TS in England who condemned Judge's claims and actions.

Herbert and Sidney were still members of the TS's European Section at least up until its tumultuous annual conference of July 1895, when Judge was called upon to make his case to its members which of course included the TS worldwide hierarchy. Herbert was re-elected to the TS European Section's governing committee; and so was William Wynn Westcott; but newly elected members included some of Mrs Besant's strongest supporters so the odds at the end of the conference were stacked against Judge. Judge's supporters did force the TS worldwide to elect a committee to look at the need for changes to its constitution, and

Herbert was elected to that; but I can't find, from Lucifer or any other theosophical magazine, any evidence of revisions to the existing constitution; and over the next year or so Herbert must gradually have realised that Mrs Besant and her supporters had no desire to make any changes.

Earlier in 1895, theosophical lodges in the United States, formerly part of TS worldwide and ruled from London, had held a conference of their own and had shown where their loyalties lay by voting to split from the TS worldwide under Judge's leadership. Judge died in 1896 but the split in the TS was not healed. Instead, a new player rose to prominence in the USA, Katherine Tingley. In 1896 she led a group of American theosophists on a world lecture tour, spreading the word of theosophy as universal brotherhood, and asking for money to set up a theosophical community on land she and her backers were negotiating to buy at Point Loma, just outside San Diego in California. Herbert Coryn attended two public meetings during the part of Tingley's tour that covered England - one in Liverpool and one in London where he gave a farewell address to the group. Although I haven't been able to find any information on how the tour was organised, I'm fairly sure Herbert Coryn was actively involved in the arrangements.

Universal brotherhood was what Herbert Coryn had wanted and expected from theosophy. I think that during the next couple of years he waited - probably anxiously - to see whether it would establish itself in England. He also found a possible alternative.

FREEMASONRY

I first came across Herbert Coryn as a freemason while I was researching GD member Webster Glynes. It's very clear from my researches that very few theosophists were freemasons; and vice versa. I had not expected to find Coryn in an 1898 list of current members of Bon Accord Mark Masonry Lodge; not only Coryn, but also his friends in theosophy Archibald Keightley and Basil Crump. You cannot be a Mark Mason unless you already are a member of a craft lodge; all three of them were noted down as members of craft lodge 452.

Craft lodge 452 was the Frederick Lodge of Unity, founded in 1838 and based at Croydon's freemasons' hall at 105 High Street. A list of members from 1883 didn't have Herbert Coryn or his friends in it. It did have in it two men who subsequently joined the GD - Webster Glynes, who was one of the earliest members (1888); and Harold John Levett, who was initiated in 1895. 1883 is much too early for Herbert Coryn and his friends and I haven't found any later publications from Frederick Lodge of Unity 452 to confirm the date they joined it. However, I think that they never thought of freemasonry as an option until the schism in world theosophy, and so were initiated as freemasons between 1895 and 1897, perhaps on the recommendation of Glynes or Levett; though Herbert Coryn at least had plenty of friends in Croydon, almost certainly including other members of 452.

In the mid to late-1890s two men linked Frederick Lodge of Unity 452 and Bon Accord Mark Masonry Lodge, as long-serving members of both: Charles M Ohren of Lower Sydenham, one of two brothers very active in south London freemasonry at the time; and Webster Glynes, who may have resigned from Bon Accord at around the time that Herbert Coryn joined it. Bon Accord lodge prided itself on its status as the first Mark Masonry lodge in England, founded in 1851. It met in the West End, at the Criterion Restaurant in Piccadilly;

but in the 1890s its members tended to be City businessmen, including Glynnes who was a solicitor with offices near the Tower of London. There's no doubt about when Herbert Coryn joined this lodge: a lodge history has him and Archibald Keightley being 'advanced' as new members in December 1897. It's not clear when Basil Crump was 'advanced', but his name too is on a list of lodge members as at September 1898.

AMERICA

Even while they were preparing to become Mark Master masons in Bon Accord lodge, it must have been obvious to Herbert Coryn, Archibald Keightley and Basil Crump that Universal Brotherhood was not taking root in England. Early in 1898 what I think was a decisive event for all three of them occurred in the USA: Katherine Tingley was elected leader-for-life of the TS in the United States, and a new constitution was adopted which put universal brotherhood at the centre of theosophical life there. Very soon after this, the TS's European Section held its annual conference in London. Herbert Coryn had stayed as a member of the European Section despite all the trouble, and he was in a position of some influence there. As chairman of the committee which had prepared the list of conference resolutions, he master-minded the adoption by the TS European Section of the constitution just agreed in the USA. It included statement that William Quan Judge and Katherine Tingley - not Colonel Olcott and Mrs Besant - were Blavatsky's true heirs in theosophy. A few months later - having burned his theosophical boats in London - Herbert Coryn emigrated to the United States. Keightley and Crump made the same choice.

Herbert Coryn landed at New York in July 1898. His name had gone before him, courtesy of his friend Basil Crump and his article 'Mind as a Disease Producer', which had been published in the English journal *National Review* in February 1898. In this article, Herbert put the same arguments that had appeared in his earlier TS pamphlet 'Theosophy and the Alcohol Question'; this time, though, they were aimed at a wider audience. His emphasis on the connection between states of mind and illness in the liver and heart caught the attention of some American newspapers. It became Herbert's most widely-known piece of writing, being reviewed in a variety of medical and other journals in America and Britain.

Herbert had gone to the USA to take up a new appointment, as physician-in-chief to the TS's International Brotherhood League, based at the American TS's headquarters at 144 Madison Avenue, New York City. However, he'd only been there a month or two when he was called upon to lead a charitable effort in time of war. War had been declared between the USA and Cuba and Katherine Tingley was leading a voluntary effort by TS members to give medical care and other aid to the US troops at Camp Wikoff, where there was an outbreak of fever. She needed doctors. Herbert was immediately put in charge of all the TS efforts in Cuba. While the volunteers were preparing to leave, he gave them lessons in first aid. When they arrived at Camp Wikoff, Herbert, Mrs Tingley and the volunteers set up a field hospital, and then Herbert did the diagnoses and prescribing while the other volunteers did the nursing and orderly-work. With only 60 beds the TS hospital was soon over-run. Mrs Tingley organised the raising of enough money to charter a ship to take as many cases as could travel, back to the US mainland for treatment there; but the field hospital continued in operation for several months.

In 1900 the American TS moved its headquarters from New York to Point Loma. Herbert was offered a job as resident doctor there. He spent the rest of his life at Point Loma and became a US citizen in 1911.

As well as his work as a general practitioner at Point Loma, Herbert probably was also employed at the hotel-cum-sanatorium founded by Dr Lorin Wood, another member of the community's medical staff. There will have been other demands on Herbert's time as well: as was typical of this kind of planned community, manual labour was seen as a philosophical discipline and everybody was expected to do some on a daily basis; time spent doing physical work was even in the time-table of Point Loma's school. Although Point Loma had never been intended to be completely self-sufficient, the community had a farm and orchards and also kept bees. Point Loma residents did their own plumbing and carpentry, baking and pottery-making; they sold pottery, batik cloth and school uniforms, and ran printing and photography businesses. Besides the Raja Yoga school there was a music school (the Isis Conservatory) and a school of antiquities. Golden Dawn member William A Dunn arrived at Point Loma in 1902 and in 1904 became head of the Isis Conservatory. Frederick J Dick and his first wife Annie reached Point Loma in 1905; Frederick became a teacher at the school of antiquities.

The Point Loma community produced two magazines. The more widely-distributed was the Theosophical Path, to which Herbert sometimes contributed; for example in 1918, with an article he called Evolution and Involution: A Study in Biology. He also edited The New Way, which Katherine Tingley founded in 1911 to bring the message of universal brotherhood to prisons and hospitals.

Life at Point Loma wasn't all work. It had a theatre; in 1923, Herbert played Socrates in a pageant-cum-symposium put on there.

Herbert also played his part in the defence of theosophy against attacks from outside. In 1901, opposition to the Point Loma community amongst Christian ministers working in the San Diego area was stirred up by an evening of talks given by Colonel Olcott. In August 1901, most of them (the Unitarian minister refused to join them) signed a letter to the local paper making complaints about the Point Loma community. The theosophists challenged the Christian ministers to debate the matter in public, and Herbert was chosen by Point Loma's governing council to be one of those who spoke for them. The debates went on for several weeks and attracted so much local interest that the Fisher Opera House was hired for to stage them. I don't know what the outcome of all this debate was; probably nobody changed their minds. And despite some people in San Diego regarding their theosophist neighbours with alarm, Point Loma's residents were not shunned by the town: two sources I looked at said that Herbert Coryn became a freemason, belonging to a lodge in San Diego.

In due course (I can't find an exact date) Herbert became a member of the committee that ran Point Loma. By the 1920s, the number of theosophists who had known Blavatsky personally was rapidly decreasing and Herbert, Frederick Dick and Frances (now Mrs Dick and also living at Point Loma) had a kind-of mystique about them amongst the other residents.

Herbert Coryn died on 7 November 1927, at the Burlingame Hospital in San Diego, of complications following a bout of pneumonia. He had never married. At his funeral a poem in his praise was read out. It had been composed by Kenneth Vennor Morris, the Welsh poet and fantasy writer, who had arrived at Point Loma in 1908. Kenneth and his brother Ronald had known Herbert in south London in the 1890s, when they had all been members of the TS. Ronald (but not Kenneth) had become a member of the Golden Dawn.

FRANCES CORYN AFTER 1895

As I mentioned above, Frances Coryn reassessed her decision to resign from the TS worldwide and by 1906 she was not only a member again but working at its headquarters at 19 Avenue Road St John's Wood, as "Assistant Superintendent" (I'm inclined to think this was a voluntary, not a paid, post). In June 1906, she made a trip to the USA; I presume this was to visit her brothers, so that she will have spent time at Point Loma. She must have been impressed by life there, because some years later (I haven't been able to find out exactly when) she moved there for good. By 1920 she had married Frederick J Dick. Frederick Dick died in 1927. I think Frances Dick was still living at Point Loma when Herbert Coryn died in 1928; but I don't know what happened to her after that.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

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SOURCES FOR THE CORYN BROTHERS AND JESSIE HORNE

CORYN brothers: HERBERT and SIDNEY

[//hectordavie.Ch/Corin/Corin_L.html](http://hectordavie.Ch/Corin/Corin_L.html) gives a history of the Corin family, which originated in Cornwall. The spelling CorYn seems to have applied to their father only, and only when he moved from Cornwall to London. This website has a good lay-out of the family tree, very easy to follow. Forenames 'William John' occur very often in the family. Herbert's grandfather also had the names William John; he was born in 1813 died in 1895 in Lambeth, presumably living with his son and grandchildren. In October 1837 he had married Jane Glasson from Hayle, whose father was a grocer and dealer in china and earthenware. They had at least 6 children. Herbert, Frances and Sidney's father William John CorIn later CorYn, is their eldest, born 1838.

WILLIAM JOHN CORIN/CORYN as a GP/SURGEON

General Medical Council registers have his name in them only twice, only in Cornwall, and only as CorIn. The first time was 1867: address Rosehill, Gwennap, Cornwall; MRCS 1860; Licensed by the Society of Apothecaries 5 December 1860. The second time was in 1871 still at the Gwennap address. Herbert Coryn was never registered with the GMC though (see below) he was registered in the USA.

The herbertdavie website says that William John Corin/Coryn had moved to London by 1876; and that while living in Cornwall he had been active in local politics, as a Liberal Party member.

HERBERT AS A DOCTOR

Medical Times and Gazette volume 2 1882 p168 snippet showing Herbert at Charing Cross Hospital. I presume he was doing part of his training there.

Documents of the Senate of the State of New York volume 13 1901 p110 Herbert in a list of registered physicians.

Directory of Physicians and Surgeons...Holding Certificates Issued under the Medical Practice Acts of the State of California issue of 1926 p204 Herbert as MRCS 1889 and Licensed by the Society of Apothecaries 1888.

HERBERT EMIGRATES TO THE USA:

From www.findmypast.com's outgoing passenger lists: Dr H Coryn travelled to New York from London on the Wilson-Hill Line's Victoria, setting out on 29 June 1898.

OBITUARY in Point Loma's magazine:

The Theosophical Path volume XXXIV January-June 1928. Published Point Loma California: New Century Corporation. Pp87-89 with a photograph and the full text of Kenneth Vennor Morris' memorial poem.

KENNETH MORRIS IS RONALD VENNOR MORRIS' BROTHER:

Lloyd Alexander, Evangeline Walton Ensley and Kenneth Morris: A Primary and Secondary Bibliography by Kenneth J Zahorski, Robert H Boyer. In the Masters of Science Fiction and Fantasy series. Boston Massachusetts: G K Hall and Co 1981. P163 Kenneth Vennor Morris was a teacher at Point Loma's Raja Yoga College. P169 he had arrived at Point Loma in

1908; and p175 left it to return to Wales in January 1930.

HERBERT'S EDITING WORK ON THEOSOPHICAL JOURNALS

All the journals seem to have been rather short-lived affairs; and several times two probably ailing publications amalgamated and chose a new name. I've put together this list from details in the British Library catalogue and via google:

1 = The Irish Theosophist. BL has volume 1 number 1 to volume 5 number 12: 1892-97.

2 = Theosophic Isis. Only two volumes of this were ever published, in 1896 and 1897, and it seems to have been the idea and work of Herbert and Sidney Coryn. Although predominantly a theosophical magazine it also had articles by and about Golden Dawn members. At www.austheos.org, the website of the Theosophical Society Australia there are useful lists of articles published in theosophical magazines back to the 1880s, with their authors' names if known, and some attempts to identify authors using a writing name or just initials. I got the list below from the austheos site:

Volume 1	1896	January Introductory editorial, by Herbert Article by GD founder Samuel Liddell Mathers
April		Obituary of William Quan Judge, by Sidney Keep open the door, by Herbert On the study of The Secret Doctrine, by Herbert
May		Finding the Self Part I, by Herbert
July		The Light of a new day, by Herbert; which I think must be Finding the Self Part II
September		Finding the Self Part III, by Herbert
November		Occultism in Medicine Part I, by Herbert
December		Occultism in Medicine Part II, by Herbert
Volume 2	1897	January Occultism in Medicine Part III, by Herbert Our opportunity, by Sidney Some Persian Hymns, by F Coryn who I presume is Frances Review by 'P' of SSDD's Egyptian Magic.

SSDD is the short form of the GD motto of Florence Farr.

3 = The Grail. BL has volume 1 numbers 1-5: all 1897. Numbers 1-3 were edited by Herbert; 4 and 5 were edited by Basil Crump.

4 = The Internationalist which the BL describes as an amalgamation of the earlier journals the Irish Theosophist and The Grail. BL has volume 1 numbers 1-6: 1897-98. The editors of all six issues are Herbert; and G W Russell, the poet AE.

5 = The Crusader. A Supplement to 'Ourselves'. This may not be a journal in itself, but a special issue of the journal The People's Theosophic Monthly issued in 1897. I think Herbert was the editor of this magazine issue but when I requested it at the British Library (March 2013) it didn't appear so I suppose it has been lost. 'Crusaders' was what Katherine Tingley and her 1896 group called themselves on their world tour; so I suppose the magazine was written to support her work. But of course, I haven't seen it so that's just a guess.

6 = The International Theosophist. BL has volume 1 number 1 to volume 6 number 9: 1898-

1904. The editors were Herbert, and Frederick J Dick.

7 = International Theosophical Journal Devoted to the Brotherhood of Humanity. 1905. Herbert as co-editor with his brother Sidney, who by this time was also living in California.

SOME WORKS BY HERBERT IN Theosophical Siftings, which were collections of pamphlets, talks etc on theosophical themes already published elsewhere. Published: Theosophical Publishing Society, Adelphi, London.

Theosophical Siftings volumes 1-2 1888-90. There's one work by Herbert in these volumes, one of two items originally published in the same pamphlet: Universal Brotherhood by Alexander Fullerton, originally read to a TS meeting in New York; The Scientific Basis of Occultism by Herbert Coryn.

Theosophical Siftings volumes 5-7 1892-95 has several works by Herbert:

1 = What is Prana?

2 = An Hour in Borderland Occultism. Originally published as pamphlet by the Theosophical Publishing Society in 1894. 'Borderland' was a spiritualist/theosophical magazine edited by W T Stead.

3 = Theosophy and the Alcohol Question. In which Herbert puts the argument that consciousness is inevitably influenced by "bodily states". He sees p2 alcohol as a "narcotic to every vital function". It's never a stimulant and it shouldn't ever be called one. On p11 he ends by stating that consuming alcohol hinders the growth of the Soul.

4 = Devachan also known as 'Heavenworld' (the English translation of the Sanskrit word); originally published in Lucifer volume XV:

ARTICLES BY HERBERT CORYN IN LUCIFER, the magazine of TS worldwide

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume X March-August 1892, editor Annie Besant. In Volume X number 55 issue of 15 March 1892 pp35-42 article by Herbert Coryn as FTS and MRCS: The Eternal Cell. Herbert argued that understanding The Secret Doctrine was easier if you had some knowledge of current theories of Biology, which - he said - "get constantly nearer the teachings of Occultism". He gave a quick survey of current methods of species classification. A nice example of how Herbert saw the physical body he was trained to heal, and theosophy, as linked.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI number 63 issued 15 November 1892 pp243-45 an article by Herbert: The Light of Haeckelianism, in which he discussed the esoteric works of Professor Ernst Haeckel, normally a biologist but also a writer on Monism.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XV September 1894-February 1895 joint editors Annie Besant and G R S Mead. Herbert Coryn's series Heavenworld (an English translation of the Sanskrit word Devachan) appeared in this volume in three parts:

Part I in volume XV number 87 issued 15 November 1894 pp230-41 Heavenworld - an introduction to Herbert's ideas.

Part II in volume XV number 88 issued 15 December 1894 pp291-96 Heavenworld - what happened to the ego and soul after death.

Part III in volume XV number 89 issued 15 January 1895 pp365-71 Heavenworld as not so much a place, more a state of being without suffering.

'Heavenworld' was the last article Herbert had published in Lucifer.

THEOSOPHICAL PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES

Universal Brotherhood by Alexander Fullerton and Herbert Coryn. Pamphlet published 1889. Later published in Theosophical Siftings volumes 1-2 see above.

Man, His Origin and Evolution 189[?] by Herbert Coryn and George Spencer.

Egyptian Belief Theosophically Considered by P W Bullock and Herbert Coryn 1893.

Devachan, or The Heavenworld: the series originally published in three parts in Lucifer now issued together as a pamphlet. The pamphlet version was also included in Theosophical Siftings volumes 5-7.

Two articles in Universal Brotherhood, the new name chosen for the magazine previously published as Theosophy. It was published at Point Loma and edited by Katherine Tingley. A full text of Universal Brotherhood volume 13 numbers 7-12 is on the web at www.scribd.com but when I tried to read it, I kept getting interrupted by adverts.

1 = Volume 12 number 8 issue of November 1897: Mind and Ego

2 = Volume 13 number 6 issue of September 1898: Then and Now

The New Century volume 2 issue of 6 June 1899 article by Herbert: The Cuban Colony.

Mislaid Mysteries paper read by Herbert Coryn at the Fisher Opera House San Diego on 24 August 1901; copy now in the Harry Houdini Collection, US Library of Congress. Mislaid Mysteries was still being used by the TS in the late 1920s: in the magazine The Theosophical Path January-June 1927 p103 there's a list of pamphlets introducing theosophy, called as a group The Path. Number 3 of the group is Herbert's Mislaid Mysteries.

Contributions by Herbert to The Theosophical Path, published at Point Loma:

* volume January 1917-February 1918 p148 article by Herbert: Evolution and Involution: A Study in Biology

* volume January-June 1924 p93 article by Herbert: New Religious Conceptions, the Need of the Age; originally a speech delivered on 2 Dec 192[?] at Point Loma.

AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY FROM NOTES TAKEN BY HERBERT

At www.theosophy-nw.org an article: Rebirth of the Mysteries by W T S Thackara. At the bottom is a link to another article, The Teacher and Disciple of Old, with Herbert Coryn listed as the author though it's clear from elsewhere in the text that the words are NOT his, he was merely writing down what was being said by Katherine Tingley, in July 1902. The notes were not published until after both Herbert and Katherine Tingley were dead. It was included in Lucifer: the Light-Bringer a volume celebrating the life of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky published at Point Loma May-June 1931: pp130-31.

HERBERT'S PUBLICATIONS ON MEDICAL MATTERS

The Moral and Physical Advantages of Total Abstinence, the prize-winning essay. Published

by the National Temperance Society, 1886.

Herbert's article in the National Review February 1898: Mind as a Disease Producer. The National Review ran from 1883 to 1950 and was published in London by W Allen. The publishers regularly put adverts in the Times for the next edition, with lists of the articles it would contain, so Herbert's article got a mention in the Times of 1 February 1898 p6: forthcoming publications, with the shortened title 'Mind and Disease'. The article was referred to in a number of periodicals including Review of Reviews and the World's Work volume 17 1898 p380; Journal of Practical Medicine volume 10 p490; Practical Druggist and Pharmaceutical Review of Reviews volumes 5-8 1900; and in The Speaker volume 17 1898 p176 where the reviewer remarked "the medical men are becoming our moralists". It was mentioned in several US newspapers and in the American magazine American Monthly Review of Reviews volume 17 1898. Herbert's assertion that the liver and the heart were affected by states of mind was quoted in almost all of the publications I've listed.

HOW HERBERT CORYN DISCOVERED THEOSOPHY

At www.theosophy-nw.org I found an article: Rebirth of the Mysteries by W T S Thackara, originally a talk given at the Theosophical Library Center on 7 November 1997, then published in Sunrise magazine: published Theosophical Press April/May 1998. In the talk, Thackara said that

Herbert Coryn had been "an agnostic" until coming across a copy of The Occult World. Unfortunately Thackara doesn't give any clue as to his sources for this very personal account of Herbert's discovery of theosophy.

BL catalogue:

The Occult World is NOT by HPB, it's by Alfred Percy Sinnett. First ed London: Trübner and Co 1881. 3rd ed 1883.

THE CORYN FAMILY AS ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF UK; until they sided with Judge in 1894-95. Members' payment of the yearly subscription only began to be noted down in the Registers in 1891.

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 3 applications for membership on p 100:

1 = Frances Jane Coryn of 159 Acre Lane Brixton. Application dated 16 March 1889. Member of the TS's Brixton lodge. Subscriptions paid 1892-95.

2 = Herbert Coryn, also of 159 Acre Lane Brixton. No date of application, so I've assumed he applied on the same day as Frances. Member of TS's Brixton Lodge. President of the Philalethean Lodge. Subscriptions paid 1892-95. Handwritten note: "W Q Judge".

3 = Sidney G P Coryn of 21 Sudborne Road Acre Lane Brixton. No date of application but I'm assuming it was the same day as Frances and Herbert. Member of TS's Croydon Lodge. Subscriptions paid 1891-95. First address crossed out and substituted with Lawn House, Ramsden Head Billericay. Handwritten note: "Judge".

Once they were members Frances, Herbert and Sidney sponsored the membership applications of a very large number of new TS members, many of whom went on to be initiated into the Golden Dawn; but all those details will be in my file on the TS and the GD.

The Theosophical Congress held by the TS at the Parliament of Religions which was part of the World's Fair held in Chicago Illinois on 15-17 September [1893]. Report of Proceedings and Documents. Published TS American Section headquarters, 144 Madison Avenue New York 1893. On p10 there's a list of TS members who were in the Congress' advisory council. They include Sidney Coryn; and Herbert Coryn, both in the group of members in the TS in England. It's not clear from the text of the Report whether the members of the advisory council actually attended the Parliament of Religions, or just advised on suitable subjects for lectures and debates. Neither Herbert nor Sidney is mentioned in the Report's account of the speeches; so I guess that neither of them spoke at the event, if they did attend it.

HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY'S INNER CIRCLE

At www.newworldencyclopedia.org, section on Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. Blavatsky created her Inner Circle in August 1890. The names of the Inner Circle are given as: Constance Wachtmeister; Isabel Cooper-Oakley; Emily Kislingbury; Laura Cooper; Annie Besant; Alice Cleather; Archibald Keightley; Herbert Coryn; Claude Wright; G R S Mead; E T Sturdy; and Walter Old. The website's footnote 8 gives the source of the names as Theosophy and Mysticism for Joyceans by Jorn Barger seen on the web April 2001. Obviously, Barger's work is not the ultimate source for these names and I note that Frederick J Dick is not amongst the names he gives.

The Secret Doctrine volume 1 in the edition edited by Boris de Zirkoff and published 1993. De Zirkoff's Historical Introduction pp70-71 describes Herbert as "a personal pupil of H.P.B. in the London days". This is the source for the existence of a putative third volume of The Secret Doctrine; seen by Herbert around the time Blavatsky was working on the book. Later, at Point Loma, Herbert mentioned the third volume to Point Loma resident Geoffrey A Baborka (for Baborka, see Greenwalt below).

HERBERT AS THEOSOPHICAL ACTIVIST, SHOWN IN LUCIFER

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume IV March-August 1889, edited by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. Published by Theosophical Publishing Society at 7 Duke St Adelphi. In Volume IV issue of 15 April 1889 p240 Herbert Coryn writing in as Secretary of the TS's Lecturing Staff, calling for TS members to help this work in one of 2 ways. Firstly by letting him know of literary and debating societies that might want a talk or debate about theosophy; and secondly by volunteering to give such talks or get involved in such debates. He was trying to compile a list of willing speakers. Volume IV issue of 15 June 1889 p284 a second such request from Herbert Coryn, which reads as though he'd had very few responses to his first request. He was urging people to get in touch soon, so that he could have a list of speakers ready for the autumn lecture and evening-class season.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume VII September 1890 to February 1891, edited by Blavatsky and Annie Besant. London: Theosophical Publishing Society. In Volume VII issue of 15 September 1890 p81 Herbert mentions a series of letters in the Midland Evening News in August and September 1890 in which he'd crossed swords with a Mr McIlwraith, author of Theosophy Critically Examined. In Volume VII issue of 15 November 1890 p256 Herbert asked readers of Lucifer to scrutinise the newspapers for coverage of theosophy and send him any articles they found, at 153 Acre Lane Brixton. This idea, of challenging

misrepresentation of theosophy in the press, and of writing articles introducing theosophy to the newspaper-reading public, was later taken up by TS member Agnes, Baroness de Pallandt, who also became a member of the Golden Dawn. In Vol VII issue of 15 December 1890: on p332 in the news section, a list of TS libraries includes the Philalethean Library, run by Herbert Coryn at 153 Acre Lane.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI September 1892- February 1893, sole editor Annie Besant. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society. On p80 in the news section, there would be a series of talks by Annie Besant, James Pryse and Herbert Coryn at the Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club, at Rye Lane; part of the TS's efforts to reach more working-class people.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIV covers March-August 1894; edited by Annie Besant. Volume XIV number 82 issued 15 June 1894 p 347 news section; on 30 May [1894] S G P Coryn gave a lecture on theosophy at a meeting at Streatham high school; Herbert chaired the meeting and the hall was "quite full". On p521 list of officers elected at TS worldwide's Convention (held 12-13 July 1894 in London) to serve on the TS European Section for the coming year: General Secretary - G R S Mead; Treasurer - O F S Cuffe; H Coryn MRCS was elected to its ruling committee.

HERBERT AND THE DISPUTE ABOUT THE STATUS OF WILLIAM QUAN JUDGE

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Vol XV covers September 1894-February 1895 joint editors Annie Besant and G R S Mead. This volume is dominated by the Judge dispute and can be seen as the mouthpiece of the supporters of Besant and Olcott at TS worldwide. As part of the coverage of the reactions of TS member lodges to the Judge affair, on p341 a response from Herbert Coryn as president of Brixton Lodge, written 30 November 1894, arguing that there was NOT a case against Judge, despite the articles that had appeared in the Westminster Gazette in November as Isis Very Much Unveiled. The refusal of G R S Mead to address in Lucifer the issues raised by Herbert and B Keightley in their letters is on p434. Beginning on p459 issue of 15 Feb 1895 there was a long article by Annie Besant saying that she'd drawn up a statement of the position of the TS hierarchy on the Judge question: which was that they were against the claims he was making. Colonel Olcott, A P Sinnett and William Wynn Westcott had all signed the statement.

Just to make clear why it is the TS European Section that is the focus of the struggle between Annie Besant and W Q Judge: Judge had only recently been elected president-for-life of the TS European section, giving him an excellent power base in theosophy in addition to his American home.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XVI March-August 1895; editors Annie Besant and G R S Mead and again dominated by the Judge dispute. Volume XVI number 92 issue of 15 March 1895 p79 uncredited report noting that both Brixton and Croydon lodges had issued statements supporting Judge's position. (Herbert Coryn is president of Brixton Lodge and Sidney Coryn is president of Croydon Lodge.) Volume XVI number 94 issue of 15 June 1895 p270 uncredited item almost certainly by Annie Besant, saying that "two or three London and suburban lodges" were "bitterly hostile to me" and that Croydon Lodge was no longer letting its members know of forthcoming events at TS headquarters. Volume XVI number 95 issue of 15 July 1895 p358 report on what had happened at the 5th annual convention of TS's European Section on 4 July [1895] at the Portman Rooms Baker St. In the midst of very noisy debate, elections to the TS European Section's official posts for the coming year did go ahead: William Wynn Westcott was re-elected to its executive committee and A P Sinnett and G R S Mead were elected to it for the first time - known supporters of Annie Besant and Colonel Olcott. On p360 TS worldwide agrees to set up a committee to consider possible

changes to the constitution.

KATHERINE TINGLEY'S 1896 TOUR OF BRITAIN

At www.scribd.com, Theosophy volume XI number 2 May-Dec 1896 pp130-31 gives an account of the short tour of England taken by Mrs Tingley's Crusaders' group in the summer of 1896. The group arrived from New York on 21 June 1896 and spent three weeks in Britain. Their first public meeting was organised by members of Liverpool TS lodge and took place on the evening of Tuesday 23 June 1896; Archibald Keightley and Herbert Coryn travelled from London to take part in it. The Crusaders spent a couple of days in Bradford and then returned to London. On Friday 3 July 1896 there was another public meeting for them, at Queen's Hall Regent Street. Herbert Coryn delivered a farewell address to the Crusaders during the meeting. The Crusaders then went on a tour of other English cities and Scotland before going on to Europe.

FLIRTATION WITH FREEMASONRY

By-Laws of the Frederick Lodge of Unity 452 printed Jeffrey of Tufton Street Croydon 1883. Inside the leaflet, a pull-out page lists the lodge's current members. There's a very short history of the lodge.

BON ACCORD MARK MASONS LODGE

By-laws of the Regulation of the London "Bon Accord" Mark Masons Lodge which NB has no number. 2nd edition London: 1898. Just noting that in the list of members as at September 1898, Herbert Coryn's craft lodge is numbered '453'. I'm sure this is just a type-setting error: Keightley and Crump are listed as of 452 and 452 is one of the lodges nearest to where the Coryn family lived.

HERBERT AND POINT LOMA

A hostile account of Katherine Tingley from Alice Leighton Cleather, who supported Tingley in the late 1890s but then fell out with her and left the TS. Found at [//blavatskyarchives.com](http://blavatskyarchives.com) where it had been put together from two memoirs written by Cleather:

H P Blavatsky: Her Life and Work for Humanity published 1922 pp121-124
and H P Blavatsky as I Knew Her published 1923 p30.

Cleather accuses Tingley of being a manipulative and power-mad opportunist with virtually no knowledge of theosophy, using the work and deep understanding of theosophy of people like Herbert Coryn to achieve a reputation for wisdom that she did not deserve. So there!

My account of life at Point Loma is based on three modern works:

The Point Loma Community in California 1897-1942: A Theosophical Experiment. By Emmett A Greenwalt 1955: Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. The book uses contemporary records from the Point Loma community, the local papers; accounts by people who had lived at Point Loma; and local government sources.

On p144 Geoffrey A Baborka (to whom Herbert told the tale of the supposed third volume of The Secret Doctrine) is described as "a scholar mechanic" living at Point Loma and working for its publishing business; he got the printing press to do Sanskrit linotype. Baborka was an

author as well: he wrote Gods and Heroes of the Bhagavad Gita.

The Dawn of the New Cycle: Point Loma Theosophists and American Culture. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. W Michael Ashcraft 2002. This book has more than Greenwalt's volume about the life of Katherine Tingley.

Talbot Mundy, Philosopher of Adventure: A Critical Biography by Brian Taves. P120 the TS at Point Loma put on a pageant-cum-symposium at the Isis Theater San Diego in November 1923; Herbert played Socrates.

FRANCES CORYN

Via familysearch: Frances Jane Coryn arrived at New York on 23 June 1906 on the SS Etruria, from Liverpool.

The magazine Century Path: A Magazine Devoted to the Brotherhood of Humanity volume 10 part 1 1906 p57 issue of 9 December 1906: people currently in post at the TS worldwide headquarters, at 19 Avenue Road St John's Wood include Mrs Edith Clayton; directress Miss Ada Robinson; Superintendent Miss Beatrice Taylor; Assistant Superintendent Miss Frances Coryn.

Theosophical Path volume 34 1928 obituary of Herbert Coryn says that Herbert was survived by his brother Edgar, who was still living in England; and by "a sister, Mrs Frances Dick, of Point Loma".

Confirmation of Frances's marriage (though no date, unfortunately): Collected Writings of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, volume 9 editor Boris de Zirkoff published 1962 by the Philosophical Research Society. Via google, a snippet from p411 says "Dr Coryn's sister, Frances, married Professor Fred J Dick (1856-1927) also one of the direct pupils of H.P.B. in the London days and an active worker in the Dublin Lodge of the T.S. in Ireland and later at Point Loma".

A bit on Frederick J Dick from [//theosophy.ph/encyclo/index.php?title=Dick_Frederick_J](http://theosophy.ph/encyclo/index.php?title=Dick_Frederick_J); website maintained by the Theosophical Publishing House of Manila, Philippines. He's 1856-1927. Born Dublin. Worked as a civil engineer. Joined the TS worldwide in 1888; was one of Blavatsky's "personal students". Later was Secretary of the TS's Dublin Lodge. Involved with many members of the Irish literary movement through his friendship with George Russell (the poet AE) and W B Yeats. Moved to Point Loma 1905 with wife Annie. Taught in the school there and was member of Tingley's ruling cabinet there. Unfortunately this website has no mention of Frances; or the date when Annie died.

Ancient Astronomy in Egypt and its Significance by Frederick J Dick issued by the School of Antiquity at Point Loma in 1916.

On familysearch, I couldn't find any entry for the marriage of Frances Coryn to Frederick Dick. But it did have 1920 census data for the San Diego 7th Precinct: residents included Frances Dick, and her husband Frederick J Dick.

The Theosophical Path volume 33 number 1 issued July 1927. On p97 a reproduction of an article originally in the San Diego Union Friday 27 May 1927: F J Dick had died suddenly on Wednesday 25 May 1927, aged 71. A short biography said that Frederick's first wife, Annie, had died in 1904. The following year he had moved to Point Loma where he taught maths at the Theosophical University, ran its meteorological station, helped edit Theosophical Path and was a member of the cabinet that ran the Point Loma community. He had married

Frances Coryn in 1914. Frances would continue to live at Point Loma. On p98 again from the San Diego Union of Saturday 28 May 1927 a short report of Dick's funeral. On p99 a list of people who spoke at the funeral included Katharine Tingley and Dr Herbert Coryn.

Familysearch didn't have a death registration for Frances Dick.

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Two Coryn brothers, Herbert and Sidney, became members of the Order of the Golden Dawn; and so, for a time, did Sidney's sister-in-law Jessie Horne. Sidney Glasson Pearce Coryn was the first of the three to become a member of the Golden Dawn. He was initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 22 September 1891 and took the Latin motto 'veritas praevaleat'. At that time he was living at 21 Sudbourne Road Brixton. Any member who actually wanted to try some practical magic had to become a member of the GD's inner, 2nd Order. To be initiated into that, you needed to have completed an exacting and wide-ranging study of the occult. Not everybody managed that, but Sidney did so, being initiated into the 2nd Order on 12 January 1893. However, he resigned from the GD in May 1895.

At the risk of boring people who have arrived at this biography of Sidney having read the biography of Herbert: THE CORIN FAMILY

The Corin family came from the far west of Cornwall. There's a thorough and well laid-out family history website at [//hectordavie.Ch/Corin/Corin_L.html](http://hectordavie.Ch/Corin/Corin_L.html), which shows that the Corins ran shops and other small businesses; and that the two names 'William John' were traditional in the family. Herbert and Sidney's father grandfather William John Corin, was born in 1813 and married (in 1837) Jane Glasson, the daughter of a man who ran a shop selling groceries, china and earthenware. Herbert and Sidney's father, also William John Corin (with an 'I' at this stage) was their eldest child, born in 1838.

William John Corin born in 1838 qualified as a doctor, almost certainly by the traditional method of being apprenticed to a general practitioner. In 1860, after serving his apprenticeship, William John Corin was issued with a licence to practice by the Society of Apothecaries. In 1871 William John Corin had an apprentice of his own, but by the 1870s, university teaching, exams and letters after your name had replaced learning on the job, so that William John's eldest son qualified as a doctor in a very different way. In 1861 William John Corin (born 1838) married Mary Jenkin, whose father is thought by the hectordavie website to have been a mine owner. They married at the baptist chapel in Redruth and had the large family typical of mid-Victorian England (actually it wasn't as large as some of that period): Ida born 1862; Herbert born 1863; Sidney born 1865; Edgar born 1866; Frances born 1868; and three other children who died as infants. I note that William John and Mary Corin did not call any of their sons 'William John'. This was not their only break with the past.

In the late 1860s William John and Mary were living at Gwennap, a village between Redruth and Penryn, and the hectordavie website suggests that William John may have worked as a doctor at his father-in-law's mine for a few years. However, by 1871 they had moved to Church Street Liskeard and William John Corin was in business as a GP in the town. On the day of the 1871 census William John and Mary's household was a large one, including an assistant doctor and the apprentice in addition to the children; and a cook and one housemaid.

The normal practice for a GP is to stay in one place, in the same practice, for life; but at some time in the 1870s (the hectordavie website says 1876) William John Corin moved his family to London, setting up in practice as a surgeon (rather than a doctor) in Brixton. And it seems to have been as part of the move to London that he changed the spelling of his surname to CorYn with a 'y', a spelling used from then on by all his children. On the day of the 1881 census the Coryns were living at 68 Acre Lane Stockwell; William John and Mary, and other members of the family, continued to live in the Brixton/Stockwell area until the 1900s. Herbert by this time was studying medicine at University College London; perhaps it was to open up new educational opportunities for their children that William John and Mary had taken the big decision to leave Cornwall. There was more work available in London, too: Ida and Sidney had left school and had both found work. Ida was a governess. The Public Elementary Education Act of 1870 was being rolled out gradually in London so she could have been teaching in a school; but at this stage she could also have been employed by a family to teach its daughters and young sons at home, going to their house each day while still living with her parents. Sidney was a clerk in a business (no more details as to where, but possibly in the City). Edgar and Frances were still at school. William John's unmarried sister-in-law Sarah Perkins was living with them; so too was a cousin from Cornwall, Frederick Abbott, while he studied medicine; and the Coryns employed two servants, probably a cook and a general maid though their daily tasks were not specified.

I am presuming that - seeing they married in a Baptist chapel - both William John and Mary Corin were from Baptist families. However, their children Herbert, Sidney and Frances all became very active theosophists, Herbert and Frances even making theosophy their life's work. You could - people did - attempt to combine Christianity with theosophy, but the main sources of theosophical ideas are eastern. The involvement of Herbert, Sidney and Frances does argue a moving away from the old Christian certainties; which was typical of people of their generation, the generation that grew up (as it were) with Darwin.

SIDNEY CORYN

The information on the 1881 census shows that Sidney had already left school but unlike Herbert, who was studying medicine, he was working, as a clerk in the office of a business. The 1881 census official didn't write down any more details than that and perhaps it doesn't matter particularly because Sidney didn't stay in that job for very long. In 1891 he told that year's census official that he was a "foreign correspondent". This suggests to me that he was working for a newspaper; but I haven't been able to find out whether that's correct, or which one it was. His subsequent career does suggest he wasn't exaggerating in 1891; but I can't give more details of his early career except to say that he may have spent a few months based in Liverpool around 1891; he definitely continued visited the city from time to time during the 1890s though I'm not clear whether this was for work or to see the friends he'd made at Liverpool TS Lodge; perhaps it was a bit of both.

My next certain information about Sidney's working life comes from the late 1890s. At that time he was working in the London offices of Canadian Railways. He was acting as a publicist, not only for the railways but for Canada as a whole. Canadian Pacific's rail service to British Columbia had begun in 1887 and was opening up the plains and the Pacific coast to colonisation. The Canadian government wanted to encourage the right kind of people to settle in Canada. As part of this effort, Sidney was required to supply information and statistics for newspaper articles on Canada. He also gave several talks as part of a series on Canada organised at the South Place Institute in Finsbury. He used the latest technology to illustrate these talks - lantern slides and even "cinematograph" - and for one on the native American population of Canada he worked with someone identified only as "W. Williams" but who might have been the GD member based in Bradford but known to members of TS's Liverpool Lodge. Some of the talks were published around 1900 in the 'British Empire' series. At this time, Sidney was also acting as honorary secretary to the Royal Society of Canada.

It seems odd, then, that when Sidney emigrated, he went to the United States; but I guess you go where the work is.

The 1890s were a very busy decade for Sidney Coryn; beginning in 1888 when he married Agnes Sophia Horne. Agnes was the daughter of a woman who kept a dress and hat shop in Stockwell, and had worked as a pottery designer before her marriage. Agnes' sister Jessie Louisa Horne became a GD member in 1891, though Agnes was never in the GD herself. Sidney and Agnes had the small family that was becoming more common amongst the middle-classes though nobody seems to have been talking about the means used to achieve it: Frederick Sidney was born in 1892; and Marjorie Stella was born in 1894. So at the time Sidney was being initiated into the Golden Dawn and studying for its 2nd Order, he also had new family responsibilities. He was also very busy at the Theosophical Society, which he, brother Herbert and sister Frances all joined in 1889. Herbert was a regular at meetings of the TS's Esoteric Section, which stepped outside the main thrust of the TS by studying western occult texts. William Wynn Westcott, one of the Golden Dawn's three founders, was a senior member of the TS and almost certainly in its Esoteric Section (though I've never found a list of the Esoteric Section's members so this is just a guess). I have less evidence for Sidney being involved with the Esoteric Section; but even if he didn't attend the meetings he could hear of them from Herbert and read the recommended texts.

For a few years in the early 1890s both Herbert and Sidney Coryn were serious and committed members of the TS, in south London and elsewhere, with the involvement of each brother reflecting his own personality. Herbert became a member of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's inner group; he wrote articles on theosophy; he edited a number of theosophical magazines; and was a committee man. Although Sidney did do some work editing theosophical magazines, he usually did so in cooperation with Herbert and I think of him as the younger brother being co-opted by his older brother but not really wanting to do in his spare time something he spent all the working day doing. Sidney also wrote fewer articles than Herbert; I think he preferred to write pamphlets, which didn't have the deadlines of pieces of work destined for a magazine. He gave talks - which Herbert rarely did. And he didn't do so much committee work; of course, with a family and an office job, Sidney left that to Herbert, who was single, and worked in their father's medical practice.

Sidney, Herbert and Frances recruited an astonishing number of new members to the TS; I sometimes wonder whether they went round button-holing people in the street. The

connections between the TS and the Golden Dawn are so close that I'm going to be dealing with them in a separate file.

Sidney's writings in the early 1890s were inspired by Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled*. At the time he was a member of both the TS and the GD, he was also preparing his booklet *The Zodiac*. In it he discussed the symbolism of each astrological sign; the importance of the then Pole Star to the Egyptians and the fact that the star we see at the north pole is not the one they saw; and the zodiac's connection with the great cycles of Hindu mythology.

In another pamphlet, *The Language of Symbols*, Sidney - whose parents were both Baptists - discussed the use of symbol to express belief, concluding that without it, religions die.

Even after he had left the TS, the GD, and Britain, Sidney's interest in the religion and astronomical knowledge of ancient Egypt continued, and in 1913 his *The Faith of Ancient Egypt* was published by the Theosophical Publishing Company in New York. He was certainly still in touch with his old friend Frederick Dick, who published his own book on astronomy in ancient Egypt in 1916; by this time (I think - I haven't been able to find a date for it) Frederick Dick was married to Sidney's sister Frances.

Sidney also wrote an article on Alchemy, which appeared in *Lucifer*, the magazine of the TS worldwide, in 1890. But after that, he preferred to talk: on the Kabbalah (1892 at Brixton Lodge where his sister-in-law Jessie Horne was the secretary); and on *The Magic of Numbers* (1892) and *Paracelsus* (1893). The last two talks were given at Adelphi Lodge, whose lecture-programme was the most orientated towards the western occult of all the London-based TS lodges; probably because it was organised by Percy William Bullock, member of the TS's Esoteric Section and of the Golden Dawn.

Originally Sidney had been a member of the TS's Brixton Lodge, but by the early 1890s he had moved out of the district. In 1892 he was one of the group that founded the Croydon Lodge; he became its first president, with William A Dunn (who became a member of the Golden Dawn) as its secretary. He was still in close touch with the members of Liverpool Lodge and often attended their meetings when he was in town.

Early in 1894, an effort was made by the TS worldwide to bring theosophy to a wider audience. As part of this initiative, in May 1894, Sidney and brother Herbert Coryn borrowed a room at Streatham High School, and Sidney delivered a more general talk on theosophy while Herbert chaired the subsequent discussion. As part of this attempt by the TS to reach the un-converted, Sidney and Herbert Kitchin (a TS member based in Leeds) tried to organise a group of TS members to write articles introducing theosophy, to be sent to the newspapers. I couldn't find out how successful this scheme was, because by the time Sidney and Herbert Kitchin were trying to set it up, the TS was beginning to be engulfed in the dispute about William Quan Judge.

I've explained in my file on Herbert Coryn that all three of the Coryns, and Jessie Horne as well, were firm supporters of William Quan Judge, the American president-for-life of the TS's European Section; and against the attempt to oust him being made by the TS worldwide led by Annie Besant and Colonel Olcott. I won't go into the reasons for the struggle here, except to say that by early 1895, the opposing factions were at such loggerheads that an anonymous writer (almost certainly Annie Besant but she wasn't going to admit it) could

complain in Lucifer that “two or three London and suburban lodges” (again almost certainly Brixton Lodge and Croydon Lodge) were “bitterly hostile to me”, and that Croydon Lodge was no longer letting its members know of forthcoming events at the TS’s headquarters in Avenue Road St John’s Wood where Annie Besant held sway. The dispute reached a head at the TS European Section’s annual conference held in England in July 1895 where Besant and Olcott found themselves facing what seems like an orchestrated campaign to unseat them from their positions in the European Section, which they held as the senior figures in the TS worldwide, the two organisations being very close and both run from the headquarters building in London. If there was such a campaign, Sidney and Herbert Coryn were likely to have been amongst the leaders of it. Firstly, members of Bow Lodge declared that Olcott had no right to chair a European Section meeting. Having ruled Bow Lodge’s argument unconstitutional, Olcott then found Sidney Coryn putting forward a resolution that challenged the “de jure existence of the Society” (I think the TS worldwide is the ‘Society’ that’s meant). Olcott ruled Sidney’s argument out of order, but his ruling was so “hotly challenged” that he had to let it go to a vote. Sidney lost the vote 39:14 and probably decided there and then to resign from the TS worldwide; Herbert and Frances resigned as well though Herbert stayed on as an influential member of the TS European Section until 1898. The fact that GD founder-member William Wynn Westcott had backed Besant and Olcott against the supporters of Judge, is what probably caused Sidney to leave the GD as well.

William Quan Judge died in 1896. Sidney wrote an obituary for Theosophic Isis, a journal mostly written and edited by him and Herbert. That same year a new star began to rise in the theosophical firmament in America, in the shape of Katherine Tingley. When Mrs Tingley and a group of her supporters organised a world lecture tour, Sidney and Herbert supported her cry of ‘universal brotherhood’ with articles in Theosophic Isis, where they gave Mrs Tingley’s group publicity denied them in the TS’s journals. Once Mrs Tingley’s world tour had ended, early in 1897, Theosophic Isis ceased publication; perhaps because it was just too much hard work for the brothers, with all their other commitments; but possibly because its purpose had been to give Judge’s cause and Mrs Tingley’s group publicity denied it in journals run by the TS in England. As well as promoting the cause of ‘universal brotherhood’, Mrs Tingley’s tour had been raising money for the theosophical community she was in the process of founding at Point Loma, just outside San Diego California. In 1898, Mrs Tingley succeed Judge as president-for-life of the TS in America, and her idea of ‘universal brotherhood’ was adopted as its creed. These events seem to have made up Herbert’s mind: in 1898 he emigrated to take up a job with the American TS and in 1901 he went to live at Point Loma.

Though there’s plenty of evidence for Sidney as a supporter of William Quan Judge, there’s rather less for him as a supporter of Katherine Tingley. He never lived at Point Loma, but he was a married man, he did not have only himself to consider. Sidney’s wife Agnes is rather a shadowy figure in the lives of the Coryns: I’ve found out almost nothing about her except that she was not as committed a theosophist as they were and possibly not a theosophist at all. Agnes did join the TS in February 1893, and - with Sidney - sponsored a woman they knew as a new member later that year; but I can’t find any of the evidence of the activism that I’ve found for Sidney, Herbert and even Frances. I do wonder if Agnes just joined the TS out of curiosity about what her husband and in-laws were so committed to; or from an understanding that - in the Coryn family - she would have no social life at all if she didn’t get involved with theosophy. I think she would not have wanted to live as a member of a theosophical community; so although Sidney visited Point Loma at least once and probably regularly, he didn’t settle there. And I also think that Agnes didn’t really want to go to America.

Sidney Coryn emigrated to the USA in 1902 and had arrived in California by May of that year; his family either went with him or followed soon after. I haven't been able to discover whether Sidney had a job to go to when he left England, but by 1908 he was working for the San Francisco literary and political weekly, the Argonaut (usually known as the San Francisco Argonaut) and he probably continued as an employee there until he died, eventually becoming associate editor. If Sidney was employed by the San Francisco Argonaut by 1906, he and his family will have been living somewhere in the city on Wednesday 18 April, the day of the famous San Francisco earthquake, which was followed by several days of fierce fires. The Coryns may have been amongst the 300,000 people made homeless by the destruction of nearly all of the city; and would have been able to watch as a new, modern city rose in the years after, literally out of the ashes. They won't have seen the Golden Gate bridge, however; that was built after their time.

1908 is the earliest year for which I have confirmation that Sidney was employed by the San Francisco Argonaut. By 1911, articles by Sidney were appearing in it and being quoted by newspapers in other parts of the USA. These will have needed to take a Republican view on events, as the San Francisco Argonaut had been founded to support the Republican cause. One that Sidney wrote in 1909 on what the San Francisco Argonaut saw as the problem of Japanese immigrants in the Bay Area, is the most widely-cited article I've found by Sidney. It takes a pessimistic view of the future of California if this immigrant population is not curbed, concluding that it was likely that their success as businessmen was going to force white people into taking the low-paid jobs the Japanese had been allowed into America to do; and could have been written with only a few changes by a supporter of UKIP.

By 1912 Sidney was writing the San Francisco Argonaut's literary review column. A review that Sidney wrote early in 1914 is perhaps an indication of his reading tastes. It's also a timely reminder to me that an interest in the occult is no guarantee of radical views in other areas of life - until I started researching the members of the Golden Dawn I was inclined to think otherwise. It puts me in mind of Aleister Crowley's assessment of the members of the Golden Dawn as nonentities, not giants; and of Maud Gonne's assessment of them as too middle-class for her taste. (Never mind - they both made up for the deficiency in their own lives.) In a review of works that I think must be by the poet Richard le Gallienne, another English immigrant to the USA, Sidney accuses the author of being "no better than he should be" apparently as a result of reading too much of what Sidney thought of as modern literature - he mentioned George Bernard Shaw particularly - and not enough great literature from the 18th century. Sidney declared that this bias in Mr Le Gallienne's reading had led le Gallienne to view anyone allowing "his or her thoughts to wander, even inadvertently, from the sex problem" as "a traitor to his or her age and country".

Those who emigrated did so in full knowledge that they might never see their parents again (unless they had gone too) before they died, and not even be able to attend their funerals. William John Corin/Coryn died in 1910; and Mary Corin/Coryn in 1915.

Sidney never lost his interest in theosophy, astronomy and astrology and he was probably a member of the American TS. Even while Herbert was in the US and Sidney was still in London, the brothers had collaborated on another theosophical magazine, The Crusader, named for Mrs Tingley's lecturing group from the 1896-97 world tour; this ran from 1900 to 1904. At the same time they were also co-editors of the Theosophical Chronicle, which turned into the International Theosophical Chronicle in 1905 when Frederick John Dick

joined them as another editor, probably after he too had emigrated to Point Loma. In the next few years Sidney worked on the survey of ancient Egyptian religion that I've considered above. But that was his last published work on theosophy because in 1917 the first World War arrived in the USA and engulfed Sidney's family.

Unlike Herbert Coryn, Sidney had not become an American citizen. And despite having lived in the USA for 15 years, his children Frederick Sidney and Marjorie Stella still felt English. Frederick Sidney had been working as a printer in San Francisco but I think he must have received call-up papers anyway at some time during 1916 because as a second lieutenant with the 2nd Battalion Wiltshire Regiment he had been sent to Belgium by 1917. In 1917 the 2nd Battalion were at Passchendaele (officially the 3rd Battle of Ypres) and then on the the Messines Ridge. At 1918 they were at St Quentin before being moved in May to Bligny where they were attacked by German forces on 29 May 1918 in the action called the Battle of Champagne; they were surrounded and had to retreat on 7 June. At some point in 1918 - probably during the battle of Champagne - the Wiltshire Regiment got gassed, and though he did not die (apparently few men did die immediately from poison gas), Frederick Sidney suffered from its effects for the rest of his life.

Sidney's daughter Marjorie Stella also went to war. She went to France as a volunteer nurse, probably as a member of the American Red Cross because she doesn't seem to have tended wounded British soldiers, but wounded French and possibly American ones. She and Florence Billings and probably all the members of their nursing unit were all awarded the Croix de Guerre in 1918 for their work just behind the front line at Chalons-sur-Marne (now called Chalons-en-Champagne).

Back in San Francisco, Sidney became the San Francisco Argonaut's war correspondent. His articles gained him something of a reputation in California as The Man who Understood the War, and he was asked to give lectures on various aspects of the war and its aftermath, at Stanford University and other venues, some of which were published and made him more widely known (for a time) than he had been in the USA at large. It was in this guise that he was approached in 1918 by Stanton Coblenz, a law student bored by the law, who was looking for somewhere to publish his writing. From Coblenz's memoirs of his career as a New York journalist I have a description of Sidney, who was now 53: Coblenz saw "a courtly, bespectacled elderly man with a bookish look and a fatherly smile". Not your typical magician. Or was he? It depends, I suppose, on whether you want your magicians à la Crowley or as they probably mostly are!

The latest article by Sidney in the San Francisco Argonaut was one published in 1919 where he seems to have combined his earlier lit-crit role with the more political articles he'd been writing during the war. In it, Sidney seems to have suggested H G Wells had Bolshevik sympathies: spoken like a true US Republican?

One source I found seemed to be suggesting that Agnes Coryn had gone with Marjorie Stella to Europe in 1917, to nurse the wounded. However, I think this particular source has confused mother and daughter: there's a photograph on the website, apparently of the woman being referred to, which is of someone too young to be Agnes. It's rather more likely that Agnes remained in the United States with her husband - by 1921 they were living at Post Street - and was with him on 15 November 1921 when Sidney died, at Auburn California. However, with both her children still in Europe, Agnes had returned to England by November 1922. I do wonder if only Sidney had really taken to living in the United States because

Agnes, Frederick Sidney and Marjorie Stella all spent the rest of their lives in Europe.

I don't know when Frederick Sidney left the army but he went back to England not the USA. The gas attack sustained by the Wiltshire Regiment in 1917 had probably affected his lungs; he may not have been able to work and he will have needed care and treatment. My evidence for his poor health after World War 1 is the date of his death: he died in 1936 aged only 45. I can't find any evidence that he ever married.

Marjorie Stella never married either. Using the French she had acquired while nursing, she worked during the 1920s as a translator for two of the first World War Reparation Committees, both based in Paris. Particularly after Sidney's death, Marjorie Stella may have been the family's major bread-winner; Agnes - as was typical of a middle-class woman of her generation - never did paid work after her marriage. In 1930 Marjorie Stella felt secure enough financially to leave her translating job and embark on a new career as a writer (in English) publishing biographies and some novels between 1932 and 1954. The most successful of these was *The Marriage of Josephine* (1945): it was translated into several languages and is the book with most responses if you key Marjorie Stella's name into google. The latest published works by Marjorie Stella Coryn that I've been able to find references to were two series in the 1960s English girls' paper, *Princess: Royal Daughters*, and *Daughters of Adventure*. The Corin family website says that Agnes and Marjorie Stella lived in France until around 1937 when they returned to England. Agnes died in 1951 and Marjorie Stella in 1968, both of them in England.

As neither Frederick Sidney nor Marjorie Stella ever had children, Sidney Coryn has no descendants.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SIDNEY'S SISTER IDA AND BROTHER EDGAR

IDA was the only member of the Corin/Coryn siblings NOT to join the Theosophical Society. I found information to show that she was a student at London University during the mid-1880s. She was a teacher before her marriage. In 1895 Ida married Roland von der Heyde (who despite his name was English, born in Lambeth) and moved with him to run a fruit farm at Billericay in Essex. She had no children of her own but seems to have had the care of some of her husband's nieces and nephews, at least some of the time. At some point after census day 1911 (I don't know exactly when) Ida and Roland emigrated to run a farm in New Zealand. Ida died in New Zealand in 1925.

EDGAR did join the TS, though he was never involved in its activities to the extent that Herbert, Sidney and Frances were. He married another TS member - Catherine Edith Allen (known as Edith) - in 1893. Edgar went into partnership with Ida and Roland in the fruit-growing business, and he and Edith moved to Essex. They had four children, the only grandchildren of William John and Mary Corin/Coryn. Edith had been born in Canada, and records on Ancestry and findmypast show Edgar at least, going to and from Canada several times before the first World War; and crossing into the USA, perhaps to visit Sidney and Herbert. However, he died in England in 1939. Edith died in 1941. I don't know what happened to the fruit-growing business when the von der Heydes emigrated but it doesn't seem to have been inherited by Edgar and Edith's sons.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR SIDNEY CORYN

ONE ITEM SHEDDING SOME LIGHT ON HIS GD INTERESTS:

Freemasons' Library Golden Dawn collection GBR GD2/2/8a Receipts for items borrowed from William Wynn Westcott during the period 1891-1892. On 18 April 1892 Sidney borrowed some lectures, some information on the tarot, the General Guidance for the Soul and some rituals.

HISTORY OF THE CORIN/CORYN FAMILY OF CORNWALL

The Corin/Coryn family has a good family history website at [//herbert/davie.ch/corin/Corin_L.html](http://herbert/davie.ch/corin/Corin_L.html) which you can also reach via Ancestry. It's easier to follow than most, being carefully laid out. It gave me lots of indications of where to start - for example, with information on the lives of Sidney Coryn's children; and on some of Sidney's publications.

In addition I've used the usual freebmd, ancestry and familysearch sites.

1906 SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE from wikipedia; also the information that the

Golden Gate Bridge is later.

AGNES SOPHIA HORNE CORYN

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891 to January 1893 (though actually covering to May 1893): Agnes Coryn, date of application February 1893.

IDA CORYN VON DER HEYDE

University of London: the Historical Record 1836-1912 published for the University of London Press in London by Hodder and Stoughton 1912. Ida Mary Coryn is in this somewhere, with a reference to 1886 presumably her date of graduation. I couldn't see more from google's snippet and when I uploaded the book, my search for her came back with 'no finds'. 7 March 2013 had that a lot lately, wonder if it's my laptop.

EDGAR IS IN THE TS

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891: new member Edgar Coryn, application dated June 1891, membership sponsors Sidney and Frances Coryn. TS Membership Register September 1891-January 1893: new member Edith Allen, application dated February 1893.

It's the herbertdavie website that says Edgar's wife had been born in Canada. At www.mifarmgs.org Edgar Coryn arriving by ship 1913 at Grimsby Ontario. This website doesn't say whether his wife and child were were him. Also saw references to Edgar travelling to and within North America when looking on Ancestry for his records at the Probate Registry; though I didn't follow them up for more precise dates.

SIDNEY CORYN'S WORKING LIFE

He's not in SCOOP!, a database of 19th and 20th-century journalists held at the British Library. However, neither are some other GD members who definitely worked as journalists - database clearly not exhaustive.

A reference in The Theosophist October 1890-April 1891, p61 has Sidney as a member of the TS's Liverpool Lodge rather than any London one. It was this that made me wonder whether Sidney had been working in Liverpool around 1891. The friendships he made with Liverpool-based TS members were important for Golden Dawn recruitment in the next few years. By

Lucifer's editions of 1892 he was back as a member of Croydon Lodge.

Via news.google.com to Daily Mail and Empire issue of 19 April 1899 p12 article: The Prospects of Anglo-Canadian Trade for the future. This article describes Sidney Coryn as working in the offices of the Canadian Railway, and mentions particularly his work publicising Canada with lectures illustrated by "lantern views and the cinematograph".

For details of Canadian Pacific Railway and its importance in the opening up of Canada's interior: see the very detailed page in wikipedia.

Via ebooks to British America by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co 1900. Sidney Coryn is a contributor to this book, as as Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada. At www.electriccanadian.com the contents of the book can be downloaded. The Preface by William Sheo Wring of the South Place Institute Finsbury EC says all the pieces published in the volume were originally given between 1895 and 1898 as talks, part of a Sunday afternoon lecture course. Sidney Coryn contributed two lectures which were all his own work:

British North America: Manitoba

British North America: the North-West Territories of Canada.

And with someone only identified as W Williams, Sidney had been co-author of:

The Canadian Aborigines. Using statistics from the Hudson Bay Co etc.

The British Empire Series volume 5 published New York: Funk and Wagnalls, and London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co 1902 p263 the first page of an article by Sidney: The Railways of Canada.

IN CALIFORNIA HE WORKS FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO ARGONAUT

Wikipedia on The Argonaut, better known as the The San Francisco Argonaut. It's NOT a newspaper, it's a literary journal, published 1877-1956 and again since 1991. Founded and originally run by Frank M Pixley. It regularly published work by Gertrude Atherton, Yda Addis and Ambrose Bierce and was an important publication within California with a great deal of political influence, solidly Republican. On google I saw some compendium volumes issued by the Argonaut, eg one on China and the Chinese published in 1907, author apparently Charles William Wason. On google I found The San Francisco Argonaut 1877-1907 by James Richard Wotherspoon 1962. I tried to investigate further but the British Library doesn't have a copy of it.

My earliest reference to Sidney working for the San Francisco Argonaut is in magazine Current Opinion volume 44 1908 p641.

Just noting that at least in 1915 Sidney is NOT the journal's editor and I think he never was the senior man. Via the web to full text of The Argonaut volume LXXVI 1 January to 30 June 1915 at the website of the San Francisco Public Library. The volume was so big my laptop couldn't load it all but I did see the first page of the 1 January 1915 issue. The editor of that issue was Alfred Holman. Unlike most literary journals it's a weekly and laid out like a newspaper.

Via news.google.com/newspapers to the Berkeley Daily Gazette issue of 9 April 1919: an announcement that Sidney would give a talk on The League of Nations, at the monthly meeting of the Goodfellows Club. The article described Sidney as "war correspondent of the San Francisco Argonaut where his articles have attracted wide attention." Apparently the articles had shown "unfailing optimism" about the war's outcome and as a result of writing them, Sidney had gained a reputation as an interpreter of war strategy.

My San Francisco: A Wayward Biography by Gertrude Atherton. Published Indianapolis and New York: the Bobbs-Merrill Co. No publication date but the British Library stamp says "29 JUN 49". There's one mention of Sidney in the book: on p76 in the chapter San Francisco

Bookstores. Atherton mentions a building on Grant Avenue which had to be rebuilt after the fire (she means the fires that followed the 1906 earthquake). The rebuilt building had a lecture room on its 4th floor and Sidney gave an "important series" of talks there "dealing with the campaigns of World War 1". Atherton describes Sidney as "associated editor of the San Francisco Argonaut" at the time of the talks; and also as the father of "that brilliant young author, Marjorie Coryn". There's no mention of any other person called Coryn in the book. Gertrude Atherton had good reason to be grateful to the San Francisco Argonaut as (p71) it was the first magazine to publish any of her work. She started writing at age 22, to relieve the boredom of her married life in rural California. And Atherton also saved me the trouble of searching all over to identify Stanton Coblentz: (pp116-117) p116 Stanton Coblentz was doing the San Francisco Argonaut's book review between 1917 and 1920, at the outset of his writing career.

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I found work by Sidney that had appeared in San Francisco Argonaut being used in New Zealand newspapers: at paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

(Wellington?) Evening Post volume LXXXIII issue 106 4 May 1912 p13 quoted an article by Sidney on the Three Musketeers.

(Wellington?) Evening Post volume XXXXVII issued 14 February 1914 p13 it's the Bookman column is the source for Sidney's attack on the work of Le Gallienne. I hope I have identified the man correctly: Richard Le Gallienne 1866-1947 (see wikipedia) seems the only person of that name whose dates are right: author, poet, journalist, member of the Rhymers' Club (so he will have known Yeats) contributor to The Yellow Book (1890s). Emigrated to the USA in 1897.

(Wellington?) Evening Post no volume number, issued 17 March 1917 p4 a long article on current state of World War 1 quotes an article by Sidney from the San Francisco Argonaut discussing possible peace negotiations and arguing that Germany could give a lot up - eg Alsace/Lorraine - and still come out of the war at a profit.

At www.fold3.com there were also quotes from work by Sidney in 2 issues of The Atlanta Constitution, those of: 12 March 1911; and 11 Oct 1913.

Just found via google: in the San Francisco Argonaut of 21 February 1919 an article by Sidney: Mr Wells' Bolshevism. He means H G Wells, of course.

SIDNEY'S ARTICLE ON THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA was published in

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science volume 34 number 2, September 1909: pp42-48: The Japanese Problem in California.

The first later use of this article was as early as 1921 when it appeared (or a précis of it did) in a special American supplement in the Times on Monday 4 July 1921: p27 et seq.

It has been referred to in several more recent works:

1975 Prejudice War and the Constitution by Jacobus Ten Broek, Edward Norton Barnhart and Floyd W Mason p340

1982 Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers 1870-1941 by Cletus E Daniel; p282

1995 Laws Harsh as Tigers which is actually about Chinese immigrants not Japanese ones; by Lucy E Salyer

SOME OF SIDNEY'S WORLD WAR 1 TALKS

Serbia and Human Freedom: An Address Delivered at the Palace Hotel June 28. Via google to New York Public Library volume 22 1918 p491, probably in a list of recent acquisitions. A note says that Sidney's lecture was published by the Serbian Information Bureau as a 16-page pamphlet with a map by Serbian Information Bureau. The date of the lecture (as opposed to the date of its being published) isn't clear to me: the lecture may have been given in 1916 rather than 1918. The pamphlet isn't in the British Library and I couldn't find the text on the web.

Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine volume 53 1919 p312 mentioned a talk given by Sidney on Is the World Safe for Democracy?

Annual Report of the President [of Stanford Univ that is] Stanford University 1918 p120 (Sidney had given a lecture at the University on The Cause of the War). Sidney was described as associate editor of the San Francisco Argonaut.

STANTON COBLENTZ

Adventures of a Freelancer by Stanton A Coblentz, Jeffrey M Elliott and Scott Alan Burgess 1993: pp33-34 with the quote about what Sidney looked like to a young man in 1918.

A LATER OCCULT WORK

The Faith of Ancient Egypt by Sidney G P Coryn. Published 1913 by the Theosophical Publishing Co of 25 West 45th Street New York; it also has an English copyright dated 1913. It's not in the British Library but via archive.org/stream I was able to download from the copy now in the New York Public Library. As I'm not an occultist I just noted down the contents table:

- Records of the Ages
- Egyptian Science Unequaled Today
- The Rosetta Stone
- Eternal Life, the faith of Egypt
- The Cycles and Gods of the Cycles
- Initiation
- Entering into Heaven - the fields of Aanru

SIDNEY AS EDITOR AND WRITER, THEOSOPHY

PUBLICATIONS

The Zodiac variously described as being written by Sidney on his own, and by Sidney with Lafcadio Hearn. Pamphlet published by the Theosophical Publishing Society 1893.

Theosophic Isis is edited by Herbert who also does most of the writing, though there are 2 items by Sidney:

- 1896 volume 1 April p81 Obituary of W Q Judge
- 1897 volume 2 January p387 Our Opportunity

the 1897 January issue also had (p380) Some Persian Hymns by F Coryn, probably Frances Coryn.

SOME ARTICLES BY SIDNEY IN THEOSOPHICAL SIFTINGS

Theosophical Siftings volumes 5-7 1892-95 has a reprint of Sidney or Sidney and Lafcadio Hearn's pamphlet The Zodiac. Also in this volume is an item by Sidney that I haven't found anywhere else: The Language of Symbols.

Sidney has only three items in the British Library catalogue: all as editor, 2 jointly with brother Herbert:

- 1900-04 The Crusader. A Supplement to 'Ourselves' volumes 1-4.
- 1900-04 The Theosophical Chronicle first 5 volumes 1900-04; Herbert and Sidney as co-editors
- 1905 The International Theosophical Chronicle as one of several editors.

SIDNEY AS ACTIVIST: LUCIFER

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume VII September 1890 to February 1891, editors Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Annie Besant. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII issue of 15 October 1890, article by Sidney Coryn: Alchemy.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI September 1892- February 1893, editor Annie Besant. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society 7 Duke Street Adelphi. P170 issue of 15 November 1892 in the news section: very short report on events at Brixton Lodge sent in by its secretary Jessie Horne. Recent talks had included one given by Sidney Coryn on The Kabbalah, on 16 September 1892. Volume XI no 64 issued 15 December 1892 p342 in the news section: Sidney Coryn had been elected president of the TS's Croydon Lodge. Volume XI no 65 issued 15 January 1893 p431 in the news section: recent lectures at Adelphi Lodge had included one by Sidney Coryn on The Magic of Numbers. Volume XI no 66 issued 15 February 1893 p517 in the news section: report on Liverpool Lodge said that TS member Williams of Bradford Lodge; and S Coryn had attended recent meetings of the Lodge.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Vol XIII covering September 1893 to February 1894, editor Annie Besant. Volume XIII no 74 issued 15 October 1893 p165 forthcoming lectures at Adelphi Lodge would include one by Sidney Coryn on Paracelsus, due 4 December [1893]. Volume XIII no 78 issued 15 February 1894 in the very short news section p522: S Coryn and Herbert Kitchin were trying to start a scheme whereby theosophists would send articles introducing theosophy to the weekly papers. Anyone with a suitable article should send it to S G P Coryn at Lawn House, Ramsden Heath Essex; or to Kitchin (his contact address is in Leeds).

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine covers March-August 1894, editor Annie Besant. Volume XIV no 82 issued 15 June 1894 p 347 news section; on 30 May [1894] S G P Coryn gave a lecture on theosophy at a meeting at Streatham high school; H Coryn chaired the meeting and the hall had been "quite full".

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XV covers September 1894-February 1895, joint editors Annie Besant and G R S Mead. This volume is dominated by the Judge dispute. Long article by Besant (p459) in the issue of 15 Feb 1895 saying that she had drawn up a statement of the position of the TS hierarchy on the Judge question: which was that they were

against the claims he was making. Olcott, Sinnett and WWW had all signed the statement.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XVI March-August 1895, joint editors Annie Besant and G R S Mead. again dominated by the Judge dispute. Volume XVI 15 March 1895 p79 an uncredited report on the Judge dispute said that both Brixton and Croydon lodges had issued statements supporting Judge. Volume XVI no 94 15 June 1895 p270 uncredited but almost certainly written by Besant, an item saying that “two or three London and suburban lodges” were “bitterly hostile to me” and that Croydon Lodge was not letting its members know of forthcoming events at the TS’s English headquarters.

Volume XVI no 95 15 July 1895 p358: a report on what had happened at the 5th annual convention of TS’s European Section, which had been held on 4 July [1895] at the Portman Rooms Baker St, London. The large number of delegates had made life difficult for those in charge. Members of Bow Lodge had challenged Olcott’s right to take the chair; their challenge was ruled unconstitutional. Then meeting considered a resolution put before the convention by “Mr Coryn” (Sidney) that challenged the “de jure existence of the Society”; that too was ruled out of order but the ruling was “hotly challenged”, so much so that it went to a vote where Coryn lost 39:14. Elections to official posts for the coming year then went ahead; A P Sinnett and G R S Mead were elected to the TS European Section’s executive committee for the first time; and William Wynn Westcott was re-elected to it. The convention agreed to form a committee to look at changes to the TS worldwide’s constitution - something Judge’s supporters were demanding - but all the names put forward to be elected to this committee were put forward by members of Blavatsky Lodge which was dominated by Besant and Mead. The members of this new committee were listed on p360; they included “Dr Coryn” (Herbert), “Firth” (Oliver, of Bradford, a GD member in the past); “Jevons” (Rowland, of Liverpool Lodge); Annie Besant and others.

AN ARTICLE AND A TALK BY SIDNEY PUBLISHED IN THE USA; the talk dates his arrival in California:

Universal Brotherhood Path volume XVII April 1902 an article by Sidney: A New Study of Our Growth and Possibilities. This was a google snippet and I couldn’t see page numbers.

Via the web to the Los Angeles Herald volume XXIX no 217 issue of 6 May 1902 p3 a report written 5 May 1902 by the paper’s correspondent in San Diego: Growth of Character: Sydney (sic) Coryn addresses theosophists. Report is on a talk given by Sidney at the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society in San Diego. It has the sub-title “Selfishness the one crime in the world”. Sidney is described by the reporter as a “Student of Late Mme (sic) Blavatsky”.

CROWLEY AND MAUD GONNE ON THE GOLDEN DAWN. Both disparagements are mentioned, and Gonne’s is quoted, in Richard Kaczynski’s biography of Aleister Crowley: Perdurabo. Revised and expanded edition published by North Atlantic Books of Berkeley California 2010: p60. Gonne’s quote is from her: A Servant of the Queen: Reminiscences published London: Victor Gollancz 1938 p248; I’ve actually seen this book referred to as extremely cavalier with the facts, but in this instance I hope you can trust Maud to have remembered her opinion of the Golden Dawn’s magicians accurately enough.

FREDERICK SIDNEY CORYN

It’s the Corin family history website that mentions that Frederick Sidney Coryn was gassed in the first World War. No source is given for the information - it may have been known in the family - but it may also have come from this book: The 2nd Battalion, Wiltshire Regiment

(99th): a Record of their Fighting in the Great War 1914-18 by W Scott Shepherd. Printed by Gale and Polden 1927. On p162 2nd Lt Coryn is one member of the Regiment “who was gassed” but I couldn’t read where from the snippet I saw on google. I couldn’t see the date of the incident either except that it was in 1918. Shepherd says also (p162) that having pushed the front line forward 1000 yards the Wiltshire Regiment was relieved by the 9th Welsh Regiment “that night” and had “a few days’ rest”.

Website www.thewardrobe.org.uk is the Home of the Infantry Regiments of Berkshire and Wiltshire. According to this website this is what the 2nd Battalion were doing in 1917:

Jan-Mar at Arras
9-11 April getting bad losses taking part in an attack on the Hindenburg Line
then to Ypres
31 July first day of 3rd Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele)
late Aug relieves the Aus troops on Messines Ridge
Aug-Nov on Messines Ridge doing some raiding
Nov moved to the Gebluvelt area. There till end 1917.

And 1918:

Jan relieving French troops S of St Quentin
March attacked at St Quentin by German forces and surrounded; heavy losses and
Wilts Regiment had to be reformed as a result
April Ypres again
May-Aug at Bligny. Came under heavy attack from German forces 29 May; again they
were surrounded; they had to retreat 7 June 1918
Aug at Loos
Sep-Nov moving from Neuve Chapelle to Haussy; at Haussy quite a few deaths from
friendly fire
on day of armistice 11 November 1918: they were at Eth.

Looking for an action in 1918 in which both the Wiltshire Regiment and the 9th Welsh Regiment were involved: at www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/db I found an account written by a man who had fought at the Battle of Champagne 27 May to 19 June 1918. This is the most likely candidate for the attack in which 2nd Lt Coryn was gassed.

The gas used will have been mustard gas: wikipedia on Chemical Weapons in WW1: mustard gas, called Vesicant by the Germans, 1st used by them in July 1917 at the 3rd Battle of Ypres. The stuff was loaded onto a shell. After the shell had exploded the stuff stayed in the ground for up to months depending on the weather, and could cause injury all that time. Relatively few people died in the immediate aftermath of being gassed; it was used to cause injury and disablement, and to demoralise. Damage from the gas was not confined to inhaling it: you could get blisters; sore eyes up to blindness; vomiting; internal and external bleeding; damage to bronchial tubes.

MARJORIE STELLA CORYN 1894-1968

From the wikipedia World War 1 timeline, trying to date the account of Marjorie Stella’s wartime work as described in the Paul Horguelin website which I’ve reproduced in the original French below:

6 April 1917 USA declares war on Germany
25 June 1917 first US troops arrive in France
7 Dec 1917 USA declares war on Austria-Hungary.

Extract from jcverdier.museum.online.fr/la_distribution_des_radio-techna.htm which is a website on the life of the French radio pioneer Paul Horguelin, founder (1930) of Paul Horguelin et Cie. From 1916-19 Horguelin was working as an engineer at the Institut Agricole de Beauvais while building and experimenting with radios in his spare time. He was called up aged 19 and during his national service, worked on telephone communications for the French army. This is the extract, which I believe has confused Marjorie Stella and Agnes Sophia Coryn - it seems to be saying that Marjorie was Agnes' writing name. It's Marjorie Stella whose dates are 1894-1968.

Agnès Sydney Coryn (1894-1968), mieux connue sous son nom de plume de Marjorie Coryn (ou encore "Gipsy" pour les intimes) est une femme de lettre d'origine anglaise auteur de nombreux romans historiques entre les 2 guerres ("Le Chevalier d'Éon", "Le mariage de Joséphine" pour les plus connus). En 1917, alors qu'elle est établie à San Francisco, les États-Unis entrent en guerre. Elle se porte volontaire en même temps que sa mère pour rejoindre le front en Europe. Elle est alors affectée à l'accueil des permissionnaires à la gare de Châlons (en qualité d'infirmière) et fait rapidement connaissance avec Paul Horguelin, tout juste 18 ans, qui ne tarde pas à lui faire la cour. Agnès Coryn est bientôt reçue à Nuisement et devient une intime de la famille. La guerre finie "Gipsy" quitte la France pour s'installer en Angleterre. Elle garde cependant des contacts étroits avec Paul Horguelin durant toute sa vie.

The Paul Horguelin website mentions that he also knew Florence Billings, another holder of the croix de guerre. To asteria.fivecolleges.edu, the website of the Five Colleges Archives and manuscript Collections, which has Florence Billings' papers. Billings was born into a wealthy family in Hatfield Massachusetts in 1879; they family moved to Redlands California in 1893 but Florence spent most of the years before World War 1 in Europe and was in Europe when the war broke out. War work. When the USA joined the war she returned to America to join the American Red Cross. As a member of the US Red Cross she served in a canteen and did relief work just behind the front line at Chalons-sur-Marne; she was awarded a croix de guerre for this work. Later, she knew Atatürk and was involved in post-World War 1 Turkey as a translator. I'm supposing that Florence Billings and Marjorie Stella Coryn were working in the same hospital/canteen in 1917-18.

The Supplement to Who's Who volumes 3-4 published in the USA 1942 p129 Marjorie Stella Coryn. Born Billericay 8 May 1895. Unmarried. Served in a French army canteen and hospital 1917-18. Croix de Guerre France 1918. Reparation Committee translation bureau Paris 1921-25. Turkish Reparation Committee Paris 1924-30. Then a list of publications see below for my list.

Just noting that I found the names of two English women who'd been awarded the croix de guerre. They were both nurses: Millicent Sylvia Armstrong who got it specifically for rescuing wounded soldiers while under fire; and Dorothy Feilding. According to the www.ranker.com website, there are 40 British holders of the croix de guerre. I couldn't find Marjorie's name among those listed at the website and I'm sure whether Marjorie counts as British for these purposes. Other holders included the actor James Stewart.

Marjorie Stella Coryn's publications:

In the British Library Catalogue; all works published London

- 1932 The Chevalier d'Éon 1728-1810. Thornton Butterworth.
- 1933 Black Mastiff [A biography of Bertrand de Guesclin]. Arthur Barker.
- 1934 The Acquirer. [A biography of William the Conqueror.] Arthur Barker.
- 1934 The Black Prince 133-1376. Arthur Barker.
- 1936 House of Orleans. Arthur Barker.
- 1937 Knave of Hearts; being the Romantic Adventures of Count de Lauzun a gentleman of Gascony. Thornton Butterworth.
- 1938 Marie-Antoinette and Axel de Fersen. Arthur Barker. W the Marr of Josephine, the title that came up most on the web.
- 1944 Ridiculous Dictator. [A novel]. Constable and Co.
- 1945 The Marriage of Josephine. Hodder and Stoughton. Easily the m responses on the web; and sevl transl
- 1947 A Swarm of Bees. [A novel.]. Hodder and Stoughton.
- 1947 Power Instead. Hodder and Stoughton.
- 1950 Sorrow by Day: a royal love story of no importance. Hodder and Stoughton

Not all Marjorie Stella's books are in the British Library. Via google I also found these:

- 1943 The Incorruptible
- 1947 Alone among Men
- 1951 Sorrow. Though this might be a shortened title of 'Sorrow by Day'
- 1954 Enchanters of Men

Some later work in 1960s girls' comic Princess: Royal Daughters; and Daughters of Adventure; both illustrated by John Millar Watt. I found this information at womenincomics.wikia.com/wiki/Marjorie-Coryn but that website was quoting Masters of Fun and Thrills: The British Comic Artists volume 1 by Norman Wright and David Ashford. Published by Norman Wright 2008; p112.

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AMandragora@attglobal.net

Maud CRACKNELL was initiated into the Golden Dawn at its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh on 23 November 1896, taking the Latin motto 'Tempus omnia revelat'. Later she joined the Isis-Urania temple in London and was initiated into the 2nd Order there, on 10 October 1898. In 1900 she played a small but important role in the fracas known as 'the

battle of Blythe Road'. Maud was still a member of the GD when it finally split up into several daughter orders, in 1903.

At the time of her original initiation, Maud Cracknell was living at 20 Dublin Street Edinburgh. She was a Londoner by birth, however, the daughter of Charles Cracknell and his wife Sarah Elizabeth. Charles Cracknell was a pharmacist. While I was searching for Maud's family on the census I noticed the greatest concentration of people called Cracknell was in Essex and East Anglia but Charles had been born in Southwark. His pharmacy shop and business was at 106 Edgeware Road in 1847 and had probably been there for several years already. Later, the family business moved, firstly to 217 Edgeware Road and then to 17 Craven Road in Bayswater. A second shop was opened as well in the new suburb of east Acton.

Charles and Sarah Elizabeth had a large family, beginning with five daughters: Sarah Emily (born 1850); Elizabeth (born 1852); Mary Louisa (born 1854); Susannah (born 1856); and then Maud herself, born in 1858. Then followed twin boys: Henry Watts and Herbert, born 1859; a sixth and last daughter, Alice Lucy (born 1860); and two more boys, Ralph (born 1863); and finally William (born 1866).

On the day of the 1861 census, Charles and Sarah Elizabeth were living near his pharmacy at 107 Junction Terrace and seven of the children that had been born to them so far were at home. Also in the household were three young men who worked in the pharmacy, a cook, a housemaid and two nursemaids. However, three-year-old Maud was away from home visiting Robert and Emy Henderson in Lambeth.

Charles and Sarah Elizabeth Cracknell moved to Knoyle House, Castlebar Road Ealing in time for Ralph and William to be born there. Sarah Elizabeth died there in 1867 aged only 41, worn out, I should think, by having borne ten children in sixteen years. Maud was nine.

All the Cracknell girls were a little too old for their education to have been dictated by the 1870 Education Act. Though Henry Watts and Herbert had been sent away to school in Maidenhead, the presence of a governess in the household on the day of the 1871 census suggests that Susannah, Maud and Alice - all declared still to be in full-time education - were being educated at home. The governess, Annie Wranger, was English; that is, she was not the kind of top-drawer (and very expensive) foreign-born governess that the wealthy tended to employ to teach their daughters to speak French and possibly German too with the correct accent. Miss Wranger was probably teaching the younger boys as well, though they were young enough to go to an 1870 Act school for a few years. The education Maud Cracknell is likely to have got under those circumstances was focused on bible study, sewing, and social skills. The older daughters would have been doing the social round and ordering the house's three servants - a cook, housemaid and nurse.

Charles Cracknell died, at Knoyle House, in May 1880. I have opted not to pay to see a copy of his Will and I can't decide just from the doings of his daughters in the years after he died whether Charles left them any income at all, let alone enough to live on comfortably. On the day of the 1881 census Henry, Elizabeth, Susannah, Herbert, Alice and Ralph at least were still living at Knoyle House but I do think that financial belts had had to be tightened: Elizabeth was working as a daily governess (that is, working in someone's household, not in a school, but not living in that household), and the household was down to one servant while

Susannah and Alice - declared by the census official to have no occupation or income - were probably doing the cooking and shopping. I think it's most likely that Maud was still living at Knoyle House too but once again on census day, she was not at home with the rest of the family. She was staying with Henry and Frances Birch in Norwood. Henry Birch was the owner of a pharmacy and had, perhaps, been one of Charles Cracknell's apprentices. Mr Birch employed an assistant, and - with a cook and a housemaid - the Birch household had more servants than the Cracknells.

It's not clear to me exactly when the Cracknells left Knoyle House but by 1891 the old household of siblings was breaking up. Sarah Emily had married in 1874 - I think she was the only one of his children to do so before Charles Cracknell died. Alice had also married. Herbert Cracknell finished his apprenticeship and took over running the family pharmacy; he married Augusta Mary Ford in 1890. Ralph Cracknell went to work in the United States. I can find nothing out after 1871 about Maud's elder sisters Elizabeth and Susannah but on the day of the 1891 census the household of siblings was down to four members - Henry Watts, William E, Mary Louisa and Maud - and they were all living as lodgers in the household of Philip and Amelia Moon in Hampstead. This was the last sighting I had of William E Cracknell; I don't know what happened to him after 1891. But the household was broken up further in 1895 when Henry Watts Cracknell married Annie Letitia Collins.

Maud Cracknell, at 33, seems to have taken the breaking-up of the household as a liberation. She set about correcting, as far as she was able, a lack she seems to have felt in that domestic, governess-led education. She spent the academic year 1893/94 as a student at St Andrew's University. Maybe that one year was all she could afford at the time, but she returned to the university in 1896 to do its summer session. As a result of that one year and few months, Maud Cracknell became one of the best educated women members of the Golden Dawn. Doesn't that say a lot about the education of women in general at the time? She also, during 1896, spent some months living in Edinburgh and met some GD members.

Back in London in March 1895, Maud also joined the Theosophical Society. The sponsors of her application were Elsie Goring and Lilian (or Lillian - the sources don't agree) Lloyd, both very active TS members, involved in a lot of its social work activities. Maud joined Blavatsky Lodge, which met at the TS headquarters in Regent's Park and had a very busy programme of lectures and discussion groups. She will have met the TS's most prominent figures there (Annie Besant, the Keightley family); and several people who had been in the GD, though of course she wouldn't have known them as such. Maud continued as a TS member until November 1899; I think she found the GD's emphasis on the western esoteric tradition more to her taste.

If people have discovered the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn through an interest in magic, there's probably one thing they know about Maud Cracknell: she was the 2nd Order member who refused to let Aleister Crowley into its rooms at 36 Blythe Road in April 1900, precipitating the series of events referred to as the Battle of Blythe Road. The most detailed descriptions of this incident that are in the public domain are based on Crowley's account of the affair. I'm sure it can't be trusted as a true description of what went on; there are other sources for parts of what happened that contradict it. However, I'm not going to pursue that line. Instead I will now look at what happened from Maud Cracknell's point of view.

Maud had been appointed assistant secretary to the 2nd Order, to help Dorothea Hunter with its administration (Dorothea was busy with two small children). It had been Maud that Crowley had written to a few weeks before, requesting some manuscripts available only to 2nd Order members. Maud must have replied that, to be allowed read those manuscripts, he must apply to Dorothea as her superior officer. Crowley did so, and received a letter from Dorothea on behalf of the GD's 2nd Order, saying that they were not prepared to recognise Crowley as a member. On Saturday 6 April 1900 Crowley went round to 36 Blythe Road, where the 2nd Order rented some rooms for its rituals. He found Maud Cracknell there, who told him that no one could go into the 2nd Order's rooms without the consent of the GD's ruling Committee. Crowley asked Maud if she had a key to the vault and it seems that Maud deliberately misled him: she said hadn't got one, she was too new a member to expect to have one. If this was a dig at Crowley, who was an even newer member if he was a member at all, Crowley's own account doesn't mention that he noticed. Instead he pressed on with his questions about access, and asked her if she could get into the vault in any case. Maud said no, she couldn't. She suggested that if he wanted to gain permission to enter the vault he should approach one of three Committee members to take the matter up with them: Florence Farr, Marcus Worsley Blackden or (probably) Edmund Hunter. And Crowley left.

Maud being at 36 Blythe Road when Crowley turned up was not a coincidence: Maud was living there and on the day of the 1901 census she was still living there, with the GD's landlord Charles Wilkinson, Charles' wife Annie and their two sons Edgar and Frank, but keeping a separate household of one in the rooms rented by the GD's 2nd Order. Was she there as a security guard? Kind-of. The Committee had set itself up to rule the Isis-Urania temple, in opposition to the rule of Samuel Mathers, and they were expecting trouble. But she was also there because it was useful to have a 2nd Order member on the premises to take in parcels - and to let members in to the vault.

As soon as Crowley was gone Maud sat down and wrote a letter to the third person whose name she'd suggested to Crowley, warning him or her to expect a visit from Crowley in which he would be demanding to be treated as a 2nd Order member. The name of the person Maud wrote to isn't known for sure but Ellic Howe thinks it was most likely to be Edmund Hunter, who lived quite nearby and was certainly involved later in the sequence of events. The letter shows that Maud had used her relatively lowly status in the 2nd Order to be rid of Crowley and buy a bit of time. She told him she "had never had a private key" and Crowley swallowed the inference she was making. But the letter shows that she she did have A key - surely it would be pointless her living on the premises if she didn't. In the letter she said she had felt uncomfortable about leading Crowley astray. However, she had stuck to her instructions: Crowley did not have the Committee's permission to enter the 2nd Order rooms, so she was not going to let him in.

I hope that Maud never found out that, in reward for these prevarications, Crowley was to describe her as "an ancient Sapphic Crack, unlikely to be filled". Though it was written in a letter to a follower, Crowley's spiteful jibe has nevertheless made it into the public domain and has become the second thing most people know about Maud Cracknell. If she DID hear of it, and it hurt at all, she could have reflected that it's just the sort of thing men do say about a woman who has said no to them.

Of course, Maud had correctly judged that the matter wouldn't end there. Crowley went to Paris, was initiated into the 2nd Order by Mathers and returned as Mathers' champion, intending to take over the Isis-Urania temple on Mathers' behalf. On Tuesday 17 April, he

made a second visit to 36 Blythe Road with Elaine Simpson, who was a 2nd Order member whose loyalties lay with Mathers. Mr Wilkinson wasn't in - presumably, Crowley waited until he was out - and Crowley and Elaine Simpson went upstairs. Once again, he found Maud Cracknell there, and duly suspended her from the GD. Maud offered no resistance when Elaine Simpson used her key to get into the 2nd Order rooms, but went out to get some back-up by sending a telegram to Edmund Hunter, to come at once. Either Maud or Edmund Hunter also summoned Florence Farr, as the GD's Chief Adept in England.

Edmund Hunter reached Blythe Road before Florence Farr and returned to the 2nd Order rooms with Maud. Crowley told Maud to leave, but Hunter took her part, saying that she didn't have to go on Crowley's orders. However, Hunter was confused himself about whether Crowley had any right to be in the rooms, and the situation wasn't made any better when Florence Farr arrived because she hadn't got any papers with her to show who was the legal tenant. Crowley was left in possession of the 2nd Order rooms for a day or two and I presume Maud went to stay with friends or relatives. However on Thursday 19 April Edmund Hunter was able to go round to 36 Blythe Road again to speak to Mr Wilkinson, who confirmed that Florence Farr was his tenant, as she paid the rent.

Florence Farr and Edmund Hunter seem to have decided that Maud Cracknell had endured enough unpleasantness by now. Perhaps, as Crowley's attitude had been threatening, they also agreed that - next time he called - he should meet an all-male reception committee. Because it was W B Yeats who went upstairs with Hunter to oversee the installation of a new set of locks on the doors to the 2nd Order rooms. And when Crowley turned up, it was those two who met him at street level and told him he had no authority to enter. It was Mr Wilkinson who summoned a policeman. Hunter's report to the 2nd Order Committee doesn't mention it, but there was some sort of fracas, in which he knocked Crowley down, but Crowley did then leave peacefully. Just in case he tried to stage a come-back, W B Yeats stayed in the 2nd Order rooms until 25 April, but at some point after that date, Maud was able to return to them and she was not bothered by any more such trouble.

Maud Cracknell continued to be a member of the Golden Dawn through the traumatic years 1901-03, though she did not play a large part in all the debates and arguments about who was to be in charge, and what kind of organisation it should be. However when - finally - the GD split into two, she was obliged to make a choice, which daughter order to go with. She chose to become a member of A E Waite's new order, which was intending to move away from the magical tradition as represented by Samuel Mathers. It's possible that with Mathers living in Paris and coming to London less and less often, Maud may know him slightly, if at all, and thus did not have the conflict of loyalties longer-serving GD members were suffering from. Maud must have attended a the meeting at which Waite's group compiled the new order's manifesto (on 24 July 1903) as she was one of those who signed it. However, at the first formal meeting of the Independent and Rectified Order RR et AC (usually referred to as the Independent Rite or Order) she was not named as one of its officers.

How active a member of the Independent and Rectified Rite (IRR) Maud was I do not know. She moved to Worthing. Of course it was easy enough to come up to London from Sussex for the IRR's meetings, but Worthing became her home, probably by 1911 when on the day of the census, she was staying with sisters Margaret and Mellona Heale at a house in the town. Later Maud lived with her sister Mary Louisa Cracknell in Christchurch Road Worthing. Mary Louisa died in 1928, but Maud herself lived on until she was 92, becoming one of the last GD members to die. She died in 1950 and was buried in the same grave as Mary Louisa

in Worthing's Broadwater Cemetery.

MAUD CRACKNELL'S SIBLINGS

Despite searching the censuses and b/m/d registrations I can't find out what happened to Maud's sisters Elizabeth and Susannah, and her brother William.

Although Maud joined the GD through contacts in Edinburgh she might have already unwittingly known GD members living in London, through her family's interest in modern arts and crafts. Maud's father had been a member of the Art Union of London where, for a small yearly subscription, you were entitled to receive an engraving of a famous work of art, and to have your name in a draw, the winner of which was bought an original modern art work. This willingness to fund modern art continued through Maud's sister Sarah Emily.

Sarah Emily Cracknell married Edward Penton in 1874. Her husband was the proprietor of the large shoe and boot making firm, Edward Penton and Sons Limited, which was based in Mortimer Street London W1. The connection between the two families was reinforced later, when Maud and Sarah Emily's brother Henry Watts Cracknell joined the firm as its accountant. The Pentons had artist friends: on the day of the 1901 census, although her husband was away from home, Sarah Emily had visitors, amongst them Caroline Gotch, artist wife of Thomas Cooper Gotch, and their daughter Phyllis. T C Gotch himself was staying a few streets away at the Arts Club, 40 Dover Street. I can't tell from accounts of T C Gotch's life how long he and Caroline had known the Pentons, and how well they knew them; but T C and Caroline had been at Heatherley Art School in the 1870s with Henry Marriott Paget and Henrietta Farr, Florence Farr's sister. Henry Marriott and Henrietta had later married; and were long-serving GD members.

The Pentons were wealthy: they lived at 9 Cavendish Square, just off Oxford Street, and could afford to commission works of art. I think that it was Sarah Emily's son (another Edward) and her daughter-in-law Eleanor who asked T C Gotch to draw their children. In 1907 the art journal *The Studio* showed a photograph of a triptych called *Stephen and Two Attendant Figures*, with the attendants on side panels framing a picture of a child's head. The triptych was shown "By permission of Mrs Penton". The little boy in the central panel is her son Denys Stephen Penton. In 1913 T C Gotch did another drawing of one of the Penton boys, this time of Christopher.

On the day of the 1871 census, twins Henry Watts Cracknell and Herbert Cracknell were at the same small boarding school in Maidenhead. Later, however, their educational paths diverged. Henry Watts was sent to University College School in Hampstead, and then trained as an accountant. At least by 1901, if not long before, he was working for his brother-in-law Edward Penton. He had married Annie Letitia Collins in 1895. Annie Letitia had been a widow with two children, Charles and Nora. Henry Watts adopted Charles and Nora, and had one daughter of his own - Ursula. Henry seems to have preferred Hampstead to Ealing; and it would have been easier, on the new tube system, for him to get to Edward Penton and Son's premises from Hampstead. I have said above that he and Maud were living in that area in 1891. On the day of the 1901 census, Henry and his family were living at 40 Belsize Road Hampstead. By 1911 they had moved to 2 Netherhall Gardens; and when Henry died in 1932 they were living at 48 Greencroft Gardens.

Herbert Cracknell, meanwhile, trained to follow his and Maud's father into the family's pharmacy business; and by 1886 he was listed in the Registers of Pharmaceutical Chemists. It was under his leadership that the pharmacy also began selling photographic equipment. Herbert also moved it to new premises in the Paddington area and took on a second shop in Messaline Avenue in the new suburbs between Acton and Kensal Green. He married Augusta Ford, whom he knew from Ealing, in 1890. The family business is still listed in the latest Quarterly Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology that I could find on the web: the issue for 1939.

Ralph Cracknell had begun his working life as so many young men did in the 1870s, as a clerk for a firm in the City. However, by the late 1880s he had given that up for journalism. I think, perhaps, that he couldn't get a job as a reporter in England; though he might just have wanted to travel - because I can't find any evidence of his having worked for an English newspaper. In 1888 or 1889 he moved to Boston Massachusetts and worked for various papers there, particularly the Boston Globe, as a sports reporter, covering the new sports of lawn tennis and golf, and - cricket! And playing cricket too, in various ad hoc teams around Boston. On a very different note, Ralph became involved in the movement originally called the Bellamy Clubs, but later changed to the Nationalist Clubs. These clubs were founded to bring about in contemporary America the ideas put forward in the Utopian novel Looking Backward, written by newspaper proprietor Edward Bellamy and published in 1888. The book, and the clubs, promulgated a type of Christian socialism, involving the nationalisation of all American industry, full employment and retirement at 45. The Bellamy Club of Boston was the first to be founded, in December 1888; some of its members were also members of the Theosophical Society. The movement never took any real hold on American society (as one might expect) and folded around 1896.

He doesn't seem to have married. He died in Boston in 1913, aged 53.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital

Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR MAUD CRACKNELL:

St Andrew's University: Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrew's 1747-1897, published 1905, edited by James M Anderson. Maud is listed on p305 and on p316. Further information on matriculation in general: pxxiii and pxxv.

Theosophical Society: TS Membership Registers 1889-1901 held at the TS Library at its headquarters, 50 Gloucester Place London.

About Elsie Goring: Theosophical Review volume 36 1905 and volume 40 1907 have articles by her.

Lillian or Lilian Lloyd: a modern source The Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism by Joy Dixon. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 2001. There's a reference on p133 to Lloyd having founded the TS's Match Girls' Club, active during the 1890s in East London.

Both of them played imp roles at the TS European Section congress of 1907: see Transactions of the 2nd Congress of the European Sections of the Theosophical Society published by the TS's European Section 1907. P7 it took place from Saturday 8 July [1907] to p10 Monday 10 July [1907] p7 at the Empress Rooms in Kensington, and 600 people attended. P12 in the section Meetings of Departments there is a report of a meeting of Department F which dealt with Administration, Propaganda and Methods. Elsie Goring was unable to attend this meeting so in her absence, Fraulein von Sivers explained a scheme being set up by a group of TS members to explore the connections between modern science and the works of Blavatsky. Miss Goring was an important member of this new group. On P12 there's a report of the meeting of Department E - Art, at which Lillian (sic and I think this is the correct spelling) Lloyd read a paper: The Modern Symbolist Movement.

Via www.worthing.gov.uk's Burial Register Search: Maud Cracknell is buried in Broadwater Cemetery, South Farm Road Worthing: Section C22, Row 3, Grave number 2 - the same grave as Mary Louisa.

Maud's father Charles Cracknell the pharmacist

Annual Report of the Art Union of London, volumes 11-12 1847. Seen via googlebooks: p54 alphabetical list, probably of subscribers but I couldn't see from the snippet. Includes C Cracknell of 106 Edgware Road. Via website www.victorianlondon.org/entertainment: entry for the Art Union of London. Established 1836, existed for 75 years; at 444 West Strand. Founded with the intention of encouraging new art and design. A yearly sub of 1 guinea would entitle the subscriber to receive an engraving to that value of a well-known painting. Their name would also go into a draw, done every April. The winner of the draw would be

bought an art work of value anything from £10 to £200. By 1867 the Art Union had spent £10000 buying art works.

The Spectator volume 20 1847 p956 Charles Cracknell of 106 Edgeware Road is mentioned but I can't see in what connection from the snippet.

The Economist volume 8 part 2 1850 p1090 Charles Cracknell with address 107 Junction Terrace. NB I'm inclined to think that 107 Edgeware Road and 107 Junction Terrace are actually the same house.

Proceedings of the British Pharmaceutical Conference 1869 pvii in a list of members: C Cracknell of 107 Edgeware Road. P2 he appears again in a list of men elected since its last meeting. From the snippet I'm not quite sure what it is these men have been elected to: perhaps it is the British Pharmaceutical Society.

ABOUT THE BATTLE OF BLYTHE ROAD

I used Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* as the basis for my account. Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Pages 219-232. Howe's main source (see p205) is a typescript in the Gerald Yorke Collection of Crowley's *The Book of the Operation of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*. However, Howe did use other sources. He doesn't say where the letter to Maud wrote to the unnamed GD member is but I suppose it was in the Private Collection and is now at the FML. The reference to Maud as a lesbian is on p207. Another account of what happened on Tuesday 17 April 1900 is by Edmund Hunter; I'm not quite sure where Howe found the account - presumably it too was in Gerald Yorke's papers.

Gerald Yorke's occult library and other papers are now at the Warburg Institute Library, University of London.

Other accounts of the battle:

A short one is the web at www.tomegatherion.co.uk/gd.htm seen June 2012. Crowley's diary for the period (seen June 2012) is at www.beyondweird.com/crowley/crowleys_diary.htm. Darcy Kuntz of the Golden Dawn Trust has written a book on it: *The Battle of Blythe Road: A Golden Dawn Affair*, Golden Dawn Studies Series number 14, published August 1987.

For Yeats' part, see W B Yeats, *A Life: Volume 1: The Apprentice Mage* by R F Foster. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 1998: pp231-32.

The Independent and Rectified Rite

About the different paths taken by Waite, and by Robert Felkin, after the break-up of the Golden Dawn: Ellic Howe op cit p255.

A E Waite: *A Magician of Many Parts* by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Crucible Press 1987.

Appendix C p178-79 has the full wording of the declaration arrived at by those at a meeting held on 24 July 1903. It announces their intention of founding a new order along freemasonry lines but with the intention of including women as members and holders of office. The signatories were (in the order they appear in the book and presumably on the original announcement): William Ayton; Marcus Worsley Blackden; A E Waite; Helen Rand; Harriet Butler; Pamela Bullock; Julian Baker; Helen Fulham Hughes; Kate E Broomhead; Isabelle de Steiger; Maud Cracknell; and Ada Blackden. P180 reproduces its constitution, formulated at a meeting on 7 November 1903; there are no signatures attached to it so it's not

possible to know whether Maud Cracknell was there. The new order would meet four times a year, on the first Saturday of January, April, July and September. On 1 July 2012 I found the full text of the book on the web at www.scribd.com/doc/78917542/A-E-Waite-a-Magician-of-Many-Parts-R-A-Gilbert; it's available for download.

Maud Cracknell's siblings: Sarah Emily Penton.

Kelly's Directory of the Leather Trades issued 1880 p14 couldn't see the whole of it from google's snippet but it was a large and coloured (that is, more expensive) advert for Edward Penton and Son, established 1833.

Kelly's Directory of London 1895 has Edward Penton and Son at 1-3 Mortimer Street W1; manufacturer of sewn boots and shoes, and of dancing pumps and shoes.

Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England volume 81 1920 p154 advert from Edward Penton and Son for leather leggings for agricultural workers. The firm's address is now 1-11 Mortimer Street.

Journal of the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) volume 74 1926 p418 short obituary of Mr Edward Penton (Sarah Cracknell's husband) who had died at home in Cavendish Square on 5 March [1926] aged 80. The obituary describes him (I think, wrongly, I think he's the son of the founder) as founder of the firm of Edward Penton and Son, now of Mortimer St and Newman St. He was made a Fellow of the RSA in 1897. He had retired from active involvement in the firm by the outbreak of World War 1, but took up the reins again so that his son could concentrate on his job as Superintendent of the Boot Section, Royal Army Clothing Department.

[//lat.bookmaps.org/g/e/gen_30.html](http://lat.bookmaps.org/g/e/gen_30.html) has a list of footwear, rubbers, leather goods etc issued by Edward Penton and Son Ltd 1932-33. Also a centenary list dated 1832-1932.

Sarah Emily Penton's son is Sir Edward Penton KBE:

Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society volume 24 no 1 1937 inside front page: a list of current officers. Sir Edward Penton KBE is the Society's current honorary secretary.

Website www.greywall.demon.co.uk/genealogy/WynnHall/tim.html is a family tree of the descendents of the Rev Timothy Kenrick 1759-1804 of Wynn Hall, Ruabon, Denbighshire. A daughter of his married into the Sharpe family and one of her daughters married into the Courtauld family. Eleanor Sharpe 1878-1951 married 1902 (Sarah Emily's son) Edward Penton (later made KBE) 1875-1967, born 9 Cavendish Square London W1; they had a large family, there are lots of descendants.

The Studio: an Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art volume 42 no 175 issue of 15 October 1907 p55 in the Studio Talk column: a reproduction of a triptych by T C Gotch called Stephen and Two Attendant Figures, shown "By permission of Mrs Penton". The triptych was an elaboration of an original which was just the picture of a child's head, exhibited by T C Gotch "last year". The triptych has the child's head in the middle panel with two angel-like creatures, one on either side. The item in The Studio describes the triptych as a triumph by T C Gotch in difficult art of combining one central panel with two side panels to make a whole.

Henry Watts Cracknell:

Alphabetical and Chronological Register of University College School 1831-91, published by the College in 1892. Henry W Cracknell appears on p92 with "73-76" which seems rather too late to denote his years at the school. He's in a list alphabetical by surname; Herbert

Cracknell is not in the list.

Herbert Cracknell and the family pharmacy:

Registers of Pharmaceutical Chemists 1886 p7 has him in it.

Druggists' Circular and Chemical Gazette volume 43 1898 p214 Herbert is in a list of honorary local secretaries; but I couldn't see what they were secretaries of.

Photographic Dealer and D&P (sic and I don't know what it stands for - Druggist and Pharmacy?) Trade Review volume 16 1904 p153 lists Herbert Cracknell at 17 Craven Road and 2 Messaline Avenue Acton.

Pharmaceutical Journal 1904 p729 has Herbert Cracknell with business addresses Craven Road Paddington and Messaline Avenue Acton: "pharmaceutical chemist".

Yearbook of Pharmacy 1925 p326 Herbert's still being listed.

Quarterly Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology 1939 p831 he's still listed.

Ralph Cracknell:

Physical Education volume 1 1892 p7 contents list, I suppose for this issue; the list includes a book review or (more likely) an article by Ralph: Cricket as Played in America.

The Bookseller and Newsman volume 10 1893 p6 has short report on a farewell dinner given by the local guild of newspaper reporters for Ralph as he was abt to return to England after 4 years working for various newspapers in and around Boston. Perhaps he was hoping that, now he had some experience, a job on an English newspaper would be forthcoming; it wasn't, and he seems to have returned to the USA.

Outing (I think this is an American journal) volume 28 1896 p154 describes Ralph as a "phenomenal cricket-player".

American Lawn Tennis volume 1 published by the US Lawn Tennis Association 1898 p131 Ralph is a member of the Association. Wikipedia's article on the Association gives the date of its founding as 1881.

American Review of Reviews volume 48 1913 p166 a notice of Ralph's death, which had occurred on 24 June [1913]; he was 53. He's described as "journalist and authority on golf matters".

The Nationalist: A Monthly Magazine volume 1 1968 p19 in an article covering the early years of the Bellamy Club; Ralph was elected its first Secretary.

At www.cricketchive.com/Archive/Players/78/78732/78732.html, the Cricket Archive players' section includes Ralph Cracknell. Born 27 May 1863; died 24 June 1913 Boston Mass. This is where I found the reference to his working for the Boston Globe; no dates were given for his time there. The database says that Ralph played for several cricket teams in the Boston area between 1890 and 1894.

Cricket in America 1700-2000 by P David Sentance 2006 p63 says Ralph was known especially as a bowler.

1 July 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

When R A Gilbert was looking at the Golden Dawn Members' Roll preparing the list of members for his book *The Golden Dawn Companion*, several people's handwriting - squeezed into the small space available - gave him trouble. He decided that one member who joined the GD in 1900 was named Archibald Cameron Cresswell Keppel. I spent quite a lot of time searching for this person and coming up with nothing and eventually, in desperation, I tried arranging his names in a different order. I can now say that man's correct name was Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell. He was initiated into the GD's Isis-Urania Temple on 29 November 1900 and took the Latin motto 'Sic itur ad astra'. Unlike with Archibald Cameron Cresswell Keppel, the web had plenty of information on Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell. In his profession, although not particularly in this country, he turned out to be very well-known indeed. I have leaned very heavily in this short account of his life on R W Hamilton's

Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell 1879-1974, published by the British Academy in 1975. However, Hamilton had not done a great deal of work on his subject's early life.

In 1878 Keppel Creswell, from a Nottinghamshire family but working in the City of London, married Margaret Henderson, the daughter of a solicitor. Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, their elder child, was born in London in 1879 and named after his father though he was always known as Archie.

In 1881 Archie's father was working as an underwriter. Until 1892 he was employed at Baring Brothers and Company's bank, in their insurance department, but in the wake of the run on Barings and the firm's near-bankruptcy in 1890-91, he left, and went into partnership with his brother, Alfred Augustus Creswell, who was already in business as an insurance broker with offices at 28 Cornhill. The new firm was called A A Creswell and Company and it was still in business in the 1920s. Alfred Augustus Creswell was already a member of Lloyds Register, which listed firms which insured shipping. Keppel Creswell joined the Register around 1905.

The Creswells had moved into 12 Regent's Park Road in north London by 1881 and Archie's parents were still living there in 1911; in my researches on the GD members I've discovered that living so long in one house was rare amongst them. The family was a small one - Archie's only sibling was Margery, born in 1881. They were the only household at the address but the household was a modest one. In 1881 the Creswells employed one general servant and a nurse; in 1901 their only employee was a housemaid - meaning, I think, that Archie's mother did a great deal of the housework herself helped, as she grew older, by Margery.

Margaret Creswell was a Roman Catholic. However, Archie was given a Church of England-based education and - according to people who knew him later in life - did not have any strong religious views. Archie was at Westminster School from 1891-96. There he showed an aptitude for maths, especially geometry; though he also won prizes for English. On leaving school he studied the new subject of electrical engineering at the City and Guilds Technical College at Finsbury and worked for several years for Siemens before changing career to become a clerk at the Bank of England, where he was in 1901, still living at home. By 1914 he was working, again as a clerk, for the Deutsche Bank in its London office.

Archie became a member of the Golden Dawn at a time during a difficult period for the Order - it was not a good time to begin your studies in magic with the GD. A very junior member and aged only 21 when he was initiated, Archie took no part in the debates that were tearing the GD apart. On the other hand, he wasn't listed as a member of any of the daughter Orders that were set up in 1903. He did continue to investigate ancient Egyptian magic, but on his own, and published one article comparing Egyptian magical texts with the Kabbalah, in Occult Review.

R W Hamilton suggests that the foundations of Archie's interest in Islamic architecture were laid while he was a child: for his 12th birthday he was given a book with pictures of Middle Eastern buildings in it; and he also won a copy of George Rawlinson's *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*. Archie himself later attributed his passion for eastern culture to Rawlinson's monumental work. He had several other interests: he was a good photographer; he was a fitness freak; and he was interested in the Kabbalah - finding his way into the GD as a result of it and also writing his first published work: *A Comparison of the Hebrew Sephiroth with the Paut Neteru of Egypt*, which appeared in Occult Review in 1912. However, by 1914 his interest in Islamic architecture was becoming his main focus. He had read Flinders Petrie's *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (published 1904), a reference work for those doing survey work on ancient buildings, which (amongst other things) promoted the use of photographs to record architectural detail. He had started out on one of his life's works - the compiling of a bibliography of all the existing works on Islamic architecture. And in May of that year he had applied for a job with the Archaeological Survey of India.

World War I prevented his job application from being taken up but sent his working life in a completely new direction. He doesn't seem to have been one of those who volunteered to fight in 1914 or 1915, but he was called up in April 1916, after the first conscription acts became law and - no doubt due to his technical training - made a Lieutenant in the fledgling Royal Flying Corps. By 1918 he had been promoted to Captain. There's some debate about exactly when he arrived in Egypt but all sources agree he was there by 1918. In the wake of the Armistice, Great Britain was handed Palestine to rule and Archie was given the job of Inspector of Monuments, Occupied Enemy Territory and asked to survey all the ancient monuments of Syria and Palestine. The survey occupied 1919 and 1920 and formed the basis for his academic career. Demobbed from the air force by 1922, he didn't return to England, he stayed in Egypt and invented the academic discipline of the study of Islamic architecture.

In the course of the next 50 years or so Archie Creswell wrote many books on Islamic architecture, both academic tomes and guides for the interested tourist or art historian. However, the work on which his reputation rests is his *Early Muslim Architecture*, which he got King Fu'ad I of Egypt to fund, and which appeared in several exhaustive volumes between 1932 and 1940. His particular interest was the architecture built by members of the (Muslim) Fatimid dynasty which ruled Egypt from 969 to 1171; there are many splendid examples in Cairo.

In 1931 Archie was again called on by King Fu'ad, this time to establish a programme of study at the King Fu'ad University of Cairo. Although Archie did not have a university degree he was still the best qualified, by practical experience, to head this programme and he was appointed the university's first professor of Islamic and Archaeology, a post he held until 1951 when he seems to have been sacked, or stormed off, for reasons that are still not clear. A hiatus followed, during which time (I think it was during this period) Archie spent some

time at Princeton University, before being appointed to another professorship in Egypt in 1956, this time at the American University. 1956, of course, was the year of the Suez Crisis, during which anyone with English connections had a hard time in Egypt. Archie was all prepared to leave the country until he found he would not be allowed to take his books with him. The American University in Cairo stepped in to offer a home for the books, and Archie stayed on in Egypt. By this time he had been living outside the UK for over 30 years, and from some of accounts of his work, particularly those that have been written by Arabic scholars, I get the impression of a man forgetting that time had moved on: a man always impeccably dressed in a suit in the manner of a colonial official; hostile to Jews and to the policy of allowing West Indians into Britain (mind you, he wasn't alone in having those attitudes); a man bellowing at the staff in restaurants when the food wasn't good enough.

His work has also been criticised, for concentrating too much on the mathematical and design aspects of architecture and not considering the social and economic reasons why a building might have been designed like it was. His emphasis on chronology is now thought to be a rather limiting approach. And as he did not learn to read Arabic he was unable to study some original texts. I do feel that some of these criticisms are rather harsh - after all, the man was inventing an entire new academic subject. And all modern scholars seem to agree that Archie's body of work will be the classic texts on their subject for some time to come.

Riding out the difficult times of Suez, Archie Creswell continued to live and work in Egypt until his failing health finally required him to have more nursing care. He returned to England in 1973 and died in Twyford Abbey Nursing Home in Acton, west London, on 8 April 1974.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Archie Creswell's father KEPPEL CRESWELL

Seen via the Times Digital Archive: Times Monday 1 February 1892 p11b in The Money Market column: a reference to Keppel Creswell, describing him as "late manager of Messrs Baring Brothers and Co's insurance department". Creswell had now gone into partnership with his brother A A Creswell of 28 Cornhill. A A Creswell was an insurance broker. The partnership would be known as A A Creswell and Co.

Some information from Wikipedia on the run on Baring Brothers: Wikipedia says that the bank had got over-exposed in the 1880s to debt incurred by the governments of Uruguay and Argentina. In 1890 there was a financial crisis in Argentina during which its government fell and the nation nearly defaulted. What's often referred to as the Panic of 1890 and which involved the run on Barings began during November 1890; the bank had to be rescued by a consortium led by the Bank of England. The bank was turned into a limited company; the Baring brothers lost their partnerships and their personal fortunes. The Bank did pay its debts - it took 10 years - but has never been the same since.

Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping volume 2 1898 p769 list of annual subscribers includes Alfred Augustus Creswell of A A Creswell and Co, with "Date of election 1879".

Lloyd's Register of Shipping volume 2 1912 p986 has Keppel Creswell of A A Creswell and Co listed (which he wasn't in 1898), with a date of election I couldn't quite read on Google's snippet; it might have been 1905.

The Post Magazine and Insurance Monitor volume 87 no 1 p28 issue of 2 January 1926, A A Creswell was still in exist then.

ARCHIE CRESWELL AND THE OCCULT

This is the only item I found. At www.austheos.org.au/indices/OCCREV.HTM there's an index to articles published in Occult Review between 1905 and 1948; I searched to mid-1927 and found only one by Archie Creswell. Occult Review volume 16 1912, issue of December p49: Creswell's A Comparison of the Hebrew Sephiroth with the Paut Neteru of Egypt.

ARCHIE CRESWELL AS A HISTORIAN OF ARCHITECTURE

The Isma'ilis: their History and Doctrines by Farhad Daftary 1992 p254 which describes Archie as "the leading modern authority on the Fatimid monuments". And a note from Wikipedia on what that means: the Fatimid Period refers to Egypt 969 to the death of the last Fatimid caliph in September 1171, so that it includes the early Crusades, Saladdin etc.

Modernism in the Middle East eds Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi 2008, p10.

Times Sat 13 April 1974 p24a death notices: K A C Creswell had d "on 8th April, 1974" at Twyford Abbey Nursing Home. And the obituary on p14f.

Who Was Who 1971-80 p183.

Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam AUTHOR. It gives a more personal account of Archie Creswell, who it describes as a small man, always impeccably dressed no matter what the circumstances or temperatures. He could not abide any form of cruelty: the author relates a tale of Archie's determination to make the Cairo police arrest a man who was beating a donkey, leaping from his car and dislocating all the traffic. However it also says of him "To his last day, Creswell was unaware of the demise of the British Empire". CBE 1955. Fellow British Academy. Gold medal Royal Asiatic Society. Knighted 1970.

Whose Pharaohs? By Donald M Reid 2003 p17.

My main source:

Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture Volume 8 is called K A C Creswell and His Legacy. Editor Prof Oleg Grabar of Harvard University. Published Leiden: E J Brill 1991

p128-133 biography of Creswell by R W Hamilton. Plus an editorial on the impact and legacy of Creswell p3 by Grabar as editor of this issue. Grabar praises Archie for being the first scholar to see how much the quality of the photographs taken mattered in this kind of survey work. Grabar first met Archie in 1953. He describes him as "feisty, opinionated, at times prejudiced". His personality was such a strong one that it tends to come out even in the supposed neutrality of scholarly publications. However, he could be very kind to young scholars. Grabar actually sees Archie as quite a vulnerable character, and a very passionate one. P2 Archie's emphasis on linear chronology now seen as a methodological flaw. However, the work that he did has still not been rendered obsolete by anything done since.

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A note on the book by Rawlinson that Archie won as a school prize: George Rawlinson 1812-1902, Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University 1861-89. The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy covers the Sassanian (also known as Sassanid) empire; published 1875, the last in a set on the ancient history of the Middle East. Just in case Archie read the others, the first 5 in the set were published between 1862 and 1867; the 6th covers the Parthian empire, published 1873. A footnote from Wikipedia: the Sassanid empire was the last pre-Islamic empire in the Middle East, 224-651AD, succeeding the Parthian Empire and of course it wasn't in the Roman empire.

Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt by Donald Malcolm Reid 2002 p41 in a section noting that World War 1 "brought into the open the ties between orientalism and imperialism". Creswell ended up in Egypt through his work with the Royal Flying Corps. He was University of Cairo Professor of Islamic Architecture from 1931 to 1951. Malcolm records that Creswell's "contempt for Egyptian nationalism and his uncompromising imperialism were legendary".

In a Sea of Knowledge: British Arabists of the 20th Century by Leslie J McLoughlin 2002 p62 describes Creswell as a very good example of an Arabist who fell by chance into this field of expertise. He was in France in 1916 with the newly-founded Royal Flying Corps and was transferred to Palestine in 1918.

However Architectural History vol 50 2007 p207 the article 'C R Ashbee's Jerusalem' says Creswell had begun to study Muslim architecture in 1910. He was posted to Egypt in 1916 with the Royal Flying Corps. Both these books can't be right

ARCHIE CRESWELL AS A PHOTOGRAPHER

Maadi 1904-1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb by Samir W Raafat. Published Cairo: The Palm Press 1994. P36 describes Creswell as a friend of one of Maadi's most prominent residents, Mrs Henriette Devonshire. Creswell let her use photographs he had taken of the Maadi district to illustrate her book Rambles in Cairo. The book contained very detailed descriptions of Cairo's Islamic buildings and a chronology of Islamic buildings in the city. P35 Henriette Devonshire was the wife of p36 barrister p35 Robert Devonshire 1870-1921; she was née Vulliamy, born in France, 1860-1949. She organised and led tours by horse and carriage of Islamic Cairo, showing tourists the Fatimid monuments; all tours began at 2.30pm at the Continental Savoy Hotel. P11 Maadi was a suburb of Cairo, p13 to the west of the railway line p18 developed by the Delta Land and Investment Company in years after 1905. A lot of European residents lived there.

Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture Volume 8 is called K A C Creswell and His Legacy. Editor Prof Oleg Grabar of Harvard University. Published Leiden: E J Brill 1991

P117 article on Archie's library by Gloria Karnouk, who was its librarian at the time when this volume was being written. Karnouk says that Archie was influenced to make use of photography when doing field excavations by Flinders Petrie's Methods and Aims in Archaeology, published 1904. In his Will Archie left all his photographs to the Library - about 1000 of them, but with no index!

Archie met Flinders Petrie:

Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology by Margaret S Drower. University of Wisconsin Press 1st edition 1985; this is from 2nd edition 1995. P348 their first meeting was in Cairo in late 1919 when Flinders Petrie and wife Hilda arrived for the digging season. Flinders Petrie was 86 but still going strong. Creswell met the Petries through mutual friends the Sobhy family. Drower describes Creswell as an "eccentric and delightful personality".

Archie's publications: the British Library has quite a few by him but these are the ones I saw mentioned most often in discussions of his work:

1932, 1940 Early Muslim Architecture in 2 volumes Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Part 1: the Umayyads 622-675

Part 2: the early Abbasids 751-905

1958 A Short Account of Early Muslim Art Penguin Books; further editions 1968, 1989

1959 The Muslim Architecture of Egypt in 2 volumes Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Vol 1: Ikshids and Fatimids 939-1171

Vol 2: Ayyubids and early Bahrite Mamluks 1171-1326

1973 Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

And there are these as well:

1922 A Provisional Bibliography of Painting in Muhammadan Art. London: Reiach.

1924 A Provisional Bibliography of the Moslem Architecture of Syria and Palestine.

1926 The Evolution of the Minaret focusing on its history in Egypt. London: Burlington

Magazine.

1952 Fortification in Islam Before AD1250. Reprinted from Proceedings of the British Academy volume 38.

1953 Problems in Islamic Art. New York: Art Bulletin.

14 July 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

A WORD OF WARNING BEFORE I START: this is my biography of a member of the Golden Dawn's Horus Temple at Bradford. The Horus Temple had two groups of people in it: one group who actually lived in Bradford or the surrounding villages, and a second group who lived in Liverpool and Birkenhead. This person was one of the Liverpool/Birkenhead group. Exactly what the connection between the two groups of people was I'm not sure - it's probably that they were all in the Theosophical Society. Anyway, I could have done a much better job of this person's biography if I lived in the Liverpool area myself and could look at local archives.

Herbert Crooke was initiated into the Golden Dawn's Horus Temple in September 1894; at that time he was living at 67 Lord Street Liverpool. He chose the Latin motto 'Pax et caritas'. As the records of the Horus Temple have been lost, it isn't possible for me to know how keen a member he was, but from records at the GD headquarters in London it seems he didn't pursue his initiation very far. I shall show in this biography that Herbert found that his main interests lay elsewhere.

HERBERT'S FAMILY

Crooke is an unusual surname (the spelling without the 'e' is much more common) but I've still found it difficult to identify Herbert's parents on the 19th century censuses, so I don't know much about them. John Whitehead Crooke and Ann Eliza Monk were both born in Lancashire in the 1830s; John W in Burnley, Ann Eliza in Preston. I haven't been able to identify either of them or their families for certain on the censuses of 1841 and 1851; though on the day of the 1861 census - after John W had left home - his widowed mother Hannah was running a post office and ironmonger's shop in Clifton Street, Lytham St Anne's. Herbert Crooke and his mother were staying with Hannah that day; John W seems to have been out of the country.

John W Crooke and Ann Eliza Monk married each other in 1859 and Herbert was born in 1860, the eldest of their five children. On the day of the 1871 census John W, Ann Eliza and their family were living in Fulwood Lancashire. John W told the census official that he was working as a "cashier"; there are no details of his employer on the census form but the skills he had made him very employable - he could have been working for a bank, a cooperative society, in local government or for a business big enough to have a special department for cash transactions (like paying the work-force).

Herbert's working life indicates he had a good education. I don't know how he got it but he was just young enough to have benefited from the 1870 Education Act. If that hadn't been rolled out in the Lytham area when Herbert was of school age, the most likely alternative would have been a Church of England school run by the National Society for Promoting Religious Education. He would have left such a school at age 14 or so and by 1881 he had found work and left Liverpool. On the day of the 1881 census he was working as an engine fitter in Hull, and boarding with Martha Kelwick at 10 Thomas Street Drypool.

My assumption that Herbert Crooke had a good education is based on the next phase of his life, which I do find a bit baffling: at some point between 1881 and 1891 he returned to Lancashire and got an office job with an insurance company. It's a rare jump - engine fitting to office job. Perhaps there was something about his experience as an engine fitter with a railway company that gave him skills suited to an insurance company in an era when the business of insurance seems to have been expanding faster than the number of people experienced in the work. Perhaps Herbert Crooke had developed skills in assessing claims. Or possibly in man management, because on the day of the 1891 census he described his occupation as "manager" - he wasn't just a clerk, he managed clerks. It was a very senior position for a man just over 30 to fill.

Herbert Crooke had married Mary Allen in Preston in 1886. There are so many women called Mary Allen in the census that I haven't been able to identify Herbert's wife prior to her marriage, to discover where she grew up and whether she worked before her marriage. She and Herbert had three children, all boys: another Herbert; Norman Whitehead Crooke (born 1889); and Sidney Egerton Crooke (born 1893 and probably the godson of a GD member mentioned in the next paragraph). Herbert was born around 1886, but not in England; Mary Crooke was from Glasgow and perhaps returned to her family for the birth of her first child. Norman and Sidney were born in the Liverpool area. On the day of the 1891 census Herbert, Mary, the two elder boys and Mary's widowed mother (also called Mary) were living at 7 Windsor Road, North Meols Southport. It was in these circumstances - married with a young family and working in an insurance office probably in central Liverpool - that Herbert Crooke discovered the Theosophical Society (TS).

Herbert Crooke applied to become a member of the TS in August 1893. At that time, you had to find two members to sponsor your application and both Herbert's sponsors were members of the GD as well as the TS: Sidney Coryn; and Joseph K Gardner, who was a local man. Sidney Coryn was from London but was working in Liverpool around 1891 and kept in contact with his Liverpool acquaintances after he returned to the capital. He was from a family very actively involved in theosophy, and had studied with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in person at the TS's worldwide headquarters in Regent's Park. He and Herbert Crooke became good friends, sharing an interest in one particular facet of theosophy which did not necessarily concern all TS members - the idea that theosophy made all men (and women) brothers under the skin.

Herbert Crooke joined the TS's Liverpool Lodge, where Joseph Gardner was based (theosophically speaking) and where he probably knew many of the members already. However, at the end of 1893 he and Mary moved to Southport, where Herbert was soon busy helping to found a new lodge. He became its first secretary in 1894. Both lodges had very committed members and organised a busy programme of talks and study sessions; Southport Lodge even produced its own magazine, called *Aura*, at one stage. However, most of the

members of both lodges took the side of the American William Quan Judge, in the struggle for power in the TS that broke out around 1894; against Annie Besant, who also claimed the right to lead the TS after the death of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. Although Besant's claim was endorsed by Colonel Olcott, who had helped Blavatsky found the TS, support for Judge was so strong in Liverpool that it was there that the committee was founded to orchestrate Judge's campaign in England. And when Judge lost the debate, and was censured by senior figures in the TS worldwide - that happened in July 1894 - most of the members of the Liverpool and Southport lodges resigned from the TS, including Herbert Crooke.

Although Herbert Crooke no longer wanted to be a member of the TS worldwide, he had managed to keep hold of his belief in the principles of theosophy throughout the power struggle (which got very nasty and very public in 1895). For a couple of years, all the theosophists in his position had nowhere to go (though I'm sure they kept up their friendships with like-minded ex-TS members). However, only a couple of months after Judge's death (which took place in April 1896) a new leader, Katherine Tingley, began to rise to power in the TS in America, calling on theosophists to band together under the banner 'universal brotherhood'. In June 1896, Mrs Tingley and a group of followers began a world tour. They arrived at Southampton on Sunday 21 June 1896 and passing through London, made Liverpool their first important stop. Herbert Crooke and Joseph Gardner were amongst those who met Mrs Tingley and her 'Crusaders' at Lime Street station in Liverpool. The following day there was an informal meeting between Mrs Tingley's group and Liverpool-based theosophists in the afternoon, and then an event in the evening called a "Brotherhood Supper", with poor people invited in to sit down with the theosophists to a meal. Herbert Crooke may not have been able to get time off work to attend the afternoon meeting but he was definitely at the Brotherhood Supper and wrote up an account of it afterwards. On the evening of Tuesday 23 June 1896 there was a public meeting at the Picton Lecture Hall. Sidney Coryn's brother Herbert came from London to attend it, with Archibald Keightley (who had also questioned Annie Besant's right to succeed Blavatsky though he did stay a member of the TS worldwide). During the meeting Herbert Crooke presented Mrs Tingley with a Union Jack, on behalf of those English theosophists who wished her well. The following day, the Crusaders left Liverpool for Bradford; but for Herbert Crooke those two days had been a life-changing, life-enhancing event. He committed himself to Katherine Tingley's vision of the future of theosophy and became the secretary of her Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society in England, an (unpaid) post he held until the mid-1920s.

At the end of her lecture tour of the world, Mrs Tingley returned to America and began the work of building the universal brotherhood community at Point Loma. In February 1897 Herbert also went on a tour (not such a grand one), acting as Mrs Tingley's agent by visiting the Universal Brotherhood groups that had been set up in Paris and England by theosophists wanting to support her. At this time, he was described as "always ready to address meetings anywhere" about universal brotherhood, and he was still giving talks on theosophy in 1918.

As far as I know, no records of the UB/TS in England have survived, but it must have been based on the groups Herbert visited in 1897; and it had been set up formally by 1900, possibly in 1898 when its sister organisation was founded in the USA. As well as keeping the membership records, Herbert Crooke organised a New Year's meeting of all members based in or near London - rather like the GD's Whitsun meeting, I should imagine - which was held even in wartime from 1900 to 1922 and probably for a few more years than that. He sent regular reports to Mrs Tingley of how the UB/TS in England was doing and, though he never lived there, he went to visit her theosophical community at Point Loma California at least

twice. The first visit that I know of was under extraordinary circumstances. In June 1915 Herbert Crooke represented the UB/TS in England at Mrs Tingley's Parliament of Peace and Universal Brotherhood; the only foreign delegate from any of the countries involved in the first World War (there were some delegates from neutral European countries). He probably met Mrs Tingley in Europe whenever she visited it on a lecture tour: for example, when she and others from Point Loma attended the Theosophical Peace Congress held in Sweden in 1913.

In partnership with Sidney Coryn and others, Herbert Crooke edited *The Crusader* (1897-99) and the *Theosophical Chronicle* (1900-05), magazines which tried to bring universal brotherhood to a wider audience. He also contributed a few articles to Point Loma's journal, *The Theosophical Path*, which Mrs Tingley edited.

Herbert Crooke continued as secretary of the UB/TS in England into the 1920s and was even given a kind of promotion, the job changing its name to 'director' in his later years. However, he had retired from the post by October 1927 when he met Mrs Tingley in London at the end of her latest lecture tour and accompanied her back to Point Loma. Two years later, Mrs Tingley died, in Europe, during another lecture tour and I imagine Herbert felt the loss very deeply. Of course, I don't know how much Herbert knew about it, but the community at Point Loma declined very rapidly in the early 1930s, many people leaving it once Mrs Tingley was no longer there to lead and inspire them. I imagine the UB/TS in the UK declined as well though I do not know when it eventually folded (as far as I know it doesn't exist any longer).

Herbert Crooke might be committed to universal brotherhood but he had a family to support and had to work. His working life followed a pattern more associated with the 20th century than with the 19th, with the complete change of career I've already mentioned, from skilled labourer to office worker; and also with several changes of employer. I think his hard work and enthusiasm got him noticed by more than just Katherine Tingley. By 1901, Herbert had moved to Bristol - where one of the Universal Brotherhood groups had been set up in 1897 - and was working for Rock Life Assurance Company as supervisor of their Bristol office. I don't have any information about which firm or firms he was employed by before this date, but perhaps he had been working for Rock Life in Liverpool and the move to Bristol involved a promotion. Rock Life was a very old-established firm - it had been founded in 1806. If Herbert Crooke worked for Rock Life in Liverpool, he wasn't in the firm's head office - that was in London, at 15 New Bridge Street, Liverpool had a branch office only, which at least in 1870 was in Baltic Buildings, Red Cross Street. In 1904, Herbert changed employer again, when he was appointed by British Law Fire Insurance Company to be secretary of their South Midlands district, which covered some of the Home Counties and Oxfordshire. The new job was based at the firm's head office, at 5 Lothbury Bank in the City of London; so the Crookes moved to west London and on the day of the 1911 census were settled at 84 Goldsmith Avenue, in the newly-developed area of Acton. By this time Herbert's name-sake son Herbert had left home - I can't find him after the 1901 census so he may have gone abroad. Norman and Sidney were still at home. Norman had graduated from London University and was working as an estimating clerk - that sounds like a City of London job to me although Norman's employer wasn't named on the census form. And Sidney was working as a jig and tool draughtsman. I note that Herbert's wife Mary was a hard worker too, and the family was still being careful with its money, even now there were three wage-earners in it: at no time up to 1911 did Mary Crooke employ a live-in servant.

The trauma of the first World War affected the Crooke family directly: both Norman and Sidney went into the forces and Norman was killed. Norman must have been one of the young men who volunteered as soon as war was declared (4 August 1914) and by the end of the year he was dead. Knowing that gives a poignancy to Herbert's determination to go to the Peace Parliament despite all the difficulties and dangers of travel in wartime (though the US was not in the war as yet). The last year of the war may have brought anxiety of a different kind, as British Law Fire Insurance Company was taken over, by London Assurance, with all the uncertainties that being bought out brings. Having had three different employers, he may not have had much of a pension - I wonder what he did about that? He may not have been able to retire.

Herbert Crooke died in 1931. The death was registered in Liverpool. Maybe he was living there, able to retire after all. Many years later, a theosophical magazine described him as "strong-souled"; I think he would have liked to be remembered that way.

A WORD ABOUT SIDNEY EGERTON CROOKE

It looks as though Sidney Crooke was doing an apprenticeship in 1911. By 1914 he had qualified and was a member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers. Though he certainly served in some capacity during World War 1 I don't think he was sent to the Front, his skills were too important for him to be wasted that way. By 1927, he was working for Crossley Motors of Manchester. The firm held the rights to a gas-fuelled internal combustion engine - the sort used by Leyland buses - and made buses, cars and military vehicles. He continued to work for the firm until 1951 and was involved in developing several modifications to engines which the firm had patented.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. The records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived beyond 1896 either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned. After surviving some difficult times in the 1890s, Bradford TS still seems to be going strong (as at December 2012). In April 2012 the History page was updated with the names of all the members at least up to 1941.

The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot, and needed a lot of careful management!

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR HERBERT CROOKE

HE'S A THEOSOPHIST, JUDGE THEN TINGLEY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p29 entry for Herbert Crooke. Application dated 25 August 1893. Sponsors Sidney Coryn and J K Gardner. Yearly subscription paid 1893-95. Handwritten note: "W Q Judge". Addresses during his time as a member:

67 Lord Street Liverpool

19 Windsor Road Southport

Main lodge: Southport (J K Gardner was also a member of Southport Lodge). There's no evidence that Mary Crooke was ever a member of the TS.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIV covers March-August 1894, editor Annie Besant. Published by Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi London WC. Volume XIV number 79 issued 15 March 1894; p82 news section, item on Southport Lodge. Its new Secretary was Herbert Crooke of 19 Windsor Road. The lodge had begun issuing its own journal, called Aura.

British Library catalogue - nothing as author; but as co-editor:

1897-99 volumes 1-3 of Ourselves. Editors were Sidney Coryn, Herbert Crooke, Frederick John Dick and Katherine Tingley.

1900-04 The Theosophical Chronicle volumes 1-5, with Sidney Coryn as editor-in-chief but Crooke, Dick and Tingley also listed.

1905 then discontinued: International Theosophical Chronicle, editors Sidney Coryn and Herbert Crooke.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

Website www.scribd.com had put online the US theosophical magazine Theosophy. In volume XI number 1 April 1896 p28: the announcement of the death of William Quan Judge, on 21 March [1896]. He had been the journal's editor.

At www.scribd.com, Theosophy volume XI number 2 May-Dec 1896. On pp130-34 there's an account (written on 4 July 1896) of the first few days spent by Katherine Tingley's Crusaders' group in England after their arrival at Southampton on 21 June 1896.

<http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena> Via the web to The Labour Annual: the Reformers' Yearbook volume 3 1897 p121 describes Herbert Crooke as a "home crusader" and as "always ready to address meetings anywhere". Which he certainly does: www.scribd.com has also put online Point Loma's journal The Theosophical Path. In volume XII number 1 January-April 1897 p30 gives a description of Herbert's recent tour. He'd "spent the first week of February [1897] in Paris" before going to Portsmouth, Brighton, Market Lavington, Clifton, Manchester, Chesterfield, Baildon and Scarborough; where he spoke to recently-formed Universal Brotherhood groups.

Also at website www.scribd.com, the magazine Universal Brotherhood (which I think may be the previous name of The Theosophical Path; or a continuation of the magazine Theosophy, with a new name). In volume XIII number 1 January-April 1898 pp226-228 an article by Herbert Crooke: A Chinese Fable. He says he'd first come across the story in a children's book.

Via web to snippet from the International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual issued by Dodd, Mead and Co 1910. On p479 Herbert Crooke is described as Honorary Director of the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society. There was an address on the snippet - 18 Bartlett's Buildings London - but because it was a snippet I'm not sure whether it's to do with Crooke, or another entry on the same page.

Via googlebooks to The Theosophical Path Jan-June 1922 p197-98 pubn of an article orig in Du and pubd 27 Aug 1913 in Nieuwe Arnhemsche Courant. Article was a visit to Arnhem by Tingley and the Raja-Yoga orchestra flwng the 20th World Peace Congress wh had tkn pl at The Hague. Tingley and R-Y orchestra had come to the Peace Congress from the Theosl Peace Congress in Sweden. I couldn't find anything which listed the people who attended the Theosophical Peace Congress.

At www.scribd.com, The Theosophical Path I couldn't see the volume number but it's covering July-December 1915. On p80 Herbert Crooke at the Parliament of Peace and Universal Brotherhood p79 which took place 22-25 June 1915 at Point Loma in its Aryan Memorial Temple and at Tingley's house. The only other people from Europe who were present were delegates from Holland and Sweden.

At [ww.scribd.com](http://www.scribd.com), The Theosophical Path volume XIV number 2 Feb 1918 p1 list of contents includes a short article by Herbert Crooke: The Rise and Fall of Dogma, part of a larger series (not all written by him) called Theosophical Manual XVI. Herbert's article is on pp192-93 and strikes a note that I've noticed very often in theosophical journals - Herbert states his belief that dogma is on the decline and looks forward to the "Light of a New Day"

full of “Ancient Wisdom”.

At www.scribd.com, The Theosophical Path volume XV number 1 covers July-December 1918; I think I couldn't find the page number but there was a reference in this volume to Herbert Crooke's Talks on Theosophy.

At www.scribd.com, The Theosophical Path. I couldn't find the first page of this volume so I don't know the volume and issue number but it's covering January-June 1922. On p154 is part of a letter written by Herbert Crooke to Katherine Tingley on 1 January 1922; the latest in a long correspondence. Herbert is described as “for many years Director of the Universal Brotherhood and TS in England”. In his letter he's reporting on the 22nd New Year ceremony for London-based members of the UB/TS in England. The first such ceremony had been held in December 1900 and they'd been held every year since, even during World War 1.

Via [googlebooks](http://googlebooks.com) to The Theosophical Path volume 32 January-June 1927. On p92 there's mention of Herbert Crooke as now retired from his post as “Director of the Universal Brotherhood and TS in England”. On p101 there's a description of the return of Katherine Tingley to San Diego after a lecture tour in Europe which ended with a date at the Wigmore Hall on 31 October 1926. Accompanying her were on her return to the US was (inter alia) Herbert Crooke.

Via the web to Theosophical Forum volume 26 1948 p36 where Herbert Crooke is described as “strong-souled”.

FOR MORE ON POINT LOMA

HERBERT CROOKE'S WORKING LIFE

Insurance Directory and Year Book 1901 p90 H Crooke is in a list of senior officials of insurance companies: “Sup't Rock Life” Bristol Agency.

At www.aim25.ac.uk, website of archives within the M25: Rock Life Assur Company operated from 1806 to 1942. Its headquarters were at 14 New Bridge Street (later renumbered as 15 New Bridge St). By 1912 it had a number of subsidiaries, eg in Canada. Its records are now at the London Metropolitan Archive.

At www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk is a transcription of Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs issue of 1870; on p5 Rock Life Assurance Co is at Baltic Buildings, Red Cross St.

The Bankers' Magazine volume 77 1904 p507 announcement by the British Law Fire Insur Co of Herbert Crooke's appointment. The same information is published in Post Magazine and Insurance Monitor issue of 13 February 1904 p118.

At www.aim25.ac.uk, website of archives within M25: British Law Fire Insurance Co Ltd existed 1888-1955 though in 1918 it was bought by London Assurance who in their turn were bought much later by Sun Alliance. The headquarters of British Law Fire Insurance Co was at 5 Lothbury Bank London EC. It did everything except life assurance. Its records have since been deposited by Sun Alliance at the Guildhall Business Library.

HERBERT CROOKE junior

He didn't die or get married between 1901 and 1910. The two military/World War 1 sites below did not list him as among the dead (though of course he might have been badly injured).

NORMAN WHITEHEAD CROOKE

University of London Calendar 1910 p505 in a list alphabetical by surname, I'm assuming its of this year's graduates: Crooke, Norman Whitehead

Ahttp://www.genesreunited.co.ukt www.military-genealogy.com information that Norman Whitehead Crooke was killed during World War 1. Confirmed at www.genesreunited.co.uk with a bit more detail: he died in 1914 and he was in the army.

SIDNEY EGERTON CROOKE

Via booksnow1.scholarsportal.info to a list of members issued 2 March 1914 by the Institute of Mechanical Engineers: includes Sidney E Crooke. So does another list from 1922 seen via archive.org/stream.

London Gazette Supplement issued 1 January 1919. On p24 there's the middle of a very long list and with no details at the top of the page to make clear what list it is. It might be a list of men recently demobbed, I suppose: Sidney Egerton Crooke, described as "Lt (A/Maj) SEC D/286th (W Lancs)" Brigade, "RFA, TF". (I transcribed this carefully as I've very little idea what it means.)

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/ to the records of the Invicta Bridge and Engineerin Co Ltd. I don't quite understand the connection between the two firms but the records include details of S E Crooke's appointment as assistant works manager at Crossley Motors, in 1927; and as works manager 1929. There's also a list of assignments of patents involving him, and Crossley Motors Ltd and Crossley Marine Engines Ltd covering 1937-51. The file is 80/104/1/75-CRO-1 held at the British Motor Industry Heritage Trust at Banbury Road Gaydon near Coventry.

At www.patentmaps.com Sidney E Crooke is the assignee in 5 patents all involving improvements to ignition-type oil engines: Crossley Motors 1927; 1928; 1937; 1940; 1942.

Crossley Motors has a website: www.crossley-motors.org.uk Originally Crossley Brothers and founded 1867 by Francis Crossley (1839-97) and (Sir) William Crossley (1844-1911). In 1869 they bought the rights to a German-invented gas-fuelled internal combustion engine as used eg by Leyland buses. The firm became a limited company in 1881 and changed its name to Crossley Motors Ltd in 1904. It made cars until 1938; buses 1926-58; and military vehicles 1914-45. When the business was founded its address was Great Marlborough Street Manchester, though it moved to Openshaw in 1882 and moved again much later.

1 April 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Frederick Joseph William Crowe was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in August 1893; and chose the Latin motto 'Virtute non verbis'. Herbert Coryn was probably initiated as part of the same ritual though I don't think the two men knew each other before that evening and they didn't have much in common. One thing they did have in common, though, was that they never really followed up the initiation - they decided that the GD, with its focus on the western magical tradition, was not for them.

This is one of my short biographies and in Frederick Crowe's case I'm focusing very much on his professional life. I've found a lot of information on it and it definitely gives a flavour of the man. As with all the subjects of my short biographies, there will be more information on him out there, but it will be in county record offices, the local papers in Wells, Torquay and Chichester...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

March 2016

This is what I have found on FREDERICK JOSEPH WILLIAM CROWE, who was known as Fred to his friends.

IN THE GD

Not much information, I'm afraid!

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Heavens yes! Frederick Crowe was an active and very knowledgeable freemason and he was almost certainly offered the chance of GD initiation by his equally active freemason acquaintance, William Wynn Westcott, one of the GD's founders.

I've decided that I won't go into the details of Frederick's life in freemasonry here: he was a member of so many lodges, chapters, other orders and other types of freemasonry; and held so many senior positions in freemasonry both local and national; that it would just turn into a list. I shall instead refer those who are interested in the full details to the Freemason's Library catalogue. Find it at <http://www.freemasonrylondon.museum> and follow 'search the collections'. Search for Frederick and you'll see a photograph of him come up in the responses: the full list of everything he was involved in, is in its catalogue entry, together with some of the more interesting pieces of freemasons' regalia that belonged to Frederick and are now at the Library. Below, I'm just going to pick out a few important stops along the way and list his freemasonry publications, which got him so widely known amongst freemasons both in the UK and abroad.

Crowe's first initiation into freemasonry came while he was still quite young. In 1887 he joined Ashburton Lodge number 2189. The following year he joined the Royal Arch Masonry Pleiades Chapter number 710, which was based in Totnes. I've mentioned William Wynn Westcott already as an acquaintance Frederick made through freemasonry. I'll just add here, two freemasons Frederick knew in Devon, because they helped him in the initial stages of his career as a writer:

William Eliot Thomas (1866-1929) of Jordan Lodge 1402 in Torquay worked for the Western Morning News. Crowe wrote reports on musical events in Devon for the WMN. For more on W E Thomas, see my biography. He was initiated into the GD in 1898.

and

William James Hughan (1841-1911) was a very senior mason and historian of freemasonry. By 1891 had retired from his work managing a cloth warehouse in Truro and was living in Torquay, but Frederick had met him a couple of years earlier. Frederick's profile of Hughan, which appeared in The Freemason magazine in 1888, is his earliest published work on freemasonry. Hughan repaid the compliment by writing introductions to Crowe's first set of books on freemasonry. Hughan was a founder member of Quatuor Coronati 2076 - for more on that lodge, see below.

When Frederick moved to Torquay himself, he joined Jordan Lodge 1402, but also the much older lodge St John's number 328.

The other lodge that I'm going to mention here is Quatuor Coronati 2076, which was founded in

1886 as a forum for the study of the history and rituals of freemasonry. Its founders wanted to reach as many interested freemasons as possible, so the lodge had a two-tier membership: correspondents; and full members. QC2076's corresponding members lived all over the world; they received its magazine, *Ars Quatuor Coronati*, and were entitled to attend its meetings if they were in London. Frederick joined as a corresponding member in November 1888. More importantly, in October 1888 he made a Will leaving to QC2076 his papers on freemasonry and a collection of autographs of well-known freemasons. They are now part of the collection at the Freemasons' Library. He had also begun to collect masonic certificates almost as soon as he had become a freemason. By 1913 he had over 1700, a collection the United Grand Lodge of England thought so important that in that year, they spent £2000 acquiring it.

Meetings of QC2076 always featured a talk and subsequent discussion; talks were then printed in the magazine to reach the lodge's wider public. In 1893 and 1894 Frederick went to London to give three of these talks, based on pieces that he had collected: on Hungarian lodge medals; on Hungarian lodge jewels; and a more general one, on Continental Jewels and Medals. The offer of an initiation into the GD was made around this time: although not one of its founders, William Wynn Westcott was a senior member of QC2076. In November 1895, a *conversazione* evening held by QC2076 featured some of Frederick's memorabilia.

Becoming a full member of QC2076 was not a privilege given to many, as the number of full members at any time was restricted; but at some point between 1895 and 1900, Frederick had that privilege, which conferred voting rights and the opportunity to act as one of the lodge's officials. Now living much nearer to London, Frederick made his way up the hierarchy of lodge officialdom in the early 1900s, and served as the lodge's WM for the 12 months from November 1909 to November 1910. Each summer, QC2076 organised a weekend away for its members: in 1910 they all went to Chichester, a visit largely organised by Frederick. On the Sunday morning, they went to hear the Cathedral service, with Frederick playing the

organ and conducting the choir as usual.

See the Freemasonry Publications section below for the many articles by Frederick that were published in *Ars Quatuor Coronati*; they cover the period 1890 to 1914.

Frederick served as Grand Organist at different times in the county of Devon; for Mark Masonry in England; for the Supreme Grand Chapter of England; and for the United Grand Lodge of England.

For Frederick's many publications on freemasonry, see the Work/Profession sections below.

Sources for this section on Frederick and freemasonry:

History of Jordan Lodge number 1402 Torquay 1872-1922 by Stanley H N Lane. Printed Torquay 1923.

The History of St John's Lodge number 328 Torquay of Antient, Free and Accepted Masons by John Chapman, a PM of the lodge. Printed by J S Virtue and Co Ltd of City Road London. No printed date but "1894" is written by hand on the front page.

Ars Quatuor Coronati... printed in London for the Lodge and edited by a lodge member. Please note that I didn't do a full sweep, I looked at these volumes:

- 1 1886-88; its p1 has a list of the lodge's founders including Hughan and Gould; but not including any GD members
- 7 1894
- 8 1895
- 13 1900
- 23 1910
- 25 1912.

On the collection of masonic certificates: see the details attached to Frederick's photo in the Freemasons' Library. Though there isn't a list of all 1700 of them there.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

There were obituaries of Frederick in *The Times* and *Who Was Who*; but not in DNB or ODNB. There's not as much detail in the obituaries that do exist as I would like. Particularly, there's a lack of firm dates - I do like there to be dates.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

I've seen three different dates for Frederick's year of birth, but they're not far apart: 1862 to 1864. Registrations at freebmd don't really solve the problem. I give my favourite candidate in the 'sources' section below, but here I'll leave the exact date open. His census responses are fairly consistent about where he was born: in Somerset, somewhere between Weston-super-Mare and Bridgwater.

I also can't find Frederick on a census with his parents; so I have no idea who they were or exactly where they lived; or whether he had any brothers and sisters. The future course of

Frederick's life was dictated by an event that took place when he was seven - he was chosen as one of the boy choristers at Wells Cathedral - so on the day of the 1871 census he had already left home. He was living in Wells, at 77 High Street, with his unmarried aunts, Eliza and Lucy Crowe. Eliza ran a tobacconist's shop and an umbrella-making business; and Lucy kept house for her sister and nephew.

Lucy Crowe had left the household, or was away, on the day of the 1881 census; and Eliza Crowe had moved her home and businesses to 1 Market Street. Frederick Crowe was still living with his aunt, and was still involved with music at the cathedral. Although they don't seem to have been in the UK in 1871, by 1881 a couple who became friends of Fred had moved to Wells: Robert Mills and his wife Elizabeth. On the day of the 1881 census, Robert was running his own monumental masonry business; but he was also working as a singer, most probably in the cathedral choir. In the next 15 years Robert Mills added to his surname, to become Robert Watkin-Mills, gave up his business, and made a career for himself as a baritone, specialising in oratorio. He and Elizabeth moved to London but Fred kept in touch with them for many years: Elizabeth was initiated into the GD in 1898, probably because Fred recommended her; and Robert was visiting Fred on the day of the 1901 census while Elizabeth and their niece (another Elizabeth Mills) were staying elsewhere in Torquay.

Sources: freebmd; census 1871, 1881, 1901 and see also the Education section below and my biography of Elizabeth Watkin-Mills.

EDUCATION

On the day of the 1871 census Frederick, like all the choristers, was a pupil at the Wells Cathedral Grammar School. By 1881 he had left the choir but was employed as the cathedral's assistant organist. He was studying music - probably including composition and arrangement - with the chief organist Charles Williams Lavington; and was (again probably) getting his first experience as a conductor of music in a church.

The references that I found to Frederick's career in music say that he spent two periods studying singing: in London; and then in Milan where he had lessons with the opera singer and teacher Vittorio Carpi. None of my sources are able to say when this important period of study took place but the late 1870s or early 1880s seems more likely than later dates. Robert Watkin-Mills had studied singing in Milan, probably in the early 1870s: perhaps it was Robert who suggested Fred should do the same.

Sources for Frederick's education:

For the cathedral grammar school:

Frederick's schooling at Wells Cathedral grammar school is confirmed by details supplied with a photograph of him, to freemasons' lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076's archive, now in the Freemasons' Library. I'm not sure where the information originally came from: Frederick himself, probably.

The earliest reference I could find to Frederick's musical education was an article on in *The Musical Times* volume 46 January-December 1905. Published London: Novello and Co Ltd;

New York: Novello, Ewer and Co. In its issue of 1 February 1905: Chichester Cathedral pp81-88, written by its reporter "Dotted Crotchet" who had been to Chichester and interviewed several of the administrative staff as well as Frederick. I suppose this must be the source for the information which all later references are using, for example The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal by Watkins Shaw. Clarendon Press 1991 p81.

I couldn't find much information on Charles Williams Lavington but Wikipedia has comprehensive list of organists and assistant organists at Wells Cathedral. Lavington was born in 1819. He only ever worked at Wells Cathedral: as assistant organist from 1842 to 1859, then as senior organist until his death in 1895.

I could find even less information on the baritone Vittorio Carpi: he isn't very well known in the UK, which suggests he never sang here.

At www.marstonrecords.com: Carpi is mentioned in passing as the teacher of the soprano Luisa Garibaldi (born 1878).

Werner's Magazine volume 17 1895 p149 and p708, noting that Carpi had come to the end of a teaching contract at the Chicago Conservatory.

WORK/PROFESSION (1) Organist, conductor, composer

Frederick left Wells Cathedral in 1882 for a job as organist and choirmaster of the parish church at Ashburton in Devon. At the end of his time at Ashburton his Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E Flat was published in London and New York by Novello and Co: the first item in a long association between Frederick and Novello's.

In 1890 Frederick moved on to a similar job at a more prominent church - St Mary Magdalene Torquay. Perhaps his friends amongst the Torquay freemasons had helped him get the job.

The job was considered a lucky one: three holders of the post had gone on to jobs in cathedrals, and in due course, Frederick became the fourth.

During his time at St Mary Magdalene Frederick worked with local clergymen on a series of works for use by parish churches; all published by Weekes and Co of London. Two were single carols in Weekes' Carols for Christmastide series, but two were on a much bigger scale: full choral services, one for Easter and one for harvest thanksgiving. They both comprised a set of hymns interspersed with recitatives; with the clergymen choosing the Biblical texts and writing the words of the hymns, and Frederick setting it all to music. Both were on a fairly large scale, requiring soloists as well as a choir. Frederick also did the first of two adaptations for parish choirs of works by Dvorak: an anthem for Lent, published by Novello's as number 742 in its Octavo Anthems collection. And lastly, from this period comes the only non-church work by Frederick that was ever published: a duet for violin and piano from 1892.

Frederick remained at St Mary Magdalene until the dean and chapter of Chichester Cathedral offered him the post of organist and choirmaster. It was a big step up in his career, obviously, but there were other reasons why Frederick might have been looking for a new job. He started work at the cathedral on Trinity Sunday 1902. He worked for there until he retired, due to ill-health, in 1921. During his years in Chichester he hugely expanded the range and amount of music done in the cathedral and played a very active role in the musical life of the city and of the cathedrals of Wessex:

?paid:

- as instructor in music at Bishop Otter College and conductor of its women's choir
- as music teacher at Chichester Girls' High School and Chichester School

and as extensions of his main job:

- as instigator of the Southern Cathedrals' Festival
- as founder of the Chichester Cathedral Oratorio Society and Chichester Cathedral Orchestral Society.

One of the first tasks that faced Frederick when he took up his post at Chichester Cathedral was the need to overhaul the cathedral's main organ, built originally by Renatus Harris in 1677-78 and much restored and moved about the building since then. The firm appointed to do the work was one whose work Frederick recommended to his new employers: George Hele and Company of Plymouth. The idea which became the Southern Cathedrals' Festival arose from the concert on 28 September 1904 which celebrated the end of the restoration: choirs from Salisbury and Winchester joined Frederick's own cathedral choir at that concert.

Frederick was so busy at the cathedral and elsewhere that he only published one more piece of music, and that not an original composition. In 1905, the second of his Dvorak adaptations appeared, the Stabat Mater.

It's possible that Frederick was a member of the Chough Musical Society at this time. Information is lacking on the Society but it seems to have been founded around 1880 to give a series of concerts in London each winter. At least in the years immediately after the first World War, the concerts were held in the Great Hall of Cannon Street Hotel.

I couldn't find dates for this, but while he was at Chichester Cathedral Frederick also acted as internal examiner at Reading University department of music, and was on its board of studies.

And lastly (where he find the time?) Frederick wrote a series of articles for The Musical Courier, on well-known cathedral organists.

Sources for Frederick's later career:

Who Was Who volume 3 p312.

The Musical Times volume 46 January- December 1905. Published London: Novello and Co Ltd; New York: Novello, Ewer and Co. In its issue of 1 February 1905, the article: Chichester Cathedral: pp81-88. As it's based on an interview with Frederick, I give the date of birth included in it as probably the right one: 31 December 1862. There is a registration on freebmd for a Frederick William (no Joseph) Crowe, in the quarter January-March 1863; but it was in the St Luke's district of Middlesex; not what I'd expected. On p88 there's a photograph of Frederick taken in Devon. No beard! - very unusual for the time; but a full set of moustaches.

Cathedral Organists Past and Present by John Ebenezer West. Published by Novello and Co 1925: p25.

See wikipedia for a short page on Hele of Plymouth aka Hele and Co and Hele and Sons, based on information in The Freeman-Edmonds Directory of British Organ Builders by Bernard Edmonds published 2002.

Southern Cathedrals Festival, comprising the cathedrals of Chichester, Winchester and Salisbury: see wikipedia again for its career, which took rather a dive after Frederick retired. It was resurrected in the 1960s and is still going.

Chichester Cathedral Oratorio Society. Not much information on this but there's a reference in The Musical Herald numbers 766-777 1912 p13: at its advent concert the Chichester Cathedral Oratorio Society had sung Gounod's Redemption (definitely outside the normal repertoire).

Chichester Orchestral Society. Again, not much information on the web - there will be more locally - but I found a reference to it in Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular but it was from 1929 when I would suppose Frederick had retired as its conductor.

Bishop Otter College:

See wikipedia.

Via www.jstor.org to The Musical Times volume 54 number 843, issue of 1 May 1913 pp1-4 a special Supplement on the annual meeting of the Association of Competition Festivals, held at the University Hall Leeds. Bishop Otter College's all-women choir, conducted by Frederick, gave a concert.

The Chough Musical Society:

The Freemasons' Library has an item listed under Frederick Crowe referring to Chough Lodge number 2264. I read through a history of the lodge, which said that it had grown out of the Chough Musical Society. However, the book made no mention of Frederick ever being a lodge member. Perhaps he was just a member of the Society and - knowing so many freemasons - knew some of Chough Lodge number 2264's founders.

At amazon you can buy lots of different lists of the Chough Musical Society's yearly sets of concerts. Though the Society was founded around 1880, I couldn't see lists of concerts from earlier than 1898. The concerts were still going in 1924.

The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular volume 38 no 648, issue of 1 February 1897 p73-80 the Chough Musical Society is in a list of current music societies.

At www.forgottenbooks.com a reproduction of William Purdie Treloar's A Lord Mayor's Diary 1906-07 originally published in 1920: in January 1907 Lord Mayor Treloar went to a Chough Musical Society concert at the Cannon St Hotel.

At www.haydnwoodmusic.com Haydn Wood played violin at a Chough Musical Society concert in the Great Hall of Cannon St Hotel on 10 October 1919.

ANY MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS? See also the 'profession' section above.

I listen to some Radio 3 but have never heard a work by Frederick being played.

The British Library catalogue has these works:

- 1888 Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E Flat. London and New York: Novello, Ewer and Co.
- 1892 Romanza. Duet for Violin and Pianoforte. London: Ransford and Son.
- 1896 Angels from the Realms of Glory. Crowe as composer with words by J Montgomery etc. London: Weekes and Co; Number 2 in its Carols for Christmastide Series.
- 1896 Shepherds Leave Your Flocks All Sleeping. Crowe as writer and composer. London: Weekes and Co; Number 3 in its Carols for Christmastide Series.
- 1897 The Story of the Passion, with the “Seven Words” of Jesus Christ. Set to simple music for the use of parish church choirs. Scripture selections and hymns by Rev H J Warner MA vicar of Brixton. “Fred J W Crowe” as composer; organist and choirmaster of Upton Church Torquay, St Mary Magdalene. Price 1 shilling if you buy the music; 1d for words only. Published London: Weekes and Co; Chicago USA: Clayton F Summy Co. A set of recitatives and hymns making 17 pieces in all and needing tenor and bass soloists.
- 1897 A Song of Harvest Thanksgiving for the use of parish church choirs. Hymns written and texts selected by Rev H B Clark MA curate of Tor Mohun Torquay. Music by “Fred J W Crowe” organist and choirmaster of Upton Church Torquay. Dedicated to Rev E P Gregg MA rector of Upton Church, and rural dean. Published London: Weekes and Co; and Chicago USA: Clayton F Summy Co. It’s a set of recitatives and hymns, making 17 pieces in all; needing tenor, bass and soprano soloists. Same price as the Passion set.
- 1902 By Thy Glorious Death and Passion. Anthem for Lent. Music by Dvorak; Crowe as producing a version for parish church choirs. London: Novello and Co as number 742 in its Octavo Anthems Collection (which had been running since 1876). NB there’s a wiki listing Dvorak’s compositions but I couldn’t identify this particular anthem in it; it must have been one item in a larger work.
- Just noting that Musical Times volume 46 1905 unnumbered page has an advertisement for Novello’s Octavo Anthems. Number 742 is still available. Crowe’s name doesn’t appear on it, only Dvorak’s.
- 1905 At the Foot of the Cross, an adaptation of Dvorak’s Stabat Mater. Crowe’s English-language version for church choirs published London: Novello and Co. A wiki on Dvorak’s compositions says that the Stabat Mater was written 1876-77 for large forces: 4 soloists, chorus and orchestra.
- 1910 The Training College Song Book. Crowe as editor. London and New York: Boosey and Co.

This isn’t strictly a musical publication, but does arise from Frederick’s time as an employee of Chichester Cathedral: at www.westsussex.gov.uk a reference to his The Authorised Guide to Chichester Cathedral published by R J Acford 1925.

WORK/PROFESSION (2)

I’ve decided to include Frederick’s publications on freemasonry as ‘work’ rather than ‘leisure’. I’m sure Frederick was not paid to write them, so they’re not ‘professional’ works in that sense; though some at least were for sale. Even a short article does require a lot of effort, though, if it’s going to be good and something you can be proud of: something I’ve learned all too well since I started doing these GD biographies!

ANY PUBLICATIONS AS A FREEMASON?

Plenty. Most publications on freemasonry were written by freemasons for freemasons. They tended to be published privately, with a small print-run, and copies were not usually sent to the statutory libraries so most of Frederick's work is in the Freemasons' Library only. His set of 'master masons handbooks' is an exception, with copies sent to the British Library. As you can see, some of the handbooks went into a second or third edition. They formed the basis of Frederick's reputation as an authority on the paraphernalia of freemasonry, and also on the duties of a senior freemason.

List of publications in the British Library:

Firstly there's the 'basic' set of three 'master mason handbooks', all with an introduction by W J Hughan:

The Master Mason's Handbook. 1st edition 1890 2nd edition 1894 3rd edition 1915. All London: George Kenning.

The Scottish Master Mason's Handbook. 1st edition 1894 2nd edition 1910. Both London: George Kenning and Son.

The Irish Master Freemason's Handbook. 1st edition 1895; 2nd edition 1909. Both London: George Kenning and Son.

Then there's one based on items in Frederick's collection:

1897 Masonic Clothing and Regalia, British and Continental. This was a high-quality production with 36 color plates. Edinburgh: T C and E C Jack.

Then a couple reflecting on the duties of a freemason:

1909 Things a Freemason Should Know. With some plates. London: George Kenning and Son.

1920 What is Freemasonry? A Word of Advice to Masters and Candidates. 1st edition 1920 2nd edition 1935. Both London: Gale and Polden.

Then one of several works printed as a booklet after originally being a magazine article:

1910 The Caledonian Lodge number 134. Number 3 in the Masonic Tracts Series which was published 1906-26. London 1910; originally published in The Freemason 1910. Lodge histories are one of the most popular freemason publications; but this was the only one Frederick wrote.

The second edition of a book in which Frederick prepared for publication the work of a very well-known historian of freemasonry, one of the founders of Quatuor Coronati lodge 2076:

1951 Robert Freke Gould's The Concise History of Freemasonry. Its first edition was published in 1920 but the British Library doesn't have a copy of that.

The Freemasons' Library has copies of all the books listed above. It also has:

Some more instances of articles being published as booklets:

1888 originally in The Freemason of 3 November 1888: Brother Hughan at Home.

1914 originally in Ars Quatuor Coronati 1914: The Free Carpenters.

Undated originally published in Windsor Magazine: Freemasonry.

At various times Frederick had produced catalogues of his freemasonry collection:

- Catalogue of Masonic Certificates numbers 515-1584. Collected by Frederick around 1890.
- A second Catalogue of 500 Masonic Certificates Frederick. Published 1894 in the Masonic Catalogues series and later re-issued in the Masonic Pamphlets series.
- Some Rare Certificates. London: 1900

And finally, the 1924 edition of A Concise History of Freemasonry, by Robert Freke Gould (1836-1915), prepared for publication by Frederick. First edition: New York: 1924. 2nd edition: London: 1951

Frederick was also a regular contributor to QC2076's magazine, whose full title is: Ars Quatuor Coronati: A Concise Index to the Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge Number 2076. AQC's Catalogue of Volumes 1-80 compiled for the Lodge by A R Hewitt and H G Massey 1971 lists these articles:

page	vol	year	title
21	3	1890	Freemasonry in Holland
21	5	1892	Masonic clothing/1 of 3
21	6	1893	Masonic clothing/2 of 3
21	7	1894	Continental lodge jewels and medals
21	7	1894	Masonic clothing/3 of 3
21	8	1895	Freemasonry in Brixham Devon 1781-1840
21	14	1901	A curious certificate
21	16	1903	A curious Carbonari certificate
21		1903	A French prisoners' lodge
21	17	1903	Masonic certificates of the Netherlands
21	17	1904	Colours in freemasonry
21		1904	An interesting engraving
21	18	1905	A forgotten Masonic charity
21	19	1906	King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba
20	20	1907	Another French prisoners' lodge
21		1907	The Scottish lodge at Namur
21	22	1909	The Fendeurs
21		1909	Giorgione's Three Wise Men
20	24	1911	The Charta transmissions of Larmenius
21	27	1914	The free carpenters.

In addition, Frederick appears as the subject of two articles:

- | | | | |
|----|----|------|---|
| 21 | 22 | 1909 | a profile of him, on his installation as the lodge's WM |
| 21 | 44 | 1931 | an obituary. |

I don't think it was in Frederick's nature to be a controversialist, but occasionally he felt he shouldn't resist the desire to correct poor work on freemasonry published by others. In The Co-Mason volume IV issue of April 1912 p82 a letter from Frederick appeared. A recent co-masonry publication, The Knights Templars, had argued in favour of a connection in the middle ages between the Knights Templar and medieval freemasonry. Frederick's letter said that there was no proof at all of such a thing. He also disagreed with the book's assertion that mysticism had been an important feature of freemasonry as early as the 17th century, saying that in his opinion pre-17th century ceremonies were "of the simplest description, and the 'secrets' confined to modes of recognition, and perhaps one or two 'trade secrets'." These are still hotly debated issues, of course"!

FAMILY

Frederick was married twice.

Census information from 1891 says that Frederick's first wife, Sara Elizabeth Stevens, was born around 1860 on Alderney in the Channel Islands. I haven't been able to find a birth registration for her; I also haven't been able to identify her on any census before her marriage. So like Frederick's, Sara's social and family background is a mystery.

Frederick and Sara Elizabeth were married in Newton Abbot in 1886 and began their married life in Ashburton. By the day of the 1891 census, Frederick had changed jobs and they had moved to a house called Marsden, on Thurlow Road in the Upton district of Torquay. They had a visitor that day - Mary Bond, from Alburgh in Norfolk; perhaps a friend of Sara's as they were the same age. The Crowes' income was enough for them to employ the basic one general servant.

Frederick and Sara didn't have any children. The problem was with her rather than him. Perhaps she was ill: she died early in 1899, aged only 40.

Frederick's second wife, Faith Tombleson, was born in Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, a daughter of Thomas Tombleson and his wife Margaret. Thomas farmed 512 acres and was a JP. There was enough money in the family for Thomas and Margaret to employ a governess on census day in 1881, for Faith and her two older sisters. Two general servants and the farm shepherd were living with the family on that day. The Tomblesons, particularly Thomas, were prominent members of the congregation at the Wesleyan Chapel on Chapel Lane Barton-on-Humber.

Frederick Crowe and Faith Tombleson would not normally have come across each other, I suppose. But on the day of the 1901 census Faith and her sister Hetty were staying at a boarding house in Upton, Torquay. Perhaps Hetty had been ill and Faith was not just there as her sister: Faith told the census official that she was a trained sick-nurse. Frederick was still living in Upton, at the house he'd shared with wife Sara; his friend the bass-baritone Robert

Watkin-Mills was visiting him.

So Faith and Frederick met in Torquay. There was still the religious question to be resolved. A Methodist marrying someone who worked for the Church of England - that could still be a big issue, around 1900. But they resolved it, and were married in the summer of 1901. They had two children: Geoffrey Gilbert Crowe, born 1905; and Margaret Faith Muriel Crowe (later Canton), born 1910. On the day of the 1911 census they were all living at St Peter's House, 64 North Street Chichester; with a cook, and a nurse/housemaid.

Sources for the family section: freebmd; census 1861-1911

An interesting side-light on Faith Tombleson:

www.lincolnshire.gov.uk in the Lincolnshire Archives as their reference: Meth/C/Barton on Humber, Chapel Lane /A/4/1. It's a Seat Rent Book, originally in use at the Wesleyan Chapel, Chapel Lane Barton-on-Humber between 1833 and 1842. It was re-used c 1883 by Hetty Tombleson as a 'commonplace' book - as a diary, for notes and for pressing flowers. A second such 'commonplace' book, reference /A/4/2 originally the Seat Rent book for 1842-57 was re-used for similar jottings, by Faith Tombleson.

LEISURE INTERESTS?

Frederick did manage to squeeze some leisure time into his busy life. He was the Hon Sec to the West Sussex branch of the NSPCC. He was a Captain of the First Devon and Somerset Royal Engineers; a voluntary regiment; and later served as Captain of the Chichester Division of the National Reserve. He enjoyed astronomy, and a game of billiards.

Source:

Times 11 April 1931 p12.

DEATH

Frederick enjoyed a decade of retirement before dying very suddenly, while on a train to Cosham, on 9 April 1931. Faith died in January 1962, in the house she and Frederick had been living in, in 1911.

Sources:

Times 11 April 1931 p12.

Probate Registry entries 1931, 1962.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the

large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

13 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Alexander Gordon DAVIDSON was initiated into the Isis-Urania temple in London on 2 November 1901, taking the Latin motto 'Lux et tenebris'. By this time, the GD administrative records are not noting down what level new members subsequently reached;

but he did not become a member of the inner, 2nd Order as far as I can tell.

Alexander Davidson was born to Samuel and Margaret Davidson in January 1860 in Rayne, Aberdeenshire, the youngest of nine children, six boys and three girls. Samuel Davidson was a doctor and also ran a small farm, so on the days of the 1861 and 1871 censuses, his household was a large and varied one: as well as his wife, younger children still living at home, older sons on their Easter vacation from university, a housemaid, a kitchen maid and a nursemaid, it also included two agricultural labourers. Two of Samuel Davidson's sons followed him to Aberdeen University to study medicine; Alexander Gordon was the younger of the two, graduating in 1881. He registered with the General Medical Council for the first time in 1884 but did not actually pass his MD until 1887. He later gained a diploma in Public Health (DPH). Local councils were being given wider powers and responsibilities to check food and hygiene standards and collect medical statistics, and the DPH was a new qualification, to prepare physicians to take work in this expanding area of employment.

During the 1880s and early 1890s, Alexander Gordon was still living in Aberdeenshire; his father had retired from his general practice by 1881 and Alexander Gordon may have taken it over. Around 1893 or 1894 he married Jane Napier Grant, daughter of Richard Robb Grant who ran an engineering and boiler-making firm in Port Dundas Glasgow. Their first child, Jean Evelyn, was born in Scotland but between 1895 and 1899 the family moved south and settled at 57 Crouch Hall Road north London. I suppose this must mean that Alexander Gordon had found a new job; but I haven't been able to find out what it was. Alexander and Jane's two sons were born in London: Erroll Gordon Davidson in 1900 and Archer Grant Davidson in 1902.

Sometime during the early 1900s, Alexander Gordon Davidson accepted a job as medical officer with the Tarquah Mining and Exploration Co Ltd and moved to what is now Ghana. This next bit is rather speculative but it's possible that he heard of the job through Dr Robert Felkin, who had been initiated into the GD in Edinburgh but by 1896 had moved to London. From 1886 to 1896 Felkin had taught tropical medicine at the University of Edinburgh and when he set up in general practice in London he also acted as medical consultant to firms with operations in tropical countries. I can't actually prove that Felkin and Davidson knew each other but around 1899 they were both living in Crouch Hall Road, north London and I wonder whether that's not a coincidence.

Exactly which year Alexander Gordon Davidson took the job with Tarquah M and E I'm not sure. 1903 was the last year in which he was registered with the General Medical Council, so he might have gone abroad at that stage, but I believe he probably got the job in 1906. His son Erroll died in London early in January 1907, and I think the family left Britain soon after.

Perhaps as part of his preparation for life in west Africa, Alexander Gordon Davidson was initiated into the Anglo-Colonial freemasons' lodge (number 3175). He was certainly a member by 1911. Anglo-Colonial lodge 3175 was founded in 1906, especially to provide contacts abroad and a meeting place in London, for Britons living abroad. He also joined Quatuor Coronati Lodge 2076 in 1911 as a 'distance' member, entitled to receive its magazine (which covered aspects of the history of freemasonry) and attend its meetings when in London.

The Tarquah Mining and Exploration Co Ltd played its part in the scramble for Africa. The

town and district now usually spelled 'Tarkwa' were part of the lands of the Ashanti in the 1890s (they're now in Ghana) but the area had long been known for its goldfields and was thus being gradually annexed by the British, already well established further along the coast at Accra. In addition, the area had cotton and cacao - it was irresistible to the British Empire. Companies to exploit the gold reserves were being founded as early as 1897 and at the same time, Manchester Chamber of Commerce was hounding the British government for easier access to the area's cotton production. A railway between Tarkwa and the nearest port, Sekondi, was completed around 1901; it was mostly built by Scottish engineers and surveyors and this might have been how Alexander Gordon Davidson learned of the employment opportunities available on the Gold Coast to those who didn't mind its climate. In 1905 a regular shipping service run by Elder Dempster was started up, bringing gold but also cotton to the UK; only one ship was involved in it, but she made three trips per year to and from West Africa. In fact, this level of exploitation of the goldfield led to an early spike in finds, followed by a long decline, but Tarquah Mining and Exploration was still in existence in 1924 and still employed Alexander Gordon Davidson in Tarkwa. Although he and Jane, and Jean and Archer were in England on the day of the 1911 census, living at 83 Prince of Wales Mansions in Prince of Wales Road Battersea, they were in the country on a long period of leave. The family did buy a house in Crouch Hall Road, and Jane Davidson was living there late in 1924. The purchase was probably part of a retirement plan, but if so, Alexander Gordon Davidson didn't survive long enough to live there permanently. He died on board ship on 1 April 1924, returning to West Africa after another period of leave.

Who had Alexander Gordon Davidson known who recommended him for initiation into the Golden Dawn? Normally, when I've found evidence that a GD member was a freemason, I've been able to assume that it was contacts in freemasonry who were the link. However, I don't think this is true of Alexander Gordon. GD member Robert Palmer Thomas was also initiated as a member of the Anglo-Colonial lodge number 3175 in its first year, but the two men had probably met through the GD, rather than the other way round. There's no evidence that Alexander Gordon Davidson was a freemason before he joined the GD, either in Scotland or in England. He had also never been a member of the GD's Edinburgh temple. However, with some caution (as I have no direct evidence) I suggest that the GD member Alexander Gordon Davidson knew was Robert William Felkin, who lived at 6 Crouch Hall Road during the 1890s and had been a prominent doctor in Edinburgh before moving to London around 1894.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Sources specific to Alexander Gordon Davidson:

From the Mormon family history website at familysearch, a brief baptism record for Alexander Gordon Davidson: born 17 January 1860 at Rayne, Aberdeenshire. Parents Samuel Davidson and Margaret née Watson.

Medical Times and Gazette volume 2 1883 p252 Alexander Gordon Davidson is included in a list of people who'd passed "the Second Professional Examination".

Aberdeen University Review volumes 11-12 1925 p286 a list of obituaries of graduates of the university includes that of Alexander Gordon Davidson. He had died on 1 April [1924] during a voyage from the UK to West Africa. He had passed his MA in 1881, his MD in 1887 and had also taken the Diploma of Public Health (though no date was given for that). At the time of his death he had been working as a Medical Officer in the Gold Coast of West Africa. He had been born at Rayne, son of Dr Samuel Davidson MD, also a graduate of Aberdeen University.

Possible connection with Robert William Felkin:

That they lived in the same street in the late 1890s: see their GMC Registration addresses for that period.

Felkin as a specialist in tropical medicine: plenty on the web and also his obituary in the British Medical Journal issue of 12 February 1927 p309 which specifically mentions his tropical health consultancy work.

Alexander Gordon Davidson as a freemason:

Ars Quatuor Coronatum 2076 issue of 1916 p32 Alexander Gordon Davidson appears in its list of corresponding members, as member of lodge 3175. He had joined Quatuor Coronati lodge 2076 in May 1911, probably during that long leave. His current address was c/o Tarquah Mining and Exploration Co Ltd of Gold Coast W Africa.

The name of lodge 3175, found through Lane's database, available through the Freemasons' Library: 3175 is the Anglo-Colonial Lodge, consecrated in London in 1906. Information on this lodge:

The First Twenty-One Years of the Anglo-Colonial Lodge number 3175. The lodge's motto is 'hands across the sea'. An un-numbered page at the back of the booklet says that the compilers of it were T J Oldland, J H Hack and H Corp. Publication undated but must be circa 1927.

Anglo-Colonial Lodge 3175: To Commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Lodge. No author. Undated but must be 1956. Page 11-12 has a list of those who signed the petition to the United Grand Lodge of England requesting permission to found the new lodge. Robert Palmer Thomas and A E Waite are both on that list but Alexander Gordon Davidson isn't. P7 says that 8 new members were initiated as part of the lodge's consecration ceremony, and 7 other men were initiated during the lodge's first year. Unfortunately none of the 15 is named in this booklet and there's no full list of lodge members either.

Alexander Gordon Davidson's wife Jane, daughter of Richard Robb Grant of Glasgow:

Edinburgh Gazette 18 April 1856 p362 notice issued 30 June 1855 that John Paton had ceased to be a partner in Paton and Grant of Glasgow. The other partner was Richard Robb Grant of Paton, Grant and Co of Melbourne.

Edinburgh Gazette 31 August 1880 p794 a notice announcing the retirement of John Turnbull from the firm of Turnbull, Grant and Jack, engineers, millwrights, iron founders and boiler makers. The firm will continue in business under the management of R R Grant and Henry Jack.

Edinburgh Gazette 24 November 1891 p1326 bankruptcy notices: at an Extraordinary General Meeting held at the offices of Turnbull Grant and Co Ltd of 2 Charlotte St Port Dundas Glasgow, it was agreed that the company's debts exceeded its ability to pay, so that it would be put into voluntary liquidation. Richard Robb Grant, engineer, and Patrick Hamilton Aikman, chartered accountant would be the firm's liquidators.

The marriage of Alexander Gordon Davidson to Jane Grant took place in Scotland so I haven't got full details of it. Probably 1894.

The Record of Old Westminster covering its beginnings to 1927; vol 1 pubd 1928 p249 Archer Grant Davidson was at the school 1917-19. At time of pubn he was working at the Gold Coast colony of Ashanti for the African and Eastern Trading Co Ltd. B 27 Oct 1902. Son of AGD and Jane Napier dtr of Richard Robb Grant of Hillside Gardens Glasgow.

Tarkwa.

Most of my information on mining in what is now Ghana came from the Times - I did a sweep covering 1894 to 1924. A note to anyone wanting to follow this up: the town and district now spelled Tarkwa is always spelled Tarquah in the Times of that period. There were hardly any references to the company Alexander Gordon Davidson worked for, the Tarquah Mining and Exploration Co Ltd, so the information I gathered was general rather than specific. I'm quite comfortable with the dates that I suggest, however.

Colonial Reports - Annual Number 725 Gold Coast Report to Parliament for 1911. Published HMSO August 1912. P4 a branch line had just opened linking Tarquah to Prestea. P17 is in a section on exports: there's a table of exports from the Gold Coast which makes it clear cocoa was far and away the biggest earner; gold was a long way behind in second place.

There are no export figures in the table prior to 1907 which I suppose is the first year for which statistics were available. The Tarquah Mining and Exploration Co Ltd was one of only two firms (out of about 8 listed) which had been operating throughout the period 1907 to 1911. The company had a fabulous year in 1908; then output of gold from its field halved in 1909; it halved again in 1910 and 1911 had been very poor in comparison.

The Mining Magazine volume 30 1924 p229 the news section includes the whereabouts etc of people known in the mining industry. A short item announces the death of Alexander Gordon Davidson, who was on his way back to the Gold Coast after a period of home leave.

15 August 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Jane Anna Davies was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in September 1891, choosing the Latin motto 'Excelsior'. She was initiated into its inner, 2nd Order in March 1893, but then resigned from the Order in July 1894.

Jane Anna Davies was born in October 1834, the eldest child of Edward Greenaway, who with his father Thomas, ran a business selling hats and hosiery at 38 Bishopsgate in the City of London. Jane Anna was named after two Janes already in the family, her mother Jane Anna and her grandmother Jane Greenaway. The business run by Thomas and Edward Greenaway had been established in the mid-18th century and was a flourishing concern. In 1837 it could afford to spare £500 to buy shares in the London and Blackwall Railway and Steam Navigation Depot Company, which built and then operated the first rail link into the City; it ran from the ferry stop at Blackwall, through the heavily populated areas of Limehouse and Shadwell north of the West India Dock, and then into Fenchurch Street station. No doubt the Greenaways thought that the tunnel would bring their firm more business; but all the same, £500 was serious money. In July 1845 Thomas Greenaway retired, and from then until his own death in 1872, Jane Anna's father Edward was head of the business.

Both Thomas and Edward Greenaway were well-known in the City; Thomas Greenaway slightly more so as he was elected to the City Corporation (the City's equivalent to a town council) and served on the committee which dealt with the City's pavements and sewerage system. In due course both Greenaways became members of the Drapers' Company. The Company was run by an elected Master, who served for 12 months, and a group of Wardens. Thomas Greenaway served as a Warden during the 12 month period 1836 to 1837. Edward Greenaway first became a member of the Company in 1853. He spent 12 months as a warden in 1860-61 and served as Master (a great honour and it meant presiding at all the banquets and other official functions) in 1862-63.

Edward Greenaway was a cultured man. He loved music and was also interested in the science of his day. He was a member of the London Institution, a more London-focused equivalent of the Royal Institution, which held evening conversazioni and ran lecture programmes and classes taught by scientists such as T H Huxley. At its premises in Finsbury Circus were rooms and equipment which scientists including Humphrey Davy and Michael

Faraday used for their experiments. Edward Greenaway became a member of the Institution's management committee in 1834 (so he will have known the Thomas Baring of Baring Brothers' bank, who was its chairman) and was still a member in 1872, attending his last meeting only weeks before he died.

As well as being a mainstay of the London Institution for almost forty years, Edward Greenaway was also a manager of the children's charity run by St Paul's Cathedral; treasurer of the charity school run by the parish of St Ethelburga, where he had grown up; a member of the governing committee of a savings bank, the London Provident Institution of Blomfield Street; and an auditor of the Zoological Society of London.

Edward Greenaway married Jane Anna Cox at St Helen Bishopsgate in December 1833 and Jane Anna was born on 7 October 1834. Her sister Fanny was born in the City too; but by the time the youngest daughter, Emily, was born in 1838, although the family business stayed at the same address the Greenaways had moved out from living over the shop and moved to Islington, then a suburb of London. In 1841 they were living in the parish of St Mary, near Upper Street; by 1851 they had moved to Finsbury. How much the three daughters understood or even knew about the ideas regularly discussed by their father and his acquaintances at the London Institution is debatable - such get-togethers tended to be 'all male' affairs. However, Jane Anna and her sisters had a good education, even a quite expensive one, by the (low) standards of the day for women: their parents employed a French governess to teach them not only the language but also the manners of the country seen as the most cultured in Europe; and French governesses did not come cheap. Although there was no son to work with Edward Greenaway in the business, there was never any question of any of the daughters working in it at any level. By 1856 the Greenaways had moved even further from Bishopsgate in any case, to Kensington, where in the autumn of 1856 Jane Anna Greenaway married Charles Maurice Davies.

Charles Maurice Davies (always known as Maurice rather than Charles) came from a very similar background to Jane Anna, though I think not such a financially comfortable one: his father ran a drapery business in the cathedral town of Wells in Somerset. She and Maurice also had a shared interest in music. Maurice played the violin; and Jane Anna should have been taught to play the piano - it was a standard part of the education of a middle-class girl at that time. Even if Jane Anna had not shown any talent as a musician herself, she inherited her father's enjoyment of the playing of other people, and at least during the 1870s, she and Maurice held musical parties for their friends, regularly on Friday evenings.

Maurice's family had made efforts to ensure that their sons got the best education they could obtain and afford. Maurice had been sent to live with two maiden aunts while he attended King's College School in London; from there he had gone to Durham University, graduated with a degree in classics and become a Fellow of the university before being ordained as a priest in the Church of England. In this way he had done what his parents had no doubt intended and stepped out of the merchants' class, into the professional one; rather like Jane Anna Greenaway.

In many ways, Jane Anna's life after her marriage was typical of married women in mid-Victorian England. She gave birth to 11 children: Charles and his still-born twin, 1857; Arthur 1859; John 1860; Robert 1861; Mary 1863; Dora 1865; Frederick 1866; Amy 1870; Rosalie 1872; and lastly Edmund 1873. And she managed a large household on a budget which seems to have got more limited after the early 1860s as her family and its expenses

grew. For example, Jane Anna never employed a cook after the early 1860s, and it's likely that the cook who was a member of the household on the day of the 1861 census was taken on to cook for more than just the family; and she never employed a nursery nurse at all, though she did employ a governess for a few years in the early 1880s. This implies that Jane Anna will have been doing a great deal of the housework herself: daily management, hiring and firing, childcare, shopping, cooking; while a general servant - two if the family income could cover it that year - did the cleaning. None of this was unusual. However, in other ways Jane Anna's life was not especially typical, and that was down to the character of her husband.

Not for the Rev Maurice Davies the normal working life of a priest in the Church of England: moving on from periods spent as a curate to find a patron and be appointed vicar or rector of a parish, and stay working in that parish for life unless promotion intervened, doing no other work. A job in the Church of England did give a man an understood place in the community, and a guaranteed income, however small; this would be important to the son of a provincial shop-keeper trying to make his way through the shifting social sands of London. However, it's clear from my research, that a life as a priest didn't satisfy Maurice Davies; in particular, it couldn't contain his curiosity and his urge to communicate with and about his fellow men and women. From the year of his marriage, Maurice Davies never did just do the work of a priest. From 1858 to 1860 he wrote three novels. In the 1860s he was headmaster and a teacher at the West London Collegiate school and his family lived on the school's premises. As early as 1861 and as late as 1891, he also taught private pupils, about four at any time, who lived as part of the Davies' household. From 1856 to the early 1880s at least and maybe later, he did reporting, journalism, leader-writing and editing for a variety of newspapers and magazines including the Daily Telegraph and the Western Morning News. In the 1850s he did translations of some Latin texts; and his last paid work, in the 1890s, was as managing editor of a group translating the texts used by Gibbon for his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. You can see from this paragraph that he was often doing several of these different types of work at the same time. And there were also periods where he wasn't doing any work at all and wondering where the next year's income was going to come from. If Jane Anna had been wanting the busy but quiet life of the conventional vicar's wife, she should definitely have married someone else.

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, Maurice Davies became well-known for the newspaper articles he wrote in which he reported on his visits, firstly to the services of all the different Christian sects he could locate in London, and later to what he considered as the main alternatives to Christianity that he knew of in the capital city, for which purpose he went to meetings of Fenians, Secularists, Muslims and the Cooperative movement amongst others. On the borders between the two categories lay the Mormons and the Unitarians. Maurice Davies went to meetings of both of those groups and interviewed a Mormon newly arrived from the USA to begin what most have been the sect's first attempts at prosyletising in Europe. The articles were later published as a series of books and it's to them that I owe almost all of what I've found out about Jane Anna Davies; particularly about her and Maurice's life in Spiritualism.

Maurice and Jane Anna Davies went to Paris for their honeymoon and stayed there nearly a year. Maurice was unemployed when they arrived but soon got his first newspaper job, as the Paris correspondent of a London weekly paper. This took him out of the flat a lot and Jane Anna got bored. To help make ends meet, they had let one of their rooms to Jane Anna's ex-governess. When Maurice was out in the evenings the two women started to try out some of the methods that were supposed to put you in touch with spirits. The method called

automatic writing worked the best: you all sat at a table and asked questions of the spirits, and one of you acted as medium, writing down the spirits' answers. Her ex-governess thought that Jane Anna seemed to have a talent for acting as the medium. At first Maurice was inclined to laugh at them, but when his brother came to stay he was persuaded to join in a seance and his curiosity got him hooked. Maurice and Jane Anna started to hold seances regularly.

Maurice Davies makes it very plain in both his books that Jane Anna's talent as a medium caused her much anxiety, on several counts, and she discussed her concerns about it very often with her husband. Firstly, she felt that automatic writing - with the writer passively writing what they were told by the spirits - was a most unsatisfactory way of communicating with the world beyond. When one particular spirit replied to a tricky question by causing her to write that the purpose of the spirits in communicating like this was to encourage people to believe in God, Jane Anna told Maurice that if people wanted to get in touch with God, they should use what she called the "regularly ordained" channels - that is, prayer and going to church services. Many years of seances later, she still felt that. In addition, she was always worried about whether she was quite as passive, during the automatic writing, as everyone assumed: could she be sure that the spirit was in charge of what was being written? Or was she, in some way, controlling the pen herself and "simply writing down her own ideas"? As their involvement in spiritualism grew, Maurice began trying out other ways of allowing messages from the spirit world to get through to this one. Jane Anna was particularly alarmed and unnerved during several sessions in which Maurice successfully hypnotised people. And during one particularly highly-charged seance she felt an atmosphere so negative that she got quite hysterical and rushed out of the room. However, despite all her reservations, Jane Anna continued to act as a medium in seances at home with people she knew well, and there was a very good reason for this.

Jane Anna and Maurice's own sons were educated at the West London Collegiate school during the years they ran it (1861-68), and slept in the dormitories with the other pupils. In the autumn of 1865 the worst happened - the school had a scarlet fever outbreak. As was customary at the time, Jane Anna and Maurice sent those who were ill into isolation in the country. Their own son Johnny had caught it and had to go with them, and he died shortly afterwards with neither of his parents with him. They had been sent a telegram warning of Johnny's dangerous state and had set out at once but arrived too late. The day after their son's death they had sat down to a seance, and Jane Anna had written down a comforting message sent by Johnny, now in the spirit world.

Even 30 years after Johnny's death Maurice Davies still felt his loss acutely - Johnny had been his favourite child. But he was able to look back and think that perhaps the message Jane Anna had received might have been a reflection not of spirits in the world beyond but of the intensity of her grief and her guilt at not being with her son as he was dying. In 1894 Maurice was able to reflect that they had never had another message direct from the dead child, despite all their attempts to reach him; they had only had messages from a spirit that had claimed to be a spirit-world guardian of Johnny. My own researches have found that in the spring of 1865, Jane Anna's mother had died, so even before Johnny's death Jane Anna had already been in a period of mourning, of heightened emotion. The message from Johnny gave her some relief from her misery. She still felt all the uncertainty she had always done about the whole spiritualist business but she kept on using seances to make herself available for any other messages he might send her, and by the 1870s she was also receiving messages from her other dead child, her eldest son Charles' still-born twin. She was also sure that on one precious occasion, she had seen Johnny's ghost.

Despite the ambivalence she felt about her talent at automatic writing, Jane Anna started to use it to help others, though she never took any payment for it. During the early 1870s Maurice Davies was working again as a curate, at St Paul's Kensington. Jane Anna started going to seances organised by her husband's parishioners, using her talent as a means of getting to know them better. She also acted as a medium, when asked, for other parishioners whose children had died.

The message from Johnny also made a big difference to Maurice Davies, though not in the same way. Whereas he had been sceptical before it, about the existence of the spirit world, and had kept his interest in spiritualism within the family, he now acted convinced and became a well-known figure in the wider social world which had sprung up around spiritualism, attending seances with its celebrity mediums and with the professionals (not always the same people as the celebrities), who charged for their services. He also accepted invitations to seances organised by people he only knew through mutual acquaintances, and he started writing about his experiences for the papers. Exactly how often Jane Anna went with her husband to these more public spiritualist occasions is difficult to tell, even from Maurice Davies' books, but I think that he went to most of them on his own. He mentions particular occasions when his wife went with him to the seances he was invited to, but these seem quite rare (after all, she did have her own very busy life). It's still possible that in this way, Jane Anna may have met the Rev Hugh Haweis and his wife Mary Eliza; and the scientist William Crookes. Years later, both Mary Eliza Haweis and William Crookes were initiated into the Golden Dawn.

The Rev Hugh Haweis and Maurice Davies were the two members of the Church of England most associated with what came to be known as Christian spiritualism. However, spiritualism was a topic that divided the church and its congregations, and Maurice Davies lost one job as a curate because of the way he publicised spiritualism and openly believed in it; and neither man was not offered any promotion within the Church of England. Throughout the 1870s Maurice Davies continued to believe in both the Church of England's Christianity and the existence of the spirit world, and he undertook an experiment in which he hoped he would bring the two together: an experiment he called a "mystic oratory". It's not clear whether Jane Anna played a part in the mystic oratory experiment: Maurice does not name anyone who made up the congregation. Only a few, very carefully chosen people were involved in it. Some ordinary rooms were hired and prepared, and Maurice Davies held two religious services per week, complete with a sermon and followed by a seance. As he describes it, the idea was that the spirits of the dead should come from the spirit world into this one and take their place amongst the living at these services and seances; so that the congregation would be made up of both the living and the dead. The start of the experiment has been dated to early in 1881 but in that case, it had lasted only a month or two before Maurice Davies left the country.

In March 1881, fired up with enthusiasm as the mystic oratory experiment began, Maurice Davies wrote to the two Church of England archbishops defending spiritualism and arguing that it was possible to be both a spiritualist and a Christian; and offering to speak on the subject at the forthcoming Church Congress. And then - he was gone, at the end of May, to start a new job in South Africa. So suddenly did he depart that his family was left behind in England; in August, the readers of the spiritualist magazine *Light* were being asked to find the sum of £250 for Jane Anna and the children to follow him. I haven't been able to find out what job it was that Maurice Davies did in South Africa; nor do I know whether Jane Anna managed to join him there. All the family were back in England in 1891.

If the mystic oratory continued after Maurice Davies rushed away to Africa, it must have been under someone else's auspices. In any case it was a failure. The dead did not come. At the end of the lease on the rooms, the congregation went their separate ways. And Maurice Davies lost both his faith in spiritualism and his faith in God. He never held another post with the Church of England, and dropped out of spiritualist society as well. I'm not sure whether the family-centred seances also stopped but it sounds from Maurice's writings that they did. His own belief in God and the spirit world now in tatters, Maurice envied Jane Anna's own faith, which he described as "all along so utterly unshadowed by doubt". She had never tried to force her own beliefs on anyone, however, and she did not do so now, even when - perhaps - her husband might have been grateful for being persuaded.

As with acting as a spiritualist medium, so with astrology: it was Maurice Davies who had the greater interest in it, but Jane Anna who turned out to be better at it. They both went for lessons in its techniques to a Mr Hockley. Maurice soon gave up the lessons, seeing he did so badly in them, but Jane Anna continued to learn. However, when Maurice wanted astrological advice, he went to an astrologer called Mr Wilson when he wanted to discover what future could be seen in the stars (like, would he be offered a job soon? - to which the answer was yes).

Meanwhile the wheels of family life were turning. Jane Anna's father had died in 1872 and later in that decade her children began to leave school and find work - including two of her daughters. By 1881 Arthur Davies had gone to work in the offices of the Prudential Mutual Assurance Investment and Loan Association (the 'Pru') and in due course Amy and then Edmund also got work there. The tradition was continued into a second generation when Arthur's sons Dudley and Roy worked there too. Charles worked for an estate agent; Robert for a firm of solicitors and Frederick for a trading company; and Rosalie became a teacher. It's likely that three of Jane Anna's sons went abroad to work: I can't find Charles or Frederick on any census after 1881 and Edmund after 1891, though they may just have liked to take their holidays around census day (which was usually near Easter).

In due course all of Jane Anna's sons and daughters who were still living in England married. Arthur and Robert married two sisters, Mary Clara and Edith Georgina Killik (sometimes spelled Killick on the census). Dora married one of Maurice Davies' living-in pupils, Charles Otto Dubois (known as Otto) who despite his French surname was actually Swedish. Amy married a senior bank official, Clarence Ravenscroft. And Rosalie married Henry Carr, though not until 1915. Mary married and produced (in 1882) what was probably Jane Anna's first grand-child, a daughter; but I can't read Mary's married surname on the 1891 census, or find her in the two later ones, so I don't know who her husband was.

By the day of the 1901 census, only Rosalie was still living with Jane Anna and Maurice Davies. It's possible that she was still working as a teacher and the census official didn't ask her about it; but she may have given up work to look after her parents. Jane Anna and Maurice had always changed their address fairly regularly, moving steadily out through west London from Notting Hill to Hammersmith; now they were at 7 Acton Lane on the fringes of Bedford Park where several GD members had been living in the 1890s. During 1901, Maurice Davies retired from work. He and Jane Anna made one more move, to 50 Connaught Road Harlesden, where Jane Anna died on 17 September 1908. Maurice survived for two more years, dying in September 1910. Rosalie went to live with her sister Amy.

I've indicated above that Jane Anna may have known, as early as the 1870s, several people who were subsequently initiated into the Golden Dawn. However, Jane Anna's contact in the GD in the months before she was initiated was someone else entirely: Anne Carden. Jane Anna asked the GD to send correspondence addressed to her to Anne Carden's house in Leinster Square. Anne Carden and her husband Alexander were initiated into the GD in March 1891; in 1892 a third family member was initiated, their daughter Pamela, who later married another GD member. Maurice Davies never mentions the Cardens in any of his writings that I've read and I think they may have been friends of Jane Anna rather than Maurice. Anne Carden, Alexander Carden and Jane Anna Davies all made the step up into the GD's 2nd, inner, Order during March 1893 and probably prepared for it together. The subjects GD initiates studied were difficult, and candidates for the 2nd Order were tested on their knowledge and understanding, so it reflects well on Jane Anna's education and application that she reached 2nd Order level in only 18 months (though she probably sailed through the astrology, being well-trained in it already). But then, all three only stayed as members of the GD for just over a year longer before they all resigned, the Cardens in June 1894 and Jane Anna in July (Pamela Carden continued as a member). None of the books on the GD that I've read discuss this sudden walk-out by three senior members; so I've no idea whether it was as a result of one of the bouts of in-fighting to which the GD was all too prone, or whether problems arose in the rest of their lives. My feeling is that the problems, if there were any, were in the Cardens lives; and the GD without them was just not going to be the same for Jane Anna Davies so she gave it up too.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

On the GD's history:

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: a Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972.

The Golden Dawn Scrapbook: the Rise and Fall of a Magical Order, another book on the GD by R A Gilbert. York Beach Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc 1997.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

ON THE GREENAWAY FAMILY

At www.londonancestor.com there's the text of the 1794 directory for London, Westminster and Southwark; Thomas Greenaway, hosier and hatter, is already in business at 38 Bishopsgate.

House of Commons Papers number 37, printed 7 March 1837: Private Bills presented to Parliament during 1837. On p160 there's a list of subscribers to the share issue of the London and Blackwall Railway and Steam Navigation Depot Company. The list includes Edward Greenaway, hatter, of 38 Bishopsgate; he bought 10 shares for a total of £500.

For more information on the London to Blackwall Railway: *London's Local Railways* by Alan A Jackson. Newton Abbot, London and North Pomfret Vermont: David and Charles publishers, 1978; pp160-165. The stations were designed by William Tite, who was later employed as Secretary of the London Institution. The engineering contractors who built the railway were George Parker Bidder and George Stephenson.

Post Office Directory for London issued of 1846 p254 has the business called Edward Greenaway.

London Gazette, there was no date at top of page but the page must date from July 1845 and after the 25th; p2277 in a list of legal notices dissolving business partnerships includes one issued by Thomas Greenaway and Edward Greenaway, trading as Greenaway and Sons, hatters, of Bishopsgate Street. Their partnership was dissolved and in future Edward Greenaway would continue the business "on his own account". Signed by both men and dated 25 July 1845.

For general information on the Drapers' Company, see www.thedrapers.co.uk. The Hall is at Throgmorton Avenue EC2N. I found the details of the Greenaways' membership in *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, by Rev A H Johnson. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1922. Details of the Greenaways' membership are in Volume IV p438 and p444.

Annals of Science volume 39 1982 pp229-54 has an article on the life of William Robert Grove who was Secretary of the London Institution from 1841 to 1845 by M L Cooper and V M D Hall. P238 the London Institution was run on a daily basis by 4 managers; in 1840 Edward Greenaway was one of the four.

Journal of the London Institution volume 2 1872 published London: Unwin Brothers 1873. On p74 is an obituary of Edward Greenaway, who'd died on 25 April 1872. Virtually all my information on Edward Greenaway's varied interests and commitments came from this and it

was also very informative about his father.

At the website www.richardfordmanuscripts.co.uk in August 2012 I found a Report of the Auditors of the Zoological Society of London. The auditors had been appointed on 21 January 1869, Edward Greenaway was one of them.

Via the Mormon family history website familysearch.org, details of the Greenaway family from the original records of St Helen Bishopsgate:

- Edward Greenaway was born on 12 January 1789, son of Thomas Greenaway and his wife Jane.
- Edward Greenaway married Jane Anna Cox at St Helen Bishopsgate on 14 December 1883
- Jane Anna Greenaway was born on 7 October 1834 and baptised, at St Helen Bishopsgate, on 1 November 1834
- Fanny Cox Greenaway was born on 13 August 1835 and baptised, at St Helen Bishopsgate, on 19 August 1835.

There was no record of the baptism of Emily Greenaway at St Helen Bishopsgate.

MAURICE DAVIES

Times of Friday 9 September 1910 p11b has a short obituary but my researches since I read it have made me a bit worried about one or two details. It also makes no reference at all to his family life - in the way of obituaries at that time.

Dictionary of National Biography 2nd Supplement volume 1 A-E p474. This also has no reference to Maurice's family.

MAURICE DAVIES AS A CHURCHMAN

Issues of Crockford's Clerical Directory from 1851 to 1880 list his career to date. I looked at the issues of 1886 and 1904; both did not have a listing for him, so he was not employed by the Church of England in those years. The evidence that he did not work as a priest after 1881 comes from his writings on spiritualism - see below.

At the outset of Maurice's career he seems to have had very 'high church' views: wikipedia's page on Rev Charles Lowder says that he and a group of other young trainees for the priesthood founded the Society of the Holy Cross in 1855. The others in the group were: Charles Maurice Davies; David Nicols; Alfred Poole; Joseph Newton Smith; and Henry Augustus Rawes. Several of the group converted to Roman Catholicism later in their lives but Maurice had left the Society altogether by the late 1850s; his writings indicate a very 'broad church' attitude.

MAURICE DAVIES AS A NEWSPAPER-MAN

Most of the evidence for the various journals and papers he worked for comes from his own writings - see below.

Website www.victorianlondon.org has a Dictionary of Victorian London containing a number of Maurice Davies' newspaper articles, including one in which he describes the execution by hanging of the baby farmer Margaret Waters; he'd got special dispensation from the Home Office to be present.

MAURICE DAVIES AND SPIRITUALISM

The two texts from which I've drawn my account of Jane Anna as a practising spiritualist are: *Mystic London*; and *The Great Secret*.

Mystic London: Or, Phases of Occult Life in the Metropolis by Charles Maurice Davies. London: Tinsley Brothers 1874. This is not as 'occult' as its title suggests: there's nothing about hermeticism or magic or freemasonry or Rosicrucianism in it, although p205 begins an account of Maurice's visit to an astrologer, not the one who taught him and Jane Anna. By 'occult' Maurice really means spiritualism: pp290 to the end of the book on p406 are concerned with different aspects of it and on p406 Maurice sums up his beliefs (this is before the Mystic Oratory experiment) by quoting from S C Hall's poem *Philosophy* which is arguing that belief in spiritualism is a belief in Christ; and that death is a release into a Celestial Life free from pain and sorrow. S C Hall was one of Maurice's parishioners.

The Great Secret and its Unfoldment in Occultism. Published London: George Redway 1895. In fact, it was published anonymously, as by "a Church of England clergyman".

However, the author is taken to be Rev Charles Maurice Davies by Janet Oppenheim in her *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychic Research in England 1850-1916* published Cambridge University Press 1985; and certainly various events described in it are the same as events that appear in *Mystic London*, including an account of the seance Jane Anna and Maurice held the day after the death of John Davies in 1865. The start at least of the Mystic Oratory experiment was dated by Janet Oppenheim very precisely to February 1881: see her footnote on p411.

Although Maurice Davies constantly refers to 'my wife' in both books, he never mentions her name.

The flight to South Africa:

Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881: p93 issue of 26 March 1881; p108 issue of 9 April 1881; p164 issue of 28 May 1881; p253 issue of 13 August 1881. Neither Rev Maurice nor his family were mentioned in any subsequent issue; so I don't know whether Jane Anna went to South Africa or had to remain in England. Just noting that I've looked at volumes of the magazine for 1881, 1885, 1890, 1895 and 1900 and haven't seen any reference to Jane Anna attending any functions of the British National Association of Spiritualists or the London Spiritualist Alliance. And after this 1881 volume, I don't actually remember seeing any references to her husband either.

GENERALLY ON SPIRITUALISM

Janet Oppenheim's book as above; it has a section on Maurice Davies. And more specifically on women in spiritualism: *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England* by Alex Owen. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1989.

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Caroline Dora de Blaquière (always called Dora) was initiated into the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, choosing the Latin motto 'Spero meliora'. She was one of the GD's earliest members, joining in 1888, but was not especially active. In 1889 she was even judged to have let her membership lapse though in fact she was abroad, visiting North America, and may just have forgotten to pay her yearly subscription. The GD's archive at the Freemasons' Library suggests that she may have been a member of the GD's Edinburgh group, the Amen-Ra temple, at some stage; though she left England for good in 1900.

March 2014. A big update to Dora's file has been required! In February, Martin Atkinson of Calgary in Canada contacted me to tell me of a friendship Dora had with someone I'd never heard of before: the poet, writer on theology and expert on embroidery, Sophia Frances Anne Caulfeild. As a result of Martin's tip-off, I also discovered another previously unknown friendship for Dora - the family of GD member Mary Briggs. So many, many thanks to Martin - I don't often get 'light-bulb' moments like I the one I had about Dora and the Briggs's. He also located a photograph of Dora's gravestone for me. Martin is a descendant of Sophia Caulfeild's sister Louisa Lavinia (1828-96) who married Rev Hans Atkinson.

June 2014 brings another update to my file on Dora - a correction and some amplification to the section on her family. This second revision is the result of my being contacted by Sally Thomson, who has worked out that she's Dora's fourth cousin, three times removed - Dora was Sally T's great-grandmother's fourth cousin. A historian and writer, Sally T has traced her Bettridge ancestors back to late 17th-century Gloucestershire and Warwickshire, using local history and family history sources.

THE BETTRIDGE FAMILY

Dora's Bettridge ancestors were living in the part of the Cotswolds where Gloucestershire meets Oxfordshire by the end of the 17th century; though how long they had been there is unknown. Dora's father did inherit a small amount of land when his mother died in 1829, but in general the family were labourers and husbandmen, a social group which had been the backbone of so many rural communities but whose future was being made increasingly insecure by land enclosure. The younger sons of such families had a particularly uncertain future. The career of Dora's father illustrates how, in his case, that uncertainty led him to abandon Gloucestershire for an extraordinary working life that illustrates in miniature the expansion of the British empire during the early and mid-19th century.

WILLIAM CRADDOCK BETTRIDGE was a son of John and Elizabeth Bettridge of Wick Rissington in Gloucestershire. He was baptised in Stow-on-the-Wold in 1791 but left there to join the army in April 1813. He fought through the tail-end of the Peninsular War and ended up, as a Major, in charge of the garrison at Brussels while Waterloo was taking place in the countryside nearby. He could have stayed in the British army and ended up (if he had lived that long) as a general. Instead, he retired on half-pay and spent several years working and studying in Europe. Almost nothing is known about his life in those years but they were obviously a key period in his thinking. He worked as a mercenary, but also studied and in the end, was moved to give up soldiering for the church. His marriage to Mary Hounsfeld, in 1823, may have helped him make up his mind to this big and surprising change of career. He was ordained as a Church of England priest in 1825. For the next few years he worked as minister at one or possibly two churches in Southampton: he was appointed to All Saints Proprietary Chapel in 1828; and was minister at St Paul's Chapel in 1834 (they may be the same church, renamed - I'm not clear on that point). However, the restless, adventure-seeking nature that had caused him to join the army in time of war hadn't quite left William Bettridge. In 1834 he took the offer of a job with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and went with a group of ex-military colonists to the town of Woodstock in what is now Ontario, but was then known as Upper Canada. Mary and their family went with him.

William Bettridge's job in Upper Canada was to set up a parish based on Woodstock. This he did, fighting the Church of England and colonial authorities to ensure the parish a secure income, and getting the town's residents to fund the building of a church, St Paul's Woodstock. The church still exists, built in deep red brick; you can see it at Woodstock's website at www.city.woodstock.on.ca; there's also a good account of it on wikipedia. William Bettridge became the new church's first rector, a post he held until his death in 1873. He also started a number of businesses in the town, including a shop. As the Church of England's grip on Upper Canada expanded, he became a rural dean of the diocese of Huron.

Caroline Dora Bettridge was the last-but-one (I think - she was certainly one of the youngest) of William and Mary Bettridge's family, born in Woodstock in 1840. I haven't been able to find out anything about her life in Woodstock as a child and young woman. As her parents were not well off and Dora was only the latest of several daughters, I would suppose there was no money to send her away to school, even if there had been a school to send her to, this early in Canada's history. I think she learned whatever she did learn, in Woodstock. From her later writings I would deduce that she had an education based on reading, writing, the bible, and domestic tasks. The impossibility of finding (let alone keeping) servants was a perennial middle-class complaint in the colonies in the 19th century, and in her later life Dora displayed a knowledge of laundry, mending and cooking on a tight budget that suggests she knew how to do all of those, the sort of tasks the servants would do in a vicar's household in England.

Although, as one of the rector's daughters, Dora would have known Woodstock's best families, that would have been a rather limited number of people, so that the number of suitable husbands known to her - or rather, to her parents - was probably small. It seems from the family gravestone that only two of William Bettridge's daughters married. Dora was one of them: in 1865 she married one of her father's church wardens, Charles de Blaquièrre. He was about twice her age, and a widower with three young children.

THE DE BLAQUIÈRES

Although in 1851 Charles de Blaquièrre was working as Woodstock's post-master (he

probably still was at the time of his marriage to Dora) the family was a grander one than that implies. Dora was marrying somebody who, if he lived long enough, would become the 6th Baron de Blaquièrre of Ardkill in county Derry. The de Blaquièrres were descended from French Protestants who had fled to northern Ireland to escape religious persecution in their homeland. In 1800, Charles' grandfather had been made the first baron de Blaquièrre. Charles was the son of the first baron's younger son, Peter Boyle de Blaquièrre who, after a career in the British navy, went to Canada and settled in Woodstock in 1837. He bought property in the town and became an influential supporter of the Church of England's efforts to establish itself in the district - an important ally of Dora's father. In 1841 was appointed a member of the legislative council of the Province of Canada, which advised the governor-general. He later became the first chancellor of the University of Toronto. He died, in Toronto, in 1860.

I don't know anything about Dora's married life except that she seems to have stayed in Canada, probably in Woodstock where her husband was probably still the post-master. She certainly knew her three step-children before she married their father - Peter, born in 1849; Louisa, born in 1850; and William, born 1856 - as the whole de Blaquièrre family were members of her father's congregation. Perhaps she had taught the three children at Sunday school and established a rapport with them. She doesn't seem to have given birth to any children of her own, so all her motherly instincts would have been focused on them. How long they were in her care, though, I wouldn't know. They did have other relatives and Dora's marriage was a short one. Her husband didn't live long enough to inherit the barony and catapult Dora into the British peerage. He died in 1869.

The period of Dora's life that is the biggest blank, is what happened to her in the years immediately after her husband's death. Where was she living? Did she go home to her parents? What was she living on? What about her step-children? They were all still under-age when their father died. What arrangements were made for them? Did they stay with Dora? Or did they go to their grandmother (Peter Boyle de Blaquièrre's second wife, who died in 1881) or to other relatives? I have no idea.

A snippet I found on Googlebooks seemed to be suggesting that Dora was living in Paris by 1880 and was writing regular articles called 'What to Wear' for the English journal Cassell's Family Magazine, not under her own name but as "Our Paris Correspondent". Another snippet went further, suggesting Dora had been Cassell's "Our Paris Correspondent" since 1876. When I tried to follow up the snippets at the British Library, though, I couldn't find Dora mentioned by name as an author in the volumes for 1880 or 1876. However, the 1870s were a time when many magazine and newspaper articles were printed without any clue as to the name of the writer. So I'm not dismissing Googlebooks' suggestion; but on the other hand I think I'll just say it's possible it may be right but I wish I could see some more evidence. The column Dora's alleged to have been writing continued in the magazine in the same format until 1885, before being revamped a couple of times and finally reappearing with a named author, who wasn't Dora, in 1893. I'm assuming that Dora wrote the column, certainly around 1880 and possibly from 1876 to 1885 despite moving to London during that time. At this early point in her career, she also wrote a short book on an ill-fated attempt by Irish landowners to establish a silk-worm farming industry in Ireland.

There's no doubt, however, about Dora's main source of income from 1880 onwards, because from that year on, the articles she was writing were published with her name on them. From

1880 and for the next 20 years, she was one of a group of women who wrote regularly for *Girl's Own Paper* - the most widely read magazine for young women of its time, with about 250,000 readers in the years before World War I, of all ages and living all over the world. *Great Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of Girl's Own Paper*, by Wendy Forrester, is my source for Dora's work for GOP. On p21 of Forrester's book there's a small picture of Dora, rather heavy-chinned and looking as though she's wearing mourning - a dark or black dress with a high neck and a narrow ruffle just under her ears. And I rather think that the way she appears in the picture gets to the heart of why Dora became one of GOP's regular writers. GOP was started up as an equivalent to the *Boy's Own Paper* by BOP's publisher, the Religious Tract Society, a Church of England missionary society very surprised to find itself a successful publisher but delighted with the revenue, which rapidly became the financial bedrock on which their missionary activities depended. For its girls' paper, the Society wanted articles which reflected their view of the proper life for young Christian women: based on hearth and home, emphasising domestic skills and practical usefulness; nothing too challenging, and no politics. As a vicar's daughter, now in her forties, the widow of a man with aristocratic connections, but no better off financially than most of the GOP's readers were, Dora was exactly the kind of woman writer the Society was after.

When I started my research on the GD members in 2010, there was virtually nothing written by Dora on the web. Since then, however, a lot of issues of *Girl's Own Paper* have been put on the web so that if you want to have a look at examples of her work, there are plenty to choose from; for example, at www.mostly-victorian.com which seems to be putting every issue of GOP up to be viewed. At www.abebooks.co.uk there's another GOP article by Dora from the volume covering October 1895 to September 1896: *The Dress for Bicycling*. And there's one at www.tumblr.com. published originally in the GOP of 23 December 1899: *The Trousseau of Today* (with a picture of lacy underwear).

The University of East Anglia has a list of articles in GOP by author, which shows Dora writing more than almost any other contributor - see the Sources at the end of this biography for the full details. The Mostly Victorian website and the UEA list of articles give a good feel for the kind of article Dora specialised in when writing for GOP. In 1882-83, for example, under the excruciating overall heading *The Fairy of the Family*, Dora wrote a series of articles on housekeeping skills; including one on how to take care of the household linen; and another, *Spots and Stains*, that was so useful I started noting down the details to try them on my own stubborn stains. She wrote 'how to make'-type articles, for example on winter clothes, summer drinks, Christmas decorations and others. In 1881-82 her article *Samplers Past and Present* was typical of another side of her work. In it, she mentions a variety of books from the Bible to Book II of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* as containing references to samplers; and uses Randal Holme's *Academy of Armory Book III*, published in 1688, to describe the different stitches that were used in the sampler work of Holme's day. The use of a 17th century source-book suggests Dora was a regular visitor to the British Library; I can't imagine where else she might have got a copy. Dora's inspiration for the article had been a visit to the previous year's Exhibition of Ancient Needlework at the Royal School of Art Needlework, in which the earliest exhibit was sewn in 1666.

As well as the magazine, the Religious Tract Society also issued annuals, and several books containing articles on one subject by its usual GOP writers, including *How to be Happy and Married*, in 1888 (it was still selling in 1892); and *How to Make Common Things: A Handy Book for Girls*, in 1890. Dora contributed to both of those volumes and her contribution to the second one is the only work by her listed in the British Library catalogue.

Although most of Dora's work in the 1880s and 1890s appeared in GOP, she did write for

other magazines: Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly; the Church of England Temperance Chronicle; the Argosy, owned and edited by the author Mrs Henry Wood; Murray's Magazine; the Journal of Education; the Contemporary Review; and the Review of Reviews, owned and edited by W T Stead. These were articles of a rather different type, looking at dress items (fans for example) as art objects or collectors' items; and considering jewellery as display and noting changes in taste. And two articles published by Dora in the magazine Leisure Hour looked at the social implications of what women wore, discussing the arguments being put forward by the Rational Dress movement: Modern Dress Reformers, and How Should We Dress? New German Theories of Clothing, both published in 1884.

I've tried to discover whether Dora actually belonged to the Rational Dress Society, or its more radical off-shoot the Rational Dress Association; but I haven't had any luck finding lists of members. I imagine she was, but I can't prove it. I know the names of two women who were definitely members of the Rational Dress Society: Mary Eliza Haweis, who wrote books about interior design and dress; and Constance Wilde, who held popular 'at homes' during the late 1880s and 1890s and promoted the idea of rational dress at these social occasions and through magazine articles. Both Mary Eliza and Constance were initiated into the GD. Dora must at least have known of Mary Eliza Haweis' work, even if they hadn't met; writing on similar topics. But there's clear evidence that Dora knew Constance Wilde, and probably her husband as well, by 1889. In 1890, Dora had a series of articles published in the magazine Woman's World, which had been edited by Oscar Wilde for the last two years. Oscar Wilde will have commissioned Dora's articles. Three of them were on topics that by this time she was well-known for covering: Modern Jewellery, Geneva and its Jewellery, and Foreign and English Housekeeping. The fourth one was a bit of departure, however. Inspired by the writings of the American poet Joachim Miller, whose log-cabin near Washington DC she had visited, Dora decided that she too would find somewhere to escape to when the city got her down. In A Cottage in the Country she describes her search for the perfect setting - she eventually picked a Sussex labourer's cottage with a view of Chanctonbury Rings - and how she did up her cottage, with the help of one handy-man (who had to make good rather a lot of neglect) for a total budget of £50. The article resonates with the pleasure it gave Dora to do the kind of housekeeping she wrote about for GOP: choosing the material and then sewing her own curtains, painting the rooms Egyptian blue, seeding the lawn and slinging a hammock between the trees. She ended the article by urging her readers to live as near to nature as they could, happy in the simple life.

Dora moved to London at around the time she began contributing to Girl's Own Paper and her first home in the city was a rented a house at 7 Osnaburgh Terrace. She wasn't at home on the day of the 1881 census, however; she and her friend Sophia Caulfeild (of whom more below) were in north-west England visiting George Clayton and his wife Caroline. George Clayton owned and ran a brewery and lived with his wife and family in the wealthy district of Broughton Park near Salford. While Dora was staying with them she and Sophia probably met their neighbours, Thomas Briggs and his wife Emily. Thomas Briggs had taken over the management of the twine, tarpaulin and oil cloth-making business founded by his father. His half-sister Mary Briggs became a member of the GD, perhaps through friendships she made by knowing Dora; though she and Dora were not in the GD at the same time.

I don't know when Dora met Sophia Frances Anne Caulfeild, but it was almost inevitable that they should be introduced at some stage because they had so much in common. Sophia was related to the Irish earls of Charlemont but her father was an officer in the navy. It was the kind of family background that Dora had married into: the not-especially-wealthy younger sons of younger sons of the upper classes.

Sophia had established herself as a writer in 1870, with two volumes of poetry. A work that's either a novel or a travelogue followed, but the magnum opus that made Sophia's name was *The Dictionary of Needlework*, on which she worked with Blanche Saward, contributing most of the entries on domestic needlework and stitch types herself, while Blanche did the entries on church embroidery. A group of women described as "various ladies" had also made contributions to the work; Dora must surely be one of that anonymous group. The Dictionary was first published in monthly instalments in the magazine *The Bazaar* and probably developed from individual articles on sewing that Sophia wrote for that magazine. The Dictionary was then issued in book form in 1881. Another edition was needed in 1882, several more have followed since and the book is still in print. As well as writing for *The Bazaar*, Sophia also wrote for *Girl's Own* paper, *The Queen*, *Cassell's Domestic Dictionary* and other similar journals - the sort of magazines Dora wrote for, and the type of subject-matter that Dora also covered. However, Sophia also published books on theology, a subject Dora didn't venture to write on; and didn't write on clothes and accessories as fashion or collectables.

Dora also knew Sophia's sisters and their children. Martin Atkinson tells me that he had an aunt named Enid Dora Caulfeild Atkinson; and a cousin called Helen Clarice de Blaquière Northcott. Two compliments to Dora in the Caulfeild family.

Dora and Sophia were close, so close that in 1884, when Hyde Park Mansions was finished (it was the latest of the big blocks of flats being built on Marylebone Road) they both moved into it. I haven't been able to establish whether they were actually sharing a flat - the evidence isn't clear on the point - but they were living on the same staircase from 1884 to about 1900. They may have travelled abroad together on the sort of journeys that made their way into Dora's articles on trends in jewellery and clothes; for example, neither of them appear on the 1891 census. However, Sophia did not share Dora's esoteric interests and was never a member of the GD; her publications suggest that she had the more orthodox approach of the two of them, to matters religious and spiritual. And though I'm sure Sophia visited Dora's rural hideaway, Dora does seem to have used it mostly as a place to go to when she wanted time on her own.

DORA AND THE OCCULT

The simple life might have been a welcome change from the social life Dora had in London. I've already suggested that Dora knew Constance Wilde by 1889. They could have known each other several years before that, however, as they were both members of the Theosophical Society. As, indeed, was William Wynne Westcott and Dora must have known him too. In his memoir of his life in occult social circles, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, A E Waite describes Dora as a member of the TS and a personal friend of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky - that was how it looked to Waite, when he joined the TS in the mid-1880s. He noted that when Dora was there, Blavatsky "never exhibited or mentioned supposed miraculous gifts". I'm not quite sure what Waite means by that, but I suppose he's suggesting that Blavatsky was restrained by Dora's presence, perhaps even intimidated, by a certain scepticism on Dora's part. Waite says that at these TS meetings he had several chats with Dora; but she doesn't figure again in his book, so there was certainly no meeting of minds; perhaps he too found Dora's attitude an uncomfortable thing to live with.

I'm suggesting that Dora was sceptical of Blavatsky's wilder flights of fancy, because in 1884 she joined the Society for Psychical Research, recently founded by a group of Cambridge

academics to investigate exactly the sort of miraculous gifts Blavatsky and others were claiming to possess, with a view to proving - or disproving - them scientifically. Blavatsky and other senior personnel at the Theosophical Society hated the whole idea. However, Dora was still a member of the Society for Psychical Research in 1895 although her membership had lapsed by 1900. If Dora doubted whether people's occult powers were genuine it might explain why she never followed up her initiation into the GD. However, there might be other reasons for that: she was from a Christian background, and that anyone should claim occult powers may have seemed irreligious to her.

Dora continued to live very near or with Sophia Caulfeild, to write for Girl's Own Paper and other outlets, and to slip away to solitude at her cottage, through the 1890s; but the last article I can find that she wrote for GOP was published in 1901. It was called Luggage up to Date and was in the nature of a farewell: in 1900 or early 1901 Dora had returned to Canada. She died at Lambton Ontario on 6 May 1901 but was buried some distance away, at Strathroy Cemetery, Middlesex county. Her gravestone has been photographed as part of the Canada Gen Web's Cemetery Project and you can see it via their website: a surprisingly austere block of polished red granite with a simple inscription rather than the more usual Victorian sentimentality. Who commissioned it? Perhaps it was the youngest of Dora's step-children, William (1856-1920) who by 1901 had succeeded as the 6th Baron de Blaquièrre. Or perhaps it was Sophia Caulfeild.

Sophia Caulfeild was Dora's elder by several years, but survived her. She was not in England on the day of the 1901 census but by 1911 she had moved out of Hyde Park Mansions; perhaps she had left the Mansions when Dora went back to Canada. On the day of the 1911 census Sophia was living at 75 Abingdon Road Kensington, a lodging-house run by Sarah Ann Rudd. One of the other lodgers, a woman called Mary Ann Clark, described her occupation as "companion". Sophia was in her late 80s by this time and perhaps not very mobile. She was paying Mary Ann Clark to help her, perhaps physically, but perhaps as a secretary, as Sophia had kept working - her last books had been published as late as 1909. Sophia Caulfeild died at 75 Abingdon Road in November 1911. In her Will she asked that her nieces Louisa Mary Northcott and Lucia Caulfeild Surridge be buried with her; and that inscriptions should be written on the grave's headstone to honour three friends - her two nieces, and Dora de Blaquièrre.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk;

familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR DORA

THE BETTRIDGE FAMILY

My data on the Bettridges of the Cotswolds is from local archives consulted by Sally M Thomson of Codford, Wiltshire; information sent to me in a series of emails 29 May 2014 to 25 June 2014. The ancestors common to both Dora and Sally Thomson are Richard Bettridge and his wife Mary (née Minchin) of Lower Swell. Dora was descended from Joseph, their fourth son; Sally Thomson is descended from Stephen, their eighth son.

WILLIAM CRADDOCK BETTRIDGE

Online Dictionary of Canadian Biography has an entry for him though it doesn't mention his family.

The Clergy Reserves: their History and Present Position... by Charles Lindsey and John Rolph 1851 p29-30 is an Order in Council issued January 1836 giving grants of land (and therefore income) to the clergy of Canada, including "29 acres in the Town of Woodstock" to the Rev William Betteridge.

Journals of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada volume 23 1864 p42 mentions William Bettridge as now being a rural dean. Charles de Blaquièrre is one of his church wardens.

Ontario Library Review vols 16-20 1931.

Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada published by Royal Society of Canada 1938; good on his Peninsular War career.

Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario by Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers. Univ of Toronto Press 1987 p180.

Some records found via familysearch:

Marriage record: Mary Hounsfild to William Bettridge on 24 Dec 1823 at St James Westminster.

Baptism records; but not for all the children - familysearch didn't have ANY baptism records for 1830s Ontario. Baptism records for children born to William and Mary Bettridge in England:

Mary Eleanor Bettridge, December 1825 in Elvington York

Emily Bettridge, October 1826 Elvington York

William Bettridge, May 1828 Elvington York

Julia Bettridge, December 1829 Millbrook Hants

These child also had parents William and Mary Bettridge but I'm not quite so sure whether they're part of Dora's family:

Edward Bettridge, December 1831 St Philip Birmingham

Emma Bettridge, October 1832 St Leonard's Shoreditch.

I haven't been able to find a baptism record for Caroline Dora Bettridge. However, familysearch did have her marriage record. The marriage took place in the Church of England church at Woodstock Canada (that is, St Paul's Woodstock) on 10 April 1865. The groom was Charles de Blaguière (sic and it must be a transcription error), born 1819 in England. The groom's parents: Hon P B de Blaquièrre and wife Eliza. Bride: C Dora Bettridge, age at marriage 25, born 1840 Canada. Parents: William and Mary Bettridge.

Via www.woodstockmuseum.ca, details of its Accession Number 2007.06.40b: the gravestone on the Bettridge grave, which is in Woodstock. William Craddock Bettridge born 30 August 1791 died 21 November 1873. At freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com there's a photo of the gravestone from which I just about made out the details of the other people buried in the grave:

- Mary Hounsfild Bettridge born 24 February 1800 died 13 April 1878
- daughters of William and Mary Bettridge:

Mary Eleanor born 1826; couldn't see her date of death on the right of the photo, because of the light

Emily born 1826 died 1866

Grace Elizabeth (I presume she's a daughter not a grand-daughter) born 1845 couldn't see what her date of death was

- Charles de Blaquièrre.

Dora de Blaquièrre is not in the grave and neither are any of her step-children. I don't know where Dora is buried.

THE DE BLAQUIÈRE FAMILY

Wikipedia on the barony which is Baron de Blaquièrre of Ardkill in co Derry, created in 1800. The 6th baron (that's Dora's step-son William) succeeded a distant cousin in 1889.

Peerage and Baronetage of Great Britain and Ireland issue of 1837 P277 on the family's early history: family had emigrated from France following the Edict of Nantes. The hon Peter Boyle de Blaquièrre was born in April 1783, a younger son of the first baron. He was married twice:

1 = Eliza daughter of Dennis O'Brien. Their children were: Peter; George; Eliza; Anne Maria; and Elinor. Eliza died in 1814 and Peter married again:

2 = 1818 Eliza, daughter of William Roper of Rathfarnham Castle county Dublin. Their children were: Charles (Dora's husband), born 7 November 1819; and another son, not named in this book, born 1832.

Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal seen via the web and I couldn't see which volume it was (there are several) but p410 says Peter Boyle de Blaquièrè died in 1860. His second wife, Eliza Roper, must have returned to Britain because she died 18 February 1881 in Bath Somerset.

Peter Boyle de Blaquièrè is in the online Dictionary of Canadian Biography. His entry also gives a feel for what Woodstock was like when he was living there - more English country town than new colonial settlement.

Eliza O'Brien de Blaquièrè knew the Irish political radical Daniel O'Connell: The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell 1775-1845; volumes 1-8. Irish Manuscripts Commission, for the Irish University Press 2010. P390 has at least one letter either from or to O'Connell from Eliza de Blaquièrè née O'Brien.

DORA'S HUSBAND Charles de Blaquièrè

The Baronetage and Knightage of the British Empire for 1882 by Joseph Foster, published 1882 p78 says that Charles de Blaquièrè was married twice:

- 1 = September 1848, to Agnes widow of W Lawson. Agnes died in 1864, leaving 3 children.
- 2 = 18 April 1865 to Caroline Dora youngest daughter of W C Bettridge. They had no children.

At www.halhed.com, the Halhed Genealogy and Family Trees quotes Edmund's The Peerage of the British Empire 1848 as giving a DOB of 7 November 1819 for Charles.

Via the web, a Directory of Woodstock and other Canadian towns, undated but post-1851, lists Charles de Blaquièrè as postmaster for Woodstock and church warden of St Paul's Woodstock.

Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage Baronetage and Knightage; uncertain of the date of edition but post-1869: P581 Dora's husband Charles de Blaquièrè died on 16 July 1869.

Charles de Blaquièrè's children details from website www.thepeerage.com has:

- Peter Henry 1849-1887; unmarried
- Louisa Agnes born 1850 married 1875 John Matheson who died 1878; he was a barrister based in Woodstock
- William born 1856; succeeds as the 6TH baron de Blaquièrè in 1889 and moves to England. He marries Lucienne Desbarats at Christchurch Cathedral Montreal in January 1888. They have 3 child:

John born 1889 killed in action March 1915

Kathleen born 1891

Alan born 1895, joined the Royal Navy, lost at sea in the wreck of the HMS Laurentic January 1917.

At William's death, in 1920, the barony went extinct. William's wife Lucienne is a French-Canadian Catholic: The Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook volume 34 1941 p117 in what is probably a death notice, has Lucienne as widow of the 6th Baron de Blaquièrè and eldest daughter of George Desbarats of Montreal.

DORA'S DEATH: via the web to Ontario Death Registrations 1869-1937: she died on 6 May 1901 at Sarnia, Lambton Ontario.

DORA IN EUROPE, AS A JOURNALIST

Scoop! Database of 19th and 20th century journalists, held at BL, did not have an entry for Dora. However, the database seems to be based on the records of the Society of Journalists, and not every reporter was a member. I found that quite a few other GD members whom I knew to have done work as journalists, were not in it.

University of East Anglia has a Girl's Own Paper archive, online at www.uea.ac.uk/~h720/GOP/fnd/htm with a list of contributors with the titles of the articles they wrote and the volumes they appeared in. Dora's list was one of the longest of any contributor and included

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| vol | 2 | 1881 Occupations for invalids |
| | 5 | 1884 Turkish and Bulgarian needlework ((done by yng girls)) |
| | 11 | 1890 On the Purchase of Outfits for India and the colonies |
| 13 | 1892 Magazine and Book Clubs and how to manage them | |
| | 14 | 1893 Amateur Upholstery |
| | 16 | 1895 Crazy china: what it is and how to make it |
| | | Fashion in girls' christian names |
| | | Reminiscences of Norway |
| | 17 | 1896 The names of houses |
| | | Popular quotations from the poets |
| | 18 | 1897 Autographs and their use |
| 19 | 1898 After School Clubs in America | |
| | | Two-acre estates, or villa farms |
| | | Apotheosis of the pocket-handkerchief |
| | 20 | 1899 Books before travel |
| | 22 | 1901 Luggage up to date |

NB volume 1 of GOP was published in 1880.

The set of four articles Dora wrote for The Woman's World. Published London Paris Melbourne: Cassell and Co Ltd 1890. The editor's name is not mentioned in the volume. During 1888-89 Oscar Wilde had been editor. I think he might have been replaced by 1890 but I'm sure it must have been him who suggested Dora write her articles.

The Silk Industry in Ireland and England published 1880. The British Library doesn't have a copy of this; I found a reference to it online at [//openagricola](http://openagricola), the USDA National Agricultural Library, so I guess they have a copy.

MODERN SOURCES WHICH MENTION DORA'S WORK

Magazine Phaedrus volumes 8-9 1982 p61 has an article on Girl's Own Paper. Dora is mentioned as a regular contributor to the magazine, among many women well-known in their lifetimes but forgotten now.

Great-Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of The Girl's Own Paper 1880-1901 by Wendy Forrester. Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press 1980 . P13 the first ever issue of GOP

was published 3 January 1880. GOP's publisher was the Religious Tract Society but GOP was in marked contrast to RTS's other publications, which included Leisure Hour and Sunday at Home.

Reforming Women's Fashion 1850-1920: Politics, Health and Art by Patricia A Cunningham, published Kent State University Press 2003. The book is good on the Rational Dress Movement. On p67 Bloomers were born in 1851! But there was no organised dress reform movement until 1881 when the Rational Dress Society was founded by Viscountess Harberton and Mrs E M King. The RDS's objectives were to promote clothes which:

- gave the wearer freedom of movement
- put no pressure on any part of the body
- weighed only as much as was necessary for warmth
- were comfortable and convenient to wear, as well as graceful and beautiful
- BUT didn't depart too obviously from current fashions.

DORA AND THE OCCULT

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn & Blount of Paternoster House EC4 1938 p87 and a footnote on that page.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research Volume II 1884. London: Trübner and Co of Ludgate Hill. P317 begins the list of the Society's members at December 1884: p318 Mrs Charles de Blaquièrre of 1 Hyde Park Mansions London SW.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XI 1895 has a full list of current members. On p606 Dora is still a member, and still living at 1 Hyde Park Mansions. However Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XV 1900-01 does NOT have her on the list of members.

MORE ON DORA'S ADDRESSES IN LONDON

Post Office Directory of London 1880 in the court directory section p2077 Mrs de Blaquièrre is at 7 Osnaburgh Terrace.

Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage edition of 1884 p199 gives Dora de Blaquièrre's current address as "now of 1 Hyde Park Mansions NW".

Details of Dora's time as a resident from Post Office Directories 1880-99 though the street directory sections have no entry for Hyde Park Mansions until 1885; its address when it does appear is Marylebone Road but it was in that section of the road that's now called OLD Marylebone Road. The entry for Hyde Park Mansions in Post Office Directory of London 1885 street directory section p486 Hyde Park Mansions, Marylebone Road, with the lists of residents organised by doorways/staircases. The residents of 1 Hyde Park Mansions are: Miss Sophia Caulfeild; Edmund Lane; Mrs de Blaquièrre; John Richardson; Miss Bass; Alexander Johnson MD; William Weldon; Edward Arthur Carpenter; Miss Worsley - which is not quite enough residents for the number of modern flats (which go from a to m). Perhaps the flats on staircase 1 were not all occupied as yet. If the list of names is that of those people who are paying the rent, Sophia Caulfeild and Dora are occupying separate flats on that staircase.

DORA'S GRAVESTONE

It's in Section G of Strathroy Cemetery, Middlesex Ontario. See it via www.geneofun.on.ca, the Canada Gen Web's Cemetery Project site; using the index which is by surname.

SOPHIA CAULFEILD

Family history details: series of emails sent February and March 2014 by Dr Martin Atkinson of Calgary.

DORA'S 1890 TRIP TO NORTH AMERICA

Information from findmypast and I accept that it may not refer to Dora: the officers on the ship hadn't filled out the forms completely, and even the woman's initials are not given, let alone date of birth or anything else decisive.

1890: a woman named de Blaquièrè sailing from Southampton to New York.

SOPHIA CAULFIELD

List of publications in the British Library.

1870 Aveneale and Other Poems. London: Longmans and Co.

1870 Desmond and Other Poems. London: Longmans and Co.

1880 By Land and Sea. London: Cassell and Co; in the same binding as a work by another author.

1881 The Dictionary of Needlework. London: L Upcott Gill. Caulfeild is the main author but a section on church embroidery was contributed by Blanche C Seward.

1882 another copy of The Dictionary of Needlework; perhaps a 2nd edition.

1885 Sick Nursing at Home. London: The Bazaar office.

1886 A Directory of Girls' Societies, Clubs and Unions, Conducted on Unprofessional Principles. London: Griffith Farran and Co.

1887 The Lives of the Apostles. London: Hatchards.

1888 True Philosophy; a reply to certain statements made in Scientific Religion by Laurence Oliphant. London: Hatchards.

1888 Restful Work for Youthful Hands. London: Griffith Farran and Co.

1890 The Dictionary of Needlework, author details as 1881 but publisher now London: A W Cowan and A Bradley.

1902 House Mottoes and Inscriptions: Old and New. London: Elliot Stock.

1903 The Home Nurse, which is a reprint and 3rd ed of Sick Nursing at Home. London: Elliot Stock.

1905 The Voice of the Fathers. London: S C Brown and Co.

1909 The Dawn of Christianity in Continental Europe. London: Elliot Stock.

1909 The Prisoners of Hope; apparently a series of 26 lectures. London: Marshall Brothers.

1972 The Dictionary of Needlework. London: Hamlyn.

LOOKING FOR DORA IN WORKS BY SOPHIA

The Dictionary of Needlework London: L Upcott Gill of 170 Strand 1882. Endpapers which were covers of the original issues of The Bazaar. Sophia Caulfeild does the entries on plain sewing, textiles, dress-making, appliances and terms. Publication I refer to as 'the bazaar' is fully The Bazaar Exchange and Mart, and Journal of the Household. Published Mon, Wed, Fri; 2d or by subscription.

Restful Work for Youthful Hands by Sophia F A Caulfeild. London and Sydney NSW: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh 1888.

SOPHIA CAULFEILD: status of Mary Ann Clark, headstone inscriptions and request for nieces to be buried with her: Sophia Caulfeild's Will; details sent by email by Dr Martin Atkinson March 2014.

29 June 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Anna Elizabeth, Comtesse de Brémont was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 13 November 1888, together with her friend Constance Wilde. Though most GD members opted for a motto in Latin, Anna chose one in French - *Fait bien - les dire* - a language that she spoke well. She began to work through the study necessary to reach the GD's inner, 2nd Order; and found it interesting and rewarding. But then William Wynn Westcott, who kept the GD's records at that time, wrote "Demits by order" against her name in his files. She had been expelled, though Westcott didn't give the reason why. Anna thought she had been carrying the can for the indiscretions of another GD member.

This file is part 1 of 2 of a life-by-dates of Anna; it covers her early life in the USA and ends with an account of her time in the GD. When I'm doing a life-by-dates, I type what's going on in the person's life in Italics; and details of the sources, and any comments I want to make, in my usual Times New Roman.

It's difficult to write a life-by-dates without dates! And in Anna de Brémont's life, attested dates have been hard to come by. I've had other, inter-connected problems as well. Too many of the events in Anna's life are written up in one newspaper or magazine report; often long after the event; without those attested dates that I like; and without any explanation of where or who the information came from. In addition, Anna had a vivid imagination and less social poise than she admitted to in public. Particularly after she left the USA for Europe, she reinvented her life in America, to give herself a wealthier and more romantic background than she'd actually had. Hence the French title, *comtesse de Brémont*, which she used in Europe but almost certainly not before.

PART ONE: 1852 TO 1888-ish

1852

Anna was born Anna Elizabeth Dunphy. Her parents were Patrick and Mary Dunphy, Irish-American Catholics. Though Anna also claimed Danish ancestry, she thought of herself as Irish. She had at least one sister.

A quick comment by Sally Davis on Anna's original surname. All sources agree on the surname Dunphy or Dunphie. I've seen it spelled DunphIE in one or two places but that does seem to be a mistake.

A much longer comment by Sally Davis, on the lack of data for Anna's life in the USA.

She's been lucky, historically speaking - registration and census data is virtually non-existent for her. Even the details that appear on her marriage registration - the only item about her that is in Familysearch's collection - are called into question by newspaper reports of her from a few years later. For example, the marriage registration gave her place of birth as Cincinnati Ohio. Newspaper articles from 1894, however, say her mother only moved there after Patrick Dunphy had died; and one says Anna was born in New York - which I couldn't prove. By the 1890s Anna was also knocking a few years off her year of birth, saying she was born in 1856 when the marriage registration gives 1852 - something else I couldn't prove.

Information from the end of Anna's life which implies her father was wealthy:

Via [//paperspast.natlib.govt.nz](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz) to Hawera and Normanby Star issue of 30 December 1922 p9 item: Countess' missing Will: inherited two fortunes. I guess the report has to be taken with a pinch of salt because the information in it was supplied by one of those anonymous "intimate friend" sources - they're not a modern phenomenon! The "friend" said that Anna had inherited money from her father, "an Irish-American in a big way of business"; presumably Anna had told him so. I tried to find evidence of a Patrick Dunphy running a business in Cincinnati in the 1850s. It was a long shot and I didn't find anything; but other evidence - see below - suggests he didn't live in Cincinnati anyway. I think a wealthy father was one of Anna's inventions.

Anna mentioned her Danish ancestry in her own writing a couple of times:

Pearls of Poesy London: Elliot Stock 1911: p48 in a very short profile above a sonnet by Anna, who also wrote the Foreword.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: pp40-41 she describes herself as 'Norse' because she enjoyed the rather stormy passage across the Atlantic.

Anna only made one mention, of one sister, in all her writing. She didn't even give her name; so I've found it impossible to discover anything about her.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: p 40-41.

That there may have been more than one sister;

Via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen of Tuesday 11 December 1894 p6: Material for a Libretto. Anna was news amongst the English-speaking visitors to Rome because of the libel suit she was bringing against W S Gilbert. The report had information on Anna's background which only one other source gives. It contradicts other accounts. It says that Anna was the "oldest sister"; implying that she had more than one sister. In this account Anna was not born in Cincinatti, her mother moved there after she had been widowed. Mrs Dunphy had kept a boarding house in Cincinatti; and had made a second marriage, to a Thomas Malloy of Lexington. No mention was made of Anna inheriting money from her father, and indeed the account gives the opposite impression: wealthy widows don't keep a boarding house.

Via google to www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org to the Herald Democrat of 7 December 1894 which has the same report, with more or less the same wording, except that it gave Anna's place of birth as New York City.

DURING ANNA'S CHILDHOOD

Anna's father died. Later, her mother remarried.

Sources: see above.

DURING ANNA'S CHILDHOOD

Her interest in music began - on the assumption that Anna herself is the child Anna is referring to in the source I found.

Source:

The World of Music by Anna Comtesse de Brémont. London: W W Gibbings of 18 Bury Street WC; 1892 edition, in 3 volumes. In the volume The Virtuosi p9 when talking of violinist Ole Bull 1810-80, she mentions "the Opera House of a great Western city spread along the banks of the Ohio" where "a child sat one night entranced beneath the spell of a musician's bow".

??LATE 1850s/EARLY 1860s

Anna was educated at a Convent school, where she had won prizes for her essays and verses.

Source:

Anna's own Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911. Chapter V p53 with Anna saying she had also written "childish verses that pleased my mother".

PROBABLY LATE 1860s to EARLY 1870s

Anna was in the Cincinatti Cathedral choir and became a soloist; before moving to a similar but more high-profile job in New York.

Sources:

Via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen of Tuesday 11 December 1894 p6: Material for a Libretto and same information via google to www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org to the Herald Democrat of 7 December 1894: Material for a Libretto. Both reports clearly have the same origin, but I don't know what that origin is!

We get onto firmer ground when Anna moves to New York:

UNCERTAIN DATE BUT PROBABLY EARLY TO MID 1870s

For two years Anna was a member of the choir at the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn.

Sources:

Web pages at www.plymouthchurch.org are the website of Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims at 75 Hicks Street Brooklyn Heights; which is a congregational church, founded in 1847. Henry Ward Beecher (1813-87) was its first pastor. Church is still very active musically.

For her being in the choir:

Extract from Anna's own memoir *Oscar Wilde and His Mother*; which I read in *Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections*. Editor E H Mikhail, published in 2 volumes, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979. Volume 1 p102.

Another reference in *The Conservatory* volume 1 1905 p122. Magazine published by the Royal Conservatory of Music, Toronto University.

On the importance of Plymouth Church to would-be professional singers:

Annals of the New York Stage volume 9 1870-75 by George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press 1937 pp504. Odell remarks that Plymouth Church's pastor, Henry Ward Beecher, drew "many celebrities" to his services and church concerts. Odell's books show that being in the Plymouth Church choir led to very successful musical careers as professional singers, for some.

BY DECEMBER 1873

Anna Dunphy was trying to forge a career as a singer.

Comment by Sally Davis: I don't think she was very successful as a professional singer. She doesn't really appear enough times in *Annals of the New York Stage* to be making a good living from concert appearances; though most of her work may have been done out of town, of course. As to whether she was living in New York with her parents or a surviving parent, or was an orphan by now; I couldn't find any evidence one way or another.

Sources: a couple of volumes of the *Annals of the New York Stage*, a work which covers music and theatre performances for most of the 19th century in astonishing detail; except that it doesn't mention whether or not people were paid for appearing in the concerts it lists; and doesn't itemise concerts so that you can tell who sang what.

A reference by Anna to the difficulties of attempting a career as a professional musician; which might be based on her own experience:

The World of Music by Anna Comtesse de Brémont. London: W W Gibbings of 18 Bury Street WC, 1892 edition in 3 volumes. In the volume *The Virtuosi* p241 Anna describes a musical career as "pursued over a stony road, rough with thorns".

16 DECEMBER 1873

Anna was a contralto soloist in a testimonial concert at the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn.

Source:

Annals of the New York Stage volume 9 1870-75 by George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press 1937 pp504. Odell doesn't list what was sung at the December 1873 concert, but as well as a large number of soloists, a male singing quartet also performed - a busy night.

1 DECEMBER 1874

Anna sang in another testimonial concert, this time at the Athenaeum.

Source:

Annals of the New York Stage volume 9 1870-75. George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press 1937: p635. The concert was for the pianist Augusta Hillman. Again, there's no information on what was sung.

11 FEBRUARY 1875

Anna was a soloist in a performance by the Handel and Haydn Society, of Mendelssohn's oratorio St Paul, at Plymouth Church; conducted by Dr Damrosch.

Annals of the New York Stage volume 9 1870-75. George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press 1937: p638-39.

See wikipedia for Mendelssohn's St Paul, his opus 36; first performance May 1836. It has a part for a mezzo but not a contralto; so Anna's voice could manage some mezzo-soprano roles.

17 MARCH 1875

Anna sang in a concert of music by J S Bach, at the Church of the Holy Trinity Madison Avenue/42nd Street.

Source:

Annals of the New York Stage volume 9 1870-75. George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press 1937: p618. The evening was actually that season's 18th Grand Organ concert so it was mostly organ music that was played. Anna sang some contralto solos and the violinist Leopold Damrosch also played.

An advert for the concert is at [//fultonhistory.com](http://fultonhistory.com): extract from the New York paper the Daily Graphic of Monday 15 March 1875 p11 though it calls Anna "Annie".

22 APRIL 1875

Anna appeared in another concert at the Plymouth Church.

Annals of the New York Stage volume 9 1870-75. George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press 1937: p640.

AUTUMN 1875 TO SPRING 1882

Anna made no public appearances as a singer in New York.

Source:

Annals of the New York Stage volumes 10 and 11 which cover 1875-82. George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press.

20 FEBRUARY 1877

Anna Elizabeth Dunphy married Émile Léon, Comte de Brémont, in Jersey City New Jersey.

Source for the marriage and also for Anna's year and place of birth, and the names of her

parents:

New Jersey Marriages 1678-1950, New Jersey EASy source film 494159; seen via Familysearch. On the marriage registration, Anna's husband's title was noted down and his parents' names were given: Charles Henri le Compte de Brémont and his wife Maria Augustina de Vintinulle. Born 1833 in France.

Comment by Sally Davis:

The question of whether Anna's husband was or was not a Comte - ie an aristocrat - and thus whether Anna had a right to style herself a Comtesse, was the basis of a later court case; and there has also been a lot of scepticism about it amongst biographers of two of the men she encountered in England. However, the rules of inheritance of titles in France aren't necessarily the same as they are in the UK; and I think the title was genuine. There's not much doubt that Anna's husband was a member of the aristocratic de Brémont family, close friends of Empress Eugenie; if he had not been a member of that family he would not have had to flee to the USA.

Léon de Brémont (as he was known in the USA) was born in 1834, the son of an officer in the French artillery. He'd qualified as a doctor in Paris and served as a surgeon with the French army in the Crimea and the Franco-Prussian War. He was awarded the Légion d'Honneur. However, his family had been too close to Napoleon and Eugenie and when they were deposed, many of them opted to go into exile. Léon went to New York where he worked in the city's French Hospital and also ran a dispensary for poor people. His funeral was attended by many of the city's French ex-pat community. When he died, his remains were sent to France and interred in the family vault.

Anna never mentioned having any children and the life she led does not suggest that she was ever encumbered with any; so I suppose she and her husband were childless.

Sources for Anna's husband:

Lettres de la Marquise de Brémont a Eugénie edited François Lacombe, just to indicate the closeness of some of the family to the regime of Napoleon III.

New York Times of 24 May 1882: report of his death and funeral; and a short obituary.

Gilbert: His Life and Strife by Hesketh Pearson, Methuen 1957 p178 says that in 1895 "the Baron de Brémont, then alive in Paris, repudiated her right to the title". So there's someone called a Baron de Brémont out there. That's W S Gilbert: see the second part of this life-by-dates; 1895.

Several articles on fashion by a writer calling him/her self the Baron de Brémont; all in English, all from the 1890s, all in US newspapers:

- St Paul Daily Globe 14 August 1892 p12: Girls and Fashions
- The Pittsburgh Press 3 November 1895
- Crawfordsville Star 20 May 1897 p7: Spring Fashions.

Not sure who this person is; a relative, I suppose. Perhaps he is the Baron de Brémont of the book on W S Gilbert.

Anna's husband may be the person referred to in this source:

Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization Washington DC: Government Printing Office 1927. It actually covers the case of Augusta Louise de Haven-Alten which was heard January-February 1920. Papers relevant to the hearing included a letter from Helen Penniman to a Baron de Brémont; written in New York in 1874. However, following the downfall of Napoleon III and Eugenie there were other de Brémonts on the loose in Europe and the USA; so the recipient may have been one of Anna's relations-by-marriage - the one of the articles on fashion, for example.

Helen Penniman existed and if the letter is to Anna's husband, she must have been a friend of Anna: at [//governors.library.ca.gov](http://governors.library.ca.gov) there are biographies of all governors of California so far. The one in post during the San Francisco earthquake was George Pardee 1857-1941, Republican governor 1903-07. He married Helen Penniman in 1887. Helen's dates are 1857-1947. She was born and grew up in Oakland. She trained as a teacher but was also a landscape artist and quilter. Before her marriage she belonged to a rather riotous theatre group. She was a Free-thinker.

Two novels Anna published in 1899 are both dedicated to her husband; nearly two decades after his death:

In *The Gentleman Digger* she described him as a "hero of the Crimea" and "a friend of suffering humanity"; and in *A Son of Africa: A Romance* she referred to him as "an explorer of the Great Sahara Desert".

Comment by Sally Davis: one source says that she actually proposed marriage to someone else, once (see the last entry in this Part 1). After that relationship, Anna seems to have developed a tendency to think of her dead husband as her ideal man; and to compare other men unfavourably to him. She never married again.

MAY 1882

Dr Léon de Brémont died from a cold he had caught from a patient. He had been in poor health for some time.

Source: New York Times of 24 May 1882: report of his death and funeral.

Comment by Sally Davis: most sources seem to agree that Léon de Brémont left his wife very well off - presumably printing information Anna or people who knew her had given them. For example: Via [//paperspast.natlib.govt.nz](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz) to *Hawera and Normanby Star* 30 December 1922 p9 item: Countess' missing Will: inherited two fortunes - an initial one from her father; and a second from her husband.

However, one report at least says she spent her inheritance from her husband within a very few years, beginning a pattern of acquiring wealth and then losing it, that was repeated several times in her life:

Via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the *Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen* of Tuesday 11 December 1894 p6: *Material for a Libretto*. Via google to www.coloradahistoricnewspapers.org to the *Herald Democrat* of 7 December 1894: article also called *Material for Libretto* and clearly from the same original report. It says that Anna had run through her husband's money by the mid-1880s. Her need for an income was the reason for her attempt to resurrect her career as a professional singer (see below), and her decision to become a professional writer.

AUTUMN 1882

Anna met Oscar Wilde at a dinner party in New York; probably one of the first social engagements that she attended after her husband's death.

Comments by Sally Davis: the dinner party was given by a friend of Anna and her husband, who had known the Wilde family in Ireland. Also invited to meet Oscar Wilde that evening were Oliver Wendell Holmes, General Ulysses S Grant, Louisa M Alcott, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Henry Ward Beecher: a formidable bunch!

Anna is best known these days for her relationship with Oscar Wilde. Several years after his death, she wrote a Memoir of him which has been much quoted by his biographers; but also much despised. Anna did a lot of being wise after the event in her Memoir. She also suggested that the two of them had a special relationship - that she saw, immediately, through the façade to the real man behind it. I don't think that was true, and her claiming it was has infuriated some of Wilde's biographers, who really don't like her saying that Oscar Wilde had "a feminine soul" and that in a single glance she had "read his secret".

I don't think Anna liked Oscar Wilde very much; nor he her. She preferred a manly man. They were not friends, and they did not meet very often. However, Anna did seize the opportunity to make money out of having known him.

Sources:

Anna's own writings on the relationship; not having seen a copy of the first of them, I'm not quite sure whether they are the same book with different titles; or two separate accounts.

Oscar Wilde: A Memoir published Everett and Co 1910.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie 1911. You can also read long extracts from this book in Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections in 2 volumes, both edited by E H Mikhail, both published London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979. Volume 1 p102 et seq; including pp102-03 for the dinner party and p103 for the quotes.

For the biographies of Oscar Wilde that use Anna's Memoirs of him: see 1911 in the 2nd part of this life-by-dates.

A biography of Oscar Wilde's mother that uses Anna's reminiscences while describing her as a "questionable authority":

Speranza: A Biography of Lady Wilde by Horace Wyndham. 1951. London and New York: T V Boardman and Co Ltd: p179.

AUGUST 1883

Anna went to the New York première of Oscar Wilde's play Vera, or The Nihilists; at the Union Square Theatre.

Comment by Sally Davis: Anna thought the cast and the acting were good; but neither the critics nor the New York audiences liked the play, so it flopped.

Source: Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie 1911: pp38-40.

5 MAY 1885

Anna was a soloist at a concert at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Comment by Sally Davis: this concert was Anna's only appearance in Annals of the New York Stage between 1882 and 1885. Anna was the first listed of the soloists so perhaps her part in the concert was greater than the others. Odell doesn't give details of what the programme that day was, but from the details of those who took part, the music was songs, with piano accompaniment.

Source:

Annals of the New York Stage volume 12 1882-85 by George C D Odell. New York: Columbia University Press: p551, p556.

DECEMBER 1885 ?TO JANUARY 1886

Anna was a member of an opera company put together by the singer Alfa Norman, to revive Balfe's opera *The Enchantress*. The production was performed in Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Boston and New York.

Sources:

New York Times 13 December 1885 Theatre World column: announcement of the tour, which was being backed by Charles Frohman, previously impresario at the Madison Square theatre. Gustave Kerker would conduct the opera; Alfa Norman would take the leading role; and other roles would be sung by Henry Peakes, Rowland Buckstone, Anna, Annie Kellogg and Henry Hallam. The report remarked in passing that Norman's voice had improved a great deal since her New York debut; and a similarly dim view of Alfa Norman's talent was expressed in the UK theatre magazine *The Theatre* volume 1 1886 p345.

Alfa Norman is in *Famous Stars of Light Opera* by Lewis C Strang 1995. She seems to have done more work in the USA than in Europe.

Information on *The Enchantress*:

A search of google showed several early editions, for example: *The Enchantress: An Opera in Three Acts*. Published New York: Samuel French of 121 Nassau Street in 1854, after performances by the Pyne and Harrison Troupe at the Broadway Theatre with Louisa Pyne as Stella, the title role. Music was by Michael William Balfe, setting words were by Jules-Henri Vernoy St Georges and Alfred Bunn - which I think means that they were Bunn's translation of a work originally in French.

What was probably the first edition was published in 1852. This edition said that the opera's first performance had been in 1845 at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane.

Wikipedia on Michael William Balfe: 1808-70 born Dublin, long career in Europe and then England. The song *I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls* comes from his 1843 opera *The Bohemian Girl*. The wikipedia page doesn't mention *The Enchantress*, probably because it was not his original work.

Comment by Sally Davis: if this was an attempt to resurrect a career as a professional musician, it failed; and Anna doesn't seem to have done more than sing at the occasional charity do from then on; though she did still move in musical social circles, in the US and in Europe.

BY 1886

Anna's sister was living in London. Anna decided to pay her a visit.

Source:

Comment by Sally Davis: Anna describes the visit to her sister as an attempt to seek solace in travel - she was still finding it hard to come to terms with her husband's death. However, some newspaper reports say that in a very few years, Anna spent all the money she inherited from her husband; so it's perfectly possible she left the USA to escape her creditors. She might have started out intending to be away for a short time only, but Anna never lived permanently in the US again.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: p 40-41.

For Anna's having spent her inheritance from her husband:

Via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen of Tuesday 11 December 1894 p6: Material for a Libretto and same information via google to www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org to the Herald Democrat of 7 December 1894: Material for a Libretto. Both reports clearly have the same origin, but I don't know what that origin is!

13 MARCH 1886

Anna left New York for Europe. She had a rough Atlantic crossing but enjoyed it. She took with her letters of introduction to people in London, amongst whom was Lady Wilde, Oscar Wilde's mother.

Source:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911. I'll just note here that the book is dedicated to Speranza - Lady Wilde's writing name - "in Remembrance of her beautiful friendship for the author". Pp40-41.

SPRING 1886

A month after arriving in England, Anna made use of her letter of introduction and went to one of Lady Wilde's famous Saturday afternoon 'at homes'.

Source:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: p42-45.

Comment by Sally Davis: Jane Francesca, Lady Wilde, was still living in Park Street Mayfair in 1886, so that's where Anna will have gone. Anna later saw that afternoon as a key moment in her life; and the close friendship that developed between her and Lady Wilde as one that enabled the new start she made in her life around 1890.

A source for Lady Wilde: Speranza: A Biography of Lady Wilde by Horace Wyndham. 1951. London and New York: T V Boardman and Co Ltd. Though as I've said above, it isn't very charitable towards Anna.

More comment by Sally Davis:

Lady Wilde's at homes are well-known now because so many people wrote about them, and partly because of the number of people who attended them regularly who either were, or later became, famous. A few guests became GD members: Oscar Wilde's wife Constance; W B Yeats; Isabel de Steiger; Anna; and I'm sure there were others but I haven't found actual evidence for them - I'm pretty sure, for example, that John Todhunter was a regular guest, but I can't prove it. Anna may not have met Isabel at Lady Wilde's at homes because Isabel and Lady Wilde fell out; but she did meet W B Yeats at one, and possibly Constance Wilde; and she met Oscar Wilde again.

Another guest at Lady Wilde's:

Bernard Shaw: *The Diaries 1885-1897* in two volumes, annotated and edited by Stanley Weintraub. University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press 1986: p31, which covers November 1879. GBS recorded that he had met the novelist Eliza Lynn Lynton at Lady Wilde's. Anna doesn't say she met GBS at any of the afternoons she herself attended, so perhaps he had stopped going to them by 1886. GBS knew a lot of GD members though he was never one himself.

And another:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: *A Memoir*. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: on p49 Anna mentions that Robert Browning was often a guest at Lady Wilde's at homes; though she doesn't specifically say that she ever met him.

And another American visitor:

Speranza: *A Biography of Lady Wilde* by Horace Wyndham. London and NY: T V Boardman and Co Ltd. 1951: p 182. The future novelist Gertrude Atherton was taken to one of Lady Wilde's at homes when she first arrived in London.

POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS THE LATE 1880s; DEFINITELY EARLY 1890s

Anna went to the musical soirées given by Mary Frances Ronalds at her home in Belgravia.

Source, though without a date, and Anna identifies her hostess only as "Mrs R".

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: *A Memoir*. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: pp59-60.

Comment by Sally Davis: Anna actually preferred Mary Ronalds' evening concerts to Lady Wilde's afternoons: they were more exclusive, and Mrs Ronalds could afford to pay for more servants to distribute the food and drink. Anna may have known Mary Ronalds in New York; but a friendship with her had definitely developed by 1892.

Source for the identity of "Mrs R":

The World of Music by Anna comtesse de Brémont. London: W W Gibbings of 18 Bury Street WC 1892. Volume *The Great Composers*. On the inside cover of the British Library copy is the calling card of Mrs Ronalds and her daughter, with printed address 7 Cadogan Place.

Mary Frances Ronalds (1839-1916) amateur singer and hostess, is important enough to have her own wikipedia page. When she was giving her evening concerts in Mayfair she was separated from her French husband. She had two long relationships - with Leonard Jerome, father of Jennie Jerome who married Lord Randolph Churchill; and then with the composer Arthur Sullivan, whose *The Lost Chord* became her signature song though he didn't actually write it for her.

New York Times 31 July 1916 p5 short obituary of Mary Frances Ronalds, describing her as someone who in London in the 1880s could "make or mar a musician".

?JULY 1886

Anna was invited to an 'at home' given by Lady Wilde's daughter-in-law Constance, wife of Oscar Wilde. She was delighted to receive an invitation, but found the informality of the occasion very nerve-racking.

Comment by Sally Davis: Anna doesn't mention going regularly to Constance's at homes; though she continued to go to Lady Wilde's. From then on she regularly came across

Constance and Oscar at other social events; but they weren't close friends.

Source:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: pp86-88. Anna describes Constance's at home as a "crush of fashionable folk".

1886 AND 1887

Anna and Lady Wilde became very close. Lady Wilde encouraged Anna to make a career as a writer. Oscar Wilde got Anna her first writing commission and gave her advice on how to manage the hard work of writing - advice she was very grateful for.

Source

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911 p51, pp71-72. According to this account, Anna's first commissioned article was a piece on Christmas. As she didn't say where it was published, I haven't tried to look for it.

MAY 1887

The earliest pieces of writing by Anna that I have been able to trace were published in The Theatre magazine: an article on American actresses and a better-known one Beecher's Histrionic Power; and a poem.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry Ward Beecher died on 8 March 1887 - see his wikipedia page.

Source:

The Theatre magazine, published London: Casson and Comerford of Strand; editor is Clement Scott, who founded the magazine and is considered the father of modern drama criticism - see his wikipedia page. New Series volume IX January-June 1887: April pp324-26: American Actresses; May p248: Beecher's Histrionic Power; and July p27-28 this poem which I think is her earliest published one. I reproduce it here, to give a flavour of her writing style. Anna's poetry was considered a bit too hot to handle by many during her lifetime - something that was used against her in a court case. It's too florid and overblown for my liking, and I find the language rather antiquated; but I'm no judge of poetry.

A Fantasy

In my low and narrow bed,
Every dream for ever fled;
Cold earth pillowing my head,
Shall I sleep when I am dead?

Oh! that sweet unceasing rest,
While the world above my breast,
Struggling with its cares oppressed,
Wakes no echo in my nest.

Then: o'er me slowly stealing,

As I sleep, unheeding feeling,
Past regret and vain appealing
Creeps decay, its spell revealing.

In the shimmer of my hair,
It shall weave its grayness there,
Touch my cheek, so found and fair,
With a blemish past repair.

And my eyes shall droop and melt,
And my lips, where kisses dwelt,
Wither 'neath the cruel stealth
Of that long last kiss unfelt.

And each curve and supple grace
Of my form shall it efface,
And Death's hideousness replace
All resemblance to my race.

Then the Earth's mysterious power
With new birth shall me endow'r
And I'll wake some sunny hour
On her breast - a beauteous flow'r!

And the sun's caresses sweet,
Stir my petal'd heart to beat;
'Till my perfumed soul shall fleet,
Swift my lost love's kiss to meet.

And our mingl'd souls shall soar,
Far away the wide world o'er,
On through Heaven's golden door,
Into bliss for ever more!

The poem later appeared in Anna's Sonnets and Love Poems collection.

LATE 1880s

Anna was living in a flat in Cavendish Mansions, Portland Place.

Source:

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume II 1896-1900: p583 footnote 2 but the editors 1) spelled her surname as DunphIE and gave her the wrong father; 2) got her DOB wrong; and 3) couldn't trace her husband and seemed to be suspicious that she might be making him up. However, I daresay the address is right.

DURING 1888

Lady Wilde moved from Mayfair to Oakley Street in Chelsea; her at homes continued at the new address.

Source:

The Parents of Oscar Wilde: Sir William and Lady Wilde by Terence de Vere White. Hodder and Stoughton 1967: p245.

17 MAY 1888

Anna made her only public appearance as an actress, playing Rosalind in the forest scenes from As You Like It at a matinée at the Globe Theatre.

Source: via www.archive.org/stream to The Theatre magazine, New Series volume XI January-June 1888; editor Clement Scott. Published London: Strand Publishing Co: issue of 1 June 1888 p319, p330. The scenes were part of a varied programme and none of the rest of AYLI was done. Lewis Waller played Orlando to Anna's Rosalind; Bassett Roe played Jacques and the Count. The anonymous reviewer said that Anna's Rosalind had been "sprightly and intelligent", but that Anna had shown clear signs of her lack of experience, in her "nervousness and want of repose". As part of the performance, Julia Neilson had sung a "new and rather pretty song" with lyrics by Anna: Have You Forgotten?

?MAY 1888

Anna's lyrics for Have You Forgotten? were published; music by Alfred Benjamin Allen.

Source:

British Library has the score, published London: Boosey and Co.

3 JULY 1888

Anna sang at a concert in aid of the Gordon Boys' Home; held at the Prince's Hall.

Source: Times Saturday 30 June 1888 p1e: an advert for it. Madame Liebhardt would also sing; and Herr von Czeke would conduct them. The concert would also include the first public recital of Bishop Trench's poem Haroun al-Rashid.

IN THE GD, and just to save you going to the top of this file to look it up: Anna de Brémont and Constance Wilde were initiated into the GD on 13 November 1888 - only a few months after the GD came into existence. The date of Anna's expulsion isn't clear.

Who recommended Anna and Constance as suitable members of the GD? In some ways the most obvious candidate is W B Yeats; but he wasn't initiated himself until March 1890. I'm going to leave the question open, except to say that it was likely to have been someone who knew both women through Lady Wilde's at homes.

Many years after the event, Anna wrote of the few accounts of how the Order operated by any GD member; though true to the oaths she had sworn at her initiation, she didn't name it or give any details of its rituals. She described its formation as part of a "wave of occultism" that was passing through London at the time; defining occultism as "the profound instinct of the unknown and the invisible". I'm sure that becoming a member of such a secret society appealed to a desire Anna often displayed in her life: to investigate the 'new' and relay the details of it to those who weren't so quick off the mark - the qualities of a journalist. She didn't name the person she understood to be the GD's leader, but said of him that he was a "clever disciple of Egyptian lore" who had researched "biblical mysticism" and had written a book "on the occult science of King Solomon" - meaning Samuel Liddell Mathers. She was unaware of the contribution of William Wynn Westcott.

Despite her curiosity, Anna considered the offer of initiation quite carefully before accepting it. She thought the initiation ritual "would have been amusing had it not been taken so seriously". Although Anna was by no means as self-assured as she wished to appear in social situations in England, she refused to be over-awed by the ritual, remaining "composed" throughout; but she could feel how nervous Constance was. Although she had later been thrown out of the Order, she was glad that she had been a member, because she had done "very serious study in Oriental and scientific subjects" and developed "a habit of concentrated thought" that had been an asset in her writing career. Anna also thought that membership of the Order had also resulted in a closer relationship with Constance Wilde. The closeness can't have lasted long - firstly Anna went abroad; and then there was Dorian Gray and the portrait in the attic.

Anna must have been in South Africa when *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was being written. The story burst upon the reading public in July 1890 when its serialisation began, in Lippincott's *Monthly Magazine*. The main prop of the plot is a portrait that ages by unexplained means while its sitter continues to look unchanged by the passage of time and a dissolute life; a picture that is somehow imbued with elements of its sitter's character that he wishes to hide from the public and from himself. Anna was not the only GD member who later believed that Constance had repeated to her husband information on the GD that he should not have been allowed to know as a non-member; and that some of what she had told him had found its way into *Dorian Gray*. Anna said that some even GD members thought that what happened to Oscar Wilde and Constance was vengeance exacted through the forces of magic; though she thought that attitude was "absurd" herself.

Looking back in 1911, Anna now thought that Constance had never really been all that interested in occultism, and had joined the GD with the intention of telling her husband what was going on in it. And yet it was Anna who was ejected from the Order; while the note on Constance's GD records merely says that her membership was "in abeyance with the sympathy of the chiefs". My point is, I think, one that Anna made herself: that Constance was a very feminine, unthreatening woman who could easily be seen as a woman over-dutiful to her husband; while Anna was financially independent and assertive. Anna was easier to blame.

Sources:

For the initiation date, and notes on the GD records of Constance and Anna: R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion* p142; see the main 'sources' section below for further details.

Anna's Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911 Book II Chapter II is on Occultism in London: pp95-97; p98-99.

Even Aleister Crowley found the GD initiation ritual alarming. Writing about it much later in his life, he remembered asking GD member Julian Baker if people often died during it. Source for that: Ellic Howe (see the main Sources section for full details) p193 quoting Crowley's Confessions p176.

On Anna's self-confidence:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie 1911: p66 at her first Lady Wilde 'at home'; on p77 making a horrible social blunder - bringing a guest who proceeded to insult her hostess; and pp87-88 feeling that she didn't understand the rules of the game, at one of Constance's 'at homes'.

1889

Anna was living in South Africa.

See Part Two of this life-by-dates.

?LATE 1880s or possibly EARLY 1890s

W B Yeats was a regular visitor to Anna in her new flat. They got very friendly and she proposed marriage to him. He turned the proposal down; and never visited her again.

Source, though without naming the woman in question or giving specific dates: WB Yeats by letter to Lady Gregory; thence to Lady Gregory's diary: Lady Gregory's Diaries 1892-1902 edited and with an introduction by James Pethica. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1996: p151; and p151 footnote 134 in which the editor identifies the anonymous marriage-proposer as Anna. The gist of the story as Lady Gregory noted it down was that Anna told W B Yeats that her rather dubious reputation wouldn't necessarily be a handicap to him if they married. She reminded him that T P O'Connor had (to quote Lady Gregory) "married a woman of no character" who had been a great help to him in his political career.

Comment by Sally Davis on dating this intriguing but not-well-documented relationship: I've been turning over in my mind Anna's assessment of her own reputation; and how Lady Gregory envisaged her, who had only heard of her through W B Yeats. If it was true that Anna thought of herself as a woman of rather risqué reputation, it might have been because of the poem I've reproduced above; and because she'd taken on the 'breeches' role of Rosalind. So I've put Anna's proposal and its rejection, later than those two events.

END OF PART ONE. PART TWO covers the late 1880s to Anna's death. Return to the main GD web page to reach it.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the

large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

27 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

GD MEMBER ANNA COMTESSE DE BRÉMONT: PART TWO OF MY LIFE-BY-DATES which covers 1889 to her death in 1922.

Some repeats in case you didn't read Part One.

Anna Elizabeth, Comtesse de Brémont was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 13 November 1888, together with her friend Constance Wilde. Though most GD members opted for a motto in Latin, Anna chose one in French - *Fait bien - les dire* - a language that she spoke well. For her time as a member of the GD, see Part One.

Problems with the data:

It's difficult to write a life-by-dates without dates! And in Anna de Brémont's life, attested dates have been hard to come by. I've had other, inter-connected problems as well. Too many of the events in Anna's life are written up in one newspaper or magazine report; often long after the event; without those attested dates that I like; and without any explanation of where or who the information came from. In addition, Anna had a vivid imagination and less social poise than she admitted to in public. Particularly after she left the USA for Europe, she reinvented her life in America, to give herself a wealthier and more romantic background than she'd actually had. Hence the French title, *comtesse de Brémont*, which she used in Europe but almost certainly not before.

And a word of warning about the publications listed below. Quite a few of them came out in later editions from different publishers, with the title slightly changed. I've found it difficult to discover how many of the later publications were reissues and how many were first editions.

UNKNOWN DATE

Anna went to India, Australia and South Africa, on a singing and lecture tour promoted and managed by the English actor and theatrical impresario Walter Brandon Thomas.

Source: via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the *Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen of Tuesday 11 December 1894* p6: *Material for a Libretto*. Via google to www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org to the *Herald Democrat of 7 December 1894*: article also called *Material for Libretto* and clearly from the same original report.

Comment by Sally Davis: no other source mentions this tour; and I can't see how it fits in Anna's life - I don't think she will have met Brandon Thomas before 1885, and there doesn't seem time in her life between 1885 and 1894 for a tour to such far-flung places. See Walter Brandon Thomas' wikipedia page for his career - he's the co-author of *Charley's Aunt*. Thomas' first attempts at theatrical promotion don't seem to have come until the early 1890s; and naturally enough, the first things he promoted were his own plays and acting. There's no mention of Anna on the wikipedia page, and no indication he ever promoted the kind of lecture tour Anna supposedly undertook. Perhaps the whole tour is one of Anna's flights of imagination.

ALSO UNDATED except that they took place at Anna's flat in Cavendish Mansions, which she had left by 1893

Anna joined the 'at home' circuit, holding hers on Sunday evenings.

Source: via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the *Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen of Tuesday 11 December 1894* p6: *Material for a Libretto*. Via google to

www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org to the Herald Democrat of 7 December 1894: article also called Material for Libretto and clearly from the same original report.

Comment by Sally Davis: at Anna's at homes the focus is likely to have been on music rather than conversation. See Part One if you haven't already done so, for her career as a singer.

Restating a bit from Part One:

1887-88

With the encouragement of Oscar Wilde and his mother Jane Francesca, Lady Wilde, Anna embarked on a career as a professional writer.

1889

Anna went to South Africa and worked for a newspaper based in Johannesburg. She was the only woman journalist in the Rand. She got her first book of poems printed while she was there. Some poems she wrote might indicate she had an affair. And one source from much later in her life says that she made a fortune while she was there.

Comment by Sally Davis: an important period in Anna's life, even if information on exactly what she did there is lacking. She doesn't say so but I think Anna would not have chosen to go to South Africa if she could have found journalism work in London. She didn't say which newspaper she worked for or whether she was paid; but she looked back on her "course of arduous journalism", the "drudgery" of her daily work, with gratitude, and never regretted her time in South Africa. It matured her as a writing professional and provided a mass of ideas for future fiction works. I think she also enjoyed the hell-for-leather atmosphere of a town in the midst of a gold rush, the lack of social rules and etiquette, even the lack of social graces - before she arrived in Johannesburg she was already finding London society "unromantic" (I don't know what she'd been expecting). Many of the poems which were published in *Sonnets and Love Poems* (1892) were written during her stay; and a crime and trial that happened while she was there gave her the plot of her first novel. She came back to England at the end of 1889 "richer in experience and in pocket". She had never intended to stay, and as far as I know she never went back.

Sources:

For Anna's time in South Africa, though without firm dates:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie. Chapter V p43 for London society; pp120-23 for Anna's time in South Africa and the date by which she had returned.

For the possible affair: in Anna's *Sonnets and Love Poems* there is a set of sonnets charting the life and death of such an affair. The affair might well have happened, but I'd never take a set of poems as evidence of anything - after all, they're meant to be flights of the imagination. There are also two poems mourning the death in South Africa of a particular man, an English actor. Perhaps he was her lover - if she had one.

For her having made a fortune in South Africa:

From Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, The Telegram published in Elmira New York State issue of 11 January 1920; the page number wasn't visible. Short report dated London 10 January [1920] following the publication of *The Black Opal: Woman of 70 Writes a Book*. It describes Anna as having made and lost several fortunes in her life; one of which was gained in South Africa but lost in the Boer War. It doesn't say what this fortune was based on - land, shares, gold, diamonds?

Immediate results of Anna's stay in the goldfields:

Love Poems privately printed Cape Town 1889: Argus Printing and Publishing Co.

The Gentleman Digger: A Study of Johannesburg Life by Anna Comtesse de Brémont. Published by Sampson Low and Co 1889. The copy I skimmed through at the British Library was from its reissue a couple of years later: datestamp "19JU91". Just noting that the book is dedicated to "the memory of my husband, le Comte Émile Léon de Brémont, a hero of the Crimea, a friend of suffering humanity". The Preface is dated Johannesburg 1890.

1890

Back in London, Anna returned to her flat in Cavendish Mansions Portland Place. As a now-experienced journalist, she found plenty of journalism work. She also worked on fiction and poetry.

Sources:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie. Chapter V pp121-123. Anna had been back in England several weeks by 30 January 1890 when she contacted Lady Wilde for the first time since her return.

For the address, which was the same place that she was living in when she and W B Yeats were close:

The Gentleman Digger: A Study of Johannesburg Life by Anna Comtesse de Brémont. Published by Sampson Low and Co; no publication date but British Library stamp "19JU91": note by Anna on the book's Scenario.

1890

Anna's The World of Music, first edition. In three volumes: The Virtuosi, The Composers, The Singers. London: W W Gibbings.

Comment by Sally Davis: there were more reviews for the 1892 edition, which I think was a larger print-run. But I thought I'd list the contents of the three volumes here. The British Library copies of all three volumes were originally owned by Anna's acquaintance Mary Frances Ronalds: Mrs Ronalds' calling-card is inside their front covers. Inside volume 2 is a handwritten note by Anna to Mrs Ronalds, dated 20 March 1893 and accompanying a six-line poem by Anna, in praise of song.

Sources:

In an edition of Walter Scott's Redgauntlet whose date I couldn't see from the snippet: an advert for The World of Music and I think this is probably the 1892 edition because it's now being published in the USA by Brentano's of Union Square New York. The advert describes Anna as an ex-New York resident "now residing in London", and says that she "numbers among her acquaintances more members of the musical world than any other living writer".

There's a review of The World of Music in The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular volume 34 number 603 p297; see it on Jstor.

The contents of the three volumes:

Volume One: The Great Composers

As the first of the three volumes it contains Anna's preface to all three, in which (pv) Anna describes herself as recording the lives of genius "in all humbleness". The composers she

chose were: Auber; Bach; Beethoven; Chopin; Gluck; Handel; Haydn; Mendelssohn; Meyerbeer; Mozart; Rossini; Schubert; Schumann; Wagner.

Volume Two: The Great Singers. Singers' fame doesn't last like that of composers but I give the names of the singers Anna chose, for what they are now worth: Braham 1774-1856; Catalani 1779-1849; Giuglini ?-1865; Hayes 1825-61; Jenny Lind 1820-87; Mario 1808-83, who married Grisi, another singer on the list; Pasta (married name of Negri) 1798-1865; Ronconi 1810-83; Sontag 1805-52; Billington 1770-1818; García 1775-1832, father of Malibrán, another singer on the list; Grisi 1811-69, wife of Mario; Lablache 1794-1858; Malibrán 1808-36, daughter of García, wife of de Bériot whose career Anna covered in the third volume of the set; Parepa-Rosa 1836-74; Rubini 1795-1854; Schröder-Devrient 1804-60; Tietjens 1831-77.

Volume Three: The Great Virtuosi. Some of the people Anna chose are better known to us now as composers: Ascher 1831-69, a pianist; Ole Bull 1810-80 p9 a violinist whom Anna heard play when she was a child; Buxtehude 1637-1707; Clementi 1752-1832; Chopin 1810-49; de Bériot 1802-70 who was a violinist; Ernst 1814-65 with (p60) an assessment of his personality, using phrenology; Gottschalk 1829-69; Gung'l 1810-89 who was a bandmaster; Herz 1806-88 pianist and also a teacher; Hummel 1778-1837; Kalkbrenner 1788-1849, a pianist-composer; Liszt 1811-86; Moscheles 1794-1870; Paganini 1784-1840; Spöhr 1784-1859; Tausig 1841-71 composer and arranger of Wagner's orchestral works for piano; Thalberg 1812-71; Vieuxtemps 1820-81, another violinist.

1891

An article by Anna was published in the Scientific American: the Decorations of the Hotel Metropole in London.

There's a reference to it on worldcat - Scientific American volume 11 number 5; either issue of 1 May 1891 if worldcat's dates are UK ordered; or 5 January 1891 if they're US ordered, which is more likely.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't read this article but from its title, it doesn't sound particularly scientific. However, it might involve new technology. Anna was very interested in some new inventions - moving pictures, for example, and aeroplane flight (see below for more on those).

CENSUS DAY 1891

My only sighting of Anna on any census, at 1 Cavendish Mansions, Portland Place.

Source: census 1891.

Comment by Sally Davis: when I searched for Anna's block of flats with google, nothing in Portland Place came up; so I guess it's no longer there. It did still exist in 1959 though: at www.orbern.co.uk is p2 of an article: A Tour of Broadcasting House in 1959, by Mike Chessher. Cavendish Mansions was mentioned as being next door to Egton House, which in 1959 housed the BBC News Division. If it was next to the BBC, Cavendish Mansions must have been right at the south end of Portland Place, near to where it turns into Regent Street.

Anna was the sole resident at her address on census day 1891, and I find it a bit odd that she wasn't employing any servants that lived in. There might not have been room for them, I suppose. Perhaps she was about to move, though, after living in the flat for several years, and didn't want to bother hiring servants until she was settled at her new address: by 1893 she was living in Bloomsbury, and she did have servants there.

DURING 1892

Anna paid to have her Sonnets and Love Poems printed by J J Little and Co of Astor Place, New York City. She dedicated the book to “Le Comte Léon de Brémont” as chevalier de la Légion d’honneur, whose “tender love and passionate devotion” was the inspiration for “these poems - the solace of many sad hours”.

Comment by Sally Davis: I wonder if Anna paid a visit to New York to supervise the printing process and meet up with old friends. No source I looked at seems to know how many copies Anna had printed; but on 23 March 2016 I saw number 131 for sale at abebooks, with a high price tag because it had two extra poems in it, handwritten by Anna in 1893 before she gave that copy to the singer and song-composer Lawrence Kellie. The longer handwritten extra poem was The Singer’s Soul; 32 lines in 8 stanzas “written for and inspired by the sweet singing of Lawrence Kellie, May 16th 1893”; unfortunately you couldn’t get to see this poem at abebooks’s website. The other poem you could see; it was part of the dedication. Anna doesn’t use apostrophe although 2 are needed:

“To Lawrence Kellie Esq

The simplest songs a thing

More potent than a King!

It conquers by the right

Of sympathys vast might.”

Signed “Anna de Brémont, London May 14th 1893”.

I also print here the short poem on the book’s title page; it’s anonymous but I’m assuming it’s by and about Anna herself:

For she is a daughter of Odin’s line

With the Norseman’s blood in her veins;

And her soul it is bound to the souls of the Gods

That reign o’er the boreal plains!

Comments on the poems, by Sally Davis:

Many of the poems in the book are dedicated to specific people. One is dedicated “to an English actor who died of fever Johannesburg South Africa 1890” - the man she had the affair with, perhaps, if she had an affair at all.

One or two people are the subject of poems in the book. There’s Clement Scott on His Book of Lays and Lyrics; and also the poem She, which has the subtitle “Dedicated to Miss Sophia Eyre on Her Impersonation of Mr Rider Haggard’s Heroine”. Anna was thrilled with the novel She, and the female god-queen Ayesha; you can see the book’s influence on Anna’s own novels, especially The Lioness of Mayfair. Sophia Eyre was the first person to act the role of Ayesha, in a version of the novel adapted for the stage. Anna was also a fan of Cleopatra: there are three poems on the ‘Cleopatra’ theme in the book: Cleopatra; Cleopatra’s Dream and Cleopatra’s Night on the Nile.

Although Anna doesn’t seem to have had much of a record as a charity volunteer, there’s a

poem called The Children's Christmas Dinner at Victoria Hall, which seems to record an real event organised by Anna's editor at The Theatre magazine, Clement Scott. Although she doesn't say so, Anna may have helped finance the dinner, or helped out on the day.

The last poem in the collection is To My Mother; who is assumed to be "in the realms of the blest". I'm not sure this is cast-iron evidence that Anna's mother had died by this time; but perhaps she had.

Two poems that had already published were printed again in the collection: A Fantasy; and Have You Forgotten?, a poem which was set to music in 1887 and published as part of the song's score.

Extant copies of the 1892 printing of Sonnets and Love Poems

Copy numbers 94 and 131 seen at www.abebooks.co.uk 23 March 2016; the British Library has copy number 55. Modern printings of the book are easily available through forgottenbooks.org.

Sources for the people mentioned above:

Information on the dedicatee Lawrence Kellie was hard to find: 1862-1932, singer, and composer of songs.

At prabook.org there are some very scant details of Kellie's life, without any clue as to sources.

The British Library catalogue has 95 entries under his name. One was a dud; 93 were songs though I didn't look through them so there may be duplicates.

Seen at victorianripper.niceboard.org there's the text of a review in The Courier 26 May 1887 p10 of a concert at the Steinway Hall in which Lawrence, his wife, and singer Mary Davies all played or sang. The web page was speculating that Mary Davies was related to one of the Ripper's victims.

At www.bbc.co.uk/proms/events/composers lists a handful of songs by Kellie that were sung during Proms concerts; none recently.

At www.lieder.net there's a list of 5 songs by Kellie including one to lyrics by Oscar Wilde: Oh! Beautiful Star.

The Heritage Encyclopaedia of Band Music volume 1. William H Rehrig and Robert Hoe. Integrity Press 1991: p285 and p394.

Edith Sitwell: Avant Garde Poet, English Genius by Richard Greene. Virago 2011. Via google, with no page numbers but in a couple of pages talking about the Sitwells as a musical family: Lady Ida corresponded with Lawrence Kellie in the period 1898-1910. Lady Ida Sitwell, née Denison, was the niece of GD member Albertina Herbert.

See wikipedia for Clement Scott; or 1887 in Part One of this life-by-dates.

She first appeared - as so many novels did - as a serial in the magazine The Graphic, from 2 October 1886 to 8 January 1887. Source for that is H Rider Haggard: A Voice from the Infinite by Peter Berresford-Ellis 1978. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd: p108; and p117 where Anna's poem She is mentioned.

New York Times of 7 September 1888 p4 a report from their London correspondent issued 6 September 1888 about the first night of a play version of *She* at the Gaiety Theatre; with Sophie Eyre in the title role. The correspondent thought the play was “utter rubbish”. The audience agreed, and Rider Haggard - who was there for its first night - got a barracking from them when he made a speech defending it.

At [//cabinetcardgallery.wordpress.com](http://cabinetcardgallery.wordpress.com) a picture of Sophie Eyre on a postcard, with a few details about her career. At www.npg.org.uk a photograph of her.

DURING 1892

A new edition of *The World of Music* was published. This time it had publishers in New York as well as London; and there was probably a bigger print-run than the 1890 edition.

Sources:

Book Chat volume 7 1892 three adverts for the forthcoming edition of *The World of Music*; on p232, on p269 and on p281. Anna described as “well known in musical circles in England, her house forming one of the centres of musical life in London”, a place where English and foreign musicians gathered.

An edition of Walter Scott’s *Redgauntlet* 1892: *The World of Music* published in the USA by Brentano’s of Union Square New York City.

English edition: *The World of Music* by Anna comtesse de Brémont. London: W W Gibbings of 18 Bury Street WC 1892.

A not particularly enthusiastic review:

New York Times of 8 January 1893: *Music and Writers of It*. The reviewer didn’t like Anna’s writing style. He or she quoted at length from Anna’s section on Beethoven’s *Eroica* symphony to illustrate his view that Anna “smothers our souls with this ecstatic vision” which had not been observed by any other writer on Beethoven; and ended by summing the work up as “confessions of a music eater”.

20 FEBRUARY 1892

The first night of Oscar Wilde’s *Lady Windermere’s Fan*. Anna sent Oscar a good luck telegram; but she was visiting a friend in Brighton, and couldn’t go to the performance.

Source for Anna’s not being able to go to it:

Oscar Wilde: *Interviews and Recollections* in 2 volumes. Editor E H Mikhail, both published London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979: p183 in the middle of a long extract from Anna’s own *Oscar Wilde and His Mother*, in which I seem to have missed it.

DURING 1893

Advance notice was given in the publishing press of a book of short stories, by Anna, with the title *South African Tales*.

Source for the advance notice:

The *Bookman* volume 4 1893; I couldn’t see the page number on the google snippet.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven’t been able to find any evidence that *South African Tales* was ever published. I think it must have turned into *The Ragged Edge*, which was published in 1895.

NOT DATED BY ANNA, EXCEPT AS HAPPENING A YEAR AFTER THE OPENING OF LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN; so ?spring 1893

Anna and her guest, an "old author and soldier of the mutiny" attended a dinner at the Authors' Society. There she met Oscar Wilde for the first time in three years. Anna remembered the evening as a series of shocks to her system. She was made aware that Oscar was becoming persona non grata.

Comment by Sally Davis: that's how Anna tells the story of that evening, in *Oscar Wilde and His Mother*. Her first shock was how much Oscar Wilde had changed, physically: she didn't recognise him until he came up to speak to her. Then she became uncomfortable that Oscar wasn't being celebrated as she felt he should be. It wasn't until a little while after her exchange of politenesses with Oscar that Anna realised that he'd been 'cut' by her guest. Her guest then had an altercation with one of the news reporters who was present, who was making it rather obvious that he thought Oscar and Anna had come to the dinner together. Anna's guest had been so anxious to put the reporter right on that one that Anna realised that being acquainted with Oscar Wilde was becoming a social risk. This account is all with hindsight, of course. I imagine that at the time, Anna had no idea of the real cause of Oscar's ostracisation. I imagine, too, that her protective guest didn't enlighten her. Anna summed up the evening as "one of the most painful moments of my life".

Source for Anna's difficult evening:

Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections in 2 volumes. Editor E H Mikhail. Published London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979 and quoting Anna's Oscar Wilde and His Mother at great length: pp184-85.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie: p137-40.

Information from Oscar Wilde's wikipedia page: Oscar met Lord Alfred Douglas in 1891. He became besotted with the younger man, and was introduced by Douglas to London's gay sub-culture.

Comment by Sally Davis: Oscar was never particularly discreet, it seems to me, and though sources for Constance Wilde say she didn't realise why they were becoming estranged, I imagine what Oscar was up to was widely rumoured in male social circles.

BY JULY 1893

Anna had moved to Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street. She left London on 11 July. While she was away, her servant let in some men who stole clothes jewellery and other goods from Anna and sold them in shops in Seven Dials.

Source: Times 8 September 1893 p7.

SEPTEMBER 1893

The thieves were caught, and Anna gave evidence at their trial. All four defendants were found guilty.

Source:

Times 8 September 1893 p7 London County sessions.

Comment on Anna's address, by Sally Davis: the block doesn't seem to exist any more. There is a block of flats called 'Bloomsbury Mansions' but it's in Russell Square and is a post-war building. Hart Street has been renamed - it's now Bloomsbury Way.

Anna was a regular contributor to the weekly St Paul's Magazine. She wrote on a wide range of subjects, including electric cookers and heaters; the Californian novelist Gertrude Atherton; and on one of the first ever showings in London of cine film.

Comment by Sally Davis: St Paul's Magazine's full title is An Illustrated Journal for the Home. It was published from 1894 to 1900; so Anna got in on its ground floor. I haven't been through all its weekly issues during 1894 and 1895 to see exactly which articles Anna wrote, and how many. Here are references to articles by Anna in St Paul's Magazine which were mentioned in other magazines:

Electrical Engineer volume 15 1895 p437 refers to Anna's article on electric cooking and heating appliances manufactured by Messrs Crompton.

Current Opinion volume 17 1895 p564 refers to an article by Anna on the American novelist Gertrude Atherton. See Part One of this life-by-dates, and Atherton's wikipedia page: Gertrude Atherton went to one of Lady Wilde's at homes while she was on a visit to London in 1889. It's likely that Anna met her there.

Adventures of a Novelist by Gertrude Atherton. London: Jonathan Cape 30 Bedford Sq 1932 covers her visit to London on pp169-184; she doesn't mention having met Anna, and her acquaintances in London seem more on the art side than the music side.

For the article on the Lumiere brothers' film evening see FEBRUARY 1896

SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER 1894

Anna's request for an interview with W S Gilbert was turned down. Gilbert sent copies of their exchange of letters to several newspapers and they were published at least in the Times.

Source:

Times 23 October 1894 p6 for the letters. And see DECEMBER 1895 below, for coverage of de Brémont v Gilbert.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm sure Anna had it in mind to write a profile of Gilbert for St Paul's Magazine. His Excellency had its première at the Lyric Theatre on 27 October 1894: a light opera in the G and S style with words by Gilbert BUT music by F Osmond Carr. Information on His Excellency from its wiki.

BY DECEMBER 1894

Anna had felt that the letters published in the Times and elsewhere had impugned her good name. She had decided to sue W S Gilbert for libel. de Brémont v Gilbert (as the case was known) was exciting a good deal of interest and amusement. A profile of Anna, with a line drawing of her, appeared in some newspapers, giving some details of her life until now.

Information seen via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, the Rome Semi-Weekly Citizen of Tuesday 11 December 1894 p6: Material for a Libretto. Via google to www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org to the Herald Democrat of 7 December 1894: article also called Material for Libretto and clearly from the same original report and including exactly the same line drawing of Anna's head (though it could be anyone). Neither of these papers gave any details of where they had got the information from. I'm not sure that the information came from Anna, because the report was not especially flattering to her. For example, it mentions her having spent all the money she inherited from her husband - not something I think she would have wanted to be widely publicised.

1895 - A YEAR OF MANY TRAUMAS

14 FEBRUARY 1895

The first night of *The Importance of Being Earnest*; at St James's Theatre.

Source:

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie: p146. Though Anna doesn't actually state that she went to it, her mentioning it suggests she did.

3 APRIL 1895 TO 26 APRIL 1895

Wilde v Queensbury: in which Oscar Wilde sued the Marquis of Queensbury for libel.

Source for the information on the trial: Oscar Wilde's wikipedia page; but there are websites and books on the two trials. As I'm sure everyone knows: the Marquis was Lord Alfred Douglas' father; and the trial verdict was in the Marquis' favour. The police arrested Oscar as soon as the verdict was given. Oscar refused the advice of his friends to flee the country and was charged with sodomy and gross indecency. Lady Wilde wanted him to stay and fight the charges; but I'm not sure that Oscar stayed because he wanted to take that advice.

The level of publicity and public excitement surrounding the libel trial and the two subsequent criminal trials were extraordinary for their time.

26 APRIL 1895 to 1 MAY 1895; and 20 MAY 1895 to 26 MAY 1895

The two criminal trials of Oscar Wilde. He was found guilty at the second trial and sentenced to two years' hard labour.

A good source: law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/trials/wilde/wilde.htm - the World Trials web pages of the University of Missouri at Kansas City, Law School. The site has transcripts of the evidence and discussion of the legal points raised.

BY MAY 1895

Anna was no longer renting the flat in Hart Street. She didn't have a permanent home and was staying in a London hotel.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie: p158.

26 MAY 1895

Anna sat in the gardens of the Temple, next to the Embankment, waiting to hear the verdict in Oscar Wilde's second trial. Oscar's brother Willie was also waiting there. Once she had heard what the verdict was, Anna went to call on Lady Wilde; but Lady Wilde was not receiving any visitors. Anna's sympathy was with Oscar - writing in 1911, she saw him as being punished for having transgressed the mores of the society they were both living in.

Comment by Sally Davis: the precincts of the Inner Temple are very close to the Old Bailey. If Anna felt in 1895 that Oscar was a helpless victim of anti-gay prejudice, she was holding views quite a lot in advance of her time. Her main anxiety at the time of the trial was for her friend Lady Wilde. Just noting here that Constance Wilde changed her name (to Holland) and took her two sons abroad; this isn't mentioned in Anna's memoir and the two women probably never met after the trial. I'm not even sure that they met all that often in the two or three years before it.

Source for Anna's actions on that day, and her feelings then and later: Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie: pp153-56.

I think it's here that I shall give details of a recent biography of Constance that focuses on her as an individual, not on her as the wife of fame and tragedy: Constance - The Tragic and Scandalous Life of Mrs Oscar Wilde by Franny Moyle. London: John Murray 2011.

SEPTEMBER 1895

Anna's short story collection *The Ragged Edge* was published.

Source:

Times Tuesday 24 September 1895 p10 Publications To-Day column includes Anna's *The Ragged Edge: Tales of the African Gold Fields*. 3/6, published by Downey and Co.

A couple of reviews:

Times Friday 11 October 1895 p6 an advert for *The Ragged Edge*, quoting *The Scotsman* - "A bright and interesting book"; and *The Sun* (not the modern one) - "A simple, stunning book".

18 DECEMBER 1895

Anna's own libel trial reached court: *de Brémont v Gilbert*. She gave evidence in her own defence and was cross-examined by Gilbert's lawyers.

Source for the exchange of letters, and Gilbert getting his defence in first:

Times 23 October 1894 p6 printed 2 letters. The top one was from W S Gilbert to the Times dated 20 October [1894], in which he said Anna was "known to me by repute" - which Anna took to imply that her repute was 'ill' and I think she was correct in taking it so.

Times 18 December 1895 p4 cases to be heard today in the Queen's Bench Division, before the Lord Chief Justice and a jury.

Coverage of the trial: Times 20 December 1895 p13. Gilbert's barrister was Sir Edward Clarke QC MP; Anna's was Mr Bowen Rowlands QC. Gilbert's argument was that Anna had misunderstood him. See above and I'm sure she hadn't. The evidence established that he'd sent the letters that appeared in the Times, to the Daily Telegraph; and even to Anna's employers at *St Paul's Magazine*, telling the editor to keep "a careful eye" on future articles Anna might write on his work. Anna's case was that the published letters gave the impression that she was calling herself the Comtesse de Brémont without any legal justification; that Gilbert had attacked her good taste; and that the letters were "calculated to injure her professional reputation".

Comment by Sally Davis: inevitably, the trial became one of Anna's reputation. She was asked whether she thought her poetry was in good taste; she described her poems as passionate but pointed out that they were dedicated to her husband, the proper object of a married woman's passion. Her editor at *St Paul's Magazine* described Anna's articles as "invariably marked by discretion and taste". About the title 'comtesse', which Gilbert had implied was a fake, Anna explained that her husband was a perfectly genuine Comte but when living in egalitarian New York City, had called himself just plain 'doctor'. She told the court that W S Gilbert knew that, as he'd employed Dr de Brémont to attend one of the D'Oyly Carte Opera's singers when the singer was taken ill in New York. Cross-examined, Gilbert admitted he hadn't asked Anna's permission to publish the letters which appeared in

the Times. He came over (to one reporter at least) as “apparently...less humorous in the box than upon the stage”.

None of that made any difference: the jury went with Gilbert. The court report in the Times didn't say whether Anna was ordered to pay Gilbert's costs as well as her own; but that was the usual outcome when you lost a civil case of this kind.

Some trial coverage more sympathetic to Anna, in *The Critic* aka *North American Review*; *New Series* volumes 25-26 1896 Published weekly in New York; established 1881. Issue of 11 January 1896 pp13-14; though the report was written in London on 21 December 1895 by Arthur Waugh, the magazine's London correspondent. It was Waugh who commented on Gilbert's lack of any sense of humour, in the witness box.

Most biographies of W S Gilbert believe that Anna was the adventuress he implied she was. Here's one that doesn't:

W S Gilbert: *Appearance and Reality* edited by David Eden. Published Sir Arthur Sullivan Society. On p184l, the editor feels that Gilbert's “treatment of her was deliberate” and wondered if he had “felt a tincture of shame for the cunning cruelty of his own behaviour”. Eden says that Anna's apology for having inadvertently caused him offence “can hardly have been more sincere” and that “reports of the case show her as standing up well for herself”.

Final comment by Sally Davis: what a very ungentlemanly, ungenerous man W S Gilbert was! But Anna shouldn't have got herself entangled with a man whose own wikipedia page describes him as “confrontational”, and one of whose biographies is subtitled ‘his life and strife’.

3 FEBRUARY 1896

Jane Francesca, Lady Wilde, died.

Information from her wikipedia page.

Comment by Sally Davis: Anna must have felt this deeply: not only the loss of a “beautiful friendship” but also because of the manner of Jane Francesca Wilde's death, her last months made hideous by what had happened to Oscar. However, writing in 1911, Anna only mentions the death in passing in her memoir of Oscar and his mother; and she doesn't say whether they ever met again after Lady Wilde had refused to let Anna in, on the day Oscar was found guilty of homosexual offences.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co Ltd of 42 Essex Street Strand 1911: dedication to Speranza; and p163.

MONDAY 24 FEBRUARY 1896

Anna went to the Marlborough Hall to see a film programme put together by the Lumière brothers, pioneers of cinema in France. She wrote an enthusiastic article on it for *St Paul's Magazine* which has been quoted in histories of early cinema.

Anna's own article: *St Paul's Magazine: Living Photography*; in issue of 7 March 1896. She particularly mentioned the excitement the films caused amongst the photographers in the audience. She named two of them: van de Weyde and Downey; I mention them - they seem to be acquaintances of hers - in case they are well-known.

Source for the date and place of the showing Anna went to:

Cinema: The Beginnings and the Future edited by Christopher Williams. London: University of Westminster Press 1996. Article by Joost Hunningher: *Première on Regent Street*: pp41-54. The set of films had first been shown on 21 February 1896 at the Polytechnic Institution. Hunningher doesn't give a reason for the change of venue: perhaps the Marlborough Hall was bigger.

Anna's article is also mentioned in *The Tenth Muse: Writing about Cinema in the Modernist Period* by Laura Marcus 2007. This was a snippet and I couldn't find any page numbers. Anna's article was mentioned in footnote 180.

Comment by Sally Davis on the rest of this life-by-dates. Whereas there are plenty of sources for Anna's life during the years 1886-96; from 1896 on, they start to dry up and I'm left more and more to the publication dates of Anna's books - which do at least show how she was spending her time.

18 MAY 1897

Oscar Wilde was released from prison.

Information from his wikipedia page.

7 APRIL 1898

Constance Wilde - now calling herself Holland - died in exile in Genoa.

Information from wikipedia.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm not sure whether Anna would have been much affected when she heard of Constance's death. They had only been close for a brief period in all the time Anna had been so friendly with Lady Wilde. I can't make up my mind whether or not Anna actually liked Constance much. If she didn't, maybe the feeling was mutual. They were very different types of women.

1899-1901

The Boer War led to a demand for information on South Africa; and several books by Anna were reissued. According to one much later source I found, Anna the war resulted in Anna losing a fortune she had made while in South Africa in 1889.

Sources: see immediately below and for Anna having made and lost a fortune: From Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, *The Telegram* published in Elmira New York State issue of 11 January 1920 page number wasn't visible. Short report dated London 10 January [1920] following the publication of *The Black Opal: Woman of 70 Writes a Book*. It describes Anna as having made and lost several fortunes in her life; one of which was gained in South Africa but lost in the Boer War. It doesn't say what this fortune was based on - land, shares, gold, diamonds? There's no indication in the report about where the information in it came from.

1899

Anna's novel *A Son of Africa* was published.

Source, though I haven't been able to pin down the exact date:

A Son of Africa: A Romance. By Anna. Published London: Greening and Co 1899, with a

2nd edition was published in 1902. The British Library has a copy of the 1899 edition, which is dedicated to Anna's husband as a hero of the Crimea but also as "an explorer of the Great Sahara Desert".

There's a review of the 2nd edition in *Dramatic Criticism* volume 3 1902 p338.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't read any of Anna's novels thoroughly - I don't like her style much! But I'll say about *A Son of Africa* that some of the major characters in it, including the son of Africa himself, are native Africans; and one is a female baboon! There's also a character, Muriel Warwick, who might have elements of Anna herself in her: pp219-20 describes Mrs Warwick as living in Johannesburg's city of "canvas tents and shanties; she's a smoker (so was Anna) who says of herself, "You know I am a Bohemian and delight in roughing it" (this while having a staff of four servants!). Muriel has travelled to Africa in pursuit of a "blasé young rake", Frank. Muriel encourages the son of Africa to convert to Christianity and when he has done so, pays for him to attend the Church Missionary College in Durban. He subsequently spends time in London and refuses to marry the woman he loves because her (white) father's business sells in African slaves. The story ends with the son of Africa revisiting his African origins, meeting up with the baboon again and giving his dead mother a second, Christian, burial. It's a curiously imperialist tale.

1899

Anna's novel *The Gentleman Digger* was reissued.

FROM AUGUST 1900

Anna spent several months in Paris, covering the Great Exhibition. While in Paris she stayed with an American woman friend.

See its wiki for much more detail on the Paris Exposition Universelle. It ran from 15 April to 12 November 1900 and nearly 50 million people visited it. Talking pictures, telephones, escalators, diesel engines, the first Olympic Games to be held outside Greece, and Art Nouveau were all featured.

Source for Anna's time in Paris:

Oscar Wilde: *Interviews and Recollections* in 2 volumes. Volume 2 includes a series of long extracts from Anna's *Oscar Wilde and His Mother*. Edited E H Mikhail, published London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979: volume 2 p447.

Comment by Sally Davis: just noting that Anna didn't name the woman friend she stayed with in Paris.

?AUGUST ?SEPTEMBER 1900

Anna and her woman friend went to the Spanish Café. Oscar Wilde was also there. To save her woman friend embarrassment, Anna pretended not to have seen him, and they didn't speak to each other. Later, she was overcome with remorse for having 'cut' him in public. The following day, she met Oscar again - by accident - at St Cloud.

Source, written with what must surely be a great deal of hindsight:

Oscar Wilde: *Interviews and Recollections* in 2 volumes. Volume 2 includes a series of long extracts from Anna's *Oscar Wilde and His Mother*. Edited E H Mikhail, published London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979: volume 2 pp447-451.

Comment by Sally Davis: this was a social dilemma that few women could have negotiated successfully. It was made worse for Anna by the other people in her woman friend's party,

who soon got the story out of her, and were terribly excited, wanting her to point Oscar out to them. Up until then, Anna had been enjoying the evening very much. The Spanish Café was well-known for its displays of Spanish dancing; Anna was thinking of Salome while she watched it.

Anna describes herself as having cried all that night. The following morning she went to St Cloud to get away from her friend's house. Her conversation with Oscar at St Cloud was the last time they spoke.

NOVEMBER 1900

Anna's article *The Physical Development of the Boer* was published in the magazine *Physical Culture*.

Source: I didn't see it in the original magazine. It was also printed in the New Zealand newspaper *Taranaki Herald* issue of 15 Kohi-tate 1900 which you can read on the web.

30 NOVEMBER 1900

Oscar Wilde died in Paris. Anna went to the hotel he was staying in after reading about his illness in *Le Journal*. He had already died by the time she got there, but his friend Robert Baldwin Ross took her up to see the body. Hearing from Ross that Oscar's hotel bill was still outstanding, she offered to help pay it.

Date of his death from his wikipedia page.

Source for Anna's doings on the day of Oscar's death; again with hindsight and artistic licence.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie. Chapter V p170, pp189-196.

Comment by Sally Davis: in her memoir Anna describes Oscar's funeral cortège as it left the hotel for his funeral at St Germain des Près. It's not clear from the book whether she actually attended the service, or the burial at the cemetery at Bagneaux. In later years she maintained that Oscar had died of grief, not of any illness; and that in his *De Profundis* and *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* he showed that what she called his feminine soul had triumphed over all his troubles. Anna had not met Robert Ross before, but their encounter over Oscar's death bed led to a friendship between them.

See wikipedia for Robert Baldwin Ross: 11869-1918. Openly gay and thought to be Oscar's first homosexual partner. Oscar's literary executor, published a definitive edition of Oscar's works and commissioned Jacob Epstein to do a sculpture to put on Oscar's tomb.

A final comment on Anna and the Wilde family, by Sally Davis: all those friends Anna had had in the Wilde family were now dead.

CENSUS DAY 1901

Anna was not in the UK. I daresay she was still in Paris.

Source: census 1901.

1901

Anna's novel *Daughters of Pleasure* was published in book form and another edition of *A Son of Africa* was issued.

Comment by Sally Davis: I say 'in book form' because the copy *Daughters of Pleasure* that I looked at in the British Library was laid out, and had a typeface, reminiscent of a journal or magazine; though I haven't been able to find it published in episodes anywhere.

Source: *Daughters of Pleasure: Being the History of Neara a Musician, Athene an Actress and Hera a Singer*. London: Greening. A 2nd edition was published in 1903.

1903

Anna's novel *Mrs Evelyn's Husbands* was published; with the subtitle 'A Problem in Marriage'.

Mrs Evelyn's Husbands: A Problem in Marriage. London: Greening and Co. There was a 2nd edition of this in 1909.

Comment by Sally Davis: like *Daughters of Pleasure*, the copy I saw of *Mrs Evelyn's Husbands* was laid out in 2-column form as if lifted from a newspaper. The novel is about wealthy ex-pat Americans not having an especially good time in contemporary Paris: man and wife, man getting bored with marriage and having affairs, wife running away and bigamously marrying someone else. The first husband gets a divorce and custody of the children. Wife remarries her bigamous husband and lives relatively happily in the French countryside.

1905

Hutchinsons issued one of the three volumes of Anna's *The World of Music* as a stand-alone book.

The Great Composers. London: Hutchinson and Co.

1906

Anna's novel *Was It a Sin?* was published.

Was it a Sin? London: Hutchinson and Co.

1907

Anna's novel *Lady Lilian's Luck* was published, by Greenings.

Lady Lilian's Luck: A Romance of Ostend. London: Greening 1907. Hutchinson and Co published a 2nd edition of it in 1909 and a 3rd in 1912.

1909

Anna's novel *The Lioness of Mayfair* was published.

The Lioness of Mayfair. Everett; dedicated to "SM", someone I haven't identified. A 2nd edition of this was published in 1913.

Some comments on the book in contemporary reviews. I found these in the back of the copy I read at the British Library; suggesting that a second print-run was done later in the year.

Westminster Review focused on its "exquisite yet exotic style" and its "lavish use of

symbolism” and the wide variety of locations, from Africa to a medieval castle. The reviewer summed up the plot as “a tale of selfish love turned to bitter hatred”.

Bystander said it “glows with rich colour” but summed up the plot differently, as: great woman sculptor torn between art and the need for love - not what the Westminster Review reckoned at all!

The Glasgow Herald likened Anna’s writing style to that of Edgar Allen Poe, meaning that it “combines luxury and a dreamlike quality with a hard limpidity”. That must have pleased Anna.

The Yorkshire Post was not so enthusiastic, describing Anna as the most likely successor to “poor Ouida”.

The Lady’s Pictorial called it an “extraordinary book” full of “wild sensationalism”, recommending it to readers who liked excitement on every page.

The Court Journal is more restrained, as you would expect; I’m surprised at it reviewing the book at all. Its reviewer said the book had “much dramatic power” and “some thrilling situations”.

Comment by Sally Davis: I found more reviews of this book by Anna than anything else she wrote; and I think it was her most successful fiction work. There’s more than a hint of occult powers in it. The fire alarm went off at the British Library while I was skimming through the book and we all had to stand about in the cold for 45 minutes, so I may have missed some of the plot’s finer points! but here’s an outline of what’s going on. There are four main characters. Aimie Desmond who’s the sculptor who gives up her art to be a wife; the title of ‘wife’ “proudest title a woman can bear”; her husband drags her to Africa where she dies in “the wilderness of the Zambesi” quite early in the plot. She leaves behind her master-work, the sculpture of a lion. Victor Danielli is the dead Aimie’s husband. Helene, Marchioness of Belvedere is the Lioness of the title - Danielli’s lover before his wife’s death; his wife after it. Bamralulu is an African native, a slave and bound to celibacy; part of whose responsibility is the safety of Danielli. The end-game is a fight between Helene and Bamralulu after Danielli has died and Helene has bound Bamralulu to her with spells. Bamralulu sees Helene as Aimie Desmond’s lion-sculpture come to life. Helene demands that Bamralulu becomes her sex slave. He’s released from his enchantment by her demands; and kills her.

It sums up Anna’s imagination rather well, I think.

Anna wrote a long introduction to this story, describing herself wandering through the Faubourg St Germain in Paris in search of a good plot; and buying a lioness-skin from a chance-met Carmelite monk. Sitting with the lioness-skin in a room lit only by firelight, Anna experiences an extraordinary power coming from its eyes. She finds a secret cache inside the lioness-skin’s head, containing “a bulky roll of manuscript” with the basics of the plot on it... Just noting here, that this Introduction is the source for Anna as a cigarette smoker.

ALSO IN 1909

Anna’s translation from the French of a novel by Colette was published.

The Doctor Wife. A Novel by Colette Yver translated into English by Anna Comtesse de Brémont. London: Hutchinson and Co and please note the correct title: it’s not The Doctor’s wife, the protagonist IS a woman doctor.

Comment by Sally Davis: I do wish Anna had written an introduction to this book, the only

work of translation she did. I'd like to know why she chose it. Or, rather, to have confirmed why she chose it, as the basis of the plot is whether a woman can have a career and be a wife; and Colette's conclusion is that she can't - a wife has to be a wife, not a working woman, or risk alienating her husband. It's a very anti-feminist sentiment, I'm surprised at Colette. I'm not surprised at Anna, though: she does seem to have believed that a wife-to-be should give up any career she might have hoped for. She gave up her own career as a singer when she got married and although as a widow she lived a life which was quite liberated for its time, it's clear to me that she would rather have stayed married.

Problems with publications:

1910 sees the first of a series of books by Anna that I haven't been able to find copies of. They are all listed in the 1922 edition of *The Literary Year Book* as being by her; but I haven't spotted any copies at libraries in England; nor on the web, either in their entirety at websites like *mocavo*, or for sale. My best guess is that they were privately printed, and no one thought to send the British Library (for example) one of the copies.

1910

The first of only two plays written by Anna was published.

Barbara the Scout which was a play. Published London.

Comment by Sally Davis: I couldn't find a copy of this; and I also couldn't discover whether it had ever been performed in a theatre. It might have had a private performance in someone's house; that's harder to prove.

ALSO 1910

Anna published a new collection of poems. The book's frontispiece is the only painting of Anna that I've come across.

Sonnets from a Parisian Balcony. London: Gay and Hancock.

Comment by Sally Davis: it's a head-and-shoulders portrait, reproduced in colour from a miniature Anna had done by Esmé Collings of Bond Street. She has blonde, heavy hair and plump shoulders. She's wearing a décolleté dress or light wrap, and either another wrap or a veil hanging from back of her head. There's a pink artificial flower on the left of her corsage.

The poems in the collection fall into two main groups: the sonnets from a Parisian balcony, and a companion set of sonnets of London town; with a miscellaneous group of poems at the end, some of which also appeared in Anna's 1892 poetry collection. Not many are dated, but one has the date 1900 on it and another is from 1897; so they're not all recent works. Poems are dedicated to Auguste Rodin and Sarah Bernhardt; to Oscar Wilde; to George Washington on his birthday; and Queen Victoria on her birthday.

Information on Esmé Collings, the professional name of Arthur Albert Collings.

See www.victorian-cinema.net/collings.htm

For his cinema partnership with William Friese Green: www.victorian-cinema.net/friesegreen.htm

CENSUS DAY 1911

Anna was not in England on this census day either; probably in Paris where she may even have been living permanently by this time.

IN 1911

The first of Anna's memoirs of the Wilde family was published; and also several collections of poems.

Oscar Wilde: A Memoir. London: Everett and Co and apparently a different volume from Anna's more well-known Oscar Wilde and His Mother.

Coronation Sonnets to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Mary. London: privately printed, using an unknown printing firm at 27 Warwick Lane.

Comment by Sally Davis: 1911 was a coronation year. Sonnet I sums up Anna's attitude to the new queen; and to the role of woman in society:

..."woman, mother, wife,

A glorious trinity..."

The seven sonnets are: Mary - Sacred and Historic Name; Girlhood - As in a Fragrant Garden; Love - the Season of Youth's Mystic Dreams; Marriage - When England Paused to Hear; Wifehood - Halcyon Days in Honeymooning Lands; Motherhood - The Garden of Thy Happiness; Queenhood - Beneath Westminster's Storied Roof.

I don't think Anna knew Queen Mary very well.

Sonnets at His Majesty's Theatre. I couldn't find any publication details for this; nor any copies.

Pearls of Poesy. A Biographical Birthday Book of Popular Poets of the Period. Compiled for the coronation of George V and Queen Mary. London: Elliot Stock. Editor, C F Forshaw, identified by the British Library catalogue as Charles Frederick Forshaw. Anna wrote the book's Foreword, dated "London September 10th [1911]"; and contributed one sonnet to the collection.

Source for the editor Charles Frederick Forshaw: see www.masonic-poets-society.com.

Comment by Sally Davis on Anna's Foreword, in which she describes poetry competitions as a mental equivalent to golf; and views the current state of poetry as not, perhaps, reaching any dizzy heights, but as being better than it was a few years before. She saw the present time as a high point of material and intellectual progress, and mentioned in particular "the conquest of the air and its elements" as "the greatest achievement of our age". However, the sonnet was a favourite poetic form of Anna's and she did hope that it would not be left behind by modern progress, and noted that many modern poets had "no love for the system of poetic construction...they wander from the recognised road that leads to poetic excellence". She was sure that if a great woman poet was going to make an appearance in the next few years, the sonnet would be the road she would take. Anna's own sonnet was on p48 and seems to be selected from a set Anna had written on a favourite subject of hers - Cleopatra, this time seen with Antony.

Poets' Club Book is another work supposedly by Anna and published in 1911; not having been able to see any copies of it, I don't know what was in it and I'm wondering if it was Pearls of Poesy by another name.

1911

Anna's most often-quoted work was published: her Oscar Wilde and His Mother.

Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir. English Biography Series Number 31. London: Everett and Co; Torquay: William J McKenzie. Dedicated to Speranza - Lady Wilde's writing name - "in Remembrance of her beautiful friendship for the author". A sonnet called Oscar Wilde, written by Anna, was on one of the title pages.

Some books that have used Anna's memoir:

The Real Oscar Wilde by Robert Harborough Sherard, who was a nephew of GD member Florence Kennedy's husband. T Werner Laurie Ltd of 8 Essex St Strand. No publication date but the British Library has stamped it "3APR17".

The Parents of Oscar Wilde: Sir William and Lady Wilde by Terence de Vere White. Hodder and Stoughton 1967. De Vere White is very hostile to Anna in this book, describing her memoir as full of "unconscious comedy" (p243). On p247 he even calls Anna an "ass", "grandiloquent" and "absurd" - which I take to mean that he feels very uncomfortable about her repeated assertion that Oscar Wilde had a feminine soul.

Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections in two volumes. Editor E H Mikhail, published London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979. It reprints long extracts from Oscar Wilde and His Mother.

1912

One source has Anna going every day to lay flowers on Oscar Wilde's tomb.

Comment by Sally Davis: I've only found one reference to this: via newspaperarchive.com to the Oakland Tribune issue of 6 October 1912 p32. The context was an article on the controversy surrounding Epstein's sculpture for the tomb, commissioned by Robert Ross. I do think it's a bit excessive of Anna - flowers every day? She was not Oscar's widow, after all; and it's clear from her writings about the Wilde family that Oscar's persona, with its ambivalence of gender and sexuality, had made Anna feel very uncomfortable. Perhaps she felt bad about that, now he was safely dead.

Sources:

See www.poetsgraves.co.uk for a photo of Epstein's sculpture. In July 1909, Oscar's tomb had been moved to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where he's near Jim Morrison.

See wikipedia for Epstein.

CHRISTMAS 1912

Anna gave a copy of Oscar Wilde and his Mother to a friend, Anne O'Sullivan, as "the dearest and sweetest of all me dear and sweet wild Irish girls".

Comment by Sally Davis: that presentation copy is now in the collection of the State University of New York so I guess that Anne must have been American, perhaps someone Anna had met when she was living in New York City.

Source: Research Monograph volumes 21-23 issued State University of New York at Buffalo 1953; p12 item 61.

1913

Anna had four books published, including the script of her second play.

Sources. I can't find any publication details for these, nor any copies of any of them. They are listed in the 1922 *The Literary Year Book* as being Anna's work:

Beauty Boy.

Oscar Wilde and his Critics.

Adventures of a Yellow Cat.

Ishtar's Descent to the Land of No Return. While trying unsuccessfully to find a copy of this most intriguing work at the British Library, I did notice this: *The Descent of Ishtar* translated by Diana White. London: Eragny Press; New York: John Lane 1903. Perhaps Ms White's translation was what Anna used as the basis for her play.

MAY 1913 but not published

Anna sent a set of sonnets to Robert Ross, as a 'thank you' after he'd sent her some flowers.

Source:

Sonnets to Robert Baldwin Ross. Four leaves of manuscript, dated May 1913. Item 150 in *Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle: A Catalog of the Manuscripts and Letters in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library*. Compiled John Charles Finzi. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1957. Ref B836MIR825. Anna sent a note with the poems saying they were "inspired by his gift of lilies and golden iris reminiscent of his friend Oscar Wilde".

1914

Another set of poems by Anna was published.

Love Letters in Verse to a Musician. Printed in the USA and published in New York and London by D Appleton and Co.

Comment by Sally Davis: the poems were a selection from a much larger group of poems that Anna wrote at the rate of one every day, to Thuel Burnham during his first visit to London. On the book's (unnumbered) title page Anna described Burnham as a "faun of music", and her poems as the "tribute of one artistic soul to another".

I didn't find many sources for Thuel Burnham. He doesn't have a wikipedia page. At www.findagrave.com there was a photo of his tombstone in the Oak Memorial Gardens Charleston; with the dates 1875 (so he was young enough to be Anna's son) to 1961. Via google I saw several mentions of him in American music magazines, mostly as a piano teacher.

He was one of the musicians featured in *Piano Mastery. Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers* by Harriette Moore Brower. New York: Frederick A Stokes Co 1915. Brower describes him as a "musical thinker", prominent in Parisian musical life as a teacher; and known for his technique. You can see Brower's section on him at www.max.grenkowitz.net.

ALSO 1914

Anna's book *The Healing Power of Music* was published.

Comment by Sally Davis: this book is one of those whose publication details I haven't been

able to find. It's listed as by Anna in the 1922 edition of *The Literary Year Book* p705.

WORLD WAR 1

Anna probably spent at least part of the War living in London. She had nothing more published until 1918 but that was probably more due to a shortage of paper and publishing infrastructure, than to a shortage of ideas. Wealth that she had built up after 1900 was lost due to the war. She was working on her last novel as the fighting and the air raids continued.

Sources for Anna's whereabouts for at least some of the war:

On p6 of her novel *The Black Opal* Anna mentions trying to forget "the war in the air over London". She was probably living in the flat in Earl's Court, where she died in 1922.

Also: from Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, *The Telegram* published in *Elmira New York State* issue of 11 January 1920 page number wasn't visible. Short report dated London 10 January [1920] following the publication of *The Black Opal: Woman of 70 Writes a Book*. It describes Anna as having made and lost several fortunes in her life including one in shares which lost value drastically during WW1. The report describes Anna carrying on writing through a night of air raids, having refused to join her friends taking refuge in the Duchess of Marlborough's house which was being used as an ad hoc air-raid shelter. There's no indication in the report about where the information in it came from.

June 1918

Anna's novel *The Black Opal* was published - her last written work.

The Black Opal. London: Jarrolds. P6 dedication is dated "June 1918". There was a 2nd edition in 1919.

Advance publicity for it, with some details of Anna's life: via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, *The Telegram* published in *Elmira New York State* issue of 11 January 1920 page number wasn't visible. Short report dated London 10 January [1920] following the publication of *The Black Opal: Woman of 70 Writes a Book*. As if that was something extraordinary.

Comment by Sally Davis: skimming through Anna's last novel, the writing style does seem to be less florid than her previous books. As with *The Lioness of Mayfair*, she introduces an element of the occult into the book - an old man, fabulously wealthy, who lives in a vast basement, pretending to be an astronomer but really an alchemist and magician and take-over-the-world crackpot. He kidnaps the heroine and teaches her some of his occult knowledge. The central part of the book is the struggle between the magician and the heroine, whose attitude to the knowledge she's gaining seems rather ambivalent! In due course, the magician teaches the heroine to fly a monoplane - she flies over London in it. But she's been awaiting her opportunity, and when she gets it, she pushes him off a high building to his death. She is able to release her fiancé - the magician has been holding him prisoner. They destroy the magician's plans for world domination, and escape to live happily ever after.

Anna dedicated the book to the journalist and editor Hannen Swaffer. See his wikipedia page and he's also in ODNB.

A review of *The Black Opal*:

The Bookman volume 55 1918 p90 calling it "extraordinary...a combination of fantasy and realism".

LAST FEW YEARS OF ANNA'S LIFE

Two newspaper articles say Anna was very short of money and was living on the generosity of her friends. The League of British Artists was acting as her agent in arranging public appearances for her.

Information:

Via Anna's wikipedia page to fultonhistory.com, The Telegram published in Elmira New York State issue of 11 January 1920 page number wasn't visible. Short report dated London 10 January [1920] following the publication of *The Black Opal: Woman of 70 Writes a Book*. It's not clear where the information in the report came from.

Via //paperspast.natlib.govt.nz to Hawera and Normanby Star 30 December 1922 p9 item: Countess' missing Will: inherited two fortunes. The source of the report is an unnamed close friend of Anna. Better than no source at all I suppose.

Information on the League of British Artists, which seems to have been founded after the first World War:

The Librarian and Book World volume 14 p1925 p212 its offices were at 4 Fitzroy Square Bloomsbury.

The Publisher volume 122 1925 p9 it was run by a Mr Brown and a Mr Hedley-Drummond, and organised musical and literary evenings.

JUNE 1921

Anna hosted a musical soirée at the Steinway Hall.

Times 18 June 1921 p13 Court Circular column; events "To-day".

Comment by Sally Davis: I presume this was one of the paid appearances that the League of British Artists was organising for Anna.

JUNE 1922

Anna was one of the guests at a soirée held by the Anglo-French Club in Paris. The host was the Comte de Bourbon-Busset.

Source:

Times 27 June 1922 p7e report from the newspaper's Paris correspondent dated 26 June [1922].

AUTUMN 1922

Anna de Brémont died at her flat in an apartment block in Earl's Court. The League of British Artists organised a whip-round of its members to prevent her having to have a pauper's funeral. She was buried in the Roman Catholic section of Kensal Green cemetery.

Sources: freebmd; Probate Registry records on Ancestry.

W S Gilbert: *Appearance and Reality* by David Eden. Published Sir Arthur Sullivan Society 2009 p184. Rather ironic that a book on W S Gilbert should mention the whip-round.

AUTUMN 1922 AND POSSIBLY UNTIL MUCH LATER

Anna's friends searched the various London flats she'd lived in, trying to find a Will.

Via //paperspast.natlib.govt.nz to Hawera and Normanby Star 30 Dec 1922 p9 item: Countess' missing Will: inherited two fortunes; which the report said she had lost through "bad speculation", rather than bad luck. The report mentioned that "two old friends" of Anna were trying to find her Will. Neither of the friends was named, but perhaps they are the two men who were running the League of British Artists in 1925.

There's no record of a Will for Anna de Brémont at the Probate Registry. That's not to say that she never wrote one. It does suggest one or more of three things though: that she did never write a Will; that her friends never found it; or that they did find it, but the amount of money she had to leave fell below the point at which the Registry needed to make a record of it.

1929

One of the pieces Anna published in *Sonnets and Love Poems* (1892) was used as lyrics to a song called *Love's Desire*.

Source: Ms score for *Love's Desire*, now at the State Library of New South Wales and listed on worldcat under Raimund Pechotsch, Anna de Brémont and Charles Lullin. The words of the song are attributed to Lullin on the Ms. However, the diligent cataloguer at the Library has put a note on the Ms's catalogue entry saying that the words are probably Anna's.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

28 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Vyvyan Edward John DENT was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in November 1896, at its Isis-Urania temple in London, taking the Latin motto 'Migrabo'. He progressed very rapidly through the necessary study and exams, and was initiated into the inner, Second Order in January 1898. However, he was unable to make any sustained contribution to the Golden Dawn's meetings and rituals because he lived in China.

THE DENTs - WESTMORELAND AND THE FAR EAST

By the 19th century the Dent family had been farmers in Westmoreland for generations, leasing land at Maulds Meaburn and Crosby Ravensworth. Farming in so remote an area was a hard life, and since the 17th century at least, there had been a family tradition of younger sons leaving the farm (which they wouldn't inherit anyway) and going into trade in India. Four of the younger sons in the 1780s and 1790s generation of Dents were particularly lucky: they went out to India and China in the years after Waterloo, with Britain left ruling the waves and the Chinese empire weakening. They got in with a group of men, the future founders of Magniacs, Jardine Matheson, Baring Brothers bank and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation - rivals, friends and in-laws, all trading between Britain, India and China.

The four Dent brothers didn't all work together: Thomas and Lancelot ran the company best known as Dent and Co; William traded alone, and moved into English railway finance; and Robert worked first on his own, then with some partners none of whom were Dents. Opium

into China and tea and silk out again - you'd think that it couldn't fail; but businesses involving the Dents had a tendency to go bankrupt down the years, in a welter of legal cases and disputed Wills which meant the Dents never kept as much money as they had made.

Vyvyan Dent was a grandson of two of the four brothers; and his father, Henry William Dent, had worked for two more of them.

Vyvyan Dent's father's father: ROBERT DENT

Robert was the eldest of the brothers Dent, born in Maulds Meaburn in September 1893, and should have inherited the family farm. It seems, though, as if he didn't want to take up that burden. The writer of the Stepneyrobarts family history website thinks that - despite the lack of evidence for this - Robert must have gone into the India trade, and at a very young age, because in 1820 he spent £30,000 buying himself a partnership in Rickards, Mackintosh, Law and Co, which went through a variety of names in the 1820s but always described itself as a 'general agent'. I agree with the Stepneyrobarts writer - you wouldn't have got that kind of money out of farming in Westmoreland. Rickards Mackintosh (as it was by 1830) specialised in making deals for goods and money transfer between India and Britain. It went bankrupt in 1833, owing eye-watering sums not only to traders but also to individuals. Around the time that the partnership was beginning to unravel, Robert also tried his hand at investing on a different continent, buying a copper mine on the border between Venezuela and Colombia. Like many an investment in 19th century South America, especially in unseen mines, it promised far more than it delivered; though the land remained in the family until 1866.

Law suits about money owed by Rickards Mackintosh were still being fought in 1839 and the fact that the firm was struggling shortened several of its partners' lives: one of them, William Fulton, died in 1830 - perhaps his hand had steadied the tiller; Robert Rickards died in 1836; and Robert Dent died in 1835 with his youngest child, Henry William, only a year old.

Vyvyan Dent's mother's father: WILLIAM DENT

I haven't found out much about this particular William Dent. William is a common fore-name in the clan and it's been hard to identify this one amongst all of them. He was youngest of the four trading brothers, born in 1798. Like the three older ones, he was involved in trading between Britain and the East. However, unlike the others he seems to have concentrated on India rather than moved into Hong Kong or China, and I think he never went into partnership with anyone, at least until he came back to England. I haven't been able to find any details of his marriage to Mary, and I don't know her surname. I hazard that they married in India. They were still living in India in the late 1830s and both their daughters were born there, Catherine in 1833 or thereabouts, and Emma Sabine in 1839. By the early 1850s William had brought his family back to England. By this time William was a seriously wealthy man. He was still involved in trade with India and was living in St Pancras parish near where Euston Station is now. By the end of the decade, though, he had moved out of London to Bickley Park (at that time in Kent) and perhaps he had retired, because in 1861 he described himself to the census official as a landowner and magistrate, not as a businessman. He was still involved in one business project however: he was the prime mover behind the

district's first railway, the Mid-Kent Railway which ran from Bromley to St Mary Cray; he became the railway company's first chairman. He could still afford to pay a butler, a housekeeper as well as a cook, two housemaids, a kitchen maid and a lady's maid to tend his wife. Both his and Mary's daughters had married in the mid-1850s. Catherine married George Welstead Colledge, who worked for the Indian Civil Service; and Emma Sabine married Henry William Dent.

Vyvyan Dent's father HENRY WILLIAM DENT

Henry William Dent, always called Harry, was the youngest child of Robert Dent and his wife Charlotte. He was born in Mitcham Surrey on 7 February 1834. After his father's death his mother moved back into London for a few years, to the area just north of Regent's Park. In the 1840s she lived in Blackheath, and then she moved out of town again to Kent, where she died in September 1861. She tried to leave her money to Harry and his older brother Thomas but I'm not sure how much they actually saw of it, as so much of her inheritance from both her husbands was tied up in 'Jarndyce-versus-Jarndyce' law suits.

As he happened to be at school on the day of the 1851 census I know that Henry William Dent attended Rev Edward Selwyn's school in Victoria Terrace Lee in Kent. It was inevitable, I suppose, that on leaving school Henry William would follow the family trend and go East. However, he didn't go as a trader, he joined the Bengal Civil Service. It must have been during his years as a civil servant in India that he qualified as a barrister - I haven't been able to find out when he passed his exams or which inn of court he became a member of; and I'm not sure he ever practised law, either in Britain or anywhere else. I just haven't been able to find any information on that side of his life.

First cousins Henry William Dent and Emma Sabine Dent married each other on 10 July 1856 in Bromley and went, probably almost at once, to set up as a couple in Calcutta, where their elder son, Ernest William, was born in April 1857.

It's possible that Henry William Dent became a barrister in order to work for his uncles in the family firm. Either that, or the idea of having a barrister on the staff - moreover, one who was closely related to you - appealed to Thomas and Lancelot Dent. One way or the other, in 1859 Henry William Dent left the Indian civil service and went to work for Dent and Co as the senior employee in the firm's Shanghai office. He quickly established himself amongst the English community there, becoming a consul, getting involved in the syndicate that set up Shanghai's second race course (though that was soon bought out by a more ambitious scheme), and being elected one of the first chairmen of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Long separations were part of the territory for families where the breadwinner earned his crust in the Empire, and on the day of the 1861 census Henry William was in China while Emma Sabine and Ernest William were staying with her parents in Bickley. Emma Sabine may have made the trip to England to leave her son with his grandparents while he went to school - although he seems rather young for that, aged only four. On the other hand, maybe he was ill: after this one appearance on the census he disappears from history. With or without Ernest William, Emma Sabine returned to Shanghai and died there in 1863, a year after the birth of her second son.

VYVYAN DENT

Vyvyan Edward John Dent was born in May 1862 in the Dent hong in Shanghai. What's a 'hong'? Used in this kind of context, the Chinese word means a warehouse. As I'm sure that the Dent family didn't live on the top floor above the firm's tea and opium cargoes, I think of it as something more like a compound, with a warehouse but also living quarters standing in their own grounds. Even at this early period, some western residents of Shanghai were building homes on a grand scale. The most interesting thing about the Dent hong is that it was not in the British concession in the city, it was in the French one, on the corner of what were then the Avenue du Roi Albert (which I think is now Nanlu Shanxi) and Route Vallon (now Nanchang Lu). The property was still owned by the Dent family in the 1930s.

I do think Vyvyan's early years must have been rather lonely: with his mother dead, his father with his own problems, and living thousands of miles from other family members, the child's closest ties may have been with his nursemaid, who was almost certainly Chinese. His future life was also diverted from whatever his parents had planned for him by Dent and Co's bankruptcy, which happened when he was four. A new Dent and Co was set up some years afterwards, by Vyvyan's cousin Alfred (a younger son of Thomas Dent); but Vyvyan never worked for the family firm. Of course, he may not have wanted to! Henry William Dent seems to have stayed on in Shanghai for a short time after Dent and Co's collapse, perhaps trying to sort out the mess, but then he returned to England and lived in London from the early 1870s until his death. On the day of the 1871 census, Vyvyan was living with his grandparents, William Dent and Mary, who had moved to 7 Palace Road Surbiton Park. William Dent was still able to employ a butler, cook, kitchenmaid, housemaid and a nursemaid for Vyvyan, so life was comfortable enough. However, it was an elderly household, with both his grandparents over 70. They both died in 1877, while Vyvyan was at school.

The old East India College where Henry William Dent most probably went to be prepared for the Bengal civil service had closed down as part of the changes that were made in the wake of the Indian Mutiny. Haileybury School had been founded on the old College site, in 1864. Vyvyan Dent spent three years at Haileybury, from 1875 to 1878; he then went to the Realschule in Cassel in Germany, and also spent some time in France. Such an education, adding German and French to the English and Mandarin Chinese he already knew, would have been a good preparation for a job with Dent and Co in Shanghai. They were also a sound basis for the completely different kind of career Vyvyan chose. Whereas you can view Dent and Co, Jardine Matheson and others as poachers, Vyvyan opted to be a gamekeeper instead: he joined the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs department in 1882 and remained on its staff until his retirement, with the rank of Commissioner, in 1916.

The Chinese Imperial Customs department had been set up in 1854. It was run from Peking by the imperial government, but most of its senior staff were foreigners; the first two of its inspector-generals were English. For most of Vyvyan's career the inspector-general was Robert Hart, who expected sophisticated use of the Chinese language and high standards of both expertise and morality from his juniors. The department had been founded to ensure the government was able to collect its taxes but it soon diversified into a range of allied fields, everything from harbour management, customs and excise collection, financial record-keeping and loan negotiation. By the time Vyvyan reached the summit of his career in the department its bureaucracy was gigantic, with 738 British employees, 170 German ones and 12,389 Chinese. A typical career for a European employee involved short periods of time in a

number of towns in your early years, leading (hopefully) to promotion to posts at the headquarters (Peking, where the inspector-general was based) and in the most important office (Shanghai, where the inspector-general's immediate deputy worked) as you became more senior and experienced. Pay was always a problem, because the actual amount you received in any year was linked to the fluctuating price of silver. To make matters worse, at their retirement employees would not get a departmental pension; they had to save up for an annuity themselves out of their unpredictable pay. For these reasons, employees tended not to take the generous periods of leave they were entitled to - for example, two full years (admittedly on half-pay) for every 10 years worked.

All Vyvyan's postings were in the area of China which spoke Mandarin Chinese. He began his working life with a spell at Hankow; he was based at the port of Chefoo (now Yantai) during the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) which the Chinese essentially lost; then he went to Kiukiang; then to Foochow; then on to head office in Peking; and finally, by 1908, to the Shanghai offices in the Customs House on the Bund - a very English-looking tudorbethan building with a Big-Ben style clock - as Acting Deputy Commissioner with responsibility for outdoor goods, bonding, and returns. Here's a bit more information on the cities in which Vyvyan worked, and what they are called in modern Chinese usage:

- Hankow is now Hankou but no longer exists, being one of three towns merged to make the modern metropolis Wuhan. Wuhan is in Hubei province at the confluence of the rivers Han and Yantze.
- Chefoo is what foreign residents of China called the town the Chinese know as Yantai, one of the ports set up by the Treaty of Nanking. It is in Shandong province, north of Shanghai, and in Vyvyan's time was a centre of the silk trade. There was a strong German presence in the town and later the whole province was ruled by Germany. Chefoo did not have a foreign concession area as such, and social amenities for Europeans were rather thin on the ground.
- Kiukiang is now Jiujang. It's a town on the Yangtze river in Jiangxi province and was a treaty port from 1862. It is situated in an important rice-growing area and rice was one of its main exports. In Vyvyan's time there were also two, Russian-operated factories making brick tea for the Russian market. Kiukiang was a centre of the opium trade; I wonder what Vyvyan thought of that?
- Foochow is now Fuzhou. It's in Fujian province. During the 18th century Foochow had been the centre of tea exports to Europe but by Vyvyan's time this trade had been largely replaced by exports of camphor and lacquer-ware goods. The town was an important centre of Protestant missionary work - something Vyvyan would have had little sympathy with. Unlike Chefoo, Foochow had a proper European concession area and social life was sophisticated, with a race course, a Club, a freemasons' lodge and facilities for sports; there was even an English-language newspaper.

In 1892, during his period working in Chefoo, Vyvyan married Ada Battinson. The marriage took place in Shanghai Cathedral, which made me think that Ada came from a family based in China. Not so, however. Ada had grown up in London and Vyvyan had probably known her since they were both teenagers, as her family lived very close to Henry William Dent's home in Talgarth Road West Kensington. The Battinson family came from Halifax and Ada's father Isaac drew his income from several patents he had been granted for improved machinery to comb wool, linen and other cloth. Ada and Vyvyan had one child, Robert Vyvyan, born in Chefoo in 1893.

I wonder whether Vyvyan had any qualms about marrying Ada and taking her - an Englishwoman with no experience of the far east at all - to China in the 1890s? He was not to know, I suppose, that the Qing dynasty's end (the last emperor abdicated in 1912) was going to be followed by ever-more-violent and politically partisan fighting for control of the power vacuum that was being created; which only finally ended in 1949. Although I think that Vyvyan's promotion to Peking probably came too late for it, he and Ada may have been living in Peking in 1900, when the city's foreign residents were besieged in their residential quarter during the Boxer rebellion. Shanghai, his last promotion, was safer, at least up to the 1920s, being tantamount to a foreign city in China. Vyvyan's time there will have been a very busy one, as Shanghai was the point at which money and goods flowed into China during the economic boom which followed concessions made by the dowager empress (China's de facto ruler at the time) in 1900.

Vyvyan and Ada seem to have led a life very similar to any other foreign couple living in Shanghai between 1900 and 1930, one based around very western-style leisure and venues - clubs, tennis, the race-course, dinners, charity concerts... Almost like being in England; or the USA - baseball teams started to visit Shanghai before the first World War. The friendships of most foreign residents would be made through work, and wouldn't involve the city's Chinese residents at all; though Vyvyan also sought out the few foreigners in Shanghai who shared his interest in Chinese history and religion.

One of the things that had brought Vyvyan and Ada together was a shared delight in music and they were both accomplished musicians. Ada sang well enough, and was brave enough, to do it in public at charity concerts, though she was never professional; and Vyvyan had several musical compositions published (I haven't been able to find out anything about these unfortunately). Ada must also have been a notable hostess, as Vyvyan had already gained a reputation for hospitality and for the large number and variety of his friends. Many of these friends were Chinese - I'm not sure how common that was, amongst Europeans living in China at that time. Some of Vyvyan's interests also set him at a distance from the more imperially-minded members of China's English community, and (although the writer of the obituary I found was discreet about it) Vyvyan does seem to have had a reputation as an eccentric. His collection of china probably didn't raise many eyebrows, but Vyvyan was also interested in Tibetan tantric buddhism and collected objects connected with that, which were exhibited at the Liège World Exhibition in 1905 and also at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of April-December 1904, better known as the St Louis World's Fair (of 'Meet Me in St Louis' fame). The writer of Vyvyan's obituary described his religious views as more Confucian than Christian, and he visited Chinese temples - not something many European residents were prepared to do. He was also interested in the sexual-psychological basis of mythology and folklore, and in the occult, though he was sceptical about the genuine-ness of spirit manifestations and the like.

Between 1896 and 1898, Vyvyan and his family were living in Brunswick Square Bloomsbury, on a two-year spell of leave. Henry William Dent had died late in 1893 and Vyvyan may have needed to make a trip to Europe to help wind up the estate. Robert Vyvyan would also have been able to meet his Battinson grandparents for the first time. Vyvyan had brought with him some of his collection of Chinese artefacts, and during his stay he donated a set of four silver and enamel lucky charms to the British Museum. He had also brought some seeds of the Chefoo lantern creeper, which he sent to the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

It was during this long leave that Vyvyan was initiated into the Golden Dawn. Who

recommended him? There are several possibilities. One goes back as far as Bromley, where not only William Dent was living in the 1860s but also his brother Thomas, of Dent and Co. Bromley's social round at that time will have included William Farr and his family. Two of William Farr's daughters were later members of the Golden Dawn. It's possible, too, that both the Dent brothers knew relations of Mrs Farr from their time in the far east: her surname before her marriage had been Whittal; and a man called Whittal was known to Henry William Dent in Shanghai. So that's one possibility. Another is that Ada Dent knew people in the Golden Dawn from her pre-marriage days in Fulham; several Golden Dawn members lived there. I'm not so keen on that as a route, because Ada was never in the Golden Dawn herself. It's more likely that Vyvyan Dent was introduced to the GD through freemasonry, a good source of GD members, though more in its first two years than later. I haven't found any evidence that Vyvyan was an active freemason in England - he hardly had any time to be, after all; but he may have been a freemason in China (impossible to find anything out about that) and during a period of leave in 1886 he went (as a visitor) to a meeting of the lodge Quatuor Coronati number 2076. William Wynne Westcott was a member of QC2076 and Samuel Mathers often attended the meetings as a guest. The symbolism of freemasonry was a common topic for talks at QC2076 meetings. A shared interest in the subject may have led to a chat between Westcott and Vyvyan after the formal part of the meeting was over; and they may have kept in touch in the following years.

VYVYAN'S LATER LIFE

For most Europeans employed in the far east, retirement meant packing up and returning home. However, in Vyvyan Dent's case things were not that simple. He retired 1916, when Europe was two years into the supposed war to end all wars, so the time was not auspicious for starting again in England. In addition, there were financial reasons for staying - I've mentioned above the financial problems that working for the Chinese Maritime Customs department could give its employees when their careers were over. On the other hand, the struggles of the various factions to take control of China's ex-empire showed no signs of reaching any conclusion. I think, though, that Vyvyan never considered the option of going home. Robert Vyvyan was working in Shanghai. And any annuity Vyvyan had saved up for, would stretch a lot further in China than in England. I think, too, that for Vyvyan, England wasn't 'home', he was more at home in China, where he had spent most of his life. He opted to stay in Shanghai.

Vyvyan Dent died, in Shanghai, on 20 February 1929. Ada and Robert Vyvyan stayed in China until some time in the late 1930s. By that time an invading army from Japan was in control of some parts of China; and the Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong who'd risen to prominence in 1934, were looking increasingly likely to step into the power vacuum if only the Japanese could be ousted. Ada died in Surrey in 1940.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the

Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR VYVYAN DENT

THE rest of the DENTS

Before I start, a note about the website www.stepneyrobarts.co.uk. I drew heavily on this site for my history of the Dents and their doings. It was a well-researched site, clearly based on original documents, family and otherwise. However, by January 2014 it had disappeared completely from the web and I couldn't find all the information that was on it at any other website. A dreadful loss. I can only suggest that anyone wanting to try to find out more about particular members of the Dent family, or Charlotte Lloyd Robarts, should google their names and see what comes up.

Dent and Co

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Vol 15 p841 lamented the lack of information on the Dent family of Hong Kong and Shanghai, especially compared to the amount of archives relating to (for example) Jardine Matheson. However ODNB did give some basic information on the brothers who founded the firm last-known as Dent and Co: Thomas Dent who died in 1872 but had returned to live in England long before; and Lancelot, who joined him in the 1820s. P842 after the collapse of the original firm, Thomas' 3rd son Alfred (1844-1927) began again, becoming head of the renamed Dent Brothers and Co and chair of many other industrial and financial concerns. Oxford DNB is now (January 2014) online at www.oxforddnb.com;; when I searched using "William Dent" "Jane Wilkinson", I was able to go straight to the right page..

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Wikipedia on Dent and Co, which the article saw as the third of the 3 original Canton-based

companies who moved first to Hong Kong and then opened up in Shanghai as well; the other 2 being Jardine Matheson, and Russell and Co. The firm had had several names before being called Dent and Co.

The first Dent, Thomas, went out to Canton/Guangzhou 1823 as partner in Davidson and Co. Davidson left the partnership 1824; it was reformed as Dent and Co 1826. The next Dent, Lancelot, went out to join Thomas, and when Thomas left 1831 became senior partner, still based in the East. An arrest warrant issued by the Chinese Imperial authorities in 1839 for Lancelot, for opium smuggling, began the Opium Wars. Lancelot and T C Beale worked as partners in the firm 1840-57, it being known during those years as Dent Beale and Co; then Beale left, and Lancelot carried on with the firm as Dent and Co. The firm moved its HQ from Canton/Guangzhou to Victoria Hong Kong in 1841. It was then one of the first companies to set up in Shanghai, starting there 1843 at 14 The Bund and exporting silk and tea. (Addition 17 Oct 2012 by S A Davis: most sources on Dent and Co skip lightly over the fact that what they were importing into China was opium.)

Lancelot Dent was one of the committee of Far Eastern businessmen which founded the firm that became the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, in March 1865. The collapse of Dent and Co began with a run on the bank Overend Gurney and Co which spread to other banks. Dent and Co had to shut its Hong Kong office in 1866 before ceasing trading in 1867.

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A Legacy of Opium by Douglas Fraser. Tenby Heritage Pubns 2010 p5 by 1831 the firm that would become Jardine Matheson, and Dent & Co, did 2/3 of non-government trade between Britain and China. At this time all such trade went through Canton, the only Chinese port open to foreign shipping. P20 in the 1830s Dent & Co was one of several British enterprises carrying on a completely illegal trade in opium along the Chinese coast. P23 the company undercut their British trade rivals and reneged on a price-fixing agreement reached with them (about opium) so they were neither liked nor trusted by other trading companies.

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From elsewhere on wikipedia, 2 dates of importance in the history of Dent and Co, Jardine Matheson and other far eastern businesses:

- 1834: the year that the East India Company lost its monopoly of British trade with China
- 1842: date of the Treaty of Nanking, which ended the opium wars and made concessions very important to British traders: the cession of the island now called Hong Kong to the British; and permission to create five treaty ports on Chinese territory.

Dent and Co's collapse doesn't seem to have worried the Times very much:

Times Thur 8 November 1866: the Money Market and City Intelligence that day was the first time the Times had mentioned that something was wrong at Dent & Co. The report contained one small paragraph saying that Dent Palmer and Co (a completely separate business from Dent & Co) had refused "yes" to take any more draughts on "Messrs Dent and Co., of China". An even shorter note in Times Fri 9 November 1866 p6 Money Markets and City Intelligence says that the draughts refused were to a value of £30,000.

Times Sat 10 November 1866 State of Trade noted that the failure of Dent and Co was being "reported" quite widely, though it gave no further details. The report was more concerned that

the firm's failure was adding to the atmosphere of gloom in the City but it tried to reassure readers by saying that relatively few British companies had been affected by it. In saying that, the Times demonstrated how out of touch it was with how the failure was being felt elsewhere: Times Sat 12 January 1867 p7 item State of Trade was a report from a correspondent in Manchester that people there were worried about affect of the "failure of Dent and Co" on local businesses dealing with China.

Times Thur 15 August 1867 p7 a letter to the business column was talking about the difficulty of getting money owed, out of the wreckage of Dent and Co.

Family history of the Dent brothers, composed 2011 from two web pages: Stepneyrobarts and //parsonsfamily.blogware.com/indiI, neither of which can now (January 2014) be reached. The information held at //parsonsfamily.blogware is still on the web. I eventually found it by googling "Thomas DENT 1796-1872"; amongst the responses was a web page beginning archive.is/D121 and when I clicked on that I found a page with a reference to parsonsfamily.blogware. The Dent brothers are all children of William Dent (1762-1801) of Trainlands, county Westmoreland and his wife Jane née Wilkinson:

Robert Dent 1793-1835 who married Charlotte Robarts née Lloyd.

John Dent 1795-1845; neither website knew who he had married but his children were

John DOB unknown

Robert Cecil born 1826.

Thomas Dent 1796-1872, of Dent and Co. He married Sabine Ellen Robarts and had a large family: 4 daughters and 8 sons including Alfred.

William Dent 1798-1877 (see below) father of Emma Sabine Dent.

Lancelot Dent 1799-1853, Thomas Dent's partner in Dent and Co; he died unmarried.

Wilkinson Dent 1800-86 died unmarried.

Documents now held at the Cumbria Record Office indicate that there was also a sister, Elizabeth Dent, who died unmarried in 1847. Wilkinson Dent took over the farm on her death.

ROBERT DENT was never a partner in Dent & Co

The ex-website

www.stepneyrobarts.co.uk/149858.htm looked at Robert Dent's life from the point of view of his wife Charlotte Robarts, née Lloyd and her life as the widow of two men who'd made money and lost it in trading ventures in the Far East. It had specific birth data for Robert Dent: 21 September 1793 in Maulds Meaburn Westmoreland.

Charlotte's dates were c1793-1861. Her first marriage was to James Thomas Robarts (1784-1825) who'd worked for the East India Company in Macão and Canton. Charlotte Robarts' 2nd marriage, to Robert Dent, took place in 1826 in St Pancras old church. For most of their married life they lived at Mitcham House, Mitcham Surrey. Their children were:

Charlotte Dent born 1828

Thomas Wilkinson Dent born and died 1829

a second Thomas Wilkinson John Dent born 1830

Robert Wilkinson Dent born 1832, who died in India

Henry William Dent, Vyvyan's father, born 7 February 1834 in Mitcham.

Robert Dent died in 1835. Charlotte Dent lived north of Regent's Park for a few years before moving to Lee Terrace Blackheath in the 1840s. She died in 1861; her money was left principally to her sons by Dent, Thomas and Henry William, who was known as Harry.

Stepneyrobarts listed the partners in Rickards Mackintosh Law and Co, traders between London, India and China, as: Robert Rickards; Eneas Mackintosh the uncle of James Matheson; James Law; and John Williamson Fulton. The company's London offices were at 15 Bishopsgate. Robert Dent also invested in land in Venezuela. It had a copper mine on it but the venture failed.

Evidence to back up Stepneyrobarts about Robert Dent's venture in South America. Amongst papers held at Cumbria Record Office in Kendal there are:

- letters to Robert Dent 1831-32 from Brian Adams in Caracas about mines in Venezuela
- details of the sale of the Bolívar estate to the Quebrada Railway and Mining Co in January 1866.

The collapse of Rickards Mackintosh:

Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register volume 17 1835 p211 in the middle of long article detailing the financial mess the collapse of the company had left behind it, mention of the first meeting held by the company's creditors, on 17 May 1833, and a reference to its owing over £1million.

I found a reference on the web (whose details I've now lost) saying Rickards' dates are 1769-1836.

The Legal Observer volume 18 1839 p123: article on cases involving money owed by Rickards Mackintosh in London, which have still not been resolved. Many private citizens were owed money because they had used the firm as a bank when moving money from Calcutta to Britain. It was Mackintosh and Co c 1819-20; then Rickards Mackintosh and Co, general agents, from 1823. Fulton was a partner in it from 1823 until his death in January 1830.

WILLIAM DENT 1798-1877 brother of Thomas, Lancelot and Robert:

Marriage of Katherine Mary (registered a second time, as Catherine Mary) Dent to George Welstead Colledge registered Cheltenham Jan-March quarter 1854. Allen's Indian Mail vol 9 1851 p466 list of 8 men who'd passed the September exams to enter into the East India College next term included George Welstead Colledge.

Via web: www.londongardensonline.org.uk item on St George's churchyard Bickley. The church had been built 1863-65 on land formerly owned by William Dent "chairman of the Mid-Kent Railway Co".

Via googlebooks: The Economy of Kent 1640-1914 by Alan Armstrong 1995; p224 says that William Dent had been the prime mover in getting the company that built the Mid-Kent railway started. At its Bickley/Bromley end, it ran from the station called Mason's Hill which opened in 1858.

London Gazette 27 November 1857 p4152 announcement required by the the Mid Kent Railway (Bromley to St Mary Cray) Act 1856, giving details of the route the new railway would follow. The railway would go across land currently owned by William Dent "of Bickley Park".

HENRY WILLIAM DENT son of Robert Dent and wife Charlotte:

Allen's Indian Mail 1856 issue of 18 July 1856 Marris p436 incl Henry William Dent of the Bengal Civil Service to Emma Sabine Dent daughter of William Dent of Bickley; on "July 10" [1856]. The same details appeared in the Times Mon 14 July 1856 p1a.

Familysearch came up with: Ernest William Dent born 20 April 1857 in Calcutta; baptised there May 1857. Parents Henry William Dent and wife "Emma Lavina". Familysearch didn't have a death for this boy; on the other hand he definitely didn't attend Haileybury School like Vyvyan did so I rather assume he died in Shanghai before getting to that age. Certainly no mention of him again in records of H W Dent or Vyvyan.

Entering China's Service: Robert Hart's Journals 1854-63 Volume 1 by Robert Hart, Katherine F Bruner and J K Fairbank 1986; p355 fn59 Dent & Co are described by the editors as having "an extensive business in opium" via Calcutta, Bombay and London, with fleets along the Chinese coast and "receiving stations" off the treaty ports. H W Dent himself is described as "of Dent & Co, a bitter rival of Jardine Matheson and Co".

Shantung Road Cemetery Shanghai 1846-68 by E S Elliston 1946 has Dents listed in it; Emma Sabine but perhaps her son Ernest William as well.

Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization 1863-66 Volume 2 by Robert Hart, R J Smith and J K Fairbank 1991 p467 fn 94 in this volume, H W Dent is described by the editors as "a merchant consul" and the representative of Dent & Co. Dent & Co's offices were at Yangtze Road Shanghai; the firm's head office was at Queen's Road Hong Kong. (A note from Sally Davis October 2012: Robert Hart was the second inspector-general of the Chinese Maritime Customs department. He was first appointed in 1863 and finally retired in 1911.)

The China Who's Who issue of 1922 p84 entry for Vyvyan Dent: H W Dent described here as the managing partner of Dent & Co in Shanghai from 1859 and chairman of HSBC (no dates for the chairmanship, unfortunately).

Shanghai racecourse and the man named Whittal: the website www.earnshaw.com/shanghai-ed-India/tales/library/pott/pott08.htm has a link to

www.talesofoldchina.com/shanghai/events.php which lists some of the early western buildings of Shanghai with a few details about the circumstances in which they were built. There were 4 different race courses. The 2nd of them was set up in 1860 when a syndicate was formed to buy 40 acres of land for horse racing and cricket. The syndicate's members were: R C Antrobus, James Whittal, Albert Heard, and Henry Dent. They in turn were soon bought out by the 3rd scheme, which was much bigger.

Sources for VYVYAN DENT

LOCATION OF THE DENT HONG

My partner and web specialist Roger Wright found it pretty easily on the web via a map called "Shanghai French Concession 1920s-1940s" exact date of which is uncertain but I'd say it's after 1929. Avenue du Roi Albert was an important road then, more important than it is now. On its corner with Route Vallon, to the south of which are the Albert Apartments, is an "*" - that is, a place of note - described as the residence of "R V Dent" (Vyvyan's son). Matching the roads up with the modern streetmap of Shanghai was a bit difficult but I think Avenue du Roi Albert is now Nanlu (ie Road) Shanxi; and Route Vallon is now Nanchang Lu (I think!)

Haileybury Register 1862-1910 ed by L S Milford. Published 1910 by Haileybury College. The entry for Vyvyan Edward John Dent is on p166; there is no entry for his elder brother Ernest William.

20th Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai and other Treaty Ports of China ed Arnold Wright in London and H A Cartwright in HK and Shanghai. Lloyds Greater Britain Publishing Co Ltd 1908. I got the details of Vyvyan Dent's career, his collections of artefacts, and details of the towns he worked in from here.

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society volume LXIV 1913 p221 is the first one to have V Dent of the Chinese Maritime Customs on its list of members; he'd been elected a member during 1912. Volume LX 1929 pi is the obituary of V E J Dent, described as "one of the most remarkable personalities in China in recent years". The obituary had been written by regular contributor "HC". In volume LVII p1926 p231 HC is identified as Herbert Chatley DSc of 8 Route Francis Garnier Shanghai.

More about Vyvyan's various collections of Chinese artefacts, which covered a big range of subjects: The China Journal volume 20, issue of February 1934 p117 in a section on Societies and Institutions, a few paragraphs on "Shanghai Museum (Royal Asiatic Society)" which had been opened "November 15 last" [1933]. The donations so far were listed and included the following items collected by V Dent and now owned by R Dent: "some interesting Chinese official beads and rosaries" (Sally Davis October 2012: an equivalent to a Catholic rosary is used in buddhism) and "a collection of Republican badges and souvenirs now unprocurable" had been given by R Dent to the museum as a gift. A "good collection of ancient bronze mirrors" and "some Chinese water-pipes and other interesting objects" were only on loan. Sally Davis October 2012: on the suggestion of the librarian at the Royal Asiatic Society, I emailed a contact she had in Shanghai who had been trying to find out whether any of the contents of the RAS North China branch museum had survived Mao and the Cultural Revolution. He emailed back to say that he had found nothing so far; and as he hasn't

contacted me since spring 2011 I guess Vyvyan's collections have been destroyed.

Details of the two international exhibitions at which some of Vyvyan's Chinese artefacts were shown came from wikipedia; but wikipedia's information was only general and didn't mention any particular set of exhibits.

The China Who's Who issue of 1922 p84 entry for Vyvyan Dent describes him as Commissioner of Customs, retired.

For the politics of China around 1900: 1913: the World before the Great War by Charles Emmerson sums it up neatly. London: the Bodley Head 2013.

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AMandragora@attglobal.net

Agnes, Baroness de Pallandt was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in May 1891, taking the motto 'Anael'. A note in the GD administration records describes her as "no good". The note doesn't say what it was she was no good at but she certainly doesn't seem to have even begun the reading and study that was expected of initiates, and resigned from the GD in 1893.

BEFORE WE START:

If you search for the Baroness de Pallandt on the web or in the Times between (roughly) 1909 and 1925 you're likely to come across the Baroness May de Pallandt. Originally from Canada and apparently living apart from her husband, she was pursued through the courts by the police and various firms for attempted fraud and unpaid bills. A colourful character! She must have been married to one of the van Pallandt family at some stage and, like Agnes, continued to keep the useful title after she and her husband went their separate ways.

The Golden Dawn's Baroness de Pallandt was born Agnes Alicia Margaret MacLean, in London in 1849. Her parents were Allan Thomas MacLean, who was in the British army, and his wife Agnes Lisle MacLean.

CLAN MACLEAN AND THE ISLE OF MULL

See the Clan website, at www.macleand.org, but here I'll paraphrase its pages on the emergence of the family in 14th century Scotland when the earliest important member of the clan - Lachlan Lubanach (Lachlan the Crafty) - was granted land on the Isle of Mull and later married his feudal overlord's daughter. Lachlan Lubanach lived at Castle Duart, which still exists and you can see a photograph of it at the Clan website. Agnes' father was one of the MacLeans of Pennyghael on the Isle of Mull who claimed direct descent from Lachlan Lubanach. Archibald MacLean of Pennyghael, Agnes' grandfather, married Alicia daughter

of Hector MacLean of Toiren. They had seven sons and two daughters. Eldest son Alexander inherited the family estate (and married another MacLean). The younger sons all left Mull to find work, two going to London and four going into the army.

Allan Thomas MacLean, the second son, joined the army in December 1810 and fought all the way through the Peninsular War. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Couches in March 1814 but was freed and healed in time to fight at Waterloo. In the 1820s, and promoted to Captain, he went with his regiment, the 13th Light Dragoons, to India. While stationed at Bangalore in 1831 and now promoted to Major, he had a falling-out with the regiment's commanding officer, Lt-Col J F Paterson, which ended with his being court-martialed for insubordination and bringing the regiment into disrepute. At a hearing in Madras in December 1831 he was exonerated and Paterson criticised for not dealing with the matter by himself; but the incident seems to have led to MacLean returning to England and not serving abroad again. For reasons that baffle me, his career was not hampered by what happened at Bangalore (I know he was exonerated but these things do get about): he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1834; was promoted to be the colonel of the regiment in November 1860; and reached his highest military level, that of Lieutenant-General, in December 1861.

AGNES MACLEAN'S CLOSE FAMILY - RATHER A COMPLICATED ONE

Allan Thomas MacLean was born about 1805. However, like many military officers he left it late to marry. It must have been around 1844 that he married Agnes Lisle Lawrence; I haven't found details of the marriage registration on the web, so I'm assuming it took place in Scotland. This is where it gets complicated: Agnes Lisle Forlong had been married and widowed twice before. She too was Scottish, the daughter of William and Mary Maria Forlong of Wellshott Cambuslang. In 1822 she had married John Taylor, another army officer; they had three daughters but only one survived her infancy; and John Taylor had died in 1828. There's even less information around about widow Agnes Taylor's second marriage, to L Lawrence, than about her first; I haven't even been able to find out her second husband's forenames though his dates are 1802-40 and they don't seem to have had any children. Agnes Lawrence, widowed again and with one daughter, then married Allan Thomas MacLean. Although Agnes MacLean was around 40 at her third marriage, she and Allan Thomas had two children: Arthur, born around 1845; and the GD member Agnes Alicia Margaret, born 1849 and named after her mother and one of her grandmothers.

I can't find out anything more about Agnes' full brother Arthur; I think he died in his infancy. So in 1850 Allan Thomas MacLean's family consisted of his wife Agnes; her daughter Mary Maria, aged 18; and their daughter Agnes, aged 1. Although Agnes aged 2 had been born in London the family's usual base must have been Scotland, given the lack of English information on them at this time; they're not on the 1851 census in England.

In 1850 or 1851 Mary Maria Taylor married Lt-Colonel George Grenville Malet of the 3rd Bombay Light Infantry and went to live in India. However, Lt-Colonel Malet was killed in action in Persia in 1856. Mary Maria returned to England with her four children. By the day of the 1861 census Allan Thomas MacLean had moved his family to England and was living at 3 Oxford Square Paddington, off the Edgware Road. Living with him were his wife Agnes; his daughter Agnes aged 12 (the future GD member, in case you've already lost

track); his step-daughter Mary Maria Malet; and his step-daughter's children, a third Agnes in the household - Agnes Malet, Margaret Malet, Bessie Malet and Allan Malet. It was no wonder that the census official got the ages of several of these children mixed up - writing down, for example, that young Agnes MacLean and Agnes Malet were the same age. At least Allan Thomas MacLean could afford to keep such a large household: he was able to pay for a governess (though not one who spoke French as her native tongue - they were the most expensive); a lady's maid; a footman (note that he'd decided against employing a butler, they were really expensive); a cook; a nursemaid for all the young children; and a housemaid.

Allan Thomas MacLean died at 3 Oxford Terrace on 9 December 1868. He had made his Will in 1867, setting up a trust fund whose trustees were to pay an annual income to his wife (now widowed for the fourth time) and his daughter. It's possible he included his step-daughter Mary Maria in these provisions though it was more usual to give daughters a financial settlement when they married (if they married) and of course Mary Maria was not his daughter, she probably inherited money from her father John Taylor (a man she could probably scarcely remember). The trustees of Allan Thomas MacLean's money were John Cumming; and Frederick Talbot Tasker, solicitor, of 47 Bedford Row.

The Rev John Cumming lived at 7 Montague Place Russell Square and was a popular choice as executor and trustee. He was minister of the Church of Scotland's church at Covent Garden which catered for Scots living in London. During his period in charge there, congregations were often several hundred-strong; and I think they must have included the MacLean and Malet families. Cumming was an indefatigable writer of letters to the Times, usually denouncing the doings of the Roman Catholic church and protestants who had converted to Catholicism. According to his wikipedia page, he believed that Judgement Day would take place at some time between 1848 and 1867; I wonder how he felt when 1868 arrived? He died in 1881 and was presumably replaced by a new executor and trustee of Allan Thomas MacLean's Will. At least, I hope a replacement was chosen, I hope Mrs MacLean and Baroness de Pallandt didn't just let the other executor and trustee of their money get on with it alone. Of Frederick Talbot Tasker much more further down this file.

When her father died Agnes Alicia Margaret MacLean was 19. As far as I can tell, she was not presented to Queen Victoria, but once the period of mourning was over, she was 'out' in every other sense. She may have already been engaged to be married when her father died. How she met him I do not know but in November 1870, Agnes MacLean married an officer in the Dutch army, Baron Karel (Charles) Frederick Henry van Pallandt.

This question of Van or De: they are equivalents in Dutch and French and are widely understood (however mistakenly) to denote nobility. Even in the marriage notice in the Times, however, Karel van Pallandt is named as 'de'. I think Agnes, and possibly her mother too, thought that Agnes' social status would not be so clear to English society if she used 'van', so she always used 'de'. They wanted there to be no ambiguity about it in England because in the society in which Agnes and her mother wished to move, this sort of thing mattered. The Dutch family history website on which I found details of the van Pallandt family makes it clear that all sons are entitled to call themselves 'baron': not just the eldest one. So on her marriage, though her husband was the third son not the eldest one, Agnes MacLean became the Baroness de Pallandt (or Baronne, which she sometimes used, also French). I've explained all this about her title, not because it's important to me, though it sheds light on her character and the nature of the society she lived in; I've explained it because it seemed so very important to her.

Agnes de Pallandt accompanied her husband back to Holland; she and her husband are not on the 1871 census and I presume they were living where Karel van Pallandt's regiment was stationed. The van Pallandts were a very distinguished family, diplomats and prominent members of the Dutch royal court. Perhaps in order to enhance Agnes' status with such in-laws, her mother had handed over some valuable silver plate which Allan Thomas MacLean had actually left to his wife for her lifetime (Agnes would only become its owner when her mother died). Agnes, however, did not have much luck with her marriages and the van Pallandts of her husband's generation did not seem to live long: so many of them died young that I wondered if they had a tendency to develop TB. Agnes' husband Karel van Pallandt died in 1872, aged 35.

There was no particular reason for Agnes to stay in the Netherlands: she had no children and she hadn't had time, really, to learn to speak the language. She came back to England, probably as soon as it was decent, though whether she returned to live with her mother and step-sister's family I don't know. I have only one sighting of Agnes during the period 1872-1879: in June 1876 she went to one of the state balls that were held at Buckingham Palace during the Season. The state balls had guest-lists running into the thousands but to receive an invitation still said quite a lot about you. One thing it said about Agnes was that she had by this time been presented at court, either to Queen Victoria or the Princess of Wales: the sort of filip to your social career that was more likely to happen to you if you could call yourself a baroness. However, when - after seven years - Agnes married again, her new husband was not on the royal social circuit. On 16 January 1879, Agnes de Pallandt married Richard Wade who was from the professional middle classes.

Richard Wade's father, Richard Blaney Wade was a very important man in the City, chairman from 1867 to 1894 of the National Provincial Bank (an ancestor of NatWest), one of its principal shareholders, and member of many banking committees. He married Adelaide Shadwell, a daughter of Sir Launcelot Shadwell one of the most senior lawyers in England. Richard senior and Adelaide were seriously wealthy but they had the large family that was typical of mid-Victorian England. Agnes' husband was their eldest child: Richard Edward Lancelot Wade, born in 1851 and thus two years younger than Agnes. By 1861 the Wades were living in Upper Seymour Street, Marylebone, and it's possible that the MacLeans had known them from Agnes' childhood.

Agnes' husband Richard Wade went to Harrow School. He didn't go to university but that was nothing unusual at the time. His brothers Robert and Cecil didn't do so either, they both went straight from school to work in the City: Robert qualified as a solicitor (which you did on the job in those days) and Cecil worked at the Stock Exchange. However, I haven't found any evidence that Richard Wade pursued any profession after leaving school and I wonder if he was in poor health.

I may be reading too much into the marriage lines I found (via Ancestry) in the records of St Mary Marylebone, but I do wonder if this second marriage didn't meet with the approval of Agnes' mother or step-sister. No one from her family was a witness; though several members of Richard Wade's family were. Did they think that - as Agnes was on the Queen's guest-lists now - she should aim higher if she wanted to marry again?

Or perhaps Agnes' family thought she should marry someone with a well-defined and regular source of income; and/or better health. As I've said, I can't find any evidence that Richard Wade ever worked. And both he and Agnes had expensive tastes which landed them in

trouble with the law. Back to the silver plate which Allan Thomas MacLean had left to his wife: since Karel van Pallandt had died, it had been sitting where Agnes de Pallandt had left it, in a bank in the Netherlands. When Agnes de Pallandt married Richard Wade, her father's trustees asked her to sign a Deed of Settlement agreeing that the silver plate still belonged to her father's trustees; and this she did. (This is another thing that makes me think Agnes' marriage to Richard Wade was against her family's better judgement - when she had married her Dutch aristocrat they'd been very happy to let her have the silver; now they were anxious that everybody should understand that it wasn't hers, she was only allowed the use of it. This was not just a legal technicality - see the next paragraph.) An unexpected problem then arose: someone discovered (presumably the lawyers) that if they didn't hurry up and bring the silver plate back from the Netherlands, it would become liable to import duty. So the silver plate was taken out of the Dutch bank and brought back to London and Agnes de Pallandt persuaded her mother to let her continue to use it. Then she and her new husband needed money which they had not got; so they took the silver plate to a pawnbroker called Robert Percy Attenborough, who gave them £475 for it.

Items held in trust for you are not yours to sell or pawn; by the terms of her father's Will, Agnes de Pallandt would not be the owner of his silver plate until her mother died. No doubt when her mother and her trustees found out what Richard and Agnes had done, they had a fit; and Agnes' trustees began proceedings against the pawnbroker - who should have known better but perhaps Richard Wade and Agnes didn't tell him that they didn't own what they were pawning. The court case 'Tasker v Attenborough with Richard Wade and Mrs Wade' was heard in July 1881, and was a clear-cut one: Attenborough was ordered to return the silver plate and pay the trustees' legal costs as well as his own. If the judge censured the behaviour of Richard and Agnes Wade, the Times didn't say so in its report on the case. Perhaps the judge took pity on Agnes, though, because by this time she was a widow again.

Agnes' husband Richard Wade died on 4 February 1881. Although Agnes de Pallandt had lived virtually all her life in central London, at the time of Richard Wade's death the Wades were living at 3 Whitchurch Villas, Ararat Road Richmond. It's possible that they had moved there in a bid to improve Richard's health - Richmond is upwind of the worst of London's pollution. But on the other hand, the tale of the silver plate indicates that Agnes and Richard couldn't keep within their income, and rents were lower in the suburbs.

Agnes didn't marry again. Only a few weeks after Richard Wade's death she had already moved away from Richmond and was staying in lodgings in Jermyn Street off Piccadilly while her husband's legal affairs were sorted out. It seems that there was not much to sort out - Richard Wade left only £135. However, Agnes did not return to live with her family, so her income from her father's trust fund had not been too much compromised during her second marriage (that's what trust funds and trustees are for). Instead, she lived over the next 20 years at several addresses in the Bryanston Square district, near - but not too near - her mother and step-sister at 40 Oxford Terrace (now incorporated into Sussex Gardens).

So far, I've gained an impression of Agnes de Pallandt as a rather flighty, spoiled young woman, spending more than was covered by her income. However, she does seem to have gained more gravitas after she was widowed for the second time: she was, after all, in her 30s by then. For instance, she got involved in charity work with the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, at least to the extent of helping out at a bazaar held to raise funds for the Society. And she joined the Theosophical Society, through which she met several women who were initiated into the Golden Dawn.

Agnes was a member of the Theosophical Society by 1889 and was attached to its Blavatsky Lodge so she knew Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and later Annie Besant, who dominated that lodge during the 1880s and 1890s. She will also have known other important members who attended Blavatsky Lodge's meetings regularly - the Swedish Countess Wachtmeister, and A P Sinnett and his wife Patience, for example; and she was definitely acquainted with the TS's co-founder, the American Colonel Olcott, because he mentioned her in his memoirs. William Wynne Westcott was also a member of the TS and of Blavatsky Lodge.

Around 1889, Agnes suggested that the TS should take on newspapers who made ill-informed (if not downright sneering) comments about theosophy. Agnes proposed that a group of TS members should read the newspapers on a regular basis with the intention of spotting articles hostile to theosophy and challenging them with letters and articles putting the TS's side of the argument - which I'm sure she knew was not often heard in the press. When Agnes was staying in lodging-house in Jermyn Street, one of her fellow lodgers was a newspaper owner, Ernest Major. Perhaps the idea for a campaign to counter press misinformation about theosophy came to her from remembered conversations with him. It probably also came to her because she decided that such a project would help her deal with yet another bereavement: Agnes' mother had died in January 1889.

Agnes put a request for help with her newspaper project in the June 1889 issue of the TS's journal *Lucifer*. Although the initial response from readers was slow, by the early 1890s she was in charge of 33 volunteers. Agnes paid for a subscription to a cuttings agency out of her own money, and made efforts to establish friendly relations with journals and individual reporters who were willing to treat theosophy favourably. For the next few years she and her volunteers worked systematically to argue theosophy's case. I wonder how Agnes felt when all her group's good work was undone by the bad publicity theosophy brought on itself in 1894-95 when a dispute arose within the TS that tore it in two. The argument came down to whether Annie Besant or the American W Q Judge should lead theosophy after the death of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. However, Judge's claims that he had received communications from Blavatsky's Mahatmas; and the refusal of the London hierarchy of the TS to accept that anyone but Blavatsky had ever heard from them or ever could, were a gift to the press. Meetings of individual lodges, to decide which side of the argument they should support, caused splits between members. Committees supporting W Q Judge's stance were set up to argue his case; and when he lost, all the American lodges broke away and set up their own organisation and many individuals in England resigned from the TS here and had nothing further to do with organised theosophy. Some lodges lost so many members that they never held any more meetings and the number of members of the TS in England never recovered. Agnes was not one of those that resigned from the TS, so she must have agreed with the attitude of the TS hierarchy in London towards W Q Judge's claims. But I haven't found any evidence that Agnes' newspaper project continued after the dispute: in the next few years theosophy in England was licking its wounds and keeping its head well down.

According to its own website, www.ts-adyar.org, when the Theosophical Society was founded, in New York in 1875, its original object had been to search for spiritual enlightenment through the occult texts of Western writers. It was only after Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott moved to India and settled in Adyar, on the outskirts of Madras, that its focus shifted to the texts and practice of Buddhism and Hinduism as sources of spiritual understanding and progress for the Soul. This process culminated in Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*, published in 1888; for at least the next decade it was the text most studied by TS members (most seem to have found it all but impenetrable). If you had joined

the TS to pursue an interest in western occult texts such as the Kabbalah, you were no longer well catered for at TS meetings, and it might have been under these circumstances that Agnes decided that she would accept the offer of initiation into the Golden Dawn. She decided very quickly that the GD was not for her. Why was that? - something to do with the fact that she was "no good", perhaps? My opinion is that Agnes' education had not trained her to give sustained and concentrated attention to any difficult reading matter: and you certainly needed that if you were going to get any benefit out of being in the GD. However, Agnes may just have decided that if she belonged to both the GD and the TS she would not do either of them properly. She continued to be a committed member of the TS for some years. In 1896, she went to a soirée to meet Katherine Tingley, who had succeeded William Quan Judge as the leading theosophist in the USA; but she doesn't seem to have done any more to get involved in Mrs Tingley's 'universal brotherhood' movement.

In the years before the dispute over Judge, the TS was involved not only in spiritual enquiry but also in a number of practical schemes: a club for young working women in Bethnal Green, a creche and a children's home, and the Dorothy Restaurants, which were run by a limited company with directors who were members of the TS. On 21 June 1889 Helena Petrovna Blavatsky was a guest at the opening lunch of the second of the Dorothy Restaurants, at 448 Oxford Street; and Agnes was also invited, as a personal friend of Blavatsky, I think, as I haven't found any evidence that Agnes was an investor in the company.

In October 1892 the League of Theosophical Women, which ran the children's home, held an Oriental Bazaar in the lecture hall at TS headquarters (19 Avenue Road Regent's Park, owned by Countess Wachtmeister). Agnes was in charge of one of the stalls. Also helping out that day were Lady Eleanor Harbord, who later became a member of the Golden Dawn; and Ursula Bright. Ursula was the wife of Jacob Bright of the radical Liverpool family; he was a Liberal MP, she was a campaigner for women's rights. It must have been due to Ursula Bright's persuasive powers that Agnes found herself, a few months later, holding a meeting of the Women's Franchise League at her home.

The Women's Franchise League (WFL) had been founded in 1889 by campaigners who were mostly based in Liverpool and Manchester - Richard and Emmeline Pankhurst, for example, and Josephine Butler. Its founders felt that another group focusing on women's rights was necessary for two reasons: firstly because they felt that the existing suffrage groups were concentrating on rights for unmarried women and widows and not including the concerns of married women; and secondly because they wanted to campaign on a very specific issue - getting laws passed to make women eligible to vote in local elections. Ursula Bright became the WFL's main financial supporter. She was at the meeting Agnes organised; and so was another well-known campaigner for women's votes, Marie Corbett. Also there was a very radical woman indeed: Dr Alice Vickery was a qualified pharmacist and GP; however, she was living with a man she wasn't married to - neither of them believed in the institution of marriage - and they had two children; she also actively campaigned for birth control to be widely available. Some women would have refused to have Dr Vickery in their house; so it's to Agnes' credit that she was prepared to meet her. Although most of the people at the meeting seem to have been women, it was still customary for men to take the chair: Robert Arthur Arnold was chairman of this particular meeting. He was another radical Liberal MP whose wife (Amelia) was an active campaigner for women's rights. He became chairman of the London County Council in 1895.

The 1894 Local Government Act achieved one of the WFL's aims: it allowed single and married women who fulfilled all the other criteria, to vote in local elections. At that point, although the rest of its aims were still as far off as ever - divorce on equal terms with men; equality of inheritance rights - the WFL ceased to exist. However, this may not have impinged much on Agnes' life - I hope she used the vote the WFL had won for her; but she didn't become a vocal or active campaigner for women's rights as far as I can see.

One of the objects of women's rights campaigns was to protect the income of married women from the predations of unscrupulous husbands, and were especially important in the years before the married women's property acts. Trust funds were a way for those who could afford it to guarantee a woman an income independent from anything earned by any man she might marry; and to ensure that men couldn't get their hands on the woman's capital. A trust fund's trustees managed the capital and doled out the income; and the whole point of a trust fund was that the woman's husband should never be a trustee. A trust fund could continue to operate for many decades, with new people being appointed to replace trustees who had died; the trust fund being wound up when the woman getting the income from it died. Trust funds were often set up as part of the provisions of a man's Will, for his female relatives, and the Will's executors were also the trust fund's trustees. So Allan Thomas MacLean was making provisions for his wife and daughter in a manner typical of his time and class; and he appointed two executors and trustees typical of the type of person who were usually chosen: a vicar, and a solicitor. There was a snag to trust funds however: you had to be able to trust your trustees.

Frederick Talbot Tasker was the MacLean family solicitor for many years: he was there in 1867 when Allan Thomas MacLean made his will; he obtained probate on the Will of Agnes MacLean when she died in 1889. He was a fixture in Agnes de Pallandt's life and the lives of many others for decades, working from offices at 47 Bedford Row in Bloomsbury. However, on 28 February 1898 he and his wife disappeared and in his absence he was declared bankrupt a few weeks later. The Official Receiver's office, charged with the task of sorting out Tasker's finances, found evidence that he owed a total of £16000-17000 to various creditors; and that he had stolen and spent large sums of money he was holding on behalf of his clients, who included companies but also individuals like Agnes. By 1901 Tasker had not been seen in England for three years and one of his creditors, the London and County Bank, was in court alleging frauds by Tasker going back as far as 1882, involving properties owned by a client of Tasker's called Richard Ward. By 1897 the Bank had got so concerned about loans they had made to Tasker that they demanded that he give them more security. Tasker had paid a large sum of money into his account at the Bank; but the Bank now believed that the money paid in had not belonged to Tasker, it had belonged to Richard Ward.

I couldn't find any other legal cases brought against Frederick Talbot Tasker. There was no money at his offices; the money in his business's bank account didn't belong to him; his house was mortgaged; and no one knew where he had gone. Tasker's bank was the only creditor who could afford to go to court about the mess Tasker had left behind him when he skipped. Agnes' trust fund may have been one of those that Tasker had stolen from. It would have been very easy for him, if no trustee had been appointed when Rev John Cumming died - and I did notice that on the grant of probate on the estate of GD Agnes' mother, Agnes MacLean, Tasker was described as the "sole surviving executor" which meant he may also, by then, have been the sole trustee of her fund. Agnes was still living comfortably in 1911 so I think Frederick Talbot Tasker had not been able to make off with all her capital, she still had enough to maintain the style of life that was important to her. But I suppose that at the very least she would have had to find some new, more trustworthy, trustees for her fund: I've no

idea what happens to a trust fund when its trustee flees abroad. The beneficiaries of trust funds can certainly apply to the courts to have a trust fund brought to an end. Perhaps Agnes did that, but I can't prove it because such an ordinary proceeding wouldn't be covered in the Times and legal journals where I found the details of Tasker's bankruptcy. If her trust fund was wound up in the aftermath of Tasker's disappearance, Agnes might - for the first time, at the age of 50 or so - have been left to take charge of her finances herself.

For that and perhaps other reasons, Agnes did make a big change, around 1900, opting not to continue to live in the house in Bryanston Street which had been her home for several years. On the day of the 1901 census she was taking a holiday in Dulverton in Somerset. When she came back, she moved out to the suburbs again, this time choosing the wealthy commuter-village of Surbiton, which had fast connections to Waterloo and plenty of imposing Victorian houses. Agnes moved into Morfa Lodge, 23 Adelaide Road; a 14-room house built of red brick and set in its own grounds, with some rather nice semi-circular rooms with big windows on the corner of the building. This was Agnes' final move: she lived at Morfa Lodge until she died, though she did change its name.

So far, the evidence I've found for Agnes de Pallandt's life has not given me any indication of an interest in music, but in 1906 Agnes had the overture to an opera dedicated to her by its composer. The opera was an obscure one called *Sol Hatchuel, The Maid of Tangier*. See the Sources section for more on it (there isn't much). From the opera's title page I think the writer of Agnes' overture was an Englishman called Bernard de Lisle - but I may be wrong. I can't find a reference to any composer of that name though I did find a couple of references to a Bernard de Lisle whose dates of birth and death seem to be about right for the piece and its date. If any reader of this biography of Agnes de Pallandt knows anything more about *The Maid of Tangier*, do get in touch. From the little evidence I've found, I'm not even sure whether Agnes' overture was ever performed!

In 1908, Agnes was one of many people who ended their membership of the TS once Annie Besant had been elected as president-for-life following the death of Colonel Olcott. Those who ceased to be TS members might have had one of several reasons for leaving: a dislike of Besant's leadership style, which, though energetic and committed, could be very combative; or a reluctance to follow where Besant was likely to lead the TS - she didn't make any secret of her preference for Hinduism rather than Buddhism as the path to spiritual progress. Besant's continued support of C W Leadbeater probably didn't weigh with Agnes - she was not a member of the TS's governing council and I imagine she didn't know he was being accused of mutual masturbation sessions with boys in his care. It's more likely in Agnes' case that she just felt ready to draw a line under what was the end of an era at the TS - the one presided over by its founder-members.

The following year Agnes made one of the most remarkable gestures of any GD member - of any woman of her class and generation - when the death notices in the Times of 26 May 1909 included one for Charlotte Seymour, "most faithful and beloved lifelong friend and maid" of Baroness de Pallandt.

It was unheard of for a mere servant to have her death recorded in one of the foremost national newspapers; and I think it indicates that Agnes was harder hit by the death of Charlotte Seymour than by the death of her own mother.

CHARLOTTE SEYMOUR

Her name is actually a rather unusual one, but I've still had some trouble finding information on Charlotte Seymour, especially about her early life, but I think this is probably her, in 1861: a housemaid called Charlotte Seymour, aged 24, was one of three servants in the household of Spencer Westmacott and his wife Mary, at Holcroft Lodge, Grove Bank, Fulham. Westmacott was a Lt-Colonel in the Royal Engineers. He and his wife ran a tight ship, with the one housemaid, a cook and one male servant whose duties were not made clear to the census official; he was probably Lt-Colonel Westmacott's batman - a military man's valet. The fewer the servants, the harder they all had to work; and in the Westmacott's household the sole housemaid was likely to have to do the kitchen scivvying, cleaning the house from top to bottom, waiting at table, answering the door... Heavy, labour-intensive, repetitious, boring work and Charlotte Seymour had probably already been doing this kind of job for 10 years.

Was Lt-Colonel Westmacott a friend of Allan Thomas MacLean? So that a servant could be handed on, as it were, from one to the other? Pushing it a bit far, I think. It's more likely that, on attempting to hire a new housemaid, Agnes' mother Agnes MacLean appreciated that one of the applicants had a good reference, from a military man. Mrs MacLean's younger daughter may have been in need of her own lady's maid, so that there would be a promotion available for the right kind of housemaid...

I can't find Charlotte Seymour on the census of 1871 so I can't be sure where she was working. But Agnes de Pallandt is not on the 1871 census either. I don't think it's too fanciful to suppose that Charlotte Seymour was working for Agnes de Pallandt by then, and had gone to the Netherlands with her on her marriage. Charlotte was certainly employed by Agnes de Pallandt by 1881: on the day of the 1881 census, she was with Agnes in the lodging house in Jermyn Street. The lodging-house keeper told the census official that Charlotte Seymour was Baroness de Pallandt's lady's maid - meaning that Charlotte had put cleaning out grates behind her and was looking after Agnes' wardrobe and jewellery and doing her hair. It's clear from Agnes' touching death notice, though, that Charlotte had become a great deal more than a mere lady's maid. In 1881 she had (probably) gone with her employer to live in a foreign country; and she was now supporting her mistress through her second widowhood.

The 1891 census was taken just a few weeks before Agnes was initiated into the Golden Dawn. She was living at 122 Bryanston Square Marylebone and Charlotte Seymour was with her, the eldest and most senior of three women servants. The census official just listed each of the servants as a general servant, so I don't know which woman was doing what; but it was likely that Charlotte was performing a housekeeping role in addition to her lady's maid duties, helping Agnes manage the household and supervising the two younger women - Eliza Jones aged 28 and originally from Brecon in remote central Wales; and Anna Jarvis, aged 22 and from Norfolk, who was probably doing all the heavy physical work that Charlotte had done at the outset of her working life.

Charlotte Seymour was like her mistress: a little bit vague about her age, when speaking to the census official; she was also vague about where she was born, saying Kent to the official in 1861 and not giving any details in 1881. It was clear from the various ages that Charlotte did admit to, though, that she was born before 1837. I still haven't found any birth details for her.

Even a Victorian servant was occasionally given time off and at Easter 1901 Agnes allowed Charlotte to visit her sister; so that Charlotte was in her brother-in-law's household on the day of the 1901 census. She was still vague about her age but she was more specific about where she was born. Both the Seymour sisters were born in Wadhurst, Sussex, a few miles south of Tunbridge Wells.

Charlotte Seymour's sister Sarah was younger than she; Sarah's birth was registered in October-December 1837, the first quarter after registration became compulsory. In 1864 Sarah married Benjamin Cornwell, a carpenter and joiner. Benjamin Cornwell was also a Sussex man, he'd been born at Buxted just outside Uckfield, but by 1901 he and Sarah were living in Tunbridge Wells. At the time of Charlotte Seymour's visit their youngest son, Reginald, was still living at home while he was apprenticed to his father.

It was during another visit to her sister, in May 1909, that Charlotte died.

I am not going attempt to write about the processes of increasing trust and liking and shared sorrow by which Charlotte Seymour advanced in Agnes' life from servant to a faithful, lifelong friend; nor about the rules and delicate boundaries that had to be negotiated, perhaps every day, by both women. I will just say that after Charlotte Seymour's death, Agnes was happy to make plain the important role Charlotte had played in her life for many years. They had probably, each of them, become the other's main emotional support. Perhaps many relationships between mistress and maid developed this way; but only Agnes, as far as I know, said so to the readers of the Times.

After Charlotte Seymour died, Agnes even renamed the house in Surbiton after her: Morfa Lodge became Seymour House. I have one last glimpse of Agnes, from the 1911 census, still at the renamed 23 Adelaide Road. No one could take the place of Charlotte Seymour, although it looks as though Agnes had done her best to fill the yawning gap by taking on a possible relation of Charlotte (a niece perhaps?) as one of the two servants she now employed: Emma Seymour, aged 31 and born in Ashurst Kent. The third member of the household was Elizabeth Small, aged 41 and from Highbridge in Somerset; though listed last, perhaps the more senior of the two.

Agnes de Pallandt died on 15 December 1925.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the

United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

ON AGNES BARONESS DE PALLANDT

THE MACLEANS

Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain edition published 1853 p221 for Archibald and Alicia MacLean.

ALLAN THOMAS MACLEAN:

H G Hart's New Annual Army List 1840 p139 the page for the 13th Regiment, Light Dragoons also known as the 13th Hussars.

Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany 1832 p153 issued July [1832]: Madras official news: court martial of Capt MacLean, at military headquarters Madras on 19 December 1831.

United Service Magazine 1862 p311 Promotions and Appointments: Major-General Allan T Maclean of the 13th Hussars to be a Lieutenant-General; order dated 20 December 1861.

Transactions of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland 1863 plix list of current members includes Allan Thomas Maclean, "admitted" to the Society (by election) in 1835, now Lt-Col of the 13th Light Dragoons.

Times Sat 12 December 1868 p5 Milit and Naval Intellg: obituary of Lt-Genl Allan Thomas MacLean.

Probate Registry: Allan Thomas Maclean of 3 Oxford Square Hyde Park, Lt-Genl and Col of HM 13th Regt of Hussars, d on 9 Dec 1868 at his home. Probate 14 Jan 1869 to the 2 execrs: Frederick Talbot Tasker, solr, of 47 Bedford Row; and John Cumming of 7 Montague Place Russell Sq ((I presume he too is a solr)). Personal effects < £16,000.

AGNES MACLEAN Agnes' mother

Some information on her first marriage from Ancestry's family history pages at wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com where John Taylor's dates are given as 1779-1828. 2nd daughter Ellen Taylor was born and died in 1825; 3rd daughter Agnes Taylor was born and died in

1827.

The best information I've found on Agnes Forlong and her three marriages comes from Ancestry.co.uk surnames' database and I give it here to iron-out the complications of Agnes de Pallandt's step-relations:

Allan Thomas Maclean of Pennycross, born circa 1805. Ancestry ID = I526134104. He was married once, to Agnes Lisle Forlong born 3 April 1805. They had 2 child: Arthur born circa 1845 (Ancestry has no information about him at all); and Agnes the GD member (the database incorrectly gives a year of birth of 1847 for Agnes).

Agnes Lisle Forlong Ancestry ID = I526134329. Her parents are: William Forlong born 1762, of Wellshott Cambuslang; and his wife Mary Maria Fleming of Kelvinbank Glasgow. Agnes' three marriages are:

1 = 1822 John Taylor; born 1779; Ancestry has no date of death for him. They had 3 children:

Mary Maria Fleming Taylor born 1823, Alice's only sibling and actually a much older half-sibling

Ellen born 1825

Agnes born 1827.

2 = unknown date L Lawrence 1802-1840; no children

3 = Allan Thomas Maclean.

Arthur born c 1845

Agnes born circa 1847

AGNES HALF-SISTER MARY MARIA TAYLOR:

Mary Maria died 1905; she married 1850 George Grenville Malet (born 1806) probably in Scotland as I couldn't find a marriage registration on freebmd. Their child were:

Allan MALET born circa 1851. He married Elizabeth Lysaght; 2s 2d

Agnes born circa 1853; died unmarried

Margaret born 1855; died unmmarried

Elizabeth born 1857; married Sydney Bates 2s 4d.

Just to make it as clear as I can: these 4 children of Mary Maria Taylor Malet are Agnes' step-nephews and nieces; but they are about Agnes' age.

In due course, Agnes' step-niece Elizabeth married Sydney Eggers Bates of Manydown House Hampshire: www.british-history.ac.uk is the website of British History Online. Re Manydown House it quotes the Victoria County History, Hampshire volume 4. The house and land are in the parish of Wootton St Lawrence. There has been a house on the site since the 15th cent. In 18th century the estate was owned by the Wither family. It was bought from Lovelace Bigg-Wither in 1871 by Sir Edward Percy Bates. Sydney Eggers Bates was Edward Percy's younger son. At www.thepeerage.com, Edward Percy Bates' dates are 1816-1896. He was Conservative MP for Plymouth 1871-80 and 1885-92. He owned two houses, Manydown House and Gyrn Castle Flintshire. He was married twice:

1 = Charlotte Umfreville-Smith; 3 daughters

2 = Ellen Thompson; 3 sons, one of whom died in childhood.

Sydney Eggers Bates is the youngest of Edward Percy Bates' six children. He married Elizabeth Malet in July 1878; 2 sons 4 daughters; he died in 1924.

HUSBAND NUMBER 1: THE VAN PALLANDTs and it's definitely VAN not DE.

Times 28 November 1870 p1a marriage notices: on 24 November 1870 at All Saints Norfolk Square: Charles Frederick Henry Baron de Pallandt, 3rd son of Baron de Pallandt de Westervoort and Rennen-Enck Holland; to Agnes Alicia Margaret Maclean only child of late Lt-General Allen Thomas Maclean of 13th Hussars.

Marriage lines from records of All Saints Paddington:

The marriage took place on 24 November 1870 and was by licence not banns. The groom was Baron Carel Frederick Hendrik van Pallandt; a man of "full age" and a bachelor. His profession was given as "Officer of Hussards" and at the time of the marriage his permanent address was Arnhem in the Netherlands. The bride was Agnes Alicia Margaret Maclean, of "full age" and a spinster; and a resident of the parish. The groom's father was Baron Jacob Adolphe Alexander van Pallandt van Westerwoort, described as a "Burgomaster of Arnhem". The bride's (dead) father was Allan Thomas Maclean, Colonel of the 13th Hussars. The witnesses included Agnes' new father-in-law and two other members of the van Pallandt family, and Agnes Malet.

The van Pallandt family:

Family history website www.genealogieonline.nl is in Dutch and I also can't see who compiled it. However, it's got accurate dates and nicely laid out family trees in it so I think I can trust it. It's clear even without knowing Dutch that in the 19th century the family was very distinguished, with diplomats and court officials in several generations. Agnes' father-in-law is Johan (or Joan) Jacob Adolf Alexander, Baron van Pallandt Heer van Westervoort; born 1807 at The Hague; died 1876 at Huize Rennenenk Arnhem which seems to be the family estate. In 1829 he had married Adolphine Charlotte Wilhelmina van Pallandt Vrouwe van Walfort. They had 5 daughters and 7 sons; though not as many grand-children as that implies as only 1 daughter and 2 sons married including Agnes' husband Karel and they had no children. Three of the children died before they reached 30; 2 more before they reached 50, including Karel. A younger brother of Karel, Jacob Adolf 1840-99 inherits if there's primogeniture; he married and has descendants. Agnes' husband was the 3rd son of this big family: Karel Frederik Hendrik Baron van Pallandt. Born 23 May 1837 at Arnhem; died 24 July 1872 apparently in London though I couldn't find a death registration on freebmd. The website confirms the marriage of Karel to Agnes Alice Margaretha Mac-Lean in 1870; and that they had no children.

On Nina and Frederick, whose surname was van Pallandt: he was Frederik Jan Gustav Floris, Baron van Pallandt 1934-94. Dutch, son of a former Netherlands ambassador to Denmark. Mother Danish. I suppose he must be a descendant of Karel's brother Jacob Adolf but I couldn't find any information on the web which confirmed that. He was murdered! He got involved in drug trafficking and is thought to have been shot dead by a gang member; the murder is still unsolved.

HUSBAND NUMBER 2 - THE WADE FAMILY

The Harrow School Register 1801-93 published by Longmans Green 1894; p328 Richard E L Wade.

Agnes' father-in-law Richard Blaney Wade:

City Bankers 1890-1914 by Youssef Cassis 1994 p57 in the chapter Banks and Bankers. Richard Blaney Wade is 1820-97. And p70.

Via www.ebooksread.com: I was able to glance at A Visitation of England volume 6 p23 where it said that Richard Blaney Wade of 13 Seymour Street had died on 29 July 1897 aged 76.

At www.personalia.co.uk/photographs/PHOTOGRAPHS.htm an album of photos of R B Wade and his family is being offered for sale (7 Nov 2012) at £250; all photos are annotated so they know who is in each picture. I noted that Agnes' husband Richard Wade is not in any of them.

Richard's younger brother Cecil Wade 1857-1908, married Frances (Fanny) Mackay Frew of Cardross Dunbarton in 1883. She had her portrait painted by John Singer Sargent in 1886, very soon after he arrived in Engl. It's now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City: at jssgallery.org/Paintings/Mrs_Cecil_Wade.html you can see it.

An obituary of Adelaide Wade's father: The Law Times volume 15 issue of 17 August [1850] p467 Sir Launcelot Shadwell had died at his home in Barnes Elms Putney; he'd been ill for several weeks after having what sounds like a stroke on his way to work. He was born in 1779, the son of a barrister. He became a barrister himself, a member of Lincoln's Inn and was also MP for Ripon. He was appointed the vice-chancellor of England in 1827; and appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in 1835. He'd been married twice and had several children.

Marriage lines from records of St Mary Marylebone:

The marriage took place on 16 January 1879 at and was performed not by the vicar but by Richard Wade's uncle, Rev Julius Shadwell, rector and vicar of Shinfeld in Sussex. The marriage was by licence, not banns. The groom was Richard Edward Lancelot Wade. The bride was Agnes Alicia Margaret, Baroness van/de Pallandt ('van' was on the line but 'de' had been written in above the line presumably at Agnes' insistence) and she signed the register as "A A M de Pallandt". I couldn't read all the witnesses names, but there were five of them, four named Wade and none of them were MacLean or Malet.

Times Tue 8 February 1881 p1 death notices: "On the 4th inst" [4 Feb 1881] at Richmond, death of Richard Edward Lancelot Wade eldest son of R B Wade of Seymour Street Portman Square.

THE TALE OF THE SILVER PLATE

Times 5 July 1881 p4 court reports: Tasker v Attenborough in which Tasker was acting for a group of plaintiffs, the trustees and executors of the Will of the late General Maclean. The defendant was pawnbroker Robert Percy Attenborough, with Richard Wade now deceased and his widow Mrs Wade.

AGNES AFTER HER SECOND HUSBAND'S DEATH

Times 2 April 1884 p10 a bazaar in aid of the British and Foreign Sailors' Soc opened "yesterday" at Kensington Town Hall.

Wikipedia on Ernest Major: 1841-1908, founder and owner of the Shanghai newspaper Shen Bao, also known as the Shanghai News, which was first published in April 1872. Major returned to live in England in 1889 but set up the Major Company Ltd to run the paper; its final issue was published in 1949.

AGNES AND THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p127 Agnes A de Pallandt Baroness, applic undated and almost certainly pre-dates this Register. Agnes paid her yearly subscription from 1891 to 1908.

Old Diary Leaves: the True History of the Theosophical Society by Henry Steel Olcott. Madras: Theosophical Publishing House. There are 6 volumes in all. Agnes appears in Volume 4, published in 1931 but covering the period 1887-92 and written many years before the publication date. Agnes' only mention in any of the volumes is on p493 of Volume 4.

The newspaper project:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume IV March-August 1889, published by the Theosophical Publishing Company at 7 Duke St Adelphi. Agnes' letter about her newspaper project appeared in Volume IV, issue of 15 June 1889 p351 in letters section. She wrote a follow-up letter which appeared in Volume V in the issue of 15 October 1889 p166. In Volume VII September 1890 to February 1891, issue of 15 December 1890 p344 Agnes was asking specifically for short articles on theosophy, suitable to be published in the newspapers and in Volume VII issue of 15 February 1891 p516 she reported that short articles on theosophy had been published in The Tablet; the Liverpool Mercury; Light; the Sunday Times; the West London Observer; the Kensington News; the Glasgow Herald; and others.

The fund-raising bazaar:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI Sep 1892- Feb 1893 w Besant sole editor. Pubd London: Theosophical Pubg Co 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Vol XI no 63 issue of 15 Nov 1892 p257 rptd an Oriental Bazaar held over 31 Oct and 1 Nov [1892] at the Lecture Hall 19 Avenue

Road. Details of Ursula and Jacob Bright from wikipedia.

An appearance though no articles in Theosophical Siftings volumes 1-2 1888-90 published Theosophical Publishing Society, Adelphi London. Each volume is a collection in one place of recent theosophical talks, lectures, pamphlets etc. On p23 of a pamphlet by Herbert Coryn: The Scientific Basis of Occultism, is a news item/advert for The Dorothy Restaurant Co Ltd of 448 Oxford St. Members of the Theosophical Publishing Society had been invited to a luncheon held to open the restaurant, which was for women only. Some of the Company's directors are theosophists. Amongst those at the lunch: Countess Wachtmeister; Baroness "de Palland" (sic); and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

More on the Dorothy Restaurants:

Posted at //blavatskynews.blogspot.co.uk on 14 October 2012: information that the Dorothy

Rest at 448 Oxford St opened on 21 June 1889; no source given for the information.

The Theosophist May 1890-September 1890 p533 says the Dorothy restaurants were the brain-child of Isabel Cooper-Oakley, who founded them with two other investors. However, her two partners had since left England and thus had to drop out; Isabel's sister Miss Cooper, and Countess Wachtmeister had replaced them. The premises at 448 Oxford St included a room that could seat 300 and was available for evening hire.

At www.english-heritage.org.uk at its page Personal Freedom and Public Space, about women in public life during 19th cent: the original Dorothy Restaurant was at 81 Mortimer St. You paid; and got a meat + veg lunch or dinner; if you paid extra you could have a pudding as well. It was open until 2200 hours.

London Gazette 19 July 1895 p4113 liquidations: notice issued by liquidator C L Schmitz on 17 July 1895. A final meeting of members of The Dorothy Restaurant Co Ltd would be held at 448 Oxford St on Wednesday 21 August 1895 at 1200. The liquidator would present his final report; and members would need to decide what to do with the company's accounts and other records.

At scribd, Theosophy volume XI no 2 May-December 1896 pp130-34, an account of Mrs Tingley's Crusaders' group's few days in England, June-July 1896. After trips to Liverpool and Bradford, the group went to London. On Wednesday 1 July 1896, Lady Malcolm of Poltalloch (a wealthy and well-connected woman with an interest in theosophy) gave a reception for the Crusaders at 23 Great Cumberland Place. Several old friends of Blavatsky had attended this to meet the Crusaders group, including Baroness de Pallandt.

The Women's Franchise League (WFL):

The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928 by Elizabeth Crawford 2001. P719 in chap on the Women's Franchise League (WFL) Crawford gives the names of the prominent campaigners who attended; and the fact that the meeting was held at Agnes' house.

Rise up Women! By Andrew Rosen 1974 p17 in the chapter called Enter the Pankhursts Rosen gives the details of WFL's aims, and names the WFL's original governing council - it included Jacob Bright and Josephine Butler and also the pioneering worker for women's rights in the USA, Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

The Militant Suffrage Movement by Laura E Nym Mayhall 2003 p24 about WFL's success with the 1894 Local Government Act.

Details of Robert Arthur Arnold from wikipedia. He was the brother of the poet Edwin Arnold.

For Alice Vickery see www.rpharms.com, the website of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society. It has a section on women pharmacists up to the 20th century.

For Marie Corbett: no wikipedia page for her as yet so search on her name at www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk - Spartacus Educational.

Frederick Talbot Tasker's bankruptcy:

Law Times volume 105 1898 p14 coverage of a bankruptcy hearing in the case of Frederick Talbot Tasker of Bedford Row. Tasker didn't appear in court and court heard that he had recently disappeared. The total owed to all creditors was estimated at between £16000 and £17000.

Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies parts 1-3, for year ending 1899. Published by the House of Commons. On p57 a note that Frederick Talbot Tasker had disappeared some time after March 1898 and had since been declared bankrupt.

Times Tue 5 April 1898 p15 in legal cols: in re Tasker, described as lately a solicitor at 47 Bedford Row; and living at Dartford though believed not to have been seen at either address since 28 February [1898] when he and his wife had been seen at Cannon Street railway station by Mr Farrer of Messrs Farrer and Co, the firm of solicitors now acting for the creditor now bringing bankruptcy proceedings against him. Tasker's present whereabouts were unknown. Most of the £16-17000 he owed was money entrusted to him as solicitor by clients, which he had "misappropriated". The Official Receiver had declared Tasker bankrupt on 26 March [1898]; clerks from the Official Receiver's office had gone through Tasker's papers and found virtually nothing of any value; and investigations had found that the house at Dartford was mortgaged.

Times Wed 4 May 1898 p5 m on Tasker's bankruptcy: a hearing had been held at which he did not appear, so the hearing was adjourned sine die. He had plenty of clients and his bankruptcy had come as a surprise.

There was nothing on Tasker in Times 1899 or 1900.

Law Reports: Chancery Division volume 2 1901 p233 coverage of Taylor v London and Co Bank: in which the Bank was alleging fraud by Frederick Talbot Tasker, beginning in 1882 when Tasker lent a man called Richard Ward £1400 against mortgages on 4 properties owned by Ward.

The Accountant volume 27 1901 p60 also has an item on Taylor v London and County Bank. By mid-1897 the London and Co Bank was wanting to see some security offered by Tasker for loans they had made to him; so on 14 August 1897 he made a large deposit in his account with them (which I presume was money actually belonging to Ward but I didn't follow the rest of the case).

The Maid of Tangier:

Harvard University's copy of The Maid of Tangier can be accessed via Archive.org: Sol Hachuel, the Maid of Tangier; published in London in 1906 by The Women's Printing Society Ltd of 66-68 Whitcomb Street WC. The original libretto was in French; several translations were then listed including an English adaptation by Paul P Grunfeld DA. The front page refers to music by Bernard de Lisle but doesn't say whether the reference is to the whole opera, or the 1906 version, or just the overture.

Either the music or the libretto may have been written by someone called C Macé: Folktales of the Jews Volume 1: Tales from the Sephardic Dispersion by Dan Ben-Amos 2006 has a reference to the opera held in Harvard University library, on p650: Sol Hachuel (sic) Mélodrame en Quatre Actes. The author or composer was C Macé. There's a different date altogether for its publication - Rome 1901.

I found one reference to Paul R Grunfeld of the English adaptation, in the National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS)'s magazine *The Animal's Defender and Zoophilist* volumes 22-23 1902 p1 possibly as the translator from the original German of a particular catalogue of equipment for use in experiments on animals. Arthur Arnold of Agnes' meeting with the Women's Franchise League was a member of NAVS.

I tried in the Times to see if it mentioned or at least publicised any performance of the *Maid of Tangier* in 1906, but couldn't find any mention of the opera at all, no adverts for a forthcoming performance, no advert for the the publication of the 1906 version; nor any reference to the overture dedicated to Agnes.

The man called Bernard de Lisle I found though www.thepeerage.com: 1864-1921, a graduate of Jesus College Cambridge. I couldn't find anything more about him so I'm not even sure he's the composer of Agnes' overture. The Times had a death notice for this man, in the issue of Monday 14 Nov 1921 p1a, which give no information about his life other than his being the brother of Everard M P de Lisle of Garendon Park Leicestershire. There was no obituary of this man in the Times.

Agnes' death:

Times 19 Dec 1925 p1a d notice f Agnes wdw of Baron Carl de Pallandt and of Richard Wade; only dtr of Lt Genl Allen Maclean. On 15 Dec [1925] at Seymour House Surbiton.

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4 April 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

ISABEL DE STEIGER part 1: from her birth to the death of her husband in December 1872. A lot more parts follow this one - she had a long life! There's also a separate file giving some information on her work as an artist.

Isabel de Steiger was one of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's earliest members, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888. She chose the Latin motto 'Altiora peto'. She took her time over the learning and exams required for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was initiated into it in May 1896. She moved out of London and was a member of the GD's Horus temple in Bradford for a time; and then (in the late 1890s) of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 2015

A big update seemed to be the appropriate response when I was contacted by Richard Duboug, descendant of a family who were friends of Isabel in her last years. Richard Duboug sent me a copy of Isabel's Will, which revealed the names of several more friends Isabel had, that I'd never seen mentioned in any other source. The Will also prompted me to dig a bit deeper with Isabel's family and to include them in the life-by-dates. Thanks to Richard Dubourg, the life-by-dates below is much more comprehensive than it was. And a lot bigger!

INTRODUCTION

Three cheers for Isabel de Steiger! One of only four GD members to write a long memoir; the only woman to do so. The three men were W B Yeats, Aleister Crowley and A E Waite. I have based my account of Isabel's life on her *Memorabilia: Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Writer*; however, I have encountered a few problems with doing so.

Isabel's intention in writing *Memorabilia* was not so much to keep an account of her own life but to say what she knew about three remarkable women she had been friendly with, whose contributions to the occult and to western esotericism were (she felt) in danger of being forgotten. The memoir concentrates very much on the three - Mary Anne Atwood, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Anna Bonus Kingsford. Other people are not written about in such detail and many of Isabel's other friends and acquaintances were left out altogether. In particular, there's hardly any mention of Isabel's family and her relations with them after her marriage.

Isabel began keeping a journal in her teens and wrote it up regularly; but most of her early journals were probably destroyed in 1900. *Memorabilia* is mostly written from memory. By the time she was finishing it off, in the mid-1920s, Isabel was looking back at 90 years or so of life, and she gets confused sometimes, especially about dates, and where she was living at particular times.

The memoir was written in three stages, and Isabel didn't bother to do much revision when going back to it (twice) after gaps of many years. She began *Memorabilia* around 1912 and got as far as the 1870s before putting it aside to concentrate on another project. She took it up again at the end of 1918; then worked at it on and off over the next three years; before leaving it again until having her last go at it, and finally getting it finished, in 1925-26. She only revised one or two chapters of it, and the manuscript doesn't seem to have been edited by anyone else either. It was published as she had left it, with some events mentioned twice but remembered rather differently, and some conflicting accounts of particular events.

Despite these snags, I am very grateful to have had *Memorabilia* to work on, and to get to know Isabel better than I will be able to know any other GD member.

The memoir's full publication details: *Memorabilia: Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Writer*. Isabelle de Steiger. London: Rider and Co. The book doesn't have a publication date but there's a British Library stamp in it saying "27 MAY 27".

THE LAYOUT BELOW which I hope isn't too difficult to read.

What Isabel was doing, tends to be in italics. My comments, and the sources, are typed in my usual Times New Roman.

Lastly, before we start, a quick note on her name: she was baptised with it spelled in the French way - Isabelle - and did return to that spelling from time to time in her life. For most of her life, however, she used 'Isabel' and I'll stick with that.

ISABEL'S LIFE IN DATES

PREAMBLE - Isabel's ancestors

Isabel was a daughter of Joshua Lace (whose father had the same name so I'll call this one 'the younger') and his wife Helena Elizabeth, née Cameron.

Sources: Memorabilia p2, p5 and website www.ancestryresearchservice.com for Hector Lochiel Cameron.

On her mother's side, Isabel was descended from Scottish and Irish professional families, with the men often in the British army or clerics in the Church of England. Isabel's mother's father was Colonel Hector Lochiel-Cameron (1777-1833), a veteran of the Peninsular War. In 1797 he had eloped with Elizabeth Lovett, daughter of Rev Dr Verney Lovett the dean of Lismore, county Waterford. Hector and Elizabeth had two daughters and four sons. Helena Elizabeth (born 1816) was the younger daughter.

Memorabilia does not mention where the Lace family came from originally. It's an unusual name in England but while I was trawling the census I noticed that it's quite common on the Isle of Man; so I'm assuming that it's the Isle of Man that Isabel's ancestors came from, on her father's side. A man called Ambrose Lace, who is probably Isabel's great-grandfather, had moved to Liverpool by 1787 and was a partner in the solicitors' firm Aspinwall Roscoe and Lace.

Sources, all seen on the web:

The Herculaneum Pottery: Liverpool's Forgotten Glory by Peter Hyland 2005. Chapter called Renaissance 1833-36: p195 footnote 1.

Liverpool as it was in the last quarter of the 18th century by Richard Brooke pubd 1853. In Chapter 6 p469 and p649 footnote 1 which has a reference to the firm appearing in Liverpool Directory issue of 1787.

Liverpool, the first 1000 Years by Arabella MacIntyre-Brown 2001: p143 in a section on Liverpool Law Society which was founded as the Law Library in 1827. Its first President was Joshua Lace (that's Isabel's grandfather, not her father - Joshua Lace the elder). The modern Liverpool law firm of Berrymans Lace Mawr is a descendent of the 18th century Aspinwall, Roscoe and Lace.

A Treatise on the Office and Practice of a Notary of England by Richard Brooke pubd 1838. In an Appendix, p82: Joshua Lace (that's Isabel's grandfather) mentioning that he'd been a

Notary for over 55 years.

Source: Memorabilia p13

Inevitably, the families of the partners in Aspinwall Roscoe and Lace became related by marriage: Joshua Lace senior's daughter (Isabel's aunt) Margaret married Edward Roscoe.

Joshua Lace the elder and his wife Margaret had at least two sons: Ambrose and Isabel's father Joshua the younger; and at least one daughter, Martha. Ambrose was considerably the older of the two sons (born c 1793). Joshua Lace who was Isabel's father was the younger son, born in 1805.

Source for birth of Joshua Lace the younger: via familysearch to England EAS-y GS film 1068893.

Both Ambrose and Joshua the younger went into the family firm and qualified as solicitors. However, Ambrose was by far the more committed to his work. He was an active member of the Liverpool Law Society and served as its president in 1832-33. He married Margaret Clarke in October 1822. As far as I can tell they had no children; but after his brother's death, they took in some of his children including Isabel.

Sources:

1) Liverpool Law Society's website at www.liverpoollawsociety.org.uk, the page on the Society's history:

2) marriage registers of the church of St George Derby Square Liverpool; Marriage Register 1813-83 p16 entry 47 transcribed at www.lan-opc.org.uk/Liverpool. Ambrose and Joshua the younger's sister Martha Lace was one of the witnesses.

Isabel's father was a very cultured, artistic man, temperamentally unsuited to work as a lawyer. Before his marriage he'd travelled in Europe, spending time in Paris, Italy and Switzerland. He collected paintings, china, sculpture and ivories and amassed a good library of classics. The Lace family owned property in Liverpool and thus had income from rents. And in the 1830s at least, they succumbed to the frenzy of investment in the latest method of transport, and bought shares in a railway company.

Source: Memorabilia p8, p13.

Sources for the investments of Ambrose and Isabel's father Joshua Lace the younger:

The Herculaneum Pottery: Liverpool's Forgotten Glory by Peter Hyland 2005. In Chapter 16: p210 the final years meaning 1836-40. The pottery made earthenware goods. It rented prop in Toxteth Park from Ambrose Lace and Joshua Lace the younger, who granted the firm a new lease in 1836.

Parliamentary Papers House of Commons volume 48 1837 p32/pvii, part of a list of shareholders in the Cheltenham, Oxford, and London and Birmingham Railway. Joshua Lace the younger has 10 shares for which he had paid £1000; Ambrose Lace has bought 20 shares at £2000.

Isabel's parents were distantly related to each other, through the Pigott family. They met

during a visit made by Helena Elizabeth to her relations in Liverpool. The marriage didn't meet with unqualified approval in either family, mostly due to religious differences: the Camerons were Evangelicals; the Laces, on the other hand, had relations who were Unitarians though Joshua Lace the younger was Evangelical himself.

Source: Memorabilia p5.

Comment by Sally: this was a big divide, at the beginning of the 19th century. Evangelicals believed that the Bible was the word of God and thus beyond question or change. Unitarians didn't believe that Jesus was the son of God and so rejected the idea of the holy trinity; many Christians thought them barely Christian at all.

I could not find a record of the marriage of Joshua Lace the younger to Helena Elizabeth Cameron. It probably took place in 1831. They had two boys and four girls (Sources are via familysearch):

Joshua Verney Lovett Lace 7 June 1832	England EAS-y GS film 1546288
Constantia Margaret Lace 24 July 1833	England EAS-y GS film 102362-2
William Henry Lace 3 April 1835	England EAS-y GS film 1546288
Isabelle (sic) Elizabeth 29 June 1836	England EAS-y GS film 1546288
Helena Cameron Lace (Nina) 5 July 1838	England-ODM GS fukn 1546288
Elizabeth Rosamund Lace 10 Sep 1840	England ODM-y GS film 1546288

All the Lace children were baptised at St Bride's, the new Church of England church which had a series of Evangelical clergy including (in the late 1830s) the Rev John Ellison Bates father of GD member Emily Katharine Bates.

ISABEL'S BIRTH

0832GMT 28 February 1836 at 2 Canning Street Liverpool: Isabelle Elizabeth Lace was born. Isabel gives some astrological details: Aries Rising, Sun-Mercury conjunction, Moon-Jupiter conjunction in Cancer.

Source: Memorabilia p247, p276.

Comment by Sally: ransacking my brain for memories from the time when I knew more astrology than I do now, I printed Isabel's chart and it's quite a dynamic one. Isabel would not have been using the planets beyond Saturn - that's a 20th-century add-on to time-honoured astrology. Consequently, she would not have been aware that her Sun-Mercury conjunction has Uranus in the middle of it. The three-planet conjunction straddles Aquarius and Pisces and is part of a grand trine in water signs with Jupiter and Saturn. Isabel's Moon-Jupiter conjunction is not a conjunction by modern standards, the two are a little too far apart; however they are linked together by both being square to a formidable Venus-Pluto conjunction in Aries in the first house.

See part 2 of this life-by-dates for Isabel's close friendship in the 1880s with Dr Anna Bonus

Kingsford, the mystic and translator of occult texts. All Dr Kingsford's circle had their horoscopes calculated, and interpreted them as part of their esoteric studies. In 1888 Isabel will also have needed to provide her birth data as part of the GD's vetting process for potential initiates.

1836-1851

The Lace family continued to live at 2 Canning Street. Amongst their neighbours were the Gladstone and the Duckworth families. Summers were spent with relations in Waterford and Scotland (her mother's family) or the Isle of Man (her father's family). In 1844, however, they opted to go abroad instead; Isabel remembered visiting the Waterloo battle site.

Source: Memorabilia chapters 1 to 5, which were written c 1911.

Source for the environs of Canning Street: visit to Liverpool August 2012 by Sally Davis and Roger Wright. 2 Canning Street is on the corner with Gambier Terrace, on the edge of a district of Georgian houses and above where Liverpool's CofE Cathedral is now although the building hadn't even been started when Isabel lived there. Behind those streets was the newly-built St Bride's church where Isabel and her siblings were baptised.

The Lace family and the Rathbone family knew each other. Isabel's father was a friend of William Rathbone.

Source: Memorabilia p47, p101.

Comment by Sally: the friend of Isabel's father Joshua Lace the younger is William Rathbone V (1787-1868) partner in the family import/export business and also in the insurance broking and ship-owning partnership of Rathbone Martin and Co. The most well-known William Rathbone is the V's son (1819-1912) partner in Rathbone Brothers, MP and philanthropist, and father of Eleanor Rathbone MP. In Memorabilia it's William Rathbone VI that Isabel particularly mentions, but it's clear from Memorabilia and other sources that she knew other family members and their business associates as well.

Source for Rathbone Martin and Co:

London Gazette 21 May 1867 p2949 dissolved partnerships: includes a notice issued 30 April 1867 announcing that the partnership Rathbone Martin and Co had been dissolved due to the retirement of Samuel Martin. The business would continue with the remaining partners: William Rathbone; Philip Henry Rathbone; and Robert Topham Steele. They worked as insurance brokers, underwriters and ship-owners.

A couple of comments by Sally on the close relationships between the Lace family and partners in Rathbone Martin and Co:

1) Philip Henry Rathbone was a Liverpool city councillor for many years. During the 1880s and 1890s he was an important member of the Corporation committees which ran the annual autumn art exhibition at the Walker Art Gallery. Isabel exhibited more paintings at the Walker than at any other gallery.

2) At the end of the 19th century, Isabel became a close friend of Robert Topham Steele's second wife, Léonie. Léonie was one of the two executors of Isabel's Will.

1841

Isabel's mother Helena Elizabeth died during the spring. Helena was only 27, Isabel was six. Isabel's father had always had a reclusive tendency and this became more pronounced after his wife's death.

Sources: freebmd, Memorabilia p13.

1840s

Isabel and her sisters began their education at a day-school in Percy Street in the village of Rock Ferry. The school was run by the Hackney sisters. Pupils were taught grammar, writing, arithmetic to long division standard, geography and history, music and singing. Much of the teaching was rote-learning but Isabel's poor memory meant that later on in her life she couldn't recall any of the poetry she'd been forced to memorise. It was at this school that she had her first drawing lessons, from the landscape artist Andrew Hunt, father of Alfred William Hunt. He thought Isabel had talent and told her to tell her father to arrange for a proper training; but Isabel didn't enjoy his drawing classes, she preferred the music lessons, so she never passed the message on!

Source: Memorabilia eg p14, p41 although Isabel doesn't give exact dates.

Comments from Sally: the curriculum at the Hackney sisters' school was much wider than was normal in schools for girls at that time. It also had higher standards, at least in its art training. Most schools for the daughters of the wealthy middle-classes gave the pupils lessons in drawing and painting, but the employment of an artist who regularly exhibited at the Royal Academy set the Hackney sisters' school apart. Andrew Hunt (1790-1861) is best known as a teacher, but he also found time to work as a landscape and genre artist. He lived in Liverpool and often exhibited at the Liverpool Academy. He had a son and four daughters; perhaps Isabel was acquainted with them. They all became painters so Isabel will have realised quite early in her life that it was possible for a woman to earn a living as an artist.

Rock Ferry is on the other side of the Mersey from the port of Liverpool. In the 1840s it was still a rural village. Isabel always had fond memories of it and returned there to live, at least twice, much later in her life when it was beginning to be built over like everything on the Birkenhead side.

Sources for Andrew Hunt, and his son Andrew William Hunt, also an artist:

Bénézit's Dictionary of Artists, a vast work, published Editions Gründ Paris 2006. In Volume 7 Her-Koo p455.

Dictionary of British Art. Volume IV: Victorian Painters I: The Text. By Christopher Wood. Published Antique Collectors' Club 1995 p268.

??LATE 1840s TO 1855

Joshua Verney Lovett Lace, the elder of Isabel's two brothers, was in business with William Lawford as an importer and crusher of seeds to make vegetable oil; at 18 Kent Street Liverpool. Their partnership was dissolved in late 1855.

Source: London Gazette 5 November 1855 p4155.

DURING 1850

Isabel began keeping a journal; a practice she continued throughout her life; though a lot of volumes of it were destroyed in 1900.

Source: Memorabilia pxx

ALSO DURING 1850

Rudolph Adolf von Steiger von Riggesberg arrived in Liverpool and found work with the cotton-broking firm of Melly, Forget and Co. Rudolph had been born in Bern, Switzerland. His family owned land outside the town but their wealth and social position were in decline. The family was Calvinist, and spoke French, German and Romansch.

Source: Memorabilia p63-64, p279

Comment by Sally Davis: the larger-than-life jazz singer and entertainer George Melly was a member of this Liverpool Melly family.

UNKNOWN DATE BUT BEFORE 1851

Isabel continued her art education in the way recommended to students in this period - she copied paintings owned by her father, which were themselves copies of originals by van Dyck and Kneller.

Source: Memorabilia p57.

FEBRUARY 1851

Isabel's father, Joshua Lace the younger, died aged 47 on 28 February 1851. The house at 2 Canning Street was sold; so were all its contents including the pictures and the library.

Sources: Source: Memorabilia p13, p32, p16; freebmd, census etc. Isabel had lost both her parents by the age of 17. She and her siblings went to live with their father's elder brother Ambrose Lace and his wife Margaret, at their house called Beaconsfield in the village of Little Woolton (then on the outskirts of Liverpool). Isabel and her siblings were part of Ambrose and Margaret's household on the day of the 1851 census, a few weeks after Joshua Lace's death. However, I think that the household didn't last very long in the form it had on that day, because (although I am not certain about the identification) Ambrose's wife Margaret may have died in 1852 - another death for Isabel to cope with before she had even left school.

1851 to ?

Isabel attended Avon Bank school just outside Stratford-upon-Avon. Effie Gray had been a pupil there.

Source: Memorabilia p16.

Comment by Sally: I presume Isabel's sisters also attended the school. Effie Gray, of course, was later the wife of Ruskin and then of Millais.

Sources for Avon Bank school:

Website bristowefamilies.com/avonbank.html has a transcription of the 1841 census entry for Avon Bank School. Euphemia Gray aged 13 is amongst the pupils. The household is headed by the school's headmistress Maria Byerly, followed by Jane Byerly; and Mary Ainsworth and Alicia Ainsworth, all described as governesses. The website says that the Byerly sisters were nieces of Josiah Wedgewood.

Wives and Stunners: the Pre-Raphaelites and their Muses by Henrietta Garnett 2012 footnote 24 but I couldn't see a page number on the snippet: the original owners of Avon Bank were Maria and Jane Byerly. They retired in 1840 and handed the school on in 1841 to the Ainsworth sisters.

The 1851 census listing for Avon Bank Old Stratford has Mary Ainsworth as its head and principal of the school. Her sisters Harriot, Alicia and Helen all work as schoolmistresses.

The pupils are listed next - 29 of them, all girls of course, the majority between 15 and 17 years old. Then there are the names of two more teachers, one born in Paris the other born in Dresden. There is no one in the household called Lace or Smiles.

As well as Effie Gray, Elizabeth Stevenson Gaskell had been a pupil. Sources:

Elizabeth Gaskell by Angus Easson p3 says she left the school 1827. The school's curriculum when Elizabeth was a pupil included dancing, drawing, Italian, French and music.

Mrs Gaskell: Novelist and Biographer by Arthur Pollard 1965 p16 Stevenson was a pupil at Avon Bank 1825-27; page makes clear it was her only formal schooling.

Faith, Duty and the Power of the Mind: the Cloughs and their Circle by Gill Sutherland 2006 p73 author is discussing the education of middle-class girls in the early part of the 19th century. She uses Avonbank to illustrate the best education that was available. Samuel Smiles' sister Julia went to the school.

Comment from Sally: Ambrose Lace's decision to send Isabel away so soon after her father's death was harsh. Even at the end of her life she found it hard to deal with.

?UNKNOWN DATE, TO ?1854 ?1855

Isabel was sent to Miss Stevens' school at North End Road, Fulham. The only thing Isabel could remember that happened while she was there was her refusing to do the art classes because they involved more copying.

Source: Memorabilia p47, p53.

?1854 ?1855

Isabel 'came out' in Liverpool, where the social scene focused on balls in the Wellington Rooms. It was at one of the dances there that she met Rudolph von Steiger.

Source: Memorabilia p47, p53.

AFTER 1855 UNTIL BEFORE 1871

Isabel's brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace was in business as an importer of goods from the East Indies.

Source: 1861 census.

??LATE 1850s

Isabel's younger brother, William Henry Lace, followed his uncle Ambrose and his father Joshua into the family solicitor's firm. As the rest of the family began to scatter through England and elsewhere, he remained in Liverpool.

Source: 1861 census IF this is the right person, but the William Henry Lace who is one of the lodgers at 4 York Street Liverpool is described as a "gentleman" not as a solicitor.

1858

Isabel's brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace married Theodosia Fanny Walker, in Liverpool. They went to live at Christleton Old Hall on the outskirts of Chester. They had three

children: Charles Verney Lace; a younger Theodosia; and Josephine.

Source: freebmd; 1861 census.

Sources for Christleton Old Hall: wikipedia with a list (not entirely accurate) of who lived there; and www.christleton.org.uk/site/oldpics/images/oldhall.htm which has a photograph probably taken around 1908.

APRIL 1861

Isabel and her sister Helena were living at 57 New Bath Street Southport, where they employed one general servant.

Source: 1861 census. Comment by Sally Davis: as was all-too-usual, the census official doesn't seem to have asked either of the sisters for the details of their sources of income. Isabel was listed as head of household, I supposed because she was older. I don't know how long Isabel and Helena had been living there, but as Isabel was about to be married, I presume they left the house within a month or two of census day.

SUMMER 1861

Isabel Lace married Rudolph von Steiger von Riggesberg at the fashionable All Saints Childwall Church in Liverpool. They went to Switzerland immediately afterwards so that Isabel could meet his family. She never got on with them, especially with his mother - communication was part of the trouble though so also was Isabel's lack of interest in domestic matters and the fact that she wasn't Swiss. Despite these difficulties, Isabel did continue to visit Rudolph's family at least until the 1880s.

By the time Isabel and Rudolph were married, Rudolph had left Melly, Forget and Co and set up his own business, selling American cotton to manufacturers in Germany, Switzerland and France. He had also begun to manifest the coughing-up of blood that was one of the early symptoms of TB.

Source: Memorabilia pp54-55, p59; and freebmd.

For All Saints Childwall: wikipedia and www.allsaintschildwall.org.uk

Several comments from Sally Davis:

Firstly about that surname: Isabel always used 'de' rather than 'von' when writing her surname, so I shall do so.

Secondly: it was most likely to be as a wedding present that Isabel was given a signet ring bearing the von Steiger family coronet. She still had it in the 1920s though she bequeathed it back to Rudolph's family in her Will. Source: Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger dated 6 March 1924.

Thirdly, it was not the best time to be marrying someone involved in the cotton industry - at the time of the marriage, Rudolph's business must have been badly affected by the American Civil War. However, Isabel makes no mention at all of the war in Memorabilia.

1861-MID 1860s

Back in Liverpool after their honeymoon trip, Isabel and Rudolph de Steiger set up home in the Liverpool suburb of Aigburth. They were rich enough to afford to have a one-horse carriage, which Isabel learned to drive; and to employ a groom. As a married woman without children, and not wanting to be involved in the minutiae of running her household, Isabel had

a life of “rather lonely leisure” during the first years of her marriage. She tried to get involved with some local charities including the Cancer Hospital in Hope Street, and William Rathbone’s home nursing scheme, but her involvement didn’t last; she “had...no affinity or ability for a truly practical scheme” something she felt guilty about as “one of my many defects of character”. Source: Memorabilia p55, p59, p66, p100-101

Comments from Sally: although she doesn’t say so in so many words, Isabel gives the impression that she resented the amount of time Rudolph had to spend on business matters. The Rathbone Isabel means is William Rathbone VI, who set up what was the first district nursing scheme after the death of his first wife. And on the question of servants: because Isabel and Rudolph never appeared on the census as a married couple, I don’t know how many servants they employed.

1862

Isabel’s youngest sister Rosamond (sometimes spelled Rosamund) married Edmund Charles Burton, solicitor, of Daventry, Northamptonshire.

Comment by Sally Davis: Rosamund’s husband was the third generation of the Burton family to be a solicitor and act as town clerk of Daventry. The head of the family lived in the town at the house called The Lodge; though until his father died Rosamund and Edmund lived in a house on the High Street. Rosamund’s husband was important in the social life of the district; a regular Church of England church-goer; a member of the Pytchley hunt and of the National Hunt Committee. When he died, the town paid for a memorial to him which is now in Daventry’s Market Square. Rosamund and Edmund Charles had four daughters and one son, Edmund Gerald, who took over the family solicitor’s firm on his father’s death.

Sources for Edmund Charles Burton (1826-1907):

At www.waymarking.com a photo of the Burton Memorial in Market Sq Daventry and some details of his life.

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to issues of the Northampton Mercury during the late 19th century, with quite a lot of coverage of the Burton family and their social set in Daventry. Including:

- issues of 8 September 1883 and 15 September 1883 on the marriage of Evelyn Margaret Burton to Thomas William Thornton of Kingsthorpe Hall. The Thorntons were another prominent local family.
- issue of 2 February 1889 which has a report on the Pytchley Hunt Ball: Mrs E C Burton and her unmarried daughters Rosamund, Constance and Blanche were all there.
- issues of 25 July 1890 and 1 August 1890 on the marriage of Rosamond (sic) Burton to William Rhodes of Floore Fields Daventry.

POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS 1864 although Isabel writes as if it was 1883

Isabel met Christian David Ginsburg through her friends William and Fanny Crosfield.

Source for her knowing him through the Crosfields: Memorabilia p169 in pages where the rest of the action is taking place in 1883.

Comments by Sally Davis: Isabel could have read some of Ginsburg’s work as early as 1864 and 1865 - two papers by him, on the Essenes and on the Kabbalah, were published by the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. However, she writes of him in Memorabilia as if she only knew his work in the 1860s, that she had not met him in person until 1883.

This is a bit puzzling because the Crosfields knew Ginsburg from the late 1850s. The Crosfields were Quakers, owners of a sugar importing and grocery business in Liverpool. The family were active supporters of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews. It was that Society's mission in Warsaw that had convinced the Jewish David Ginsburg to convert to Christianity in 1846 and receive the new forename 'Christian'. He later worked as a missionary for the Society, firstly in London and from 1857 to 1863 in Liverpool. Ginsburg married William Crosfield's sister Margaret in 1858. Margaret died in the summer of 1864, giving birth to their daughter, and in 1868 Christian David married Emilie, daughter of Friedrich Hausburg of Woolton, Liverpool.

Sources for Ginsburg: Memorabilia and his entry in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 22 p337, which lists several more published works than are listed in the British Library catalogue.

British Library catalogue has these two early works:

Essenes: their History and Doctrines: An Essay, reprinted from the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. London: 1864.

The Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development and Literature London and Liverpool: 1865.

?1866

Spending time in Switzerland, Isabel and Rudolph visited Davos. On their return to England Isabel wrote an article about their time there which became her first published piece of work. It appeared in the magazine *The Queen*; under the pseudonym Esmé Suisse.

Source: Memorabilia p57 however, at November 2015 I'm no longer sure that Isabel had got the right year for her stay at Davos and her article about it. I looked through issues of *The Queen* volume 40 - August to December 1866 - and couldn't find any references to Davos let alone an article on it; nor any articles under the pseudonym Isabel chose. I'm sure she and Rudolf did go to Davos one summer; perhaps it was 1867 or 1864.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm assuming that Isabel chose to send her account of Davos to *The Queen* because it was a paper she read herself. The full title of the weekly newspaper usually known as *The Queen* is: *The Queen: The Lady's Newspaper and Court Chronicle*. It purported to be aimed at a wealthy, leisured female readership with strictly feminine interests and narrow horizons. Several pages in each issue were given over to court and social news at home and abroad (there was no political news); several more to fashion, particularly Paris fashion; and several more to sewing - that is, embroidery, not making your own clothes. There was some coverage of sport, mostly archery and hunting, with a bit of croquet. There was a page on housekeeping but written on the assumption that the reader would be supervising her housekeeper, rather than doing any of the work herself. All such magazines are upwardly mobile, of course, but this one cost 6d, 7d if you had it posted, and that's a lot of money for a weekly paper in 1866. In September and October of 1866 there were several very short articles probably written by readers about places they had visited in Europe but like every other column in the magazine, they were published anonymously.

All in all, *The Queen* casts a surprising light on Isabel in her early 30s.

1867

Constance Helena Burton was born, daughter of Isabel's sister Rosamond Burton. Constance was a beneficiary of Isabel's Will, though rather belatedly, in a codicil drawn up two years

after the main body of the Will.

Sources: Familysearch for the baptism; I haven't been able to find a birth registration. And: codicil to the Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger, signed 28 August 1926.

UNKNOWN DATE to LATE 1860s

As the decade progressed, Rudolph's TB got worse and eventually he and Isabel decided to move to a climate that might arrest his decline. Rudolph closed down his business in Liverpool and started up again in Alexandria, Egypt. Rudolph and Isabel lived in the suburb of Ramle (also seen as Ramleh), which was popular with Europeans. They didn't meet many Egyptians though they did attend balls and receptions given by the Khedive. The ex-pat community was small, and mostly made up of business people. Everyone spoke several languages; Isabel got used to conversing in French and Italian and even tried to learn some Arabic. She also took painting lessons from Dunelli, an Italian artist who specialised in 'picturesque' scenes. Isabel at least (she doesn't talk about her husband) was still a regular church-goer at the Protestant church in Alexandria, where she was in the choir. Amongst the people Isabel met at this time were Charles Gordon (Gordon of Khartoum) and Lady Anne Blunt. I think she must also have met Lady Anne's husband Wilfred Scawen Blunt though she doesn't say so in so many words.

Source: Memorabilia p59, p73-77, p90, p215.

Comment from Sally: as at July 2013 I've been unable to identify Dunelli. I can't find anything about him (or possibly her) on the web. I'm also slightly puzzled that Isabel says she met Gordon of Khartoum. According to his wikipedia page, he didn't arrive there to begin working for the Khedive until 1874. Lady Anne Blunt married Wilfred Scawen Blunt in 1869 so it's likely Isabel was acquainted with both of them. By the time Isabel was writing the Memorabilia, however, Wilfred's serial adulteries had caused them to be divorced so Isabel preferred to be rather vague about having met him.

Bénézit in English: Dictionary of Artists a vast work, published Editions Gründ Paris 2006.

In Volume 6 Cos-Dyc I looked for this Dunelli person with every spelling and mis-spelling of the surname that I could think of and still couldn't find an entry for him/her. However, none of the volumes has an entry for Isabel, either, so it was just Dunelli's bad luck, I suppose, not to be included, just like it was Isabel's although in her case there was probably anti-feminist prejudice going on as well.

1868

Isabel's sister Helena Cameron Lace married Rev John Turnbull.

Comment by Sally Davis: I would suppose that Isabel wasn't able to attend this marriage as she and Rudolph were in Egypt by this time. Rev John was the son of Robert Turnbull of Hackness in Yorkshire. After Cambridge University he had been ordained in 1862/63 and spent some time as a curate in the Isle of Man, before becoming curate of All Saints Childwall in 1864, a bit too late to marry Isabel to Rudolph.

Sources for Rev John Turnbull:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen on web so no volume number visible, but p244 in that volume.

At www.tenews.co.uk, the Temple Ewell Newsletter has a short article on Temple Ewell church, which was restored from a delapidated state, 1875-75, largely due to the efforts of Rev John Turnbull.

Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East published by the Society 1881 p79: Rev John Turnbull organising a collection for the Society after Sunday service.

1869

Helena and John Turnbull's eldest child was born: Constance Mary Verney Turnbull, who became the residuary legatee of Isabel's Will. Also born that year was Rosamond and Edmund Charles Burton's daughter Blanche Isabel, who had two aunts Isabel - my Isabel and Edmund Charles' sister Isabel Burton.

Sources: freebmd; Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger 1924.

Comment by Sally Davis: Blanche Burton was the most likely of all Isabel's nieces to have been her god-child. However, you would expect in that case that Isabel would leave her something in her Will; but she didn't, it was Blanche's sister Constance who was the only Burton beneficiary.

1870

Isabel's uncle Ambrose Lace died.

Source: freebmd, probate registry.

1870-72

Rudolph was too ill to run his business properly, and it was also badly affected by the Franco-Prussian war in Europe. Isabel was his chief nurse.

Source: Memorabilia p73.

1871

Isabel's brother-in-law Rev John Turnbull became vicar of Temple Ewell, just outside Dover. He remained in post there until 1900.

Sources:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen on web so no volume number visible, but p244 in that volume.

31 DECEMBER 1872

Rudolph von Steiger von Riggesberg died in Alexandria.

Source: Probate registry, Will of Rudolph von Steiger von Riggesberg.

THAT'S THE END OF THIS FIRST FILE IN MY LIFE-BY-DATES OF ISABEL DE STEIGER. The next one covers 1873 to 1888.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.

Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web. Very good on bankruptcies!

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER (1836-1927). This second part of my life-by-dates begins with an ending: the death of Isabel's husband Rudolph von Steiger, on the last day of December 1872. It covers the period in which Isabel began rebuilding her life, and ends in May 1878, just before she joined the Theosophical Society.

Just re-stating the Golden Dawn connection:

Isabel de Steiger was one of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's earliest members, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888 - that is, a few months after the last event in this file. She chose the Latin motto 'Altiora peto'. She took her time over the learning and exams required for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was initiated into it in May 1896. She moved out of London in the early 1890s and was a member of the GD's Horus temple in Bradford for a time; and then (in the late 1890s) of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh.

THE LAYOUT BELOW which I hope isn't too difficult to read.

What Isabel was doing, tends to be in italics. My comments, and the sources, are typed in my usual Times New Roman.

Lastly, before we start, a quick note on her name: she was baptised with it spelled in the French way - Isabelle - and did return to that spelling from time to time in her life. For most of her life, however, she used 'Isabel' and I'll stick with that.

31 DECEMBER 1872

Isabel's husband, Rudolph von Steiger von Riggesberg died in Alexandria. Rudolph von Steiger's Will had set up a trust fund to provide his widow with an income and at least for the next few decades Isabel was able to live independently provided she was careful. The trust fund's sole trustee was Henry Cassels Kay, a friend of Rudolph and Isabel in Alexandria.

Immediately after Rudolph's death, Isabel left Alexandria for a trip to Minet-el Basal and the Egyptian desert. As was proper, she began to wear black, but she didn't wear the full widow's weeds as strict observance of mourning wasn't much bothered with amongst the expats of Alexandria. She carried on not wearing widow's weeds when she returned to Europe, and her refusal to do so did cause comment there. Isabel was never a regular Christian church-goer after her husband's death.

Sources:

Probate registry. Rudolph appointed three executors to put his Will into effect: Charles Forget; William Crosfield; and Isabel's brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lacey.

Memorabilia p73, p87, p90, p102.

Sources for Forget and Crosfield: census etc

Comment by Sally Davis: I give short biographies of the trustee and the executors because all three were important to Isabel in the coming years and were friends of hers as well.

The Trustee: HENRY CASSELS KAY and see 1903 in this life-by-dates.

Henry Cassels Kay was of Scottish descent, the son of a businessman who lived in Antwerp. He was born in 1827 and educated in Belgium. In 1844 he went to Egypt to work for Briggs and Co of Alexandria and Cairo, a leading bank. In 1854 the Times appointed him their correspondent in Alexandria. After a brief period working at Briggs and Co's offices in London, Cassels Kay returned to Alexandria as an employee of Tod, Rathbone and Co and it was during this period of his working life that Isabel and Rudolf knew him and his wife. As

well as speaking several European languages, Cassels Kay studied literary Arabic. He retired and returned to live in Campden Hill (in 1874) but kept up a keen interest in Egypt: he worked at Arabic translation and articles on Egyptian culture and in 1880 he was elected a director of the Bank of Egypt. He was a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and of the Royal Asiatic Society whose Council he served on. He collected Islamic and other art. In 1859 he married Jane Ann Edmondstone Aytoun; they had one son.

Sources:

Memorabilia pp102-05.

Times 9 June 1903 p10: obituary.

The Banker's Magazine volume 39 1880 p66 announcement of his election as a director of the Bank of Egypt.

As a collector of art:

Via www.christies.com/lotfinder to sale 5644 13 July 2005: a table clock owned by Henry Cassels Kay and in his family until this sale. Made about 1900: inlaid mahogany with brass mountings.

Via google to Islamic Art catalogue for a sale 9 October 1900 published Christie Manson and Woods Ltd: p122 lots 162-64.

Executor: CHARLES FORGET and see other entries in this life-by-dates

Charles Isaac Forget was probably a partner in the firm Melly, Forget and Co. He definitely served as Swiss Consul in Liverpool. He and his wife were both Swiss by birth though they lived in England for many years. Forget had died by 1885 but the closeness between the Forget and Lace families had continued: in 1885 Charles' daughter Cécile Marguérite married Charles Verney Lace, Isabel's nephew, the son of Joshua Verney Lovett Lace and his wife Theodosia.

Executor: WILLIAM CROSFIELD but see also subsequent entries in this life-by-dates.

There are two William Crosfields, father and son. They ran a sugar-refining and grocery business in Liverpool. They were Quakers. The older William was an anti-slavery campaigner and friend of William Lloyd Garrison. Rudolph's executor was the son. William the younger married Fanny Elizabeth Job, in Liverpool, in 1865. Both William and Fanny were about Isabel's age - born around 1838. They had one child, Dora, born 1867.

ISABEL AT A CROSSROADS

Comment from Sally: Isabel never mentions having had any children. She may have chosen not to mention in Memorabilia, her memoir, that she had had children that had died; but I get the impression that she had never been pregnant. After all, for most of her marriage her husband was seriously ill. On a wider level, when she looked back at her twenties and early thirties after many decades, Isabel was rather ambivalent about her marriage and about being married. In Memorabilia p56 she describes herself as in a state of arrested development at the time. And on p73, of her early widowhood, she even says, "Strange to say, for the first time in my life I began to feel that I was really alive...I conclude that it was because, for the first time, I had to plan and decide a great deal for myself, with only my own judgement to rely upon". However, she reiterates many times in the book that the next decade was a time of restlessness, and grinding loneliness. From the vantage point of the early 1920s, she saw

her life in the 1870s in spiritual terms. On Memorabilia p125 she describes the decade as one with a great deal of action but also as a period of “almost spiritual death” with time passing in “a sort of spiritual sleep”.

?1873

Isabel decided to train properly as an artist and to make a career for herself as a painter. She began by returning to England and enrolling as a student at the Slade School of Art, where she soon discovered how much she had to learn. However, she found it lonely in London lodgings, knowing no one, and soon left, to go to Florence to study with Belucci.

Source: Memorabilia p78 but Isabel doesn't give a date for this very important decision; nor for the short time she spent at the Slade. I do find her exact whereabouts at any time over the next few years rather hard to follow.

Comment from Sally: I think that in Memorabilia Isabel's teacher's name isn't spelled right. I haven't found any evidence for an artist called Belucci with one 'l'. However, there was an artist Giuseppe Bellucci with two 'ls' who lived in Florence at about the right time to have Isabel as a pupil. This Bellucci is in Bénézit's Dictionary of Artists a vast work, published Editions Gründ Paris 2006. Isabel is not in it.

In Volume 2 Bed-Bül: p111 Giuseppe Bellucci 1827-1882, a specialist in history paintings. Most well-known paintings now are:

Death of Alessandro de' Medici, exhibited Paris 1865

The Discovery of the Body of King Manfred of Sicily, exhibited 1880 at the Florence Exhibition

The Treaty of Bruzzolo; subsequently acquired by the king of Italy.

Memorabilia p78. Again, Isabel doesn't give an exact date for this, but she seems to remember her time in Florence as after her time at the Slade, and before the winter of 1873-74, which she spent back in Egypt.

?1873 ?1874

Isabel spent some time studying painting as a member of Carolus Duran's atelier in Paris.

Source: Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881 p87 issue of 19 March 1881, letter from Isabel: Ancient Mysteries.

NOT a source for this: Memorabilia, in which studying in Paris, and studying with Duran, is never mentioned.

Comment from Sally: there's plenty of coverage on the web of Carolus Duran, who is the dapper-looking man shown on the front cover of the catalogue of the 2015 Sargent exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery. If Isabel's period as a pupil of Carolus Duran lasted into 1874 she might have coincided with John Singer Sargent, who joined Duran's atelier in the middle of that year.

See wikipedia for Charles Auguste Émile Durand 1837-1917, and there are many other websites featuring him and reproducing his paintings. Mostly a portraitist but I also saw a nude and a couple of landscapes on the web. See also:

At www.jssgallery.org/Paintings/Carolus-Duran:

At www.studiorousar.com/2011/03/21/carolus-duran-methods with some details about his painting methods and the influence of Velázquez on his work.

1873-74

Having been unable to settle in either London or Florence, Isabel returned to Egypt and spent the winter there, thinking about her long-term future. This period of reflection resulted in her rejecting the idea of moving to Paris and choosing instead to return to England and make a better go of things in London.

Source: Memorabilia p78.

Comment from Sally: I'd say Isabel had been a bit too keen to move on after her husband's death. Always an active woman, she had needed something to do, but it was too soon to be deciding what and where, with her husband not properly mourned yet.

1874

Henry Cassels Kay retired from Tod Rathbone and Co and returned to England. He and his wife Jane Ann went to live at 11 Durham Villas Kensington.

Source: Times 9 June 1903 p10: obituary of Henry Cassels Kay.

SPRING 1874

Isabel returned to London and found rooms in Kensington, firstly in Young Street off the High Street, the first of several very temporary addresses in the district. This might have been the time that Isabel spent one term at Heatherley's School of Art, where artists could go if they were more or less trained but as yet had no studio of their own. She settled down to improve her figure-painting technique and to do some oil paintings of a high-enough standard to be exhibited. She also began to form a new social life for herself, singing as a contralto in the choir which was based in the new Royal Albert Hall; and joining the Wagner Society.

Source for Isabel in London: Memorabilia p90, p92-93, p107, p123 but without good dates.

Source for founding of the Wagner Society in England:

The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London by Christina Bashford 2007. On p304 London Wagner Society founded 1872 by Edward Dannreuther.

For Heatherley's see its website at www.heatherleys.org. A list of its well-known ex-pupils includes Byrne Jones, Millais, Leighton and Kate Greenaway.

Comment by Sally Davis: though Isabel wasn't at Heatherley's for long, she might have coincided there with two other future GD members: Henrietta Farr and Henry Marriott Paget, who married each other in 1879. I haven't been able to tie down exactly when the Pagets were students, but it was some time during the 1870s.

Source for Henrietta Farr and Henry Marriott Paget at Heatherley's: The Correspondence of Samuel Butler with his Sister May edited and with an introduction by Daniel F Howard. University of Cambridge Press; University of California Press 1962: p80, letter dated 21 August 1879 and written while Butler was in Switzerland; and footnote 2 on p81.

FRIDAY

EARLY CAREER AS A PROFESSIONAL ARTIST so say mid- to late-1870s

Isabel's painting style was (in her own words) "somewhat perverted by a strong passion for Alma-Tadema's work". Looking back, she felt that it had been "not the right technique for me to have imitated" and saw Alma-Tadema's work as "cold and soulless".

Source:

Memorabilia p58, p86.

Sources for Laurence Alma-Tadema. Plenty of them, but I looked through these two:

Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769-1904 compiled by Algernon Graves. Volume 1 A-D pp28-29 which shows that Alma-Tadema was showing work at the RA in 1869. He moved to London in 1871 and exhibited at least one painting every year in the 1870s. Roman, Greek and Egyptian subjects and settings predominated.

The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema by Vern G Swanson. London: Garton and Co 1990. Swanson suggests that Alma-Tadema's work was so hugely popular during his lifetime because his paintings made it easy for the British to equate their imperial project with the Roman one: he painted Victorian bourgeois scenarios in Roman settings and Roman clothes. Isabel could have seen Alma-Tadema's work in Europe in the late 1860s if she had been to the right galleries but his style changed slightly after he moved to England and saw works by the Pre-Raphaelites: they brightened his palette.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm inclined to agree with Isabel about the rather soul-less nature of Alma-Tadema's work - so often, the people in his paintings seem to be less important than the details of the Roman architecture they are shown in.

AUTUMN 1874

Isabel exhibited some pictures at a major venue for the first time. She showed three oil paintings at the 4th autumn exhibition at the Corporation of Liverpool's Walker Art Gallery: The Coming Squall; "Basking in Heaven's Serenest Light..."; and Philae, Egypt.

Comment by Sally Davis on this momentous occasion for Isabel! I hope she was there at the exhibition's opening. The Corporation of Liverpool had organised its first autumn exhibition in 1871. The venue is huge and in the 1880s and 1890s there were around 1000 exhibits in every year's show. Isabel showed more paintings in the Walker's autumn exhibitions than at any other gallery or Society's exhibitions: Liverpool was her home town; and she had friends on the Corporation committees that organised this big event. One friend in particular, Philip H Rathbone, was on the Exhibition Committee from 1874 at the latest, to 1894; then his place was taken by another Rathbone, Herbert. WHAT ABT NO ISABEL PNTGS IN THE LIVERPOOL CORP COLLN GET THE INFO

Source: 4th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures in Oil and Watercolours, catalogue 1874: unnumbered page listing which Corporation of Liverpool councillors were on the various committees that ran the exhibition; list of exhibitors p47, Isabel as "de Steiger, Isabel" giving Ramle, Egypt, as her address. On p3 catalogue number 6: The Coming Squall - Mediterranean - Ramle Egypt; at £13/13. On p3 catalogue number 11 with the title line left blank but a two-line quote below:

"Basking in Heaven's serenest light

Those groups of lovely palm trees bright". Price £11.

And p12 catalogue number 220: Philae Egypt, also with a quote:

"The ruined shrines and towers that seem

The relics of a splendid dream". Also priced at £11.

Both the quotes are from *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance* published 1817 by Thomas Moore (1779-1852).

Further comments by Sally Davis: I don't know when Isabel painted these three first exhibited paintings and of course I haven't seen any of them. >From their titles, I'd say they were landscapes; or possibly landscapes with figures. I think it's safe to assume that the basic sketches for all three paintings were probably done during Isabel's recent winter in Egypt. Again, just from their titles, they sound like subjects she very often returned to in the future. They were the kind of art that was popular with the newly-rich middle classes, who were buying art works for the first time: scenes inspired by popular literature; and scenes of exotic lands and peoples. Isabel had been lucky, in a way, going to live in Egypt: scenes of exotic lands were right outside her door there.

However, Isabel's decision to become a professional artist indicated that she was aiming higher now. The training she did over the next two or three years equipped her with the skills needed to draw the human body convincingly. The kind of painting thought of as 'great' - allegory, myth, political and history painting - was dominated by depictions of the human body, done large and with the emphasis on accurate portrayal of muscles, faces and - the ultimate challenge - hands. It was a training that women were, in general, barred from and Isabel herself had great trouble getting it; but she was determined to paint 'great' art.

For general information on the different kinds of genres, and lists of the most important artists see

Popular 19th Century Painting: A Dictionary of European Genre Painters. By Philip Hook and Mark Poltimore. Antique Collectors' Club 1986: especially p21 though NB Isabel is not mentioned or listed anywhere in the book.

1874/75

Isabel joined the British National Association of Spiritualists (BNAS).

Source for BNAS: its descendant, the College of Psychic Studies. See its website at www.collegeofpsychicstudies.co.uk. The College has the archive of BNAS and a complete run of its magazine *Light*, first issued on 8 January 1881 and still being published now. The BNAS was founded in 1873.

Source for Isabel joining it: *Memorabilia* p139.

Comment by Sally on the importance of the BNAS to Isabel: although she doesn't mention it specifically, it's clear from *Memorabilia* that Isabel's membership of the BNAS led to many friendships, and helped her settle to life in London. However, most of Isabel's spiritualist friends are not mentioned in *Memorabilia*.

1 JANUARY 1875

The Theosophical Society was founded in the USA by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott.

Sources: I got the information from www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/theosophical-society

SEPTEMBER 1875

Isabel's younger brother, the solicitor William Henry Lace, died, aged 40.

Source: Probate Registry.

Comment by Sally Davis: almost certainly a most reluctant solicitor, just like his father had been, William Henry was the last member of the Lace family to work for the family legal firm; though out of respect especially to Isabel's uncle Ambrose Lace, the name was kept in the firm's title for many years. I can't find any evidence that William Henry married - he certainly hadn't by census day 1871 when his sister Constantia was keeping house for him.

AUTUMN 1875

Isabel exhibited four more paintings at the Walker Art Gallery's autumn exhibition: Hagar in the Desert; The Evening Meal, Ramle, Egypt; Mansours Tent; and On the Road to Aboukir.

Source:

5th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1875. In the list of exhibitors p47. List of paintings: p13 catalogue number 277 Hagar in the Desert, for sale at £15; p16 catalogue number 342 The Evening Meal, Ramle, Egypt, price £10/10; p17 catalogue number 364 Mansours Tent (which surely should be Mansour's Tent) £30; and p18 catalogue number 405 On the Road to Aboukir for sale at £20. They were all oil paintings.

Comments by Sally Davis: in the list of exhibitors Isabel's address was given as Ramle, Egypt. She certainly used local scenes in all four paintings. However, I think she had probably left Egypt by this time.

It was brave of Isabel to tackle the Old Testament story of Hagar and Ishmael, particularly so soon after she decided to become a professional artist: even a quick search with google will show you how many other artists painted it. They included such greats as Rubens and Tiepolo and it seems also to have been a very popular subject amongst northern European Renaissance artists. I believe Isabel exhibited the Hagar painting once more, with the title 'the dismissal of Hagar'; but in the rest of her career as an artist she only painted one more Biblical character - John the Baptist - and she never exhibited that painting, as far as I can tell.

AUTUMN 1875

Isabel's sister Helena's son Verney Cameron Turnbull was born, in Ewell in Kent. The only other member of the Lace family to publish a book, he was one of Isabel's beneficiaries in her Will.

Sources: freebmd and Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger dated 6 March 1924.

PROBABLY MID-LATE 1870s

Isabel waded into the ongoing debate about whether women could paint great art - or at all - by rebutting some criticisms of works by women in the Royal Academy shows. She wrote letters to the papers saying that if women painters' technique was poor it was only because the RA wouldn't let them train in its school. As a result (she thought) not only did the RA refuse to show any of her work for many years, she was also rejected by the Society of Women Artists. In 1882 the RA did exhibit one of Isabel's works but she was sure it was because they got her name wrong, reading it - and consequently labelling her painting - as by "Miss F Steeger".

Source: Memorabilia p107, p110, p130-31. Isabel doesn't say where or exactly when her letters were published. I did check in the Times for the late 1870s as that seemed a likely

time, and it's easy to search using Timesonline, but I couldn't find any from her. I'm at a loss how else and where else to follow up.

Comment by Sally: I wonder if the RA would have accepted Isabel's painting, if they'd got her name right?! Although in Memorabilia Isabel gives the impression that the Society of Women Artists banned her altogether for sticking her neck out on such a contentious issue, the SWA's catalogues show that Isabel exhibited paintings at the SWA on several occasions between the late 1870s and the late 1880s.

AGAIN PROBABLY MID-LATE 1870s

Isabel read at least some works by the French spiritualist and writer Allen Kardec. She read them in the English translations by Anna Blackwell (who later joined the GD) though she doesn't seem to have known Blackwell personally. Kardec had invented the concept which Blackwell translated with the word 'spiritism', which attempted to put together spiritualism with reincarnation.

Source for Blackwell's translations of Kardec into English: British Library catalogue.

1875 Spiritualist Philosophy: the Spirits' Book

1876 Experimental Spiritism: the Medium's Book

1878 Practical Spiritism: Heaven and Hell.

Source for Isabel reading Kardec: Memorabilia p153 but she doesn't mention which of these she read; perhaps she read all of them as they were meant to be read as a set. Despite Blackwell's efforts, spiritism didn't catch on in the UK even amongst spiritualists.

Comment by Sally Davis: these works were amongst the earliest Isabel read, according to Memorabilia.

1876

This was the only year between 1874 and 1895 that Isabel didn't show a single painting at any of the major gallery exhibitions.

SPRING 1876

Alma-Tadema's Cleopatra was shown at the Royal Academy.

Source: Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769-1904 Volume 1 A-D pp28-29.

The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema by Vern G Swanson. London: Garton and Co 1990, from which it's clear that this isn't a typical Alma-Tadema with people being upstaged by Roman architecture. Instead, Cleopatra, in close-up, looks sidelong at the viewer from a large, soft cushion, one shoulder bare, breast just about covered by a leopard-skin. Comment by Sally Davis: at the end of the 1870s Isabel painted four scenes from the incident-packed life of Cleopatra. I've never seen any of them so I don't know what they were like; but from their titles I think I can be sure Isabel's Cleopatras were not like Alma-Tadema's! However, I do think Isabel might have been inspired to get to work, by this painting which she must surely have seen at the RA that spring. Also on view from Alma-Tadema that year were An Audience at Agrippa's; and After the Dance (which despite its title has a Roman setting).

BEGINNING OF 1877

Isabel's sister-in-law Theodosia Fanny Lace died (wife of Joshua Verney Lovett Lace), aged 42. Isabel's eldest sister Constantia moved in with her brother at Christleton Old Hall to look

after his three young children.

Sources: freebmd and census 1881.

DURING 1877

Isabel exhibited a painting in Ireland for the first time. It was shown in Dublin, at the Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts' annual exhibition. Its title was given in the catalogue as 'Mansours'.

Source:

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979 compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210 as de Steiger, Mme Isabel.

Comments by Sally Davis:

On the painting: I suppose it was the same oil painting that she had shown at the Walker Art Gallery in 1875 as 'Mansours Tent' (which I think should be Mansour's Tent). This time as catalogue number 164; £20. Isabel also exhibited works at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1882, 1883, 1885, 1887 and 1894.

On where Isabel was living at the time: I don't know how the gallery was meant to contact Isabel if the painting was sold: she gave them no address for correspondence! She must have been - as she so often was! - between rentals.

DURING 1878

Isabel lived at 3 Longridge Road in Earl's Court for a short time.

Source:

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328 entry for De Steiger, Isabel; painter. Information taken from catalogue of the Society's exhibition March-May 1878; by the exhibition of 1879 Isabel had moved away.

12 FEBRUARY 1878

Theodosia Lace's widower, Isabel's brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace, died aged 46. Constantia became legal guardian of her two nieces and her nephew.

Sources:

Probate registry information including the guardianship of Theodosia Catherine Lovett Lace, Charles Verney Lace and Josephine Constance Stanley Lace, all still minors.

London Gazette 23 April 1878.

Comment by Sally Davis on this sequence of deaths. There seem to be two trends in the Lace family: one is to die very young - which doesn't just affect the men; and the other is to live to a remarkable age. Isabel's sister Constantia stayed living with at Old Christleton Hall with her nieces and nephew. All three of the children died relatively young.

MARCH-MAY 1878

Isabel showed three pictures at the exhibition of what was then called the Society of Lady Artists, in London: Slave Girl of the Harem; Consuelo; and a portrait of Mrs Patterson.

Source for the exhibits:

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328 entry for De Steiger, Isabel; painter. Paintings exhibited 1878: catalogue numbers 354 (£16); 298 (£16); and 401.

Dates of the exhibition: Times Monday 18 March 1878 p4 a typically patronising report on the Society's 1878 exhibition, which had just opened at the Society's own galleries in Great Marlborough Street. There were 800 works, about half the number that had originally been submitted to the Society. None of Isabel's works were mentioned. Times Saturday 27 April 1878 p2 an announcement that the exhibition would close on 4 May 1878.

Further information on Consuelo:

This is not the same painting as the genre scene of a Spanish girl with a tambourine that Isabel showed in 1879. It's actually an early attempt by Isabel to portray something of the Mysteries: In Memorabilia Isabel mentions, "George Sand's marvellous novel Consuelo, in which she describes the mysterious underground grotto with its strange 'well' scenes, and the powerful secret order of which Count Albert was the leader and head...it was the mystery that enthralled me. I ought to have been a little more inquisitive".

Isabel's quote is reproduced in

Rudolf Steiner in Britain: A Documentation of His Ten Visits 1902-25 by Crispian Villeneuve. Forest Row: Temple Lodge 2004. In Section: A New Birth p592 Interlude (1913-21).

And further information on Mrs Patterson:

I'm not quite sure whether this is two women or one; Occam's Razor would suggest it's one:

At www.theosociety.org/pasadena The Letters of H P Blavatsky to A P Sinnett etc editor A T Barker are online. Letter number 1, with no date, written by Blavatsky in Bombay, refers to a Mrs and Mr Patterson, friends of the Sinnetts.

The American spiritualist medium Mrs S E Patterson:

Wikipedia on the Seybert Commission, which arose from a donation of money by a Mr Seybert to the University of Pennsylvania to be used to investigate the claims of spiritualism. The University's Commission was taking evidence between 1884 and 1887 and its final Report was published in 1887. Mrs S E Patterson was one of the first mediums investigated by the Commission. She used a slate to write down communications she received in a trance. However, she tended to freeze and not be able to perform at all when members of the Commission were watching her. It could have worked out a lot worse for her, though: the Commission members caught plenty of other mediums in the act of defrauding their clients.

In Madame Blavatsky Revisited by Joseph Howard Tyson. New York, Lincoln, Shanghai: iUniverse 2006. Seen via google and I cldn't find a page number: there's a reference to a Mrs S E Patterson. Dr Furness attended one of her seances on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Commission. He admired the theatrical effects she used to create a receptive atmosphere, including playing on a small organ. But then she channelled two spirits, one German and one Italian, neither of which could speak their supposed native language. Dr Furness wasn't impressed.

Isabel's painting of Mrs Patterson wasn't for sale and was, presumably, given by her to the sitter. She exhibited it once more, in 1879.

The next file in this life-by-dates sequence begins June 1878, when Isabel joined the newly-founded London Lodge of the Theosophical Society; and ends in autumn 1882.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web. Very good on bankruptcies!

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER 1836-1927, continuing her life-by-dates: the period from June 1878 to autumn 1882, with Isabel continuing her career as a painter while also becoming more involved in London's occult scene.

This particular update: September 2017

SALLY DAVIS

Just re-stating the Golden Dawn connection:

Isabel de Steiger was one of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's earliest members, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888 - that is, a few months after the last event in this file. She chose the Latin motto 'Altiora peto'. She took her time over the learning and exams required for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was initiated into it in May 1896. She moved out of London in the early 1890s and was a member of the GD's Horus temple in Bradford for a time; and then (in the late 1890s) of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh.

THE LAYOUT BELOW which I hope isn't too difficult to read.

What Isabel was doing, tends to be in italics. My comments, and the sources, are typed in my usual Times New Roman.

Lastly, before we start, a quick note on her name: she was baptised with it spelled in the French way - Isabelle - and did return to that spelling from time to time in her life. For most of her life, however, she used 'Isabel' and I'll stick with that.

27 JUNE 1878

Isabel went to 38 Great Russell Street for the meeting which formally founded the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society.

Sources:

Date of the meeting: *The Early Days of Theosophy in Europe* by A P Sinnett. London: Theosophical Publishing House Ltd 1922; p11, quoted at the theosophy.wiki on London Lodge. Though Sinnett was not at the meeting himself, he gives a list of some of the people who were there. Sinnett's list includes C C Massey who was elected its first president; Emily Kislingbury who was elected its first secretary; Dr George Wyld, a later president; and Dr H J Billing (see below); but not Isabel.

Confirmation that Isabel was there: *Memorabilia* p141, p243 although she couldn't remember the exact date of the meeting. She confused it with the event of December 1878 immediately below – her introduction to Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

See theosophy.wiki on London Lodge for further information and the sources.

Comment by Sally Davis: C C Massey and Isabel became good friends. I presume Isabel joined the London Lodge; though she doesn't specifically say so in *Memorabilia*.

DECEMBER 1878

Isabel met Helena Petrovna Blavatsky for the first time, at Mrs Hollis-Billing's house in Sydenham. Mrs Hollis-Billing's seances were known for their focus on the participants' past lives and were Isabel's introduction to the concept of reincarnation. Mrs Hollis-Billing's spirit guide was Ski (pronounced sky), who when last living had been a North American Indian. Isabel attended several seances at Mrs Hollis-Billing's. At one of them, she allowed Ski to describe one of her past lives. Oh dear! - "my record was not agreeable!" - Mrs Hollis-Billing told her that she'd been a nun walled up in her own convent for breaking her vows.

Comment by Sally: Isabel had been introduced to Mrs Hollis-Billing by Dr George Wyld. Other guests at Mrs Hollis-Billing's soiree to meet Blavatsky were Charles Carleton Massey; and Rev William Alexander Ayton and his wife Anne, who later joined the GD. Charles Massey is mentioned in Memorabilia but the Aytons are not.

Source for Ski, the founding event and Isabel's past life: Memorabilia p141, p152, p243. Isabel's past life as a nun meant that in at least one reincarnation she had been living as a Roman Catholic: a nasty surprise for someone brought up as an Evangelical Protestant.

Source for the date:

The Theosophical Enlightenment by Joscelyn Godwin. Published by the State University of New York Press in its Western Esoteric Traditions series 1994. On p307-08 Col Olcott and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky spent two weeks in England, at some point between December 1878 and February 1879, breaking their trip from the USA to India. The Aytons met them during that fortnight. Sources for this are The Spiritualist volume XIV January 1879: 41-42; and later Olcott's Old Diary Leaves volume 2 pp 4-9.

Information on the part played by Mary J Hollis-Billing:

At www.blavatskyarchives.com/hollis.htm there's a reprint of an article originally published in the journal The Medium and Daybreak issue of 19 December 1879 pp796-97: Madame H P Blavatsky, by Mary J Hollis-Billing. Despite being "in great haste to proceed on her journey to India", Blavatsky had stayed with Hollis-Billing for several days "at Norwood". C C Massey was another visitor to Hollis-Billing during Blavatsky's stay; no other person's name was mentioned in the article. Mary Hollis-Billing doesn't give any dates for Blavatsky's time as her house-guest.

Website psychictruthinfo is the web page of the medium Jonathan Koons. It has a section Mediums of the Past with a page on Mary Hollis, later Mrs Hollis-Billing: well-known American medium who visited the UK in 1874 and 1880. Koon's information comes from an article on Mrs H-B published in Spiritual Notes volume 1 p262.

The www.encyclopedia.com gives Mary Hollis' DOB as 1837; in Jeffersonville Indiana.

At www.tswiki.net there's a reference to Hollis-Billing playing a part in the formation of the TS's London Lodge, but not being a member of it herself. Information from: Reader's Guide to the Mahatma Letters to A P Sinnett editors George E Linton and Virginia Hanson. Adyar Chennai India: Theosophical Publishing House 1972 p219.

On a wiki page at wikipedia re TS's London Lodge: founded June 1878 by Charles Carleton Massey. In the early 1880s it was disrupted by the arguments over Kingsford's election as President of the British TS in 1883. A group of its members defected and formed Blavatsky Lodge.

PROBABLY JUNE OR DECEMBER 1878

Isabel did a painting for Mary Hollis-Billing, of Mrs H-B's spirit guide, a North American Indian called Ski.

Source: Memorabilia p141 and p141 footnote 1; though without a date.

Comment by Sally Davis. This was a painting done at second - if not third - hand. Mrs Hollis-Billing gave Isabel a photograph to work on, a photograph of a rough sketch of Ski supposed to have been done from life. Isabel gave the finished painting was to Mrs Hollis-Billing - that was the whole idea - and it was never exhibited as far as I know.

EARLY 1879

Isabel was at another address that turned out to be temporary - 63 Bedford Gardens, off Kensington Church Street.

Source:

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328 entry for De Steiger, Isabel; painter.

1878-1879

Isabel painted four paintings illustrating dramatic incidents in the life of Cleopatra; and two others based on classical themes.

Source for there being four Cleopatra paintings:

Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 p14. I saw this report via google and I'm not sure which exhibition it was covering - probably that year's Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition. The report said that Isabel had "just sold the last of four Cleopatra pictures"; and that she was working on two other paintings based on classical subjects.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm not quite sure which two other paintings Isabel was meaning when the Journal's reporter spoke to her: between 1879 and 1886 she exhibited several that might answer to that description. And on the subject of the Cleopatras, I've seen quite a few different titles for them:

- Cleopatra's Deadly Resolve in the Temple of Isis - as exhibited in 1879 at the Royal Society of British Artists
- Cleopatra "Personating" the Goddess Isis (what does that mean??) - as exhibited at the Royal Albert Hall spring show in 1879

I did wonder whether the two above were the same painting; but in May 1879 they were both being exhibited at the same time.

- Cleopatra Receiving an Unfavourable Oracle from the Priestess of Isis - as exhibited in the autumn 1879 at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool

A sub-set of two:

- Cleopatra Before the Battle of Actium; and
- Cleopatra after the Battle of Actium

Which makes five!

In Memorabilia Isabel confuses me completely by referring to I'm not sure how many of them, just as 'Cleopatra'! For example on p58 she refers to painting 'Cleopatra' (sic) in the style of Alma-Tadema. At the time, Isabel was a great admirer of his - as part of her early training, she copied many of his works. Looking back, however, she thought his style was not one she should have tried to imitate. Magazines reviewing the major art exhibitions are no better and maybe some of their critics never did become aware that there was more than

one.

Elsewhere In Memorabilia (p278) Isabel says that one of the set of two before/after Cleopatras was bought by her Liverpool friends William and Fanny Crosfield, in 1880, after it was shown at the Walker Art Gallery. Their daughter Dora inherited it and still had it on her walls in the early 1920s. So which painting is it? No painting with either of those titles was ever shown by Isabel at the Walker; so perhaps Isabel means 'Cleopatra Receiving an Unfavourable Oracle...' - presumably before the battle of Actium.

However many there were, and whatever their correct titles, for a few years around the time she painted them, the Cleopatra paintings made Isabel relatively well-known.

Sources:

Bazaar Exchange and Mart and Journal of the Household volumes 20-21 1879 p81 reported on that year's Fine Arts exhibition at the Royal Albert Hall, which had 1010 works in it. The critic recommended visitors to the exhibition to seek out the Cleopatra painting Isabel was showing; and bucked the general trend by giving it its full title (hooray!) - "Cleopatra Personating the Goddess Isis".

Building News and Engineering Journal volume 38 1880 p360 another review of the Royal Albert Hall spring exhibition also gave Cleopatra Personating the Goddess Isis a special mention.

The Academy volume 18 1880 number 437 issue of 18 September 1880 p209 put one of the Cleopatra paintings in a list of "notable pictures" being shown at the Royal Manchester Institution. As the list also included G F Watts' Psyche and Burne-Jones' The Music Lesson, the magazine was paying Isabel quite a compliment.

The magazine Public Opinion volumes 41-42 1882 p490 mentioned a poem inspired by one of the Cleopatras, calling the four of them "Madame de Steiger's celebrated pictures".

The complimentary poem was a sonnet, by a poet about whom I've not been able to find anything at all except his name - Henry George Hellon - which might in any case be a writing name not his real one. It was published in Hellon's second volume of poetry: Daphnis: A Sicilian Pastoral, and Other Poems. London: Kegan Paul Trench and Co 1881. On p76: Sonnet on Viewing a Picture of Cleopatra:

In Isis' temple sits the mighty Queen,
Draped in a gown of gossamer and gold,
Through which her lovely form, fair to behold,
Peers, sweet as peers the moon through silver sheen
When misty vapours veil the fairy scene!
Yet o'er her brow some mystery seems to fold,
And in her eyes her future fate foretold;
With anger burning, passionate her mien!

Her dreams of death, of Antony, and all
The splendour of the past! her glory gone,
And throne a wreck, where monarch feigned to fall;

Her chiefs and army lost, her power undone!
Seized with despair, she deigns not God to call,
But, woe-worn, seeks a death her legions shun!

The book was reviewed in *The Theosophist* volume 3, April 1882 pp177-178, though the review focused on the longer poem *The Seer*, which had a myriad of esoteric references in it. *Public Opinion*, too, noted that the poems were “deeply versed in the occult philosophy” so perhaps Isabel knew his work.

Also DURING 1879

Isabel met Mrs Going at the British National Association of Spiritualists.

Source: *Memorabilia* p144.

Comment by Sally Davis: Mrs Going was a wealthy widow who (when Isabel met her) was living in Park Street in Mayfair. As at March 2017 I haven't been able to identify Mrs Going for sure. It seems as though their friendship didn't last: Isabel writes about Mrs Going as though she was deceived by her first impressions of the woman, saying that she was not an intellectual, and that her claims of being an accomplished mystic were exaggerated. However, Isabel had cause to be very grateful to Mrs Going: it was through her that she met Anna Bonus Kingsford - see June 1879, with whom she began to explore the world of the occult systematically.

MARCH-MAY 1879

Isabel showed one work at that year's exhibition of the Society of Lady Artists: *A Daughter of the Gods*.

Sources:

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328 entry for De Steiger, Isabel; painter. Paintings exhibited 1879. *Daughter of the Gods* was catalogue number 768, for sale at £8.

BY MAY 1879

After several years of not staying anywhere long, Isabel moved into Mrs Charity's house at 8 Hornton Street, round the back of Kensington Church Street. She had a studio in its basement.

Earliest source for Isabel at that address:

The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 and The New English Art Club 1888-1917. Compiled by Jane Johnson for the Antique Collectors' Club Research Project. First printed 1975; V&A's copy is the reprint of 1993: p130.

Comment by Sally Davis: moving in with another woman artist, and meeting lots of new people who shared her interests, Isabel felt that she had found a home for the first time since her husband had died. Looking back on the early 1880s, she saw her years as Mrs Charity's tenant as the happiest time in her life, and as the time she was finally able to concentrate on improving the way she drew and painted nudes.

Source for Isabel's recollection of this time: Memorabilia p208.

MAY 1879

Isabel began to exhibit her Cleopatra paintings: Cleopatra's Deadly Resolve in the Temple of Isis was shown at an exhibition of the Royal Society of British Artists in London.

Source:

The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 and The New English Art Club 1888-1917. Compiled by Jane Johnson for the Antique Collectors' Club Research Project. First printed 1975; V&A's copy is the reprint of 1993: p130 with Cleopatra's Deadly Resolve as catalogue number 21, for sale at £40 - which seems rather cheap. Isabel only showed one other painting at the RSBA; in 1881.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel was not a member of the Royal Society of British Artists:

Royal Society of British Artists Exhibitors 1824-1892 and 1893-1910. Both published in a limited edition of 600 copies. Compiler Maurice Bradshaw, secretary general of the Federation of British Artists. 1973: F Lewis Publishers Ltd of The Tithe House, Leigh-on-Sea. Isabel wasn't listed in either volume. The only GD member who was a member of the Society at this time was Henry Marriott Paget.

Dates of the exhibition: Times Thursday 1 May 1879 p1 in a list of adverts from galleries whose exhibitions had just opened. The Society's 56th exhibition was being held at the Suffolk Street galleries in Pall Mall. Times Saturday 7 June 1879 p2 didn't have the advert in it so I assume the exhibition had ended.

MAY TO AUGUST 1879

Isabel showed Cleopatra Personating the Goddess Isis at the Royal Albert Hall spring exhibition. She also showed her portrait of Mrs Patterson.

Source:

Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Works of Modern Artists 1879 price 6d. I think this was the first such exhibition; there were 1010 works in it. Unlike subsequent exhibitions at the RAH, this one did have some paintings by famous artists: Leighton (p5); Alma Tadema (p8). Future GD members Henrietta Farr and her husband-to-be Henry Marriott Paget also showed some work. Isabel's two were both oil paintings: p23 catalogue number 307 - Cleopatra Personating the Goddess Isis for sale at £15/15. And p29 catalogue number 405 - portrait of Mrs Patterson, which was not for sale.

Comment by Sally Davis: the portrait of Mrs Patterson was getting its second outing - Isabel had shown it at the Society of Lady Artists in 1878. I imagine she was hoping for more portrait commissions, but - judging by the works I know about - that didn't happen. She painted only a handful more portraits, mostly for friends.

For the dates of the exhibition:

Times Thursday 1 May 1879 p1 and Times Wednesday 6 August 1879 p1 showing that the exhibition was still open, even though the social season was over by now.

JUNE 1879

Isabel went to dinner at Mrs Going's house. That evening she ate her first vegetarian meal, and met Anna Bonus Kingsford. Isabel and Dr Kingsford became close friends, Isabel thinking of Dr Kingsford with "regard and even love" and admiring her as "a sort of modern

incarnation of Pallas Athene". Isabel decided that she preferred Kingsford's focus on western, Christian esotericism to Blavatsky's increasing emphasis on the occultism of the East. She and Kingsford also agreed that the existence of Blavatsky's mahatmas was "possible, but not proven". When Dr Kingsford began to hold meetings at her house in Park Street, to discuss and elaborate her view of western hermeticism, Isabel went to them regularly. Other regular attenders were Charles Massey, Dr George Wyld, and Francesca Arundale whom Isabel got to know well. After Dr Kingsford's death Isabel was very quick to leap to her defence whenever her reputation as a mystic or as a doctor was questioned.

Source: Memorabilia p144, p146, p168.

Source for Anna Bonus Kingsford as Pallas Athene: Occult Review volume 6 number 5 November 1907 pp296-97. And for both women's scepticism about Blavatsky's claims: Occult Review volume 45 number 2 February 1927 p78.

Comment by Sally: after Isabel's death, the editor of Occult Review described Isabel as a woman who had achieved (especially for her times) "unusual mental independence". As she was also "frank and outspoken" and "unsparing" in her criticism when she felt it was merited, she inspired as much dislike and fear as friendliness amongst people she knew. Dr Kingsford was one of the few women in Isabel's life that she could meet on an equal footing intellectually; and both women derived great benefit from their talks and appreciated the level of their relationship very much.

AUTUMN 1879

After a gap of three years, Isabel showed some paintings in Liverpool at the Walker Art Gallery's autumn exhibition: one of her Cleopatra paintings, exhibited as Cleopatra Receiving an Unfavourable Oracle from the Priestess of Isis; and A Daughter of the Gods.

9th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1879. The Walker's autumn exhibition was always one of the biggest in the country: this year there were 1356 exhibits. List of exhibitors p121. And the two paintings which were both in oils: p19 catalogue number 187 - Cleopatra Receiving an Unfavourable Oracle from the Priestess of Isis, for sale at £70 which I think is the highest price Isabel had dared to ask so far in her career. And p38 catalogue number 518 - A Daughter of the Gods for the modest sum of £5/5.

Comment by Sally Davis: A Daughter of the Gods had also been shown at the Society of Lady Artists in spring 1879. It was after this exhibition that the Crosfields bought their Cleopatra painting.

EARLY TO MID 1880s to at least the EARLY 1890s

Christian David Ginsburg's works on the Essenes and on the Kabbala were being read by those people who later became "members of the Hermetic and Rosicrucian Orders" and by members of the Theosophical Society; though they weren't well known outside those intellectual circles.

Source: Memorabilia p171.

British Library catalogue for the works which interested members of the GD:

Essenes: their History and Doctrines: An Essay, reprinted from the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. London: 1864.

The Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development and Literature. London and Liverpool: 1865.

Comment by Sally: by "Hermetic and Rosicrucian Orders", Isabel means the Hermetic Society and the GD. Just to reiterate: she never mentions the GD by name in Memorabilia.

BEFORE 1882, PROBABLY AROUND 1880-81

Anna Bonus Kingsford was preparing her book *The Perfect Way, The Finding of Christ*, which was based on her own visions. She asked Isabel to read several chapters of it while they were in preparation.

Source: *Occult Review* volume 6 number 5 November 1907 pp296-97.

MAY TO AUGUST 1880

Isabel exhibited two works at the Royal Albert Hall spring exhibition: *Athyrtis...* and one called *The Dismissal of Hagar*.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm assuming that 'the dismissal of Hagar' was the same painting Isabel had shown in 1875 at the Walker Art Gallery as 'Hagar in the desert'. The *Athyrtis* painting was based on a story in Diodorus in which the daughter of the pharaoh Sesostrius acts as priestess for her father, and predicts his future.

Comments by Sally Davis on *Athyrtis...* I haven't seen it, of course, but maybe this painting was the closest Isabel came in her admiration of Alma-Tadema before she began to change her mind about him. A report (see below) says the figure of *Athyrtis* was in the classical style; and even the subject might have been inspired by a work by Alma-Tadema: his *A Nigger, Grand Chamberlain to King Sesostrius the Great*, which was shown at the Royal Academy in 1871.

Sources for Alma-Tadema's painting:

Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769-1904 compiled by Algernon Graves. Volume 1 A-D pp28-29 though the original words "A Nigger" have been left out.

The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema by Vern G Swanson. London: Garton and Co 1990: p38 says that the *Grand Chamberlain* painting had been shown in Europe before its 1871 appearance at the RA.

Sources for Isabel's *Athyrtis*:

Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architectural Drawings and Wood Carving 1880. Included in the works on show was a group of paintings from the royal collection. Isabel's two, which were both oil paintings: p1 catalogue number 9 - full title *Athyrtis, the Divine Daughter of Sesostrius, Showing Herself at the Gate of the Temple*, price £75. And p2 catalogue number 24 - *The Dismissal of Hagar*, also £75. There were so many exhibits in the wood carving display that there were fewer paintings on show this year; I noticed too that there were no paintings this year by the big contemporary names.

The Building News and Engineering Journal, which had given a special mention to Isabel's *Cleopatra* painting in 1879, gave Isabel another boost in its report on this year's RAH exhibition in its Volume 38 1880 p360: its reporter picked out Isabel's *Athyrtis* from "the general collection of oil-pictures", recommending it as a "decorative, classically-rendered figure" and printing the catalogue number so that visitors could search for it specially.

On the tale of Sesostrius and *Athyrtis*:

Google's first responses were all etymological: *athyrtis* is a genus of butterflies. However there were also web sites featuring three different pharaohs, the Greek translation of whose name is Sesostrius. See www.britannica.com for the most likely one to be mentioned by Diodorus: the III, of the 12th dynasty, reigned 1836-1818BCE - he expanded the amount of land he ruled over and improved the administration of his kingdom.

Thera and the Exodus by Riaan Booysen 2013. Winchester: O Books 2013. In a section on Karnak, Booysen notes that both names are Greek in origin. A modern transliteration of the hieroglyphs for Sesostris would be Sesoösis.

Some references to the pair of them that Isabel might have read:

Ancient History, Containing the History of the Egyptians, Assyrians...from Rollin and Other Sources. No compiler's name given. Published London: Religious Tract Society 1842 and subsequent editions. On p72 in the section History of the Egyptians: a reference to a work by the Greek writer Diodorus claiming that Athyrtris had acted as priestess for her father Sesostris and had foretold his successful military conquests.

Israel in Egypt: Egypt's Place Among the Anc Monarchies by Edward Lord Clark. New York: New York Methodist Book Concern 1874. On p323 in section The Exodus Clark also says that Athyrtris was "versed in divination", only Clark adds that she was like so many who were learned in the "mysterious arts".

?SUMMER 1880

Isabel spent the summer in Brittany, possibly doing some painting but definitely visiting its ancient sites.

Source: The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881; issue of 1 March 1881 p93 in its regular column The Roving Artist: short piece on Brittany as a possible destination for British artists, signed by Isabel.

Comments by Sally Davis: Though Isabel doesn't specify exactly when she was in Brittany, I think the summer before the article was published is the most likely time.

Isabel betrayed quite a lot of her prejudices in this short article. She wasn't actually all that struck by Brittany as a place to paint, though she reported it to be "cheap and agreeable" and a place where the locals "do what artists most prefer - leave them alone". Landscape artists would find the coastline and some of the cathedrals worth it, she felt, but there was nothing in Brittany for figure painters: "searchers after ideal beauty will only be revolted", she thought, by the local peasants. Isabel was definitely a seeker after ideal beauty in her art.

What excited her most about Brittany were her visits to Carnac, "the mysterious sea of the Morbihan" and - particularly - the "mystic cave of Gavrinis, where she studied the carvings on the walls and pondered the meaning of their "wandering lines where the eye loses itself". She saw all those places as retaining a powerful aura of "dramas...enacted long ago...mysterious corners of the world, the sealed books to science".

AUGUST 1880

A letter from Isabel appeared in The Artist, the first of several pieces of writing she had published in that magazine.

Source:

The Artist volume 1 1880 p250 issue of 1 August 1880; I saw it as a snippet on google (March 2017) and haven't been able to read what the letter was about.

Some information on The Artist, which by its volume 2 (1881) was called The Artist and Journal of Home Culture.

The first issue of The Artist was published in January 1880. It was founded by William Reeves, a bookseller and supplier of artists' equipment. Reeves published it and probably edited its first two volumes and some of its third. While Reeves was its publisher, the magazine actively courted women readers, and also encouraged artist readers to send in short

articles for publication - an invitation Isabel responded to several times. Reeves sold the magazine in time for the October 1883 issue, to Gardner, Wells, Darton and Co.

Sources for *The Artist*, none of which specify who was its editor before 1882, when Reeves appointed Wallace L Crowdy for his first stint in the post. I think that it's reasonable to assume that Reeves had done the job himself up to that point.

Publishers' details from www.victorianperiodicals.com.

Dictionary of 19th Century Journalism published Ghent: Academia Press: p25 entry for *The Artist* and *Journal of Home Culture*.

AUTUMN 1880

Isabel showed one of her Cleopatra paintings at an exhibition organised by the Royal Manchester Institution.

Source:

The Academy volume 18 1880 no 437 issue of 18 Sep 1880 p209 pntg by Isabel just ((unfort)) called "Cleopatra" is one of a list of "notable pictures" in the ((aut)) exhn at the Ryl Manchester Insttn ((soon to bec the corp art gallery)). Also in the list: G F Watts' Psyche; Burne-Jones' The Music Lesson; and R Spencer Stanhope's The Waters of Lethe; so she's in good company. This exhn had 1168 works in it. Long rvws over sevl issues in this mag but no fur mention of Isabel.

AUTUMN 1880

Isabel showed her painting Princess Scheherezada (sic) at the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition in Liverpool.

Source:

10th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1880. List of exhibitors p82. P35 catalogue number 494 - The Princess Scheherezada, daughter of the Grand Vizier, thinking of the Story She is going to relate at Night. Arabian Nights. Isabel was asking £125 for Scheherezada; I think it was the highest price she ever demanded for one of her works.

1881

Isabel was elected a member of the Albemarle Club.

Source: *Memorabilia* p156

Comment by Sally: I haven't found many references to the Albemarle Club, but a short page in wikipedia says that it was a private members' club which had women members as well as men. That makes it virtually unique in London's contemporary club scene. It hadn't been going long when Isabel joined - it was founded in 1874, at 13 Albemarle Street (hence its name). Oscar Wilde was a member in 1895 and the Albemarle Club was where the sequence of events began which led to Oscar's conviction for homosexuality.

POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS 1881 though the only evidence I have is from 1913

Isabel began to read the newspaper *The Christian Commonwealth* regularly.

Source for the newspaper: the British Library catalogue has a full run of issues of it, which was published weekly from 1881 to September 1919.

Comment by Sally Davis: the only mention of The Christian Commonwealth that I've found in Isabel's writings is on p118 of her book Superhumanity (published 1915): she refers to an article in its issue of 1 January 1913, about the decline in religion. It's possible that she had always been a regular reader, however - looking at the contents and adverts in the issues of January 1913, I'd say that the paper covered just the kind of religious and spiritual issues that interested her. Its writers and tone were mostly Christian but there were also adverts for books and talks on Buddhism; some coverage of spiritualism and the Society for Psychical Research; and a great deal of coverage of a visit to England by the current leader of the Bahai faith, Abdul Baha.

Source: The Christian Commonwealth volume 33 issue 1629 Wednesday 1 January 1913.

8 JANUARY 1881

The first issue was published of the spiritualist weekly newspaper, Light. In the 1880s it was closely associated with the British National Association of Spiritualists. By 1890 the newspaper was being run by the London Spiritualist Alliance; but its content didn't change a great deal except to emphasis events in London a little more.

Sources: Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881, volume 10 1890 and volume 11 1891.

Comment June 2016 by Sally Davis on the early years of the magazine Light: I've just been contacted by Leslie Price, archivist at the College of Psychic Studies and founder of the online magazine Psypioneer. Leslie corrected a mistake I'd made when mentioning Light's early editors. I imagine Isabel knew all of them, at least as acquaintances, so here is a list of the first four of them: John Stephen Farmer; Rev Stainton Moses, until his death in September 1892; W Paice MA, although he also died, shortly after being appointed; and then, Edmund Dawson Rogers.

Leslie Price also drew my attention to a recent article on the founding of Light, based on the reminiscences of Edmund Dawson Rogers, who was such an important figure in spiritualism in the 1880s and 1890s. As well as setting up Light, he also had the idea which became the Society for Psychical Research; and was the second president of the London Spiritualist Alliance (founded 1884). See that article at www.woodlandway.org/PDF/PP4.11November08.pdf: Psypioneer volume 4 number 11, November 2008: pp276-80. The article includes a reproduction of the original share issue for Light's owner, The Eclectic Publishing Company Limited. I imagine Isabel became a subscriber to Light, for 10shillings and 10pence per year, rather than buy it week by week. I'm not so sure that she would have bought shares in the company, though - as her income was limited, she might have thought it was too much of a risk.

1881 to ?

Isabel became a regular contributor of articles and letters to Light; and read it regularly even after she had left London and no longer went to many spiritualist social gatherings. In 1890 when Light was in financial trouble (as occult journals often were) Isabel felt strongly enough to contribute £1 to keep it afloat.

Sources: volumes of Light during the 1880s and 1890s; though I haven't checked beyond 1900 as yet. For Isabel's donation: volume 10 January-December 1890 pi.

Memorabilia p146, p188

MARCH TO MAY 1881

Isabel showed two works at the Society of Lady Artists: a sketch of Shatucha the Bedouin Girl; and a genre scene, Spanish Tambourine Girl.

Source:

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328 as De Steiger, Isabel; painter. Shatucha was catalogue number 632, for sale at £5; Spanish Tambourine Girl catalogue number 651, £8.

CENSUS DAY 1881

Isabel was abroad but many of her relations were in England.

Isabel's older, unmarried sister Constantia was still living at Christleton Old Hall near Chester, with their nieces Theodosia and Josephine and their nephew Charles, the children of Joshua Verney Lovett Lace and his wife Theodosia, both now dead. This was a very well-to-do household, employing a governess, a housekeeper, a lady's maid, two housemaids and a kitchenmaid.

Helena and her husband Rev John Turnbull were still living in Temple Ewell on the outskirts of Dover. All their children were at home (bar the youngest who hadn't been born yet): Constance, Peveril, Arthur, John and Verney. As well as a governess, Helena and John were able to afford to employ a cook, a housemaid and a nurse.

Rosamond and Edmund Charles Burton were living at 29 High Street Daventry, with their children Evelyn, Rosamund, Constance, Blanche and Edmund Gerald. They had visitors staying with them on census day - author Hermon C Merivale and his wife Elizabeth. This too was a wealthy household: the Burtons employed a governess, and six other servants, all women though who did what was not specified in the census.

Source: 1881 census.

Comment by Sally Davis: Daventry was relatively easy to get to by train from London where Isabel was living at this time. Ewell was very convenient for those travelling to and from the continent. However, whether Isabel ever visited Helena and Rosamond and their families, I wouldn't know. She never mentions them in Memorabilia.

APRIL 1881

Isabel's first appearance as a contributor to *Light* was a letter on the Ancient Mysteries.

Source: *Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter*. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881 issue of 19 March 1881: p87.

MONDAY 4 APRIL 1881 at 38 GREAT RUSSELL STREET WC

Isabel gave a talk at the BNAS's fortnightly discussion meeting: Art and the Supernatural. In it she argued that - contrary to modern assumptions - "earth-bound Spirits" looked just like people and therefore could be painted as easily as people. Astral light could also be painted - medieval artists had shown it as the 'nimbus' or 'aureole' of saints. The idea for the talk had

been triggered by an article she had read a few months before, in the Cornhill Magazine.

Source: Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881 p100; p122 issue of 23 April 1881.

The fact that she had given the talk was also mentioned in The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 p158 issue of 1 May 1881; though with no details of what she had said.

MAY 1881

Isabel exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists for the second and last time, showing A Dancing Girl.

Sources:

The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 and The New English Art Club 1888-1917. Compiled by Jane Johnson for the Antique Collectors' Club Research Project. First printed 1975; V&A's copy is the reprint of 1993: p130 as de Steiger: Isabel. A Dancing Girl was catalogue number 500, price £7.

MAY TO AUGUST 1881

Isabel exhibited her Valkyries picture for the first time, in the spring exhibition at the Royal Albert Hall.

Comment by Sally Davis: as with the Cleopatras, so with the Valkyries, I'm not sure how many paintings there are. I think there is only one, exhibited five times between 1881 and 1886, every time with a slightly different title. Isabel doesn't mention this painting in Memorabilia; perhaps because it or they took a long time to get sold, if it sold at all. After this first outing, Isabel let two years go by before showing it again, at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1883; at the Royal Scottish Academy and the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists in 1884; and at the Walker Art Gallery in 1886 - see that entry for a reference to the poem on which it was based.

Source for this first exhibiting of it:

Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architectural Drawings and Art Workmanship 1881. This year p3 it also showed 200 paintings judged good enough for the Royal Academy summer exhibition but not hung in it due to a lack of space there. On p28 catalogue number 308 which is an oil painting - (my quotes) "The Three Valkyrie Maidens - Messengers of the Gods, proclaiming from a lone rock in the Northern Ocean to the sea-birds and the fishes the death of Balder (sic) the Beautiful". The exhibition also included a large group of paintings lent by the Duchess of Edinburgh: from Spain, and Renaissance Italy and northern Europe.

See wikipedia for the death of Baldr the Beautiful, son of Odin and Frigg; the first in the sequence of events which ended with the destruction of Ragnarok. The Valkyries attended the funeral.

SUMMER 1881

Isabel went on a trip to the English West Country but the weather was so bad (!) that she moved on to France instead, intending to stay at either Fontainebleau or Barbizon. She ended up not wanting to stay at either and thinking her whole summer had been wasted.

Source:

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 issue of 1 October 1881 pp301-02: article signed by Isabel in its Roving Artist column.

Comments by Sally Davis: Isabel knew of both Fontainebleau and Barbizon as artists' colonies. However, when she visited them she hated both places. Nothing pleased her: not the forest; not the chateau, though she did give mild praise to its gardens; and definitely not the villages, which she thought were "ugly" and "dirty", with ridiculously-overpriced accommodation. While she was wandering about the village of Barbizon, trying to avoid chickens that were running loose and staring at "dilapidated" gardens, she did go to an exhibition by members of the Barbizon school. Some indication of how much she disliked what she saw was her amalgamation of the names of two of the group's best-known members as Théodore Millet (she must mean Jean-François Millet and Théodore Rousseau). None of the group were excused, though - Isabel called them all "daubers of stupid vulgar subjects": neither their brush-work style nor their choice of subject-matter were what she thought of as 'art'; indeed she thought that "Art there was none" at the exhibition.

Source for the Barbizon group's style; and the two artists whose names Isabel mangled - see the group's wikipedia page which has a small reproduction of Millet's 1857 The Gleaners on it, a work whose style and very ordinary subject is typical of the group as a whole.

AUTUMN 1881

Isabel exhibited An Eastern Dancing Girl at the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition in Liverpool.

Source:

11th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1881. List of exhibitors p121. And p64 catalogue number 1066 for sale at £6/10 and although she obviously considered it a modest work, possibly even a sketch, it was an oil painting.

TUESDAY AND FRIDAY EVENINGS, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1881

Isabel opened her studio in 8 Hornton Street to women artists who wanted to paint nude models.

Source:

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 January-December 1881 p352 issue of 1 November 1881 on the small ads page; and again on p362 issue of 1 December 1881, just above the News column. The evenings were specifically designed for women artists and women art students to spend time painting what Isabel carefully referred to as the "undraped model". Isabel would be charging for the three-hour sessions, though the advert didn't say how much, so perhaps the price was open to negotiation.

BY LATE 1881

Isabel had sold all four of her Cleopatra paintings.

Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 p143. I saw this report in a google snippet. I think the article was a report on an exhibition. I couldn't see which one but it was probably that year's Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition. The report said that Isabel had "just sold the last of four Cleopatra pictures"; and that she was working on two other paintings based on classical subjects.

Comment by Sally Davis: if Isabel was working on two paintings with classical subjects, she must still have been under the influence of Alma-Tadema. I'm not going to speculate on

which two paintings Isabel was meaning.

BETWEEN 1881 and 1893

One of Isabel's letters published in *Light* led to a correspondence through its pages with another regular contributor to the journal, Anne Judith Penny, who was particularly interested in the works of Jacob Böhme.

Source for the correspondence: *Memorabilia* p187-188, p189, p191, p193

Information on Jacob Böhme or Boehme from a good and detailed page on wikipedia:

1575-1624, a German Lutheran mystic and writer, author of (amongst other works) *Die Morgenroete im Aufgang*, also known as *Aurora* (1600, 1619). His argument that the Fall was a necessary stage in the evolution of the Universe was considered heretical by many.

Anne Judith Penny's dates: *Magic and Mysticism: an Introduction to Western Esoteric Traditions* by Arthur Versluis 2007: p120: born 1825 died 1893.

Source: British Library catalogue for works by Anne Judith Penny:

Her first work, published anonymously, was *Morning Clouds: Consisting of Advice to the Sorrowful*. London: Longmans 1858. Subsequent works published during her lifetime were also published as 'by the author of *Morning Clouds*'. Her works on Böhme/Boehme were not published until long after her death, though Isabel had seen extracts from the works in progress:

1901 published New York and possibly privately printed as a limited edition: *An Introduction to the Study of J Boehme's Writings*.

1912 published London: Watkins: *Studies in Jacob Böhme*.

It's not clear from *Memorabilia* whether Isabel and Anne Judith Penny ever met face-to-face.

Comment by Sally Davis: in 1889 and again in 1893, Isabel exhibited paintings of the mythical Aurora, goddess of the dawn. Perhaps they were inspired by ideas in Jacob Böhme's work.

BETWEEN 1881 and 1893

Anne Judith Penny brought Isabel's letters to *Light* to the attention of Mary Ann Atwood, and Mrs Atwood invited Isabel to stay with her at her home in Yorkshire. After this first visit, Isabel began going to stay with Mrs Atwood once a year, usually in the summer. Isabel was grateful for Mrs Atwood's notice but fretted that when staying with her she couldn't spend any time sketching.

Source: *Memorabilia* p189-93

Information from Wilmhurst's introduction to Isabel's 1918 edition of Mary Ann South's *A Suggestive Inquiry into Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy*; and Mary Ann South/Atwood's wikipedia page:

Mary Ann South (1817-1910) was the daughter of hermeticist Thomas South. In 1850, she published *A Suggestive Inquiry into Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy* but it was withdrawn almost immediately by her and her father. Thomas South (who hadn't read the book before publication) felt that it gave away information best left secret. Between them, Mary Ann and Thomas bought up virtually all the copies, and burned them. However, Mrs Atwood must have kept a few copies of *A Suggestive Inquiry* back from the fire as, later on, Isabel had one.

In 1859, Mary Ann South married the Rev Alban Thomas Atwood. She spent the rest of her life living in his parish near Thirsk, Yorkshire. By the time Isabel met Mrs Atwood, she had achieved almost mythical status in occult circles as a recluse, and as the author of a great esoteric work that almost no one had read.

Comment by Sally: I'm not sure that Isabel actually like Mrs Atwood all that much. In Memorabilia p119, p193 she described Mrs Atwood as, "more respected than loved", and as a "miser". On p119 she calls her "my old teacher", not a friend.

DURING 1882

After a gap of four years, Isabel exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin again. She sent one painting: Morning Effect.

Source for the painting exhibited:

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979 compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210 as de Steiger, Mme Isabel. Entry for 1882: Morning Effect as catalogue number 434, price £12/12.

APRIL 1882

Anna Kingsford's The Perfect Way was published.

Sources:

Memorabilia Preface pvii; and British Library catalogue: The Perfect Way; or the Finding of Christ was published in London by Field and Tuer; Edward Maitland as co-author. A revised edition was issued in 1887 and a 3rd edition in 1890. It's still the work for which Anna Bonus Kingsford is best known - if she's known at all.

Month of publication: Times Tuesday 25 April 1882 p12 in the New Books column as "Just published": The Perfect Way, a series of lectures. Published in London by Field and Tuer; in Hamilton Canada by Adams; and in New York by Scribner and Welford. The author's name was not mentioned.

Comment by Sally: of course, Isabel had heard the lectures and read a lot of the content of this before it was published. In any case, what Isabel remembered best about Anna Bonus Kingsford is made clear many times in Memorabilia. Listening to Kingsford's talks on western mysticism, and even just being in a group with her, all chatting as friends with this common interest - that was what was precious to Isabel.

SPRING 1882

Isabel's painting Mariamne was shown in that year's Royal Academy exhibition. By this time she was paying for an artist's studio at The Studios, Holland Park Road, a short walk from her home.

Sources:

Royal Academy Exhibitors from 1880 Volume 1 A-D p312 and just noting here that she's listed as De Steiger. Mariamne was catalogue number 596; the volumes don't give information on whether the exhibited items were for sale.

Memorabilia p107, p110, p130-31.

Comment by Sally Davis: it must have been a great day for Isabel when she found that the RA had accepted one of her paintings at last. However, she had no illusions about why that

had happened: in Memorabilia she put it down to the staff having mis-read her name. In the catalogue she figured as “Miss F Steeger”.

MAY TO AUGUST 1882

Isabel showed her painting Semiramide at the Royal Albert Hall spring exhibition. I think it was the last time she exhibited anything at the RAH.

Source:

Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architectural Drawings 1882. As in 1881, this exhibition included a number of paintings which couldn't be squeezed into the Royal Academy for its spring show. A note on the copy of the catalogue that I saw at the National Art Library said that it was a first edition and some paintings that were shown in the exhibition were not listed in it. So it's possible that Isabel showed more works than the one I found: p19 catalogue number 164, Semiramide which was an oil painting, for sale at £20.

Comment by Sally Davis: the next catalogue in the volume I looked at in the National Art Library was from an exhibition in 1887. I checked in the Times to see if this meant that catalogues from 1883 to 1886 were missing, but it looked from the small adverts that no art exhibitions were held in those years. Isabel didn't show any works in the 1887 exhibition, the last in the NAL's set.

Isabel showed Semiramide twice more in 1883, with its more familiar title Semiramis, at the Royal Scottish Academy and the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists.

JUNE AND JULY 1882

Isabel showed a painting of a “single figure” at the recently-opened British Fine Art Gallery at 200 Regent Street.

Source:

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 3 1882 p207 issue of 1 July 1882 - a short review of the exhibition, naming a few of the artists but none of their pictures. Isabel's single figure was picked out as one of the better paintings in an exhibition dominated by mediocre works. The reviewer called it “forcible in colour, and French in technique”.

1 JULY 1882

A letter from Isabel was published in the magazine The Artist and Journal of Home Culture. She began by stating in bald terms that artistic and musical talent was gifted equally to men and to women - if men were better artists it was because women were less well trained. Then she went on to discuss the moral issues surrounding the use of naked female models by male artists.

Source:

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 3 1882 p231.

Comments by Sally Davis: I think this must be the letter which (according to her own report, in Memorabilia pp107-08) caused works by Isabel to be rejected by the Royal Academy and the Society of Lady Artists; but if it is, it's not at all the sort of letter I thought it would be. It's not really about the disadvantages women faced when training to become artists - that's summed up in one short paragraph. Most is about the effect on a young woman's reputation - specifically her sexual reputation - of being alone and naked in the studio of a male artist. Isabel argued that when a female artist's model sat for a woman artist, not only was the

model's moral reputation kept intact, her sense of self-worth was enhanced. It was therefore a Christian duty of women artists to continue to paint from the nude. A note from the editor, below the letter, expressed his agreement with Isabel's arguments; but Isabel later felt that she had reaped the whirlwind from male artists and even some female ones, for having set out her views and had them published.

May 2017: It has taken me several years to find the letter and in fact I'd long ago given up looking for it, as when Isabel was be-wailing the consequences of making her arguments in public, she didn't say where her comments were published. The letter was a riposte to a speech by J C Horsley RA at the Newton Abbot School of Art. Isabel hadn't been at the talk but had read a report of it in *The Artist* magazine.

Information on John Callcott Horsley RA from his wiki says that he was a painter of genre scenes, mostly of subjects from history or the theatre. Even in his own lifetime he was known as 'clothes-Horsley' for his vocal opposition to use of naked life models and paintings of nudes. Paintings of nudes became popular in the mid-1880s, a trend coming into Britain from the Paris Salon. A letter against paintings of nudes being shown in public was published in the *Times* 20 May [1885], supposedly written by a "British Matron" but actually written by J C Horsley.

At www.racollection.org.uk, : 1817-1903. A died-in-the-wool Royal Academician: trained at the RA; elected ARA 1855 full member 1864; treasurer of the RA.

Comment by Sally Davis: seeing he was so influential at the RA, perhaps it was Horsley himself who made sure that paintings submitted by Isabel were rejected by its hanging committees, as the controversy over nudity in Victorian British art continued to rumble on.

AUTUMN 1882

On the back of her triumph over the RA, Isabel showed *Mariamne* again, at the Walker Art Gallery. At one or other of the two exhibitions, the painting was bought by Warren de la Rue.

Source:

12th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1882: p132 Steiger, de; at The Studios, Holland Park Road; and p23 *Mariamne* as catalogue number 261.

Memorabilia pp130-131 where its name is wrongly printed as 'MariaNne'.

See wikipedia for more on Warren de la Rue (1815-89) a son of Thomas, the founder of the publishing and bank-note printing firm, and from 1871 its managing director. He's just as well known now as a spare-time astronomer and chemist: President, Chemical Society; FRAS; FRS; and Légion d'Honneur for his pioneering work on astronomical photography. He has a lunar crater named after him.

At www.getty.edu/art there's a brief mention of him, as some of his astronomical photos are now in the Getty Collections. He gave up his astronomy when he took over the running of the firm, donating the equipment in his observatory to the University of Oxford.

The next file in the life-by-dates of Isabel de Steiger covers 1883 and 1884, the years in which Isabel exhibited most pictures.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web. Very good on bankruptcies!

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER (1836-1927). My life-by-dates continues with the two years 1883 and 1884, during which she exhibited more paintings than at any other time.

This particular update: September 2017

SALLY DAVIS

Just re-stating the Golden Dawn connection:

Isabel de Steiger was one of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's earliest members, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888 - that is, a few months after the last event in this file. She chose the Latin motto 'Altiora peto'. She took her time over the learning and exams required for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was initiated into it in May 1896. She moved out of London in the early 1890s and was a member of the GD's Horus temple in Bradford for a time; and then (in the late 1890s) of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh.

THE LAYOUT BELOW which I hope isn't too difficult to read.

What Isabel was doing, tends to be in italics. My comments, and the sources, are typed in my usual Times New Roman.

Lastly, before we start, a quick note on her name: she was baptised with it spelled in the French way - Isabelle - and did return to that spelling from time to time in her life. For most of her life, however, she used 'Isabel' and I'll stick with that.

7 JANUARY 1883

Anna Bonus Kingsford became president of the London Lodge of the TS; with her spiritual companion Edward Maitland as her vice-president.

Source: *The Early Days of Theosophy in Europe* by A P Sinnett. London: Theosophical Publishing House Ltd 1922: p11.

EARLY 1883

Alfred Percy Sinnett and his wife Patience, returned to England from India. They were both close friends of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

Comment by Sally Davis on the importance of the Sinnetts, based on Isabel's recollections of the 1880s:

The Sinnetts knew a lot of people, and had the Indian habit of keeping open house. They had known Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in India. Their homes at 7 Ladbrooke Gardens and later in Leinster Gardens Bayswater became a meeting place on Sundays for people interested in theosophy and spiritualism. Isabel was a regular visitor, even though the Sinnetts were allies of Blavatsky and Isabel an ally of Kingsford in a dispute that broke out in 1883-84 about the election of Kingsford as president of the TS: Blavatsky's followers thought Kingsford focused too much on western esotericism. Isabel liked Alfred Sinnett up to a point: she thought his wife had "far more intellectual ability" and "a keener critical faculty" and felt that he didn't question things enough. It was Patience Sinnett that Isabel came to see; and at some time during the mid-to-late 1880s she painted a full-length portrait of Patience, in pastels. Isabel didn't want to be paid for the portrait, but Patience insisted on trading the picture for a silk dress. Theosophist writer and editor Mabel Collins; and the scientist, psychic researcher and future GD member William Crookes were two of the many people Isabel met at the Sinnett's house. Isabel doesn't mention knowing Sir Edwin Arnold but he too was a friend of the Sinnetts so I'm sure she had met him. She does say that she read his poetry and his *The Light of Asia*.

Sources:

Memorabilia p157-159.

The Sinnetts in India and London: Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett. Unedited version published Theosophical History Centre 1986 and now available online. On pp16-17: A P Sinnett began to correspond with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott shortly after they arrived in India in December 1879. Blavatsky and Olcott accepted an invitation to stay with the Sinnetts in Allahabad and that's how they met. On pp24-25: the Sinnetts moved into 7 Ladbroke Grove on 31 January 1884; on p36 the move to Leinster Gardens isn't dated in the autobiography but Sinnett's references to it make me think it might have happened around 1890. On p31: the Sinnetts' at-homes, to which so many theosophists went regularly, were on Tuesday afternoons.

1883 and 1884

London Lodge became a battle-ground between a group focused around Anna Bonus Kingsford on the one side; and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky on the other, about whether the TS should include the study of western hermeticism. Isabel herself wanted both eastern and western hermeticism to be available to TS members; and tried to mediate as the argument grew more strident. Looking back while writing Memorabilia, Isabel felt that she hadn't done a particularly good job at reconciling the warring factions - she'd been seen as favouring Kingsford, and pro-Blavatsky members of the TS (like Alfred Sinnett) had grown cool towards her.

Source: Memorabilia p174-176.

DURING 1883

Isabel showed another work at the Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin: her oil painting The Valkyrie Maidens, exhibited for the second of five times.

Source for this showing of the Valkyrie painting:

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979 compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210 as de Steiger, Mme Isabel. Listing for 1883: Valkyrie Maidens as oil painting, catalogue number 73, price £35.

SUMMER 1883

Isabel exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy for the first time. She showed two paintings: Semiramis; and The Fair Slave Enees-el-Jelees which was based on a character from the Arabian Nights.

Source: The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière. Calne: Hilmarton Manor Press 1991. There are no indications as to whether the paintings were for sale or not. Volume 4 R-Z p615 Steiger, de; Mme Isabel. Catalogue numbers: 393 for Semiramis; 543 for The Fair Slave...

Just confirming that Isabel was never a member of the RSA: The Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1916 list of members exhibiting; compiled by Frank Rinder. Originally published 1917; British Library's copy is Kingsmead Reprints 1975: p384 Isabel isn't listed.

Comment by Sally Davis: this was a second showing of three for Semiramis: it had been shown, as Semiramide, in 1882 at the Royal Albert Hall.

SUMMER 1883

Isabel did a charcoal drawing of Christian David Ginsburg during a series of visits to his house. She found the process very trying, partly because his head was “very unclassical” but mostly because his face was in “constant movement from incessant talking”. She shut him up by talking herself on the subject “of most interest to nearly every man, viz, himself”, in particular his *The Massorah* which she was reading as it was published.

Source: *Memorabilia* p169.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel doesn't say what she did with the drawing when she considered it was finished. I imagine the whole point of doing the drawing was to give it as a gift, to Ginsburg.

Here's some further information on Ginsburg but for his early years please see the first file in this life-by-dates:

In 1870 Ginsburg had got a job at the Old Testament Revision Company and had moved from Liverpool to Berkshire. In 1904 he was elected editor of the British and Foreign Bible Society's *New Critical Bible*. Ginsburg had done the work on the Pentateuch, the Prophets and some of the later books by the time he died, in March 1914; the whole thing was published in 1926.

Other publications:

- 1861 translation and commentary on *Ecclesiastes*
- 1867 translation and notes on Jacob ben Chayim's *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*
- ?1867 translation and notes on Elias Levita's *Masoret Ha-Masoret*
- 1880-86 *The Massorah*, in four volumes
- 1894 a work on the Hebrew bible and *The Massorah* published by the Trinitarian Bible Society.

Source: Ginsburg's entry in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* volume 22 p337-38.

AUGUST 1883

A *conversazione* was held at the Royal Institution on Piccadilly. The great and good of theosophy were all there, including Blavatsky; Isabel and her Jewish convert friend Christian David Ginsburg; and Anna Bonus Kingsford, who gave a speech. At his request, Isabel introduced Ginsburg to Dr Kingsford; and as a result, Isabel and Anna were invited to dinner with the Ginsburgs.

Sources:

Memorabilia p166-69 Isabel doesn't say who organised this social event. It could have been the British National Association of Spiritualists but I think it's more likely it was the Theosophical Society.

Red Cactus: the Life of Anna Kingsford by Alan Pert. Watsons Bay NSW: Books and Writers Network Pty Ltd 2006: p111.

Source for the *conversazione* taking place before 23 August 1883: *Red Cactus* p111 quoting a letter of that date, from Blavatsky to Alfred Sinnett, in which Blavatsky criticised what Dr Kingsford had worn to the event (still the easiest criticism to make about a public woman. Over a century of feminism has made no difference has it?)

PROBABLY END OF AUGUST; DEFINITELY BEFORE 11 SEPTEMBER 1883

Isabel and Anna Bonus Kingsford went to St Anne's Heath Egham to spend the evening with the Ginsburgs but the exchange of greetings between Christian David Ginsburg and Dr Kingsford turned the evening into a social disaster.

Source for a date of before 11 September 1883: Red Cactus p113: on 11 September 1883 Dr Kingsford left for a lecture tour of the north of England and Scotland on behalf of the Vegetarian Society.

Source for the evening that went so wrong: Memorabilia pp171-73.

Comment by Sally Davis: writing up the events of this dire evening out, many decades after it took place, Isabel still wasn't sure whether Ginsburg was being complimentary, or mocking, when he greeted Anna Bonus Kingsford as a prophet greater than Isaiah. She was sure, though, that Ginsburg was completely taken aback when, in her reply, Dr Kingsford agreed with him: Isabel could see him being unable to decide whether Kingsford was mocking, or indulging in hubris. Isabel was quite sure that Dr Kingsford had spoken in all sincerity. An awkward pause ensued which was filled by Ginsburg's wife Emilie (who was strongly Evangelical) saying that Dr Kingsford couldn't possibly be a prophet. Mr and Mrs Ginsburg continued to bate Anna Bonus Kingsford as the evening wore on. And the Ginsburg daughters played the piano as well brought-up middle-class young women should; though not very well, Isabel thought - the Ginsburg girls were more sporty than musical. The guests sat quiet - Isabel, Anna, and two young men previously unknown to Isabel. The time came when it would not be rude to leave; and all the guests did, stumbling after Isabel along the foggy country lanes back to the station. Dr Kingsford clung to Isabel throughout and looked so unwell that Isabel thought that the Ginsburgs' behaviour had been tantamount to a psychic attack, which had affected Kingsford physically.

Whether Isabel carried on any kind of friendship with the Ginsburgs after that fraught evening is not clear. He is certainly not mentioned again in Memorabilia. However, Isabel was still influenced by his views many years later: in Superhumanity p71 (published 1915) she urged people to study commentaries on the Old Testament written by Jewish scholars - a view that must be based on Ginsburg's arguments.

AUTUMN 1883

Isabel exhibited at the Royal Society of Artists Birmingham again. She showed two oil works: Abd-el-Rahman; and Semiramis.

Source:

Royal Society of Artists Birmingham Autumn Exhibition Catalogue 1883. List of exhibitors p80. P27 catalogue number 162: Abd-el-Rahman price £10. P32 catalogue number 270 Semiramis available at £25.

Comment by Sally Davis: Semiramis was on its third outing. It had been shown as Semiramide in 1882 at the Royal Albert Hall and as Semiramis earlier in 1883 at the Royal Scottish Academy.

AUTUMN 1883

Isabel showed two oil paintings at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool: The Enchantress; and The Lorelei Maiden.

Source:

13th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1883. List of exhibitors p135. And in the list of paintings: p16 catalogue number 149 - The Enchantress, price £100; and p80 catalogue number 1416 - The Lorelei Maiden "Sitting on a Rock over the Whirlpool, singing to the Fishermen Below" (Isabel's quote marks), for sale at £35.

Comment by Sally Davis: both paintings were exhibited once more. Isabel showed The Enchantress in 1885 at the Royal Hibernian Academy. It was a painting that GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner admired (see the entries for November 1897). The Lorelei Maiden was shown again in 1895 at the Royal Scottish Academy, as the property of Isabel's friends William and Fanny Crosfield who had probably bought it in 1883.

SEPTEMBER 1883

Isabel's niece Evelyn Margaret Burton (Rosamond's eldest daughter) married Thomas William Thornton of Kingsthorpe Hall Northamptonshire.

Source for the marriage: www.genesreunited.co.uk to Northampton Mercury issues of 8 September 1883 and 15 September 1883; though I couldn't see enough of a guest-list to discover whether Isabel went to the wedding.

DECEMBER 1883- ?JANUARY 1884

Isabel exhibited at an exhibition of the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours (now the Royal Institute of Oil Painters); the only time she did so. She showed her oil painting The Greek Captive and her Nubian Slave.

Source:

At archive.org, Institute of Painters in Oil Colours catalogue of 1st exhibition 1883-84, at the Piccadilly Gallery. Book lists 801 exhibits; there were only a few sculptures though one was by Rodin. On p46 in the list of exhibitors and p35 catalogue number 60.

For the opening date of the exhibition: Times Monday 17 December 1883 p1: announcement that the exhibition was open; and p7 a report on some of the exhibits, though there was no mention of Isabel's painting. The dates of the exhibition weren't given so I'm not sure when it closed.

1884

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were in England for seven months during this year.

Information from: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky introduced and edited by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke. Berkeley California: North Atlantic Books 2004; p13.

SPRING 1884 TO SUMMER 1886

Isabel was a member of the Hermetic Society, founded by Anna Bonus Kingsford.

Source: Memorabilia p156

Source for the dates of the Hermetic Society: Biography of Anna Bonus Kingsford and her Founding of the Hermetic Society by Samuel Hopgood Hart. It was published separately by Kessinger Legacy Reprints in 2013 but originally had been the introductory essay to a book of Kingsford's esoteric writings, The Credo of Christendom, published in 1930 and edited by Hopgood Hart. The biography is based on papers of Kingsford's. On p46 the last meeting of the Hermetic Society at which Kingsford was present took place on 15 July 1886. She

founded the Society as a venue for theosophists who wanted to study western Christian esotericism. P28-29: its first official meetings were in June 1884 at 43 Rutland Gate on Thursdays at 5pm. P47 no meetings of the Hermetic Society were held in 1887 because of Kingsford's decline in health and the Society didn't survive her death in 1888.

Comment by Sally Davis: this Society will have been very much more to Isabel's taste than Blavatsky's study group. Several men who later joined the GD were members of it: the GD's two main founders, William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers; and William Forsell Kirby.

SPRING 1884

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky visited Isabel in her studio on Holland Park Road. Isabel was working on her painting of St John the Baptist at the time. As a result of a reminder from Blavatsky that John the Baptist was a "Nazar", Isabel made some corrections to her painting, making the Baptist's hair much longer.

Isabel later gave her picture of St John the Baptist to Rev C C Elcum of St Agnes and St Pancras church, Ullet Road Liverpool.

Source: Memorabilia p176-80 although the vicar's surname isn't spelled correctly - possibly as the result of a typesetting error, he's spelled as ElcRum not Elcum. Isabel's model for the painting, which was a life-size male head" was an Italian man.

Comment by Sally Davis: St John the Baptist was a very unusual painting in Isabel's oeuvre - one of only two paintings she did on Biblical themes and almost certainly the only Christian devotional painting that she did. The man she gave it to was Rev Charles Cunningham Elcum (1848-1930) who took up his appointment at St Agnes and St Pancras, Ullet Road Liverpool on the day it was consecrated - 21 January 1885 - and stayed in-post until after Isabel had died.

Where is the painting now? There is a tour of St Agnes and St Pancras (now Grade 1 listed) on its web pages, but I couldn't see anything on the walls that looked like Isabel's St John the Baptist. It may have been put in a cupboard somewhere. But I think that both Isabel and Rev Elcum understood the painting to be a gift to him personally - perhaps the Baptist was a saint the Reverend particularly identified with - so that he took it with him when he retired. Rev Elcum died in 1930; he doesn't seem to have married, so he had no direct heirs to leave it to. There was no sign of it on the web when I looked; which means that it hasn't been sold at a public auction in recent years; and isn't in a public collection - at least, not identified as Isabel's work. I wonder what happened to it.

Sources for Rev Charles Cunningham Elcum:

Web pages of St Agnes and St Pancras at www.stagnes.org. Consecration date from The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster volume 5 by Edward Baines, William Robert Whatton and Brooke Herford. Published 1893 by J Heywood: p156.

London Gazette 23 July 1909 p3627 for Rev Elcum as a chaplain to the Territorial Force.

He's buried - like so many friends of Isabel - in Toxteth Park Cemetery. Look for him at www.toxtethparkcemeteryinscriptions.co.uk.

Some publications:

Pitcairn: the Island, the People and the Pastor... originally by Thomas Boyles Murray (1798-1860); revised and updated by Rev C C Elcum for the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: E and J B Young and Co 1885 and later editions. There's

no suggestion that Rev Elcum ever went to Pitcairn Island!

Supplemental Hymns for Use at St Agnes Church Liverpool by Rev C C Elcum. Liverpool: Hemmin 1885. It wasn't clear from the book's entry in the British Library catalogue whether he had composed the hymns or merely selected them. Perhaps he did compose them:

A Laye of Old Londonne. A Song Written and Composed by Rev C C Elcum. Liverpool: J Smith and Son 1892.

?MAY ?JUNE 1884

Blavatsky commissioned a work from Isabel - though it was understood by both parties that she would not pay for it. Isabel was to paint a portrait of one of Blavatsky's Mahatmas, the one she called Morya. Blavatsky also commissioned the German artist Hermann Schmiechen to paint both Morya and Koot Hoomi. Colonel Olcott called on Isabel to leave with her a photograph of a drawing Blavatsky had made of Morya, which was to act as the portrait's basis. Isabel later sent the completed work to the Theosophical Society's ashram at Adyar, just outside Madras. She never heard anything more about it.

15 JUNE 1884

Isabel showed to Colonel Olcott what he called a "remarkable portrait of Mahatma M..." that she had done.

Source for Isabel showing her painting of Morya to Colonel Olcott: Colonel Olcott's diary, mentioned at theosophy.com in an article The Portraits of the Masters Part I, by Daniel Caldwell; uploaded 15 September 2006.

Date of the two paintings commissioned from Schmiechen:

Reader's Guide to the Mahatma letters to A P Sinnett editors George E Linton and Virginia Hanson. Published Adyar Chennai India: Theosophical Publishing House 1972: 243-44: confirming the date of the commissions from Schmiechen; that there were two; when he painted them; and what had happened to the finished paintings. There was no mention in this account of the Morya painting done by Isabel.

26 JUNE 1884

Isabel held a reception, to which many of her theosophist friends were invited.

Information from: an account of the life of Elliott F Coues (1842-99) at theosophywiki. The wiki says that Coues first met Colonel Olcott at this reception. Coues became a member of the TS but later turned against theosophy.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm not sure, but I think Isabel was still living at 8 Hornton Street in Kensington at this time. See the entries below for 1886/87 - Isabel was trying to establish herself as a hostess on the aesthetic/spiritualist/theosophist social circuit at around this time; this evening party was part of her attempts to do so.

SUMMER 1884

Isabel showed her Valkyrie painting for the second of five times. For this showing, at the Royal Scottish Academy, Isabel gave it a longer title: The Valkyrie Maidens Proclaiming the Death of the Sun God Balder the Beautiful.

Source:

The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990 ed Charles Baile de Laperrière. Calne: Hilmarton Manor Press 1991. There are no indications as to whether the paintings were for

sale or not. Volume 4 R-Z p615 entry for Steiger, de; Mme Isabel.

See the entries for its last showing, in autumn 1886, for more on this painting's subject-matter.

JULY-AUGUST 1884

Isabel was one of those TS members who signed a petition prepared by Francesca Arundale asking Blavatsky to agree to allow the forming of a study group within the TS's London Lodge. The group would focus on Eastern esotericism. However, when Isabel found out the terms and conditions of membership, she changed her mind about being in the group.

Source for the petition: H.P. Blavatsky: Collected Writings volume VI covering 1883-85. Compiled and with notes by Boris de Zirkoff. Published Los Angeles California: Blavatsky Writings Publication Fund 1954. You can see the piece of paper at Katinka Hesselink's website: www.katinkahesselink.net/blavatsky/articles/v6/y1884_042.htm; Isabel's signature is on the petition. See also at that website Hesselink's argument for a date of between 29 June 1884 and 16 August 1884 for the preparation and signing of the petition. Source for Isabel's change of heart: Memorabilia pp174-176.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel gave two reasons for why she decided not to become a member of this theosophical inner circle. The first one she mentions is that she feared it would involve giving up her painting. But the one that weighed more with her, I think, was Blavatsky's set of rules for the group - she thought them draconian, particularly the one that required obedience to the dictats of Blavatsky's masters, her Mahatmas.

The rules were put before Isabel by Francesca Arundale, when Isabel was spending the evening with Francesca and her mother and their house-guest Mohini Chatterjee. Isabel's second thoughts about joining the group were: "If I had thrown off one set of shackles" (I presume she means those of Christianity, particularly its Evangelical tendencies) "why should I be enslaved with fresh ones?" One sad result of her change of heart was that Isabel spent less and less time with those who didn't mind Blavatsky's rules - including Francesca Arundale, who had been a good friend up until then. It's not clear from Memorabilia whether Isabel realised at the time that this would happen; certainly she never regretted her choice to keep her intellectual independence.

Sources:

The Arundales' address at the time: see www.katinkahesselink.net above: it was 77 Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill.

For Mohini Chatterjee in London:

For why he was there: Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett. Unedited version published Theosophical History Centre 1986 and now available online. On p40 Sinnett says that Mohini Chatterjee had been brought to London by Olcott, having been taken up by Blavatsky as "a probationary chela". He and Olcott arrived at Victoria Station on 5 April 1884.

See also: www.open.ac.uk, the Open University's research project into the contribution of people from Asia in the making of Britain.

SUMMER 1884

Isabel exhibited her painting *The Greek Captive and Her Nubian Slave* at the Piccadilly Gallery, in the first exhibition held by the newly-founded Institute of Painters in Oil Colours. At this point she was still renting the studio in Holland Park Road.

Source:

Via archive.org to Catalogue of the first exhibition of the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours; published 1884: p35 catalogue number 690. Separately numbered at the back of the catalogue, the current addresses of the exhibitors: p46. Edward Sherard Kennedy, husband of GD member Florence Kennedy, also had a work in the exhibition.

Comment by Sally Davis: I don't think, from the Catalogue, that Isabel was a member of the Institute - the members all seemed to be men. So her painting must have passed the scrutiny of an all-male 'standards' committee. That must have pleased her!

BY AUTUMN 1884

Isabel had given up the studio in Holland Park and moved to one at The Studios, 8 Avonmore Road Kensington.

Source: Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 2nd Autumn Exhibition 1884. Manchester: Blacklock and Co. List of exhibitors p79.

Comment by Sally Davis: Avonmore Road is near Olympia; most of it backs onto the railway. I think Isabel continued to rent this studio until 1889.

AUTUMN 1884

Isabel exhibited her oil painting Eureka! Eureka! at the Manchester Royal Institution Art Gallery.

Sources:

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 1st Autumn Exhibition 1883. Manchester: Blacklock and Co. Isabel didn't show anything at this exhibition.

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 2nd Autumn Exhibition 1884. Manchester: Blacklock and Co. List of exhibitors p79; and p14 catalogue number 128, for sale at £35. Information taken from the 1886 exhibition but applicable to all the early ones says that each artist would be allowed a maximum of three works, with works of "moderate size" being preferred to outsize canvases. The Fine Art Society of 148 New Bond Street was the Corporation's representative in London.

Comments by Sally Davis: firstly just explaining that the original Royal Manchester Institution had presented its building and its art collection to Manchester Corporation in 1882, the corporation also taking over the organisation of the Institution's art exhibitions. After this one work, Isabel didn't show any works at the corporation's Manchester exhibitions until the early 1890s.

AUTUMN 1884

Isabel exhibited three paintings at the autumn exhibition of the Royal Society of Artists Birmingham: The Veiling of Isis; The Valkyrie Maidens, shown for the third time; and Fireside Harmony.

Source:

Royal Society of Artists Birmingham Autumn Exhibition Catalogue 1884. List of exhibitors p70. P41: The Veiling of Isis, catalogue number 440 price £20. P52 The Valkyrie Maidens, catalogue number 645, price £45. P59 Fireside Harmony catalogue number 799 for sale at £6/6. The first two paintings were in oils. Fireside Harmony was a watercolour drawing.

Comments by Sally Davis: when The Valkyrie Maidens had been shown in Scotland earlier in

the year, it had had a much longer title. Though the full title might have been on the frame, it had been curtailed for this exhibition's catalogue. Fireside Harmony might have been a preparatory sketch for part of a bigger work; but it might also have been an attempt at a domestic 'genre' subject. For more information on 'genre' paintings - very popular with the newly-wealthy middle-classes all over Europe - see

Popular 19th Century Painting: A Dictionary of European Genre Painters. By Philip Hook and Mark Poltimore. Antique Collectors' Club 1986. Isabel isn't listed at all in it, despite doing works in several of the genres covered by it.

AUTUMN 1884

Isabel exhibited two more paintings in Liverpool at the Walker Art Gallery: A Dream of Hermes; and Nature and Art.

Source:

14th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1884. P7 just to check whether P H Rathbone was still on the exhibition's hanging committee (he was). List of exhibitors p179. And list of exhibits: p20 catalogue number 266 - A Dream of Hermes, price £25; and p74 catalogue number 1213 - Nature and Art, for sale at £15. Both were oil paintings.

The next file in the life-by-dates sequence covers 1885 to the death of Anna Bonus Kingsford in February 1888.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web. Very good on bankruptcies!

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER (1836-1927). My life-by-dates continues with the period January 1885 to 22 February 1888, the day Isabel's best-beloved friend - the occultist Anna Bonus Kingsford - died.

This particular update: September 2017

SALLY DAVIS

Just re-stating the Golden Dawn connection:

Isabel de Steiger was one of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's earliest members, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888 - that is, a few months after the last event in this file. She chose the Latin motto '*Altiora peto*'. She took her time over the learning and exams required for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was initiated into it in May 1896. She moved out of London in the early 1890s and was a member of the GD's Horus temple in Bradford for a time; and then (in the late 1890s) of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh.

THE LAYOUT BELOW which I hope isn't too difficult to read.

What Isabel was doing, tends to be in italics. My comments, and the sources, are typed in my usual Times New Roman.

Lastly, before we start, a quick note on her name: she was baptised with it spelled in the French way - Isabelle - and did return to that spelling from time to time in her life. For most of her life, however, she used 'Isabel' and I'll stick with that.

DATE UNCERTAIN BUT PROBABLY 1885/86

Isabel knew another of the first women to practice medicine in England. As well as being a friend of Dr Kingsford, through the British National Association of Spiritualists she also knew Arabella Kenealy. It was Dr Kenealy that diagnosed Kingsford as suffering from TB.

Source for Dr Kenealy's diagnosis: Memorabilia p168. Isabel says that Dr Kenealy told her of Kingsford's illness; and that it would be fatal. This was, apparently, two years before Dr Kingsford actually died.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel would scarcely have needed telling that TB killed you but perhaps Dr Kenealy didn't know how Isabel's husband had died. Being told of the diagnosis by Dr Kenealy of course, was a breach of medical confidentiality but perhaps Dr Kenealy felt that someone should know Dr Kingsford's condition who might be able to help her when she became seriously ill; and that Dr Kingsford was not likely to tell anyone herself.

Arabella Kenealy LRCP was the daughter of barrister and MP Edward Vaughan Kenealy. She was quite a lot younger than Isabel, being born in 1859. She studied medicine at the London School of Medicine for Women and worked in general practice in London and Watford from 1888 to 1894. In 1894, however, she suffered such a severe attack of diphtheria that she was unable to work in medicine again. She turned instead to writing, publishing magazine articles and books on medicine; and some novels. Later in life she listed as one of her recreations the study of race improvement; so she and Isabel shared an interest in eugenics.

Source: Who Was Who volume 3 p743 although not for the year of her birth, which I got from freebmd.

DEFINITELY 1885, POSSIBLY IN APRIL/MAY

Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland's *The Virgin of the World...* was published - a book of translations of works allegedly by Hermes Trismegistus.

Comment by Sally Davis: although she doesn't mention this book in *Memorabilia*, Isabel will have been involved with the work-in-progress, as she had been with other publications by Anna Bonus Kingsford. Her painting *A Legend of the Soul...* (exhibited autumn 1887) was an illustration of *Kore kosmou*, the first of Kingsford and Maitland's translations.

Sources:

The Hermetic Works. The Virgin of the World.... translated into English with essays, introduction and notes by Dr Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland. London: George Redway 1885.

It's reproduced at www.philaletheians.co.uk as

The Hermetic Works of the Virgin of the World of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus translated, and with introductions and notes by Dr Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, authors of *The Perfect Way*. 1885 Bath: Bath Occult Reprint Series, run by Robert H Fryar who also does an introduction to the book.

Date of publication: there was no advert in the *Times* announcing this book. However in the *New Books* column, *Times* Wednesday 13 May 1995 p12 George Redway had a one-line advert announcing that its new list was available. Perhaps *The Virgin of the World* was on that list.

DURING 1885

Isabel showed two paintings at the Nineteenth Century Art Society's exhibition in their galleries in Conduit Street: a painting just described as Portrait; and The Sorceress which might be a renaming of The Enchantress.

Source:

The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art published by J W Parker and Son. Volume 60 1885 p612: exhibition review. Catalogue number 28 - Portrait; catalogue number 172 - The Sorceress.

Comment by Sally Davis: the Saturday Review's reporter had been hard-put to find any paintings in this show that deserved "more than a shuddering glance"! He or she did single out Isabel's paintings from the mass, as at least possessing some merit; although he or she thought Isabel's treatment of The Sorceress's flesh was "hard and crude" and that the painting as a whole was "full of ill-distributed accents".

DURING 1885

Isabel exhibited her painting The Enchantress for the second or third time, at the Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin.

Source for its being shown this year:

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979 compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210 as de Steiger, Mme Isabel. The Enchantress was catalogue number £98, price £100.

Comment by Sally Davis: £100 was the price Isabel had been asking for The Enchantress when she had showed it in Liverpool in 1883. It hadn't sold then, but it might have been sold on this second outing in Ireland (see entries for November 1897).

WEDNESDAYS at 4pm 9 MAY TO 1 JULY 1885 at 22 ALBEMARLE STREET

The Hermetic Society held its annual series of lectures. Isabel didn't give any of the lectures but she probably went to most if not all of the meetings. Admittance was by visitor's card.

Source: Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 5 which covers all the talks at the Hermetic Society that spring; although it doesn't give any guests lists: p224 for the announcement; pp353-54 for Isabel's letter.

Comment by Sally: Light volume 5 also covers a dispute between the Hermetic Society and Dr G Wyld, in which Dr Wyld was claiming that the Bible was not an esoteric document. Isabel wrote in to Light on the side of the Hermetic Society, saying that in her view, Dr Wyld's argument was "untenable".

3 JUNE 1885

Isabel's nephew Charles Verney Lace (son of her dead brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace) married Cécile Marguérite Forget, daughter of Isabel's husband's first employer in Liverpool.

Source: freebmd.

Also via www.genesreunited.co.uk to the Morning Post issues of 19 March 1885 and 6 June 1885: announcement of the engagement and then of the marriage at St Matthew and St James Moscley Hill.

Comment by Sally Davis: surely Isabel went to this wedding. Just noting here that the Morning Post was a national, not a local newspaper; and it was a very Conservative and

conservative paper.

SAID BY ISABEL TO BE 1885 BUT POSSIBLY 1886

Isabel returned to Brittany for the summer, and then went to Paris, where she saw an exhibition of Impressionist paintings. She wasn't impressed: she described the style as an "illness".

Source: Memorabilia p287, p290.

Comment by Sally: there's definitely a problem with Isabel's recollections here:

Website arthistory.about.com gives accounts of all 8 impressionist exhibitions; and there are discussions on wikipedia pages and elsewhere of some of the paintings exhibited at them. The 7th impressionist exhibition was held in March 1882; then four years passed before the 8th one, held at 1 rue Lafitte from May-June 1886. Neither of those dates fits Isabel's recollection so either she has got the date wrong and means 1886; or she didn't mean either of those exhibitions, but some other show involving impressionist works.

AUTUMN 1885

Once again Isabel was an exhibitor at the Walker Art Gallery's autumn exhibition. She showed just the one work, this year: "Trust her not, she is fooling thee".

Source:

15th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1885. List of exhibitors p124. List of exhibits p75 catalogue number 1254 - "Trust her not, she is fooling thee" (Isabel's quote marks), price £10.

Comment by Sally Davis: I don't know why the title is in quotes. Assuming it to be taken from a poem, I searched for the words on the web but didn't get any useful responses.

1886-1889

Isabel lived at 3 Woodstock Road Bedford Park, Chiswick. The house didn't have a studio and after three years she decided she couldn't afford to pay rent on two addresses; so she moved out of Bedford Park, back into town.

Source: Memorabilia p168, p80.

Comment by Sally Davis: several other future GD members were living in Bedford Park by the late 1880s: John and Frances Brodie-Innes, Henry and Henrietta Paget, John Todhunter and the Yeats family. I'm assuming that when she moved out of Woodstock Road, she also gave up the studio at Avonmore Road.

SUMMER 1886

Isabel showed two works at the summer exhibition of the Nineteenth Century Art Society. Both works were in oils: Strada Tiberio Capri; and Villa Pompeiana.

Source:

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Summer 1886: p3 for their whereabouts, in the large gallery which was all oil paintings; p22 for Strada Tiberio Capri, catalogue number 224, for sale at £6/6; and p24 for Villa Pompeiana, catalogue number 253, priced £7/7.

Comment by Sally Davis: it's most likely that the two paintings were landscapes, but given

Isabel's enthusiasm for Alma Tadema, they may have focused on ruined pieces of Roman architecture.

AUTUMN 1886

Isabel also had two oil paintings with figures in, in the Nineteenth Century Art Society autumn exhibition: an Odalisque, Cairo; and A Lonely Beggar in a Lonely Road, Capri.

Comment by Sally Davis, at May 2017: I still haven't been able to date Isabel's trip or trips to Capri.

Source:

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Autumn 1886; p3 for where Isabel's paintings were hung - the large gallery again. P13 for An Odalisque: Cairo, catalogue number 112 price £8/8. P21 for A Lonely Beggar... catalogue number 204, for sale at £12/12.

And just confirming from the catalogue's p49 that Isabel was a member of the Society, at least at this stage. I haven't been able to find out how long the Society lasted.

AFTER 1886, PROBABLY AFTER 1887

Isabel was invited to attend some of Lady Wilde's famous Saturday afternoons. She met Oscar Wilde at one of them but didn't really take to Lady Wilde's social circle. She also fell out with Lady Wilde when she refused Lady Wilde's request to arrange a seance in her house. Isabel was giving her own "studio receptions" at the time at her studio in Avonmore Road; which included seances.

Source: Memorabilia p81, p85-86, p107 but Isabel seems to associate it with the 1870s which can't be right.

Comment by Sally on how Isabel and Lady Wilde met: in Memorabilia Isabel mentions knowing Lady Wilde's elder son Willie, who was interested in theosophy. It was most likely Willie who invited her.

Comments by Sally on Isabel and the Wilde family: perhaps Isabel saw Lady Wilde's Saturdays as a rival to her own receptions. I've been able to tie Isabel and Lady Wilde down to the late 1880s through a work by another GD member, Anna de Brémont. de Brémont's Oscar Wilde and His Mother was published in London by Everett and Co Ltd 1911. On p42: when Anna arrived in London in mid-1886 Lady Wilde was still living in Mayfair. P57 Lady Wilde moved to Oakley St Chelsea soon after Anna began to write (which was about 1887/88). Isabel says that when she was going to Lady Wilde's Saturdays, they were in Chelsea; so she can't have been invited before 1887.

It's likely that it was through Lady Wilde that Isabel met the public raconteur Romola Tynte, whose portrait she painted in 1887 (see below).

AUTUMN 1886

Isabel showed two works at this year's autumn exhibition at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool: The Valkyrie Maidens (for the fifth and last time); and The Lost Pleiad.

Source:

16th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1886. List of exhibitors p115. List of exhibits: p12 catalogue number 93 "The Valkyrie Maidens (vide Robert Buchanan's Poem)" (my quotes), price £47/10; and p65 catalogue number 1071 - "The Lost Pleiad. Blind Merope - Hope Abandoned. Vide Edwin Arnold" (again my quotes), price £31/10. Both

were oil paintings.

Comments by Sally Davis: firstly on the Valkyrie painting's last outing. It was quite usual for Isabel to vary the title slightly when showing a painting that had been exhibited before; so by September 1886, the Valkyrie painting's title had gone through five slight variations. I'm sure she was hoping that regular art-gallery visitors would think they were seeing a new painting rather than one they might have looked at before.

This, the title included mention of the work that must have inspired it.

Sources for Robert Williams Buchanan 1841-1901: there's a wiki on him with a list of some of his works. Though these lines were not published until 1885, after the painting must have been finished, Isabel obviously thought they gave a flavour of what she was trying to portray:

Like Valkyries heavenly-eyed

From the storm-cloud trooping forth

They appear in Buchanan's *The Earthquake*. At www.robertbuchanan.co.uk you can see the full text of the poem, *The Earthquake; Or Six Days and a Sabbath* published Chatto and Windus 1885.

Comment by Sally Davis on *The Lost Pleiad*: Isabel had taken her inspiration this time from Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Lost Pleiad: A Story of the Stars* - you can read the full text at poetrynook.com. Isabel would have met Arnold in the mid-1880s at the Sinnetts' Sunday evening receptions, but she probably his poetry many years before: *The Economist* 1856 p538 issue of 17 May 1856 had a review of *The Lost Pleiad*, as one of Arnold's anthology *Griselda and Other Poems*, published in London by Bogue.

I haven't found many reviews of Isabel's exhibited paintings on the web, but it so happens that both the paintings at this year's Walker Art Gallery exhibition did get mentioned in a Liverpool newspaper:

Via [genesreunited](http://genesreunited.com) to Liverpool Mercury 1 November 1886: *The Lost Pleiad* was mentioned in the Art Notes column. And also via [genesreunited](http://genesreunited.com) to an issue of Liverpool Mercury from a few weeks later, 18 November 1886, which had comments on both the *Valkyrie Maidens* and *The Lost Pleiad*. The Mercury's critic described *The Lost Pleiad* as "very fanciful in design". I'm not sure whether that is a compliment!

Via google to *The Pall Mall Budget* which was a weekly selection of articles previously published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. *Pall Mall Budget* volume 33 described by google as 1885 but surely 1886: p83 singled out *The Lost Pleiad* for praise, in a review of the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition, describing it as "the only attempt in the direction of imaginative art in the gallery".

Just noting here that not all references to *The Lost Pleiad* mean the painting by Isabel: I noticed the Liverpool Mercury of 10 October 1887 referring to a painting with the same name by William Padgett; catalogue number 266 at the Walker Art Gallery that year.

1887

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky settled permanently in London.

Information from: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky introduced and edited by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke. Berkeley California: North Atlantic Books 2004; p14.

A more specific date found at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blavatsky_Lodge which says she arrived in England from Europe on 1 May 1887, having been invited by members of Blavatsky

Lodge.

DURING 1887

Isabel may have done a portrait of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. When the painting was for sale at a French auction house in 2001 or 2002, it was tentatively entitled 'Portrait of Madame Blavatska'.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm rather cautious about seeing the painting as a portrait of Blavatsky; and so was the French auction house. There's no doubt that the painting sold in 2001 and/or 2002 was done by Isabel in 1887: the 2001 catalogue details noted that her signature and the year were in the bottom right hand corner. The person (or entity) depicted bears no resemblance whatever to the well-known photographs of Blavatsky in later life. Perhaps Isabel was painting her subject as she would have been in her youth; or even painting Blavatsky's soul rather than her body. In Memorabilia Isabel doesn't mention having painted Blavatsky's portrait; but hardly any of her paintings are mentioned in it.

Sources for the 1887 painting sold in 2001 and/or 2002.

The painting in question can be seen, though not well, at www.artnet.com; and on Pinterest. There are more details of it at www.auction.fr which describes Isabel as a "peintre orientaliste"; and at www.auctionclub.com where Isabel is said to be German. According to both these websites, the painting was in an auction at Beussant-Lefèvre Paris. The French website gives the date of the sale as 2001 while auctionclub says it was 2002. The painting could have been for sale twice in quick succession after not having met its reserve price the first time.

A list of paintings exhibited by Isabel in 1887. Perhaps the 'madame Blavatska' is actually one of these:

1887	The Fairy Syren (sic) of the Water Lilies	
1887	Harmonia	
1887	A Legend of the Soul...	
1887	Portrait of Romola Tynte	The second of two showings
1887	The Rock Syren (sic) Singing the Storm Song	
1887	Head of Beatrice	

I don't think it's very likely that it's one of the two 'syren' paintings; and Isabel's long subtitle for what's going on in her Legend of the Soul painting makes that one an unlikely candidate. If it is not a previously unknown portrait by Isabel of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky; and if it was exhibited and not just given to the sitter, whoever that was, the two most promising paintings are: Harmonia; and Head of Beatrice.

ALSO DURING 1887

Isabel's portrait of Romola Tynte was shown at the Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts in Dublin.

Source:

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979 compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210 as de Steiger, Mme Isabel. Catalogue number 296; not for sale.

Comments by Sally Davis: Romola Tynte was the professional name of Mary Magill Tynte Potter (1852-1913), daughter of the Rev Samuel George Potter and distant cousin of Isabel's hostess acquaintance Lady Wilde. For a few years from about 1886 to the mid-1890s, Romola Tynte was known as a reciter of stories, sketches and extracts from plays, on the social circuit in private houses in Ireland, England and the USA. She was helped to establish herself in this role by both Lady Wilde and Oscar Wilde, especially when she went to America. Later she went to work for the Women's Franchise League as assistant to Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy.

I think Isabel met Romola Tynte through the Wilde family, probably at one of Lady Wilde's Saturday afternoons. Perhaps the portrait was commissioned as part of the Wildes' efforts to establish Romola's public career. When Isabel exhibited the painting it was not for sale. As it was most likely done as a favour to Lady Wilde, she probably gave it either to Lady Wilde or to Romola herself.

Sources for Romola Tynte:

For the mutual friend Jane, Lady Wilde, see her wiki.

At freepages.genealogy.rootsweb, a transcription of Fifty Years of Sheffield Church Life 1866-1916 by Rev Canon W Odom. Rev S G Potter appears in Chapter VI: well-known churchmen Odom had known personally; as vicar of St Luke's Hollis Croft from 1869; as one who revelled in controversy; and as an Orangeman whose parish was mostly occupied by Roman Catholics.

At www.worldcat.org a few copies of a pamphlet: Church and State: Controversy Between Rev S G Potter and..."Pastor Gordon". In 14 Letters. 1874 in London, Manchester and Sheffield. Pastor Gordon is John Henry Gordon.

Marriage of Mary's parents: at www.cotyroneireland.com/marriages/cookstown.html, Cookstown marriage announcements taken from the local parish registers; the Strabane Morning Post; the Londonderry Sentinel; and the Londonderry Standard. In the list published one of those papers on 11 October 1845: marriage of Rev Samuel George Potter of Cushenden county Antrim to Elizabeth daughter of Samuel Rankin Magill Esq JP of Cookstown. S G Potter described as the eldest son of Samuel Potter of Springfield county Donegal.

Rev S G Potter and his family are on the census for 1871 at an address I couldn't read fully, in the

St George district of Sheffield; a household where all except the servants had been born in Ireland.

Romola Tynte, raconteur:

Dublin Daily Express 12 May 1887: coverage of her farewell recital, under the patronage of Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar.

A [Gerard Manley] Hopkins Chronology by John McDermott. London: Macmillan 1997 p113 text and footnote. On 25th [April 1887] Hopkins went to Mrs More Madden's house to see Romola Tynte recite. She had been wearing a dress designed by Oscar Wilde. On 27th [April 1887] he went to the Antient Concert Rooms to see her farewell recital. On 1 May [1887] Hopkins told a contact that Romola was "a beautiful Sappho".

Comment by Sally Davis: does Hopkins think she is a lesbian? Or just a poet?.

At ebay and on google there was a picture of Romola Tynte in profile, originally on the front page of The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News volume 39 number 770 issue of 25 August 1888.

Not dated but probably from 1891-92: at www.christies.com, in a sale held in New York in December 2009: an autographed letter of introduction, addressed by Oscar Wilde to James B Pond, introducing Romola to Pond. Written on 16 Tyte St headed paper but without a date. Oscar Wilde describes Romola as having had “great success as a reciter” in England. The letter was published in the Holland and Hart-Davis Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde p292 with a note explaining that Pond had arranged a lecture tour in the US for Oscar Wilde, in January-March 1882.

Comment by Sally Davis: during that lecture tour Oscar met future GD member Anna de Brémont who was later a close friend of Lady Wilde and Constance Wilde.

Seen via google: autograph letter by James C Potter of New York to Romola Tynte, written during 1892 on the headed paper of the Hotel Boswyck.

At www.newspapers.com the Brooklyn Life of Saturday 3 December 1892 p18 the Social Column. Mention of a “series of entertainments” on 9 December [1892] at the St George Hotel, starring a Mr McKernan and “another celebrity” Miss Romola Tynte. It is this profile of Romola Tynte that states her real name and her relationship to the Wilde family.

At cdnc.ucr.edu, California Digital Newspaper Collection: Los Angeles Herald volume 42 number 39 issue of 20 May 1894 prints a paragraph on Romola Tynte, even though she doesn't seem to have visited LA or be about to visit it, saying that her recitals had been “a feature of New York drawing rooms the past season”. Her “earnest and spirituelle face” had been used by Poynter for his head of Christ in the dome of St Paul's Cathedral. She had also been used as a model by Lant, for his Lesbia; by Edwin Long for his Diana or Christ; and by Frank Topham for his picture of Romola.

Comment by Sally Davis on Topham's Romola: I presume Tophame was illustrating the novel Romola, by George Eliot.

Romola Tynte as a womens' rights campaigner:

The Women's Suffrate Movement: New Feminist Perspectives. Editors Maroula Joannou and June Purvis. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2009 p21 a mention of Romola as working for the Women's Franchise League; and it's October 1890.

Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy and the Victorian Feminist Movement by Maureen Wright. New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press 2011. On p143 Wright mentions Romola Tynte giving two recitals in May 1890 to raise funds for the Women's Franchise League.

Probate Registry 1914 re death of Mary Magill Tynte Potter, spinster, on 30 July 1913 in south Devon.

MARCH TO MAY 1887

Isabel showed a work at the Society of Lady Artists for the last time: The First Blossom of Spring: Almond Blossom, Capri, Italy.

Source:

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiled by Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328 as De

Steiger, Isabel; painter. Listing for 1887: catalogue number 267, for sale at £10. Isabel was still living at 3 Woodstock Road Bedford Park at the time of the exhibition.

Comment by Sally Davis: there's no mention of a visit to Capri, in Memorabilia; perhaps Isabel went there with her husband - that is, in the late 1860s or early 1870s.

SPRING 1887

Isabel exhibited three paintings at the Nineteenth Century Art Society's spring exhibition. Once again, they were all oil paintings: The Fairy Syren (sic) of the Water Lilies, Harmonia, and L'Amour de la Nuit - La Lune - Sur la Terrasse de l'Hotel; Impression du Voyage.

Source:

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Spring 1887: p3 for where all three paintings were hung. P10 for The Fairy Syren..., catalogue number 85, price £10/10; p13 for Harmonia (which I would suppose was a classically-draped female figure), catalogue number 116, and for sale at £90, which I think was the highest price Isabel demanded for a work shown with this particular Society; and p20 for L'Amour de la Nuit..., catalogue number 205, priced at £5/5.

SUMMER 1887

Isabel showed three more works at the Nineteenth Century Art Society in its summer exhibition: Old Court Daventry; The Rock Syren (sic) Singing the Storm Song; and Head of Beatrice.

Source:

"19th" Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Summer 1887. P57 for Old Court Daventry, catalogue number 271 for sale at £9/9; p49 The Rock Syren... was a charcoal drawing, catalogue number 539 for sale at £6/6; and p50 for Head of Beatrice, a study in charcoal and red chalk, catalogue number 540, priced £5/5.

Comments by Sally Davis: this catalogue was the last I could find of exhibitions held by the Nineteenth Century Art Society. If the Society held any more after summer 1887, the catalogues have been lost.

On Head of Beatrice. Isabel wasn't really into doing paintings based on characters from Shakespeare, although that was a lucrative area for genre painters. I suppose, therefore, that Beatrice was a friend or relation, though I haven't identified any likely sitter as yet (May 2017).

On Old Court Daventry: I take this painting as evidence that Isabel did visit some at least of her relations from time to time, even though they are hardly ever mentioned in Memorabilia and there are no portraits of any of them by Isabel as far as I know. In 1862 Isabel's sister Rosamund (or Rosamond) had married Edmund Charles Burton of Daventry. Burton was a solicitor, and also Town Clerk of Daventry. On census day 1881 the Burtons were living at 29 High Street Daventry with their son, and their four daughters, none of whom were called Beatrice. By 1891, Edmund Charles' father had died and he and Rosamond had moved into the family's main house, The Lodge Daventry. When I looked on the web I couldn't find any evidence of a building called 'old court' Daventry. At daventry.mapcomp.co.uk a pub called the Old Court House was mentioned, at 23 North Street; perhaps this is the building Isabel painted.

AUTUMN 1887

Isabel showed two pictures at the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition: A Legend of the Soul; and Impression de Voyage.

Source:

17th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1887. List of exhibitors p109. List of exhibits p66 catalogue number 1126 - A Legend of the Soul, price £25/10; and catalogue number 1127 - Impression de Voyage for sale at £6/6. As usual both were oil paintings.

Comment by Sally Davis: A Legend of the Soul had a sub-title: Persephone Sinking into the Abyss of Hades. Isabel also sent in a long quote, which the Corporation of Liverpool duly reproduced in the catalogue: "Persephone, wilfully straying from the Mansions of Heaven, falls under the power of the Hadean God, in other words Persephone typifying the Soul sinks into the profound depths of a material nature. Hermes Trismegistus". I haven't seen the painting but it must be an illustration of kore kosmou, the first of a group of works by the supposed Hermes Trismegistus translated by Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland, in their The Hermetic Works. The Virgin of the World (see 1885). Kingsford and Maitland saw the tale of Persphone and the Underworld in two ways: as showing how closely linked were the religions of the Classical world and the early forms of Christianity; and as an allegory of spiritual or psychological death and rebirth, a way in which it is still seen today.

At www.philalethians.co.uk you can read the full text of the book, though it has a slightly different title: The Hermetic Works of the Virgin of the World of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus translated and with introduction and notes by Dr Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, authors of The Perfect Way. 1885 Bath: Bath Occult Reprint Series, run by Robert H Fryar who also does an introd to the book.

Isabel doesn't mention A Legend of the Soul in Memorabilia. I do wonder, though, whether she had in her mind when she was painting it, that Anna Bonus Kingsford was very ill with TB: Dr Kingsford's actual death and possible rebirth on some other plane were likely to take place quite soon.

22 FEBRUARY 1888

Isabel received a telegram at her house in Bedford Park, summoning her to go to the aid of Rev Kingsford (Dr Kingsford's husband, now her widower) and Edward Maitland (her partner in esotericism) as Dr Kingsford had died during the night. Isabel went at once, shocked, as she hadn't realised Dr Kingsford was so ill.

Source for the incident though not the date: Memorabilia p168-169.

Source for the date: Biography of Anna Bonus Kingsford and her Founding of the Hermetic Society by Samuel Hopgood Hart. I bought a Kessinger Legacy Reprints in 2013 but originally the Biography was only the introductory essay to Hopgood Hart's edition of Kingsford's writings, The Credo of Christendom published 1930; p52.

Comment by Sally: it sounds from Memorabilia as though Isabel had not been able to bring herself to accept that Anna Bonus Kingsford was dying, until her death had actually taken place. It's possible, of course, that Dr Kingsford had undergone a sudden decline in the last few weeks, so that though her death was half-expected, Isabel didn't expect it so soon. However it happened, her death and the loss of her friendship, was a defining moment in Isabel's life, for all the wrong reasons. In her Memorabilia she doesn't mention any other woman to whom she was so close - her relationship with Mary Ann Atwood was not the same at all.

The death of Anna Bonus Kingsford ends this file in the life-by-dates of Isabel de Steiger. The next file covers the years the rest of 1888 to 1900; including the period when Isabel was in the Order of the Golden Dawn.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web. Very good on bankruptcies!

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER (1836-1927) This part of my life-by-dates begins with the death of Isabel's friend Dr Anna Bonus Kingsford in February 1888; and ends with a warehouse fire in the summer of 1900 in which most of Isabel's possessions were destroyed. It includes all the years in which Isabel was an active member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

THE LAYOUT BELOW which I hope isn't too difficult to read.

What Isabel was doing, tends to be in italics. My comments, and the sources, are typed in my usual Times New Roman.

Lastly, before we start, a quick note on her name: she was baptised with it spelled in the French way - Isabelle - and did return to that spelling from time to time in her life. For most of her life, however, she used 'Isabel' and I'll stick with that.

22 FEBRUARY 1888

Isabel received a telegram at her house in Bedford Park telling her that Anna Bonus Kingsford had died during the night.

Source for the incident though not the date: Memorabilia p168-169.

Source for the date: Biography of Anna Bonus Kingsford and her Founding of the Hermetic Society by Samuel Hopgood Hart. I bought a Kessinger Legacy Reprints in 2013 but originally the Biography was only the introductory essay to Hopgood Hart's edition of Kingsford's writings, *The Credo of Christendom* published 1930; p52.

Anna Bonus Kingsford died of TB. For more on Isabel's close friendship with Anna, see Part 2 of this life-by-dates.

AUTUMN 1888

Isabel showed one painting at the Walker Art Gallery's autumn exhibition: *Celebration of the Mysteries*.

Source:

Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1888. On p51a catalogue number 1261 - *Celebration of the Mysteries* which was an oil painting. Isabel was asking £100 for it, one of the highest prices she ever demanded.

Comment by Sally Davis: the drama at the heart of the painting was going to be unfamiliar to virtually everyone who saw it, so Isabel included an explanation of what was going on: "Celebration of one of the Mysteries in the Temple of Isis. The Roman lady, having no Password, is refused admittance by the Priestess. Roman Period." As with the modern web, so with the occult world - including the GD, which Isabel was just about to join - passwords are important in keeping out those who have no business to be there.

PROBABLY AUTUMN 1888

Isabel was commissioned by her friend Isabel Cooper-Oakley to paint something to be displayed on the day Mrs Cooper-Oakley would be opening her new café. Isabel painted *The Spirit of the Crystal* for the occasion; in pastels.

Source for the commission and where it was to be displayed: Memorabilia p159 and p161 but

Isabel dates the commission at 1880-81 which is several years too soon.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel Cooper-Oakley, a theosophist who had been at Girton College Cambridge, was already in business as the owner of a hat shop. The projected café was the first of the Dorothy Restaurants – women-only affairs which offered a plain lunch for a fixed price. Mrs C-O hoped that by keeping the fixed price low the Dorothys would be used by the working women of the West End, but they also became popular with wealthy women shoppers. Isabel's painting was reproduced as an illustration in the occult journal *Unknown World* volume 1 1894. Below the reproduction was a note that Isabel had painted the original in 1890 (which wasn't right); it was signed.

OCTOBER 1888

Isabel was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at the Isis-Urania temple in London.

Source for the initiation: R A G *The Golden Dawn Companion*.

Source for Isabel as a GD member: *Memorabilia* p117, p135.

Some comments on Isabel in the GD by Sally Davis: the GD's founders, William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers, had started to move towards setting up the GD in the first few months of 1888. They were both members of Anna Bonus Kingsford's Hermetic Society so Isabel would have been well-acquainted with them. I wonder if the GD would have been founded at all if Dr Kingsford hadn't died. Helen Petrovna Blavatsky was increasingly hostile towards western esotericism being studied by Theosophical Society members. The GD was a place that the Hermetic Society's members could go to, after Anna Bonus Kingsford's death, to pursue their western-oriented occult interests.

Isabel mentioned the GD several times in *Memorabilia*. She thought of it as a Rosicrucian order and referred to it as such. She saw being initiated into the GD as part of a sea-change in her life, as she moved from spiritualism, through theosophy, to being "a Rosicrucian"; and then on again to anthroposophy. At least in its early days, the GD was a Rosicrucian organisation. Members of the *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (of which Westcott was a very senior member) were asked to advise on ritual and texts for initiates to study. It only began to move in new and exciting directions - Egyptian magic, Celtic myth - later in the 1890s.

While she was an active member of the GD she took the duties of initiates very seriously: "my studies were restricted to the manuscripts of the Order". When I was beginning to investigate Isabel's life I saw several messages on the web saying that she never mentioned the GD in *Memorabilia*. This is true, in the sense that the words 'Golden Dawn' are never used in it. But I think the message-posters forgot to allow for the occult habit of always referring to things obliquely, not directly, and never by name; and also for the oaths of secrecy that members took at their initiation.

BY LATER IN 1888

Isabel had moved to 58 Blomfield Road.

Source: see the next entry - Isabel at the Grosvenor Gallery. Isabel called Blomfield Road Maida Hill, but these days we'd call it 'Little Venice'.

Comment by Sally Davis: she was still there on census day 1891.

24 NOVEMBER 1888

Isabel's *The Spirit of a Crystal* won her £5 on the opening day of Mrs Cooper-Oakley's Dorothy Restaurant.

Source for the date:

Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End by Erika Diane Rappaport. Princeton University Press 2001: p256, re footnote 146. This first Dorothy was in Mortimer Street.

Source for Isabel's competition win: *Memorabilia* p162.

Source for the interior design of the first Dorothy; and the opening of the second: *Constance: the Tragic and Scandal Life of Mrs Oscar Wilde* by Franny Moyle. London: John Murray 2011. I saw this via google and couldn't find a page number.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel was one of four women artists Mrs Cooper-Oakley asked to paint works for the opening day. Customers at the Dorothy on its first day were asked to vote for which of the four they liked best: and the vote went to *The Spirit of the Crystal*. Mrs Cooper-Oakley won't have gone to Isabel for the interior design of the Dorothy, I suppose. The walls were done in cream with crimson dados; and the room was decorated with Japanese fans and umbrellas.

The first Dorothy's opening was a relatively quiet affair but by 21 June 1889, the Dorothy in Mortimer Street had become fashionable, so that the opening of Mrs Cooper-Oakley's second café was an occasion for a big turn-out by the 'aesthetic' group. Constance Wilde attended it; and though the Dorothys were women-only an exception was made this once for Oscar. Other well-known guests included the art critic Lady Colin Campbell. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Countess Wachtmeister were also there; but Isabel probably wasn't.

POSSIBLY END OF 1888; DEFINITELY EARLY 1889

Isabel showed some paintings done in pastels in an exhibition - or possibly two exhibitions - at the Grosvenor Gallery at 135 New Bond Street in London.

Comments on the sources by Sally Davis: this is a tricky one as the evidence I've found conflicts with Isabel's own recollections; and I haven't tracked down as yet (that's September 2017) a copy of the Grosvenor Gallery's first Pastels Exhibition which took place just before Christmas in 1888. Isabel's recollections are on *Memorabilia* p159 in which she says that four of her works were all shown at the Grosvenor Gallery in one exhibition: her portraits of Patience Sinnett and Mabel Collins; *Phaedra*; and *The Spirit of the Crystal*. She doesn't give the date of the exhibition and the evidence from exhibition catalogues I've found so far suggests there were only three paintings not four; that they were not shown together; and two were not shown until 1890. *The Spirit of the Crystal* was included in the group on the back of its success at the Dorothy Restaurant. It didn't sell, though.

Sources I've found so far:

Grosvenor Gallery [etc] exhibitors; compiled by Algernon Graves and covering exhibitions at the Grosvenor to 1894. This is a set of handwritten entries, leather-bound in 3 volumes; in the collection at the National Art Library in the V&A. In Volume 1 A-F there's no entry for Isabel as 'de'; and in Volume 3 Q-Z there's no entry for her as 'S' either. However, I think Graves didn't have any better luck than I have done, finding copies of the exhibitions in which works by Isabel were shown.

I have found copies of Grosvenor Gallery exhibition catalogues for:

- Summer 1880, which was the first ever held. Future GD member Florence Kennedy exhibited a painting this time. There was nothing by Isabel in the exhibition but she may have gone along to see it, to see works by Lady Anne Blunt, whom she had met while she was living in Egypt.
- Summer 1882. GD member Henry Marriott Paget had paintings in this exhibition; but again, Isabel didn't show anything.
- Summer 1888. No works by Isabel.
- Autumn 1888. No works by Isabel.

I haven't tracked down any other catalogues from the 1880s yet.

- First Pastel Exhibition. I haven't found a catalogue yet, though I did come across evidence that the exhibition definitely took place, around November/December 1888.
- (definitely the) Second Pastel Exhibition 1890: p118 in the list of exhibitors: Isabel, at 58 "Bloofield" (sic, it's Blomfield) Road Maida Hill.. There was one work by Isabel in this exhibition: p67, catalogue number 302, "A Portrait" - which could be either Patience Sinnett or Mabel Collins.

For Isabel's works in a Grosvenor Gallery pastels exhibition in 1890 see below.

?WINTER 1888 TO EARLY 1889

Immediately after exhibiting at the Grosvenor Gallery, Isabel and a friend left England by P&O steamer. They went first to Alexandria before taking the popular boat-trip up the Nile, spending the winter at Aswan. Isabel describes her friend as "my comrade in spiritual investigations" but during this long period spent together, the friend's nit-picking behaviour strained their relationship severely.

Source for the trip and the problematic friend: Memorabilia p159 in which she doesn't give a specific date. However, she associates the long trip with the four paintings she exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery. She doesn't give the friend's name.

Cautious comment by Sally Davis: I do wonder if the comrade in spiritual investigations, who proved so irritating as a companion, was Anne Judith Penny.

5 MARCH 1889

Back in London, Isabel went to a meeting of the London Spiritualist Alliance, held in headquarters at 2 Duke Street Adelphi. Mr E Dawson Rogers, the founder of the LSA's magazine *Light*, gave a talk: Some Personal Experiences with a Sensitive.

Source:

Light: A Journal of Psychical Occult and Mystical Research volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi: p130.

2 APRIL 1889

Isabel was at the London Spiritualist Alliance's rooms again, this time to listen to Edward Maitland on The Probable Course of Development and Ultimate Issue of the Present Spiritual Movement.

Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychical Occult and Mystical Research* volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Pubg Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue number 432 Saturday 13 April 1889 pp179-182. On a list of the more prominent spiritualists in the

audience was a “Miss Bates” who might be the GD member and vigorous proponent of spiritualism Emily Katharine Bates.

9 APRIL 1889

Isabel was the speaker at a meeting of the London Spiritualist Alliance at 2 Duke Street Adelphi. Her talk was on Spiritualists and Public Worship.

Source: Light: A Journal of Psychological Occult and Mystical Research volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue number 433 Saturday 20 April 1889 p191-193.

Comment by Sally Davis:

Isabel’s talk was her contribution to an ongoing debate in spiritualist circles, about whether there should be a building where spiritualists could worship, in public, as a group. In her talk, Isabel described her own spiritual views, which encompassed both the Pantheism mentioned by Maitland in his talk the previous week, and a conviction that students of spiritual science should follow “the law of Christ” (quoting Isabel on p193). As to whether spiritualists should gather together in public to offer public acknowledgement and thanks to “the gracious Father of the universe” (quoting Isabel on p191), she didn’t think the time had yet come for such a move. She also thought that students of spiritual science such as herself each needed to follow their own path, in private. Coming together to worship as a group might suit some, but not all. Edward Maitland was at this talk and he led the discussion that took place afterwards.

AUTUMN 1889

Isabel showed two paintings at the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition: The Flight of Aurora; and The First Blush of Spring - Capri.

Source:

19th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1889. List of exhibitors p135. List of pictures p54 in Room VI which was given over to watercolour drawings; catalogue number 936 - The Flight of Aurora, described as a pastel and available at £15/15. And p43 catalogue number 722 which was an oil painting - The First Blush of Spring - Capri, price £10/10.

Comments by Sally Davis:

Firstly on The First Blush of Spring: I suppose this must be a second outing for the one Isabel had shown in 1887 at the Society of Lady Artists as First Blossom of Spring: Almond Blossom, Capri, Italy.

Secondly on the Aurora paintings - I think there are two, possibly three. In Memorabilia pp110-112 Isabel writes of a painting called “Aurora Clothed with the Dawn”. As it was “a picture after my own heart”, she never exhibited it. She took it with her as she moved from new address to new address, until it was destroyed by fire in 1900.

Perhaps Isabel’s memory was playing tricks - she was writing Memorabilia decades after many of the events in it, and without being able to use her diary entries from the time. Because not only was there a painting by Isabel called The Flight of Aurora, in pastel, exhibited in 1889; there was also another one with the same name, done in oil and shown in 1893, probably as a pair with one called The Chariot of Venus. It’s all very confusing. Or am I just making things too complicated?

19 OCTOBER 1889

Isabel went to a meeting of the Bedford Park Society to hear a talk by T L Henly. The talk was an introduction to Spiritualism.

Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychological Occult and Mystical Research* volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue number 463 Saturday 16 November 1889 pp554-555, a letter from Isabel in response to one from T L Henly about the way he was treated that evening.

Comment by Sally Davis: editions of *Light* at around this time have a lot in them by T L Henly - he was a very keen proselytiser on spiritualism's behalf. But he was the type to take umbrage very easily. He was so upset and annoyed by how the audience had behaved both during his talk and in the question-and-answer session afterwards, that he wrote a long, irritable letter to *Light* about it, which was published in the issue of 2 November 1889. Isabel wrote in response, trying to tell Henly, in the gentlest manner possible, that she at least thought he hadn't tailored his talk to fit his rather unusual audience. His talk, she thought, had placed too much emphasis on spiritualism as a release from the fear of death: such an argument was not likely to weigh as much with a group of bohemian intellectuals as with the audiences Henly was more used to. Isabel's letter was her last word on the subject. Henly didn't like her criticisms and wrote to *Light* to say so; provoking one or two other people to write in, arguing on one side or the other.

It's really interesting to discover that Isabel knew people in the Bedford Park Society in 1889. I haven't ever found a list of its members but many people who later joined the GD were living in Bedford Park at the time and were likely to have been members, if not founders, of the Society. In fact, the sequence of letters in response to Henly's complaints was closed, in *Light*'s last issue of 1889, by a short, rather brusque one from W B Yeats saying that Henly should have been prepared for robust debate, lecturing on such a controversial subject. Yeats' letter doesn't say so specifically but I think he must have been at Henly's lecture himself; perhaps he was on the Society's committee. Other people who lived nearby, were members of the GD at one time, and may have gone to Mr Hely's talk were: Florence Farr; Henrietta Paget and her husband Henry Marriott Paget; John William Brodie-Innes and his wife Frances; John Todhunter; Frederick Leigh Gardner; and Dorothea Butler. Yeats' letter was in *Light* number 469 Saturday 28 December 1889 p619.

26 NOVEMBER 1889

Isabel went once again to a meeting of the London Spiritualist Alliance at 2 Duke Street. This time the speaker was Morell Theobald, a very active member of the LSA. His talk, *Gleanings Abroad*, was an account of his recent round-the-world trip.

Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychological Occult and Mystical Research* volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue number 466 Saturday 7 December 1889 p587.

Comment by Sally Davis: Morell Theobald's brother Robert Masters Theobald, a doctor and homoeopath, was a member of the GD. He gave one or two talks at the LSA on medical matters but probably wasn't a spiritualist as he didn't go to many other LSA meetings.

7 DECEMBER 1889

There was another lecture at the Bedford Park Society, this time on theosophy, given by Colonel Henry Olcott. Isabel may have gone to this too - though she knew the subject well and I haven't found anything specifically saying that she was in the audience that evening.

Source: Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychological Occult and Mystical Research* volume IX

January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue number 467 Saturday 14 December 1889 p603 and number 468 Saturday 21 December 1889.

Comment by Sally Davis: T L Henly might have been slightly cheered to find from subsequent issues of *Light* that the Bedford Park Society gave Colonel Olcott quite as hard a time as they had given him.

10 DECEMBER 1889

Isabel gave her second talk of the year at the London Spiritualist Alliance: *Spiritualism Amongst the Poets - The Epic of Hades*.

Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychical Occult and Mystical Research* volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue number 468 Saturday 21 December 1889 p610-612.

Comment by Sally Davis. Because poetry is something that I have never got the hang of, I had never heard of the author of *The Epic of Hades*, Lewis Morris. Although I think he is not read much now, Morris was very well-known in his lifetime and has his own wikipedia page. Isabel's argument during her talk was that Lewis Morris was a spiritualist poet and the *The Epic of Hades* a spiritualist work. Amongst a number of characters mentioned in the poem as spending time in Tartarus learning from mistakes they made in their lifetimes was Phaedra. Isabel described the Phaedra of the poem as still wanting revenge; and she may have been inspired to start her own painting of Phaedra by Morris' work. The discussion which followed Isabel's talk was led by Alaric A Watts; and by Professor George Chainey of Boston Massachusetts who was in London on a lecture tour. While she was preparing her talk, Isabel had been lent the 30 November 1889 edition of *The Agnostic Journal* (I wonder who the lender was, perhaps a member of the Bedford Park Society) which had in it an article by George Chainey on *Dreamers of Dreams*.

Lewis Morris' *The Epic of Hades* was first published anonymously in London by Henry S King and Co in 1877. In 1878 Kegan Paul took it up, and published it with Morris named as its author. Kegan Paul's publication was into its fourth edition by the end of 1879; but I don't quite understand why Isabel had chosen it as a subject for a talk over a decade later.

For further on George Chainey, a convert to spiritualism who had been a Christian minister:

New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America by Mary Farrell Bednarowski. Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1989: In the Notes Section p141 note 4.

Whitman and the Irish by Joann P Krieg. Iowa City: Univ of Iowa Press 2000 p148, which covers Chainey's decisive intervention when the Boston city authorities were trying to censor Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* on grounds of obscenity. He read out Whitman's poem *To A Common Prostitute* in one of his sermons to force a decision on the matter - and the obscenity case was dropped.

DURING 1890

Although she was not a member of the new society, Isabel exhibited two works at the Grosvenor Gallery in the First Exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists: *Phaedra* "The Pale Dark Queen with Passion in her Eyes"; and *The Jewel with The Spirit of the Diamonds*.

Source:

The Exhibition Catalogue 1890: p52 catalogue number 225 for *Phaedra*; and p80 catalogue number 361 for the *Jewel* painting, which may or may not be the painting Isabel remembered as 'The Spirit of the Crystal'.

Comment by Sally Davis: see the entry for 10 December 1889: Isabel's Phaedra was inspired by Lewis Morris' *The Epic of Hades*, first published anonymously in London by Henry S King and Co in 1877, then published in 1878 by Kegan Paul with Morris' name on it.

TUESDAY 21 JANUARY 1890

Isabel went to a London Spiritualist Alliance soirée at St James's Hall. Also on the guest-list was a "Miss Bates" who might be the GD member Emily Katharine Bates, the traveller and author.

Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychological, Occult and Mystical Research*. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 10 January-December 1890 Issue number 479 published Saturday 25 January 1890 p43.

28 JULY 1890

Isabel's niece Rosamund Westbrooke Burton (daughter of Isabel's sister Rosamund) married William Rhodes of Flore Fields near Daventry.

Source: via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Northampton Mercury issues of 25 July 1890 and 1 August 1890.

At www.highsheriffnorthamptonshire.com just to give a flavour of the kind of circles Isabel's sister Rosamund was moving in: Thomas William Rhodes of Flore Fields, father of her son-in-law William Rhodes, served as high sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1876-77; and Rosamund's son-in-law Thomas William Thornton was high sheriff in 1886-87.

Via archive.org to *Baily's Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* volume 29 1877 p12 activities of the Rhodes family as members of the Pytchley and other hunts.

AUTUMN 1890

After a gap of several years, Isabel showed a painting at the Manchester Art Gallery autumn exhibition: *The Sunny South (Lyme Regis Bay)*.

Source:

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 8th Autumn Exhibition 1890. Manchester: Henry Blacklock and Co of Albert Square. List of exhibitors p59 with Isabel still at the 58 Blomfield Road address. On p22: catalogue number 239, oil painting, for sale at £10/10.

Comment by Sally Davis: until February 2017, when I began my trawl through individual exhibition catalogues in search of works by Isabel, I had no idea she ever did any landscapes - she never mentions any, in *Memorabilia*. There's no clue in *Memorabilia* as to when she might have visited Lyme Regis but perhaps she had been there earlier that summer.

AUTUMN 1890

Isabel exhibited one work at the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition: *Phaedra Meditating her Revenge*.

Source:

Missing its front cover but it's definitely the 20th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1890. List of exhibitors p122. P6 catalogue number 4 - *Phaedra Meditating on her*

Revenge; with a quote from Lewis Morris' Epic of Hades: "The Dark Pale Queen, with Passion in her Eyes". Definitely an oil painting, price £25.

Comment by Sally Davis: just making clear that this Phaedra is not the Phaedra Isabel showed at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890: that was a work in pastel, perhaps part of Isabel's preparations for the work in oil.

APRIL 1891

On the day of the 1891 census Isabel was still at 58 Blomfield Road. Her's was the only household at that address but it was a modest one, with only one general servant employed.

Isabel's eldest sister Constantia Lace, was still at Christleton Old Hall north-east of Chester, looking after her nieces Theodosia and Josephine Lace. Constantia had scaled down her household somewhat, probably after her nephew's marriage in 1885: she now employed only a cook, a housemaid and a kitchen maid. Isabel and Constantia's nephew Charles Verney Lace and his wife Cécile were living on the west side of Chester at Sealand House; in a household with a cook, two housemaids and a groom.

Isabel's sister Rosamond Burton and her husband had moved into the Burton family's main residence, The Lodge in Daventry, and were there with their unmarried daughter Blanche; as it was still term-time their son Edmund Gerald was away at Westminster School. Their lavish household included a ladies' maid (an expensive luxury) as well as a cook, two housemaids and a kitchen maid.

Rev John and Helena Turnbull were still at the vicarage at Temple Ewell. Four of their children were at home: Constance; Peveril, currently at Cambridge University but home for the holidays; John, who was working in the offices of a land agent; and Christine, who was nine. The Turnbulls had also reduced the number of their servants; they now employed only a cook and a housemaid. However, they also employed a governess for Christine, a woman called Louise Sapolin.

Source: 1891 census.

Comment by Sally Davis: although Louise Sapolin had left the Turnbulls' employment by 1901 and gone home to her brother's house in south London, the connection with the Turnbulls remained: Verney Turnbull, beginning a career in publishing, was lodging with them.

8 MAY 1891

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky died from influenza.

Comment by Sally Davis: there was an epidemic at the time.

Information on the date from: wikipedia page on Blavatsky. Several other TS sources all confirm the date but none give the source, probably an official announcement by the TS. There is a death registration on freebmd for Helena P Blavatsky, April-June quarter 1891, registered Marylebone. She was 59.

?1891

Isabel went to see Wagner's Tannhäuser. In a separate reference, she mentions going to

Bayreuth with William and Fanny Crosfield, and seeing Tannhäuser and also Lohengrin there. She continued to go to Bayreuth occasionally after this first time; she would have liked to go regularly but couldn't afford it.

Source: Memorabilia p133, p267 though neither give a date.

Trying to tie down the date: see wikipedia's page on Wagner. The date of the first performance of Tannhäuser was 1845. Wikipedia's page on Bayreuth and the Wagner festival gives the date of the first performance at Bayreuth as 1891, in a production by Cosima Wagner. I couldn't discover whether Lohengrin was also performed during the 1891 season; but I'm assuming Isabel saw them both in the same year, 1891.

Catching up with the Crosfields:

In 1881 the Crosfields, Quaker owners of a sugar and grocery business, had been living at 16 Alexandra Park, Toxteth Park Liverpool. After the death of William's father (also named William), William the younger and Fanny moved into old William Crosfield's house - Annesley, 1 Woodland Road in Aigburth, the district Isabel and Rudolf de Steiger had lived in, immediately after their marriage. This is where the Crosfields were on census day 1891, with their daughter Dora, and a cook, three housemaids and a kitchenmaid. Not part of the household, but living in a house in the grounds, were their gardener and his wife. The Crosfields sound as though they could afford to go to Bayreuth every year.

BETWEEN APRIL AND AUTUMN 1891

Isabel left London and went back to Liverpool, moving into 32 Fern Grove Sefton Park. Earliest source for the new address: see next entry - exhibition at Manchester City Art Gallery.

In Memorabilia p187 Isabel states that she went back to live in Liverpool in 1887. However, the census and other sources show her still living in London until mid-1891.

Comment by Sally Davis on this big decision: several times in Memorabilia Isabel mentions how many times she moved house and town in the later decades of her life. The Sources I've found say that between the early 1890s and 1917 she lived in Liverpool, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Bournemouth, Llangollen, and Rock Ferry just outside Birkenhead. Then at some point in the early 1920s she moved back into the city of Liverpool and stayed there. Many were stays of only a few months - those in Birmingham and Bournemouth, for example. She might have stayed in London for a few months in 1902.

I think that the deaths of Anna Bonus Kingsford and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky meant that there was less reason for Isabel to stay in London; but I do wonder whether Isabel's finances also influenced the decision to go. Isabel had been left money by her husband that had been enough for her to live on comfortably in the 1870s and 1880s; but by 1891 she may have been finding it increasingly difficult to keep up middle-class appearances on her inherited income. And of course she could never rely on any income in any year from sales of her paintings. An essay by Bryan Taylor - The Century of Inflation - shows that the years 1815-1914 were a period of deflation rather than inflation in Britain. See Bryan Taylor's article at www.globalfinancialdata.com. However, Gregory Clark's article Housing Rents, Housing Quality and Living Standards in England and Wales 1640-1909 uses Property Tax information to show that rents increased steadily from the 1850s to 1900, rising more steeply from the mid-1870s. See Clark's article (published October 1999) at faculty.econ.ucdavis.edu. Most of his statistics are based on properties owned by charities but he argues that private rents followed the same trends. Then, as now, London rents were higher than rents elsewhere.

WHILE ISABEL WAS LIVING IN LIVERPOOL

She joined the Liverpool Spiritualist Circle. She also went to some meetings of the local lodge of the Theosophical Society but was horrified to find it full of Socialists. Isabel was particularly put off by the women socialists she met, moving in these circles, calling them “rabid”, “ill-informed” and too much influenced by the men in their lives.

Source:

Memorabilia pxxi-xxii in which Isabel described herself as “By nature...a Conservative. Somehow I distrusted Liberal politicians, their politics and their selves did not seem to match”. She thought Liberals too inclined to try to please the masses. She also described herself, in a wider context, as “a pessimist” with “a vague fear of the unknown”.

Comments by Sally Davis: just noting here that the General Election of late 1918 was the first that Isabel was eligible to vote in. Socialism and its likely affect on the British Empire were in the 1890s a great unknown.

AUTUMN 1891

Isabel exhibited a second landscape at the Manchester Art Gallery exhibition: A Summer Song (Study at Boscastle).

Source:

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 9th Autumn Exhibition 1891. Manchester: Blacklock and Co. List of exhibitors p53: de Steiger, Isabel; now at 32 Fern Grove Sefton Park Liverpool. List of exhibits p39 catalogue number 466; an oil, for sale at £10.

Comment by Sally Davis: there’s no mention of a visit to Cornwall in Memorabilia but Isabel had spent time in Dorset before 1890 (see the entries for Autumn 1890) possibly as part of a wider tour of the West Country.

AUTUMN 1891

Isabel showed two works at the Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition: A Garland of Roses; and The Spirit of the Crystal.

Source:

21st Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1891. This catalogue was in a very delapidated state, with most of its page-number corners fallen off. Isabel’s paintings were catalogue numbers 935 - A Garland of Roses, price £15; and catalogue number 1208 - The Spirit of the Crystal, £20. Both were pastels.

AUTUMN 1892

Isabel showed four works at this year’s Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibition, including the only sculpture she ever exhibited - a wax-clay sculpture of a Toadstool. The paintings she showed were: Daffodils; An Avenging Angel; and Andromeda Abandoned.

Source:

22nd Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1892. This catalogue had a lot of its page-number corners missing. Catalogue number 172 - Daffodils, which was an oil painting, price £10. Catalogue number 679 - An Avenging Angel, price £25; this was a watercolour drawing. Catalogue number 1085 - Andromeda Abandoned, oil painting, for sale at £110,

which I think is the highest price Isabel ever charged. In the sculpture room catalogue number 1338 - A Toadstool, in wax-clay and costing £2/2, which makes me think it was a small work.

AUTUMN 1892

After a gap of eight years, Isabel exhibited two paintings at the autumn exhibition of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists. The paintings were Au Jardin Hôtel du Cygne Montreux; and A Garland of Roses which she had shown in Liverpool the previous year.

Source: Royal Birmingham Society of Artists 66th Autumn Exhibition 1892. List of exhibitors p73: "de Steiger, Madame Isabel"; at Fern Grove Liverpool. On p36: Au Jardin... is catalogue number 313; it was on oil painting, price £7/7. On p64 catalogue number 892, A Garland of Roses for sale at £15/15.

Comments by Sally Davis:

Firstly on the Society's slight change of name: it happened in 1885.

The sources aren't consistent about the medium Isabel used for A Garland of Roses, getting its second outing in Birmingham, after its first in Liverpool. In 1891 the Walker Art Gallery catalogue called it a pastel; The Royal Birmingham Society described it as a watercolour. Isabel exhibited A Garland... for a third time in 1894 in Dublin but unfortunately, the medium wasn't given in the Royal Hibernian Academy source I used, so I couldn't find a casting vote.

In Memorabilia Isabel doesn't specifically mention having visited Montreux; however she did visit Switzerland regularly, seeing her husband's family and then staying for several weeks elsewhere in the Alps.

Though she exhibited in one RBSA spring exhibition, 1892 was the last time Isabel showed any works at the Birmingham autumn exhibitions.

AUTUMN 1892

Isabel exhibited at the Manchester Art Gallery exhibition for the last time. She showed two works: A Song of the Greek Isles; and Princess Scheherazade.

Source:

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 10th Autumn Exhibition 1892. Manchester: Blacklock and Co. List of exhibitors p59: de Steiger, Isabel; at the 32 Fern Grove address; p34 catalogue number 362 for Song of the Greek Isles, price £50; and p44 for catalogue number 531, Princess Scheherazade for sale at £100. Both were oil paintings.

I carried on looking through the V&A's catalogues of Manchester Corporation's exhibitions until that of autumn 1899. There was nothing more by Isabel and there were far fewer exhibitors overall in the 14th Autumn Exhibition of 1896 and from then on.

Comment by Sally Davis: Princess Scheherazade had already been exhibited at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool in 1880. It hadn't sold then. Did potential buyers find £100 too much to pay for a work by a woman? Song of the Greek Isles was quite pricey too. Not having seen it, I can't say whether it was a landscape or based on an idea from mythology. In Memorabilia Isabel doesn't mention ever having visited any Greek islands but some at least would have been easy for her and her husband to get to while they were living in Egypt in the late 1860s.

OCTOBER 1892

Isabel's membership of the Theosophical Society was finally noted in its records.

Source: TS membership register.

Comment on the TS by Sally Davis: Isabel had joined the London Lodge when it was founded in 1878 (see my life-by-dates for that period). In the early 1890s, a period when many new members were recruited, the TS finally made an effort to put its membership records into some kind of order. The details of all current members were written in a series of ledgers, in no particular order so that newcomers were entered alongside people who had been members for years. The address given for Isabel at the time of this administrative exercise was the one at 32 Fern Grove Sefton Park. In the early 1890s Liverpool's TS lodge was very active. The TS lodges in Liverpool and Bradford were very close - many members of the TS in both cities were also in the GD - so Isabel would soon have found out about the GD's Horus temple in Bradford.

WHILE ISABEL WAS LIVING IN LIVERPOOL so BETWEEN MID-1891 AND 1894

Isabel went to GD rituals at the Horus Temple in Bradford for a while. However, most GD members in Bradford were business-people, so rituals were held on Sunday. Isabel had to stay in Bradford over Saturday and then Sunday night, and gave it up after a few months.

Source: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - letters mostly to Frederick Leigh Gardner from members of the GD. Letter from Isabel to Gardner no date but possibly 11 November 1897.

Comment by Sally: Isabel told Gardner she had found the travelling too difficult for her. She didn't mention the expense of two nights in a hotel in Bradford but I imagine that was an important point in her decision to give up going there.

POSSIBLY WHILE ISABEL WAS LIVING IN LIVERPOOL IN THE EARLY 1890s though evidence for such an early date is lacking

This may be the period in which she got to know the Dubourg brothers. In 1924 Isabel named one of them - John Robert Henry - as one of her two executors.

Source for her knowing the Dubourg brothers: Will of Isabelle de Steiger dated 1924 and 1926. Nothing definite beforehand but the Dubourgs had grown up in Liverpool where they and Isabel had acquaintances in common, almost certainly including Léonie Topham Steele. So I'm going to talk about them here. They are John Robert Henry Dubourg (born 1861) and his younger brother William Ernest.

Comment by Sally Davis. Firstly I'd like to thank again Richard Dubourg, great-grandson of William Ernest Dubourg, who contacted me to put right a couple of mistakes I'd made, and then sent me Isabel's Will with all its fascinating and enigmatic detail about her relationships with family and friends. Richard Dubourg has been researching the history of his family and their possible relationship with Léonie Topham Steele through the Gueyral family of France and Algiers.

Henry and William Ernest Dubourg were sons of Augustin Jules Dubourg who had come to Britain to work as a teacher of French. He had arrived in Britain by 1861 and was working in Elgin, where John Robert Henry Dubourg was born. The family's connection with Liverpool began in the 1870s when Augustin taught French at Liverpool College. By 1881 Augustin had returned to Scotland and was teaching in Edinburgh; but when his sons John Robert Henry, and William Ernest, had qualified as doctors, they both returned to set up as GPs in Liverpool and lived there until they died. Both John Robert Henry and William Ernest

studied medicine at Edinburgh University in the early 1890s. At that time Robert Henry Felkin, GD member and future founder of Stella Matutina, was on the medical faculty staff, teaching tropical medicine.

Sources for the Dubourgs:

Biographical information on the Dubourg and Gueyral families sent to me by Richard Dubourg in emails during September 2015.

Will and Codicil of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger 1924 and 1926; and Memorabilia p281.

RAG Companion p166 reproduces a list of Stella Matutina members which Gilbert believes was compiled between 1910 and 1914. Both the Dubourg brothers are on the list, William Ernest at 82 Old Hall Street Liverpool; and John Robert Henry at 120 Islington Liverpool where he was still living in 1927. Neither brother had been in the GD and Isabel was not in Stella Matutina, she was in its rival daughter Order, the Independent and Rectified Rite or Order.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM 6035516: for the birth of John Robert Henry Dubourg on 24 January 1861 at Elgin, Moray. Parents Augustin Jules Dubourg and wife Mary Anne née Osborne.

Lancashire Biogs: Rolls of Honour published 1917 p123 entry for John R H Dubourg.

GMC Registers for Henry and William Ernest Dubourg.

1893

Anne Judith Penny died. Isabel took on Mrs Penny's old role in Mrs Atwood's life, that of "chief and only correspondent".

Source: freebmd and Memorabilia p189.

Comment by Sally: Isabel makes it sound rather an onerous task! See the previous file in this life-by-dates sequence for the beginnings of Isabel's correspondence with Mrs Penny, an authority on the work of Böhme.

SPRING 1893

Isabel exhibited at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists for the last time, and for the only time at any of their spring exhibitions. From their titles at least, they might have been meant as a pair and exhibited as such: The Flight of Aurora; and The Chariot of Venus.

Source:

Royal Birmingham Society of Artists 28th Spring Exhibition 1893. List of exhibitors p66.

P54 catalogue number 637 - The Flight of Aurora; and catalogue number 639 - The Chariot of Venus. Both paintings were oils and were priced at £10/10.

Comment by Sally Davis: see the entry for Autumn 1889 for the two, possibly three, 'Aurora' paintings Isabel did. One called 'The Flight of Aurora' was exhibited in Liverpool in 1889; but it was a pastel not an oil painting, possibly part of the preparations for the work in oil.

Source for the 1889 pastel:

19th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1889. List of exhibitors p135. List of pictures p54 in Room VI which was given over to watercolour drawings; catalogue number 936 - The Flight of Aurora, described as a pastel and available at £15/15.

AUTUMNS of 1893-1900

Isabel did not show any works at all at the Corporation of Liverpool's Walker Art Gallery autumn exhibitions.

Sources for the absence: Catalogues of the exhibitions at the Walker Art Gallery 1893 to 1900.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel hadn't developed a hostility towards the Walker Art Gallery - from 1895 to 1901 she didn't show any paintings at any of the venues she had previously used. I take it that this slow-down was the result of her becoming the summer companion of Mary Ann Atwood. In the following years, Isabel's commitment to esotericism grew, and she had less and less time for her art.

8 SEPTEMBER 1893

Isabel's niece Josephine Constance Stanley Lace (younger daughter of Isabel's elder brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace) married Herbert Arthur Sutton of Kelham Hall Newark.

Comment by Sally Davis: I mention this marriage mainly because Josephine's descendants (hanging on the thread of two generations of only children) are the only descendants of Joshua and Theodosia Lace.

Sources for Herbert Arthur Sutton and Kelham Hall:

Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal a set of genealogies which trace all the descendents of Edward III; the Anne of Exeter Volume p161 has the Suttons in it. Herbert Arthur Sutton is the second son of Captain Frederick Sutton of the 11th Hussars, and his wife Georgina née Croft.

He can also be found in www.thepeerage.com: which uses Burke's Peerage as its source: his dates are 1853-1924. The descent is through Herbert Arthur and Josephine's only child Roland Manners Verney Sutton (1895-1957), then through Roland's only child Ursula Constance Sutton who married Norman Yearsley.

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Nottinghamshire Guardian of 10 September 1893: announcement of the wedding, at Christleton parish church near Chester.

For Kelham Hall and Kelham House, see www.newarkadvertiser.co.uk article 4 July 2006 on the donation of a painting of Kelham Hall, done by artist E F Holt around 1885; plus some postcards; by the painting's owner, Ursula Yearsley; to Newark and Sherwood DC.

At www.picturethepast.org.uk a photo taken 1979 of the burial plot of Herbert Arthur Sutton where he, wife Josephine and son Roland are all buried. At St Michael Averham.

1894 OR AFTER though on Memorabilia pxix Isabel equates this important change in her spiritual views to when she was 50, ie 1886

Isabel read Froude's edition of the letters of Erasmus. The book led to another move in her spiritual outlook, away from the Lutheran/Evangelical view that she had grown up with, to a more mystical one. She saw Erasmus as encouraging deep reflection and seeing the accumulation of knowledge as an intellectual equivalent to adding money into a bank account.

British Library catalogue: Life and Letters of Erasmus by James Anthony Froude. London: Longmans and Co 1894.

Source for Isabel reading them: Memorabilia pxix.

Comment by Sally: I couldn't see an edition of the Letters earlier than 1894. I think, too, that

Isabel's doing herself a disservice in attributing to the Letters the change in her understanding of her own spirituality - what she needed from religion. Perhaps what reading Erasmus did was to justify what had happened to Isabel already as a result of her own efforts in the books she had read and the people she had listened to - that may be why she wrongly dates her reading of him to nearly a decade before the book was published.

1894

Isabel contributed illustrations to the occult magazine, *The Unknown World*.

Source: journal *The Unknown World*.

Comment by Sally: *The Unknown World* was a short-lived attempt by A E Waite (as producer and editor) to start an occult magazine. It lasted only one volume's worth of monthly issues, but Isabel contributed several illustrations to the issues that did see the light of day. I would suppose that Isabel was a regular reader, as well as a contributor, while the magazine lasted. Accidents of history mean that her illustrations are one of the few of Isabel's works that still exist; which is ironic seeing she did so little illustration work.

DURING 1894

Isabel exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin for the last time. She showed two works: her pastel work *A Garland of Roses*; and *Lavinia*. Although she was about to move away, she still gave the Royal Hibernian an address in Liverpool for correspondence.

Source for the paintings exhibited:

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: *Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979* compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210 as de Steiger, Mme Isabel, at 33 (rather than 32) Fern Grove Liverpool which I presume is a type-setting error. *A Garland of Roses* is catalogue number 344, price £15/15; and *Lavinia* is catalogue number 391, at the same price.

Comments by Sally Davis: this was a third showing for *A Garland of Roses* - it had already been seen in Liverpool and Birmingham. As with so many art works by Isabel, I have no information at all on 'Lavinia'; not even whether it was a portrait or based on a literary work. As at March 2017 I don't know of anyone called Lavinia amongst Isabel's acquaintances.

PROBABLY BEFORE AUGUST 1894

Isabel moved from Liverpool to 20 Dublin Street Edinburgh. Isabel continued to be an active member of the TS. She went to the weekly meetings of the TS's Scottish Lodge, held in the Edinburgh home of its most active members, John William Brodie-Innes and his wife Frances.

Source for the move: *Memorabilia* p270 but without an exact date.

Source for Isabel's address in Edinburgh: Theosophical Society membership register but again without an exact date for the change of address.

Comment by Sally Davis: Dublin Street was on the edge of the 18th century estate known as the New Town; and about five minutes' walk from Royal Circus where the Brodie-Innes's lived. John and Frances Brodie-Innes were GD members.

4 AUGUST 1894

Isabel had a letter published in the magazine *Light* in which she said that she thought she had

seen the same ghostly face in two different photographs.

Source: Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 14 1894; issues between August and September.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel only meant to suggest that the same spirit had placed itself in the way of two photographs taken several years apart. She wasn't accusing anyone of fraud - but that's how her letter was understood by a lot of Light's readers.

The second of the two appearances of the same ghost, that Isabel thought she had seen, was in the photograph which was the frontispiece to *The Veil Lifted*, published in 1893 and edited by a member of the London Spiritualist Alliance, Andrew Glendinning. The book consisted mostly of the texts of recent lectures on spiritualism; but there were also some photographs purporting to feature spirits photographed during seances by the well-known medium David Duguid of Glasgow. That the photographs were genuine had already been doubted by *Practical Photographer*. But Isabel rapidly became thought of as the first person to question them in a spiritualist magazine. Isabel wrote to Light several times, saying that she did believe that spirits from the astral plane could be photographed in certain circumstances. The point she had been trying to make was that she thought the same spirit from the astral plane had been photographed by Mr Duguid; and in the photograph of a German painting which had been bought (the photograph, that is) by some friends of hers. She had noticed the similarity when dining with them at their house in Edinburgh and had written to Light to tell its readers about the curious coincidence.

The vehemence of the response from Light's readers, Mr Glendinning, and friends of Mr Duguid clearly took Isabel by surprise. In an attempt to pacify all the people who wrote in criticising her for something she hadn't actually said, she asked her Edinburgh friends if they would allow their photograph to be displayed at Light's offices in London so that interested parties could inspect it so as to judge how similar it was to the frontispiece. Her friends turned out to be GD and TS members John and Frances Brodie-Innes; and the series of letters in Light ended with a furious letter from John Brodie-Innes, saying that he would bring his photograph with him next time he came to London and it would be available for inspection in his barristers' chambers though certainly not in Light's offices; but he would not bring it with him unless the harassment of him and Isabel ceased. It did cease; but I've no idea what happened afterwards because Light never referred to the matter again. Duguid's photographs of spirits were faked (see wikipedia) and Isabel is credited with inadvertently starting the chain of events that led to the discovery of how the faking was done - not at all what she had intended!

WHILE ISABEL WAS LIVING IN EDINBURGH so probably mid-1890s

Isabel became very friendly with the artist Mrs Traquair. As women artists they had a problem in common - getting their paintings exhibited. Isabel was not allowed to join the Royal Scottish Academy.

Source: *Memorabilia* p183.

Comment by Sally Davis: Mrs Traquair - Phoebe Anna Traquair - is better known now than Isabel, mostly because so much of her work is still in existence; but also because she had a wider range than Isabel, doing murals as well as easel painting; she also did regular illustration work and jewellery design. There's a detailed biography of her at www.oxforddnb.com. There was no need for Isabel to take personally the refusal of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) to let her join, and I hope she didn't. Despite moving in very

cultured circles in Edinburgh and so having all the right contacts, Mrs Traquair wasn't offered membership until 1920 and even then it was only honorary. Just another case of male institutions keeping female artists down: members, naturally, got priority if exhibition space was short.

Just confirming that Isabel was never a member of the RSA: The Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1916 list of members exhibiting; compiled by Frank Rinder. Originally published 1917; British Library's copy is Kingsmead Reprints 1975: p384 Isabel isn't listed.

?MID 1890s

Isabel must have been working on her translation from the German of the letters of Councillor von Eckartshausen, which she published as *The Cloud Upon the Sanctuary*. In his introduction to *Memorabilia* (pxi) A E Waite saw this as Isabel's greatest contribution to mystical literature in English. But Isabel hardly mentions it in *Memorabilia* at all.

Source: publication date and *Memorabilia* AE Waite's Preface pxi.

BETWEEN 1894 AND 1901

Isabel exhibited no new paintings.

Comment by Sally Davis: as well as her translation of *The Cloud upon the Sanctuary*, in the mid-1890s Isabel was also preparing for her 2nd Order initiation in the GD. Reaching that level involved a lot of reading and exams as well. However, the lack of new work continued after her 2nd Order initiation and perhaps indicates a decline in Isabel's creativity and/or enthusiasm for painting.

ISSUE OF JANUARY 1895

A serialisation of *The Cloud upon the Sanctuary* began in the last issue of A E Waite's magazine *The Unknown World*.

Assuming that Isabel knew the Dubourg brothers by now:

SPRING 1895

John Robert Henry Dubourg married Rose Ellen Hutchings, in Liverpool.

Source: freebmd.

BY SUMMER 1895

Isabel was living at 7 London Street Edinburgh.

Source: *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990* editor Charles Baile de Laperrière. Calne: Hilmarton Manor Press 1991. Volume 4 R-Z p615 entry for Steiger, de; Mme Isabel:

SUMMER 1895

After a gap of a decade, Isabel exhibited a work at the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition in Edinburgh. She showed her *Lorelei* painting, borrowing it temporarily from her friends William and Fanny Crosfield, who had bought it.

Sources:

The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière. Calne: Hilmarton Manor Press 1991. Volume 4 R-Z p615 entry for Steiger, de; Mme Isabel. Catalogue number 68: The Lorelei Maiden Singing to the Fishermen Below.

Comment by Sally Davis: although Isabel continued to live in Edinburgh for several more years, this was the last year she showed anything at the RSA. The Lorelei had first been exhibited at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool in 1883; it was probably bought by the Crosfields then.

1896 TO 1900

Though she did some art work for the GD in Edinburgh, Isabel did not exhibit any paintings.

MAY 1896

Isabel was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order. I think the initiation took place in London - perhaps Isabel was in town to supervise The Cloud's publication.

Source: RAG Companion.

JUNE 1896

John Robert Henry Dubourg's only child, Gladys Osborne Dubourg, was born in Liverpool.

Source: Familysearch baptism record: 18 June 1896 at St Mary-for-the-Blind Liverpool. Also freebmd where her surname is written as 'Du Bourg'.

Comment by Sally Davis: even if Isabel didn't know the Dubourgs yet, the birth of Gladys is important because in due course, she inherited all the paintings and painting paraphernalia that Isabel had in her house at her death.

1896, PROBABLY LATE IN THE YEAR

The Cloud upon the Sanctuary by Councillor von Eckhartshausen, translated from the German and with notes by Isabel, was published in London by George Redway.

Comments by Sally Davis: the British Library doesn't have any copies earlier than the 3rd edition, published in 1909. Isabel had asked John William Brodie-Innes to do the preface. They had obviously discussed the content and meaning of the letters many times. On pvii and pviii Brodie-Innes described Isabel's work as "admirable" but doubted that von Eckhartshausen's vision of an "Interior Church" would be much welcomed by British church-goers too focused on their concept of a "Church Triumphant".

ISSUE OF 15 NOVEMBER 1896

The Cloud upon the Sanctuary was reviewed in Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine by Isabel's good friend Patience Sinnett.

Source: Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIX number 111.

DECEMBER 1896

Isabel was painting the ritual vault at the rooms used by the GD's newly-founded Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh.

Source: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73. Letter from

Isabel to the GD's Frederick Leigh Gardner; no date but has to be late December 1896.

PROBABLY 1897

Isabel read Religion and Art, Ashton-Ellis's translation of works by Wagner.

Via google to Religion und Kunst by Richard Wagner published 1880 as volume 6 of his Prose Works. Though Isabel's German was well up to reading the work in its original language, she does specifically say that it was Ashton-Ellis' translation that she read. Ashton-Ellis' work was published in 1897.

Source for Isabel reading it: Memorabilia p133.

EARLY 1897

Isabel's niece Constance Helena Burton, daughter of Isabel's sister Rosamond, married Norman McCorquodale.

Source: freebmd; I couldn't find any coverage of the wedding at www.genesreunited.co.uk.

Comment by Sally Davis: Constance's marriage was - in 19th-century terms - the best that any of Rosamond and Edmund Charles Burton's daughters made. It had a Liverpool connection: the man she was marrying was the son of George McCorquodale of Liverpool and Newton-le-Willows, founder of the stationery and publishing firm, McCorquodale and Company, that at one time held the contract to print the magazine Harpers and Queen. Constance's husband, Norman, worked for his father's firm, and so in his turn did their son. Shortly after their marriage, Constance and Norman bought Winslow Hall, on the road from Aylesbury into the town of Winslow Buckinghamshire. They were still living there when Isabel died.

Some information on the firm's founder, and on Constance's son, (also Norman) the first Baron McCorquodale: see www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk.

Constance and Norman McCorquodale are in www.thepeerage.com which uses Burke's Peerage as its main source.

Winslow Hall: a photograph of it at www.winslowhallopera.co.uk and some history; and there's also a page on it in wikipedia.

24 APRIL 1897

Isabel's nephew Charles Verney Lace died; he was the only son of Isabel's brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace.

Source, though a puzzlingly long time after the event:

Notes and Queries issue of 1904 p483 a reference to an obituary of Charles Verney Lace giving his DOD as 24 April 1897. I couldn't find a death registration on freebmd so perhaps he died abroad.

Comment by Sally Davis: although Isabel may not have known her nephew very well, his death must have been a sad occasion for her. Charles Verney Lace was only 37, and had no children, meaning that although Isabel's father had many descendants, from 1897 on there was no possibility of any of them having his surname.

JULY and AUGUST 1897

Isabel's translation of The Cloud upon the Sanctuary was serialised in Lucifer.

Source:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XX numbers 119 and 120: Isabel's translation of The Cloud...

BY ?NOVEMBER 1897

Isabel's painting The Enchantress had probably been sold. GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner had seen it and told Isabel that he'd liked to own it one day.

Source: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - a letter from Isabel to Frederick Leigh Gardner. The corner where the address and date had been has been cut away; but a handwritten note by Gerald Yorke says it was written on 11 November 1897. Yorke doesn't say why he's so sure of the date but perhaps it was because he had noted down what was on the corner that was cut away.

Comment from Sally: it's not clear from the letter exactly when Gardner had seen The Enchantress. Isabel had exhibited it in Liverpool in 1883 and in Dublin in 1885 and not since; so I'm not sure why it should be mentioned in a letter written so much later. Perhaps it hadn't sold in the 1880s and Gardner had seen it in Isabel's studio more recently. Gardner was a stockbroker - he could easily have afforded to buy a painting by Isabel. But he hadn't bought this one; nor had Isabel given it to him as a gift. The text of the letter reads as if Isabel no longer had the painting in her possession. So presumably, someone else had bought it.

IN NOVEMBER 1897

Isabel had a pupil.

Source: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - the same letter from Isabel to Frederick Leigh Gardner that I refer to immediately above this entry; probably written 11 November 1897.

Comment by Sally: Isabel mentions that as an artist she has a pupil as a glancing reference in a letter about other subjects. I haven't found any other reference to this pupil, so I can't say who it was or how long the arrangement lasted.

LATE 1890s

Isabel was living at 90 Canning Street.

Comment by Sally Davis: whether Isabel was in Edinburgh or Liverpool I can't say for sure. I looked on streetmap, hoping to find that Edinburgh hadn't got such a street, but it had. I suppose I favour it being the street in Liverpool that's meant - Isabel had spent her childhood further down the street. If it's the one in Edinburgh that's meant, it's to the west of the Prince's Street Gardens.

Source for the street but not the town: Theosophical Society membership register though there's no precise date.

VERY DIFFICULT TO DATE but likely to be 1898 at the earliest

Isabel went to a talk by Ebenezer Howard, and got involved with the garden city movement.

Source for her going to the talk: Memorabilia p99 but the date of the talk is a problem. Isabel remembers it as being during her time living in London; which she left in 1891.

Comment by Sally Davis: all the sources I've seen for Ebenezer Howard suggest that he did

not publicise his garden cities scheme until shortly before his book on the subject was published – *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* London: Swan Sonnenschein 1898. I really think Isabel must have got the date of the talk wrong, because she says that at the end of it, she paid 1 shilling for a share in the company that was being set up to build a garden city; and did some publicity work for the scheme. Two companies were founded to raise money for a garden city; but not until 1902 – so see 1902 for the next instalment.

DURING 1900

After not exhibiting any art works for several years, Isabel was preparing for a one-woman show.

Source: *Memorabilia* p279.

Comment by Sally: a one-person exhibition is a great honour for any artist and during Isabel's lifetime it was almost unheard of for a woman to be offered one. Unfortunately Isabel doesn't mention where the exhibition was going to be held. I'd bet on it being planned for either Edinburgh or Liverpool, but it doesn't really matter all that much, because the show never took place.

1900

After almost thirty years as vicar of Temple Ewell in Kent, Isabel's brother-in-law Rev John Turnbull (husband of her sister Helena) became rector of Great Linford Buckinghamshire. He remained in post there until his death in 1922 and his children continued to live in the area after the death of both their parents.

Source:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen on web so no volume number visible, but p244 in that volume.

SUMMER 1900, BEFORE AUGUST

Isabel seems to have been between addresses yet again at this time, and had put most of her possessions into store in Edinburgh while she went on her annual visit to Mrs Atwood in Yorkshire. While she was away, a fire in the Edinburgh storage warehouse destroyed virtually everything she owned, including - most catastrophically of all - most of her finished paintings and all the paraphernalia that surrounds making art - sketches, notebooks, easels, paint brushes, paints etc. Her friend Andrew Cattanach went to rescue what he could, but all he was able to save were two trunks of books. When she claimed on her insurance for her lost possessions, she got £500 and a lecture on being under-insured.

Source: *Memorabilia* p181, pp279-280.

Comments by Sally Davis: no amount of money could make up for the loss of the results of thirty years of painting.

Andrew Petri Cattanach and his wife Margaret were members of the TS's Scottish Lodge; Andrew was its secretary and its librarian. Andrew was also a GD member though Margaret never joined. In 1901 Andrew was sent by his employer, the Edinburgh paper manufacturer Cowan and Co, to work in their London office. He and Margaret stayed in England until Andrew retired in 1931.

Information on Andrew Petri Cattanach from Kenneth Jack. Kenneth has written a series of biographies of Scottish freemasons, including some of freemasons who were also in the GD.

All my files on Isabel end on a tragic note! THIS IS THE END OF THE THIRD OF MY FILES ON THE LIFE-BY-DATES OF ISABEL DE STEIGER. The first two in the sequence cover 1836 to December 1872; and 1873 to February 1888. The last in the set of four covers the period after the fire: summer 1900 to Isabel's death in February 1927.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web. Very good on bankruptcies!

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

18 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

ISABEL DE STEIGER (1836-1927). This is the last of my files detailing Isabel's life-by-dates. It covers mid-1900 to her death on the first day of 1927.

UPDATE NOVEMBER 2017

I was amazed to read an email from Barbara Lawson-Reay saying that Isabel had been a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies during 1915. By her own admission, Isabel distrusted even the Liberals, let alone the socialists – I never supposed she would support votes for women. Thanks are due to Barbara for the information and for proving that Isabel can still surprise me. Barbara researches the suffrage campaign and women's war work in North-East Wales.

Just re-stating Isabel's involvement in the GD:

Isabel de Steiger was one of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's earliest members, being initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888. She chose the Latin motto 'Altiora peto'. She took her time over the learning and exams required for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was initiated into it in May 1896. She moved out of London in the early 1890s and was a member of the GD's Horus temple in Bradford for a time; and then (in the late 1890s) of its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh.

And a brief bit of preamble from Part 3 of the life-by-dates: in the summer of 1900 Isabel put all her possessions into store in Edinburgh while she went to make her annual stay with Mary Anne Atwood. A fire broke out in the warehouse and nearly everything Isabel owned was destroyed, including her diaries and her unsold paintings and artwork.

AUGUST 1900

When she found out about the fire, Isabel was in Ilfracombe, probably with Mrs Atwood.

Source: Memorabilia p282.

Comment by Sally: although she had been spending more time on her esoteric research than on her painting in recent years, Isabel took a long time to recover from the shock of losing virtually everything she owned; and the disappointment of being deprived of a one-woman show she had been promised, recognition of herself as an artist of importance after so many years of unappreciated work. All that was left was a box retrieved from the warehouse by Andrew Cattnach; and two trunks of possessions that she had brought with her for her summer with Mrs Atwood. Mary Lodge, wife of Sir Oliver Lodge, was kind to Isabel during the next few weeks, as Isabel tried to pick up the pieces of her life.

AFTER THE FIRE OF AUGUST 1900

Isabel painted very few more art works.

Source: Memorabilia p290.

DIFFICULT TO DATE THOUGH PROBABLY AFTER SUMMER 1900; DEFINITELY BY 1903

Isabel moved to Handsworth in Birmingham to live near some (unnamed) friends who shared her theosophical interests. She doesn't say who they were. After only a year, they moved away from Birmingham, so Isabel moved back to Liverpool. Isabel got to know Sir Oliver Lodge and his wife Mary while she was living in Handsworth. Mary Lodge was an artist.

Comment by Sally Davis: the TS was beginning to flag in its efforts to keep up with Isabel's almost continual moving from place to place. I'm certainly struggling to cope. One thing I can tie down is Oliver Lodge and family in Birmingham: they arrived in the spring of 1900, after Oliver had reluctantly agreed to become the first head of the new University of Birmingham. They moved into a house called Mariemont, in Edgbaston. The Lodges came to Birmingham from Liverpool, though Isabel doesn't mention having been acquainted with them there. They did, however, have at least one mutual friend: the spiritualist F W H Myers.

Source for the move: Memorabilia p290.

Source for a new address: Theosophical Society membership register though again without a precise date. The TS noted Isabel's latest address as 23 Wretham Road and the TS member who kept the members' register updated made a note that it was in Liverpool. However, streetmap shows it was in Handsworth, Birmingham.

Source for Oliver Lodge though see also wikipedia for Oliver Lodge and his wife Mary F A Marshall.

Past Years: An Autobiography of Sir Oliver Lodge. Hodder and Stoughton 1931: pp271-75; pp276-77; pp314-315. There's no mention at all of Isabel in Lodge's book.

The source giving 1903 for Isabel living in Birmingham is: Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940 p145 entry for Isabel de Steiger.

AFTER 1900

Isabel's friendship with the Sinnetts declined.

Source: Memorabilia p266.

CENSUS DAY 1901

As so often, Isabel was not in the UK as far as I can see. Most of her relations were, though. Her eldest sister (the unmarried one) Constantia, was still living at Old Christleton Hall just outside Cheshire, with Theodosia, the elder daughter of Joshua Verney Lovett Lace and his wife (the other Theodosia). Isabel's sister Helena and her husband, Rev John Turnbull, had been at Great Linford rectory for less than a year. Their sons were all working now and lived elsewhere, so only their two daughters were at home - Constance, and Christine. With their household scaled down, the Turnbells only employed a cook and a housemaid now. Their son Verney Turnbull was in London, working as a journalist and lodging in Camberwell with Ralph Sapolin, a teacher, and his sister, the Turnbells' ex-governess Louise. Isabel's sister Rosamond and her husband Edmund Charles Burton were still living at The Lodge, Nelson Road Daventry. Although only one of their children was still at home - the youngest daughter, Blanche - the Burtons still employed a large staff: a cook, two housemaids, one kitchen maid and a ladies' maid. Their son Edmund Gerald was in London, lodging in a boarding house at 12 York Street Marylebone. He hadn't yet joined the family legal firm though he would return to Daventry later in 1901 after his marriage to Maud Attenborough.

Mentioning some of Isabel's friends, the Crosfields - William, Fanny and their daughter Dora - were now living in Sefton Park West at 3 Fulwood Park. Isabel's trustee Henry Cassels Kay and his wife Jane were still living in 11 Durham Villas Campden Hill.

Source: 1901 census.

Source for Edmund Gerald Burton's marriage: via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Northampton Mercury issue of 29 November 1901; Edmund Gerald and Maud Burton would move into Newnham Grange near Daventry after their honeymoon.

?DURING 1902

Isabel may have lived in London for a few months.

Source. I haven't found any direct evidence for this; but Isabel does seem to have gone to more meetings in and around London in 1902 than you would think she would while living elsewhere.

1902 AND LATER

Isabel subscribed to the magazine Hibbert's Journal.

Source: Memorabilia p271. Although Isabel associates it with her time in Edinburgh, its first issue was not until 1902.

Information on wikipedia gives the full title, which shows clearly why Isabel might want to read the magazine regularly. It's Hibbert's Journal: a Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy. An annual subscription in 1910 cost 10/-. Oliver Lodge was a regular contributor.

PROBABLY 1902

Isabel went to a lecture by Ponnambalam Rama-Nathan, a Tamil from Sri Lanka who had written commentaries on the gospels of St Matthew and St John.

Source for Isabel at the lecture: Superhumanity: A Suggestive Enquiry into the Mystic and Material Meaning of the Christian Word Regeneration London: Elliot Stock 1916 p28 but she's not sure when it happened - she can only pin it down to "in London a few years ago" and she doesn't mention what organisation invited him to speak. A likely date of 1902 is mentioned in

Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's New Woman by Josephine Johnson. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1975: p93; because Florence Farr heard Rama-Nathan lecture, read some of his pamphlets, and met him for the first time.

They are not in the British Library catalogue but the wikipedia page of Sir Ponnambalam Rama-Nathan, Tamil politician and solicitor-general of Sri Lanka, has the booklets that Isabel remembered and Florence Farr read:

An Eastern Exposition of the Gospel of Jesus According to St Matthew published 1898.

An Eastern Exposition of the Gospel of Jesus According to St John published 1902.

The most likely organiser of the talks is the Theosophical Society.

1902

Isabel's friendship with Francesca Arundale ceased altogether after Francesca went to live permanently in India.

Comment on the date, by Sally Davis: I found the date of Francesca's departure on a wikipedia wiki on Arundale. See the earlier files in this life-by-dates sequence for Isabel's friendship Francesca Arundale, active member of the Theosophical Society in the 1880s.

Source for the decline of the friendship: Memorabilia p266. There was no quarrel, it would appear; the two women just stopped writing to each other after a while.

1902

An illustration by Isabel was the frontispiece of A E Waite's A Book of Mystery and Vision.

Source:

A Book of Mystery and Vision by A E Waite, published London: Philip Wellby 1902. This was a book of poems by Waite, a limited edition of 250 copies. Isabel's illustration took as its starting point some verses that depict a person sitting on a cliff above the sea, in contemplation of "paths untrod, Sung on by all life's voices". Seen not by me but by Roger Wright, via archive.org 17 July 2013.

ALMOST CERTAINLY 1902 though Isabel seems to be remembering it as earlier

Isabel went to hear Ebenezer Howard give a talk on garden cities. She invested in a company that was being set up to fund the building of the first garden city; and did some publicity work for the scheme.

Comment by Sally Davis: the two biographies of Howard that I looked through both suggest that he didn't publicise his garden city scheme until around the time that his book on it was published. To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform was issued in a limited edition by Swan Sonnenschein in 1898. Serious fund-raising for building a garden city doesn't seem to have taken place before June 1902 when the Garden City Pioneer Co was founded. It was wound up 18 months later and First Garden City Ltd was set up with a share issue published in September 1903; it was this company that bought the land in Hertfordshire which became Letchworth Garden City. I suppose it must be this last company that Isabel is referring to in Memorabilia; she says she had one share in it; got a dividend of 1/6 after three years; and later gave her one share to one of her nephews. It's a puzzle, though: the meetings that formed the two companies were well publicised and well attended, including by the great and good. Isabel, however, describes the talk she attended as not publicised at all – she found out about it through a friend – and attended by about half a dozen people. Perhaps she's conflating two separate meetings.

Source for Isabel having heard the talk; though not for a date of 1902: Memorabilia p99.

Wikipedia on Sir Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928); Una Stubbs is a descendant of his. And these two biographies:

Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement by Dugald Macfadyen. Manchester University Press 1933. On p20: Howard's ideas were influenced by a novel Isabel may have known: Looking Backward by Edward Bellamy, published in the US only in 1888; though this biography says Howard didn't read it until 1898. The first lectures on garden cities were not until 1898. Garden City Association: pp24-25; Garden City Pioneer Co p38; First Garden City Ltd p39.

Lifelines 18: An Illustrated Life of Sir Ebenezer Howard by John Moss-Eccardt. Shire Publications Ltd 1973. This biography pp14-15 implies that Howard read Bellamy's novel much sooner, and worked on the ideas that became the garden city movement for ten years before his book was published. But it doesn't mention any early lectures on the subject.

At www.rickmansworthherts.com an article: The Effect of Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement on 20th Century Planning. By Norman Lucey. This article also says that Howard's garden city scheme was developed over many years; but without further details. This is the source for the meeting of the Garden Cities Association at Port Sunlight.

The 1898 edition of Howard's book wasn't well-known. The British Library only has the 2nd edition, with its revised name: Garden Cities of Tomorrow. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co Ltd 1902.

5 JUNE 1903

Henry Cassels Kay died in hospital after being involved in a carriage accident.

Sources:

Probate Registry 1903

At journals.cambridge.org, the first page of Kay's obituary in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (New Series) volume 35 no 4 October 1903 pp851-87

Comment by Sally Davis: Cassels Kay's death - so sudden and so awful - robbed Isabel not only of a long-standing friend, but also of a link with her dead husband - they had all known each other in the 1870s in Egypt. Cassels Kay had been the sole trustee of the trust fund that provided Isabel with her income. Isabel was perfectly capable of managing her own money but I haven't found any evidence either way, about whether the trust fund continued after Cassels Kay died.

24 JULY 1903

Isabel was one of the 14 members of the GD's 2nd Order who announced their intention of breaking away from the GD to form a new order, the Independent and Rectified Rite or Order (known in shorthand as the RR et AC). The group was led by A E Waite.

Source: R A Gilbert's The Golden Dawn Companion p169.

7 NOVEMBER 1903

The Independent and Rectified Rite/Order was constituted. There's no list of who was present at the ritual but I would suppose that Isabel would have been there. The RR et AC continued until Waite closed it down in 1914 but I don't know whether Isabel remained a member for that whole period.

Source: as for 24 July

Comment by Sally Davis: just noting that there's no mention of this new Order in Isabel's book, not even an oblique one. She may not have attended many of its meetings - if any - as they all took place in London and Isabel never lived there after the 1890s.

BEFORE 1905

Isabel's friend Charles Massey persuaded Isabel to publish what became On A Gold Basis. Isabel hadn't thought of publishing her many writings on the occult in this form until Massey suggested it. She offered them to the Theosophical Publishing Society, the publishing arm of the TS, but the editor, and then Annie Besant, rejected them on the grounds that they were too Christian. Massey took up Isabel's case with the TPS, but the firm was adamant, and in the end Massey resigned from the TS over it.

Source for the story of On A Gold Basis: Memorabilia p148.

Comment by Sally Davis: records in the Probate Registry say that Charles Carleton Massey of 124 Victoria Street died on 29 March 1905; so his campaign to persuade Isabel, and his arguments with the Theosophical Publishing Society, must have happened before then.

JANUARY 1905

The first issue of Occult Review was published. Isabel was a regular subscriber, a keen reader and regular contributor to the magazine until her death.

Source: Occult Review volume 1 number 1 January 1905. It was a monthly magazine, published by William Rider and Son Ltd. From 1905 until the mid-1920s it had the same editor, Ralph Shirley.

1 JUNE 1905

Isabel's niece Josephine Sutton, daughter of her brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace, died aged only 41.

Source: probate registry 1905, 1925.

POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS 1905, OR AS LATE AS 1907

Isabel began to subscribe to the magazine The Seeker, A Quarterly Magazine of Christian Mysticism, further described by its editor as "devoted to the search for God and the true self".

Source for the magazine: British Library catalogue.

Some information on The Seeker from The Expository Times 1914 p471: it was founded by the Rev George William Allen in 1905. Before 1914 he had been succeeded as its editor by Walter Leslie Wilmhurst. It survived the first World War but ceased publication in 1919.

28 JUNE 1905

Isabel resigned from the Theosophical Society.

Source: Isabel's membership record in the TS membership registers.

Comment by Sally Davis: Charles Massey's death, and the rejection of the papers that became On A Gold Basis, led to Isabel deciding she'd had enough of the TS; however, she did change her mind.

AUGUST 1905

Isabel's article Last Hours of a Mediaeval Occultist was published in Occult Review. She had been reading Aurofontina Chymica, or a Collection of Fourteen Small Treatises Concerning the First Matters of Philosophers, published in Latin in London in 1680. The body of the article was Isabel's translation of the third treatise, which concerned an alchemist and doctor who had converted from Judaism to Christianity. Isabel took issue with recent scholars who had accused the writers of the treatises of fraud.

Source: Occult Review volume 2 number 8 August 1905 pp73-75.

APRIL 1907

Isabel's niece Blanche Burton, daughter of her sister Rosamond, married Henry Bruce Campbell of Little Everdon, a barrister.

Sources: via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Northampton Mercury issues of 16 November 1906 and 19 April 1907.

20 AUGUST 1907

Isabel's brother-in-law Edmund Charles Burton, the solicitor (husband of her sister Rosamond) died.

Source: probate registry 1907 and just noting that he had not made Rosamond his executor, he had chosen two of his sons-in-law instead - Thomas William Thornton and Norman McCorquodale.

Comment by Sally Davis: I wonder very much how Isabel had got on with this hunting-shooting-local-government type man; and what she made of her sister having married him. And what did Edmund Charles make of his sister-in-law Isabel, with her esoteric leanings and her independence of mind?

OCTOBER 1907

Isabel rejoined the Theosophical Society.

Source: Isabel's membership record in the TS membership registers.

SUMMER 1907

On a Gold Basis was published, finally, by Philip Wellby, a publisher that Isabel had done work for in the past.

Comments by Sally Davis: perhaps Isabel shouldn't have bothered! Because On A Gold Basis

continued to cause her grief: both spiritualists, and theosophist followers of Annie Besant, shunned her for having published it rather than keep her occult work a secret. The reviews were reasonable, though. The Theosophical Review's reviewer was rather surprised to find it more like a student's note-book than a treatise. However, he noted that in her introduction, Isabel had stated that she hadn't wanted to offer cast-iron solutions, only to suggest possibilities and to encourage readers to study the esoteric works of the past, as well as those of the present. The review in Occult Review was also favourable, describing the work as making "fruitful and suggestive inquiries into modern problems of thought and life" and Isabel as "one of the most capable writers on the higher Alchemy" with an "industrious, truth-seeking mind".

Source for the publication: first edition.

Source for the hostile reaction of theosophists: Memorabilia p127, p147.

Sources for the reviews:

Theosophical Review volume XL number 240 August 1907 in the review section: p563-65 review by "A.A.W.", a regular reviewer at this time. There's an article in Theosophical Review volume XXXIII number 196 September 1903 to February 1904: pp443-450; by an Arthur A Wells. I imagine he is 'A.A.W.'

Occult Review volume 6 number 4 October 1907 p227. The review was written by the regular reviewer whose writing name was 'Scrutator'.

NOVEMBER 1907

Isabel was one of several annoyed readers who wrote to Occult Review to disagree with a recent article on Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland. Curiously enough, it was the photographs of Kingsford and Maitland that Isabel had disliked - she thought they didn't do

the sitters justice.

Source: Occult Review volume 6. The offending article, by Scrutator, was in the Occult Review's Modern Mystics series and was published in volume 6 number 4 October 1907 pp191-203. Isabel's letter of complaint appeared in volume 6 number 5 November 1907 pp296-97. That so many people took issue with Scrutator's article seems to have embarrassed Ralph Shirley: in volume 9 number 4 April 1909 pp183-88 he devoted a large part of his editorial to a discussion of Kingsford and Maitland and the importance of The Perfect Way.

1 MAY 1908

Isabel resigned from the TS for the second time; only this time she didn't change her mind. .

Comment by Sally Davis: the final straw was probably Annie Besant's rise to absolute power in the TS after the death of Colonel Olcott. Isabel wasn't the only long-standing member of the TS to regard with despair the election of Annie Besant as its president-for-life: in my biographies of the members of the GD who were members of TS as well, I've noticed quite a few resigning either just after she was elected, or just before, when it was clear that her election was inevitable.

Isabel said of her resignation, that "Mrs Besant and Mr Leadbeater as its leaders had lost my conscientious respect." In fact, Isabel had never liked Annie Besant's style of leadership, which she described as, "a sort of personal mania to rule alone". She had also noticed, since Besant had become the TS's dominant personality, an increasing tendency especially amongst younger and newer members, to know less and less about the alternatives to Blavatsky's approach - to have read only Blavatsky's writings.

Sources: Memorabilia pxx, p150, p263; and the TS membership register.

A bit more comment by Sally Davis: Isabel was thinking of Dr Kingsford, of course, and her emphasis on western, Christian esotericism; but also perhaps even of A P Sinnett's Buddhist-based theosophy. Besant was more interested in Hinduism than Buddhism; and where she led the TS was likely to go in future.

Some information from wikipedia on Annie Besant's involvement in theosophy: she first discovered theosophy as late as 1889. She joined the TS at once, and quickly became a leading member. She met Leadbeater in 1894 and always supported him afterwards; they worked together eg on clairvoyance. Leadbeater was ejected from the TS in 1906 after accusations that he had encouraged boys in his care to masturbate. But when Besant became the TS president, in 1907, he was let back in again.

Comment from Sally Davis on the accusations against Leadbeater: how much Isabel knew about them I can't tell, of course; probably more than the brief reference to him that she made in Memorabilia. However, I think her main objection to what happened in 1906 and 1907 was that Besant had reinstated a man against whom such accusations had been made and had overturned a decision made by the TS's ruling body. Rumours that Leadbeater was a homosexual continued to circulate for the rest of his life.

BY 1909

Isabel had moved to 399 Old Chester Road Tranmere, on the edge of the Rock Ferry district.

Source: see Eugenics Society below.

DURING 1909

Isabel joined the newly-founded Eugenics Education Society.

Source: via google to the Annual Report of the Eugenics Education Society volumes 2-6 1909 p40: a list of members living in the Liverpool area includes Madame de Steiger of 399 Old Chester Road Rock Ferry.

Comment by Sally Davis: I was really quite shocked to discover this - eugenics has such horrific connotations these days after the Nazis and others took its assumptions and aims to their logical conclusion.

The EES had two aims: the prevention of procreation by those deemed unfit (particularly, the poor who were users of the Poor Law); and the encouragement of procreation amongst those deemed the fit. I couldn't find any EES membership lists at the British Library or in the EES collection at the Wellcome Institute; so I don't know for how long Isabel continued to be a member. She certainly still held eugenicist views when she prepared *Superhumanity* for publication in 1915; though she disagreed with Nietzsche's views that the evolution of the super man would end the need for god.

Sources for the EES and its views during the time Isabel was definitely a member; not exhaustive but just giving an impression of what the EES stood for:

Times Thurs 15 October 1908 p4: coverage of a talk by the EES's president Francis Galton in which he confirmed that unlike most eugenics societies, the EES would promote procreation by the right kind of citizen as well as the more usual prevention of procreation by the wrong kind.

Times Sat 9 Oct 1909 p7 a short report on a talk at the EES: Eugenics and Military Service, the gist of which was that the labouring classes were too weak to make good soldiers.

Eugenics and the Superman: A Racial Science and a Racial Religion by Maximilian A Mügge. Isabel would certainly have read this paper, because it was originally published in *The Eugenics Review* issue of October 1909 before being sold as a separate pamphlet by the EES of 6 York Buildings Adelphi. In the paper, Mügge puts the work of Francis Galton and Nietzsche together - scientist and theorist - as the basis for the creation of the super man, who would be "the accumulated, condensed virtue of all ages and nations", by which Mügge meant the best of Buddhism, Sparta, Athens, Rome and "our Teutonic ancestors" (both quotes from p2).

A modern assessment of the EES:

Eugenics, Human Genetics and Human Failings. The Eugenics Society, its Sources and its Critics in Britain. Pauline M H Mazumdar. London, New York: Routledge 1992. The book stresses that eugenics was seen by the EES as a means of social control of the poor by the professional classes; and that members refused to acknowledge the part played by environment and social background in poverty - in keeping poor people poor.

The eugenics efforts of the Nazis are well known, but the eugenics experiments of the Americans are not: see *Neurotribes: The Legacy of Autism...* by Steve Silberman. Penguin Random House 2015.

17 MAY 1909

Isabel's old friend William Crosfield died.

Source: Probate Registry 1909.

Comment by Sally Davis: William Crosfield died in Liverpool Town Hall - I suppose while doing business of some kind there. As with the death in 1903 of Henry Cassels Kay, William Crosfield's death broke a link with Isabel's husband. Rudolf had now been dead over thirty years but I imagine it was still particularly sad for Isabel to hear of the death of his surviving executor. William had left his widow and daughter comfortably off so Fanny and Dora were able to continue to live at 3 Fulwood Park: that's where they were on the day of the 1911 census though with a slightly reduced staff of cook, one housemaid and a parlour maid.

Source for 1911: census entry.

??1909 though the friendship may date back as far as the 1840s

Isabel became or continued to be a close friend of Mary Elizabeth Pitt-Taylor, of The Lawn Rock Ferry.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel and Mary Elizabeth Pitt-Taylor may even have been related, through the marriage of Isabel's uncle Ambrose Lace to Margaret Clarke in 1822. Mary Elizabeth was the daughter of William Clarke and his wife Sarah Ann; born in 1844 at Gerard Street Liverpool. Because Clarke is such a common name, and so often mis-spelled, I haven't tried to establish whether she and Isabel's aunt Margaret were related.

If Isabel and Mary Elizabeth Clarke were related, then of course they had known each other from Isabel's adolescence and Mary Elizabeth's childhood. If they weren't, then it's likely that they got to know each other well when Isabel moved to Old Chester Road, very near to where Mary Elizabeth had been living since the 1870s.

In 1871 Mary Elizabeth Clarke - whose father had moved on from being a book-keeper to being in business on his own account - married Arthur William Pitt-Taylor, son of John Pitt-Taylor, a judge on the north-western circuit. Arthur worked in Liverpool as a cotton broker, with offices in the Queen Insurance Buildings. He and Mary Elizabeth moved into the house called The Lawn, in Rock Ferry, after their marriage and were still living there in the mid-1920s. They had three sons. Their son Francis became a doctor and was working at the Birkenhead and Wirral Children's Hospital during 1898-99. When he left, GD member William MacFarlane was appointed to replace him; though I don't know whether he met Isabel.

In her Will Isabel left Mary Elizabeth Pitt-Taylor her oval garnet and gold brooch. Mary Elizabeth did survive Isabel, but only by a few months. Her husband Arthur died in 1933.

Sources:

Baptism: www.lan-opc.org.uk baptisms at Christ Church Hunter Street, Baptism Register 1813-51 p134 entry 1068 10 February 1844.

Marriage: also at www.lan-opc.org.uk, marriages at St George Everton. Marriage Register 1869-1872 p175 entry 349.

Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs issue of 1889 p7.

Francis Stanhope Pitt-Taylor as a doctor and at the children's hospital: University of Manchester Register of Graduates seen as a snippet on google.

Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger dated 6 March 1924.

Probate Registry 1933 entry for Arthur William Pitt-Taylor.

AFTER 1910

A friend took Isabel on a drive in his car, around Queen's Drive and Liverpool's garden suburb at Wavertree. Isabel was delighted with what she saw - "new roads...adorned with trees and gardens and delightful little houses". Her admiration for City Engineer James Alexander Brodie – designer of the Queen's Drive road scheme - knew no bounds.

Sources:

Memorabilia pxx, pxxii. Isabel doesn't name the car driver, just calls him "a medical friend of mine"; but she must mean Henri Dubourg, whom she later named as executor of her Will. Henri and his brother were both GP's in Liverpool. They were members of the GD's daughter order Stella Matutina: R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion* p166 has a list of people who were active in SM at least between 1910 and 1914. Both Henri and his brother William were on it.

An account of Liverpool Garden Suburb from shortly after people moved in: seen at www.bbc.co.uk, Mersey Times but originally published in *Garden Suburbs, Villages and Homes* issue 2 summer 1912: *Life in a Garden Suburb* by Bryce Leicester. London: Co-Partnership Publications Ltd. The building of the houses started in 1910 and the first residents – who were tenants, not owner-occupiers – began to move in during 1912.

Design Culture in Liverpool 1880-1914: the Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture by Christopher Crouch. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2002: p13, p178, p182.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel's medical friend was roused to take her on this trip to Liverpool's new outskirts by listening so often to her condemning the ugly sprawl that had marked the expansion of Liverpool in the mid-19th century. The arterial road Queen's Drive was begun in 1904; 6½ miles around and a minimum of 120 feet across, it was designed by City Engineer James Alexander Brodie to ease traffic flow while bringing green space into the city. It wasn't part of Brodie's brief to build a garden suburb near it, but in 1910 the Co-Partnership Tenants Ltd put forward a plan to build such a suburb on land enclosed by Queen's Drive at Wavertree. The design of the houses in Liverpool Garden Suburb was influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement – like Letchworth, in which Isabel was an investor (see 1902). In *Memorabilia* Isabel doesn't have anything to say about the insanitary horrors that suburbs like Wavertree were designed to replace. Her enthusiasm was for the design and for the way the suburb was laid out, with its air of bringing the countryside to the city. Although it seems rather harsh of her, her attitude was consistent with her firm belief that art and beauty were as important to human society as drains and fresh air.

Isabel doesn't date her afternoon out, but it was probably quite a few years after 1910, perhaps even after World War 1.

13 APRIL 1910

Mary Anne Atwood died at Knayton Lodge, her house near Thirsk. In her Will, Mrs Atwood left Isabel a large sapphire ring.

Source for Mrs Atwood's death: probate registration.

Sources for Isabel's response: Occult Review volume 11 number 5 May 1910 p279 and Memorabilia p239. On the ring: Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger dated 6 March 1924 in which she left the ring to her nephew Verney Turnbull.

Comment by Sally Davis on Isabel's response to Mrs Atwood's death: Isabel saw herself as having the "prime duty" of editing and otherwise preparing Mrs Atwood's book to be published for a second time. As soon after the death as May 1910, she also had a letter published announcing her intention of writing a short biography of Atwood, asking for people who had letters from Atwood in their possession to contact her, and acknowledging Atwood's influence on her own *On a Gold Basis*.

Mrs Atwood's great but almost unread book was *A Suggestive Inquiry into Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy* published privately in 1850 by Mrs Atwood under her maiden name of Mary Anne South. Isabel must have been doing the editing and notes over the next few years, at the same time as two other important projects.

The other result of the death of Mrs Atwood was Isabel's decision to put together an account of her relationship with Mrs Atwood and Dr Kingsford: published in 1927 as my main source for this life-by-dates – *Memorabilia*.

LATE 1910 TO 1925

Isabel worked on and off on her last painting. She originally called it TITLE but changed it to *Castles in the Air*, probably in 1917.

Comments by Sally Davis on *Castles in the Air*: it was quite a long life, by now, that Isabel was attempting to sum up - Isabel was 76 in 1912. No more paintings are mentioned by Isabel as having been completed or even started after it. I think Isabel meant it to be her last work as an artist.

Sources:

- confirming Isabel as the painter: one of several pieces of paper attached to the back of the picture's frame has "Painted by Isabelle de [Steiger missing from right-hand end]" on it.
- the date is not so straightforward. On three different pieces of paper stuck to the back of the frame are three slightly different dates:

 "1910" written in Isabel's handwriting

 "1910 to 191" with the last number in the end-date missing

 "1917", also in Isabel's handwriting.

It all points, I think, to a long gestation period, with fallow times and many changes of mind.

The painting's meaning for Isabel: on *Memorabilia* p220 Isabel writing in 1925 when she was still working on it from time to time: on p219 she calls it a reminder of what she could have achieved if she had concentrated on her painting and not chosen to "follow many interests" ie spiritualism, theosophy and alchemy. In footnote1 on p219 she says that painting had helped her through her first years as a widow, when by her husband's death she'd been given a freedom she had never wanted. Isabel was intending to exhibit *Castles*..: on p280 says that *Castles* was "destined to be hung in the Walker Art Gallery in 1926". As at September 2017 I still haven't been able to find a copy of the WAG's autumn exhibition catalogue for that year;

to confirm that Castles.. was actually shown.

Information on its two titles and that it was for sale when exhibited:

1) the words “The Lady of Illusion, from the Greek Pilgrim’s Progress” are on one of the pieces of paper attached to the back of the frame. On another piece of paper, in Isabel’s handwriting, the address “42 Hawarden Avenue; price £150”.

Memorabilia p219: when discussing Castles... Isabel makes no mention of its earlier title.

I think that ‘the lady of illusion’ is a reference to a book: at archive.org you can see a copy of *The Greek Pilgrim’s Progress*, Generally known as *The Picture*; by “Kebeles, a disciple of Sokrates?” published by the Comparative Literature Press Philadelphia as their “Volume First” in the *Wisdom of the Ancients* series. It’s a translation from the German of a work originally in Greek; done c 1910 by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie PhD. Philadelphia: Montsalvat Press of 1501 North Marshall Street. Privately printed and published London: Leizac and Co of 46 Gt Russell Street. I couldn’t spot the actual words ‘Lady of Illusion’ anywhere; but the book was printed in a Gothic-style script that I found very difficult to read so I expect I missed them. The general idea of the book was the journey of a male seeker after truth, threatened by all sorts of snares and wrong paths, all of them described as seductive women.

2) *Castles in the Air* is the title on a ‘with care’ label that was stuck to the back of the frame; in Isabel’s handwriting; price £150; address Hawarden Avenue (no house number on this piece of paper) Liverpool. Slip signed off on behalf of Jackson and Sons (see below for more on them).

In an email to me of 29 May 2017 Ben Fernee of Caduceus Books said that ‘castles in the air’ is a phrase familiar to esotericists. To quote Ben: “The term “castle” is used by some witches to refer to their sacred space or magic circle here, and the term *Château* likewise in France. But I doubt Isabel would have encountered this usage. It is very obscure...Dr. Herbert Silberer uses it in *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism* published in 1917 to refer to the Freudian view of dreams as wish fantasies. Mostly this book is about alchemical symbolism so I think it highly likely she was aware of it. Also, putting the phrase into the title field for the British Library catalogue turns up loads of hits...”

Summing up Silberer’s wikipedia entry: 1882-1923, Viennese psychoanalyst. Originally one of Freud’s circle but disagreements over the interpretation of dreams caused them to fall out. The book Ben Fernee suggested was a possible source for ‘castles in the air’ was published in German 1914 as *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik*. Its starting point was the Rosicrucian text the *Parabola Allegory*. Silberer’s argument was that Freudian psychoanalysis can only go so far in interpreting dreams or understanding creativity.

Isabel would have agreed, I think, with Silberer’s arguments about dream interpretation. She could have read the book in German if she had been able to obtain a copy. An English translation followed very quickly: *Problems of Mysticism and Symbolism* translated by Smith Ely Jelliffe and published New York: Moffat Yard and Co; London: Kegan Paul 1917.

CENSUS DAY 1911

Census day 1911 found Isabel in the UK for once. She was still living in Rock Ferry at 399 Old Chester Road and still had enough money to employ the one basic general servant, Mary Jane Evans, aged 54. None of her close relations were living near her - the two sets that had been living in Cheshire were both now living in London. Isabel’s unmarried sister Constantia Lace and their unmarried niece Theodosia Lace had gone to 64 Ashley Gardens Westminster.

And Cécile Marguérite Lace, widow of Charles Verney Lace, was at 36 Holland Villas Road Kensington.

John and Helena Turnbull and their daughters Constance and Christine were still living in the rectory at Great Linford. John and Helena's son Verney Turnbull was a lodger in the boarding house at 110 Guilford Street Russell Square, run by William and Sarah Tizard; he was still working as a journalist. A lot had changed for Isabel's sister Rosamond: after her husband's death she had moved out of The Lodge. She was now living alone at a house called the White Lodge - still a substantial residence, with eight habitable rooms.

Constantia and Theodosia Lace, the Turnbulls, and widow Rosamond Burton were all employing roughly the same servants: a cook or housekeeper, and a housemaid or parlourmaid.

Source: 1911 census which is the first where the householder filled in the census form for their household.

AUTUMN-WINTER 1911 to 1912

Isabel spent the winter at Bournemouth. During her time there she met Alfred Russell Wallace's daughters, although she never knew the man himself.

Sources: Occult Review volume 14 number 6 December 1911 p349; and Memorabilia p213.

18 NOVEMBER 1911

Isabel began her first attempt to write Memorabilia. Perhaps she was in Bournemouth on that day, having moved there in order to begin work. In this first attempt, she got to the end of Chapter IX, the early-1870s, before putting it to one side, writing later that it "caused me much difficulty" and that what she had written to date had been "hardly in accordance with my original intention".

Source: Memorabilia p1 and p95 for (for once) a specific date.

Comment by Sally: it's clear that working on Mrs Atwood's book had caused Isabel to reflect on her own spiritual journey - which was entering yet another new phase.

DECEMBER 1911 and again FEBRUARY 1912

An article and a letter by Isabel on A E Waite's The Secret Traditions of Freemasonry appeared in Occult Review. Although she praised Waite's book as "magnificent and monumental" she pointed out that his attitude towards the work of Mary Anne Atwood had changed since his magazine The Unknown World and his book Lives of the Alchemical Philosophers and - in Isabel's opinion - for the worse. She took the opportunity to announce the imminent publication of her own new edition of Atwood's A Suggestive Inquiry....

Source: Occult Review volume 14 number 6 December 1911 pp346-349 and Occult Review volumn 15 number 2 February 1912 pp105-06.

NOVEMBER 1912

The Alchemical Society was founded as a forum for the study of alchemy in theory and practise. Isabel and A E Waite both joined it, and maintained friendly relations despite

Isabel's recent criticisms of Waite's attitude to Mary Ann Atwood. They were the Society's two honorary vice-presidents during the two years of its existence. The Society held meetings each month.

Source: Memorabilia p273 but Isabel dates the founding of the Society as January 1913. Perhaps that's the date she first went to a meeting. I'm supposing most meetings were held in London.

Source for the Society's founding and for Waite's changed attitude towards the work of Mary Ann Atwood: A E Waite: Magician of Many Parts by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough: Crucible 1987: p151-52.

1 JANUARY 1913

Isabel read an article in the weekly paper *The Christian Commonwealth* which she identified with: it argued that programmes of social reform should be seen as complementing religious commitment, not as replacing it.

Source: *The Christian Commonwealth* volume 33 issue 1629 of Wednesday 1 January 1913. Page 251: Religion and Social Reform, by Rev E W Lewis. The subtitle of Rev Lewis' argument was: "does religion need to be saved from the social reformer?", too many of whom (he argued) had no particular religious belief and wanted to improve social conditions by taking action, rather than through prayer and contemplation. Isabel agreed very strongly with Rev Lewis' argument that social reform without religious practice would always result in a lack of quality of life; and she incorporated a reference to it in the book form of *Superhumanity* (its page 118). He also argued that the Church must resist any attempt by social reformers to use it for their purposes; he especially mentioned the extension of the right to vote, in this context. Religious observance and social reform were not an 'either/or'; but if it came to a choice of one or the other, Society would be the better for choosing the Church rather than a programme of social reform. I don't know whether Isabel would have been quite so comfortable with Rev Lewis's parting shot, though: that if the Church, rather than social reformers, was to undertake to improve society, it could only be after the Church itself had undergone "the biggest revolution the world has ever seen".

If Isabel read the paper's next issue, that of Wednesday 8 January 1913, she will have seen an editorial quoting evidence for a continuation of the decline in church and Sunday school attendance that had begun in 1906; using figures from churches in Liverpool. She will also have seen a riposte to Rev Lewis' argument, by Herbert Burrows.

Source: *The Christian Commonwealth* volume 33 number 1630 issue of Wednesday 8 January 1913 p273, p270.

Comment by Sally Davis: *The Christian Commonwealth* was first published in 1881; it managed to survive changing times, and the first World War, but ceased publication in September 1919.

Judging from adverts and articles in the issues of January 1913 its Christian stance was a broad-minded one: there was coverage of the visit to England by Abdul Baha, the current leader of the Ba'hai faith, that *The Christian Commonwealth* had helped to publicise and promote. There were adverts for talks on Buddhism. There were interviews with a member of the Society for Psychical Research and Mrs Sophie Bryant, current head-mistress of the North London Collegiate School. In 1913 issues cost 1d at the newspaper stall or shop; or 6 shillings and 6d for a yearly subscription.

SPRING 1913 TO AUGUST 1914

Isabel's book Superhumanity was published in several parts in the journal The Path. This was the work Isabel was particularly thinking of when she said her writings were looking ahead to the Age of Aquarius, an Age Isabel thought would be accompanied by "a further step forward in man's evolution".

More information on magazine The Path from Villeneuve's Rudolf Steiner in Britain (for full publication details see just below) p245, 248 The Path had been set up by the newly founded (or possibly re-founded) Theosophical Society Scottish Section; its first issue had been published in July 1910. It was printed by the Blavatsky Institute, whose headquarters were at Hale near Altrincham in Cheshire. The British Library catalogue has volumes 1 to 4, probably all that were issued; they cover July 1910 to September 1914.

Sources for the serialising of the book: Occult Review volume 17 number 5 May 1913 p295, Occult Review volume 20 number 2 August 1914 p120 and Memorabilia p136, p274-75.

Some sources for the Blavatsky Institute:

The Theosophist volume 32 1911 p155; catalogue.nla.gov.au, in the introduction to its issues of The Path; and www.suffolkpainters.co.uk, biography of Alice Leisenring.

Comments by Sally Davis:

1) The central figures in the Theosophical Society in Scotland were Isabel's friends John William Brodie-Innes and his wife Frances: in the 1890s the TS Edinburgh branch used to meet at their house.

2) I've come across this feeling that Humanity was at or approaching the dawn of a new and better age in quite a few works by GD and TS members. Even the first World War didn't put an end to the hopes of some of them.

19 JULY TO 2 AUGUST 1913

Isabel attended the Steiner-influenced 5th International Summer School, held at the Peebles Hotel-Hydro.

Source for the occasion: Memorabilia but I can't find the page number!

Source for the exact dates and place: Rudolf Steiner in Britain: A Documentation of his Ten Visits. Volume 1 1902-21. By Crispian Villeneuve. Forest Row: Temple Lodge 2004 p412 quoting the official announcement, published in the TS's members' magazine The Vahan. Just noting from p11 of this volume that Isabel could have met Steiner in London as early as 1902. He also visited in 1903, 1904, 1905 and spring 1913; then not again until 1922.

?1913; or possibly as late as 1923

Isabel joined what she called the Anthroposophical Society of Spiritual Science.

Source: Memorabilia p135

Website www.anthroposophy.org.uk is the Society's own: a spiritual path respecting the freedom of the individual; and recognising that freedom was something inside you, to be worked towards through spiritual development. Founded 1913 in Switzerland by Rudolf Steiner as the Anthroposophical Society; then re-founded in 1923 together with the new School of Spiritual Science.

Information from wikipedia on Rudolf Steiner: born 1861 Croatia; died 1925 Switzerland. From 1902 to 1913 Steiner was involved with the Theosophical Society in Europe.

Comment by Sally: Steiner's idea that each person should follow their own spiritual path; and

his emphasis on meditation; were tailor-made for Isabel.

14 NOVEMBER 1913

Isabel read her paper *The Hermetic Mystery* at an Alchemical Society meeting. It was later published in the Society's Transactions.

Source: *Memorabilia* p274.

EARLY 1914

Christian David Ginsburg died.

Comment by Sally Davis: see 1864 for Isabel meeting him through the Crosfields; and 1883 for why Isabel might not have been aware that he had died; though from her mentions of the work of Jewish scholars on the books of the Old Testament, she still appreciated her discussions with him on the subject.

1914

Isabel's nephew Verney Cameron Turnbull's book *Stories from Robert Browning* was published.

Source: the book - *Stories from Robert Browning* by V Cameron Turnbull with 12 illustrations by Sybil Barham. London: George G Harrap and Co of 2-3 Portsmouth Street Kingsway. 1914

Comment by Sally Davis: this may be of no relevance to Isabel at all. The book's dedicated to Verney's parents - Isabel's sister Helena Turnbull and her husband the Rev John - and there's no mention of Isabel anywhere in it. I include it in this life-by-dates for three reasons: firstly, Verney ended his working life as a reader for a publishing company - perhaps Harrap was that company; secondly, this book is the only item I've found published by any of Isabel's close relations; and thirdly, while she ignored many of her nieces and nephews, Isabel did leave something to Verney in her Will.

1914

A E Waite closed down the Independent and Rectified Rite or Order, which had been dogged by the same kind of internal strife that had bedevilled the GD. I'm not sure that the closure made much difference to Isabel as she hadn't been a very active member of the Order.

R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion* published Wellingborough Northants, The Aquarian Press 1986 p175.

BY SUMMER 1914

Isabel had moved to Llangollen where she was living in a house called Vron Dêg. She was still living there in mid-1915.

Source: *Occult Review* volume 20 number 1 July 1914 pp45-47; and *Occult Review* volume 21 number 6 June 1915 pp356-57.

JULY 1914

Once again Isabel felt herself called upon to defend the reputation of Anna Bonus Kingsford, and to a lesser extent Edward Maitland; this time against an article in the magazine *The*

Seeker. What had upset Isabel particularly was the article's suggestion that Dr Kingsford was not a genuine mystic, just a woman exploiting occult teachings for her own ends; and that she was making money during her lifetime from selling patent medicines.

Source: Occult Review volume 20 number 1 July 1914 pp45-47. The article that had so annoyed her had been published in The Seeker's issue of May 1914.

1914-18

I think the War delayed the re-publication of Mrs Atwood's book.

DECEMBER 1914 TO DECEMBER 1915

Isabel was on the committee of the Llangollen branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, stepping down only because she was about to leave the district. She and Bertha Aikin also ran a members' reading group that year.

Source:

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Minute Books of the Llangollen branch; December 1914 to December 1915. Seen by Barbara Lawson-Reay who sent me the details by email November 1917.

Comment by Sally Davis: Barbara has been researching the members of Llangollen's NUWSS and has come up with a possible reason why Isabel moved there – even if it was for only a short time. She has found that Bertha Aikin, née Gorst, had been born in Thornton Hough near Rock Ferry; and that she was an artist and etcher. Perhaps Isabel had known Bertha in Liverpool.

BY JUNE 1915

Isabel had inherited a manuscript entitled Divine Revelations and Prophecies, apparently written down by Mrs Jane Lead (sic). Isabel was particularly curious about one prophecy, headed, 'Remarkable Prophecy by a Jew' which predicted the birth of an Englishman who would build a new Jerusalem and convert the Jews to Christianity. She wrote to Occult Review wondering if any readers knew who the Jewish prophet might have been.

Source: Occult Review volume 21 number 6 June 1915 pp356-57. Looking through the volumes for the next few years, I couldn't find any reply to Isabel's query.

Comment by Sally Davis: Isabel didn't mention who she had inherited this manuscript from; or how long she had owned it herself. Perhaps it had been Mrs Atwood's.

END OF 1915/BEGINNING OF 1916

Isabel left Llangollen.

Source: at cymru1914.org is the edition of the Llangollen Advertiser for 17 December 1915 in which there's an advert for Vron Deg, available to be let.

Comment by Sally Davis: I suppose she moved back to Rock Ferry; she was certainly living there again by March 1917.

1916

Isabel's articles in the magazine The Path (1913) were published in book form as Superhumanity: A Suggestive Enquiry into the Mystic and Material Meaning of the Christian Word Regeneration.

Source: the book, published London: Elliot Stock of 7 Paternoster Row EC.

Comment by Sally Davis: in the Preface Isabel admitted that, as articles, her ideas had only reached “a small circle of readers”. Their response, though, had been “so gratifying and stimulating” that she had been encouraged to publish the articles as a book. She felt like a Cassandra in doing so, however. Superhumanity would be drawing attention to an “unforeseen crisis” of Christianity that was being overlooked by a world at war. If something was not done about the crisis as a matter of urgency, the human species was in danger of a second Fall and Christianity would lose its status as the world’s dominant religion and source of social organisation. The second Fall would also delay or even prevent the achievement by the human species of a higher level of spiritual development: the superhumanity of the title. Isabel envisaged that super-human status would be achieved by means of eugenics - the procreation of those who were more spiritually advanced than the rest of society and the discouragement of procreation amongst those who were less so.

Source for Isabel’s reasons for publishing: Preface pv-vi.

1917 AND PROBABLY FOR MANY YEARS BEFORE

Isabel was a regular reader of the Daily Mail for which she had an “esteem” which was “extreme”. However, an article called ‘Psychic Brain Storms’ had annoyed her and she wrote to the Occult Review to denounce it, especially its “contemptible” treatment of the work of spiritualist Sir Oliver Lodge - apparently the Mail had called his latest publication a “Spook Book”.

Source: Occult Review volume 25 number 3 March 1917 pp174-75.

BY MARCH 1917

Isabel had moved back to Rock Ferry.

Source: Occult Review volume 25 number 3 March 1917 pp174-75.

AUTUMN 1917

Isabel’s Superhumanity was published in book form, by publisher Elliot Stock. The subtitle Isabel had chosen for the work consciously echoed Mrs Atwood’s book. It was “A Suggestive Inquiry into the Material and Mystic Meaning of the Word Regeneration”.

Source: Occult Review volume 26 number 4 October 1917 p241 in the forthcoming publications section.

22 FEBRUARY 1918

After a gap of several years, Isabel went back to writing Memorabilia, beginning again with Chapter X and the 1870s and possibly revising one or two chapters she’d written earlier. By this time she was aware of post-Impressionism and even Cubism, but felt that both styles reduced art solely to an expression of feeling and refused the challenge of painting in three dimensions.

Source: Memorabilia p95, p110-11.

SPRING 1918

Isabel’s new edition of Mary Anne South’s A Suggestive Inquiry into Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy was finally published, under Miss South’s married name of Atwood. Some people wrote to Isabel to congratulate her on the editing and other work she had done to get it

back in the public domain. However, A E Waite in Occult Review mentioned only Walter Leslie Wilmhurst as author (Wilmhurst had done the introduction but nothing else) setting a trend that still continues of ignoring Isabel's far greater contribution. One friend who wrote to Isabel to acknowledge what she had done was ex-GD member Sydney Turner Klein; he and Isabel had corresponded for many years and continued to exchange letters at least until 1925. Klein thought Isabel should have done the introduction herself but Isabel felt that - given the book's intellectual nature - a man was better suited to the task of introducing it.

What Isabel considered her final task as Mrs Atwood's last pupil was done. Looking back at the re-issue at the end of the 1920s, she felt depressed about the outcome. She felt that hardly any more people had read the re-issued work than had read the original publication.

Publication details for the new edition of Mary Anne South's book: A Suggestive Inquiry into Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy by Mary Anne Atwood, published in Belfast by William Tait and in London by the well-known esoteric publisher and book-shop owner J M Watkins. With an Introduction by Walter Leslie Wilmhurst. Watkins knew many members of the GD and published books by several of them; however, he was never a GD member himself.

Source for Waite's misleading review: Occult Review volume 28 number 1 July 1918 pp44-46, article by A E Waite: The Hermetic Tradition.

Source for Isabel's reflections: Memorabilia p221, p240.

Comment by Sally: for a website which completely ignores Isabel's contribution, see wikipedia's page on the book, where Wilmhurst is given all the credit and Isabel's name isn't even mentioned.

20 MAY 1918

Isabel's sister Rosamond Elizabeth Burton died.

Source: Probate Registry 1918.

SUMMER 1918

The effort she had made, over several years, to resurrect Mrs Atwood's great work, had left Isabel feeling tired and in low spirits but she was still reading Occult Review regularly, and with care. She wrote to agree with an article by Richard Bush in which he argued that a child was conceived by the actions of the parents, not by the direct action of God. However, she did still believe that there was a "spiritual tincture" in a human foetus that lifted it above the foetus of any other animal. This spiritual tincture gave Man a capacity to rise to a super-human state of being, provided Man had true faith in God.

Source: Occult Review volume 28 number 1 July 1918 pp47-48.

Comment by Sally Davis: because Memorabilia was about Isabel's life in the occult more than her life with her family, she didn't mention the death of her sister as a reason for her low spirits this year. It was over 30 years since their two brothers had died, but with Rosamond's death a new threshold had been crossed. But even the war might have been getting Isabel down like it was everyone else as it remorselessly entered its fifth summer of fighting, having brought food shortages in 1917 and being about to bring Spanish flu.

SATURDAY 14 DECEMBER 1918

Voting took place in the 1918 General Election. As a result of the Representation of the People Act 1917, Isabel was eligible to vote in a general election for the first time. She was

83.

Source for the date: see wikipedia.

25 MARCH 1920

Isabel's niece Theodosia Lace died, the last of the children of Isabel's brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace.

Source: Probate Registry 1921.

NOVEMBER 1920

Isabel began on Memorabilia chapter XIII. In that chapter and those that followed she covered her meetings with Kingsford and Atwood, spiritualism and theosophy - the beginnings of her spiritual quest.

Source: Memorabilia p125.

FEBRUARY/MARCH 1922

Isabel's brother-in-law Rev John Turnbull, and her sister Helena Turnbull, died within weeks of each other.

Source for both deaths: Probate Registry 1922.

Comment by Sally Davis: Rev John seems to have retired from active work as the rector of Great Linford a few years before his death. Leaving the charge of the parish to a curate, he and Helena went to live at 6 High Street Olney. At some point after the death of Theodosia Lace (in 1920) Constantia Lace went to live there too. Also living there permanently were John and Helena's two daughters, Constance and Christine. Their sons went also there to live, in between jobs and when they retired - so that there were Turnbulls living at 6 High Street Olney until the 1960s. I have to say that there's something odd about John and Helena's family: six children, none of whom ever seems to have married.

SPRING 1922

In January 1922 an article by S Foster Damon appeared in Occult Review in which he likened what spiritualists called ectoplasm to what alchemists called "first matter". Isabel was inspired to write in, not discussing whether Foster Damon was right or wrong, but describing the contradictory reactions of alchemists to their creation of first matter, a process that was not only illegal, but against the laws of nature, and very dangerous as well. Alchemists were willing to take the risks of offending both God and men, though, on the chance that they might create gold by chemical process. She ended the article with a quote from Philalethes, whose work she knew well.

Source: Occult Review volume 35 number 5 May 1922 pp298-99.

BY MAY 1922

Isabel had changed her address for what was probably the last time, moving across the Mersey to 42 Hawarden Avenue Liverpool, on the edge of the Aigburth district where she had begun her married life.

Source: Occult Review volume 35 number 5 issue of May 1922 pp298-99.

Comment by Sally Davis: Hawarden Avenue was also close to Fulwood Park where her

friends William and Fanny Crosfield had lived, and their daughter Dora was still living.

IN 1924 and possibly up to Isabel's death

Isabel was still employing one servant, a woman called Clare or Clara Reece.

Source: Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger 6 March 1924.

Comment by Sally Davis: I've searched for the woman Isabel actually calls 'clare' Reece, but can only find (on the 1911 census and elsewhere) women called Clara; so that's a bit confusing. If Clare or Clara was still working for Isabel when Isabel died, she will have been one of Isabel's beneficiaries.

FEBRUARY/MARCH 1924

Isabel prepared her Will. It was signed on 6 March 1924.

Source: the Will.

Comment by Sally Davis: the witnesses were a Dr Parry Jones of 9 Hawarden Avenue; and an Ernest Johnson whose address I can't quite read except that it's in Liverpool somewhere.

31 MAY 1924

Another of the generation below Isabel died: Herbert Arthur Sutton of Kelham House, Newark-on-Trent, the widower of her niece Josephine.

Source: Probate Registry 1924.

MARCH 1925

Isabel covered the years just before the first World War, and finally brought her life up to date, in Memorabilia chapters XXI to XXVII. She was living very quietly, with very few friends but quite a few correspondents including Sydney Turner Klein and A E Waite.

Source: Memorabilia p220-221.

Comment by Sally Davis: A E Waite was an ex-GD member, of course; and Sydney Turner Klein been in the GD in the 1890s.

SUMMER 1925

John Robert Henry Dubourg's daughter Gladys married Lancelot Edwards and went to live in Essex.

Source: freebmd.

25 MAY 1926

Dora Crosfield, daughter of Isabel's close friends William and Fanny Elizabeth Crosfield, died.

Sources: Probate Registry 1926 and www.toxtethparkcemetery.co.uk an Index to burials in Toxteth Park cemetery. In the list of burials 1920-29: Dora Margaret Crosfield date of burial 28 May 1926.

28 AUGUST 1926

A short codicil to Isabel's Will was signed.

Source: Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger. Unlike the main body of the Will from 1924, the codicil was typed. It was witnessed by schoolteacher Florence Huntley, and office worker Ernest Gabrielson.

Comment by Sally Davis: I bet thereby hangs a tale! The codicil leaves what was then quite a large sum of money to one of Isabel's nieces, one not mentioned in the Will itself, and not one of the unmarried women nieces Isabel had, who might have been in more need of the money.

1 JANUARY 1927

Isabel de Steiger died at her home at 42 Hawarden Avenue, a few weeks short of her 91st birthday. The two executors of her Will were John Robert Henry Dubourg and Léonie Topham Steele.

Sources: Probate on Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger; Probate Registry 1927; and Occult Review volume 45 number 2 February 1927 pp78-79.

Comments by Sally Davis: in *On A Gold Basis* and again (with more urgency) in *Superhumanity*, Isabel had discussed the concept of death as "the supreme initiation", as the gateway to eternity; so that your life needed to be a preparation for that moment. This was something that she had read about in the works of Jacob Böhme, and probably talked over with Anna Bonus Kingsford. No one can say that during her life, Isabel had not done her very best to prepare herself; I'm sure she was ready.

On a more mundane level, Isabel had continued mentally alert until her final illness: only a few days before contracting pneumonia she had written an eleven-page letter to Occult Review, defending Mary Anne Atwood's views on alchemy. The letter wasn't published. Times had moved on - Occult Review had a new editor, who paid tribute to Isabel in his editorial for the February issue, but didn't think her of sufficient interest for a separate obituary. However, he did wish Isabel's soul well after her "long and active" life, sure that it would now be undergoing the spiritual regeneration that she had so fervently believed in.

Sources for Isabel's attitude to death as a passage to the world beyond:

On A Gold Basis: A Treatise on Mysticism. London: William Rider and Son Ltd 1909: p24 mentioning the work of Böhme.

Superhumanity: A Suggestive Enquiry into the Mystic and Material Meaning of the Christian Word Regeneration London: Elliot Stock 1916: p163 with a footnote citing Kingsford's *The Perfect Way*.

MAY 1927

Memorabilia: Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Writer by Isabelle (sic) de Steiger was published in London by Rider and Co, publishers of Occult Review. A E Waite had written a Preface for it.

Source: the book.

ISABEL'S WILL

Now that the Dubourg family have sent me a copy of Isabel's Will I can write a short section

on who was bequeathed something in it - and who was not.

Source: Will of Isabelle Elizabeth de Steiger dated 6 March 1924 and one Codicil dated 28 August 1926.

Isabel's executors were her two friends Léonie Topham Steele and John Robert Henry Dubourg.

WHO BENEFITED? And who didn't. Comments by Sally Davis:

When Richard Dubourg first sent me a copy of Isabel's Will, I emailed him back that I hardly knew any of the beneficiaries! I'm still not sure about the identification of one of them, whose name I found difficult to read. Not all of them were family. In fact, non-family members did well out of the Will while most of Isabel's nephews and nieces were ignored in it.

The bequests:

Isabel left several people pieces of jewellery:

- Mary Pitt-Taylor got an oval brooch in gold with garnet decoration
 - Léonie Topham Steele was left Isabel's topaz cross and her amber necklace
 - if Clara Reece had still been in Isabel's employment when Isabel died, she will have got Isabel's silver watches (as well as other things)
 - Constance Turnbull (who was also one of the legatees) got all Isabel's other jewellery, Isabel mentioning two rings in particular - a small diamond and sapphire ring and one with an amethyst with diamonds set round it
 - this is the person whose name I can't quite decipher: a Miss ?E Bewley was left Isabel's gold chain
 - a signet ring with the de Steiger family coronet on it was to be returned to the de Steiger family, whose property Isabel clearly thought it was
- and
- Verney Cameron Turnbull got a large sapphire ring that Isabel had inherited from Mary Ann Atwood. I'd love to know where that is now.

As well as the silver watches, if Clara Reece was still working for Isabel when Isabel died, she would have inherited all Isabel's clothes and all her furniture and other items in the house which were not specified as going to anyone else.

To me, this is the interesting bit: what Isabel left to Henri (actually John Robert Henry) Dubourg. He got all the pictures Isabel still had amongst her possessions, and all the photographs she had of her paintings; a black and white engraving of a Christ figure; and some coloured Egyptian panels which she had put over the doors in the hallway (Isabel had probably been carrying them about with her since she had lived in Egypt). Isabel also returned to him some colour-prints he had given her which she had hung on the walls in her bedroom. Perhaps hoping that he might derive some financial benefit from it, Isabel left him the right to any royalties from her three occult works (which they had probably spent many hours discussing): *The Cloud Upon the Sanctuary* (in which she was translator not author); *On a Gold Basis*; and *Superhumanity*. Lastly, John Robert Henry Dubourg got the

manuscript of Isabel's Memorabilia, which he duly saw through the publication process.

Isabel left £5 to Charles Barlow, manager of the Bank of Liverpool and Martin's Limited at Rock Ferry; perhaps as a 'thank you' for financial help he had given her.

Isabel's niece Constance Helena McCorquodale (one of her sister Rosamond Burton's daughters) got £300. This was an afterthought, in a Codicil signed two years after the Will.

Everything else was given equally to her niece Constance Turnbull and Constance's brother Verney Cameron Turnbull (two of the six children of Isabel's sister Helena Turnbull). The 'everything else' must mostly have been any stocks and shares Isabel owned, as the contents of the house were all going to other people unless Clara Reece had left Isabel's employment.

To me, who amongst Isabel's family was NOT left anything is as intriguing as who did benefit. Isabel left nothing to her only surviving sister Constantia Lace. Maybe Isabel supposed that Constantia would die before her; but she also left nothing to any of the descendents of her brother Joshua Verney Lovett Lace whom Constantia had cared for for so long. In leaving money to Constance McCorquodale, Isabel was benefiting the child of Rosamond Burton whose financial circumstances were probably the most comfortable; while ignoring Constance's three sisters and one brother, one of whom might even have been a god-child. And she also left nothing to the other four Turnbells, children of her sister Helena. I suppose that to benefit all of them would have reduced the value of the bequests to very little; but I do feel that thereby hangs a tale, probably several tales, of family indifference or even strife. That Verney Cameron Turnbull should be left an item Isabel had been bequeathed by Mary Anne Atwood suggests that he had taken at least some interest in Isabel's occult studies; but I haven't found any other indication of that - he isn't mentioned at all in Memorabilia and none of Isabel's publications are dedicated to him.

AFTER ISABEL'S DEATH

SUMMER 1929

Isabel's sister Constantia Mary Lace died aged 96 in the Turnbells' house at Olney, Buckinghamshire.

Source: Probate Registry 1929.

Comment by Sally Davis: Constantia was the first Lace sister to be born; the only one not to marry; and the last to survive. Perhaps there's a message in there somewhere!

AUGUST 1934

John Robert Henry Dubourg died in Liverpool.

Source: Probate Registry 1934. William Ernest Dubourg was his executor.

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1943

Isabel's niece and beneficiary Constance Mary Verney Turnbull died.

Source: Probate Registry 1943.

Comment by Sally Davis: as far as I've been able to discover, none of the Turnbull children

ever married. Certainly, Constance Turnbull didn't do so. Without obtaining a copy of Constance's Will I'm not able to say who were her beneficiaries; probably her brothers (as her sister Christine was already dead). The electoral registers for Buckinghamshire (seen at www.myheritage.co.uk) show Constance's brothers Arthur, John and Verney living at 6 High Street Olney in 1951; all now retired and all apparently unmarried.

1965

Isabel's beneficiary Verney Cameron Turnbull died.

Sources: Probate Registry 1965, 1966.

Comment by Sally Davis: Verney was the second-last of the Turnbull children to die; he was living at 6 High Street Olney at that time. His executor was Rev Ronald Collins, whose task it will have been to see that Mary Anne Atwood's ring - if it was still in Verney's possession - was received by his heirs. Perhaps his heir was the last surviving Turnbull, his brother John Gervaise. John Gervaise died in 1966 at a nursing home in Olney. His Will had named Verney as his executor and had not been altered when Verney died.

18 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER'S ART WORKS BY YEAR

This is almost certainly not a complete list. Some of the works on it will have been destroyed in a warehouse fire in August 1900 (see my life-by-dates for more information on that); though I only know the names of one or two of those lost works.

Isabel had the habit of slightly altering the title of a work she was exhibiting for the second or third time; so that if you count up the items on the list there will be more works than she actually did.

DATE	TITLE	?EXHIBITED MORE THAN ONCE
1874	The Coming Squall...	
1874	[untitled. Subtitled] Basking in Heaven's Light...	

1874	Philae Egypt...	
1875	Hagar in the Desert	Possibly the first of two showings
1875	The Evening Meal, Ramle Egypt	
1875	On the Road to Aboukir	
1875	Mansours Tent	Possibly the first of two showings.
1877	Mansours	Possibly the second of two showings
1878	Consuelo	
1878	Mrs Patterson	The first of two showings
1878	Slave Girl of the Harem	
1879	Mrs Patterson	The second of two showings
1879	as Cleopatra Personating the Goddess Isis	
1879	A Daughter of the Gods	The first of two showings
1879	A Daughter of the Gods	The second of two showings
I'm not sure how many Cleopatra paintings I've got here!		
1879	as Cleopatra Receiving an Unfavourable Oracle from the Priestess of Isis	
1879/80	as Cleopatra's Deadly Resolve in the Temple of Isis	
	as Cleopatra After the Battle of Actium	
1880	Athyrtis...	
1880	as The Dismissal of Hagar	The second of two possible showings
1880	Princess Scheherezada	The first of two showings
1881	as The Three Valkyrie Maidens...	The first of five possible showings
1881	?as A Dancing Girl	The first of two possible showings
1881	?as An Eastern Dancing Girl	The second of two possible showings
1881	Shatucha, the Bedouin Girl	
DATE	TITLE	?EXHIBITED MORE THAN ONCE
1882	Dr George Wyld	Never exhibited
1882	title unknown: a "single figure"	Yes; not sure how many times

1882 showings	as Semiramide	The first of three
1882	Mariamne	The first of two showings
1882	Mariamne	The second of two showings
1882	Morning Effect	
1882-85	John the Baptist	Never exhibited
mid-1883	Dr Ginsburg	Never exhibited
1883	Enchantress	The first of two or even three possible showings
1883	Fair Slave Enees-el-Jelees	
1883	Lorelei...	The first of showings
1883	Semiramis	The second and third of three showings
1883 showings	Valkyries	The second of five possible
1883	Abd-el-Rahman	
1883-84	Greek Captive with her Nubian Slave	
1884	Eureka! Eureka!	
1884	A Dream of Hermes	
1884	St John the Baptist	Never exhibited
1884	[Mahatma] Morya	Probably never exhibited
1884	Nature and Art	
1884	Valkyries (full title)	The third and fourth of five possible showings
1884	The Veiling of Isis	
1884	Fireside Harmony	
1885	Enchantress	The second of two or three possible showings
1885	Portrait	
1885	The Sorceress	
	If this is also known as 'the Enchantress' it's the third of three possible showings	
1885	as Portrait of Miss Mary Tynte Potter	The first of two showings
1885	"Trust her not..."	
1886	Strada Tiberio	
1886	Villa Pompeiana	
1886	as The Valkyrie Maidens	The fifth of five showings
1886	The Lost Pleiad...	
1886	An Odalisque: Cairo	

DATE ONCE	TITLE	?EXHIBITED MORE THAN
1886	A Lonely Beggar in a Lonely Road: Capri	
1887	The Fairy Syren (sic) of the Water Lilies	
1887	Harmonia	
1887	...Impression du Voyage	
1887	First Blossom of Spring: Almond Blossom, Capri, Italy	
1887	A Legend of the Soul...	
1887	Portrait of Romola Tynte	The second of two showings
1887	Old Court Daventry Northamptonshire	
1887	The Rock Syren (sic) Singing the Storm Song	
1887	Head of Beatrice	
by 1888	portrait Mabel Collins	
by 1888	portrait Patience Sinnett	
by 1888/89	as Phaedra (no long title)	The first of two showings
by 1888/89	Spirit of the Crystal	The first of two showings
1888	Celebration of the Mysteries	
1889	The Flight of Aurora	
	For a different version of this, see 1893	
1889	The First Blush of Spring - Capri	
1890	The Sunny South...	
1890	Phaedra (long title)	The second of two showings
1891	A Summer Song...	
1891 showings	A Garland of Roses	The first of three
1891	Spirit of the Crystal	The second of two showings
1892	Au Jardin Hotel du Cygne...	
1892	A Garland of Roses	The second of three showings
1892	A Song of the Greek Isles	
1892	Princess Scheherazade	The second of two showings
1892	An Avenging Angel	

1892	Andromeda Abandoned	
1892	Daffodils	
1892	Toadstool	
1893	The Flight of Aurora	
	Definitely not the same painting as the one exhibited 1889	
1893	The Chariot of Venus	
by 1894	Spirit of the East Wind also known as Ghoul of the Shipwreck	
	Not exhibited as far as I know	
1894	A Garland of Roses	The third of three showings
1894	Lavinia	
1895	Lorelei (full title)	The second of two showings

Then nothing until:

1901	Sunset in the Marshes, Rhos Neigr Anglesea
1901	The Rose Garden, Clarens Lake Geneva
1910-17	as Castles in the Air

AN EXTRA LIST of paintings sold at auction in recent decades, with titles I didn't recognise.

Until I have evidence to the contrary, I'm assuming that they are in the list above, but with the original titles Isabel gave them when she exhibited them or referred to them in Memorabilia. It's even possible, I guess, that two of them, or even all four, are the same painting!

DANCING GIRL RESTING

DANCING QUEEN 1888

PORTRAIT OF GIRL IN EASTERN COSTUME

RESTING GRECIAN GIRL DANCER

According to details in the various sales catalogues, Isabel had signed all the paintings – as she usually did – though only the painting called 'dancing queen' was dated. I found the sales details on the web but there were no pictures.

FINALLY, ISABEL'S ILLUSTRATION WORK

There's very little of it - it did not chime with the view Isabel had of herself as a painter of 'high art' subjects (scripture, literature, myth, historical events) in a 'high art' style. The illustrations she did do were, I think, favours for friends. Two were reproductions of works Isabel had already exhibited as full-size paintings.

1885: 3rd edition of Chandos Leigh Hunt's *Private Instructions on the Science and Art of Organic Magnetism* by Chandos Leigh Hunt (later Wallace). Published London: G Wilson. Isabel's illustrations don't appear in either of the first two editions.

Thanks are due to Vivienne Roberts and Leslie Price of the College of Psychic Studies, who told me about the book and Isabel's contribution to its 3rd edition.

1894: three illustrations to editions of the occult magazine *Unknown World*:

Avenging Angel

Spirit of the Crystal

Spirit of the East Wind

1902: frontispiece to *A Book of Mystery and Vision*, poems by A E Waite. Published London: Philip Wellby 1902, limited edition of 250 copies. Isabel chose to illustrate the poem on p12. Roger Wright found the book on the web via archive.org and you can see Isabel's illustration there; but actual copies of the original book are very rare - the only one we could locate in the UK was at Cambridge University, not even the British Library had one.

SALLY DAVIS

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Contact me about this list especially if you think you own one of the art works on it:

ISABEL DE STEIGER'S ART WORKS ALPHABETICAL BY TITLE

AUGUST 2017: comments and introduction by Sally Davis.

As at August 2017, no paintings known to be by Isabel are in a public art collection, even hidden away in a basement. I found details in the web pages of some auction houses of a handful of paintings including photographs of two; none of them had titles I recognised from my research elsewhere. They must be in private collections somewhere. I imagine they are in the list below, where they've got the titles Isabel gave them. But of course I couldn't be sure even if I could see them! And Isabel didn't help her own cause by slightly changing the title of a painting she was going to exhibit for a second time. Isabel mentions some of her paintings and some drawings in her *Memorabilia*, but not very many – when I started going

through the usual art history sources, I was surprised at the number of exhibited paintings I was finding. But in most cases I've no idea whether they were sold; and in all cases I don't know where they are now. Some at least will have been destroyed, including all the unsold and half-finished works Isabel put into store in a warehouse in the summer of 1900.

Details in the list below are, consequently, rather limited. Fortunately, Isabel very often found inspiration for her paintings in literature, mythology and – increasingly – the western Mystery tradition, so in some cases I can at least guess what they were about; though not what they looked like. Isabel's art training and her views on art and the 'isms' of her day are in separate files.

Isabel usually signed and dated her paintings.

ART WORKS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

ABD-EL-RAHMAN

Exhibited 1883; Birmingham.

I thought this might depict a character from the 1001 Nights; but he wasn't in any of the lists of characters that I could find on google.

*

ANDROMEDA ABANDONED

Exhibited 1892; Liverpool

*

ATHYRTIS

Full title: Athyrtis Divine Daughter of Sesostris, Showing Herself at the Gate of the Temple.

An oil painting. Exhibited 1880: Royal Albert Hall London with the full title.

It caught the eye of a reviewer from the Building News and Engineering Journal who was probably at the exhibition to focus on the architectural drawings. In The Building News and Engineering Journal volume 38 1880 p360 he described it as a “decorative, classically-rendered figure”.

Google's first responses were all etymological: athyrtis is a genus of butterflies. However google also came up with three pharaohs whose names go into Greek as Sesostris. At www.britannica.com there was an entry for Sesostris III, 12th dynasty, reigned 1836-1818BC. What's more relevant is where Isabel might have read about such a pharaoh. I came up with two. One from Isabel's school-days:

Ancient History, Containing the History of the Egyptians, Assyrians... from Rollin and Other Sources. London: Religious Tract Society 1842 p72 in the section History of the Egyptians there's a reference to an account of Sesostris (probably III) by Diodorus, who wrote that Athyrtis acted as priestess for her father and foretold his successful military conquests.

And another published much closer to the date of the painting, though only in the USA:

Israel in Egypt: Egypt's Place Among the Ancient Monarchies by Edward Lord Clark. New York: New York Methodist Book Concern 1874. On p323 in the section The Exodus, another

reference to Diodorus' account of Sesostris, with Athyrtis described as "versed in divination", like so many who were learned in the "mysterious arts". This would have appealed to Isabel.

*

AU JARDIN HOTEL DU CYGNE MONTREUX

An oil painting. Exhibited 1892; Birmingham.

*

This one caused me a lot of confusion until I realised that Isabel painted at least two versions of this classical subject, one in oils and one in pastels.

AURORA CLOTHED WITH THE DAWN also known as THE FLIGHT OF AURORA; and as AURORA AT DAWN in Memorabilia p110 where Isabel confessed that she couldn't remember what title she'd originally given it! She'd also forgotten that she had ever exhibited it. By p112 she'd remembered it as Aurora Clothed with the Dawn.

Assuming the pictures were identical except in the kind of paints used, on Memorabilia p112 Isabel described them both as "a nude figure, half-veiled, draped by the passing clouds". A friend told her Aurora looked as though she was sitting in "a nice soft pink and blue arm-chair". Isabel didn't have much of a sense of humour and she couldn't see the funny side of that.

The pastel painting which (Memorabilia p112) she thought of as a "replica". Exhibited 1889; Liverpool. It was for sale but I think was not sold.

The oil painting. Exhibited 1893; Birmingham as The Flight of Aurora.

The oil version was kept by Isabel until 1900 (Memorabilia p110) when it was destroyed in the warehouse fire. The pastel version she still had with her when she was working on Memorabilia after World War I (Memorabilia p112).

Isabel called the Aurora painting "a picture after my own heart"; perhaps she saw herself, in Aurora.

*

AVENGING ANGEL

Pastel. Exhibited 1892 as "an avenging angel" and described as a "watercolour drawing"; Liverpool.

This painting was also reproduced (in black-and-white) in Unknown World volume 1 1894.

Google came back with a snippet including the words 'the avenging angel' apparently in H. P. Blavatsky: Collected Writings Volume VI 1883-85. Compiled by Boris de Zirkoff.

Published Los Angeles: Blavatsky Writings Publication Fund 1954. Neither the phrase nor the individual words were in the index and I couldn't find it in the text. However, perhaps it was in there somewhere. If so, it might indicate the period in which Isabel was working on her painting of that name.

*

...BASKING IN HEAVEN'S SERENEST LIGHT

An oil painting. Exhibited 1874; Liverpool.

Isabel's title is the first line of a two-line quotation attached to the painting, the second line continuing: Those Groups of Lovely Palm Trees Bright.

The quote is from Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance by Thomas Moore 1779-1852. Published 1817.

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BEATRICE see HEAD OF BEATRICE

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portrait of Helena Petrovna BLAVATSKY

See MORYA but as far as I know, Isabel never painted Blavatsky's portrait.

*

CASTLES IN THE AIR, originally THE LADY OF ILLUSION

An oil painting. Worked on between 1910 and 1917; possibly later. Probably exhibited 1926: Liverpool.

Just in case there was any doubt, confirmation of Isabel as the painter: on the same piece of paper, torn at the right-hand end, on which the date "1910..." is written in Isabel's handwriting: "Painted by Isabelle de [Steiger missing from right-hand end]". To the Lady's left, Isabel has painted her GD motto 'Alta peto'.

Its long gestation period is confirmed by two of the pieces of paper Isabel stuck to the back of the painting when she was preparing it to be exhibited. Both are in Isabel's handwriting. One is torn at the right-hand end of all the lines; it says "1910 to 191". The other gives a clear date of "1917".

In Memorabilia pp219-220 Isabel said that she was working on Castles in the Air at the same time as she was beginning Memorabilia; that is (p1) about 1910-1912; and that (p219) she was still working on it in 1925. She thought of it as a reminder of what she could have achieved if she had concentrated on painting and not chosen to "follow many interests". However, the painting is full of mystical symbolism and Isabel also chose to paint in her GD motto - 'Alta peto' - to her left (the viewer's right) so Castles is also a summing-up of all that she had learned of the western esoteric tradition.

The two titles, only the second of which was used by Isabel in Memorabilia:

1) "The Lady of Illusion, from the Greek Pilgrim's Progress." Isabel didn't use this title when she was writing about the painting in Memorabilia. However, she wrote it on a piece of paper stuck to the back of the frame, with her last address (42 Hawarden Avenue Liverpool) and a price £150. So at some point she was thinking of exhibiting the painting with that title. As at August 2017 I still haven't found a copy of the 1926 exhibition catalogue, to check it out.

I went in search of references to a "Lady of Illusion" and to identify the Greek Pilgrim's Progress.

At archive.org I found Cornell University's copy of The Greek Pilgrim's Progress, Generally

Known as 'The Picture'; by "Kebes, a disciple of Sokrates?". *Wisdom of the Ancients* "Volume First". Published Philadelphia: Comparative Literature Press of the Montsavat Press of 1501 North Marshall Street. Privately printed and published London: Leizac and Co of 46 Great Russell Street. This was a translation of a translation, rendered into English c 1910, by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie, from a German translation of the original Greek, published by B G Teubner of Leipzig. I could not see the actual words 'lady of illusion' in the text but I might have missed it in the Gothic script that was used. The work certainly seems to be about the dangers to those trying to follow the path of hermeticism; most of which are personified in the text as seductive women, the Pilgrim being a man (and thus easily led astray).

2) *Castles in the Air*, which Isabel wrote on a 'with care' label and stuck to the back of the painting; again with the price of £150 and her Hawarden Avenue address. The label was signed off on behalf of Jackson and Sons, picture framers, of Liverpool. So the painting may have been exhibited with this title.

Being an Ibsen fan I immediately associated 'castles in the air' with a conversation from *The Master Builder*. However, Ben Fernee of Caduceus Books suggested in an email of 29 May 2017 that the phrase has a much longer history in the occult, including an appearance in a book Ben thinks Isabel would certainly have known about: Dr. Herbert Silberer's *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism*, which Ben describes (I haven't read it, of course!) as being "about alchemical symbolism".

Silberer's book was published in German in 1914: *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik*. Isabel could have read it in the original language, of course, but an English translation by Smith Ely Jelliffe was published as *Problems of Mysticism and its Symbolism* in New York: Moffat Yard and Co and London: Kegan Paul in 1917. According to Silberer's wikipedia page, the work takes as its starting point the Rosicrucian text known as the *Parabola Allegory*. Silberer was a psychoanalyst, and he was arguing in the book that Freudian psychoanalysis can only go so far in interpreting dreams and understanding creativity. Though Freud and his followers rejected that idea, it was taken up later by Jung; and Isabel would have agreed with it.

Provenance

Nothing is known about what happened to *Castles in the Air* in the decades after Isabel sent it to the R Jackson and Sons to be framed. I can't yet confirm that it was in the Walker Art Gallery's autumn exhibition of 1926; and even if I could, I wouldn't be able to tell whether anyone bought it.

Castles finally reappeared in 1997 when it was sold at Bonhams and bought by a collector in South London. Ben Fernee sold it on in 2005 to an art lover in Wiltshire. By this time the painting was in a bad state of repair, and the 2005 buyer paid for a great deal of conservation work to be done on it so many thanks to him. He, however, decided to part with *Castles* early in 2017; and I bought it from him in May 2017, with Ben Fernee acting as agent so thanks to Ben as well.

Sources for the provenance:

Sale in 1997: snippet including a pre-sale list at www.bonhams.com/auct/a970909

Its buyer in 1997: email from Ben Fernee 12 May 2017 giving the buyer's name, and the

buyer's recollection of buying it at auction though he couldn't remember quite when.

Its buyer in 2005 and the conservation work: documents including a CD of conservation procedures, passed to the current owner May 2017.

Its buyer in 2017: Ben Fernee's invoice stamped 'paid' May 2017.

Castles in the Air is still in its original frame – oak, ornately carved and with some of the gilding still in place. The work was done for Isabel by R Jackson and Sons. The firm still exists, though it has moved down the road from 3 Slater Street (where it the firm was founded in 1866) to 20 Slater Street Liverpool 1. Its website is at www.rjacksonandsons.co.uk

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portrait of CHRISTIAN DAVID GINSBURG see Ginsburg

*

1888

CELEBRATION OF THE MYSTERIES

Exhibited 1888; Liverpool.

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CHARIOT OF VENUS

An oil painting. Exhibited 1893; Birmingham.

*

the CLEOPATRA paintings, which have been a real headache!

Firstly, independent evidence that there were FOUR of them: Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 p143: a short report which seems to be referring to the current exhibition at the Walker Art Gallery, saying that Isabel had "just sold the last of four Cleopatra pictures". It also mentioned two other paintings with classical subjects that Isabel was working on; but didn't mention the titles so I've no idea which they were.

Exhibited as CLEOPATRA'S DEADLY RESOLVE IN THE TEMPLE OF ISIS

1879; Royal Society of British Artists London.

Exhibited as CLEOPATRA RECEIVING AN UNFAVOURABLE ORACLE FROM THE PRIESTESS OF ISIS which I think Isabel later refers to as CLEOPATRA BEFORE THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM – see below.

1879; Liverpool

Exhibited as CLEOPATRA PERSONATING (sic) THE GODDESS ISIS

1879; Royal Albert Hall London.

Its full title was used in a review of the RAH exhibition in Bazaar Exchange and Mart and Journal of the Household volumes 20-21 1879 p81 in which the reporter recommended readers to look out for it especially. Building News and Engineering Journal volume 38 1880 p360 also printed the full title in its RAH exhibition review.

Exhibited as CLEOPATRA. I'm wondering if Isabel sent this one with a full title; but the Gallery left most of it out when preparing the catalogue. 1880; Manchester.

Referred to by Isabel as CLEOPATRA BEFORE THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM on Memorabilia p278 where she says it was exhibited at the Walker Art Gallery and bought in 1880. So this must be Isabel calling by another name the painting exhibited as CLEOPATRA RECEIVING AN UNFAVOURABLE ORACLE... at the Walker in 1879. Calling the painting CLEOPATRA BEFORE THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM on Memorabilia p278, Isabel says it was bought by her great friends William and Fanny Crosfield; for its catalogue price of £70. In due course it was inherited by their daughter Dora and was still on display in the Crosfields' house when Isabel was finishing Memorabilia after World War I. However, Dora died unmarried in 1926 and I don't know what happened to this Cleopatra afterwards. The Crosfields also bought Isabel's The Lorelei Maiden...

On p58 of Memorabilia Isabel mentions a painting called Cleopatra after the Battle of Actium – making five Cleopatras in all! I'm sure this was just a slip-up by Isabel that her editors, if she had any, didn't notice: the other details in the same paragraph make it clear she means CLEOPATRA BEFORE THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

Mentions of one or the other of the four, just as 'Cleopatra'.

- Memorabilia p58, a painting referred to by Isabel only as 'Cleopatra' and – she recalls – exhibited probably in 1879. Which is fine except that she exhibited two that year. This is the source for Isabel's early admiration for the style of Alma-Tadema.

- The Academy volume 18 1880 number 437 issue of 18 September 1880 p209 which included Isabel's painting catalogued as 'Cleopatra' in its list of "notable pictures" currently on view at the exhibition at the Royal Manchester Institution. Also in the list were G F Watts' Psyche; Burne-Jones' The Music Lesson; and R Spencer Stanhope's The Waters of Lethe; so the 'Cleopatra' - whichever one it was - was in good company.

- The Architect volume 23 1880: p19. Having seen the reference in a Google snippet I ordered the magazine at the British Library. The page-numbering was completely impenetrable: all I know is that p19 did not have anything about a work by Isabel or indeed anything about an art exhibition. The magazine's full title is: The Architect: A Weekly Illustrated Journal of Art, Civil Engineering and Building. Volume 23 covered January-June 1880 so I think the reference – wherever it actually was in the book – was to the 'Cleopatra' shown at Manchester.

I think, for a brief period, the Cleopatra paintings made Isabel almost-famous. I found a reference to them inspiring some poetry: Public Opinion volumes 41-42 1882 p490 mentions poems written after the writer had been (quoting the magazine) "viewing pictures of...Cleopatra". Public Opinion's reporter assumes that the poet means "Madame de Steiger's celebrated pictures".

The poet in question was Henry George Hellon, about whom I haven't found out much: he isn't in ODNB or DNB, Who Was Who or Boase; and there's no wikipedia page. He does appear in the two main reference works I use when chasing Victorian poets:

Mid-Victorian Poetry 1880-1899: An Annotated Bibliography compiled by Catherine W Reilly. London and New York: Mansell 2000 p216 has one volume by Henry George Hellon: Lord Harrie and Leila: or, a Romance of the Isle of Wight, and Other Poems.

London: Provost and Co 1869.

Late Victorian Poetry 1880-1899: An Annotated Biobibliography compiled by Catherine W Reilly. London and New York: Mansell 1994 p219 another one volume by Henry George Hellon, now listed as a member of the Authors' Club. Daphnis: A Sicilian Pastoral, and Other Poems. London: Kegan Paul Trench and Co 1881.

Daphnis: A Sicilian Pastoral, and Other Poems. London: Kegan Paul Trench and Co 1881. The designs on the front and back cover are Egyptian/esoteric. There are two long poems, the second of which is called The Seer: A Prophetic Poem (pp25-41) which would have interested Isabel if she had known about it. Most of the other poems are sonnets, including on p76: Sonnet on Viewing a Picture of Cleopatra:

In Isis' temple sits the mighty Queen,
Draped in a gown of gossamer and gold,
Through which her lovely form, fair to behold,
Peers, sweet as peers the moon through silver sheen
When misty vapours veil the fairy scene!
Yet o'er her brow some mystery seems to fold,
And in her eyes her future fate foretold;
With anger burning, passionate her mien!

Her dreams of death, of Antony, and all
The splendour of the past! her glory gone,
And throne a wreck, where monarch feigned to fall;
Her chiefs and army lost, her power undone!
Seized with despair, she deigns not God to call,
But, woe-worn, seeks a death her legions shun!

Hellon must have seen one of the two 'priestess of Isis' Cleopatras.

*

THE COMING SQUALL - MEDITERRANEAN - RAMLE EGYPT
Oil painting. Exhibited 1874; Liverpool.

*

CONSUELO

Exhibited 1878; Society of Women Artists London.

Despite sounding like a genre picture of a Spanish girl, possibly playing a tambourine, this is actually a one of Isabel's many paintings with a literary source; and also one of her paintings featuring the Mysteries. In Memorabilia Isabel mentions the novel of that name by George Sand several times as one of her favourites when she was a girl in Liverpool. On p11 she

describes its male protagonist Albert of Rudolstadt as one of the hero-figures of her adolescence. On p34 she wonders how she managed to get a copy of a novel by an author whose works were considered immoral. And on pp133-134 she talks of her excitement at the novel's depiction of a "mysterious Underground Grotto"; and the "powerful secret order", known only by the initials "L.P.D.", of which Albert of Rudolstadt was the head. "It was the mystery that enthralled me", Isabel commented in Memorabilia but perhaps the novel also made Isabel receptive to the idea that secret organisations might exist in real life.

Sources:

Wikipedia on George Sand's *Consuelo: A Romance of Venice*, whose popularity had declined by the late 19th century. It first appeared in 1842-43, serialised in *La Revue Indépendante*. The British Library catalogue has the first English translation, published in 1847 as volumes 4 and 5 in the Parlour Library series. I think this must be the edition Isabel read; on Memorabilia p134 she mentioned that she was already very familiar with its plot by the time she was 14 – around 1850.

*

DAFFODILS

Exhibited 1892; Liverpool.

As with the Cleopatras so too with the dancing girls, there are rather too many of them!!

*

DANCING GIRL

Exhibited 1881; Royal Society of British Artists London.

Probably exhibited again later in 1881 as *THE EASTERN DANCING GIRL*; Liverpool.

It's possible that this is the painting sold in 1980 as *Egyptian Slave Girl*, which had the date "1881" on it, in Isabel's handwriting.

*

Painting sold in 1985 with the title *DANCING GIRL RESTING*

At artsalesindex.artinfo.com is the Blouin Art Sales Index. In the index are details of a painting by Isabel sold with that title as lot 50 at Christie's South Kensington in July 1905. There was no photograph of the painting in question; but these details were there: oil on canvas; 53cm high by 33cm wide.

I suppose it's quite likely that 'dancing girl resting' is the painting or paintings I've listed immediately above: Isabel's *Dancing Girl* and/or *Eastern Dancing Girl* exhibited 1881. Without knowing how big the 1881 painting or paintings were, I can't be sure.

See also the painting or paintings sold as *Dancing Queen* sold in 1997 and *Resting Grecian Girl Dancer* in 1988 which might be the same one.

*

Painting sold in 1997 as *DANCING QUEEN* making it sound like something by Abba and I'm also sure queens didn't dance in Isabel's imagination, they sat on a throne and watched.

It's definitely not Isabel's 'dancing girl' of 1881. Its details were also at artsalesindex.artinfo.com, the Blouin Art Sales Index though again without a photograph: signed on the back by Isabel and dated by her 1888; oil on panel; 60cm high by 33cm wide. In 1997 it was lot 286 in a sale at Christie's South Kensington. I don't feel comfortable equating it with any other painting by Isabel that I know of, despite knowing the original exhibition date.

*

DAUGHTER OF THE GODS

Exhibited twice in 1879: Society of Women Artists London, and Liverpool.

*

The DISMISSAL OF HAGAR

see Hagar in the Desert. I'm fairly sure this is the same painting as Hagar in the Desert. I'm certainly going to treat it as such so see below for further information.

*

EASTERN DANCING GIRL

Exhibited 1881; Liverpool.

This was probably its second showing. I think it is the same painting as the one Isabel exhibited as THE DANCING GIRL at the Royal Society of British Artists London.

*

Painting sold in 1980 as EGYPTIAN SLAVE GIRL

This was another item I discovered at artsalesindex.artinfo.com, the Blouin Art Sales Index: signed by Isabel; dated 1881; oil on panel; 25cm high by 40 cm wide. Again, there was no photograph of it. It was sold as lot 3013 at Sloan's Auctioneers North Bethesda, Maryland.

The date of 1881 makes it possible that this was Isabel's 'Dancing girl' and/or 'Eastern Dancing Girl' (see above) but without knowing the dimensions of that painting or paintings I can't be sure.

*

A DREAM OF HERMES

Exhibited 1884; Liverpool.

*

THE ENCHANTRESS

An oil painting.

Exhibited twice with that title: 1883 in Liverpool; 1885 at the Royal Hibernian Dublin.

Probably exhibited 1885 as The Sorceress; Nineteenth Century Art Society London. Of course, The Sorceress may be a completely different picture; but I think not.

Although I haven't seen The Enchantress, it's clear even from its title that Isabel had chosen to paint a subject much liked by her contemporaries. Those by Waterhouse and Sandys are particularly well-known. As The Enchantress, Isabel's painting was coveted by GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner. In a letter to him written in November 1897, Isabel mentions Gardner's wish to own The Enchantress one day. The way she phrases it, it sounds as though the painting had been bought, probably at its showing as The Sorceress.

Source: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner by various GD members. Letter from Isabel de Steiger dated 11 November [1897].

As The Sorceress it received a half-a-sentence from a reviewer in the Saturday Review of

Politics, Literature, Science and Art published by J W Parker and Son. Volume 60 1885 p612 described The Sorceress thus. While admitting that the painting had “merit”, the reviewer did not like Isabel’s brushwork, saying, “the flesh...is hard and crude, and the detail full of ill-distributed accents”.

*

EUREKA! EUREKA!

An oil painting. Exhibited 1884; Manchester.

*

The EVENING MEAL RAMLE EGYPT

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1875; Liverpool.

*

The FAIRY SYREN (sic) OF THE WATER LILIES

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1887; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

FIRESIDE HARMONY

Watercolour drawing.

Exhibited 1884; Birmingham.

*

FAIR SLAVE ENEES-EL-JELEES

Exhibited 1883; Royal Scottish Academy Edinburgh.

It was exhibited as a character from the 1001 Nights. I couldn’t find it listed when I checked with google but that was probably because of the way Isabel spelled it.

*

FLIGHT OF AURORA

See AURORA above.

*

FIRST BLUSH OF SPRING: ALMOND BLOSSOM, CAPRI, ITALY

Exhibited 1887 with this title; Society of Women Artists London.

Exhibited 1889 with the shortened title THE FIRST BLUSH OF SPRING CAPRI; Liverpool.

*

GARLAND OF ROSES

Variouly described as a pastel or a watercolour.

Exhibited 1891 as pastel; Liverpool.

Exhibited 1892 as watercolour; Birmingham.

Exhibited 1894; Royal Hibernian Dublin.

*

Portrait of CHRISTIAN DAVID GINSBURG, not the ideal sitter.

Memorabilia p169: this was a charcoal drawing and Isabel was working on it in mid-1883. I think it was of his head and perhaps his shoulders only because Isabel mentions how difficult she found both the head – its “unclassical” form - and the fact that Ginsburg would keep talking and not keep his face still. She doesn’t say what happened to the drawing but I would suppose it was one of the many that she did for her friends and gave to them as gifts. I haven’t found any evidence that it was exhibited.

See my life-by-dates around mid-1883 for more information on Ginsburg, a Jewish convert to Christianity who was employed as a translator of Hebrew texts.

*

GREEK CAPTIVE AND HER NUBIAN SLAVE

An oil painting. Exhibited 1884: Institute of Painters in Oil Colours London.

This might be the same painting as the Slave Queen Zumurrud; probably not, but see separate entry.

Memorabilia p131 Isabel writes that she sold a painting after it had been shown at what she calls the “Royal Institute”. I think she means what had originally been the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours, which had taken the name it’s still known by – the Royal Institute of Oil Painters – in 1909. Isabel doesn’t name the painting, but it must be Greek Captive..., the only one she exhibited at this particular venue.

*

HAGAR IN THE DESERT and assuming THE DISMISSAL OF HAGAR is the same painting.

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1875 as Hagar in the Desert; Liverpool

If they are not two paintings, exhibited 1880 as The Dismissal of Hagar: Royal Albert Hall London.

Isabel was setting herself up against some impressive opposition in taking on Hagar. There is, for example, a ‘Hagar in the Desert’ by Rubens, now in Dulwich Picture Gallery, and there are other paintings with slight variations on Rubens’ phrase by other great painters.

And similarly with ‘The Dismissal of Hagar’ which seems to be the more popular title. See [//commons.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Paintings_of_the_Ddismissal_of_Hagar](https://commons.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Paintings_of_the_Ddismissal_of_Hagar) examples by Tiepolo, Claude Lorraine, Pietro da Cortina, Gabriel Metsu, and earlier ones from Renaissance Northern Europe where the subject was particularly in vogue.

Isabel does not mention this painting/these paintings in Memorabilia. Perhaps she had forgotten it or them. However, I know of only one other painting by Isabel on a biblical theme, and I think she may have realised that with Hagar she had bitten off more than she

could chew in terms of 'great' art portrayed in the 'great' way.

*

HARMONIA

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1887; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

HEAD OF BEATRICE

A study in charcoal and red chalk.

Exhibited 1887; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

Was this a portrait? Maybe not. There are two literary characters it could be: Shakespeare's Beatrice from *Much Ado About Nothing*; or Dante's Beatrice from *The Divine Comedy*, his guide to the Purgatorio and the Paradiso. If it was a portrait, I haven't been able to identify the sitter. I don't know of a Beatrice in Isabel's family or amongst her friends.

September 2017: I think that the painting sold as ?Portrait of Madame Blavatska might actually be this one.

*

...IMPRESSION DU VOYAGE

I think this was the same painting exhibited twice in the same year, once with a longer title, once with the shorter one. If that's correct, it was an oil painting.

Exhibited 1887 as *L'Amour de la Nuit - La Lune - Sur La Terrasse de l'Hotel: Impression du Voyage*; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

Exhibited 1887; Liverpool.

*

JOHN THE BAPTIST

I think this was almost certainly an oil painting, though I can't prove it. Biblical subjects were 'great' art and 'great' art required oils.

As John the Baptist was never exhibited, I can only date it approximately. On *Memorabilia* pp177-178 Isabel writes that she was working on the painting in her Holland Park Road studio. Exhibition catalogues list her at that address in 1882, 1883 and the early part of 1884; but she had moved away by autumn 1884.

Memorabilia p177 says that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky visited her while she was working on John the Baptist and pointed out a doctrinal error in it: she reminded Isabel that the Baptist was a Nazar, so he should have long hair. Isabel had painted him with short hair but after Blavatsky left, she repainted the hair, longer. She describes the painting as "a life-size male head". Her model for it was an Italian man who was very pleased with the lunch of macaroni Isabel gave him while he was working for her. Obviously homesick, he asked her where you could buy macaroni in London.

On *Memorabilia* p177 Isabel says that she gave the painting to the Rev Elcum, vicar of St Agnes, Ullet Road Liverpool. The church was consecrated in 1885; Rev Charles Cunningham Elcum was its first incumbent and remained in charge until his retirement in

August 1927. In fact it's likely that Isabel didn't even know Rev Elcum until she moved back to Liverpool in 1891; so I'd say the painting was being worked on in the mid-1890s. I also assume that Isabel painted it for him, and that he may even have commissioned it from her.

A warning about Memorabilia p177: Isabel spelled the Rev's name wrong, as ElcRum, which led

me on a wild goose chase when I set out to identify him.

Information on Rev C C Elcum at www.stagnes.org website of St Agnes and St Pancras Liverpool. He's buried in Toxteth Park cemetery, see www.toxtethparkcemeteryinscriptions.co.uk. His tombstone gives the dates he was in-post at St Agnes. Census and other information indicates that he never married and had no close relations; so where Isabel's John the Baptist went after his death is anyone's guess.

*

L'AMOUR DE LA NUIT...

See Impression du Voyage

*

LADY OF ILLUSION see CASTLES IN THE AIR

*

LAVINIA

Exhibited 1894; Royal Hibernian Dublin.

*

A LEGEND OF THE SOUL - PERSEPHONE SINKING INTO THE ABYSS OF HADES

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1887; Liverpool, with a very long quotation from a work purporting to be by Hermes Trismegistus: "Persephone, wilfully straying from the Mansions of Heaven, falls under the power of the Hadean God, in other words Persephone typifying the Soul sinks into the profound depths of a material nature".

A painting inspired by the occult work of Isabel's close friend Anna Bonus Kingsford.

At www.philalethians.co.uk you can read the full text of The Hermetic Works of the Virgin of the World of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus translated and with introduction and notes by Dr Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, authors of The Perfect Way. 1885 Bath: Bath Occult Reprint Series, run by Robert H Fryar who also does an introduction to the book.

*

a LONELY BEGGAR IN A LONELY ROAD: CAPRI

Exhibited 1886; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

LORELEI MAIDEN...

Exhibited 1883; Liverpool.

Almost certainly exhibited a second time, this time lent by its owner, Isabel's friend William

Crosfield. 1895: Royal Scottish Academy Edinburgh. William and Fanny Crosfield had probably bought the painting in 1883. It had a longer title this time: The Lorelei Maiden Singing to the Fishermen Below.

*

The LOST PLEIAD. BLIND MEROPE - HOPE ABANDONED vide Edwin Arnold.

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1886; Liverpool.

This is one of Isabel's paintings inspired by literature. At poetrynook.com you can read Sir Edwin Arnold's The Lost Pleiad: A Story of the Stars. The poem was included in the 1856 anthology *Griselda and Other Poems* published by Bogue. The *Economist* 1856 p538 issue of 17 May 1856 had a review of it.

Googling this painting produced more contemporary references than any other painting by Isabel: that is, more than what was usually none at all!

Via genesreunited to Liverpool Mercury 1 November 1886 where it was mentioned in the Art Notes column. And also via genesreunited to Liverpool Mercury 18 November 1886 which had comments on the Lost Pleiad and on the other painting Isabel showed at the Walker that year: the Valkyrie Maidens. The reviewer's comment on the Lost Pleiad was: "very fanciful in design". Both issues of the paper referred to Isabel by name. NB though you'll need to be careful on the web: Liverpool Mercury of 10 October 1887 referred to another painting called The Lost Pleiad, by William Padgett; catalogue number 266 at the Walker Art Gallery that year.

Via google to The Pall Mall Budget which was a weekly selection of articles previously in the Pall Mall Gazette. PMB volume 33 p83 in an article on the Walker Art Gallery's autumn exhibition: "Miss (sic) Isabel de Steiger's Lost Pleiad (140) is noticeable as the only attempt in the direction of imaginative art in the gallery".

*

portrait of MABEL COLLINS

A painting in pastel.

Exhibited ?1888; Grosvenor Gallery (*Memorabilia* p159) although I haven't been able to confirm that in the correct exhibition catalogue.

Memorabilia p247-51 both Isabel and Mabel Collins (Mrs Keningale Cook) were friends of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in the late 1880s/early 1890s. Early volumes of the Theosophical Society journal *Lucifer* were edited by Mabel who also wrote articles for it.

The website www.katinkahesselink.net has a short biography of Mabel Collins: *The Many Lives of Mabel Collins*, by Kim Farnell. Here I'll just say that Mabel was born Minna Mabel Collins in 1851 and died in March 1927. She published over 40 full-length works and many articles and was for a time the fashion correspondent of the magazine *The World*. She married the stockbroker Keningale Robert Cook in 1871 but the two were separated by the time of his death in 1886. Her husband introduced her to spiritualism and in the late 1870s she was known as a spiritualist medium; however, after a few years she rejected spiritualism for theosophy.

Mabel made an important contribution to the acceptance of theosophy in the West with her book *Light on the Path*:

Light on the Path. A Treatise... Written down by MC, Fellow of the TS. The volume also contained Mabel's essay on Karma. Madras: Scottish Press 1885. Perhaps easier to obtain: London: George Redway 1888.

*

Painting by Isabel sold 2001/2002 as ?MADAME BLAVATSKA

Found with that title at artsalesindex.artinfo.com, the Blouin Art Sales Index . If so, it has the wrong title: the details on the Index say that it was for sale as a portrait of Madame Blavatska and I haven't found any evidence that Isabel ever painted Blavatsky. As ?Madame Blavatska it was lot 242 in a sale of Modern and Contemporary Art at Beussant et Lefèvre Paris in 2001. Lot 242 was signed by Isabel; dated by Isabel 1887; oil on canvas; 53cm high by 43cm wide.

There are reproductions of the painting sold as Madame Blavatska at www.artnet.com; and on Pinterest; as well as www.auction.fr where the dimensions are slightly different and it's only presumed to be a portrait of Blavatsky. This website gave the asking price – 1220 euros.

The painting probably remained unsold in 2001. The same details as at www.auction.fr are also at www.auctionclub.com where Isabel is described as German and the painting is described as sold by Beussant-Lefèvre on 19 June 2002.

None of the websites give any indication as to who bought the Madame Blavatska painting in 2002; nor where it is now.

The painting is dated 1887. If Isabel exhibited it that year, the two most likely candidates for its correct title are: Harmonia; and Head of Beatrice. See my life-by-dates for 1885-88 for more on why they seem the most promising identifications.

*

MANSOURS

Exhibited 1877; Royal Hibernian Dublin.

Almost certainly exhibited a second time in 1877; Liverpool. With the alternative title Mansours' Tent. The one shown at Liverpool was an oil painting.

*

MARIAMNE

Almost certainly an oil painting though I didn't find definitive evidence of that. Mariamne was perhaps the most sinister subject Isabel ever painted: she was the wife of Herod, mother of Salome.

Exhibited 1881; Liverpool and 1882: Royal Academy.

On Memorabilia p131 (where it's understandably but wrongly given as 'MariaNne') Isabel said this was the only work she ever got accepted for exhibition at the RA; probably because RA thought she was someone else - she was in the catalogue as "Miss F Steeger". Mariamne was sold, probably from its showing at the RA: on Memorabilia p130: Isabel named the buyer as Warren de la Rue.

See wikipedia for more on Warren de la Rue, son of Thomas, the founder of the bank-note

printing firm and his successor as the firm's manager. Until obliged to give it up due to pressure of work, he was a keen amateur astronomer and chemist, a pioneer of astronomical photography. FRAS, FRS, sometime president of the Chemical Society. Légion d'Honneur. And he has a lunar crater named for him.

At www.getty.edu/art brief mention of him as they have some of his astronomical photographs in their collection.

*

Portrait of MISS MARY TYNTE POTTER

See Romola TYNTE

*

MORNING EFFECT

Exhibited 1882; Royal Hibernian Dublin.

*

portrait of Mme Blavatsky's mahatma MORYA

Not exhibited to my knowledge. Commissioned by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky 1884. Sent to Adyar, India, by Isabel 1884 and not heard of since.

Isabel definitely did do such a painting. Blavatsky commissioned it during her visit to England in 1884; together with two more such, one of Morya and one of Koot Hoomi, both of which were painted during June and July 1884 by Hermann Schmiechen. The Schmiechen paintings were sent to Adyar in October 1884 and were on display there for many years. It's not clear what happened to the Morya commissioned from Isabel.

On Memorabilia pp177-179, Isabel says that Colonel Olcott called at her studio to give her a photograph of a black-and-white chalk drawing Blavatsky had done of Morya; which Isabel was to use as the basis for her painting. Isabel added, from memory, an oriental head like those of the Bedouins she had seen in Egypt. When it was finished, she took it round to show Colonel Olcott, who was suitably impressed. She then sent the painting to Adyar; presumably on Blavatsky's instructions. She never heard anything more about it. She kept the photograph of Blavatsky's drawing. It survived the fire of 1900 and eventually she gave it to Joseph Bibby, a member of the Theosophical Society. I haven't found much information on Joseph Bibby but one web page I came across said that he went to Adyar eventually. I'm wondering if Isabel knew he was going, and hoped he would look for her version of Morya there.

Other sources for the commissions of 1884:

Colonel Olcott's diary entry for 15 June 1884, used as source at theosophy.com in an article The Portraits of the Masters Part I, by Daniel Caldwell; uploaded 15 September 2006. Olcott wrote that Isabel had brought round to show him a "remarkable portrait of Mahatma M..." .

The two commissions painted by Schmiechen:

A very basic wiki on Hermann Schmiechen confirms that he painted both Koot Hoomi; and Morya.

Seen at de.wikipedia.org, Hermann Schmiechen's dates: born Neumark July 1885; died Berlin 1925.

Reader's Guide to the Mahatma letters to A P Sinnett editors George E Linton and Virginia Hanson. Published Adyar Chennai India: Theosophical Publishing House 1972: 243-44: confirming the date of the commissions from Schmiechen; that there were two; exactly when he painted them; and what had happened to the finished paintings. There was no mention in this account of the Morya painting done by Isabel.

*

NATURE AND ART

Exhibited 1884; Liverpool.

*

An ODALISQUE: CAIRO

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1886; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

OLD COURT, DAVENTRY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1887; Nineteenth Century Art Society.

The sketches for this could have been done by Isabel during a visit to her sister Rosamond (sometimes spelled Rosamund). In 1862 Rosamond married solicitor Edmund Charles Burton. They lived in Daventry.

*

ON THE ROAD TO ABOUKIR

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1875; Liverpool.

*

PARADISE AND THE PERI

This is one of very few works Isabel mentions painting after the fire of 1900. On Memorabilia pp290-91 she mentions a group of "imaginative pictures" that she did after the fire. Paradise and the Peri is the only one of the group that she names. She probably singled it out because its buyer was well-known, at least in Liverpool - Mr Style, solicitor and "positivist". Isabel said that he bought it around the time he and his wife Jane May moved into 69 Hope Street; census information shows they were living there in April 1901, so Isabel must have got back to work on her art – even if in only a small way – very soon after the disaster.

A section of Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh relates the successful attempt of the Peri to get back into Paradise after it had been expelled. See that section of the poem at www.bartleby.com.

Paradise and the Peri's buyer was Sydney Style, a leader – if not the leader – of the positivist group in Liverpool. At

<https://journaleahn.org> is the open access journal Architectural Histories. Volume 3(1) article 15, published 2015: On the Material and Immaterial Architecture of Organised Positivism in

Britain, by Matthew Wilson, gives some information on the arrival of Comte's Positivism in England, and the designs of the churches of humanity positivists wanted to build. There was a positivist group in Liverpool by 1883, meeting in Faulkland Street though not in a purpose-built building. A Church of Humanity for Liverpool was consecrated in 1913 and is now the St Pius X church.

At liverpoolmurders.blogspot.co.uk a posting from May 2011 says that in the years before their Church of Humanity was built, the Liverpool positivists met at 69 Hope Street.

Sydney and Jane May Style had no biological children of their own but adopted several, some but not all of whom took their surname. I don't know what happened to Paradise and the Peri after Sydney and Jane May died.

*

portrait of MRS PATTERSON

Exhibited 1878; Society of Lady Artists London. It was probably not for sale but my reference work for the SWA didn't specifically say so.

Exhibited again 1879; Royal Albert Hall London where it definitely wasn't for sale.

I'm not certain who Mrs Patterson was but I did find two possible candidates who may actually be the same woman:

Mr and Mrs Patterson: see The Letters of H P Blavatsky to A P Sinnett etc, editor A T Barker, online at www.theosociety.org/pasadena. Letter number 1 was written by Blavatsky in Bombay; there's no date on it but Blavatsky was in Bombay in 1879. She mentions a Mrs and Mr Patterson, friends of the Sinnetts; presumably a couple then living in India. There's no other reference to the couple in the letters.

An American Mrs S E Patterson:

In Mme Blavatsky Revisited by Joseph Howard Tyson. New York, Lincoln, Shanghai: iUniverse 2006. Seen via google and I couldn't find a page number but it contained a reference to a spiritualist medium "Mrs S E Patterson". A Dr Furness attended a seance with her as medium. He admired the theatrical effects used, including a small organ; but was less impressed when the medium channelled two spirits, one German and one Italian, neither of which could speak their supposed native language.

Further investigation of this Mrs Patterson led to wikipedia's page on the Seybert Commission. A Mr Seybert left money to University of Pennsylvania to be used to investigate the claims of spiritualism. The University set up the commission, which was taking evidence between 1884 and 1887, with a final Report published in 1887. Mrs S E Patterson was one of the first mediums the Commission investigated. She was known as medium who used writing on a slate. She couldn't perform at all when members of the Commission were watching her. It could have been worse for her, though - Commission members caught plenty of other mediums being actively fraudulent during seances.

*

Portrait of PATIENCE SINNETT

A painting in pastels.

Exhibited probably late 1888/early 1889: definitely the Grosvenor Gallery London but there was a snag about the identification.

On Memorabilia pp157-59 Isabel writes about the 'at homes' held by Patience and A P Sinnett during the 1880s; she was a regular guest at them. At some point in the 1880s, she did a full-length portrait of Patience in pastels, which she gave to Patience after it had been exhibited. Isabel says it was one of four paintings shown at the same exhibition at the Grosvenor Galleries; where it was not as well hung as she would have liked.

There are two problems with this account of Mrs Sinnett's portrait. Firstly, though I haven't been able to find one of the relevant exhibition catalogues, it looks as though the four pastels were not exhibited all together, as Isabel remembered, but in two separate exhibitions that followed each other quickly around Christmas 1888/New Year 1889. Secondly, in the catalogue I did find, of the second of the two, a portrait by Isabel was certainly shown, but without the name of the sitter; so it could have been Isabel's portrait of Mabel Collins.

*

Persephone - see A LEGEND OF THE SOUL

*

PHAEDRA also known as PHAEDRA MEDITATING ON HER REVENGE

A painting in pastels

Exhibited Grosvenor Gallery London; either late 1888 or early 1889 and I'm not certain whether or not it had its full title.

Exhibited 1890 with the full title; Liverpool

See portrait of Patience Sinnett, above: Phaedra was another of the four pastels Isabel got confused about on Memorabilia p159. Unlike Patience's portrait, Phaedra had been hung to advantage at the exhibition.

Probably while she was working on Phaedra, Isabel was also preparing to give a talk at the London Spiritualist Alliance. The talk was covered in Light, the journal of the British National Association of Spiritualists: volume 9 1889 p610 has a report on a recent meeting of the London Spiritualist Alliance, where Isabel had spoken on Spiritualism Amongst the Poets, mentioning Phaedra by name.

*

PHILAE EGYPT

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1874; Liverpool. With a quote from Lalla Rookh:

The ruined shrines and towers that seem

The relics of a splendid dream.

Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance first published 1817 by Thomas Moore (1779-1852).

For the Greco-Egyptian temple complex at Philae, see wikipedia.

Isabel had probably visited Philae, and sketched there, while she and her husband were living in Alexandria in the late 1860s/early 1870s.

*

PORTRAIT

Exhibited 1885; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art published by J W Parker and Son.

Volume 60 1885 p612. A review of the current exhibition at the Nineteenth Century Art Society mentioned both the paintings Isabel was showing: The Sorceress; and something the report simply referred to as 'portrait'. The exhibition catalogue I looked at was no more helpful. It's most likely that the portrait was one shown elsewhere as well, or mentioned by Isabel in Memorabilia; and thus in this list of works. But there's a chance it's a completely different portrait; if it is, I don't know who the sitter might have been.

*

Painting sold in 1992 as PORTRAIT OF GIRL IN EASTERN COSTUME

This painting was said at its sale to be by Isabel, but the information I found didn't say that the painting was signed by Isabel, when she usually did sign her works. The details were at artsalesindex.artinfo.com, the Blouin Art Sales Index. The painting was sold with this title as lot 125 in a sale at Bonhams in 1992: no date either; oil on canvas; 53cm high by 38cm wide. Again, I haven't found a picture on the web of this painting and I don't know where it is now.

*

PRINCESS SCHEHEREZADA

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1880; Liverpool; and again 1892; Manchester.

Another of Isabel's paintings with literary origins.

*

Painting sold 1988 as RESTING GRECIAN GIRL DANCER

An oil painting.

This was another of the paintings by Isabel that I found at artsalesindex.artinfo.com, the Blouin Art Sales Index. It was sold with that title as lot 796 in a sale at Waddington's of Toronto in November 1988; signed by Isabel but with no date; oil on panel; 22cm high by 40cm wide. As usual with these works sold in recent years at auction houses, I couldn't find a picture of the painting on the web; and also as usual, I don't know where it is now. I think it might be the same painting as the one sold as 'dancing girl resting' in 1985 and as I've said when discussing the other 'dancing...' paintings (see 'd' above), any one or more of them might be in this list under the name Isabel originally bestowed on them.

*

The ROCK SYREN (sic) SINGING THE STORM SONG

A charcoal drawing.

Exhibited 1887; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

Portrait of ROMOLA TYNTE which was the professional name of Mary Magill Tynte Potter.

Exhibited 1885 as 'Portrait of Miss Mary Tynte Potter'; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

Exhibited 1887; Royal Hibernian Dublin.

The painting was not for sale on either occasion and was certainly given by Isabel to Mary Potter; possibly commissioned by her.

Mary Tynte Potter burst on the social scene as Romola Tynte, doing recitings and short dramatic scenes at private soirées and – later – public concerts. Her family was Irish and she

was related to

Jane, Lady Wilde. Oscar Wilde helped Romola launch herself when she went to the USA and I think she might have begun her public career at Lady Wilde's famous afternoons. Neither Mary Potter nor Romola Tynte is mentioned in Memorabilia but Lady Wilde's afternoons were the most likely place for Isabel to have met her.

Some information on Mary Potter/Romola Tynte and her rather brief career in recitation:

At freepages.genealogy.rootsweb, see Fifty Years of Sheffield Church Life 1866-1916 by Rev Canon W Odom. In Chapter VI, the well-known churchmen that Odom knew personally include Mary's father, Rev S G Potter, vicar of St Luke's Hollis Croft, well-known in the city for his willingness to involve himself in theological debate. Rev Potter was an Orangeman whose parish was mostly occupied by Roman Catholics. He died 1904 in South Devon.

At www.worldcat.org the pamphlet: Church and State: Controversy Between Rev S G Potter and..."Pastor Gordon". In 14 Letters. 1874 in London, Manchester and Sheffield. Pastor Gordon is John Henry Gordon.

Mary's parents: www.cotyroneireland.com/marriages/cookstown.html, has transcripts of Cookstown marriage announcements taken from local parish registers; Strabane Morning Post; Londonderry Sentinel; Londonderry Standard. In the list published in one of the papers 11 October 1845: on 1st inst [1 Oct 1845] at Derryloran Church Cookstown, Rev Samuel George Potter of Cushenden co Antrim to Elizabeth daughter of Samuel Rankin Magill Esq JP of Cookstown. Rev Potter was the eldest son of Samuel Potter of Springfield county Donegal.

As the reciter Romola Tynte:

Dublin Daily Express 12 May 1887: Romola Tynte's farewell recital in Dublin had been attended by Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar.

A [Gerard Manley] Hopkins Chronology by John McDermott. London: Macmillan 1997 p113 and we're in April 1887: on 25th [April 1887] Hopkins went to Mrs More Madden's house to see Romola Tynte recite. An editor's footnote says that as well as her recitations, Romola also worked as an elocutionist. On the evening Hopkins heard her, she was wearing a dress designed for her by Oscar Wilde. On 27th [April 1887] Hopkins went to the Antient Concert Rooms to see Romola's farewell recital. On 1 May [1887] Hopkins told a contact that Romola was "a beautiful Sappho".

At ebay and on google there was a picture of Romola Tynte, a profile from front page of The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News volume 39 number 770 issue of 25 August 1888. I couldn't see who the artist was - if a name was mentioned - but it's more likely to be one of the male artists who painted Romola Tynte than the portrait by Isabel.

For Jane, Lady Wilde see wikipedia on her husband and younger son; and wiki on Jane herself: Jane Francesca Agnes Elgee born December 1821 daughter of Charles Elgee 1783-1824, a solicitor in Wexford, and his wife Sarah née Kingsbury.

After establishing herself on the professional recitation scene in Dublin and London, Romola Tynte went to the USA:

At www.christies.com, details of items in a sale held New York December 2009 including an autograph letter from Oscar Wilde, on the headed paper of 16 Tyte St; to James B Pond. There's no date on it but it's a letter of introduction for Romola Tynte to show to Mr Pond

when she reached New York. The letter was published in the Holland and Hart-Davis Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde p292, where Pond was described as the man who had arranged Oscar Wilde's lecture tour in the US of January-March 1882.

Seen via google: autograph letter by James C Potter of New York to Romola Tynte; written during 1892 on the headed paper of the Hotel Boswyck.

Oscar Wilde was not the only famous person helping set Romola Tynte up in America:

At www.newspapers.com the Brooklyn Life of Sat 3 December 1892 p18 the Social Column: one of a "series of entertainments" on 9 December [1892] at the St George Hotel would feature a Mr McKernan and "another celebrity" Miss Romola Tynte. Miss Tynte had arrived in the US "last June" [June 1892] with a letter of introduction from Ellen Terry to William Winter of New York. Winter introduced Romola Tynte to the Newport social set and she made her debut at the Newport casino. She later gave recitals at the homes of Mrs Beach and Mrs William C Whitney.

(I'm just wondering here if 'Mrs Beach' is the composer and pianist Amy Beach).

At www.worldcat.org a reference to a letter from Romola Tynte in New York to William Winter, written during 1893. The only copy is in Washington DC.

New York Times 3 January 1894 a report on a recitation by Romola Tynte, which I couldn't read in full without paying: one item on Romola's programme, "a tragic little recitation" ended with everyone present, including herself, with tears in the eyes.

At [//cdnc.ucr.edu](http://cdnc.ucr.edu) is the California Digital Newspaper Collection: Los Angeles Herald volume 42 number 39 issue of 20 May 1894 prints a paragraph on Romola Tynte's success in New York, even though she doesn't seem to have visited Los Angeles or even be about to visit it. This report says that Romola's "earnest and spirituelle face" had been used by the painter Poynter as the basis for his head of Christ in the dome of St Paul's Cathedral. Romola Tynte had also been used as a model by Lant, for his Lesbia; by Edwin Long for his Diana or Christ; and by Frank Topham for his picture of George Eliot's. There was no mention of Isabel's portrait in this report, alas!

Romola Tynte's career in public recitation seems to have been short; and she moved on to work for the women's suffrage movement, giving only occasional, fund-raising performances:

The Women's Suffrage Movement: New Feminist Perspectives. Edited by Maroula Joannou and June Purvis. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2009 p21 in the chapter Women's Franchise League. By October 1890 Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy was the WFL's secretary and Romola Tynte was her assistant. Elmy was complaining at the WFL's "brutal" treatment of both of them, which was making Elmy ill.

Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy and the Victorian Feminist Movement by Maureen Wright. New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press 2011 p143 mentions two recitals by Romola Tynte given during May 1890 to raise funds for the Women's Franchise League.

Probate Registry index shows that Mary Magill Tynte Potter died on 30 July 1913, in Exmouth.

*

ROSE GARDEN, CLARENS, LAKE OF GENEVA

An oil painting.

This is one of the few works Isabel showed after the fire of August 1900 and it was probably painted after that disaster. Exhibited in 1901; Liverpool.

*

SEMIRAMIDE/SEMIRAMIS

Exhibited as Semiramide 1882; Royal Albert Hall London.

Exhibited 1883 as Semiramis; Royal Scottish Academy Edinburgh and Birmingham.

*

SHATUCHA THE BEDOUIN GIRL (EGYPT)

This was a sketch; the medium wasn't described in my source.

Exhibited 1881; Society of Lady Artists London.

I'm thinking here that, as this was a sketch, it might have been part of the preparations for one of Isabel's 'dancing girl' works, or for Semiramide or the Greek Captive and her Nubian Slave.

*

SKI

Probably 1878

Ski, apparently pronounced Sky, was the name of the native American Indian who was the spirit guide of the American spiritualist medium Mary J Hollis-Billing. The work was never exhibited. It has a rather curious history: in Memorabilia on p141 footnote1 Isabel says that Mrs Hollis-Billing showed her a photograph of a "rough sketch" of Ski in his native American Indian costume, supposedly painted from life. Isabel then used the sketch as the basis for a painting, and gave the painting to Mrs Hollis-Billing. Isabel doesn't give a date for this 'portrait' on that page she states that it was done around the time that the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society was being formed; which was June 1878.

*

SLAVE GIRL OF THE HAREM

Exhibited 1878; Society of Lady Artists London.

*

SLAVE QUEEN, ZUMURRUD; probably THE GREEK CAPTIVE AND HER NUBIAN SLAVE

An oil painting. 1884.

This painting isn't mentioned in any exhibition catalogue that I've been able to find; nor does Isabel write about it – at least, not with that title – in Memorabilia. The reference to a work of that name, by Isabel, was in The Building News and Engineering Journal volume 46 1884 p820. This was a snippet, a review of an exhibition but I haven't been able to confirm the venue. The reviewer said of Isabel's painting that it was "somewhat hard and crude in colour". Isabel showed her The Greek Captive and Her Nubian Slave at the Institute of Painters in Oils in 1884 and I think that it must be the one the reviewer saw; though I'm puzzled as to how he or she gave it what seems to be the wrong title.

Wikipedia has a list of the characters who appear in translations of 1001 Nights: Zumurrud is one. The name is from the Persian, meaning "the emerald from Samarkand".

Seeing Isabel chose to illustrate several 1001 Nights' characters, here's a potted history from

its wikipedia page. Most of the stories are from the Middle East and can be traced back to the Middle Ages. The work as translated and known in the west has a very complex history. A lot of work was being done in the 1880s and 1890s to try to understand how the collection first came together; perhaps Isabel knew some of the people involved in that work. The first translation into a European language was a French one from 1704. The first translation into English, a bowdlerised one from 1840 and 1859, was the one Isabel would have read in her youth; it was the standard work for many years. of what has been seen as the std version, by Edward Lane 1840, 1859. Unexpurgated translations didn't follow until John Payne's (9 volumes in 1882) and Richard Francis Burton's (10 volumes in 1885), both of which had to be private publications available to subscribers only, to avoid possible prosecutions for obscenity. Isabel could have been a subscriber to one or the other of those, of course! but it does seem unlikely.

*

A SONG OF THE GREEK ISLES

An oil painting.

*

The SORCERESS; see THE ENCHANTRESS

*

SPANISH TAMBOURINE GIRL

Exhibited 1881: Society of Lady Artists London.

*

SPIRIT OF THE CRYSTAL

See Isabel's comments on this painting, which mean it can be dated at 1888, probably late 1888.

A painting in pastels.

Said by Isabel (Memorabilia p159) to have been shown 1888, probably on the back of the success I describe below. Grosvenor Gallery; though I haven't found it listed in the catalogues I have seen, I haven't yet come across a copy of the one for the pastel exhibition of 1888-89.

Exhibited again 1891; Liverpool.

On Memorabilia p159 Isabel names Spirit of the Crystal as one of the four paintings she showed in the same exhibition at the Grosvenor Galleries. On pp161-62 she says it was a pastel, done for Isabel Cooper-Oakley, one of several works Mrs Cooper-Oakley had commissioned – all by woman artists - to be hung on the walls on the opening day of her Dorothy restaurant. Spirit of the Crystal was voted the most popular of the commissioned paintings, by the women who went to the opening, and Isabel won £5. It wasn't sold, though – maybe the exhibits weren't for sale. It was destroyed in the fire of 1900, together with a photograph Isabel had had taken of it.

Sources for the Dorothy restaurant:

Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End by Erika Diane Rappaport. Princeton University Press 2001. On p256 notes to Chapter 3; re footnote 146:

the first Dorothy restaurant was in Mortimer St. It opened on 24 November 1888.

Constance: the Tragic and Scandal Life of Mrs Oscar Wilde by Franny Moyle . London: John Murray 2011. This was a snippet and I couldn't see the page number. The opening of the second Dorothy, at 448 Oxford Street, on Friday 21 June 1889 was much more of a 'high society' affair than the opening of the first. Constance and the art critic Lady Colin Campbell were amongst the guests that day and although the Dorothys were women-only restaurants, Oscar Wilde was allowed in, for this day only. Mrs Cooper-Oakley wanted her Dorothys to serve wholesome food, cheap enough to be affordable by shop girls. Unlike clubs etc their doors opened onto the street. You paid on the way in: 8d for a main course of meat, 2 veg and bread; 2d extra got you a pudding; and coffee or tea was 1d extra again. When you had paid you were given a ticket. You found somewhere to sit; and your meal would arrive.

Reproduced as a black-and-white illustration: Unknown World volume 1 1894; shown to have been signed by Isabel. Below the reproduction was a note saying that Isabel had painted the original in 1890.

*

SPIRIT OF THE EAST WIND also known as GHOUL OF THE SHIPWRECK

An oil painting.

Before 1894.

Reproduced as a black-and-white illustration: Unknown World volume 1 1894. Below the reproduction was a note stating that the design was based on an oil painting. No details were given of when and where the original painting had been shown; so perhaps Isabel had never exhibited it. The reproduction wasn't signed or dated.

*

STRADA TIBERIO CAPRI

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1886 as one of a pair, with Villa Pompeiana; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

A SUMMER SONG (STUDY AT BOSCASTLE)

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1891; Manchester.

*

SUNNY SOUTH (LYME REGIS BAY)

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1890; Manchester

*

SUNSET IN THE MARSHES, RHOS NEIGR, ANGLESEA

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1901; Liverpool.

Given the year that she showed it, it's probably one of the few paintings Isabel did after the fire of August 1900. I don't know when Isabel went to Anglesey but all her sketch books were destroyed in the fire of August 1900.

*

The THREE VALKYRIE MAIDENS...

See Valkyrie Maidens

*

TOADSTOOL

Wax-clay.

This was the only sculpture Isabel ever showed.

Exhibited 1892; Liverpool.

*

“TRUST HER NOT, SHE IS FOOLING THEE”

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1885; Liverpool.

Those are Isabel's quote marks. However, when I googled the phrase, I didn't get any responses.

*

VALKYRIE MAIDENS

I'm assuming that Isabel showed one painting five times. If so, it's an oil painting.

Exhibited 1881 with a very long title: “The Three Valkyrie Maidens - Messengers of the Gods, proclaiming from a lone rock in the Northern Ocean to the sea-birds and the fishes the death of Balder (sic) the Beautiful”. At the Royal Albert Hall London.

Exhibited twice in 1883 as ‘the Valkyrie maidens’: Royal Hibernian Dublin; Birmingham.

Exhibited 1884 with the 1881 full title; Royal Scottish Academy Edinburgh.

Exhibited 1886 with no subtitle but a reference (my quotes) “vide Robert Buchanan's Poem”.

There's a wiki but not a full wikipedia page on Robert Williams Buchanan (1841-1901) poet, novelist and playwright. The wiki refers to the mysticism of his *The Book of Orm* published 1870. At www.robertbuchanan.co.uk you can see the full text of the poem reproduced from the 1885 edition published by Chatto and Windus. Its full title is *The Earthquake; Or Six Days and a Sabbath* pubd Chatto and Windus 1885. The reference to Valkyries that I suppose Isabel is illustrating is:

Like Valkyries heavenly-eyed

From the storm-cloud trooping forth...

There's a wiki on the Norse god Baldr (also seen spelled Balder and Baldur). He was a son of Odin and Frigg. Baldr's death was the first in the series of events which ended with the destruction of Ragnarok. After his death he had to remain in the underworld; he could only

come out after Ragnarok had gone and the world had been remade. His death is covered at length in the Poetic Edda.

Wikipedia on valkyries, which are mentioned in the Poetic Edda (13th cent) and also in the 13th cent Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson. The Valkyries accompany Odin and Frigg and Odin's ravens to the funeral of Baldr.

*

VEILING OF ISIS

Exhibited 1884; Birmingham.

*

VILLA POMPEIANA CAPRI

An oil painting.

Exhibited 1886 as one of a pair w Strada Tiberio; Nineteenth Century Art Society London.

*

Portrait of Dr GEORGE WYLD

1882

I've not found any evidence that this was exhibited. I would think that it was either commissioned by Dr Wyld or painted for him as a friend (though he isn't mentioned in Memorabilia). Either way, I'm sure it was given to Dr Wyld when it was finished.

My only source for it is The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 3 1882 p106 in issue of 1 April 1882. The last item in several pages detailing what various artists were working on at the moment mentions briefly that Dr George Wyld was "sitting for his portrait" at Isabel's studio in Holland Park Road.

That's the end of the list of paintings.

ISABEL AS AN ILLUSTRATOR

Isabel doesn't mention having done any illustration work in Memorabilia. The only examples I've found are these:

1) illustrations in Private Instructions on the Science and Art of Organic Magnetism by Chandos Leigh Hunt. They aren't in the first two editions, only in the 3rd: published London: G Wilson 1885.

I imagine Isabel was a friend of Chandos. Though Chandos is not mentioned in Memorabilia, the two women shared some interests and moved in some at least of the same circles. Private Instructions... is a 'how to' book. Isabel's illustrations are small drawings trying to explain some of the physical work Chandos was describing in the booklet: on an unnumbered page just before p1, for example, there's one of a pair of hands resting on someone's shoulder blades.

Thanks are due to Vivienne Roberts and Leslie Price of the College of Psychic Studies for

telling me about this work, which I hadn't heard of before. The College has several copies of Chandos' work and you can also see the Bodleian Library's copy of the 3rd edition at www.iapsop.com.

Chandos Leigh Hunt was born as Emily Honoria Leigh Hunt in 1854. Originally a teacher, she became a professional hypnotist early in the 1870s, trained by Joseph Wallace, the man she married in 1878. Wallace held several patents on medicines. He and Chandos were in business for many years, preparing and selling the medicines and giving consultations. They also campaigned, for a vegetarian diet and against vaccination. Joseph Wallace died in 1910. With the help of some of their children, Chandos kept up her own and her husband's businesses until her death in 1927.

There are several works by Chandos in the British Library though it has "mislaidd" its only copy of the booklet illustrated by Isabel:

1876 Vaccination Brought Home to the People. Published London, originally a lecture.

1876 A Treatise on All the Known Uses of Organic Magnetism, Phenomenal and Curative. Published London; also a lecture originally.

?1878 listed under Chandos Leigh Hunt's name, perhaps as its translator into English: Inoculation und Vaccination sind einerlei. Baron C Dirckinck-Holmfeld. German original published Hamburg.

1884, 1885, 1901 8th edition: Physianthropy; or, the Home Cure and Eradication of Disease. London: Philanthropic Reform Publishing Office of 37 Oxford Mansions, Oxford Circus, which seems to be one of the businesses owned by Leigh Hunt and Wallace.

1885 as Mrs C L H Wallace. 366 Menus...Without the Introduction of Fish, Flesh, Fowl or Intoxicants...

1885 Dietetic Advice to the Young and the Old. Published London; originally an article in The Food Reform Magazine.

?1888 Visibility Invisible and Invisibility Visible. A New Year's Story. London: J Burns

2) the works listed above as appearing in Unknown World in 1894 (all of which had originally been paintings).

3) frontispiece to A Book of Mystery and Vision, a book of poems by A E Waite, published London: Philip Wellby 1902, in a limited edition of 250 copies. Isabel's illustration is to the poem on p12. Roger Wright found Cornell University's copy on the web via archive.org; the only one we could locate in the UK was at Cambridge University, not even the British Library had one. Isabel's illustration is black and white and is opposite the title page. Below it to the right is printed: "Drawn by I. De Steiger". The drawing doesn't have a title as such, but below it there's a quote from the second-last verse of Waite's poem pp10-12: The Voyage and the Venture. On p10 Waite gives an introductory paragraph to the poem making it clear even to the most clueless that it's the soul that's voyaging and venturing. As at p12:

[So therefore] days and nights dissolve

By this low-breathing sea,

While hear I pause and still resolve

Voyage and venture free!

Dim main through all my paths intone
And far through paths untrod,
Sung on by all life's voices, lone
Let me embark for God.

I don't think that Isabel's drawing was ever exhibited. It's hard to know when she did the drawing but it might be one of the few art works from after the fire of August 1900.

18 September 2017

Contact me – especially if you think you might own one of the works listed in this file – by email:

See the full list of my biographies of members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER AS A PROFESSIONAL ARTIST

THE BIRTH OF MODERN ART

Isabel de Steiger lived from 1836 to 1927, through a period of unprecedented change in European art. She was born before the Pre-Raphaelites and died during the early years of Surrealism. During her lifetime, the Renaissance ideas of what painting should consist of, and the academies which taught those ideas, were being assailed from every side. Influences were coming in from countries as far away as Japan and cultures as different as those of the African tribes. Advances in technology and chemistry brought new colours; and paints in tubes, which made painting out-doors so much easier. And photography was challenging art on many fronts while freeing artists (if they wanted to be freed) from the need to paint one-d representations of what was – supposedly – 'real' or 'natural'.

In the midst of all this upheaval, what kind of artist did Isabel choose to become?

Well, that's a tricky one! It has been a surreal experience, trying to figure out what kind of paintings Isabel did, when I've only ever seen one of them in real life. Most I know only by their titles. However, I think that those titles, and Isabel's writings on art, do give her away, as a would-be academician.

Sources for this introductory section:

Genre painting, the most widespread but also the most unsung challenge to the art of the academies:

Popular Nineteenth Century Painting: A Dictionary of European Genre Painters. By Philip Hook and Mark Poltimore. Antique Collectors' Club 1986. Isabel is not listed in this book. The only GD artist member who is, is Henry Marriott Paget, listed with the painters of children when in fact he did very few pictures of that kind. The book does seem rather limited in its attitude: it doesn't allow for artists painting in more than one genre. However, I did find the introduction very helpful.

A short definition of "the modern aesthetic", seen on the wall at the Sargent Watercolours exhibition Dulwich Art Gallery 24 August 2017: "formal structure and surface pattern".

Wikipedia pages on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood – founded 1848; Impressionism – first exhibition 1874; Surrealism, a reaction against Dada, and using Freud's ideas on dreams – two separate manifestos, both 1924. Wikipedia on mauve – invented 1856, named 1859; paint in tubes – invented 1841.

ISABEL'S TRAINING AS AN ARTIST

In Memorabilia Isabel was looking back at her life. Knowing that eventually she became an artist, she remembered childhood lessons and incidents that point in that direction. However, in talking about her schooling she remembered music as much as painting and drawing; and also admitted that in the early years of her marriage she did no art at all for several years. That said, Isabel does seem to have shown more promise as an artist, and more willingness to work at painting and challenge herself, than most schoolgirls.

Lessons in sketching were part of the curriculum of the average school for young ladies in mid- 19th-century England. In that respect, Isabel was lucky to be spending her 1830s and 1840s childhood in Liverpool: her first school, run by the Hackney sisters, sent its pupils to the studio of a professional artist, the landscape painter Alfred Hunt, for their drawing lessons. Alfred Hunt made Isabel and her fellow pupils imitate "Jullien's chalk heads" but his daughter Maria brought all sorts of art works for them to copy. Isabel remembered being thrilled by the "glamour" of painting "a dewdrop on a purple convolvulus" on "Bristol board" in one of the lessons. Isabel got to know Alfred Hunt's children very well and as all of them – the daughters as well as the son – were professional artists, she will have taken in the extra lesson that a woman could make a living out of art.

Alfred Hunt told Isabel that she had more talent than most. He suggested that she ask her father to pay for a proper training, but she never did approach her father on the subject. The opportunity to have an art education paid for by her father was lost in any case in 1847, when he died. Before his death, Isabel did paint copies of some old masters her parents had in their house, copies of originals - almost certainly all portraits - by van Dyck, Kneller, Lely and Lawrence. At his death, her father's collection of books and paintings was sold, but even decades later Isabel had a vague memory of one in particular, one of the van Dyck copies. She had always wanted to paint something along the same lines and thought she had finally done so with her Castles in the Air.

Isabel continued to draw but had no more art lessons until she was at her last school, Miss Steven's school in North End Road Fulham. As Isabel doesn't name the person who taught art at the school I guess lessons were taken as they usually were in such schools, by one of

the staff members, not by a professional artist. Isabel refused to do the copying work she was set. She doesn't say why but perhaps she found it not challenging enough. Instead, she borrowed a portfolio of "classical line drawings" she had noticed in Miss Steven's drawing room; and copied those. She kept up her drawing practice after she left school and 'came out' – a point at which most young women gave up art for good – and began to try her hand at portraits. But at this stage in her life, Isabel had no thought at all of being a professional painter, and when she married Rudolph von Steiger in 1861 she did no painting or sketching or copying for several years.

I think two acts of Fate changed the situation for Isabel and drove her back to her art work. Firstly, she and Rudolph had no children. That was something that would make more difference in the future. Making an increasing difference in the 1860s present was Rudolph's TB. At some point in the late 1860s, a warm climate was recommended for him, so Isabel had to leave Liverpool and the social life she had there, and go with her husband to Egypt. Increasingly worried about her husband's health, and with time hanging on her hands, Isabel began to paint and draw again, and for a few months she was also able to take more lessons.

Her teacher in Egypt was another professional artist, an Italian who was in Egypt temporarily to work on portrait commissions from the Khedive and the European community there. In *Memorabilia* Isabel calls this man Dunielli and says he specialised in picturesque scenes (so he was a genre painter). I haven't been able to find out anything about Dunielli, even allowing for her having possibly spelled his name wrong. It's a pity, because he helped Isabel over a very important artistic hurdle – he taught her how to take a sketch and make a finished painting from it. After those lessons Isabel felt herself to be "a fully fledged artist". She began to paint portraits of her friends in Alexandria, and scenes she describes as "Bedouins, palm trees" - which sound like the first paintings she ever exhibited in public.

Rudolph von Steiger died in December 1872, leaving Isabel a widow at 36. If he and Isabel had had any children, Isabel's choices at that point would have had to be different. As it was, she had been left an income, enough to make her financially independent, but she had to find a new purpose for her life. As she remembered it nearly 40 years later, she made up her mind to become a professional artist very soon after her husband's death; but it's clear that there were several false starts in the process, and a lot of moving on from one art training to another.

The first false start was Isabel's decision to go to London and study at the Slade School of Art. This was during 1873 and I think it came a bit soon after her bereavement. Staying in lodgings, and having not lived in London since her teens, Isabel knew no one and she was very lonely. She also soon got tired of what the Slade required of its new students - "drawing from the casts". She'd done all that before.

She left London for Florence. She found rooms in a pensione there and went to be a pupil of the artist she calls Belucci (with one 'l') but who is correctly spelled Bellucci. Giuseppe Bellucci (1827-82) was part of the post-Renaissance Italian painting tradition that still continued in Florence. He had studied with Giuseppe Bezzuoli (1784-1855), some of whose works Isabel might have seen at the Royal Academy in the 1840s. She had probably seen Bellucci's own *Death of Alessandro de' Medici* in Paris in 1865; later, his *The Treaty of Bruzzolo* got a royal accolade when the king of Italy acquired it for his collection. Paintings of historical subjects, displayed at the RA and bought by a king: what Isabel was going for in this bit of training was the academic tradition with a vengeance. However, it turned out to be

another false start. Bellucci told Isabel that he could make her a great artist, like he had “the Great Inglese, Miss Thomson”; but she would have to stay as his pupil for two or three years. Isabel decided she couldn’t afford it. This was probably the autumn of 1873. She left Italy to go back to Egypt; where over the winter of 1873/74 she thought long and hard about her future, deciding to continue with her art - “to begin a real Art life” - but in London.

Isabel adds “not in Paris” to that decision; which is why I suggest early 1874 for a false start not mentioned in Memorabilia. Perhaps it occupied such a short time that, decades later, she had forgotten all about it, but at some point, she went to Paris to study in the studio of Carolus Duran.

Carolus Duran (1837-1917 – he was younger than Isabel) is the dapper-looking man on the front cover of the catalogue of the 2015 John Singer Sargent exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery: Sargent trained with him from mid-1874. By 1874 Duran was one of France’s most sought-after portrait artists, and training places in his studio were also highly prized, so Isabel was going straight to the top in choosing his studio for her next phase of training. Though best known for portraits, Duran also did landscapes. And nudes – so that working in his studio Isabel would have been able to overcome one of the main problems facing women who wanted to train as artists: not being able to learn to draw the human body by studying naked human models.

Duran’s technique is well-understood and given in great detail on the web. I’m not going to talk about it here, because when Isabel began to paint pictures for exhibition and sale, she imitated a very different artist. What Isabel might have taken away from Duran’s studio is his enthusiasm for Velázquez’s idea that nature could be seen as a manifestation of the Divine.

Having decided to make a go of living and painting in London (mid-1874); and presumably immediately after the false start in Paris, Isabel stepped over the threshold from student to professional, by signing up for at least one term at Heatherley’s School of Fine Art. Heatherley’s was founded in 1845. It still exists and still keeps to its original purpose of giving artists who have finished their training some help at the outset of their career, by offering space in which to paint, and the use of models at shared cost. Future GD members Henry Marriott Paget and his wife-to-be Henrietta Farr were both at Heatherley’s – that’s where they met; I haven’t been able to find out when exactly, so I don’t know whether they and Isabel coincided.

Sources for Isabel’s training:

Memorabilia

- on the Hackney sisters’ school: p14, p42. On p44 Isabel remembered having a drawing by Alfred Hunt, perhaps given to her by the artist: a scene painted at Drachenfels on the Rhine. Like so much else, it was destroyed in the fire of August 1900.
- on copying her father’s paintings: pp57-58.
- on Miss Steven’s school: p53.
- on the mysterious Dunielli: pp77-78.
- on the months at the Slade; in Florence and in Egypt: p78.
- on renting space and models at Heatherley’s: p78.

ALFRED HUNT

Wikipedia on Andrew Hunt 1790-1861.

Bénézit's Dictionary of Artists a vast work. Published in English: Editions Gründ Paris 2006.

Volume 7 Her-Koo pp454-455: Andrew Hunt and his family though the daughters are not named.

A short entry for the father and son Hunts but not the daughters in Dictionary of British Art. Volume IV: Victorian Painters I: The Text. By Christopher Wood. Published Antique Collectors' Club 1995 p268.

DUNIELLI

Bénézit's Dictionary of Artists published in English: Editions Gründ Paris 2006.

In Volume 6 Cos-Dyc. No entry for him as Dunielli. I also tried every mis-spelling I could think of, without any luck. Just noting though that p521 there's no entry for Isabel as de Steiger. Nor is Isabel in Volume 13 Som-Val p275 as Steiger, de. So despite the supposed comprehensiveness of this reference work, some artists have been missed out.

SLADE SCHOOL OF ART: see wikipedia and other websites. The bequest which enabled a professor to be employed at University College London was made in 1868. There's a good list of well-known graduates of the Slade on its wikipedia page, but two not well-known students at the Slade in the late 1880s were future GD members Mina Bergson Mathers and Annie Horniman.

BELLUCCI

Bénézit's Dictionary of Artists published in English: Editions Gründ Paris 2006.

In Volume 2 Bed-Bül: on p120 no artist spelled Belucci was listed. However p111 there was a Giuseppe Bellucci 1827-1882 born and died in Florence. Same volume p415 on his teacher Giuseppe Bezzuoli. If I made enough effort going from pupil to master, I could probably trace the line back to Renaissance Florence.

I'm still trying to figure out who Bellucci's ex-pupil Miss Thomson is.

DURAN

If I hadn't been reading through Light on the hunt for something else, I never would have known. The only reference I've come across is a mention in passing by Isabel, in a letter she sent to the magazine about the Ancient Mysteries: Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 Jan-Dec 1881 p87 issue of 19 March 1881.

For Duran see wikipedia and also

- www.jssgallery.org/Paintings/Carolus-Duran:

- www.studiorousar.com/2011/03/21/carolus-duran-methods for his painting technique and influences.

HEATHERLEY'S SCHOOL OF FINE ART

Its website is www.heatherleys.com

References to the Pagets at Heatherley's; though neither give any clues about the dates they were there.

The Collected Letters of George Gissing 1892-1895 by Gissing and Paul F Matthieson, Arthur C Young and Pierre Coustillas. Ohio University Press 1994 p272 footnote 8.

The Corresp of Samuel Butler with his Sister May edited and with introduction by Daniel F Howard. University of Cambridge Press; University of California Press 1962: pp80-81, a letter written in August 1879 in which Butler says he'd known both the Pagets about ten years ago (so taround 1869). The Pagets aren't named in the letter – presumably May didn't know them – but they're identified p81 footnote 2 from Samuel Butler: A Memoir Part 1 by Henry Festing Jones, p307.

ISABEL'S WORKING LIFE AS AN ARTIST

In the autumn of 1874 Isabel showed her first paintings at a major exhibition venue. For the next 13 years she was a professional artist first and foremost, painting several works each year for sale or for friends. Her output only slowed down after 1887, when she seems to have made a not-necessarily-conscious decision to give more time to her study of western hermeticism.

I've only seen Isabel's last painting in real life and I think it probably isn't typical of her earlier work. There are a couple of reproductions of her paintings on the web, but on the basis of three pictures I don't fancy making dogmatic statements about her style or technique at different times. One thing that she said herself about her early works, however, is that they were very influenced by the paintings of Lawrence Alma-Tadema.

There's no suggestion in Memorabilia that Isabel ever met Alma-Tadema so she probably never went to his studio. However, she could have seen his pictures on show in Europe from as early as 1861 and at the Royal Academy from 1869. As a student of painting, perhaps even the finished article could tell her something of his technique and style, but it's obvious from the titles of some of her paintings that she also liked the subjects and the backgrounds he chose to paint.

Alma-Tadema did do portraits and landscapes but he had trained to be a history painter and his history paintings were what was most popular with British buyers. His earliest works focused on the history of the Low Countries but in the 1860s he branched out into scenes of ancient Egypt, ancient Rome and ancient Greece. He had been trained to be as accurate in his detail as was possible and he had always had a fascination with architecture and sculpture. On a visit to London in 1862 he had spent time in the British Museum, making sketches of bits of classical statuary and architecture; later he spent several months doing the same in Rome and Pompeii and the results of all that effort are easily seen in his paintings.

After her time as a student in Florence Isabel's finances wouldn't stretch to another long spell in Italy, but she did spend time in the British Museum copying probably the same exhibits that Alma-Tadema had done, to put them in her paintings as he did. Even her very last work, Castles in the Air, has classical temples in its background and – if you go by her titles – some of her earliest paintings had even closer links with Alma-Tadema.

Scenes of ancient Egypt were popular, and Alma-Tadema regularly painted them. Some of Isabel's earliest exhibited works were Egyptian landscapes and genre scenes, but when she started to gain confidence she also painted several works, presumably in conscious imitation, with titles that Alma-Tadema might easily have picked for his own paintings. Though of course I don't know what it looked like, Isabel's very long-titled Athyrtis Divine Daughter of Sesostris, Showing Herself at the Gate of the Temple (1880) can be thought of as a woman artist's riposte to, or a 'part two' to, Alma-Tadema's Grand Chamberlain of Sesostris the Great, the portrait of a young, black man exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1871. A reviewer described Isabel's painting as a "decorative, classically rendered figure", giving me the impression of a work very much in the Alma-Tadema style. Isabel's A Daughter of the Gods (1879) and perhaps her Nature and Art (from as late as 1884) also sound like the kind of subject Alma-Tadema painted - figures in front of classical architecture. In 1876 Alma-Tadema's Cleopatra was shown at the Royal Academy, one of his most erotic paintings. Isabel was inspired to make another riposte: in 1879/80 she showed four paintings whose titles suggest her Cleopatra wasn't just the desired object of Roman commanders, but also the last pharaoh of Egypt, failing to prevent its conquest by Rome, but failing gloriously.

Although she might still have envied Alma-Tadema his art training in an academy and two academic studios, and the ease with which he entered the English art establishment; later Isabel suffered a revulsion of feeling about his style, describing it in *Memorabilia* as "cold and soulless" and "not the right technique for me to have imitated". It's not clear when her attitude towards his style began to change; and unfortunately Isabel didn't elaborate in her memoir on the style she developed after she left Alma-Tadema behind. I would cautiously suggest, though, that the 'moving on' process began in the early 1880s. A painting she exhibited in 1882 - which might be her *Mariamne*, her *Semiramide* or another painting altogether - was described by a reviewer as "French in technique" so perhaps she was reverting to the method she learned during her short time with Carolus Duran.

Most of her exhibited paintings in the 1880s seem to show continuity with her 'Alma-Tadema' phase, at least by their titles. She continued to paint classical subjects - *A Dream of Hermes* (1884); *Andromeda Abandoned* (1892); and a couple of what sound like allegories - *Nature and Art* (1884) and *Harmonia* (1887). There were paintings which illustrated poetry, though one of her earliest exhibits - *Basking in Heaven's Light* - had been accompanied by a quote from Lalla Rookh, so that strand in her work was also not new. The Arabic or Egyptian theme continued, with one, probably several, eastern dancing girls; and characters from *The 1001 Nights*. Only one post-1880 theme was new: myths from northern Europe - *The Valkyrie* painting (or possibly paintings) of 1881 and other years; and *the Lorelei...* (1883).

Isabel exhibited very few portraits. If she had been hoping for a regular income from portraiture, she was disappointed. Though she mentions several in *Memorabilia*, they were all done as gifts for friends. She did two, possibly three, religious paintings, one of which was never exhibited. She hardly did any still-lives - she must have been aware that they were looked on in academic circles as women's work; and she only ever exhibited one, small, sculpture.

Isabel was moving in spiritualist circles by the mid-1870s and in occult ones from June 1879. Her first painting with a 'western mysteries' theme was *Consuelo* (1878), based on a novel by George Sand in which there is a secret society holding its meetings in a cave; and during the 1880s, she did what sound like several more. You might include her *Dream of*

Hermes (1884) in that list; with *The Enchantress* (1883) (though this was also a popular subject with artists who had no particular occult leanings). *The Veiling of Isis* (1884); *The Lost Pleiad* (1886); and particularly *A Legend of the Soul* (1887) could also have a ‘western mysteries’ theme, though *A Legend of the Soul* is also an illustration of the classics – the legend of Persephone in the Underworld.

Virtually all the works Isabel exhibited up to the late 1880s were in oils, the chosen paint of the academies. Around 1888/89, however, she experimented with pastels, newly popular again after decades of neglect. As the 1890s progressed, she exhibited more landscapes and even one or two flower pictures – another type of art seen as women’s art – and more of her exhibited works were watercolours. These changes did not seem to affect her reputation as an artist: in 1900 she was excitedly preparing for the ultimate art accolade of a one-person show. But in August 1900 a break-point came with the warehouse fire that destroyed all the paintings Isabel still had in her possession, and all her sketch books and other preparation work. Although she did exhibit some art works after that, the momentum had been lost and she never recovered it.

Isabel’s last known painting – *Castles in the Air* – was worked on in parallel with *Memorabilia*, between 1910 and 1925. In *Memorabilia* she writes of it wistfully, as showing “what I could have done” - meaning, what she could have achieved if she hadn’t opted to spend so much of her time and effort on her other interests. *Castles..* is a summing-up, though, of both her painting and her investigations into the western occult tradition. It shows her young, against a background of clouds but also of Roman architecture; surrounded by the paraphernalia of the occult, and with her GD motto – *Alta peto* – written to her left. Looking at it, you would not know that even Turner had happened; let alone Kandinsky. But it is a fitting end to both her careers.

LIMITATIONS

Isabel said that she was never a “great enough” artist to inspire jealousy in other artists., but by the age of 45 (around 1881) she was a “moderately known professional”, aware of the limitations she faced.

She knew her imagination was limited, saying about her *Aurora at Dawn* painting that she had to have a large number of props when painting it, because she couldn’t conjure up just from her head a picture of the goddess flying across the sky. Unnamed members of her family puzzled her by saying that all her faces looked the same; something she thought was true of Burne-Jones but not of herself – her faces all looked different to her.

Her small income was not a limiting factor to start with, though she always had to be careful with her money. In the mid-1870s she was able to sell some of her capital to buy the remainder of the lease on 8 Hornton Street Kensington with a studio in its basement; and at the end of the 1880s she was able to live for three years in a house with no studio, so that she had to rent a studio separately. However, at the end of the three years, she left that house because of the cost of the two sets of rent. From the early 1890s rents began to eat into her income more and more; so that in her last few years I don’t think she had a studio at all but made do with rooms in wherever she was renting. Though not all exhibition venues welcomed them and Alma-Tadema didn’t do them in his early years, big canvases were something that got you noticed as an artist; but increasingly, Isabel had to paint small.

Other limitations were nothing much to do with Isabel's abilities or her attitude. They were faced by all women artists and in Isabel's case were played out especially in her 'longing but resentful' relationship with the Royal Academy.

How Isabel would have loved to exhibit regularly at the Royal Academy! It was particularly the academies that made it difficult for women to learn their kind of painting to the highest standards, by refusing to let them in as students and often as exhibitors as well. In a fine example of how difficult the academy system was for women to negotiate, Isabel set out to cultivate the only RA member she was acquainted with – Edwin Long – visiting his studio and inviting him into her own. He duly promised that if he got elected to the annual exhibition hanging committee, he would help get her submissions selected and hung prominently. He may have helped usher Isabel's Mariamne through the selection process in 1882, but no other picture of hers was ever shown there and she even felt that she had probably got herself onto an RA black-list.

The academies had the 'separate spheres' arguments of the Evangelical churches to keep women out. This being the 19th-century, they could also make assertions about the immorality and impropriety of women artists painting or even seeing a naked artist's model, particularly in a studio where male artists were also working. (They could, of course, have put men in one studio and women in another; but no.) In 1882, the academic attitude was summed up by arch-proponent J C Horsley RA in a lecture in Devon, the gist of which was printed in *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture*, which Isabel regularly read. Isabel was asked by a number of angry women artists to reply on their behalf. Her letter appeared in *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture's* issue of 1 July 1882. When writing *Memorabilia* decades later, she felt that the letter had helped along the process of improving art training for women – in the long run; but she had made its wording too vehement. The result at the time had been that the Society of Lady Artists joined the RA in refusing to show her work. More helpful to women artists wanting to paint the nude, was Isabel's decision (the year before her letter) to hire a model on Tuesday and Friday evenings and charge women painters and students for three hours' time in her studio, drawing and painting him or her.

Isabel's Mariamne was already up on the walls in the RA when her letter to *The Artist and Home Journal* was published, and it was hanging in a very advantageous position. However, Isabel soon discovered that the catalogue had got her name wrong; she was in it as Miss F Steeger. So even this small triumph over the RA was soured.

Of course, there were an increasing number of alternative exhibitions which noisily challenged the whole academic selection and rejection process, but for Isabel, they felt like venues where the failures went, the pictures that hadn't been selected by the RA. She did exhibit at the Society of Lady Artists (now the Society of Women Artists) before the 1882 letter, and again after they had had time to forget it. She did so with reluctance, though – Isabel thought art did not have gender, and that the LSA's exhibitions were a public statement of women's art as separate and somehow lesser.

There were still hurdles to overcome even after your submission had been accepted for an exhibition. In *Memorabilia*, the importance of having your painting hung to advantage is a recurring theme; a place on the line of the eye of the beholder being the best. Of course, associates and members of academies got preference in this. For the less favoured, the results of your painting not being on that line could often be – no sale. Isabel was even told as much, by the collector who bought her *The Greek Captive* and *Her Nubian Slave* from the

first exhibition of the Institute of Painters in Oils (now the Royal Institute of Oil Painters) in 1883/84. In 1879 Isabel's *Cleopatra Before the Battle of Actium* had been hung on the line at the Walker Art Gallery; she thought the several bids she received for it came in part because it had been in that eye-catching position. The Walker Art Gallery is in Liverpool of course. It was a place – perhaps the only place – where Isabel had an 'in': there was a Rathbone on the hanging committee, and Isabel knew the family well. That's not to say that *Cleopatra*.. didn't deserve to be allotted a prime space; just that the Walker art exhibitions had huge numbers of paintings and not much room on the line; and every little helps. Even when Isabel exhibited a painting that was not for sale, she still wanted it to be hung to advantage, as an aid to new commissions. Consequently she was annoyed when her pastel portrait of Patience Sinnett was not hung well at the Grosvenor Gallery.

One limitation on Isabel's career as an artist was of her own making. She did make a friend of Edwin Long; and she did live for three years in the artists' colony of Bedford Park. But she chose not to cultivate acquaintances other than Long who might have put a word in for her where a word might have helped. She had the opportunities, but chose not to take them. Near the outset of her professional life as an artist, Isabel was introduced to various members of the group she called the 'Chelsea' set – Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt, William Morris and others. In the 1880s she also failed to follow up the opening given her by her acquaintance Lady Wilde, to become a member of the group around Oscar Wilde, the aesthetes. Neither group shared her enthusiasm for Alma-Tadema; and Burne-Jones' style she actively disliked, thinking his figures not human enough to be convincing and disagreeing with those who said his paintings were spiritual.

On moving to Liverpool in the early 1890s she intended to make an effort to socialise in art circles there. However, she soon realised that it would involve some rather expensive entertaining. With a choice between socialising and renting a studio, she rented the studio.

Moving on to Edinburgh in the mid-1890s, she found her paintings given a moderate welcome by the Scottish Academy. She took the welcome a bit further by inviting some of the city's leading artists to visit her studio; only to find herself treated as "a negligible woman foreigner". However, on getting to know artist and designer Phoebe Traquair – an Irish woman living in Edinburgh – she found Mrs Traquair was not treated any better by the city's male art establishment; so being left out in the cold wasn't personal in this case.

When she moved to Birmingham, she didn't bother much with art circles there at all!

I think that when Isabel writes "The fact was I did not trouble much about the artist community.." she is wondering if she should have tried a bit harder. But she preferred to move in occult circles; and wherever she was, she didn't like cliques. I wonder myself how she would have reacted if given the opportunity to move in Royal Academy art circles; but even with Edwin Long's friendship that would never have happened – RA art circles were strictly male.

Sources for Isabel's working life:

Lawrence Alma-Tadema by R J Barrow. Phaidon Press Ltd 2001: pp13-76.

Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769-1904 Volume 1 published 1905: pp28-29.

- Isabel on Alma-Tadema: Memorabilia p58, p86, p105, p117, p163, p278.

- the reference to her 1882 technique being French in style: *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture* issue of 1 July 1882 p207.
 - on her limited imagination: *Memorabilia* p112, p110.
 - on Edwin Long and his promises: *Memorabilia* p107. Wikipedia gives his dates as 1829-91. Elected ARA 1870; full RA member 1881 so Isabel's cultivating of him must have been after that. He's also mentioned in *Lawrence Alma-Tadema* by R J Barrow. Phaidon Press Ltd 2001: pp69, as another painter who used Egyptian settings. Unlike Alma-Tadema, Long had travelled in the Middle East. He was in Egypt in 1874. And also unlike Alma-Tadema, his paintings featured nudes, especially nude women. In Alma-Tadema's paintings the figures tend to keep all their clothes on.
 - on women and the nude model: *Memorabilia* pp107-09; *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture* volume 3 1882 issue of 1 July 1882 p231.
 - on opening her studio for study of the human nude: two adverts in *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture* volume 2 1881 issue of 1 November 1881 p352; and issue of 1 December 1881 p362.
 - on having your painting hung on the line: *Memorabilia* p130 about Mariamne at the RA; pp131-21 about *The Greek Captive*.... Though Isabel doesn't name the picture, it so happens she only ever showed one at that particular venue. And p208 for *Cleopatra Before the Battle of Actium*. And *Memorabilia* pp157-159 about the portrait of Patience Sinnott.
 - on cliques and art circles in London in 1870s and 1880s: *Memorabilia* pp80-81, p124.
- The friend who introduced Isabel to Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt and Morris was an American, woman journalist. Isabel doesn't name her, but I wonder if she was future GD member Anna Blackwell. Anna was actually born in Bristol, England, but her family had moved to the USA while she was a teenager. See my biography of Anna, elsewhere on this website. As a woman, Anna found no English newspaper willing to employ her as a reporter, so she went to live in Paris, where she wrote columns for a number of English and French language newspapers.
- on art circles in Liverpool, Edinburgh and Birmingham: *Memorabilia* pp80-81; p183; p279.

Two short sections to round off with:

ISABEL AS TEACHER

Probably in 1897, while she was continuing her professional career as an artist in Edinburgh, Isabel had a pupil. She mentions the fact in passing in a letter about something else entirely and I haven't been able to find out anything more about it – who the pupil was, how long the arrangement lasted; nothing.

Source:

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection in the group of letters with catalogue number NS73: letter from Isabel to Frederick Leigh Gardner; not dated by Isabel but Gerald Yorke gave the date as 11 November 1897.

WHERE ARE ISABEL'S PAINTINGS NOW?

Any that she still had with her in 1900 will have been destroyed in the warehouse fire. I don't know how many that was. She names one or two which definitely suffered this fate: the oil version of *The Flight of Aurora* which Isabel also calls *Aurora Clothed with the Dawn*; and the pastel *The Spirit of the Crystal*.

Castles in the Air was not even begun until about 1910. It still exists in a private collection – mine. As at September 2017 I am in the process of loaning it to the College of Psychic Studies.

Two or three of her paintings have surfaced at auctions in recent decades. They too must be in private collections.

As for the rest of the works Isabel painted, although she signed and dated most of her work, none were known to be in any British public collection in June 2017 when I searched this website

[//artuk.org/discover/artworks](http://artuk.org/discover/artworks)

which lists 212,055 works in public collections by 35000 or so artists.

Source for the paintings definitely destroyed in the fire: Memorabilia p110, p159.

10 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL ON ART; PHOTOGRAPHY; and DESIGN

HER VIEWS ON ART - AT THE TIME

Isabel did some writing about art while she was still a professional painter. In 1880 the editor of the new monthly magazine *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture* put out a call for artists to send in news items and short articles on their working lives. Isabel was one of those who responded. Between 1880 and 1882 the magazine also published several of her letters, including one on the morality of artists' models which – she thought – got her into trouble with the Royal Academy and the Society of Lady Artists. *The Artist* also mentioned Isabel's talk (in 1881) on Art and the Supernatural, which she gave at the British National Association of Spiritualists; though it didn't elaborate on what she had said.

Isabel wrote two signed contributions to *The Artist*..s 'the roving artist' column. Her first

followed a summer (probably 1880) spent in Brittany. She described Brittany as “cheap and agreeable” and thought it would repay “a couple of months’ work” but not more. She appreciated the fact that the Bretons, being used to having painters in their midst, “do what artists most prefer – leave them alone” and she did think that her trip had been worthwhile. She strongly recommended artists to go to Carnac and “the mysterious sea of Morbihan”; and she was intrigued by the “mysterious cave of Gavrinis” which had carvings on its walls - “wandering lines where the eye loses itself” - images whose meaning was now lost.

Isabel’s second ‘roving artist’ contribution was on Fontainebleau and Barbizon, which I think she visited in the summer 1881. She arrived already in a state of mind to find fault: originally she had intended to spend the summer in the West Country, but the weather had been so bad she’d had to move on, and probably spend more money than she had intended. At Fontainebleau the forest scenes had not inspired in her any desire to paint: to her mind, they were not picturesque. Moving on to the well-known artists’ colony at Barbizon, she’d been disgusted with the village itself - “inexpressibly ugly dirty” and – its biggest crime in her eyes - “modern”, a place full of “disorder and dulness”. The chief inn was expensive, with rooms that hadn’t seen much cleaning lately. She gave up the idea of painting in either place and I think (from other sources, she doesn’t say so in the article) moved on to Paris. She suggested to *The Artist...*’s readers that unless they had an urge to paint “dirt and dunghills”, they go elsewhere.

Sources for *The Artist* and *Journal of Home Culture*

It has a wiki, naming the editors from 1882 but not the editor from 1880 to 1882. It may be a function of the issues google has access to, but I haven’t found any articles by Isabel in *The Artist* after mid-1882.

At www.victorianperiodicals.com: there’s a short history of the magazine, which was published from its first issue in January 1880 to September 1883 by William Reeves. In the autumn of 1883 Reeves sold it to Gardner, Wells, Dalton and Co and they appointed their own editor.

Dictionary of 19th Century Journalism Ghent: Academia Press p25 entry for *The Artist...* has more on William Reeves. His main business was a retailer of artists’ supplies, so perhaps Isabel was a customer of his; but the Dictionary says that while he was its publisher, *The Artist...* actively cultivated women readers – hence the subtitle of and *Journal of Home Culture*. Isabel was a great magazine reader so she needn’t have been a customer of Reeves to have come across it.

As none of the sources above give the name of the magazine’s editor from 1880 to 1882, I assume it was William Reeves himself.

The request for articles by artists:

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 1 1880 issue of 1 August 1880: p304.

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 issue of 1 March 1881: p93 *The Roving Artist*: Isabel on Brittany. Issue of 1 May 1881 p158 Isabel’s talk at the BNAS. Issue of 1 October 1881 p301 *The Roving Artist*: Isabel on Fontainebleau and Barbison. And a ‘roving artist’ NOT by Isabel: Issue of 1 April 1881 p125 *Roving Artist*: the delights of Capri. Isabel had certainly visited Capri by 1886 but I’m sure she wasn’t the author of this piece: it’s anonymous and she always signed her work; and it’s a very enthusiastic piece in a bubbly style – not like Isabel at all!

There was something by Isabel on pp142 of this volume but I haven’t been able to read that page as yet; pages 142 and 143 were not available via google when I searched, and paper

copies of The Artist..’s earliest years are hard to find.

HER VIEWS ON ART – LATER IN HER LIFE

In Memorabilia (written between 1910 and 1925) Isabel expressed very frank opinions on art, its purpose and the role of the artist. To her, art - and music as well – should never be seen as expensive superfluities in society; they should be the foundation of any person’s existence. That meant that artists had a particular duty to be “searchers after ideal beauty”, an ideal that – inevitably – was always out of reach. Isabel’s view of what ideal beauty in a painting actually was required artists to show an illusion of three-dimensional space on a flat surface – an aim that needed effort; not just inspiration. Whatever the artist painted, it had to be the highest quality work the artist was capable of. In 1878 she wrote that it was better to paint a cockroach well than an angel badly. Later, she thought she hadn’t expressed her meaning very well because of course, an artist would never paint a cockroach. She thought they shouldn’t paint peasants, either; but of course even when she said they shouldn’t (in 1881), they were doing so.

In part, Isabel’s views were a reaction to what she called the “deadness” of the Evangelical and commerce-orientated atmosphere in which she grew up, in 1830s and 1840s Liverpool. But I think they were also a reflection of her own personality, something that may have come out best in the paintings she did whose titles suggest the influence of western esotericism; in which she tried to portray “mysterious corners of the world, the sealed books to science”.

Perhaps it’s already becoming obvious that Isabel never reconciled herself to modern art, with its focus on “formal structure and surface pattern” and its portrayal of everyday subject-matter to that end. Modern art’s “chance creation” of a work of art out of ideas coming up from (Isabel’s quotes) the “inner consciousness” was not what she thought art was about at all. Its “chaotic scribbling and daubing” was also the end of the art created by the Renaissance.

Isabel wasn’t venting her opinions on the basis of no real knowledge. She had seen and read about a great deal of the modern art ‘isms’; though in Memorabilia she never mentions any of the ‘expressionisms’ or surrealism so she may not have known about those.

The earliest modern art movement that Isabel wrote about was the Barbizon group. It had come together around 1830 and stayed active until around 1870; so when Isabel visited the village it was named after, in 1881, she arrived some years after its heyday. Formed of people who were influenced by the landscapes of John Constable, the group became known for its paintings of peasants working in typically French rural landscapes. An exhibition of Barbizon-group paintings was on when Isabel arrived in Barbizon, so she went to see it “Art there was none”, she wrote of the paintings on display. The artists were “daubers of stupid vulgar subjects”, she wrote; and she mixed up the names of the group’s most well-known artists - Jean-François Millet and Théodore Rousseau – to produce one called Théodore Millet. Looking back when writing Memorabilia Isabel did spare one Barbizon painting from this general indictment: she thought Millet’s *The Angelus* – which portrays two peasants in a field, in a moment of religious enlightenment – to be a very spiritual painting: spirituality in art was something she could appreciate.

Although she doesn't specifically say she saw any of his work, I think Isabel must have seen murals and perhaps paintings as well, by Puvis de Chavannes: in Amiens (works done in the 1860s and 1884); and in Paris (works from the 1870s). Puvis de Chavanne was one of the early symbolists. His work struck Isabel as another unwelcome challenge to the ideals of the Renaissance she held dear: unlike Greek sculpture which portrayed Nature at its best, Puvis de Chavannes painted Nature at its worst.

Isabel knew about impressionism – which she described as an “illness”; and about cubism and its British descendant, vorticism; but viewed them as expressing feeling and nothing else. By 1921 she had read what she described as van Gogh's memoirs. She had “rejoiced” in his “mystical autobiography” and agreed with his emphasis on the importance of showing the beauty of objects by portraying them plainly. However, when it came to the “maniacal juxtapositions...dazzling to the optic nerves” that were his paintings, she thought they just showed how far he had failed to achieve his aims. Cubism she seems to have been more puzzled by than condemning of: she thought it was the static, canvas equivalent of moving pictures. Perhaps she was right!

I'm not quite sure where Isabel would have seen examples of art from post-Revolutionary Russia. She may only have read about it. She certainly realised that it was the antipathy of what she thought art should be. Soviet art focused on materials (particularly modern, industrial ones), on art for mass production, and on the functional rather than the beautiful. Isabel thought the Bolsheviks were doing their best to kill art altogether, by insisting that it represent a political stance, rather than the Truth.

All the 'isms' Isabel commented on with such dislike bordering on despair were art coming out of Europe; Isabel was not alone in feeling a great deal of hostility towards them on that account. Apart from Vorticism's brief mention, she didn't have quite so much to say about art trends within Great Britain; but she did have something to say about the influence of Ruskin on British art in the 19th-century, and he was not spared from criticism.

Isabel had read the early work of John Ruskin before she was 18 (that is, before 1854) but hadn't liked its criticisms of the Old Masters. She didn't appreciate Ruskin's arguments until she finally read his later work, long after his influence on British art had made way for the ideas of Rossetti and William Morris. While admitting from the vantage-point of the early 20th-century that Ruskin's writings had led to a new way of looking at nature, she thought they also showed the kind of “sickly sentimentalism”. She particularly disliked the sentimentalism of “Miss Kate Greenaway and her chubby little children in their pretty green gardens” - an artist Ruskin was a supporter of.

Sources; most of which are Memorabilia

Wikipedia on Barbizon group; Puvis de Chavannes (1824-98); van Gogh (1853-90) and where Isabel could have seen examples of his work; Vorticism; Ruskin. Website www.theartstory.org for art in the Soviet Union in the years after the revolution.

The modern art aesthetic of “formal structure and surface pattern”: I saw this quote on wall at the Sargent Watercolours exhibition Dulwich Art Gallery 24 August 2017. The exhibition was making a good case for Sargent's watercolours as definitely in the modernist camp.

Isabel's views:

- on the Evangelicals: p45.

- on the nature of art and the aims of the artist: Memorabilia p3, p35, p111, p129, p86 and The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881 p93: Isabel on Brittany.

- modern art as scribbles and daubs: p11.

- on the Barbizon group: The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 2 1881, issue of 1 October 1881 p301. On second thoughts about The Angelus: Memorabilia p164.

There are plenty of reproductions on the web of Jean-François Millet's The Angelus: oil; 1857-59; now in the Musée d'Orsay.

- on impressionism, cubism and vorticism: p110, p290.

-on Soviet art: p132.

- on van Gogh: p130. Vincent van Gogh died in July 1890 and as early as 1891 Isabel could have seen some of his paintings on exhibition. In 1901 there was a major retrospective in Paris; and in the years up to World War 1 his work was shown widely in Europe and the USA. I can't find a Memoir by van Gogh that Isabel could have read. She may be meaning The Letters of a Post-Impressionist translated from the German and with an introduction by Anthony M Ludovici. London: Constable and Co 1912. Vincent van Gogh's letters to his brother Theo weren't published in English until after Isabel's death.

- on Ruskin: p36, p38, p123. Ruskin's Modern Painters will be the early work Isabel read in her teens. Published London: Smith Elder and Co; volume 1 in 1843, volume 2 in 1846. In volume 1, Ruskin championed Turner against his critics and against the way the Old Masters painted landscape. In volume 2, Ruskin linked the aesthetic with the divine. In mid-century, Ruskin was a defender of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Isabel doesn't have much to say in Memorabilia about photography as such. I don't think she ever learned to take photographs and develop them and she probably lived rather too early to appreciate the possibilities of it as an art form. She did realise that for an artist, it was a useful practical tool. Several times in Memorabilia she mentions in passing that she had a photograph of this or that painting, and I wonder if she had all her art works photographed, as a matter of course. On at least two occasions, she worked on a painting using a photograph as the basis for the design. Particularly during the period that she was influenced by Alma-Tadema, she might have collected photographs of classical architecture, like he did, to help with painting backgrounds; though she does not say she ever did this, she only mentions using her own sketches.

Photography brought portraiture (at least in black and white) to the mass of the population who couldn't even dream of commissioning an artist to paint them. Isabel, of course, could have painted her own portrait; and did so in a particular way, in her old age. However, she also had herself photographed several times. One of the illustrations to Memorabilia is the portrait she had done around 1880, with paint brushes and easel in hand and staring challengingly at the camera, very much the professional artist.

Isabel was a spiritualist, she believed in the existence of both ghosts and spirits. She thought they looked like humans. She thought they could be painted - I wish I knew whether she painted any herself! - and that they could be photographed. Consequently, when she thought she had seen the same spirit in two different photographs, one recent and one from 20 years ago, she wrote to the spiritualist magazine Light to tell its readers of this curious

coincidence. What an uproar her letter caused! Although she had not implied anything of the sort, Isabel was accused of suggesting that the more recent photograph had been faked. The photographer's friends were up in arms and the current owner of the earlier photograph – GD member John William Brodie-Innes – became very angry at demands that he make his photograph available for their inspection, demands that he thought were implying he had faked it himself. In fact, the more recent photograph was found to have been faked: you could see the wires, apparently. Isabel's letter had been instrumental in causing the photographer's methods to be investigated; not what she intended at all. I think she might have been quite disappointed that in one case at least, the ghost or spirit she thought she saw in the two photographs wasn't actually there.

Sources:

Isabel's photographs of her paintings: *Memorabilia* p159, p279.

Isabel using photographs as the basis for a painting; they were both rather special cases: *Memorabilia* p141, pp177-179.

The reappearing ghost/spirit:

Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Isabel's letter: volume 14 1894 number 708 Sat 4 August 1894 p370. Replies and accusations: see the next two issues. The more recent photograph that Isabel had seen was mentioned in *Light* volume 14 1894 number 679 Sat 13 January 1894 p19: it was the frontispiece of a book, *The Veil Lifted*. The book was mainly the publication of a series of talks on spiritualism, particularly one given by Mr Traill Taylor on 8 March 1893 to the London and Provincial Photography Association. *Light*'s editor described the frontispiece as the "very beautiful face" of a spirit/ghost photographed by Mr Glendinning with Mr Duguid acting as medium.

URBAN DESIGN

If Isabel did any design work, I have not come across it yet. She was quite clear, however, about the importance of good design, especially in cities; giving good design more importance than other aspects of building a city that people were glad to live in. In *Memorabilia* Isabel condemns 19th-century Liverpool not for its notorious slums, but for its "dull ugliness". She rails at several generations of property developers in Liverpool, not for erecting tenements that were a hazard to life and health, but for building "ugly old streets" with buildings packed in where there had been gardens and trees before. If it seems rather harsh of her, not to seem to care about people's well-being, her attitude was consistent with her firm belief that art and beauty were as important to human society as drains and fresh air.

Isabel found out about the garden city concept when she went to a talk by Ebenezer Howard. Howard's book on the subject - *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* - was published in 1898 and launched the garden city movement. Isabel became a shareholder in Letchworth, the first garden city, investing in either Garden City Pioneer Company (founded June 1902 and wound up 18 months later) or in the company that actually bought the land at Letchworth, First Garden City Limited (share issue September 1903).

By the time she was finishing *Memorabilia* in the early 1920s she may have visited Letchworth to see a garden city for herself. She had definitely been driven around Wavertree, Liverpool's garden suburb. The design of the houses in Liverpool Garden Suburb was

influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement – like those in Letchworth. And of course all Arts and Crafts architecture owed a huge amount to the houses of Bedford Park, Chiswick, where Isabel had lived for three years in the late 1880s. She was delighted with Queen's Drive and Wavertree: "new roads...adorned with trees and gardens and delightful little houses". It even gave her some pride in Liverpool as her native city – a feeling she hadn't had for decades – and particularly in the work of City Engineer John Alexander Brodie, designer of Queen's Drive, in giving Liverpool's old streets "a most picturesque surrounding of beautiful roads, and in an arrangement which seems to me to suit modern wants and desires extraordinarily well".

Sources:

- on Brodie and the garden city suburb of Liverpool at Queen's Park:

Memorabilia pxx, pp99-100 and pp285-86 though the references read as though Isabel had never met Mr Brodie in person. On Isabel's drive around Wavertree Garden Suburb: pxxii.

John Alexander Brodie's engineering work is important enough for him to have his own entry in Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, at www.gracesguide.co.uk. In 1889 he invented the football goal net! He was appointed City Engineer of Liverpool in 1898. As well as being engineer in charge of the building of Queen's Drive (Liverpool's first ring road) and Wavertree, he also designed some houses in Letchworth.

- on Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement:

Wikipedia on Sir Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928); Una Stubbs is a descendant of his. And these two biographies:

Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement by Dugald Macfadyen. Manchester University Press 1933. On p20: Howard's ideas were influenced by a novel Isabel may have known: Looking Backward by Edward Bellamy, published in the US only in 1888; though this biography says Howard didn't read it until 1898. The first lectures on garden cities were not until 1898. Garden City Association: pp24-25; Garden City Pioneer Co p38; First Garden City Ltd p39.

Lifelines 18: An Illustrated Life of Sir Ebenezer Howard by John Moss-Eccardt. Shire Publications Ltd 1973. This biography pp14-15 implies that Howard read Bellamy's novel much sooner, and worked on the ideas that became the garden city movement for ten years before his book was published. But it doesn't mention any early lectures on the subject.

At www.rickmansworthherts.com an article: The Effect of Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement on 20th Century Planning. By Norman Lucey. This article also says that Howard's garden city scheme was developed over many years; but without further details.

The 1898 edition of Howard's book had an influence out of all proportion to its rather small print-run. The British Library only has the 2nd edition, with its revised name: Garden Cities of Tomorrow. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co Ltd 1902.

Liverpool Garden Suburb at Wavertree:

Design Culture in Liverpool 1880-1914: the Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture by Christopher Crouch. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2002: p13, p178, p182. The arterial road Queen's Drive was begun in 1904; 6½ miles around and a minimum of 120 feet across, it was designed by James Alexander Brodie to ease traffic flow while bringing green space into the city; he had in mind that there would be more cars on the roads in future – how prescient that was! It wasn't part of Brodie's brief to build a garden suburb near it, but in 1910 the Co-Partnership Tenants Ltd put forward a plan to build such a suburb on land enclosed by Queen's Drive at Wavertree. Building began in 1910; was halted by World War

1; but continued afterwards.

19 September 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

ISABEL DE STEIGER'S ART WORKS: what and where she exhibited

AUGUST 2017 – comments by Sally Davis

This is a boring but necessary file of the raw data. When I went in search of paintings by Isabel, I looked through catalogues of the major exhibition venues in years from the early 1870s to the early 1900s. Google pointed me at some venues used by Isabel, that I'd never have heard of otherwise. Google also found me a few reviews of her work; usually just a pithy phrase, often without naming the painting! 1900 is a crucial date in Isabel's life as an art professional: in August of that year, a fire destroyed all the paintings she still had in her possession and all her preparatory work. I only know for sure of one work which she began after that date.

I'm sure the lists below are not complete. Entire galleries will be missing because I haven't discovered yet that Isabel exhibited in their shows. It's likely, too, that Isabel showed more works after 1900 than I've managed to come across.

LAYOUT

The exhibition galleries are in alphabetical order; which means that by far the most important is at the end – the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool.

The information from the catalogues is laid out thus: page number/catalogue number/price if I know it/medium if I've been able to find it out/title and further details.

THE BASIC ART DICTIONARY SOURCES were a good place to start but the entries contained errors and were not complete. Isabel would have been very annoyed at some of the things they said about her!

Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940 compiled by J Johnson and A Greutzner. Antique

Collectors' Club 1976 p145.

Dictionary of British Art. Volume IV: Victorian Painters I: The Text. By Christopher Wood. Published Antique Collectors' Club 1995: p138.

THE INDIVIDUAL GALLERIES which, as I say, is almost certainly incomplete.

BRITISH FINE ART GALLERY

1882

I couldn't find a catalogue of this exhibition, so the only information I have is from a review which doesn't name the painting.

The Artist and Journal of Home Culture volume 3 1882 p207 issue of 1 July 1882 had a review of the first exhibition at this gallery, whose rooms were at 200 Regent Street. It was a new addition to London's smaller art venues, intended by its directors to be open for the display and sale of art throughout the year. The review didn't name any of the paintings in a show which the reviewer felt

had "a leaven of more or less meritorious" work amongst a lot of mediocre or even bad stuff. The reviewer mentioned Isabel's one painting in the show, as one of the exhibition's best, "forcible in colour and French in technique". It was a "single figure" and I'm not going to speculate about which of Isabel's works it might have been; it might all too easily be one I've never heard of.

GROSVENOR GALLERY

No Grosvenor Gallery catalogue give prices for paintings which were for sale; interested buyers were asked to contact the gallery for further information.

In Memorabilia p159 Isabel mentioned some paintings in pastel that she showed at the Grosvenor Gallery: Phaedra; her portrait of Patience Sinnett; her portrait of Mabel Collins; and The Spirit of the Crystal. Works at the National Art Library indicate that there were two exhibitions with pastels in them at the Gallery, in late 1888 and early 1889. I haven't been able to find any copies of the catalogues of the first of those two exhibitions. I seem to be missing one of the four paintings Isabel mentions – one of the two portraits - so I suppose it was in the late 1888 show.

1889

I did find a catalogue of the second of the two: Grosvenor Gallery 2nd Pastel Exhibition 1889. In the list of exhibitors: p118. And in the list of paintings, just the one item:

p67 302 described only as Portrait.

1890

Grosvenor Gallery First Exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists

The Society had only just been founded. The catalogue's title page had a list of its current members; Isabel's name was not on it. In the list of exhibitors p96. In the list of works:

p52 225 Phaedra. With a sub-title (Isabel's quote marks) "The Pale Dark Queen with Passion in her Eyes"

p80 361 The Jewel with The Spirit of Diamonds.

I'm not sure whether catalogue number 361 is The Spirit of the Crystal, or some other painting altogether.

As MANCHESTER ROYAL INSTITUTION which turns into the city art gallery in 1883
1880

I couldn't find a catalogue for the 1880 exhibition but I did find a review of it, in which a work by Isabel was mentioned. As there were over one thousand items in the show, even a mention for Isabel's painting was doing pretty well.

The Academy volume 18 1880 number 437 issue of 18 September 1880 p209: review of the exhibition at the Royal Manchester Institution. Isabel was showing one of her 'four 'Cleopatra' paintings; unfortunately, there's no clue here as to which one!

As MANCHESTER CITY ART GALLERY

I note from the catalogue to the 4th Autumn Exhibition 1886 that exhibitors were limited to a maximum of three works, and that works of "moderate size" would be given preference over larger paintings. Published Manchester: Henry Blacklock and Co of Albert Sq.

1884

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 2nd Autumn Exhibition.
Manchester: Blacklock and Co. List of exhibitors p79. List of works:

p14 128 £35 oil Eureka! Eureka!

1890

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 8th Autumn Exhibition.
Manchester: Henry Blacklock and Co of Albert Square. In the list of exhibitors: p59. In the list of works:

p22 239 £10/10 oil The Sunny South (Lyme Regis Bay).

1891

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 9th Autumn Exhibition.
Manchester: Blacklock and Co. In the list of exhibitors p53. In the list of works:

p39 466 £10 oil A Summer Song (Study at Boscastle).

1892

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 10th Autumn Exhibition.
Manchester: Blacklock. List of exhibitors p59. List of works:

p34 362 £50 oil A Song of the Greek Isles

p44 531 £100 oil The Princess Scheherazade.

NINETEENTH CENTURY ART SOCIETY

If it hadn't been for google I wouldn't have known about this particular venue. The Society seems to have come and gone in only a few years. There is information on its founder, the architect John Sulman (1849-1934) at adb.edu.au, the Australian DNB.

At www.19thc-artworldwide.org, the web pages of the London Gallery Project, there is some information on it including adverts from the Times. The Society's premises were at 9 Conduit Street, off Regent Street, and according to an advert in Times 31 May 1883 they were open for the display and sale of paintings at any time, not just during the short-lived exhibitions held during the Social season. The Times 12 December 1883 p2 advertised the Society's inaugural exhibition. Catalogues at the V&A show that Isabel was a member of the

Society in the mid-1880s.

1885

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Autumn 1885. Members' list p59. In the list of works:

P5 28 Portrait of Mary Tynne Potter; which wasn't for sale
p18 172 £100 The Sorceress.

From p3: both Isabel's works were in the large gallery, which was all oil paintings.

I found a scathing review of this particular exhibition in Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art published by J W Parker and Son. Volume 60 1885 p612. The reviewer declared that he (or possibly she) saw hardly anything in the exhibition that could "merit more than a shuddering glance". He or she singled out Isabel's works as not being as bad as most, saying that they "possess merit"; but The Sorceress had "flesh...hard and crude" with "detail full of ill-distributed accents".

1886

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Summer 1886. Members' list p55; p3 for both her exhibits being oil paintings. And from the list of works:

P22 224 £6/6 Strada Tiberio Capri
p24 253 £7/7 Villa Pompeiana.

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Autumn 1886. List of members p49; p3 for both the works being oil paintings. And from the list of works:

p13 112 £8/8 An Odalisque: Cairo
p21 204 £12/12 A Lonely Beggar in a Lonely Road: Capri.

1887

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Spring 1887. List of members p50; p3 for all three works being in oils. And from the list of works:

P10 85 £10/10 The Fairy Syren (sic) of the Water Lilies
p13 116 £90 Harmonia
p20 205 £5/5 L'Amour de la Nuit - La Lune - Sur la Terrasse de l'Hotel;
Impression du Voyage

"19th" Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Summer 1887. This was the last that the National Art Library had in its collection, possibly the last that was held. List of members p57. In the list of works:

p57 271 £9/9 oil Old Court, Daventry,
Northamptonshire.
p49 539 £6/6 charcoal drawing The Rock Syren (sic) Singing the Storm
Song
p50 540 £5/5 charcoal and red chalk Head of Beatrice

PARIS SALON

Les Peintres Britanniques dans les Salons Parisiens des Origines à 1939 by Béatrice Crespon-Halotier. Paris: L'Echelle de Jacob for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 2002. I had a look in this but p490 had no entry for Isabel.

Isabel's bête noir the ROYAL ACADEMY. I didn't look at the individual catalogues.

Royal Academy Exhibitors from 1880 to 1904, which doesn't list prices or whether the item was sold. Volume 1 A-D p312 just the one item:

1882 596 Mariamne.

Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-70 E P Publishing 1977. Volume II p157 no entry for Isabel as 'de Steiger'. Volume VI Sherr-Z published 1982 p75 no entry for Isabel as 'Steiger, de'.

ROYAL ALBERT HALL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

None of these catalogues had a list of exhibitors, so I might have missed some works Isabel showed at this huge venue.

1879 which I think was the first ever

RAH of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Works of Modern Artists 1879. No named printer so I suppose the RAH does its own.

In the oils section two works by Isabel:

p23 307 £15/15 Cleopatra Personating (sic) the Goddess Isis

p29 405 Portrait of Mrs Patterson; which wasn't for sale.

There were 1010 exhibits.

1880

RAH of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architectural Drawings and Wood Carving 1880. In the section on oil paintings, two works by Isabel:

p1 9 £75 Athyrtis, the Divine Daughter of Sesostris, Showing Herself at the Gate of the Temple

p2 24 £75 The Dismissal of Hagar.

1881

RAH of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architectural Drawings and Art Workmanship 1881. In the oils section, one work by Isabel (her quote marks):

p28 308 £35 "The Three Valkyrie Maidens - Messengers of the Gods, proclaiming from a lone rock in the Northern Ocean to the sea-birds and the fishes the death of Balder (sic) the Beautiful".

1882

RAH of Arts and Sciences Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Architectural Drawings. In the oil paintings section one work by Isabel:

p19 164 £20 Semiramide.

ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS. I didn't look at individual catalogues.

Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979 compiled by Ann M Stewart. Volume 1: A-G. Dublin: Manton Publishing 1986. On p210:

1877 164 £20 Mansours

1882 434 £12/12 Morning Effect

1883	73	£35	The Valkyrie Maidens
1885	98	£100	The Enchantress
1887	296	-	Portrait of Miss Romola Tynnte
1894	344	£15/15	A Garland of Roses
391	£15/15		Lavinia

The entries don't make clear what media the works had been painted in.

Now known as the ROYAL INSTITUTE OF OIL PAINTERS but called the INSTITUTE OF PAINTERS IN OIL COLOURS when Isabel exhibited her one painting there.

1883-84

Institute of Painters in Oil Colours catalogue of its first exhibition, held at the Piccadilly Gallery. On pp3-4 there was a list of current members: all men, of course. There was no indication in the catalogue of which works were for sale; and no prices were printed. In the list of exhibitors: p46. In the list of works:

p35 60 The Greek Captive and her Nubian Slave.

ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY. I didn't look at individual catalogues.

Isabel was never an Academy member: The Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1916. Originally published 1917. The British Library's copy is Kingsmead Reprints 1975: p384 Isabel isn't listed.

The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière. Volume 4: R-Z. Calne: Hilmarton Manor Press 1991. There are no indications as to whether the paintings were for sale; nor which medium they had been painted in. On p615 works by Isabel:

1883 393 Semiramis

543 The Fair Slave Enees-el-Jelees. Arabian Nights.

1884 548 The Valkyrie Maidens Proclaiming the Death of the Sun God Balder the Beautiful

1895 68 The Lorelei Maiden Singing to the Fishermen Below.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTISTS BIRMINGHAM which changed its name spring 1885 to ROYAL BIRMINGHAM SOCIETY OF ARTISTS.

1883

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition. In the list of exhibitors: p80. In the list of works:

p27 162 £10 Abd-el-Rahman

p32 270 £25 Semiramis

1884

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition. In the list of exhibitors: p70. In the list of works:

p41 440 £20 The Veiling of Isis

p52 645 £45 The Valkyrie Maidens.

P59 799 £6/6 watercolour drawing Fireside Harmony.

1892

RBS Artists 66th Autumn Exhibition. In the list of exhibitors: p73. In the list of works:

p36 313 £7/7 oil Au Jardin Hôtel du Cygne Montreux

p64 892 £15/15 watercolour painting A Garland of Roses.

1893

RBS Artists 28th Spring Exhibition. In the list of exhibitors: p66. In the list of works:

p54 637 £10/10 The Flight of Aurora

p54 639 £10/10 The Chariot of Venus.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH ARTISTS

Isabel was not a member of the Society - she was not in either of these two volumes: RSBA Exhibitors 1824-1892 and 1893-1910. Compiler Maurice Bradshaw, secretary general of the Federation of British Artists. Published 1973 F Lewis Publishers Ltd of The Tithe House, Leigh-on-Sea.

Exhibitors at The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 and The New English Art Club 1888-1917 compiled by Jane Johnson. Antique Collectors' Club Research Project. First printed 1975; the V&A's copy is the reprint of 1993. On p130:

1879/80 21 £40 Cleopatra's Deadly Resolve in the Temple of Isis

1881 500 £7 A Dancing Girl.

Known in Isabel's time as the SOCIETY OF LADY ARTISTS, now the SOCIETY OF WOMEN ARTISTS

The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière, compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 1 A-D p328:

1878 354 £16 Slave Girl of the Harem

298 £16 Consuelo

401 - Mrs Patterson

1879 768 £8 A Daughter of the Gods

1881 632 £5 Shatucha the Bedouin Girl (Egypt) ; which was a sketch

651 £8 Spanish Tambourine Girl

1887 267 £10 The First Blossom of Spring: Almond Blossom, Capri, Italy

I found some infuriating coverage of the 1878 exhibition in the Times Mon 18 March 1878 p4: a patronising report which began by noting with approval that in the 20 years since the Society was founded, women artists had come to accept that the 'great' subject matter of art was not and never would be their "calling". The review was careful to include only references to paintings which fitted this belief - landscapes and flower-paintings, for example - so that Isabel's portrait and her two works either genre or 'great' were not mentioned. The exhibition was at the Society's own rooms in Great Marlborough Street. 800 works were being shown, about half the number that had been submitted for selection.

The hiatus in exhibits by Isabel at the LSA between 1881 and 1887 started as a result of a

letter by Isabel published in The Artist and Journal of Home Culture issue of July 1882). On Memorabilia p109 Isabel says that the LSA refused one work she submitted, the year after the letter appeared ie 1883.

Last but most definitely not least: the WALKER ART GALLERY LIVERPOOL where Isabel felt on home ground: both as a woman born in the city, and as an artist with acquaintances on the Corporation's Exhibition committees. The Walker was where she chose to show her very earliest works, in the early 1870s, before she even thought of herself as properly trained. In the next 25 years or so she showed more works at the Walker than anywhere else; including her only sculpture.

In the lists below, unless I say otherwise, Isabel's exhibited works are oil paintings.

1874

4th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures in Oil and Watercolours. In the list of exhibitors and still with an address in Egypt: p47. In the list of works:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|--|
| P3 | 6 | £13/13 | The Coming Squall - Meditt - Ramle Egypt |
| 11 | £11 | | title line left blank but there's a quote beginning next line down:
"Basking in Heaven's serenest light
Those groups of lovely palm trees bright". |
| P12 | 220 | £11 | Philae Egypt. With a quote below, from Lalla Rookh:
"The ruined shrines and towers that seem
The relics of a splendid dream" . |

1875

5th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors p47. In the list of works:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-------------------------------|
| P13 | 277 | £15 | Hagar in the Desert |
| p16 | 342 | £10/10 | The Evening Meal, Ramle Egypt |
| p17 | 364 | £30 | Mansours Tent |
| p18 | 405 | £20 | On the Road to Aboukir. |

1879

9th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p121. In the list of works:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|--|
| p19 | 187 | £70 | Cleopatra Receiving an Unfavourable Oracle from the Priestess
of Isis |
| p38 | 518 | £5/5 | A Daughter of the Gods |

1880

10th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p82. In the list of works:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|---|
| P35 | 494 | £125 | The Princess Scheherezada (sic) daughter of the Grand Vizier,
thinking of the Story She is going to relate at Night. |
|-----|-----|------|---|

Arabian Nights

1881

11th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p121. In the list of works:

p64 1066 £6/10 An Eastern Dancing Girl

12th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p132. In the list of works:

p23 261 £10/0 Mariamne

13th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p135. In the list of works:

P16 149 £100 The Enchantress

p80 1416 £35 The Lorelei Maiden, (Isabel's quote marks) "Sitting on a Rock over the Whirlpool, singing to the Fishermen Below".

1884

14th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p179. In the list of works:

P20 266 £25 A Dream of Hermes

p74 1213 £15 Nature and Art

1885

15th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p124. In the list of works:

P75 1254 £10 (Isabel's quote marks) "Trust her not, she is fooling thee"

1886

16th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p115. In the list of works:

P12 93 £47/10 (Isabel's quote marks) "The Valkyrie Maidens (vide Robert Buchanan's Poem)"

p65 1071 £31/10 (Isabel's quote marks) "The Lost Pleiad. Blind Merope - Hope Abandoned. Vide Edwin Arnold"

1887

17th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p109. In the list of works:

p66 1126 £25/10 A Legend of the Soul - Persephone Sinking into the Abyss of Hades. With this long quote:

"Persephone, wilfully straying from the Mansions of Heaven, falls under the power of the Hadean God, in other words Persephone typifying the Soul sinks into the profound depths of a material nature. Hermes Trismegistus".

1127 £6/6 Impression de Voyage

1888

[18th] Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1888. In the list of exhibitors: p7.
In the list of works:

p51a 1261 £100 Celebration of the Mysteries.

Again there's a long quote:

“Celebration of one of the Mysteries in the Temple of Isis. The Roman lady,
having no Pass-word, is refused admittance by the Priestess. Roman Period.”

1889

19th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p135. In the list of works:

P54 in Room VI which is watercolour drawings

936 £15/15 pastel The Flight of Aurora

p43 in Room V which is all oil paintings

722 £10/10 The First Blush of Spring - Capri

1890

Missing its front cover but 20th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. In the list of exhibitors: p122. In the list of works:

p6 4 £25 oil Phaedra Meditating on her Revenge.

With this addendum, apparently a quote from the Epic of Hades: “The Dark Pale Queen, with Passion in her Eyes”.

21st Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures. Isabel was in the list of exhibitors though the page had lost its page number. In the list of works though again no page numbers have survived:

935 £15 pastel A Garland of Roses

1208 £20 pastel The Spirit of the Crystal.

1892

22nd Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures, again with page numbers missing. Isabel is in the list of exhibitors. In the list of works, again with no page numbers:

172 £10 oil Daffodils

679 £25 watercolour drawing An Avenging Angel

1085 £110 oil Andromeda Abandoned

1338 £2/2 wax-clay in one of the sculpture galleries: A Toadstool.

Isabel didn't exhibit any works at the Walker Art Gallery in the years 1893 to 1897. I'm not sure about 1898 to 1899 as I haven't been able to find a copy of the catalogues for those two years. Isabel didn't exhibit anything in 1900 – that year's exhibition started only a few weeks after the fire.

1901

31st Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures in Oil and Watercolours. In the list of exhibitors: p127. In the list of works:

P7 in Room I which is all oil paintings

39 £6/6 The Rose Garden, Clarens, Lake of Geneva

P71 in Room VIII which is all oil paintings

1107 £8/8 Sunset in the Marshes, Rhos Neigr Anglesea

There are few catalogues of the Walker Art Gallery exhibitions in the main London art libraries from after 1901. I couldn't find any paintings by Isabel in the one or two that I was able to look at.

And finally:

?1926 catalogue number unknown £150 oil Castles in the Air.

I have not seen the catalogue to the Walker's 1926 autumn exhibition so I can't confirm that Castles... was shown in it. Isabel certainly intended to display it there: on Memorabilia p280 she says so, and various pieces of paper stuck to the back of the frame show that she sent it to a firm of picture-framers in Liverpool to get it ready. Note that it was for sale: such a personal picture, I'm surprised she could contemplate parting with it.

18 September 2017

Contact me at:

See the full list of my biographies of members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Frank Dodd, was definitely a member of the Order of the Golden Dawn but was a special case. In September 1896, Samuel Liddell Mathers allowed Frank to join the Order despite the fact that Frank had gone to live in Brazil.

UPDATE MARCH 2014

In February 2014 I was contacted by Juanita Barral Dodd Farah, one of Frank Dodd's grandchildren, giving me lots of extra information, particularly about his early life, his wife and family, and the years of his retirement. As a result I've been able to make a big revision to this biography, based on the information she supplied. Many thanks are due to Juanita; and to her cousins.

One of the reasons that I started this research was because I wondered who had recruited whom to the GD. In most members' cases, I haven't been able to find out. However, in Frank Dodd's case I know exactly who recommended him as a possible initiate: writing to the GD high command from Rio de Janeiro in April 1896, Frank mentioned that his "friend Mr H C Morris" had written to him to tell him he had been accepted for initiation. H C Morris is Herbert Crossley Morris, who had been initiated into the GD in March 1893. Frank Dodd and Herbert Morris were about the same age and both were bank clerks working in London; though they may not have worked for the same bank (I don't know which bank Herbert Morris worked for). No doubt when Frank left for Brazil, he and Herbert hoped to meet again some day, but they probably never did: Herbert Morris died in 1898.

Frank Dodd never went through the GD's initiation ritual. Instead he signed and returned a written undertaking to keep the Order's rules. He chose the Latin motto 'Magna est veritas et praevalerebit'. Mathers' left a note in the GD administration files that Frank could do his GD learning and exams by post - distance learning - but there's no evidence that Frank ever did so.

Identifying the correct Frank Dodd was a bit tricky but his grand-daughter has confirmed my guess. This is the right man: a Frank Dodd born in Wootton Bassett Wiltshire in 1871. His father was Edward Dodd, who had married Mary Jessop in 1868. Edward and Mary's family was astonishingly small by mid-Victorian standards: just Frank, and his elder brother Herbert. In 1871, they were living on the High Street in Wootton Bassett in the house next to the Royal Oak Hotel. Edward Dodd was working as the senior clerk to a firm of solicitors. Because Edward and Mary Dodd had such a small family, they could afford to invest more in their sons' education. This involved sending them away to school, so that on the day of the 1881 census Herbert and Frank were in Bristol, at the school at Redland Green (within walking distance of where I grew up) run by the Rev Henry Rudge and his sisters Caroline and Mary: quite a big school, employing two teachers other than Rudge himself, and having 23 pupils all aged between 9 and 15. Later in 1881, Herbert and Frank moved on from Rev Rudge's school to All Saints' School Bloxham, just outside Banbury in Oxfordshire. This school had been founded, in 1860, by the Rev Philip Reginald Egerton, who had seen a gap in the educational market: a lack of schools for the sons of the up and coming middle-classes. It was founded as a high church Anglican school, with the support of Oxford Movement grandees like bishop Wilberforce. From 1885, pupils at the school took the exams set by the newly-founded Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board; they were the best education available at the time, short of going to university. Frank did particularly well in those exams, and laid the ground-work for his subsequent career. The school's influence on him came out in other ways as well: its emphasis on the importance of doing your religious and civic duty stayed with him throughout his life; and he acquired an interest in the history of the Christian religion.

I've suggested that Edward Dodd could afford to pay for a good education for his two sons but they may also have been sent away because their mother was ill. Mary Dodd died in 1882 at the age of 38. Harriet Kirkland, the "companion" that was living with Edward and Mary on the day of the 1881 census may just have been keeping Mary company; but she may also have been nursing her.

Edward Dodd continued to live on the High Street in Wootton Bassett until he died in 1905 at the age of 79. Immediately after his wife died, his unmarried sister Eleanor moved in to keep

house for him but by 1901 she had died as well and Edward Dodd was living alone but for one servant. By the day of the 1891 census he had left the job at the solicitors and was working for himself as an accountant; during the 1890s he also became the local registrar of births, marriages and deaths.

Herbert and Frank both went to London to work in offices when they left school. Late Victorian London had an insatiable need for clerks as companies and government bureaucracy expanded. On the day of the 1891 census both brothers were living as lodgers in a boarding house; though not the same boarding house. Herbert was living in Hammersmith, and Frank Dodd was one of three clerks (all male) boarding in the household of sisters Mary, Alice and Ellen Smith at 16 Elliott Road Lambeth. Herbert and Frank Dodd had both followed their father into the accounts side of office bureaucracy. Herbert was working as a book keeper; the census official didn't ask where he was working. Frank was working as a bank clerk; he too was not asked for any more details of his employment.

Was Frank already working for the British Bank of South America? Probably. The late 20th century work pattern was to change employers in search of promotion and more pay; but when Frank Dodd started work the typical work pattern was to remain with one employer for your full working life. If Frank had had any choice about which job he took, when he first started work, he might have chosen the British Bank of South America because it offered more chance of early responsibility and promotion - provided you didn't mind going to live in a country outside the British Empire. In 1895 an opportunity arose in Rio de Janeiro and Frank accepted it; a defining moment of his life. He arrived in Brasil on 11 August 1895.

THE BRITISH BANK OF SOUTH AMERICA

Firstly a quick history of its early years, from details at the website of University College London's archives, where its records now are. The bank had been founded in 1862 as the Brazilian and Portuguese Bank, changing its name to the English Bank of Rio de Janeiro in 1863. In 1891, at the end of a very profitable period, it changed its name again to one that indicated that its directors now had bigger ambitions: it became the British Bank of South America. It began to expand its operations into Uruguay and Argentina; and to open new branches in all three countries. The Bank's own records show that it was not quite so profitable after this period of expansion as it had been in its first decades - these were tougher times. I should say, perhaps, that the Bank's head office throughout its existence was not in South America, it was in the City of London.

The offer to Frank Dodd of work in Brasil was part of the Bank's expansion in the 1890s. Though Frank was not offered in 1895/96 the managership of any of the Bank's new branches (he was still only in his 20s), it was clear to him that he might expect promotion to that level at least, and soon, if he went. So he did.

BRASIL WHEN FRANK ARRIVED THERE

Ah, Brasil: coffee, the 1970 World Cup winning team (Pelé, Tostão, Jairzinho, Rivelino and the others), samba, Copacabana, The Girl from Ipanema...

Although Charles William Miller had laid out the first football pitch and refereed the first game, at the São Paulo Athletic Club in 1894, the only one of what I think of as the

quintessentials of Brazil that Frank Dodd is likely to have known about, even at the end of his life, is the coffee.

Brazil had been a republic for seven years when Frank arrived: the monarchy had been overthrown in 1889. When the Portuguese royal family had fled to Brazil from the threat of being deposed by Napoleon, they had set up their court in Rio de Janeiro and Rio continued as the capital of the republic until Brasilia was finished, so during Frank's working life the city was where all foreign diplomats lived and worked. Rio was also more important in Frank's time than it is now as a business centre - that role has been taken over by São Paulo.

When Frank moved there, Brazil's economy was still based on agricultural produce, like it had been from its foundation as a colony of Portugal, but coffee had taken over from cotton and sugar as its main export, with most being grown in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, using the labour of recent immigrants (from Portugal and Italy for example) rather than slaves. In addition Brazil was growing tobacco and cocoa, and from shortly after Frank arrived in Brazil, rubber as well. There was some light industry, based on these agricultural products: textiles, clothes, food processing; and gems had been mined in the state of Minas Gerais for several centuries. Both agriculture and industry were concentrated in the south of Brazil. The north-east, where the original, colonial, plantations had been, was turning into a semi-desert and the vast country's interior was all but unexplored and not at all developed. Everywhere, infrastructure was almost entirely lacking.

The British Bank of South America (not called by that name yet, but I'm trying to keep this simple) had not been founded to lend money to Brazilian business, its purpose was to invest in and otherwise help British companies working in Brazil: coffee exporters in particular but also textile companies and railway companies including the company that built the all-important railway between São Paulo and its nearest port, Santos. Later it moved more into the financing of city infrastructure, making loans to the companies constructing São Paulo's water and sewage network (all British companies, I think). Like its rival British banks in South America, its senior employees and most of its junior employees were British. When Frank Dodd arrived he almost certainly spoke no Portuguese at all but that will not have hampered him during the working day: all business at the Bank was conducted in English; and the Bank's records are in English.

Because of political alliances between Portugal and Britain going back to Charles II and Catharine of Bragança, the British presence in Rio de Janeiro was well-established by the 1890s. An Anglican church had been founded in 1819 in Botafogo, the district between the Sugarloaf and the Corcovado; and the first person was interred in the Gamboa English cemetery in 1811. There were English-speaking schools and clubs for ex pat British residents. However, the diplomatic and business communities were from different classes; in the 19th century that really mattered, and the two groups didn't really mix. It was not until the years after World War I that efforts were made to get them to talk to each other.

Frank Dodd took up a post at one of the Bank's two branches in Rio de Janeiro. The Bank's programme of opening new branches was racing ahead of the number of experienced employees and by 1899 Frank was signing-off a set of accounts issued by the Bank at Rio de Janeiro, acting as "pro Manager" - that is, doing the branch manager's job in the absence of someone more senior; the other man signing off these accounts was also acting up, as "pro Accountant". Soon after this (I haven't been able to find out exactly when, but before 1910) he was appointed manager of the Bank's branch at São Paulo; where (I think) he met and

married his wife Anna. This important promotion duly acted as a springboard from which Frank went on to even greater things: by November 1910 he had been recalled to the head office (then at 2a Moorgate in the City of London) and was chairing the annual meeting of one of the companies the British Bank of South America had invested in - the Cartagena (Colombia) Railway Company. The move back to London was probably in preparation for the retirement, at the end of 1911, of the Bank's senior manager in charge of its branches. Frank's immediate boss was promoted to take the retired man's job; and Frank took his boss's job and became company secretary. This job wasn't quite as far up the scale as it sounds - in a list of senior employees issued in March 1912, there were three men senior to Frank; however, it was the latest rung in a rapid rise for a man who was only 40.

Over the last 20 years or so the British Bank of South America had been comfortably profitable without requiring its shareholders to dig into their pockets to find more capital. In March 1912, however, Frank was called on to oversee a new share issue, to double the Bank's working capital to £2 million by inviting people to invest in 25000 new shares at £20 each. That year (and presumably other years until he took up a new post) he also presided over the paying out of dividends on shares in another of the Bank's pet companies, the Mogyana (Railway) Company. The new share issue was all taken up by keen investors; and in March 1913, the Bank moved into a grand new headquarters building at 4 Moorgate; the English Heritage website has some photographs of it.

Though it won't have seemed like it at the time, the move to the new building turned out to be the pinnacle of the Bank's history: the following year World War I stopped the programme of expansion and all City firms lost employees to volunteering and call-up. Because of restrictions on the number of pages allowed to newspapers, I haven't been able to follow Frank's working life during the first world war. I suppose he continued to work as Company Secretary. He was certainly in London in June 1919 when the president of Brazil, Dr Epitacio Pessôa, paid an official visit to Britain. Frank was amongst the many guests at the Mansion House when President Pessôa and his wife went to lunch with the Lord Mayor.

Underneath the glitter of that presidential lunch, all was not well at the British Bank of South America; and in February 1920 it was taken over by the Anglo-South American Bank. Anglo-South had been founded in Chile in 1889, as the Bank of Tarapacá, by John Thomas North. Most of its assets were in Chilean nitrates and it had done particularly well out of World War I when saltpeter was needed for munitions. Now flush with cash, it was expanding its operations in South America, not as Frank's employer had done by opening new branches but by swallowing other banks. Agreement between the two boards of directors was reached in three weeks, and agreed by Anglo-South's shareholders in not much longer. Although the two banks continued to keep separate accounts, and have separate boards, the British Bank of South America moved out of its still-new headquarters building to less fancy offices in Broad Street; two men from Anglo-South joined its board and one of them soon became chairman; and employees from Anglo-South started to outrank their British Bank of South America counterparts. The take-over ended any hopes of further promotion that Frank Dodd might have been cherishing. He returned to Brasil, where his first task under the new regime was to accompany Anglo-South's Mr L H Klek on a fact-finding tour of the British Bank of South America's branches in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil's southern-most state, Rio Grande do Sul. I'm not sure, because I haven't found any good information on it, but I think Frank spent his last years at British Bank of South America back at its branches in Rio de Janeiro, probably as the Bank's most senior employee in South America.

Being taken-over by the Anglo-South American Bank was one of those things that looked like a good idea at the time; but even in 1920, the days of making profits from nitrates in Chile were numbered. The Haber process of converting atmospheric nitrogen to ammonia had first been demonstrated in Germany in 1909; the process was bought by BASF and went into mass-production in 1913. The circumstances of the first world war had hidden this development from British eyes but they should, perhaps, have been alerted to it by Haber's Nobel Prize, awarded in 1918. Neither British Bank of South America nor Anglo-South American Bank seem to have understood the implications of the Haber process; but during the 1920s the count-down was on for both of them.

If Frank Dodd was still working in London during World War I he will not have taken any active part in the founding of the British Chamber of Commerce in Rio de Janeiro in 1916. Back in Brazil in 1920, however, he was elected to serve as its second president; and spent two years as an active leader of it, expanding its sphere of influence amongst the business community (who hadn't all been enthusiastic about it at the start) and trying to build bridges towards the British diplomatic community. Times were hard. Brazil's economy had suffered badly during World War I and British businesses in Brazil had inevitably felt the effects. When Frank made his president's speech at the Chamber of Commerce's AGM on 3 February 1921 he tried his best to be positive, but he still worried about taxes and the threat of Communism. His efforts with British diplomats had had results: the Consul-General, Mr Errol MacDonell, attended the meeting, and so did several Embassy employees on the commercial side. In February 1922 even the ambassador, Sir John Tilley, was at the meeting and dinner at which Frank handed the presidency on to his successor. Tilley made a speech in which he mentioned how grateful he had been for Frank's help and advice when he had first arrived in Brazil to take up his appointment. Frank didn't serve as the Chamber of Commerce's president again but probably was a member of several of its sub-committees over the next few years: there was one on banking and finance which I imagine he was chairman of.

I can't find out when Frank Dodd retired. He reached the age of 65 in the early months of 1936. Despite the great financial crash of 1929 and the very difficult years after it, the British Bank of South America was still making a small profit. At its AGM in London in May 1936, the shareholders were promised a dividend of 2%. Time was passing, though: two long-serving directors had died since the last annual meeting. If Frank thought it was time to go, he judged correctly. There was no indication of anything wrong at British Bank of South America at this AGM, but there was big trouble at Anglo-South.

In 1931, with demand for Chilean nitrates in rapid decline, other banks had had to step in and prop up Anglo-South to the tune of £8½ million. (I know the figures are tiny in comparison, but does this sound familiar to anyone? - bank over-reaching itself by borrowing money to buy out other banks? Then all but going bankrupt? Plus c'est la même chose. Bankers never learn.) The £8½ million was the value placed by the proppers-up on the nitrate assets of Anglo-South, on the assumption that nitrate prices would go up eventually. The bailers-out had forced a new chairman on Anglo-South, with a brief to get the Bank out of trouble by whatever means; but economic circumstances had been against him. By mid-1936 it was understood that the price of nitrates from Chile would never recover. Unfavourable exchange rates had made Anglo-South's situation worse and at a meeting on 17 July 1936, its shareholders voted to allow the bank to be taken over by yet another South American specialist bank, the Bank of London and South America; the alternative was to allow Anglo-South to go bankrupt. As British Bank of South America was part of Anglo-South, it was forced to take part in the process of voluntary liquidation that followed: in August 1936,

meetings of the shareholders of British Bank of South America and Anglo-South American Bank took place one after the other and voted to hand each Bank's assets to Bank of London and South America of 6-8 Tokenhouse Yard. British Bank of South America had always had a pension scheme for its employees, so Frank's pension was probably safe; but the end of his working life was coloured by the failure of his employer.

It must have been around the time of Frank's retirement that he made his longest-lasting contribution towards friendly relations between Britain and Brasil. In 1934, he helped to found the Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Inglesa (Brazilian Society for English Culture). This still exists and has two modern functions: teaching English as a second language; and helping to arrange the visits of British artists and musicians to Brasil.

Most British people working abroad for a British company expected and planned for a return to Britain when they retired. Frank Dodd stayed in Brasil and began on a project he must have been planning and researching for many years: his book *An Introduction to the Study of Christianity* which was published, in English and in England, in 1938. In his preface, Frank made no great claims as a theologian and said that in any case, he hadn't wanted to write another theological tract. He wanted to write an introduction to Christian theology, for a very modern readership - the large group of adults who perhaps wanted to believe (or return to believing) but objected to most of the available works on the subject, as either too unquestioning of their subject-matter, or too hostile to it. Frank intended to persuade this group that such failures were due not to any fundamental flaw in Christ's message; but to the "imperfection" (as he called it) of all-too-many writers on theology. Frank was anxious to reach this group because as parents they would have an important influence on subsequent generations, through the choices they made about their children's education. As a man still a committed member of the Anglican community in Rio, but living in a country which was exuberantly Catholic with pagan-animist undertones, he was very-placed to advise them. He and his wife were very even-handed when it came to their own children, at least as far as baptisms went - all the children were baptised as Protestants and as Catholics.

The main body of the book was a history of Christianity, which Frank saw as having reached a peak of power and influence during the 13th century; from which it had been going downhill ever since, as a result of inappropriate priorities, and challenges to dogma which it had failed to counter adequately. The book's appendices were an interesting set and showed the breadth of Frank's reading. There was a set of short extracts from the Bhagavad Gita (for the purpose of comparing its dogma with Christianity's); and discussions on suffering and shame in spiritual development, the theology of the Albigensian heresy, and the Portuguese expeditions to the new world.

Summing up his argument at the end of the book, Frank still held that despite all the criticisms that could be levelled at the Christian faith, the essence of the story of Jesus and His message still held good. Frank then offered a religious theory for his times - the only one he thought harmonised with modern science: that God had chosen one human, who "on account of his superlative merits became the vehicle of the Christ Spirit" in a union between God and Man; thus facilitating other such unions. Frank ended by hoping not that he had convinced his readers to believe, but that he had convinced them to investigate the subject and reach their own conclusions.

The book suggests that Frank had had his own period of doubt as regards his religious faith. Perhaps it had come during the 1890s. Perhaps he had discussed religion and belief with his

friend Herbert Crossley Morris, and had accepted the offer to join the Golden Dawn while looking for alternatives to Christianity. His book's inclusion of pieces from the Bhagavad Gita shows another alternative he looked at - not Hinduism, probably, but theosophy. As part of his book's summing up, Frank printed a long quote from Rudolf Steiner's essay 'Human Conscience', showing that his reading had taken in theosophy's descendant anthroposophy as well. However, in the end, none of the alternatives convinced him and he remained true to Anglican Christianity.

He and his family were important members of the congregation of Christ Church Botafogo in Rio, and later in life he was a friend of Daniel Ivor Evans (1900-62) whose Church of England bishopric included Argentina, Brasil and the Falkland Islands.

FRANK'S FAMILY

In 1904 Frank Dodd married Anna Cotching da Fonseca, to give his wife her full, formal Brazilian name which includes both parents' surnames. She was the daughter of an Englishman, William Mackrell Cotching, and his Brazilian wife Gertrudes da Fonseca. William Mackrell Cotching's family were from Bedfordshire just north of London, and were Wesleyan Methodists. William's father (James Walter Cotching) and his business partner had run a firm making and selling straw hats, in the 1850s; but in 1863 the firm had gone bankrupt and as a result William and his siblings had had to make their own way in the world. William Mackrell Cotching, like Frank Dodd, had made the decision to move outside the British empire in the search for work. He arrived in Brasil in 1875 and by 1892 was in São Paulo, working as company secretary of an English firm which did plumbing and gas fitting with equipment imported from Britain and the USA.

William Mackrell Cotching married into the Brazilian landed class. Gertrudes da Fonseca's family owned the Fazenda Cachoeira do Jica, an estate near Itu in the state of São Paulo and their daughters Anna and Victoria grew up there. They went to a local school run by nuns, the Colégio Nossa Senhora do Patrocinio, in Itu.

Frank and Anna had four children: Mary; another Edward; Gertrude, known as Pippa; and Sylvia, the youngest. The three eldest were born in Brazil; Sylvia was born in south London, in 1913.

I found on the web a few references to Mary Jessop Dodd who married Gilberto Ferrez, a Brazilian historian who made use of amateur watercolours and photographs to chart the development of Rio de Janeiro during the 19th century.

I found one item on Frank's son Edward, in the London Gazette: Edward William Cotching da Fonseca Dodd, who had worked for a telephone company in Brazil. He died, in the family home at Rio de Janeiro, in July 1960.

Frank's daughter Pippa married an English diplomat, an Eton-and-Oxbridge man - a real step up the social ladder. Frank and Anna were so pleased about this that they put a notice about it in the Times. Anthony Haigh and Gertrude Dodd were married in 1935. They had four children but were divorced in 1971.

Frank's last years, and those of his wife Anna, were coloured by illness and the need for constant nursing care. Frank had a stroke, which robbed him of the ability to speak. His daughter Sylvia

had married Martin Barral López, a Spanish-born sculptor. They and their three children moved in with him.

Frank Dodd died at his home, Rua Barão de Mesquita 539 Rio de Janeiro, on 26 September 1955.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR FRANK DODD

FAMILY HISTORY INFORMATION on Frank's early life and his last years; on the family of his wife Anna Cotching da Fonseca; and the existence of Frank's book (which I didn't know about before). Sent to me in a series of emails February and March 2014 by Frank Dodd's grand-daughter Juanita Barral Dodd Farah, eldest daughter of Sylvia Dodd de Barral (1913-1979). Sylvia married Martin Barral López (1889-1982) in Rio de Janeiro. He had been born in Sepulveda Spain. Their three children are Juanita, Vivian Mary Barral Dodd Rumjaneck and Frank Anthony Barral Dodd.

ALL SAINTS' SCHOOL BLOXHAM and its founder Rev P R Egerton:

See wikipedia.

Frank and his brother Herbert at school: "Old Bloxhamist Society" details sent by

registrar@bloxhamschool to Juanita Farah.

About the Cambridge University exams taken by Frank Dodd at school. All I could find was at archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com, posted 2005 a reference to a pdf file on the history of the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations Board from when it was established, in 1885.

Frank's initiation into the Golden Dawn; and confirmation of his employer:

FML GD Colln GBR 1991 GD2/3/1/17 is a letter dated 19 April 1896 from Dodd to the "Chiefs of the Order of the Golden Dawn in the Outer". The address for any reply is: "c/o the British Bank of South America" at Rio de Janeiro Brazil. The letter is annotated with a note in red by Mathers saying that he'd already had this problem crop up in the Paris temple the GD member Emile Adrianyi of Budapest. Mathers' note approved the sending of various documents to Dodd for him to sign and copy. Dodd could also do the exam work long distance.

FRANK'S ARRIVAL IN SOUTH AMERICA

Retrieved from the Serviço de Registro de Estrangeiros by Juanita Farah: he was on board the Danube, which reached Rio de Janeiro on 11 August 1895.

THE BRITISH BANK OF SOUTH AMERICA

Some of the Bank's records are at University College London though I should say, here and now, that I have not looked at them in search of Frank Dodd; I think I've got enough for this short biography via the sources I mention below. At www.aim25.ac.uk there are details of what's held in UCL's archives collection. It covers the period 1863 to 1927, not quite the full history of the Bank though it probably covers most of Frank Dodd's working life. There are three boxes and material includes letter books as well as accounts. All records are in English.

There's also information on the history of the Bank at www.ucl.ac.uk/Library/special-coll;

And in Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil by Richard Graham. 1972. P96 and p117.

A history of the Anglo-South American Bank can be found via archiveshub.ac.uk. Its records are also at University College London.

Brazil in the late 19th century:

Some dates from www.facts-about.org.uk

At Wikipedia an economic history of Brazil written, I think, by Americans.

My own memories of my degree course in Latin American history; and my geography A level.

God is Brazilian: Charles Miller, the Man who brought Football to Brazil by Josh Lacey 2005.

BBSA

Via google to memoria.bn.br and related website memoria.org.br, which are newspaper/journal sites for publications in English covering 19th and 20th cent Brasil: Rio News; and Wileman's Brazilian Review (whose first issue was not until 1908 and so didn't

cover the earlier part of Frank's career).

And the Times, always good for business news during the Golden Dawn period.

See the swanky new headquarters building at www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk. All photographs were taken in 1912, just before the workers moved in.

The Bankers' Magazine volume 93 1912 p289 news from the British Bank of South America that its sub-manager at head office, Henry Kimber Gregory, was retiring of nearly 39 years with the bank. William Herbert Hollis, currently Company Secretary, would take Gregory's job as sub-manager. Frank Dodd, currently "manager of the São Paulo branch" would take Hollis' job as Company Secretary.

The Bankers' Magazine volume 93 1912 p635 states that Frank Dodd was manager of the British Bank of South America's branch at São Paulo when on 31 Dec 1911 he was promoted to become Company Secretary.

Coverage of 1920s, but not before, from Brazilian American.

The demise of Anglo-South and British Bank of South America is covered well by the Times.

For the Haber Process and its effects on the trade in Chilean nitrates: wikipedia. And for the chemistry, my partner Roger Wright's copy of A Textbook of Inorganic Chemistry by J R Partington, p543. Published Macmillan and Co Ltd 1926 and given to Roger by his father.

THE DODDS and FRANK'S CHILDREN

Edward Dodd:

Frank's father Edward Dodd had been born in Lincoln but the Dodd family was a Wiltshire one: at www.gravestonephotos.com, there's a photo of GPR grave number 154514 in the municipal cemetery at Wootton Bassett. The grave has these people in it:

- Harriet Anne Dodd probably born 1828 died 1879
- Mary Dodd died 1882 aged 38, Harriet's sister-in-law
- Edward Dodd probably born 1826 died 1905, Harriet's brother
- Catherine Adelaide Dodd probably born 1831 died 1924, Harriet's sister

It does NOT have these people in it: Eleanor, sister of Harriet, Edward and Catherine; and Frank's brother Herbert.

THE COTCHING and DA FONSECA FAMILIES IN BRASIL

Fazenda Cachoeira do Jica, the da Fonseca family estate, at Indaiatuba, near Itu in the state of São Paulo. It now has a Brazilian equivalent to 'listed' status as "patrimônio cultural de Indaiatuba".

Anna's father was William Mackrell Cotching. That he was a member of a British mission to Brasil in March 1875 was mentioned in Gazeta de Notícias March 23, 1924; information sent by Juanita Farah.

Anna's brother Dr Eduardo Cotching da Fonseca: via google to www.srb.org.br in Portuguese, it's the website of Sociedade Rural Brasileira. He was one of its founders. Plenty of mentions on the web of the avenida in São Paulo which is named after him.

Coffee and Transformation in São Paulo Brasil by Mauricio A Font 2010 p342 the bibliography refers to a book Defesa Permanente do Café by Dr Eduardo da Fonseca Cotching, published in 1921.

ANNA COTCHING

Education: Thesis of Maria Iza Gerth da Cunha at website "Educaç\u0101o Feminina numa instituiç\u0101o total confessional cat\u00f3lica Col\u00e9gio Nossa Senhora do Patrocinio" sent to Juanita Farah by email by Clarice Caires, a researcher based in S\u00e3o Paulo. The thesis' Anexo 1 is a list of the pupils at the school 1859-1909.

I

Marriage of Frank Dodd and Anna Cotching da Fonseca took place in S\u00e3o Paulo on 2 May 1904. Information sent by Juanita Farah.

Frank and Anna's eldest daughter Mary Jessop Dodd:

A Guide to the History of Brazil 1500-1822 by Francis A Dutra. Published by ABC-Clio 1980 p605 has entries for Gilberto Ferrez and Mary Jessop Dodd Ferrez.

The Origins of the Carioca belle \u00e9poque by Jeffrey David Needell. Stanford University Press 1982 pvii in the acknowledgements a reference to information and hospitality given to Needell by Gilberto Ferrez and his wife.

Pioneer Photographers of Brazil 1840-1920 by Gilberto Ferrez and Weston J Naef. Published by the Center for Inter-American Relations 1976.

Franz Fr\u00fchbeck's Brazilian Journey by Robert C Smith and Gilberto Ferrez published 1960.

And at Amazon I found Aquarelas de Richard Bate (watercolours) with an introduction by Gilberto Ferrez and an English language version by Mary Jessop Dodd Ferrez. Rio: Galeria Brasileira 1965. At pt.wikipedia.org, in Port, I found a little about Bate: Richard Bate 1775-1856 was a businessman and artist. He went to Rio in 1807. The wikipedia article refers to Gilberto Ferrez as "historiador".

The reference to Frank Dodd's son Edward:

London Gazette 30 Dec 1966 p14189 is a series of legal notices about people who had recently died. Edward William Cotching da Fonseca Dodd's address was 539 Rua Barso de Mesquita Rio de Janeiro.

Pippa Dodd's husband Anthony Haigh. That he was known as Anthony rather than Austin is: personal communication from Anthony Haigh's son Geoffrey, sent via Juanita Farah February 2014.

Times 16 Oct 1935 p1a marriage notices: on 27 September 1935 at Christ Church Rio de Janeiro, Austin Anthony Francis Haigh to Gertrude (known as Pippa), 2nd daughter of Mr and Mrs Frank Dodd of 539 Rua Barr\u00e3o de Mesquita Rio de Janeiro.

Snippet of Foreign Office List edition of 1963 p230: Anthony Haigh. Born 1907. Educated at Eton and King's College Cambridge. Joined Foreign Office 1932. Posted to Rio de Janeiro in January 1934. His next posting was to Tokyo, 1936; so Pippa went with him there.

On the end of his career: Who Was Who edition of 1986. Anthony Haigh retired after serving as Director of Education and Cultural and Scientific Affairs at the Council of Europe from

1962 to 1968. He was a son of P B Haigh of the Indian Civil Service. He and Gertrude were divorced in 1971 and he remarried, also in 1971.

FRANK'S RETIREMENT

Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Inglesa. See wikipedia. That Frank was one of its founders: email from Frank's grand-daughter.

DANIEL IVOR EVANS

Who Was Who volume VI 1961-70: p355. Just noting that Evans' headquarters as bishop of eastern South America was Buenos Aires, not Rio de Janeiro.

FRANK DODD'S BOOK: An Introduction to the Study of Christianity London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd 1938.

Frank's death:

Times 28 Sep 1955 p1 death notice for Frank Dodd, husband of Anna; father of Mary, Edward, Pippa and Sylvia; and with 14 grandchildren. He'd been living in Brazil for 60 years.

Probate Registry: Frank Dodd of Rua Barão de Mesquita 539 Rio de Janeiro died on 26 September 1955. Probate granted in London 9 May 1956 to Midland Bank Executor and Trustee Company Ltd. Personal effects £13144/16/6 in England.

Original text 28 November 2012

Update 17 March 2014

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Emily Ann Drummond was initiated into the GD at its Amon-Ra temple in Edinburgh on 11 February 1895. She chose the Latin motto 'In deo confido'. One other person was initiated during the same ritual - Margaret Jane Dalziel Grant - and I think it's likely the two women knew each other beforehand.

Several months later, on 11 November 1895, Emily's elder daughter Edith Drummond was initiated, also at the Amon-Ra temple, and took the Latin motto 'Fideliter'. Emily MacLaren was initiated the same evening and was probably an acquaintance of both the Drummonds.

Despite attempting to give information on the lives of two GD members, this is still one of my short biographies. As I'm based in London, I'm handicapped in researching the lives of people living in Scotland, and the information below shows it. In particular, it's biased towards Emily's blood relations rather than her husband's family, as it was easier to spot them using London-based sources and the web. I'm sure there's far more information on William

Drummond out there, but it will be in Edinburgh...I'd need to be on the spot to look at it, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

April 2016

A note on sources: there's a main sources section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on EMILY ANN DRUMMOND née MASON and her daughter EDITH DRUMMOND.

IN THE GD

Emily and Edith were very keen students, particularly of those aspects of the occult that leaned towards freemasonry. Study work and even passing exams were necessary to reach the GD's inner 2nd Order, where you were allowed to do practical magic. The Drummonds both reached that level, Emily being initiated in June 1896 and Edith in February 1897.

It's not clear how long Emily and Edith remained active members of Amon-Ra as its records have been lost. However, some sources that have survived indicate that Amon-Ra seems to have been riven with factionalism, which drove people away. The infighting often had a social-class-based edge to it. The creation of the Cromlech Temple - as a temple within the temple, with members hand-picked by Amon-Ra founder John William Brodie-Innes - was particularly divisive. Emily and Edith might well have been two of those hand-picked members, however: Emily's husband William Drummond was a legal colleague of John William Brodie-Innes and the two families may have been friends.

After the collapse of the original GD in London during 1903, several daughter orders were founded. Membership records of the two best-known - Stella Matutina and the Independent and Rectified Rite - still exist. The Drummonds didn't join either of them, probably because they met in London. In December 1910, John William Brodie-Innes founded another GD temple in Edinburgh, which lasted for a few years. Emily was dead by that time. Edith may have joined it but probably not: during the 1900s both the Drummonds had become involved in co-masonry.

Sources:

See the main Sources section below. And:

For strife in the Amon-Ra temple: Letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner from William Sutherland Hunter, who lived in Glasgow and worked in his family's flour-importing firm: 1 June 1897; 28 September 1897 by which time Hunter was keeping away from Amon-Ra's meetings so as to avoid having to take sides; and 17 January 1898. Warburg Institute; Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue reference NS73.

For John William Brodie-Innes' temples in Edinburgh: R A Gilbert's The Golden Dawn Companion p38; for full publication details see the main Sources section.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Definitely.

THEOSOPHY

The week before her GD initiation, Emily became a member of the Theosophical Society. The sponsors of Emily's application were the founders of the TS lodge in Edinburgh and its GD temple, Amon-Ra - John William Brodie-Innes and his wife Frances. TS lodge meetings were held in their house. In Bradford and Edinburgh nearly everyone who was in the TS was initiated into the GD as well: in both cities there was a small group of people with esoteric interests, many of whom knew each other in their daily lives as well as their leisure time. Not all of those who accepted the offer of initiation into the GD ever followed it up, but Emily was an active member of both societies in the late 1890s.

Usually it was TS members who joined the GD but Edith Drummond did it the other way round: she had been in the GD for three years when she joined the TS's Edinburgh lodge in April 1898. Her sponsors were not her mother, nor the Brodie-Inneses; they were Mary and George Simpson.

Emily and Edith sponsored a few membership applications in 1900: Emily sponsored Robert Forrest Sibbald, his other sponsor being Andrew Petrie Cattanach, who ran the TS library in Edinburgh and was a GD member. Emily and Edith together sponsored the application of Florence Laing. I assume that both Sibbald and Laing were friends of the Drummonds in Edinburgh.

The TS membership records show both Emily and Edith continuing to pay their yearly subscriptions until 1908. Then they both resigned on the same day, 11 March 1909.

CO-MASONRY

By the early 1900s both Emily and Edith Drummond became aware of the existence of co-masonry. Orthodox freemasonry - as represented for example by the grand lodges of England and Scotland - is a male preserve. However, at the end of the 19th century some lodges had been founded in France specifically to allow women to be initiated: this is co-masonry, which still exists, but which is still barely recognised by male freemasonry.

The first co-masonry lodge in the UK was founded by Annie Besant and Ursula Bright in September 1902. It was the Lodge of Human Duty, number 6, and seems to have met at Mrs Bright's home, 31 St James's Place in London. Emily Drummond was initiated into Human Duty lodge number 6 in April 1904. Even at the time Emily saw this initiation as the first step towards the founding of a co-masonry lodge in Scotland, and co-masonry lodge Christian Rosenkreuz number 18 was consecrated in Edinburgh in July 1905. The name will have been carefully chosen and has a GD connection, as in its early days, the GD's rituals were strongly influenced by Rosicrucian ideas and symbolism. Annie Besant led the consecration, as Inspector-General of Co-masonry in the UK, and Emily Drummond was one of the main celebrants. Emily served as Christian Rosenkreuz number 18's Worshipful

Master in 1907.

Emily's freemasonry interests were very much influenced by Scottish freemasonry, which had always had a rather different focus to that of England. In 1908 a Mark Masons co-masonry lodge was founded in Edinburgh, largely as a result of her efforts; and she was prevented from founding a Rose-Croix chapter only by illness. She researched the history of the subject and wrote papers for lodge meetings, some of which were published in the magazine *The Co-Mason*. The first of these was on the Mark Master Mason ritual and was published when *Christian Rosenkreuz* number 18 added a 4th degree (a Mark degree) to its workings - a ritual used widely in Scottish lodges.

Emily's second article - *The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite and Co-Masonry* - looked at the history of the Rite from its first use in 18th-century France to its journey to Scotland via the USA. She had read articles by Robert Freke Gould and A E Waite's *Studies in Mysticism* and other works in the library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Her article accepted without question the continuous descent of the basics of freemasonry from medieval stone masons' rituals; but that was a belief widely held at the time.

Emily's last paper was on *The Symbolism of the Lodge and the Pillars*. I couldn't find the full article in *The Co-Mason*, only a summary of it, and as I'm no occultist myself I'm not sure what exactly what Emily's argument was.

Edith Drummond shared Emily's interest in freemasonry. She and her mother worked together to help found *Christian Rosenkreuz* lodge number 18. Edith acted as the lodge's warden for its first three years before being installed as its Worshipful Master in 1908 or 1909 (my sources weren't quite clear which year). The installation of the lodge's warden took place on 27 December each year, a date chosen by Edith, who wrote up the reasons for her choice in her article *St John's Day in Freemasonry*. Edith had read widely on the importance of St John the Evangelist's day to Scottish freemasonry lodges in the 18th century. And she had exercised her powers of persuasion on the archivists of some Scottish lodges to let her see the lodge Minutes - documents not usually available to non-members. Her article argued that the decision to focus on St John's day was restoring to prominence a celebration that had fallen out of favour in the last century.

All the articles by Emily and Edith were very anxious to portray co-masonry as a serious, well-informed, legitimate inheritor and practitioner of freemasonry's traditions. Emily's article on the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite argued that co-masonry was an offshoot of the Rite's original form - a form which in addition to apparently not being hostile to women in freemasonry was also more overtly Christian in its tone than later revisions. She ended her article with a plea to male freemasonry to let women in. Women are still waiting, of course!

Such was Emily Drummond's importance to co-masonry in Scotland that her death in January 1910 left it reeling. Emily's paper on the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite was read out at the meeting of *Christian Rosenkreuz* lodge number 18 on 22 February 1910 - the first since news of the death had been made public - amidst general shock and concern about the lodge's future. There was much debate over the next few months about how co-masonry could honour Emily's contribution to it in Scotland. In the end, the decision was made to form a chapter of the Knights of the Rose Croix in Edinburgh and to call it *St Ann*, after Emily Ann Drummond. *Rose Croix Chapter St Ann* number 3 was inaugurated in January

1912. During the ceremony Edith Drummond was installed as its first MWS and she then installed its other officers for the coming year.

Edith Drummond took on her mother's mantle in Scottish co-masonry. However, sources are lacking for the contributions she made to it after 1912.

Emily and Edith Drummond were unusual amongst GD members in being drawn to co-masonry, but they were not quite the only co-masons the GD produced. Francis Drake Harrison, and Oliver Firth, both of whom were in the GD in Bradford for a short time, became co-masons. In 1911 Harrison was Grand Secretary of Co-Masonry in Britain. As such, he went to Edinburgh to preside over the inauguration of Rose Croix Chapter St Ann number 3. A E Waite mentions that at least before the first World War, there was a co-masonry lodge in Bradford.

Sources:

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p248 entry for Mrs Emily Drummond. Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 p203, p205.

Theosophical Society Membership Register April 1895 to May 1898 p241 entry for Miss Edith Drummond. Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 p205.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume VII September 1890 to February 1891, editors Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Annie Besant. London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII issue of 15 December 1890 p344 for Edinburgh's library, which was in Andrew Cattanach's house at 67 Brunswick Street.

CO-MASONRY

The International Order of Freemasonry for Men and Women has a website at www.freemasonryformenandwomen.co.uk.

Its headquarters are in Surbiton. The website has a list of the current co-masonry lodges. The only lodge still working the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite is the Scottish Lodge number 884, founded in 1927 and despite its title holding its meetings in Surbiton. Human Duty lodge number 6 still exists - see the website. I couldn't see any reference to Christian Rosenkreuz number 18 at this website or anywhere else on the web. The omens are not good for its survival after - say - the first World War when so many things came to an end.

For the tangled and dubious history of Rosicrucianism its wikipedia page seems like a good place to start.

Women's Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders editors Alexandra Heidle and Jan A M Snoek. Boston and Leiden: Brill; in their Texts and Studies in Western Esotericism series. 2008: pp344-346, p354, p359.

The Co-Mason's issue of January 1909 was its volume 1 number 1. Published by Wadsworth

and Co and the Rydal press of Keighley for its editor, A Bothwell Gosse of 13 Blomfield Road Paddington. On pp26-27 St John's Day in Freemasonry by Edith Drummond. On p28 news of Christian Rosenkreutz Lodge number 18 based in Edinburgh

The Co-Mason volume 1 number 2 April 1909: pp14-16 short article on Christian Rosenkreuz number 18 and Mark Master Masonry, by Emily Drummond.

The Co-Mason volume 2 issue of April 1910 was dominated by the death of Emily Ann Drummond: p61 obituary with a photograph of her on the opposite page. On pp84-87 was the Part 1 of Emily's article The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite; p100 about Edith's reading of it at the next Christian Rosenkreuz number 18 meeting.

The Co-Mason volume 2 issue of July 1910 pp123-127 Part 2 of Emily Drummond's The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

The Co-Mason volume 3 issue of April 1911 p84: news of the recent meeting of Christian Rosenkreuz lodge number 18, Edinburgh; and a short resumé of Emily Drummond's paper: The Symbolism of the Lodge and the Pillars, read at that meeting by Edith Drummond.

The Co-Mason volume 4 issue of April 1912 p100 St Ann chapter number 3 Edinburgh; and p101 its inauguration by F D Harrison.

Volume 4 was the last one I looked at. Volumes 3 and 4 had concentrated more and more on events in London, as if since Emily Drummond's death links between the English co-masonry lodges and the Scottish ones had been weakened. The Scottish lodges weren't sending so much information to the magazine for publication. By Volume 4 there had been a change of editor, too - another break with past sources of information.

Both Emily and Edith Drummond had read the works of Robert Freke Gould (1836-1915) on the history of freemasonry in Britain.

The History of Freemasonry... by Robert Freke Gould is one they are likely to have studied. It had originally been published in Edinburgh by T C and E C Jack. 3 volumes undated but British Library catalogue says probably 1886. There was a later edition published London: Blackwood Le Bas and Co circa 1903.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume 1 1886-88 p1 names R F Gould as one of the men who made the formal request to the United Grand Lodge of England to allow the lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076 to be set up. QC2076 was a forum for the study of the history and symbolism of freemasonry. Ars Quatuor Coronati was its Transactions... magazine, available to a large number of corresponding members as well as the elected members. It was not, I think, available to non-freemasons but I expect that the Drummonds could have got hold of copies in Edinburgh if they had wanted to.

Emily mentioned two specific works she had read while preparing her 'Scottish Rite' article: Studies in Mysticism and Certain Aspects of the Secret Tradition by A E Waite. London: Hodder and Stoughton 1906.

And a work Emily referred to as "the Philaletheans". I think she meant Long Livers..., a speculation on why some people live to over 100; with a dedication to the freemasons of Great Britain. Credited to Eugenius Philalethes, published originally London: 1722. Reissued as Bain's Reprints number 2 1892 with a long introduction by R F Gould in which he attempted to identify the original author.

EMILY DRUMMOND - BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Emily came from a 'railway family': one that took full advantage of the mid-19th century's railway boom; and whose members continued to work for railway companies into the second and perhaps the third generation. As railways were laid throughout the UK, work of every kind became available from navvying to engineering to management. The Mason brothers - John, Emily's father Charles, and Samuel Lack - were educated enough to make their careers in railway administration.

Charles Mason's working life did not follow the more typical 19th-century pattern of one man/one employer/one town. He changed employers and moved to new cities several times. He began in the late 1840s in Brighton, in the goods office of the Brighton Railway. In 1855 he left Brighton for Yorkshire, to work for the North Eastern Railway as superintendent of its York district. He moved to the Wirral only two years later to become general manager of the Birkenhead Railway. In 1861 he changed employers for the last time when he was appointed goods manager of the London and North West Railway, based at Euston Square. He had been promoted to assistant general manager by the time of his death in 1869.

Charles' brothers do seem to have stayed with one railway company, John in Birmingham, and Samuel Lack Mason in Edinburgh as an employee of the North British Railway. Samuel Lack Mason was the NBR's general manager from 1867 to 1874.

Emily Mason's mother was called Ann. I haven't been able to identify the marriage of Emily's parents for certain, but a good candidate is the marriage of a Charles Mason to an Ann Sykes, at Holy Trinity Church Hull in 1848. On the day of the 1851 census, Charles and Ann Mason were living in the Mickelgate district of York, with one general servant. Their first child, Emily's elder brother Charles Henry Mason, was born a month or two later. Emily Anne Mason, the future GD member, was born early in 1854, in York; but the Masons had moved to Birkenhead by the time the youngest of the family - Arthur John - was born in mid-1855.

By 1861 Charles Mason had changed job again and the family had moved to north London. On census day 1861, Charles and Ann Mason were at 16 Queen's Road Marylebone, living in comfortable style as they were able to afford a cook, a housemaid and a nursery maid. They had moved yet again by the end of the decade - probably when Charles Mason was promoted - to 22 Albert Road Regent's Park. That was where Charles Mason died, on the morning of Tuesday 14 September 1869; at the age of 46. Emily was 15.

The early death of the breadwinner in mid-Victorian Britain could plunge his widow and children into poverty. However, Ann Mason's later census entries say she had income from an annuity; and there was money enough for Emily's older brother Charles Henry to be trained as a solicitor. Charles Henry then went to work in the LNWR's legal offices in Liverpool; and in due course Arthur John also joined the LNWR's managerial staff, becoming superintendent of the important junction at Melton Mowbray. A railway family.

Emily's mother was an executor of her husband's Will; with her two brothers-in-law John and Samuel Mason. Though she had a pension, Ann Mason thought it best to scale down her household, now that she was a widow. She remained in London where Charles Henry was already doing his solicitor's training, but by census day 1871 she had left Regent's Park for

11 Oseney Crescent, between Kentish Town and Holloway. All three of her children were still living at home but Ann was managing with just the one general servant and the help of Emily who had left school by this time. Arthur John was still at school.

It must have been through her uncle Samuel Lack Mason that Emily met Scottish lawyer William

Drummond. She married him on 16 December 1872, at St Luke's church Oseney Crescent.

Sources: freebmd; censuses 1861-1901; probate registry 1869.

Railway Times 1869 p921 issue of 18 September 1869: announcement of the death of Charles Mason of the LNWR. In his leisure time was very interested in art; and he was a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society.

The Railway News 1869 p323 issue of 25 September 1869: obituary of Charles Mason and a report on his funeral. He was very well liked by his colleagues: so many people from so many railway companies wanted to attend the funeral that the GWR laid on a special train to take mourners from London to Stoke Poges, where he had been born, and was buried.

At www.nbrstudygroup.co.uk are the web pages of the North British Railway Study Group. Samuel Lack Mason is in a list of its general managers.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1702265: marriage of Charles Mason to Ann Sykes 6 March 1848 at Holy Trinity Hull. His father is John Mason; her father is Isaac Sykes.

The Railway News volume 110 1918 p302 I'm not sure of the context, but Emily's father and both her brothers are mentioned. Charles Henry is described as "chief solicitor" of the LNWR.

The Railway Gazette volume 84 1946 p627 issue of 7 June 1946 has a reference to a man who worked as assistant solicitor to Charles Mason at the LNWR.

EMILY'S HUSBAND/EDITH'S FATHER

I've found curiously little information on the career of Emily's husband William Drummond; despite the fact that it seems to have been a very successful one, ending with him as solicitor to the Edinburgh supreme court. I've also found it difficult to identify him amongst the many William Drummonds mentioned on the web and elsewhere; so I'm not sure whether his father worked; whether William had any siblings or who they were; or where he was educated.

I am able to say that William Drummond was born in 1831, at Crieff in Perthshire - a stronghold of the Drummond family - the son of James Drummond and his wife Helen, née Clements. I'm also able to say that he trained as a lawyer and was later a 'writer to the Signet' - a phrase which seems now to mean that the person so described is the Scottish equivalent to an English solicitor, but which possibly in the 19th century implied a more privileged position in the legal hierarchy.

Wondering whether Emily's interest in freemasonry had come from her husband, I tried to discover whether William Drummond was involved in Scottish freemasonry. Evidence was lacking, so I've no idea whether or not he was a freemason. He and his younger daughter

Florence don't seem to have shared Emily and Edith's interest in theosophy.

Just noting here that William Drummond was over 20 years Emily's senior. Such an age gap between husband and wife was nothing unusual in the 19th-century and despite being so much older, William outlived Emily by several years.

Sources:

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 1040076 for the baptism of William Drummond on 27 March 1831.

Website www.thewss.co.uk, Society of Writers to Her/His Majesty's Signet, with some information on how the Society got its name. GD member William McNair Wallace was another Writer to the Signet by 1901.

The Society's modern website seems to be at www.powerbase.info.

Sources for Scottish freemasonry.

Scotland's grand lodge is at www.grandlodgescotland.com.

At www.scotsman.com there's an article from 23 November 2003 which mentioned that the Grand Lodge was considering putting its membership records online. I couldn't see any evidence on the web that that excellent idea had been carried out; there's certainly no way to access individual membership data on the Grand Lodge's own website.

The only source I came across on the web for names of Scottish freemasons has its limitations because it only includes famous ones:

www.lodge76.wanadoo.co.uk/famous_scottish_freemasons.htm compiled by freemason J S Donaldson.

EMILY'S FAMILY including EDITH DRUMMOND

GD member Edith Drummond was the eldest of Emily and William's three children: born 14 November 1873, in Edinburgh. Her sister Florence was born a year later; and her brother Charles in 1877 or 1878.

It seems likely from the evidence I have been able to find that William and Emily lived in the same house throughout their married life - 4 Learmonth Terrace in the St Cuthbert district of Edinburgh. Emily kept house at that address with a staff of four, at least as far as 1901, the last census data I can get at. On census day 1881 there was a cook, a housemaid, a parlourmaid and a nursemaid. By 1891 Emily's children were all at school and the nurse had been dispensed with, to be replaced by a man-servant who probably worked for William.

On census day 1891 Emily's mother was paying her daughter and grandchildren a visit. By now Ann Mason had left London and gone to live with Emily's brother Charles Henry and his wife Hannah, in Birkenhead. Ann Mason died, in Birkenhead, in March 1899.

Edith Drummond was described as still in education on census day 1891, at the age of 18. She had a longer, and most likely more thorough, education than her mother, though both women were capable of tackling the often impenetrable texts of western theosophy; and of studying the history and symbolism of freemasonry and writing articles about it. Edith's

formal education does seem to have ended when she left school, however - she never went to university as far as I can discover. Like any woman of her social class in that era, she would not have been expected to work for her living (and didn't do so, as far as I know) so there was no need for her to train for a career.

On census day 1901, Emily and Edith were both at home, with William and Charles. Charles had followed his father into the law and was a Writer to the Signet by this time. Florence was visiting Scottish-born Janet Steel and her children, in Belsize Square in London.

Sources: census 1881-1901 but not 1911; Scottish Probate Registry 1899 - property held in Scotland by Ann Mason of Birkenhead.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 6035516 for the births of Edith and Florence. I couldn't find details on Charles' birth at Familysearch.

DEATH OF EMILY

Emily Drummond died on 2 January 1910. Her obituaries give me the impression that the death was sudden, although one report did mention an illness that had begun some months before. I think she had expected to outlive her husband, for when she wrote her Will in June 1903, she bi-passed him to make her daughters Edith and Florence her executors.

William Drummond died in August 1915. He too had bi-passed the obvious executor (his son Charles) to put his estate in the hands of Edith and Florence. However, he had named a legal colleague, James Avon Clyde KC as a third executor. His estate was valued at about £25000. Assuming that he left it to his children, Edith and Florence's share of it might have provided them with a reasonable income in 1915 terms. Neither of Emily's daughters had married. Edith and Florence were in their forties in 1915 and probably didn't ever marry (though I haven't actually checked that out).

Source: Scottish census records for 1911 are not available on Ancestry, of course.

Scottish Probate Records 1910, 1915.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

Lacking secure identifications of Charles Drummond, and information on the lives of Edith and Florence Drummond after 1915, I don't know what happened next. Did Charles Drummond marry? Does Emily Drummond have descendants? Perhaps a reader will let me know!

When their father died, Edith and Florence Drummond were still living at 4 Learmonth Terrace. I would suppose that unless their financial situation became desperate, they continued to live there until they died.

Sources aren't good for this section:

Scottish Probate Records held by Ancestry didn't have entries for any of Emily and William Drummond's children. However, the records only go as far as 1936 and it's likely that all

three children died later than that.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

16 April 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Thomas Appleton Duncan was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on 20 March 1892 at its Horus Temple in Bradford, and took the Latin motto 'In limine non consistendum'. At the time of his initiation he was living at 47 Belmont Drive Newsham Park Liverpool. He didn't ever follow up his initiation by taking any of the exams required of initiates; further down this file I suggest why this might have been so.

Thomas Appleton Duncan's father, William Robert Duncan had been born in Scotland (in 1820) but was a priest in the Church of England. After graduating from Edinburgh University he went to St Bees in Cumberland, a theological college founded specifically for men with a vocation but whose families couldn't afford the high costs of sending their son to Oxford or Cambridge. St Bees had been founded by a bishop of Chester, and subsequent bishops kept up the interest in the college: William Robert was ordained in 1845 by the bishop of Chester at that time. It was part of the ordination that the bishop should find suitable work for the new priests, and William Robert Duncan was sent to be vicar of Matterthwaite, east of Keswick in Cumberland. In 1849 he married Elizabeth Hannah Stephenson, daughter of Appleton Stephenson, a solicitor from Whitby. Their family was a small one by mid-Victorian standards - two sons only. Thomas Appleton Duncan was born in 1850 in Whitby; and his brother, another William Robert Duncan, in 1853.

In 1854 William Robert Duncan the elder accepted a job about as different from that of a remote rural parish as you could find: he became perpetual curate of St Peter's Church Street, Liverpool, which was acting as the city's cathedral church in the absence of a building more suited to its escalating population (living in some of the worst conditions in Britain which is really saying something in the mid-19th century), rapid expansion and Liverpool's importance as a trading hub of the British empire. He stayed in this demanding and high-profile post for 47 years, until his death in 1898. So Liverpool was where Thomas Appleton Duncan grew up - not in the vicarage as I think it was occupied by another family, but in a series of rented houses in the new suburb of West Derby, to the north of the industrial and financial area of the city.

I do not know where Thomas Appleton Duncan went to school. The most well-known school in Liverpool at that time was Liverpool College, founded by the Liberal politician W E Gladstone and, from 1866 to 1900, run as headmaster by George Butler, husband of Josephine Butler the social campaigner. However, I can't find a list of its pupils on the web and it's just as likely that the Duncans sent their sons away to school, perhaps in Scotland, or in Yorkshire near Elizabeth Hannah Duncan's family. Thomas Appleton Duncan went to Oxford University, perhaps fulfilling a cherished dream of his father. He went to Keble College, as one of its first intake of students as it had only just been founded. He was 20 when he went up, so I think his family even waited a couple of years for the right college to come along. I imagine the expenses of students at the new college would be less than at one of the older ones with the long-established social diaries; but the choice of Keble may also indicate high-church leanings in the family. Keble had been named for Rev John Keble,

leader of the Oxford movement, and theological teachings based on anglo-catholic ideas are what Thomas Appleton Duncan will have heard there. He graduated from Keble College in 1873.

I suppose Thomas Appleton Duncan's parents had always intended him to become a priest; but - having investigated his career in the Church of England - I do wonder how much say he had in the choice of career. The young men who later joined the Golden Dawn had less say about the kind of work they would do than you would suppose. Thomas Appleton Duncan was ordained priest by the serving bishop of Chester, Rev William Jacobson, at Chester Cathedral in 1875. His working life over the next 25 years, though, was rather fitful. It began typically enough with Thomas being sent out to learn his trade through a series of short-term appointments as a curate. His first was at Taporley, a village near Chester; he was there for just over a year, 1874-75. Then he was sent to location which he knew well but which was likely to be more challenging: from 1875-76 he was curate at St Margaret Belmont Road Liverpool. Belmont Road Liverpool L6 is a little way north of Onslow Road where the Duncan family lived in the 1880s. St Margaret's church was brand new - it was consecrated in 1873. The architects were William and George Audsley, who designed many other buildings in Liverpool. The church didn't have anywhere for its clergyman to live, so Thomas Appleton continued to live with his parents until he was moved on, to work as curate to his great-uncle, in the village of Nafferton in Yorkshire. The vicar of Nafferton was Rev James Davidson, who had married a Miss Boyes, the sister of Elizabeth Hannah Duncan's mother Ann. He had been the vicar of Nafferton from 1854. Thomas Appleton Duncan arrived as his curate in 1876 and stayed until 1885; but Rev Davidson continued as the vicar throughout and was still in the job at his death in 1906.

Thomas Appleton Duncan was 35 in 1885, when he left the job at Nafferton, still a curate not a vicar. Perhaps he had been offered appointments as a vicar but had turned them down. Perhaps he had never been offered a more permanent job. Either way, it's odd that nothing more permanent should have transpired from what was now over 10 years of experience. However, the next decade is even odder: he had no official job in the Church of England from 1885 to 1895, into which ten years his membership of the Golden Dawn and of the Theosophical Society both fall.

The Theosophical Society was founded in the USA in 1875. It took off in England after Helena Petrovna Blavatsky came to live in London in 1887. In 1888 Blavatsky's epic *The Secret Doctrine* was published, switching the focus of the TS from western occultism to eastern mysticism. The TS in England expanded rapidly over the next few years. It was organised rather like the freemasons were in England, with groups of people petitioning the TS headquarters in London to be granted permission to set up a new lodge. Once permission was granted, each lodge organised its own agenda - lectures (often with speakers from London); talks where one lodge member would take the lead on a particular subject; and sessions in which members would discuss the principles of theosophy, in particular the meaning of *The Secret Doctrine* which most members seem to have found more or less impenetrable.

When I was going through the TS Membership Registers as part of my research on the Golden Dawn it was obvious very quickly how much cross-over there was, particularly in the early 1890s, with people belonging to the TS first (usually) and then being initiated into the GD afterwards. This was particularly true with the GD's Horus Temple in Bradford, which had one group of members living in the Bradford area and a second group living in

Liverpool. The actual nuts-and-bolts of how the members knew each other fascinates me but I haven't been able to find out much about it: it needs someone who lives in or near Bradford or Liverpool to do work in the local archives and with the local papers. I'm quite sure, though, that a lot of the members of Bradford GD knew one another through the TS branches in Bradford and Liverpool, which were all very active in the early 1890s; and that some members were acquaintances outside theosophy and magic, in the daily world.

You'll have gathered from my outline above, that TS lodges were founded by groups of people who already knew each other through a shared interest in theosophy. Unlike the GD, the TS was not a secret society - members gave public lectures advertised in the local press, and meetings of local groups were open to non-members. The group that founded the Liverpool Lodge in 1892 may have come together in the previous year or so, following up a public lecture (let's say) with a series of informal meetings; but there's also the possibility that some at least of the lodge's members had known one another much longer, perhaps since their schooldays. That's another thing I'd like to investigate but can't do very easily from London.

News of local TS lodges appeared in the monthly magazine *Lucifer* which was published by the TS in England at its headquarters in London's Regent's Park. The news item announcing the formation of the lodge in Liverpool listed the members who had been elected to its governing council. They included Robert and Agnes Nisbet; Joseph Gardner; John Hill; Robert Sandham; William Ranstead; James W S Callie; Jean Gillison; and Thomas Appleton Duncan, who was the lodge's first librarian. In between July 1891 and March 1893, all of the people I've named were initiated into the GD at the Horus Temple (Liverpool never set up a temple of its own), Thomas Appleton Duncan's initiation coming in the middle of the sequence. None of them ever advanced far with the studies of occult literature that were expected of any GD member who hoped eventually to start doing practical magic; and I think their willingness to try out the GD may have been to do with concern about the TS's future after Blavatsky's death (in May 1891). Once they were assured that the TS would continue, though without her guidance, they gave up on the GD.

From 1892 to 1894 Liverpool Lodge held meetings every Thursday evening in rooms at 62 Dale Street, in the business centre of the city near the docks. Thomas Appleton Duncan attended these regularly, and in 1893 he led a discussion on 'theosophy and Christianity'. A series of articles by him appeared in *Lucifer* in 1893 and 1894:

- The Christian Tradition in Relation to The Secret Doctrine
- Esoteric Teachings of the New Testament
- Some Cogent Reasons for Embracing Theosophy
- and the two-part article The Brotherhood and the Service of Man.

It's clear from the titles of these writings that Thomas Appleton Duncan was well-read in the basic texts of theosophy; even in *The Secret Doctrine*. He also seems to have read some texts by Christian writers who were also occultists. I think he was looking for common ground between Christianity and theosophy. However, in the last of the articles, he went a great deal further than that, declaring that it was the task of Eastern philosophy to complete the work begun by Christianity to bring about a brotherhood of all mankind.

One of the common themes I've found amongst Golden Dawn members was a searching after

a philosophy of life that made sense in the era of Darwin, Lyall and increasing scepticism about the belief that the Bible was divinely inspired - that it was literally the work of God, channelled through certain privileged men. But Thomas Appleton Duncan was pushing at the boundaries of what a Church of England cleric should believe, and it was no wonder he didn't have, and didn't seem to want to have, a job in the profession he had been trained for. It would be interesting to hear Thomas Appleton Duncan's views on the Soul - that is to say, on the possibility of reincarnation, a subject which caused members of the TS a great deal of anxiety - what exactly were Blavatsky's teachings on the issue? - especially amongst those who had been brought up as Christian church-goers.

Thomas Appleton Duncan's article on the brotherhood of Man was his last for Lucifer. I think he was overtaken by events that challenged him to make up his mind in a way he might have wanted to avoid. Firstly, the TS was torn apart by the bitter arguments over W Q Judge's claims to have received messages from the Mahatmas who had only ever contacted Blavatsky before. The question divided lodges and friends within the TS. Members of Liverpool Lodge actually set up a committee to give support to Judge in the debate, and when Judge was censured at the TS European convention (in July 1894) many TS members resigned including all the members of Liverpool's pro-Judge committee and others who had been very active in Liverpool Lodge. So much for the brotherhood of Man. As I didn't find his membership details I don't know whether Thomas Appleton Duncan was one of those who left the TS at this point. As you might imagine, Lucifer didn't list the names!, though many years later, most of those who had resigned had a note to that effect written against their names in the TS's Membership Registers. Just as worrying to Thomas Appleton Duncan at this turbulent time may have been a paragraph in Lucifer's edition of April 1894: the Church of England in New Zealand was taking disciplinary action against a clergyman in Auckland on the grounds that he was a TS member.

The uproar within the TS caused Thomas Appleton Duncan to go back to the Church of England, at least for the next few years: in 1895 he took another appointment as a curate, at Saints Peter and Paul Steeple Aston, south of Banbury in Oxfordshire. During his two or three years there he may have come across Rev William Alexander Ayton, vicar of Chacombe to the north-east of Banbury. The Rev Ayton was a classical scholar, an occultist, and an alchemist with a laboratory in the vicarage basement. He had been a member of the Golden Dawn since 1888; but was terribly afraid of being found out by his bishop (the bishop of Oxford who was also Rev Duncan's immediate boss at this time) and Thomas Appleton Duncan may have been acquainted with Rev Ayton without being aware that they had interests and GD membership in common.

In 1897 Thomas Appleton Duncan moved to his last job as a curate, at Henbury, now swallowed by Bristol but then a village just outside it. Shortly after he arrived there, a year of deaths changed his future.

1898 began with the death of Rev William Robert Duncan, in February. He was 78, so although the death must have been distressing, it won't have been all that surprising. But in the summer of 1898 not only did Thomas Appleton Duncan's brother William Robert die (in his 40s) but so did William Robert the younger's son - the only grandchild - at the age of a few months. Then just before Christmas, a woman called Sarah Booth Hulme died just outside Stoke-on-Trent in Staffordshire. Six months later, in 1899, Thomas Appleton Duncan married Sarah Booth Hulme's daughter.

It was a not particularly pleasant fact of Victorian middle-class life that the young, or even the middle-aged, often had to wait for the old to die before they could afford to marry or were free to choose their own life-paths.

ELIZABETH HULME

I have tried to figure out how Thomas Appleton Duncan met Elizabeth Hulme, but I haven't come up with an answer. The Rev Duncan was never a curate in the Potteries area; Elizabeth Hulme spent her whole life until her marriage living in the few miles between Leek and Stoke-on-Trent. I have to fall back on the 'through mutual friends' explanation and I've no idea who those mutual friends might have been. The networks of relationships and acquaintanceships through which one person might meet another in Victorian England are fascinating but difficult to disentangle from this distance in time.

When Thomas Hulme married Sarah Booth, in Tunstall in 1849, they linked two families who had probably inter-married many times before, two families with branches all over the north midlands. Their family was a more typical one of its time than the Duncans' family was: they had eight children, with Elizabeth being the eldest, born in 1851. On the day of the 1871 census the Hulmes were living at Endon Bank Staffordshire. Thomas Hulme told the census official that he was a landowner and farmer; he employed 8 men and 2 boys. However, one source I've found on the pottery industry in Staffordshire says that he also owned a part-stake in a pottery and I think this must be true, because I don't see how the owner of a mere 272 acres could finance Dunwood Hall at Longsdon, which Thomas Hulme had built, next to the old Dunwood Lodge farmhouse, between 1871 and 1874. Dunwood Hall was designed by Robert Scrivener of Hanley to an L-shaped plan and in the Gothic revival style, with a three-storey entrance tower, big windows, lavish use of granite and wrought-iron, and a hallway laid with Minton tiles. Thomas Hulme's son Joseph Booth Hulme told the 1881 census official that he was the manager of a pottery; and in the 1890s he was a partner in the Sutherland Pottery at Fenton, on the south side of Stoke-on-Trent; going through several partners before retiring from the business in 1900. I think this pottery must be where Thomas Hulme was a partner, in the firm originally called Thomas Forester Son and Co.

In 1881 the Hulmes were living at Dunwood Hall, but the family seem to have moved out after Thomas Hulme's death, which occurred late in 1884. Sarah Booth Hulme had been left comfortably off - in 1891 she employed a cook and a housemaid - but she had moved to Lord Street in Basford, Stoke-on-Trent, which was nearer Joseph's work. Joseph and Elizabeth, both still unmarried, were the only members of the family still living with Sarah Hulme on the day of the 1891 census. To Elizabeth's lot had fallen the task of caring for her mother. She would be expected by the rest of the family and by society at large, to do that task until her mother died; by which time she might be elderly herself. Whether the carer had been left enough money to live an independent life was irrelevant.

Elizabeth Hulme waited only six months after her mother's death, before she married and left the district. This may have been out of financial necessity. I am not suggesting that she married for money, or for the status that being a married woman brought you; though many women living in a patriarchy do so. I am suggesting that she may, however temporarily, have had no source of income immediately after her mother died. After spending so many years looking after her mother would not have guaranteed that Elizabeth would be left anything to live on after her death, and when I looked in the Probate Registry I found that Sarah Booth Hulme's estate and effects were not finally settled until 1902 anyway - rather too long to be

waiting on the expectation, with no money coming in in the meantime. So Elizabeth (aged 48) married Thomas Appleton Duncan (aged 49) without completing the expected one year of full mourning. On the day of the 1901 census, the Duncans were living at Annisfield House in Henbury; they had enough income to employ one servant who lived in. Thomas Appleton Duncan's mother, Elizabeth Hannah Duncan, had left Liverpool and was living next door to them, in the household of Thomas Horse at Rose Bank. This seems to have been just a temporary measure while the Duncans looked for a house where they could all live together. They moved to Laurel House, Langford in Somerset, a seven-bedroom ex-farmhouse with 2.5 acres of paddocks and gardens (as I was writing this little biography the house was up for sale), recently modernised when they moved in.

In 1906, Thomas Appleton Duncan's curacy came to an end and he took a post which was a kind of semi-retirement. He was given a license to preach when required in the dioceses of Bristol and Bath and Wells, but he was no longer required to do any parish duties. Elizabeth Hannah Duncan died at Laurel House in 1909 and by 1911 Thomas Appleton Duncan had retired completely. He was 60 by now, but many clergymen continued to work until they were much older, or died still at their posts. Had his mother's death finally released Thomas Appleton from the family need for him to work for the Christian church? He had put even Somerset behind him - he and Elizabeth were living in East Looe, Cornwall, on the day of the 1911 census - and he was free to investigate the borderlands where Christianity met theosophy (if he still wanted to) without the burden of family expectation. The Duncans moved at least once more, to Paignton in Devon, leasing the house called Wharncliffe, on Stafford Road, where Thomas Appleton Duncan died on 16 September 1922.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great

deal.

SOURCES FOR THOMAS APPLETON DUNCAN

WILLIAM ROBERT DUNCAN, Thomas Appleton Duncan's father

At archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com a posting dated 2001 by Eunice Smith of Edinburgh who was researching members of the Duncan family. She gives W R Duncan senior's dates as 2 May 1820 to 11 February 1898.

Crockford's Clerical Directory edition of 1860 p177 William Robert Duncan of St Peter's Parsonage Liverpool. University of Edinburgh. St Bees Theological College. Deacon 1844; priest 1845 both by bishop of Chester. Became senior curate at St Peter's 1854; previously vicar of Matterdale in Cumberland. Crockford's Clerical Directory edition of 1900 volume 1 A-M p401 William Robert Duncan isn't in it.

St Bees Theological College: there's a short article at wikipedia.

Why wasn't William Robert Duncan ever vicar of Liverpool, only a curate? See www.archerfamily.org for the career of the Rev Canon Alexander Stewart reproduced from the Liverpool Courier of 31 March 1916. For most of the 19th century, Stewart's family owned the advowsons on three important rectories in the city of Liverpool: that is, the right to appoint and to pay the vicar or rector of the parish. In William Robert Duncan's time, the three rectories all had priests who were members of the Stewart family, the most senior and the most active being Rev Alexander Stewart, rector of Liverpool. Elsewhere at www.archerfamily.org there are details of Rev Stewart's career as a bureaucrat in the Church of England and the Poor Law. Essentially, Rev W R Duncan did the parish duties at St Peter's while the actual Rector was busy with other things and paying Rev Duncan an agreed but fixed salary.

At paperspast.natlib.govt.nz the New Zealand Herald volume XXI issue 6972, 22 March 1884 p1 column 3 adverts include one for the services as a music teacher of a Mr Pooley, now living in New Zealand after a spell as organist and choir master at St Peter's Liverpool. A series of testimonials includes one from Rev Alexander Stewart, rector of Liverpool and Canon of Liverpool Cathedral, and one from Rev William Robert Duncan, "Senior Curate of Liverpool".

At www.lan-opc.org.uk, which is the website of Lancashire Online Parish, a picture of the church that Rev W R Duncan worked in. St Peter's had been a parish since 1699 when it separated from Walton parish. The church was built for the new parish 1699-1704. The last service was held in the church in 1919 and the building was demolished in 1922.

Via www.medialinkuk.co.uk to a page showing inscriptions and some photos of monuments in Toxteth Park cemetery Liverpool. There's a monument for the Duncan family: M46 Duncan (C.K.451); the monument is decorated with a Celtic cross. William Robert Duncan

senior's dates are given on it, confirming the dates I found via the web: born 22 May 1820; died 12 February 1898. Also in the grave is his wife Elizabeth, who died on 3 November 1909 aged 78. There are two more burials in the grave:

1 = Robert Charteris Duncan b November 1897 died Sep 1898, only child of W R Duncan (Thomas Appleton's brother) and E M Duncan.

2 = William Robert Duncan junior, who is described as an "Author" although I have not found any examples of his writing, looking on the web and in the British Library catalogue. Dates of birth and death are month and year only, the day of each is not given: born July 1855; died August 1898.

Thomas Appleton Duncan and his wife Elizabeth are not buried in this grave; I presume they were buried in Devon. Further elucidation of the people who are in the grave, from freebmd: Robert William Duncan married Elizabeth M Greenlaw in Kensington in 1896. Their son Robert Charteris Duncan was born in 1897 and died within a year.

STEPHENSON FAMILY OF WHITBY

At www.gravestonephotos.com number GPR246866, a photo of the Stephenson grave monument at St Mary the Virgin Whitby. In the grave are members of Elizabeth Hannah Stephenson's family:

Ann Clifton Stephenson 1825-30

Appleton Stephenson, father of Ann Clifton Stephenson; 1806-76. He must be Elizabeth Hannah Stephenson's father.

Ann Stephenson, Ann Clifton Stephenson's mother (actually she's her step-mother); 1803-73; Elizabeth's mother.

John Boyes Stephenson, Ann Clifton Stephenson's son (he must be Ann Stephenson's son; thus Elizabeth's brother); 1837-79

At genforum.genealogy.com a posting December 2002 by a descendant of the Boyes family who lived in Whitby in the 18th and 19th cents: Appleton Stephenson married Ann Boyes on 26 February 1829 in Whitby; he was a widower, she had not been married before.

THOMAS APPLETON DUNCAN IN CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Alumni Oxoniensis Members of the University of Oxford 1715-1886 Volume 1. Kraus Reprint Ltd 1965 editor Joseph Foster. On p394 Rev Thomas Appleton Duncan, elder son of William Robert Duncan of Whitby. Keble College. Matriculated 18 October 1870 at age 20. Graduated BA 1873.

Wikipedia on Keble College.

Ecclesiastical Gazette 1874 p56 a list of those ordained priest at Chester Cathedral on "Sunday, September 19" [1874] by the bishop of Chester; including Thomas Appleton Duncan of Keble College.

Crockford's Clerical Directory edition of 1900 volume 1 A-M p401 Thomas Appleton Duncan was currently curate of Henbury Bristol, to which he had been officially appointed in 1898. Keble College Oxford. BA 1873. Ordained deacon 1874; priest 1875 both by bishop of Chester. Curate of: Tarporley Cheshire 1874-75; St Margaret Belmont Road Liverpool 1875-76; Nafferton Yorks 1876-85. At that point there was the 10-year gap before he was appointed curate of Steeple Aston Oxfordshire 1895-98. I got the name of the relevant bishop of Chester from the list in wikipedia: William Jacobson, appointed 1865, died in office 1884.

Crockford's Clerical Directory edition of 1910 p432 Thomas Appleton Duncan's address is now Laurel House Langford Somerset. He had been curate of Henbury from 1897 to 1906. In 1906 made a Licensed Preacher able to preach in the dioceses of Bristol, and Bath and Wells.

Places Thomas Appleton Duncan was curate:

Via the web, [//streetsofliverpool.co.uk/lost-churches-2/](http://streetsofliverpool.co.uk/lost-churches-2/) has a picture of St Margaret Belmont Road, consecrated 1873, destroyed by fire 1961 and replaced with the current building.

Village website www.nafferton.net/our-village/history says that Rev James Davidson (Thomas Appleton Duncan's great-uncle) was vicar there from 1854 to 1906. His Christmas time Ship Teas were famous.

Steeple Aston is north of Oxford and south of Banbury. Saints Peter and Paul has important bells and a long tradition of bell-ringing. At the time Thomas Appleton Duncan was curate, there was a 14th piece of embroidery in the church; it's now in the Victoria & Albert Museum. Chacombe, where Ayton was vicar, is north-east of Banbury. Both parishes were the responsibility of the bishop of Oxford. might have met.

29 Nov 2012 I'm rather bothered as to the exact significance of the term "Licensed Preacher". At US website www.learnthebible.org which is NOT CofE, such a license is commonly issued now. It's a license to preach under certain restrictions usually about where. It's LESS than ordination which the website sees as a very serious commitment to do whatever and go wherever God requires.

At universalministries.com mention of it in connection with small, independent churches where such a license is often issued to volunteers rather than those paid by the church.

Couldn't see anything about licensed preachers in the CofE.

Where he lived when he was retired:

As at 3 Dec 2012 Laurel House Langford Somerset happens to be for sale with Debbie Fortune estate agents: from her website, it is circa 1900, stone built with stone fireplaces and some bay windows. Gardens, paddock - 2.5 acres altogether. At www.zoopla.co.uk it's on Bath Road Langton; 7 beds 2 reception, ex-farmhouse. Needs some work.

THOMAS APPLETON DUNCAN IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

The TS Membership Registers are at the TS headquarters building on Gloucester Place London. I looked at the registers which cover 1888 to 1900 and so missed some GD members who had joined the TS in its earliest years.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XI covering September 1892 to February 1893. Volume XI no 66 issued 15 February 1893, in news section p517 a report on Liverpool Lodge, sent in by its assistant secretary, Gustave E Sigley, who was never a member of the GD; John Hill was the Lodge secretary but worked as a travelling salesman and was out of town a great deal. Recently the Lodge had had visits from TS member William Williams of Bradford Lodge; and Sydney Coryn (who is from London; both these men were initiated into the GD).

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893, sole editor is Annie Besant. Published by the Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII no 67 issued 15 March 1893 p78 news section incl item on Liverpool Lodge sent in by its assist sec, Gustave E Sigley.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XIII covers September 1893 to February 1894; again Annie Besant is the editor. P460-467 is Part I of a series by T A Duncan BA: The Brotherhood and Service of Man; seeing it p461 as the task of eastern philosophy to complete what Christianity had begun, by bringing about a brotherhood of Man.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XIV covers March to August 1894. Volume XIV no 79 issued 15 March 1894 p 63-69 article by T A Duncan BA: Part II of The Brotherhood and the Service of Man.

There was nothing by Thomas Appleton Duncan in any subsequent issue of Lucifer. Lucifer ceased publication in about 1898.

THE HULME FAMILY OF LEEK STAFFS

On Dunwood Hall:

At www.british-history.ac.uk which is the website of British History Online, some info taken from the Victoria County History for Staffs, volume 7, on Dunwood Hall. Thomas Hulme, previously of Bank House Endon, bought Dunwood Lodge Farm in 1870 and built Dunwood Hall next to the farmhouse in 1871. It was designed (Gothic revival style) by Robert Scrivener of Hanley. The house still exists and is Grade II listed, retaining many of its original features including a central hall laid with Minton tiles.

Website [//thecastlelady.wordpress.com](http://thecastlelady.wordpress.com) has info on a lot of houses in Staffordshire and pictures of some of them but not of Dunwood Hall, unfortunately. Dunwood Hall is on the A53. Built to an L-shaped plan with a 3-storey entrance tower. The hall has a floor of Minton tiles; a granite and stone fireplace; and cast iron balustrades. There are gardens. This site is the only one that says that Elizabeth's father Thomas Hulme owned a pottery business. However, there's evidence that Joseph B Hulme owned one:

London Gazette 13 Jan 1893 p226 a list of dissolved partnerships includes that between Thomas Forester and J B Hulme. They had traded as earthenware manufacturers, at the Sutherland Pottery in Fenton (that's south-east of Stoke-on-Trent). Their partnership was

dissolved on 31 Dec 1892. The debts of the partnership would be paid by J B Hulme.

London Gazette 4 Jan 1901 p117 another list of dissolved partnerships includes that of Joseph Booth Hulme and John J Christie. They had been trading as Hulme and Christie, earthenware manufacturers of Fenton. Their partnership was dissolved by consent on 30 June 1900. Christie would be carrying on the business, in partnership with Francis William Beardmore; as Christie and Beardmore.

The info above is confirmed by www.thepotteries.org which is an A-Z of Stoke-on-Trent pottery firms. The info on the website on the Sutherland Pottery Fenton was taken from *Ceramic Art of Great Britain 1800-1900* by Llewellyn Frederick William Jewitt and Geoffrey A Godden. Published Barrie and Jenkins 1972; info from p51:

1884-?1888	as Thomas Forester Son and Co
1887-93	as Forester and Hulme
1893-1902	as Hulme and Christie
1902-03	as Christie and Beardmore
1903-14	as Frank Beardmore and Co. Nothing after that date.

The firm originally produced china and earthenware: dinner, tea, dessert and toilet sets. When I was searching for details of the firm I found quite a lot of their products for sale on the web, with pictures.

Wikipedia has an article on T E Hulme (Thomas Ernest) the critic and modernist poet: 1883-1917, born at Gratton Hall Endon Staffordshire, a son of Thomas Hulme and his wife Mary. I presume his parents are Elizabeth Hulme's brother Thomas and his wife, so that T E Hulme is Elizabeth Duncan's nephew. Apparently, beginning in about 1907, T E Hulme began a process of translating works by Henri Bergson; Henri Bergson's sister was Mina, wife of the GD's Samuel Liddell Mathers.

The *Short, Sharp Life of T E Hulme* by Robert Ferguson 2002 p3 says of Thomas Hulme (presumably T E Hulme's father, not his grandfather) that he was a staunch Liberal; and that he went to church, at St Luke's, as a social duty not out of pious necessity.

I searched freebmd from 1922 to 1932 for the registration of Elizabeth Hulme Duncan's death but couldn't identify one I was sure was her. There were none that looked right in Devon during those years, so she may have moved away after her husband died.

4 December 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Joseph Dunckley, known as Joe, was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford Yorkshire in July 1891. He chose the Latin motto 'virtute et fide'. He did begin the work that initiates were expected to undertake, but then he seems to have dropped out.

DUNCKLEY AND DUNKLEY

Bear in mind that spellings of surnames were not consistent before the 18th century; and that in the 19th century, census officials didn't always ask people how their surnames were spelled - they just wrote down what they thought they'd heard, and you do get some very strange results. Joe's surname was spelled in a variety of ways during his lifetime, even by the officers at the registration office of births, marriages and deaths. R A Gilbert spells it with the 'c' in his book on the members of the Golden Dawn; and I think this must be the correct spelling in Joe's case, though Dunkley without the 'c' is the more common spelling.

While I was trying to identify Joe Dunckley on the mid-19th century censuses I got the impression that most people with the name Dunckley or Dunkley lived in the east Midlands, especially Northamptonshire but also Leicestershire and Hertfordshire, so that's probably where the tribe originated. However, a group of Dunckleys and Dunkleys had been living around Warwick since the late 17th century; and when helping the census official complete the forms, Joe Dunckley was very consistent in saying that Warwick was where he had been born.

Joe Dunckley was also consistent about his age, which gave me a year of birth around 1832. Despite this, I haven't been able to identify the right Joseph Dunckley on the 1841 census, which means that I don't know who his parents were. On wikipedia I found a few details of a Henry Dunckley, born in Warwick in 1823. I was hopeful that Henry might turn out to be an older brother of Joe, but I now think that he probably wasn't. Henry Dunckley was from a family of Baptists and trained as a baptists minister before becoming a journalist with an interest in social issues. Seeing that Henry and Joe do have the same spelling of that tricky surname, they may be related in some way; and Joe's branch of the family may also have been Baptists. At genforum.genealogy.com there's a comprehensive family tree of Dunkley's (that is, without the 'c') and a series of postings from 1999 to 2010 about Dunkleys who were born in Warwick but who lived in Bradford Yorkshire before emigrating to Australia. From looking at the forenames of this group of Dunkleys, I don't think Joe Dunckley was related to them either.

I have to admit failure with Joe Dunckley on the 1851 census as well. In fact, the first certain information I have on him is the registration of his marriage to Hannah Stephenson, in Bradford Yorkshire in 1853 (in which he's spelled Dunkley without the 'c'). By the time he was 21, then, Joe had already left his home town to work in the industrial West Riding. Joe and Hannah had at least three children: Rebecca, born in 1855 (and registered as Dunckley with the 'c'); George born 1861 (and registered as Dunkley without the 'c'); and Joseph born 1864 (and also registered as Dunkley without the 'c'). However, I think that at least one other child was born to them, possibly several - for example in the five-or-so years between Rebecca and George - only to die in their infancy.

The 1861 census was my first certain sighting of Joe Dunckley: he, Hannah and Rebecca were living at 25 Park Road, in the Little Horton district of Bradford, near Hannah's family. Joe was working as a boot and shoe maker and Hannah was also working, as a worsted weaver. Bradford was the centre of the English woollen industry and women, even married women, were employed in large numbers in its mills. Women working in factories was a tradition by the 1860s; and of course for most of the women so employed, it was a financial

necessity - their contribution to the family budget was important, and relied on. In due course, Hannah's daughter, one of her sons, and at least two of her grand-daughters, also worked as worsted weavers.

Joe Dunkley was a very unusual member of the Order of the Golden Dawn: a man with a trade, who worked with his hands; and with a wife who also worked, at a machine-loom in a factory. They were a working-class couple. Even most members of the GD in Bradford worked in offices or as tradesmen, and their wives either helped with the family business or didn't work at all.

Something went wrong for the Dunckleys during the 1860s, and according to the information he gave subsequent censuses, Joe never worked as a shoemaker again. In 1871 he told the census official he was a porter: that is, he was doing heavy lifting work, unskilled manual labour, possibly even as casual rather than regular employment. He didn't say where he worked. Hannah told the census official that she worked at "domestic duties" - that is, she was no longer working for money but housekeeping at home (which was hard enough, of course). This might have been because Rebecca and George were working as worsted weavers and able to help out with the family finances (they were both still living at home). However, I noticed an error about George on the 1871 census: the census official wrote down his age as 14, when in fact he was only 10. That people's ages are written down wrongly is a commonplace of 19th century censuses; but supposing the Dunckleys deliberately said that George was older than he was, because they needed him working rather than at school? George's handwriting on the 1911 census is very shaky, and someone else completed the form for him; perhaps he was taken out of school early and sent to work, and never was very good at writing. If his age on the 1871 census is not a mistake but a deliberate piece of misinformation, he might have been needed to go out to work because Hannah was ill and no longer able to work as a weaver herself. Working in a woollen mill was a health risk: the ceaseless noise of the machinery made you deaf; and the fluff in the air killed many employees slowly, by choking their lungs. Hannah Dunckley was dead by 1878.

It's possible that Joe Dunckley and Hannah left Bradford, at least for a few years during the 1870s: I can't find a death registration for Hannah in Bradford; and Joe's second marriage, to Mary Ann Abbott in 1878, took place in Lambeth. Mary Ann Abbott was from Cornwall; Joe could have met her in Bradford, but it's more likely that he met her where he married her. I can't find Joe and Mary Ann anywhere in the UK on the day of the 1881 census, either. I wonder where they had gone? Rebecca was still living in Bradford. She had had her share of tragedy during the 1870s: she married William Asquith in 1877 but her husband died shortly afterwards aged only 24. On the day of the 1881 census she was living with her aunts, the Stephenson sisters (spelled Stevenson with a 'v' by the census official - surnames with more than one spelling seem to be a feature of this biography!), at 31 Park Lane Horton. There were four aunts: Mary Ann, Martha, Priscilla and Elizabeth and this was a working woman's household: Elizabeth, who may have been an invalid, was keeping house for the others, and all the others were worsted weavers. A couple of months after census day Rebecca married again, a man called William Lowe; I haven't been able to find her or him on any census afterwards so perhaps they emigrated.

By 1891 Joe Dunckley was back in Bradford and he didn't move away again. He and Mary Ann were living at 19 Greaves Street, Little Horton. Joe was working as a warehouseman; and Mary Ann was keeping house - of course, she had no weaving skills. George Dunckley had married Ada Wood in 1883; so that only Joe's son Joseph was still living at home.

Joseph junior had been able to finish school: he was working as a clerk in the office of a cabinet maker - more work with the brain than work with the hands, and considered by the Victorians as definitely a middle-class occupation. Later that year, Joseph married another office worker, Ellen Rawson.

On the day of the 1901 census, Joe Dunckley was still working at the age of 69. He had changed his job and I think the change meant a step up for him, or at least a recognition that he was getting too old for the heavy-lifting stuff: he told the 1901 census official that he was a wool-combing machine minder. He and Mary were living at 20 Little Horton Green by this time; and they were still at that address in 1911. Someone (not Joe) wrote on the 1911 census form the words "Old Age Pension": which means that Joe had at last been able to retire, courtesy of the Liberal government's Old Age Pensions Act which came into force in January 1909. In being eligible to receive this first ever British governmental pension Joe was one of half a million people who had met some strict conditions: they had to be over 70, of good character (who was supposed to decide that?) and be earning less than £21 per year (which even then was a very low wage).

Now I am going to speculate: based on the details written on the 1911 census form by George Dunckley's children; and information I subsequently found on the web, I'm going to suggest that three generations of Dunckleys, and their relations-by-marriage the Stephensons (or Stevensons), all worked at the same woollen mill. I may be quite wrong about this, but here is my argument:

George and Ada Dunckley had six children but only three were still living at home on the day of the 1911 census: Bertram, who was working as a "stuff warehouseman"; and Alice and Annie who were weavers, proud to be specialising in a kind of weaving work known as "Italian lining". I looked up "Italian lining" on the web and found several articles from the late 1890s describing it as if it were a new product, and saying that it was only made in two places: Saltaire; and the mill run by Alfred Priestman and Co. Both are in the Bradford area but Saltaire is on the northern edge of the city on the way to Bingley; while Alfred Priestman and Co's premises were at Brick Lane Mills on Thornton Road, within a short walk of Little Horton. I don't think it's stretching belief, for me to suggest that Alfred Priestman and Co was where the Dunckleys and the Stephensons were working. The tradition of working for Alfred Priestman and Co was begun by the Stephenson sisters, took in Rebecca and George Dunckley, and then Joe Dunckley though he never worked a machine in the factory - he had joined the firm too late to have the skills.

I've already said that Joe Dunckley was an unusual man. He could definitely write and read but his education as a child was likely to have been basic, and biblical. He had a spirit of enquiry, however, that was not satisfied by being educated within such limits, and later in his life his reading, the talks he attended and one person that he met, ended with his joining the Theosophical Society - which will have given him some intellectual challenges.

When I was working through the Membership Registers of the Theosophical Society it quickly became obvious that the TS was a good source recruitment for likely members of the Order of the Golden Dawn, particularly in the early 1890s. This was particularly true of the Bradford, where members of the TS joined the GD in such numbers it almost looked as though they had decided to do it altogether, as a group. Reading through R A Gilbert's book (see below) and issues of the TS magazine Lucifer, which was published for most of the 1890s, it was clear that the members of the Bradford TS knew each other well. The Clayton,

Pattinson, Midgley, Firth and Spink families were the lynchpins of the group in the early 1890s; but most of the people who joined the TS and/or the GD in Bradford had ties outside the common interest in theosophy: one of the Spink sisters married one of the Firth family; Joseph Clayton's daughter, two sisters of Joseph Dunckley junior's wife, and Robert Steel were all teachers working for the Bradford School Board; several members were local doctors; several more were freemasons; several members worked in the woollen mills, possibly the same woollen mill...it goes on. Joe Dunckley was an important member of the group, because - along with Thomas Pattinson and William Williams - he had been (to quote an article from 1896 in Lucifer) an "old and loyal" friend of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. When the Bradford Lodge of the Theosophical Society was formed, in 1891, even the group of friends that had founded it had to go through a formal process of application, with two sponsors: Joe's sponsors were Thomas Pattinson and William Williams. And it was natural that a theosophist with such a pedigree should be elected to its governing council.

Although members of the TS in Bradford seemed so keen to join the Golden Dawn as well, most of them don't seem to have stayed members for long. I think there were two main reasons for this, both connected with the work required of GD members who were serious enough about their initiation to want to reach the stage of actually doing some practical magic. The work was intellectually demanding; there was a lot of it to get through; and there were exams. A lot of people who were initiated had never done that level of intellectual work. They had no idea how to set about it, and no training in the concentrated attention required. It was not his fault, but Joe Dunckley will have been one of them. The magical work of the GD was also all in the western occult tradition: that was what the Order had been founded to do. If your preference was for eastern esotericism, the GD was not the right place for you; and most of Bradford's group of theosophists soon realised that.

A group led by Pattinson, Williams and Joe Dunckley split off from Bradford Lodge to form Athene Lodge in 1893. Then the TS worldwide was torn apart by a dispute about who if anyone should have access to Blavatsky's Mahatmas now that she was dead. The dispute and its outcomes led to many theosophists not renewing their membership of the TS in London. If he had any views on this bitter debate-cum-power-struggle, which led to the American lodges breaking away from the rest of the world, Dunckley was able to be broad-minded in its aftermath: in 1896 a group from the independent American TS, led by Katherine Tingley toured Europe as part of a new theosophical crusade (they even called themselves The Crusaders). Some English theosophists refused to meet them, but when the group arrived in Bradford, Joe Dunckley was among those who went to the Pattinsons' house to have tea with them.

It might have been possible for Bradford to support two theosophical lodges had it not been for the wider dispute, which became very public late in 1895. As it was, both lodges struggled for members and direction. They amalgamated in 1902 and the lodge set up in that year still exists.

Joe Dunckley doesn't seem to have been an active member of the reconstituted Bradford Lodge, though he continued to be a member of the TS in London until 1909. 1909 was another year in which a lot of TS members dropped out following the election of Annie Besant as the TS's president, a post she was going to hold for life. She had never made any secret of her preference for Hindu mysticism rather than Buddhism. Many members didn't want the TS to go in that direction and Joe Dunckley may have been one of them - he sent in a formal resignation from the TS in February 1909. However, he might just have decided to call it a day because of his age: he was now 77 and perhaps not in good health.

Joe Dunckley died in 1912; despite a life of physical labour and with its share of grief, he had managed to make it until he was almost 80.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I don't think the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web now (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which people who also joined the GD are mentioned and the relationships between them brought out very well. The History was last updated in April 2012 with a full list of members, at least up until 1941.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JOSEPH DUNCKLEY and the DUNKLEYS

The Great Fire of Warwick 1691 by Michael Farr, published by the Dugdale Society 1992 p456 refers to a Samuel Dunckley.

Deep Roots, Living Branches: A History of Baptists... by Alan Betteridge published 2010 p66 has a reference to people called Dunckley living in Warwick in 1698.

The Dunkley family at genforum.genealogy.com, postings 1999-2010 about the Warwick/Bradford branch who went to Australia. Mention is made in one of the postings to members

of this family working in the woollen mills in Bradford. The forenames mentioned in the postings at genforum are Henry, James and John. A Henry Dunkley baptised 1818 in Warwick married Emma Hill in Bradford Yorkshire in 1839; they had a large family, all of whom emigrated to Victoria. A John Dunkley and his family went to Australia in 1856.

ITALIAN LINING - ALFRED PRIESTMAN AND CO

The Art Journal volume 47 1895 p25 a snippet that was part of an article on new textiles. Italian lining is nothing to do with Italy, despite its name. It was made at the Saltaire Mills; and also by Alfred Priestman and Co of Brick Lane Mills Bradford.

America's Textile Reporter volume 12 1898 p879 snippet saying that Italian lining was used to line worsted coating.

The Annual Monitor...Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland issue of 1911 p134 obituary of Alfred Priestman. He'd been born in Malton Yorkshire in 1831, a son of Joshua and Jane Priestman, of a noted Quaker family. He had founded Alfred Priestman and Co with his brother John, in Bradford in 1851 and been active in it until retiring in 1889. He'd been a life-long Liberal, peace and temperance campaigner. He'd been chairman of Bradford's local School Board from its formation.

By 1900 the Priestmans were running several woollen mills in Bradford; and Alfred's brother John had a separate business:

Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry volume 22 1903 p852 mentions a current firm H B Priestman and Co of Brick Lane Mills.

Labour Gazette volume 25 issued by the Ministry of Labour 1917 p549 lists A Priestman and Co Ltd of Brick Lane Mills Bradford.

Who Owns Whom 1979 p354 Brick Lane Mills were still operative but as I R A Ickringill and Co Ltd.

Stationary Steam Engines of GB: Volume 10 The National Photographic Collection, by George Watkins. Landmark Publications 2005. This book gives the location of Brick Lane Mills as Thornton Road Bradford; there are a lot of other industrial companies in that road.

John Priestman seems to be more well-known than Alfred, eg at www.gracesguide.co.uk a website on British Industrial History, which has an entry for John Priestman and Co (Bradford), registered as a company in 1892, but nothing for Alfred.

Histories of Manningham, Heaton and Allerton by William Cudsworth. Published Bradford: W Cudsworth 1896 by which time John Priestman is dead. p59 John Priestman had owned the Ashfield Mills, also in Brick Lane. They are now run by his son Edward. P2 John Priestman had in his later years lived in a house called Whetley, in Manningham. I noticed streetmap has a Whetley Road near Thornton Road which is the B6145 out of Bradford town centre.

The records of John Priestman and Co are now in West Yorkshire Archive; they cover up to 1971.

Wikipedia on the Old Age Pensions Act 1908. Asquith as prime minister; Lloyd George as chancellor of the exchequer.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

I went through the Theosophical Society Membership Registers for the years from 1888 to 1901. They are held at the TS headquarters building in Gloucester Place London W1.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume X March-August 1892, edited by Annie Besant. Volume X no 55 issue of 15 March 1892 p80 news section has a report sent in by John Midgley on the annual meeting of Bradford Lodge which had been held on Wednesday 10 February [1892]. Midgley named the Lodge's officers for the coming year: Oliver Firth would be president with Thomas H Pattinson as his vice-president and John Midgley himself doing both treasurer and secretary. The other council members included these people who all joined the Golden Dawn at one time: Frank Harrison, Joe Dunckley, Thomas Wilson, Mrs Pattinson (Eliza) and Mrs Firth (Florence). The lodge's official contact at TS head office was Isabel Cooper-Oakley.

Found on the web, and purporting to be Lucifer volume XI no 1 but issued in April 1896 and so cannot be that volume number: I'm confused about this but the content seems genuine enough: coverage of the visit to England of a group of American theosophists led by Katherine Tingley; p132-33

11 December 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Edward Jonathan Dunn who was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford Yorkshire in September 1889. He took the Latin motto 'altiora peto' (of which a little more below). He did start out on the learning necessary to make progress in the Order, and took one of the exams; but then let the work lapse for several years before resigning formally during 1894.

Edward Jonathan Dunn was based not in Bradford but in York. He was descended on both sides from farmers in the Vale of York, the kind of people who in Tudor England would have been referred to as yeomen: the backbone of the rural community, by late Victorian England under considerable pressure from developments in farming and transport technology elsewhere.

I've been very lucky with Edward Jonathan, to find a family history website at www.stableshistory.co.uk, based on original documents put together into a dossier by Edward Jonathan's grand-father William Stables and handed on in due course to Edward Jonathan's sister Annie Maude. All my potted history of Edward Jonathan's family comes from this and I refer you to it for more information on his relatives.

William Stables' youngest daughter Charlotte married Jonathan Dunn in June 1861. Jonathan Dunn owned farms at Stillingfleet and Kelfield, villages south of York near where the River Wharf flows into the River Ouse; and also some land further east at Beswick, north of

Beverley. He farmed his own land - that is to say, he didn't rent it all out to tenant-farmers. He kept up with developments in farming via his membership of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, to which he was elected in 1870.

Jonathan and Charlotte Dunn had three sons and three daughters: George William, born 1862; Charlotte Elizabeth (Lottie) born 1863; Annie Maud born 1865; Edward Jonathan born 1867; Harold Stables born 1869; and Emily Blanche born 1870. The family moved backwards and forwards between two farm-houses that were on their land, Stillingfleet House, and Kelfield Lodge just north-east of Kelfield village. The family were Methodists, and in due course Jonathan and Charlotte's sons were sent away to Wesley College near Sheffield. Wesley College had been founded in 1804 with the intention of giving an education based on the principles of Methodism but also including a thorough grounding in the Classics, the kind of Latin-and-Greek education available at the older public schools. Edward Jonathan was a pupil at Wesley College on the day of the 1881 census.

Under normal circumstances, a younger son would not expect to inherit the family land; and in fact Edward Jonathan never did so. However, the oldest son George William, never farmed the family land either, according to the Stables family history he went to Australia and died there, around 1895. The youngest son, Harold, also left the farm: he went to train with Edward J Hasselby, who ran his own business as a pharmacist. Edward Hasselby was living in Hastings by 1891 but he had been born in Goole Yorkshire and was probably well-known or even related to the Dunns. By 1891, Edward Jonathan was the only one of Jonathan Dunn's sons still to be living at home. Although the census official didn't note down any occupation for him, he won't have been able to be idle. He would have had to have been helping his father run the various farms, and - at the same time and on-the-job (the normal way, at that time) - learning the rudiments of surveying and land valuation which became his occupation later. What the census official probably had in mind, in leaving the occupation/source of income box blank, was that Edward Jonathan was not a waged worker in the sense that the census meant. The Dunns were comfortably off at this point, employing a cook as well as a housemaid and the men who worked outdoors on the farm. But Jonathan Dunn died in 1892, aged only 58. Charlotte and Edward Jonathan took over the running of the farms between them.

Edward Jonathan Dunn joined both the Theosophical Society and the Order of the Golden Dawn, though I am not sure in which order because his membership record at the TS didn't give the date on which he had joined. This absence of a joining date usually denotes someone who had been a member from the earliest days of the TS in England, in the mid-1880s, before its record-keeping had become systematic; so I'll assume Edward Jonathan conforms to that, though he does seem rather young. He may have joined the TS because of its early interest in western occult traditions; it wasn't until Colonel Olcott and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky went to India in the early 1880s that their thinking veered towards eastern esotericism. In the mid-1880s, the only place the TS held any formal meetings was at its headquarters in Regent's Park London. I suggest that Edward Jonathan did go to London and meet some of the TS members, because someone put him in touch with a group of men living in Bradford who were interested in eastern and western esotericism; and the 'someone' is most likely to have been William Wynne Westcott, who was a member of the TS by the mid-1880s and also knew Thomas Pattinson of Bradford through freemasonry and the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia. Perhaps I should say here that Edward Jonathan Dunn never became a freemason himself.

There is one other route by which Edward Jonathan Dunn might have met occultists and theosophists in Bradford: in 1828 one of his mother's aunts had married a man called John Midgley. A younger John Midgley was an important figure in the TS's Bradford Lodge in the 1890s and was also initiated into the Golden Dawn. However, I haven't been able to prove that Edward Jonathan Dunn and John Midgley were related, however distantly; and they may not have known each other until they met through their common interest in esotericism.

Edward Jonathan was initiated into the GD's Horus Temple very soon after Westcott and Mathers gave Thomas Pattinson and his fellow occultists in Bradford permission to found an offshoot temple there. However, Edward Jonathan soon seems to have decided to concentrate on theosophy. Before I leave go of his brief flirtation with the GD, I just want to say a word about the motto Edward Jonathan chose. 'Altiora peto' - which can be translated as 'I seek higher things' - expresses the kind of noble sentiment which is typical of GD mottoes and was chosen by another GD initiate several years after Edward Jonathan had resigned. There's no real need to seek for any deeper reason why a new recruit might opt for it. However, 'Altiora Peto' was also the title of a novel published in 1883 whose author was Laurence Oliphant, an Englishman who was for a time a member of a community called the Brotherhood of the New Life, founded in the USA by Thomas Lake Harris. Thomas Lake Harris had started out as a Christian preacher but his views had rapidly become too unorthodox for Christianity to contain them: as a poet and millennialist visionary, he argued that Mankind was on the threshold of moving up to a new level of existence. His writings were much discussed by members of the Golden Dawn in the early 1890s, though some members seem to have misunderstood Harris' view that relations between man and wife should be mystical rather than sexual. Edward Jonathan could certainly have come across Harris and Oliphant through the GD. However, he also had a sister with very utopian views (see below) and she may have brought Oliphant's book to his attention.

Having decided that his spiritual way forward was via theosophy rather than western occultism, Edward Jonathan got together a group of like-minded friends and gained permission from the TS's London headquarters to found a lodge in York. He was the new lodge's first secretary, and one of the busiest sponsors of new members in the period 1892 to 1895, starting with his younger brother Harold who was recruited despite giving an address in St Leonard's-on-Sea (Sussex); and Harry Banbery, who was living at Toynbee Hall in London's East End (see the Sources section below for more on Toynbee Hall). Harold Dunn and Harry Banbery probably didn't attend many meetings but Edward Jonathan also recruited members who lived in York itself who could commit themselves to attending meetings regularly, leading discussions and giving papers. I haven't been able to discover very much about how York Lodge was affected by the split that developed in the TS worldwide, in 1894-95, over who if anyone should now be receiving messages from Blavatsky's Mahatmas, now that she was dead. I could see from the TS Membership Registers that recruitment of new members fell noticeably after 1895; but that was true throughout England. Edward Jonathan was a member of Blavatsky Lodge in London around 1898, and Bradford Lodge around 1910, but this may just be because of changes in his own life rather than the demise of York Lodge.

Although theosophy was an important leisure-time pursuit for Edward Jonathan he had also become a member of the Yorkshire Dialect Society by 1899. This effort to collect local words and phrases before they were lost to history began in 1894 with a speech by the remarkable Professor Joseph Wright. Wright (1855-1930) had been born in Idle on the outskirts of Bradford. Completely self-taught while working as a mill hand for Titus Salt amongst others, he eventually became an academic at Oxford University. The idea of an

English Dialect Dictionary was entirely his and he even paid for its publication himself when none of the publishing firms would take it on. The YDS, which still exists, contributed 350,000 words and phrases to the dictionary. Volunteers would go out into the villages and note down Yorkshire usage in the same way composers like Grainger and Vaughan Williams went out into rural areas to hear and write down old folk songs.

The farmhouse at Kelfield must have seen some pretty lively debates, in the 1890s, for Edward Jonathan's sisters also had intellectual interests, although none of them joined either the TS or the GD. Emily Blanche submitted some literary criticism to the radical women's magazine *Atalanta* that won her one of its readers' scholarships in 1894. Charlotte Elizabeth - Lottie - joined the Fabian Society in 1894 and the Sanitary Institute in 1895 (the SI was more about legislation and social work practice than plumbing and sewage; it renamed itself the Royal Society for Public Health in 1910). I wish I knew more about Lottie: around 1898 she left her family and went to join another experiment in social engineering, the Whiteway House colony, which had just been founded near Stroud in Gloucestershire. This was not a Brotherhood of the New Life; the only such community in the UK was in Glasgow. The Whiteway House colony was trying to put into practice the philosophical ideas of Tolstoy, as published in his *A Confession* of 1879 and other works. Lottie was in her mid-30s when she left Kelfield, and knew her own mind, but this was still a very unusual thing for a single, middle-class woman to do in the 1890s. In 1899 she married one of the colony's founders, the crusading Quaker journalist Samuel Veale Bracher, who was 12 years her junior. As far as I can tell, they did not have any children; which may have been intentional. Annie Maud's husband was also far younger than she - in 1900 she married Arthur Drover, who ran his own fruit-farm at Great Baddow Essex. They adopted a daughter, Phyllis.

Despite his being surrounded by so much revolutionary thinking, Edward Jonathan Dunn's own life continued on a course that was outwardly conservative, perhaps dictated by his awareness that he was his mother's only support in the running of the farms. On the day of the 1901 census only Charlotte Dunn and Edward Jonathan were still living at Kelfield Lodge. It was a very reduced household - apart from the Dunns there was one housemaid and a poultry boy. It wasn't for another three years that anyone else came to join them at the farm: in the summer of 1904, Edward Jonathan Dunn married Ella Mary Browne.

I haven't been able to find out anything much about Ella Mary Browne's father, George Walter Browne; but I think he must be the man of that name who published two short plays and a book of poetry, around 1880. George Walter Browne and Ellen Phillis Wilberforce were married in York in 1878. They quickly had three daughters: Edith in 1879 and Ella Mary in 1880, both born in York; and Millicent 1882 who was born in Hammersmith. I couldn't find any publications by George Walter Browne after the poetry of 1880; and I could only find Ellen and her daughters on subsequent censuses. On the other hand, I couldn't find a death registration for George Walter Browne that I was satisfied with. I can only say that he was definitely dead by 1906 when Ellen Browne married again; and that Ellen Browne and her daughters had moved back to York by 1891, so that was where Ella Mary grew up.

It's likely that Edward Jonathan met Ella Mary through her sister Millicent, who joined the TS's York Lodge. Ella Mary didn't join the TS until after she was married. Both Ella Mary's sisters were earning their own living in 1901, as teachers; but Ella Mary was away, outside the UK, on the day of the 1901 census, so I don't know whether she worked before her marriage. She does seem to have gone to live at Kelfield Lodge after she and Edward Jonathan were married; but she had always lived in cities and had no experience of running a

farm; I think this was an important factor in the decision-making of the next few years.

Edward Jonathan's marriage came at the beginning of three traumatic years for the Dunn family, with very happy events coinciding with tragedies almost to the day. In 1905 the birth of Edward Jonathan and Ella Mary's first child, Alfred, came within three months of the death of Edward Jonathan's literary sister Emily. In 1906 the death of Edward Jonathan's brother Harold came just before the birth of Edward Jonathan's second son, who was named Eric Harold to commemorate him. A few months later, Ella Mary's mother married again, but her new husband, Alfred Waddington, died late in 1907. And in 1907 the question of the future of the Dunn family farms became an urgent one, when Charlotte Dunn's first cousin, Richard Skilbeck, came back from Australia to claim the bride he had been denied fifty years before. Charlotte Dunn married Richard Skilbeck in September 1907 and returned with him to his ranch at Koroit, Victoria.

The farm based at Kelfield Lodge still exists, but the Dunns had all left it by the time of Charlotte's second marriage: Ella Mary and Edward Jonathan had decided that for Edward Jonathan to make a new career from his skills at land valuation was better than carrying on at the farm in difficult times. They may have seen Charlotte's decision to remarry as a blessed release. By 1911 they were living in Bilton Lane Harrogate; Harrogate had a very active TS lodge. In 1917 they were founder-members of Bradford's Minerva TS Lodge, with Fanny Isabel Clayton who had also been a member of the GD. Then they moved to Middlesbrough where Edward Jonathan Dunn worked as a Valuer for the Inland Revenue, from offices in Midland Bank Chambers Albert Road. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors in 1912.

Readers may have noticed a sad theme in this potted history of the Dunn family. Charlotte Dunn lived until she was nearly 80, dying in October 1922 at Koroit; but her husband and three of her children all died young. Three of Edward Jonathan's siblings didn't reach 40, and although he did live long enough to see his two sons as teenagers, he didn't escape the family fate entirely; he outlived his mother by less than four years, dying on 6 March 1926 aged 58.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I don't think the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived either, but there's a history of the TS in Bradford on the web (though originally written in 1941) at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm in which a lot of the same people who joined the GD are mentioned. The History was last updated in April 2012 with a full list of members at least up to 1941; both Edward Jonathan and Ella Mary Dunn were members; though Ella Mary

seems only to have joined after she married.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR EDWARD JONATHAN DUNN

FAMILY HISTORY OF THE STABLES, SKILBECKS AND DUNNS at www.stableshistory.co.uk. It's compiled by T B Dunn from The Notices of the Stables Family, handed on to him by Annie Maud Drover. The Notices are based on title deeds, entries in family bibles - the sources couldn't be better. Seen 7 December 2012.

The story of the second marriage of Charlotte Dunn was told to T B Dunn by Annie Maud Drover: Richard Skilbeck had wanted to marry Charlotte, but their mutual grandfather Richard Skilbeck, who was Charlotte's guardian until she reached 21, forbade it on grounds of consanguinity. Richard went off to Australia and settled at Koroit in Victoria; in due course he became a wealthy landowner there. He died in 1924 at Koroit. In December 2012 I looked up Koroit on the web and noticed quite a few burials of people called Skilbeck; so it looks as though Richard Skilbeck had been married before when he came back to England for Charlotte.

At www.visitkoroit.com.au there's a booklet Koroit Heritage Trail, with drawings of some very nice buildings from the mid-19th century onwards. The town also has a botanical garden and is connected to the rest of the world by train; so Charlotte wasn't going miles into the Outback. R Skilbeck is mentioned in connection with two houses in the town. The first you reach when taking the Heritage Trail is Old Hillcrest, built in 1910 (for Charlotte). The next notable building beyond it is The Pines, Skilbeck's first house at Koroit, built c 1860 but much altered since.

Wikipedia on Koroit: the name is from the Aborigine tribe whose land it is on.

JONATHAN DUNN

A reference to the house at Stillingfleet still being a residence of Jonathan Dunn, is in

Bulmer's Directory for 1892 transcribed at www.genuki.org.uk: Stillingfleet House, Stillingfleet-with-Moreby.

Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England 1879 piv in a list of members, Jonathan Dunn of Kelfield Lodge York.

The Farmer's Magazine 1871 p315 he had been elected to Royal Agricultural Society within the previous year.

EDWARD JONATHAN DUNN IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

For details of his membership, such as they were: Theosophical Society Membership Registers for the period 1888 to 1901, held at the TS headquarters building in Gloucester Place London W1.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIV covering March-August 1894 with Annie Besant as editor. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XIV no 82 issued 15 June 1894 p347 news section: Annie Besant had been on a lecture tour of northern England. She had given a talk at York Lodge on 11 May [1894]. E J Dunn is named as York Lodge's secretary; he'd probably organised the talk.

Toynbee Hall still exists, on the site where it was built, which is now in the London borough of Tower Hamlets: www.toynbeehall.org.uk. The germ of the idea came into being in 1873 when the Rev Samuel Barnett and his wife Henrietta refused an easy parish in favour of an East End one. They developed the idea that the future political and social elite of the Empire should spend time in the East End meeting the general population and building up an understanding of how the poor lived that would influence their professional lives; and that they should pay to do so. Toynbee Hall opened in 1884 as a charity with the twin aims of ending poverty and extending social inclusion (two ideals just as relevant today) and was named after the Barnetts' colleague Arnold Toynbee.

ALTIORA PETO AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE NEW LIFE

For further information on Thomas Lake Harris and Laurence Oliphant, see *A Prophet and a Pilgrim* by Herbert W Schneider and George Lawton. New York: Columbia University Press 1942. Schneider and Lawton used Oliphant's novel in preparing the biography: p563.

The other GD initiate who chose the motto 'altiora peto' was Eliza Augusta Vennor Morris, in 1899. It's possible that she and Edward Jonathan Dunn knew each other during the 1890s, not through the GD but through the Theosophical Society.

Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society volume 1 no 21 1899 issued by the Society; p71 presumably in a list of members: E J Dunn of Kelfield.

THE DUNN SISTERS

Atalanta volume 7 1894 p353 gives a list of scholarships awarded. £20 for each of the next two years had been given to Emily Blanche Dunn of Kelfield Lodge.

Wikipedia on Atalanta magazine: it was founded especially for young women readers by L T

Mead, who was also its first editor. It was published from 1887 to 1898. It quickly made a name for itself with high-quality articles and fiction writing eg by F Hodgson Burnett, R L Stevenson, H R Haggard. It developed a tradition of literary criticism by both professional writers and by its readers. It encouraged its readers to aim high and take up (middle-class) careers eg in medicine and the civil service. Its editor 1894-96 was A Balfour Symington, who had been appointed by Meade.

Fabian Society (GB) list of members for the year 1894 p7 includes "Miss Lottie E Dunn" of Kelfield Lodge York.

Journal of the Sanitary Institute volume 15 1895 p78 Lottie Dunn has been a member since January 1894. From wikipedia: what is now the Royal Society for Public Health was called the Sanitary Institute from 1876-1909; it was an important influence on public health legislation, social work practice etc.

See wikipedia for Tolstoy's political and spiritual radicalism, based on his reading of Schopenhauer.

ELLEN BROWNE AND HER DAUGHTERS

Via familysearch to the registers of SS Martin and Gregory York: marriage of George Walter Browne to Ellen Phillis Wilberforce took place on 5 March 1878; both parties were 21. The baptisms of Edith 1879; and of Ella Mary in 1880 were in those registers; but the baptism of Millicent (1882) was not.

I think this is the correct George Walter Browne: details from the British Library catalogue and via googlebooks.

Hearts and Homes: A Comedy in 1 Act published York: Johnson and Tesseyman 1875.

Thalia: An Original Comedy-Drama published 1878 but there were no details of the publishing firm, so it may have been privately printed.

A Fairy Voyage and Other Poems published London: Remington and Co 1879. This volume is listed in Reilly's Mid-Victorian Poetry (published 2000) p63; it's the only item by this writer.

I couldn't find anything else published by this person; nor anything more about him in the normal places you would expect to get information on authors. I checked freebmd and familysearch for a death registration: couldn't find any with the full name 1881-1900; there might be one as only George Browne but I couldn't see one that convinced me, 1881-85.

EDWARD JONATHAN DUNN AS A SURVEYOR

London Gazette 3 October 1913 p6900 civil service promotions include E J Dunn to Junior Valuer Inland Revenue; by an Order in Council issued 10 January 1910.

Chartered Surveyor magazine issued by Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) p1923 p26 Edward Jonathan Dunn's current business address is Midland Bank Chambers, Albert Road Middlesbrough.

Transactions of the RICS 1924 p27 Edward Jonathan Dunn had been elected a Fellow of the RICS in October 1912.

13 December 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Arthur Dunn was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in December 1892, taking the Latin motto 'Vi superum'. At that time he was living at 46 Wandle Road Croydon. He did the study necessary to progress further, and was initiated into the 2nd, inner Order on 17 March 1894, but resigned from the GD a year later, in June 1895.

It's been hard to find out much about William Arthur Dunn, because he spent relatively little of his life in Britain. I found an obituary, which is the basis of this biography, but the obituary knows more about the last two decades of his life than the three.

William Arthur Dunn was born in 1866 in Hackney, then a suburb north of the City of London. His family emigrated to Canada while he was a child: they are not on the census of 1871, so they must have been in Canada by then. It means that I have no idea who his parents were, I don't even know their names, or whether he had any siblings.

Perhaps William Arthur Dunn came from a musical family, because he showed early promise as a musician and in 1879 (he was only 13) was appointed organist at Christ Church cathedral, Hamilton Ontario. At some point before 1885 he returned to England to take his music studies further. In February 1885 he became a student at the Royal Academy of Music, being recommended to the RAM by Joseph Percy Baker, also an organist and secretary of the Royal Musical Association. During the time he was a student, he was living in Hackney again - perhaps with relatives, or as a lodger in a district his family knew.

In 1887, he married Alice Dixon. On the 1891 census she is described as having been born in the Dalston district of Hackney, so perhaps their two families had known each other for a long time. Aged 21 when they married, both William Arthur and Alice were very young - Victorian couples usually married later in their twenties, so they could set themselves up financially. They then had two sons in quick succession: Hubert Arthur in 1887 and William Reginald - known as Rex - in 1888. This probably explains why, on the day of the 1891 census, William Arthur Dunn's main source of income was a job as a book-keeper. As far as I can see, he didn't work as a full-time musician while he was living in London.

William Arthur and Alice had begun their married life in Harringay, north London, but had moved to Wandle Road Croydon by 1891. There, William Arthur was offered work as a musician and he may actually have been paid for it, which must have pleased him: from 1892 to 1902 he was working as organist and choir master at the Unitarian Free Christian Church of Croydon, where the vicar was the Rev John Page Hopps, known at the time for his attempts to bring together Unitarianism and Spiritualism. Once they had established themselves in Croydon, firstly William Arthur and later Alice got involved in the Theosophical Society (TS).

In my biographies of Herbert and Sidney Coryn (both TS members who went on to join the GD) I've talked quite a bit about how active they were in recruiting new members to the TS. William Arthur Dunn was one of those new members. He applied to join in July 1891 and Sidney Coryn and his sister Frances (also active in the TS but never a GD member) were his

sponsors. Sidney Coryn was just setting up a new TS lodge in Croydon, and William Arthur became one of its members, serving as its correspondence secretary in 1892-93, with Sidney as its president. Croydon Lodge was very active. There was a programme of fortnightly talks - one in September 1892 was on Medieval and Modern Sorcery, which may have been the trigger which led William Arthur to want to join the GD. There were also regular study evenings during which the members considered theosophical works like Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine* and Annie Besant's *Seven Principles of Man*. In 1893, William Arthur moved over to join Brixton Lodge instead, and served 1893-94 as correspondence secretary there at the same time as he was studying to be a magician of the GD. As well as being active in his local lodges, William Arthur also volunteered at several of London's Lotus Groups - the TS's equivalent to the Christian Sunday school - conducting their children's choirs.

It's likely that William Arthur was kept fully informed about the dispute that arose in 1894-95 in the TS, between William Quan Judge on the one side, and founder-member Colonel Olcott and Annie Besant on the other; because both Herbert Coryn and Sidney Coryn played big roles in it. I've dealt with the intricacies of the dispute in their biographies. In this biography I'll just say that although it was fought out on other issues, the argument was about the direction of the TS after Blavatsky's death (she had died in 1892) and who would be its leader. William Arthur Dunn did not take an active role in it. But when William Quan Judge lost the dispute, in 1895, and was censured by senior figures in the TS including the GD's William Wynn Westcott, William Arthur Dunn was one of the many people who resigned from the TS and had no further involvement in it. His resignation from the GD - coming at the same time - may have had the same cause. However, there may have been more personal reasons for cutting back on his involvement away from the family.

Alice Dunn had not been involved with the TS during the years in which her husband was very committed to it; but she joined it in January 1895 even as the Judge dispute was hotting up. I can't help wondering if her interest in theosophical issues had grown because she - and he - knew she was ill; because Alice died in the spring of 1896, aged only 30.

As well as his grief, William Arthur will have had to deal with the practical problems of being a working widower with two small boys. If he had been a wealthier man, he could have employed servants to take care of the house and children; or sent the boys away to school. The usual solution for a less well-off man would be for a female relative to move in to run the household and look after the children - but William Arthur may not have had many relations living in England. Perhaps someone was despatched from Canada to come to his rescue, but I don't actually know how William Arthur managed over the next five years.

One thing that he does seem to have done in late 1890s is get more involved with one particular local church: in 1897 a theosophical magazine mentioned that his having something to do with the English Labour Church movement - though unfortunately my source didn't say exactly what he was doing there. The Labour Church movement was a loose group of essentially independent local congregations, mostly led by people brought up as Nonconformists but who now felt that the leaders of Nonconformism were a bit too close to the Establishment and not worried enough about social issues. The nearest Labour Church to where William Arthur Dunn was living was Croydon's Brotherhood Church, founded by Rev William Jupp, who had been raised as a Calvinist and then spent time as a Congregationalist minister before coming under the influence of the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman. It seems to be a moot point exactly how Christian the beliefs of

an average Labour Church congregation were. Though most people who attended Labour Churches believed in immanentism (see the Sources section at the end of this biography) that wasn't just a Christian doctrine, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's The Secret Doctrine was based on it too (so William Arthur Dunn would have been very familiar with the concept). Labour Churches tended not to have a minister, just a chairman for their meetings. And many of them had close ties with the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation. So this was pretty radical stuff that William Arthur was getting himself involved with. However, in the end it didn't satisfy him and he returned to theosophy, committing himself to a revitalised idea of it coming out of the United States - universal brotherhood.

Universal brotherhood was the clarion call of Katherine Tingley, who began to rise to eminence after William Quan Judge died in 1896. As early as the summer of 1896 she and a group of companions - they called themselves 'Crusaders' - visited England as part of a world tour in which they gave talks explaining their vision and raised money for a theosophical community Mrs Tingley was setting up on land at Point Loma, just outside San Diego in southern California. William Arthur Dunn doesn't seem to have taken any part in the social events organised in 1896 for the Crusaders - it was too soon after Alice's death - but Herbert Coryn was involved in them and between 1896 and 1898 was one of universal brotherhood's most vocal champion in England. In 1898, Katherine Tingley became leader-for-life of the TS in the USA; its name and its constitution were changed to make universal brotherhood their central feature; and Herbert Coryn emigrated to America to work for the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society in New York. In 1900, Coryn went the whole hog and moved to Point Loma.

So William Arthur Dunn would have known a great deal about what was going on at Point Loma, and what Mrs Tingley and her supporters were trying to achieve there. By 1900 he had made up his mind: in that year, he travelled to California and installed Hubert at least, if not Rex as well, at Point Loma to continue their education there. He had not returned to England by the day of the 1901 census but he did come back for a time, to tidy up his affairs, before moving to Point Loma himself in 1902. He may have travelled out with Sidney Coryn, who also emigrated to the USA in 1902 (though Sidney never lived at Point Loma, he and his family settled in San Francisco).

What was Point Loma like? It seems to have had elements of university, of religious retreat and of township. People lived there full-time, but they were not tied to it, people came and went. Mrs Tingley never supposed that it would be self-sufficient, but it had a farm, orchards, a bakery and kept bees and residents were expected to contribute labour to all of these, whatever else they were qualified to do. There was a school for the children of the residents. The centrepiece of Mrs Tingley's vision for Point Loma was the Raja-Yoga College, which taught residents how they could live a life based on theosophical principles. However, later there was also a College of Antiquity, which trained people to teach theosophy; and a lecture-extension scheme explaining theosophy to people who knew nothing about it; and a publishing business producing journals and booklets. To pay for all this, residents did pottery and work with cloth - Point Loma's batik work became very well-known and it also had a business making school uniforms. There was a hospital and sanatorium, where Herbert Coryn worked in addition to being one of Point Loma's GP's.

For William Arthur Dunn, one of the main attractions of Mrs Tingley's ideas must have been the emphasis she placed on music and music-making as a part of everyday life: by 1913 Point Loma had an orchestra, a chorus, a string quartet and presumably lots of informal groups, and

was also training up composers, one of whom was William Arthur's son Rex. The Isis Conservatory was the centre of Point Loma's musical life. Moving to Point Loma enabled William Arthur to give to music all the time he'd had to give to being a book-keeper when he was living in London.

Immediately on settling at Point Loma for good, he joined the Conservatory's teaching staff. In 1904 he took charge of all the community's choral work and in the same year Mrs Tingley appointed him head of the Isis Conservatory and conductor of the orchestra.

It's a pity, but I haven't found any musical compositions by William Arthur Dunn, either in the British Library or mentioned on a website anywhere. I've found more by his son Rex.

In January 1906, William Arthur Dunn married again. His second wife was another resident of Point Loma, Ethelind Wood. Ethelind had come to Point Loma with her father, Lorin Francis Wood, who had founded Point Loma's hospital and worked there with Herbert Coryn. In 1900 she had been the first person to graduate from the Raja-Yoga College. Point Loma's junior school was founded the same year with Ethelind as its only teacher; in 1906 she was its headmistress. She could sing, and was sufficiently confident to sing solo at concerts: in 1905 she gave the first performance of a song written for her by Rex Dunn, the earliest composition by him that I could find any reference to. William Arthur and Ethelind did not have any children, but they adopted one child, possibly more - Point Loma had always taken in orphans.

I haven't found a specific reference to William Arthur Dunn going with Mrs Tingley, the orchestra and chorus, to a theosophical peace conference in Sweden in 1913; but if he was the orchestra's conductor he must have done so. After the peace conference, the whole group went to Holland where Mrs Tingley gave some lectures and the musicians some concerts. One of the pieces they played when they visited Arnhem was an Ode to Peace, with music by Rex Dunn and words by Katherine Tingley and another Point Loma resident, the Welsh poet and fantasy writer Kenneth Morris (whose brother Ronald had been in the Golden Dawn). Hubert was studying to be a theosophy teacher, at the Raja-Yoga College. In 1917 Hubert married yet another Point Loma resident, but he and his wife Emily left Point Loma in 1919.

William Arthur Dunn fell ill early in 1921 and died on 10 August, at Point Loma.

Ethelind Dunn stayed at Point Loma at least until 1929. She got married a second time, to Edwin Lambert.

HUBERT DUNN

I couldn't find any mention of him on the web so I don't know where he and Emily went, or what happened to them after they left Point Loma.

REX DUNN

Rex became a composer. He was rather feted at Point Loma. He was given the commission to compose the Ode to Peace; and had several of his works played during a recital by Dame

Nellie Melba in 1917, at her special request. He stayed on at Point Loma for several years after his father died - but then sound came to the movies.

By 1929, Rex had moved to Hollywood and was composing music for Warner Brothers. Imdb has got a comprehensive list of his film scores. The list covers 1929 to 1948; however, Rex didn't get his name on any film credits until the late 1940s. As well as composing, Rex did some conducting, and also some adaptation of scores already in existence for Warner Brothers' purposes. The most notable of Rex's adaptations was the score of the 1929 version of *The Desert Song*, from original music by Sigmund Romberg. The film had very high production values - not only sound, but also several sequences in technicolour, and Myrna Loy at the outset of her long career.

Rex Dunn died in 1959.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR WILLIAM ARTHUR DUNN

The main one is his obituary, published in Point Loma's journal The Theosophical Path volume 21 number 4, issue of October 1921 p407. The Theosophical Path was edited by Katherine Tingley.

ONTARIO

Wikipedia on Christ Church Hamilton: the church is on James Street North. The diocese of Hamilton was created in 1875. Its first bishop was Canadian-born Thomas Brock Fuller (1810-84).

WILLIAM ARTHUR DUNN'S MUSICAL TRAINING

By email 16 April 2012 from the Choral Library, Royal Academy of Music, quoting the RAM's Student Register. William Arthur Dunn started at the RAM in February 1885 aged 19; he was living in Hackney at that time. He had been recommended as a potential student by Mr Percy Baker.

PERCY BAKER:

Macmillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians by Albert Ernest Wier. Published Macmillans 1938. On p104: J Percy Baker "English organist and writer on music" 1859-1930.

International Music Journals by Linda M Fidler and Richard S James. Greenwood Press 1990. Via google to p384 which is quoting the Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association volume 100 1973-74. On p7 there is an article by J Percy Baker FRAM on the RMA's first 50 years; at the time the article was written, Baker was the RMA's Secretary.

In British Library catalogue a few musical compositions by him: hymn settings, songs, piano pieces. And some books including: A Compend of Musical Knowledge for...Degree Candidates 1914.

MEMBER OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p238 entry for William Dunn. Application dated 3 July 1891, sponsors Sidney Coryn and (Sidney's sister) Frances Coryn. Subscription paid 1893-95; handwritten note across his record - "W G Judge". Address during membership: 46 Wandle Road Croydon.

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p241 membership application of Alice Dunn of 46 Wandle Road Croydon dated January 1895. Sidney Coryn is one of her sponsors.

William Arthur Dunn's obituary said that he was a personal student of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky; the date of his joining the TS suggests differently, and the assertion is also contradicted by this:

At www.theos-world.com, journal Theosophy World issue of February 1999. Contains an article: 40 Years at Headquarters: the Theosophical Society (the American one, that is), Point Loma California. By Iverson L Harris. It was originally a talk by Harris, given at Blavatsky Lodge in London on 10 May 1973. Harris had lived at Point Loma until 1946. During the talk Harris gave a list of 13 people originally from Britain, who'd played a large part in the development of the community at Point Loma. He divided the list into two: those who had known Blavatsky - which included Herbert Coryn; and those who hadn't - which included

WA Dunn. Hubert Dunn was also on the list.

WILLIAM ARTHUR DUNN AS A THEOSOPHY ACTIVIST: APPEARANCE IN LUCIFER

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine was published by the TS in London and was the most important British theosophical magazine during the early 1890s.

Volume XI September 1892-February 1893, editor Annie Besant. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society 7 Duke Street Adelphi London WC. Volume XI number 62 issued 15 October 1892: p169 news section. Report on Croydon Lodge which now had 35 members and assocs. It had been formed in July 1891. Thus far it had confined itself to lectures each fortnight but now it was going to have a series of study evenings: a group had been formed 27 September [1892] to study Besant's Seven Principles of Man and Blavatsky's The Secret Doctrine. On 6 September [1892] Jessie Horne had given "an interesting lecture on Yoga"; and p170 W R Old had lectured on Medl and Modern Sorcery, on 20 Sep [1892]. Report prepared and sent to Lucifer by William A Dunn as Croydon Lodge's correspondence secretary.

7 April 2013: Jessie Horne was the sister-in-law of Sidney and Herbert Coryn. She was secretary of Brixton TS Lodge.

WILLIAM ARTHUR DUNN'S ONLY PUBLISHED WRITINGS ON THEOSOPHY; all in Point Loma's The Theosophical Path, which Katherine Tingley edited and which is on the web at www.scribd.com and via [googlebooks](http://googlebooks.com):

- * Volume 21 1921 an article which may be by him (the snippet wasn't clear on that): Thought-Power of Ancient Egypt.
- * Unnumbered volume covering July to October 1932 p228: Executive Thought.
- * Volume 54 number 4 April 1933 p538: Constructive Tendencies of Thought, which may be a Part II of the article published 1932

LABOUR CHURCH MOVEMENT

At www.scribd.com there's full text of Theosophy the US-based magazine: volume XII number 1 April 1897 p30 says that "Brother Dunn" of Croydon had come to the notice of the Labour Church movement. There was no more information on what about him had caught the Labour Church's eye.

My modern source for the Labour Church movement is via

www.escholarship.org/uc/item/8v38w3wj, a site run by University of California. There's an article by Mark Bevir of the University of California at Berkeley, published originally in the Journal of British Studies volume 38 number 2 April 1999: the Labour Church Movement 1891-1902. Besides giving the details I've used in the biography, Bevir makes two points that I think are important:

1) p7: the Labour Church was one of many attempts to reconcile Darwin (I'd say Lyell as well) with belief in Christianity. Those who attended Labour Churches (I don't think you can call them followers) emphasised the importance of immanentism: that God is in the world, not above/out of/beyond it; and that Evolution of species could be taken as evidence of this (not a denial of it).

2) p13-29: the Labour Church flourished only briefly - by as early as 1902 it was running out

of impetus, for a number of reasons that Bevir details.

Via google I found a larger work by Mark Bevir: *The Making of British Socialism* published 2011; on p254 says Rev William Jupp founded “a free religious movement in Croydon” around 1890 which merged with the Brotherhood Church in the district around 1892.

CROYDON'S UNITARIAN CHURCH

For John Page Hopps see:

www.le.ac.uk/litandphil/presidents the website of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society.

And www.croydonunitarians.org.uk/history/html

He appears in *Lucifer* but after Dunn had left the TS:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XXI September 1897 to February 1898, edited by Annie Besant and G R S Mead. Publishing details as above. In Volume XXI number 124 issued 15 December 1897 there's advance notice p292 of the International Spiritualist Congress which would be held in London 19-24 June 1898. On the first evening J Page Hopps would lead a religious service.

A bit more on Hopps from *The Great Secret and its Unfoldment in Occultism* by a CofE Clergyman. London: George Redway 1895. Anonymous author is widely thought to be Rev Charles Maurice Davies, whose wife Jane Anna was in the Golden Dawn. On p307 in a Postscript to the book, author says that he attended a spiritualist conference held in London either in 1894 or 1895 after many years spent out of spiritualist circles. P309 Rev John Page Hopps was the preacher at the opening session of the conference. Author describes Hopps on p312 as had being more successful in his efforts to link spiritualism and Unitarianism than the author had been trying to put spiritualism and Anglicanism together.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XI 1895 p613 shows that John Page Hopps was an associate member, at Oak Tree House, South Norwood Hill. W A Dunn was not a member of the Society during the period I checked this out, between 1882 and 1900.

THEOSOPHICAL COMMUNITY AT POINT LOMA

Via googlebooks to an advert for a replacement for W A Dunn at Croydon's Unitarian Church: *Musical Times* volume 43 1902 p687 in the jobs' column, there was one for an organist/choirmaster at the Free Christian Church in Croydon. Salary £30, apply to the vicar.

My best source for Point Loma:

The Point Loma Community in California 1897-1942: A Theosophical Experiment. By Emmett A Greenwalt 1955: Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Greenwalt used Point Loma's own archives, local government records from San Diego, local papers, and accounts of Point Loma by people who had lived there.

Another modern source is:

The Dawn of a New Cycle: Point Loma Theosophists and American Culture by W Michael Ashcraft. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press 2002.

For Kenneth Morris:

Lloyd Alexander, Evangeline Walton Ensley and Kenneth Morris: A Primary and Secondary Bibliography by Kenneth J Zahorski, Robert H Boyer. In the Masters of Science Fiction and Fantasy series. Boston Mass: G K Hall and Co 1981.

ETHELIND WOOD DUNN

The History of Woodstock Connecticut volume 3 by Clarence Winthrop Bowen. Published American Antiquarian Society 1930; p100 in list of noted people born in the town; Susan Ethelind Wood b 1881 daughter of Lorin Francis Wood MD. She married 1 January 1906 William Arthur Dunn. No biological children but adopted Gertrude Wood Dunn who was born 25 December 1906. William Arthur Dunn's DOB is given as 12 February 1866; there's no source for the information but it might have come from Ethelind herself.

Via google to The Theosophical Path couldn't see a volume number but it covers 1929 p89 Ethelind is Mrs Lambert now and has become director of the Raja-Yoga College.

The Dawn of a New Cycle: Point Loma Theosophists and American Culture by W Michael Ashcraft. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press 2002. P99 is the basis for my account of Ethelind Wood; her second husband was Edwin Lambert of Boston.

Familysearch did not have records of the marriage of William Arthur Dunn to Ethelind Wood; nor of William Arthur Dunn's death. I've noticed it's not very good on California information.

HUBERT ARTHUR DUNN

Via web to Tingley's Plea to Abolish Capital Punishment addressed to the Governor of California at Sacramento and dated 2 April 1914. Hubert Dunn is first on list of signatories.

Via googlebooks to The Theosophical Path volume covering January 1917-February 1918. On p214 there's a short report on a ceremony on 11 December 1917 at Point Loma in which twelve residents married including Hubert Dunn and Emily Young.

Hubert = son of W A Dunn of the Isis Conservatory of Music. Hubert was a student of divinity at Point Loma's School of Antiquity, training to be a teacher

Emily = daughter of H B Young and his wife. Emily had been a student at the Raja-Yoga School for several years.

The Dawn of a New Cycle: Point Loma Theosophists and American Culture by W Michael Ashcraft. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press 2002. P100 about Hubert and Emily leaving Point Loma 1919.

WILLIAM REGINALD DUNN called REX

At www.worldcat.org: the Ode to Peace was published by the Aryan Theosophical Press at Point Loma in 1914. Music by Rex Dunn, words by Kenneth Morris and Katherine Tingley.

Via googlebooks to The Theosophical Path January-June 1922 p197-98: a translation of an

article originally in Dutch and originally published on 27 August 1913 in Nieuwe Arnhemsche Courant.

The Point Loma Community in California 1897-1942: A Theosophical Experiment. By Emmett A Greenwalt 1955: Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. On p106: Nellie Melba's visits to Point Loma. Greenwalt's sources for them are the San Diego Union 8 March 1917; and The Theosophical Path volume XII April 1917: p429.

REX COMPOSES FILM MUSIC

See www.imdb.com for what looks like a pretty complete list of the films which have his music in. Imdb gives full DOB as 28 October 1888 in Croydon; DOD is 25 May 1959 Los Angeles.

Film Composers in America: A Filmography 1911-70 by Clifford McCarty 2000. On p14 a reference Rex Dunn and others as "staff composers" at Warners at the time of the transition to sound ie 1928-31. Warners' music archives are now at the University of Southern California, which is on the site once occupied by the Point Loma community.

Sigmund Romberg by William A Everett and Geoffrey Holden Block 2007. On p262 in the chapter Romberg in Hollywood, Rex Dunn named as the adaptor of music by Romberg for a film of the play The Desert Song.

Dunn did some music for one early film by Howard Hawks: Award-Winning Films of the 1930s by John Reid 2004; pp58-59: film is The Dawn Patrol, 1930 by First National Pictures of New York. I can't understand why it's listed in this book as author says it wasn't a good film and didn't win any awards!

7 April 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

James Madison Durand and his wife Theodosia Durand were initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 28 February 1894. They chose mottoes which probably reflected an interest in the Kabbalah: his was 'Judah', her's

was 'En hakkore'. The Durands were not intending to stay in London: they moved to Paris and became members of the GD's Ahathoor temple there. They were both initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order in June 1895. Later, both their GD records were marked 'away'.

This is one of my short biographies. I'm sure there's more information on the Durands out there somewhere, but it will be in France, the United States, possibly even in México... This is what I have found out about JAMES MADISON DURAND and his wife THEODOSIA DURAND, née Moore, without doing all that exciting but expensive foreign travel.

Sally Davis

March 2016

IN THE GD

Two other people were initiated in the same ceremony as the Durands - George Rowell and Mary Eliza Haweis. George Rowell was an anaesthetist and I don't suppose the Durands had met him before, but they may have known Mrs Haweis. Mary Eliza Haweis, née Joy, had been born into a family of artists. She was not a painter herself, however, so much as a writer about dress, interior design and (good) taste. Magazine articles by her were published regularly in the USA. I imagine the Durands did at least know her name and may even have been introduced to her by 1894.

Once initiated, the Durands began to race through the study programme necessary to be eligible for the GD's inner, 2nd Order. They were not always discreet. When teaching some of their new acquaintances numerology, especially its use in the Kabbalah, they said they had got their knowledge by being members of a secret cult - which was strictly against the rules of the Order. They got carried away, I suppose.

Their friend Max Dauthendey said of them that they regarded their trip to Europe as necessary for their spiritual as well as their artistic well-being: you can see their initiation as GD members as a part of that experience.

Sources:

For the Durands as members of the Ahathoor Temple: R A Gilbert *The Golden Dawn Companion* p39.

For Mary Eliza Haweis, see ODNB volume 25 p873. The Durands may have known some of her books:

1877 *The Art of Beauty*

1879 *The Art of Dress*

1881, reprinted 1889 *The Art of Decoration*

1882 *Beautiful Houses*.

The German author and painter Max Dauthendey learned from the Durands at least that the GD existed - though he may not have known its name:

Max Dauthendey: *Poet-Philosopher* by Herman George Wendt. Volume 2 part 1 AMS Press

1966 p38 footnote 23.

There's a page on Dauthendey in wikipedia: 1867-1918.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

They were interested in the Kabbalah, probably from before they joined the GD. They were not members of the Theosophical Society; at least, not in England; and James Madison Durand was not a freemason as far as I can see.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No, not of either of them.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

JAMES MADISON DURAND

I haven't been able to identify him for certain but I feel he must be a member of the Durand family of Newark New Jersey, skilled artists, engravers and jewellery-makers. Perhaps he was a grandson of James Madison Durand 1813-95 who was a partner in Newark's silversmithing firm Baldwin and Durand from 1845-52 and also (in 1838) the founder of jewellery-makers Durand and Co.

I found several men named James Madison Durand on Familysearch, but wasn't convinced that any of them were the GD member. The one who looked least unlikely was the son of Elias and Susan Durand, born in 1843. BUT there was a snag about him: in 1865 he married Catharine Kelly. I suppose she could have died and he married Theodosia as a second wife. This James Madison Durand died in May 1899 and is buried in Irvington, Essex New Jersey. He fought in the Civil War. Since I found out about the artists' colony (see below for that) I'm less convinced by him even than I was before. Perhaps the GD member is someone else altogether, and doesn't appear in Familysearch's records at all.

Sources:

American Spoons, Souvenir and Historical by Dorothy T Rainwater and Donna H Felger. P386 describes the Durand family of New Jersey as descended from Dr Jean Durand, a Huguenot born in La Rochelle in 1667.

There's plenty on the web of the jewellery-making industry of Newark New Jersey and its importance to the local economy. For example see via google Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society volume 62 1944.

For Cyrus Durand, engraver of bank-notes, see via archive.org in The Illustrated Magazine of Art volume 3 issue of 1 January 1854: pp267-270.

Some family history information on James Madison Durand 1813-95 at

//freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com~silversmiths. He married Electa Baldwin. Their son Wallace Durand (1846-1921) became manager of Durand and Co.

The Durand family's house at Maplewood: www.durandhedden.org,

There's an exhaustive book of Durand genealogy by Dr Alvy Ray Smith, founder of Pixar Animation Studios, a descendant of John Durand of Derby Connecticut. It's at: [//alvyray.com/Durand/Final_Fall_Newsletter_Durand_Hedden.pdf](http://alvyray.com/Durand/Final_Fall_Newsletter_Durand_Hedden.pdf) which is the issue November/December 2003 volume 22 number 1 of the Durand-Hedden House and Garden Association. BUT I couldn't find a likely James Madison Durand in it.

At eragem.com information on an exhibition of Newark's jewellery, with a reference to Tiffany and Co setting up a branch of their silver department in Newark in 1896.

See the gravestone of the James Madison Durand who died in 1899 via www.findagrave.com: There's no mention on it that he had been married but at Familysearch there's a record of his marriage to Catharine Kelly.

THEODOSIA DURAND née MOORE

I've found even less about Theodosia than about her husband, and virtually nothing about her background except the sparse (and conflicting) details on various US census forms. The censuses do seem to agree that Theodosia Moore was born in November 1863 in Quincy, a small town in northern California. Her parents had clearly come to California from elsewhere but different censuses gave different details for where they had been born: her father (whose forename I don't know) was born in either Illinois or Ohio; her mother Anna was from the deep south, born either in Alabama or in Mississippi.

Sources such as they are:

NARA Census returns 1920 and 1930 seen at Familysearch (more details below).

California Deaths Index 1940-97 seen at Familysearch: gives full date of birth and her original surname.

EDUCATION

JAMES MADISON DURAND

Unknown, especially as I'm not even sure who the right man is.

THEODOSIA MOORE DURAND

Unknown until we get to her training as an artist: one source says she was a graduate of the Government Fine Arts School in Paris.

Source for Theodosia Moore Durand:

Website www.askart.com's database of artists.

MARRIAGE

James Madison Durand and Theodosia Moore had got married by the time they joined the GD. Perhaps the trip to Europe was their wedding trip. I haven't found any information as to when and where the ceremony took place. I wonder how they met?

THE ARTISTS' COLONY

I've said above that the Durands saw their trip to Europe as essential for their spiritual and creative growth as artists. Surely, though, they can't have expected that the growth should take the form it eventually did. Out of discussions they had with the people they met in England and France arose the idea that a group of them should find some land and set up a kind-of purpose-built community on it, growing their own food but having plenty of time to work as painters, sculptors, poets - anything creative. All members of the community were going to be equal - except for the servants that the creative men and women were going to bring with them to do their housework and childcare for them while they worked on the land and at their art. Originally the group was going to settle in Switzerland; later on, South Carolina was put forward as a possibility; but in the end, the idea of going to México was the suggestion that was acted on.

Sources for this artists' colony are few and far between and I haven't found any evidence for who was in the group apart from the Durands and Max Dauthendey. However, the group's plan did get as far as an article-cum-manifesto which appeared in art magazines in the USA and France, early in 1897. James Madison Durand was named in the articles as the person those wanting to join the colony were to contact; and he probably wrote the version of the manifesto that was sent to the magazines.

The Durands did go to México, probably early in 1897. Max Dauthendey and his wife left Europe a few months later, intending to join them. However, on the journey from Vera Cruz to México City Dauthendey decided that he was never going to write great German poetry in a tropical climate. He sought out the Durands, to tell them he no longer wanted to join the colony; but had trouble finding them as they had not sent him their address. Perhaps other artists wanting to join the colony had the same trouble Dauthendey had, in actually making contact with the Durands once they had gone to México. I think it's more likely, though, that when it came down to it, those people who had got so excited about the idea, got cold feet when it came to moving to México and living on the land in a group. Dauthendey's biographer couldn't find any evidence that the colony had ever become a reality; and I haven't found any mention of such a colony (though I've only looked on the web and not, of course, in México or even the USA).

The Dauthendeys went home. The Durands, however, may have stayed in México. If they were living in México it would explain why they seem to disappear from the historical record in the USA and the UK, from 1897 until Theodosia reappears (as a widow) in Washington State in 1919.

Sources:

Max Dauthendey: *Poet-Philosopher* by Herman George Wendt. New York: Columbia University Press 1936. Particularly p24, p30, p38-39 footnote 32.

The appeal-cum-manifesto:

French-language version in *La Plume* volume IX pp10-15.

English-language version in *The Arena* volume 17 December 1896-June 1897. Editor: John Clarke Ridpath: pp642-51 *The Foundation of a Colony of Self-Supporting Artists: Appeal*. On p651, a short letter James Madison Durand was reproduced; written November 1896 from Boulevard Raspail, Paris - the same address the GD had for the Durands when they were

members of the Ahathoor temple.

The magazine *The Arena* was founded by Benjamin Orange Flower and was published between 1889 and 1909 by the *The Arena Publishing Company* of Boston. All its issues can be reached via its wikipedia page so you can read the full Appeal for yourself - an interesting document though some members of the colony were clearly going to be more equal than others and it all seems rather impractical to me!

Another sceptical assessment of the colony's chances, from 1897, via www.newspapers.com to *The Courier of Lincoln Nebraska*; Saturday 24 April 1897 p5. The report states that the Appeal had appeared in *The Arena's* issue of March 1897.

A modern mention of the Durands and the colony, probably in connection with Dauthendey though I couldn't see the context from the snippet:

The Image of Mexico in Germanic Imaginative Literature by Karl W Obrath. PhD Thesis, University of Cincinnati 1975 p178, seen online. I would have liked to read more about this than the snippet I could see using google; but there isn't a copy of the full text online or in any English library.

WORK/PROFESSION

JAMES MADISON DURAND

Assuming him to be an artist I found the same problem with him as with Theodosia Durand. Perhaps - given his probable family background - he was not so much an artist as a designer.

THEODOSIA MOORE DURAND

I found several references to Theodosia as an artist, specifically as a painter and teacher of painting. In this, she seems to have wanted to emphasise her French art training - the few reports there are of her, in newspapers and magazines, always call her "Madame" Durand. However, as with her husband, so with her, I haven't found any images or references to specific art works they did, on the web, not even on the many 'art auction' websites. Where has their work gone? If James Madison Durand was a designer rather than an artist, his work wouldn't necessarily appear on the web or even be acknowledged as his, of course.

Theodosia Durand is in [askart.com's](http://askart.com) artists' database, with some details of which exhibitions had works by her in them, though the website has nothing at all shown by Theodosia - at least, not in the USA - before 1918. Several sources mention her as teaching art at the University of Washington, but she doesn't appear on any of its staff lists before 1919, when she was Assistant Professor in the fine arts department. She might have been teaching there before as a freelance staff member, I suppose.

In 1918 she exhibited, for what seems to be the first time, at the annual show of the San Francisco Arts Association - paintings done on cement. Perhaps this encouraged her to cut loose from teaching. By the day of the 1920 census, she had left the University of Washington and moved to San Francisco, where she was living with her mother Anna Moore.

From May 1921 there's a mention of sketches Theodosia had done of traditional pottery making in Mexico. They were on display when a landmark exhibition of modern Aztec and Maya crafts opened on the campus at Stanford University.

A newspaper report from October 1921 shows Theodosia leading a revolt against the hanging committee of the San Francisco Art Association. This year she had been one of quite a few artists who had been invited to submit her work for the annual show; but then had it all rejected. Theodosia accused the committee of favouring a small group of San Francisco-based artists; and announced that she and other artists who had been rejected were looking for a gallery in the city, in which to hold a rival exhibition to the official show. The head of the hanging committee denied favouritism; of course! Later, Theodosia was allowed to join the SFAA, exhibiting paintings in oils in 1925. She was a member of the San Francisco women artists' group - perhaps there was a feeling, in 1921, that the SFAA committee also had a bias against art by women - and as late as 1939 she had work shown at the Golden Gate Exposition, though she was no longer living in San Francisco by that time.

By 1930, Theodosia's mother had died, and she herself had moved to Santa Rosa. In 1926, she had exhibited at the California Industries Expo, held at San Diego. She became a member of the San Diego Fine Arts Society, and it was as a member of that group that she exhibited at the Golden Gate Expo. Though I'm not sure she ever lived there permanently, the 1940 census shows Theodosia as one of the guests at a hotel in San Diego so she made regular trips there. The 1940 trip was probably in connection with her work *The Picnic*, which was one of the runners-up in that year's Uzzell Award.

Theodosia's *The Picnic* was the latest work that I could find mention of. There are very long gaps in her career when she didn't show any works at all; and she never seems to have been very prolific.

Sources:

About the importance of the Durands' trip to Europe:

Max Dauthendey: *Poet-Philosopher* by Herman George Wendt. Volume 2 part 1 AMS Press 1966 p38 footnote 23.

Theodosia Durand is in www.askart.com's database of artists, with the best details of her career. <http://www.artprice.com>:

Artists in California 1786-1940 by Edan Milton Hughes is probably where [askart.com](http://www.askart.com) got its information from. Published San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Co 1986 p139.

At stanforddailyarchive.com The Stanford Daily volume 59 number 46 4 May 1921 short report on the opening of the Maya-Aztec Applied Arts Exhibition.

Via www.newspapers.com to San Francisco Chronicle issue of 22 October 1921 p3:

Catalog of Copyright Entries 1926 Part 4: Works of Art New Series: p108 has one work by her. On p385 catalogue number 6361, probably the same work as that on p108.

At history.sdvag.net a history of the Arts Guild of San Diego: chapter 3 covers what are considered its golden years - 1929-39. The members who exhibited at the Golden Gate Exposition, 1929, include Theodosia.

Arts Magazine volume 15 issues 1-6 1940, p17 1940 Uzzell Prize.

And as a teacher of art.

Washington Educational Directory issued by the State of Washington 1919 p72 Madame (sic) Durand is listed as "Assistant Professor of Fine Arts".

At www.mocavo.uk there are several University of Washington Seattle Handbooks from the early 1900s. I searched for her at mocavo but there was only one response: 1919, the same entry as appears in the Washington Educational Directory.

I suppose that she might have been working at the University for much longer before 1919, but employed as a freelance teacher.

Seen 19 July 2013 at www.bbc.co.uk/yourpaintings - 212,055 paintings now in public collections, though not necessarily on display. There's nothing in that database by either of the Durands; but I hadn't really expected there to be.

For where they were living:

Familysearch didn't have any census entries after the middle of the 19th century for the James Madison Durand who died in 1899. Nor for Theodosia Moore Durand until 1920.

1920 via Familysearch to NARA census information for District ED225 Sheet 6b: San Francisco Assembly, District 30: Anna E Moore 78 and widowed; and her daughter Theodosia Durand, also a widow. Both women described themselves as white; and able to read and write. The address was rented.

1930 via Familysearch to NARA census information for District ED49 Santa Rosa, Sonoma County: Theodosia Durand is head and only member of household. I presume Anna Moore has died by now.

1940 via Familysearch to NARA for a hotel in central San Diego, where Theodosia Durand was one of the guests.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

No, and no articles in art magazines on any work by either of them, as far as I can see.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

Again, no.

FAMILY

Apart from people I've already mentioned, no. I don't think that James Madison and Theodosia Durand had any children.

DEATH

JAMES MADISON DURAND

If I have picked the right man with that name, he died in 1899.

Source: the gravestone of the James Madison Durand who died in 1899 via www.findagrave.com: There's no mention on it that he had been married, just a reference to his part in the Civil War.

THEODOSIA MOORE DURAND

Theodosia died in hospital at Modesto California on 15 March 1949.

Source:

Via Familysearch to the California Deaths Index 1940-97: it also gives her exact date of birth and her surname before marriage.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: [freebmd](http://freebmd.com); ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.com); [Burke's Peerage and Baronetage](http://burke'speerage.com); [Burke's Landed Gentry](http://burke'slandedgentry.com); [Armorial Families](http://armorialfamilies.com); thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. *Who Was Who*. *Times Digital*

Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

26 February 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

John Hugh Armstrong Elliot (known as Hugh, not as John) was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 6 October 1894. He chose the Latin motto 'nobis est victoria'. He did the work necessary to progress further and was initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order on 2 March 1896. Hugh married early in 1896 and shortly afterwards his wife, Eleanor Blanche Elliot (known as Blanche, I think, not as Eleanor) was initiated, on 17 February 1896, taking the Latin motto 'prospice'. She took rather longer to reach the 2nd order but was initiated into it on 12 January 1900.

Blanche's younger sister Lucy Margaret Bruce was initiated into the GD's daughter order Stella Matutina (SM, founded by Robert Felkin) in March 1907; though she was never in the GD itself. Blanche's cousin Archer Henry Corbet was also a member of SM; initiated in March 1906. And a man who was probably related to Hugh Elliot through a series of marriages joined the SM, in 1910: George Hender Geach.

ELEANOR BLANCHE BRUCE

Blanche's father was Robert Bruce (born 1821) third son of John Knight Bruce and his wife Sarah who at that time lived on the estate John had inherited from his mother at Llanblethian Glamorgan. I presume Robert Bruce was named for the great king of Scotland but that has made it hard to find the man on the web. He later got the nickname 'hurricane' applied to him but I couldn't discover why, amongst all the web references to hurricane bob as storm-force winds and destruction of property. Of course, those words might sum him up rather well!

Robert Bruce joined the 94th regiment of Foot in 1838. In 1851-53 he was in South Africa fighting the Kaffir Wars. By 1857 he was colonel of the 2nd Foot regiment. Around 1860 he was stationed in Corfu, which at that time was in the British Empire. For a few years from 1864 he was in a semi-retirement, on half pay, but in October 1878 he was promoted to lieutenant-general and appointed commander of the government's troops in Scotland, a post he held until his retirement in July 1881.

In 1857, Robert Bruce married Rachel Frances, daughter of Richard Corbet of Adderley in Shropshire, and his wife Eleanor. Robert and Rachel Frances had seven daughters, but no sons. The daughters were: Constance Mary born 1858; Isabel born 1859 or 1860; Augusta Rachel born 1861; Amy Gertrude born 1863; Eleanor Blanche the GD member born 1864; Janet born 1866; and Lucy Margaret born 1871 or 1872. The Bruces kept moving and so their daughters were all born in different places: Constance Mary's birth was registered in central London; Isabel's on Corfu; Augusta Rachel's at Market Drayton (the nearest registry office to Adderley); Amy Gertrude's at Kensington; Eleanor Blanche's at Chelsea; Janet's at Clifton Bristol; and Lucy Margaret's in Scotland. However, the family stayed in Scotland during the 1880s, appearing on the censuses of 1871 and 1881 at Arngask, near Perth. They were probably living in the same house on each census day but the census officials heard its name differently, so it's called Glendouglas House in 1871 and Glendenglie House in 1881, though the proper spelling may be Glendouglie.

Like most girls of their class at that time, the Bruce sisters didn't go to school, they had governesses, with all the limitations on their education that that implies. An English governess called Martha Buckland was living with the Bruce family in 1871. With Robert Bruce's pay as a senior army officer, and income from Rachel Frances' dowry, in 1871 they could afford to pay for Miss Buckland; a cook; a lady's maid; a nursemaid; and two housemaids. On the day of the 1881 census only four of the daughters were at home but the number of domestic servants employed was no less - a lady's maid, a cook, a housemaid and a kitchenmaid. However, this time there was no governess living-in. Blanche was at home that day and it's likely (though I can't prove it of course) that her education was considered by her parents to be over: Arngask is rather a remote community and I find it difficult to believe that the Bruce's had a governess who only came in during the day.

Quite when the break-up happened I don't know, but the census records from 1891 show the Bruce family scattered to the four winds. Robert Bruce was still living at Arngask, the house being called Glendouglie Mill this time; but he was on his own there except for a housekeeper and a general servant. Constance Mary had married Francis Charles Gore in 1879 and was living in London. Amy Gertrude had married Thomas Edward Erskine in 1888 and may already have been living in the USA. Later, her husband held two appointments as consul-general for the British Government - at St Louis around 1910, and in New Orleans in 1916. Augusta Rachel and Lucy Margaret were in the Arngask district but were not living with their father - that was still very unusual for unmarried daughters in 1891. They were at Lingo House at Carnbee; with one general servant. Isabel and Janet were visiting a Miss or Mrs Buchanan, at 4 Grosvenor Crescent Edinburgh. And - and this may be the cause of the break-up - Rachel Frances Bruce was a private patient at the Royal Asylum for the Insane at Morningside in Edinburgh.

Mental breakdown, dementia, psychotic episodes - three of the great 'unmentionables' of Victorian Britain and not much more mentionable today. Rachel Frances did not stay in the asylum for the rest of her days; but the fact that she had been there at all was something no

member of her family was likely to admit in public. Perhaps Isabel and Janet Bruce were in Edinburgh to visit their mother; but it would be just as Victorian to act as if she had gone on a holiday, and not go to see how she was being treated, or how she was progressing, despite being nearby.

On census day 1891 Blanche was far away from Morningside, in Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol visiting Rev David Wright and his wife Emily. The Wrights were probably family acquaintances from when the Bruces were living in Bristol (around 1866 when Janet was born there).

The Bruce family never did get back all together living in the same house: Robert Bruce died on 14 October 1891. Although they kept their contacts in Scotland, over the next decade there was a tendency for the women Robert left behind to move to England; and - in general - to keep largely separate households. England must be where Blanche met Hugh Elliot.

THE ELLIOTS

This section is based on part of Lettsom: His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants, a biography of physician and social campaigner Dr John Coakley Lettsom (died 1815). The book was written by James Johnston Abraham at Hugh Elliot's instigation and using family papers Hugh had inherited. It was published in 1933 by William Heinemann's medical department, of which Hugh had been - possibly still was - managing director.

John Coakley Lettsom married Ann Miers, daughter of a wealthy tin-plate manufacturer, and they had eight children though only three survived their father. The youngest child, Eliza Lettsom, married John Elliot in 1804. The Elliots could trace their ancestry back to 17th-century Pembrokeshire, but the man Eliza Lettsom married was living in west London, where he owned Elliot and Co and managed its brewery in Pimlico. John and Eliza Elliot lived next to the brewery in Pimlico Lodge. They had 15 children. Of their eight sons, six continued a family tradition of entering the army. They all went to India to serve in regiments stationed in Madras; four died there, two managed to live long enough to come home. The daughters all married, creating a wide network of in-laws and cousins in the next generation, including - though I haven't worked out how - a Mrs Georgina Hargreave.

Hugh's grandfather was the eldest son of John Elliot and his wife Eliza: John Lettsom Elliot, born 1804. When his father died in 1839, he took over the running of the brewery and was also a director of the Hand-in-Life Fire Insurance Company. Wanting to expand the brewery and take some of the financial strain off his own family, in 1837 John Lettsom Elliot invited James Watney and Charles Lambert to invest as partners. In 1849 their involvement was reflected in a change of company name, to Elliot, Watney and Co. However, in 1850, John Lettsom Elliot decided to retire from managing the firm. James Watney and in due course his two sons took over, buying Elliot out in 1858; and 'Watneys' is how the brewery is now known.

Both John Lettsom Elliot and his father (who had been a Fellow of the Royal Society) moved in literary and scientific circles. In 1824, John Lettsom Elliot was one of the group of male acquaintances who founded the Athenaeum Club, a club that prides itself on its spirit of intellectual enquiry. In due course Hugh Elliot became a member of the Athenaeum Club,

probably recommended to the other members by John Lettsom Elliot.

Early in his retirement, John Lettsom Elliot wrote two comic plays. But essentially, after 1850 he settled down to a life of wealthy leisure, disturbed only by financial and other crises in his family.

He was married twice. His first wife was Marie Antoinette des Jardins, the daughter of a French couple who had fled the revolution. They married in 1829 and had five sons: John Elliot the younger (Hugh's father) and four sons who continued the family tradition of serving in the army in Madras. Marie Antoinette Elliot died in 1846. In 1863 her widower married Harriet, widow of the 6th Earl of Guilford, whom he had probably known for many years through connections her family and the Lettsoms both had in the West Indies. When Harriet died in 1874 John Lettsom Elliot moved into rooms in The Albany, Piccadilly. He was still living there in 1891, with an elderly housekeeper to look after him. He died in 1898.

The Elliot family had a motto that - now I know something about them - doesn't seem all that apt to me: fortiter et recte (strong and upright). Hugh Elliot might have wanted to choose it as his motto when joining the Golden Dawn. However, he couldn't do so: no two members of the GD could have the same motto at the same time, and Annie Horniman had already bagged it. It fitted Annie Horniman to a tea.

Hugh Elliot's father John Elliot was known as 'the younger' to distinguish him from his more well-known father. He went to Winchester College and then University College Oxford, but John Lettsom Elliot retired from the family firm while he was still an undergraduate and in any case probably never intended that his son should join the business. John Elliot the younger qualified as a barrister at the Inner Temple in 1855. Whether he practised as one I am not sure: I found some indications that he did, at least at first; but in 1891 John Lettsom Elliot said his son had never done so.

THE ARMSTRONGS

Hugh Elliot's mother was Charlotte Georgiana (sometimes seen as Georgina or Georgianna) Armstrong, daughter of Lt-Colonel George Craven Armstrong. She had been born in Bengal, where her father was an officer in the 47th Bengal Native Infantry. Lt-Colonel Armstrong retired in 1853 and the family returned to Britain. Charlotte Georgiana and John Elliot the younger married in June 1859. Hugh was their eldest child, born in 1861. He and his sisters Harriet Alice (1863), Florence Ethel (1864) and Evelyn Gertrude (1867) were all born in Kensington. In 1868 the family moved to Teignmouth to be nearer where John did most of his legal work. The evidence I found about John Elliot's career suggests he was working at least at this stage, on the western circuit of the English court system which covers court sessions at Exeter, Plymouth and Devonport. Hugh's siblings Francis (1868) and Winifred (1876) were born in Devon.

The Elliots ran a fairly modest household in Teignmouth, with three servants in 1871 and a cook, housemaid, parlourmaid and nurse in 1881. John Elliot and Charlotte followed the Elliot family tradition when it came to a choice of school for Hugh: like his father, his grandfather and (I think) his great-grandfather, he was sent to Winchester College. However, Francis was sent to Wellington College in preparation for the army career followed by the younger sons of Elliots in at least the past three generations.

Hugh was destined to follow his father into the law, so - again like his grandfather and father - he went to Oxford University. He was an undergraduate at Magdalen College where he studied jurisprudence. He graduated in 1884, at the beginning of five years during which death broke up the Elliot family in much the same way that illness and death broke up the Bruce family around 1891. The break-up began with the death of John Elliot the younger, in Teignmouth, in September 1884 at the age of only 54. Charlotte Elliot opted to leave Devon for the south-east and moved, with her daughters, to Folkestone. The crisis was not as bad as it could have been, because John Lettsom Elliot stepped in to give financial and presumably other help to Charlotte and her children. Despite the death of his father, therefore, Hugh was able to continue doing the work and passing the exams necessary to qualify as a barrister. In May 1887 Hugh was called to the bar (the last stage in becoming eligible to start work) at the inn of court his father had been a member of, the Inner Temple. As if she had been hanging on for this important rite of passage, Charlotte Elliot died later that year, in November 1887 in Folkestone. And this difficult period was ended by the death of Hugh's youngest sister, Winifred, in 1889 at the age of 13.

By February 1888, Hugh Elliot was working as a barrister. He had joined the chambers in King's Bench Walk in the Temple that George Cope Cope was already working in. The Copes and the Elliots had been friendly for a long while and it's possible (I haven't found any certain evidence for it) that the firm where George Cope Cope's father was a partner - Cope, Rose and Pearson of George Street Westminster - were solicitors for the Elliots' family firm. George Cope was initiated into the GD in 1895, about six months after Hugh Elliot, who was probably the man who recommended him to the GD hierarchy.

By 1891, Francis Elliot had joined the army and followed the path taken by many of his uncles and great-uncles: he was in India as an officer in a native infantry regiment in Madras. Hugh's sisters Harriet Alice (I think she's called Alice) and Florence Ethel (she's definitely called Ethel) married serving officers; though Ethel's behaviour wrecked her husband's army career.

Harriet Alice Elliot had married Gerald Burrell Geach of the 4th Dragoon Guards in 1889. They had one child, Charles Leonard Elliot Geach, born in 1891. Geach's regiment was sent to India and like nearly all the Elliot soldiers, he never came back: he died of typhoid at Murree in July 1899. By 1901 Harriet Alice and Leonard had returned to England. A George Hender Geach joined Stella Matutina in 1910. As Geach is such an unusual surname, he must have been a relation of Gerald Burrell Geach - not a close one, though, as Gerald Burrell Geach had no brothers.

OSBORNE v HARGREAVE - the career of Ethel Elliot

Florence Ethel Elliot is the Mrs Osborne of the sensational 1891 slander case Osborne (plaintiff) v Hargreave (defendants). The press had a wonderful time with the case, it was a gift: an upper-middle-class woman accusing her cousin and her cousin's husband of calling her a thief; with the plaintiff's sister accusing one of the defendants of being involved in an improper relationship with one of their side's witnesses. Coverage appeared in newspapers as far away as New South Wales and California, some of which is now in newspaper archives on the web. I won't give a blow-by-blow account here, I'll just sum it up. I've drawn most of my understanding of what went on in the trial, and the even more amazing sequel, from the Times, which had at least three columns' coverage throughout the trial's five days of evidence. It helps to know that in between the accusations and the trial, Ethel Elliot married

her fiancé Captain Clarence Arthur Osborne.

The basic debate in the case was whether Ethel Elliot had stolen some jewellery from Mrs Hargreave while staying with her in Torquay in February 1891; and had sold it to the City jewellers Spink and Son for £550 while calling herself Mrs Price. As plaintiff, Ethel was arguing that she had not; as defendants, Mrs Hargreave and her husband Major Hargreave had said in so many words that she had. Both sides in the dispute agreed that the theft and the sale had taken place. But was Ethel Mrs Price, and therefore the thief? For five days a series of witnesses gave evidence one way or the other, until the trial was halted by an anonymous letter containing new evidence, while Hargreaves' barrister was summing-up of their side of it. A two-day adjournment was called. When the trial resumed, the barristers for Ethel's side told the judge that the Hargreaves had been right: evidence had been found at the Bank of England which linked Ethel beyond all doubt to the spending of the £550. A warrant was issued for Ethel's arrest on charges of larceny, and also of perjury (for what she'd said during her time as a witness in the slander trial) but she had fled the country. Brought back in February, she was arrested at Dover and in March 1892 was sentenced to nine months' hard labour; hardly any of which she served as she was pregnant and ill - her eldest daughter Phyllis was born three or four months later.

Hugh Elliot had played his part in this hugely embarrassing episode and gave evidence during the slander trial, on Thursday 17 December 1891. Hugh had first found out what the Hargreaves were saying about Ethel on 9 March 1891, when a mutual friend, Mr Engelhart, called on him at his chambers. Mr Engelhart had come straight from Spink and Son, where he had been showing members of staff a photograph of Ethel and asking if she was Mrs Price. What Mr Engelhart told him caused Hugh to leave work immediately and take Mr Engelhart home to repeat it all to Ethel, and to Alice Geach who was with Ethel at the time. Ethel denied everything, and in order to prove that the Hargreaves were being outrageous, Hugh, Mr Engelhart, Alice and Ethel went to Spink and Son the following day to see what the staff said when confronted with Ethel in person. At first Mr Spink didn't want to commit himself outright - he ummed and aahed. Hugh lost his temper, telling Mr Spink in no uncertain terms that this was a legal - perhaps a criminal - matter and he must be sure. So Mr Spink retorted that if Hugh wanted certainty, Mr Spink was prepared to say that yes, Ethel Elliot was the Mrs Price he had bought the jewellery from; and he would thank Mr Elliot to behave like a gentleman, however angry he was.

Not a helpful intervention. The question of who had urged Ethel to bring the slander action against the Hargreaves wasn't gone into during the trial, but it's likely that Hugh was one of those who had done the urging, together with Captain Osborne. As it turned out, this too was not a helpful intervention. The evidence from the trial, though, is clear: neither Hugh nor Captain Osborne dreamed that Ethel might be guilty; they continued to believe in her innocence until they found out about the evidence unearthed at the Bank of England: a £50 note, counter-signed 'Ethel Elliot' in a shop in Bond Street; one of the notes Mrs Price had obtained as a result of the transaction with Spink and Son (it's not actually quite as simple as that, but that's the damning evidence in a nutshell).

Some other things came out in the evidence of Hugh and John Lettsom Elliot to the slander trial, suggesting to me that Ethel and her siblings had all inherited their great-grandmother Eliza Lettsom Elliot's inability to make her outgoings match her income. Eliza had had to disappear abroad several times to avoid her creditors and no doubt that's where Ethel got the idea from - when in real trouble, leave the country. During the trial both Hugh and John

Lettsom Elliot were asked to explain the family's finances. They sounded pretty chaotic to me but the extent of John Lettsom Elliot's financial support was made clear: he was paying Hugh an allowance of £400 a year; giving each of Hugh's sisters £40-50 a year to double the income they had from money their mother had left them; and he owned 27 The Boltons, Brompton, the house that Hugh, Ethel and Evelyn had moved into in 1890, so they had no rent or mortgage to pay.

You will have gathered, I think, that I don't have much sympathy for the Elliots. If life is a 100-metre race, people like them have a start of 30 or 40 metres over the majority of the population by virtue of wealth they have not earned. And even that is not enough for some of them: they take it as their due, and want more. However, I do see that in Hugh Elliot's case at least, the featherbedding may have come at some cost: I don't think he wanted to work as a barrister. He did what was expected of him by those who paid his bills, but when he had the chance, he moved into another kind of work. 1894 seems to have been a watershed year in this, perhaps the year he was offered work at William Heinemann Limited.

From about 1894 until 1929 and possibly even later, Hugh was working in publishing rather than in the law. The Law Lists from 1894 to 1911 do suggest he may have been doing some work on the Court Service western circuit; but on the census of 1911 he described his source of income as "publisher", not mentioning any work as a barrister. It wasn't until 1929 that he hired chambers again, in Crown Office Row, Temple and even then it's possible he was only living in them, not working from them. The Law Lists give Hugh's address as Crown Office Row from 1929 until his retirement in 1939.

The information collected for 1891 census involved asking where people were on the night of Sunday 5th to Monday 6th April. Ethel Elliot and Captain Osborne had actually married earlier that Sunday, and had left for the continent on their honeymoon. *Osborne v Hargreave* was at a very early stage and the Osbornes could afford to go away for a few weeks: Hugh and Captain Osborne were still trying to find a solicitor willing to take the case on in the face of the problematic evidence from Spink and Son. Two or three solicitors' firms had already turned them down. Perhaps they should have taken the hint.

So only Evelyn and Hugh were at home on the evening of census day. Evelyn took over from Ethel and acted as mistress of the house in The Boltons until she married Marcus George Yunge-Bateman in 1894. Evelyn probably met her husband during the brief period when Charlotte Elliot was living in Kent: he worked as a GP and council medical officer in Folkestone. Hugh also moved out of 27 The Boltons in 1894.

There had been a certain amount of rallying round the flag before Ethel's criminal trial in March 1892: even Mrs Hargreave was in court to plead for leniency. Whether the two sides ever trusted each other again afterwards, goodness knows. Even though I haven't found any evidence that Ethel was ever caught stealing anything else, it won't have been easy for family members to forget what had happened. Years after, *Osborne v Hargreave* and its consequences continued to come back and haunt them. A number of novels were based on it, and two very successful plays. *Mrs Dane's Defence*, by Henry Arthur Jones, had its first night at Wyndham's Theatre in October 1900 and ran for 209 performances there before going on tour. Then in 1922 John Galsworthy's play *Loyalties* ran for a whole year at St Martin's Theatre. Both plays were filmed as well. More immediately and personally, the Elliots will have been hit hard financially: they had to both sides' legal fees and these would have been high, as some of the most senior barristers in the country had been hired. Captain

Osborne paid a heavy price personally too - his army career became untenable and he left it and got work as a stockbroker in the City. In 1901 he and Ethel were living in style in Sloane Street with their children: Phyllis who had spared Ethel most of her prison sentence, Betty, Margot and Bryan. I have found one piece of evidence, though, to suggest that they divorced later.

HUGH ELLIOT IN PUBLISHING

Hugh Elliot worked for two publishing firms, William Heinemann Ltd and the much less well-known Rebman and Co. He seems, at least in the 1900s, to have worked for both of them at the same time, though he must have committed more hours to William Heinemann Ltd as they were by far the bigger firm. William Heinemann founded the famous publishing firm in 1890, after many years working for the music publisher Trübman. Heinemann had lots of friends in literary and artistic circles including George Bernard Shaw (who knew several members of the GD), Arthur Symons and Whistler; and was soon publisher for Stevenson, Kipling and H G Wells. Hugh Elliot knew William Heinemann well enough to be described as a friend in a biography written soon after Heinemann's death in 1920. Through William Heinemann he will have been acquainted with all those famous novelists, but he was not their editor; he was managing director of the company's medical list.

The editors of W B Yeats' letters call Hugh Elliot the owner of Rebman and Co; but GD member A E Waite describes him as a partner in the firm and I think that's more likely. The firm was named for Francis J Rebman, presumably because he had the idea for it. I'm not sure how he and Hugh met; probably through Hugh's work at William Heinemann. Rebman doesn't seem to have lived in England until the 1890s; he had been born in Germany but was a US citizen by the time Rebman's was founded in 1894. Although in its later years it published a few occult books, the firm was founded to publish medical texts - these medical connections must have made Hugh something of a specialist in the law covering the publication of medical books. Though still living in Edinburgh when the firm was founded, GD member Dr Robert Felkin also had some kind of stake in Rebman's - perhaps a shareholding - and it published a couple of his works.

HUGH AS A FREEMASON

Hugh Elliot became a freemason while he was still only in his twenties: that's rather early in a man's working life, in general, although freemasonry does seem to have been very active amongst Oxford and Cambridge university undergraduates at that time. The lodges Hugh was a member of were all connected to Oxford University. By 1889 he had been initiated into St Mary Magdalene craft lodge, number 1523; and Oxford and Cambridge Universities craft lodge number 1118. Hugh seems to have been more committed to St Mary Magdalene 1523 - he served his year as Worshipful Master in 1889. He didn't serve as an officer at the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Lodge 1118 and I gather the lodge did suffer from a high turnover of members. However, from the GD point of view the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Lodge 1118 is very interesting: when I looked through a list of its members, several names rang a bell. The Rev Hugh Reginald Haweis joined the lodge in 1867; he wasn't a member of the GD, but his wife Mary Eliza was. In 1870 a Colonel Stephen Babington became a member; although I can't trace the exact relationship, he's likely to be a relation of GD member Anna Mary Babington. In 1876 Robert Roy was initiated into the lodge: he was a very senior and active member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia and one of the first people William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers invited to join the GD. And in 1882 Hugh's college friend the Rev Henry William Wynne ffoulkes became a member. Again, ffoulkes never joined the GD but his wife did - she was the poet Louisa

Florence ffoulkes (known as Florence, not Louisa) who became a close friend of Hugh and was related to Blanche.

In October 1889, Hugh joined the relatively newly-founded craft lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076, which was set up with the purpose of bringing rather higher academic standards to the study of the history of freemasonry. He was a corresponding member, meaning that he would receive its journal and be welcome at its meetings (held in London); but would not be eligible to serve as a lodge officer. He was initiated into Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia in 1890, probably through his acquaintance Robert Roy. In 1902-03 he served a year as its Celebrant (equivalent to a freemasons' lodge's Worshipful Master); although he had not served the previous year as the Celebrant's deputy so something had gone a little wrong with the normal procedures.

Craft masonry is only one of several different kinds of freemasonry practised in England, and by

1885 Hugh had been initiated into one of the other kinds, the Ancient and Accepted Rite. The AAR's equivalent to a craft lodge is called a Rose Croix chapter; Hugh joined the Oxford University chapter, number 40, probably recommended by Henry ffoulkes who was a member by 1880; and so was Oscar Wilde whose wife Constance joined the GD. After they had left Oxford, both Hugh and Henry ffoulkes changed chapters, to the Oxford and Cambridge chapter 45, which met in London in the AAR's office building at 33 Golden Square. Oscar Wilde and Robert Roy were members of this chapter; and so was the Earl of Euston, brother of GD member Lady Eleanor Harbord. Henry ffoulkes was more committed than Hugh to the AAR: by 1900 he had reached its 31^o level - only 81 AAR members could be at this level at any one time. Hugh, however, reached only as far as the 30^o level, to which access was not restricted (but it didn't cost so much, either!)

Although he kept up his lodge memberships, for business and other reasons, the freemasonry side of the occult doesn't seem to have given Hugh quite the satisfaction he was looking for. In 1894 he joined the Theosophical Society, remaining a member until 1904, through a particularly difficult period in the TS's history, in which two factions fought bitterly over the direction the organisation would take after the death of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

As I work my way through my GD members' list in more or less alphabetical order, Hugh Elliot is the first biography I've done of a large group of GD members who were all members of the TS as well; and who all give as their address for TS correspondence the house lived in by John William Brodie-Innes and his wife Frances, in Royal Circus Edinburgh. I have to say that I don't understand what's going on here; though it may have to do with the split in the TS worldwide, which was at its most bitter during 1894-95 with most of the fighting going on at its London hq. Until the split left the TS in London desperate for new members, all new applicants to join the TS had to have two sponsors who were already members. Hugh's two sponsors were John and Frances Brodie-Innes; and his TS record says that he was a member of the TS's Scottish Lodge, which met at the Brodie-Innes' house in Edinburgh. However, as far as I know, Hugh Elliot never lived nor worked in Edinburgh; and neither did most of the people who gave the TS the Brodie-Innes's house as their address. Hugh's acquaintance with them was almost certainly through John Brodie-Innes, who had been called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1878 and practised in England for several years before moving back home to Scotland to become an advocate in the courts in Edinburgh. Though

why the TS's journals and newsletter couldn't be sent to Hugh in London, I do not know: unlike the GD, the TS was not a secret society, quite the reverse.

It seems that when he joined the TS, Hugh Elliot already knew Florence ffoulkes as well as her husband (though curiously, Henry Wynne ffoulkes was not a member of TS or the GD). Hugh and Florence jointly sponsored a great many new TS members over the next two or three years. Four of the acquaintances they sponsored also joined the GD in due course: John Valentine Lacy who knew Henry ffoulkes' cousins the Vibarts; George Cope Cope (as I've already mentioned); and Ida Bennett were three of them. And in due course, in February 1895, they sponsored Blanche Bruce; perhaps already engaged to be married to Hugh. Blanche's address at that point was 78 Cheyne Court Chelsea; but she too became a member of the TS's Scottish Lodge. Her sister, Isabel Bruce, also joined the TS in December 1897. Perhaps Isabel had never met the Brodie-Innes's: she first address she gave the TS was one in Bideford, Devon; but later she asked that letters be sent to her through the Pioneer Club in London. Mary Eliza Haweis was also a member of the Pioneer Club, which organised talks during the London social season on a wide range of subjects, everything from spiritualism and theosophy to women's rights.

A pamphlet called 'Introduction to Theosophy' was reviewed in the TS's main journal, Lucifer, in 1889. The pamphlet's author was just named as "Mr Elliot". Especially given the spelling of 'elliot', Hugh could have been the author; although obviously the pamphlet pre-dates his official membership of the TS by several years.

It was odd that Florence ffoulkes, Hugh Elliot and Blanche Bruce should choose to join the TS at such a turbulent time in its history, because they were three of the very few people to do so. Perhaps they found out very quickly how much the daily business of the TS was being affected by the split - lodges closing down, far fewer talks being given and discussion groups ceasing to meet. The GD may have come as a welcome relief to all three - its splits were several years ahead. Despite the two jobs he was now doing, Hugh was able to commit himself more to the GD than Blanche, who got pregnant very soon after they married - their only child, Lettice Ann, was born at the end of 1896. Getting used to having a husband and running a married couple's household, while being pregnant after only a few weeks of marriage, was not ideal way to begin your life as a wife, but I have noticed it was quite common amongst the married women of the GD. In Blanche's case, she had a couple of changes of address to negotiate in the early years of her marriage. She and Hugh began their married life at 7 Smith Square Westminster; but by 1901 they had moved to Chelsea, to 26 Cheyne Row, where they employed a cook, a housemaid and a nursemaid for their daughter. So many quick changes of circumstance hampered Blanche's ability to do the study required of GD members who wanted to progress into its inner, 2nd order, and she took four years to complete the work.

'Lettice' is an unusual name. I saw evidence on the web of a Lettice Corbet, alive in the 17th century, and I suppose that Blanche and Hugh named their daughter after her. On the day of the the 1901 census, Lettice had gone on a visit and was staying with her great-aunt, Rachel Frances Bruce's sister Clara Corbet, at 36 Norham Road Oxford. Four years of age seems rather young to be paying visits without your parents but a sick-nurse was a member of Blanche and Hugh's household on census day, so someone was very ill. The fear of their only child catching whatever the illness was, had caused Blanche and Hugh to send Lettice away, accompanied only by her own nursemaid, Elizabeth Bickerstaff. Lettice was not with her parents on the day of the 1911 census either; she was at boarding-school at The Hall,

Harpenden. The education of women in the professional and landed gentry classes had moved on a fair amount since Blanche's own childhood: there were more schools to send their daughters to; and parents' expectations had moved a little way beyond the 19th-century concept of 'accomplishments' being all that was necessary for young women of their class. However, Blanche and Hugh's choice of school was no intellectual powerhouse. At The Hall Harpenden, though Latin, maths and science were taught, there were no resident teachers for those subjects immediately before World War 1; the resident teachers taught French, English and gardening, suggesting that the curriculum favoured those subjects more. All the girls had to learn singing, art and needlework but they could only learn a musical instrument if their parents were willing to pay extra. An advert for the school (probably from around 1914) emphasised the small number of pupils at the school, which ensured more individual attention; and its healthy situation and large grounds where pupils could play tennis and croquet and some field games.

THE ELLIOTS AND YEATS

Both Hugh and Blanche knew GD member W B Yeats well enough to take a small part in his attempt to set up a Theatre of Beauty, to put on plays and masques; an idea which emerged during 1901 from talks Yeats been having with his friends on 'musical speech'. Blanche and Hugh must have been two of those friends, and the GD's greatest female magician Florence Farr was another.

Florence commissioned Arnold Dolmetsch to make a psalter for her to play while she recited poetry by Yeats in a manner that was more than speech but less than singing: chanting is perhaps a good description. She first tried the method out during a performance of the play *Beloved of Hathor* in November 1901 (*Beloved of Hathor* was co-written by Florence Farr and Olivia Shakspear) and in the following years she used it in performance in the UK and on tour in the USA. Inspired by Yeats' arguments and probably by hearing Florence Farr in performance, Blanche began to try the chanting technique. Blanche did not have the theatrical talents and training that made Florence Farr such a promising actress and exciting ritualist: Yeats told his friend Lady Gregory that Blanche had "never learnt voice production". However, Yeats thought Blanche had a feel for poetic language and had brought her own qualities to her performances: "her own little lilt", he said, which was "extraordinarily impressive and poetical". She had - not exactly stage presence but something special about her, Yeats thought: "She is a really beautiful person too and that helps things".

In March 1903 Hugh and other GD members including Pamela Colman-Smith signed a circular Yeats had prepared to raise some money for the Theatre of Beauty. Nothing more was heard of the scheme, though, and I don't think that Blanche would have performed in public, even if the Theatre of Beauty had been able to find funding for some masques.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

I won't go into the wrangling that caused the evolution of the GD into two daughter orders between 1901 and 1903, because neither Hugh nor Blanche Elliot were actively involved in it until the end of the process. They did both stop paying their annual subscriptions to the TS during this time - like many others, they may have not wanted to follow the route the TS in Britain and Europe was now taking (towards Hinduism) now Annie Besant was in charge. In addition, Hugh may have had to concentrate his efforts on helping William Heinemann Ltd stay afloat at the time: in 1899 William Heinemann married Magda Stuart Sindici, who led

her much older husband a fine dance, alienating his friends, spending money like it was going out of style and making a series of disastrous investments on the Stock Exchange. Within two years they had separated and she went to Paris, but while she was demanding William Heinemann's full attention, the firm he'd founded suffered.

In the spring of 1903 those people who were still GD members found themselves having to follow either A E Waite towards the mystical side of magic; or Robert Felkin keeping to the magical side. Hugh Elliot went with Robert Felkin, his friend of several years and fellow investor in Rebmans and Co, into Stella Matutina (SM), which began to meet in the basement of Felkin's house at 47 Bassett Road north Kensington. No administrative papers from SM exist now. There are lists of new members but the names of the GD members who were in at the start, and the list of people who acted as its officers have been lost. R A Gilbert believes that Hugh was SM's Cancellarius in its early years. I think Blanche was a member too, as she recruited two of her relations. Her sister Lucy joined SM in 1907 and Lucy and Blanche's first cousin, Archer Corbet, became a member in 1906. Archer was the son of Rachel Frances Bruce's younger brother, the wonderfully-named Rev Athelstan Corbet. It's likely, though, that the Elliots had ceased to be active members of SM before the Felkins emigrated to New Zealand in 1916.

After the war, John William Brodie-Innes revived the GD's old Edinburgh-based temple of Amen-Ra. By 1921 there was a branch of it in London. Hugh Elliot was the London branch's imperator, with Carnegie Dickson as its cancellarius - son of George Dickson, a GD member in Edinburgh in the 1890s.

THE REST OF LIFE

Florence ffoulkes' husband, Hugh's fellow undergraduate and freemason Henry Wynne ffoulkes, died in 1904. So did Florence's father. As a result Florence never committed herself to either of the GD's daughter orders. She had to leave the vicarage just outside Nottingham where Henry had been the rector, of course. She chose to move to London, perhaps so that she could be near her friends the Elliots, now she was alone. In 1911, Blanche's relations Archer Corbet, his wife Anne Maria and their newly-born son John Vincent were living in Florence's house at 4 Nevern Square, Earl's Court while she was staying with her mother and sister in Ascot.

Francis Rebman left England and returned to the USA in 1906. Rebmans and Co did continue for a few years. Hugh and Robert Felkin were left as its major players though they may not have agreed on its future direction: Robert Felkin was wanting to expand the firm's publishing specialisms to feature more books on esotericism. Rebman's was a small firm, operating on very little capital; to expand its operations would require investment and energy and Hugh was probably unwilling to commit more of either of those things to it. And then the case about Bloch's book came long.

In 1909 Rebman's was prosecuted under the Obscene Prints Act, after publishing a medical work whose title in English was *The Sexual Life of Our Time*. The book was typical of the type of text Rebman's specialised in: a handbook for doctors, originally in German, by Professor Ivan Bloch of Berlin. It was unfortunate, then, that a member of the public saw some copies and complained to the police about their content. The police went to Rebman's offices and impounded all the copies they could find. Hugh Elliot and Robert Felkin decided to fight the case, and hired a barrister with expertise on what was considered obscenity. At

the case's initial hearing, a magistrate ordered that all copies be destroyed, despite agreeing with Mr Bodkin (the chosen expert) that it was a textbook not pornography. Rebmans appealed against the decision and the legal fees began to rise. In the long run, Bodkin seems to have made his point about Bloch's book: its publication was allowed and it became a standard work on the subject of human reproductive health. But the cost of defending it in court was too much for Rebmans: by 1911 it had been bought out by William Ryder and Hugh's connection with it had ended.

I believe Hugh continued to work for William Heinemann Ltd, or to advise it, even after William Heinemann died in 1920, and probably into the 1930s. He and Blanche didn't have the kind of income they could have expected if he had been a successful barrister; but Hugh was probably happier in the work. The Elliots were living carefully in 1911, possibly because of the costs of Rebman's legal case, coming with at the same time as fees for Lettice's schooling: on census day that year, Hugh and Blanche were living at 6 More's Garden (More's Garden is a big block of flats on Cheyne Walk) and only had one servant living-in. They continued their policy of moving on fairly quickly, however, and were no longer at that address in 1925.

Because they only had a daughter, Blanche and Hugh Elliot were spared parental involvement in the first World War. The war years were, nevertheless, punctuated for them by the deaths of relatives of Blanche. Blanche's mother Rachel Augusta and her sister Clara died within three months of each other at the beginning of 1916. Blanche's sister Amy's husband died a few months later; perhaps the Elliots didn't know him very well, as he and Amy had been living in the USA, probably since the 1890s. It wasn't all death and mourning, however: in February 1917, Lettice Elliot married Flight Sub-Lieutenant Michael Birkbeck of the Royal Navy. Blanche and Hugh's only grandchild - a son this time, James Birkbeck - was born at the end of that grim year.

This is all very speculative, but a passing reference in the biography of John Coakley Lettsum made me wonder whether Hugh and Blanche had separated, possibly around 1929 when the Law Lists show Hugh with an address in the Temple for the first time for many years. The author of the biography of John Coakley Lettsum says that Hugh was living in chambers in the Temple while the book was being prepared (which was 1932-33). It's not common - at least, I don't think so - for married couples to live above the legal chambers. That they were separated might explain another snippet of information that puzzled me: when Blanche died early in 1947, her death was registered in Bath. She might have moved there to escape the Blitz, or just been there on a visit, or in a hospital; but the two pieces of information have made me wonder. Perhaps by the 1930s Hugh Elliot was closer to Florence ffoulkes than to Blanche: when Florence died in July 1936, Hugh was one of her executors.

Hugh retired from work as a barrister in 1939 or 1940, and moved out of the Temple; he died in December 1948, at home at 10 Wilbraham Place Sloane Square.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

ELEANOR'S FATHER ROBERT BRUCE:

New Annual Army List, Militia List and Yeomanry Cavalry List 1879 p116.

Modern English Biography by Frederic Boase, 1965. Volume IV supplement to the original Volume 1.

Neither of those mention Robert Bruce's period in Corfu. The sources for that are the birth registration of Eleanor Blanche's elder sister Isabel Bruce; and a letter written by Edward Lear:

At www.spectator.co.uk, issue of 2 June 2012, article Old Man of Corfu - Happy 200th Birthday, Edward Lear. The article mentions a letter written in Corfu by Lear in 1862 in which he relates a funny incident. He was working painting when he stopped to watch a march-past of British troops. "Colonel Bruce" gave him a salute and Lear waved back, forgetting he'd got his hands full of paintbrushes. The paint went all over his beard and could only be got off with turps.

BLANCHE'S SISTERS

CONSTANCE

There's a photograph of Constance Gore in full court dress, on the web, taken on 4 June 1914 in as she was about to go to Buckingham Palace to present her acquaintance the Countess Sondes to Queen Mary. The website is lafayette.org.uk/gor5766a.html which shows records of The Lafayette Studio of 179 New Bond St. At homepages.roots.web.ancestry.com there's a Vans family archive. Constance married barrister Francis Charles Gore 1846-1940; he was the senior solicitor at the Inland Revenue. They had three sons and one daughter. Further details at website www.thepeerage.com <http://www.thepeerage.com>

ISABEL

Isabel's birth registration: www.C5d.co.uk/militarybirths.php is a list of babies born to troops stationed in the Ionian Islands which were owned by the British from 1818 to 1864.

AUGUSTA RACHEL

Blanche's sister Augusta Rachel Bruce probably caused as much consternation as pleasure in the family when she got engaged at the age of 46. In some respects it was an excellent (though belated) marriage, but her groom-to-be was a full decade her junior. She married Sir Stewart Blakeley Agnew Patterson of the Indian Army political department in January 1908. They lived in India, on the north-west frontier amongst other places, until the late 1920s when Patterson was appointed a government advisor and they returned to live in Roehampton.

Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry 1969 edition volume 2 p71 gives details of her marriage.

There are references to her husband, Sir Stewart Blakeley Agnew Patterson KCVO, CSI, CIE at www.npg.org.uk; and www.bl.uk.

AMY GERTRUDE

Website www.thepeerage.com gives details of her marriage in 1888 to Thomas Edward Erskine. Family web pages at www.tribalpages.com a list of people named Erskine, with DOBs and DODs and places of both; but with no indication as to the sources of the information. Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal: Mortimer-Percy Volume by the Marquis de Ruvigny and Ranieval published 1911 P227.

Official Manual of the State of Missouri issued by its Secretary of State 1909 p508 has Thomas Edward Erskine in a list of foreign consuls resident in St Louis Missouri. The same information appears in the 1913 edition p511.

London Gazette issue of 28 January 1916 p1125 in a Foreign Office bulletin dated 16 January 1916: Thomas Edward Erskine was appointed HM Consul-General for the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida; with official residence in New Orleans.

LUCY MARGARET

Website www.strangehistory.net posted 5 March 2013 mentions a mystic, "Miss Lucy Bruce" who lived on Iona. But a reply to this posting says that Blanche's sister is NOT that person.

THE ELLIOTS

Lettsom: His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants by James Johnston Abraham. Published London: William Heinemann Medical Books Ltd 1933.

Via the web, for sale at abebooks and elsewhere:

A Letter to the Electors of Westminster, from an Aristocrat written by John Lettsom Elliot 1850.

Three to One: A Comedy in Two Acts 1850

Five to Two: A Comedy in Three Acts 1851.

John Lettsom Elliot's two marriages, via familysearch:

1 = England-EASy GS film number 413277: 16 July 1829 at St James Westminster. John Lettsom Elliot born 1808 to Marie Antoinette des Jardins.

2 = England-ODM GS film number 1042324: on 10 February 1863 at St James Westminster: John Lettsom Elliot to Harriet Countess of Guildford (correctly Guilford) daughter of Henry Warde.

GEORGE CRAVEN ARMSTRONG

London Gazette p434 in the middle of a long list of army promotions; unfortunately I couldn't see the date of the issue. Promotions to Lieutenant-Colonel included that of George Craven Armstrong of the Bengal Native Infantry (NI).

Via nationalarchives.gov.uk to a list of Begnal Army service files held at the India Office. File IOR/L/MIL/10/25/403 is George Craven Armstrong's: 47th NI, retired December 1853.

See also GEORGE CARLYON ARMSTRONG Charlotte Elliot's brother: DNB Supplement issued 1912; and elsewhere. Newspaper magnate and Tory party wheeler-dealer.

GERALD BURRELL GEACH

At www.geach.net there are details of the descendants of Charles Skally Geach 1833-64 and his wife Harriet Georgina Burrell.

London Gazette 1 August 1882 p3582 list of promotions in the 4th Dragoon Guards.

Via www.newspapers.com to Guardian issue of 19 July 1899 p14 death notice for Captain Gerald Burrell Geach of 4th (Royal Irish) Dragoon Guards.

GEORGE HENDER GEACH

At desturmobed.blogspot.co.uk pages on Lesser-Known Writers, the page on Eleonora Frederika Adolphine Sgonina, who married George Hender Geach in 1915. Blogger has probably got the information from: Peter Geach: Philosophical Encounters by P T Geach and H A Lewis 1991 p1. Peter Geach is George and Eleonora's son.

ETHEL OSBORNE

Osborne v Hargreave and its sequels:

The short account in the New York Times of 23 December 1891 is easy to get to via the web.

The reports in the Times appeared on the following days: the slander trial 16 December 1891 to 23 December 1891; Ethel's appearances in the dock as a criminal on 5, 6 and 8 February 1892; 10 March 1892. The Times was anxious to assure its readers that at no time when on remand in Holloway did Ethel have to mix with the rest of the prisoners; she was kept in the infirmary. And she was allowed out after serving only a few weeks of her sentence, on health grounds. The grounds might have been justified but never let it be said that there isn't one law for the rich and another for the poor in England.

The Quarterly Register of Current History volume 1 1892 editor is Alfred S Johnson p499 describes Osborne v Hargreave as the greatest sensation since the Tichborne case.

A later account of the trial appears in: Famous Trials Re-Told: Some Society causes célèbres by Horace Wyndham. Published Hutchinson and Co. Via the web I saw a publication date of 1925; however the BL's copy is date-stamped "26MAY43". Pp117-128.

Some Piquant People by Lincoln Springfield. Published T F Unwin Ltd 1924 pp65-66 re Osborne v Hargreave as providing some plot for Mrs Dane's Defence and Loyalties. He spells Elliot with two t's. Further details of both plays from wikipedia.

Evidence that the Osbornes may have been divorced is from a form of words on the Will of Ethel Osborne at the probate registry: she is described as a "single woman". However, I couldn't find certain evidence of any divorce proceedings.

EVELYN YUNGE-BATEMAN

The Lancet volume 1 1894 p1043 in a list of marriages: on 16 April [1894] Evelyn Gertrude to Marcus Yonge (sic) Bateman of Folkestone, MRCS, graduate of Cambridge University.

That Evelyn's husband's name is Marcus Yunge Bateman see General Medical Council lists: 1st registered 1887; MRCS; Licensed by the Society of Apothecaries of London 1887; Diploma in Public Health Cambridge University 1892.

FRANCIS RIVERSDALE ELLIOT

Hart's Annual Army List 1891 p861 Francis Riversdale Elliot es a 2nd Lieutenant with date 3 March 1888.

By the time of John Lettsom Elliot's death in 1898 he's a major-general: probate registry entry for John Lettsom Elliot: Francis and Hugh are joint executors.

HUGH ELLIOT AND WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

William Heinemann: A Memoir by Frederic Whyte. Published NOT by William Heinemann Ltd but by Jonathan Cape 1928: p298. And see also his page on wikipedia.

HUGH ELLIOT AND REBMANs

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III covering 1901-04 p328 footnote 3 for Hugh's address at that time and his connections with the two publishing firms.

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn and Blount of Paternoster House EC 1938 p173-74 has something on Rebman and Co, particularly Felkin's involvement; but Waite is talking about 1908.

Another man involved with Rebman and Co is mentioned by Waite but not by name; I think the anonymous man is Hugh Elliot. It's Waite who says that Rebman and Co were taken over by William Ryder.

HUGH AS A FREEMASON

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE 2076

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume II 1889 unnumbered pages at the end of volume list all current full and corresponding members. On [p11] as corresponding member number 272 John Hugh Armstrong Elliot of 6 King's Bench Walk, Temple, with joining date October 1889. As member of lodge 1523 where he was currently WM; and of lodge 1118.

ST MARY MAGDALENE LODGE 1523

Typescript history of the lodge, at Freemasons' Library: St Mary Magdalene Lodge 1523: 1875-1975 by T L Dewhurst. Published London 1975.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LODGE 1118

The History of Oxford and Cambridge University Lodge number 1118 1866-1966 by E W R Peterson MA. Pp31-39 and pp44-49.

Oxford and Cambridge Lodge 1118 and R A Chapter: Notes from the Minute Books compiled by Horace Nelson. No publication details but preface [p6] dated 31 December 1925. P9-12, pp14-20.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. I looked at the issues of 1880, 1885, 1888 and 1900.

Issue of 1880 p40; and p113 where Hugh doesn't appear in the list of current members.

Issue of 1885 pp80-81, pp127-128.

Issue of 1888 p47 restriction on numbers and list of members at 31° level.

Issue of 1900 p219.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College 1890-91 p1-2 meeting of 10 April 1890 - Hugh is one of the candidates for membership of SRIA's metropolitan college.

Transactions 1902 p2 meeting of 10 April 1902 p4 Elliot formally elected celebrant for April 1902 to April 1903 despite not having done the deputy's job in 1901-02.

HUGH IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Legal career of his sponsor John William Brodie-Innes: The Scots Law Times volume 2 1912 p53.

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p108 entry for Hugh Elliot. Application February 1894, subscriptions paid 1894-1904.

Theosophical Society Membership Register March 1895 to June 1898 p113: the only new TS member to be sponsored by Hugh and Blanche Elliot applied to join in 1896. He was Robert H Godwin, about whom I know nothing; he was never a GD member.

Hugh as possible author of a pamphlet on theosophy:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume V September 1889 to February 1890, editors Blavatsky and Annie Besant. Published Theosophical Publishing Co of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. In the original Volume V issue of 15 November 1889 p259.

BLANCHE IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p248 entry for Eleanor Blanche Bruce “now Mrs Elliott” (sic). Application February 1895, yearly subscription paid 1895-1902. In Theosophical Society Membership Register March 1895 to June 1898 p209 December 1897 application of Isabel Bruce.

THE GOLDEN DAWN

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73. Letter from Hugh at 7 Smith Square, to Frederick Leigh Gardner 26 December 1896; declining to sign the petition to reinstate Annie Horniman.

BLANCHE'S PERFORMANCE POETRY

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-04 p262 in letter Yeats to Lady Gregory 27 November 1902 p2364 though he spells her surname as ElliotT.

THE THEATRE OF BEAUTY

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III covering 1901-04 p328. There's a lot on Yeats' part in The Theatre of Beauty, see for example W B Yeats: A Life. Volume 1 The Apprentice Mage by R F Foster. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, paperback edition 1998. The index has it in under 'masquers' not under 'theatre of beauty'. Chapters 10 pp257-259; Chapter 11 pp290-91; and note 38 p587.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

STELLA MATUTINA'S Amoun Temple

RAG's Golden Dawn Companion Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press 1986 p41, p166.

AMEN-RA TEMPLE

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73. Letter from Mabel Curtis Webb dated 5 December 1921.

HUGH ELLIOT AS A BARRISTER

Oxford Historical Register 1220-1900 p671 John H A Elliot attended Magdalen College Oxford. Graduated with a degree in Jurisprudence 1884.

Called to the bar: Times 8 May 1887 p10.

Law Lists 1887 to 1940.

MORE'S GARDEN CHEYNE WALK

Seen Nov 2013 at www.bonhams.com/auctions/20716/lot/603 due to be sold 26 Nov 2013: a first edition of Charles Morgan's My Name is Legion published by Heinemann's Ltd 1925. Signed by the author 1925 and giving 6 More's Garden as his current address.

In A City at Risk: A Contemporary Look at London's Streets published Hutchinson 1970, author Simon Jenkins on p164 describes More's Garden as “an ugly block of flats called, with massive presumption, More's Garden”.

LETTICE ANN ELLIOT

The Hall Harpenden: information on the teachers from the 1911 census. Rest of the information on the school from website www.harpendenhistory.org.uk which is run by the local history society. It has a page on Harpenden Hall including a prospectus for The Hall Harpenden school which the society dates to just pre-1914.

Lettice's marriage:

Via web to www.flightglobal.com which houses the archive of Flight and Flight Global magazine. Flight magazine issue of 18 January 1917 p74.

For information on Michael Birkbeck's family see www.william1.co.uk/w194.htm which seems to be a list of the descendants of William the Conqueror; includes the Carringtons and the Legge-Bourkes. No sources are given for the information in it.

HUGH AS EXECUTOR OF FLORENCE FFOULKES

Times 3 November 1936 p29 legal notice under the Trustee Act 1925.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Frank Tate Ellis was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in September 1888. He chose the Latin motto 'Nova vita'. However, he was about to leave the country and he never took an active part in the Golden Dawn. As early as 1891, a note was added to the GD administrative files saying that he was no longer a member.

I'm sorry I'm not able to describe Frank Tate Ellis's life in greater detail, but to do so would require spending several days if not weeks in Birmingham and Durham, examining original records. It would also require my overcoming some deeply-held prejudices against what Frank did for a living. Despite my views, however, I do think he was one of the GD's most remarkable members: in the 1880s, from a worker's cottage on the outskirts of York to Jerusalem, was a long way.

Frank Tate Ellis was born in 1861, the son of Francis Ellis and his wife Hannah, née Cartwright. Both Francis and Hannah had moved to Acomb from villages a little further from York: Francis from Beningbrough, Hannah from Rufforth. Francis had been a widower when Hannah had married him, so she had taken on the care of his three children from his first marriage: William, John and Wilstrop (the odd forename was his mother's surname). Frank was Francis and Hannah's first child. They had two more, Joseph and Mary Jane.

For about 40 years, Francis Ellis worked as a porter. He mentioned his employer to the census official in 1891; the writing was difficult to read but I think it says "NER Goods". The North Eastern Railway was formed in 1854 by the amalgamation of several railway

companies operating between the Humber and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. York was the NER's hub and the magnificent station building that you see today is one Francis Ellis would have known - it was opened in 1877. The house in Front Street that Francis was living in in 1851 and continued to inhabit until his retirement might have come courtesy of the railway company. I'm not sure what Francis' eldest son did for a living - William had left home by 1871 but the remaining four sons divide into two groups: John became a bricklayer and Joseph followed his father to work for NER; but Wilstrop left York to take up an apprenticeship with a grocer in Hull and later ran his own grocery and drapery business, and Frank also went away, to college.

It seems that Frank was the most studious of all the Ellis sons; and perhaps the most devout. On the day of the 1881 census, he was in Durham, training to be a teacher. He was a student at college called the College of the Venerable Bede when it was founded (in 1838) but known by the time Frank was a student there as Durham Training College for Masters. It was one of the Church of England's training colleges for future schoolmasters in elementary schools. Frank was 20 on the day of the census, and would certainly not have gone there straight from school; the College only accepted young men of 18 or over. His most likely route to the college was via what was normal training for teachers in the 1870s, whereby some older pupils at any school were chosen learn how to teach on the job, by teaching younger pupils. By the time he was taken on by Durham Training College for Masters he might have had six or seven years experience as a pupil-teacher and then a school-master. Frank must have showed an aptitude for his work that was better than most other teachers; and have fulfilled the other important requirement of students at the College, of being a practising Anglican; to be chosen to have further training in this way.

Durham Training College for Masters taught young men while St Hild's College did the same for young women. The training lasted two years, with examinations at the end of each year by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, which will have included being observed taking lessons as well as written papers. All students studied a core curriculum: study of the Bible and of the Church of England prayer-book; English grammar and composition; English history; geography with a focus on the British empire; music; arithmetic; algebra; and - looking ahead to their later careers - school management. In addition there were some optional subjects: Latin, Greek, French and German. Some information I found about Frank from the 1890s indicates that he studied Greek at least, in addition to the basic set of subjects. By the time Frank began at the College, it was training the men (and St Hild's the women) who would in future head the nationwide local authority-run schools set up by the 1870 Education Act. All the students had to agree to work (I couldn't find out for how long) in schools that were part of the 1870 scheme when they graduated - and graduated probably is the right word, because only a few years later the College became part of Durham University and started teaching degree courses.

If Frank went to the Durham Training College when he was 18, on the day of the 1881 census he must have been about to take his second-year exams. There are, therefore, about seven years unaccounted for before he applied for the job that changed his life. I haven't been able to find any information on where he worked. However, the evidence of his involvement in freemasonry suggests he may have taken a job in a school in the Baildon district of Bradford until, in 1888, he accepted the job of headmaster of Bishop Gobat School, which was in Jerusalem.

Frank may have been influenced in his decision to apply for the job at Bishop Gobat School

by the death of his mother Hannah in 1887, which might have cut his closest family tie. Perhaps he was even fulfilling a wish of hers in taking the job. He wrote later about how thrilling it was for him as a devout Christian, to be living in the city where Jesus' death and resurrection had taken place. But he may not have ever left England before setting out to take up his post, and although the CMS had a widespread presence in Palestine, Frank would still be doing something that even most well-travelled Britons never did - taking up permanent residence outside the British empire; in another, Muslim empire.

FREEMASONRY AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

It was in this context that Frank agreed to be initiated into the Golden Dawn. He was a freemason by this time, a member of Baildon Lodge number 1545. Thomas Henry Pattinson and Oliver Firth were also members of the lodge and either of them could have passed Frank's name to the GD hierarchy as a suitable member, though a recommendation by Pattinson would have carried more weight with William Wynn Westcott at least. Westcott and Pattinson were members of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia from which most of the early GD members were drawn. Pattinson became one of the founding members of the GD's Horus temple at Bradford. Frank may also have known two other Bradford residents who were initiated into the GD in due course: Joseph Clayton had had a very varied employment career but in the 1880s he was running a confectioner's shop in the Bowling district of town. In the evenings, however, studied the bible and the Kabbalah, and had taught himself some Hebrew and some Latin. Joseph's daughter Fanny Isabel was an elementary school teacher in Bradford.

Frank will have been well aware that he couldn't be an active member of the GD from Jerusalem, but he might have hoped he'd be able to do some of the study that the GD's founders expected of its member. He didn't do so, though.

In the same month as his GD initiation, Frank also joined the freemasons' lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076, as a corresponding member. The lodge had been founded as a forum for the study of the history of freemasonry. Corresponding members were entitled to receive the lodge's journal. They were also welcome at its meetings if they were in London, a comforting thought to someone about to go and live abroad for an uncertain period of time. It's possible that Frank did attend a *conversazione* held by Quatuor Coronati 2076 in November 1895 at the Holborn Restaurant; though he returned to England very rarely after he moved to Jerusalem. He kept up his membership until around 1900 before letting it drop.

FRANK'S FIRST MARRIAGE

I know hardly anything about it! Except that his first wife's name was Dorothy Forster. I haven't been able to find a record of the marriage using freebmd or familysearch, so I'm fairly sure that it took place in Jerusalem. Frank must have therefore gone to Palestine as a bachelor and there are two possible scenarios: that he and Dorothy were engaged when he accepted the job in Jerusalem and she joined him there when he had got himself settled in; or that Dorothy already lived in Jerusalem and Frank met her there. If Dorothy did live in Jerusalem, it was not as a missionary with the CMS: I don't remember seeing her name in a list of CMS workers I used. Scenario one is more likely, I think. The marriage lasted three years at the very most: Dorothy died, in Jerusalem, in April 1891.

FRANK'S SECOND MARRIAGE

In 1894, Frank married Charlotte Low in Jerusalem. It's the most startling marriage I've discovered amongst the GD members, because Charlotte was from a level of society several rungs above that of Frank's family. She was a descendant of William Makepeace Thackeray through a couple of families in the landed gentry; and her father, John Alves Low, was for a time an officer in the royal artillery in the North-West Provinces of India, where Charlotte was born between 1864 and 1866 (I haven't been able to find a record of the birth). The rigid class divides of previous centuries were beginning to break down in the late 19th, but more at the top of the scale than nearer the bottom, and a marriage between the landed gentry/officer class and the lower middle class was very unusual.

I found Charlotte, her mother Jane, and a younger sister (Augusta) living in Somerset in 1871. By this time John Alves Low had retired from the royal artillery but he was not living with his wife and children. In the decade between 1871 and 1881 Augusta Low died and Jane and Charlotte moved to Guildford, where John Low was still not living with them on the day of the 1881 census. It makes me wonder if Jane and John were, in fact, discreetly separated.

In 1880, the 14-year-old Charlotte Low had made clear her missionary ambitions in a letter to the CMS magazine for young people, the CMS Juvenile Instructor. Perhaps she took after her mother in this respect: I can't find any information at all about Jane Low after 1881 - where she was living, where and when she died - but I noticed a Mrs Low in a list of missionaries working for the CMS in Palestine in the 1880s, and that might be her. Charlotte Low was working as a missionary with the CMS in Palestine by 1891, having answered the CMS's cry for women recruits of a particular kind. All charities could always do with more money than they've got, and CMS was no exception; for this and other reasons I spell out more clearly below, the CMS asked unmarried women volunteers to come forward to go to Palestine and take a few pupils into their own homes for Bible and other study. Such in-the-home teachers would have no official status; and the volunteers would have to pay their own living and other expenses. The only women who could possibly answer such a call would be those with a private income; so Charlotte must have had one, however small it was, because she was one of those (few) who answered the call. Like the others, she will have been hampered at the outset by being unable to speak any Arabic; but like the others, she learned it. She will also have had to struggle against the attitudes of local men to their women - that there was no reason why they should be educated. Charlotte could have continued this informal teaching scheme after she and Frank were married. She might even have had more room to carry it out, in the headmaster's house. However, she would also have found herself with other duties, to do with her husband's job.

I have not found any evidence that Frank had any children.

JERUSALEM

I shan't write a history of Jerusalem during Frank Tate Ellis' time living there. That would take too much time and too many words. I'm going to concentrate on a few issues, beginning with what the CMS was doing there and what part Frank played in its work. Then I'm going to give a quick description of what life in Jerusalem might have been like for him. And I'll mention some important events in the history of the city which will have made a difference to him.

When I began my research on Frank's life I rather supposed that the CMS would be working

to convert Muslims to Christianity. That is what they would have liked to have done; and what they set out to do when they began sending missionaries in the 1850s. However, after their first mission in the Turkish empire (in Constantinople) had aroused local fury, the Turkish authorities issued a set of guidelines making it almost impossible for them to do the work they wanted to: Christian missionaries were forbidden to debate; or to hold meetings explaining Christianity, either in public or in private; or to do anything that the local authorities saw as denigrating Islam. In addition, it seems that in its enthusiasm to save souls, the CMS had overlooked an important fact of the Turkish empire: anyone converting from Islam to another religion was breaking the law and might face the death penalty. And in Palestine the CMS faced other problems: the Church of England had a separate organisation which attempted to convert Jews to Christianity. The majority of Jerusalem's population being Jewish, and most of the rest being Muslims, the CMS workers in the city and surrounding villages were left having to focus all their efforts on followers of the ancient Christian churches of Palestine. The Turkish authorities did not really care about that, of course, but it caused debate back in Britain and probably meant the CMS didn't receive as many charitable donations they might have done.

Bishop Gobat School was one of many such schools that had been founded in Palestine by Samuel Gobat, who was consecrated second Anglican bishop of Jerusalem in 1846 after a long spell as a missionary in Ethiopia. All of the bishop's schools had been taken over by the CMS in 1875-76. Their expenses were not paid from the CMS's funds but by charitable donations made for that purpose and (if I've understood this right) paid directly to the schools. Frank's salary will have reflected the fact that the school's employees were expected to have a vocation and not be working solely for the money; and that the school was funded by donors who wouldn't want to see any evidence of extravagant expenditure. However, in addition to what was probably a modest wage, he had a house provided on the school premises. Perhaps the CMS made it clear to Frank that it was desirable for the headmaster to be a married man; his wife - for no extra pay - could take on the role of school matron, and together they could set an example of Christian marriage to the pupils.

Frank was almost certainly Bishop Gobat School's only British employee. Most teachers and other staff in CMS schools were local people. A list of CMS employees from the early 1900s shows only five British laymen (rather than clerics) working for them in Palestine. I wonder whether Frank could speak Arabic when he arrived in Jerusalem? I would guess not, though lessons may have been provided once he'd started work. I'm not sure how much actual teaching Frank did; probably not much. His role was managerial and when he was offered the job I'm sure he saw it as a promotion. It was he who prepared the school's annual report to be sent to the CMS's head office in London; who attempted to balance the books; and who supervised on the spot the long-term plans that CMS head office wanted carried out. These plans included a big reorganisation of its resources and buildings, which Frank had perhaps campaigned for: even before he had arrived in Jerusalem the school was full, and its rooms crowded. In 1898 its older pupils, their baggage and their teachers moved out to other buildings, creating a separate high school which in due course became Jerusalem's English College. Frank stayed in charge of what had been the lower school, in the buildings on Mt Zion that had been built for the school when it was founded.

Frank had to play his part in trying to raise the funds that kept the school going from year to year. An article he wrote for a boys' book on missionaries almost certainly had fund-raising in mind; but also, possibly, future missionary recruitment. Frank gave his schoolboy readers an account of daily life at the school, trying to make it seem like the British prep schools his readers might know (and he could not have known from personal experience): the pupils

were all boys and all boarders; they had lessons all the morning; followed by lunch and a break - for cricket (no football here) Frank said, or help with the washing-up; more lessons in the afternoon; and homework in the evening. There were differences of course: English was a second language to the boys, who all spoke Arabic at home; they ate the local food, not a typically English diet; grace before meals was an Arabic hymn; and some pupils were taken out of school and not allowed to return when their relatives found out what they were learning. I know it was not Frank's fault that he had all the prejudices of his age and background, but he made quite a point of telling his readers firstly that the pupils were "not black as many people think"; and secondly that they had to be taught how to use a knife and fork. With a passing reference to the restrictions CMS was working under, Frank explained that the school was not in the business of training missionaries - at least, not as such; he just hoped that when they left the school and returned to their home villages, their style of life would encourage their neighbours to come forward for conversion. He did not say that most of the pupils had been Christians to start with and he may have given his readers the wrong impression - which might even have been intentional: after all, schoolboys are most unlikely to have known that the CMS was forbidden to seek converts amongst the Muslim population. One source I found did say that occasionally the school might take in Muslim children but it was under very specific circumstances: from time to time CMS schools had dumped on them (by Muslim men) the children of a widow that they were about to marry, as they didn't want to go to the bother and expense of bringing them up. The widow having no say in the matter, apparently.

The CMS had missions all over the world, so no one area could expect to have too much personal attention from members of the CMS hierarchy. It must have been very pleasant, then, for the CMS's workers in Palestine to receive a boost in the shape of a visit from Ernest Graham Ingham, who had taken the job of Home Secretary of the CMS in 1897 after surviving 15 years as the bishop of Sierra Leone. He and his wife arrived in Jerusalem in April 1910, as part of a world-wide tour of inspection of CMS missions. They stayed with Frank and Charlotte at the headmaster's house, and Frank undertook to show them Jerusalem.

I give details of where Frank took Bishop Ingham and his wife partly because I have so little information about Frank's life, and partly because I expect Frank gave the Inghams a standard set of walks that all his visitors were likely to want to follow. The Inghams had timed their visit to coincide with Easter and with a conference of CMS workers in Palestine. Ingham must have begun his stay with a tour of the school compound and perhaps even sat in on some lessons. He mentions in his account of his time in Jerusalem that despite having 90 pupils and a shortage of space, the school coped very well - which must be down to Frank's management. The Inghams' first full day in Jerusalem was Easter Sunday, and Bishop Ingham's first priority was a formal call on the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, bishop Blyth. That duty done, Frank took his guests to Christ Church Mt Zion, where Bishop Ingham preached the Easter Day sermon. After the service, Frank led the Inghams to the archaeological site dug by the Palestine Exploration Fund and said by the PEF's archaeologists to be the Green Hill Without The City Wall. They paused there while Ingham read aloud, from his Greek-language New Testament, St Luke's account of the crucifixion; and all three prayed. This first guided walk finished with a visit to the Garden Tomb. On the morning of the following day, Easter Monday, Frank took the Inghams on a tour which included Solomon's Temple; the Dome of the Rock; the Al-Aqsa mosque - where the bishop admired the Turkish carpets on the floor - and the building known as King Solomon's stables. Then they went to Bethesda and Gabbatha and the house thought to be Pontius Pilate's home and office headquarters, where the Roman official had washed his hands and allowed Jesus to be condemned. The next port of call was a spot where they could all look down seven feet below the current street level to an exposed stretch of the supposed Via Dolorosa; before the

three ended their long walk at the Tower of Antonia. Then, I think, Frank had to go back to work, because beginning on the Tuesday, the Inghams made two trips out of town to visit CMS workers elsewhere: a one-day visit to Bethlehem and Olivet; and a two night stay at Jericho. They didn't take Frank with them on either trip. The CMS's spring conference began in Jerusalem at the end of that week. The Inghams attended its first session and then spent the weekend doing more devotional sight-seeing before leaving Jerusalem on Tuesday 5 April, to travel by train and boat to Cairo.

The support shown by bishop Ingham was a welcome break from the normal aggravation of living in the Turkish empire. Frank arrived in Jerusalem just before an event important in the economy of the city: he will have had to make the journey from the port of Jaffa by cart or on the back of a mule but in 1892 the two cities were finally connected by rail. Almost at once Jerusalem saw an increase in the number of people prepared to visit the city and businesses such as hotels and the provision of guides to the biblical sites soon sprang up. The increased visitor numbers were a two-edged sword for the CMS however: Christian pilgrims from Britain - perhaps supporters of the CMS already - could watch the missions at work and meet the workers; but the CMS's relationship with the rulers of Jerusalem will have been further strained.

No Christians were given much favour by the Turkish authorities in Jerusalem, but the CMS's missionaries complained continually about the attitude of the Turkish-appointed governor and his staff towards them personally. The CMS wanted to carry on their missionary work unthreatened. The authorities in Jerusalem were not prepared to give any special protection to a group of people whose opinion of Islam and Muslims was so scathing. The situation for all British residents of Palestine was made worse by British actions in Egypt and the Sudan: British people were taking the brunt of local hostility to what was going on there and the Turkish authorities were naturally concerned about where the increasing British involvement was going to end.

The control of the Turkish empire over its constituent parts was in slow decline in any case, and safety especially on the roads could not be guaranteed. In his article in *Boys and Boys* Frank mentions in passing an incident where some travellers were set upon and robbed at the gates of his school; if the travellers had been British I think Frank would have said so. He was also lucky to escape with his life on a trip out of the city. In April 1893, it being the school holidays, Frank and two acquaintances decided to make a trip to visit the Dead Sea and Jordan. The two acquaintances were a Mr Noel, who was staying at a hotel in the city; and an unnamed English woman - perhaps it was Charlotte Low - it's not clear from my source whether the woman was a resident or another traveller. As was usual on such a trip, they took what they considered were adequate precautions: together with mules, donkeys and a horse for Mr Noel, they hired a "dragoman" - a local guide - some more local men to take charge of the mules and run the camp, and a native soldier. Despite their guard, at least one of whom was armed, their convoy was attacked on the way back from Jericho. About 15 shots were fired, and the soldier, the dragoman and one of the mule handlers ran off and left Frank and his companions to the mercy of the bandits - perhaps they were all part of the plot. One shot killed the donkey Frank was riding on, but he managed to scramble clear unhurt while Mr Noel tried to protect the woman and her donkey with his horse. The bandits seized the mules and while they were leading them and all their baggage away, Frank and his two companions were able to get back to Jericho and take refuge in an inn. They made it safely to Jerusalem the following day where their story was soon all over town. Edward Herbert Fison, of the Suffolk fertiliser-making firm, had only been in Jerusalem 10 days, but he heard it, and wrote a letter to the *Times* about it, the point he was making being that attacks like that

were happening fairly often around Jerusalem. I shouldn't imagine that Frank, Mr Noel and the unnamed English woman were attacked because they were British, or because Frank worked for the CMS. They were attacked because their impressive convoy made it look as though they had things worth stealing, to people who were desperately poor. And that was the problem in Palestine.

Not all Frank's expeditions out of Jerusalem ended in robbery on the high road. On another occasion, in September 1895, he made it to Caesarea and back without mishap. While he was inspecting the ancient town, he copied out a Greek inscription he noticed on a marble slab. A translation of the inscription by Dr A S Murray of the Palestine Exploration Fund was published in 1896.

Ex-pat communities are small and the world of the British in Palestine was a very small one indeed as the country lacked the usual group of locally-based businessmen and official British representatives (although it did have a Consul). If British residents felt beleaguered, it was not surprising. The German presence in Palestine was far more important than the British one, reflecting as it did a political alliance between the ancient Turkish empire and the newly-constructed German one ruled over by Wilhelm II (kaiser bill). When Frank arrived in Jerusalem, it won't have taken him much time to notice the extent of German charitable work in the city: there were several hospitals including one for children and one giving shelter to lepers; there was a school run by a German order of deaconesses; and there was an orphanage; all financed and most run by Germans. The Germans had control of the Hospital of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, a privilege bestowed on them by the Turkish emperor. And there were German colonists in Palestine: farmers in the area around Haifa and Jaffa; and another group (mostly craftsmen) in Jerusalem itself, who called themselves the Templar Society, Protestants so extreme they had been ejected from the Lutheran community in Germany. The Templar Society were in Jerusalem to prepare for the Second Coming, but they were waiting they had built their own small village around Emek Refaim street in the district now called Moshava. In October 1898 the German presence in Jerusalem was given an enormous boost by a visit from the emperor and empress of Germany with an entourage that required 1500 pack mules and as many carriage horses to move and feed it. They had come to Palestine directly from a state visit to Constantinople. After taking three days to travel by road (not by rail) from Jaffa, Wilhelm II and empress Viktoria Augusta entered Jerusalem on horseback almost as if they were a victorious army, before camping on German-owned ground in the city. On Monday 31 October 1898 they were present at the consecration of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer; perhaps Frank had a view of at least part of the day's festivities as the new church was on Mt Zion, near his school. The day after, the imperial visitors moved on to Jericho, the Dead Sea and the River Jordan before making their way north to the Lebanon.

The visit completely upstaged the consecration a few days before of the Anglican Collegiate Church of St George the Martyr. In the Times, the new Anglican church was given one paragraph on one day, while the visit of the rulers of Germany occupied its columns for several weeks, indicating how threatening the newspaper's owners thought the visit was. The new Anglican church was the pet project of bishop of Jerusalem George Francis Popham Blyth (uncle of GD member Lilian Blyth-Praeger). Bishop Blyth had been appointed in 1887 and in his early years in-post, he had done his best to take control of all missionary work in Jerusalem. The CMS had fought him tooth and nail and the dispute had ended up going before the archbishop of Canterbury - who confirmed the CMS's independence. Relations amongst the two Anglican camps living in Jerusalem were therefore bad; but it might have given them all pause to have the importance of Germany in the Turkish empire paraded

before them so ostentatiously at a time of increasing tension between the two nations which even people living abroad must have been aware of.

In 1908, CMS workers must have been astonished when some of the restrictions under which they had been working were lifted by a new constitution for the Turkish empire which allowed freedom of conscience amongst other civil liberties. CMS missionaries now had freedom to seek converts even amongst Muslims; and could claim recourse to the law if necessary. In theory. It was still up to local governors to choose to implement the new constitution; or to drag their feet.

It still behoved the CMS to tread very cautiously. And unfortunately the new constitution coincided with a particularly troubled period for the CMS's finances: Frank and all other headmasters of schools in Palestine were told that they had to find more money locally and that the CMS's work at the elementary level would be reduced. Frank managed to survive these cuts, obviously, as Bishop Gobat school continued in operation.

The new freedoms had only been in place a few years before the first World War began, with the Turkish empire entering it on the side of Germany. Although I haven't been able to find out much about the lives of British residents of Jerusalem at this time, it must have made their situation as undesirable aliens even more precarious. As far as I know, Bishop Gobat school continued in operation throughout and Frank continued to do his job as well as he was able in circumstances that by 1917 comprised (according to a Times correspondent and I'm not sure how much he or she was to be trusted) devaluation of the currency and shortages of basics like bread. Charitable funds coming from Britain to pay his wages and the school's upkeep had in any case been in decline since around 1900; the CMS was curtailing its overseas commitments by that time because of a lack of donations. So the war years will have been a particularly difficult time for Frank and Charlotte; they may have had good cause to be concerned for the safety of themselves as well as their pupils.

If the inhabitants of Palestine were hoping to avoid the war being fought over their territory they may have been disabused of that idea by early 1916, when there was fighting in Sinai that was kept a secret from Britain but which residents of Jerusalem might have heard rumours of. With new commander General Allenby in charge, an advance into Palestine from Egypt by an army including troops from France, Italy, the West Indies and India as well as the UK began at the end of October 1917. By mid-November Allenby's troops were moving towards Hebron and Jerusalem and perhaps the planes they had with them could be seen bombing the retreating Turkish troops and doing reconnaissance flights over the hills. Frank and the other British residents must have feared the worst while at the same time longing for a British victory. However, I couldn't find any evidence that the Turkish authorities took out their peril on foreign residents, and it seems that Allenby's strategy was to avoid an all-out assault on all those religious buildings so important to so many faiths, if it was at all possible - he concentrated on cutting off access to and from Jerusalem by road and rail. There was fierce fighting in the hills to the south-west of Jerusalem at the end of November and into December, but on 8 December 1917 the city's last lines of communication were cut and on 9 December - a Sunday - the mayor of Jerusalem surrendered the city. Allenby and his senior officers entered Jerusalem - on foot - on 12 December. A military governor was put in charge to get the city back on its feet and repair damaged infrastructure, and at last CMS workers in Palestine could feel that their lives there would be protected. Not their work, though: the price of their safety under British rule was the loss, in the long term, of all they had been working for: on 2 November 1917 Foreign Secretary Balfour had confirmed in a letter to the 2nd Baron Rothschild that the British government would support the idea of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. Bishop Gobat school continued in operation until 1948, but closed down

after the British left.

Frank himself continued as headmaster of Bishop Gobat's school for a decade under British rule, until he retired in 1927. He was awarded the MBE to commemorate his long service and the contribution he had made to raising the standards of education in Palestine.

One of the drawbacks to even the most exciting job outside Britain was that you would probably not be able to get back in time or at all to be there at weddings and funerals; you would, inevitably, become estranged from your family. Frank's father Francis had retired at some time between 1891 and 1901. He went to live with his son Wilstrop Ellis, his wife Elizabeth and their family, above Wilstrop's grocery business in Witherwick, Hull. He lived on until he was 85, dying in 1915; but he and Frank will have had to say what was likely to be their last goodbyes many years before. Frank at least had nephews and nieces, and by that time great-nephews and great-nieces, living in England; but he had probably never met them. Charlotte's father was still alive and living in Britain; but I've said in my account of her childhood that she seems hardly to have known him. Making decisions in 1927 about his retirement, Frank and Charlotte chose to stay in Jerusalem, where their friends and their lives' work were. They moved to a house in the German district of the city but unfortunately Frank didn't enjoy a long retirement, perhaps he was already ill. He died in the English Mission Hospital on 5 March 1928. Even then, Charlotte chose to continue her missionary work rather than retire to England. She may have spent a few weeks in England in 1932, after her father finally died at the age of 92; but she died in Jerusalem in 1938. Frank and both his wives are buried in Jerusalem's Protestant cemetery.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

FRANK BECOMES A TEACHER

Frank is listed amongst the current students at the "Durham Training College for Masters" on the day of the 1881 census.

For more on the college, which still exists although in a very different form, see www.hildbedesrc.co.uk/alumni/college-history. The College's records are now at Durham Record Office.

Some contemporary information on the College, including the subjects that were taught, is in *Our Schools and Colleges: Volume I Boys* by Frederick Shirley de Carteret-Bisson. London: 1879: p482.

Frank's employer from 1888 to his retirement:

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY records are now at the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham.

I used *Handbooks of the Church Missionary Society Missions: The Palestine Mission* published in London by the CMS in 1910, probably as part of a fund-raising effort. In the last few pages, all the CMS's missionaries are listed. The author of the Handbook is not named. He or she exhibits all the imperialist, racist and religious prejudices of his or her age. It's no wonder CMS missionaries in Jerusalem were not welcome.

At www.ampltd.co.uk is the website of Adam Matthew Publications who sell research collections. They have a set of microfilm CMS archive SIX: Middle East Missions. Reel 45 G3PO original papers from 1895: as headmaster of Bishop Gobat school, Frank was responsible for producing its annual report.

At website

[//web.mac.com/tariq.khan/familytree/Other_Documents_files/Jerusalem%20cemetery.html](http://web.mac.com/tariq.khan/familytree/Other_Documents_files/Jerusalem%20cemetery.html) are some details of Frank's working life in Jerusalem.

Frank's article on Bishop Gobat School:

Seen at ufdc.ufl.edu the University of Florida digital collections: *Boys and Boys: A Missionary Book* now in the Baldwin Library, University of Florida. Published London by the CMS 1896: *Boys of Palestine* pp40-48.

Just confirming that he was never ordained as a Church of England clergyman: Crockford's 1880 P315 and 1895 p 418: he is not on the current staff lists.

Bishop Ingham's visit:

Via archive.org to the full text of *From Japan to Jerusalem* by the Rt Rev Ernest Graham Ingham, one-time bishop of Sierra Leone, now Home Secretary of the CMS. Published London: CMS 1911. Chapter XXVI: pp210-222.

FRANK AS A FREEMASON IN THE 1880S

Baildon Lodge number 1545: Celebration of Diamond Jubilee 1935: Historical Sketch 1875-1935 by Henry Riding. Printed Baildon 1935.

IN QC2076: v Ars Quatuor Coronati number 2076 volume 1 1886-88; unnumbered endpages in the list of current members: Frank's name appears on p[11] as corresponding member 170. Mention of a "Mr T F Ellis" which might or might not be Frank appears in Ars Quatuor Coronati number 2076 volume VIII 1895: p1-2. Ars Quatuor Coronati number 2076 volume XIII 1900 no longer has Frank as a corresponding member.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MISSIONS IN PALESTINE

British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise by A L Tibawi. Oxford University Press 1961

BISHOP BLYTH

Information on George Francis Popham Blyth's career is in Lilian Blyth-Praeger's Notes on the Yorkshire Branch of the Family of Blyth of Norton Lees published by The Pan Press 1912.

FRANK'S WIVES

For general information about the missionary work done by women in Palestine and the problems they faced: Tibawi op cit.

DOROTHY FORSTER ELLIS died 1891 aged 26.

I was hampered in my search for her on the web by the existence of Walter Besant's novel, Dorothy Forster.

I did find three women with the right name born around 1865 on the 1871 and 1881 censuses; but they all seem to have been married in the 1880s, not to Frank Tate Ellis.

At Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica 1902 p88 is a description of Dorothy ForsterEllis' tombstone in the Protestant Cemetery in Jerusalem; she died on 14 April 1891.

CHARLOTTE LOW ELLIS 1865-1938

Her name appears in www.william1.co.uk/W130/htm as a grand-daughter of Augusta Ludlow Shakespeare 1809-92. Augusta was the daughter of John Talbot Shakespeare and his wife Amelia daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray. John Alves Low (born 1840) is a descendant of Augusta Ludlow Shakespeare; possibly a grandson (I couldn't work out the exact relationship).

John Alves Low married Jane Hooper daughter of Lt William Hooper RN; they are Charlotte Low's parents, no other children are mentioned on this website.

Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal: Mortimer-Percy Volume p532 Charlotte Low is in this volume because of her mother Jane Hooper, who married Capt John Alves Low on 6 October 1864. This volume confirms the existence of Charlotte's younger sister Augusta. It was hard to read the snippet but I think Jane Hooper's parents were William Hooper RN and Elizabeth née Bramston. Jane Hooper's brother, the Rev William Hooper had quite a lot of coverage: Sanskrit scholar at Oxford; then Church of England clergyman working firstly in New Zealand but in Allahabad by the 1880s. Author of a hebrew-urdu dictionary. He was married twice and had children who must have been Charlotte's closest relations apart from her father.

Both those family history say that John Alves Low was a naval officer. This isn't correct:

In the India Office in January 2014 I was hampered in my search for J A Low and Charlotte's likely birthplace by the fact that all India Register issues between 1861 and 1890 were at the conservators.

India Register 1860 2nd edition, military indexes for Bengal, Madras and Bombay ALL have no record of an officer J A Low. So at that time he must have been stationed somewhere else.

London Gazette 3 September 1867 p4911 in a list of promotions in the Royal Artillery: John Alves Low to be 2nd Captain as of 19 August 1867.

India List January 1891 p368 Capt J A Low is on the Bengal retired list: date of retirement was 30 September 1869. Definitely of the Royal Artillery.

J A Low had a very distinguished elder brother: see wikipedia on Sir Robert Cunliffe Low 1838-1911, Indian Army, Afghan war (the second one, I think).

For Charlotte herself:

Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor 1880 p84 a letter from her, aged 14, written at Vale Terrace Guildford, where she was also living on the day of the 1881 census.

Proceedings of the CMS issue of 1919 plxii confirms that Charlotte started working for the CMS as a missionary in Palestine in 1891.

Handbooks of the Church Missionary Society Missions: The Palestine Mission published in London by the CMS in 1910; no author given. The call for women missionaries with a private income: p23,p33. Bishop Gobat school: p33. Local hostility towards Christian missionaries: pp36-38. Details of staff in Palestine 1900-01: p24 and Appendix 1 pp60-63 a full list of all who had worked for the CMS in Palestine, to date. The Mrs Low who might be Charlotte's mother is listed as having worked for the CMS from 1884 to 1887; at which point perhaps she died, in Jerusalem.

EDWARD HERBERT FISON'S LETTER appeared in Times 6 May 1893 p6.

THE INSCRIPTION AT CAESAREA: via archive.org to Gleanings in Archaeology and Epigraphy issue of 1 January 1919, editor Warren J Moulton: pp86-87 as one of a series of short reports, item 4: A Caesarean Inscription with a photograph of the marble slab on p87 which might have been taken by Frank. Dr Murray's translation of the inscription was published in Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Explorn Fund 1896 but the Gleanings... report is making some corrections to Dr Murray's translation.

THE GERMANS AND JERUSALEM

For the Templer Society in Jerusalem see wikipedia and at www.timesofisrael.com, posted 6 April 2013 article: A German Colony in Jerusalem.

The visit of Wilhelm II and Viktoria Augusta in 1898: Times 3 October 1898 apparently quoting a long and hostile article in a Russian newspaper, giving a full itinerary. Also Times 8 October 1898 etc. The paragraph on the consecration of bishop Blyth's St George church is in the Ecclesiastical Intelligence column of 25 October 1898 p11; several items below the news that the Times thought most important that day.

ALLENBY'S CAMPAIGN

The short report on the collapse of the Turkish economy: Times 2 October 1917 p5 and it may be pure propaganda! On Saturday 13 October 1917 p5 the Times quoted a report in an

Italian newspaper saying that the Roman Catholic bishop of Jerusalem was being held prisoner by the city's Turkish authorities. On Monday 15 October 1917 p7 they were obliged to say that Saturday's report was completely untrue!

I followed Allenby's campaign through the Times online, beginning on Thursday 2 November 1917 and continuing until Friday 14 December 1917. The Times had a reporter, W T Massey, at Allenby's headquarters but he could only pass on what he had been told. The Times quoted War Office statements several times but again, these were censored. The reports were short, usually accompanied by a map showing the latest position of the advancing troops; no details were given of casualties.

The Balfour Declaration: see wikipedia or the original letter which is now in the British Library.

FRANK'S RETIREMENT AND DEATH

Times 3 June 1927 p17 in the King's Birthday Honours' list.

Edinburgh Gazette 7 June 1927 p658 gives the same MBE information.

Times 7 March 1928 p18 Frank's death "in Jerusalem on Monday" merited a paragraph.

Website www.khanskinfolk.com is a database created in 2002 and copyright Israel GenWeb Project, giving details of who is buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Jerusalem.

27 January 2014

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Henry ELPHICK who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in April 1896 and chose the motto 'Gradation'. His address at that time was 2 Napier Road, Amersham Vale, New Cross Gate south London.

Another failure! Trying the census data for 1891, 1901 and 1911 I couldn't find anyone that I thought might be him though I did get the impression that 'Elphick' was a common surname in Kent so perhaps that was where he grown up. I found two pieces of information that might refer to him:

The first I found in the British Library India Office family history section. A book listing men serving in the Indian Medical Service had details of a Henry William Elphick who joined the service in 1889 and died in 1906 (for full details see the end of this biography). IF this was the GD member it would certainly explain why I couldn't find the man on the UK census. He might have been offered GD membership during one of those long home-leaves that you got when you served the imperial government overseas. But I worried about his forenames being the wrong way round.

The second was a publication I found in the British Library catalogue: the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK - it had a big publishing business) published a book by a man called William Elphick (no Henry at all this time) called The Loveliness of

God: Some Meditations on the First and Greatest Commandment. But the publication date was 1946 - too late, really, for someone old enough to join the GD in the 1890s; though it could have been written by a son of such a man.

So I decided that I couldn't say that either reference was to William Henry Elphick of the GD. That person remains a mystery.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

The India Office reference:

Roll of the Indian Medical Service p1889 Henry William Elphick born 10 July 1865. University College London. Member Royal College of Surgeons 1888. Member Royal College of Physicians 1888. MB London University 1888. Surgeon Indian Medical Service 1889. Major September 1901. Put on half pay 1905 and died Rugby 20 May 1906.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

A man whose name R A Gilbert transcribed as Mahomet Eusouf was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in March 1890. The motto he chose

was transliterated in the GD records as 'Amaidwar'. My Eastern cultures and languages expert Roger Wright cautiously suggests that 'amaidwar' was a Hindustani word, (Hindustani is the ancestor of modern Hindi). At the time of his initiation he was living at 3 Vernon Chambers, Southampton Row London WC1. Mahomet Eusuof did none of the work that GD initiates were required to do to make progress understanding western esotericism, and was no longer a member of the GD by September 1890.

When I began my work on the GD members, I decided that I would not try to find out who Mahomet Eusouf was, particularly as he was a member for such a short time. The words 'mahomet eusouf' were obviously a rendering into English of a language from India or the Middle East. Without making any effort I could think of five other ways of spelling 'mahomet', and Eusouf too has plenty of other spellings. I doubted that I would be able to identify the man for certain. However, when Roger Wright began work putting my GD biographies onto our website, he got intrigued by Mahomet Eusouf. He started hunting the web himself for a likely candidate and prodded me to make more of an effort. As a result, we came up with two men whose name could be transliterated as Mahomet Eusouf. They were both born in India but had connections with Britain.

The one Roger Wright found did sound the most promising: the nawab Sir Mohammed (I've also seen it spelled Muhammad - this is the sort of problem that put me off looking) Yusuf of Jaunpur, who was an important political figure in the United Provinces of India (now Uttar Pradesh) and the Muslim League in the 1930s. However, he turned out to have been born in 1890; so no way was he the GD member.

We fell back on the man that I'd found. I'm still uncomfortable about the identification, but we couldn't find anyone else who fitted the necessary criteria, so I give a short biography of him below.

My candidate is the man whose name was written down as Mohammad Yusuf when he registered as a bar student at the Middle Temple in October 1889. At that time he was 18 years old. He was Indian and was from Patna (in Bihar) where his father, Maulvi Jelaluddin (another source gives the name as Mouline Jelaluddin), was a land-owner and a Pleader in the local courts. An official source from much later in his life says that he was born a British citizen; and he must have been a Christian too - or was he? - as he was baptised as Maurice Yusuf though he was always called Mohammad.

Maurice or Mohammad Yusuf (I'm going to stick with Mohammad) was registered as a Middle Temple student again in 1891; and a third time in 1905. He never completed the bar formalities that are required to be called to the bar; but that was because he never had any intention of working as a barrister.

I suppose it must have been while he was doing his first session studying at the Middle Temple that Mohammad Yusuf moved into Vernon Chambers Southampton Row - very convenient for all the Inns of Court - and met someone who was a member of the Golden Dawn. I've tried to think who this GD member must be; but I can't come up with any names. Several barristers did become GD members, but I think that none of them were initiated this early. Like my questions about much of his life - his religion, for example, though I suppose he started out as a Muslim - it I fear it will remain unanswered.

During the years around 1891 that he was in England, Mohammad Yusuf also spent some time taking courses at Emmanuel College Cambridge University. He didn't finish a degree there, but this wasn't necessary for the career he was going to follow, and I assume it was never intended that he should do the full three years and graduate. He was in England to try to get into the Indian Civil Service (ICS); entry was based on your passing a series of exams. In June 1892 he won one of two prizes (worth £20 each) awarded to ICS students at Cambridge University. And in that July he took and passed the final ICS exams, winning two more prizes for his papers in Hindustani and Arabic. Soon afterwards, he began his ICS career by being sent to work in Burma. There's some discrepancy between the different sources as to the date of his first day at work, but he was probably in Burma by mid-1893.

Employees of the Indian Civil Service appeared in the India Office List. Like a British GPO directory, the List was issued each year with details of ICS employees' past and current postings and a place in the seniority list indicating when they might hope to be promoted. The name of the man I've cautiously identified was spelled in the List in two different ways: for nearly all his appearances it was spelled as Muhammad Yusuf; but the last time he appeared it was spelled as Mohammad Yusuf. I'm going to spell it the first way, the Middle Temple way.

Given that he was a native Indian rather than a member of the British ruling class in India, I think Mohammad Yusuf managed quite a glittering career. He was officially offered a job with the ICS as early as 1890. He worked in Burma for four years, as an assistant magistrate and collector of taxes, before being moved on to do the same work in Bengal in January 1896; this was a promotion but being moved on was a fact of ICS life anyway. He was promoted and moved on again in October 1903, and spent three years as a district and sessions judge in Assam before being moved back to Bengal again.

In 1905 Mohammad Yusuf spent a few months in England, studying at the Middle Temple again in order to do the bar exams in constitutional law and (English) legal history. He passed those in June 1905 and returned to India to join the judicial department of the high court in Calcutta. He continued to work in Calcutta's high court for the rest of his career, being sent back to England once more, in 1913, back to the Middle Temple to take the exams in criminal law and procedure, and Roman law and jurisprudence. Having passed those exams he returned to the Calcutta high court and by 1918 was third in seniority there, behind two British-born ICS employees. They both retired in the early 1920s so that in his last India Office List entry as an ICS official he was the most senior employee in the Calcutta high court system. Then, in 1927, he too retired.

Mohammad Yusuf did not stay in India after his retirement; in fact there's good evidence he might actually have left the country for good - taking leave that was due to him, possibly - before the official retirement date. He came to live in England; because he had married an English woman and their son was already living here.

In March 1893, Mohammad Yusuf married Lizzie Grace Cargill (who may have been known as Grace rather than Lizzie) at Brighton registry office. Two family history websites (see the Sources section for details) both give details of the marriage and more information on both families. Though they each spell his 'yusuf' name slightly differently! One of the two ICS officers who were senior to Mohammad Yusuf in the India Office Lists during his time in Calcutta was a James Dudley Cargill; Lizzie Grace was his elder sister. Their parents were Richard Cargill and his wife Eliza, née Pasley. Richard Cargill was originally from

Southwell in Nottinghamshire, and Eliza was born in London. They had moved to Brighton where Richard Cargill ran a pharmacy business at 32 Marine Parade, though he had retired by census day 1891 and had moved to 63 Middle Street. James Dudley Cargill was at Emmanuel College Cambridge, doing his ICS exam work, in 1889 and 1890, when Mohammad Yusuf was also a student there; despite the enormous differences in their backgrounds they became friends; James Dudley invited Mohammad Yusuf to meet his family... Their working lives as ICS officers ran in parallel - Cargill always slightly ahead on grounds of being a little older and English - though Cargill was never in Burma, only in Bengal and Assam.

Mohammad Yusuf, Lizzie Grace's son Zain Maurice Yusuf was born in 1894 in Basein Burma but was living in England by 1919. They had joined him in England by 25 August 1926, when all three of them changed their surname by deed poll, from Yusuf to Dean. In addition, Mohammad Yusuf swapped his surname so that it became his first name: after the deed poll he was known as Yusuf Maurice Dean. Why 'dean' I have no idea, but the decision to change the surname from 'yusuf' to something unmemorably English may have been to help their son and his wife (Zain had married an Englishwoman in 1919). Zain Maurice Dean had recently qualified, in England, as a doctor and surgeon. He was still living in England and registered with the General Medical Council in 1957.

The newly renamed Yusuf Maurice Dean died in a sanatorium in Linford, Hampshire on 3 May 1928. Lizzie Grace Dean died in 1946.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR MOHAMMAD YUSUF

EARLY LIFE/ICS TRAINING

Via the web to hosted.law.wisc.edu a list of South Asians at the Inns: Middle Temple, posting information reproduced from the Middle Temple members' list known as Sturgess volume II; posted on web July 2010. Mohammad Yusuf appears in Sturgess volume II p674. Whereas most barristers in this list have an address in England, there isn't one for Mohammad Yusuf.

Training at the Middle Temple and at Cambridge University: Times issues of 20 June 1892; 25 August 1892; 21 June 1905; 13 January 1913; 2 April 1913.

For general information on the training of barristers, see website www.middletemple.org.uk, its document The Role of the Inns of Court in the Provision of Education and Training for the Bar; though it's a modern document, not a history of the subject, so there's nothing specific about courses taken by those training for the ICS.

ICS CAREER

India Office Lists for 1913; 1918; 1926, 1928.

MOHAMMAD YUSUF AND LIZZIE GRACE CARGILL

Website archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com has details posted in 2003 by Jonathan Gentry of Toronto who is a descendant of Lizzie Grace's cousin.

Website freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com is the page for the Pasley family of London, Sheffield and Nottinghamshire; information posted by Kit Withers who I think is a descendant of Mohammad Yusuf and Lizzie Grace. Withers says that Zain Maurice Yusuf married Elizabeth Mary Clarke in 1919; and that James Dudley Cargill married Albina Benvenuta Comba in Calcutta in 1893.

THE CHANGE OF NAME BY DEED POLL

London Gazette 27 August 1926 p5679 for Zain Maurice Yusuf, from now on Zain Maurice Dean. And p5680 for the man baptised Maurice Yusuf but generally known as Mohammad (sic) Yusuf. He will in future be known as Yusuf Maurice Dean. Both changes of name by deed poll are dated 25 August 1926.

GD MEMBER'S SON ZAIN MAURICE DEAN

General Medical Council Registers issue of 1931: Dean, Zain Maurice formerly Yusuf, now of 9 Stanstead Grove, Stanstead Road Catford SE6. 1st registered with the GMC May 1925. MRCS 1924. LRCP 1924.

Medical Register part 1 issued by GMC 1957 p525 he's still in the list.

Copyright SALLY DAVIS

19 October 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Muir Farquhar was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in October 1891, taking the Latin motto 'Vitam peto'. He thought better of the idea very quickly, and sent in a letter of resignation in February 1892.

THE FARQUHAR AND FISHER FAMILIES OF ABERDEEN

In 1860 Thomas Farquhar married Charlotte Fisher, uniting (probably not for the first time) two of Aberdeen's prominent families. For at least a couple of generations the men in both families had worked in the professions - the church, the army, medicine and the law. Thomas Farquhar's father Alexander was a Church of Scotland clergyman and schoolmaster; Charlotte's father, Andrew Sandilands Fisher, had died by 1860 having reached the rank of captain in the 72nd Regiment, the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders. Charlotte's mother Mary Ann, had been born a Davidson so it's quite likely that William Muir Farquhar was a distant cousin of GD member Alexander Gordon Davidson, who had been born in Aberdeen; although I haven't been able to find proof of any relationship between them.

Thomas and Charlotte married in Hampshire but it's likely that they had grown up round the corner from each other in Scotland: by 1851 Thomas was in India, but his family were living in Rubislaw Terrace in the Old Macher district of Aberdeen; Charlotte's family were living in Albyn Place.

Thomas Farquhar had studied medicine at King's College Aberdeen and passed his MD exams in 1846. He had joined the East India Company's medical service in 1847 after a year at Edinburgh University gaining his LRCS. Arriving in India in 1848 he was sent to the Punjab, where he met and became friendly with the Company's most senior administrators there, the brothers Henry and John Lawrence. He spent short times serving with the 1st Brigade Bengal Artillery and the 3rd Regiment of Infantry before being sent to Agra in the mid-1850s to take charge of the vaccination programme there. He distinguished himself during the city's cholera outbreak in 1856 and also during its siege in 1857. During his time in Agra, Thomas Farquhar was working alongside an assistant surgeon he had known during the Sikh or Punjab war of 1848-49: Thomas Saumarez Lacy. Through Dr Lacy he must have met a remarkable man known to the British as John Clement Lacy. J C Lacy was baptised in Agra in 1859, but he was over 30 by then and was a convert - he had been born a Hindu Brahmin. J C Lacy was the particular protégé of one of Thomas Saumarez Lacy. J C Lacy's son John Valentine Lacy grew up in Edinburgh and became a member of the GD, though not until long after William Farquhar had left it.

Once the Mutiny had been quelled, Thomas Farquhar was able to take a long leave in Britain, during which he married Charlotte Fisher. He also gained promotion from assistant-surgeon to surgeon.

William Muir Farquhar, the elder of their two sons, was born in Amritsar, early in 1863, while his father was stationed with the 1st Regiment Native Infantry. However, a few months after William's birth, Thomas Farquhar's friend Sir John Lawrence became viceroy of India and appointed him his full-time physician, one of the select band (less than 20 men) who formed the viceroy's personal staff. It was inevitable, under those circumstances, that Thomas should be asked to contribute to a commission of inquiry into the health of the British army in India. When the inquiry's findings were published, his views were challenged at length and in detail by Florence Nightingale. However, Nightingale's attempts to establish a Crimean War-style nursing service in Indian hospitals came to nothing when her plan was vetoed by Lawrence, a decision Thomas Farquhar's opinions must have influenced.

William Farquhar's early childhood was thus spent around the viceregal household (Lawrence and his wife had 10 children) in Calcutta, but when John Lawrence retired as viceroy in 1869, Thomas Farquhar retired too. The Farquhar family returned to Scotland in time for William's sister Mabel to be born in Aberdeen in 1870; Herbert was also born there, in 1876. On his retirement, Thomas bought a small estate at Auchronie in rural Aberdeenshire, but he and his family lived for most of the time in Aberdeen. They were living at 16 Rubislaw Terrace Aberdeen on the day of the 1881 census. William, now 18, was still at school and at home on census day but later that year he went to Cambridge University where he was a student at Pembroke College.

William Farquhar had been educated for a career in one of the professions; once he had graduated, in 1884, it just remained to choose which one. Perhaps his choice had been made already: he become a clergyman, like his grandfather Alexander Farquhar. From the little evidence that I've found, I'd say that William's decision was based on strong and perhaps rather conservative religious convictions. He was ordained as a Church of England priest in 1887 under the auspices of Frederick Temple, bishop of London. As a churchman Frederick Temple was rather difficult to pigeonhole: he held the view that science and religion could co-exist in the modern world; and was neither Evangelical nor High Church. A former teacher at Rugby School, he held Liberal political opinions and believed in the benefits of educating the working classes. He was a temperance campaigner and a passionate advocate of missionary work. If Temple chose William Muir Farquhar for ordination out of what was probably a long list of applicants, perhaps we can think of William as sharing those views at least to some extent. However, William won't have had an easy ride as he trained for the priesthood: Temple's zeal, and his long working hours (15-hour days - sounds almost modern) set very high standards for new priests to follow.

Part of the reason for Frederick Temple's long working hours was the almost impossible task facing any contemporary bishop of London, of trying to keep up with the relentless expansion of London into all the surrounding counties. Housing was being built over the diocese at an incredible speed and its parishes - many of them unchanged from the one-church-per-village organisation of the Middle Ages - couldn't accommodate the vast numbers of new parishioners. A programme of subdividing parishes and building new churches was under way. It was a mammoth task of finance and organisation, but for the right men there were jobs on offer in very crowded and busy parishes, each of them full of newcomers to the district and needing a whole infrastructure of church activities to help create some kind of community feeling. Marylebone was a fine example of how things had had to change: a process that ended in 1890 had divided the medieval parish of St Mary le Bourne into 26 new ones, several of which William Farquhar worked in.

Once ordained, William's whole career in the Church of England was spent in or near west London, with several years as a curate, moving from parish to parish fairly rapidly, being followed by a permanent appointment. He began work in 1886 at St Stephen's Paddington, on Westbourne Park Road, and stayed there until 1890. As curate, he had no right to live in the vicarage and so rented rooms at 23 Sutherland Place, a couple of streets from the church. Then he was moved on to St Philip's Buckingham Palace Road, a church building only completed in 1888 to serve a parish that was created in 1890 out of part of the older parish of St George's Hanover Square. St Philip's church had been built with money supplied by the Duke of Westminster on land owned by the Grosvenor family and it's possible that the Duke had some say in William's appointment. William lived elsewhere on the Grosvenor estate, at 107 Eaton Terrace where Mrs Amelia Kibblewhite rented out rooms; and was living there during his short period as a GD member.

After about 18 months at St Philip's, William was moved again in 1891, to St Paul's Lisson Grove, possibly the oldest building he'd worked in so far - it had been built in 1836. Then in 1895 he made a big step-up to spend three years as chaplain of St Marylebone, the original church of the old St Mary le Bourne parish. For two of those years he had a second job, as organising secretary of the Church of England Young Men's Society. The extra income may have been welcome just then as in 1894 he had got married, to Jane Layland.

The parish of St Marylebone may have been carved up into 26 daughter parishes by 1890 but the original parish - now confined to the area between Oxford Street and Euston Road - still had more influence in the Church of England than any of them, having more wealthy and socially- and politically-important residents. Perhaps one or several of those residents brought William to the attention of a new bishop of London, when in 1898 the parish of Hanwell in Middlesex needed a new rector. The Rev Mandell Creighton had taken the post of bishop of London in 1897 following Frederick Temple's appointment as archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop of London had been the patron of Hanwell since the Reformation. Creighton offered William Farquhar the job there. In doing so, he would have taken account of the fact that it was a parish known for its Evangelical traditions.

I've gone a bit over time before stopping to consider the question: why did William drop out of the GD? Why was he a member for such a short time? I think the answer lies with his work; or, rather, with the beliefs he almost certainly held that had made him choose that particular line of work.

I do wish I knew more about the circumstances that led to William Farquhar being offered membership of the GD: who suggested it and under what circumstances. Some of the circumstances were that the chance to join the GD came during a year of more than usual uncertainty in his life: he had had to change jobs again, and at the beginning of the year his father had died. But as to who invited him into the GD, I don't know. He certainly didn't come to the GD from either of its two main areas of recruitment at the time: theosophy, and the freemasons. That being so, I've no idea who recommended him to the GD's two powers-that-be, Samuel Liddell Mathers and William Wynn Westcott; or why William decided to accept the offer of initiation that they made him. He may have had the GD described to him as a Rosicrucian organisation - that is, a society of followers or admirers of Christian Rosenkreuz who (if he existed at all) lived an exemplary Christian life in 17th century Germany. Reading the Pledge Form which all members had to sign when they joined, he will also have been pleased to find it saying, "Belief in a Supreme Being, or Beings, is

indispensable. In addition, the Candidate, if not a Christian, should be at least prepared to take an interest in Christian symbolism". However, he may soon have become alarmed by the rituals he was expected to take a part in and the subjects he was expected to study as a new initiate.

I've suggested that William Farquhar's views were on the Evangelical side of the Church of England. To Evangelicals, ritual in a church service was akin to the the worship of idols; instead of concentrating on the word of God, ritual expressed belief through drama - something even primitive tribes could manage. In addition, by 1890 the original, Rosicrucian-influenced rituals of the GD as envisaged by Westcott and his friends were being taken in new directions, with symbolism coming in from Ancient Egyptian religion in particular and invocations of beings that were not Christian. And then there was the tarot and astrology and alchemy and the Qabalah, subjects all initiates were supposed to study if they wanted to reach a level of learning where they could do practical magic. All of those subjects had been studied in past centuries by devout Christians who had considered them as ways of gaining greater understanding of the Divine; as alternatives to the Bible. However, the origins of one of them were unquestionably Jewish and the rest might have been rather too pagan-sounding for a Church of England curate with Evangelical leanings. In any case, for Evangelicals there was no alternative to the Bible: they believed that all the answers they would ever need would be found in it; to look for answers anywhere else was to doubt God's word.

I suggest, too, that William began to worry what bishop Frederick Temple would say if he got to hear what was expected of members of the GD. Temple doesn't sound like a man who would be tolerant in those circumstances, and William owed him his current job and future prospects. So he sent William Westcott a letter of resignation and he was probably right to do so.

The death of Thomas Farquhar led to the cutting of his family's ties with Aberdeen. At some point during the 1890s, probably quite soon after Thomas' death, William's mother Charlotte and his sisters moved to England. By 1901 they had settled in Petersfield. His brother Herbert probably emigrated: I haven't found any evidence of his being in the UK after 1891. For a few years, William kept up an interest in Aberdeen's local history by being a member of the New Spalding Club, an antiquarian group that his father had also been a member of. However, he seems to have let his membership lapse after 1898. And unlike his father, he didn't marry into another Aberdeen family: his wife had no Scottish connections.

Jane Layland (usually known as Jennie) was a daughter of Thomas and Jane Layland. She was born in 1868, in Liverpool, where her father was in business as an architect and surveyor. For a few years in the 1870s the Laylands lived at Stone House in Wallasey, but in 1879 Thomas Layland died, aged only 45, leaving his wife with six daughters and two sons all under 14; and having to manage on a restricted income. Jane Layland elected to move back into Liverpool; on the day of the 1881 census she and her children were living at 28 Great George Street.

In 1884 Jennie's eldest sister Frances made what her contemporaries would have considered to be an excellent marriage; and the family's focus moved from Liverpool to London. Fanny married Francis Barratt, a member of a wealthy Cornish family. In 1895 her husband added her surname to his own and became Layland-Barratt. He served as Liberal MP for Torquay from 1900 to 1910, during which time (1908) he was made a baronet; and under war-time

conditions as MP for St Austell from 1915-18. He retired from Parliament at the 1918 general election but was an important figure in the National Liberal Federation until his death in 1933. Once married, Frances embarked on a career as a novelist and poet; and during World War One she worked for the Order of St John of Jerusalem (which runs St John Ambulance) earning a CBE. On census day 1891 Jennie and her younger sister were visiting the Barratts at their London home in Sussex Gardens Chelsea; while their mother was staying in Clacton.

I'm not sure how William met Jennie Layland but Jennie and her mother were living in Highbury, north London, by 1894. William and Jennie were married at St Mary's Islington in June of that year, spending four years of married life in Marylebone before the move to Hanwell.

The earliest evidence for the existence of the village of Hanwell is from the 10th century. In the centuries that followed, its main importance had been as a stop on the main route from Westminster to Oxford. By the 19th century, however, the westward march of London was beginning to engulf it: the Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum was built in the parish in 1831 and there were also two private mental hospitals in the area when the Farquhars moved there. Several London boroughs had their out-of-town cemeteries near the village. And a group of Poor Law Boards had built a boarding school for paupers there, the Central London District School; if the Farquhars had arrived in Hanwell a few months earlier than they did, they might have encountered Charlie Chaplin, who was at the school from 1896 to January 1898.

As early as the first decades of the 19th century, the land around the village was being built on and in 1841 the parish had enough wealthy parishioners to employ George Gilbert Scott to rebuild St Mary's church, giving Scott one of his earliest commissions. But by the end of the century the parish was overflowing - literally, as there was not enough room in St Mary's for all the new residents of the village who wanted to attend its services. St Mark's chapel was built as a temporary solution, but it was clear that the old Hanwell parish would have to be subdivided. It's possible that Rev William was sent in as someone who knew how to cope with the ecclesiastical and social results of that process, which culminated in the formation of the parish of St Mellitus in 1908 and the reduction of the original parish to more manageable numbers of parishioners. The process finally ended in 1922, when the Church of England sold the old rectory and provided William and Jennie with a smaller house. There had been calamities along the way: William's mother Charlotte had died in 1919; and in 1912 St Mary's church was badly damaged by fire.

Regulations had been in place since the 1890s for Church of England clergymen to retire; but William Farquhar took his religious vocation so seriously that he was still working as rector of Hanwell in his early 70s. He may have thought it his duty to die in harness, but he did eventually retire, in 1938, possibly on health grounds. He and Jennie moved away from Hanwell, to a house called Waysland, on Banbury Road in Blewbury near Didcot. William died in October 1939, at the Acland Nursing Home, a private hospital in Oxford. He had no children.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

THE FARQUHAR FAMILY AND WMF'S FA THOMAS FARQUHAR IMS

Seen at histfam.familysearch.org June 2014, a part family tree of Surgeon-Major Thomas Farquhar of Auchronie based on information published in Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: the Succn of Ministers in the Ch of Scotl from the Reformation by Hew Scot. Published in 9 volumes Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1915. Data on the Farquhar family is in volume 6 p235-236 and p253.

Via www.mocavo.co.uk to Genealogies of an Aberdeen Family 1540-1913 p97.

Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930 compiled by Lt-Col D G Crawford. London: W Thacker and Co 1930; p133 and for Thomas Saumarez Lacy the same volume p684.

India Register 1849 2nd edition p197.

India Register 1851 2nd edition p74.

India Register 1854 2nd edition p173.

India Register 1857 p214.

India Register 1859 2nd edition p213.

India Army and Civil Service List. 1861 issue p221

India Army and Civil Service List 1862 p233g.

India Army and Civil Service List 1864 p233k.

India Army and Civil Service List July 1865 p62.

India Army and Civil Service List January 1870 p241.

India Army and Civil Service List July 1871 p63.

Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Sanitary State of the Army in India Volume 1 HMSO 1863.

Florence Nightingale on Social Change in India, part of The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale, edited by Lynn McDonald. Waterloo Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press 2001-12; 2007. Section on British Library additional Manuscripts 45752 f222, Notes on Sir Bartle Frere and Thomas Farquhar for John Sutherland, compiled by Nightingale around 27-28 August 1867.

Florence Nightingale and the Health of the Raj by Jharna Gourlay. Aldershot and Burlington Vermont: Ashgate 2003.

Dr Farquhar's Notes on Miss Nightingale's Questions Relative to Sanitation in Algeria and India.

36-page pamphlet published London India Office: 1872 with co-authors William Tilbury Fox and Thomas Farquhar: Scheme for Obtaining a Better Knowl of the Skin Diseases of India. There was also a revised edition, published London: 1877, now with co-authors W Tilbury Fox, Thomas Farquhar and Thomas Colcott Fox: Epitome of Skin Diseases with Formulae etc. And a 3rd edition, published London: H Renshaw 1883.

Via archive.org to Aberdeenshire Epitaphs and Inscriptions by John A Henderson FSA Scot. Printed by subscription in Aberdeen 1907; p15.

Via archive.org to Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis which is a guidebook to St Nicholas Church Aberdeen; published 1888 by the Spalding Club.

Seen via genesunited, Aberdeen Evening Express 6 January 1891: an obituary of Thomas Farquhar.

British Medical Journal of 17 January 1891 p152 obituary of Thomas Farquhar.

Wikipedia on John Lawrence, first Baron Lawrence, more familiar as Sir John Lawrence.

Via google to Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online: John Laird Mair Lawrence.

JOHN CLEMENT LACY

The East and West: A Quarterly Review of the Study of Missions volume 3 number 11 1905. Published by Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at 19 Delahay St Westminster. On pp357-8 a short review of A Brahman Convert: A Memoir of Dr Lacy of Agra, by (his son) Rev B J Lacy of Cawnpore.

William Farquhar's MOTHER CHARLOTTE FISHER

Hart's New Army List 1839 p124 Andrew S Fisher.

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 991250. Marriage of Andrew Sandilands Fisher to May (properly Mary) Ann DAVIDSON 26 October 1837.

Via genesunited to Aberdeen Journal of 11 July 1860: marriage notice of Charlotte's brother Charles Basil Fisher to Anne daughter of Thomas Hogarth Esq.

WILLIAM FARQUHAR'S CAREER IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1889 p423.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1891 p436.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1910 p487.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1939 p435.

Wikipedia for Frederick Temple and Mandell Creighton.

Via www.newspapers.com to Guardian 20 May 1896 p6: recent ecclesiastical appointments.

St Stephen's Paddington 1886-90 see www.ststephenschurch.info.

St Philip's Buckingham Palace Road 1890-91; St Paul's Lisson Grove 1891-95: and St Marylebone parish church: see www.homepages.gold.ac.uk prepared by John Henley an expert on Middlesex parish records: a list of Anglican churches in Westminster and Middlesex covering 1890-1905.

See also for St Philip's church's later history: www.russianchurchlondon.org.

Belgravia and Knightsbridge Through Time by Brian Girling 2013 for pictures of Eaton Terrace in the late 19th century: it's a lot more down-market than you'd think!

The name of William's landlady: PO Directory 1891 street directory p314. Unfortunately, Mrs Kibblewhite wasn't at home on the day of the 1891 census; so I haven't been able to find out who William's fellow tenants were.

At booth.lse.ac.uk the Charles Booth online archive: B256 pp66-79 is record of an interview given by an employee at the Mission 16 March 1899; the Mission's offices were at 109 Eaton Terrace.

On Hanwell and St Mary's Hanwell: wikipedia.

And www.british-history.ac.uk with information from the Victoria County History project's A Hist of the County of Middlesex volume 3 published 1962; editor Susan Reynolds: 230-33.

JOINING THE GOLDEN DAWN

The Golden Dawn Scrapbook: The Rise and Fall of a Magical Order by R A Gilbert. York Beach Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc 1997 p23.

MARISCHAL COLLEGE AND THE NEW SPALDING CLUB

Via archive.org to University of Aberdeen Marischal College. Selections from the Records volume III which is an index to volume II; compiled James F K Johnstone. Published by the New Spalding Club Aberdeen 1898. On p6 in a list of the Club's members between 1894 and 1898.

Some information on Marischal College is at www.abdn.ac.uk.

The three Spalding Clubs: a short article on wikipedia.

There's a list of all three clubs' publications at www.royalhistoricalsociety.org/spaldingclub.pdf.

Via archive.org to Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium at Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae Volume 12, a life of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen 1431 to 1514. Printed in Aberdeen by the New Spalding Club 1894. Author is James Moir. William Farquhar is in a list, probably of members of the Club but possibly of subscribers to the set of volumes as well.

Via www.mocavo.co.uk to Memoir of Thomas Thomson, Advocate p5 "List of Members" for 1903.

WILLIAM FARQUHAR'S WIFE JANE (JENNIE) LAYLAND

Via google to www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk University of Glasgow website for their Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler project. Letters from Thomas Layland are in the collection.

Francis Barratt, later Layland-Barratt: via www.mocavo.com to Armorial Families p810.

Marriage of William Farquhar and Jane Layland via newspaperarchive.com to The Standard of London, issue of 6 July 1894 p1 marriage announcements. And see also wikipedia.

Frances Layland-Barratt's publications. British Library catalogue has

- 1886 The Shadow of the Church (which is fiction)
- 1889 Doubts are Traitors: the Story of a Cornish Family
- 1892 Beatrix Cadell: An Episode in the Life of a Man of the World
- 1900 The Queen and the Magicians, and Other Stories
- 1914 Poems
- 1934 Ann Kembal. A Novel
- 1935 Lycanthia
- 1936 Joy Court. A Novel

There's a portrait of Frances see www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings: done c 1900 by Valentine Cameron Prinsep and now at Torre Abbey Historic House and Gallery.

27 June 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Louisa Florence ffoulkes (who was called Florence not Louisa) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 20 March 1895. She chose the Latin motto 'In hoc signo vinces'. She was initiated into the GD's second,

inner Order only 15 months later, in August 1896 - she had worked hard at the learning necessary to reach that higher level initiation.

Although Florence ffoulkes was born on South Island New Zealand, her roots were Welsh and English. Like several other GD members, she was involved in a web of family and business relationships stretching from Pembrokeshire to Liverpool and Manchester. She was distantly related to GD member Charles Chase Parr; and GD member Blanche Elliot was Florence's first cousin once removed (I think that's right): their grandmothers were sisters.

THE JEFFREYS FAMILY

Louisa Florence Jeffreys was the daughter of Charles Jeffreys and his wife Clara Ellen, née Parr. She was born probably in 1854, probably in Christchurch though I haven't been able to confirm the date or the place.

The work of Tee Corinne and Caroline Palmer and an online exchange of information between them has made this section really easy for me and I'm very grateful to them both. Artist and art historian Tee Corinne had compiled a book tracing the families of George Meares and Louisa Maria Jeffreys, who married in 1837. Caroline Palmer was researching the history of the gardens at Glandyfi House; you can see her results at www.parksandgardens.org. Both were using original documents now in the National Library of Wales.

People called Jeffreys were landowners in Denbighshire in the 17th century, but it's easier to begin my tale of the family with Florence's great-grandfather Edward, who lived in Shrewsbury in the early 18th-century. Edward worked as a lawyer, but made a comfortable fortune from investments in lead and silver mines in North Wales, enough to buy a small landed estate with mines on it, at Glandyfi on the Dyfi River. Edward's second grandson, George, inherited that land in 1811 when his elder brother died childless (dying childless is a recurring theme in this family history). George married Justina Scott, probably in 1814. Glandyfi Castle - not a medieval remnant but a gothic-revival style seven-bedroomed house with some unusual, octagonal rooms - was built as George and Justina's marital home. Justina was the adopted daughter of Edward Scott and his wife Louisa Maria widow of Count Louis de Saumaise. Louisa Maria had inherited her father Lewis Anwyl's estate at Bodtalog near Tywyn in Merioneth, and Justina had grown up there. The Scotts entertained a series of literary guests at Bodtalog including Thomas Love Peacock who began visiting them in 1810. Living in London after Louisa Maria's death in 1812, Edward Scott also came to know Shelley, Mary Godwin and John Stuart Mill. Justina inherited her adopted parents' interest in Welsh language and culture; in 1824 she bought an early volume on the history of Welsh poetry and the tradition of The Bard, which her grand-daughter Florence must have known about and probably inherited.

George and Justina had a large family including two sons, Edward (born 1818) and Charles Alured (born 1821). As Edward was going to inherit the estate, Charles was sent to train for a working life as a solicitor, articled to Isaac Gilberts of Bala and Samuel Edwardes of Denbigh. When he qualified, in 1847, he also had an address in London. However, he doesn't seem to have spent many years in practise; probably because early in 1851 he married a woman from a wealthy family.

THE PARRS OF WARRINGTON

Members of the Parr family of Lancashire had been based in Liverpool as businessmen from early in the 18th century but their rise to wealth began in the 1780s when Joseph Parr, Thomas Lyon and Walter Kerfoot founded what was later known as Parr's Bank or the

Warrington bank (now - as a result of many mergers - part of the Royal Bank of Scotland). Joseph Parr and Thomas Lyon were brothers-in-law and were already in business together in Warrington as sugar-boilers; but it was not long before the bank took over as their main source of income. Under the leadership of Joseph's son Thomas, the bank expanded steadily and began buying up other banks. In the wake of the early companies acts, Thomas Parr presided over the bank's conversion from a partnership to a limited company in 1865 and was elected the company's first chairman. He and his fellow partners were paid £100,000 each for the extinguishing of their partnership interest in the firm - in 1865 that really was serious money.

In the early 19th-century, Thomas Parr began to buy land around Warrington, concentrating on the village of Grappenhall. In 1830 he built a house there, Grappenhall Heyes; a project no doubt conceived as a statement in stone of the family's new wealth, but perhaps also as a distraction from his grief - in 1827 his wife Clare had died in childbirth, though her only child had survived.

Florence ffoulkes' mother Clara Ellen Parr was the child that survived. In 1833 her father married Alicia, daughter of Philip Charlton of Wytheford Hall in Shropshire. Thomas and Alicia had one daughter and several sons so that Clara Ellen grew up the slightly odd-one-out in a large family. She spent a lot of time with her aunt Eleanor - her mother's sister - who had married Richard Corbet of Adderley in Shropshire. Aunt Eleanor Corbet also had a large family including two daughters a few years younger than Clara Ellen: another Clara (born 1835); and Rachel Frances (born 1834) who in due course became the mother of GD member Blanche Elliot.

CHARLES AND CLARA ELLEN

I think Clara Ellen Parr and Charles Jeffreys married at Adderley. They may even have met there, through the Corbets. They began their married life in a house called Dyfi Bank, but also known as Voelas Hall, a rather mundane-sounding ex-mill or factory on the Glandyfi estate. They seem to have taken in some at least of the young children of Charles' elder sister Louisa Maria, whose husband George Meares had died in 1849. However, Charles and Clara Ellen decided not to stay in north Wales, they chose instead to emigrate to New Zealand's south island, to the brand-new colony of Canterbury. Land at Canterbury was being sold at £3 per acre to suitable middle-class applicants; and ships being organised for their trip to the colony; by the Canterbury Association, a joint enterprise between the New Zealand Company and the Church of England; though of course a colony of middle-class people could never have functioned without people who could build and maintain infrastructure like roads and houses for them, so assisted passages were also offered to suitably-skilled working people. Charles Jeffreys bought some land at Canterbury; my sources disagreed about how much but it was at least 100 acres; and one source said that Thomas Parr helped out by settling the Canterbury Association's bill, perhaps thinking of it as a good investment as well as a late addition to his daughter's marriage-portion.

I couldn't find out when Charles Jeffreys' purchased his plot; but I think the emigration plan was hastened if not begun by a tragedy typical of the time but no less sad for that: at the end of 1851 Clara Ellen gave birth to a daughter, Emily Clara; but the child died after only five months. Even decades later, Clara Ellen felt her loss acutely enough for her younger children to be very aware of what had happened. She even named her third daughter after the first one - Emily - which must have been a particularly difficult burden for Florence's younger sister to live with. Perhaps there was something in Clara Ellen's continuing grief which encompassed

unacknowledged feelings about the death of her mother, whom she had never known. Like many people so bereaved in the 19th century, she became interested in spiritualism, in the hope of making contact with her own special dead.

Charles and Clara Jeffreys went to New Zealand on the *Tasmania*, the last-but-one boat chartered by the Canterbury Association before it was wound up in 1852. The crew mutinied while the ship was taking on fresh water at Madeira; perhaps Charles Jeffreys was one of the passengers who helped Captain McMillan put the mutiny down. The voyage continued without any further trouble and Charles and Clara Ellen disembarked finally at Lyttelton - the port of entry to the Canterbury colony - on 15 March 1853. It seems to have always been part of the plan for at least some of Louisa Meares' children to join them when they had got themselves settled in and found the money for their passages, and in due course at least two of Louisa Meares' sons went to New Zealand.

Charles and Clara Ellen's land was just outside the very newly-founded settlement of Christchurch. They named their acres Bryndwr Farm and gave the local landmarks Welsh names - it was a home-from-home on the other side of the world. They ran it as a sheep farm - very rapidly there were more sheep than people on the farmland of the Canterbury Plains.

A very important fact about the Canterbury Association and its colony in New Zealand was that it was the brainchild of people who were nearly all involved in some way in the Oxford Movement, the high church faction within the Church of England. I was not brought up as a Christian so I find doctrinal disputes within the Church of England rather arcane and baffling. See wikipedia for a short introduction to what the Oxford Movement wanted and how it acted. And thank heaven for an article by Rev Michael Blain on what the founders of the Canterbury Association had in common. The Rev Blain describes the typical member of the high church faction around 1850 as "conservative (nearly always), rural-based (usually)...unselfconsciously loyal to the teachings of the Book of Common Prayer". Many were from landed aristocracy and most of whom knew each other through Eton, Oxford University and politics both local and national. The majority of these well-connected men only lent their names to the Canterbury Association; they had no need to emigrate themselves. But their names were likely to, and intended to, attract the kind of emigrant who agreed with them on social and political as on religious issues: comfortably-off, unquestioningly devout, followers of high church practice (of which more in a minute) rather than the austere, bible-based though equally fervent people who were in the Church of England's Evangelical faction. Charles and Clara Ellen Jeffreys must have been members of the high church faction. These beliefs, shared with the majority of middle-class settlers in the colony, formed the basis for Florence's own beliefs, character and aspirations and remained with her most of her life.

Florence Jeffreys may have been born at Bryndwr Farm, and she certainly lived there until around 1870. But then she and her sister Emily (born in 1858) returned to England and they may never have gone back.

I find it a bit curious that Charles Jeffreys should choose to settle in New Zealand when, by the time he emigrated, it must have been fairly clear that he would inherit the estate at Glandyfi in the end. His elder brother Edward had married Jane Coram in 1841 but by 1851 they still hadn't had any children. Perhaps Charles wasn't prepared to wait - he might die first, after all - and after the death of her infant daughter, Clara Ellen wasn't prepared to stay. A new start seemed preferable, so they left. However, between 1853 and 1868, the situation changed, or rather, didn't change: Edward Jeffreys and Jane still didn't have children; and

Charles and Clara Ellen had two daughters, Florence and Emily, but no sons. Early in 1868 George Jeffreys' death was imminent and he wrote a Will in which he acknowledged that he wasn't going to have any grandsons. I won't go into the details - Tee Corinne has put them on the web if you're interested in the legal aspects. I'll just say that George Jeffrey's heirs were (in order) his son Edward; then his son Charles; then Edward's daughters if he had any (which he didn't); and then Charles' daughters - Florence and her sister Emily. The complexities of the Will, and the fact that he was named as one of the trustees of its provisions, would probably have required Charles Jeffreys to return to England in any case. But by 1868 Florence and Emily were teenagers and decisions needed to be made about their futures. Perhaps it was just a question of education: Florence's religious education had been very well seen to; but Christchurch had no school even for boys until 1881, and I imagine governesses were in similarly short supply; so any further schooling Charles and Clara Ellen thought Florence and Emily should have, would have to be done elsewhere. Charles and Clara Ellen may also have decided that they did not want Florence and Emily to marry in New Zealand, now it was so likely they themselves would need to return to Wales and take up residence at Glandfyi when Edward died. Charles, Florence and Emily at least, and probably Clara Ellen as well, therefore returned to England in 1870. They may have been at sea on their way when Charles' mother Justina died in 1869. Charles and Clara Ellen did go back to Bryndwr Farm, for a few years; but Florence and Emily remained in England.

On the day of the 1871 census, Florence and Emily Jeffreys were at Victoria House Ladies' School at Leamington Spa. The school was run by Mrs Ann Gawthorpe, whose three daughters were amongst its pupils that day. There were three teachers, one born in Germany, one born in France, and one who taught music - giving a clear indication, I think, of where Charles and Clara Ellen thought their own daughters' education was lacking. The first girl on the list of pupils was Margaret Louisa Bradley. Florence later described Margaret (Daisy) as her "first-found friend" and dedicated two poems to her. Perhaps Mrs Gawthorpe's school was approved of by the Oxford Movement, because Margaret Bradley's family lived in the privileged group where the Church of England met Oxford University and the main boys' public schools. Margaret's father, Rev George Granville Bradley, had taught at Rugby School before moving on to be headmaster at Marlborough College. In 1871 he had just been elected Master of his old college University College Oxford. Florence and Margaret shared an interest in poetry - Margaret is better known as the writer and poet Margaret Woods - and for Florence it must have been a real thrill to read Tennyson with someone who knew him personally; and Matthew Arnold with someone whose father had been taught by Matthew's father Thomas. She might, though, have felt very much the country bumpkin when in the company of Margaret and of her family if she visited them.

I don't know where Florence and Emily Jeffreys spent the next decade. There was plenty of time for them to return to Bryndwr after Charles and Clara Ellen had decided that their education was complete. Charles had to make another trip to England in 1873 following the death of his sister Louisa Maria Meares; he returned in due course to New Zealand, and could have taken his daughters with him then. If they stayed in England, they had a rather limited choice of relations with whom to make their home. They will never have known three out of their four grandparents. They may have reached England in time to at least to meet Thomas Parr, but he died in 1870. From later information, I think Florence at least got to know her cousins the Corbets and the Bruces. However, I would suppose she and Emily spent most of their time with their uncle and aunt, Edward and Jane Jeffreys, and may have been with them at Glandfyi when Edward died there early in 1880, and their father inherited it.

HENRY FFOULKES

Charles and Clara Ellen Jeffreys are not on the 1881 census anywhere in the UK; I suppose that they were still on their way from New Zealand. Neither Florence nor Emily was at Glandyfi though Jane Jeffreys had left it and moved to Pembrokeshire by census day. Emily was at Plumpton Hall, Whepstead in Suffolk, visiting William R Bevan and his family: he had three daughters who were about Emily's age and were perhaps friends of hers. Florence was in London, at 245 Brompton Road in lodgings that seem rather temporary. Also living in lodgings in the Brompton area of west London on that day was Henry William Wynne ffoulkes, a student at the newly-founded Guildhall School of Music. I think that Florence and Henry were engaged by this time, and were waiting for Charles and Clara Ellen to arrive so that the legal preliminaries could be signed off and they could marry: they were married on 23 July that year at St Mary Abbott's Kensington.

The ffoulkes family owned Ereiffiad (Eriviat in English), an estate at Henllan, a few miles north-west of Denbigh. They could trace their ownership of Eriviat back at least to a John Wyn ap Fowk who began to use 'ffoulkes' as his surname in 1572, but I'll begin my account of them with Florence's husband's grandfather, John Powell ffoulkes, who married Caroline Mary Jocelyn. John and Caroline Mary had the usual large family, including four sons, three of whom were Henry Powell (born 1815), Edmund Salusbury (born 1819) and William Wynne (born 1831). In many ways, the ffoulkes's were like the Bradleys, although they were not so wealthy or so influential and consequently not quite so much at the privileged centre of things: John Powell ffoulkes' brother Rev Henry was a fellow and then Principal of Jesus College Oxford; and his sons Henry and Edmund were also clergymen, Henry becoming archdeacon of Montgomery and canon of St Asaph cathedral; and Edmund being another priest-academic and fellow of Jesus College. And when the Oxford Movement began, the ffoulkes's became high church; Edmund - a friend of John Henry Newman - even left the Church of England for Roman Catholicism, though he returned later.

It was through Henry Powell ffoulkes that Florence's husband was related to GD member Marian Charlotte Vibart, though it's possible that Florence's family had also known Marian's mother's family from way back. In 1861 Henry Powell ffoulkes had married Jane Margaret, daughter of Edward and Frances Lloyd of Rhagatt in Merionethshire. (This could be described as a marriage 'out': the Lloyds were in the opposing faction of the Church of England, the Evangelicals). Jane Margaret's sister Eliza had already married Meredith James Vibart. Marian Charlotte Vibart was their elder daughter.

Florence's husband was a son of the youngest of John Powell ffoulkes' sons, William Wynne ffoulkes, the one who didn't become either a clergyman and/or an academic. He practised as a barrister, working in the courts of Cheshire and living in Chester; though he was also known for his interest in archaeology and was a member of the Society of Antiquarians. He was married twice. His first wife was Elizabeth Benedicta, daughter of Rev Richard Coetmor Howard of Conwy. They married in 1854. Henry William Wynne ffoulkes was the elder of their two sons, born in 1855. However, Elizabeth Benedicta died a few days after giving birth to her second son, Piers, in March 1858. Both Henry and Florence therefore had a background which included the death of a mother as a result of childbirth; and children growing up with a step-mother and half-sisters and brothers. The background was more immediate in Henry's case than in Florence's; but I bet Florence's mother talked about it more.

Left a widower with two infant sons, William Wynne ffoulkes was quick to find another wife:

in 1859 he married Hester Mary Heywood. He went on to have two more sons and two daughters. Hester Mary was the daughter of yet another vicar. She had grown up in Devon, but her father's family were from Liverpool, where they owned the bank Arthur Heywood Sons and Co, an ancestor of Martin's Bank. The Heywoods were related by marriage to the Gladstones; and they were very wealthy indeed. However, very little of the wealth was passed over to Hester Mary, and Henry ffoulkes grew up in Chester in a family that was comfortably off but not rich.

As was typical of the time, Henry ffoulkes' education was dominated by family influence. He was sent to Denstone College (then known as St Chad's College), which been founded by a relation of Henry's step-mother - Sir Thomas Percival Heywood son of Benjamin, one of the partners in Arthur Heywood Sons and Co. The school took its first pupils in 1873. From it, Henry went to Trinity College Oxford, graduating in 1880. He will have been at school and then an undergraduate while his uncle Rev Edmund ffoulkes was taking the long walk back from Roman Catholicism to the Church of England; in 1878 Rev Edmund was rewarded for recanting by being appointed vicar of Oxford University's own church, St Mary the Virgin.

Henry's being a Guildhall School student in 1881 is a little puzzling. Perhaps he was thinking of pursuing a career in music; though I haven't found any information to suggest he was ever a professional musician. But if he was thinking of following other male members of his family into the Church of England on the high church end of its spectrum, some musical knowledge might have been helpful: the sung Eucharist service is a high church idea. He may just have wanted to study the subject for interest's sake and this brings me to the question of how he and Florence lived and what their sources of income were in the next few years. It was not until 1886 that Henry ffoulkes was ordained as a deacon, so he and Florence must have had income from sources other than the Church of England. Florence, at least, received income from the trust funds set up in grandfather George Jeffreys' Will; and after her parents took possession of Glandyfi they might have been able to give her a share of the income from the estate. I suppose Henry ffoulkes was not a pauper either: when he died his personal effects alone were worth £7000 in contemporary money-values so perhaps he too benefited from a trust fund income.

Henry ffoulkes' uncle (and probably god-parent) Canon Henry Powell ffoulkes had always taken a particular interest in him - he took charge of the marriage service when his nephew married, for example, although it was not held in his church. He must have been delighted with Henry ffoulkes' decision to become a clergyman, though he won't have been around to be present at Henry's ordination service - he had died the year before it took place. As for Florence - 'thrilled' is the word that comes to mind but I'm not sure that it quite covers the feelings she had, as shown in her poems. It was another 'given' of the high church position that the role of Church of England priest was a sacramental one; their ordination set those who chose that vocation apart from ordinary humanity. Florence's poems show her revelling in her husband's role and seeing it as lifting her onto another level as well as him, through the sacrament of marriage that had joined them together. There was a role for her, too, as the wife of a parish priest, and I think she needed this, to give her Christian belief a practical outlet, and possibly to help her fill the void where children should have been in her life: in a painful repeat of the fate of Edward and Jane Jeffreys, the years were going by and still she and Henry had no children.

1887 was such an important year for Florence. Her first volume of poetry was published -

Short Poems in Light and Shade - and was well-received, on the whole. And Henry ffoulkes was ordained as a priest by the Rev George Ridding, bishop of Southwell in Nottinghamshire, who had also helped find Henry his first long-term appointment, as curate of St Mary Nottingham. Henry and Florence had taken up their posts at St Mary in 1886 and they stayed there for five years. At some point in those five years Henry came to the attention of Henry R Markham Clifton of Clifton Hall, an estate on what was then the edge of the city of Nottingham. Markham Clifton was patron of the rectory of Clifton-with-Clapton, on the estate. In 1891 he offered Henry ffoulkes the job of rector there, which Henry accepted. Markham Clifton died in 1896 and the Clifton estate was inherited by a distant cousin, Sir Hervey Jukes Lloyd Bruce. Bruce had estates in Ireland and didn't live at Clifton a great deal. He seems to have been happy with the way Henry ffoulkes was doing things - the high church way - and Henry ffoulkes continued in post: so that Florence was living most of the year in Nottingham when she was a member of the Golden Dawn.

The income of Clifton rectory was a good one - £465 per year in 1904. Having income from other sources as well, and no children for whom to plan and save, Florence and Henry were comfortably off. At some point in her life before 1911, Florence went travelling to Muslim countries where Arabic was spoken. I'm hazarding a guess that the trip took place during the 1890s; and that she went to the Middle East rather than North Africa. Two such devout people would surely have wanted to see the places where the Christian story had taken place, and where various archaeological expeditions were digging to find the locations of some of the events mentioned in the Bible - the Palestine Exploration Fund had been set up (in 1865) for just this purpose. The trip had a considerable down-side: Florence was shocked by the cruelty to animals she saw on her travels, and later wrote a set of poems pleading with Muslims to treat their animals well. Her memories of the trip were not all negative, however: she wrote a poem commemorating a night spent under the desert stars, communing with her God. Florence also made at least one trip abroad without her husband, around the time of the 1891 census when she's not listed anywhere in the UK. On that day, Henry ffoulkes was paying a visit to his father William Wynne ffoulkes and his step-mother Hester Mary, at Old Northgate House Chester. Charles Jeffreys, Clara Ellen and Emily were at Glandyfi Castle. Perhaps Florence was travelling with her husband's relations, GD member Marian Vibart and her parents - they aren't on the 1891 census either.

FLORENCE, HENRY AND THE OCCULT

As early as 1882 - he had only just graduated - Henry ffoulkes became a freemason. He was initiated into the Oxford and Cambridge University Craft Lodge number 1118. One later GD member (Robert Roy), and the husband of one (Rev Haweis, husband of Mary Eliza Haweis), were already members of this lodge. And in 1891 Hugh Elliot was initiated - perhaps recommended as suitable by Henry; Hugh Elliot would become a GD member and marry Florence's cousin Blanche Bruce. Lodge 1118's rules in its early years were that two-thirds of the members at any one time had to be Oxbridge graduates. The number of new recruits in any year was low and there was always the problem of members moving on as they left the UK to run the Empire. The lodge was not based in either Oxford or Cambridge, but in London at the Freemasons' Tavern.

There are other kinds of freemasonry, and both Henry ffoulkes and Hugh Elliot were initiated into the Ancient and Accepted Rite. Membership of the AAR is by invitation only and modern candidates are still expected to state their belief in Christianity, and the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost; that may have been its greatest appeal to Henry. The AAR's equivalent of a craft lodge is called a Rose Croix chapter. Henry ffoulkes was a member of Oxford University chapter number 40 by 1880; Hugh joined it a few years later, probably at

Henry's recommendation. Oscar Wilde was also a member; his wife Constance joined the GD. After they left Oxford, Henry ffoulkes and Hugh Elliot joined the AAR's Oxford and Cambridge chapter 45; like the craft lodge with the same name, for the convenience of its members it met in London, in the AAR's masonic hall and offices at 33 Golden Square. Robert Roy was a member of this chapter, too. Henry ffoulkes was more committed to the AAR than to his craft lodge: in 1898 he reached the AAR's degree level 31°. There could only be 81 members at this level at any time; and initiation was quite expensive.

When Henry ffoulkes wanted to attend a lodge or chapter meeting, and especially when he served as Worshipful Master of Oxford and Cambridge University craft lodge 118 in 1894, he would have had to make regular trips to London. If Florence went up to London with him on these occasions she could have used the time to go to meetings of the Theosophical Society (TS), or the Golden Dawn. She might also have gone to meetings of the Society for Psychical Research: Florence was not a member herself, but her mother Clara Ellen had joined in 1884, very soon after it was founded.

I've said that 1887 was a high-point for Florence: a year to be proud of, on her own and her husband's behalf. However, it seems to have been followed almost at once by a period of doubt about her faith; about whether she was up to shouldering the burden of the priest's wife, of setting an example of Christian piety in the parish; and about the ability of the Church to address the practical problems (not the theological ones) of the age - which she will have seen daily in her visits to her husband's poor and sick parishioners. There may have been an element in this uncertainty about how to live with her continuing childlessness. (I am assuming that Florence would have wanted children.) Florence's high church upbringing would have taught her that it was the duty of a woman of sincere belief to submit to God's will, in the matter of childlessness as in others; I imagine that knowing that was so, didn't make the submission any easier for her.

In 1887 the TS's main journal, *Lucifer* published a letter by Florence which she had called "Let every man prove his own work" (sic). Although Florence was not at this time a TS member, she had obviously started to read some at least of theosophy's main texts and had begun to buy the magazine regularly. *Lucifer's* editors, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Mabel Collins, chose to print her letter as a contribution to the ongoing debate between theosophy on the one side, and the various factions calling themselves Christian (as the editors put it) on the other. Florence's letter (dated 25 October 1887) says that she had come to the conclusion that theosophy should seize the day and shine "a penetrating and illuminating ray of light upon the terribly harrowing and perplexing practical problems of our age". Florence was convinced that it was a peculiarly Christian duty to address these problems, but she felt that the Christian churches weren't trying hard enough: surely, she argued, a heaven-born religion, with all its learned believers, must be able to find solutions to those problems and "carry out the will of Christ in a Christian land". But as the Christian churches were failing in their duty, perhaps theosophy could do the job.

Florence's letter was followed by a long and detailed response on theosophy, altruism and human misery; uncredited but in that case probably by Blavatsky. Florence responded to the editor's comments, and in a second letter gave a more personal reason for her anxiety, declaring, "I desire very strongly to obtain conquest over self" but saying that theosophy seemed to be asking her to pay a dreadful price for it: to "sacrifice any iota of my belief in the power of Christ". And did the study of the occult require her to give up prayer?

This really is the nub: it's very obvious from Florence's poetry, how important prayer was to

her; how often and how earnestly she prayed and how much comfort she derived from it. Regular prayer was woven into the pattern of her days. Prayer was, I think, more important to her than parish work, attendance at the services, taking holy communion... It was a private place - just her and God - where she could discuss all her uncertainties. Theosophy seemed to be demanding that she abandon that comfort - or what had been that comfort, but somehow was no longer, now she was having doubts.

Florence's letter, and Blavatsky's response, provoked so many replies that there wasn't room in subsequent issues to print all of them. Although the letters that were published warned Florence that any serious student of the occult must accustom themselves to solitude, their writers also (mostly) agreed that no, you didn't have to cut yourself off from Christ to involve yourself in the occult. Florence wasn't reassured though, quite the reverse: in February 1888 Lucifer published her poem Questions. In it she sees herself as "Two eyes" that are "looking and longing for light"; and a heart that is "breaking with pain and grief" as it tussles with temptation yet again and feels that it has been abandoned when it's in most need. At the high - or low - point of the poem she cries "Is our Great God, but a God of stone?" Florence had not cut herself off from God; He had cut himself off from her.

Had Florence discussed her troubles with Henry? She had the utmost respect, as well as the greatest love for him: he was her friend - they shared jokes; he took her seriously; he urged her on as a poet and many of the poems published in 1887 were dedicated to him. But after all, he was a paid representative of the God whom she was finding so indifferent and of the Church that she felt was slacking in its duties. What if she asked her husband for his priestly help in this crisis and only ended up undermining his belief as well as her own? It seems from her writings during this difficult period that Florence didn't confide in Henry as much as she would have liked to: she was "Weary and mournful, sad and alone" as she struggled.

Florence didn't have any further correspondence with Lucifer. Poems she published many years later indicate that she didn't completely abandon Christianity, and that she continued to find joy and comfort in the Church of England's sacraments. But she joined the TS in 1893 and remained a member until 1904; and she joined the GD (her husband didn't join either). Some of her later poems show her trying to weave together some theosophical ideas with some Christian views she held particularly dear, to make a synthesis that she could live with. Joining the Golden Dawn must have been a part of this process. She might actually have found the GD easier going than the TS: initiates into the GD were expected to believe in the One God, though there were no specific instructions on how they were supposed to go about it.

Florence recruited some new members to the TS, acting as their joint sponsor with Hugh Elliot. John Valentine Lacy (1894, a friend of the Vibart family) and Ida Bennett (1896), went on to join the GD as well. In 1894 Florence and Hugh were also joint sponsors to Augusta Brooke Meares. Augusta was the wife of Florence's cousin George Brooke Meares (eldest son of Louisa Maria Meares née Jeffreys). Later, because of a big drop in members, only one sponsor was needed by the TS so Florence was sole sponsor of Blanche Viola Laing, the wife of George Dawson Laing who ran a wine and spirit merchants based in Nottingham. Neither Augusta nor Blanche Viola went on to join the GD.

During the 1890s Florence's life followed a pattern. The continuing struggle with her beliefs.

Parish duties. Poetry. Study of theosophy and texts set by the GD. Discussions on theosophy with Nottinghamshire-based friends like Blanche Viola Laing and possibly Augusta Mary Salmond. Travel. Visits to friends and relatives. Getting away to London sometimes and attending GD rituals and TS meetings. There were some inevitable low points: Henry's step-mother Hester Mary died in 1895. And some high points: fellow GD members Florence's cousin Blanche Bruce and Florence's TS friend Hugh Elliot were married in January 1896. And in July 1899, Henry officiated at the marriage of his brother Piers to Katharine Mary Baker.

Piers ffoulkes had taken much less time than Henry to make up his mind to become a Church of England clergyman. He'd probably decided by the time he went to university because he went to Keble College Oxford, which had been founded to commemorate John Keble whose 1833 sermon started the Oxford Movement. After spending time as a curate in Durham and Jarrow, Piers had been appointed rector of All Saints Odd Rode, in Cheshire just north of Kidsgrove. Katharine Mary was the daughter of one of Piers' wealthiest parishioners, George Barrington Baker of Rode Hall (who in 1900 added his wife's surname to his own, to become Baker-Wilbraham). Florence might have been rather envious of her sister-in-law's religious certainties: Katharine Mary's unstinting work as a parish priest's wife gained her quite a reputation in the diocese of Chester and she never seems to have suffered from doubt. However, Florence and Katharine Mary did have something in common: Katharine Mary and Piers, too, had no children.

On the day of the 1901 census Florence and Henry ffoulkes were out of the country. So too were Clara Ellen and Emily, perhaps travelling with them; though Charles Jeffreys was at Glandyfi.

Henry ffoulkes' father William Wynne ffoulkes died in January 1903. And just over a year later, on 28 January 1904, Henry ffoulkes died. He, and presumably Florence as well, were on a visit to Piers and Katharine Mary at Odd Rode at the time; and Henry was buried there a few days later. Was the death sudden? You would think so, with a man aged only 49. However, he might have been ill for a while: I noticed that William Wynne ffoulkes had named his sons Piers and John as his executors, not Henry, as if Henry might not be up to the many tasks and travel involved; though there may have been other reasons for his being left out, of course.

If ever a few weeks were going to test Florence's faith to its furthest limits, it was the following few. She didn't have any time at all to take in the loss of her husband, before Charles Jeffreys died, at Glandyfi, on 19 February. She might have been expecting him to die soon - he was 82 - but his death did more than deprive her of her father, it brought into sharp focus decisions that she and her sister would have to make about the future - decisions I'm sure she would rather have made with Henry to advise her. Charles Jeffreys had named Clara Ellen as sole executor of his Will; but it would have to be Florence and Emily who had to decide about the estates he had owned at Glandyfi and (still, apparently) at Bryndwr, Christchurch, which were now theirs. Were they going to keep them? And try and run them? Or should they sell, and face the clearing of the house and the moving of their mother (nearly 80 herself) to a home somewhere else?

Florence and Emily took two years to make their decision, which was to sell the land they had inherited. Women of their class weren't trained for estate management; and times for land-owners were beginning to be rather hard (they would get much worse after 1911).

.Florence would have had to move anyway, when her husband's successor at Clifton rectory took up his post. And the money from the sale of the estates could be invested in shares and government stocks to provide an income for them and Clara Ellen without so much hard work on any of their part. The land was sold, divided into lots, during 1906.

Emily Jeffreys - the daughter named after a dead child - had never married and had always lived with her parents. She and Clara Ellen moved to south Ascot, to a house named Loretto; near to London but not in the big (and dirty) city. They had certainly moved in by 1911 and probably did so in 1906. Florence chose not to move in with them but leased her own house an easy trip away, in London, at 4 Nevern Square near Earl's Court station.

This time of loss and grief and life-changing decisions easily explains why Florence did not keep up her membership of the TS after 1904. She had taken no part in the arguments that had caused the evolution of the GD into two daughter orders over 1900-03, and she did not join either A E Waite's Independent Rite or Robert Felkin's Stella Matutina when they were formed in 1903. It's possible she joined Stella Matutina later, however: Blanche and Hugh Elliot, Blanche's sister Lucy Margaret Corbet and Blanche's cousin Henry Archer Corbet were all members of SM.

I think that in 1904 Florence turned to Hugh Elliot for the help that she could not have from Henry ffoulkes. Henry's brother Rev Piers was Henry's executor, but I think Florence didn't know him as well as Hugh. Hugh was a barrister but Florence probably didn't need legal advice so much as someone to discuss the wider implications of the decisions she and her sister would have to make. From this time on, Hugh was her legal advisor and she made him one of the trustees of the fund set up to give her an income; and one of the executors of her Will. Piers ffoulkes and Katharine Mary were only her in-laws; Blanche and Hugh were her relations and friends. On the day of the 1911 census, Florence was living for a while with her mother and sister; she had let 4 Nevern Square to Henry Archer Corbet and his family.

Life wasn't completely grim for Florence during the period 1904 to 1906. In January 1905 she applied for a patent! - for a device that would make some kind of improvement to women's hats. The fashion was for particularly heavy, large and exuberantly decorated hats at that time; perhaps she'd invented something to help relieve the pressure on the wearer's neck. I couldn't find an illustration of the device she had invented without buying a rather expensive copy of the HMSO patent office issue for that year. She did not gain herself a new income: her application seems to have been rejected.

It might have been as a result of Florence's decision to set up home in London that she came to the notice of one of Queen Victoria's distant, impoverished relations, the Princess of Hanover, who lived in England as an exile. It's not clear from the evidence I've seen whether Florence actually met the Princess - who by the 1900s was spending winters abroad - but the Princess read some of Florence's poems, and either wrote to her or spoke to her about how much she liked them. Florence and the Princess did have some things in common despite their very different social status: the Princess was childless - her only child had died aged only a few days - and she was actively concerned in fighting cruelty to animals as a patron of the RSPCA. Perhaps it was through encouragement from the Princess that Florence decided to write some poems addressed to Muslims, about the treatment of animals that Florence had witnessed in Muslim countries. Florence's volume *To the Arabs: Allah's Message* was published in 1911 and apparently it had an endorsement of some sort by the Princess. Florence had put a great deal of thought and work into the project, aside from writing the

poems: she seems to have studied the Koran to understand its teaching on the subject; and she'd had her poems translated into Arabic. But what puzzles me is - who was the reader the volume was addressed to? Perhaps there was a group of people intending to distribute it in Muslim countries. I haven't been able to find a copy of Poems to the Arabs - I only learned of its existence because it was advertised in Florence's next book of poems.

In 1912, Florence published a larger and more orthodox book of poetry, her *Poems of Life and Form*. The book got rather a savaging from a young Australian poet in *The Poetry Review*: beneath his snide comments there was a relevant criticism - he thought the poetic forms Florence was using were outdated. Some work by the up-and-coming Rupert Brooke was printed in the same volume. I found the contrast between Brooke's work and Florence's uncomfortable, being used to modernist poetry; I was almost inclined to agree with the reviewer.

It's impossible not to be hurt by negative reviews and if Florence learned about what had been said of her work in *The Poetry Review* I imagined the cut it made was deep. She published only one more small poetry volume, all sonnets, and all for a charitable purpose: *The Living Way* was printed in 1918 to raise money for the Sacramental Society of Inner Light, an organisation which brought together the blind and the sighted. I suppose she must have been a member of the Society; but I haven't been able to find any information about it at all. I imagine its members must have studied or tried to live up to the (high-church) sacraments, because Florence writes one poem about each of them. Her tone is both reverential and celebratory; which suggests to me that the poems might have been written as early as the 1870s, before Florence's crisis of belief began; or that they were very recent restatement of her belief in Christianity.

The house at Nevern Square was Florence's home until her death but she may have taken refuge in Ascot during the first World War to avoid the bombing. There were other reasons for spending time there too: Clara Ellen Jeffreys was in her 80s, and she died in 1915. Although Florence and Clara Ellen had lived apart for so long, they were always close: several of Florence's poems are dedicated to her and others reflect events in Clara Ellen's life, including the death of her infant daughter. Emily was Clara Ellen's executor, probably because Clara Ellen had left her the house called Loretto. Emily lived there until her own death only five years later and in the same year (1920) Florence's TS friend Blanche Viola Laing also died.

On Clara Ellen's death, Florence had chosen not to live with her sister. I don't think they were close and Florence's closest friends were still in London so she returned to 4 Nevern Square.

At the beginning of the 1920s Piers Ffoulkes became ill and had to retire from his post as rector of Odd Rode. He and his wife moved to the Deanery Cottage in Chester, where Katharine Mary nursed him until he died in 1927. Katharine Mary became a very active figure in the charitable efforts of the diocese of Chester. And illustrating the difference in expectation between a woman born around 1854 (Florence) and one born in 1871 (Katharine Mary) she also gained a qualification by study and exam - the Lambeth Diploma, which enabled her to teach theology. She encouraged like-minded women to move into Deanery Cottage until she had gathered around her a group of women who wanted to share an almost convent-like life of prayer and contemplation. Florence didn't join this group. She no longer had Katharine Mary's single-minded religious devotion. She also had other ways of reaching

God.

Florence died on 20 July 1936 at 4 Nevern Square, aged 82. Her friends, GD members Blanche and Hugh Elliot both survived her.

I'll leave Florence ffoulkes in the desert, sensing that divinity is all around her: the poem is 'Silence. Night in the Desert', published as part of her collection Poems of Life and Form in 1912. The capitals are hers.

Alone! Alone! And not the faintest sound
Breaks the sweet slumber of the silent night;
Alone! And in the fervent, calm moonlight
I stand, and gaze upon the scene around.
The rock beneath my feet is desert bound,
The stars, in myriads, glistening in the height
Lend their sweet touch to the supreme delight
My Being claims with Nature, silence crowned.

Alone I dream! Till sense with wings is fraught,
I learn that in the past, ere Sunlight shone,
Or WORD was uttered by th'Eternal ONE,
E'en then, beyond the pale of backward thought,
In silent stillness of All-Conscious Rest,
Mused the Omniscient GOD - Unmanifest.

If you want to read more about Florence as a poet, follow this link.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR LOUISA FLORENCE FFOULKES

THE JEFFREYS OF GLANDYFI, Florence's father's family

Glandyfi Castle and the estate, after Florence:

Birmingham Post 20 April 2007 when Glandyfi Castle last sold. There's a left-over mining village in the grounds; croquet lawn; tennis courts; and woodland incl a lot of interesting trees eg Wellingtonia. Article says Charles Jeffreys had a house blt f himself in NZ during 1870s but returned to Engl on inheriting Glandyfi in 1880.

At www.telegraph.co.uk of 3 July 2011 had an article on Glandyfi Castle wh is up f sale again, incl its contents. The Jeffreys family sold the estate in 1906.

At www.thefreelibrary.com, article posted 2012 about the opening of Glandyfi Castle as a luxury guest-house.

Caroline Palmer's garden research is at www.parksandgardens.org Record ID 4311 and includes some family history. In 1906 the estate was sold in lots. The castle and 370 acres were bt by Lewis Pugh Evans Pugh. He then sold the castle and 43 acres to Maj Robert Spurrell but contd to live at Glandyfi Castle.

EDWARD JEFFREYS founder of the family fortunes:

Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion by Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield. New Haven Connecticut and London: Yale University Press 2006: p471-72.

Shropshire Archives have the wills of Edward Jeffrey dated 4 July 1795; and of his son Robert Jeffrey dated 18 February 1801. Robert's Will sets up a trust for his eldest son Edward Jeffrey and his heirs. Robert's other children were: George; William; Richard; Sarah; and Elizabeth.

GEORGE AND JUSTINA JEFFREYS

Justina's adopted parents, Edward and Louisa Maria Scott:

At welshjournals.llgc.org.uk an article on Edward Scott and his literary circle.

The Letters of Thomas Love Peacock 1828-66 by Thomas Love Peacock and Nicholas A Joukovsky. There are actually two volumes of letters; 1828-66 is volume two. Oxford: Clarendon Press 2001 p471.

Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin issue 36 1985 pix, p47.

Welsh Minstrelsy by Thomas J L Prichard, published 1824. On p319 list of subscribers to this publication included Mrs Jeffreys of Glandyfi.

Tee Corinne's postings on the family of George and Justina Jeffreys are at: genforum.genealogy.com/jeffreys/messages/447/html beginning with one by Tee Corinne from October 2003. The postings include the full text of the Will of George Jeffreys, which was signed on 10 February 1868. Without this posting I would not have realised that - in due course - Florence and her sister Emily Jeffreys inherited Glandyfi Castle. Caroline Palmer's contribution to the exchange was more information on Justina Scott including her correct surname. Tee Corinne is the author of this family history book: *Ancestors and Descendants of George Meares and Louisa Maria Jeffreys: Wales, New Zealand, India and Florida*. Published Wolf Creek/Pearlchild 1997. I saw its publication details on the web, but haven't been able to see inside a copy. The British Library doesn't have a copy of the work but gives Tee Corinne's dates as 1943-2006; I presume she was a descendant of George and Louisa Maria Meares herself.

Details of where George and Justina Jeffreys are buried are at lineone.net/~dyfival1/histegfurn/htm, which is a history of the Glandyfi valley.

EDWARD JEFFREYS, CHARLES' ELDER BROTHER

Gentleman's Magazine volume 170 1841 p313 a list of recent marriages.

Handbook for Travellers in North Wales published by John Murray 1868. On p171 Glandyfi Castle is now described as the seat of E Jeffreys esq.

CHARLES JEFFREYS

The Legal Observer... volume 33 1847 p519.

The Law Times volume 9 1847 p44, p157.

Law List for 1847 and 1858: he isn't listed in either of them.

The house called Dyfi Bank or Voelas Hall: see lineone.net/~dyfival1/histhouses.htm

THE PARRS OF WARRINGTON, Florence's mother's family

Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry 1852 edition, volume 2 p1005

traces the descent of Florence's mother from a late 17th-century John Parr who married a daughter of Roger Hesketh of North Meols. GD member Charles Chase Parr was also descended from this John Parr. Clara Ellen's father was Thomas Parr born 1792; and his first wife Clare Ellen, daughter of Rev Croxton Johnson of Wilmslow. Thomas and Clare married in 1825. Clare died in childbirth in 1827 but the child survived. In 1833 Thomas married Alicia, daughter of Philip Charlton of Wytheford Hall Shropshire.

The GD's Blanche Elliot, wife of Hugh Elliot, is a grand-daughter of Clare Ellen Johnson's sister Eleanor who married Richard Corbet of Adderley in Shropshire.

Parr's Bank, also known as The Warrington Bank.

The bank has now been swallowed via NatWest by RBS and the bank's archives including Parr family papers from the 18th and 19th centuries, are at the RBS Group headquarters in Edinburgh. At heritagearchives.rbs.com there is a summary of the history of Parr's Bank Ltd. : Parr archive held at RBS. Two books were quoted as additional sources: 200 Years in Warrington 1788-1988, a private publication by Nat West Bank in 1988; and The Westminster Bank Through a Century by T E Gregory, published by the Westminster Bank 1936. Warrington Library has Parr family records 1600-1900 and Lyon family records 1566-1860.

Via web to www.thornber.net/cheshire/htmlfiles/grappen.html the website of Craig Thornber who is a descendant of Eliza Stott. Stott appears on the 1881 census working at Grappenhall Heyes as a nurserymaid to the family of Florence's half-first-cousin, Joseph Charlton Parr.

For more information on land owned by the Parr family, go via nationalarchives.org to a list of documents now at the Cheshire and Chester Archives.

Grappenhall Heyes house at Warrington, built by Thomas Parr:

See Cheshire and Chester Archives.

And www.ghwalledgarden.org.uk.

The Parrs and the bank after Thomas Parr:

See Craig Thornber's website; he uses Burke's Landed Gentry 1894 edition.

Cheshire at the Opening of the 20th century by Robert Head. Pike's New Century Series published Brighton 1904 by W T Pike and Co.

And wikipedia for its merger in 1918 with the ancestor of NatWest.

CHARLES AND CLARA AND THE MEARES FAMILY IN NEW ZEALAND

Annual Report of the National Library of Wales 1961 In January 2004

Posting by Tee Corinne at

archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/MCMURDO/2004_01/1073337809.

A posting in response was sent by Nigel Callahan December 2004 gives information that Charles Jeffreys was in the UK in 1870: see his website at www.llangynfelyn.org, it's a history of the parish.

See wikipedia for an introduction to the Canterbury Association.

Rev Michael Blain's article is at anglicanhistory.org/NZ/blain_canterbury2007.pdf: The Canterbury Association (1848-1852): A Study of its Members' Connections: pp1-8.

Lists of the middle-class passengers on the Canterbury Association's ships to New Zealand can be found at freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nzbound/cbyassoc.htm.

On Bryndwr Farm: Place Names of New Zealand by Alexander Wyclif Reed 1975: p56.

For the subsequent history of Bryndwr Farm see [//christchurchcitylibraries.com](http://christchurchcitylibraries.com).

Indirect evidence that Charles Jeffreys still owned Bryndwr Farm in 1904:

Bye-Gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties volume for 1903-04: p301 issue of 2 March 1904.

THE WYNNE FFOULKES FAMILY - Florence's husband

At histfam.familysearch.org, family history information from volumes 4 and p381 of volume 5 of Jacob Lloyd's 6-volume (1881-87) History of the Princes, the Lords Marcher and the Ancient Nobility of Powys Fadog.

The house Eriviat - Ereiffiad in Welsh - still exists, see www.eriviathall.co.uk

JOHN POWELL FFOULKES, Henry's grandfather

Medieval History of Denbighshire by John Williams of Wrexham published 1860: p213.

HENRY POWELL FFOULKES, Henry's uncle; and the connection through LLOYD to GD MEMBER MARIAN CHARLOTTE VIBART

Crockford's Clerical Dir 1882 p369.

Gentleman's Magazine volume 211 1861 issue of November [1861] p558 marriage of Henry Powell ffoulkes to Jane Margaret Lloyd.

Information on the descendants of James Meredith Vibart 1753-1827 can be seen at [//archives.rootsweb.ancestry.com](http://archives.rootsweb.ancestry.com)

For more on the Lloyd family see Frances Power Cobbe: Victorian Feminist, Journalist, Reformer by Sally Mitchell. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press 2004. Jane Margaret's sister Mary lived with Frances Power Cobbe.

EDMUND SALUSBURY FFOULKES, another uncle of Henry ffoulkes

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1882 p369 with a gap between 1849 and 1876.

ODNB volume 19 p459 has an entry for Edmund's son Charles John ffoulkes 1868-1947 which gives information about his father.

One of Edmund's sons eventually inherits Eriviat: The County Families of the UK better known as Walford's County Families. Published annually; this is the 60th edition 1920; volume 1 p476.

WILLIAM WYNNE FFOULKES Henry's father

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries London issue of 1856 p24 as one of the two local secretaries for Cheshire.

Death of Henry's mother:

Solicitors' Journal and Reporter issue of 10 April 1858, birth announcements: on 22 March

[1858] to wife of William Wynne ffoulkes, a son, at Stanley Place Chester.

Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle issue of 1858; death notices p566: in list of deaths on 28 March [1858], Elizabeth wife of William Wynne ffoulkes, at Stanley Place Chester.

His father's second marriage:

Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review volume 7 p418.

Connections between Hester Mary Heywood and the Gladstones, through Hester Mary's aunt Anna Maria Heywood:

Via www.lan-opc.org.uk the Lancashire Online Parish records project: marriages at St George Derby Sq Liverpool 1813-65: p72 and p73.

Anna Maria Heywood's husband: at

www.martinsbank.co.uk a page originally published in the Martin's Bank Magazine winter 1948 about the early days of Arthur Heywood Sons and co.

1881 census: William Wynne ffoulkes and wife Hester Mary were staying at Anna Maria Heywood's house just outside Liverpool.

FLORENCE'S HUSBAND HENRY WILLIAM WYNNE FFOULKES

Their marriage:

The Denstonian 1881 is the magazine of (Denstone College) St Chad's College. On p78 issue of 23 July [1881]: marriage announcement, Henry ffoulkes to Florence Jeffreys. There was also an announcement in the Times of 23 July 1881.

Henry ffoulkes in the Church of England:

Crockford's Clerical Directory issues of 1888, 1895, 1902, 1904.

Patronage of the rectory at Clifton: see www.nottingham.ac.uk account of the descent of the estate at Clifton; and information on Sir Hervey Jukes Lloyd Bruce.

HENRY'S BROTHER PIERS FFOULKES

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1902 p462.

Odd Rode village website at www.oddrode.net.

At www.rodehall.co.uk/history: some information on the Rode Hall estate and the Wilbraham family.

Via www.newspapers.com to the Guardian of 2 August 1899 p10 marriage announcement Katharine Mary Baker to Piers ffoulkes.

Katharine Mary Baker:

See www.thepeerage.com which uses information from Burke's Peerage 107th ed.

Supplement to the Edinburgh Gazette issued 1 April 1920 p966.

The Official Year-Book of the National Assembly of the Church of England 1933 issue p76.

Times 27 March 1937; 29 March 1937.

Times 27 March 1937 and 29 March 1937.

HENRY AND FLORENCE IN THE OCCULT

Henry and craft freemasonry:

The History of Oxford and Cambridge University Lodge number 1118 1866-1966 by E W R Peterson MA. Pp31-39, pp40-49.

Oxford and Cambridge Lodge 1118 and Royal Arch Chapter: Notes from the Minute Books compiled by Horace Nelson. No publication details but [p5] in his Preface Nelson explains that this book is a development of the history compiled for the Jubilee years of the lodge (1918) and of its chapter in 1924. Preface [p6] dated 31 December 1925: pp14-20; pp25-26.

Ancient and Accepted Rite:

For the entrance requirements: Beyond the Craft by Keith B Jackson. Original edition 1980. I used the 6th edition, 2012, to which Jackson has added details of several orders left out of the 1st edition. Hersham Surrey: Lewis Masonic, an imprint of Ian Allan Publishing Ltd. See www.lewismasonic.co.uk

Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. I looked at the issues of 1880, 1885, 1888 and 1900.

Issue of 1880 p40; p113 to confirm Hugh Elliot was not yet a member.

Issue of 1885 pp80-81, pp127-128.

Issue of 1888 p47, p50, p57, p84.

Issue of 1900 p219 both Henry ffoulkes and Hugh Elliot are still members of Oxford and University chapter 45.

Via google to cat.llgc.org.uk National Library of Wales catalogue. The NLW has documents on the ffoulkes family and the estate at Eriviat. Catalogue number NLW MS11983C is press cuttings covering 1834-1904 including one listing the hymns sung at the burial of Henry Wynne ffoulkes at Odd Rode in 1904.

For more on Mary Augusta Salmond see Florence's poetry file.

FLORENCE AND THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p219 entry f L Florence ffoulkes. Subscriptions paid 1893-1904.

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 for Florence as a sponsor of new members; always with Hugh Elliot as co-sponsor except p124 Blanche Viola Laing.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine published London: George Redway of York St Covent Garden. Volume I September 1887-February 1888 edited jointly by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Mabel Collins. Volume 1: pp159-160 and pp162-69; pp226; pp228-29; p326; p328; p485.

BLANCHE VIOLA LAING née Wadmore

Her husband's business: census information and London Gazette 11 February 1879 p 689 notice announcing the ending of part'p of George Dawson Laing and John Lysander Laing; trading in Walsall as Laing Brothers, wine and spirit merchants.

On the Wadmores: www.theweald.org and The Wadmores of London by Blanche Viola's son

John G Laing, published 1953.

John G Laing inherited paintings from Blanche Viola's father:

At www.bonhams.com items in Marine Sale 2012 include A Margate Hoy off Grays Essex by John Cleveley the 2nd (1747-86). Provenance includes James Wadmore of London and John Grosvenor Laing of Nottingham.

Richard Parkes Bonington: Young and Romantic catalogue of an exhibition at Nottingham Castle 2002: p32 access number NCM-1962-142.

Blanche Viola's brother-in-law John Lysander Laing emigrated to New Zealand and died there: via paperspast.natlib.govt.nz to the New Zealand Herald 5 October 1918 p1 and 7 October 1918 p10.

CLARA ELLEN AND THE OCCULT

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research London: Trübner and Co of Ludgate Hill: p317, p327. Volume II 1884, Volume XI 1895 p614 and Volume XV 1900-01 p497 all show Mrs Jeffreys still as a full member at the Glandyfi Castle address.

FLORENCE'S PATENT:

In October 2013 Amazon and quite a few other book-selling websites had copies of the patent application by L F Wynne-ffoulkes (she didn't usually hyphenate the ffoulkes' surnames); application number 18568 published HMSO 1 January 1905. The application was for improvements in ladies' hats. Searching the web for lists of current patents issued by the UK patent office, I couldn't find a patent with Florence's name on it.

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

GD MEMBER FLORENCE WYNNE FFOULKES AS POET AND LYRICIST

Florence ffoulkes, Stanley Jast and Aleister Crowley were the GD members who wrote most poetry. Of those three, only Florence ffoulkes and Crowley had volumes of poetry published during their lifetime.

I do not 'get' poetry. Consequently, so as not to expose my ignorance and do Florence ffoulkes less than justice, I shall not do a 'lit crit' of the poems she wrote. Instead I shall talk

a bit about the influences on her poetry; the kind of poems she wrote; and the other women poets she knew. I'll start, though, by saying that Florence's poetry has been almost completely forgotten since her death. She doesn't come off well in Catherine Reilly's *Late Victorian Poetry 1880-99* because she had only published the one volume by 1899; Reilly's researchers also got some of the biographical details wrong. But she's also not included in volume 240 of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (2001) which was dedicated to Late 19th and Early 20th Century British Women Poets and rescued quite a few other writers from oblivion. It's a pity.

Perhaps I should say here that Florence didn't put dates on any of the poems she published.

SHORT POEMS IN SUNLIGHT AND SHADE

This volume was published in 1887, when Florence was in her early 30s, though it may contain poems that had been written many years before. Unlike in Florence's later books, in this early work some of the poems are dedicated to particular people though only by initials so I haven't been able to identify all the people referred to; and there are quotes above a lot of the poems from a variety of sources of inspiration, giving some clues as to the poets Florence admired and other works that inspired her to write. From some of the dedications, I cautiously deduce that Florence may have begun writing poetry while at school in the early 1870s, under the influence of a fellow-pupil who became a much better-known author than Florence: Florence's "first-found friend" Margaret Louisa Bradley, known as a writer by her married name of Woods.

Tennyson brought Florence and Margaret together. There are quotes from several of his works

above poems in *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade* and Florence's title for one poem, *Past and Present*, is a quote in itself, from Tennyson's *The Miller's Daughter*. *Idylls of the King* (*The Last Tournament*) and *Nothing Will Die* are quoted by Florence. However, the work that influenced her most was *In Memoriam*, a series of verses written while Tennyson was struggling to recover from the death of his friend Arthur Hallam; one of the poems in *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade* is even called *In Memoriam*.

Surely it is not at all surprising that friends at a girls' school in 1870s England should read Tennyson. It would be more surprising if would-be poets had not read his works. However, Margaret Bradley's family knew Tennyson personally. Perhaps Florence even met Tennyson through Margaret's family, if she went to stay with the Bradleys during the holidays - holidays the Bradleys often spent on the Isle of Wight, where Tennyson lived.

To judge by the number of quotes from Tennyson above Florence's own poems, he was Florence's favourite. However, several other poets are quoted by Florence above her own poems. A very religious girl from a high church background, Florence also read the works of the 17th century poet George Herbert. A quote from Herbert's *The Church Porch* is above Florence's poem *Heart Strife*. The title of Florence's poem *The Desire of the Moth for the Star* is another quote, this time from Shelley's *To----*. *To----* is a second title that Florence bestowed on a poem of her own in conscious homage to a great poet. Florence's *To----* has above it a quote from Wordsworth's *Ode - Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood*. And though there must be many poems called 'spring', Florence's own

poem Spring quotes Christina Rossetti's poem of that name.

Tennyson. Shelley. Wordsworth. Christina Rossetti. All poets still widely appreciated today. Florence's poems, however, also quote from poems by two men and one woman whose poetry has suffered quite as much as Florence's own since their deaths:

Hamilton Drummond, whose *Sir Hildebrand and Other Poems* was published in 1882;

Louisa Sarah Bevington, of whom more below; and

Frederic Myers, whose long poem *St Paul* was enormously popular during the 19th century but is completely unknown now. Frederick Myers became a convinced spiritualist, although not an uncritical one - he was one of the founders of the Society for Psychical Research. Florence was not a member of the SPR but her mother was. Myers' book *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death* was published in 1903 and Florence definitely read it; a quote from it is above one of her later published poems.

Although extracts from poems she admired feature most in *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade*, Florence also chose quotes from a wide range of other works including Jessie Fothergill's novel *First Violin*; Deuteronomy chapter 4 verse 29 in which Moses urges the Israelites to keep the Commandments even after he's no longer there to check; the translation by Walter Herries Pollock of the French writer Musset's *Nuits*; the *Life of George Eliot*; and an issue of the *Proceedings of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society*.

Florence's friend Margaret Bradley didn't need encouragement to start composing her own poems: biographies of her suggest that she always intended to be a writer. However, Florence probably did need encouragement. I was going to suggest that the example of Christina Rossetti may have inspired her; but it might equally well have deterred her. Florence's husband, Rev Henry Wynne ffoulkes, was her most important supporter in her poetry writing: two poems in *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade* are dedicated to him and he seems to have been the inspiration behind the basic idea of Florence's *Poems of Life and Form*. That might mean that Florence didn't start writing poetry on a regular basis until after she and Henry were married, in 1881. Florence's mother, Clara Jeffreys, also urged her on. Florence's *A New Year's Wish* was dedicated to her and the saddest poem in this early volume, the one called *In Memoriam*, is words of spiritual comfort for a woman whose infant child has died - as Clara Jeffreys' eldest daughter had done, aged five months.

The theme of poems dedicated to particular people runs through *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade* and some of the dedicatees are easy enough to identify: "H" is husband Henry; C.J. is Clara Jeffreys; "L.S.B." is Louisa Sarah Bevington. Two poems are dedicated to Margaret Bradley, one as still unmarried - "M.L.B." and one after her marriage (1879) as "M.L.W." However, I've been defeated in my attempts to figure out the other dedicatees, "H.B." - who may be a child - and "E and A". It's a pity about E and A especially, as Florence dedicated her poem *Gold Must be Tried by Fire* to them. The poem's title refers to One Peter, chapter 1 verse 7, about the testing of Christian faith, but the phrase has an alchemical ring about it and I really would have liked to know who those dedicatees were.

In the tradition of George Herbert, many of Florence's poems in *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade* are spiritual in nature, if not Christian, and that is how they were seen by reviewers in the *Cambridge Review* and the *Saturday Review*. The *Saturday Review* was edited at that time by Walter Herries Pollock, whose translation of Musset Florence had read; perhaps they knew each other. The *Saturday Review* described the poems as having a "refreshing unaffectedness of utterance". The *Cambridge Review* was less generous, saying that Florence's metaphors suffered from an "innocent banality" and that there was "a certain charm" in her poetry's "immaturity" - definitely a touch of praising with faint damns.

SWEET EYES

The *Saturday Review* said that Florence's work had a "sweet tunefulness"; and the *Nottingham Daily Guardian* (Florence and her husband lived just outside the city) thought that some of the poems in the volume would be good set to music. So it's not surprising that the songwriter Mary Augusta Salmond should set to music one of Florence's poems. This was not a new work, written specially for the purpose. Although the sheet music calls the song 'Sweet Eyes', the words are Florence's poem "To L.S.B." from *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade*.

Mary Augusta Salmond was a few years younger than Florence. She was the daughter of a barrister and had married Walter Salmond, an army officer and mining engineer. In the 1880s and 1890s they and their five children lived near Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, so it's possible that Mary Augusta and Florence knew each other. However, they needn't have met for Mary Augusta to use words by Florence for her first published song - the earliest in the British Library catalogue, that is - Mary Augusta may just have bought a copy of *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade*. Mary Augusta composed a small number of other songs over the next 20 years; the latest work by her in the BL catalogue is an anthem, published 1909. However, 'Sweet Eyes' was the only poem by Florence that Mary Augusta used. She set poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Coleridge and Kingsley but the only poet whose works she used more than once was Helen Marion Burnside; Mary Augusta used several of Burnside's poems for compositions she called 'plantation songs'.

QUESTIONS

Florence's poem *Questions* was published in *Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine* in its issue of 15 February 1888. It's the only poem she published in its own right, rather than as part of a larger volume. I've talked in my other file about the crisis of faith that Florence was going through at this time, which led to her joining the Theosophical Society and being initiated into the Golden Dawn. Here I want to print the poem and say that clearly, Florence found it a great deal easier to express doubt in poetry than in prose.

What can we do in temptation's hour?
How shall we conquer its fiery power?
How can we master it - standing alone,
Just on the threshold of things unknown?

Strong is its power as Death and Hell,
Led by its lure, even angels fell!
Dazed by the glare of a rising light

How shall poor mortals see aright?

Tempted we were in the morning of life,
With earth's simple joys that are ever rife,
To idly bask in the sun's warm beam
And to care no jot for a holier dream.

Tempted again in the heyday sun,
To choose fair paths and in gardens run,
Claiming as ours, all joy - all love,
Flowerets of bliss from the Heavens above.

Temptings come now, in life's later prime,
Deeper and stronger than in past time,
To feed with fuel the inward fire,
The passionate dream of the Soul's desire

Two feet are creeping on paths unknown,
Weary and mournful sad, and alone;
Two eyes are looking and longing for light,
Two hands are locked in a desperate fight.

A heart is breaking with pain and grief,
A soul in strong agony cries for relief;
Echoes no kindred chord above?
Stretcheth no Hand in responsive love?

Is our Great God, but a God of stone?

Are we - His people - dazed and alone?
Is there no Ear that can hear us cry?
No Christ, - to succour us e'er we die?

The italics are hers. Florence always used a great deal of extra emphasis in her poems - phrases in italics, exclamation marks, words in capitals - as if her feelings at particular points in the writing demanded more than just the words. Her reviewer in *The Cambridge Review* actually criticised her for that and hoped that as she gained confidence, she wouldn't need to do it any more; but she never gave it up.

Over twenty years passed between Questions, and Florence's next publication. A lot happened in during that long period: she had reached some kind of resolution to her crisis of faith; her husband and her father had both died; she and her sister had inherited the family lands in North Wales but had decided to sell them rather than take up residence and run the estates.

TO THE ARABS. ALLAH'S MESSAGE

I haven't been able to find a single copy of this work. I didn't even know it existed until I was working through Poems of Life and Form and noticed an advert for it in the unnumbered pages at the back. It was a pamphlet, published in 1911 with poems by Florence and translations of them all into Arabic. It was being circulated not like a normal volume of poetry but like a religious tract. It had an introduction by Princess Frederica of Hanover, so Florence may have been asked to write the poems by the RSPCA, of which Princess Frederica was a patron. I did find one other reference to To The Arabs, via the web; apparently some of Florence's poems had been set to music for it.

POEMS OF LIFE AND FORM

One set of poems later published in Poems of Life and Form had been in print already. In 1908 Occult Review published Florence's The Seven Principles. The principles were theosophical, and Florence wrote one sonnet for each: Sthula Sharira; Prana; Linga Sharira; Kama Rupa; Manas; Buddhi; and Atma. In her introduction, Florence explained that she had been trying to give as clear an outline of each principle as she could manage, while keeping within the sonnet form. She urged her readers to use the sonnets as a basis for expansion on the "Dominant Chord" the sonnets are giving them. The sonnets could have been written at any time between the early 1890s and 1908, but it's likely that they had been written since about 1895: since Annie Besant had taken charge of the Theosophical Society in England, she had led it away from the Buddhism that was favoured in the 1880s and early 1890s, and towards Hinduism, her own preference. The sonnets show Florence keeping up her reading, and following where Besant was leading. I have to say I thought the sonnets looked a bit odd, on the printed page. There are a lot of exclamation marks and words in capital letters and I wonder if Florence wasn't thinking of the poems as something to be read aloud in a ritual context - a concept she would have been familiar with both from high church services and from Golden Dawn rituals, but not from theosophy as the TS dealt with theory only, not practice.

Florence clearly saw rendering these basics of theosophy as a set of sonnets as a real test of her poetry-writing skills, and the idea of poetry as challenge runs through Poems of Life and Form. It seems that someone - almost certainly Florence's husband Henry - had challenged her to write poems in as many of the old forms of poetry as possible. Florence had picked up the gauntlet and her struggles with these unfamiliar forms had become quite a joke between her and her challenger - she wrote the leg-pulling she was getting into some of the poems. Preparing the results for publication, she arranged the poems in groups according to their form. The old forms she was using - some of which were first used in the time of the troubadours - included the triolet; ballade; rondeau; villanelle; kyrielle; sestina; and lai (which is not the same, apparently, as a lay).

Poems of Life and Form differed from Short Poems in Light and Shade in several ways. There were fewer devotional poems, and some of those that are included in the volume are more theosophical than Christian in tone. The sources for the poems are more wide-ranging.

One set is based on Greek myths Florence may have heard discussed if she and Henry ever went to stay with Margaret Woods - Margaret's husband was an Oxford University classicist. In one poem, Sleep, there's a reference to God as "the Holy Architect", a concept of the deity Florence must have picked up from her husband, who was a freemason. There are two ballads written as if told by working men, with Florence perhaps trying to catch the lilt and dialect spoken by her husband's parishioners in rural Nottinghamshire. The ballad is an old poetic form but My Pal: A Modern Epic is right up-to-date in its theme: an ex-soldier remembers a comrade who died while they were both stationed in the Middle East.

One noticeable difference between Short Poems in Light and Shade and Poems of Life and Form is that Poems of Life and Form has hardly any dedications or quotes above the poems. Although, as a result, there are no dedications to Florence's husband, his presence - alive and later dead - is marked in many of the poems, in jokes, and in poems on love and on loneliness.

It is so sad that the only review I could find of Florence's Poems of Life and Form was a sneering one by the young Australian poet James Griffyth Fairfax, in Poetry Review. I think Florence's publisher, Methuen, made a mistake sending the Poetry Review a copy. The magazine was a new one, still on its first volume and anxious to make a name for itself. Its editor, Harold Munro, made no bones about his intention to wage "a just and righteous war against formalism...and all kinds of false traditionalism". Poems of Life and Form might have been put together to encompass all that Munro was against, though that does not excuse Fairfax's description of Florence's volume as containing "no more poetry than a Bradshaw's Railway Guide".

Munro wanted Poetry Review to be in the vanguard: in the same issue as the review of Florence's book, Munro published a set of poems by Rupert Brooke including The Old Vicarage Grantchester; and announced his intention of reviewing Aleister Crowley's The Winged Beetle when the magazine had room. Modernism was on its way, and even to me, Florence's poems did look dated - not so much in their form but in their use of language. But it's up to the poet to decide how she wants to write poetry; and if she doesn't want to follow fashion why should she?

After a review like J G Fairfax's Florence couldn't be blamed for never publishing anything again; and she did only publish one more small volume.

THE LIVING WAY

This is a tiny volume, as it had to be, being published in 1918 with paper in short supply. Once again, Florence had been asked to contribute some poems to raise money for charity. This time, the charity was the Sacramental Society of Inner Light. Florence's set of seven poems, all written with the same rhyming scheme, either show her returning to her high church roots with a vengeance, or were written many years before she allowed them to be printed. The seven are meditations on the high church sacraments: baptism; confirmation; the eucharist; penance; orders (that is, men in holy orders); matrimony; and unction (which Roger tells me is particularly high church). The language Florence uses is old-fashioned - she was probably consciously imitating the Book of Common Prayer and the King James Bible.

Between 1918 and her death in 1936, Florence published nothing more.

I'll end by printing a couple of extracts from Poems of Life and Form.

Firstly, a poem about trying to write a poem:

A rondelet!
How shall I build, in form and tune,
 A Rondelet?
I'faith, I very much regret,
I cannot lop, and trim, and prune
My words, so that I can commune
 A Rondelet.

Secondly a set of three rondelets, headed "Song passes not away":

Had I but wings,
Soon I would soar, and take my flight,
Had I but wings,
To realms wherein the glad lark sings,
Thence I would rise, far out of sight,
Into the pure, etheric Light,
 Had I but wings.

Oh, give me rest,
Morpheus, thou bounteous god of sleep,
Oh, give me rest;
Take me to regions, fair and blest,
There may I lift the Veil, and peep
Into the vast and mystic Deep,
 Oh, give me rest.

Take thou my heart,
I give it utterly to thee,
Take thou my heart;
My soul is thine, where'er thou art,
And what I find to love in thee,
That shall I love eternally,
 Take thou my heart.

And the last poem in the book, a quatrain, expressing some rather un-Christian beliefs:

I am a fighter, battling for the Right,
I love our Master, and His striving Men;
When death shall call me unto Heaven's Light,
If God so wills - I would return again.

TWO WOMEN POETS FLORENCE KNEW

Louisa Sarah Bevington

Florence's poem "To L.S.B." begins "Sweet eyes! Which gaze in mine with tender glow". The whole poem is addressed to a special 'other' and there actually isn't anything in it that indicates the 'other' was a woman, it could have been a man. However, such strong emotions expressed for a woman friend were not unusual in Victorian England and I'm assuming that Florence's poem is addressing its dedicatee personally; and that she knows her personally, she hasn't just read Bevington's work.

On the face of it, it wasn't an obvious friendship and I can't think how they met unless one of the two - most likely Florence as Louisa Sarah's work was published first - wrote to the other in praise of her work. Louisa Sarah was several years older than Florence and they came from very different backgrounds. Louisa Sarah was the eldest of the eight children of Alexander and Louisa Bevington, Quakers who lived in Battersea. No high church upbringing in a remote colony there, quite the reverse - Louisa Sarah's father encouraged her to study science, which led to her meeting Herbert Spencer, inventor of 'social Darwinism'. In 1881 at Spencer's request, Louisa Sarah published an article in the Fortnightly Review defending science against critics who accused it of lacking any moral principles.

Louisa Sarah's first volume of poetry, *Key Notes*, was published in 1876 under the pseudonym Arbor Leigh, a clear reference to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh*. Barrett Browning doesn't seem to have been a favourite of Florence's; I also wonder what she made of the article in Fortnightly Review if she read it and knew that Louisa Sarah had written it. However, despite these differences in background and outlook, poetry enabled Florence and Louisa Sarah to become friendly. I think their friendship was in the late 1870s and/or early 1880s, while Louisa Sarah was writing some of the poems that were published in 1882 in her *Poems, Lyrics and Sonnets*, and Florence was getting married and perhaps trying her own hand at poetry.

In 1883, however, the friendship was interrupted if not ended when Louisa Sarah went to Germany to study, a decision that divided her life starkly into two phases. She met and married the artist Ignatz Felix Guggenberger and lived in Munich for some years; but the marriage failed and she returned to London on her own, in the early 1890s, immediately immersing herself in anarchist politics. She joined the Autonomie Club whose female members wore short skirts and even cut their hair. She translated Louise Michel's *Commune de Paris* into English. She still wrote poetry, but now she focused on human suffering and social issues. She knew Peter Kropotkin and his wife; and knew of the French revolutionary

Bourdin, who killed himself while trying to blow up Greenwich Observatory. When she died in 1895 obituaries were published in the anarchist journals *Liberty* and *The Torch of Anarchy*.

Further from lyrics and sonnets Louisa Sarah Guggenberger could hardly have gone, and it boggles my mind that she and Florence ffoulkes - devout and devoted wife of a high church clergyman living in the suburbs of Nottingham - could have anything to say to each other any more. However, they may have kept in touch in the 1880s and 1890s.

Margaret Louisa Woods née Bradley

Margaret Bradley and Florence Jeffreys met at school. I don't know how long their friendship lasted. In some ways their lives after school were similar: they were poets; they were high church Anglicans who married clergymen. But in other ways, they were very different.

Margaret Woods (1855-1945) was from a privileged - though not necessarily wealthy - family. Her father, Rev George Granville Bradley was a teacher at Rugby school when she was born; he went on to be headmaster of Marlborough School; and principal of University College Oxford; before ending his working life by being appointed Dean of Westminster in time to be in charge of the funerals of Gladstone and Darwin and the coronation of Edward VII. I've said already that the Bradleys knew Tennyson; but they also knew Matthew Arnold, Julia Margaret Cameron, Lewis Carroll... They moved in the kinds of circles Florence could only read about.

Virtually all Margaret's siblings became writers though Margaret was the most prolific and the best-known of them. In 1879, Margaret married Rev Henry George Wood of Trinity College Oxford. For the next 18 years she lived in Oxford while her husband's academic career prospered. Margaret's first published work was a poem. It appeared in 1881 in a volume collected and printed by a family friend. She continued to publish poetry but also wrote several novels, children's stories, a verse-play and articles.

Margaret's views may give a clue as to Florence's attitude to some of the big socio-political questions of her day - attitudes which only appear in one of Florence's poems. People on the high church end of the Church of England spectrum tended to be conservative and Margaret was no exception - Mrs Humphrey Ward was a close friend of hers. Though Margaret didn't campaign actively against votes for women like Mrs Ward did, her 1907 novel *The Invader* took the view that the intellectual demands of an undergraduate course were beyond a woman's capabilities and could lead to women graduates neglecting their duties as wives and mothers, and even to sexual immorality. Margaret's heroine used hypnotism to help her cope with her course work and found herself overtaken by an alternative personality who demanded sexual freedom - leading in due course to marital breakdown, remorse, suicide of the heroine and all the other things you would expect in a story by someone watching with disapproval as women demanded equal rights. 1907 seems very late to be making these arguments but Margaret's opinions were still widely held (especially amongst men, of course) and perhaps Florence agreed with them. Margaret's use of hypnotism as a feature of her plot is interesting - perhaps she had discussed altered mental states with Florence though she was never a member of the Theosophical Society or the

Golden Dawn.

In 1913, Margaret was elected a member of the Royal Society of Literature, a rare honour for a woman and perhaps some kind of establishment stamp of approval for her conservative views. But those views caused her work to cease to be read even during her own lifetime and I certainly had never heard of her before I started to research Florence's dedications in her *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade*.

SOURCES FOR THIS FILE

British Library. Though one book of poems published by Florence is missing and the four items that the BL does have are not catalogued consistently. The British Library has:

1887 *Short Poems in Sunlight and Shade*. London: Field and Tuer.

An edition of this was also published in New York by Scribner and Welford.

?1890 *Sweet eyes, a song*. Florence supplies the words. The music is by Mary Augusta C Salmond

1912 *Poems of Life and Form*. London: Methuen and Co. This one is catalogued under the name "L ffoulkes".

1918 *The Living Way. A Set of Verses on the Sacraments*. London: C M Dobson

Late Victorian Poetry 1880-99: An Annotated Biobibliography by Catherine W Reilly. Mansell Publishing Ltd 1994: p165. It's a companion volume to Reilly's earlier work which covers mid-Victorian poetry and is too early for Florence.

The all-important book that I used to find out more about the kind of poems Florence chose to write: *The Poet's Manual and Rhyming Dictionary* by Frances Stillman. Published Thames and Hudson Ltd originally 1966: p27, pp51-67. My friend Helen Ash lent me her 1996 edition.

SHORT POEMS IN SUNLIGHT AND SHADE

Review: *Cambridge Review* vol VIII Supplement dated 20 June 1887 pxciv. The other reviews are quotes, in *Poems of Life and Form* on an unnumbered page at the end of the book.

The TENNYSON quotes:

Via archive.org to the full text of *In Memoriam* with analysis and notes by H M Percival. London: Macmillan and Co 1907; the web copy is now in University of Toronto.

The full text of the *Miller's Tale*, with some notes, can be seen on ebook, *Early Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson* at www.gutenberg.org/files/8601/8601-h/8601-h.htm#section39.

Tennyson's *Nothing Will Die* can be seen at website poetry.rapgenius.com which also prints

other early works.

Florence's quote from the *Idylls of the King: The Last Tournament* is often printed without the rest of the poem eg in *Love Songs from Tennyson* selected by Edith Harris. New York and Chicago: Rand McNally and Co 1907 p93. I saw the Library of Congress copy online via archive.org.

The full text of Shelley's *To—* is at www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/174412.

For further information on Jessie Fothergill, see ODNB volume 20 p533.

Hamilton Drummond is listed in *Late Victorian Poetry 1880-1899: An Annotated Biobibliography* by Catherine W Reilly. Mansell Publishing Ltd 1994 p146. Florence must be quoting *Sir Hildebrand and Other Poems* published Dublin by Hodges Figgis and Co 1882. Drummond's only other volume of poetry was published in 1893.

The Wordsworth quote: see a complete set of poems by Wordsworth at www.bartleby.com,

For the full text of Myers' *St Paul*, see www.sermonindex.net.

Myers is also in *Late Victorian Poetry 1880-1899: An Annotated Biobibliography* by Catherine W Reilly. Mansell Publishing Ltd 1994 p344.

The quote from the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* is from volume 31. Some further information on the Society is at www.scholarly-societies.org website sponsored by University of Waterloo Library.

The full text of Christina Rossetti's poem called *Spring* can be see at www.gutenberg.org/files/19188/19188-h/19188-h.htm#p_34A.

Via google to *The Works of George Herbert* p4.

For information on Walter Herries Pollock and on Alfred de Musset, see wikipedia.

Florence's *Gold Must Be Tried By Fire* is from 1 Peter 1:7. I found it at www.biblestudytools.com.

SWEET EYES

The British Library catalogue gives 1890 as the date of publication of Salmond's song, but with a query so it might be a year or so either side. London: W Morley and Co.

More information on Mary Augusta Salmond:

Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry volume 3 Burke, 1937 edition p1975

Medical Times and Gazette volume 2 1878 p366 a marriage notice for Mary Augusta's sister Geraldine says their father was "of Lincoln's Inn".

Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal: The Clarence Volume by Melville Henry Massue Marquis de Ruvigny et Raineval p187 entry for Walter Salmond.

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage etc 1925 edition p726 says that Mary Augusta Compton Salmond had been awarded an OBE.

QUESTIONS

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume 1 number 6 issue of 15 February 1888, p485.

TO THE ARABS. ALLAH'S MESSAGE

The reference I found was in Poems of Life and Form unnumbered page at the end.

Via the web I found it mentioned in The Athenaeum issues p4366-4392 1911 p489 in a list of recently published poetry and drama. Florence ffoulkes' friend, GD member Hugh Elliot, was a member of the Athenaeum Club and grandson of one of its founders: I expect he persuaded the Club's magazine to take the advert for Florence's pamphlet.

POEMS OF LIFE AND FORM

Poems of Life and Form with Florence's name given as L F Wynne ffoulkes possibly in an attempt to hide her gender. Methuen and Co Ltd 1912. It's dedicated to HRH Princess Frederica of Hanover "who has written with generous favour of my verses".

For Princess Frederica of Hanover, see wikipedia.

The Poetry Review volume 1 number XI November 1912. Published London: St Catherine Press Strand: p496; p504-09; p514.

There are biographical notes on James Griffyth Fairfax in The Bibliography of Australian Literature compilers John Arnold, John A Hay, Sally Batten. Published Kew Victoria: Australian Scholarly Publications 2001-08. Volume 1 p4

THE LIVING WAY

The Living Way (A Set of Verses on the Sacraments) printed by C Maurice Dobson of 146 Kensington High St. There's no date anywhere in the booklet and even the British Library stamp doesn't have a date on it, though the booklet is listed in the catalogue as having been published in 1918. The booklet has no introduction or preface.

LOUISA SARAH BEVINGTON see ODNB volume 5 p613.

MARGARET LOUISA BRADLEY WOODS

I based my piece of Margaret Woods on the article about her life and work by Martha W Vogeler in the Dictionary of Literary Biography volume 240: Late 19th and Early 20th Century British Women Poets. Editor William B Thesing of the University of South Carolina. Farmington Mills MI: Gale Group 2001. In her lifetime Margaret was a far better-known figure than her husband.

George Granville Bradley 1821-1903 is in ODNB and you can read his entry online.

Julia Margaret Cameron: A Critical Biography by Colin Ford 2003 p62.

Both Margaret and her husband have letters in Selected Letters of Robert Bridges by Robert Seymour Bridges, Lionel Muirhead and Donald Elwin, published Stanford University 1984. There are some brief biographical notes on p1019.

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AMandragora@attglobal.net

Oliver Firth was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford in November 1888. This was only a month after the temple was founded: he knew several of the founders. Oliver chose the Latin motto 'Volo'. He did embark on the study of the occult that was expected of new initiates but - for reasons I'll discuss below - didn't progress very far with it.

Initially, Oliver Firth had encouraged his fiancée Florence Spink to become a member and she was initiated, also at the Horus Temple, in September 1890, taking the Latin motto 'Volantia'. However, by 1892 Oliver and his friend Frank Drake Harrison, and possibly other Bradford-based members too, were so outspoken in their criticism of the GD that the Horus Temple's senior officials asked the GD hierarchy to intervene. When Annie Horniman was unable to quell them (I discuss that below), William Wynn Westcott - one of the founders of the GD - stepped in. He failed like Annie had. Harrison was expelled from the GD and both Oliver Firth and Florence Firth had resigned from it before the end of that year.

In 1894 the text of a talk Oliver had given was published which indicates that his brush with the GD's magic had left him deeply troubled. It suggests reasons why some of those initiated into the GD might have chosen to walk away. Oliver's talk was called 'Spiritual Occultism' and Oliver started from the viewpoint that the word 'occult' included both the good and the bad, and sources from both west and east. Oliver defined 'Spiritual Occultism' all-embracingly but with a clear bias towards theosophy rather than magic: he described it as a search for self-knowledge through "self-renunciation", higher aspiration and loving service; and specifically as not a selfish craving for power. In a phrase that's definitely a reflection on how he saw the GD, he said that in his view, occultism was not necessarily "the practice of the Occult Arts"; and that occultism without ethics was nothing more than black magic.

I agree.

THE FIRTHS OF BRADFORD

I found several people with the surname 'firth' in the Bradford area in a gazetteer issued in 1822. There was a Sarah Firth, in business as a dealer in chinaware in the Old Market Place. I mention her not because she might be a relative - though she might be - but because GD member Joseph Clayton was also a dealer in chinaware, in the 1880s and 1890s and it's clear

from my research into the GD's Bradford members that their families were often business acquaintances, friends, or relatives by marriage. The 1822 gazetteer also included a John Firth, a worsted manufacturer living in Heaton, who is probably Oliver's grandfather though I haven't been able to confirm this. The earliest relation of Oliver that I am sure of is his father Thomas Firth, born in Bradford in 1818, the son of a John Firth and his wife Elizabeth.

In the 1850s and 1860s Thomas Firth ran a worsted spinning business - worsted spinning was a specialism of Bradford - and also received income from patents for improvements to spinning machines. His business was based at Shear Bridge (or Shearbridge) Mills, Horton, and in 1861 it employed 101 boys (the work of spinning being relatively simple, and children being cheaper than adults, of course). He also rented out different floors of the three-storey Mill and its outbuildings: Briggs Brothers; Charles Turner spinner and manufacturer; and a Mr Brook, also running a spinning business, were all sub-tenants at the Mill. In July 1866, all the buildings at the Mill were completely destroyed by fire with losses to the firms involved estimated at £30-40000 in contemporary money. Over the next five years the Mill was rebuilt, even bigger, but it seems that the Firth family may not have been the owners by the time the new Mill was finished: Thomas Firth had retired by 1871 and let his second son Alfred take over the business on what seems to have been a much smaller scale; and by the 1880s the land on which the Mill stood had passed into the hands of William Dewhirst.

In 1843, Thomas Firth married Helen Gomersall. They lived near the Mill, at Ashfield Place Little Horton, and had the large family typical of the time: Walter, Alfred, Lucy Jane, Alice, Henry; and Oliver, the youngest, born in 1860. I haven't been able to find out anything about how or where the children were educated. Walter at least may always have had poor health and may not have been able to go to school, though he and his siblings might all have been tutored at home. On the day of the 1861 census Walter (aged 17) was not at school or working either. He probably died later that year - I couldn't identify him for certain on any census after 1861. Alfred and Oliver and possibly Henry as well had an education that fitted them to continue the family business.

On the day of the 1871 census all Thomas and Helen's other children were still alive though they were not all at home. Thomas and Alfred were at Ashfield Place, with Lucy keeping house for them; while Helen had taken Alice, Henry and Oliver to Morecambe and was renting rooms in John Sill's lodging house on Craven Terrace. There was nothing odd about that but perhaps Helen Firth's health was giving concern: she died in December 1875, in her mid-fifties. Oliver was 15.

Thomas Firth was a widower for just over a year. In the spring of 1877 he married Elizabeth, either Elizabeth Jane Bowater or Elizabeth Dracup (my money is on Dracup for reasons I won't go into). Lucy Jane had married John Waugh in 1873; Alice and Alfred had also married though I'm not so sure who Alice's husband was; and Henry had left home or possibly had died; so that on census day 1881, only Oliver was still living with his father and step-mother in their new home at Langley Bank, Low Baildon.

On census day 1881 Oliver was working for the firm that his father had built up; but that's about all I know for certain about the business after Thomas Firth retired from it. The census entry gives Oliver's occupation as "worsted spinner" but even the owners of mills were described in that way and I'm sure he wasn't working shifts on the factory floor. It's possible that he was employed in the office; but in 1891 he described himself to a census official as an electrical engineer. I understand that the machinery of worsted spinning was not powered by

electricity until the 20th century but Oliver could have been involved with the processes of maintaining and improving the machinery in the mill - inheriting his father's abilities - while learning about electricity on the side. I think that around 1890 he was wondering if and how electricity could be made to power the spinning machines - at that time he did some experiments trying to improve the efficiency of magnetic dynamos.

From the tiny amount of information I've found on the Firth family firm after Thomas' retirement, I haven't been able to work out whether Oliver was in partnership with his older brother Alfred, or taking orders from him as the youngest brother. I take Oliver's description of his source of income in 1891 to mean that he was not working in the family mill any longer; but I may be wrong about that. However, I am sure that by the late 1880s his work was no longer the focus of his best efforts if, indeed, it ever had been.

OLIVER'S LEISURE TIME

Oliver Firth had broad interests, and from several sources I've received the impression that when his interest in something was aroused, he pursued it energetically and thoroughly. One person who knew him slightly in the early 1890s, described him as "indefatigable". The evidence I've found for what Oliver did in his spare time - membership of societies, books published - tends to come from the 1890s and later, rather than the decades before, but I think it's still reasonable to say that his interest in the geology and botany of Yorkshire and Lancashire began in his teens; a letter to a journal in the 1890s, about the affect of tidal waves in rivers, suggests he'd spent a lot of time studying them. As he got older and had less spare time for walking and observation of natural processes in the wild, he began to grow and study ferns, and developed an interest in the old (and fast disappearing) dialects of Yorkshire.

Oliver was also a keen stamp collector by the early 1880s. A rather unhelpful obituary in *The London Philatelist* of 1913 gave the information that Oliver had joined the Royal Philatelic Society around 1883. Meetings of the Society were held in London and Oliver didn't attend one until 1898. Consequently he was never a very well-known member though he did have some letters published in the Society's journal during the 1890s, on particularly interesting items in his collection. During the mid-1890s, in addition to all his other commitments, he found time to work on a guide to stamp collecting. This was published in 1897 and was a major contribution to the subject, at 187 pages.

These widely divergent pastimes led to Oliver making friends with varied interests. One who joined the GD, probably at Oliver's suggestion, was Robert Elliott Steel who shared Oliver's interest in geology and geomorphology but doesn't seem to have had much interest in stamps. However, by the late 1880s at the latest, Oliver had been diverted into a completely new area of study and impassioned commitment: he had discovered theosophy, almost certainly by reading Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* (published 1877) and *The Secret Doctrine* (published 1888). During the early 1890s theosophy was the main focus of his interest, the place on which he focused most of his considerable energy. He travelled all over the north of England to attend theosophy meetings, and was also a regular visitor to theosophy conferences in London, for several years before he turned up at the Royal Philatelic Society.

OLIVER AND THEOSOPHY

Blavatsky had taken up residence in London in 1887 in the house owned by Countess Wachtmeister in Regent's Park, from which the TS worldwide was run. Oliver might have

gone down to London and met Blavatsky there but I haven't found any mention that he did. He definitely met the co-leader of the Theosophical Society, Henry Steel Olcott, in 1889, but that was in Bradford when Olcott gave a talk there on The Awakening of Japan (to theosophy, that is). In his memoirs Olcott described Oliver at that time as "joyous-hearted" and "keen-brained" in the cause of theosophy. Olcott had been invited to speak in Bradford by one of several groups of people meeting informally in the city to discuss theosophy and the meaning of The Secret Doctrine. In 1891 the group that Oliver and Florence Firth were involved with took the next step and applied to TS headquarters to found a TS lodge, Bradford Lodge. I give the names of the lodge's other founders because I've mentioned several of them before, and because all of them were members of the GD as well, either initiated already or about to become so: Joseph Clayton (the chinaware dealer); Bogdan Edwards and his brother Stanley Jastrzebski; Oliver and Florence's friend John Midgley; Thomas Pattinson (the founder of the GD's Bradford temple) and his wife; Oliver, his wife and his sister-in-law Kate Spink; and another of Oliver's friends, Frank Drake Harrison. Bradford Lodge's official contact at TS headquarters was Isabel Cooper-Oakley but when she was away (as she often was) GD founder William Wynn Westcott - a leading light in the TS and an old friend of Thomas Pattinson and Bogdan Edwards - came to visit in her stead; and so the close ties already in existence between the GD and the TS continued.

For men, the links between the TS and the GD in Bradford encompassed freemasonry. Baildon Lodge number 1545 was founded in 1875 and Thomas Henry Pattinson was a member of it from its early years: it was he who supervised the decoration of its first rooms with a mural of ancient Egyptian figures which became well-known amongst Yorkshire freemasons. By the late 1880s if not earlier, Oliver Firth had been initiated as a member of the lodge; he served as its Worshipful Master in 1892, the year after Pattinson had done so; Frank Drake Harrison was its WM in 1897 and a Dr E G Firth who might be a relation of Oliver's served in 1917. In 1891 Oliver also became a corresponding member of the London-based lodge Quatuor Coronati number 2076, set up as a forum for the study of the history of freemasonry. A Harrie Firth of Baildon, another member of Baildon Lodge 1545 had joined QC2076 in 1889; this might be Oliver's brother Henry, whom I've had trouble identifying after he left home.

Theosophy does seem to have meant more to Oliver than either magic or freemasonry, however. With Thomas Pattinson, he had done a lot of the form-filling the TS in London required before it would give permission for the setting up of a local lodge. This willingness to get involved in the committee-work and administration side of theosophy meant that Oliver was particularly busy during the early 1890s when interest in theosophy was expanding at a rapid rate. He was elected Bradford TS Lodge's president in 1892 and was still in post in 1894; with Thomas Henry Pattinson as secretary.

Another important theatre for Oliver's work in theosophy was the TS's European Section, an umbrella group for all European lodges which held two or three days of lectures and socialising in a different European town each summer. Oliver and Frank Harrison were elected to the committee that ran it and organised those yearly meetings. Attending the yearly meeting of 1892, Oliver will probably have met John William Brodie-Innes, who gave one of the talks. Brodie-Innes was an old friend of William Wynn Westcott and had been a member of the GD and the TS since 1890. His involvement with the TS in Europe was probably what led, in 1893, to Oliver becoming a member of the group that the TS set up to give advice on theosophical matters to the World Parliament of Religions. The parliament of religions met from 15 to 17 September 1893 as part of the Chicago World's Fair, and Oliver may have attended it.

Oliver's greatest commitment of time and energy after Bradford Lodge was with the Northern Federation of TS lodges, which held several meetings each year between 1893 and 1895 in different cities each time. He and Frank Drake Harrison did a lot of the Federations' administrative work, in the mid-1890s, organising the meetings and also public lectures in Bradford and nearby towns. The public lectures were often given as part of lecture tours by theosophy grandees like Annie Besant but less senior members of north of England lodges also gave talks at Federation meetings and to individual lodges. There seems to have been a list of TS lodge members willing to give talks. Oliver was definitely on this list and was particularly busy with lectures in 1893 and 1894. In 1893 he gave his talks Theosophy and Daily Life; and Karma, Free Will and Fate to the TS lodges in Manchester and Middlesbrough as well as Bradford. That year he was also asked to go to Wakefield to talk more generally about theosophy at a public meeting which resulted in the setting up of a TS lodge in the town. And 1893 was the year in which his article 'Some False Concepts of Occultism' was published in the English theosophical journal Lucifer in 1894, containing more of his reflections on the relationship between theosophy and the western occult. In it he stated that you didn't have to study western esotericism and magic in order to get to grips with theosophy; if he had thought you had to once, he had since changed his mind.

1894 was the year in which Oliver spoke most often. He began 1894 in January with Some False Notions of Occultism at Harrogate and then at Leeds. A couple of months later, his subject was The Powers of Will, which he gave at Middlesbrough Lodge. In July his subject was the TS and its Three Objects, at Bradford and then Harrogate. In October it was Everyday Aspects of Theosophy, at Leeds and then at Harrogate. The following month Oliver demonstrated his familiarity with some Indian texts at least when he talked on The Vedanta Philosophy, at Athene Lodge Bradford, repeating it at Leeds Lodge in March 1895.

Oliver was also first to come out with the idea which became known as Friends Across the Sea - a kind of pen-pal scheme for lodges in different countries. In August 1894 the Northern Theosophist magazine published Oliver's article explaining it, and then gave a talk at the Northern Federation's next meeting, in Middlesbrough, to an audience which included Isabel Cooper-Oakley and Colonel Olcott. Olcott gave Oliver's scheme his blessing and put Mrs Cooper-Oakley in charge of getting it organised; but it never really got off the ground, overtaken by events.

When not travelling the country in the cause of theosophy in the early 1890s, Oliver went to as many of Bradford Lodge's meetings as he could (there were often several each week) and also to its theosophical study group. He sponsored new members of Bradford Lodge, 21 people between 1891 and 1894 including his sisters-in-law, and Harold Dunn whose brother Edward Dunn was another of the Northern Federation lecture-givers and joined the GD as well as the TS.

Florence Firth's ability to commit time to theosophy was limited by her household and child-care commitments. She did what she could, however. She was a committee member in Bradford Lodge in 1892 but gave it up in 1893 after she had had her first child. A longer-term commitment was Bradford Lodge's Sunday evening meetings, which she organised with the help of John Midgley's wife Sarah. They were held in Baildon, probably in Florence and Sarah's houses. Florence may also have been the Lodge's librarian; a library certainly existed by 1894 and was open on Wednesday evenings at the rooms where the Lodge held its meetings at the time - 9 Osborne Chambers, New Kirkgate.

I hope all this coverage of the activities of Oliver Firth and Florence Firth in the TS is making clear why neither of them was particularly committed to the GD. The TS and the GD offered a choice between eastern philosophy and the western occult tradition; and also between study leading to enlightenment; and study followed by practising the precepts learned. In Oliver's case, he seems to have begun his GD membership with the idea that it was impossible to follow one without studying the other; but had begun to worry about where the study of western occultism would take him, and changed his mind about the necessity of working at it. Florence seems to have agreed with him.

However, behind the great expansion in TS membership in the early 1890s there was trouble brewing between Annie Besant and the American William Quan Judge, its two most likely leaders now that Blavatsky was dead (she had died in May 1891). The struggle between them raged for about three years, and got very shrill and very public in November 1894 when an article about it was published in the Westminster Gazette under the headline 'Isis very much unveiled'. In the weeks after its publication, everybody in theosophy was discussing the article and Oliver wrote to Lucifer saying that the TS must make an official response to it; but the organisation was in such disarray that no coherent reply to it emerged.

Oliver Firth knew both Annie Besant and William Quan Judge well, through his work for the TS's European Section: Annie Besant was on its governing committee and Judge was its president-for-life. At first he was inclined to favour Judge rather than Besant. In his turn Judge counted Oliver as a friend as well as a supporter, and asked Oliver to be one of his "special delegates" at a meeting held in London in July 1894 to consider the claims Judge was making - that he should take charge of the TS as he was in touch with the mahatmas that until Blavatsky's death had communicated with her alone. Oliver made a speech at this special meeting. I haven't been able to find an account of what he said, which is a pity: depending on when during the meeting he made it, he may actually have spoken in Judge's support. But as the meeting wore on, Judge's arrogant behaviour turned Oliver against him; so he stood for, and was elected, to the committee that was set up at the end of the meeting essentially to get rid of Judge from the TS. In the months that followed, Judge was edged out, at least in theory; but the American lodges resigned en masse from the TS worldwide.

At the TS's European Section congress of July 1895, some of Judge's more determined supporters demanded changes in its constitution to keep it independent of interference from TS headquarters in London and allow Judge to be re-elected as its president. A committee to look into the possibility of constitutional change was elected, but it was dominated by Annie Besant's supporters, Oliver Firth being one; and no changes were made, to my knowledge. Annie Besant reigned supreme and was the dominant force in the TS (other than in the USA) for the rest of her life.

The dispute between Annie Besant and William Quan Judge was a disaster for the TS in Britain and it has never really recovered. Hundreds of members resigned or just stopped paying their yearly subscription, including all those who strongly supported Judge; entire lodges closed for lack of support; others were divided - often quite bitterly - between supporters of the two candidates. As support for the TS fell away, the Northern Federation couldn't continue; its magazine stopped being published and Oliver's round of talks to its member lodges ceased. There were fewer public lecture tours by senior TS members and the charity work the TS had been doing in the early 1890s had to be stopped for lack of funds.

Bradford Lodge seems to have come very early to the stage of being split between the two candidates. In 1893 Thomas Pattinson, Bogdan Edwards, Joseph Clayton and Clayton's daughters set up the Athene Lodge as a rival to the Bradford Lodge and they may have done this as supporters of Judge. Despite being a Judge supporter himself at this time, Oliver stayed in Bradford Lodge, as did Florence, and Kate and Gertrude Spink. So it's possible that Athene Lodge's break-away from Bradford Lodge was about sources of strife that were closer to home.

The Bradford GD and TS members were a very independent-minded bunch and many of them had a tendency to say what they thought, however tactless - perhaps even playing up to that reputation when senior officials arrived from GD and TS headquarters to quell restlessness in the ranks. Emissaries sent by the GD to keep the Horus Temple within bounds included Annie Horniman, no mistress of diplomacy herself. In September 1892, at the personal request of Samuel Liddell Mathers, she attended the Horus Temple's equinox ritual and meeting to report on some gossip that had reached him. A letter she wrote to Mathers after her visit didn't allay his concern: she told him that she had herself heard "Mr Firth" call astrology "mere divination". It's a pity Annie wasn't a bit more specific about who it was that was doubting the usefulness of astrology as a magical tool. There were two Mr Firths in the Bradford GD (and Bradford TS Lodge) at the time, Oliver and Walter (who may have been a cousin). I think it was probably Walter Firth Annie was meaning (see the Sources section for the reasons); but there's no absolute proof that she didn't mean Oliver, who resigned from the GD shortly afterwards.

Oliver and Florence Firth gave up on magic and the GD very shortly after Annie's visit to Bradford. But they didn't lose their faith and interest in theosophy during the very difficult years of the mid-1890s, and theosophy did keep limping on. Instead, in 1896-97 it was the GD's turn to have a bout of internal wrangling. I found a piece of evidence at the Freemasons' Library that shows that Oliver at least was still in touch with some GD members at this time and - despite no longer being a member himself - knew a great deal that he shouldn't have, about what was going on in the Order. Early in January 1897, he was one of those who tried to mediate after Annie Horniman was expelled from the GD by Mathers. Although Annie could be a difficult person to deal with, many GD members were aware that she had been ejected for reasons that had nothing to do with magical matters. A petition was organised on her behalf, requesting Mathers to reinstate her. Oliver and Florence didn't sign the petition, but when Mina and Samuel Mathers visited London in January 1897, Oliver managed to have a meeting with Mina and - apparently - to speak on Annie's behalf. After it, he wrote to Annie herself, telling her how sorry Mina now was, that the friendship she and Annie had enjoyed for so long had got mixed up with GD business and come to grief.

It was a surprise to me to find such a letter in the FML collection, and to realise that Oliver must have gone to London to try to help Annie Horniman, with whom he might have quarrelled himself in 1892. Annie's reply - if she made one - has been lost; but it didn't lead to either she or Oliver going back to the GD. Annie was only welcomed back in the post-Mathers era; and Oliver and Florence never did return, working on instead amidst the wreckage of theosophy in Britain.

The rise to prominence of Katherine Tingley, a new leader of theosophy in the USA, led Annie Besant to set out on a lecture tour of the north of England in 1897, a series of engagements which began the emergence of theosophy in Bradford from two years of complete inertia. On Annie Besant's itinerary was an evening talk at Baildon's Central Hall; and Bradford Lodge managed to organise a *conversazione* in her honour for the afternoon after the lecture. At the *conversazione* Florence and her sisters Kate and Gertrude Spink

agreed to try to run a new theosophical study class - the first in Bradford for several years. As part of the effort to get theosophy in Bradford to rise from the ashes, Oliver started writing on theosophy again, and Florence wrote her first ever article on theosophy. Oliver's article On the Theosophic Use of the Imagination appeared in Theosophical Review in October 1897 and in Lucifer in 1898. In it, Oliver considered the use of the mind in scientific research into theosophy. Florence's article Theosophy and Education was also published in Lucifer in 1898. She chose a subject raised several years before in a talk by Oliver, probably one she and her husband constantly discussed: how to live your life according to theosophical principles. Florence focused on whether theosophist parents should bring up their children as theosophists or leave them to find their way to it as adults. She concluded that theosophist parents should tell their children about their beliefs.

Theosophy in Bradford was just not the same after Besant v Judge dispute, though: friendships had been sorely tried by it and some had come to grief; and by the time Oliver's and Florence's articles were published neither of its lodges had enough members to survive on its own. In 1900 Athene Lodge was wound up and Bradford Lodge was relaunched. Oliver and Florence Firth, and Kate and Gertrude Spink were amongst those eating humble pie in 1900: they all attended the meeting at which the factions represented by the two lodges began their reconciliation. Oliver chaired the meeting, had perhaps even organised it. Florence was the reconstituted Bradford Lodge's new secretary and also agreed to be its librarian. The TS seemed fated not to have an easy life, however, and in 1906 it was overtaken by a scandal that in terms of the mores and fears of the age was the most serious that it had faced: one of its most active workers, Charles Webster Leadbeater was accused of encouraging young boys to masturbate to relieve sexual tension; and rumours started to go around that Leadbeater's relationships with some of the sons of theosophists he knew were too close for moral comfort.

While the gossip about Leadbeater was going the rounds in theosophical circles Oliver may have been wondering whether he might be better off as a co-mason, a particular form of freemasonry which allowed the equal participation of women. There are some letters from Oliver to the London secretary of International Co-Masonry, Alfred Faulding, written in 1906. However, I haven't found any evidence that he followed up his interest, although his friend Frank Drake Harrison became one of co-masonry's most senior figures in England. Florence was never a co-mason either.

An investigation by senior TS figures didn't find any absolute proof of what was being said about Leadbeater; but in order to damp down the scandal, he resigned from the TS anyway. However, in February 1909 Annie Besant - as the new president-for-life of the TS after Olcott's death and as a firm believer in Leadbeater's innocence - got him reinstated, prompting another crisis of membership. Members of the TS who had remained in the TS through the Besant v Judge struggle and its aftermath now resigned in large numbers, including Oliver and Florence Firth, and Florence's sisters Kate and Gertrude Spink. Any interest they still had in theosophy as a spiritual path, they followed up in private. It was a sad ending to nearly 20 years of commitment to theosophy as a movement for personal development and social change in Britain.

Oliver and Florence's involvement with theosophy, freemasonry and magic often caused them aggravation, but their belief in the importance of the teachings of theosophy will have helped them weather the storms of economic change in late 19th century Bradford, storms that will have affected Oliver directly if he was still involved in the family business.

BEYOND THEOSOPHY

Laws taxing imported British 'finished' textile goods began to be passed in European countries in the 1870s and there was some retrenchment in Bradford at that time although as the Firth family business produced yarn rather than finished goods, it may not have been badly affected. The USA's McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 was a more serious challenge to Bradford: duty on imported woollen products was raised to over 90% and mills making finished goods were very badly affected. Local buyers of the Firth mill's yarn will have begun to buy less, but exports of yarn continued to increase until just before the first world war. However, despite worsted spinners faring better than mills that used worsted to make finished goods, the Firths' mill seems not to have still been in business by 1901, when Oliver told the census official that he was a man of independent financial means. He was never involved in the textile industry again but - a few years later - moved into a completely different line of work using skills that he may have learned helping his brother Alfred manage the family business.

Oliver Firth and Florence Spink had married each other in Baildon in August 1890 with lots of guests from both families. They had set up home at a house called Rushcroft, in Baildon, down the hill from Florence's family. Their first child, Mary Alice, was born late in 1892. A change of address to Hawthorn House in Baildon followed, and two more children: Thomas in 1893 and Margaret in 1894, so it's not very surprising that Florence didn't play a prominent part in the upheaval in the TS in the mid-1890s.

Oliver's father and step-mother had left Bradford and settled in Ulverston, probably when Oliver married, all Thomas's children now being off their hands. Thomas Firth died in Ulverston in August 1897. I believe Elizabeth Firth died shortly afterwards - I can't see her on the censuses of 1901 or 1911 - but I haven't identified a death certificate for her. Oliver perhaps inherited something from his father, or from the sale of the worsted spinning business - an inheritance of invested money would explain how he could tell the 1901 census official that he had independent financial means. His and Florence's income was enough for them to employ a cook and a nurse to help Florence run the household; it was these servant luxuries that enabled her to find time to write her article on children's spiritual education and prepare a book for publication.

Quite how Florence Firth and Annie Besant came together to prepare *The Golden Verses of Pythagoras and Other Pythagorean Fragments* is a bit of a mystery to me. The two women were acquainted, of course, but I wouldn't have supposed that they knew each other well. Annie Besant being the woman she was, I imagine that the idea for the book came from her. Perhaps it arose from her visit to Bradford in 1897 and was part of her attempt to re-ignite theosophy in the city where it had been so strong in the early 1890s. Florence Firth might have volunteered to do bulk of the work of the project: the preparation of the text. The text is a set of moral phrases generally held to be the work either of Pythagoras himself or of his followers, which Annie Besant's Introduction suggested theosophists might like to ponder on as part of their practice of meditation. I would be surprised if Florence's education had enabled her to read the phrases in Latin, let alone Greek; and in fact her short Preface makes it clear that she used English translations. The little book was published in 1904 by the Theosophical Publishing Company.

While Florence was working on the Pythagorean fragments, Oliver was looking around for an investment that would give him an administrative or managerial role. By 1903 he had bought

or funded the building of Dean Head Sanatorium, a couple of miles east of Baildon in the village of Horsforth.

I wonder if Oliver's brother Walter had died of TB? The disease was one of the scourges of the 19th century, a horrible, protracted way to die. The 'open-air' treatment for it was pioneered by Dr Otto Walther at a sanatorium in Nordrach-in-Baden in Germany, where he began taking patients in 1888. Within a decade there were many sanatoria run along Walther's lines in Europe, including several in Britain. Most patients in sanatoria using the method pioneered at Nordrach did have to pay for their treatment and this was a heavy financial burden as the cure - if there was one - could take up to a year. However, fees for a TB cure in England were affordable by a larger number of families than treatment in places such as the Alps or Egypt.

There's no suggestion that Oliver was involved in the clinical side of the sanatorium he owned. His role was as manager and he would have employed a doctor or doctors. Always willing to work long and hard at the projects he was committed to, Oliver was often at the sanatorium over the weekend, and he was in his own quarters there on the day of the 1911 census. He was also at the Sanatorium when he died, in February 1913, aged only 52.

On census day 1911 Florence, Mary and Margaret (Peggie) were at home; they had moved away from Baildon, perhaps after Florence's father John Spink died in 1909; and were now living at 2 Cornwall Place off Manningham Lane. Florence Firth had never declared any source of income to a census official before. She had almost certainly not been asked before if she had any income of her own - women's earnings and women's work are notoriously absent from the 19th-century censuses. In 1911, however, she was able to complete the census form herself, as Oliver was away; and she wrote on it that she was employed as an embroidery designer, working at home on designs for a dress-maker. I have tried to follow up this interesting declaration, on the web and elsewhere, and not been able to find anything at all on this late-flowering career - it's such a pity! Another point of interest to me on the 1911 census form is that despite Florence's daughter Mary Alice now being 19, Florence wrote that she was still at school - meaning, I guess, that she was in some form of post-school education; Peggie was still at school too but at 16 that's not quite so surprising, though it's good to see evidence that Oliver and Florence thought their daughters' education was important.

Quite a few men called Thomas Firth lived in West Yorkshire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thomas Firth, Oliver and Florence's son, was not at home on the day of the 1911 census and I couldn't spot him anywhere else in the UK. One source I've found lately (this is August 2014) suggests that he may have emigrated to New Zealand. His sister Mary Alice hasn't been easy to track either, in fact I haven't been able to identify her for certain, after census day 1911. Peggie, who didn't marry, went to work as secretary and was appointed secretary of the Artificers' Guild in 1928; recommended for the post by her aunt Gertrude Spink, a director of the Guild.

By 1909 Florence's sisters Kate and Gertrude were both living in London; both were working though Kate at least was not being paid for it. I haven't been able to discover when or why Florence made her clean break with the past. Whenever it was, she and Peggie left Bradford and all their family and other ties there, to move south. They didn't join Kate and Gertrude in London but set up home at Beenhams Cottage, Railway Lane in Littlemore, a village just outside Oxford. Although Peggie must have moved to London to take up her 1928

appointment, Gertrude retired from London to join her sister in Littlemore; it was still her address when she died in 1947. However, Florence Firth was at 71 High Street Oxford when she died in September 1939. She might have been living in the rooms above the shop; or perhaps she was just visiting someone there.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR OLIVER FIRTH AND FOR HIS WIFE FLORENCE MARGARET after her marriage - for her life before her marriage, see SPINK

FIRTHS IN THE BRADFORD AREA

Baines's Directory and Gazetteer of Bradford issue of 1822 transcribed at www.genuki.org.uk.

who owns a worsted spinning firm.

THE FIRTH MILL AT SHEAR BRIDGE

At www.forgottenbooks.com, Newton's London Journal of Arts and Sciences volume 41 1852 p379 in a list of Provisional Protections ((by patent)) Granted. See Number 98.

Chronological Index of Patents Applied for and Granted issue of 1860 p6 number 96.

Rambles Around Horton by William Cudworth, a writer on the history of Bradford and the surrounding area. Published by subscription and printed in Bradford by Thomas Brear and Co Ltd 1886: p37; p149. On p37 there's mention of a Samuel Dracup, resident of Idle and maker of shuttle machinery and harness. I think Thomas Firth's second wife may be a member of this family.

The Engineer volume 22 1866 p23.

Via newspaperarchive.com to London Express of Wednesday 11 July 1866 p4 under the headline Great Fire at Bradford.

London Morning Post of 27 October 1855 p3 quoting a recent London Gazette: list of partnerships dissolved included two firms based at Shear Bridge Mill.

I did not find any evidence for the Firth's business existing after the 1870s.

OLIVER FIRTH AS AN ELECTRICAL ENGINEER

I find his stated occupation on the 1891 census rather troubling as he doesn't seem to have been a member of the society which already existed for electrical engineers. This may just mean that he was not working as a professional. He had definitely been working on experiments with dynamos: see

The American magazine Electrical Age issue of 1891 p31 and Dynamo Construction: A Practical Handbook by John W Urquhart, electrician. London: Crosby Lockwood and Son 1891 p305.

Oliver's research don't seem to have ended in his applying for a patent on any new piece of machinery.

THOMAS FIRTH AND FAMILY

Possible baptism of Thomas Firth: familysearch England-ODM GS file number 0990533-0990535: baptism 22 March 1818 at Bradford; parents John and Elizabeth. BUT there are several men called Thomas Firth in mid-19th century Bradford so this may not be Oliver's father.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1470405: marriage of Thomas Firth (b 1818) to Helen Gomersall (b 1822) took place 16 January 1843 at York.

MARRIAGE OF OLIVER FIRTH TO FLORENCE SPINK

Yorkshire Post and Intelligencer of 28 August 1890 though I couldn't read the full guest list and account of the wedding as I don't have a subscription to www.genesreunited.co.uk.

A THOMAS FIRTH WHO WENT TO NEW ZEALAND see family history website www.pickeringfamilyhistory.com.

FLORENCE FIRTH: BEENHAMS

The building still exists and is listed at zoopla: Beenhams Cottage, Railway Lane Littlemore.

The building next to it, now used as a garage, is Grade II listed, see www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk:

For what is known about the house at 71 High Street see www.oxfordhistory.org.uk. While searching with google I noticed on another website someone saying that while they were at Magdalen College (whose address is High St Oxford) they rented rooms at 71 High Street.

OLIVER AND YORKSHIRE DIALECTS

Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society volumes 1-4 1902 p62 in a membership list.

Transactions of the Yorks Dialect Society volume 2 issues 9-12 1907 pxi as a member.

Original Tales and Ballads in the Yorkshire Dialect by John Malham-Dembleby, 1912.

OLIVER AND NATURAL HISTORY

Transactions of the Yorkshire Naturalists' Union parts 17-22 published by the Union 1892.

Nature volume 53 1896 p198 letter from O Firth of Hawthorn House Baildon.

The British Fern Gazette volume 1 published 1909 by the British Pteridological Society: p222 in a list of members.

OLIVER AND STAMP COLLECTING

Website www.rpsl.org.uk is the home of the Royal Philatelic Society of London, established 1869 and thus the earliest stamp-collecting society in the world. The London Philatelist was the Society's magazine, published monthly. Using its archive search came across a lot of mentions of Oliver, between 1894 and 1913 but with gap after 1904 until a one-paragraph note of his recent death (there's not even a proper date) in volume 22 number 256 issue of April 1913 p87. The magazine's editor in 1913 is the Society's vice-president, M P Castle. The one-paragraph note has no author's name, so I presume it is by the editor.

An article by Oliver in London Philatelist issue of 1898 in 2 parts volume 7 no 76 pp104-07 and volume 7 no 77 pp128-34: Dies Used on Registered Envelopes of Great Britain.

Oliver also had several letters on items in his collection published in the London Philatelist between 1892 and 1900.

Postage Stamps and their Collection: A Practical Guide to Philately for All Collectors by Oliver Firth. L U Gill 1897.

THEOSOPHY

BLAVATSKY IN LONDON

See wikipedia on the history of Blavatsky Lodge; the publication of The Secret Doctrine; and Blavatsky's death in London 8 May 1891.

FIRTHS AND SPINKS IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register volume January 1889-September 1891 p107 Oliver Firth in a batch beginning with Joseph Clayton, all already very long-serving members; "Resigned March 11 1909".

Old Diary Leaves: the True History of the Theosophical Society by Henry Steel Olcott. Madras: Theosophical Publishing House in six volumes. Oliver is mentioned in Volume 4

published 1931 and covering 1887-92: pp219-221 and p350. And in Volume 5 published 1932 and covering January 1893 to April 1896: p210.

Seen 2013: A History of the Theosophical Society in Bradford at www.ts-bradford.org.uk/theosoc/btshisto.htm. Originally prepared in 1942 to celebrate 50 years of the re-launched Bradford TS Lodge, it includes a list of members.

The Theosophical Congress held by the Theosophical Society at the Parliament of Religions. World's Fair 1893 Chicago Illinois September 15-17 [1893]. Report of Proceedings and Documents. Published at the TS American Section headquarters, 144 Madison Avenue New York City 1893: p10 in list of TS members who were in the Congress' advisory council. Also on the advisory council: Colonel Olcott; Annie Besant; Bernard Keightley; and A P Sinnett. It isn't clear from the text of the Proceedings how many members of the advisory council actually attended the Parliament of Religions. It was a long way to go just for a few days.

Oliver's appearances in Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine. London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi

- volume X March-August 1892 issue of 15 March 1892 p80 news section
- volume XI September 1892-February 1893 issue of 15 September 1892: p81 news section
- volume XII March-August 1893 issue of 15 March 1893 p78
- volume XIII September 1893-February 1894 p254, p343, pp494 -502
- volume XIV March-August 1894 p449-55, pp521-23
- volume XV September 1894-February 1895 and almost entirely given over to the dispute and the claims of W Q Judge: p166, p254, p340, p384
- volume XVI March-August 1895 issue of 15 July 1895 pp358-360

Then there's a two-year gap until his next appearance:

- volume XXI September 1897-February 1898: pp131-34 Oliver's On the Theosophic Use of the Imagination; and p572. On pp466-469 Florence's Theosophy and Education.

Lucifer ceased publication shortly after this, a victim of the Besant v Judge dispute.

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NORTHERN THEOSOPHIST which was published from December 1893 to July 1895 is the best source for Oliver's work for the TS.

Northern Theosophist price 1d. I saw the reprint of it issued 1997 by the TS in Edmonton Alberta Canada. It contains the best list of Oliver's lectures; and dates of all the meetings of the Northern Federation of the TS, most of which I imagine Oliver attended though he's not always mentioned in the accounts of them.

KATHERINE TINGLEY IN ENGLAND

Theosophy volume XI May-Dec 1896 pp130-31: Mrs Tingley and her theosophical crusaders were in England for about three weeks in June-July 1896, at a series of events organised for them in Liverpool and London by several ex-members of both the GD and the TS in Britain. Then they moved on into Europe.

OLIVER IN THEOSOPHICAL REVIEW

Theosophical Review volume 221 October 1897: p131. And volume 34 May 1904 p272.

FLORENCE'S WORK IN THE TS IN BRADFORD

Northern Theosophist ran from vol 1 no 1 Dec 1893 to vol 2 no 20 July 1895. Vol 1 ed by W A Bulmer. I saw the reprinted ed of 1997, pubd by the TS in Edmonton Alberta Canada. Vol 1 no 1 Dec 1893 price 1d. On p3 mention of mtgs held Sun evenings in Baildon, run by Mrs Firth of Bradford Lodge, w the help of Mrs Midgley. Mrs Firth was hoping to set up a library. Mention of a League of Theosl Workers, whose members all belonged to the TS; aims were to apply theosl principles to daily life, and to facilitate charity work by members. In Vol 2 number 13 December 1894 p3 reference to Bradford Lodge's library; though the librarian's name isn't given.

FLORENCE'S THEOSOPHICAL BOOK

The Golden Verses of Pythagoras and Other Pythagorean Fragments selected and arranged and with a Preface by Florence M Firth; preface is dated November 1904. Introduction by Annie Besant. London and Benares: Theosophical Publishing Co. New York: John Lane. Chicago: Theosophical Book Concern. All 1905. I read the copy at the Freemasons' Library, which is on loan to the FML from the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia.

OLIVER AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

Golden Dawn Companion p35 for the attempt William Wynn Westcott to curb dissent and disrespect at the Horus Temple. P128 for the initiation date of John William Brodie-Innes.

The Magicians of the GD: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. On p111 for the attempt by Annie Horniman to curb dissent and disrespect at the Horus Temple. In a letter to Samuel Mathers dated October 1892, Annie mentions that the Mr Firth who was dismissive of astrology had also refused to take on the job of auditing the Horus Temple's accounts. This makes it much more likely that the disrespectful Mr Firth was Walter, not Oliver: Walter Firth was employed in Bradford City Council's accounts office - just the sort of man you'd want to look over your accounts at year's end. On pp135-136, p140, pp143-44 the account of Annie Horniman's expulsion from the GD in December 1896 and the failed attempt to get her reinstated, via a petition asking Mathers to reconsider his ban. Very few GD members in Bradford signed the petition, possibly because it was organised by members in London who didn't necessarily know members in Bradford very well; and possibly because Annie Horniman's actions in October 1892 had caused annoyance which still rankled. No longer members of the GD in 1896, Oliver and Florence Firth, and Kate and Gertrude Spink were not eligible to sign the petition or even to know of its existence, which makes this letter all the more odd:

Freemasons' Library under call number GBR 1991 2/4/1/13: a letter dated 24 January 1897 from Oliver to Annie Horniman

OLIVER FIRTH AS A FREEMASON

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volume I 1886-89 unnumbered pages at end list the Lodge's current officers and members. On [p11] number 176 a Harrie Firth of Baildon is a member; as a member of Baildon Lodge number 1545. Oliver first appears as a member in Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volume VIII 1895 unnumbered endpages [p26], Oliver Firth of Rushcroft, Baildon, Shipley. He'd joined QC2076 in May 1891 as a member of Baildon Lodge.

Baildon Lodge 1545 1875-1935 anonymous publication, a short history for the Lodge's 50th anniversary: p3, p12 for Pattinson's design of the lodge rooms; p28 list of WM's.

CO-MASONRY

I looked at Co-Mason Magazine from volume 1 1909 to volume 4 1912: I couldn't find any mention of Oliver Firth or indeed Florence Firth as a member of any of Britain's co-masonry lodges. The only mention of Oliver I found in connection with co-masonry was in

Women's Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders editors Alexandra Heidle and Jan A M Snoek. 2008 in Boston and Leiden: Brill, in their Texts and Studies in Western Esotericism series: p354 refers to some letters from Oliver Firth to Alfred Faulding in 1906, now at the co-masonic archive at Surbiton. Faulding was the London-based general secretary of International Co-Masonry.

FLORENCE FIRTH'S BOOK

The Golden Verses of Pythagoras and Other Pythagorean Fragments selected and arranged and with a Preface by Florence M Firth. Introduction by Annie Besant. I saw the copy now owned by the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia and loaned by them to the Freemasons' Library. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Co 1905. On pix in her Introduction Annie Besant explains why she thinks that the phrases of the Pythagorean school should be studied by theosophists: she states that Pythagoras (actually him, not his successors) translated some of the teachings of the Buddha into Greek, thus bringing Buddhism into western culture for the first time. My advisor on all things eastern, Roger Wright, was most surprised when I mentioned this to him: he had never heard of any evidence supporting this view. As far as he's aware, the first Greek philosopher to come across any kind of eastern philosophy was Pyrrho (360-327 BC) who went to India with Alexander the Great. Modern dates for the lives of Pythagoras and Buddha show Pythagoras living and dying before Buddha was born.

NORDRACH TB TREATMENT

Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in 20th Century Britain by Linda Bryder. Oxford Clarendon Press 1988. A helpful history with plenty of references to contemporary writing on TB and the Nordrach system.

THE NORDRACH TB CURE

For the East Anglian Sanatorium Co Ltd, of Nayland in Suffolk, see www.pastscape.org.uk and the archives at Suffolk Record Office - you can see brief details via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk

And a patient's-eye view written by the Canadian artist Emily Carr who spent a year 1903-04 in the Nordrach sanatorium where GD member Dr Edith Collett had been a doctor, though it was known from the start that she was not suffering from TB: Pause: A Sketch Book by Emily Carr. Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Co Ltd 1953.

The Philadelphia Medical Journal volume 6 1900 p1040 has an account of a visit to Nordrach-upon-Mendip sanatorium near Bristol. This was owned and run by doctors Gwynne and Thurnam who had both contracted TB and been cured at Nordrach in Germany. Rowland Thurnam was initiated into the GD in 1895; it's not very likely he and Oliver Firth knew of each other.

Hazell's Annual issue of 1906 p104 in list of TB sanatoria, Rowland Thurnam is described as proprietor and resident physician at Nordrach-upon-Mendip sanatorium. Dr Gwynne has

gone.

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28 August 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Walter Firth was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford, in November 1888. He chose the Latin motto 'Multum in parvo'. He was still a member several years later but never did any of the study necessary to progress to the GD's inner, 2nd Order. He resigned from the Order, or was possibly expelled from it, late in 1892 or early in 1893.

BEFORE WE START

This is the biography of a GD member who lived in Bradford. I'm based in London and can't justify the expense of going to Bradford to look at records kept locally and not yet on the web. Particularly with Walter Firth, this is a pity - he worked in local government and there are probably records of his career in the local record offices. If any reader fancies starting on Walter Firth where I leave off, be my guest.

THE FIRTH FAMILY

The surname 'Firth' is quite a common one in the West Riding and the GD had two other members called Firth - Oliver Firth, and his wife Florence. Although Oliver Firth had an older brother called Walter, the GD's Walter Firth was someone else, perhaps related in a distant, tribal way, but not a close relation. In the infinite gradations of the Victorian class system, Oliver Firth and Walter Firth were not really out of the same drawer. Oliver Firth's father owned a worsted spinning business and a big mill at Horton. Walter Firth's father was a skilled or possibly semi-skilled labourer.

WALTER FIRTH

Walter Firth was born in Bradford in 1859 or 1860, the son of Henry Firth and his wife Mary. Henry Firth worked as a sawyer - that is, he sawed wood for a living. I couldn't find much information on Henry's working life; which probably means he was working for wages, perhaps in the local iron works, or a Bradford sawmill or as a self-employed man. If he had set up a company or a partnership it would, I think, have shown up on the web.

Henry and Mary Firth's family was a very small one by mid-Victorian standards: just Walter and his elder brother Archibald. On the day of the 1861 census the family was living at 17 St John's Terrace Bowling. Until the late 18th century, Bowling - still known as Bolling at that stage - was mostly parkland; but from the 1790s the work of the Bowling Iron Works had a drastic affect on the district so that by the time the Firths were living there, there were terraces of houses surrounded by hundreds of acres of slag-heaps. However, there were

compensations: the profits of the foundry had financed not only a fancy parish church in the new Gothic style; but also a National School which is almost certainly where Walter and his brother were educated.

By the 1871 census the Firths had either moved a few streets or had their street renamed and their house renumbered: their address on census day 1871 was 12 St John's Lane. Walter's cousin Annie Patterson was living with them on that day: aged 19, she was working in a worsted spinning mill. Archibald was also working, in a warehouse. Walter, aged 11, was still at school.

Perhaps the reason why Henry Firth and Mary had such a small family was Mary's poor health. She died in her early 40s, probably in 1874. I can't find any trace, either, of Walter's brother, after the 1871 census; perhaps he too died although there is no death registration on freebmd. By 1881, further trouble had come to the family - Henry Firth was out of work. Walter, however, had been able to take advantages of the times he lived in - getting a better education than would have been available to his parents, and consequently being able to get trained, and work in an office, the kind of job where the threat of unemployment is less, and you are also less liable to get ill or injured through the work you do. Office work also had the advantage of being thought of as middle-class.

Walter began his working life in the office of an accountant. On the day of the 1881 census, he was still with that employer, as an accounts' clerk. He was still living in Bowling, at 163a Hey Road, and was the major breadwinner in the household. He was earning enough to support not only his father, but also his wife, her sister, and his two-month-old daughter; though his wages didn't run to paying for any live-in servants and in fact, the Firths never did employ even the basic maid-of-all-work.

In 1879, Walter had married Mary Isabella Carrodus. Mary Isabella had grown up in Keighley, where her father Thomas was secretary of the Mechanics' Institute and School of Science and Art. Mary Isabella (born 1856) was the eldest child in a large family. Thomas Carrodus' census entry for 1871 isn't complete - he's the only member of the family whose occupation is filled in. And by 1881 Mary Isabella was married and a mother, at home with her baby, housework to do and a household to run. So I haven't been able to find out whether she went to work when she left school. She probably did, though - on the day of the 1881 census her sister Anne (aged 21 and not yet married) was working as a worsted weaver.

Walter and Mary Isabella had six children: Mary Ann the baby on the 1881 census; Archibald Patterson, born in 1883 and named after Walter's elder brother; Carrodus Verdon (what a magnificent name!) born 1886; Nelly born 1890; and Sydney born 1897 or 1898; and another child, probably born in the early 1890s, who died young.

The censuses aren't good at the little details of people's working lives - like exact job titles or qualifications. However, I think it's safe to say that Walter was gaining some qualifications during the 1870s or 1880s, either at his work or by study in the evening at a place like the Keighley Mechanics' Institute. I think that eventually he was qualified in book-keeping at the very least if not accountancy, because by 1888 he had landed a very good job with Bradford City Council, working in the cashier's office of the magistrates' court. The new job financed a move to Manningham - compared to Bowling, a more pleasant and more recently built suburb - where Walter and Mary Isabella lived (I believe) until Walter's death. On the day of

the 1891 census they were at 214 Hollings Road off Whetley Lane; in 1901 they were at 57 Leamington Street near Lister Park; and in 1911 they had moved to Athol Road, the next road north-east from Leamington Street. And it was at this time of change for the better that Walter agreed to be initiated into the GD.

In terms of the GD in Bradford, Walter Firth is almost unique: nearly every member of the Horus Temple was either a freemason (that's especially true of the earliest members) or a member of the Theosophical Society's Bradford Lodge. But Walter Firth was neither, so it must have been through other connections that he knew those men who in early 1888 obtained permission from William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers in London, to set up a GD offshoot. Getting to know customers who came into the cashier's office to pay fees and fines doesn't strike me as a likely way in. More likely is an invitation from an old school friend, a work colleague or client. I don't know where Walter Firth went to school, or who with, and no one else in the GD in Bradford worked for the City Council but perhaps it was someone Walter had met through his job at the accountant's firm. Another possibility is that Walter Firth was a friend - or his wife was - of one of the many TS and GD members who lived in Manningham. During the early 1890s in particular, Manningham was the centre of theosophical activity in Bradford, and it's likely that Walter and Mary Isabella knew people who were in the TS. Perhaps they had both been asked to join, but had declined with thanks. Somebody persisted, however, and it ended with Walter Firth - though not Mary Isabella - deciding to give the GD a try.

It didn't work out. Walter just wasn't interested in the occult and if he is the 'Frater Firth' mentioned in a report sent by Annie Horniman to Samuel Liddell Mathers late in 1892, he thought study of the occult was not worthy of his best efforts. It's a pity that Annie wasn't a bit more specific in her report as to which Frater Firth she meant: she probably didn't realise there were two of them. However, something Annie did tell Mathers makes me think that the 'Frater Firth' she was writing about was Walter, not Oliver.

The GD members in Bradford had always been an independent-minded bunch, disinclined to take orders from above, and in September 1892 Annie was sent by Westcott and Mathers, to restore rule from London. She attended the Horus Temple's equinox meeting and was dismayed by what went on there, singling out two of its members in particular for condemnation - Frater Firth, and Frater Harrison (Frank Drake Harrison - unlike Firth, there's only one of him so he's easy to identify). The meeting had been a mixture of business and ritual and at the business stage Frater Firth had been asked to act as the Temple's auditor. Oliver Firth had no accounting background that I know of, which makes it more likely that it was Walter Firth that Annie was referring to when she told Mathers how rudely Frater Firth had said that he would do no such thing. Annie was a great believer in students of the occult having the proper attitude towards those who occupied senior positions by dint of knowing more. Frater Firth's lack of respect in declining to take care of the Temple's accounts caused her to note his name down as a symptom of the Temple's general lack of discipline; though of course, Walter - if it was him - may just have been expressing himself bluntly, like a stereotypical Yorkshireman. It didn't end there, though. Annie was made very angry when Frater Firth started to speak with a lack of respect about the GD's rituals. He refused to apologise for making clear his views - perhaps it was Annie who had asked him to - and said that he (to quote Annie's report) "would laugh if he chose, even if turned out for doing so". Frater Firth went further, describing the astrology he should have been studying, as "mere divination". Walter Firth, of course, spent his working days in an atmosphere of cash and human frailty. Perhaps this had made him suspicious of those who were sure they could second-guess the future. He might have prided himself on his rationality. Annie, however,

suspected Frater Firth of wanting to pick and choose which occult subjects he would deign to spend his time on; a privilege which she thought no initiate should expect.

Quite what the upshot was, of Frater Firth's performance at the GD's equinox meeting, isn't absolutely clear. Ellic Howe's account of the GD in the 1890s says he was expelled. R A Gilbert's Golden Dawn Companion says that both Oliver and Walter Firth resigned, Oliver doing so very soon after Annie's visit to Bradford. One way or another, Frater Firth ceased to be a GD member. Oliver Firth, an enthusiastic TS member, made speeches and wrote articles criticising magic and the GD (though not mentioning the Order by name). Walter Firth - who had done no occult study during four years in an occult organisation - probably never gave magic another thought.

By 1901 Walter and Mary Isabella's children were growing up. Mary Ann, Archibald and Carrodus had all left school. In true middle-class fashion, Mary Ann was at home helping her mother - she wasn't out at work. Archibald (now 18) was working in a bank. Carrodus was an office boy - a usual point of entry into administrative work, for youngsters leaving school. Carrodus may have already been working in Bradford's cloth industry - by 1911 he had shown enough flair to have been promoted to designing worsted coatings. Nelly was at school; and the baby Sydney was only three. Mary Ann may have married in 1905; if I found the right Mary Ann (there are several Mary Ann Firths who are her contemporaries) her husband was Edward Copley. Carrodus married Annie Isabel Swift in 1908 and Archibald married Mabel Rose Hainsworth in 1910. So on the day of the 1911 census, only Nelly (now in the helping-her-mother role) and Sydney (still at school) were still with their parents at 61 Athol Road. Walter was still working in the cashier's office, and could expect to continue doing so until he retired. Or died. I believe Walter Firth died in early 1915; aged only 54.

I haven't been able to find out anything about Sydney Firth after his appearance on the 1911 census. Nor have I been able to identify a death registration for Mary Isabella. I think it might be Walter's daughter Nelly who married Harold Hirst in Bradford in 1919.

It's likely that Nelly and her sister Mary spent the rest of their lives in England. Archibald and Carrodus emigrated to the United States. Archibald, Mabel Rose and her mother arrived in the USA in 1920; in 1930 they were living in Pennsylvania. In 1942, draft papers for Archibald were issued in Manhattan despite his age - he was 49. Then he disappears from Familysearch's records so I don't know when or where he died. Perhaps Carrodus and Annie Isabel left for the USA in 1920 but I haven't found any evidence for when they arrived. Carrodus died in North Carolina in 1969. I don't know whether Walter and Mary Isabella have any descendants.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.

On p134 new recruit Walter Firth's address is given as c/o Bradford City Council, with a note about his occupation there.

Gilbert's list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR WALTER FIRTH - alas! Not very many.

BOWLING

The History and Topography of Bradford by John James. Published 1841 so only covers until then: p311-12.

MANNINGHAM

Wikipedia page, which led me to Manningham: Its Historical Development to the Early Twentieth Century by K Keith, 2003 for the West Yorkshire Archaeological Advisory Service. Based on old maps, tithe and planning records.

WALTER IN THE GD

The Magicians of the GD: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972: p111.

GBR 1991 GD 2/3/3/5 copy of a report written by Annie Horniman for Samuel Liddell Mathers 29-30 September 1892.

AFTER WALTER'S DEATH assuming 1915 to be the correct date for that (Walter Firth had several contemporaries with the same name, living in the Bradford area:

ARCHIBALD PATTERSON FIRTH

Familysearch census records for Pennsylvania 1930

Familysearch GS film number 228 3703 draft cards State of New York, borough of Manhattan, 1942 have a A Patterson Firth DOB 6 Jan 1883.

CARRODUS VERDON FIRTH

Familysearch Ref ID v38A cn38466 GS film number 198 33 95: death registration

11 October 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Charles FRANKS who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in July 1894 and chose the Latin motto 'Semper Idem'. However, only a few months later - January 1895 - his membership was described as 'in abeyance'. The address he gave when joining the GD was 191 Camberwell Road.

I couldn't identify this person at all.

WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? I really have no idea.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Francis Freeman was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in July 1895. He chose the Latin motto 'Servo fidem'. He had the time, ability and persistence to do the study necessary for initiation into its inner, second order and was initiated in January 1897. You could not do practical magic in the GD unless and until you were a member of that inner order. He was still a member of the GD when the surviving records run out, around 1903; but never joined either of its daughter orders.

I have found out very little about Francis Freeman. He led the kind of life which just doesn't appear on the web or in local record offices except in the Electoral Roll. So here is a rather short biography of him.

THE FREEMANS

Francis Freeman was born on the fringes of the City of London and lived in suburban London all his life. Using google I references going back to the 16th century to people (mostly men of course) with the surname Freeman, who lived either in the City of London or on its outskirts. It's likely that some if not all of these people were relations of Francis; but I haven't been able to find enough information on any of them to work out a family tree. My hopes were raised by finding at archive.org a Freeman Genealogy in Three Parts; but this well-researched book was about the Freemans of New England, and no one living in the UK in the 18th or 19th century was named in it.

A Francis Freeman who might have been the GD member's grandfather or great-grandfather lived in the parish of St Sepulchre Farringdon, to the west of the City proper, in July 1790 when he served on a coroner's jury. And in the 1820s a man called William Freeman, who might be Francis' father or grandfather, was either living or working at Woburn Place in Bloomsbury.

However, I only move from speculation to history with the marriage of the GD member's father, William Freeman to his mother Amelia Ann Mole (always called Ann) in April 1841 at St Pancras church. On Francis Freeman's baptism record William Freeman was described as

a “gentleman” - a term often used to indicate men who did not need to work. However, William Freeman had a profession - on the 1851 census he’s called a “house agent”, essentially an estate agent.

In the 1840s William and Ann were living at 19 Cloudesley Terrace, off Upper Street in Islington. They had six children: Annie; William; Elizabeth; Francis; Isabel and Kathleen. Francis Freeman was born on 14 June 1848 and was baptised at St James Clerkenwell, the borough in which both his parents had been born. His baptism didn’t take place until October; perhaps either Ann or the baby had been ill after the birth. The Freeman family lived carefully but comfortably: on the day of the 1851 census they employed a cook as well as a housemaid, but were funding their money as many middle-class families did when it came to the future of their children: Annie was doing lessons at home and that’s probably all the schooling the Freeman daughters got; but William junior was at a school, where Francis will have joined him when he was six or seven.

I couldn’t find the family on the census in 1861 but by 1871 some changes had been made. William, now 62, had retired from work and was living off the income from rented property and share-holdings. Both William junior and Francis had left school and were working. William had gone to work in the office of an import/export business with connections to the colonies. Francis was working in a bank. Though eldest child Annie was away on census day 1871, all the other Freeman children were still living at home, ‘home’ now being rather further out of town than before, at 324 Liverpool Road. With four daughters able to help with the household chores, the Freemans now only employed the one general servant.

Francis had probably started work there when he left school - in 1863 or 1864 - and he stayed working in a bank, almost certainly the same bank, until he retired, in what was a typical 19th-century working-pattern. I don’t know which bank; nor whether he worked at the bank’s head office in the City or in one or more of its branches.

Francis’ father William Freeman died in March 1875, leaving his widow some at least of the rented-out houses he owned. Some documents at the London Metropolitan Archive show Francis Freeman dealing with mortgages and lettings on property at Enfield Chase, in the late 1880s. This might have been property Francis had inherited from his father but it’s more likely that Francis was acting for his mother at this time; though he may have inherited the land from her much later.

At some time during the 1870s Francis’ sister Elizabeth married; I couldn’t identify her husband for certain. Francis’ brother William married Alice Freeman - presumably a relation - in 1879; they set up home at 27 Florence Road Hornsey. On census day 1881, Ann Freeman, her unmarried daughters Anne, Isabel and Kathleen, and Francis were living at 3 Hill Side, Crouch Hill. The Crouch Hill/Crouch End/upper Holloway district was being turned into new suburbs at the time; and although they did move several times within it, Francis and his sisters lived in that area for the rest of his life. I suppose it’s possible - though I haven’t found any evidence of it - that some of the roads were being built on land owned by the Freeman family.

Francis’ sister-in-law Alice seems not to have been very strong. She and brother William had only two children: Alice Ethelwyn, born in 1880, and William Hugh born in the summer of 1887. Alice only survived her son’s birth by a few months; and for a time Francis’ youngest sister Kathleen moved in with the widower William, to run the household and bring up his

two children. On the day of the 1891 census William junior, Ethelwyn, William Hugh and Kathleen were living in Islington; while Ann, daughter Annie and Francis had moved to 4 Ashley Road Upper Holloway.

A few weeks after census day, Francis' mother Ann died while on a visit out-of-town; perhaps she was visiting her married daughter Elizabeth. Francis became the head of a household reduced to himself, his sister Annie, and - when she returned from helping out at her brother's - Kathleen. These three Freemans continued to live together until Francis' death. One general servant was employed; and Annie ran the household. In May 1904, Annie advertised in the London Middlesex Gazette for a "clean, capable" general servant. She held out the lure of it being a "Small family" (I think she should have mentioned there were no children) but she was expecting the woman appointed to cook as well as doing the cleaning and maybe the shopping; all for £16 per year. Domestic service was notoriously unregulated; and is notoriously hard to research. However both Roger and I thought that was rather a low wage for someone who would be cooking as well as cleaning; though of course the wage would include bed and board. I wonder if Annie's advert got many responses? I can't decide whether financial times were getting tough for the Freemans despite their incomes from rents and Francis' salary; or whether Annie just begrudged spending too much of her housekeeping budget on servants.

At some point between 1891 and 1901 - the years in which he was in the GD - Francis had an important promotion, to the position of cashier. Perhaps the extra salary that went with it funded another move, to 9 Ella Road to the south of Crouch End, where the three unmarried siblings were on census day 1901, being visited by their niece Elinor Key. The household did have a general servant on the day of the 1911 census; but I imagine it was not the woman whom Annie took on - if she found one - in 1904. Francis, Annie and Kathleen were still at 9 Ella Road; and as in 1901 they had a visitor, their niece Kathleen Marjorie Key, sister of Elinor.

The Key sisters' father, Walter Henry Key, seems to have been the 'great man' of the Freeman family. His daughters were described as nieces of Francis Freeman on the census but I think the relationship wasn't quite so simple: they were the nieces of Francis' married sister Isabel. In 1883 Isabel Freeman married a man called John Key; although I haven't found evidence to prove it, I think he must be Walter Henry Key's brother. Walter Henry Key was slightly younger than Francis Freeman, having been born in 1855. He was born in Islington and married a local girl, Mary Ann Partridge. He rose to be the director of a provisions business based in the City; possibly employing both Francis' brother William and his own brother John, who was a commercial traveller. Francis Freeman wasn't active in the civic affairs of London, but Walter Henry Key was almost ubiquitous in them: a member of the London School Board, the Common Council of the Corporation of London and the Port of London Authority; elected to the London County Council, for Hackney Central in 1907 and for Stoke Newington in 1919, on both occasions as a Conservative.

Francis Freeman was, of course, far too old to serve in World War 1 at all. Unless already retired, was probably needed at his bank to hold things together while so many of the younger employees went off to fight. He continued to live with his unmarried sisters at 9 Ella Road throughout the war, and he died there on 10 March 1920.

FRANCIS FREEMAN AND THE GD

When I'm doing a biography of a GD initiate I always like to try to work out who it was who recommended them for membership. It has been surprisingly difficult, for most members, to nail that information down. I can say, in Francis Freeman's case, that he did not enter the GD by way of freemasonry or as a member of the Theosophical Society - two much-travelled routes into the GD, especially in the early 1890s though less so towards the end of the decade. He was not a member of the TS; and as far as the evidence goes that I've been able to find, he was never a freemason. There are two other possibilities in his case, two other circles of acquaintances; though I can't prove a connection with either of them.

The first circle of acquaintanceship is banking. In the late 19th century the City of London had an extraordinary number of banks, both British and foreign; with an insatiable need for young men to work as clerks - a job that was usually for life. It was inevitable that some of them should find their way into the GD; though most of those who did were rather younger than Francis Freeman. One who was more his age was Harold John Levett and I do know which bank he worked for because he was careful to give full details when filling in the 1911 census form. His employer was the London Joint Stock Bank. He worked in branches in various suburbs, rather than at its head office, ending his career as manager of the branch at Westbourne Terrace. Harold Levett introduced to the GD at least one other bank clerk - Herbert Morris - but the connection there was the Theosophical Society and they may not have had the same employer. Altogether, this possible way in to the GD for Francis Freeman does seem a bit tenuous.

The other possibility is an acquaintanceship based on Crouch End. As Francis Freeman would have been away from Crouch End all day, friendships based there would involve his sisters as well as himself; though he was the only Freeman to join the GD. Although most of them didn't stay very long, several members of the GD did live in the Crouch Hill area during the 1890s; beginning with John Collinson, who moved there in the early 1880s and was still there in the late 1890s; and taking in A E Waite who passed through in 1891 and M W Blackden who spent a similarly transitory time there in 1900. It's possible that Francis Freeman knew John Collinson but Collinson was no longer active in the GD by the mid-1890s so he's not very likely to have been Francis' sponsor. Two men who arrived in the district in the mid-1890s seem more likely than any of those I've mentioned so far. For a few years at that time John Herbert Slater (he's called Herbert) and his family were living at 35 Tivoli Road, to the north of Crouch End on the way to Alexandra Park. He was initiated into the GD in the same month as Francis Freeman, July 1895. Herbert Slater was trying to carve out a career as a barrister in the mid-1890s but in the end, he earned more money and became better known as a writer on collectables and collecting, especially books. He looks like a good candidate for bringing Francis Freeman to the GD's notice; but it could equally well have been the other way round, Francis Freeman introducing him. I think the most likely route in for both Francis Freeman and Herbert Slater was through knowing the Felkins. Robert William Felkin and his wife Mary Jane moved to London in 1893 or early 1894 and rented 6 Crouch Hall Road, just off The Broadway where the district's main shops were. After several years teaching tropical medicine at Edinburgh University Robert Felkin was known to many members of the GD there. He and his wife were initiated into the GD in London in March 1894. Both the Felkins were very sociable, and Robert in particular had a crusading spirit about recruiting suitable people into the GD.

So that's it. Historical records being what they are - more misses than hits - it is very easy for an ordinary 19th-century person to live a longish life, about which you can hardly find out anything, now, with any certainty.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR FRANCIS FREEMAN

At archive.org there's a Freeman Genealogy in Three Parts privately published in Boston Mass 1875. Author Frederick Freeman has been amassing family data for 50 years. However, there was no sign of Francis Freeman on it and I think it's a history of the Freeman

families of New England, some of whom had arrived there in the 1630s.

OTHER FRANCIS and WILLIAM FREEMANS WHO MAY BE ANCESTORS

Searches on google came up with references to people called Freeman, living in the City or in Farringdon, that went back to 1535. Impossible to build up a family tree from them, though.

At www.londonlives.org, City of London coroners' inquests, LL ref LMCL1C6500 30514 parish of St Sepulchre Farringdon.

House of Commons Papers 1824 p105 in a list of men eligible for jury service in Mddx 1820-23: a William Freeman of Woburn Place.

GD'S FRANCIS FREEMAN

Marriage details for his parents from familysearch England-EASy GS film number 413297. Unfortunately none of the births of the children were on familysearch.

Seen on ancestry: baptism record for Francis Freeman St James Clerkenwell October 1848 with a note of his date of birth.

IF this is the GD's Francis Freeman: property transaction details held at London Metropolitan Archive for land at Enfield Chase:

- document number ACC/0999/LA/SG/26 dated 7 September 1885
- document number ACC/0999/LA/SG/27 dated 9 April 1888
- document number ACC/0999/LA/SG/30 dated 23 July 1890.

ABOUT WALTER HENRY KEY

Lots of references to him on the web, see for example wikipedia on elected representatives at the London County Council. Also these:

At wellcomelibrary.org, a City of London Report 1915 of the Medical Officer for Health for the Port of London Authority. Walter Henry Key is on this Report as a member of the Port of London Sanitary Committee; as its member for Farringdon Without.

Just a note about Isabel Freeman Key. Probate Registry records show that she died in December 1895 in Yeovil, Somerset. I think she had no children.

DEATH OF FRANCIS FREEMAN'S SISTER-IN-LAW

Seen at genesreunited, issue of the Morning Post dated 1 December 1887 death notice for Alice, wife of William Gates Freeman of Stroud Green; aged 35.

ANNIE FREEMAN'S SERVANT PROBLEM

Seen on the web: London Middlesex Gazette for Saturday 21 May 1904 p5 in the small ads.

10 December 2014

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

Miss G M FRIEND was initiated into the Golden Dawn in May 1893 and took the Latin motto 'Vincit Veritas'. Three years later, in June 1896, she was initiated into the GD's 2nd Order - the level at which you started doing practical magic rather than just reading and learning occult texts. At the date of her initiation she was living at 52 Kent House Road Sydenham.

This is another GD member I know nothing about. It's very difficult to identify - say, on the census - someone whose forenames you do not know. And women marry, and change their surnames. I have not tried to figure out who Miss Friend was. And as to WHO DID SHE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? The only suggestion I can make is connected with her address. Several GD members lived in the Sydenham area so very tentatively I suggest Miss Friend might have known either Maria Jane Burnley Scott or Annie Horniman; though in the case of Annie Horniman, no one with the surname Friend is mentioned in the index of the biography I read.

BASIC SOURCES I USED.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Biography of Annie Horniman: Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre by Sheila Gooddie. London: Methuen 1990.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Ethel P F FRYER-FORTESCUE who was initiated into the Golden Dawn, probably in November 1901 according to R A Gilbert's best guess, which he had to make as the GD records don't give the date. Ethel took the Latin motto 'Semper Fidelis'.

You would think that it would be easy to identify someone with such an eye-catching surname; but it wasn't, and I don't know who this woman was. I was not helped by the GD itself - by the time Ethel joined, whoever was keeping the GD records wasn't noting down initiate's addresses. It's always possible with GD members that they mostly live abroad, but I thought I'd give the census a go in any case, seeing there couldn't be that many people with a surname like that - but I couldn't see anyone that I thought was likely to be the GD member. Looking on Google Books didn't help either: I found no one called Fryer-Fortescue but several people called Fortescue Fryer. I went back to the census, this time trying both surnames separately and together but in the other order. And of course by 1901 she could have married. I didn't find anything, so Ethel is going to have to remain a blank.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

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Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages,

but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Helen Priscilla Little, known to her friends as Reena, was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in March 1893, and took the Latin motto 'Silentio'. She raced through the study initiates needed to complete to reach the GD's 2nd, inner order and was initiated into it in May 1894. She was an important member of the GD during the next decade and after the GD's collapse in 1903, joined one of its daughter orders. She married for a second time in 1896 and was known in the GD from then on as Reena Fulham Hughes.

I think 'Silentio' was rather a good motto for Reena to pick. Her life has been one of the hardest to research of all my GD members - I've found very little information on her parents and where she grew up; and virtually none on her second husband though there was plenty on her first.

REENA'S FAMILY

On her second wedding day, Reena told the verger who was preparing her marriage lines that her father's name had been Job Hamlin. The surname was my first stumbling block. There are a number of ways in which it can be spelled - HamlYn, HamlEn, HamblEn are just a few of them - and I can't really be sure I haven't just missed information on her childhood that just wrongly spells her name. Job was a more unusual name, but even with that in my favour, I couldn't find Reena's father on any census; not for certain.

Reena herself told census officials in 1881 and in 1891 that she had been born near Taunton in Somerset, around 1851. This turned out to be less helpful information than I'd hoped: there was no registration on freebmd of a child called Helen Hamlin (I checked some of the other spellings as well) born in or near Taunton around that date; and in fact for some time I chased the family of a Helen Hamlin born in 1851 in Sidbury, Devon, who turned out to be quite the wrong person.

Around 1872, Reena married a man called Archie Little; again, there was no registration of such a marriage in England or Wales. I think the marriage took place abroad, and I've come up with a tale of Reena's early life that takes all those absences of information into account; though on various grounds I'm not at all happy with it.

The tale is this: Reena's father took her and the rest of his family to New Zealand shortly after she was born. There he went into business as a carter, until 1863 when he and a travelling companion were attacked, and Job Hamlin was killed, in the Hauraki district near Auckland by Maoris resisting British rule. There are several accounts of the death of a Job

Hamlin in histories of New Zealand. And the proceedings of the New Zealand House of Representatives record the granting of pensions to several widows of men who had been killed by Maoris at this time, including £50 per year to a Mrs Job Hamlin. If this Job Hamlin was Reena's father, she will have been about 12 years old when he died. Mrs Hamlin and her family continued to live in New Zealand, probably in or near Auckland; where her daughter Reena met and married Archibald Little, an officer in the Royal Navy. So that's the tale.

New Zealand is the most likely venue for Reena's marriage to Archie Little, and 1872 the most likely date for it.

It was much easier to trace Archibald Little than it was to trace Reena Hamlin; but he was never a member of the GD. It is always easier to find out about the wealthy: and Archibald Little's grandfather - after whom Reena's husband was named - was a landowner and investor in railways in the 1820s and 1830s. The elder Archibald Little and his wife Agnes bought the estate of Shabden Park at Chipstead in Surrey in 1816. Archibald and Agnes' elder son William married in 1840 and brought his new wife Emily Ann to live at Shabden Park; that's where Reena's husband Archibald - usually called Archie - was born, in 1843. Under normal 19th century conditions, William would have inherited the estate on his father's death; but when Archibald Little the elder died in 1844, the estate was sold, instead. The widow Agnes, William, Emily Ann and their growing family all moved in to 21 Park Square Portland Place, where the pooling of their financial resources meant that they were very comfortably off: on census day 1861 they were able to afford a butler, two lady's maids, a cook, a housemaid and a kitchenmaid. The family all lived at that address until Agnes died in 1869, so that was where Archie grew up.

Archie Little joined the navy, probably straight from school. By 1861 he was a midshipman, serving on HMS Neptune which was in harbour at Malta on census day that year. In 1868, promoted to lieutenant, he joined the crew of the sloop HMS Virago which was about to depart for Australasia on surveying and other duties. At some time during that tour of duty, he and Helen Hamlin met.

Archie and Reena married on the strength of Archie's promotion to Commander, which happened in 1872. They remained in Auckland for at least four more years; because a child is buried in St Stephen's churchyard there that I think is their elder son - Archibald Claude Hamlin Little. Reena Little wrote on the 1911 census form that one of the four children she had given birth to had since died; I think this child, buried in March 1874 at the age of 14 months, is the dead child. Archie and Reena's elder daughter, Hilda, also told census officials that she was born in New Zealand; in about 1876.

By 1881 Archie Little had retired from the navy, at quite a young age. He and Reena came back to England - a country which Reena couldn't possibly have remembered, if I'm right about her history - and settled in west London. On the day of the 1881 census, Reena, Hilda and nine-month-old Audrey were living at 3 Coningham Villas, Boscombe Road (off Uxbridge Road near to Shepherd's Bush); I couldn't find Archie in the UK, perhaps he was visiting friends or relatives abroad. Reena's in-laws, William and Emily Ann Little, were living not far away, at 57 Courtfield Gardens South Kensington but if my tale of Reena's childhood is correct, I wonder how much contact the two families were having: William and Emily Ann may not have thought much of Archie's decision to marry the daughter of a man who drove a bullock cart. William and Emily Ann were still able to afford a butler, a cook and two housemaids to run the house for them. Reena was managing with the basic general

servant; but this may not have been due a lack of money to employ more than one. I've noticed from my research on other GD members that even in the 1880s the younger generation were making do with fewer servants than their parents had employed; and if I'm right about Reena, she will have grown up in a society where there was a shortage of servants. I suppose it's even possible that she might have been a servant herself before her marriage - but in that case, how did she gain the education that made her such a good student of the GD's esotericism?

William Little died in 1884 and perhaps Archie inherited some money from him; but Emily Ann lived until after Reena's second marriage - which won't have pleased her either if she knew about it - dying in 1899.

In 1886, Archie and Reena had their last child, Adrian. On census day 1891 Archie, Reena, Audrey and Adrian were living at 64 Netherwood Road Hammersmith, still with just the one general servant. Hilda wasn't in the UK on census day - she was probably visiting or at school abroad. Just over 18 months later, in November 1892, Archie died, aged only 48. Reena's decision to join the GD came four months after his death: perhaps she had decided she needed something to occupy and challenge her mind in the first few months of her widowhood; and a chance to make new friends when her mourning period was over.

REENA IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

I don't know who she knew in the GD who had recommended her as a likely initiate, but Reena very soon became one of group of women initiates who did a lot of the GD's housekeeping and office work and were also good friends, having tea and biscuits and a chat together (for example) after cleaning the GD's rooms (non-members weren't allowed in them so the GD couldn't employ a cleaner). Accounts of the GD's history during the late 1890s mention Reena and Helen Rand working together quite often. A good example of this happened in September 1897 as part of the 2nd Order's move to into rooms in 36 Blythe Road Hammersmith: Reena and Helen unpacked the GD's library, arranged the items on a bookshelf donated by Frederick Leigh Gardner; and catalogued them all. Netherwood Road, where Archie and Reena had been living in 1891, was only a few streets away from Blythe Road - Reena was probably the GD member who lived closest to 2nd Order rooms. Perhaps she had even suggested Blythe Road as a cheap and easy-to-reach address, when the 2nd Order needed to find a new headquarters.

The GD's central core of active women members also included Florence Farr and her sister Henrietta Paget, Florence Kennedy, Cecilia MacRae, Dorothea Butler (later Hunter) and Annie Horniman. In December 1896 all of them (and many others) signed the petition which asked Samuel Liddell Mathers to reinstate Annie Horniman as a GD member: he had just ejected her for reasons which had nothing to do with magic and did him no credit. They all submitted to Mathers' dictat that initiates accept his orders without argument, and Annie was not allowed back into the GD for three years; however, Annie's GD friends continued in close touch with her, regardless, during her exile.

I haven't found any evidence of Helen and Reena doing magical work together beyond the formal rituals that every initiate had to attend if they could. However, there is evidence of Reena's involvement in one of the magical sub-groups that grew up within the GD after 1897. In early 1897 she, Cecilia Macrae and occasionally Florence Kennedy, went to the Monday afternoon meetings of a small ritual group formed and led by William Wynn

Westcott. Presumably they had joined the group at Westcott's request, but by the beginning of 1898 they had dropped out of it, probably because of a certain undercurrent within the group that they had detected. I've found plenty of evidence in my GD researches to justify my belief that while Westcott may have approved the involvement of women in the occult in theory (he was an admirer of Anna Bonus Kingsford, for example), in practice, he really didn't like it and couldn't handle it. His was a very male world.

The latest evidence I found for Reena doing magic beyond the formal rituals is from around 1901: she and Florence Farr were getting together to go astral travelling, noting down (as was customary) what they saw and where they thought they had gone while they were on the astral plane.

There's evidence that Annie Horniman's women friends in the GD felt particularly strongly about Mathers' increasingly militaristic, arbitrary and just plain bizarre behaviour during the late 1890s. Many of them took a prominent role in the decision made in April 1900 to replace his one-magician rule of the GD with an executive council elected by the members of the 2nd Order. Reena was one of those who supported this process. I don't know whether she stood for election to the executive council (my hunch is that she didn't - I don't see her as a committee woman) but if she did, she wasn't elected. She was given a role that was probably more to her taste, being made one of the Adepti Litterati appointed by the executive council to teach new initiates. For the next three years she taught tarot and Enochian chess to new initiates; they must have been the subjects that she was particularly keen on as well as good at herself. The game of Enochian chess was invented by William Wynn Westcott, although Samuel Liddell Mathers codified its rules. It needed four players as there were four sets of pieces, representing the four classical elements earth air fire and water. Both Enochian chess and tarot were used in the GD for divination; though you could just play a game of Enochian chess without the divinatory element.

By the mid-1890s Reena was not only playing Enochian chess, she had also learned the conventional kind. Or is that the wrong way round? - perhaps she took to the complexities of Enochian chess because she was already playing the conventional kind. I wonder who taught her? Chess-playing by women was virtually invisible in the UK until the 1880s but in 1895 it received a big boost with the founding in London of the Ladies' Chess Club. Rhoda Bowles was one of its keenest members, doing the work of organising tournaments and also writing a regular column on chess (not just women's chess) in the short-lived magazine *Womanhood*. Reena was probably not one of the Ladies' Chess Club's original members but she had joined by 1900. By that year, enough women players were known to Mrs Bowles for her to organise a league of women's teams. Reena doesn't seem to have been in the Ladies' Chess Club's team that year and when she played in tournaments she lost more matches than she won; but that was quite common even amongst the Ladies' Chess Club members, with so many women still quite new to the game. Early in 1902 (the last year for which I found any information on Reena and chess) Reena was one of the Ladies' Chess Club members who went to Ada Ballin's house at 18 Somerset Street to see a tournament between the Club's team and representatives of Cambridge University Chess Club; however, she did only watch the games, she didn't play in any of the games.

Events in the GD were probably distracting Reena from any wish she might have had to improve her chess game by getting more practice. As part of the separating of the GD from Mathers, Annie Horniman was reinstated as a member; but within a few months, her return had led to a breach between Annie and most of her friends in the order, including Reena.

Annie felt that the sub-groups that were now flourishing in the Order broke the magical rule that forbade people at different levels of initiation to do magic together - and of course they did break that rule, but their members were getting so much out of them that they wanted them kept.

Very little information on these sub-groups has survived and the membership of each sub-group is not known for certain; they were very informal affairs. However, Reena had moved on to another of them after her rather disappointing experience with Westcott's ritual group. When Annie Horniman, backed up by William Butler Yeats, started pushing for a meeting to discuss sub-groups (and Annie had the fixed intention of getting rid of them), Reena was one of those who signed a counter-statement declaring that they would leave the GD if the sub-groups were banned. Reena's friends Florence Farr, Helen Rand and Henrietta Paget also signed the statement; and Dorothea Butler (now Hunter) didn't actually sign it but fully agreed with what was in it.

The meeting about sub-groups took place on 26 February 1901 and so many members wanted to have their say that Reena had to wait over two hours for hers; Helen Rand and Henrietta Paget had already had to leave by that time. Reena seems to have said few words, but what she did say inadvertently put the cat properly among the pigeons. As a result of Reena's speech, Annie Horniman and Yeats found out for the first time that there was more than one sub-group - the only one they had been aware of up until then was Florence Farr's Sphere Group (which Reena wasn't a member of, as far as I know). Uproar ensued, and on behalf of the members who wanted them kept, Marcus Worsley Blackden was obliged to confess that yes, there was more than one; and Reena was obliged to confirm that unbeknown to Annie Horniman, she was a member of one of them.

Those who wanted the sub-groups to continue won the day but in the next two years several of their strongest supporters left the GD for other reasons, including Florence Farr, Henrietta Paget and Dorothea Hunter. Reena and Helen Rand stayed on through a period of increasing fracture within the GD until finally, at the annual meeting of 1903, it became clear to everyone that the order really couldn't continue as it had done; leaving those who were still members having to decide what they would do next. Both Reena and Helen Rand were amongst the 14 2nd Order members who chose to go with A E Waite to found the Independent and Rectified Rite (or Order): they signed the document announcing that intention, in July 1903; and presumably were present when the IRR/O was consecrated on 7 November 1903. The IRR/O continued until 1915, but I don't think Reena continued to be an active member as long as that: few records of the IRR/O survive but those I've seen don't seem to be aware that by 1911, Reena had gone back to calling herself Mrs Little, and describing herself as a widow.

On 8 October 1896 at St Matthew's Hammersmith, Reena married Alfred Joseph Fulham Hughes, a relationship which even now would cause raised eyebrows as her new husband was so much younger than she was. She was obviously conscious that she had thrown the normal rule-book of marriage out of the window: the marriage was by licence rather than by banns, so that it wouldn't be made public three weeks beforehand to all St Matthew's regular church-goers; and she told the clergyman who took charge of the service that she was 38 when in fact she was 45. Her new husband was 29. Even today, such a disparity of age between marriage partners is viewed as fine if the man's the old one, but shocking if the woman is.

Alfred Fulham Hughes may also have been telling untruths to the vicar: he gave his occupation as 'electrical engineer' but his name didn't come up on google as a member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers (listed amongst its members were several men with friends in the GD and one with a wife who was a member). I'm restraining myself from the thought that Alfred Fulham Hughes may have been a chancer, on the lookout for a woman who seemed to be in comfortable financial circumstances. I'd find that a lot easier to do that if I'd been able to pick him out on any census, or via any other of my usual family history sources. He arrives at the marriage out of nowhere; and by 1911 he's disappeared again and I can't trace him any later either, via any legal or probate records surrounding his death.

What on earth did her GD women friends make of Reena's second marriage? Did they know? - how old she was, and how old he was? Were any of them invited to the wedding? Neither of the witnesses to the marriage was a GD member. Perhaps they never met him - he never was a GD member. The other big question is: what did Reena's children make of acquiring a step-father who was not so many years older than Hilda?

I believe that in 1901 the marriage was still going well: I haven't found Alfred Joseph on the census for that year; but then I haven't found him on any of the others either, and Reena, Hilda and Audrey are missing from it too. I'm assuming that they were all away somewhere together. Term hadn't quite finished on census day so Reena's son Adrian was still at school at Christ's Hospital. In 1903 Reena was still known to GD members as Mrs Fulham Hughes; so if anything was going wrong, Reena hadn't told those members who kept the records of the GD and the newly-formed IRR/O. However, by census day 1911 Alfred Joseph was gone and Reena had gone back to calling herself Mrs Little. At the very least, the disparity of ages had proved too much for her and her husband. I haven't found any evidence that they were ever divorced - that was still a very expensive business and usually resulted in social death. Instead, Alfred Joseph probably left the UK and Reena reverted to being a widow. She, Hilda and Audrey drew a line under the affair and escaped the curiosity of their neighbours by moving away from Hammersmith, although they didn't go far, only to 23 Fairlawn Avenue in Chiswick. Reena was still living there when she died in January 1916.

BRIEF NOTE ON REENA'S CHILDREN

It is always harder to find out what happened to people after the 1911 census: the years after that event aren't so well covered by web-based sources. So I've found out relatively little about what happened to Reena's children. Hilda is the child I've found out least about. That may be because she got married: there are several marriage registrations on freebmd between 1911 and 1915 of women called 'hilda little' and her's may be one of them. Audrey never married. She moved to Kendal in the Lake District and died in December 1960. Though I don't know what profession Adrian took up after he left school, I've found that he married and (I think) had children. He died in Broadstairs in December 1948.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.

The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR REENA LITTLE/FULHAM HUGHES

JOB HAMLIN

This is my Place: Hauraki Contested 1769-1875 by Paul Monin. Wellington New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books 2001. In Chapter Gold and War 1860-65 p195. The Hauraki Gulf is to the north-east of Auckland.

The New Zealand Wars: 1845-64 by James Cowan. AMS Press 1969 p291.

Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives New Zealand Parliament 1864: Further Papers relative to the amnesty to rebel natives.

New Zealand Parliament House of Representatives business from 1866 p246 .

New Zealand Parliament House of Representatives accounts for year ending 30 June 1868 p3.

ARCHIBALD LITTLE

At www.chipsteadvillage.org some details on the owners of Shabden Park.

Reports from Committees (that is, Parliamentary committees) 1837 railway subscription lists p19.

The Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée 1840 p81 and also in Gentleman's Magazine 1840 p91: marriage of Emily Ann Bishop to William Little.

Familysearch England EAS-y GS film number 580884: baptism of Archibald Little 27 November 1843.

Times Wednesday 28 August 1844 p6 death announcements includes one for Archibald Little esquire of Shabden Park, on "25th inst" [Aug 1844].

Navy List April 1870 p406.

Navy List October 1870 p478, p184, p20.

Navy List January 1881 p336, p471.

Navy List October 1890 p338, p382.

REENA AND ARCHIE'S SON

See www.aucklandcity.govt.nz for a list of headstones in St Stephen's churchyard, Parnell Auckland. Website www.reocities.com has a few more details.

ALFRED JOSEPH FULHAM HUGHES

Full details of marriage registration seen via Ancestry.co.uk.

REENA AND THE GD

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972: p135, p139, p143, p169, p182-183, p197, p228, p238.

ITEMS HELD IN THE GOLDEN DAWN ARCHIVE, FREEMASON'S LIBRARY all from the period 1900-02:

- GBR 1991 GD 2/4/3/32: letter Reena to Florence Farr 26 April 1900.
- GBR 1991 2/4/3/51 undated but catalogue suggests April 1901 which sounds a year too late to me: letter Reena to Florence Farr
- GBR 1991 2/4/6/1: statement of the majority of 2nd Order members to the 3 current chiefs (that is JWBI, Felkin and Percy Bullock) issued February 1901 before 26 February.

Confirmation of the 1897 group: Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - letters mostly to but occasionally copies of letters from Frederick Leigh Gardner. Letter from William Wynn Westcott to Gardner, 17 May 1897.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-04 p32 note 4, p33.

Yeats's Golden Dawn by George Mills Harper. Wellingborough Northants: The Aquarian Press 1974: p44.

Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's New Woman by Josephine Johnson. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1975 p89-90 though Johnson doesn't give the Source of the description she prints of Florence Farr and Reena's astral travelling session.

ENOCHIAN CHESS

There are plenty of books on tarot out there but rather fewer on Enochian chess. Wikipedia has a short introduction, based mostly on Ellic Howe (see above) and these two works:

- The Golden Dawn: A Complete Course in Practical Ceremonial Magic but Israel Regardie with input from Cris Monnastre and Carl Llewellyn Weschke, eds. Woodbury Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications. Originally 1989 but the 6th edition of 2002 seems to be around more.
- Enochian Magic for Beginners by Donald Tyson. Woodbury Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications 1997. I found a pdf file of this at www.scribd.com 6 July 2014.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

A E Waite: A Magician of Many Parts by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough Northants 1987 p178 Appendix C.

WOMEN'S CHESS

Women, Clubs and Associations in Britain by David Doughan and Peter Gordon. London: Routledge 2006 p81 in section Sporting Clubs.

Dictionary of British Women's Organisations 1825-1960 by David Doughan and Peter Gordon. London: Woburn Press 2006 p70 although it's probably referring to 1911.

At www.chess.com/blog/batgirl/the-ladies-chess-club there is a very thorough account of the early years of the Ladies' Chess Club. Unfortunately, the writer doesn't give her sources.

Womanhood: the Magazine of Women's Progress and Interests, political, legal, social and intellectual; and of health and beauty culture editor Ada S Ballin. This is from volume 3 1899-1900 issue 16 which is probably spring 1900 but I couldn't see the exact date.

British Chess Magazine volume 22 1902; p198-199. Published London: Trübner and Co.

11 August 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

Joseph Knight Gardner was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford in July 1891. He chose the Latin motto 'Valet anchora virtus'. He had some prior knowledge of the western esoteric tradition and - despite working full time - was able to do the work required for entry into the GD's inner, second order in just over two years; being initiated into it in September 1893. You couldn't do any practical magic in the GD until and unless you were in that inner order. Joseph was still an active member of the GD in 1895; though probably not for much longer.

Rachel Taylor was initiated into the GD in September 1892, also at the Horus Temple, taking the Latin motto 'Una voce'. She never progressed to the GD's inner order and may have dropped out of the GD after only a short time.

Joseph and Rachel were married in 1895. They were two of the large group of members of the Horus Temple who actually lived in Liverpool. They were also two of the very large group of GD members who were also in the Theosophical Society.

Thanks are due to Ted G Davy whose profile of Joseph Knight Gardner was published in a Canadian theosophical magazine. My double-biography below is very indebted to Davy's work especially for the later part of the Gardners' lives.

THE TAYLORS AND THE GARDNERS

Due to an infuriating lack of data I can't prove this, but it looks from my researches into their families that Joseph (known as Joe) and Rachel (known as Ray) were distantly related in two ways. It has been much easier to find out about Ray's family than about Joe's; but I'll start with Joe's anyway.

Though I suspect it might be 'Richard' I don't know Joe's father's forename for sure: I can't find the man and his family together on the census in 1861, 1871 and 1881, and by 1891 he was dead. If he was the man I suspect he was, he died during 1880 and it's likely that he was a member of a prominent family of businessmen with branches living and working in Liverpool and in north Wales. Richard Gardner - if I have his name right - married Esther Taylor, most probably in 1860. Esther was born around 1830, the eldest child of an Isaac Taylor and his wife, also named Esther. Isaac Taylor was in business a maltster and ironmonger in the Yardley district of Worcester; though both he and his wife were probably dead by 1860, and their daughter Esther got married in Liverpool where she spent the rest of her life.

Joe Gardner was the third son of Esther Gardner and her husband, born in West Derby - a middle-class suburb of Liverpool - in June 1864. Because I can't find the family on the two censuses after that, their family history - including the death of Joe's father - is a blank until census day 1891. On that day Esther was living at 16 Aubrey Street Everton and some of her children (maybe all of them) were still living at home. Any financial trouble the family had felt after the death of Esther's husband while her children were quite young had been eased because all the boys were working. William was an engineer; George was working as a clerk in a timber firm; Joseph was also a clerk, in a firm of solicitors, though he was possibly doing accounting, rather than legal work; Charles was apprenticed to a pharmacist; and Emily was helping her mother run the house. There may have been a second daughter, Ada; but I can't prove she was a relation because she was away on census day, staying with Rachel Taylor and her family. It's likely that George Gardner had gone into the Gardner family's timber business, which had bases in Liverpool and at Flint.

I think you might say that in the endless gradations of Victorian society, Rachel Taylor was a cut slightly above her husband-to-be. She had been born in Holywell, Flintshire, in 1867, one of the middle children in the huge family of another man called Isaac Taylor, possibly a relation of Joe's grandfather of the same name. Rachel's father Isaac Taylor was a land agent and surveyor. In the 1830s he had done work for the local county council, reassessing rateable values; and he was also employed by Lady Vivian to run her estate, Plas Gwyn at Pentraeth in Anglesey. Lady Vivian, formerly Mary Elizabeth Panton, had inherited Plas Gwyn from her father. She had married the 2nd Baron Vivian in 1841 and lived in Cornwall.

Isaac Taylor had married into the Gardner family of Liverpool and north Wales: his wife was Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of a man who was definitely called Richard Gardner, and of Richard's wife Martha Jones of Liverpool. Richard Gardner was in business as a timber merchant - presumably in the same firm which later employed George Gardner at its Liverpool offices - and served as mayor of the Flint in 1850 and 1851. Isaac and Sarah Elizabeth lived at Coleshill Cottage at Bagillt near Holywell, at least from the 1870s to the 1890s. They had one son, Isaac, who was working learning the land agent and surveying trade from his father by 1881; and at least nine daughters, of whom Rachel was the fifth.

Coleshill Cottage was teeming with people on the day of the 1891 census: father Isaac and wife Sarah Elizabeth were both at home and Isaac's unmarried sister Alice had been a member of the household for many years. Son Isaac, now 27 and in partnership with his father, was as yet unmarried and living at home. And also still at home were daughters Mary, Rachel and Evelyn. Staying at the Cottage that night were four visitors, probably friends of the Taylor girls: Annie Williams and Ada Howell who were both 20; Ada Gardner - the woman who's possibly Joe Gardner's sister - aged 24; and Henry Williams whose probably a brother of Annie, aged 34. It's not at all surprising that the two Adas and Henry had all been born in Liverpool and Annie not far away, in Birkenhead. Unlike Esther Gardner, who had no live-in servants, Isaac and Sarah Elizabeth employed three servants: a cook, a housemaid (both of whom must have been rushed off their feet); and - because this was a country district where a coach was more a necessity than a luxury - a coachman.

JOE, RAY AND THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN ENGLAND

By the time of the 1891 census, Joe Gardner was a convinced theosophist. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Henry Steel Olcott had founded the Theosophical Society in New York in 1874 but interest in the subject amongst the public at large had to wait until the publication of Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* in September 1877. Joe was amongst those who found Blavatsky's attempt to reconcile modern science with theology an attractive alternative to Christianity in an age of increasing doubt. A group of English theosophists was meeting regularly by the early 1880s but this was in London and Joe may not have been aware of them - nor them of him - until several years later.

Blavatsky took up residence in England in May 1887 and the numbers attending the meetings of the TS in London began to increase; but lift-off for theosophy in England was not really reached until the publication in 1888 of her last work, *The Secret Doctrine*. This started a rapid expansion of the TS in England, organised into locally-based lodges which sprang up in most large towns. You could actually sit in the same room as the Great Woman by going to Countess Wachtmeister's house in Regent's Park, where Blavatsky was living and where the London-based theosophists held their meetings. Joe Gardner was one of those introduced to her there. Asked to advise him on the best approach to understanding the concepts discussed in *The Secret Doctrine*, Blavatsky recommended that Joe study it from the Kabbalistic angle - that is, in the light of a well-known western esoteric text much used in the GD; so Joe joined the TS's Esoteric Section, founded in October 1888 for those TS members who wanted to look at philosophy from both the eastern and western points of view. William Wynn Westcott, who had helped found the GD earlier that year, was also a member of the TS Esoteric Section so I presume Joe got to know him, at least as a much older acquaintance.

Joe Gardner officially joined the TS in June 1890 though he had been a member unofficially for a couple of years beforehand. One of the two sponsors of his application was Sydney Coryn. Sydney Coryn was working in Liverpool at the time but was originally from London. His brother Herbert Coryn was one of Blavatsky's hand-picked inner circle, and a leading

light of theosophy in Brixton and Clapham. Perhaps Joe owed his personal introduction to Blavatsky to the Coryn brothers, both of whom were in the GD for several years, as well as the TS.

Over the next two years Joe and Sydney Coryn gathered together enough Liverpool residents who had similar interests to be able to found a local lodge of the TS. Sydney was elected its first president and Joe its first vice-president. Joe also made contact with theosophists based in Bradford Yorkshire, including the group who founded the GD's Horus Temple in 1888 and it was through some of them, rather than through Westcott, that Joe was brought to the GD's notice. For the next two or three years Joe studied western occultism and theosophy in parallel.

Joe was one of Liverpool Lodge's most active members in its early years. He stood as sponsor to a large number of its recruits, including three who were curious enough about western esotericism and magic to be recommended - perhaps by Joe - to the GD at some stage: Robert Nisbet; Amy Earp; and John W S Callie. Also in Liverpool Lodge in the early 1890s - though not sponsored into it by Joe - were others who gave the GD a try: Robert Sandham, Rev Thomas Duncan, William Ranstead, Herbert Crooke, Eliza Jevons, and John Hill who married Amy Earp.

In the early 1890s Liverpool Lodge held its meetings on Thursday evenings. One member, or (very often) a visitor from Bradford TS, would lead a talk on a pre-arranged subject - Joe led one on The Planets and The Shakti, in spring 1893 and another later in the year whose subject he still hadn't decided a week or so before the meeting. There were also discussion groups: one on The Secret Doctrine was running in 1892 and a second one was started in 1893 to consider the Key to Theosophy. In 1892 these meetings were taking place in rooms at 62 Dale Street but by 1893 the lodge had so many members that they had to rent a larger space; they moved to Crossley Buildings, 18 South Castle Street.

Joe moved out of Liverpool in 1893, to the Freshfield district of Formby. Formby was a little closer to Southport than to Liverpool and several members of Liverpool Lodge lived in one of those two towns. Although I think Joe was still working in Liverpool, he and Ray Taylor were amongst the founder-members of the Southport Lodge that year. This mention of Ray as an early member of the lodge in Southport was the earliest I've found for her in the TS records I've seen, as I seem to have missed the entry for her in the TS's membership registers. Another of the lodge's founders was Herbert Crooke. Herbert, Joe and Ray must have been close friends around 1893-95.

In the summer of 1894 Joe and Ray were able to meet the surviving founder of the TS when both Liverpool Lodge and Southport Lodge were visited by Colonel Olcott as part of a lecture tour. However, there was trouble brewing in theosophy and over the next two years the TS worldwide tore itself in two in a dispute about Blavatsky's legacy and uniqueness (or otherwise) and who should be in command now that she was dead, Olcott not wishing to take on that role. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky had died in London in May 1891 and two candidates had emerged by 1894 as successors offering very different views of the future: the American William Quan Judge; and the Englishwoman Annie Besant. Judge had known both Blavatsky and Olcott for many years and was president-for-life of the TS in Europe; Besant was a relatively new recruit to theosophy but a committed and hard-working one, and she had Olcott's support.

Between 1894 and 1896 debate on the complex issues embodied in the candidacies of Judge and Besant raged within the TS and became very bitter, and very public. Local lodges took sides; or split into warring factions. A few theosophists spoke out in favour of moderation and careful consideration but no one was listening. In 1895, a convention of the TS worldwide held in London backed Besant and attempted to limit Judge's powers within the TS. This incensed Judge's supporters and the TS began to disintegrate. The lodges in the USA held their own convention and left the TS worldwide to be an independent organisation. In England and elsewhere many individual members resigned and more just never paid their yearly subscription again. Whole lodges closed down through lack of members.

Perhaps it was the emphasis the GD put on independent study and action that made so many of those who were in both the GD and the TS come out in support of Judge. Judge was claiming that the mahatmas (who had only ever communicated with Blavatsky while she was alive) were now in touch with him. To Blavatsky's old friends this was very distressing, it brought her unique status into question. But those who were in the GD and the TS understood that any properly prepared person might be able to communicate with entities from beyond the physical world. They saw Judge as another like themselves and in Liverpool, some got together as a committee to defend him. The GD's founder William Wynn Westcott, however, was a member of the TS's Council and also a man who valued order and hierarchy. He came down firmly on the side of Annie Besant, who knew how to work within a bureaucratic system and had never made any claims to be in touch with the mahatmas. To a certain extent, the dispute in the TS then spilled over into the GD: it's noticeable that some GD members who supported Judge seem to have ceased to be active GD members around 1895. Including Joe and Ray.

As far as I can tell, Joe and Ray weren't members of Liverpool's 'Judge committee' although they knew all its members well. Whether they had reservations about Annie Besant, or were horrified to see theosophists behaving as badly as anyone else in an argument, they decided not to continue their membership of the TS in England. It must have cost them both dear to lose such an important part of their social life. They were able to remain members of the TS in Europe but it wasn't quite the same, I'm sure, and they must have been excited and intrigued in 1896 when news reached them of a new leader of theosophy in the United States, Katherine Tingley.

Mrs Tingley arrived in England in June 1896 with a group calling themselves Crusaders, intent on raising European awareness of her vision of 'universal brotherhood'. After London, Liverpool was the first place the Crusaders went to. They were accompanied by Herbert Coryn and were met at Lime Street station by Joe and other ex-members of the GD and TS in Liverpool and Southport, including Robert Sandham, Herbert Crooke and John Hill. Ray met them later, at one of a series of private and public meetings organised for the Crusaders around Liverpool between Sunday 21 June and Tuesday 23 June. Herbert Crooke and Herbert Coryn were convinced by Mrs Tingley's new theosophical vision and became two of her most loyal supporters. Joe and Ray don't seem to have been quite so enthusiastic and Joe was happy to continue as a vice-president of the TS in Europe when its members made a formal decision to distance themselves from Tingley's group.

In his biography of Joe Gardner Ted Davy mentions that Joe was a freemason; though without giving any details of where and when. I haven't come across any evidence that he was a freemason in England; but as with most people it's easier to find those who reached the

top. If Joe was a freemason in England, he confined his involvement to the lodge he belonged to.

JOE AND RAY

It's clear that Joe Gardner and Ray Taylor knew each other by 1893. I'd go further and say that they'd probably known each other, or at least known of each other, since their childhoods. Perhaps by 1893 they were engaged and Joe's move to Formby was part of their preparations for married life. They married in the spring of 1895 and so, perhaps, were rather less actively involved in the ongoing Judge vs Besant argument than some of their friends. For the first couple of years they lived in Formby and that's where their daughter Radha Knight Gardner was born in 1896. However by 1901 they had moved away from Lancashire altogether - Joe had taken a job in the offices of a cloth merchant in Bradford. They never lived in Liverpool again.

Was Joe beginning in the restlessness that in a few years would take the family much further away from home? Or were he and Ray hoping that the signs of rejuvenation in the TS in Bradford were something they could take a part in? After several years being like theosophical groups elsewhere in England - all-but-moribund - some of Joe and Ray's old theosophist/GD friends in Bradford were meeting again and trying to put old differences behind them. Bradford TS Lodge was re-founded in 1902. However, neither of Gardners are listed as members so perhaps the moving to Bradford was a coincidence, driven by the offer of a good job. Cutting loose was made easier by the deaths of Ray's parents in the late 1890s; Joe's mother was still alive though - in 1901 she was living with Joe's sister Emily Sanders - and she didn't die until 1929, after Joe had retired.

Joe and Ray's two sons were both born in Bradford: Arthur Godwin Gardner in 1901 and Bryan Knight Gardner in 1907. Perhaps 1907 was a year of decision. Joe was now 43 and Ray 40 and they had the future of three children to think of. They decided to emigrate. The USA was their original choice of destination but eventually they decided that British Columbia had more to offer.

I'm not going to go steal Ted Davy's thunder by reiterating his profile of Joe Gardner. The profile is on the web, search for it using 'Canadian Theosophist' and 'Joseph Knight Gardner'.

I do want to make a few comments though, mainly about what an extraordinary change Joe and Ray made to their lives by starting out again in their forties in western Canada - the vast wilderness west of the Rockies was about as different from urban, industrial Lancashire and West Yorkshire as you could get. The work that Joe Gardner initially chose to do there was also completely outside his previous experience: he tried ranching, in Kamloops and then in Salmon Arm before returning to accounts work and to urban life when the family moved to Vancouver in 1914. Through this period of almost continual change, Joe and Ray's interest in theosophy was the one constant in their lives: Salmon Arm had an active theosophical group, and so did Vancouver. Both Joe and Ray had an aura of theosophist glamour about them in these circles - Joe as someone who had talked to and been given advice by Blavatsky; and Joe and Ray as people who had known Annie Besant and had met Colonel Olcott and Katherine Tingley.

When Joe retired, he and Ray moved from Vancouver back to Salmon Arm to be near Radha, who was now married. In his retirement Joe kept his brain lively by trying something new - he wrote a series of articles for the Canadian Theosophist using the writing name Ich Dein. He died in November 1937, in Salmon Arm. Continuing her commitment to theosophy in her widowhood, Ray joined the International Friends of Madame Blavatsky in 1938. Joe had kept a commonplace book of theosophical aphorisms that he had found useful for his meditation practice; Ray prepared this for publication, also in 1938, as Blossoms Culled from East and West.

Ray lived on until 1965. She and Joe have many descendants in Canada.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JOSEPH KNIGHT GARDNER AND RACHEL TAYLOR GARDNER

Blavatsky's two important publications:

Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology. On p1 in the introduction to the edition published in 1972 by the Theosophical Publishing House it says that the original edition was published in New York by J W Bouton in September 1877. I haven't been able to find out when the book was first available in England but - living and working in Liverpool - Joe might have had friends who could bring him an American copy.

The Secret Doctrine: the Synthesis of Science, Religion and Philosophy in two volumes London: Theosophical Publishing Company 1888. A 3rd volume, very controversial even at the time, was published in 1897.

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register volume January 1889-September 1891 p158. Joe acted as a sponsor in his turn to about 20 new TS members, the last one making their application in October 1894.

Some mentions of Joe in the TS's main magazine of the 1890s, published in London by its Theosophical Publishing Society. I didn't see Ray mentioned at all.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume X March-August 1892 p166; p340.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XI September 1892 to February 1893 p517-518.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XII March-August 1893 p67, p253.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XIII September 1893 to February 1894 p71, the last mention of Joe that I found.

Old Diary Leaves by Henry Steel Olcott, his memoirs of the early days of the TS. Published in 6 volumes between 1895 and 1932 by the Theosophical Publishing Society of Adyar Madras. Volume 6 1893-96 p210-222.

KATHERINE TINGLEY IN ENGLAND

At website scribd: an account of the Crusaders' visit to England appears in Theosophy volume XI number 2 May-December 1896 pp130-31.

BRADFORD TS

There's an online history of this lodge, which is still in existence. See www.ts-bradford.org.uk. Very many of the names mentioned are of people who were in both the TS and the GD and Joe at least will have known some of them. However, neither of the Gardners appears in the list of members.

TS ESOTERIC SECTION

The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section by R A Gilbert. Published London: Theosophical History Centre 1987: p3, pp6-8, p14 and p23 Appendix B which reprints an advert published in Lucifer volume 3 number p176. Joe is not mentioned at all in this account of the Esoteric

Section.

ISAAC AND SARAH ELIZABETH TAYLOR

Via archive.org to Historic Notices....of the Borough and County Town of Flint by Henry Taylor (who's possibly another relation) published in London: Elliot Stock 1883: p213-214. Some of the book's illustrations were by Randolph Caldecott whose widow became a member of the GD.

At flinttowncouncil.co.uk a list of mayors of the town.

At www.nationalarchives.gov.uk records held at Flintshire Record Office as QS/FR/1 1836: rate assessment for Flintshire.

At Endowed Charities of Anglesey. Return and Digest for 1897 in what is probably an obituary, Isaac Taylor of Cole's Hill (sic) Bagillt is described as "agent of Lady Vivian".

At www.archiveswales.org.uk a history of the Plas Gwyn estate whose records are now in the National Library of Wales.

At www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk a family tree of the barons Vivian.

A RICHARD GARDNER IN BUSINESS AROUND 1855 though it's impossible from the published details to know if it's Rachel's father, Joseph's father or a more distant relation: London Gazette date of issue not at top of page but it must be from May or June 1855. On p2184 one of a list of partnerships recently dissolved includes, on 31 May 1855 by mutual consent, that of Richard, Joseph and William Gardner, timber merchants trading as R I (or possibly R J) and W Gardner.

ESTHER TAYLOR GARDNER

IF this is the right woman: familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1520014

JOE AND RAY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Via www.theosophycanada.com to Fohat. A Quarterly Pubn of the Edmonton TS vol IX no 2 summer 2005 pp 41-43 article by Ted G Davy: An Early Theosophist in Western Canada: Joseph K Gardner. Family history details were supplied by Dorothy Sonnenberg, daughter of Radha Gardner.

BLOSSOMS...

I could only find one copy of Joe Gardner's book: in the collection of the University of Alberta. It's Blossoms Culled from East and West published Vancouver BC: Sun Publishing 1938.

At //theosophy.katinkahesselink.net/canadian you can read issues of The Canadian Theosophist, first published in 1926. Its volume 20, issue of 15 March 1939, p15 had an anonymous review of Blossoms...

CANADA

Familysearch information from the Canadian census of 1911: sub-districts 1-54 in British Columbia, Yale and Cariboo districts.

Familysearch GS film number 2032873: marriage of Harry Wisby Leonard to Radha Knight Gardner, January 1920. Harry was also a recent immigrant to Canada; he'd been born in Portsmouth.

Familysearch GS film number 2074506: marriage of Arthur Godwin Gardner to May Victoria Welch, March 1927 in Vancouver BC.

Familysearch GS film number 1953194: death of Joseph Knight Gardner 8 November 1937.

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Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http:pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Ellen Sophie Gaskell née Atkins was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple on 20 March 1897 and took the Latin motto 'Vox et praeterea nihil'. Three other people were initiated as part of the same ritual - Frederick Clarence Ritchie, Edith Jermyn Beaufort and Laura Gertrude Love, though I don't think Ellen necessarily knew any of them beforehand.

The GD was not the first secret organisation that Ellen had joined. She had actually founded a secret association a few years before. Perhaps she found it impossible to find time to do both groups justice. She certainly was far more committed to the aims of the association she had founded. Ellen never followed up her GD initiation and doesn't seem to have attended many, if any, subsequent rituals.

Ellen's husband George Arthur Gaskell was just as interested in esoteric ideas as she was, and it's a puzzle to me why he never joined the GD. I imagine that he was offered the opportunity; but perhaps he decided, like Ellen, that western magic was not for him.

ELLEN'S FAMILY

Ellen was the younger daughter of George Atkins and his wife Miriam Elizabeth Timpson. I could not find out anything much about George Atkin's youth or family except that he was born in Lewisham around 1820. I know a little bit more about Miriam: she was born in September 1820 in the parish of Cripplegate, City of London, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth. She told census officials over several decades that she'd been born in Birmingham, so she may have grown up there rather than in London.

George Atkins had qualified as a solicitor and was working in London when he and Miriam married, in Lewisham, in 1849. They lived at George Place in Lewisham Village for the first few years of their marriage and their children Alfred and Clare were born there, in 1850 and 1852. However, between 1852 and their daughter Delia Elizabeth's birth in 1854, the family

moved to Aston on the outskirts of Birmingham. Perhaps family contacts of Miriam's were able to offer George a better job there than he was likely to get in London. He may have been the 'Atkins' of the solicitors' firm Snow and Atkins whose offices in the late 1870s were in Ann Street (renamed Colmore Row when Council House Square now known as Victoria Square was built). The firm was still in practice in 1906 and possibly later.

Ellen Sophie Atkins was born in 1855 while the family was living in Aston; her younger brothers Frederick (1856) and Gilbert (1857) were also born there. Then the family moved to the south side of Birmingham where the next son, Ion, was born. In 1861 the Atkins were living at 2 Belgrave Place, Belgrave Road Edgbaston. George and Miriam's youngest child Joseph had been born a few days before census day that year - a lying-in nurse was part of the Atkins household on census day, along with their one general servant. Joseph died after only a couple of months so Ellen - aged six - might not have ever remembered him; but in 1869 she will have felt the death of her older brother Clare (he was a boy not a girl apparently) at the age of 16 and it's possible that brother Frederick also died young as I can't find any trace of him after census day 1871.

By the time of Clare's death the family had moved again, to Worcestershire; perhaps they had moved there in search of better health for the boy. On the day of the census 1871 they were living at 20 Ladypool Lane King's Norton. Alfred was now working and training in the office of an engineering firm. Although Delia was described on the 1871 census form as still having lessons I think this might be a mistake by the census official as Ellen - a year or two younger - was not so described. I think that by 1871 Delia and Ellen's lessons - whatever they had consisted of - were over for good, and that they were helping their mother run the household, so that the expense of a servant could be dispensed with. Employing even the one maid-of-all-work was a mark of social status, as well as a great convenience for the household, and the lack of any servant living in the Atkins household in 1871 gives me the impression that George Atkins' income was uncertain and his family were having to be very careful with their expenses.

By the day of the 1881 census, George and Miriam Atkins had moved back to Aston and were living in 119 Conybere Street. Delia was still living at home and so were Gilbert and Ion, both of whom were working by now, Gilbert as a lithographer and draughtsman, Ion as a managing clerk in a solicitor's firm, presumably the one his father also worked for or was a partner in. The family was employing a general servant once more, now three sets of wages were coming in. I couldn't find Ellen at all on the 1881 census so she must have been abroad. She was now 26, and it's possible she had gone away to have some training, or some more training, as a singer.

I've found two references to Ellen as a singer, a soprano. They are a news item about her marriage; and a remark she made herself in an article she wrote about diet and health. If you wanted to read it that way, the fact that she knew Charles Santley could also be a reference. Charles Santley was one of the best-known British baritones of the 19th-century, touring frequently from the 1850s to the 1890s to sing opera and oratorio; so that Ellen could have heard him many times at concerts, from her childhood onwards. Actually being acquainted with this famous singer was a bit different though. It's possible Ellen took lessons with him - from the 1890s, as his stage career finally began to wind down, he did take pupils; but perhaps it's more likely that they just met through mutual, musically-inclined friends. However they became acquainted, Ellen knew Santley well enough to ask him for advice on how he kept his voice and throat prepared to sing.

It's clear from Ellen's writings of the mid-1890s that she had managed to obtain a musical training beyond that which most middle-class women of her time could expect: she knew some harmonic theory. However, I haven't been able to find any other references in books, magazines or newspapers to Ellen as a singer and she never described herself as such to any census official. I've come to two cautious conclusions about this lack of information: that Ellen sang mostly at private parties, not on concert platforms; and that she may not have been paid for her singing. Ellen was serious about her musical career and did her best to overcome handicaps she knew were holding her back in it; but she was never a famous singer and perhaps never seriously expected to become one.

Ellen's mother Miriam died in 1886 and her father George in 1887 and it's likely (though I can't prove it) that Ellen didn't live with any of her family from this time on: not for her the life led by her sister Delia, of keeping house for her brothers in the Birmingham suburbs. Neither parent seems to have had much money to leave their children and I wonder how Ellen managed, financially, after that time, if she didn't charge for her singing; although you could, and some GD members did, manage to survive in the 1880s and 1890s on an income that to us would seem miniscule. Ellen did earn or inherit enough money to spend two years between the beginning of 1890 and the end of 1892 in the USA; she was in America on census day 1891. She spent part of those two years in St Louis and it was there that she came across the concept of colour-music. Her study of the connection between light and music continued for many years. So sure did she become that colour and musical tone held the key to the future of humanity, that she decided it was her life's work to alert people to their importance and to prepare them for the coming of a new life based on them: an era of true equality between the sexes and of release from the dominance of the body over the soul.

MUSIC AND COLOUR

Different colours and different musical notes are now known to be the way humans experience different wavelengths of electromagnetism. The idea that sound and light might be vibrations from different points along the same continuum goes back to Pythagoras' experiments with lyre and monochord; and forward through Newton's Opticks and his Principia Mathematica to the mathematical-physics of quantum theory. It's still an important study within music. Other lines of descent from Pythagoras led to the concept of music as an art of healing; and to the works of Robert Fludd and the Rosicrucians - a blend of science and mysticism.

Ellen's pamphlet *The Secret of Happiness* was printed by the Women's Printing Society Ltd of 66 Whitcomb Street London WC late in 1894; at her own expense. Its subject was two connected beliefs that were quite widely held in occult circles, and to which Ellen returned to in later articles. Firstly, that the Divine Spirit in each human was being starved in the modern world. And secondly, that the body was "only a Passing-Note" (as Ellen put it), of little importance in the longer term; it was the Spirit that was important and would endure. If you believed in these two arguments, it was clear to you that Man's priorities in the late 19th-century were wrong: the focus on the material world only, and the neglect of the spirit, were causing all the modern world's ills. There's plenty of late 19th-century writing along those lines, including some by other members of the GD. Writers in this vein usually had particular points that they wanted to make - areas of spiritual neglect that they wanted to draw their readers' attention to - and Ellen, too, added to the basic argument a couple of twists of her own. Firstly she thought that the ills of the body were currently being treated incorrectly by doctors who didn't believe in the existence of the soul or spirit - by which she meant by the

use of “drugs, operating knives and vivisection horrors”. And secondly, she was sure that if people would only nourish their Spirit with colour and music, mankind would be able to make the next step in evolution, to a higher level of cosmic understanding.

Other themes Ellen aired in *The Secret of Happiness* were not widely held, even in esoteric circles, but they were at the core of the work she now felt she must do, in moving humanity on from materialism. Ellen felt that the Spirit needed liberating, that it had become imprisoned in the body; and that the concept of Love had become debased by the emphasis on sex, so that true union between man and woman had become impossible. It was also impossible while women were not acknowledged as equal; equal but different. Ellen’s work was to free the Spirit by getting mankind to give up sexual union and replace it with a more lasting and fulfilling relationship - the union of Spirit with Spirit, with man and woman on equal but different terms.

Although a lot of Ellen’s arguments in *The Secret of Happiness* were couched in Christian terms, her idea that “now there is coming the revelation of God as Woman” was definitely not Christian orthodoxy. In the new era Ellen was wanting to bring about, man and woman would worship the Mother-Father, not the Father and Son. Ellen was sure from the evidence she saw about her that Woman was awakening after a long sleep in a world dominated by man and rationality. Woman, Ellen wrote, was preparing herself for “a great, universal Spring clean” of mankind which would end with a “loss of individuality in this world” and create the conditions for the union of Spirit with Spirit. It would be through colour that woman would be revealed as her true self, and the new era of true equality would begin - perhaps very soon.

Ellen ended her pamphlet with two songs, which were perhaps a battle-cry for the secret association she founded to help her do her spring-cleaning: a Hymn of Life; and *The Name Whereby We Shall be Saved, A Hymn to Jehovah “Mother-Father Wonderful”*.

The Secret of Happiness might have been by way of a prelude to a much larger book Ellen was working on in the mid-1890s, called *The Key of David (Revelations 3:7) Revealing the Motherhood of God*. Apparently, the book was going to explain the revelation by tabulating a series of correspondences, equating the seven musical notes of the scale of A-minor (which is known as the Key of David) with: the seven colours; the seven days of the creation myth in Genesis; the messages in Revelations; and several other sets of seven. Ellen was going to argue that the evil in the world was the result of mankind’s misunderstanding of those correspondences. Correspondences, of course, are part of the bedrock of western magic. I don’t know how far Ellen got with the *Motherhood of God* book; it was never published as far as I can see. Perhaps Ellen was waylaid by the practical details of starting a new social movement: that sort of thing does take time.

The secret association Ellen founded does seem to have remained more or less a secret: I have found two passing references to its existence around 1893-95, soon after it was formed; but nothing else. The references were both in music magazines published in America. Though her secret group was meant to operate in England, Ellen wrote several times over the next few years that she expected the new era she was working towards to show itself in the USA first, and she was doing her best to recruit American members. She must have sent some kind of prospectus of her new association to both magazines, together with either the full text of another book she was working on - not the David book - or a detailed synopsis of it. The secret association was called the *Motherhood of Music Association*. Although she

deplored the current emphasis on sex, Ellen also shared the contemporary view that motherhood was woman's highest calling, and saw herself and her co-workers in the association, as being the mothers of the new era-to-be.

In her prospectus, Ellen said that the Motherhood of Music Association would be holding meetings at the Ladies' Own Tea Association shop and tea rooms, on the second floor of 90 New Bond Street. It would be very interesting to know how many women turned up at the meetings; and how many of those who did turn up were members of the GD. The Association was to be a secret, core group of women workers for spiritual and evolutionary change. However, Ellen also invited readers of *The Secret of Happiness* to contact her at the Musical Exchange, a recently-founded club for musicians at 16 George Street Hanover Square; and to join a Society with no particular rules, which was to have a rather wider reach and be more public. She was having a membership brooch designed in the form of a treble clef with three notes in the corresponding colours she had explained in *The Secret of Happiness*. And she hoped to found branches of the society in the USA, New Zealand and Australia, through which the work of spiritual spring-cleaning would be begun, world-wide.

I couldn't find any evidence that the Motherhood of Music Association ever got further towards the fulfilment of Ellen's aims than just being a chance for like-minded women to meet. But then, its work was on the astral level (if you like to think of it that way) not the material one. Not so visible to the historian.

In 1895, just at the time when Ellen's new social movement should have been getting established,

something happened to her that I would imagine she had ceased to hope for. She got married, to George Arthur Gaskell. For some years at least, her life ran on two parallel but hugely different lines - one messianic, one very domestic; with theosophy added to the mix - already pretty rich - of Ellen's thinking on Christianity and music-colour theory.

GEORGE ARTHUR GASKELL

George Gaskell was born in 1843, the eldest son of Peter Gaskell and his wife Sarah, née Sherlock. Both his parents' families came from Lancashire. Peter Gaskell did not work, he lived on the proceeds of houses and offices rented out. George and his seven siblings grew up in suburban Liverpool and north Wales before moving south, first to Hastings and - by census day 1871 - to Camberwell in south London, where Peter Gaskell died in September 1872. His widow and those of her children who were still living at home went to live in Brighton.

George Gaskell was already working as an artist at the time his father died. It has been hard to find out anything much about his career in art; partly because he seems to have exhibited very few paintings, and partly because he has the same name as, and was a contemporary of, Professor George A Gaskell, the American teacher of calligraphy and the history of writing. I would particularly like to know where Ellen's George Gaskell did his artist's training; because, depending on which art school he went to (if he went to one) he might have met several future members of the GD.

Until his marriage George Gaskell moved around quite a bit. He lived in Bradford in the mid-1880s and in Edinburgh in the early 1890s. Both of those towns would have a GD

temple founded in them and though he may not have met any future GD members in Bradford, he certainly met some in Edinburgh because he was a member of the Theosophical Society by then, and so was almost everyone who joined the GD in Edinburgh. It seems very likely that Ellen met GD members through George Gaskell and I say again that it's odd that she joined the Order but not him.

George Gaskell first joined the TS in April 1890. He let that application drop for some reason, only to apply a second time, about a year later, with two sponsors who were well-known TS members - G R S Mead and W R Old. George became a member of the TS's Blavatsky Lodge, which consisted of Mead, Old and other close associates of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. He stayed a member of the TS through the power struggle between W Q Judge and Annie Besant, after Blavatsky's death; during which so many members left; and he was willing to sponsor Ellen's membership application to the TS in 1898, after Annie Besant had won; only to resign again for good this time, in 1904.

When exactly Ellen Atkins and George Gaskell met I don't know. Both their families had connections with south London and they might have known each other since they had been children. It's more likely, though, that they did not become acquainted until Ellen returned from her time living in the USA - around 1892 - all fired-up with music-colour theory and its chances of changing the world.

I'm fairly sure that it was George Gaskell who introduced Ellen to theosophy and the eastern philosophy on which it was based. The argument of *The Secret of Happiness* was put forward in strictly western terms; perhaps Ellen had already finished it when she got to know her future husband well. However, an article that was published in *The Theosophist* in November 1894 showed Ellen attempting to weld together her Christian beliefs, her ideas on music-colour theory; and the eastern idea of cosmic cycles of history, which had reached the west through theosophy. In the article she argued that "some great crisis" was expected shortly by "all classes of thinkers", and she included herself amongst these thinkers, on the grounds that she was one of the few people who had developed what she called their "7th sense", a "purely spiritual" sense, sufficiently to see what was coming. After the crisis was over, with several historical cycles ending at the same time, that era would begin which Ellen was working for.

LIFE WITH GEORGE

Ellen Sophie Atkins and George Arthur Gaskell were married in Brighton - where most of his family still lived - in 1895. Having started off their married life in Brighton (I think), they then lived for about four years in a flat in London - number 1 West End Mansions, which was a purpose-built block on West End Lane in the centre of West Hampstead. That was their address when Ellen joined the GD in 1897 and they were still there on census day 1901; though soon afterwards they left for 4 Castle Hill in Hastings before moving back to Brighton before 1904, to 68 Ditchling Road. On census day 1901 the Gaskells were sharing their six-roomed flat with George's widowed sister Alice Mansell. Alice told the census official she was an artist, although I haven't found any evidence of pictures by her, either in the normal reference books or on the web. With both her husband and her sister-in-law working at their art, and apparently no money to afford servants - or at least no wish to spend the money they had on hired help - the burden of housework and cookery fell on Ellen; who wrote an article about how much better-able she was to take on these heavy and time-consuming tasks now, than she had been in the past.

SUPERCOOKING

There's nothing much new under the sun! An edited version of Ellen's article on how and what she cooked these days was published in an American magazine in March 1898 under the headline 'Super-cooked food': not quite 'supercook', or 'super food'; but nearly there! The article excited so much interest that four variations of it saw the light of day between autumn 1897 and spring 1898 - the very time when Ellen was involved with the GD. Longer versions with more practical detail appeared in the English papers English Mechanic and World of Science and the Weekly Times and Echo; and different, shorter, versions were published in the American Vegetarian Society's magazine Food, Home and Garden and in Good Housekeeping.

To the readers of the English Mechanic.. Ellen explained that after years of ill-health which normal medicine had not really cured, she had made radical changes to the way she ate: both what she ate, and how she prepared it. As part of the changes, she had read a great many recent books and articles on diet and health; and she had also asked around for advice, which is where Charles Santley comes in. Because not only were Ellen's health problems debilitating and depressing, they were hampering her career in music - she had had for years a tendency to catch feverish colds that took a long time to clear up and affected her voice.

Ellen didn't slavishly adopt all the advice contained in her reading: using herself as a guinea-pig she tried it out and discarded quite a lot of it, before reaching a diet and cooking method that made continual ill-health a thing of the past. They gave other benefits too: Ellen had more energy; and she also had more time. This was all happening (I think) at the time when she was deeply immersed in music-colour theory; the years when she met and married George Gaskell; and the months that she was involved with the GD. It was a period when virtually all her previous understanding of life was jettisoned - heady stuff.

Ellen began her dietary experiments by giving up meat and in 1897 she was still a vegetarian. However, although eating no meat improved her overall health, she was still catching those flu-ey colds, so more experimentation was necessary. For a while, she lived on fruit and nuts and nothing else - not even salt, which she had abandoned on the advice of a Mrs Wallace (whom I haven't been able to identify) who thought it was dangerous, and of Charles Santley, who told Ellen salt harmed his throat. The fruitarian diet got rid of the colds altogether but Ellen soon found it had serious disadvantages: it cost a lot and was very inconvenient when she was away from home; she also found herself craving bread, and salt (as well she might). Rather reluctantly, she started eating cereals and vegetables again - but the resulting meals were bland, she often felt physically weak and was always cold; and back came the flu-ey colds. At this frustrating and rather depressing point, around the summer of 1896, Ellen came across an article about Dr Kellogg's sanatorium, where slow-cooked food was the basis of the patients' treatment. Everything fell into place and she realised that though the items in her diet were the right ones, the way she had cooked them had been wrong.

Ellen started cooking all her food - not just cereals - for as much as four hours. Over the next year or so she worked out a set of 'best-methods' - which foods were best steamed, which were better baked in the oven, and how long to cook each type of food, for the most pleasing results. She found that all her food tasted better cooked that way. It also kept for longer - which in the days before the fridge, was an important benefit, meaning less time spent shopping and watching the stove. Wondering whether the health problems Mrs Wallace blamed on yeast might actually be the result of bread not being cooked for long enough, Ellen

developed a yeasted “supercooked bread”, which she could eat without any digestive troubles and was so popular with her neighbours that in late 1897 she was baking it regularly for 10 households.

From health and/or financial considerations, the Gaskells only had the coal fire burning in their flat for two days each week, so on those two days Ellen cooked enough food to last the other five; heating up the left-overs on an oil-stove on the non-fire days. They soon found that eating slow-cooked cereals meant that they weren’t hungry so often. So they followed another set of dietary advice, this time from a book by Dr Edward Hooker Dewey, and gave up breakfast. By 1897 they were only eating one big meal each day, at mid-day, with the occasional snack in the evening.

Isn’t Ellen’s tale of revitalisation-by-diet modern? And there being nothing new under the sun, it was also timely for many readers of her article. The extent of the feedback and the number of requests for more detail from readers of the published articles seems to have taken the various newspapers and magazines by surprise. When preparing to publish its own version of it, the Vegetarian Society of America must have contacted Ellen and asked for more practical information. When the article appeared in the Society’s Food, Home and Garden it included a list of Ellen’s best-methods (for different vegetables, pulses, rice, and that yeasted bread) so that readers could try them out in their own kitchens.

If Ellen had been alive to publish a book in our modern era of dietary gurus she might have made a fortune! No matter that there were other explanations for a lot of the changes in her health; and that some of the advice she took was faddish. She called the method of cookery she had developed “super-cooking”, over 100 years before variations on the term entered modern TV and advertising terminology. Super-cooking revolutionised her life. She had only had one flu-ey cold after reading the article about Dr Kellogg; after an incident of back-sliding when she had succumbed to an ordinarily-cooked loaf of bread and some oatcakes. By early 1897 she was convinced that the level of chronic illness she saw around her was the result of bad eating habits: people were eating the wrong things, poorly cooked, and Ellen wanted to help them find the cure that she had found. Hence the article.

With her energy levels raised by her super-cooked diet, Ellen could now do “a long morning’s hard work” washing clothes, cleaning the flat and - on coal fire days - cooking and preparing all that bread. With more energy, and not bothering with breakfast any more, she could have the heavy work done by mid-morning, so that after their one, mid-day meal, the rest of the day was free for her to concentrate on other things - a walk, meetings in the afternoon, keeping engagements to sing in the evening; and preparing for the new era of humanity. The coming crisis was not far from Ellen’s thoughts even as she wrote down the details of how she super-cooked a rice pudding: she was thinking that if more women organised their food and hours her way, they would have more time and energy to spend doing the women’s work that was necessary to make the new era a reality.

AFTER THE CRISIS OF HUMANITY

In the mid-1890s Ellen believed that the coming crisis of humanity had begun already and she actually named 1896 as the year in which the public at large would begin to be aware of it. I guess she must have joined the GD as part of her preparations for that critical time, in which the population would usher the new era in by coming to understand the true meaning of love. I don’t know what she made of the year 1896 and its immediate successors. However, no articles by Ellen appeared between 1898 and 1904 and in her later writing she

never mentioned the importance of 1896. There are other indications that 1896 et seq had disappointed her. By late 1903 she seems to have been seeking reassurance on two counts: that the new era of humanity would become obvious soon, and that she herself was scheduled play an important part in the process. After a gap of several years, she and George started having seances again. While scorning to become involved in the social world of spiritualism, or to go to seances with either amateur or professional mediums, they had gone through a period of holding them, just the two of them, using a planchette (a kind of board with a hole in it, used to help in automatic writing sessions) with Ellen as the medium, writing the questions and the answers. Both Ellen and George were given reassurance by two separate-but-linked sets of seances with entities which they understood in theosophical terms. So important did they think the communications they received to be, that George wrote up accounts of them and sent them to the Theosophical Review.

In talking about what happened during these sessions I'm trying not to be too sceptical but you can see from what George wrote about what happened, that the the question-and-answer sessions can be interpreted as communication with Ellen and George's unconscious minds; rather than with entities from the Beyond.

The first three sessions were with an entity that identified itself as a fire elemental working on the higher reaches of the Devachanic plane; which had come in response to George's recent reading (probably a re-reading) of Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*. A lot of Ellen and George's questions to this entity were personal and they kept the answers to themselves. The questions that appeared in George's article would have been of interest to theosophists, and not obviously personal; though if you had known Ellen well you would have realised how very personal some of them were.

It's not clear how long a gap of time there was before the next set of seances, in which Ellen and George communicated with a whole group of entities George called devas "active on high mental planes". This time it was Ellen who was told that her thoughts had caused the entities to appear: "...you called me. You thought of my colour..." and in these sessions she led the questioning rather than George. The responses confirmed two views of herself that Ellen might have begun to doubt: the devas told her that she was being trained for a particular job in the new era of humanity; and that they were not able to communicate with many humans because so few understood the language of music-colour. Both Ellen and George were told not to be put off doing the work they were destined to do for the future of mankind by the hostility of other people, or the hostility of other visions Ellen had had.

Having received some of the reassurance she needed, Ellen asked what would be the result of her and George's work - what the future of the human race would look like. She was given some details: that the law of karma would apply; that the new era of humanity would be based on the principles of theosophy, religion and socialism; and that women would take their proper place in it, as teachers and upholders of Natural Law. The article reads as though it was George that asked Ellen to put the question about socialism. I don't think she would have thought of it on her own account: a world of true relationships between the sexes wouldn't need socialism, would I think have been her view. (Also, of course, the species would rapidly become extinct if all humans followed Ellen's call to give up sex and try for a more lasting basis for their relationships.)

There were practices in the question-and-answer sessions that Ellen may have been remembering from her short time in contact with the GD: each of the devas which she saw

presided over a different point of the compass and told her to face in that direction while they were communicating with her; and one deva told Ellen that she had a part to play in the awakening India's women to the crisis of the new era of humanity, a part she must play by travelling to India, not in person but astrally. Of course, we'll never know for sure whether she carried out her orders!

Although George sent his accounts of the two sets of sessions to the Theosophical Review, by the time the second of them was published neither he nor Ellen was a member of the TS any more. Ellen may have decided to resign because of what Annie Besant was doing at the Central Hindu College there, trying to revitalise Hinduism in India. She wrote to The Theosophist criticising Annie's efforts on two counts: that Hinduism was too much corrupted to be rescued by its own followers; and that Annie would never achieve anything lasting unless she reached out to India's women as well as its men. Ellen put forward the idea (which I find mind-boggling) that Hinduism and Christianity should somehow come together to form a new religion; the energy and competitiveness of Christianity lifting Hinduism out of the sloth that had allowed India to be conquered by the British. After several years studying theosophy Ellen had decided for Christianity. She could not approve of Hinduism's emphasis on freeing yourself from the laws of cause and effect - from karma. She thought it resulted in inertia, a psychological "paralysis and death", and she had opted instead for Christianity's individuality and its belief that all are equal in the sight of God - for the USA rather than India as the place where the new era of humanity would begin. It seems strange to me that, holding those views, she should act as medium to entities that she and George both understood were theosophy not Christianity and perhaps they did shake her preference for Christianity for a while: Joy Dixon, in her book *The Divine Feminine*, mentions that Ellen rejoined the TS at some point after 1907. However she had resigned again by 1912 and her comments on Annie Besant's work, her comments on it were the last article she had published in a theosophical journal as far as I know.

By 1904 Ellen must have been heavily involved in the longest piece of writing she ever attempted, *A Woman's View of Genesis Chapter Two Verses 18-25*. She and George may have been studying Genesis together: George too had a work on it published, though not until 1925. Ellen's book was definitely published, by Advance Press of Upper Richmond Road, in 1905, but I haven't been able to find a single copy of it anywhere - not on the web nor in any library. I have found one copy of what might have been a kind-of companion piece - Ellen getting in her retaliation first with a pamphlet on *Crankiness* - but I couldn't justify a trip to the Bodleian Library just to look at one publication of a few pages, so I don't know what was in it - although I think the gist of it is pretty clear.

In the absence of the book itself all I can do by way of guessing what *A Woman's View of Genesis* might be about is: say what II 18-25 consists of; and suggest that the book was an elaboration (into 248 pages) of her views as expressed in *The Theosophist* in November 1894. Genesis Chapter Two verses 18-25 is the section where God creates Eve out of Adam's rib. Ellen argued that woman - unlike man - was NOT born of the earth. At her creation woman was not of the material world, she had only become so since the Fall and thus couldn't be held responsible for the material world's problems. Ellen preferred to think of woman's creation as showing Eve as silence being taken out of Adam as sound. Since the Fall woman had not been able to sing - that is, until very lately. When woman could sing again it would be an indication that the imbalance between the sexes was being righted, and the human species was approaching that new era of human evolution.

The book was reviewed in Review of Reviews, probably by the magazine's founder and chief editor W T Stead. With not many words to spare for it, he merely called it "mystical and biblical". The Theosophist, rather cleverly, got a woman (also anonymous) to review it. She criticised Ellen for blaming men for everything. However, like Ellen, she thought that both sexes would have to work hard, and work together, to bring about the right conditions for mankind's next evolutionary step. The unknown woman also agreed with Ellen's view that those who called themselves Christian but didn't live their lives according to Christianity's teachings, were part of the problem not part of the solution.

THE WOMAN QUESTION

After the book on Genesis two years went by before a long article by Ellen was published that was the first of three in which she concentrated on 'the woman question', and on the 'now'. There was no religion in 'Women's Sphere of Work', which was published in the March 1907 edition of the Westminster Review, a long-established magazine with a reputation for political radicalism at least in theory. Ellen didn't really have anything much that was new to say on the various issues around women's work - for pay or not for pay, in the home or out in the world, were women physically up to the demands of work, should they do work previously only done by men; that sort of thing - but she did point up the issues of class and wealth (or lack of it) that underpinned so much of the debate while not always being openly acknowledged. And she argued that it was women's job in the modern world to stand apart from its tendency to judge everything solely by its monetary value; and to supervise a general movement towards "higher possibilities through increase of knowledge": the argument she had made in so much of her writing, but stripped of all spiritual or religious content. She was aiming to get those views out to a wider public; perhaps in increasing anxiety that society was going not towards a higher level of evolution but determinedly in the other direction, towards a completely materialist society.

From women's work it was a short walk to woman's suffrage and in 1912 Ellen contributed to the ongoing debate about it, writing a response to items published by the Times in which the Sir Almroth Wright attributed women who wanted the vote were mentally unbalanced; and Dr Leonard Williams suggested that the lunacy laws would have to be re-written if women didn't stop campaigning for it. The basis of Ellen's riposte was: how safe were women, having to consult doctors who were so out of touch with half their patients? And of course, Ellen was speaking from personal experience when she endorsed the recent opinion of Dr Agnes Savill that male doctors were 50 years behind the times when it came to treating women. In the rest of the article she took up the question of imbalance to argue that the importance of women and men to society could be seen as a set of scales, at the moment seriously out of balance due to the weight of favour and importance coming down so heavily on its male side. No real progress in evolution could be made until the balance was equal on both sides. Bulk, and force - the male side - wasn't everything; the "finer forces" on the female side must be seen as just as essential.

Ellen also tackled what she felt was underlying the attitude of Sir Almroth Wright and others (mostly men) like him - a fear of the consequences of giving women the vote when there were so many more women than men in Britain. She reminded Wright that an excess of women over men was nothing new; and detailed some of the good things that these excess women had spent their time doing in the past. However, two novels recently chosen for serialisation in the Daily Mail had made Ellen worry that even women's work as healers and in religious education was under attack. They were also feeling the pressure of the intense scrutiny they were now under as mothers and potential mothers of the British race - a scrutiny mostly formulated and carried out by men.

In short, Ellen felt that there was a concerted, possibly even conscious, effort being made by the (male) powers that be to condemn women as mad for wanting to lead a fuller life. This trend had to be stopped. She ended her article by returning to the imagery of imbalance and scales, saying that giving women the vote was essential if the balance between the sexes was going to be righted.

Ellen's women's suffrage article was published in *The Freewoman*, a magazine founded by Dora Marsden to voice radical views not just on the vote but on all the issues that surrounded the woman question. *The Freewoman* was so radical in its choice of subject-matter and so strident in its views that it made most women nervous, never mind most men. However, during the two years of its existence, Ellen was a regular reader, and may have been one of its 300 subscribers. She had already had one other article published in the *Freewoman*, which had helped build the magazine's reputation. It was on by far the most controversial subject she ever wrote about: syphilis. She was very well aware that she was breaking taboos, as a woman, by even admitting she knew of its existence. She felt, though, that men had so consistently refused to take full responsibility for their part in the spread of the disease, that women couldn't take the risk of ignoring it any longer - the very stability of the Empire and the future vitality of the British people was at stake. Ellen was particularly concerned about the children who had it; and how married women to be protected from unwittingly catching it from their infected husbands.

Ellen had probably been roused to write this particular article by decisions recently made by the various campaigns for women's suffrage, to leave all issues surrounding sexual behaviour (and its consequences) out of their arguments. She thought it was cowardly and missing the point to continue to let men off the hook this way. Her own view was that men ought to be forced by moral pressure and even by law, to raise their own standards of sexual behaviour to the standards they expected of women. I'm not sure whether George Gaskell share this particular attitude, but it's very likely that Ellen's ideas about how far syphilis was damaging the British race, will have been influenced by George's interest in eugenics.

When the Gaskells got married, he was 52 and she was 40. However, their not having any children may have been a pro-active decision on their part, rather than the result of the age of the two partners. I've already said that Ellen in her writing was looking forward to an era in which sexual passion between man and woman would have been replaced by something more lasting. She might have thought that not becoming a mother was a price she must pay for the part she saw herself playing in bringing into being the new era of humanity she was so convinced was imminent. (She did never have any children.) Or - as the middle-classes were increasingly doing despite a moral climate that continued to be against it - they may have used contraception to make sure Ellen was not going to conceive. She may even have married George on the understanding that they would not have a sexual relationship.

George had been an active advocate of eugenics at least since the late 1870s when he'd had a short exchange of letters with Charles Darwin on the possibilities offered by evolution by natural selection for preventing the 'unfit' from having children; and for keeping the birth-rate low by use of contraception. He wrote two pamphlets for *The Malthusian League* in the 1890s, and even in the late-1920s he was still a convinced eugenicist, regularly reading the *Eugenics Review* and probably a member of the *Eugenics Society* that published it.

Ellen saw women demanding the vote and taking the initiative in the control of syphilis as good indications of the rise of women she had been predicting in her articles announcing the new era of humanity. However, by 1911 Ellen was increasingly worried at the lack of any other indication that the human species had begun to take that evolutionary step; perhaps even by a sense that she was failing in her own task of helping lead mankind along the right path. She had not entirely given up hope that her fellow humans would follow her, but she was increasingly feeling short of support; as is shown (I think) by her reaction to a copy of the American journal *The Bible Review* she was lent by a friend during the summer of 1911. In this journal, she read an article in which the Rev George T Weaver talked about a seventh age of the world, the age of Aquarius (I did say there was nothing new under the sun), which he reckoned had begun in 1881. Ellen will also have seen that the journal's subtitle was: *A Monthly Journal of Christian Esotericism*. So excited was Ellen to find that a group of Christians she had never heard of were also working towards the new era, that she made an effort to find what little literature there was in Britain about them. And she wrote them a long letter - it was an article really - asking the publishers of the magazine who they were and what religious views their organisation had; and explaining her own.

She was now pinning her hopes on the coronation of Edward VII having been a high-point, having been - although she didn't actually say so - one of the ways in which the new era on the far side of the crisis of humanity was showing itself. I'm not sure whether Ellen had given up on the Motherhood of Music Association, or whether she was trying to start another idea to run in parallel with it, or whether her ideas had just moved on; but she was now trying to found something she called "a Theosophic Christhood" which would be governed by the "cult" (sic) of the Christ-Psyche, and in which occultism would become "scientific" (by which I suppose she means - accepted in mainstream thinking as something that could be researched and quantified).

The organisation that published *The Bible Review* was the Esoteric Fraternity Group of Applegate California. It had been founded in the late 1880s and surely, when she wrote her letter, Ellen must have taken that founding date to be another manifestation of the crisis of humanity. Ellen had discovered that the Fraternity's members were interested in what she called the "higher use of Sex". She told them that her Theosophic Christhood would leave behind the present era of uncontrolled and irresponsible sex in which men had understood women in the physical sense only. Instead women would lead men to a state of mind in which sex would be seen as "an electro-spiritual force" (she's not the only GD member to be very interested in the possibilities of electricity), with partners being revealed to each other by "Christ-psyche vision" - a true marriage made in heaven. She asked the Esoteric Fraternity whether they could help bring about this true harmony between the sexes.

In a long note at the end of Ellen's letter/article, the journal's editor, Hiram Butler, admitted that the Esoteric Fraternity Group had indeed been founded as a theosophic Christhood; and that it acknowledged that for any future evolution of the species to take place, both genders would need to be "in harmony with the Divine purpose". However, these were about the only views his group shared with Ellen. He disagreed that women were still degraded - he thought the sexes had achieved equality already - and he also thought (one would get bored to tears with hearing this argument if it wasn't so facile, so dangerous and so persistent) that male violence was the result of female provocation. He said that his group was reluctant to have anything much to do with theosophy as theosophy had no god. And he dismissed Ellen's arguments about cycles of humanity as the ideas of someone who just wasn't grounded in reality.

A snub; not the first she had received. Poor Ellen. It may have come, too, at a difficult time in Ellen's life. I may be reading far too much into some small pieces of evidence, but by 1911 she and George may have been living mostly or entirely apart.

Both Ellen and George were in England on the day of the 1911 census. Both of them had left London. But they were living in different places. On census day, both were the heads of households that consisted solely of themselves. George had returned to Brighton, to 19 Millers Road near the main station. Ellen, however, had gone to live at 55 Kimberley Road Portsmouth, a few minutes from the Esplanade at Southsea.

I'm not sure you can assume anything from the fact that both Ellen and George declared on their 1911 census forms that they were married. The social stigma of marriage breakdown made people who were in fact separated write down their legal status as 'married'; and of course they were married in the sense that they were not divorced (most of them not being able to afford it). I have already found three GD members and the daughter of another member, doing that in 1911. However, George and Ellen were both people who wrote and studied; who may have want short spells of time apart to concentrate on these things; and had just enough income to afford to pay two rents provided they each picked rooms in a street and/or town that was not too fashionable. A bit unorthodox, especially in terms of the time that they were living in; but not the same as being separated. It bothers me, though, that Ellen was still living in Southsea in the summer of 1911 - that was where she read her borrowed copy of *The Bible Review*. And that when George died, though Ellen was still alive, George's sister Louisa (who also lived in Brighton) was his executor. The 1921 census may give more information on whether George and Ellen were still living together at least some of the time.

AFTER GEORGE?

However she might have felt when she read their reply to her hopeful letter, I think Ellen was well-off out of the Esoteric Fraternity, if the views of its journal's editor were representative of its members. And even if the Esoteric Fraternity had been willing to work with her towards that theosophic Christhood, any cooperation would have been interrupted if not completely derailed by the first World War.

By 1925, when she was 70, Ellen had admitted to herself that the new era of humanity might not come to pass in her lifetime. She wrote to the *Occult Review* to ask why it was that her fellow humans did not want to take the opportunity that was offered, to create a more spiritual, more equal society - why they didn't believe that "forces and beings" could exist that were "higher than the human". She was still sure that such entities existed and were out there wanting to help, but saw all around her that belief in them was declining. She did end this rather wistful, short letter on a positive note, however, wondering if she was the one who had got it wrong, and that it was possible for the human species to lift itself up to that higher level of evolution without the help of these super-human beings.

I've only found evidence of one art work by George Gaskell after 1900. After a spurt of paintings around the time that he and Ellen married, he seems to have more or less given up art to concentrate on his occult studies. He had several books published in the 1920s, the results of at least two decades of research into the symbolism of the Bible and the religions of ancient Egypt. He died in Brighton, in 1933.

Ellen died in 1940. Her death was registered in Bromley so I presume that's where she had lived in her last years.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ELLEN SOPHIE GASKELL

SNOW AND ATKINS

See wikipedia for the brief history of Ann Street and its change of name as Birmingham's commercial district expanded.

Kelly's Post Office Directory of Birmingham with its Suburbs issue of 1878 p393.

London Gazette 10 June 1879 p3873.

Commercial Gazette issue of 11 Oct 1893 p19.

Solicitors' Journal and Reporter volume 50 1906 p687.

ELLEN'S PARENTS

Familysearch England-ODM GS = 815948 records in Dr Williams' Library: birth of Miriam Elizabeth Timpson. Familysearch affiliated publication number RG4_4675 gives some more detail.

CHARLES SANTLEY has his own detailed wikipedia page.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p160 entry for G A Gaskell. Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p38 entry for George Arthur Gaskell. Theosophical Society Membership Register 1895-May 1898 p221 entry for Mrs Ellen S Gaskell, with G A Gaskell as one of her sponsors. A note in the 'Remarks' column: "Rejoined see volume IX p293".

There's mention of George and Ellen in *The Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in England* by Joy Dixon. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 2001: pp71-72; p195-196.

ELLEN'S COMING NEW AGE

It's likely that in talking about the coming new age, Ellen was meaning the Age of Aquarius. The idea that the world was about to move from the Age of Pisces to the Age of Aquarius was being discussed in occult circles in Ellen's time, and other members of the GD wrote about it, especially Henry Pullen-Burry. See wikipedia for the idea of historical ages governed by the precession of the equinoxes, a concept that goes back to Hipparchus. At the bottom of the wikipedia page is a discussion of when the Age of Aquarius might be beginning: none of the dates that are mentioned suggest that it began in the age in which Ellen was living; though several suggest dates near to our own time. Most seem to think it hasn't begun yet.

THE SECRET OF HAPPINESS, the only work by Ellen that's in the British Library catalogue.

The Secret of Happiness published London: 1894 at Ellen's expense; placed by the British Library cataloguers in Philosophical Tracts 1875-94.

Reputedly there were two reviews but I couldn't get to read either of them:

- The Path volume 9 1895 p323 which is an American theosophical magazine published New York and edited by W Q Judge at the time. The reviews are not online unfortunately.
- supposedly in Lucifer September 1894-January 1895 but I must have missed it.

Music-colour theory:

At www.rosicrucian.org an article from Rosicrucian Digest number 1 2009 p31: Pythagoras and Music by Melanie Richards M.Mus, SRC

At www.hps.cam.ac.uk contents of the Whipple Library shows their copy of Newton's *Opticks* printed for the Royal Society 1704 by Sam Smith and Benjamin Walford of London. In it he suggests that the spectrum of 7 colours was governed by the same ratios as music's diatonic scale. In *Principia Mathematica* Newton describes how sound moves through the air and he was especially interested in the correlations between the colour spectrum and the diatonic musical scale.

Just noting that via google I saw a book published 1844 London: Smith, Elder and Co,

Colour-Music by D D Jameson.

At www.sacred-texts.com I found that Blavatsky had made correspondences between colours and 1) the principles of man; and 2) states of matter eg ether. Also at this website I found mention of The Principles of Light and Colour by Edwin Dwight Babbitt, which made correspondences between colours and musical notes so that C = red; and also between colours and the astrological zodiac so that Aries = pure red and so on until Pisces = violet-red. The book was published New York: Babbitt and Co 1878. I didn't see any evidence in Ellen's writings that she'd taken an interest in astrology, though; so perhaps she never came across Babbitt's book.

The Musical Exchange was very new when Ellen was using it as a postal address. Google came up with quite a few references to it covering 1894-95 but none from later:

Via newspaperarchive.com to the London Standard of 7 July 1894 p1 which is its classified ads page; and also on other days between July and December 1894 but not any later than that.

Via www.newspapers.com to The Westminster Budget of 28 December 1894 p16.

Via google to The Musical Herald and Tonic Sol-fa Reporter issues 550-561 1894 p30, p332.

Via google to Musical News volume 8 1895 p415.

UNFINISHED BOOK THE KEY OF DAVID... I note that the key of David isn't Ellen's invention. I couldn't find the book or any reference to Ellen's book on the web and it's not in the British Library catalogue either, at least not under that title and not with Ellen Atkins or Ellen Gaskell as author. She wasn't the only woman thinking along these lines: I noticed this book in the British Library catalogue: Woman's Divine Rights; or Key of David to Physical Immortality: A New Revelation by Frances C Wright, published 1910 in Philadelphia USA by the Philadelphia Order. I wonder if Ellen knew her?

ELLEN'S SECRET ASSOCIATION: the two mentions of it

1 = The Music Review editor F G Gleason; volumes 3-4 1893 p454.

2 = Werner's Magazine published Chicago: Music Teachers' National Association; volume 16 1894 p265.

The venue for its meetings:

At rcnarchive.rcn.org.uk The Nursing Record of 26 May 1892 p415.

At www.advertisingarchives.co.uk their image number 30541808 is an advert from the Ladies' Own Tea Association Ltd which appeared in The Queen, the Lady's Newspaper 30 November (unfortunately I couldn't read which year).

London Gazette 1 May 1903 p2790.

And a modern reference: Where to Take Tea by Susan Cohen. London: New Holland 2008 p41.

THE COLOURS AND TONES ARTICLE

The Theosophist volume XVI 1895 whose editor is co-founder of the Theosophical Society, Col Olcott. Published Adyar Madras: by its proprietors. Volume 16 number 2 November

1894 pp113-120 article by Ellen S Atkins: Colours and Tones. The article got a mention in Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XV September 1894-February 1895, editors Annie Besant and G R S Mead. London: Theosophical Publishing Soc. The mention was in volume 15 number 88 issue of 15 December 1894 p349 in the section where the editors commented on other theosophical and “Mystic” publications. Reviewer “HTE” described Ellen’s article as “evidently the result of much intuitional study”. Is it just my suspicious nature thinking that “HTE” was not very impressed?

ELLEN’S ‘SUPERCOOKING ARTICLE’; its four different versions

I think the Version I’m calling 1 is the earliest though I haven’t seen it yet as I’m not quite certain which newspaper it was published in, or exactly when - my source for it was a bit vague on those points. The magazine or newspaper is most likely to have been the Weekly Times and Echo - see its entry in the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature: 1800-1900 p2907-08 and also Wikipedia on Thomas Richard Allinson 1858-1918 who became its medical editor in 1885.

Version 2: English Mechanic and World of Science volume LXVI. This newspaper was owned by The Strand Newspaper Co; office at 332 Strand. Published for the Company by E J Kibblewhite. Ellen’s article is in issue number 1700 published 22 October 1897 pP222-223: When and What to Eat.

Variant 3: via archive.org to Food, Home and Garden volume 11 new series number 15 issued March 1898: p39 and p43: Super-Cooked Food. Editor Henry S Club. Published Philadelphia: Vegetarian Society of America.

Variant 4 which includes the first of the two references I have found to Ellen as a singer:

Good Housekeeping published by the Hearst Corporation; volume 26 number 5 May 1898: p216. Seen at hearth.library.cornell.edu from their set of GH back issues.

The article Ellen read on Dr Kellogg’s sanatorium was in the short-lived magazine Natural Food, issue of August 1896: E H Baker on A Model Invalid’s Hotel.

Some of the people whose work on diet Ellen mentions in the article:

DENSMORE: via archive.org to the California Digital Library’s copy of Emmet Densmore’s The Natural Food of Man with the long subtitle: A Brief Statement of the Principal Arguments ag the use of Bread, Cereals, Pulses and all other Starch Foods. Published 1890 in London and New York by Pewtress and Co of Little Queen Street Holborn and 319 West 45th Street. Densmore’s dates are 1837-1911, he was a British doctor. In the book’s Preface piv he suggests that eating starch is a cause of drunkenness; the intended readership of the book is temperance workers. On p1 Densmore had started his research on starches about 10 years previously, as an investigation into the causes of obesity.

MRS WALLACE. I couldn’t identify her though I gather from Ellen’s article that she was someone Ellen expected her readers to have heard of; so probably a writer or speaker on issues of diet.

DEWEY : at www.gutenberg.org. The text of Edward Hooker Dewey’s The No Breakfast Plan and the Fasting Cure. However, it can’t be the work by Dewey that Ellen had read because it wasn’t published until 1900 in Meadville Pennsylvania but not in Britain. Ellen must have read one if not several of his other publications:

1894 The True Science of Living

1895 The New Gospel of Health

1896 A New Era for Women

1899 Chronic Alcoholism

He has a wikipedia page.

FIRE ELEMENTAL ARTICLE

Theosophical Review which is the 1890s theosophical magazine Lucifer, renamed. Volume XXXIII number 196 September 1903 to February 1904. Editors still Besant and Mead. London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 161 New Bond Street. Chicago: Theosophical Book Concern of 26 van Burne Street. Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society. Madras/Adyar at the Theosophist offices. Theosophical Review volume 33 number 196 issue of 15 December 1903 pp347-54 article by G A Gaskell: What the Fire Elemental Told Us.

THE DEVAS ARTICLE

Theosophical Review volume XXXIV March-August 1904, editors still Besant and Mead and publishing details as per Volume 33. Theosophical Review volume 34 number 200 issue of 15 April 1904 pp110-121, article by G A Gaskell: What The Devas Told Us.

ANNIE BESANT IN INDIA ARTICLE

The Theosophist volume XXV 1904 edited by Colonel Olcott and published in Madras by its proprietors at Adyar. In volume 25 number 8 issue of May 1904 pp485-490, article by Ellen: Hinduism and Christianity.

1905 - ADVANCE PRESS

There's an entry for the Advance Press in The Reformers' Yearbook volume 13 1907 p228 as the Advance Press and Publishing Guild of 238 Upper Richmond Road.

PO Directory 1904 County Suburbs. Street directory p428 shows Edward Shuttleworth's stationer's shop at 148 Upper Richmond Road. Upper Richmond Road was re-numbered between 1904 and 1907. PO Directory 1904 County Suburbs. Street directory p358 Edward Shuttleworth's stationery business is now at 238 Upper Richmond Road. Neither issue of the Directory lists a publishing firm at the address.

Advance Press was probably founded in 1904 or 1905 with Ellen's book and pamphlet amongst its first publications. There are no publications by the firm in the British Library catalogue.

Crankiness is a 32-page pamphlet published 1905 by Advance Press as Issue 1 of its Advance Series. Although Amazon seemed to know of its existence there were no copies in stock; or at any of the other online booksellers. My partner Roger Wright stuck at the task of investigating it for longer than I did; it was he who found the reference to a copy being at Oxford University.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF GENESIS... see the full text of the verses referred to at www.kingjamesbibleonline.org and at several other bible websites.

A Woman's View of Genesis Chapter Two: 18-25. Even Roger Wright couldn't find any copies of this at all, on the web or in a library. Some copies were printed, however, and even the Times had at least one, in 1905: it appeared in A Catalogue of the Most Important Books

Available for Free Circulation Among Subscribers to the Times issued by the Times of London Book Club 1905. And there are the two reviews:

1 = Review of Reviews which is edited by W T Stead; volume 32 issue of November 1905 p503. One paragraph only. The reviewer isn't named but I imagine it's Stead himself.

2 = The Theosophist volume 27 1906. Published at Adyar Madras by the Theosophical Society. Volume 27 number 6 issue of March 1906 p468-69 review by "A Woman".

WOMEN'S SPHERE OF WORK

Westminster Review volume 167 1907 January-June p323-29 issue of March 1907, article by Ellen: Women's Sphere of Work.

ELLEN'S LETTER/ARTICLE BIBLE REVIEW

Seen via www.iapsop.com which is the webpage of the International Association for the Preservation of Spiritualist and Occult Periodicals, based at Forest Grove Oregon: The Bible Review: Monthly Journal of Christian Esotericism published by H E Butler and the Esoteric Fraternity Group of Applegate California through their Esoteric Publishing Company. The Company had an English publisher, Fowler and Co of 7 Imperial Arcade Ludgate Circus. Ellen's letter/article is signed and addressed like a letter and was printed in the Correspondence section of Bible Review volume 10 October 1911-September 1912: pp84-90. It was followed by a two-page editorial note on it, pp90-92. On p84 Ellen's letter/article was dated 13 August 1911 and written at Southsea England.

THE FREEWOMAN ARTICLES OF 1912

The full text of The Freewoman is on the web at www.modjournal.org the website of Brown University's The Modernist Journals Project. The journals there include the notorious British modernist art magazine Blast.

Syphilis article: The Freewoman volume 1 number 9 issued Thursday 18 January 1912 p176 article by Ellen: The Unspeakable.

A modern reference to it appears in:

Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860-1914 by Susan Kingsley Kent. London: Routledge 1990 p254 in her chapter: The Doctors; although she gives its publication date as April 1912 not January. There's some general information on The Freewoman at p21; p167; p217.

Votes for women article, Ellen's reply to Sir Almroth Wright: The Freewoman volume 1 number 22 issued 18 April 1912 pp438-: The Value of the Quick Unbalance of Women.

OCCULT REVIEW LETTER

Occult Review volume LXI January-June 1925; published London: William Rider and Son Ltd, editor Ralph Shirley. Volume 41 number 5 May 1925 p321 in the correspondence section, a short letter from Ellen headed: Has Humanity Attained to Superhumanity?

I'VE PREPARED A SEPARATE FILE FOR GEORGE ARTHUR GASKELL; not a biography just a list of art works and publications.

11 August 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

ART AND WRITINGS OF ELLEN GASKELL'S HUSBAND GEORGE ARTHUR GASKELL

GEORGE ARTHUR GASKELL

Not to be confused with the American Professor George A Gaskell, born 1844. See the V&A catalogue at www.vam.ac.uk/nal which has William E Henning's, *An Elegant Hand: the Golden Age of American Penmanship and Calligraphy* published 2002, about Professor Gaskell and others.

GEORGE AS AN ARTIST

Most art websites persist with DOB and DOD of 1871-1900, which they ought to have worked out for themselves are quite ridiculous. The dates must originally have been 'fl' dates because they fit very well with the dates of paintings exhibited by George at the major art galleries.

This seems to be his earliest known work: seen at website [askart](http://askart.com) and at www.arcadja.com where there were more details:

1873 Portrait of a Rabbi Holding a Book. Oil. Signed and dated. Last sold Bonhams San Francisco 2009. According to www.mutualart.com the price it fetched in 2010 was \$10,000.

Some online lists of George's later works, with some paintings listed several times and others only once.

Website www.askart.com had this list of works by George in a list of recently-sold paintings:

1874 Checking for Thorns

1894 Playing on a Breakwater

Child playing on (sic) a beach

1897 Ladies playing in the sea

Maidens stranded on the beach

are these 2 titles actually the same painting?

1900 The Cat Cradle
1901 Tea time
no date The Parasol
1910 Washing the Plant
Blossom Time

At a list www.artnet.com some of the same works have slightly different titles

1874 Checking for Thorns. Pencil and watercolour; dated.
1875 He Loves Me, He Loves Me Not. Oil; dated.
1894 Playing at (sic) a Breakwater.
1900 The Cat's Cradle. Watercolour and bodycolour; dated.
1910 Cleaning the Rubber Plant. Watercolour; dated.

Website www.artrenewal.org had

1897 Rising Spring. Had a 'last sold' date of 2002; now in a private collection.

Website www.invaluable.co.uk had

1897 Ladies Playing in the Sea. Watercolour. Signed and dated.

Website www.arcadja.com

1901 Time for Tea. Watercolour. Last sold at Bonhams Knightsbridge 2001.

This seems to be George's last known work, seen at www.arcadja.com but with more details at www.christies.com

1910 A Basket of Lilac signed "G A Gaskell 1910". Sold July 2010 for £875.

Website www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings lists four paintings definitely by him and three attributed to him. They are all portraits and were all painted in the late 1880s. The sitters were all male; none of them have any connections with the GD that I know of. All the paintings roughly same size and in oils so they may have formed a set. All seven are now in the collections of the Bradford Museums and Art Galleries. The four definitely by George are:

- * Abraham Holroyd. Accession number: 4/1887.
- * Benjamin Watson. Accession number: 6/1887, donated by the artist.
- * James Hanson. Accession number: 7/1887, donated by the artist.
- * William Byles. Accession number: 5/1911, donated by F G Byles.

The three probably by George, though clearly not signed as such, have only recently been found in the museum's basement. All the sitters are men; none of them have been identified. They are all dated 1887. Accession numbers: 2007-025; 2007-025; 2007-039.

Mentions of George in the standard reference works; which don't always agree!

The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940 gets its listings from contemporary exhibition catalogues. On p194 George Arthur Gaskell with fl dates 1885-1900. Painter of figures and domestic scenes. Addresses: Bradford 1885; Brighton 1894; London 1897. Works exhibited: 3 at the Royal Society of Artists Birmingham; 4 at the Walker Art Gallery Liverpool; 3 at Manchester City Art Gallery; 4 at the Royal Academy; 1 at the Royal Society of British Artists.

Dictionary of British Art volume IV Victorian Painters 1: The Text. By Christopher Wood for the Antique Collectors' Club 1995 p188 George Arthur Gaskell w fl dates 1871-1900. Exhibited 10 works at the Royal Academy between 1871 and 1900. The titles of 2 of them are given, neither of which figure in any of the online lists of his works: A Young Archer; and See My Kitties! Also exhibited at the Society of British Artists 1872-93. Based: London

EUGENICS

George's exchange of letters with Darwin: see the University of Cambridge's web pages at www.darwinproject.ac.uk but I got my details from A Calendar of the Correspondence of Charles Darwin editors Frederick Burkhardt, Sydney Smith and David Kohn. 1994. Catalogue numbers

- 11744 to Darwin from George Gaskell 13 November 1878
- 11745 is Darwin's reply written at Down 15 November 1878
- 11752 a reply from George to Darwin 20 November 1878.

George had two letters published in The Malthusian, the magazine of the Malthusian League. I haven't found evidence that he was actually a member of it, but I imagine he was.

- letter of 26 January 1879 printed in the issue of 2 March 1879
- letter published in the issue of March 1884 when George was living in Bradford, commenting favourably on a recent issue of the Bradford Observer in which a decline in the death-rate in the city was interpreted as the result of use of birth control.

George subsequently wrote two pamphlets for the Malthusian League - The Cry of the Poor, on sale by October 1884; and Social Control of the Birth-rate and Endowment of Mothers, on sale by June 1891. A prime mover in The Malthusian League was Dr C R Drysdale who had strong connections with the British Vegetarian Society, some of whose members advocated birth control via chastity, rather like Ellen Gaskell did.

Eugenics Review volume 21 April 1929-January 1930 published quarterly for the Eugenics Society by Macmillan and Co. Eugenics Review volume 21 number 3 issue of October 1929 p238 in the letters section: George writing from 8 Parkmore Terrace, Dyke Road Drive Brighton,

querying a review by Marie Stopes which had appeared in the ER's July issue. On pp238-39 was her reply.

George's last work was A New Theory of Heredity published London: C W Daniel and Co 1931 and reviewed in Quarterly Review of Biology volume 6 1931 p350.

Modern mentions of George's views on eugenics:

The Origins and Growth of the English Eugenics Movement 1865-1925 by Lyndsay Andrew Farrall. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc 1985.

Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birth-rate in 20th Century Britain by Richard A Soloway. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press 2nd edition 1995. This mentions a reply to George's first letter in The Malthusian, made by Edward Aveling (see wikipedia for more on him). Aveling was a member of The Malthusian League, as was Annie Besant for a while before she discovered theosophy; so George may have known both of them.

GEORGE AND WESTERN ESOTERICISM

Theosophical Review volume 30, March-August 1902; edited by Annie Besant and G R S Mead: p33 begins George's article: Green Spiritual Philosophy.

George's denunciation of the current leadership of the Theosophical Society was published as a pamphlet: Exeunt Mahatmas! London: Watts and Co 1907.

Books by George:

The Gospel Drama: Its Symbolism and Interpretation original edition published under the pseudonym John Mysticus; later editions published under the correct name. Published 1916 by C W Daniel.

There was a real person called John Mysticus:

The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign by Steven Runciman. Published Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1963; p68 in chapter Romanus's Government at Home: in 925, John Mysticus was appointed successor to John the Rector as a minister at Romanus' court.

Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions by Jacques Waardenburg. Published New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999; p132 in the chapter Mediaeval Times: John Mysticus probably met the historian and geographer al-Masudi in Damascus in 946. Al-Masudi wrote of him as a monk by training, very learned and "rather familiar with their [philosophical] systems" - by which he meant the philosophy of Greece and Rome.

The Archetypal Man: As Foreshadowing a New Scripture Exegesis published 1922 Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Fenwick and Wade. This was reviewed in Occult Review volume 40 number 1 July 1924 p64 by regular reviewer H S Redgrove. It consisted of two essays, one trying to reconcile the concept of the archetypal man with modern science; and one arguing that as all sacred myths contain a hidden symbolic meaning, readers should not concern themselves too much with detail.

A Dictionary of the Sacred Language of All Scriptures and Myths. Published 1923, London: George Allen and Unwin. It got a rather disparaging review by T Besterman, in Occult Review volume 38 number 4 issue of October 1923 p253: he disliked it on several grounds, but mainly that it was difficult to use as a reference work; and fell between two stools being not really a dictionary because it didn't define things; nor an encyclopaedia because it didn't explain things. George objected to Besterman's criticisms and his riposte was published in Occult Review volume 38 number issue of 5 November 1923 p303.

Finally a series of books all published by C W Daniel:

Genesis Interpreted Through Undermeanings Disclosed by the Language of Symbolism published 1925. This was reviewed in Occult Review volume 41 number 6 June 1925 p398 by the regular reviewer identified only as "E.M.M." who described the results of George's years of study as: a conviction that "all Scriptures are written in a common symbolic language of cosmic origin and contain a common universal wisdom"; and a belief that Jesus had not been an historical person but something George called "the indwelling Saviour of the Soul".

George's letter The Gospel Story as Allegory was published in Occult Review volume 41 number 3 March 1925: pp186-87. In it he argued that it wasn't necessary to reject large parts of the Bible as "incredible" provided that you took its stories as allegory not history.

Egyptian Scriptures Interpreted through the Language of Symbolism published 1926. This was reviewed in Occult Review volume 43 number 5 May 1926 pp 354-55 by long-serving reviewer and contributor Regina Miriam Bloch who was more positive than either Redgrove or Besterman about George's work, describing it as "valuable spadework" in its attempt to "elucidate the universal meanings" of ancient Egyptian texts.

Gnostic Scriptures Interpreted published 1927.

Hellenic Scriptures Interpreted published 1930.

24 February 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http:pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Webster Glynes was one of the first people to be offered membership of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn: he was initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in July 1888. He got as far as choosing a motto, the Latin 'Descende ut ascendas' but never followed up his initiation in any way and resigned from the Order, though the records don't say when.

This is one of my short biographies. Although I have found a lot of glancing references to Webster Glynes in a variety of different historical records, there isn't enough information on him to write a longer one.

Sally Davis

October 2016

UPDATE JUNE 2017

I was contacted a week or two ago by a descendant of Webster Glynes' nephew John Sydney Glynes, with news of Webster as a golfer; and as a poet!; and of what happened to Webster's brother Brock.

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found out about WEBSTER GLYNES.

IN THE GD

Very little. Webster was one of a group of freemasons known especially to William Wynn Westcott but probably also to Samuel Liddell Mathers. They were asked to be members so they could advise on the GD's rituals; but perhaps also to ensure their keeping silent about the Order's existence. Most of them were no more interested in the western magical tradition than Webster was; and maybe they were never expected to be active members of the Order.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

SPIRITUALISM

I haven't found any evidence that Webster was a spiritualist. However, it is hard to tell whether people were spiritualists as spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now.

THEOSOPHY

Very few of the members of the GD were involved in both freemasonry and theosophy. Webster conforms to this rule: he wasn't a member of the Theosophical Society.

FREEMASONRY

I wouldn't have dared to write this section without the help - especially the explanations - given me by two of my friends at the Freemasons' Library: Susan Snell the archivist; and Peter Aitkenhead the assistant librarian and expert on freemasonry degrees. Nor could this section have been even as intelligible as I hope it has been, without these two books, which they suggested I read:

Beyond the Craft by Keith B Jackson. Original edition 1980. I used the 6th edition, 2012, to which Jackson has added details of several orders left out of the 1st edition. Hersham Surrey: Lewis Masonic, an imprint of Ian Allan Publishing Ltd. See www.lewismasonic.co.uk

A good introduction.

A Reference Book for Freemasons. Compiled by Frederick Smyth. Published London: Quatuor Coronati Correspondence Circle Ltd 1998. Recommended by Peter Aitkenhead.

If I've still got it wrong, I suggest you try one or both of those books for the correct answers.

BEGINNINGS

Though it doesn't seem to have been a tradition in his family, Webster was an active freemason from the 1860s to at least the 1890s and possibly later, though access to records from after 1900 isn't as good as for the earlier period.

CRAFT MASONRY

The first lodge Webster was a member of, was Percy Lodge of Instruction. It was numbered 234 when he joined it, in 1859, but was renumbered 198 in 1863. In 1855 it was meeting at the Marquis of Granby pub, in Down Street near Piccadilly; it was probably still meeting there when Webster joined it. Even after he had been initiated into a fully-fledged lodge, Webster still kept in touch with Percy Lodge 198 and was a guest at its centenary festival in 1891.

Although the second half of the 19th century saw an explosion in the number of craft lodges founded, Webster belonged to very few of them. His main loyalty in craft masonry was to St Alban's Lodge 29, which he joined in 1865. As its low number indicates, it was one of the oldest craft lodges - its warrant had been issued as far back as 1728 although the name 'St Alban's' only dates from 1771. It met in the City of London; from 1867, lodge meetings were held at the Albion Tavern Aldersgate Street. It's likely, therefore, that Webster's name was put forward as a suitable lodge member by a business contact of Glynes and Son, Webster's family firm. St Alban's Lodge 29 was Webster's main sphere of freemasonry activity until the 1880s and he served as its Worshipful Master from January 1871 to January 1872; he was also Zerubabel of its Chapter though I couldn't find out in which year.

St Alban's Lodge 29 is one of the 'Red Apron' lodges. There are 19 of them, all based in London, and each of them has the right to nominate one member per year to serve as a grand steward at the annual festival of freemasonry, held each April. Though a great honour, serving as a festival steward was also a serious commitment of effort and money. It was the job of the 19 grand stewards to organise and finance the festival. Grand stewards in the 1890s could expect to pay out about £25 each towards the expenses of the evening. Grand stewards serving their year in the 1870s had to find rather less - £15-20 - but it was still serious money. It's been difficult to find evidence of how much any member of the GD earned each year; but George Frederick Rogers, a graduate of Cambridge University with five years' experience as a hospital doctor, earned £100 a year in the University anatomy department between 1900 and 1914; it's not surprising that he never volunteered to be a grand steward. Webster was the only GD member to have that privilege. His name was put forward to do a year as grand steward in April 1870. He served until the festival evening of April 1871, meaning that for three months that year he was committed to a Master-ship and a grand stewardship at the same time. A busy and exacting time!

All those who had done a year as grand steward were entitled to join the Grand Stewards' Lodge (which, unlike all other craft lodges, does not need to have a number). Webster joined the GSL some time after 1871.

FREDERICK LODGE OF UNITY 452

I discovered that Webster was a member of this craft lodge quite by accident, while

researching GD member Herbert Coryn who joined it in the late 1890s. The lodge published its by-laws and a list of current members in 1883, and Webster is shown as one of the lodge's most recent initiates. Harold John Levett, who worked in a bank, had been initiated even more recently; he too joined the GD in due course.

Frederick Lodge of Unity 452 was based at Croydon's freemasons' hall in the High Street. Members in 1883 were a mixture of those who worked in the district, and those who worked in the City. I'm not quite sure how Webster became involved in the lodge, but it may have been through two of its most long-serving members, the Ohrens brothers, who were very active in London freemasonry at this time (though neither of them ever joined the GD).

Although he was never involved with the day-to-day management of any of the masonic charities, Webster did serve as steward for the 1883 festival of the Royal Masonic Institution for Boys.

WM's and PM's of craft lodges were often invited to consecrations of lodges and other lodge festivals. Webster may have not had all that much time for this extra socialising but he did attend two consecrations that I know of: that of Caterham Lodge 2095, in May 1885; and that of Huguenot Lodge 2140 in May 1886. William George Lemon was also at the Huguenot Lodge 2140 consecration.

OTHER FREEMASONRY

As well as being a time when the number of craft lodges being founded increased rapidly, the mid-to-late 19th century was a period of great experimentation and innovation in freemasonry. In England, old orders of freemasons gained new impetus; and new orders were set up to bring into use practices and degrees already well-established in other countries, particularly the USA but also Scotland. From the evidence I've found, Webster was more interested in discovering these variations on craft masonry, than in gaining a deeper knowledge of the craft. Particularly in the 1880s and early 1890s, he joined a lot of these new or expanding orders.

MARK MASONRY

Mark Masonry came to England from Scotland in the mid-19th century. It has always been independent of craft masonry and has its own Grand Lodge; though anyone wishing to be admitted to a Mark Masons' lodge must already be a member of a craft lodge.

In 1869, Webster was admitted to the first Mark Masons' lodge to be founded in England: Bon Accord Lodge, given its warrant in 1851 by a chapter of the same name based in Aberdeen. When it was founded, it didn't have a number; as Mark Masonry expanded, it was given the number 3750. The lodge met four times a year. Webster served as its Worshipful Master from October 1888 to October 1889; so he was WM-in-waiting when he was initiated into the GD. William George Lemon, whom I've already mentioned once in this account, had preceded him as the lodge's WM. Lemon also joined the GD in 1888.

Webster was still involved in Mark masonry in 1896: at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of

Mark Masonry that December, he was one of many men present who were given a jewel. I haven't been able to discover what the occasion was; he might have been retiring.

I think Webster must have been present at the consecration of the Royal Naval Chapter 59; he was offered membership of the chapter at that meeting. I'm not sure whether that indicates he was a member of its Lodge. The lodge could trace its history back to the 18th century, but its chapter was only founded in 1884. In the few references to the lodge and chapter in the freemasonry press, I haven't seen his name as an officer of either.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS, also known as CRYPTIC MASONRY

Cryptic masonry was one of the new ideas arriving in the UK mid-century from the USA, where it is a part of Royal Arch masonry. Its Rite of Perfection, having probably been formulated in late-18th century Europe, reached England from New York and went separately to Scotland from Illinois. An English Grand Council was set up in 1873 and it had offices and held its meetings in the masonic hall at 8a Red Lion Square to start with before moving both to the new Mark Masons' hall in the early 1890s.

Webster was admitted to cryptic masonry at a meeting of its Grand Master's Council held at Anderton's Hotel in Fleet Street (a popular venue for freemasonry organisations) in May 1882. William George Lemon was already a member. The RSM was a small organisation and only two years later, Webster had climbed its hierarchy so far as to serve as its Grand Conductor of the Grand Council. There's a magazine reference to his being a member of the RSM's Grand Master's Council number 1 (a Council being RSM's equivalent to a craft lodge) but he formally resigned from it in 1889. He was still a member of the RSM in 1899, but was not attached to any particular Council and was probably not very active.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE (AAR)

This rite seems to have gone from France to the US via the West Indies in the 18th-century and then travelled back across the Atlantic to Scotland and England in the 19th. The rite is organised through a Supreme Council, which had its own Masonic Hall at 33 Golden Square in Soho. Its equivalent to the craft lodge is the Rose Croix chapter. The joining rules are strict and shed some light on Webster's beliefs: all members are required to be not only Christians but to believe in the Trinity of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost (which the Unitarians for example, do not, as their name suggests). Membership of a Rose Croix chapter is by invitation only, and all candidates must have been master masons for at least one year.

Webster had been initiated into Invicta 10 chapter by 1880 (the earliest AAR source I looked at); W G Lemon was also a member of that chapter. He was in a group of men advanced to the 30° level at a meeting of the AAR's Supreme Council in May 1883; but never rose any higher in the Rite. During the mid-1880s Webster was making his way up the chapter's hierarchy to serve as its equivalent to a craft lodge's WM - its Most Wise Sovereign. By 1889 he had got as far as the rank two below the top, First General. However, I can't find any evidence that he actually served as MWS. He must have dropped out for some reason. GD founder William Wynn Westcott joined Invicta Chapter number 10, though not until 1898 so the two men probably didn't coincide in it.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR, properly known as the Order of the Temple

Efforts by the modern Knights Templar to prove descent in secret from the order which served in the Holy Land during the Crusades have all been proved to be fake. The history and wiping out of the medieval military/religious order has undoubtedly been an important influence on the modern Knights Templar order but the modern order can't be traced further back than 18th-century Germany. Its earliest attested document, from Boston Massachusetts, is dated 1769.

Originally, groups of modern knights templar formed 'encampments' but during Webster's time the name of its basic form of organisation had become 'preceptory'. When Webster joined the order, each country was ruled over by a National Great Priory, those in the British Empire answering to a Convent General, with the Prince of Wales as its Grand Master. Both this hierarchy and the entrance requirements were changed around 1890, but when Webster was first invited to be a knight templar, all candidates had to have been master masons for two years, and be a member of a Royal Arch chapter. A belief in Christianity was more assumed than required.

Meetings of the order's preceptories were sometimes covered in The Freemason magazine.

Webster was present at a meeting of the Harcourt Preceptory number 74 in November 1883 at its regular venue, the Greyhound Hotel in Richmond; I think he was being 'installed' at this meeting though the report doesn't specifically say so. In 1886 he served his year as Harcourt 74's preceptor and in May of that year he represented it at the annual meeting of the National Great Priory, at the City Terminus Hotel at Cannon Street. Not all preceptors attended the annual meeting. Perhaps Webster had been encouraged to do so by his acquaintance at Harcourt 74, Ralph Gooding MD, who had been its preceptor in 1883 and who in due course rose to be a Great Officer in the National Great Priory. Another knight who was at the annual meeting in May 1886 was William George Lemon - it's impossible that those two men don't know each other before they join the GD. At that meeting the Great Priory's officials for the coming year were elected; neither Webster nor W G Lemon were on the list and that was the only meeting of the National Great Priory of England and Wales that Webster went to, at least up to 1900. Unlike some of the other GD members who were also knights templar, he was still a member of the Order in 1898; but a list of Great Officers covering the period to 1915 doesn't have his name in it. Perhaps he did not approve of the changes in qualifications that were put through in 1889-90. Perhaps he was just too busy with other things to do more than keep his interest at a local level.

ROYAL NAVAL LODGE/CHAPTER 59

There's no history of either the lodge or the chapter at the Freemasons' Library, so my knowledge of Webster's involvement with this group of freemasons is limited. At the consecration of the Chapter in July 1884, Webster's name was put forward as a joining member. As there's no evidence from later years of him being an officer in the chapter, I presume he turned the offer down.

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

You don't seem to need to have Scottish ancestors to be a member of the Royal Order of Scotland; as far as I know, Webster didn't have any, but he was a member of its Royal Bruce Chapter by February 1886. What you did need to be able to prove, even to be considered for membership, was that you had been a Master Mason for at least five years. Membership was by invitation only, and was much sought-after, as the ROS administers specifically Scottish, and rather ancient, degrees.

The Royal Order of Scotland has documents from the 18th-century establishing its right to be considered second in rank only to craft masonry amongst all the masonries. It is run from Edinburgh and all lodges are answerable to its Grand Lodge. In England during Webster's time, some lodges at least shared the premises of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, at 33 Golden Square in London.

In 1886 Webster must have been a member of the Royal Bruce Chapter for some time, in fact, because he was making his way to the top of its ladder of officers: at the meeting of February 1886 he was its Inner Guard; and the meeting of July 1891 was his last as its TRSTA - that is, its Tirshata, a biblical term meaning 'governor'. After the meeting, everyone went off to a banquet at Greenwich; perhaps at Webster's expense.

ORDER OF THE SECRET MONITOR

This was the last order - as far as I can see - which Webster joined. It was also the latest to be formed, at least in England, being founded in 1887. The order's rituals are based on the biblical story of David and Jonathan. There is evidence of an order based on David and Jonathan in the late 18th-century Netherlands and of several such in mid-19th century America. England's OSM was the idea of the wonderfully-named Issachar Zacharie, an English doctor who had served with the Confederate army in the US civil war before returning to London, and setting up in private practice, in 1875. Zacharie was a member of Bon Accord Mark Masons lodge, so he will have known Webster well. The meeting which led to the founding of the English OSM was held at Zacharie's house, in May 1887, and most of the early members came from Bon Accord Lodge. They all joined the OSM's first conclave, originally named Alfred Meadows Conclave 1 but from 1891 just known as Premier Conclave 1.

I couldn't actually tie down whether Webster was one of those Bon Accord Lodge members who joined the OSM's Alfred Meadows Conclave 1 when it was founded in July 1887. However, he was definitely a member when the Alfred Meadows Conclave 1 met in April 1889 at the Holborn Restaurant; and was third on its list of officers, its G (Guide). Nelson Prower was at that meeting; and was another of the conclave's officers; though more junior than Webster. Webster was installed as the conclave's Supreme Ruler at its meeting of May 1892, also at the Holborn Restaurant.

Webster did join two organisations that researched the history, mythology and symbolism of freemasonry: the craft lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076; and Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA), which wasn't a lodge or an order of freemasons, though only freemasons could join it. Both organisations were filled with men who joined the GD even if only for a short time. Most joined it in its first year - 1888 - invited by its founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers. Westcott was in both QC2076 and SRIA; Mathers was a member of SRIA and an occasional visitor to QC2076 meetings.

QC2076 was founded in 1886 and Webster went as a guest 8 November 1886 to one of its earliest meetings. Full membership of the lodge was restricted to (I think) 40 at any time; but the lodge's founders had always intended to have a large number of corresponding

members who received its journal, *Ars Quatuor Coronati*, and were welcome at meetings, but were not eligible to serve as one of its officers. Webster became a corresponding member in 1888. However, he doesn't seem to have been very interested in the lodge's investigations, was never a full member, and was no longer even a corresponding member by 1900.

Webster joined SRIA in 1886 and got onto the ladder of promotion towards serving a year as Celebrant (its equivalent to Worshipful Master) almost at once, being Torch Bearer in 1887-87; and 8th Ancient for the year 1887-88. He was made 4th Ancient for the year 1889-90; but sent apologies for non-attendance at the meeting of October 1889. He's not mentioned in the SRIA's Transactions after that, so I suppose he must have resigned. William George Lemon was already a member of SRIA in 1885; and Nelson Prover was elected a member in 1887. Both Lemon and Prover continued to be members after Webster dropped out. I may be reading too much into Webster's lack of enthusiasm; but that and his willingness to serve as an officer in many other freemasonry organisations - with all the commitment of time and money that were required - suggests that he was interested in the practicalities, perhaps even the theatricalities, of freemasonry ritual, not its theory.

Webster Glynes, William George Lemon and Nelson Prover coincide in many freemasonry organisations. William Lemon and Webster were in Percy Lodge 198. They were in Bon Accord Mark masonry lodge and William's son Frank had joined it too by 1898. They were both involved in cryptic masonry in the 1880s. They were both knights templar in that decade. And William Lemon was already in the SRIA when Webster joined it. Nelson Prover also got involved in cryptic masonry in the 1880s though later than the other two; and he joined the SRIA in 1887. Nelson and Webster were in the Order of the Secret Monitor together, something William Lemon was not a member of. Meeting so often, particularly in the late 1880s, the three men must have been well-acquainted, if not actual friends. William Lemon was a barrister and Webster a solicitor, so they may have been business associates as well as fellow freemasons.

They also were all initiated into the GD during its first few months but did not follow up their initiation. I'm not sure when Nelson Prover left - he just seemed to stop going to meetings and paying his subscription. William Lemon stayed the longest, resigning in 1893.

Webster's year as SR in the Order of the Secret Monitor seems to have been his last as an officer of any freemasonry lodge or order. It's likely that he was having to take on more work in the family firm in the early 1890s. No doubt he still attended lodge and order meetings, but he no longer had the time to commit himself to doing more.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

Sources freemasonry:

In general: Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library, accessible online at [//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum), option 'Explore'. You can also reach Lane's Masonic

Records from there; and online digitised versions of some freemasons' magazines, to 1900.

PERCY LODGE 234 (renumbered to 198)

The Freemason February 1855 p127.

The Freemason January 1891 p2, also for W G Lemon as a lodge officer.

ST ALBAN'S LODGE 29 though I note the FML catalogue also has references to a St Alban's Lodge 678.

Lane's Masonic Records.

In the FML catalogue there are records of St Alban's 29 going back to 1791.

The Freemason January 1871 p4.

GRAND STEWARDS' LODGE

The Grand Stewards' Lodge 1735-1895. The Grand Stewards and their Lodge by Colin Dyer. Published by the Lodge 1985: passim for a general lodge history; p200, pp204-05; unnumbered pages of members with joining dates, at the end of the book. This is my reference for Webster's first initiation as a freemason and the lodge he joined. Peter Aitkenhead, assistant librarian at the FML confirms that this lodge has no lodge number.

FREDERICK LODGE OF UNITY 452

By-Laws of the Frederick Lodge of Unity 452 printed by Jeffrey of Tufton Street Croydon 1883.

Inside the leaflet, a pull-out page gives a list of members as at 1883. Herbert Coryn was not yet a member; for reasons I won't go into here, I think he won't have joined before the mid-1890s and he did not remain a member for long. The lodge had a Royal Arch chapter but Webster was not a member of that in 1883.

STEWARDSHIP AT THE FREEMASON CHARITY

The Freemason May 1883 P5.

AS GUEST AT OTHER LODGES:

The Freemason May 1885 p3.

The Freemason May 1886 p7; W G Lemon and Webster at the consecration of Huguenot Lodge.

MARK MASONRY

Masonic Calendar for 1888, its 3rd year of issue; and for 1898, showing its huge expansion in the intervening decade. 1898 issue p53 for Webster as current WM of Bon Accord Lodge and W G Lemon as its IPM.

By-laws of the Regulation of the London "Bon Accord" Mark Masons Lodge; this lodge also had no number when the edition I looked at was published. First edition 1856. This edition London: 1898; p18 issued September 1898: pp3-10 for its history; p11 begins its by-laws; unnumbered pages at the end for all members so far; and members as at September 1898 -

Webster no longer being among them.

The Freemason November 1884 p8.

The Freemason July 1886 p2.

The Freemason October 1887 p14.

The Freemason December 1896 p5 report on a meeting of Mark Masonry's Grand Lodge. Webster Glynes was one of many who were presented with a jewel.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS also known as the Cryptic Rite, a reference to the basic layout of one of its rituals.

Annual Report of Proceedings of the Grand Council of RSM of Engl and Wales etc.

Issue of 1887 printed 1888 George Kenning. Just noting that at this stage 15 RSM councils were supposedly in existence; but five of those were dormant.

Issue of 1891: p3, p18 in the list of Grand Conductors of the Council, and pp20-22 its list of current members. Webster's freemason friend W G Lemon was a member of RSM and may have been responsible for Webster joining it.

Next one I read was: Issue of 1896: p3; p21.

Issue of 1899, the last one in the volume in the Freemasons' Library collection: p22, confirming Webster was still a member, though not attached to any Council.

The Freemason May 1882 p8.

The Freemason October 1889 p14.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Regulns for the Govt of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite etc etc; plus a List of Members. Earliest one is 1864.

Issue of 1880 p56.

Issue of 1885 p131.

Issue of 1888 p52, p57

Issue of 1900 p63, p225, p281.

The Freemason May 1883 p12 rpt on the quarterly mtg of the AandAR's Supreme Council. AandAR's hq is at 33 Golden Square. Mtg on 8 May [1883]. Webster Glynes was in a group of members adv'd during the mtg to level 30°.

The Freemason Feb 1889 p12 AandAR: a mtg of its Invicta Chapter number 10, at [33] Golden Sq 15 Feb [1889]. Webster Glynes, as "1st General" was the 2nd person on the named list.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR - Order of the Temple

Calendar of the Great Priory published yearly for the members of the Order. I looked through the volumes for 1872 to 1900. In 1896 the title was changed to Liber Ordinis Templi. The 1897 and 1898 issues had lists of current Order members.

1883 p10 in the list of current preceptories: Harcourt 74 Kent/Surrey meets Greyhound Inn Richmond. Warrant (not especially early) 1863. Current preceptor, Ralph Gooding MD.

1886 p30-32.

1889 pp36-37 changes to requirements for candidates passed by the National Great Priory of England and Wales; against some opposition. Nothing was mentioned about the modern requirement for a belief in Christianity.

Statutes 1890 with changes to the entrance requirements.

Ordo Templi Alphabetical List of Great Officers 1846-1915. Glynes does not appear in this book.

The Freemason November 1883 p12.

The Freemason May 1889 p9.

ROYAL NAVAL LODGE/CHAPTER 59

Freemasons' Chronicle July 1884 p10 which doesn't mention Webster as a possible joining member.

The Freemason July 1884 p9.

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

The Freemason February 1886 p13.

The Freemason July 1891 p11.

At www.brad.ac.uk/webofhiram are some pages on the Royal Order of Scotland including what looks like a full description of its Degree of Heredom ceremony.

For the meaning of 'tirshata', arrived at August 2016 by Peter Aitkenhead at the Freemasons' Library, consulting:

History of the Royal Order of Scotland by E Fox-Thomas. London: A Brown and Sons: p10.
Royal Order of Scotland: the Second Hundred Years by George Draffen 1917 p111.

Though neither book actually explained the term in so many words!

ORDER OF THE SECRET MONITOR

The Freemason April 1889 p11.

The Freemason November 1891 p10.

The Freemason May 1892 p12 with change of name of the Conclave from Alfred Meadows number 1 to Premier number 1.

QC2076

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum number 2076 published by the Lodge.

Volume I 1886-88 p25; and [p12] of the unnumbered pages at the end of the volume listing the full members, and the corresponding members, both in order of seniority.

Volume XIII 1900; unnumbered pages at end of this volume.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

Transactions of the Metropolitan College

The earliest issue in the FML's collection is that of 1885, prepared by William Wynn Westcott, future founder of the GD; as the SRIA's Secretary. The other main GD founder, Samuel Liddell Mathers, is a member and so is William George Lemon; but Webster Glynes is not.

Webster first appears in the Transactions of the Metropolitan College issue of 1886 p3 in the list of officers for the year 1886-87, as Torch Bearer, near the bottom of the list. The College had moved its meetings to the Masonic Hall Great Queen Street.

Transactions of the Metropolitan College issue of 1887 p3 notes Nelson Prower as a new member. On p5 in the list of officers for 1887-88, Webster has moved up one rung on the ladder, to 8th Ancient.

Transactions of the Metropolitan College issue covering 1889 and 1890 p3 in the list of officers for 1889-90, Webster is now 4th Ancient. However, on p8 his apologies for absence from the meeting of October 1889 were read out. I couldn't find a reference to resignation letter but I couldn't find any references to him after that meeting that he was obliged to miss. W G Lemon and Nelson Prower continued as members of SRIA after this.

For a general history of SRIA:

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

The surname 'Glynes' is very rare. For most of the 19th century the only people called Glynes who appeared on the UK census were Webster's close family, in London.

Webster Glynes was born in November 1835 in Shoreditch, the eldest child of Randall Glynes and his first wife Elizabeth Sarah, née Richards. He was named for his grandfather Charles Webster Glynes who had died a few days before. By census day 1841, Randall and Elizabeth had had three more children: John, Emily and Alice. They were living in the suburb of St John Hackney, where they employed two servants, one of whom was called Mary Mott and might be a distant relation of mine.

At some point between 1841 and early 1844, Randall and Elizabeth Glynes moved back into the City, to 8 The Crescent, America Square. One of their neighbours there was Nathan Meyer Rothschild; and the Glynes family law business may have been in rooms on the ground floor. Webster's mother Elizabeth died there in February 1844, aged 36. Randall Glynes married again after only a few months of being a widower. His second wife was Amelia Bode, whose family lived in Brighton. Randall and Amelia moved further out of London, to a house called The Rookery, at Great Ilford, Barking. On census day 1851 they were living there with a nurse and two other servants. Elizabeth Glynes' children Emily, Alice and Jessie were all at home; with Amelia's children Brock, Edward, Margaret and Charles. Webster Glynes (now aged 15) and his brother John were at the school run by Rev Arthur Jackson and his wife Matilda, at 36 Canonbury Square in Islington.

On census day 1861, Randall and Amelia were staying in Shoreham, near where their sons Brock, Charles and Arthur were all at school. They had changed their London address again and were living in a house on Stratford Green. Webster, Emily, Alice, Jessie and their half-

sister Adeline were all at the house in Stratford on census day, with two visitors, Francis Maud and his sister Lydia; and two female servants. After leaving school, Webster had become an articled clerk in his father's solicitor's practice. He was now 25 and must have been almost qualified. His half-brother Brock Glynes joined the practice in his turn. Brock was working for his father's firm in 1871 but I'm not sure for how long afterwards as I can find no information on him after that year.

Webster's sister Emily married another London solicitor, William Bruty, in 1867. On census day 1871 Webster and his sisters Elizabeth and Jessie were living with William Bruty at 37 Dorset Square Marylebone. Emily was away, but her two children - Edith and William - were at home. This was a well-to-do household - in addition to two women, the Brutys also employed one male servant and male servants were expensive. Webster, aged 35 was fully qualified as a solicitor by now and was an important part of the family law practice.

It's a pity I can't find Webster on the census in 1881 or 1891. In fact, there are fewer men called Glynes on the 1881 census than on the previous two or three, and they had few enough. The family was beginning to spread out and go abroad. Two sons of Webster's next brother, John, went abroad, William Randall Glynes to New Zealand and John Sydney to South Africa. Webster's youngest brother Arthur went to South America though he returned late in life.

Randall Glynes was widowed for a second time in 1883, when Webster's step-mother Amelia died.

Sources: censuses 1841-81. Freebmd.

See wikipedia for America Square.

At nationalarchives.gov.uk, a reference to item ACC/0159/039 held at the London Metropolitan Archive: part only of the Will of Charles Glynes of Burr Street St Botolph. The Will is dated February 1801, probate on it was granted 23 January 1804. Charles Glynes was Webster Glynes' great-grandfather. One of the executors is a Susanna Glynes, presumably Charles Glynes' widow.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 370932, 380133: Randall Glynes was born 4 January 1812 and baptised on 6 February 1812 at St Botolph Without Aldgate. His parents were Charles Webster Glynes and wife Ann.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 413282: marriage of Randall Glynes to Elizabeth Sarah Richards 27 November 1833 at West Hackney. Both parties were aged 21 (rather a low age at marriage, for the 19th century middle-classes).

At nationalarchives.gov.uk item number PROB 11/1869/69 is the Will of Charles Webster Glynes, "gentleman", of America Square; held at the Public Record Office Kew. Will dated 30 November 1836.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 396238-240: Webster Glynes was born on 22 November 1835 and baptised in 1836 at St Leonard's Shoreditch. His parents were Randall Glynes and wife Elizabeth Sarah. On the baptism record, Randall Glynes was described as a "Gentleman", giving me at least the initial impression that he was a man of independent means, who didn't work. However, evidence from elsewhere indicates that Randall was a solicitor in the family business.

Gentleman's Magazine 1844 p439 set of death notices for April [1844] included one for Elizabeth Sarah, wife of Randall Glynes Esq.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 1067117: Randall Glynes and Amelia Bode were married on 30 November 1844 at St Nicholas Brighton.

Birth of the first of Randall and Amelia's children: Familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 380134 and 380135: Randall Brock Glynes born 23 December 1845.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1472365 is a burial record Emily Bruty: 24 May 1873 in Essex.

WORK/PROFESSION

The income of Webster's family in the 19th century was based on their work in the City of London; and had two main sources. The first was the family firm of solicitors, usually called Glynes and Son; which Randall Glynes and in due course Webster and Brock Glynes joined as articled clerks on leaving school. Webster Glynes qualified to practice as a solicitor in 1862.

From the 1830s if not earlier, to at least 1869 if not later, the firm's offices were in America Square; either very near to or actually on the ground floor of the house the family lived in. By 1862 it also had premises in Stratford East - again near or in a house lived in by the Glynes - though I'm not sure how long these out-of-town offices were kept up. By 1870 Glynes and Son had got too big to fit into the America Square address and had moved to 128 Leadenhall Street. By 1871, Webster's younger half-brother Brock was an articled clerk at the firm; he later went to South Africa and died in the Orange Free State in 1874. For a few years in the 1870s Randall and Webster took another partner, and the firm was known as Glynes, Son and Church; it moved offices again, to 29 Mark Lane. Alfred Church left to set up in business for himself, in 1881, but Glynes and Son continued at the Mark Lane address until 1897. Mark Lane was near the Tower of London in a district inhabited by many small firms. Several GD members' businesses were run from offices in and around it in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including those of Francis Wright and Sydney Turner Klein, who were both dealers in flour imports; and George Cecil Jones, who worked as an analytical chemist.

Randall Glynes was the mainstay of Glynes and Son from the 1830s. He died in March 1896, aged 84 and had probably not been very active in the firm for the last few years. Webster - 61 when his father died - decided to close the firm down. Its last appearance in the Law Lists was in 1897. Webster continued to practice law on his own account; but in 1900 he cut his ties with the City even more by moving his offices to 105 Grosvenor Road Belgravia, where he was now living.

Sources:

The Law Lists, which begin in the 1850s:

Law List 1855 p155 with Randall Glynes only.

Law List 1868 p267 as Glynes and Son, and both Randall and Webster Glynes listed, at 4 The Crescent America Square, and at Stratford East.

The death of Brock Glynes: death notice in London Evening Standard 15 May 1875. Details sent to me June 2017 by a descendant of John Sydney Glynes.

Law List 1897 p423 the first year in which Randall Glynes wasn't listed. Webster Glynes, apparently in practice on his own, is at 29 Mark Lane and at Vestry Offices, New Square Minories.

Law List 1898 p430 Webster Glynes with only the New Square Minories address.

Webster's last appearance in a Law List is in the issue of 1915 p538 as clerk to Ward of Portsoken.

Information from other sources:

The Legal Observer 1837 p246 and p253 announcing Randall Glynes' qualification as a solicitor, after articles done at his father's solicitors' practice in America Square. Up until this point, the family firm was called C W Glynes.

The Weekly Notes volume 4 1869 p238 with the firm called Glynes and Son; still at The Crescent, America Sq.

Transactions of the Philological Society 1870 p4.

LG 27 September 1872 p4504 creditors' notice in the case of Robert Bolton Wilde Peel deceased. Issued by Glynes and son of 128 Leadenhall Street.

The Law Reports; Chancery Appeal Cases 1874. An indication of the kind of litigation work Glynes and Son did.

London Gazette 6 August 1875 p3988 in case of Otway v Currie. Randall Glynes is acting for Currie against Otway's executors. Glynes Son and Church are now at 29 Mark Lane.

The Solicitors' Journal and Reporter volume 25 1881 p682 announced the departure of Alfred Frederick Church and the reversion of the Glynes' firm's name to Glynes and Son.

Times 3 August 1883 p14 legal notices: Webster Glynes doing some Probate work.

Times May 1867 and October and November 1888 publish a series of legal notices showing Glynes and Co acting in various sales of property by auction.

PO London Directory 1900 law directory, solicitors p2598 has Webster Glynes at Vestry Hall, New Square, Minories EC. However, the Times 6 September 1900 p14 has Webster Glynes acting in a Probate case from offices at 105 Grosvenor Road South Belgravia.

The only reference I have to Brock Glynes working as an articled clerk is the 1871 census and that doesn't give where he was working. It's my assumption - possibly wrong - that Brock had joined Glynes and Son.

Probate Registry 1896 for the death of Randall Glynes.

London Gazette 21 August 1896 p4773 creditors' notice in the case of Randall Glynes,

deceased. Issued 19 August 1896 Duffield Bruty of 40 New Broad St, solicitors for the executors. The 'Bruty' of the solicitors' firm will have been Webster's brother-in-law, William Bruty, I presume.

VESTRY OF ST BOTOLPH WITHOUT ALDGATE; a family fiefdom

For over a hundred years, members of the Glynes family worked as clerks to the vestry of St Botolph without Aldgate and its successor, the City ward of Portsoken. That is, they handled the legal and legal-financial work of the 19th-century equivalent of a modern urban borough. The history of the parish and vestry of St Botolph without Aldgate is particularly complex, as part of the medieval ecclesiastical parish was in the City of London while the rest was outside it, as the name suggests, in the county of Middlesex. In addition, the 19th century saw the relentless expansion of urban London; law after law increasing the responsibilities of vestries; and - at the end of the century when the old local government system was bursting at the seams - a series of reorganisations of the old vestry system. It fell to the Glynes family to guide generations of elected vestry representatives through all of these, and they must have done a their task well, otherwise they wouldn't have kept the job through four (possibly more) generations.

The first Glynes that I know about to be the vestry clerk at St Botolph without Aldgate was Webster's great-grandfather Charles Glynes, who died in December 1803. Charles was succeeded in the post by his son Charles Webster Glynes, who died in November 1836. Webster's father Randall then took on the task and may have kept the job title until his death though by 1890, if not earlier, Webster was taking his share of the ever-increasing work. In 1896 when Randall Glynes died, Webster took over the top job as vestry clerk. I think he held the post at least until 1915; though at that point he may have retired and it looks as though the long connection of what was now Portsoken Ward with the Glynes family ceased.

Sources:

Via archive.org to The Churchyard Inscriptions of the City of London transcribed by Percy C Rushen. London: Phillimore and Co 1910: p31, p35 in the section on burials in the churchyard of St Botolph without Aldgate.

Times 3 July 1890 p3: "the Matter of the Churchwardens of St Botolph Aldgate", in the High Court. The dispute that had begun in April amongst the church wardens in St Botolph without Aldgate, which caused uproar at a meeting of the elected vestry members. Randall Glynes as the vestry Clerk was trying to read the Minutes of the last meeting when a noisy row broke out over who had a right to chair the current one. Webster Glynes is mentioned in the report as helping his father with the work of the vestry. The argument resulted in a legal case, over whether the decisions made at the meeting were legally valid.

Times 25 March 1904 p2 Webster Glynes acting for the ward of St Botolph without Aldgate in a case at the Guildhall, appearing for the overseers in a case of alleged non-payment of rates - a case typical of the work the Glynes family was doing for the vestry.

Times 26 September 1907 p5. The dispute that had broken out in 1890 had finally been resolved! Webster Glynes was still Vestry Clerk at St Botolph without Aldgate.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

Webster's initiation as a freemason came at the same time as he was getting involved in other activities that would take up leisure hours he'd formerly had to use for his legal studies.

In November 1858, he became a member of the Philological Society. The Society had been founded in 1842/43 and still exists for the study of comparative philology and linguistics. The majority of its members in the 1860s were clergymen and academics, with some representatives of the upper-classes. To my eye, virtually none of them looked as though they were employed in the City of London, so it was quite a filip for Webster to be elected a member. Perhaps he had shown more than passing interest in the Society's great 19th-century project, the New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, which had been set in motion in 1857 with a stirring speech from Rev Richard Chenevix Trench. Webster was still a member in 1872, the last year I could find the Society's Transactions online.

More normally for men working in the City of London in the late 1860s and 1870s, both Webster and his brother Brock Glynes were in the Essex Regiment, a voluntary militia with battalions in Ilford and Barking. In 1869 Brock had obviously just joined, as an Ensign; and Webster was a Lieutenant.

I haven't been able to discover when Webster was elected a member of the New City Club; but it won't have been before he was made a partner in Glynes and Son, because only partners and directors of City firms were even considered for membership. The Club had been founded in 1832 and was organised like a typical gentleman's club; though the Times, reporting in 1875, said that it was far better run than most! It is still at its original address, 19 Old Broad Street. By the mid-1870s Webster was one of its directors. In November of 1875 he led the delegation that called on Club member Alderman William Cotton, to congratulate him on his election as Lord Mayor of London.

There's no listing for Webster Glynes in the British Library catalogue but in 1893 he did publish one work - a poem, nineteen pages long, called *The Maiden: A Golfing Epic*. Perhaps meant to be circulated amongst the golfers Webster knew, *The Maiden* was dedicated to Dr William Laidlaw Purves, who in 1887 founded the St George's Golf Club at Sandwich in Kent, and laid out its course over the sand dunes. I haven't been able to find a list of the Club's early members, but I presume that Webster must have been one of them. The Club's Challenge Trophy was first played for in 1888; I wonder if Webster ever won it?

Given royal approval by Edward VII in 1902, and now one of the select group of golf courses that take it in turns to host the Open, St George's Golf Club was a prestigious club to belong to. However, to my mind by far the most prestigious organisation Webster was a member of was the Drapers' Company - the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London, already in existence (at least informally) by 1180 and granted its royal charter in 1364. Over 100 lord mayors of London have been members of it. Webster's association with it began as early as 1850 when he became one of its apprentices. He and his father Randall were both granted the Freedom of the Company in 1857. Webster's association with it continued for over 50 years, reaching its climax in July 1915 when - after working his way up through the various levels of Wardens - he began his year as its Master, in difficult circumstances, of course, as it was

wartime.

Sources:

VOLUNTARY MILITIAS

The Essex Almanac 1870 p53 news of the Essex Regiment of voluntary militia. This is the latest information I could find on Brock Glynes.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY

It still exists: www.philsoc.org. Fiona Marshall's article: History of the Philological Society: the Early Years can be read by following the links: pp1-3.

Transactions of the Philological Society 1858 p201 notes on the meeting of Thursday 4 November 1858. The meeting was chaired by the Society's Treasurer Hensleigh Wedgewood - Charles Darwin's brother-in-law. At the meeting it was announced that Trübner and Co would be publishing the New English Dictionary.

Transactions of the Philological Society 1864 business section pp2-6 to assess the current membership. At least at this stage, Webster was the only future GD initiate who was a member of the Society. His address is 8 The Crescent America Square.

Transactions of the Philological Society 1870-72 business section p4 member Webster Glynes now of 128 Leadenhall Street.

NEW CITY CLUB

See a wiki at wikipedia for a short history of the Club.

Times 20 November 1875 p7.

Wikipedia for the list of lord mayors of London: William Cotton 1822-1902 who owned wharves near Tower Bridge and mines in Norway and had his finger in many, many pies. He was a member of four London livery companies, though not the Drapers'.

GOLF AND POETRY

In June 2017 I found quite a few references to Webster's poem on the web; but no full texts of it. And as it isn't in the British Library, I haven't actually been able to read a copy.

Publication details from www.christies.com, - a copy was available in 2012 at Christie's in London, as part of a sale called Origins of Golf: the Jaime Ortíz Collection. The Maiden: A Golfing Epic by Webster Glynes, privately printed 1893. There's no indication of how many copies were printed. 19pp octavo. Dedicated to W Laidlaw Purves as founder of the St George's Golf Club. This particular copy was sold for £8125.

Country Life volume 23 1908 p70 had a reference to it though I think the full poem was not printed.

It's listed in The Library of Golf 1743-1966 compiler Joseph S F Murdoch. Gale Research Co 1968 p93.

See its wikipedia page for more on Royal St George's Golf Club; also the Club's own web pages at www.royalstgeorges.com, and it's also mentioned on many golfing websites.

At jmb.sagepub.com, there's a biography of William Laidlaw Purves originally published in the Journal of Medical Biography volume 5 number 4 1997; by Neil Weir. 1842-1917. Surgeon, lecturer; eye and ear specialist. Born and trained in Edinburgh. Appointed surgeon

and lecturer at Guy's Hospital 1874.

I checked the United Grand Lodge of England membership register, now at Ancestry, to see if Dr Laidlaw Purves was a freemason in England. There was no entry for him in the register, so he was just a golfing friend.

THE DRAPERS' COMPANY

See www.thedrapers.co.uk, the Worshipful Company of Drapers for its history and current (July 2016) wardens which include a woman, Lady Victoria Leatham. Via its website to www.londonroll.org where you can check the names of apprentices and freemen of all the major livery companies.

Wikipedia on the history of the Company, which has owned its current premises in Throgmorton Street since buying them from the Crown in 1543.

Times 5 August 1913 p3.

City of London Year Book and Civic Directory 1914 p161.

Times 30 May 1916 p3 with Webster nearing the end of his year as Master. The Company had held a lunch for some French academics on a visit to England. As their chief host, Webster had proposed a toast to the entente cordiale; Monsieur Joubin replied for the visitors.

The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London volume 2 1915 p5 with Webster as master-to-be.

MARRIAGE

When I was looking through issues of The Freemason magazine from the 1890s, for mentions of Webster, I noticed that there were none after 1896. The initial reason for that absence was the death of Webster's father with the mourning rituals and business that it entailed.

However, in 1898, Webster made another big break with the past: at the age of 62 or 63, he got married. His wife was an American widow aged 51, a Mrs Ella Maria Dietz Clymer; better known - usually known - as Ella Dietz.

ELLA DIETZ

There's much more about Ella Dietz on the web than there is about Webster Glynes.

Ella Maria Dietz was born in New York City in 1847, the daughter of William Henry Dietz and his wife Frances. In 1864 she married into another distinguished family, the Clymers of Berkshire County Pennsylvania. Her husband was Edward Myers Clymer III, general manager of the New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company and a director of several coal companies. They had one child, Edward Manuel Clymer (born 1869) but the marriage was not a success. An obituary of her husband in the newspaper of the town where he had begun his working life doesn't mention Ella at all. For several years in the late 1870s Ella tried to make a career for herself as an actress - something I think she would not have done if still living with her husband. And when her husband died in May 1883 - in New York, unexpectedly, of erysipelas - she was in Europe.

A reference in a book on Henry James' novel The Portrait of a Lady suggests that in 1869 Ella thought about getting a divorce. Though as far as I can tell, she never took that idea any

further, her unhappiness in the marriage did inform what she got involved in. She became very active in women's voluntary and campaigning clubs, particularly the New York-based Sorosis Society. She taught elocution and drama skills - useful for women intending to speak in public, as well as would-be actors. As women's clubs in different American cities got together to form the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Ella was a willing committee-woman and also coined the GFWC's motto - unity in diversity - using it in a speech in March 1889. She became particularly well-known for her work for women's rights, in which she was known for her use of "sweet persuasiveness" rather than the more brusque tactics of some activists.

Poems by 'Ella Dietz' were first published in American magazines in the early 1870s. In 1876 she published one musical score - a song to words by H Constable. In 1877, she published the first of the three long works for which she is best known: *The Triumph of Love*. *The Triumph of Time*, and *The Triumph of Life* followed, in 1884 and 1885. One reviewer of the second volume described it as containing "exquisite songs". However, a reviewer of the last volume thought that Ella's inspiration had begun to run out, and that she was trying too hard to be mystical. The reviews were both in the British journal *Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research* and a reference to Ella in its 1881 volume shows that she had plenty of friends in occult and mystical circles in England.

Sources:

ELLA DIETZ

At www.findagrave.com a reproduction of an obituary of Ella's husband; the name of the newspaper and the date of the article aren't given but the typeface and local knowledge in it suggest it the *Reading Eagle*. Clymer had begun his working life as a lawyer in Reading.

Ancestry's *New York Incoming Passenger Lists 1820-1957*: an Ella M Clymer arrived in New York from Liverpool on the *Gallia* on 18 June 1883.

A photograph of Ella as a young woman came up on google when I keyed 'ella dietz'. And another was at www.oldphotobank.com - as a member of Sorosis Society; taken c 1880 when Ella was President of General Federation of Women's Clubs. Photography by Sarony of 680 Broadway.

National Cyclopedia of American Biography volume 13 1906 p68.

At www.findagrave.com a reproduction of a profile of Ella published in the *Reading Eagle* of 24 November 1895. Just noting here that findagrave doesn't give details of where Ella is buried.

Familysearch: New York residents Ward 18 in 1850. I think the family is Ella's but the naming of her as 'ellEN' is a bit worrying.

Familysearch had no details of Ella's marriage or her son's birth registration. However, US Passport Applications 1795-1925 GS film number 001711012 lists an application from Edward Manuel Clymer dated 1922 on which his DOB is given as 6 May 1869, in New York City.

New Essays on The Portrait of a Lady by Joel Porte. Cambridge University Press 1990: p65. Ella is described as a friend of Henry James' cousin Minnie - Mary Temple, the daughter of Henry James' aunt Catherine.

Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter.

London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881: reference to Ella Dietz in the index; as having gone back to the USA. However, the entry had lost its page number.

Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd 1885: p173 issue of 11 April 1885; and p238 issue of 16 May 1885.

Modern reference works:

Mid Victorian Poetry: An Annotated Biobibliography by Catherine W Reilly, covering 1860-79 Mansell Publishing Co Ltd 2000: p132 listing only the first of the three volumes: The Triumph of Love: A Mystical Poem in Songs, Sonnets and Verse. London: E W Allen 1877. 176pp.

Late Victorian Poetry: An Annotated Biobibliography by Catherine W Reilly, covering 1880-99. Mansell Publishing Co Ltd 1994: p137 with her year of birth as 1856 which doesn't agree with any other source.

Works in the British Library catalogue; all under 'Ella Dietz' there's nothing under Clymer.

1876 Diaphenia Song. Music apparently by Ella; words by H Constable. London.

1877 The Triumph of Love: A Mystical Poem in Songs, Sonnets and Verse. 175pp. London: E W Allen.

1880 A Few Words on the Work of the Actor, and the Duties of Art Critics and Audiences. Originally a talk given by Ella at the Church and Stage Guild 6 April 1880. London: Women's Printing Society 1880. 22p

1884 The Triumph of Time. Mystical Poem. 227pp. London: E W Allen.

1885 The Triumph of Life: Mystical Poem. 345pp London: E W Allen.

At www.bartleby.com you can read some poems by Ella; those published in anthologies:

- O Touch Me not, Unless thy Soul... from The Triumph of Love
- Emanation
- The King's Daughter.

The last two were both in the Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse editors Nicholson and Lee 1917.

Ella as a clubwoman in the USA:

Some information on her at www.gfwcgrundywomensclub.com subtitled 'Living the Voluntary Spirit'. GFWC: General Federation of Women's Clubs whose motto is 'unity in diversity', coined by Ella Dietz in a speech at a banquet given on 20 March 1889 at the Sorosis Society (of New York). The Sorosis Society was one of the GFWC's founding women's clubs.

The Magazine of Poetry and Literary Review volume 3 1891 p432-33 is a profile of Ella, currently 5th president of the Sorosis Club.

Reading Eagle 24 November 1895 a profile of Ellas following the announcement of her election as the vice-President of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs.

WEBSTER AND ELLA

I haven't found any evidence as to when and where Webster Glynes and Ella Dietz might

have met. They might have met in the USA, though I think London is more likely; and they could have known each other for many years before they married.

Ella visited Europe several times, though neither she nor her son are on any UK census before 1901. She was definitely in England in April 1880 - she gave a talk at the Church and Stage Guild. And British Incoming Passenger Lists show her arriving in Liverpool from Montreal in June 1897; probably her last arrival before her marriage to Webster in the autumn of the following year. Webster caught the habit of crossing the Atlantic from Ella: an incoming passenger list from October 1899 has him returning - apparently on his own - from Boston to England; perhaps he now had business clients there. Another from October 1901 has both Webster and Ella reaching Liverpool from Boston; perhaps having combined business with visiting Ella's friends and relations. The trips to and from the US continued until the first World War: in June 1913, it was Ella on her own who was arriving in London from New York.

It so happens that Webster was out of the UK on the census days of 1881 and 1891 - visiting the USA perhaps - so I don't know where he was living in the 1880s. Electoral Registers at Familysearch show him living in the Finsbury/Holborn district, on the north/west fringes of the City, in the 1890s. However, by census day 1901, he and Ella had moved quite a long way west of the City, to an area where almost certainly she had more acquaintances than he. They were living in Pimlico, at 105 Grosvenor Road, on the northern embankment of the Thames; where they were employing a cook, and a parlourmaid. In 1906 they moved from there to a block of flats round the back of Barker's department store on Kensington High Street - 9 Hamston House, Kensington Court Place. On census day 1911 they were managing without any servants. This cut-back on the expense of a large house and the servants to clean it might indicate that Webster was more or less retired from work by now; it might also indicate they were husbanding their resources against the costs of Webster's progress in the Drapers' Company towards his year as Master; and it might indicate that a flat - possibly with a lift - was easier on a man in his 70s and a woman in her 60s. By this time, Ella's son Edward was also based in England. He was working as an insurance agent, and he and his wife Edith were living in Shepperton with their daughter Florence; they had a son as well but he wasn't with them on census day, probably at school in the US.

Marrying Ella took Webster Glynes into social circles he may have had little contact with before. With all her 'women's club' experience and contacts, it was not long after their marriage before Ella had become an active member of the Society of American Women in London. She served as its president in its social year 1906-07, which happened to be a particularly lively one. Ella presided over the SAWL's normal lunches at the Hotel Cecil and the Prince's Restaurant; and a "toy tea" at the Criterion Restaurant amongst other events. She also was the most senior host when the SAWL held a lunch for Elisabeth Reid and Mrs Longworth at the Hotel Cecil. Elisabeth Reid, daughter of the financier Darius Ogden Mills, was the wife of the recently-appointed US ambassador to Britain, the newspaper owner Whitelaw Reid. The Duke of Marlborough - husband of the American Consuelo Vanderbilt - was amongst the speakers at the lunch. Millicent Fawcett the suffragist was amongst the guests; together with the anti-suffragist ex-viceroy of India Lord Curzon, husband of Mary Leiter, another American heiress. Later on in Ella's year there was an International Red Cross conference; the SAWL held a lunch for some of the delegates.

Ella may have known the new ambassador's wife from New York days: a native New Yorker, Darius Ogden Mills returned there after making his fortune in California. Mr

and Mrs Whitelaw Reid arrived in London to take up their appointment in 1905; Whitelaw Reid died in post in December 1912. During their tenure, funded by Elisabeth Mills Reid's family money, they entertained on an epic scale. Their 4th July garden parties were legendary, with as many as 5000 people invited. Although the Glynes were not of sufficient social standing to get asked to formal dinners at Dorchester House, where the Whitelaw Reids had set up home, they might have been invited to more informal dinners if Elisabeth and Ella had been friendly enough. Webster and Ella were often amongst the hundreds of guests at the Reids' receptions.

As a published poet, Ella also became a member of the Author's Club. In March 1909 she and Webster were at a dinner held by the Club at the Hotel Metropole to commemorate the life of Edgar Allen Poe. The other guests that evening included Arthur Conan Doyle; Mrs Humphrey Ward and her husband; and Dr John Todhunter, playwright and former member of the GD.

And as if all this socialising weren't enough to be going on with, in 1911, Webster began the four-year climb up the hierarchy of the Drapers' Company towards his year as Master; with all the engagements at Drapers' Hall, that that entailed.

Sources:

Light: A Journal Devoted to the Highest Interests of Humanity, both Here and Hereafter. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 4 New Bridge Street Ludgate Circus. Volume 1 January-December 1881 reference in index.

Ancestry's Incoming Passenger Lists: arrivals in Liverpool from Montreal 3 June 1897. I couldn't see any reference to Ella's son; so I suppose she was on her own.

Ancestry's Incoming Passenger Lists: arrivals from Boston 19 October 1899.

Ancestry's Incoming Passenger Lists: arrivals in Liverpool from Boston 20 October 1901.

Ancestry's Incoming Passenger Lists: arrivals in London from New York 17 June 1913.

At Familysearch, some electoral register information on Webster, indicating where he was eligible to vote. He's sometimes in two lists in the same years, because he would have been a voter in the City of London while he had offices there.

City of London: 1891 to 1912 with a gap between 1899 and 1907.

London Borough of Finsbury/Holborn: 1890 to 1899.

London Borough of St George Hanover Square: 1901 to 1903.

London Borough of Kensington: 1906 to 1912.

Webster and Ella on the social circuit:

Times 4 March 1902 report on the 3rd annual luncheon of the Society of American Women in London; at the Prince's Restaurant Piccadilly.

Times 8 May 1906 p10 Court Circular. During Ella's year as president.

Times 30 June 1906 p11 SAWL's lunch for Elisabeth Reid.

Times 11 June 1907 p9 SAWL's lunch for delegates to the International Red Cross Conference.

Times 14 December 1907 p10 Court Circular. SAWL's "toy tea" at the Criterion Restaurant; with Ella still as its president. The Times noted that SAWL had been founded in 1899; perhaps Ella was one of the founders. It now had 150 members.

Times 8 July 1908 p15 Court Circular: Mr and Mrs Webster Glynnes amongst the 2000 guests at a

typically large-scale reception by Whitelaw and Elisabeth Reid; for the American bishops who had been attending the Lambeth Conference.

Times 2 March 1909 p10 "Mr Webster Glynnes and Mrs Glynnes ('Ella Dietz')" at the Authors' Club dinner.

City of London Year Book and Civic Directory 1914 p161.

WHITELAW REID and wife ELISABETH

See wikipedia for Whitelaw Reid, owner of the New York Tribune. And for the father of his wife, Darius Ogden Mills, California-based banker and financier and one of America's wealthiest men. Whitelaw Reid married Darius' daughter Elisabeth in 1881; in New York City with a reception some time later at the Mills family's estate outside San Francisco. The Whitelaw Reids had served as ambassadors to France 1889-92. Whitelaw Reid was appointed to the UK by President Theodore Roosevelt; he presented his credentials to Edward VII in June 1905. Whitelaw Reid died in London in December 1912.

See also //burlingamefoundingfamilies.wordpress.com for Elisabeth Mills Reid "Legendary for her parties as well as her philanthropy".

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN WOMEN IN LONDON

Dictionary of British Women's Organisations by Peter Gordon and David Doughan. London: Woburn Press 2001 p133 which gives the year of SAWL's founding as 1896. It was affiliated to the GFWC in America. Its premises were at 5a Pall Mall East.

Two biographies of Lou Henry Hoover mention it, as she was a member. Lou Henry Hoover was the wife of mining engineer and entrepreneur Herbert Hoover, president of US 1929-33. See wikipedia for information on both of them.

An Independent Woman: The Life of Lou Henry Hoover by Anne Beiser Allen. Westport Connecticut and London: Greenwood 2000 p53. Lou joined SAWL in 1908 so she would have known Ella.

Lou Henry Hoover: A Prototype of First Ladies by Dale C Mayer. Hauppauge New York: Nova Science Publications 2011 p171 which reads as if Lou was President of SAWL in 1915.

DEATHS OF WEBSTER AND ELLA

At the end of his year as Master of the Drapers' Company, Webster was 80 and probably looking forward to a quieter time. He finally gave up all his legal work in 1915. He died, at home in Hamston House in the autumn of 1919. Although that much younger, Ella survived him by only a few months, dying in January 1920.

Sources: freebmd; probate registry records for Ella Glynnes; there's no entry for Webster.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

31 October 2016

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Frederick Charles Gobert was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 22 June 1899. He chose the Latin motto 'Nil scis quod scia'. Eliza Augusta Venner Morris was initiated on the same evening but I don't think they knew each other. Their social backgrounds were so different that the only way they might have met before, would have been as employer and craftsman. The lack of records means that I don't know whether Frederick was a keen GD member or whether he let his membership lapse after only a short time. He was not initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order; he didn't play any part at all in the upheavals that shook the GD between 1900 and 1903; and he didn't join either of the GD's daughter orders, Stella Matutina or the Independent and Rectified Rite.

This is one of my short biographies. I've found very little evidence about Frederick Gobert's life, most of it the 'family history' type.

Sally Davis

March 2016

This is what I have found on FREDERICK (or possibly FREDERIC) CHARLES GOBERT.

IN THE GD

Records are sparse for the GD's London temple after 1897 when William Wynn Westcott resigned as administrator. Of course, records will have existed, but they haven't survived. As a result it's rather hard to tell how far members initiated after 1898 advanced as occultists; or even where they were living while they were members. I think, though, that Frederick Gobert did not reach the level of study that would have allowed him to be initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order.

As to who he knew in the GD who recommended him as a possible initiate: I have no idea.

Sources: see the main Sources section below.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Not that I have found. Unlike many GD members, he was not a member of the Theosophical Society. And the Freemasons' Library catalogue has no mention of him; meaning that if he was a freemason, he kept his involvement very local.

Sources:

For his not being in the TS: TS Membership Registers 1890-1900.

For his not being a prominent freemason: he's not in the catalogue of the Freemasons' Library; though records of lodges are held by the lodge themselves.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Frederick's parents were William James Gobert and Mary Charvet, who married in Stepney in 1864. Both surnames are rare in the UK. On the 1911 census there were less than 40 people called Gobert, and most of them were Frederick's close relations. There don't seem to be many Charvets either. Though William James was born in Bethnal Green and Mary in Bermondsey, the surnames sound French to me. I cautiously suggest that the ancestors of both of them had been French Protestants.

While searching Ancestry and freebmd for people called Gobert, I noticed an Isaac Gobert who died in Bethnal Green in 1870, aged 63 - perhaps William James' father. And one of the other male Goberts on the 1911 census was a George Gobert born in Bethnal Green in 1842; perhaps William James' brother.

William James was born in 1839. I couldn't find a birth registration for Mary Charvet, but she must have been born around 1844-45.

William James Gobert was a cooper - a skilled job. He worked in breweries - obviously - but it's impossible to say from the available data whether he had one employer during his working life, or several. He and Mary began their married life in Shoreditch; by 1867 they had moved south of the Thames to Bermondsey; in the early 1870s they were back on the north side of the river, in Stepney; before moving south of it again by 1875, to Camberwell. William James and Mary had the large family associated with mid-Victorian Britain: Catherine Eleanor born 1865; Evelyn Mary born 1867; Caroline Elizabeth born 1868; Mary Isabel born 1870; William Charvet - the first son after four daughters - born 1871; Frederick Charles the GD member, born 1873; Eleanor Maud, born 1875; Thomas Alfred, born 1877; and Harry George, the youngest, born 1879. There was also Alfred James, who was born in 1872 and died either at the birth or shortly afterwards.

On census day 1881, the Goberts and their nine surviving children were living at 82 Flaxman Road Lambeth. They had a lodger, Eleanor Hughes, a widow who was working as a needlewoman. A few weeks after census day, Mary Gobert died aged 36; worn out, I should imagine, by at least ten pregnancies in 14 years and all the heavy work of caring for the children. Frederick was seven when his mother died. In 1887 his grandmother, another Mary, died in Limehouse. William James Gobert was her executor - not that she had a great deal to leave. By that time, William James and his children had left Lambeth and were living at 17 Northway Road Brixton.

In 1890, William James Gobert got married again, to Elizabeth Wear. When they married, Elizabeth was 41; she and William James didn't have any children. Elizabeth moved in to 17 Northway Road and this is also where Frederick was living on census day 1891. He had left school, and was apprenticed to a carpenter. His younger brothers Thomas and Harry were still at home; and so were three of his sisters - Catherine, who was between jobs; Caroline, who was working as a dressmaker; and Eleanor. The younger members of the family had been able to take advantage of the 1870 Education Act: Thomas was still at school at age 16; and Eleanor had gained sufficient education to train as a teacher. On census day 1891 she

was working in a school; later she confirmed that she was employed by a County Council, probably London County Council (the LCC) but possibly Middlesex.

Sources: freebmd; census 1881, 1891; Probate Registry entries 1887.

WORK/PROFESSION

Frederick finished his apprenticeship and worked as a qualified carpenter. In 1911 he was employed by a building firm - that is, he was not self-employed. I suppose it might have been the same firm that his brother Harry George later worked for as a manager, though in 1911 Harry George was working in the offices of a hardware and ironmongery firm.

With the younger children in the family getting rather more schooling than their elders, in the late 19th and early 20th century, Frederick's siblings straddled the class system. On the day of the 1901 census, Harry George and Eleanor were doing work that would place them in the lower-middle-class. The older girls, having left school before the 1870 Education Act was rolled out, were restricted to working as dressmakers or servants: work typical of the working-class woman. And William James and Frederick were on the cusp of the classes - working with their hands, but as trained artisans.

By 1901 Frederick was no longer living with his father and step-mother. On census day 1901 - about 18 months after his GD initiation - he was lodging with John Stone and his wife Mary, at an address I couldn't read but the road is in the Wandsworth/Streatham area. By 1911 he was one of two lodgers in the household of Fanny Godbold at 25 Vining Street Brixton. Fanny Godbold was a widow. She wasn't well-educated and had trouble filling in the census form - the first which the head of household had to complete by themselves. She had had 11 children; only four were still alive and only one of her daughters was still living with her. She'd had a hard life and the hard times were continuing: as well as having lodgers, Mrs Godbold took in washing to help make ends meet.

William James and Elizabeth Gobert had moved to 9 Wellington Road Stockwell, where some at least of their children were still living in the 1940s. On census day 1911 Evelyn, Eleanor and Harry George were living with them. Evelyn was at home between jobs; Eleanor and Harry George were still in the jobs that they had had in 1901. Catherine and Mary Isabel were living elsewhere, working as servants. Catherine was the only servant in the household of John Abraham Ore and his niece, at 93 Elm Park Brixton; and Mary Isabel as nursemaid to the two small children of Rev Thomas Gilling-Lax and his wife, at St Thomas's Vicarage, Stourbridge in Worcestershire, a household where there was also a cook and a housemaid.

Mention of a Church of England cleric as an employer of Frederick's sister is perhaps the right place in this biography to say that the Goberts were Anglicans: in 1911 an employee and representative of the established church was not likely to take on a non-Anglican to look after his children. More confirmation - see below - Frederick's brother Thomas Alfred is buried in an Anglican cemetery.

William James Gobert was still working as a cooper in 1911; and he probably continued to work until his death early in 1914.

Sources: census 1901, 1911; freebmd.

DEATH

Sources are lacking for Frederick Charles Gobert in between census day 1911 and his death. Apart from the fact that he didn't marry, I don't know what happened to him: what he did in world wars 1 and 2; whether he was out of work in the 1920s or the Great Depression; when or if he was able to retire; where he lived and who if anyone he lived with - all unknown.

Frederick Charles Gobert died in April 1947 in St Francis Hospital East Dulwich. He'd been taken to hospital from his usual address, 28 Kemerton Road Camberwell, near Denmark Hill. His brother Harry George was his executor; as he was with many other family members. As far as I can tell, Frederick never married; and thereby hangs a rather curious tale about his family.

Sources: google searches which came up with nothing about Frederick's life; Probate Registry 1947.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

The only child of William James and Mary Gobert who married was Thomas Alfred; and he was also the only child who left England. He went to Canada, where he married Emily Hannah Griffin. He died in Canada in 1951. A quick look on google hinted that Thomas and Emily do have descendants - the only descendants of all William James and Mary's ten children.

Frederick's brother William and his sisters Mary Isabel and Catherine Eleanor were living at 9 Wellington Road Stockwell when they died, unmarried; William in 1936; Mary Isabel in 1942; and Catherine Eleanor in 1947. Unlike Frederick, none of the three of them left a Will. Harry George sorted out their small estates. Harry George and Caroline moved to Worthing, perhaps when Harry George retired; neither of them had married. Caroline died in 1951; and Harry George in 1964.

Sources: freebmd for marriages of Frederick and his siblings: I found none. Probate Registry entries though not for Caroline or Harry George.

At //billiongraves.com a photo of a headstone in St Mark's anglican cemetery Niagara-on-the-Lake Ontario; Thomas Alfred Gobert and his wife Emily Hannah née Griffin. His dates given as 21 July 1876 to 6 November 1951.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the

large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

31 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Thomas Myles GOLDIE was initiated into the Golden Dawn in March 1898 and took a motto that R A Gilbert couldn't read in full but guessed was the Latin 'Sibi Experiosas'.

By 1898 the GD record-keepers were not noting down initiate's addresses. So when I found two men called Thomas M Goldie on the 1901 census I didn't have any extra information to pick either one of them as the GD member; and of course, the GD member might have been someone else entirely.

Another one of my failures.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Alfred J HAILEY who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in November 1892, choosing the Latin motto 'Carpe Diem'. His membership had lapsed by 1903: that is, he had gone three years without paying the sum all members contributed towards rents, materials and other bills. At the date of his initiation he was living in the relatively new London suburb of Willesden, at 26 Bruce Road Stonebridge.

I couldn't identify Alfred on the census either in 1891 or 1901. I usually use the census as a way in, with GD members, as if you find the right person, you can get their age, parents' names if they're still living at home; or their spouse's name if they're married; and their profession if they have one. Without this information it is a lot harder to identify birth and death records for them; and I didn't identify Alfred's date of birth or date of death.

I did find just one piece of information that might say what Alfred did for a living. Via Google Books I got to the Navy List 1887 which lists an Alfred J Hailey, not as a serving seaman but as an Assistant Clerk. By his name were two dates, and from the way information is laid out in this type of Government Issue list, I would presume them to be the date he was appointed (15 January 1886) and his first day at his current post (19 February 1886). The problem was that I couldn't find his name anywhere on any subsequent Navy List (they were published more or less every year); perhaps - as the number of them grew - the Navy List didn't bother to publish all the names of its clerks, it just stuck to those who were serving on its ships. It's not really likely that Alfred resigned from the Navy office after only a few months and got another job - people tended to stay much longer in the same job in the 19th century. So IF the Navy List Alfred J Hailey was the GD member, I cautiously suggest that during the 1890s, and probably for the rest of his working life, Alfred was working in the offices at the Admiralty.

I do know, though, that he was a member of the Theosophical Society (TS) - when he applied for membership in 1891 he was living at 37 Buckingham Gardens West Kensington; but later he gave the same address in Stonebridge that he gave the GD. The TS was subdivided into lodges and most people joined the lodge nearest to where they lived or (more commonly with men living in London) nearest to where they worked. Alfred started out in the TS as a member of its Blavatsky Lodge, whose meetings were held at the TS headquarters in Regent's Park, and whose members included many who knew Helena Petrovna Blavatsky personally. He may have met Blavatsky himself in his first few months as a member, as she didn't die until 1892. By late 1892, however, Alfred had moved to Earl's Court lodge, where he was very active, sponsoring new members and acting as lodge secretary. For about a year. Then the TS was torn in two by a dispute about who if anyone should hear from Blavatsky's mahatmas now that she was dead. During her lifetime they had communicated with no one but her, and it had been an important part of her mystique that this was so. Within a year of her death, William Q Judge had begun to claim that now the mahatmas were in touch with him. The hierarchy of the TS in Britain was adamant that Blavatsky had been unique, and that anyone else claiming to have had communications from the mahatmas was a fraud. A note on Alfred's membership details at the TS headquarters shows clearly that he did not agree with that view - which did prevail, at least in Britain. With many others who ended on the wrong side of the dispute, Alfred let his membership of the TS lapse.

WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? When I started looking through the Theosophical Society membership books I quickly realised that the TS was a very good recruiting ground for the GD, at least in the early 1890s. Alfred would have met (unknowingly, of course) several members of the GD at meetings of Blavatsky Lodge, but I think it's quite likely that the person who mentioned his name to the leaders of the GD may have been ALICE GORDON, of Earl's Court TS lodge.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

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Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

If it's him: Navy List 1887 p27. And several later Navy Lists; in which he did NOT appear.

Particular sources for Theosophical Society members: TS membership books, kept at the TS headquarters building at Gloucester Place London W1. TS magazine Lucifer which was published between 1887 and 1897; it had a news section giving details of talks and lectures due at the various TS lodges.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

James Handyside and his wife Lucy Handyside were initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on 24 September 1895 at its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh. James chose the Latin motto 'Ab oro usque ad mala' and Lucy the Latin motto 'Omne trinum perfectum'. They don't seem to have followed up their initiations by getting more involved.

This is one of my short biographies. I haven't found out much about James and Lucy Handyside. However, what I have found out about them suggests that they were friends of William Charles Hopgood, who was a GD member in Bradford.

My short biographies mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too

short!

Sally Davis

May 2017

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on JAMES HANDYSIDE and his wife LUCY HANDYSIDE née Hurt.

IN THE GD

The basic records of the Handysides' initiations were kept at the GD's headquarters in London. The records of the Amen-Ra temple were destroyed in 1901, but I think that if they had remained in the Order long enough to undergo the second initiation, to its inner 2nd Order, we would know about it.

Like almost all of the GD members in Edinburgh, the Handysides joined as members of the Edinburgh Lodge of the Theosophical Society. From the TS records it's clear that theosophy was their main interest.

THEOSOPHY

James and Lucy Handyside applied to join the Theosophical Society in March 1893. At that time, all applicants had to have two sponsors who were already TS members. The Handysides' sponsors were George L Simpson; and Andrew Petri Cattanach who was a very committed member, acting as the Edinburgh Lodge's secretary and librarian. Although Lucy Handyside didn't act as anyone's sponsor in the future, James joined with George L Simpson to sponsor two other applicants, and with Andrew Cattanach to sponsor one. I think all three men were friends and this is where William Charles Hopgood comes into the picture - not as a member of the TS in Edinburgh, but as a friend of James Handyside since the mid-1870s, when Hopgood was studying medicine at Edinburgh University. See my file on William Charles Hopgood for John Hepburn Handyside, a mentor to Hopgood and probably a relation of James Handyside though I haven't been able to prove quite how.

The Handysides continued to be members of the TS through two great crises in the organisation, crises in which a good proportion of the members left. They also kept up their membership through a move to Glasgow, and then a move back to Edinburgh, in the years around 1900. James was still a member at his death. Lucy continued to pay her annual subscription until March 1909, when she was one of another large group of members who resigned when Annie Besant was elected president-for-life and reinstated Leadbeater, about whom there had been so much scandal a few years before.

FREEMASONRY

Scottish freemasonry has its own headquarters in Edinburgh. I would need to go there to discover whether James Handyside was a freemason. However, I think not: my researches into the members of the GD have shown that very few men were both freemasons and

theosophists.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

Theosophical Society Membership Register Sep 1891-January 1893 p214: entries for James Handyside and Lucy Handyside.

James' sponsorships of new applicants:

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p143 June 1894: application of March Cochrane, later Mrs Cuthbertson, of Edinburgh. Second sponsor: George L Simpson.

Theosophical Society Membership Register March 1895 to June 1898 p123 November 1896: application William E MacFarlane of Birkenhead. Second sponsor: George L Simpson

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 p96 May 1899: application of Miss Annie Mills of Edinburgh, later of New York. Second sponsor: A P Cattanach.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

JAMES HANDYSIDE

I thought for a brief period that Dr John Hepburn Handyside was a younger brother of James Handyside's father Robert. However, such census information as I have found for Robert Handyside, father of James, suggests that the relationship is not as close as that: John's brother was born in Edinburgh; James' father was born in Lauder in Berwickshire.

James Handyside was the elder son of Robert Handyside of Lauder, and his wife Catherine, née Cruickshanks, who were married in Edinburgh in 1842. James was their second child, born in Edinburgh in October 1845. He had an older sister, Agnes, and a younger brother, Robert.

Robert Handysides had probably started his working life as a footman but by 1851 he was working as a butler. He was actually with his family on the day of the 1851 census, at 48 Pollerrow Edinburgh St Cuthberts; meaning, I suppose, that his current employer lived either in the city or just outside it. The Handysides had a lodger, James Lindsay, a tailor from Forfar. There were no live-in servants.

On the day of the 1861 census, Robert Handysides was not with his family, he was at Newton House, Tibbermore, just outside Perth, where he was the most senior member of a staff of seven servants. The name of the head of the household has been rendered by Ancestry's transcribers as 'Henrietta Austerlong Spener', which I'm fairly sure is incorrect; she was living at the house with her two children. Catherine Handyside and her children - Agnes, James, and Robert (who was three) were now at 14 William Street, Edinburgh. Agnes and James had left school. I think the transcription of Agnes' occupation can be translated as 'hatmaker's assistant'; and James had been apprenticed to a draper. Again, Catherine Handyside had a lodger, a woman this time: Janet Alexander, who taught needlework.

I couldn't see James' father on the 1871 census in Scotland but he wasn't at home with his family. Catherine had moved a few doors down the street, to 9 William Street, and she had five boarders so I think you can say she was now running a boarding house. James and Robert were still living at home. Robert was at school, James was working in the office of one of Edinburgh's doctors, and I wonder if that's how he met William Charles Hopgood.

LUCY HURT

Despite the references to her name as Hurte with an 'e' in the Scottish Probate records, Hurt without an 'e' is how Lucy was registered.

Lucy Handyside was born in 1848, daughter of William Hurt and his wife Jane, née Redfern. I only found Lucy on a census once before her marriage. On census day 1851 she was living with her parents in Misterton, a village in Nottinghamshire, north-west of Lincoln. William Hurt was the minister of the village's baptist church.

William Hurt is listed in the 1851 Religious Census; but then he and his family seem to disappear from the records. I couldn't find them on the censuses for 1861 and 1871; I tried with Hurt, Hurte, Hunt and even Hart, with no success. I wondered if William Hurt had died; but there were more death registrations 1851-71 than I expected for men with that name and I couldn't identify any of them as Lucy's father. I don't know what happened to Lucy Hurt between census day 1851 and census day 1881.

Sources: censuses 1851-71, freebmd birth and marriage records.

Handyside:

Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1066692: marriage of Robert Handyside to Catherine Cruickshanks, daughter of George Cruickshanks, 29 April 1842 in the parish of Edinburgh.

Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1066695: baptism record of James Handyside, son of Robert and Catherine. Born 16 October 1845 in parish of Edinburgh.

Topographical Dictionary of Scotland volume 1 1846 p633/647 has Newton House Tibbermore listed. At www.carehome.co.uk it's now a care home.

Hurt:

At www.nottshistory.org.uk p11 of the 1851 Religious Census. Entry for the Baptist Chapel at Misterton. Built before 1800. Current minister William Hurt. Congregation: 21 in the afternoons; 18 in evenings.

WORK/PROFESSION

James Handyside married Lucy Hurt at some time during the 1870s. There's no registration of the marriage on freebmd, so I presume they got married in Edinburgh.

If James Handyside finished his apprenticeship at the drapers, he didn't ever work in a draper's shop. Nor did he stay long working in the doctor's surgery. By 1881 and still in 1901, he was employed as a book-keeper in the offices of an Edinburgh coal merchant.

In 1881 James and Lucy Handyside were living at 6 Gladstone Terrace. At that point they

didn't employ any live-in servants. By 1891 they had moved to 7 Maxwell Street, Morningside Road, and were employing the basic one general servant. On census day 1901, James was still working for a coal merchant - presumably the same coal merchant as before - but he and Lucy were now in Glasgow, at 3 Arundel Drive. They had no live-in servant on that day; perhaps they were between servants, or had preferred to spend the money on a larger house in a better district. The stay in Glasgow was, or turned out to be, temporary. By 1905 they were back in Edinburgh, first in 27 South Clerk Street and then in 19 West Nicolson Street.

DEATH

James Handyside died in June 1905, Lucy in November 1931. James hadn't made a Will, so perhaps his death was sudden. Lucy had learned from earlier mistakes and made her own Will in 1921. Her executor was Ada Blanch Mellor, a neighbour on South Clark Street. I don't think Lucy and James had had any children.

Sources:

Scottish Probate Calendar 1876-1936:

Entries from 1905: James Handyside, died 27 June 1905.

Entries from 1931: Lucy Hurte or Handyside, died 7 November 1931.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD members who were freemasons, the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England is now available via Ancestry: it gives the date of the freemason's first initiation; and the craft lodges he was a member of.

To take careers in craft freemasonry further, the website of the the Freemasons' Library is a good resource: //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources.

You can get from the pages to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

To put contemporary prices and incomes into perspective, I have used www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare which Roger Wright found for me. To help you interpret the 'today' figure, measuringworth gives several options. I pick the 'historic standard of living' option which is usually the lowest, often by a considerable margin!

9 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

E Heywood PURKIS who was one of the first people to join the Golden Dawn, being initiated in April 1888 and taking the Latin motto 'Nascitur non fit'. He resigned in 1890.

I know nothing about this person, not even his or her gender. Though I have supposed all along that it was a man, that may be wrong and have led me up the garden path as regards finding out anything about him. I have to say that his or her address at the time of their initiation made my heart sink - Charilley sur Clarens, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland. So I haven't really tried all that hard to hunt him or her out. The only thing I would say - and that very cautiously - is in answer to my query WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? Most of the earliest members of the GD were acquaintances of William Westcott

and (to a lesser extent) Samuel Mathers through freemasonry. However, I couldn't find any references to an E Heywood Purkis at the Freemasons' Library, as being a member of any of the freemasons' lodges Westcott was involved in; and no one with that name was a member of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia either.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Luther Hill was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford on 19 November 1891. He chose the Latin motto 'Sequor'. He was never an active member and resigned, probably quite soon after his initiation.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources

in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

March 2016

This is what I have found on LUTHER HILL.

IN THE GD

Luther didn't follow up his initiation.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes. Like most members of the GD in Bradford, he was a member of the Theosophical Society.

He'd applied to join the TS in April 1891. At that time, all applications had to be sponsored by two people who were TS members already. Luther's sponsors were Thomas Pattinson and William Hall Grason. I haven't found out much about Grason, but Thomas Pattinson was an important member of the TS in Bradford and a founder of the GD's Horus Temple; he and GD founder William Wynn Westcott had known each other since the mid-1880s if not earlier.

Luther Hill remained a TS member from 1891 to 1897. Whereas the GD was organised into temples, the TS was organised into lodges, with the major English towns having at least one lodge in the early 1890s. There were two lodges in Bradford but for some reason, Luther chose to be a member of the lodge in Liverpool; I suppose he had friends there, or business acquaintances.

Luther kept a low profile and did not take sides in a dispute which all-but-destroyed the TS in England in the mid-1890s. However, in 1897 he let his membership of the TS lapse.

Source: Theosophical Society Membership Register volume covering January 1889-September 1891 p212.

Just noting that Luther's wife Lucy Hannah was never in the TS or the GD.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Luther Hill was born in Bradford Yorkshire in 1864. He was the youngest child of Walker Hill and his wife Susannah (née Cook). He was given the same name as a child of Walker and Susannah who had been born in 1858 and died aged only a few months. Luther Hill born 1864 had three older sisters.

The Hill family were involved in the cloth trade in Bradford. In 1861, Walker Hill was a stuff-finisher and foreman in a wool mill. By 1871 he had left the mill and started his own business as a draper and cloth dealer, probably at 118 Westgate in Bradford, where the family

were living on census day 1871. All Luther's older sisters were working by 1871. Eliza (aged 20) was a French-polisher, Clara (18) and Miranda (13) were both working as factory hands in a worsted mill. Susannah told the 1871 census official that she was a "draper's wife"; which I take to mean she worked in the shop.

By 1881 the Hill family had moved to 51 Sedgewick Street, though I don't know whether the shop was elsewhere or they were still living above it at the new address. Clara and Eliza were still living with their parents; they both said they were married, but their husbands were not living with them. They were both working: Clara Roper was a worsted weaver now; and Eliza Dunn was a cook. Clara Roper's son, aged 5 months, was also in the household. Luther Hill, now 17, was also still living at home. He was working as a warehouseman in a stuff-making mill.

Sources: census 1861, 1871, 1881; freebmd; and

Family history web page halsteadresearch.org.uk, which has good sources for its information: Walker Hill (born 1826) married Susan (sic) Cook, at St Peter Bradford on 29 October 1853. There are some details of Luther Hill's elder sister Clara (born 1853) on this web page; but nothing on his other sisters, Eliza and Miranda.

Just noting that 'susan' isn't right, for Luther's mother: freebmd and various census forms have 'susannah'.

EDUCATION

On the 1871 census Luther was described as "scholar"; so he was at school. Probably he went to the local National School.

WORK/PROFESSION

On the 1891 census, Luther described himself as a stuff cloth dealer. There's some evidence from later (see below) of a firm trading as 'Luther Hill'. On the 1901 census there's a bit more detail about Luther's business; or perhaps he had expanded its range. He's described as a stuff and cloth seller, and skirt manufacturer. The skirt-making may have been done by his wife.

Sources: census 1891, 1901.

ADDRESSES

Before the day of the 1891 census, Luther and his wife had moved to 70 Beamsley Road, between Frizinghall and Shipley, to the north of the Bradford city centre. It was still being given as his home address in 1909 but the TS knew of a different address for him in the mid-1890s, 4 Manor Street. Not sure what's going on with the second address. It doesn't sound like the address of his business.

Sources: census 1891, 1901, 1911; Probate Registry 1909; Edinburgh Gazette 23 May 1913 p555.

FAMILY

Luther Hill married Lucy Hannah Brown in 1888. Lucy was a daughter of John Brown and his wife Hannah. She had been born in 1868 in Cleckheaton, south of Bradford but by 1881 the family had moved to Manningham, another Bradford suburb. In 1881 John Brown was working as a salesman for a drapery firm. It sounds as though he might have known Luther Hill as a customer of his employer.

The marriage would probably have taken place anyway; but it might have been hastened by the fact of the bride being pregnant. Luther and Lucy's first child, Winifred Annie Hill, was born early in 1889, about six months after the wedding. Not a good start. They had two more daughters: Elsie Veda, born 1892; and Constance Marion, born 1895. Luther and Lucy did not have any live-in servants in 1891; but by 1901 they were employing the basic, one general servant.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BRADFORD

Of course, there was boom and bust, but for most of the 19th century Bradford was one of the richest cities on earth. However, protectionist legislation enacted in the USA in 1890 began its long decline.

A source from the time:

Times Wed 29 October 1890 p5 article discussing the consequences of the recently-passed McKinley Tariff Act in the USA. Included a report from a correspondent in Philadelphia where two representatives of Messrs Lister and Co, one of Bradford's biggest mill owners, were in the town looking for a site on which to build a new mill.

And two more recent accounts:

Technology and Culture vol 51 no 4 2010: article The Yankee Yorkshireman by Mary Blewett 2009 . Published by Johns Hopkins University Press 2010. On p36-37 there's an account of a relative decline in the Bradford woollen industry in the 1870s; with mills diversifying from cloth-making to making women's dresses and suiting for men's suits and outdoor wear.

Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims...Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s, ed Donna R Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder. Leiden and Boston Mass: Brill 2011 p346-48, describing the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 as a disaster for Bradford's woollen industry.

See also my biography of Joseph Leach Atherton, whom Luther Hill will have known. I haven't been able to prove it but I believe Atherton may have worked for Lister and Co.

ABSENCE AND DEATH

Luther Hill went to Canada in 1907, travelling on the Lucania from Liverpool to New York, and then overland. His wife and daughters did not go with him. I can think of three reasons why he might have done that; perhaps there are more, but here are my three:

- 1) it was a business trip. This seems the least likely: Luther's business seems to have been a very local one, not on an international scale.
- 2) he was the advanced guard, going to Canada to find work and raise some money so that his wife and daughters could join him.
- 3) he had abandoned his business and family. I have to say that this seems the most likely of the three.

Luther Hill didn't return to England. He died in April 1909, somewhere in northern Alberta.

Sources: via Ancestry to Canadian Passenger Lists 1865-1935; Probate Registry 1909 which gave the date of Luther Hill's death but only "northern Alberta" as the place. Northern Alberta has hardly any settlements of any size, unless you count Edmonton; but if Luther Hill had died there I think the Probate Registry would have noted it down.

WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

Luther's wife Lucy attempted to carry on his business, trading as "Luther Hill" from a stall in Kirkgate Market. In 1911 Lucy, Winifred, Elsie and Constance were still living at 70 Beamsley Road. Lucy's younger brother William was living with them; he was working in a factory warehouse. The 'Luther Hill' business went into receivership in 1913. I haven't been able to find out what happened to Lucy and her children after that year. Too many people called Hill!

Sources: census 1911; Edinburgh Gazette 23 May 1913 p555 reprinting a list originally in London Gazette; and London Gazette 3 June 1913 p3973.

Searching google with Luther Hill's daughters full names, I didn't get any responses that I was convinced by. I looked in freebmd for a death registration for Lucy Hannah Hill; again I didn't get anything that convinced me though there was one in 1929 in Eccleshall and one in the city of Leicester in 1950 that might have been her.

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thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

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Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

28 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

William Charles Hopgood was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in September 1894 at its Horus Temple in Bradford. He chose the Latin motto 'Lupulus bonus'.

He gave the administrators of the Horus Temple an address in Redcar, though in the 1880s and again from the late 1890s GD he lived in Middlesbrough. He was still a member of the GD in 1898 though he never reached the level where he would have been eligible for its inner, Second Order.

He may have been called 'Charles' not 'William'.

UPDATE MAY 2017

Thanks are due to an American descendant of William Charles' Hopgood's elder brother Philip Downing Hopgood. A few weeks ago she sent details from the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England, now available on Ancestry. This prompted me to delve a little deeper into William Charles' life as a doctor and as a freemason; and my delving also led to the discovery of a probable friendship between William Charles Hopgood and two GD members who lived in Edinburgh.

Even after the update, this is still one of my short GD biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

16 May 2017

This is what I've found out about WILLIAM CHARLES HOPGOOD

IN THE GD

William Charles could have found out about it through Alfred Ernest Scanlan, a GP working in Middlesbrough. Scanlan was in the Theosophical Society and from 1893 if not before, he knew people who were in the TS's Bradford Lodge. Nearly all the members of the TS in Bradford were in the GD as well. Scanlan was initiated into the GD during 1893.

With proof (May 2017) that William Charles was a member of freemasons' lodges in north Yorkshire, it becomes more likely that he might have discovered the GD's existence through acquaintances who were freemasons. I think I prefer the friends-in-the-TS-route, however.

There's a letter dated 17 March 1898, from Thomas Pattinson of the Horus Temple Bradford to Frederick Leigh Gardiner, who was about to be appointed the Temple's Cancellarius. Pattinson says that Gardiner would shortly be in a position to "assess Hopgood". The letter doesn't elaborate on what the assessment would be for, though normally speaking, an assessment would take place on study-work a GD member had done: their homework, as it were.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

FREEMASONRY

Thanks to my American emailer, I'm able to say that William Charles did join three freemasons' lodges. They were all craft lodges and I haven't found any evidence that he progressed further into freemasonry. He didn't remain in any of the lodges for very long.

William Charles Hopgood grew up in Oxfordshire but his first initiation into freemasonry came as part of a move to north Yorkshire. On 22 October 1877, he became a member of Cleveland Lodge 543. Lodge 543 was based in Stokesley, a centre of handloom weaving a few miles south of Middlesbrough where William Charles had gone to work. During his time as a member, it was meeting at the Golden Lion, Market Place. See below for why I think he was asked to join it by Dr John Hepburn Handyside, who had worked as a surgeon and apothecary in Stokesley since moving there from Scotland. In 1847 Handyside had been a founder member of the lodge. He was its first Worshipful Master and served five more times in the role; and was also lodge secretary for 31 years.

The writing is very faint on the 'subscriptions paid' page of the UGLE membership list in which William Charles' memberships are noted down; but I think he only paid his annual subscription to Cleveland Lodge 543 for two or three years - setting a pattern that he repeated

in the two other lodges he became a member of. A lodge history, based on minutes of its meetings, confirms that he was never an active or prominent member of it.

Although in 1879 he was in the process of leaving Oxfordshire to work elsewhere, it was in Chipping Norton that he received his second lodge initiation, at The Bowyer Lodge 1036. A lodge history includes a full list of its members and shows that only one other man with the surname Hopgood joined it in the 19th century: William Charles' eldest brother Richard Cooper Hopgood. Richard must have been recruited before 1873. William Charles' recruitment was during a period when the lodge was trying to recover after several years of internal tensions which had resulted in many resignations, even of founding members. The lodge won't have been expecting William Charles to be an active member, as he was moving away; he paid his dues for a year or two but then stopped.

The last lodge William Charles was initiated into was in Middlesbrough: Ferrum Lodge 1848. This was a new lodge, founded in 1879 and, naturally, anxious to attract new members. William Charles was initiated in January 1881; he paid his yearly subscription for the next two years but then dropped out, and that seems to have been his last involvement in freemasonry.

This is very speculative but I think that William Charles knew future GD members James and Lucy Handyside when he was studying medicine at Edinburgh University in the mid-1870s; and that James may have given William Charles a letter of introduction to John Hepburn Handyside when William Charles was thinking of moving to Middlesbrough. James Handyside was working in the offices of a GP in Edinburgh in the 1870s and perhaps that was how he and William Charles met; though I'm also suggesting that they had similar interests and might have encountered each other anyway.

I haven't been able to prove it, but I think James Handyside, and John Hepburn Handyside, may have been nephew and uncle: James' father was called Robert; and John Hepburn Handyside had an older brother called Robert; but I haven't been able to find evidence that those two Robert Handysides are the same person and later census information suggests they aren't.

THEOSOPHY

Unlike Alfred Scanlan, William Charles was not a member of the Theosophical Society; at least, not during the 1890s, though the TS was very active in Bradford. However, a name he gave his house in Middlesbrough in the 1900s suggests that he might have been interested in Ancient Egypt. If I'm right about his knowing James and Lucy Handyside in the 1870s, he may have shared that interest in the mythology and religions of Egypt with them. The TS lodge in Edinburgh wasn't founded until the 1890s - too late for William Charles to join it - but James and Lucy were active members of it, perhaps on the strength of having read her *Isis Unveiled*, published in 1877.

James and Lucy Handyside were initiated into the GD's Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh in September 1895. Perhaps William Charles had suggested to them that they might like to give the GD a try; though they knew plenty of members of the GD in Edinburgh - almost all the members of the TS in the city joined the GD as well. Although the GD had started out with

all its rituals based on Rosicrucian ideas and symbolism, by the mid-1890s Egyptian elements also played an important role.

SPIRITUALISM

Involvement in spiritualism is a tricky thing to investigate, as it was mostly carried out by informal groups in their own homes. There were one or two national organisations - the best-known is the British National Association of Spiritualists - but there's no list of its members that can be consulted now.

Sources:

GD:

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection. Concertina-file with catalogue number NS73: letters mostly to (but occasionally from) GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner.

Freemasonry:

UGLE members' database seen at Ancestry.

CLEVELAND LODGE 543.

Cleveland Lodge 543 Centenary 1847-1947. No author is credited on the title page, but the lodge history section is by Edwin Franks. Printed Middlesbrough: Jordison and Co Ltd. There's no date of publication: p9, pp13-14; pp22-24; p42 et seq.

THE BOWYER LODGE 1036.

The Bowyer Lodge 1864-2014 by Richard A Stevens. No printers details but the work is copyrighted, 2015: pp21-24 of a history that ranges wider than most lodge histories do, covering the growth of freemasonry in Oxfordshire in general; pp32-33. Lists of important members p101; pp105-07. Full list of members from its founding in 1864 begins p122; pp124-25.

FERRUM LODGE 1848

I found the two lodge histories given above at the Freemasons' Library. The FML doesn't have a history of Ferrum Lodge 1848 so I think none has been written.

John Hepburn Handyside and James Handyside:

Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1067756: baptism record of John Hepburn Handyside, born 13 April 1815 at Inveresk w Musselburgh. Parents John, and Isabella née Hepburn.

His older brother Robert: Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1066761: baptism record from St Cuthbert's Edinburgh of Robert Handyside born 9 January 1807; parents John and Isabella.

SOMEONE called Robert Handyside is GD member James' father: Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1066692: marriage of Robert Handyside to Catherine Cruickshanks 29 April 1842 in the parish of Edinburgh. Robert Handyside's father isn't named; so I can't prove beyond doubt that Robert and John Hepburn Handyside are brothers.

Birth of William Charles' friend James Handyside: Familysearch Scotland-VR GS film number 1066695: baptism record of James Handyside, son of Robert and Catherine. Born 16 October 1845 in parish of Edinburgh.

Theosophy:

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1888 to 1901.

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p214 entries for James Handyside and Lucy Handyside. They both joined in March 1893, and were members of Edinburgh Lodge, at least to start with.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

William Charles Hopgood was born into a family of doctors in Chipping Norton Oxfordshire. His father, was Thomas Hopgood, who ran a general practice and a pharmacy in the town in the mid-19th century and began the medical training of three of his sons. I say 'began' but the two generations of Hopgood doctors illustrate how medicine in the 19th century was moving rapidly away from a training as an apprentice to an older practitioner, to a training requiring qualifications gained at a university.

Thomas Hopgood was elected a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (MRCS) in 1846 and was Licensed to practice medicine by the Society of Apothecaries (LSA) in 1858. Both of these sets of letters-to-the-name came late in his life and his entries in the Medical Directories - first published in the 1850s, the need for such a publication an indication in itself of how the profession was changing - do not list any university qualifications for him. He was able to begin training his three doctor sons but then all three of them were sent away to finish their training, with the youngest two spending a year or two at university medical schools.

Thomas Hopgood married Hannah Cooper of Bledington in Gloucestershire in October 1841. They lived on the High Street in Chipping Norton, probably above the chemist's shop and the rooms where Thomas Hopgood saw his patients. They had four sons. The eldest, Richard, trained as a pharmacist and by 1871 was also practising as a dentist, another skill he might have learned from his father before medicine and dentistry became separate professions with separate training. The three younger sons were the doctors, with William Charles the youngest, born in the summer of 1854.

Philip Downing Hopgood, Thomas and Hannah's second son, was sent to St Bartholomew's Hospital in London for his further training; though he doesn't seem to have done any university courses. He was made MRCS and LSA - he will have had to qualify by examination - in 1867. He worked for a time as house surgeon at Portsmouth, Portsea and Gosport Hospital, and resident surgeon at the Portsmouth Lock Hospital; and then moved to be house surgeon at the Great Northern Hospital in London, before returning to Oxfordshire to set up as a GP. He moved to Stow-on-the-Wold, where his mother's family came from, and by 1880 was a partner in the general practice of Haywood and Hopgood. New opportunities for doctors were opening up in the institutions run by the Poor Law Unions, and Philip became Medical Officer at Stow-on-the-Wold workhouse. There were also different new opportunities in local authorities as the range of their duties expanded; Philip Hopgood was Medical Officer to Stow-on-the-Wold urban district council.

The next doctor brother, Thomas Frederick Hopgood, was probably the most brilliant of the three. After being the first Hopgood to study at university - at University College London, where he won the Fellowes gold medal - he became MRCS and LSA in 1867 and was also

the first Hopgood to become a Member of the Royal College of Physicians (MRCP) which was taking over the licensing role previously played by the Society of Apothecaries. After graduation he worked at the Royal Surrey County Hospital at Guildford or a time as house surgeon, before moving to Sunderland, to take advantage of a rather different set of new opportunities - those arising in the rapidly-growing cities of the industrial north of England. By 1880 he was senior house surgeon at Sunderland Infirmary, while also working at the Sunderland and North Durham Eye Infirmary, the orphan asylum, and Monkwearmouth and Southwick Dispensary. Over the next few years he also found time to write a few short articles for medical magazines - of which there were more and more, as the profession expanded.

I think that William Charles Hopgood was the least committed to medicine of the three doctor brothers. However, he did follow the elder two into the profession. On the day of the 1871 census, still living at home in Chipping Norton, he was listed as a surgeon's pupil: that is, he was beginning his medical training by working as his father's assistant, as his elder brothers had both done. Then, like Thomas Frederick, he was sent to university, firstly to University College London and then to Edinburgh medical school. He qualified as MRCS and LSA in 1875. Unlike his brothers, however, he didn't spend time working as house surgeon at a hospital. He returned to Chipping Norton and joined his father's general practice. He worked there for a couple of years before following his brother Thomas Frederick to north-east England around 1877; not to Sunderland, however, to Middlesbrough.

Sources: freebmd, census 1851-71, probate registry 1873.

I began my sweep through the Medical Directories at 1855.

Medical Directory 1855 London and Provincial list p233 in which only Thomas Hopgood was listed.

Then I went on to:

Medical Directory 1870. Provincial List p439 which had Thomas, Philip Downing, and Thomas Frederick Hopgood listed.

I jumped forward then to:

Medical Directory 1880. Provincial List.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 856928: marriage of Thomas Hopgood and Hannah Cooper 21 October 1841 in Bledington Glos.

Richard Cooper Hopgood: census 1871 when he was living in Over Norton, with wife Louise and daughter Mabel. Probate Registry entry indicates he died in Cradock, Cape Colony South Africa in January 1873.

Familysearch England-ODM GS file number 95229: baptism of William Charles Hopgood 30 July 1854 at Chipping Norton.

WILLIAM CHARLES HOPGOOD IN MIDDLESBROUGH

Dr Thomas Hopgood died in Chipping Norton in October 1880. By that time William Charles

was living at 101 Grange Road Middlesbrough. I'm not sure whether this was the same house as 41 Grange Road West, which was where he was living on the day of the 1881

census. On that day, he was still unmarried. There were no servants living in the house, so perhaps he had a cook and skivvy coming in by the day. He had some visitors, though, on census day: Mrs Isabella Scarf, aged 36, from Horsley in Northumberland, and her two daughters Marion (14) and Ruby (7) who had both been born in Yorkshire. It's possible, I think, that Mrs Scarf was not the visitor she claimed to be, but lived in the house permanently and was employed by William Charles as his housekeeper. However, neither of them said so to the census official.

During his first few years in Middlesbrough, William Charles worked as surgeon to a number of local institutions set up to help men working in its heavy industries. He's likely to have seen a lot of industrial injuries. In addition to being surgeon to the wire works and the boilermakers, he also did work for the Odd Fellows, the Free Gardeners, the Druids and the Lothian Club. It's likely, though, that this work was designed to earn money while getting his name known in the city, and that he never had any intention of making it a lifetime's commitment. After a few years he gave it up and went into private practice.

By 1890 William Charles was a GP at 6 Acklam Terrace Newport Road, which I think is the same place as 66 Newport Road, in the Linthorpe district of Middlesbrough, where he was living on census day 1891. This census day he was definitely employing a housekeeper who lived in, a Mrs Harriett Farman, aged 48, who was originally from Suffolk. He - or more likely Mrs Farman - had a young visitor that day, Florence Pettit aged 14 and born in Yarmouth.

In the late 1890s William Charles may have left Middlesbrough for a while. His address in the 1895 issue of the Medical Directory is 37 Newcomen Street, in the Coatham district of Redcar; and in the 1899 issue his listing doesn't have an address at all. 37 Newcomen Street Coatham was very near to where his future wife was living, with her parents; and that's probably how they met.

Ann Stainsby Gardiner was the only child of Thomas Wheatley Gardiner and Ann Parker, who had married in Houghton-le-Spring in 1852. Ann was born in 1856. Thomas Gardiner ran a grocer's shop in Willington county Durham, but probably retired from it after 1886, when he and another man were indicted for stealing Ann Wilson's cow and calf and receiving the stolen goods. On the day of the 1891 census, Thomas Gardiner - now describing himself as a retired seller of spirits - was living with his wife and daughter at 46 Newcomen Terrace Coatham. He died on 4 March 1893 and on 20 March 1893, Ann Stainsby Gardiner and William Charles Hopgood were married.

Sources:

Medical Directory 1881 Provincial list p543; and obituaries p1343.

Medical Directory 1882 Provincial list p550; p880, p901.

Medical Directory 1888 p1547 Provincial list.

A different source for his whereabouts in 1890: www.genuki.org.uk has Bulmer's Directory of Middlesbrough issue of 1890. An online transcription with no page numbers.

Then I went on to

Medical Directory 1895 Provincial list p789.

The next change in William Charles Hopgood's entry was:

Medical Directory 1899 volume 1 Provincial directory p838: back in Middlesbrough but without an address.

Ann Stainsby Gardiner: freebmd, census 1861, 1891, probate registry 1893.

Freebmd has what I think is the same marriage registered twice: Thomas Gardiner to Ann Parker April-June 1852; and Thomas Gardner to Ann Parker July-September 1852. Both registrations were at Houghton-le-Spring.

At //archivesunlocked.northyorks.gov.uk: North Riding Quarter Sessions cases Michaelmas 1886.

I also saw the case referred to via genesreunited but I couldn't see its outcome.

William Charles' marriage to Ann: Findmypast, Teeside Archives reference PR CO 7 p184: marriages in Yorkshire.

LATER LIFE

By 1900 William Charles and Ann were living at 92 Park Road Middlesbrough, where they remained until the first World War. By 1911 the house had acquired a very interesting name - when completing his 1911 census form, William Charles wrote that his home was called Athor House. 'Athor' is an alternative spelling of the Egyptian hieroglyphs more usually transliterated as 'Hathor'. Perhaps Ann shared William Charles' interest in Ancient Egypt, though she didn't join the GD and as far as I know was never a TS member either.

Ann Hopgood's mother Ann Gardiner was living with them on census day 1901; I assume she had done so since the marriage and continued to do so until her death in 1904. On census day 1901 the household had no live-in servants, but by 1911, William Charles and Ann were employing one general servant who lived in. The extra expense could be afforded because William Charles had taken on his only role in public health medicine: he had become a public vaccinator, work which was paid for by the local authority.

William Charles and Ann lived in Middlesbrough until 1913 or 1914. Then they left it and were listed in the 1914 Medical Directory at Glencote, in Wendover Buckinghamshire. This seems to have been a temporary address and by 1915, they had gone to 1 Bohemia Road, St Leonard's-on-Sea, right down on the south coast. William Charles continued to be listed in the Medical Directories until the late 1930s but I still think of the move as one into semi-retirement. Even if it was not intended to be such a move, William Charles was likely to have had fewer patients and more leisure time. Competition for patients in the St Leonard's and Hastings area was fierce: in 1915 about 60 GP's were practising in those two smallish towns.

Ann Stainsby Hopgood died in March 1925 and was buried back in the north-east, in Monkwearmouth, perhaps in a family plot. By 1929 William Charles had moved to 1 Priory Road Hastings where he was still in practice in his mid-70s. After a decade of widowhood and presumably realising he would die quite soon, he married Lucy Martin early in 1937. He died on 5 August 1937 at home at 1 Priory Road. He had no children.

Sources: freebmd, census 1901, 1911, probate registry 1937.

Medical Directory 1900 Provincial list p857.

Hopgood's entry from 1900 remains the same until:

Medical Directory 1914 part 1 Provincial list p744.

Medical Directory 1915 Provincial list p753.

The St Leonard's-on-Sea entry then continues unchanged until:

Medical Directory 1929 volume 2 p771, p1238.

William Charles' last listing is in Medical Directory 1937 volume 1 p813 still at 1 Priory Road Hastings.

Medical Directory 1938 volume 1 has no listing for him.

Via www.durham-images.org to list of burials at Bishopwearmouth Cemetery: folio number 98, entry number 1947, box number 34. William Charles Hopgood is not buried there.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: [freebmd](http://freebmd.com); ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.org); Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

17 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Jessie Louisa Horne was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn, at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in November 1891. She chose the Latin motto 'Ave atque vale' and it sums up her relationship with the GD rather well. The GD administrative records show that when she joined the Order, Jessie Louisa was living at 35 Henslowe Road East Dulwich. She seems to have begun work on the programme of study that new initiates were expected to follow, and as late as April 1892 was still borrowing from the GD's library copies of lectures to read (probably given by William Wynn Westcott). However, she resigned from the Order after less than a year's membership, in August 1892. Jessie Louisa Horne's sister Agnes was married to GD member Sidney Coryn. Both Sidney Coryn and his brother Herbert Coryn were members of the Golden Dawn in the early 1890s.

JESSIE LOUISA'S FAMILY

I am sure of the identity of Jessie Louisa's mother; less sure about that of her father, who got married, had four children and died, all between two census days.

Jessie Louisa Horne's mother was Jessie Taylor. Jessie's family lived in Walworth, south London, where her father John M Taylor was in business. I couldn't read what his business was on the 1851 census - the census official had tried to pack too much detail into too little room - but I think I could see a note saying that John Taylor employed eight men, so it was quite a large one. Jessie Taylor hadn't joined her father's business, she had done an apprenticeship in the linen shop kept by Arabella Penprase at 101 St John's Wood Terrace, in a well-to-do suburb of north London. The apprenticeship completed, Jessie continued to work in the linen shop, promoted to be Miss Penprase's assistant and with a new apprentice working with her. I imagine that Jessie Taylor worked for Miss Penprase until she got married.

Jessie Taylor married a man called Frederick William Horne, in Walworth, in 1861. I have found a man called Frederick Horne on the 1861 census, lodging at 30 Harrington Street North, Regent's Park, and working as a foreman in a cutlery-making factory. I am going to assume he is Jessie Louisa's father.

Jessie Louisa was the eldest of four children; she was born in 1862. Her three younger siblings were Agnes Sophia (named after both Jessie Horne's sisters and her mother) born 1864; Frederick James born 1867; and Percy Stuart, born early in 1869. But then Frederick William Horne died, in the summer of 1869.

Being widowed - particularly unexpectedly - with four children under 10, was a financial catastrophe for most women in the 1860s and I've no idea how Jessie Horne coped in the next few years because neither she nor her children are on the 1871 census. However, by the day of the 1881 census Jessie Horne was running her own business as a ladies' outfitter and milliner. On that day, she and her children were living at 12a Acre Lane Stockwell, just down the road from the Coryn family; and I'm going to assume that they were living above the shop. Percy was still at school but Jessie Louisa, Agnes and Frederick were all working, so that the worst of Jessie Horne's financial struggles (I am sure she had them) were probably over. Agnes was working as a pottery designer; Frederick was serving an apprenticeship; and Jessie Louisa had already begun in what was to be her career - she was teaching. Also in the household was 17-year-old Annie Southgate, who worked as Jessie Horne's assistant (just noting that none of Jessie Horne's children ever worked for their mother's business).

According to the information Jessie Louisa Horne gave the Teachers' Registration Council, she was first employed as a teacher in 1887. However, her mother had told the 1881 census official that Jessie Louisa was working as a governess. Earlier in the century, there would be no doubt that a governess was a woman who worked in a private house, teaching and looking after the young children of a wealthy family; either living in that house, or going to it as a place of employment each day she was required. However, I've seen other GD members describing themselves as governesses when they were clearly working in a school. As a term describing employment, 'governess' was gradually being replaced by the words 'school mistress' or 'teacher' as women moved to take advantage of the opportunities the 1870 Elementary Education Act opened up for them, particularly (according to my source on women teachers in London) women from the lower middle-classes - which I think is what Jessie Louisa Horne was, as the daughter of a shop-keeper.

By 1911, Jessie Louisa Horne was employed by the London County Council. The 1870 Act had set up a School Board for London to administer schools in the area already covered by the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW), taking over the schools already in that area which were run by the National Schools for Promoting Religious Education (NSPRE). Because a completely new bureaucracy had to be set up and a large number of new buildings constructed, the Act was rolled out in stages, so that teachers were hired gradually rather than all at once. The MBW was succeeded by the London County Council in 1889 but the School Board for London kept its independence until the Education (London) Act 1903, when it passed into the control of the LCC; so that teachers originally employed by the NSPRE or the School Board for London became LCC employees by default, Jessie Louisa being among them.

The only information I have about when Jessie Louisa Horne was taken on by the School Board for London is a Report issued by its Management Committee in 1900 which has her on its list of current employees. However, I think it's likely that Jessie Louisa Horne applied to the School Board for London for a job in 1887 and was accepted because of the many years of experience she already had teaching young children. She was 25 in 1887; perhaps she had decided not to marry; or perhaps she would have liked to marry but was facing the possibility that she might not ever do so. Either way, she saw the School Board for London as offering more secure employment than any job with a family could do and with far better working conditions. The work might be more exacting and she would have to put up with regular inspections of her teaching; but as recompense for those, she would have clearly-defined working hours; the slim possibility of promotion; and a pension. The system was biased - men were felt to be worth more - and figures from 1912-13 show up to one-third of teachers earning less than £100 per year (that is, less than an averagely-paid male clerk in an office).

However, it was still very well paid work when compared to the other kinds of work women did; and a few women earned over £200 per year - serious money for the lower-middle-classes. Jessie Louisa was not alone in opting to work in a school rather than a family. The 1870 Act saw a big expansion in job opportunities for women teachers in schools set up under the new national system: by 1900, 75% of teachers in the 1870 Act's schools were women.

Given that in 1881 Jessie Louisa Horne was probably working as a governess in a family, where did she learn to teach? Nowhere, is one answer: paid work in a family home was all-but unregulated in the 19th century and you could start out as governess with a family's children with no experience and virtually no education, your moral outlook weighing with prospective employers as much as what you knew. However, it's possible - IF Jessie Louisa had been a pupil at a NSPRE school - that she had learned at least the basics of teaching there. The National Society for the Promotion of Religious Education was a charity, founded (in 1811) to provide a basic education for poor children. Although the NSPRE was not run by the Church of England, the CofE's doctrine was basic to what was taught in its schools, and in order to be a pupil your family had to attend the parish church regularly. To keep costs down, the NSPRE operated a 'monitor' system whereby selected older pupils taught the younger ones: so that Jessie Louisa, if chosen, would have undergone an apprenticeship of sorts, though she would not have been paid. Since 1833 the NSPRE had received grants from central government; but in the late 1860s its efforts were felt to be not enough for modern times. The 1870 Act eventually replaced the NSPRE with schools run by local authorities and paid for by the rates, under a central government Board of Education.

No records of the careers of individual teachers employed by the LCC and its predecessors exist any longer; so I can only talk in a general way about the working life Jessie Louisa is likely to have had as one of its teachers. I think it might be possible to work out what pay Jessie Louisa Horne received at different times in her working life, and how and when she was promoted; but this would involve looking through nearly 30 years of committee Minutes at the London Metropolitan Archive and I have decided not to do it.

Not only was the work of a woman School Board for London teacher more exacting than that of a governess; the chances are it was more boring too; and the teacher had less chance to build a personal relationship with any of her pupils, as classes were so large. The curriculum was based on the Victorian understanding of gender and class roles, particularly with regard to girls. It was assumed that they would - essentially - do housework all their lives, with some childcare; either helping their mothers or working as servants in another woman's household until they married; and then working in the marital home and caring for their own children. Apart from lessons designed to achieve a very basic literacy for all pupils, Jessie Louisa Horne will have spent most of her time teaching sewing, washing and the care of clothes to the older girls; and it was her sewing-lessons that would be watched by the school inspectors. Cookery got onto the syllabus in 1882 but most schools had no kitchen facilities; imagine learning how to make a stew without ingredients or a cooking range! Jessie Louisa would have had to teach arithmetic as even girls were expected to know some; though in practice they were allowed to opt to do extra sewing instead. The teaching code issued in 1890 did not expect girls to learn geometry or algebra, so Jessie Louisa won't have needed to teach those even if she had learned them (which seems unlikely). More emphasis would have been put by the school inspectors on women teachers making clear to their pupils (though perhaps not in so many words) the stereotypical virtues of womanhood that they were all meant to develop - being focused on home and family; being hard-working and dutiful; knowing their place in the hierarchy of the time (that is, at the bottom of it).

During Jessie Louisa Horne's working life there were some changes, of course. New subjects were introduced to the curriculum, so that by 1900 Jessie Louisa will have been teaching some history and geography, and possibly singing and physical education. And the poor health of men attempting to sign up for the Boer War led the Board of Education to order that more time be allocated in School Board schools to childcare and infant health care.

Restricted though the system was in its expectations of women teachers and girl pupils, the School Board for London/LCC was still a place where Jessie Louisa Horne prospered. By as early as 1890 it had enabled her to move, with her mother, to East Dulwich and then, in 1891, to more modern housing in Peckham Rye. On the day of the 1891 census Jessie Louisa was at home on her own in Peckham Rye, Jessie Horne having gone to stay with Frederick Horne, whose wife Kate had just given birth to Jessie Horne's first grand-child, Jessie Louisa's first nephew. By 1901 Jessie Louisa could afford to be on holiday abroad on the day of the census. And by 1911, now aged 49, she had been promoted to be a head teacher and had moved to Plumstead, where she spent the rest of her life. In 1911 she was living on her own in 42 Howarth Road, which may have been her own house - that is, she wasn't renting, she was paying a mortgage. When Jessie Louisa died she was still living in the same road, possibly in the same house, renumbered. Meanwhile, Jessie Horne had decided to leave London, and had moved to Margate, where she died in 1919; Jessie Louisa was her executor.

Jessie Louisa Horne was still teaching in 1917, but would have been eligible to retire in 1927 (I think - see my Sources section below for why I'm not sure). Perhaps she used her increased leisure to pursue her studies of theosophy and yoga.

Jessie Louisa Horne joined the Theosophical Society (TS) in September 1890. At that time all prospective members had to have sponsors who were members already; one of Jessie Louisa's sponsors was Herbert Coryn. I daresay the Horne and Coryn families had known one another since the Coryns arrived in London from Cornwall around 1876; and in 1888 Sidney Coryn had married Jessie Louisa's sister Agnes. Although some TS members liked to go to the meetings held at the TS headquarters building in Regent's Park, most preferred to join a lodge near their home or work, and Jessie Louisa joined Brixton Lodge, where Herbert Coryn was an active member. Jessie Louisa was never quite such an active theosophist as either of the Coryn brothers, but in 1892 she was elected Brixton Lodge's secretary and became responsible for organising its programme of talks and its Friday-evening discussion group, where members struggled to make sense of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's The Secret Doctrine, probably guided by Herbert Coryn who had been able to ask Blavatsky about it in person. Jessie Louisa gave one talk herself at Brixton Lodge, on Yoga, on 6 September 1892; and gave it again a short distance away at Croydon Lodge a few days later. Sidney Coryn - Jessie Louisa's brother-in-law - was Croydon Lodge's president and William Dunn (another GD member) its secretary. In 1893 she did something neither of the Coryn brothers did, despite the range of their activities on the TS's behalf: she gave money to one of its projects attempting to bring theosophy to London's poor. She donated 16/6 to a kind-of youth club run by the women of the TS for working girls in Bow, in London's East End. The girls who used the club were the type of girl Jessie Louisa taught every working day, now grown up a little and doing the type of low-paid, repetitive, future-less job that she had had to help them prepare for.

Update 28 March 2013: I had more or less finished this biography of Jessie Louisa Horne when I suddenly thought, "That's odd" about her talks on Yoga. Digging round in my memory I couldn't remember seeing anyone else in the TS in England give a talk on Yoga

during the 1890s; and I also couldn't remember more than one or two articles on the subject in any of the theosophy journals I looked at. So I've done a quick look-round to see what exactly she might have been talking about, and how much of a pioneer she was.

It turns out that rather more was known about Yoga in 1890s Britain than I had supposed (see the Sources section). Some excellent sources on the web showed me that 1) the outlines of this complex and ancient subject were known to people in the West who had an interest in Eastern philosophy; and 2) that the Theosophical Society was an important agent in bringing Yoga to Western attention. All the sources I looked at made it clear that in the 1890s, the split between the physical and the meditational side of Yoga hadn't happened yet; both the two were seen as necessary to the practice of it, the aim being to use both of them as means of achieving unity with the Divine.

The first Indian to lecture on the subject in the USA and Europe did not arrive in England until 1895; so in giving her talk in 1892, Jessie Louisa was well ahead of the field. It's likely that she got her knowledge of Yoga as you would expect her to have done, from what I've written above - from Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, in person (Blavatsky had only just died when Jessie Louisa gave her talks) and from Blavatsky's books and articles. As a result, I'm not sure how well she understood the physical exercises you do; I wonder if anyone was demonstrating them at the TS in London before 1895? At the website www.blavatsky.net I found the gist of articles on yoga by Blavatsky published in 1880-81. In them Blavatsky makes a distinction between Raja Yoga, and Hatha Yoga, the physical discipline without which Raja Yoga cannot even be attempted. Jessie Louisa may have been daunted by Blavatsky's belief that to achieve that unity with the Divine you had to have practised Yoga from your youth - which effectively debarred all Westerners. However, she may have found, as people do, that the exercises and techniques of meditation brought great benefits in themselves - helping you relax and concentrate, and focus on the end in view while being surrounded by noisy irrelevance. In addition, other articles on Yoga published by Blavatsky at different times show that Blavatsky did see Yoga as a technique of the Occult. In them, she mentions magic, elementals and astral bodies; so it's not surprising Jessie Louisa Horne was brought to wonder if the kind of work being done by the GD might suit and interest her.

28 March 2013: back into the original text before my Yoga insert:

Jessie Louisa remained a member of the TS until 1895 when - together with the Coryn brothers and their sister Frances - she resigned from it, having sided with the loser in the dispute between Annie Besant and William Quan Judge over who should lead the TS and in what direction, now that Blavatsky was dead.

Herbert and Sidney Coryn, and their friends William Dunn and Herbert Crooke, became the most prominent English supporters of Katherine Tingley, who succeeded William Quan Judge as leader of theosophy in the United States with the rallying cry 'universal brotherhood'. They helped organise and promote Tingley's visit to England in 1896 and all but Crooke later emigrated to live in or near Tingley's theosophical community at Point Loma California. Universal brotherhood became the official policy of the TS in America and the name of the organisation was changed to acknowledge this; at the same time, Mrs Tingley became its leader-for-life. The Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society of America had a branch in Britain, run by the Coryns' friend Herbert Crooke. Unfortunately, no records of it exist so that I can't tell who its members were. So I can't tell whether Jessie Louisa Horne was excited by the 'universal brotherhood' idea; or - if she was - how practically involved

with it she became. She didn't emigrate, that's for sure. Perhaps she just continued to pursue her interest in Yoga on her own, or with friends. Yoga did begin to de-couple itself from the TS in the early 1900s. The Yoga timeline source I found mentioned that in 1910 there was a Yoga Society advertising in the Times, which Jessie Louisa could have been a member of but which was not connected to the TS.

Sidney and Agnes Coryn went to California in 1902. Jessie Louisa did have three nephews, possibly more, but she seems to have been particularly close to her only niece, Marjorie Stella Coryn. It will have been difficult time-wise, as well as expensive, for Jessie Louisa to go and visit the Coryns in the USA, the journey taking several weeks each way; so she may not have seen her sister and niece for a couple of decades, until the first World War brought Marjorie Stella to Europe in 1917; and Agnes also returned, probably in 1921 after Sidney's death. Marjorie Stella found work in Paris after the war was over; perhaps Jessie Louisa visited her there. Marjorie Stella's brother Frederick Sidney also returned to Europe, in 1916 or 1917, to fight. Many of Jessie Louisa's ex-pupils will also have gone to war and a lot will not have returned. Frederick Sidney returned, but he'd been gassed during 1918 and died young, in England. Agnes was living in France with Marjorie Stella during the 1920s and 1930s so that Jessie Louisa was Frederick Sidney's closest relation during his last years; if he was not in a hospital, his care may have fallen on her.

If Jessie Louisa Horne retired at 65, she will have enjoyed 20 years of retirement in Plumstead, with trips to France and perhaps as far afield as South Africa, before her death. Around 1937, Agnes and Marjorie Stella Coryn came back from France and settled either very near Jessie Louisa or actually in the same house (I haven't got any evidence which it was). Eventually, Jessie Louisa's health declined, and she died on 12 February 1948, in Manna Mead Nursing Home in Blackheath. Marjorie Stella Coryn - who must have made Jessie Louisa so proud, becoming a well-known historian and novelist - was her executor.

JESSIE LOUISA'S BROTHERS

In 1891, Frederick James Horne was working as a private secretary; and I imagine that he was already employed by the joint stock company he said was his employer in later censuses. In 1890 he married Kate Elizabeth Turner. They had three sons: Douglas Percy; Roy; and Kenneth. All three of their children were born in south London but by 1901 Frederick and Kate had moved to Prittlewell in Essex. Some of the Coryn family had moved to nearby Billericay; perhaps this wasn't a coincidence. Frederick and Kate were comfortably off, being able to employ a nurse as well as the basic general servant. By 1911 Frederick Horne had been promoted to company secretary, and he and Kate had moved again, to a 10-roomed house on Drowsett Avenue, Prittlewell where they could afford a cook and a parlourmaid. Douglas was working for a stockbroking firm, and Roy was at university. I haven't been able to identify Frederick Horne for certain after 1911 so I'm not sure when he died.

Percy Horne went to South Africa. I can't find him on any census after 1881 so he may have emigrated as early as the 1880s. In the 1920s he was working as secretary to the South African Garden Cities Trust, which built Pinelands, the first planned township in South Africa. He died in the late 1960s in Cape Town and left money to provide grants for students at Cape Town university. I couldn't find any evidence that he married in England; if he married at all, it was in South Africa.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JESSIE LOUISA HORNE

JESSIE LOUISA AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

Freemasons' Library Golden Dawn collection reference GBR GD2/2/8a: Receipts for items borrowed by Jessie Louisa from William Wynn Westcott's personal library during the period 1891-1892

JESSIE AS A SCHOOL TEACHER

See wikipedia for details of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, including the curriculum and how the Act was to be implemented through elected local school boards - women were eligible to stand for places on them.

Records (lack of) at London County Council:

London Metropolitan Archive is where the surviving records of the London County Council and all its works are held; also the School Board for London. There don't appear to be any records of people who were employed during Jessie's time: at

www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/.../archives.../london-metropolitan-archive, LMA's LMA Information Leaflet 27: An Outline of Sources for the History of Education in London Metropolitan Archive: some details of the bureaucracy of Jessie Louisa's successive employers. It's clear from the list of archives held currently by the LMA that all that has been kept is the admin/bureaucracy stuff - Minutes of the LCC Education Committee 1904-65 are the basis of it but most of the rest is records of LCC departments dealing with schools and schooling.

Records that do survive:

Report of the School Management Committee issued by the School Board for London for year-ended Lady day 1900: plxi begins a list of all current staff. Jessie Louisa Horne is on p127.

At website findmypast: records of the Teachers' Registration Council. Set up as part of the Education Act of 1899. First attempt to make it work began 1902 but was abandoned as teachers refused to cooperate with it. TRC was set up a second time in 1912 and registration began again in 1914. The TRC got more cooperation this time BUT 1) registration was voluntary; 2) neither the Board of Education nor any local authorities used the registration list when deciding who to promote. Registration, therefore, was patchy. Each TRC record gives two dates: year of first paid position; and year of registration with TRC; the two dates often differ by several decades, and do in Jessie Louisa's case. Jessie Louisa's first teaching position = 1887; year of registration with the TRC = 1917 (so she was still teaching at that date).

TEACHERS AND TEACHING IN JESSIE LOUISA'S LIFETIME

PRE-1870 NATIONAL SCHOOLS:

For how the National Schools for Promoting Religious Education were run, see wikipedia.

At www.barnes113.karoo.net/History/bromley_national_school.htm there's an account of Bromley's NSPRE, based on its surviving records, which gave me more daily details especially of the 'monitor' system.

SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON AND ITS SUCCESSORS

London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism 1870-1930 by Dina M Copelman. London and New York: Routledge 1996. Based on government reports and statistics; good on teacher training and the bigger picture.

For what the typical woman teacher would be teaching and what the elementary school girl pupils would be learning: History of Education volume 17 number 1, which was a special issue on Women and Schooling, published March 1988. London, New York, Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis. Edited by Roy Lowe. Article on pp71-82: The Education and Employment of Working-Class Girls 1870-1914, by Pamela Horn.

JESSIE LOUISA'S RETIREMENT

I haven't been able to find a definite statement - at least, not on the web - as to when Jessie Louisa would have been able to retire. The best I could come up with is The County Council: What it is and What it does by H Samuels. Fabian Tract number 218 with a date stamp on it

saying "May 11 1946". Published London: Fabian Publications Ltd. The Tract seems to be saying that the retirement age for both sexes was 65 or after 40 years' service, whichever was the sooner; but I couldn't see what dates the information was referring to, and in any case, in the early days of the LCC none of its employees could have amassed 40 years' service, there must have been some other provision for the earliest teachers.

JESSIE LOUISA AND THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 P175 entry f Jessie L Horne. Application 19 September 1890: diploma (given on being accepted as a member) 21 September 1890. Subscriptions paid 1892-95 then "W Q Judge". Addresses during membership:

37 Henslowe Road East Dulwich

58 Gowlett Road Peckham

Branch = Brixton. Sponsors: Herbert Coryn, R Hill.

SOME APPEARANCES IN LUCIFER, the magazine published by the TS from its worldwide headquarters at Regent's Park London during the 1890s:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI covering September 1892 to February 1893; sole editor, Annie Besant. Published Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XI number 62 issued 15 October 1892. As part of news section p169 report on recent talks given at Croydon Lodge: on 6 September [1892] Jessie Horne had given "an interesting lecture on Yoga". On the same page, a short report on Brixton Lodge, sent in by Jessie Horne (that's Jessie Louisa, not her mother who isn't a TS member), as lodge secretary: a talk on yoga and been given at the lodge on 2 September [1892]. I think Jessie Louisa' being too modest here - the name of the person who talked about Yoga isn't given. On Fridays when there was no lecture scheduled, a group met to study The Secret Doctrine.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893, editor, Annie Besant. Published by Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII number 71 issued 15 July 1893 p523 an article on the finances of the TS-sponsored Bow Club, which was attempting to raise money by asking 70 people to subscribe £5 each; on p524 there was a list of donations so far, including 16/6 given by J Horne.

YOGA

For introduction to its arrival in the West, see wikipedia and the Timeline website I list below.

Blavatsky's articles on Yoga: www.blavatsky.net full text of set of three articles published November 1880 and January, April 1881 though it doesn't say where, probably in the American magazine The Theosophist: The Yoga Philosophy. In the articles Blavatsky describes yoga as a breathing technique; she also associates yoga more with Buddhism than with Hinduism. She states that unless "its philosophy is well understood and is practised from youth" no practitioner will reach the level of skill shown by any Indian Yogi.

A Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Sir Monier Monier-Williams. Published Oxford University Press BUT NOT UNTIL 1899. Monier-Williams describes Yoga as "a kind of...abstract meditation...performed with self-torture, such as standing on one leg, holding up the arms".

Yoga teaches the means by which the human spirit “may attain complete union” with Isvara/the Supreme Spirit - this is the union of soul with matter. He also specifically states that yoga’s closest connection is with Buddhism not Hinduism.

Via googlebooks I also found a book by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky: Raja Yoga or Occultism. Published Bombay: Theosophy Co. It wasn’t published until 1931 but the British Library catalogue confirms it’s a compilation of articles previously published elsewhere. Chapter headings were very interesting, including: Practical Occultism; Occultism vs the Occult Arts; Lodges of Magic; Psychic and Noetic Action; Thoughts on Elementals. Some other chapter headings contain references to astral bodies and hypnotism.

The Theosophist is an American theosophical magazine so Jessie Louisa may not have known about these:

* in volume covering October 1890 to April 1891, issue of October 1890 had 2 articles on aspects of yoga: Jiai Yoga; and Practice of Pranoyama Yoga.

* in volumes published in 1892-93 seen via google plenty of references to YogI but not to YogA.

Roger Paul Wright found for me the website //modernyogaresearch.org’s timeline of Modern Yoga in Britain, taken from Suzanne Newcombe’s Cambridge University PhD thesis 2008: A Social History of Yoga and Ayurveda in Britain 1950-95. The earliest reference to something that might be Yoga in this Timeline is 1619. Newcombe believes that the first work to describe in English the physical exercises used in Yoga, was S Sundaram’s Yogic Physical Culture or The Secret of Happiness, which was published in 1928. NB that the article by Blavatsky that I found at the Blavatsky website is NOT mentioned in this timeline though the TS is often mentioned.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

KATHERINE TINGLEY’S 1896 TOUR OF BRITAIN

At www.scribd.com, Theosophy volume XI number 2 May-December 1896 pp130-34 gives an account of the short tour of England taken by Mrs Tingley’s Crusaders’ group in the summer of 1896. The group arrived from New York on 21 June 1896 and spent three weeks in Britain, visiting a number of British cities but also spending several days at events organised for them in London. On Friday 3 July 1896 the Crusaders spoke at a public meeting at Queen’s Hall Regent Street. Herbert Coryn delivered a farewell address to the Crusaders during the meeting. The Crusaders then went on a tour of other English cities and Scotland before going on to Europe.

Website www.scribd.com also has the full text of the magazine Theosophical Path, edited by Katherine Tingley and produced at the theosophical community of Point Loma California. These volumes make it clear that there was a branch of the US-based Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society in Britain, from about 1898 at least until the late 1920s. Jessie Louisa could have decided to join it; but I haven’t found any list of its members so I can’t be sure.

INFORMATION ON FREDERICK HORNE all from Ancestry and freebmd.

PERCY STUART HORNE WENT TO SOUTH AFRICA

Searched freebmd 1881-1910 and familysearch: couldn't see a marriage of Percy Stuart Horne.

At archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/SOUTH-AFRICA-IMMIGRANTS-BRITISH/200-06/1024657909, transcribed June 2012 by Heather McAlister: part 3 of City Club Members of Cape Town includes Horne, Percy Stuart with the date 1919, probably the date he was elected a member, though the transcription isn't clear on this.

At

www.bradclin.com/pinelands/pinelands_history.htm there's a history of the Pinelands housing development, the first planned township in South Africa, built in the 1920s in the Cape Colony. Percy Stuart Horne was the first ever Secretary of the (South African) Garden Cities Trust, which built Pinelands. The Trust was founded in 1919 to address South Africa's serious housing crisis; it got government funding for its work. On this website, P S Horne is credited with giving the name 'Pinelands' to the new development.

Probate Registry: nothing for Percy S Horne. However, it looks as though he died in S Africa:

via google to University of Cape Town Calendar for 1969. On p169 under the heading "P. S. Horne grants": Percy Stuart Horne's Will had established a number of grants at the University; those wanting further details of them were to apply to the City Hall.

25 March 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Evans Hugh Humphrys was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in November 1899. He had had a classical education and chose a motto in Greek: the transliteration is gnothi seauton. He made quick progress through the study that was necessary to join the inner order and was initiated into that Second Order in March 1901. He stood aside from the strife and upset that was engulfing the GD at that time; but he also didn't join either of the daughter orders that emerged in 1903.

I've found so much information on some parts of William's life that this biography has had to be split into three. This is the first part and covers 1876 to end 1906 including his time in the GD. The other two parts are 1907 to end 1909 and 1910 to 1950.

TO BEGIN WITH, A NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF HIS SURNAME: it's definitely HumphrYs although I've seen other spellings, especially HumphrIEs, on the census and elsewhere.

THE HUMPHRYS FAMILY

On his father's side, William was Protestant Irish landed gentry. The family could trace itself as far back as a man from Cumberland, John Humfrey (sic), who emigrated to Ireland in 1655. John Humfrey settled in Wexford but by the time William's father was born his descendents' main estate was at Ballyhaise House in county Cavan; and they were spelling the surname Humphrys.

Younger sons in the family tended to go into the army and at first William's father, Hugh Humphrys (born 1838) followed this trend, passing from Trinity College Cambridge into the Hussars in 1860. However, he left the army in 1869 and at that point there's a blank of nearly 20 years in his life, before he took holy orders in 1885 when William was 9. After the usual few years as a curate, he was appointed vicar of Knocktopher, Thomastown in 1892. However, the defining appointment of his time in the Church of England was being installed as rector of Eccles-next-the-sea in Norfolk. In 1901 the vicar of Knocktopher had an annual income of £240 while the rector of Eccles-next-the-Sea had an annual income of about £72 before tax, derived from a population of 17. However, Rev Hugh did not live all the year round in Ireland; he seemed to spend as much time in England, either in his London house or in the household of his wife's father, whose family had the right to appoint the rectors of Eccles-next-the-Sea. As far as I can see, Rev Hugh never lived in his Eccles-next-the-Sea parish.

THE EVANS LOMBE FAMILY

In 1875 - during those blank 20 years - Hugh Humphrys had married Louisa Charlotte Catherine Evans-Lombe, whose family owned one of the largest landed estates in Norfolk. Louisa's father, Henry Evans Lombe, had also been ordained a priest of the Church of England but by 1881 did not have the care of any parish. From the mid-19th century to sometime in the 1890s he and his wife (another Louisa) chose to live in the newest of the family's several houses, the recently-finished Bylaugh House, at Smallburgh in Norfolk. William's parents, the Rev Hugh and his Louisa, had a house in London, and made long visits to Ireland, but also spent large parts of their lives at Bylaugh.

WILLIAM'S YOUTH

The GD's William Humphrys, the Rev Hugh and his Louisa's eldest son, was born in February 1876 at their London house at 19 Hatherly Grove Bayswater. He had two brothers - Julian Shirley Lombe Humphrys (born 1880) and Hugh Everard Humphrys (born probably 1883); I haven't found birth registrations in England for either of them so perhaps they were both born in Ireland.

When William was living with his grandparents he was in one of the largest households of any GD member. He was with them on the day of the 1881 census when there were 14 indoor servants at Bylaugh: a butler, two footmen, two grooms, a cook, a lady's maid, four housemaids, two kitchenmaids and a nursemaid, employed to look after Henry and Louisa Evans-Lombe and their daughter's family. In addition, there will have been a coachman and gardeners who were lodged elsewhere. On census day 1891 there were 15 servants living-in, though with household tasks slightly differently allotted: a butler with only one footman; the two grooms and the cook; a kitchenmaid and a scullery maid to support one less housemaid; a nursery maid; the lady's maid; and two gardeners. The coachman and his family were the next household listed on that page of the census. However, the times they were a-changing - during the 1870s, the Evans Lombe family began selling off bits of the estate; and this

process was speeded up around 1890 when the land at Bylaugh (though not the house, it seems, at least not at first) was leased or possibly bought outright by William Knox d'Arcy who had made a fortune in mining in Australia and Mexico. By 1898 Henry and Louisa Evans Lombe had moved out of Bylaugh to a smaller house they owned, Melton Lodge near Great Yarmouth. They were both in their late 70s by this time and perhaps not in good health, but other aspects of the family history from the 1870s suggest that the Lombes - and consequently the Hugh Humphrys - were feeling the pinch financially: a smaller house meant a much scaled-down household, with more spare money for school and university fees and nursing care. Despite these indications that the family was drawing in its horns, it was his descent from the Lombes that mattered to William later in his life; and as he seems to have had a private income (I don't know how much per year) it's most likely from them that he had inherited it.

RUGBY and CAMBRIDGE

Times may have been harder than they had been, in the 1890s, but suffering in the Lombe and Humphrys family does seem to have been relative. The GD's William spent 1890 to 1893 at Rugby School (census day 1891 fell during the school holidays) before going to Cambridge University. He started out in 1895 at Queen's College; but in 1898 he moved over to Downing College, graduating with a science degree in 1899. I can't explain the change of college, except to say that I found one reference to it having a reputation at that time for dealing very generously with students who broke the rules, especially the curfew rules. Perhaps William's undergraduate night-life was being hampered at Queen's. Cambridge University was traditional in the Humphrys family (though neither of William's brothers went there) and two cousins of William's were undergraduates when he was: brothers Llewellyn Winter Humphrys and Percy Raymond Humphrys were both at Corpus Christi. However, William's future was decided not by his relatives but, by acquaintances that he made as an undergraduate: Frank Rutter the future art critic, who gave William work on at least two occasions; and Aleister Crowley.

William Humphrys was pretty busy as an undergraduate at Cambridge but not necessarily with his studies. Cambridge University was where he began his career as a journalist and perhaps also where he first began to take an interest in cars and how they work.

Frank Rutter, in his memoirs, says that while they were at Cambridge both he and William Humphrys were stage-struck: they did a lot of amateur theatricals, and William's first efforts at journalism were theatre reviews for one of the university's undergraduate papers. Frank thought William had that desire to get the news first that is the basis of a successful career as a reporter: he used to go to Cambridge railway station to intercept visiting entertainment groups before anyone else, and take their stars to lunch. In this way he got exclusive interviews with Minnie Cunningham, the music hall singer; and Constance Collier, then the tallest of the Gaiety Girls. William also managed to get access to Alfred Milner (later Viscount Milner) advisor to the British Government on the situation in South Africa. And to a man whose surname Rutter spells as 'Rajitsinghi' but who I think must have been the great batsman Ranjitsinhji (later the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar) who had been at Cambridge University from 1889 to 1894 and who was - when William must have interviewed him - playing for Sussex, and England.

Motoring was such a new thing that it was only while William was at Cambridge University that the first few cars were driven through Cambridge town. The very first was owned by the Hon Charles Stewart Rolls (born 1877, future co-founder of Rolls-Royce) during his time as

an undergraduate at Trinity Hall. Probably not very long afterwards, Aleister Crowley bought himself one, though he never developed the interest in cars that Charles Rolls and William did. The paths of William and Charles Stewart Rolls often crossed between their university days and Rolls' death in 1910; though I haven't been able to discover how well they knew each other so I don't know whether it was Rolls' car that William first got under the bonnet of, to find out what was inside.

In his last year at university William took the next step from journalism and founded his own magazine, the latest version of the Cambridge Magazine. It was in that magazine that the interview with Alfred Milner was first published, and political sketches by the barrister and Liberal MP Sir Frank Lockwood also appeared in it. William may have found himself with the money to fund such a venture after his grandfather Henry Evans Lombe died, in December 1897. When Rev Lombe's estate had its probate granted, his personal effects came to about £54000; this didn't include what was left of the family estates, which William's uncle Edward Evans Lombe will have inherited. William's father the Rev Hugh also had more money coming in after March 1899 when he was appointed a canon of St Canine's Cathedral Kilkenny.

SOURCES FOR THIS SECTION

THE HUMPHRYS FAMILY OF COUNTY CAVAN

There's some information on Ballyhaise house on wikipedia. It's now the Teagasc Agricultural College.

The Book of Irish Families Great and Small by Michael C O'Laughlin p152.

At www.libraryireland.com information originally in A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland published 1837.

A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland Burke 1899 edition, p211.

HUGH HUMPHRYS, William's father.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part II volume 3 G-J p489.

Via genesunited, information on his time in the army:

Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent 20 March 1861 and several other newspapers; purchase of a lieutenancy by Cornet Hugh Humphrys.

Southern Reporter and Cork Cmmrl Courier 11 May 1865 and also several other newspapers; purchase of a captaincy by Lt Hugh Humphrys.

Dublin Evening Courant 11 November 1869 announcing the retirement of Hugh Humphrys from the army.

Crockford's Clerical Directory issues of 1886; 1901 pp696-97.

Hampshire Advertiser 4 March 1899 Ecclesiastical Intelligence: appointment as a canon of St Canine's Cathedral Kilkenny of Rev Hugh Humphrys BA.

Armorial Families 1929 volume 1 p1003.

BIRTH OF WILLIAM, though he isn't named. Seen at archiver.rootsweb.com, items from Cavan Weekly News posted by Kay Stanton 2006, including the issue of Friday 18 February 1876. Birth announcements included a son, on 11 February [1876] at 19 Hatherly Grove Bayswater; to the wife of Hugh Humphrys.

Times Friday 3 February 1922 p1a death notices: Canon Rev Hugh Humphrys had died on 31 January 1922.

THE EVANS-LOMBE FAMILY of Norfolk:

Melton Hall, which was rented by other people at least as late as 1865:

Excursions in the County of Norfolk by Thomas Kitson Cromwell 1818 p173.

PO Directory of Norfolk and Suffolk issue of 1865 p300.

At visionofbritain.org.uk a paragraph from John Marius Wilson's 1870-72 Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales: Melton Hall and Great Melton (Melton Magna).

At www.south-norfolk.gov.uk a photo of Melton Hall. Jacobean. Grade 2 listed but in a bad way.

Bylaugh House:

See wikipedia on how the estate was rumoured to have come into the Lombe family. And some of its later history which unfortunately conflicts with other sources I've found, for example at www.bylaugh.info

At www.norfolkchurches.co there's information on the church at Bylaugh, built in 1809 by the Lombe family.

Via www.ebooksread.com to Armorial Families.

On the importance of the Evans Lombe family to William Humphrys: the announcement of William's death in the Times Thursday 23 March 1950 p1a only mentions his descent the Evans-Lombe family. It was not until the announcement was repeated in the Times of Friday 24 March 1950 that William's father was mentioned.

WILLIAM'S GRANDFATHER HENRY EVANS LOMBE

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1886 p739 does not have an entry for him, confirming that at least by that time he did not have a job in the Church of England.

RUGBY SCHOOL

Rugby School Register covering May 1874 to May 1904; p171 which is also the source for William's addresses in 1904.

Times Saturday 11 July 1936 p19d coverage of the Old Rugbeian triennial dinner held "on Tuesday at the Café Royal". William was on the event's very long guest list.

AT CAMBRIDGE:

University Magazines and their Makers Henry Currie Marillier 1902 p93.

CONSTANCE COLLIER

See wikipedia and also www.the-camerino-players.com

MINNIE CUNNINGHAM

At www.tate.org a reproduction of Walter Sickert's 1892 picture of her in costume at the Old Bedford; now in Tate Britain. With a small amount of information on her life.

At footlightnotes.tumblr.com, a photo of her dancing in her stage costume (showing quite a lot of leg). And a profile as far as 1905, based on information originally published in The

Variety Theatre London Friday 19 May 1905 p19a.

ALFRED MILNER later the first and last Viscount Milner. See wikipedia and he's also in ODNB.

And assuming my identification is correct: RANJITSINHJI. A long article on him in wikipedia.

SIR FRANK LOCKWOOD see wikipedia. He was Liberal MP for York from 1883 to his death in 1897.

FRANK RUTTER who's mentioned a lot in the life-by-dates section too:

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927. An important source though William is not actually mentioned in it very much.

Times Mon 19 April 1937 p16 obituary.

Times Tue 20 April 1937 p1 death notices.

Probate Registry 1937

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 48 p421 although there's no mention of William Humphrys in it.

And for his commitment to votes for women, see The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928 by Elizabeth Crawford. London: University College London Press 1999: pp611-12; though it doesn't mention Frank's first wife Thirsa, who was quite as active as he was.

Just noting that there's no entry for William Humphrys in the book; nor is William's wife mentioned as far as I can see.

CHARLES STEWART ROLLS

There are several biographies - he managed to pack a lot into his short life, as a driver and aeroplane pilot and as co-founder of Rolls-Royce.

Source for his having a car while he was still at Cambridge: Aleister Crowley, The Biography. Tobias Churton. London: Watkins Publishing 2011: p28.

In the 1900s Charles Stewart Rolls published a couple of items on car maintenance, very much in the manner of William's articles between 1907 and 1912 though as far as I know Rolls never wrote for William's magazine:

An article The Caprices of the Petrol Motor, in A C W Northcliffe (Baron Harmsworth)'s Motors and Motor Driving published 1902.

Co-author with Frederick Henry Royce in Instructions for Care of Rolls-Royce Cars, 40-50hp published Watford: Acme Tone Engraving Co 1908.

NOW FOR THE REST OF WILLIAM'S LIFE, in a LIFE-BY-DATES, FROM 1899

I've found a lot of information on what William was doing and where he was living from when he graduated to just before the first World War. But on the other hand, some projects he got involved with are still pretty-much a mystery to me despite all my ferreting about amongst the sources I've found. So I've decided to do a life-by-dates sequence to cover the rest of William's life. As usual with a life-by-dates, I'll be typing what the subject was doing in italics; with any comments, and the sources, in Times New Roman. Beginning with:

SUMMER 1899

William graduated from Cambridge University.

Comment by Sally Davis: I think William moved to London in the autumn if not straight away after leaving his College rooms. He lived in central London until his marriage.

Sources: Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part II volume 3 G-J p489.

Kelly's Post Office Directory issues between 1900 and 1914.

Census.

DIFFICULT TO DATE

William must have worked as a journalist.

Comment on the lack of sources, by Sally Davis: William is in the Scoop! database of professional journalists held at the British Library but without any detail of where his work was published. Scoop! is based on the members of the Institute of Journalists. William joined the Institute in 1909 and was a member until 1913 but possibly not beyond that.

Finding out which journals and/or newspapers published his work would be such a task I haven't really tackled it: though William's own magazine did name some of its writers, most articles and editorials in most publications were published anonymously, and their authors are mostly still unidentified today.

If William wanted to be taken seriously as a writer on motors, the magazine he will have aimed to get published in was the *The Automotor and Horseless Vehicle Journal: A Record and Review of Applied Automatic Locomotion*. First published as a monthly in 1896, it went weekly in April 1902 and shortened its title to *The Automotor Journal*. It continued to be published until 1931, always by the same firm - F King and Co Ltd of 62 St Martin's Lane, London WC. Authoritative and scientific, it was the magazine for professionals working in the fast-moving, highly technical world of car design and building. Although William wasn't a professional in that sense, he was a scientifically trained, highly skilled amateur and I can see him as a reader of this magazine; though most car drivers would have found the articles too difficult to understand. William's own motoring magazine was a direct competitor of *The Automotor Journal*, which outlasted it and others.

I have found references in other publications, of articles by William published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*; but these were from 1919 and 1923, not much help for his earliest work.

VERY DIFFICULT TO DATE THE START - IT MIGHT GO BACK TO HIS SCHOOL-DAYS; CERTAINLY LONG BEFORE 1904

William learned a lot about motor engines, both in theory and in practice. Later he was able to write technical articles on motoring and was considered by others to be an expert on internal combustion engines for submarines.

Comment by Sally Davis. For the evidence about William's knowledge of cars, read the rest of this life-by-dates. If he wasn't interested in them before he went to university, he might have got his start with them through driving and trying to mend the cars owned by Charles Stewart Rolls and Aleister Crowley that I've mentioned above. I've only found one mention

of his knowledge of submarines: several articles published in 1904/05, obviously all using the same source - they have the same basic information and all spell his surname wrongly in the same way. It's an intriguing aspect of William's life. Perhaps it was or became an official secret. However, it did cause him to meet Captain Ernest du Boulay, a marine engineer and author of a text book published in 1902. Later on, du Boulay was marine manager for the Automobile Co-operative Association, about which a great deal more below.

Sources: see 1904/05 for more on the articles.

Ernest du Boulay:

At www.bembridgesailingclub.org as co-founder, in a history of the club.

The text book:

A Text Book on Marine Motors published London: The Yachtsman 1902 and 2nd ed 1907.

The British Library has him as a contributor to B Heckstall-Smith's *The Complete Yachtsman* published London: Methuen and Co 1912 and obviously the standard work for many years - there's a revised 8th edition from 1949.

NOVEMBER 1899

William was initiated into the GD.

Source for the date: RAG see the Sources section.

DECEMBER 1899

William visited Aleister Crowley at Boleskine. Also there was Lilian Horniblow, Crowley's mistress at that time. On 12 December 1899, William was Crowley's assistant in a magical ceremony.

Source: probably Crowley's *A Magicall Diarie* 1899, manuscript now in the collection of the Ordo Templi Orientis. Quoted pp52-53 of *Aleister Crowley, The Biography*, by Tobias Churton. London: Watkins Publishing 2011 though the source is not specified in so many words. According to Churton the purpose of the ceremony was to "obsess Gardner" - that is, Frederick Leigh Gardner whom Crowley thought was an enemy within the GD. I find this explanation rather odd, as Gardner had been ejected from the GD a couple of years before, though he was still in regular touch with some of its members. The important aspect from William's point of view, though, was that - according to Crowley - at the end of the ceremony, William was showing "symptoms of panic and fear". Lilian Horniblow hadn't been a participant in the ritual but she had watched part of it. Shortly after it, she decided to return to London and Crowley attributes her sudden departure to her having taken fright at his use of magic.

Comment by Sally Davis: just noting that for the purposes of her relationships outside her marriage, Mrs Horniblow called herself Laura Grahame and that's how she's referred to in Churton's biography.

SPRING 1900

Crowley started to believe that William wanted to have an affair with Lilian Horniblow, and that he was trying to be rid of Crowley so he could pursue a potential relationship without Crowley as a rival.

Source:

Aleister Crowley, *The Biography*, by Tobias Churton. London: Watkins Publishing 2011 p58;

Churton's source is the Abramelin Diary (I think) for an incident where Crowley surprised William and Lilian together on 17 April 1900. In writing up the incident, Crowley described William as "nearly as big a blackguard as myself". A short while afterwards, Crowley and William met in Cambridge (it's not clear whether it was by accident or not). During the meeting Crowley told William about some rumours he'd been hearing - that residents at 67 Chancery Lane, himself included, were being watched by the police. William replied that the rumours were true and that Crowley's danger would be greatest around Easter. Crowley took this warning as a clear attempt by William to get him to leave the country. It seems to have led to the end of whatever friendship the two of them had had up until that time - William is not mentioned after spring 1900 in either Churton's biography of Crowley; or in *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley* by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley CA: NAH Books originally 2000 this revised edition 2010. Crowley left England in spring 1900 in any case.

Comment by Sally Davis: whether William did have an affair with Lilian Horniblow; or whether Crowley was making it all up; goodness knows!

APRIL 1901

William was renting rooms at 17 John Street in Bloomsbury. His was the third of the three separate households at that address, so he probably occupied the top floor. He told the census official that he was self-employed; and that he was the proprietor of a newspaper.

Comment by Sally Davis. I've not known where to look for the newspaper William claimed to own, so soon after he'd left University; or what title to look for. Perhaps he was still the owner of the *Cambridge Review* although I must say that seems unlikely. Whatever newspaper it was, William didn't mention owning one when filling in the 1911 census form, so I suppose it had ceased publication or he had sold it by then. Just noting at this point that he didn't call himself a journalist when speaking to the census official in 1901; though he did do so when filling out his own form in 1911.

Source: 1901 census.

21 JULY 1901 to 20 AUGUST 1901

William may have been involved in a series of trance sessions in which the medium (who wasn't William) took the Enochian alphabet as a starting-point.

Source:

Gerald Yorke Collection at the Warburg Institute: catalogue numbers NS59, NS60 and NS100 (the notebooks) and NS103 Item 7 (a typescript of some but not all of their contents).

Comment by Sally Davis:

Please note that in the Sources section at the end of this file I lay out my concerns about the authorship of those notebooks. In the next paragraph or so, however, I will assume that it was indeed William who owned them and wrote up his occult notes in them. If he was their owner, they show that he was working towards a greater understanding of the Enochian magical language, both on his own and with others, in the summer of 1901. Beginning on Sunday 21 July and ending on Tuesday 20 August 1901, two people undertook a series of guided visualisations - one woman who was the medium on each occasion, and one person who wrote down the medium's account of what she saw while in her trance. Occasionally Florence Farr was present at the sessions, but at most of them it was just the medium and the scribe. Gerald Yorke says in some notes written on the notebooks, that William was the scribe and the sessions took place in his home. For his and my trouble in identifying the

medium, see the Sources section. The names of two of the medium's guides during the last few sessions were given in the notes and I repeat them here in case they are known to occultists: Adan, in the sessions of 11, 12 and 13 August; and Zaran in the last session. For the two people who were there for each session, they were a serious commitment of time and energy: the only session whose start- and end-times were noted down lasted one hour. You can see from the handwritten notebooks how furiously the scribe had to write, to keep up with what the medium was saying. How his or her arm must have ached, by the end!

The Yorke Collection notebooks are the latest evidence there is for William as an active member of the GD. When the GD finally fell apart into its two daughter orders (in 1903) he didn't join either of them. How much he needed to earn a living is a moot point, given the wealth there was in his mother's family; but he had other interests which were taking up more and more of his time. In the end he seems to have abandoned the occult altogether.

NOVEMBER 1901

William's grand-mother Louisa Evans Lombe died. After the death of her husband she had moved to a house in Great Yarmouth.

Source: Probate Registry 1902.

BY WINTER 1902 - which might either mean 1901-02; or 1902-03; the source wasn't clear about it.

William had already bought what seems to have been his first car, a De Dion-Bouton, which he later recommended as an excellent car for a beginner - reliable, and easy to maintain.

Comment by Sally Davis. It's likely that William bought the de Dion-Bouton Model D, which first went on sale in 1900. Although the firm had started out making electric vehicles, this very popular car had an internal combustion engine.

Sources:

The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review Volume 2 number 1, February 1907: pp4-5 in an article by William.

The Automotor and Horseless Vehicle Journal: A Record and Review of Applied Automatic Locomotion issue of 15 January 1902 p35 happened to mention that a steam-powered de Dion-Bouton had won the first ever road race to be staged in France; in 1894.

Further information on de Dion-Bouton: see wikipedia and other sources on the web, including photos.

WINTER 1902 with the same problem about which year.

William drove his de Dion-Bouton to the south of France. He sold it there to buy a bigger car and though it was unfamiliar to him he drove it back to England.

Comment by Sally Davis: William must have been confident about his ability to cope with whatever mechanical crises arose during his trip south. He did hire a mechanic in Nice for the return journey; but did most of the repairs himself as - too late - he found that the man could only speak the Niçois dialect, not French or Italian, so they couldn't communicate. A strange clicking from behind him followed William for most of the way north, a clicking that didn't seem to be connected with any fault he could discover. Eventually he found a loaded gun in the pocket in the back, where the mechanic usually sat: the man had been cocking it ready to fire at times along the road. William dispensed with his services as soon as they

reached Paris. The curious incident of the gun-toating mechanic proves that it wasn't a de Dion-Bouton car William was driving: de Dion-Boutons had a rather strange arrangement of seats, with the passengers sitting with their backs to where the car was going, facing the driver opposite them.

Sources:

The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review Volume 2 number 1, February 1907: pp4-5 article by William: Where the Click Came From - An Episode of My Niçois Mechanic. The moral of the tale was: take care when hiring servants.

The Automotor and Horseless Vehicle Journal: A Record and Review of Applied Automatic Locomotion issue of 15 January 1902 p159, p173 forthcoming events: Nice week this winter would be from 6 to 18 April 1902, taking in a trip to Turin and Abbazia from 8 to 15 April. There would be an organised run of cars from Paris to Nice at the end of March. If this was the winter William meant, he might also have visited a motor show in Brussels which ran from 8 to 17 March 1902 before joining the run to the south of France.

BY 1904

William had moved a couple of streets to 10 Gray's Inn Place, a small enclave next to the buildings of Gray's Inn.

Source: Rugby School Register covering May 1874 to May 1904; p171. Unfortunately the School Register only gives William's address in 1904; the school doesn't seem to have known what he was doing. Just noting that Kelly's for 1904 shows a Mrs Rutter living at 3 Gray's Inn Place. This is probably Frank Rutter's widowed mother Emmeline and as Frank hadn't married as yet, it's likely he was living there with her.

ALSO BY 1904

William had been elected as a member of the Primrose Club.

The Primrose Club was at 4-5 Park Place St James. Like any gentlemen's club, it provided rooms for socialising, and good meals. It had been founded as a Conservative Party club, a kind-of Clubland equivalent to the Party's Primrose League for women. I would suppose that no one who was not a supporter of the Conservative party would be elected as a member; and perhaps no one who was not a committed Party member. So it says something about the politics of William and his male acquaintances that he joined it; and I think it's likely he was first introduced to men he later did business with, through the Club. The most likely time for him to join a club like this was when he arrived in London. I daresay he knew plenty of men who were members already.

Sources: Rugby School Register covering May 1874 to May 1904; p171; and wikipedia for more on the Club.

??LATE 1904

William had an article published in the To-Day newspaper, on motor boats.

Comment by Sally Davis. I'd like to say I've seen the article, but I haven't even tried to look for it as I don't know exactly when it was published. I can say that it was Frank Rutter who asked William to write it: on leaving Cambridge the year before William did, Frank had got a job as assistant editor of To-Day. He'd moved over to the Daily Mail in 1901 but went back to To-Day in 1902 as editor, and was still there in 1904. The possibility of a motor boat race across the Atlantic was being mooted and Frank knew where to go for an expert opinion on the logistics of such a trip. It's clear William thought the idea was a non-starter: he calculated

that an engine of at least 100 horse-power would be needed; and 15 tons of fuel which would be stored - where, exactly? However, he worried that these difficulties wouldn't put people off trying. I don't know whether the race took place.

Sources:

For Frank Rutter at the newspaper To-Day: wikipedia.

The coverage of William's original article in other magazines, some but not all of which give To-Day as the paper in which the article was originally published. You can tell they all have the same source because they all spell William's pesky surname HumphrIEs; following on, I suppose, from Frank Rutter's To-Day.

Monthly Consular and Trade Reports volume 76 1904 p59. This magazine is my source for William having left Cambridge with a degree in science; the Cambridge Alumni publication never says what subjects graduates had studied.

Daily Consular Reports number 2121 issued by US Department of Commerce 1 December 1904.

Via archive.org to Scientific American volume 92 number 4 issued 28 January 1905 p17; the best source for William's calculations and reservations; and for William's work with submarine engines.

Popular Mechanics January 1905; p129 article: Motor Boats for Ocean Races, which mentions that William had also raised the issue of the size of crew that would be needed for such a long and challenging trip: where were they all going to be stowed?

Everitt's Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge issue of 1905 p227.

DURING 1906

William was a regular reader of The Steam Car and Electromobile Review.

Comment by Sally Davis. Coming across this magazine diverted William from however he was spending his time and set the course of his life for the next six years. He had nothing to do with the production of it: he was just a reader. The magazine's founder, editor, main writer and printer was George Larritt Polsue, who ran a printing company which had a variety of names down the years (always featuring his very unusual surname) but was always based in Gough Square, just north of Fleet Street (at this time still the centre of publishing in the British Empire) and a short walk from Chancery Lane.

Sources:

The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review volume 5 number 9 November 1910 pp273.

The Steam Car and Electromobile Review from February 1906 to January 1907.

The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review volume 5 number 9 November 1910 p273 giving evidence in the libel case Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader, George Polsue confirmed that he had been The Steam Car and Electromobile Review's only owner.

Some sources for George Larritt Polsue:

He's in Scoop!, the database of journalists held at the British Library.

Using google you can find plenty of references to George Polsue's company under its various names. As Polsue Ltd, it was still in business around 1919-20 and had got the contract to publish the Athenaeum magazine. Most google references, however, are to an important legal case on the law of private nuisance: for example in The American and English

Annotated Cases volume 4 1907 p373-77; and in text books on the law of torts. See February 1907.

MARCH 1906

The Automobile Co-operative Association was formed.

Source for its formation:

The Steam Car and Electromobile Review volume 1 number 4 May 1906 p100, p108. On p100 was an official announcement issued by the Automobile Co-operative Association of 1 Albemarle Street Piccadilly.

There was no coverage in the Times of the process of ACA being set up, but the Times Mon 28 May 1906 p1 had an advert (bigger than most adverts on this, the 'small ads' page) inviting readers to become members. The advert had several quotes from other newspapers including one published in the Pall Mall Gazette of 12 April [1906] which said that the ACA opened up "a brilliant vista for the motorist".

Long comment by Sally Davis. The founders of the ACA were a group of upper-class car owners but it was not another club like the Athenaeum or the Primrose Club - the Royal Automobile Club, the Ladies' Automobile Club and the Automobile Association existed already and there really wasn't a need for another such. The ACA was a provident or mutual society set up as a joint stock company with its members as its shareholders. It supplied its members with cars and car parts at list prices. It also gave advice, especially technical advice. It ran training courses in car mechanics. It acted as an insurance broker. It had a marine department for those interested in motor boats - Ernest du Boulay was its manager. And it held a dinner each year and had rooms above its offices where members could meet. The announcement in The Steam Car. was also a call for members. To be a member you had to buy at least one share at £1 per share; and pay a small yearly subscription.

Over the next few years and despite the opposition of groups like the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, the ACA was very successful and it was still in existence even during the very difficult conditions of the first World War.

The public face of the ACA was an Advisory Council comprised of the original founding group and others who joined later. Its daily business was carried out by employees, with more and more taken on as the ACA's reach and membership expanded. Decision-making was in the hands of a management committee. In the first few months of the ACA the management committee had about eight members, but this was soon pared down to three, who remained at the helm for several years: Sir Wroth Periam Christopher Lethbridge, 5th Baronet who essentially represented the members and was probably typical of them; Jules de Meray, a City financier; and William Humphrys.

Sources for how the ACA:

Papers by Command volume 76 issued HMSO 1914 p206 the ACA is in a list of "distributive trading societies"; there's some financial information.

Friendly Societies, Industrial and Provident Societies issue of 1915: ACA is in this.

See coverage of the ACA's various AGMs for more information on turnover, number of members, assets.

And see below issues of the magazine I call Automobile Owner..., managed and part-owned

by William.

The other members of the ACA management committee:

Sources for JULES DE MERAY

I looked for him on Familysearch. Couldn't pick him out but I did see mention of at least one family called de Meray living in south London in the second half of the 19th century. Although he said in his 1911 census form that he had been born in France and was still a French national, Jules was probably a member of that south London family.

Census 1911 at 1 Rutland Gate Knightsbridge.

Railway Times volume 58 1890 p87 de Meray as a partner in de Meray and Brooke at their offices at 5 Throgmorton Avenue EC.

Mining Manual... volume 5 1893 p367 de Meray as involved in a company set up to develop mines in Spain, Portugal and elsewhere and registered at Companies House in December 1888.

London Gazette 7 April 1893 p214 notices of partnerships dissolved includes one issued by Jules de Meray and Arthur Montague Brooke, trading as de Meray and Brooke, merchants and financiers, of 5 Throgmorton Avenue EC. De Meray would continue the business, on his own, at the same address.

The Electrical Engineer volume 31 1903 p167 de Meray listed as the chairman of Sir Hiram Maxim Electrical and Engineering Co Ltd BUT I think the firm's management is being sued by its investors.

He's into chess as well as cars:

The British Chess Magazine volume 46 1926 p139 an obituary of Jules de Meray which throws a light on his personality which I find a bit alarming - but then I never fancied gambling with stocks and shares. De Meray had died on 21 December 1925 at 48 Sussex Gardens. The obituary described him as a man of "enormous energy, great inventive power and indomitable courage".

Like Lethbridge, Jules de Meray was married three times; he was never divorced, though. The Madame de Meray of the ACA years is Mary Ann E Burton, whom he married in 1898. To celebrate the marriage the de Merays commissioned a portrait of Madame from the British artist Joseph Solomon Solomon who I think was a friend of theirs - he was a guest at several ACA dinners.

Academy Notes issued by the Royal Academies, issues 24-27 1898 on p30 part of a catalogue probably that of the summer exhibition: catalogue number 1024 is Solomon's portrait of Mme de Meray.

At artsalesindex.artinfo.com: the portrait of Mme de Meray by Joseph Solomon Solomon was sold at Sotheby's in March 1988.

Mary Ann de Meray died in 1923, aged 60; and in 1925 Jules married Annie Stack Lauder. He died a few months later.

Sources for SIR WROTH PERIAM CHRISTOPHER LETHBRIDGE (1863-1950) 5th Baronet:

Wikipedia on the Lethbridge baronetcy. Just noting that it was during the 5th Baronet's tenure that the ancestral home - Sandhill Park near Bishop's Lydiard - had to be sold. Car

driving was an expensive habit; as was litigation; and divorce.

Times Fri 28 November 1902 p11 short obituary of the 6th Baronet, Wroth Acland Lethbridge, and of Wroth P C Lethbridge, his heir: army 1885; Captain 1898; currently in Grenadier Guards.

Times Sat 3 June 1905 p5 Law Reports. Coverage of case heard in Court of Appeal: Attorney-General v Lethbridge in which lawyers for the 5th Baronet were arguing that death duties were not payable on insurance policies set up by the trustees of the Will of the 2nd Baronet. The Court's decision was in the Attorney-General's favour and the death duties had to be paid in full. Ouch.<http://www.npg.org.uk>

At www.thepeerage.com information on his three marriages. He was divorced twice - quite a record for the early 20th century.

SATURDAY 27 OCTOBER 1906

The ACA held its first annual dinner.

Source:

Times Sat 27 October 1906 p14 Court and Social Column list of today's events.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't found a full guest list for this or any subsequent ACA dinners. In some years, the more important guests are named; usually those who made speeches, which William never did. As a member of its management committee William ought to have attended the dinners, though, unless he had a prior engagement.

?15 NOVEMBER 1906

The Times printed a preview of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders' 5th annual car show at Olympia. As well as describing the main features of the show, the report promoted the ACA, mentioning the temporary club-house it would have on the show-floor for the whole of the exhibition.

Source: Times Thurs 15 November 1906 p13: Motor Cars at Olympia.

Comment by Sally Davis. Like most newspapers, the Times didn't name its columnists at this time; the report is just credited to "our special correspondent". The focus on the ACA, though; and the lyrical praise of the "gorgeous yellow" Daimler made for the Nizam of Hyderabad did make me wonder whether William was the writer and by this time, William did have one friend that I know about who definitely wrote for the Sunday Times at least and might have mentioned William's name when the editors of the Times were looking for someone to report on the car show:

For Frank Rutter's art columns for the Times: Times Monday 19 April 1937 p16 obituary of Frank Rutter. Rutter had started to write for the Sunday Times in 1904.

The next part of this three-part life-by-dates of William Humphrys covers 1907-09; return to my GD introduction page to find it. The last part covers 1910-50.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the

names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

THE PROBLEM NOTEBOOKS: my anxieties about their authorship/ownership. They are in the Gerald Yorke Collection at the Warburg Institute: catalogue numbers NS59, NS60 and NS100 (the notebooks) and NS103 Item 7 (a typescript of some but not all of their contents). IF their author has been correctly identified, they might show what occult work William was doing in the months after being admitted to the GD's 2nd Order. But I have to say I am rather worried about them. Gerald Yorke bought them on the understanding that they were the work of William Humphrys but when I looked at them, I couldn't actually find any of that evidence that we historians like to see as some guarantee of authorship - names, addresses, 'ex libris' inserts, 'to X on his birthday from Y' - that sort of thing. And the handwriting in NS59 is not all by the same person - at least, I don't think it is. William's GD motto has been written on the inside cover of the notebooks; but the writing (in biro) is Gerald Yorke's. There were dates on some of the pages of some of the notebooks, in pencil like most of the contents and probably scribbled on around the time the contents were written down. The dates are all in

July and August 1901.

Gerald Yorke's interpretation of the contents of the notebooks was that they concerned the Enochian alphabet and its meanings. The typescript puts into readable form the handwritten notes in the notebooks, taken down during a series of sessions in which a medium, in trance, related to a scribe what she was seeing in her visions. Fair enough.

In his short introduction to the typescript Yorke identifies four people as being at the sessions: William Humphrys; a GD member whose motto was shortened to 'V' and who Yorke thought was Joseph K Gardner; Florence Farr; and the medium, whom he couldn't identify beyond the initials of her motto (it's definitely a woman). I've got a lot of problems with Yorke's identifications. Firstly, Humphrys: Yorke calls him the scribe and organiser of the sessions and see above for my worries about that. Secondly Joseph Gardner: his motto was Valet Anchora Virtus which was shortened to VAV, not V; in addition, he lived in Liverpool and had a full-time job there so he was not going to be available for evening sessions in London extending over nearly two months. In fact, reading the actual typescript (rather than the introduction) I saw that the person 'V' hadn't actually been present at any of the sessions; V's importance was in having a window in their house which had a design in it that the group used as the focus for the first in the series of rituals. I suggest that the 'V' in question was 'Vigilate' - Helen Rand, a very active GD member who lived in Surrey and whose house many GD members had visited. Thirdly, Florence Farr: the typescript mentions specifically which sessions she attended and she was present at only three of the fifteen. Fourthly, and most troubling, the medium. A note by Yorke in notebook NS60 interpreted the scrawled two initials of her motto as 'IO' or possibly 'JO'. Actually the 'I' or 'J' letter looked more like a hastily drawn bass-clef symbol to me but I quite see that it can't be. Yorke couldn't figure out who this was, and I don't know of anyone in the GD up to 1901 whose motto would have those initials: not in R A Gilbert or my own list of mottos. It could be someone who was initiated after that. Or the little group might have brought in a good medium from outside the order but I can't believe they did that.

22 November 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

This is the second part of my life-by-dates of Golden Dawn member William Evans Hugh Humphrys (1876 to 1950) and covers 1907-09, the busiest part of his life. The first part covers 1876 to 1906. The third part covers 1910-50.

SO, CARRYING ON FROM PART 1, WITH 1907, an important year for William. If you've arrived at this file without seeing Part 1: the ACA I refer to continually below is the Automobile Co-operative Association, formed in 1906 to buy in cars and car parts at list price for its members.

EARLY IN 1907

William took over the magazine *The Steam Car and Electromobile Review*. He offered his new magazine to the ACA as its car magazine outlet. As part of the deal with the ACA William accepted a place on its management committee; and the ACA agreed to pay £20 per issue for 8 pages of coverage. George Polsue became a director of the limited company founded to run the new magazine; and his firm printed it, from its first issue until mid-1911. William was the new magazine's managing director. He lent the limited company quite a lot of money.

PLEASE NOTE. Comment by Sally Davis on the clumsy name of William's magazine: throughout its existence, it was always called *The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review*. I'm shortening that to *Automobile Owner*....

Comment by Sally Davis on the agreement with the ACA: William later said it lasted only a few months; but even after those months had elapsed, the ACA had large adverts in most issues of William's magazine and plenty of news coverage as well.

Sources:

The Steam Car and Electromobile Review from February 1906 to January 1907.

Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 3 May 1910 p114.

For a possible reason why George Polsue might have been willing to sell:

The American and English Annotated Cases volume 4 1907 p373-77; and in text books on the law of torts: *Polsue and Alfieri Ltd v Rushmer* of 1906. Rushmer was Polsue and Alfieri's downstairs neighbour in Gough Square; he ran a dairy. The legal case upheld an injunction Rushmer had obtained to prevent Polsue and Alfieri using their printing machinery at night. In late 1906 Polsue and Alfieri were having to pay the costs of a case their firm had lost; and facing the necessity of moving to new premises where they could carry on their noisy normal business.

For the change of ownership:

Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 9 November 1910 pp270-77, more or less verbatim report of legal proceedings in a libel case; including William and George Polsue giving evidence; and William being cross-examined.

Comment by Sally Davis. Anxious not to foist too much alienating change of the readers of the old magazine happy, in his first few months William's new magazine kept pretty-much to the old one's format. It had a similar high-quality paper, typeface and layout on the page - but then, it was being printed by the same printers. It managed to keep a lot of the same advertisers; though I did notice that the Automobile Association dropped out. It had the same rather lavish use of photographs and diagrams; these didn't come cheap, of course, but a lot of the magazine's articles were highly technical features on how to understand and/or mend your own engine, and one diagram is worth a thousand words. Authors like Geoffrey Holden-Stone, David J Smith, and the writer identified only as 'Generator' continued their monthly columns at first, and though Holden-Stone's column ended, David J Smith continued to write regularly for William's magazine until it closed. William might have known David Smith for several years already: Smith's garage was the English agent for Darracq-Serpollet cars and it was situated off Goswell Street, near where William lived and worked.

William did introduce some new features over the next few months: a series of profiles of well-known car owners; and a column for women drivers.

FROM FEBRUARY TO NOVEMBER 1907

Though not all of its readers were ACA members, *Automobile Owner...* did portray itself as the voice of the ACA.

Comment by Sally Davis: William was quite specific about when *Automobile Owner...* stopped describing itself that way - December 1907, probably when the £20-per-issue agreement he'd made with the ACA ran out. Although in the short term, being so closely associated with the ACA probably made William more secure about his magazine's future, in the longer term, being seen as the voice of the ACA was more of a handicap than an asset.

Sources: *Automobile Owner..* volume 5 number 9 November 1910. About the editorial independence of the magazine: p271 evidence of William; and p275 evidence of the ACA's Secretary R G Whitcomb. And p272 that *Automobile Owner...* was not just the ACA's members' magazine.

FEBRUARY 1907

The first issue of *The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review* was published From 1907 to 1912 its editorial and publishing offices were at 67-69 Chancery Lane. At least until 1908, producing the magazine was the main task in William's life.

Comment by Sally Davis. George Polsue might have insisted that some element of his original magazine name be kept, but that's a long and clumsy title! I shall be referring to William's magazine as *Automobile Owner...*

William will have known 67-69 Chancery Lane, of course. The classically-decorated frontage of the building survived the Blitz and is still there, at the north end of the street near the T-junction traffic lights at High Holborn; with one shop at either address and an entrance between them into the floors above. The upper floors are all flats now and immediately behind them, all is new, faceless yellow brick. In William's time the different rooms were mostly rented out to businesses though Crowley actually lived in the rooms he rented, and on the day of the 1911 census William said he was living in his two rooms, as well as running his various businesses from them.

Automobile Owner... cost the same as its predecessor for most of its existence - 3d per monthly issue - and up to mid-1910, it never made a profit. William later described himself as its managing director but he did a great deal more than that, especially during its first two years: he's credited with a lot of the articles and from the style of many of the uncredited ones, I think he wrote a lot of those as well. In the magazine's first year he did a series of interviews for a 'prominent car owners' column; though this column was dropped in 1908 perhaps because William didn't have time for it. Although no editor's name was given before October 1908, William may have done the editing and produced the short news reports from February 1907. As managing director he would have been in charge of the magazine's finances, both incomings and outgoings. There's evidence of his discussing with clients the layout of their adverts. I haven't been able to discover how many staff William employed - whether he had a permanent typist, for example, or an accounts clerk. To keep his costs down, he might have done a lot of that kind of work himself. New technology was something he was interested in anyway, of course, but he was particularly keen to come across new processes that could make the *Automobile Owner's...* production process easier. By June 1907 regular columnists were able to dictate their articles into a wax cylinder and send it direct to a typist.

Sources:

For Crowley and Bennett in 69 Chancery Lane: Perdurabo p54, p62.

Automobile Owner.. volume 2 number 1.

Automobile Owner.. volume 5 number 9 November 1910 pp270-77, more or less verbatim report of the legal proceedings in a libel case; including William and George Polsue giving evidence; and William being cross-examined.

For the new technology: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 5 June 1907 p147, p165.

FEBRUARY 1907

William had two credited articles in the Automobile Owner's first issue: Where the Click Came From, about his trip to the south of France; and the first of his profiles of notable car owners, which featured Sir Charles Knox, a hero of the Boer War who was on the ACA's advisory council.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 1 February 1907: pp4-5 and pp6-8.

DURING MARCH 1907

William almost certainly went to Olympia to see the Motor Boat show there.

Source: no actual proof, but see March 1907.

MARCH 1907

William's credited articles in this month's Automobile Owner... were a profile of Colonel W T Bosworth in the notable car owners series; and a report on the Commercial Motor Vehicles show held at Olympia. William may also have written the coverage of the motor boat show also recently held at Olympia; though this article wasn't credited.

Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 2 March 1907: pp38-39; pp 53-54; pp 54-55 motoring events. Just noting that on p53 there was a list of the newly-elected committee of the Royal Automobile Club: William wasn't one of them.

APRIL 1907

William's articles this month in Automobile Owner... were a report on Cordingley's Motor Show; and a profile of the Hon Mrs Assheton Harbord, who was a keen balloonist as well as a car owner.

Comment by Sally Davis: just confirming that William did interview the notable car owners himself for that series of columns. He allowed Mrs Harbord a paragraph in her profile in which to protest against vivisection - she was a campaigner on the issue.

Sources: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 3 April 1907 pp78-80 for Mrs Harbord and pp88-91 for Cordingley's Motor Show.

Sources for May Constance Harbord:

Familysearch has a birth date of 6 June 1866 for May Constance Cuningham, daughter of James MacNab Cuningham and his wife Mary née Falconer. She was born in Simla.

Website www.thepeerage.com which uses Burke's Peerage as a source, says that May married Arthur Rankin Blackwood in 1885.

At www.familytreecircles.com, Arthur Rankin Blackwood died in Victoria Australia in 1905.

Website www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk on the barony of Suffield: May Blackwood married

Assheton Harbord, second son of the 5th Baron Suffield, in Chelsea in April 1905 (which seems rather soon after her first husband died). Assheton Harbord was a distant relation of the husband of GD member Lady Eleanor Harbord. The Cuninghams were Scottish, with a tradition of working in India for the East India Company and the British government.

At www.gracesguide.co.uk, Grace's Guide to Industrial History, an account of May Harbord's ballooning exploits which included crossing the English Channel four times. In May 1912 she became the first woman in the UK to gain an Aeronaut's Certificate.

She died in 1928.

10 APRIL 1907

The Automobile Co-operative Association was registered as a limited company.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 9 November 1910 p270 Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader evidence of William Humphrys. P273 evidence of William: as part of the founding of the company, money had been loaned to it by two people who were now debenture holders: William held the majority of the debentures - 400. The other debenture holder wasn't named during the hearing. I suppose it's most likely to have been George Polsue; though Viscount Massereene and Ferrard (see below) is another possibility. On p273 evidence of George Polsue: he was one of the directors of the limited company.

Comment by Sally Davis. William was another director of the company of course. No other directors were mentioned during the case so perhaps there were only the two of them.

22 APRIL 1907

The Times published a letter from Sir Wroth Lethbridge, writing as the current chairman of the ACA; protesting that the officials who ran Hyde Park were continuing to refuse to allow cars to drive into it.

Comment by Sally Davis: this was the sort of campaigning the ACA was doing for its members.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 3 April 1907: p88-91; p78-80.

Times Mon 22 April 1907 p17.

23 APRIL 1907

William may have attended the dinner which launched the Motor Club.

Source: see May 1907.

FROM APRIL 1907 TO AT LEAST NOVEMBER 1910

Whenever he got the chance, William bought up small numbers of shares in Automobile Owner... limited; so that by November 1910 he owned 10,000 shares in the company.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 9 November 1910 p270 Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader p271 evidence of William. Unfortunately no one asked him how many shares there were in total; I imagine that he was the company's major shareholder by November 1910.

MAY 1907

The only article in May's issue of Automobile Owner... which is credited to William is that month's 'car owner' profile, which featured the recently-married Beatrice Wolseley who was an active member of the Ladies' Automobile Club.

Comment by Sally Davis: this is just a hunch of mine, but I do wonder whether, during his interview with her, William asked Beatrice Wolseley if she'd like to write a column for his magazine. A series of articles for women drivers started up in Automobile Owner... very soon after this issue. The Ladies' Automobile Club had been formed in a spirit of defiance by a group of socially well-connected women drivers who had been refused membership of the RAC. It's possible that GD member Hon Gabrielle Borthwick was one of those annoyed women who went out and did something about being refused; though I have to say I haven't actually found any evidence that she was definitely a member of the LAC.

Sources:

Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 4 May 1907 pp112-13 for the profile of Beatrice Wolseley. And on pp118-119 an uncredited report on the dinner which launched the Motor Club; though there isn't a guest list. Though Automobile Owner... never really went in for 'letters from readers'; from this month onwards there, a few were published each issue (p122).

Beatrice, Lady Wolseley:

Dod's Peerage issue of 1914 she's Beatrice Sophia daughter of Colonel William Wallingford Knollys and niece of Baron Knollys. Married 1907 Sir Capel Wolseley who had succeeded as 9th Baronet in 1890. Via google I saw quite a lot of coverage of the wedding including the same photograph that accompanied William's profile of Beatrice: the bride getting into a car after the ceremony.

She was a writer. The British Library catalogue had three works by her:

1893 as Beatrice Sophia Knollys. My Black Spirit. A Novel London and Sydney: Remington and Co

1899 also as Knollys. The Gentle Art of Good Talking which went through two editions in that one year.

Then nothing at all until

1921 as Lady Wolseley. Rose Leaves from the Rose Room. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. A book of poems.

The Ladies' Automobile Club:

A Monthly Magazine devoted to the interests of New York Athletic Club volume 12 1903 p20 describes looking down the list of members of the LAC as like reading an edition of Burke's Peerage.

Good Housekeeping volume 38 1904 p343 names the Duchess of Marlborough as one of the the LAC's members.

Via google I reached www.gracesguide.co.uk/1904_Ladies_Automobile_Club where there was a list of the members of LAC in that year. Gabrielle Borthwick was not on the list.

The Horseless Age volume 17 1906 p56 noted that the LAC had taken on an engineer to teach car mechanics, a Mr R Sedgewick Currie. P604 the LAC's members had a special day at the Crystal Palace Show in February 1904.

The Auto: The Motorist's Pictorial volume 12 1907 p329 gave a description of Mr Sedgewick Currie's classes and the car the students worked on.

Automobile Topics volume 16 1908 p1157 the LAC was already organising races for its members.

Royal Automobile Club Yearbook 1908 p1 lists member clubs, which include the LAC. On p217 as with any gentlemen's club, you had to be elected to be a member of the LAC.

And for Gabrielle Borthwick, a notable car owner and car mechanic NOT interviewed by William for Automobile Owner..., see my biography of her on my GD web pages.

??DURING MAY 1907

William might have attended Bexhill races, and been invited by someone he met there, to go on a weekend drive by a group of car owners, from Long Acre in Covent Garden, to Bexhill; and back.

Source: see June 1907.

MID 1907

William must have been working hard making the contacts and sorting out the legal and financial issues for the launch of Automobile Owner..'s own insurance service for motorists.

Source: see November 1907.

??SUNDAY 9 JUNE 1907

William might have gone on the Motor Club's first organised group car trip, from Whitcomb Street in London to Brighton; as a passenger rather than a driver, in Mr Huntley Walker's Darracq.

Source: see June 1907.

17 JUNE 1907

Brooklands racing track was formally opened as the world's first purpose-built motor racing circuit.

Comment by Sally Davis: surely William must have been there. Brooklands had been made possible by the Motor Car Act of 1903 which abolished the 20mph speed limit on all roads that had been in force before. The idea of a car racing circuit was the brainchild of Hugh F Locke King.

Sources: there's plenty on Brooklands on the web, even some film. For the history, see wikipedia; and www.brooklandsmuseum.com

28-29 JUNE 1907

The first competitive event was held at Brooklands - a 24 hour race involving three Napier cars.

Source: wikipedia.

JUNE 1907

William's only credited article this month was a technical one about the use of graphite as a lubricant. Though the coverage was uncredited I think William must also have written the report on the new Linophone technology system just installed at Automobile Owner...'s printers (that's Polsue Ltd) by the Columbia Phonograph Company. And he might have written Automobile Owner...'s report on the trip to Bexhill; and the trip to Brighton.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 5 June 1907. Pp141 for the weekend drive to Bexhill; and p142 for the 9 June 1907 drive to Brighton; though both reports were uncredited. P147 for the article that's definitely by William: The Secret of Efficient Lubrication - Graphite and its Possibilities. (My scientific advisor Roger Wright says that William got it absolutely right about graphite.) P147 for Automobile Owner... 's new Linophone system; and I note that for the rest of the year there's an advertisement in each issue for the Columbia Phonograph Co of 64-66 Oxford Street, makers of dictaphones; better known now as Columbia Records.

JULY 1907

William's credited articles this month were the profile of the well-known rower Captain W H Darell of the Coldstream Guards, for the 'car owner' series; and one on a group car drive to Hastings in which he made the trip to Kent in Mr D'Arcy Baker's Fiat but came back in someone else's Panhard.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 6 July 1907: p177; p184.

SUMMER 1907

On one of his regular visits to Paris, Frank Rutter discussed the idea that eventually became the Allied Artists' Association with his sculptor friend Naoum Aronson.

Comment by Sally Davis: there's no evidence that William was involved at this stage; but he did get dragged in later on.

Sources:

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927: p180.

Naoum Aronson:

Wikipedia has a short page on Naoum Aronson (1872-1943) who seems to be no relation to the better-known David Aronson.

At digidoll.library.wisc.edu, the Digital Library of Decorative Arts and Material Culture: an article on Aronson's recent work, originally published in The Craftsman volume XIX number 1, October 1910 pp10-16; rather gushing in tone but most of it is illustrations including Aronson's head of Tolstoy.

AUGUST 1907

This month's issue of Automobile Owner... saw the first fiction column, Cynical Short Stories. A short story was published every month from this month until 1912, with the most regular writer being someone with the professional name of John Vicarsfield. The issue didn't contain any articles definitely by William.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 7 August 1907: pp239-47 for the short story.

Comment by Sally Davis: unlike some magazines designed for the wealthy, Automobile Owner... didn't take a summer break. If William had holidays between 1907 and 1912 they must have been short ones as I don't think he had anyone he could leave in charge of getting the magazine prepared and printed. And on the subject of John Vicarsfield: google didn't have anything on such a person and the British Library has nothing in its catalogue but him - tending to confirm my feeling that it was a pseudonym.

SEPTEMBER 1907

It was in this issue of Automobile Owner... that the reduction of the ACA's management committee to Lethbridge, de Meray and William was first announced. The three of them stayed in charge for the next three years. Two new (uncredited) series began: The Garages of London; and reports on motoring in the USA.

Comment by Sally Davis: I think William was the person whose three-week search for one particular car that was parked in a garage somewhere in London began the series on garages. Whoever it was did find the car in the end! But not before he'd visited every garage within 20 miles of Charing Cross.

Sources: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 8 September 1907. P269 for the reduction in ACA management committee numbers; p279-81 for the garage search; p289 motoring in the USA. It's very rare for the price of any car to be mentioned in adverts in the magazine, but on p266 the monthly advert for Vivinus steam-cars gave a price of £425 for a 22 to 28 horse-power vehicle. That would be about half the yearly income of the GD's Annie Horniman, by far its wealthiest member during the 1890s. Vivinus cars were made in Belgium; at this time the ACA was their agent in the UK.

For Vivinus cars see wikipedia.

OCTOBER 1907

There was no article credited to William this month but this issue did see the first column for women motorists: Musings of Miranda; which featured the members of the Ladies' Automobile Club.

Comment by Sally Davis about Miranda: if I'm not right that Beatrice Wolseley was 'Miranda' it must have been someone she knew, another member of the LAC.

Sources: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 9 October 1907 pp334.

WINTER 1907

Back in London, Frank Rutter started persuading his artist acquaintances to join the group that became the Allied Artists' Association, and by Christmas there was a founding group of 20 London-based artists including Walter Sickert and Gerald Kelly. The idea of holding an exhibition of contemporary British art in London was put to Frank by another Paris-based friend, Jan de Holewinski. Frank and Jan worked together organising that exhibition, until mid-1908.

Comment by Sally Davis: Frank Rutter's work in bringing contemporary modern art to London has been rather over-looked - the glory has tended to go to Roger Fry.

Sources:

For the Allied Artists' Association:

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927: p180-183.

Comment by Sally Davis: Frank doesn't mention exactly when he approached William to play a part in the financial and legal side of the AAA; but it must have been quite early on in the process.

For Jan de Holewinski:

Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the fin de siècle by Grace Brockington. Oxford and New York: Peter Lang 2009. On p39 of her chapter Walter Sickert and the Language of Art, and using Frank's memoirs as a source, Brockington mentions de Holewinski as a Polish artist and exhibition organiser, living in Paris in 1907. He and Frank met, in Paris, at some point during the winter of 1907-08. De Holewinski organised a

Russian Arts and Crafts Section for the first AAA exhibition: 175 exhibits including works by Kandinsky. In footnote 44 she says that Kandinsky exhibited at the AAA from 1908 to 1914 (except 1912); and in 1913 Brancusi exhibited three sculptures.

The British Library has one work by de Holewinski in its catalogue: A Sketch of the History of Polish Art published by the Polish Information Committee in 1916. However, via google I saw mention of An Outline of the History of Polish Literature published George Allen and Unwin 1916.

11 NOVEMBER 1907 at the Criterion Restaurant

The ACA held its second annual dinner, which William ought to have gone to, as a member of its management committee; though he didn't make any of the evening's speeches.

Sources: Automobile Owner volume 2 number 9 October 1907 on p331: an advance notice for readers who wanted to obtain tickets. The dinner was timed to coincide with the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders' car show at Olympia, the biggest event in the UK's motoring year.

See wikipedia for the Byzantine-style Criterion Restaurant of 8-9 Jermyn Street close by Piccadilly Circus. Built for the catering and wine merchandising firm of Spiers and Pond and opened in 1873, it was a complex of different-sized function rooms. By the ACA's time it had become very popular for ladies' afternoon tea meetings: the WSPU held meetings there regularly. For some more photos: historicdininglondon.blogspot.co.uk

NOVEMBER 1907

The Automobile Owner... launched its own car owners' insurance policy. Users would receive one year's issues of the magazine as part of the deal and also a subscription to either the Automobile Association or the Motor Union. This month's preview of the International Automobile Exhibition at Olympia was by William and he may also have written the report on the ACA's dinner though that was uncredited.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 10 November 1907. PP364-65 for the insurance policy.

DURING NOVEMBER 1907

William went over to Paris to see the motor show there - a much bigger event than Olympia with far more exhibitors.

Source: see December 1907.

DECEMBER 1907

William's article in this issue of Automobile Owner... was inevitably his report on the Paris motor show.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 2 number 11 December 1907. Pp418-20 William's The Paris Salon and its Lessons; and note the use of the term 'salon' as if the car show was an art exhibition, perhaps it's the influence of Frank Rutter!

Comment by Sally Davis: On p449 of this issue there was a long, uncredited report on the AGM of The Electrobus Co Ltd. Looking for the company on the web I came across plenty of reports on the legal cases that followed its demise in 1908 - prosecutions for fraud, embezzlement, patent fraud etc. I hope William hadn't invested in it!

1908 was a very busy year for William Humphrys.

JANUARY 1908

The only article credited to William in this month's issue of *Automobile Owner...* was one on how to deal with skids. He might have written the report on the new Turner-Miesse steam car, which was unusual for the time in being wholly manufactured in England. The month's coverage of the ACA featured its growing contacts in Europe.

Source: *Automobile Owner...* volume 2 number 12 January 1908: pp466-67 William's Skidding and Non-Skids. pp489-91 is the report on the Turner-Miesse steam car, made by Turner's Motor Manufacturing of Wolverhampton. And just noting firstly on p487 an advert for the Adams 10 horse-power car which emphasised that the car was simple enough (!) for a woman to drive it and showed one doing so, the two-seater version was 195 guineas, you paid 250 guineas for the four-seater; secondly p494 an advert for David J Smith's garage at Goswell Road which had second-hand Darracq-Serpellet cars for sale.

JANUARY 1908

The magazine *The Motor Trader* published an article which William thought libelled the reputation of *Automobile Owner...* It also published a list of firms who had done deals for the sale of their products through the ACA; causing some of *Automobile Owner...*'s current advertisers to cancel their adverts, and potential advertisers to change their minds, for fear of being black-listed.

Source: *Automobile Owner...* volume 5 number 9 November 1910 p272, p273 *Automobile Owner.. v The Motor Trader*, evidence of William Humphrys. The point he was making was that *Automobile Owner...* was dependent on its advertisers for the majority of its revenue. H E Morris gave evidence (p273) that you didn't have to have done a deal with the ACA to advertise in *Automobile Owner...* H E Morris and his brother ran a car manufacturing business in Stroud Green Road, north London. Their firm was not on ACA's list of suppliers. In August 1910 (volume 5 number 6 pp184-187) *Automobile Owner...* ran a long, lavishly illustrated article on Morris' brothers new model; and in October 1910 (volume 5 number 8 p252) printed an advert for it.

DURING JANUARY 1908

Almost certainly, William went on a motoring Sunday out to Hindhead in Surrey organised by the Motor Club; together with 13 other "leading writers on automobilism". The 14 of them (all men of course) had their photograph taken outside the Moorlands Hotel where the cavalcade stopped for lunch.

Source: see February 1908.

FEBRUARY 1908

Frank Rutter and Jan de Holewinski's Allied Artists Association was launched. Its offices were at 67-69 Chancery Lane.

Comment by Sally Davis: Frank chose the AAA's headquarters because it was a place he knew well as two of his friends already worked there - William, of course; and solicitor Elliott Gray who had been at Queen's College Cambridge with both of them. Frank persuaded William and Elliott to go onto the AAA's first management committee with him and Jan: Frank and Jan did the art, William did the finance, and Elliott gave legal advice. You can definitely detect William's hand in the registering of the AAA as an industrial and provident association; and in the way it raised money - all members having to buy at least one share in

the company, at £1 per share, and then paying a yearly subscription. Just like the ACA. Over the next few months Frank and Jan set about organising the first, huge exhibition of works.

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927. Particularly pp182-83. Aware that William Humphrys wouldn't be someone his readers would have heard of, Frank described him as a "motor expert and a director of several companies".

For Elliott Gray (Frank spells his forename wrongly):

Some information on Elliott Cecil George Gray (1877-1944):

Like William, Elliott was the son of a Church of England cleric. But Elliott had been born in India. He graduated in 1898, like Frank but not like William; and went to London to qualify as a solicitor. Later in his working life he was a partner in Dennis and Gray of 3 Lincoln's Inn Fields and Gerrard's Cross. He served in the Middlesex Regiment and then the RASC in the first World War. He retired to Cambridge.

Sources for Elliott Gray:

Kelly's PO London Directory issue of 1910 p241 street directory entry for 67-69 Chancery Lane lists only one solicitor: Philip John Rutland. Elliott Gray must have been a junior in Rutland's practice at the time.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen via google so no volume number but p119 in that volume.

Another viewpoint on the AAA:

Walter Sicket: A Biography. Denys Sutton. London: Michael Joseph 1976; p144 but with the surname spelled HumphrIEs.

ALSO FEBRUARY 1908

This month's article by William in Automobile Owner... considered the costs of motoring. This issue had more coverage of the ACA than usual, to promote its new Trade Information Bureau; and its new Motor Trade department, run by a Mr J B King who had been poached by the ACA from the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders.

Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 1 February 1908. On p12 William's article: What it Costs to Run a Car. On p13, a photograph of the "leading writers on automobilism" outside the Moorlands Hotel at Hindhead during their day-trip from London. None of them are identified, alas, but surely William is amongst them. P29, p47 for the ACA's latest ventures.

MARCH 1908

The problem of government taxation of motoring reared its ugly head in Automobile Owner... for the first time, in an article by William written on the assumption that a tax on cars would be part of the forthcoming Liberal Party budget. Automobile Owner...s own booklet for car owners who employed staff to do their motoring for them - The Chauffeur's Blue Book - was advertised, also for the first time.

Comment by Sally Davis: William's views on the taxation of cars show (at least to me) that he wasn't a slavish Conservative: he thought a tax on the cars of those who motored for pleasure, who were "able to spend money on indulgence" and still "afford to contribute handsomely to the National Exchequer" was fair. He suggested that the German method of a scale of payments based on the horse-power of the vehicle was a good one; and that - at least

at first - was the method that the Liberal Party chose.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 2 March 1908. P51 for the Chauffeur's Blue Book; which was obtainable from 67-69 Chancery Lane. Pp60-61 William's article: The Problem of Motor Taxation.

26 MARCH 1908

The AGM of the ACA was held at its offices at 1 Albemarle Street. William made what I think was his only speech at the ACA's meetings: a short reply to some praise of him by Jules de Meray in his speech as the chairman.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 3 May 1908 pp121-125. De Meray's speech is the source for how William's magazine and the ACA got together and William ended up on the ACA's management committee. Most of the speech was outlining de Meray's plans for greater cooperation between the ACA and motoring organisations in Europe and the USA; over the next year a lot of effort was put into this by the ACA though I don't think William was much involved in it.

29 MARCH 1908

A Mr Humphrys (sic) was a passenger in a car which was driving through Albourne in Sussex when there was an accident in which several people were hurt. When the police arrived at the scene, the driver and his passengers argued that their car hadn't been involved in the accident; but the police arrested the driver anyway. He turned out to be the brother of two well-known actresses.

Comment by Sally Davis: I think the Mr Humphrys who subsequently gave evidence when the case reached court, was the GD's William, keeping up his Cambridge University habit of getting friendly with actresses. The two actresses on this occasion were Phyllis and Zena Dare and the arrested man was their brother John William Cecil Dones.

Source: Times Tues 26 May 1908 p14 and Motor Car Journal volume 10 1908 p290 which identified the two actresses.

The wikipedia page on Phyllis Dare also covers her sister Zena who doesn't seem to have been so well-known.

At search.ancestry something dates for John W C Dones, known as Jack - 1888-1939 (so he's considerably younger than William). And at discovery.nationalarchives.gov, the divorce petition (1922) of John W C Dones against his wife Buna Regina Dones; with a named co-respondent.

APRIL 1908

There was no issue of Automobile Owner... this month. William was just too busy, I suppose!

In addition to all the other things going on in his working life, he had to attend two more motor shows: Cordingley's Automobile Exhibition, at the Royal Agricultural Halls; and the spring show at Olympia.

Sources: see May 1908.

MAY 1908

Automobile Owner... reappeared, with one credited article by William: Comments on the Shows, by which he meant the Cordingley and Olympia spring shows.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 3 May 1908 pp105-06.

23 MAY 1908

A rather disparaging report on Cordingley's Automobile Exhibition appeared in the Times. It's possible William was the author - he was similarly less than enthusiastic in his article for Automobile Owner... - though the report was only credited to a special correspondent.

Times Mon 23 May 1908 p11.

26 MAY 1908 accident

John Dones had to attend the magistrates court at Haywards Heath to answer charges arising from the car accident in March. Mr Humphrys persuaded the judge that Mr Dones' arrest was a case of mistaken identity - the car he'd been driving hadn't been involved in the crash. All charges were dismissed.

Source: Times Tues 26 May 1908 p14. I think that the Mr Humphrys who gave evidence on John Dones' behalf was the GD's William.

Motor Car Journal volume 10 1908 p290 also covers the case; as a case of mistaken identity.

JUNE 1908

William's only credited article in this month's Automobile Owner... was a rather anxious one on the future of the Brooklands motor racing track, which was in financial trouble. However, an uncredited article on the Diamond Fire Extinguisher is almost certainly by him, the first indication of William's involvement in the dry-powder fire extinguisher trade.

Sources: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 4 June 1908 p158. William might have been an investor in the track himself; but even if he hadn't bought any shares he would certainly have known some of those who had. On pp144-145: The Newest Fire Extinguisher relates how a representative of Diamond Fire Extinguisher Ltd gave a demonstration of his firm's product, in a bucket in the writer's office. The writer was very impressed and persuaded the demonstrator to let him have several canisters to be assessed by some of his readers; though after several repeats of the demo, he was very glad to open the windows!

William was not the only person treated to a demonstration of this new product: the anonymous article in Automobile Owner... mentioned that earlier in the year, the Prince and Princess of Wales had watched a demonstration in the grounds of Marlborough House, their London residence. They had bought canisters for all their houses - an order of several hundred items.

Sources for the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd:

The British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd existed by 1901, it's in that year's issue of Companies volume 10 issued by the Board of Trade; p51.

Via archive.commercialmotor.com to Commercial Motor volume 20 1908 issue of 18 June 1908 p924. This article gave the firm its full name - the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd - and its current address - 65 London Wall, a short walk from Chancery Lane. The Commercial Motor's reporter wasn't quite so enthusiastic as William was: he thought the canister would be more efficient if it had some kind of nozzle, to direct the powder onto the fire. But it was cheap and very light (weighing only three pounds).

16 JUNE 1908

There was a demonstration of the diamond fire extinguisher on the Strand near the Aldwych; with a lunch afterwards at which the Viscount Massereene and Ferrard was the chairman. Speeches were made at the lunch by Joseph Whaley, as the inventor of the dry-powder mix that the extinguisher used; and by a Mr Gomme representing the London County Council, one of the firm's biggest customers.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 5 July 1908 p197.

Comment by Sally Davis: there's not a full guest-list for the lunch, but if William was as keen on the product as he seems to have been (see below) he probably attended both the demo and the social occasion afterwards.

Was the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd's product patented? It's clear that some of the users thought it was. I didn't find any evidence of such a patent, and a lot of evidence that one never existed; including some inadvertently provided by William. I think it's telling that the British Diamond company didn't sue makers of similar products for breach of patent; presumably because it had no grounds.

JULY-DECEMBER 1908

The Automobile Owner... promoted the Diamond fire extinguisher with full-page adverts and lots of mentions in the text of the magazine. And William got very heavily involved indeed with the firm: by September the address of its offices had moved from London Wall to 69 Chancery Lane so he may have invested in it and perhaps even become a director.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 7 September 1908 p258 and subsequent issues to December 1908 but not in 1909.

11 JULY-AUGUST 1908

The Allied Artists' Association held its first, huge, exhibition, at the Royal Albert Hall.

Sources:

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927. Particularly p12, pp49-55; p76; p153.

Times Sat 11 July 1908 and two other days; p1 in the small ads Arts Exhibitions section: an advert for the exhibition on its first day, placed by Frank Rutter as the AAA's secretary.

Times Mon 13 July 1908 p10d the Salon Review. An slightly disparaging assessment of the AAA's exhibition; uncredited as usual.

Via archive.spectator.co.uk to the Spectator of 25 July 1908 p17 a more enthusiastic review by "HS" who considered that the exhibition had more than justified the AAA's existence.

Both reviews commented that the Royal Albert Hall was not a good place to show art works except in having lots of room and wall-space.

JULY 1908

This issue of Automobile Owner... is mostly notable for the amount of space in it given to the Diamond fire extinguisher. Though an article credited to William did discuss an anonymous Eastern potentate who owned two motor boats, one for himself and one for his wives.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 5 July 1908 p198 and passim for the fire extinguisher.

15 JULY 1908

Yet another demonstration of the British Diamond company's fire extinguisher. This one was organised by the Motor Club and took place during the Club's day-trip to Hastings.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 6 August 1908 p236-37, with a photo of one of the demos on the Strand. It's not clear whether William was on the day-trip.

AUGUST 1908

The August issue of Automobile Owner... strayed from its core subject-matter to give the Allied Artists' Association exhibition some coverage. William was so busy this summer that there was no article credited to him this month.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 6 August 1908.

?8 AUGUST 1908 ??22 AUGUST 1908 (the Automobile Owner... and the Times don't agree on the date of the race)

An unexpected boost for the British Diamond fire extinguisher came during the One Hour Record Race at the Franco-British Exhibition stadium in Shepherd's Bush: it put out a fire in C E Bennett's Mansfield motor cycle so quickly that he was able to get back aboard and carry on driving, coming in second.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 7 September 1908 p272.

From www.open.ac.uk the dates of the Franco-British exhibition which had been in preparation for several years: 26 May to 31 Oct 1908.

Wikipedia on the Franco-British exhibition which was held at the White City site later occupied by the BBC building and a housing estate.

Times Mon 24 August 1908 p11 Automobilmism: Motor Cycling at the Stadium, about the motor cycle races held "on Saturday" [22 Aug 1908]. The main race was a one-hour one. The Times mentions a near-collision during the race between C E Bennnett and C R Collier; and that Bennett had to stop at about the 30mile mark because of "faulty contact breaker"; but it didn't mention his bike catching fire.

Web page www.bennetracing.co.uk is a website prepared by C E Bennett's son, who remembers the motorbikes in his father's life. He was Charlie Bennett, known as 'Wag'. After serving an apprenticeship Charlie went to work for the Mansfield cycle company in Canning Town, where he built his first motorcycle around 1907. He later raced motorcycles at Brooklands and on the Isle of Man.

SEPTEMBER 1908

An anonymous article in this month's Automobile Owner... reviewed Frank Rutter's *The Path to Paris*, suggesting that drivers use it as a handbook when making the trip from Le Havre to Paris. The reviewer knew the writer well enough to say that he was no motorist. William didn't have any articles credited to him in this issue.

Comment by Sally Davis: William must be the reviewer, surely, neatly combining two of his current preoccupations - art and motoring - and promoting his friend's new book.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 7 September 1908 p282 for the review; and p258 for a full-page advert for the Diamond dry powder fire extinguisher, with first mention of the firm's address being 69 Chancery Lane - meaning William was in charge. I wonder

what the firm's original investors thought?

OCTOBER 1908

This issue of *Automobile Owner...* was the first to have a named editor; and it wasn't William, it was the Viscount Massereene and Ferrard. On the back page of this issue and the next two, the British Diamond fire extinguisher company had a full-page advert. None of the articles this month were credited to William.

Source: *Automobile Owner...* volume 3 number 8 October 1908 with the Viscount's first editorial on p297. The magazine's offices were still at 69 Chancery Lane; and Polsue Ltd were still its printers.

Comment by Sally Davis: Viscount M and F admitted in this issue that this was his first editorial. Up until September 1908, therefore, someone else had edited *Automobile Owner...* and though that person remained anonymous throughout, I can't really think who else it could be but William. Now, though, William had so much else going on in his life - and he was probably already thinking ahead to yet another project - that something had to give. Under the Viscount's editorship, the magazine went in some new directions, the most obvious being the increased coverage of aeroplanes (William doesn't seem to have had any interest in planes); and greater use of the editorial and articles for campaigns on behalf of car owners. The editorials also got longer, the Viscount having more leisure time, I daresay.

Viscount M and F was on the advisory council of the ACA and had been promoting the rights of car owners for several years. He and William had things in common other than an interest in cars. They were near contemporaries (Viscount M and F had been born in 1873) and both families were landowners in Ireland, though the Clotworthy Skeffingtons were hugely more wealthy than the Humphrys family. Viscount M and F succeeded to his titles in 1905 and, sitting in the English House of Lords as Baron Oriel, was an opponent of independence for Ireland, a political view that William may have shared. In the 1920s he was an Ulster Unionist senator in the Northern Ireland parliament and got part of his house burned down by the IRA for his pains.

More information on the Clotworthy Skeffington family; and William's editor who is Algernon William John Clotworthy Skeffington, 12th Viscount Massereene and 5th Viscount Ferrard.

At www.proni.gov.uk the introduction to the Foster Massereene Papers gives a detailed family history; dated November 2007.

Wikipedia has a list of the various holders of the three main family titles. William's acquaintance - like so many of the other car drivers William knew - was married twice: in 1905 he married Jean Barbara Ainsworth; she died in 1937 and in 1941 he married Florence Clementine Vere-Laurie.

There's a photo of him with his second wife, taken at the Bassano Ltd studios in 1940: see www.npg.org.uk NPG X84223.

28 OCTOBER 1908

The ACA held its third annual dinner at the Criterion Restaurant. In his speech as the year's ACA president, the Earl of Onslow mentioned that the ACA's turnover in the previous year had been about £100,000. Amongst the other car-owning guests at the dinner, was William's GD acquaintance, solicitor Percy William Bullock.

Times Fri 30 October 1908 p4.

For the guest-list including William, and Percy Bullock: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 9 November 1908 p354-56, which was uncredited. You didn't have to be a member of the ACA to attend its annual dinner but I expect Percy was one. Just noting that Percy's wife Pamela wasn't with him at the do, although it was not a men-only affair, there are several women in a photograph taken during the evening.

NOVEMBER 1908

This issue did have an article by William. He discussed the possibility of using liquid air (?) in internal combustion engines, as an alternative to petrol.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 9 November 1908 p352; back page for the British Diamond fire extinguisher advert.

DURING NOVEMBER 1908

As usual, William went with other writers on motoring for a preview tour of the Olympia motor show.

Source: see December 1908.

BY DECEMBER 1908

The ACA management committee had taken on some new members; all men, and most of them senior employees.

Source: see December 1908.

DECEMBER 1908

This month's issue of Automobile Owner... had William's assessment of the Olympia car show. It also had a new column for women drivers, the reverie of Rosamund.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 3 number 10 December 1908. Pp385-88 for William's reflections on Olympia, with photos. P392 what I think is a first: an article (rather than just photos) on flying planes; focusing on the recent visit to Europe by the Wright brothers. On p393 the Reverie of Rosamund column; still anonymous but definitely by a new writer - it has a more gossipy tone, less coverage of the Ladies' Automobile Club and more discussion of what women should wear to go motoring while still looking fashionable. I wonder if William was getting anxious about the Automobile Owner... 's finances? - on p394 the magazine offered its list of 15,000 readers to traders. On the back page, the last of three full-page adverts by the British Diamond fire extinguisher company. The advert was the last time the company was even mentioned in the magazine.

THROUGHOUT 1909 and EARLY 1910

There was no coverage whatsoever in Automobile Owner... of any fire extinguisher, dry powder or otherwise. It's often difficult to spot an absence, but this one really caught the eye after the amount of space given to the British Diamond company's product during most of 1908. However, the silence was definitely not the result of William no longer being interested; quite the reverse, I'd say.

1909

EARLY 1909

William had articles on the same subject in the January, February and March issues of *Automobile Owner...*, looking ahead to a legal case being brought by the Mercedes car company, owner of a patent on a gate change.

Sources: *Automobile Owner...* volume 3 number 11 January 1909 pp425-26; volume 3 number 12 February 1909 p464 with a reply from Mercedes; and volume 4 number 1 March 1909 pp16-19, declaring that 50,000 motorists would be affected by the outcome of the case; and with many letters on the subject.

DURING MARCH 1909

Though it was rather outside his area of expertise, William went to Olympia to cover an aeroplane show for *Automobile Owner...*

Source: see April 1909.

PROBABLY 9 MARCH 1909

William was elected a member of the Institute of Journalists.

Comment by Sally Davis: within the Institute's membership was a large sub-group of people based in London. This group had its own committee and held regular social events: a monthly meeting for example, conversaciones and an annual dinner. The Institute as a whole came together for an annual conference in August of each year.

Source for his membership: Scoop! database, held by the British Library, and based on the Institute of Journalists' records. The database says that William was a member between 1909 and 1913. However, it doesn't give the exact date he joined.

Source for the Institute's social life; I only looked through 1909 but I daresay the events that year were typical of any year up to the first World War:

Times Sat 6 March 1909 p6 a London group conversazione 1430 at the Trocadero.

Times 9 March 1909 p8 a report on the day before's meeting of the Institute's London group. 27 new journalists were elected members, including the editors of *Punch* and *The Observer*. None were named; however, it's likely William was one of them.

Times Sat 21 August 1909 p13 announcement of this year's annual conference, to be held in Plymouth at the end of the month. 300-400 members plus guests would be attending. The announcement mentioned a decision reached at last year's conference, to provide members with insurance against unemployment.

Times Mon 29 November 1909 p6 Public Dinners, including a short report on the Institute's annual dinner at the Criterion Restaurant the previous Saturday. William isn't on the list of named guests, which included the publisher John Murray and the Antarctic explorer Ernest Shackleton.

The Times is very well informed about the Institute's events: I should imagine most of the newspaper's staff were members.

?APRIL 1909

Automobile Owner... company limited held its AGM. It was still running at a loss and William made up the year's loss from his own money.

Source for the magazine making a loss: *Automobile Owner...* volume 5 number 9 November

1910 Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader p273 evidence of William Humphrys.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't got a date for this, but the company's AGM should have been held on or near the anniversary of its registration.

?APRIL 1909

The ACA held its AGM at the Prince's Hotel Piccadilly. In his chairman's speech, de Meray announced that the ACA would be paying a dividend of 15% to its share-holders.

Comment by Sally Davis: a nice wind-fall for William.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 3 May 1909, Supplement pvii. And on pv of the supplement, a report on the ACA's annual meeting held at the Prince's Hotel Piccadilly.

APRIL 1909

William's report on the Olympia air show included a confession that he didn't know anything much about aeroplane chassis.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 2 April 1909 pp54-55: Castles in Spain and Motors Not in the Air.

Comment by Sally Davis: just confirming that when engines took to the air, they lost the interest of William Humphrys.

FRIDAY 9 APRIL TO MONDAY 11 APRIL 1909

William went to the Easter race meeting at Brooklands.

Source: see May 1909

MAY 1909

William had two credited articles in this month's Automobile Owner..., both of which involved worries about money. His report on the Brooklands race meeting noted that it had been crucial for the survival of the company that owned the track. And his article on the recent Budget said gloomily that he hadn't expected car owners to be hit so hard. This issue had a supplement, which William would have had to put together for the printers in addition to preparing the main magazine: coverage of a dinner held in Brussels on 9 March 1909 to launch the International Co-operative Federation of Motorists. Most of the supplement was verbatim reports of the speeches made that evening.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 3 May 1909. Pp100-02 on the Easter race meeting at Brooklands. On p112: the Budget's consequences for car owners. Supplement pi-vii.

Comments by Sally Davis: William's suggestions (made in 1908) about taxing vehicles according to their horse power had largely been followed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, William thought that the lower horse-power vehicles were going to be charged at too high a rate; and the rise in the price of petrol from 1d to 4d per gallon was far too much, especially in one go.

This month's supplement illustrates the type of reader Automobile Owner... had: the speeches of those who spoke in French, were printed in French with no English translation. The ICFM was the result of de Meray's hard work in Europe over the previous year. He attended the dinner and made one of those speeches in French. There was a short list of the most important guests: Sir Wroth Lethbridge was on the list; but William was not and I don't think

he was there.

JUNE 1909

William had no credited articles in this month's issue of Automobile Owner...

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 4 June 1909.

23 JUNE 1909

Jules and Mary Ann de Meray gave a reception at their house at 1 Rutland Gate Knightsbridge:300-400 guests were there. The evening included a concert and the display of Solomon Solomon's portrait of Mme de Meray.

Source: see July 1909 though there was no guest list.

Comment by Sally Davis: unless he had a prior engagement it would have been rather rude of William not to attend this event. And I'm just noting here that of the three men who had run the ACA on their own for a couple of years, Jules de Meray was the only one with a functioning wife! William was a bachelor; and Sir Wroth Lethbridge's marriage problems must have been well-known to his acquaintances by now.

SUMMER 1909

If William had been a close enough friend of Frank Rutter, he will have been invited to Sussex to be a guest at Frank's wedding to suffragette Thirsa Sarah Tiernan.

Source: freebmd but without the full date of course.

JULY 1909

This issue of Automobile Owner... had an article by William in which he returned to the vexed question of patents, with a legal case involving de Dion-Bouton now pending as well as the earlier one brought by Mercedes.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 5 July 1909. Pp176-77 for William's article on patents. P182 for the short, uncredited report of the de Merays' reception, with a photo of the portrait.

AUGUST 1909

William's credited article in this month's issue of Automobile Owner... was a cautionary tale about what happened if you didn't take extreme car buying parts for your car.

Comment by Sally Davis: some time earlier William had been out on one of the group-drives that were so popular, when his car broke down to the extent that even he couldn't fix it. He could see what was wrong - the coil had broken - but when he took it apart he found that was not at all what it had seemed when he had bought it. It had the name of an English firm on the outside, which he had taken as a guarantee of its quality; but inside it had French-made parts, held together with "the leaves of a French washing book" full of instructions on how to wash ladies' underwear. What use - he wrote - was that to an English bachelor stranded on the roadside? Accepting defeat, he and his car underwent the ignominy of being towed to a garage by an ancient Panhard. Back in London, he took the offending coil to S J Williams and Co of Shepherd's Bush and was shown how to make a coil properly.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 6 August 1909 p216

11 AUGUST 1909

Sir Wroth Lethbridge, representing all the directors of the ACA, gave evidence for the ACA in a court case brought by the IAG Syndicate Ltd.

Times Thurs 12 August 1909 p2 Law Reports on cases heard 11 August [1909]: IAG Syndicate Ltd v Lethbridge.

Comment by Sally Davis: the issues in the case aren't important, but that such a case was brought at all illustrates the strong feelings aroused by the ACA in motoring firms; a hostility that William was to regret in 1910. IAG Syndicate Ltd's case was that ACA should stop referring to itself in such a way that potential customers were confusing it with their firm. Perhaps references to the ACA in Automobile Owner... were amongst the references that IAG Syndicate Ltd considered were detrimental to their business.

SEPTEMBER 1909

William's article in Automobile Owner... this month was about synthetic rubber and the chances that the use of it would lead to cheaper tyres.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 7 September 1909 pp256-57.

OCTOBER 1909

Automobile Owner... published another article in which William assessed the possibility that another fuel might supercede petrol. This time it was a gas made from solid fuel.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 8 October 1909 p300; William means coal gas, I would suppose.

NOVEMBER 1909

William's regular preview of the motor show was published in Automobile Owner..., focusing on points potential car buyers should watch out for.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 9 November 1909 pp336-37; with the dates of the exhibition from the back page which had an advertisement for Daimler's stand at the show.

10 NOVEMBER 1909

The ACA held its fourth annual dinner at the Criterion Restaurant; on the same evening the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders held its annual dinner, and theirs got more coverage in the Times.

Sources:

Times Thurs 11 November 1909 p10 reports on both dinners. Just noting for future reference that the ACA's president, making the keynote speech this year, was the barrister Edward Marshall Hall. William was one of the named guests on the partial-list published by the Times.

Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 10 December 1909 pp394-98, including little cartoons of some of the notable guests. An important feature of this year's dinner was the number of European notables who were present, some of whom gave speeches.

Comment by Sally Davis: two such organisations both holding an important event on the

same evening does illustrate the depth of hostility the ACA aroused in the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders. Or did someone in one or other organisation just make a dreadful administrative blunder, picking the same date?

12 to 20 NOVEMBER 1909

The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders motor show at Olympia.

Source: see November 1909.

DECEMBER 1909

The Automobile Owner...’s report on the motor show was credited to a writer calling him or herself ‘Cynic’. No articles credited to William appeared in this issue.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 10 December 1909 pp380-81.

Comment by Sally Davis: This was the first time since the magazine had been published that the report had not been credited to William. Either he didn’t write it; or he did write it, but didn’t want his name to be associated with it in public. Not only were relations between the ACA and the Society of Motor Manufacturers very bad; but this year, William had his own reasons for feeling hostile towards them - for more on that, see November 1910.

For Part 3 of this three-part life-by-dates of William Humphrys, return to my GD introduction page.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn’s administrative records and its Members’ Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it’s now in the Freemasons’ Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe’s The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage; Burke’s Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

22 November 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

This is the third and last part of my life-by-dates biography of Golden Dawn member William Evans Hugh Humphrys. It covers 1910 to 1950. The two earlier parts cover 1876 to end 1906 including his period in the GD and 1907 to end 1909 the period for which there is most evidence and during which he was most busy.

To look at those, return to my GD introduction page and follow the links there.

Three short-forms used a lot in this file are:

1 = ACA. That's the Automobile Co-operative Association, formed in 1906 as a joint-stock company and friendly society, to supply its members with cars and car parts at list price. William Humphrys was on its management committee and Automobile Owner... magazine was very closely associated with the ACA.

2 = Automobile Owner... That's short for the full title of William's magazine: The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review. William was a part-owner of the magazine, one of its main creditors, and its managing director between 1907 and mid-1912; he wrote a lot of the articles that were published in it.

3 = Viscount M and F is the Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, editor of Automobile Owner... from late 1908 to mid-1912. For a fuller account of him, see Part 2.

CONTINUING AT 1910, a year which for William was dominated by court cases.

DURING 1910

10000 readers of Automobile Owner... were ACA members.

Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 9 November 1910 Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader p273. No one was asked to give a figure for the total readership, unfortunately.

JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1910

The Automobile Owner... had no articles in it which were credited to William. A new, uncredited column started up in the February issue: Law and Locomotion.

Sources: Automobile Owner... volume 4 number 11 January 1910; volume 4 number 12 February 1910 especially p484; and volume 5 number 1 March 1910. Some uncredited articles in these issues do look like his work, the kind of uncredited news items that he'd probably been writing since the magazine's first issue; though I don't think he was writing Law and Locomotion.

MARCH 1910

The price of Automobile Owner... dropped from 3d to 1d per monthly issue.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 1 March 1910, front page.

DURING MARCH 1910

The ACA held its 4th AGM. In his speech as its chairman, Jules de Meray said that business during 1909 had been twice that of 1908. As a result, the ACA had plenty of capital and also some cash in the bank. William would have been at this meeting though no guest list was published.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 2 April 1910 p48.

APRIL 1910

A new fire extinguisher was advertised in this month's issue of Automobile Owner... after 15 months in which no fire extinguishers of any kind had had any coverage in the magazine. The new one was made by the Radium Fire Extinguisher Co, of 67 Chancery Lane. Also in this issue was an uncredited article on the company's product, claiming that its fire-extinguishing powder was 700 times more effective than similar powder-based products; and that (unlike similar products) its powder did not absorb water.

Comment by Sally Davis: for 67-69 Chancery Lane, see the two previous files. On the 1911 census form William said he was the proprietor of a company that made fire extinguishers; and the Radium Fire Extinguisher Co has got to be the one he meant. The British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co still existed; in 1912 it was re-registered; and it only went into voluntary liquidation in 1928. So William's company was making a rival product to the one his magazine had promoted so vigorously in 1908. The existence at the same time of two companies making dry powder fire extinguishers does suggest that the basic formula for the powder wasn't patented. And in fact there was a third company making a similar product, the Kyl-Fyre company of Eastbourne.

Why call it the 'Radium' fire extinguisher? It's most unlikely that the dry powder mixture contained any radium - see wikipedia for why. Radium was new though (discovered 1898), exciting but puzzling; it was news. I think William chose the name with that in mind:

'radium' would catch the public eye and stick in the public's mind.

Sources:

Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 2 April 1910 p38 for the advert which asserted that one canister of Radium Fire Extinguisher powder could put out flames 30 feet high in 10 seconds. Canisters cost 7/6 each or you could buy 12 for £4. It became clear later on that used canisters could be sent back to the firm to be refilled. P43 for the article on the Radium fire extinguisher; which was about a recent demonstration. It mentioned the powder's inventor, a Cambridge University chemistry graduate. The inventor wasn't named but might have been one of William's fellow students. I don't think William invented the product himself, though: the article described the man who had invented it as having devoted himself to the study of how to put out fires; which doesn't strike me as a good description of what William had been doing since he graduated. What the powder was made of was not discussed, of course. The only thing the article would say was that it worked by producing a gas which took oxygen out of the nearby air. The Radium fire extinguisher's main claim to fame, according to the article, was its ability to resist water, making the powder more effective and longer-lasting when stored.

Kelly's PO Directory 1911 Trades Directory p1581 fire extinguisher makers has The Radium Fire Extinguisher Ltd at 67-69 Chancery Lane. It's also there on the street directory p241, together with the firm Automobile Owners (London) Ltd. There must have been a separate depot where

the powder was prepared and the canisters filled and stored; but I haven't found out where it was.

The continued existence of the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd:

Redbooks of the British Fire Prevention Committee volumes 120-129 issued by HMSO 1907 p366 an account of a meeting of the Committee named P E Parr, Robert Paterson CA and Joseph Whaley as representing the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co.

Redbooks of the British Fire Prevention Committee volume 127 issued HMSO 1908 p20 the same three men from the firm were at a meeting held on 4 March 1908, around the time of the demonstration to the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Via google a snippet showing several adverts by Automobile Owner... 's insurance business in The Englishman issues 1-22 1908 p39, p63, p111; announcing that you could get a 25% rebate on your insurance payments if you used the British Diamond's fire extinguisher in your car.

Just glancing at paperspast.natlib.gov.nz to its New Zealand newspaper collection: several references to the diamond dry powder fire extinguisher appeared in papers in November 1908.

This is more problematic: I noticed several references during 1909 to a Diamond Dry Powder Fire Extinguisher Co in publications of the Legislature of the Province of Ontario: was this the British Diamond... company setting up a sep firm to promote and sell its fire extinguisher in Canada? Or is it a Canadian based rival producer?

Website www.cinresources.net has a booklet publicising the Diamond dry powder fire extinguisher, as supplied to the king (that's Edward VII). The booklet isn't dated but there's a list of the firms using the product, with testimonials; including a satisfied letter from Mann and Overtons dated 22 January 1909 and sent to the Manager, British Diamond... at 69 Chancery Lane WC. List of customers pretty impressive. William must be the Manager referred to.

The company appears in a list in Papers by Command House of Commons issued HMSO 1914 volume 79 p104.

London Gazette issue of 6 November 1928 in list of liquidations: the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co (1912) Ltd was going into voluntary liquidation. A meeting of shareholders and creditors would be held at 52 Bedford Square on 10 December 1928 at which the liquidator would make his last report and bring the process to an end by getting those present to decide how to dispose of the company's assets. The Bedford Square address is the office of the liquidator; no address was given for the company which perhaps had not actually been in business for a while.

Did William buy shares in the British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Company in 1908, when its offices moved to that 67-69 Chancery Lane address? He must have done, surely. But then, between the end of 1908 and mid-1910, he upped and got involved with a rival product and set up and invested in a rival firm. Maybe the British Diamond... company didn't much like it when this newcomer started making suggestions about how to improve the product, so he and his fellow Cambridge graduate went off on their own. And after he had started a firm to make a rival product, did William still have shares in British Diamond... in 1912, say, when it was re-registered as a limited company? The records are all thrown away now, so I'll never know.

On the third dry powder fire extinguisher firm I found from William's time, Kyl-Fyre:

Kyl-Fyre is the only one of the three firms to be in Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, see its pages at www.gracesguide.co.uk, by virtue of being listed in Whitaker's Red Book: Who's Who in Business issue of 1914, which the website uses as a source. You can't see the original text, unfortunately but the firms featured in it are listed by the type of product or work they do. Kyl-Fyre were based at 12 Elms Buildings Eastbourne. They specialised in extinguishers and other fire-fighting equipment for cars.

Seen via google: Kyl-Fyre make fire blankets too.

The earliest mention of Kyl-Fyre's dry powder product that I could find was in the Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene volumes 12-13 1909 p297 issue of 1 October 1909: coverage of a demo.

I saw it mentioned in The Spectator volume 115 1915 p412 with the firm claiming their product was the "original dry powder extinguisher".

The ACA promoted Kyl-Fyre but not the other two products: Automobile Co-operative Association Review, beginning with issue number 7, December 1911 (p17) and continuing to its last issue, of October 1912 (p33). It suggests to me that the ACA had done a deal with Kyl-Fyre to be the only dry powder fire extinguisher supplied to its members; perhaps because unlike the other two firms, Kyl-Fyre also made other fire-extinguishing products. I wonder how William felt about that?

Finally, just confirming that in the midst of all this hubbub over a different company, that Automobile Owner... magazine was still being run from 67-69 Chancery Lane, and William was still in charge of monthly production.

Frank Rutter found William's involvement with fire extinguishers completely mystifying! Source: Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927: p54.

FROM APRIL 1910 FOR THE REST OF THAT YEAR

The Radium Fire Extinguisher Co and its fire extinguisher were mentioned in every issue of Automobile Owner.... Most issues had a full-page advert; but there were also small news items about the product, and mentions of it in some editorials.

Sources: see rest of 1910 below.

Comment by Sally Davis: perhaps the Viscount Massereene and Ferrard had invested in William's company.

APRIL 1910

The Motor Trades Association was founded by the main car manufacturers to stop the ACA and other organisations like it setting up deals to get discounts for their members.

Times Mon 18 April 1910 p12.

30 APRIL 1910

Automobile Owner... v The Long Acre Autocar Company was heard at Westminster County Court. Jules de Meray gave evidence; and probably William too.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 4 June 1910 p114, an uncredited account of the trial.

Comment by Sally Davis: the relationship between Automobile Owner... and the ACA had always been very close and Automobile Owner... was widely seen as the publishing arm of the ACA. The Long Acre Autocar Company Ltd had bought some advertising space in Automobile Owner... on the understanding that doing so would commit the ACA to buying 10 of its cars. When the ACA didn't buy any cars from them, they refused to pay the bill for the adverts. So William sued them, possibly on the advice of Jules de Meray whose barrister was anxious to emphasise the harm done to the ACA by the case. The Judge decided that The Long Acre Autocar Co must pay up because ACA and Automobile Owner... were independent organisations. However, the idea that they were essentially the same thing wasn't that easily killed off.

MAY 1910

A series of full-page adverts for the Radium Fire Extinguisher began inside Automobile Owner... William hadn't had time to write any credited articles for this issue.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 3 May 1910 p76.

JUNE 1910

A small paragraph appeared in Automobile Owner..., inserted at the request of the Radium Fire Extinguisher company, denouncing rival powders which used sand, oxide of iron or ashes in their mixture, none of which resisted water. This was another issue which didn't have an article credited to William.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 4 June 1910 p115.

22 JUNE 1910

The Radium Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd staged a demonstration chimney fire on the Strand near the Aldwych.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 5 July 1910 p135.

JULY 1910

William was back writing for Automobile Owner..., arguing on behalf of owners of steam cars against the year's change to the way motor tax was assessed, saying that it penalised steam in favour of internal combustion engines. In subsequent issues, there were other articles and letters on this theme; the beginnings of a campaign. This issue and the next few all had a full-page advert for the Radium fire extinguisher on the coveted back page. Viscount Massereene and Ferrard's editorial mentioned the Radium fire extinguisher as the only one capable of putting out a petrol fire.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 5 July 1910. Pp140-41 for William's article: New Motor Taxation. The Injustice to Steam. How Owners Should Act. For the editorial comment p135.

12 JULY 1910

William's acquaintance from Cambridge University days, Charles Stewart Rolls, died of head injuries when his aeroplane fell out of the sky at the Southbourne Aerodrome in Bournemouth.

Source for the death: Times Thursday 14 July 1910 p4 - short report on the inquest.

Comment by Sally Davis: Rolls' death - one of the first in a flying accident - received a great deal of press coverage; as did his funeral, at his parents' home at Llangattock; and the memorial service at St James Piccadilly, both of which took place on Saturday 16 July. The Times reports on these had comprehensive guest-lists but I couldn't see William on either of them. William's 1907 interviewee for Automobile Owner..., Mrs Assheton Harbord, and her husband, were amongst those sending a wreath to the funeral.

Times Monday 18 July 1910 p13.

AUGUST 1910

An article by Viscount Massereene and Ferrard was printed - a rarity, as he usually stuck to just being the editor. It published a letter he had sent to the Treasury about the taxing of steam cars. There was no article credited to William in this issue.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 6 August 1910 p171; on p179 a lot of aggrieved letters on the subject were printed.

SEPTEMBER 1910

No articles credited to William appeared in this issue but there was a review of GD member Florence Farr's book Modern Woman. Her Intentions. The back-page advert for the Radium fire extinguisher had been altered to feature the demo of June; and there was first mention of a publicity booklet for it. A new series began: Confessions of a Motor Trader.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 7 September 1910 p213 the review of Florence Farr's book was uncredited but I can't imagine who else but William could have written it. I haven't found a copy of the publicity booklet issued by the Radium Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd but I daresay it looks very like the one issued for the British Diamond... company when William was manager of it.

15 SEPTEMBER 1910

The Radium fire extinguisher was demonstrated to a group of potential and actual customers, by the Thames at Millbank.

Source: Automobile Owner...volume 5 number 10 December 1910 p292.

OCTOBER 1910

The campaign against the new motor tax continued in Automobile Owner... but mostly through articles and comment by Viscount Massereene and Ferrard; once again William had no articles credited to him in this month's magazine. Radium Fire Extinguisher Co Ltd's full-page advert was back on the inside pages of the magazine.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 8 October 1910 p236.

19-20 ?OCTOBER 1910 (POSSIBLY NOVEMBER 1910)

Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader reached court. William was suing the trade magazine for libel. ACA member Edward Marshall Hall was the other side's main barrister in the case. William's magazine lost.

Sources: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 9 November 1910 pp270-77. The main witness for Automobile Owner... 's side of the argument was William himself. George Polsue gave evidence about the take-over of the previous magazine. Robert George Whitcombe, company secretary of the ACA, spoke about the editorial independence of Automobile Owner... And Harry Edward Morris confirmed that despite having no connection with the ACA, his firm had been given coverage by Automobile Owner... and had been able to advertise in it.

For Edward Marshall Hall see his wikipedia page. He must have cost a lot to hire! Though he was not yet as famous as he was to become.

Comment by Sally Davis. The case was about words published in an issue of The Motor Trader as long ago as January 1908. Judge Ridley decided that the article that had worried William so much contained neither a special nor a general libel; and even William had been obliged to admit when he'd been giving evidence, that what he'd taken exception to in the article was insinuation and innuendo, not insult in so many words. The usual procedure in this kind of case was that the losing side should pay both sides' costs; serious money for Automobile Owner... which William might have paid up out of his own funds. The great thing about the case from my point of view

was that it all hinged on how independent, financially and otherwise, the magazine was from the motorists' association. So a lot of financial and legal information came out in the evidence that I could never have found anywhere else.

NOVEMBER 1910

William's yearly preview of the motor show at Olympia was published in the Automobile Owner... but most of the issue was taken up with a verbatim report of Automobile Owner... v The Motor Trader.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 5 number 9 November 1910 pp267-69 for the preview of Olympia. And pp270-77 for coverage of the libel case. On p263 the issue's advert for the Radium fire extinguisher had a photo of a motor cycle burning after an accident on the Brooklands race track. The fire had been put out using the "new Radium method".

DECEMBER 1910

After several months in which individuals had lobbied the Government about its heavy taxation of steam cars, the idea of forming an official pressure group began to surface. In this month's issue of *Automobile Owner...*, William published his usual article summing up the Olympia motor show. And the full-page advert for the Radium fire extinguisher featured the September demo at Millbank.

Source: *Automobile Owner...* volume 5 number 10 December 1910 p293 in Viscount Massereene and Ferrard's editorial; and volume 6 number 2 April 1911 p57.

1911

During which, some outcomes of the recent libel case began to affect *Automobile Owner...*'s financial position.

JANUARY 1911

With the court case over, William was able to go back to writing regularly for his motoring magazine. This month he wrote about how to make solid petrol. The Radium fire extinguisher was advertised on the back page of this issue; and all subsequent issues this year; with references to users such as electrical companies, railway companies and the tube. This year's *Automobile Owner's Chauffeur's Blue Book* had gone on sale.

Source: *The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review* (just reminding readers of the magazine's full name) volume 5 number 11 January 1911. On p329 William's *Solid Petrol and How to Make It* (which sounds very dangerous). Advert for the *Blue Book*: inside the back page.

FEBRUARY 1911

In this month's issue of *Automobile Owner...* William wrote a short follow-up to the previous month's recipe for making solid petrol. He also considered whether nitrogen could be used to power cars; his conclusion was that it couldn't be (it certainly hasn't been). And he also wrote his assessment of the most notable cars likely to be produced this year. There was an advert for the new steam car pressure group, the *Steam Car League*; and also an article on it, uncredited but likely to be by William as he was its honorary secretary, to Viscount Massereene and Ferrard and Sir Charles Knox as its vice-presidents. The back-page advert for the *Radium Fire Extinguisher Company* listed some of its users for the first time and they were an impressive bunch: the War Office; Vickers Sons and Maxim; St Thomas's Hospital; City and South London Railway; the London General Omnibus Co; and the London County Council whom William must have poached from a rival as they had previously been customers of the *British Diamond fire extinguisher company*.

Comment by Sally Davis: I might be making too much of this, but on this month's back page the *Radium fire extinguisher company's* address had changed from 67 Chancery Lane to 67a. Perhaps William had decided to rent another room in the building for his multi-farious business concerns.

Source: *Automobile Owner...* volume 5 number 12 February 1911 pp360-61 for nitrogen powered cars; p367 for the follow-up on solid-state petrol; pp378-379 for the *Steam Car League*. Those who paid their 5 shillings to join the *Steam Car League* would receive one year's-worth of issues of *Automobile Owner...* as part of their membership. Back page for the list of firms using the *Radium fire extinguisher*.

MARCH 1911

As part of its promotion of the Steam Car League, in this month's issue Automobile Owner William returned to the question of how the Government taxed motorists.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 6 number 1 March 1911 pp8-11.

22 MARCH 1911

A group of steam car owners crowded into William's rooms in 69 Chancery Lane to attend the first formal meeting of the Steam Car League. William described himself as an ardent believer in steam, when he gave the talk explaining the League's aims. William became the League's honorary secretary.

Comment by Sally Davis: just noting that a few of the League's founding members were women. There were no women on its committee but that was usual in this kind of group at that time.

Source: Automobile Owner volume 6 number 2 April 1911 p57.

NIGHT OF 2-3 APRIL 1911

On the day of the 1911 census, William was living in two habitable rooms at 67 Chancery Lane. He was the only person in that household. His sources of income were: as a journalist on a monthly motor magazine; and as a manufacturer of fire extinguishers. He didn't give a name to either the magazine or the fire extinguisher but their details both appear in Kelly's PO Directory. In both cases he was an employer of others, not an employee; and he worked at home.

Sources:

1911 census data. Just noting that he was the only member of his immediate family who was in England on that day. I presume his parents (both still alive) were in Ireland.

Kelly's PO Directory 1911 street directory p241 listing for 67-69 Chancery Lane which begins with the Allied Artists' Association; and also has the Automobile Owners (London) Ltd; and the Radium Fire Extinguisher Ltd. William Humphrys is also listed separately from all those.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't been able to discover how long William had been living on top of his work in this way. Perhaps he had been there since 1907 when he'd taken over George Polsue's magazine. I can't shake off the feeling that it might have been a temporary arrangement, though; and after losing the case against The Motor Magazine he might have decided to doss in his office rather than continue to pay two sets of rent.

Perhaps here is as good a place as any to put in what little information I've been able to find on William's younger brothers Julian and Hugh:

Julian Shirley Lombe Humphrys.

While checking him out Familysearch I saw a lot of references to arrivals by sea at New York City and other ports; and eventually he took up permanent residence in the USA:

Familysearch had a marriage registration for him: on 18 March 1930 in Manhattan, he married a widow, Ethel Tod McBride.

US Census 1940 Digital Folder 005456307; Julian appears on it in a household in Pasadena California. His wife wasn't with him.

Although he seems rather old to have been called up, Familysearch had a draft registration for him, dated 1942 in New York City. This gave his full date and place of birth: 6 June 1882 in East Dereham Norfolk.

I wasn't able to find, from any of those sources, what if anything Julian did for a living.

Hugh Everard Humphrys was in the army for a while before emigrating to New Zealand. He has descendants there:

He appears on the 1901 census as a pupil at Oundle School. Dublin University Calendar volume 2 1907; Hugh was an undergraduate there: p18 and p94.

Times Sat 16 June 1906 p13 quoting the London Gazette of 15 June 1906: Lt H E Humphrys had been appointed Instructor in Musketry in the Royal Canadians Regiment.

Times Sat 22 August 1908 quoting London Gazette 21 August 1908: Lt H E Humphrys had been promoted to Captain.

Although I searched the Times for several years after 1908 I didn't find anything more about Hugh Humphrys in it.

Via www.aucklandmuseum.com evidence that Hugh was living in New Zealand in 1916, and had married. His war service number was 22538 and he served with the New Zealand Rifle Brigade. He left New Zealand with the NZ expeditionary force in August 1916 and survived the fighting. His pre-war occupation was given as farmer.

Use google to find evidence that he returned to New Zealand after the war and was still living there several decades later.

APRIL 1911

For the rest of 1911, Automobile Owner... carried full-page adverts for the new Steam Car League. As the League's hon sec William probably wrote the uncredited report on its meeting of 22 March. He also had a credited article, mostly photographs, describing the amenities of the Royal Automobile Club's new headquarters.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 6 number 2 April 1911. Pp45-46 for William's report on the new RAC building; pp56-57 for the Steam Car League.

28 APRIL 1911

The divorce proceedings between Sir Wroth P C Lethbridge and his wife Alianore reached court. She brought the petition, on grounds of desertion and adultery which he did not contest. The divorce was granted.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm not sure how far a divorce would have hampered Sir Wroth Lethbridge's social career; it certainly will have hampered his wife's, even though she was acting the injured party role in the case. I do wonder whether the Steam Car League might have decided against having Sir Wroth too obviously involved; and in any case, the costs of a divorce case were only one of Sir Wroth's problems at the time and he may have had little time to spare for worrying about the taxation of cars. Later in 1911 he more or less confirmed his wife's allegations by marrying Kathleen O'Hara, possibly the woman he'd been spotted with in a hotel in Hamburg during 1909.

Times Fri 28 April 1911 p3

See www.thepeerage.com for the marriage of Wroth Lethbridge to Alianore Chandos-Pole.

They had three children.

MAY 1911

The Automobile Co-operative Association published the first issue of its Review. Its editorial thanked Automobile Owner... for its support in the past; but declared that it was time that the ACA published its own magazine, which members could use as a forum.

Source: Automobile Co-operative Association Review issue 1 May 1911; p3 for the editorial. One copy of the new magazine was sent to Ham House where the Earl of Dysart was a member of the ACA despite being unable to drive (he was blind). The Earl was the employer of GD member Wilfred Praeger. See discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk - records of the Tollemache family.

Comment by Sally Davis: William was still a member of the ACA's management committee but the decision to start the ACA's own magazine can't have been one he welcomed from a financial point of view. It certainly showed the motoring world that the ACA was not the same entity as the Automobile Owner.. magazine, after the libel case of November 1910; which was presumably what the ACA wanted. It also meant that Automobile Owner... could no longer rely on the ACA for quite so much advertising and copy as the ACA had paid for in the past. Since the management committee had been expanded to include several senior ACA employees, the influence William had had before had been watered down. The ACA Review was trying to be different from Automobile Owner... - it had adverts for products not directly concerned with motoring, for example - cigarettes, luggage. It was printed on cheap paper and had very few photos, at least to start with; and it was not printed by Polsue Limited which printed the Automobile Owner... And it never had an advert for the Radium fire extinguisher; I suppose William wouldn't or couldn't pay for one.

MAY 1911

There was no article by William in this month's issue of Automobile Owner...

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 6 number 3 May 1911.

PERIOD MAY TO DECEMBER 1911

During the year, the ACA moved further away from its original focus on motoring. By December 1911 it had set up ACA (Auxiliary Supply) Co Ltd, which sold household goods and gardening equipment on the basis of the same kind of deal with suppliers that the ACA had had with cars and car product makers. The ACA also added a fire extinguisher firm to its sales base: Kyl-Fyre of Eastbourne, whose dry powder fire extinguisher was a direct rival to William's Radium fire extinguisher.

Sources: Automobile Co-operative Association Review issues 1-7, May-December 1911.

JUNE AND JULY 1911

Automobile Owner... magazine wasn't issued at all. During this time William abandoned Polsue Ltd and went to a new firm of printers.

Source for the new printers: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 1 August 1911 back page: The Chancery Lane Press (Bonner and Co) 1-3 Rolls Passage Chancery Lane.

Comment by Sally Davis: the libel case decision and its consequences were beginning to bite Automobile Owner... hard. And I don't know where the new printing deal left George Polsue - head of the jettisoned printing firm while also being a shareholder in and possibly a creditor

of Automobile Owner... Perhaps William bought Polsue's shares.

AUGUST 1911

William's magazine reappeared after its two-month absence. William's article in this issue was about a new lighting system for cars.

Comment by Sally Davis: some things hadn't changed when William's magazine reappeared after its unannounced two-month absence. It still had its original title: The Automobile Owner and Steam and Electric Car Review. It was still being edited by Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, it was still being run from 67-69 Chancery Lane, and William was still writing regularly for it. But after the two-month hiatus, the magazine had started with a new volume number, as well as new printers, and the quality of paper was noticeably lower from now on.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 1 August 1911. Pp10-11 for William's article.

LATE AUGUST 1911

William Humphrys married Jessie Alice Holliday at Holy Trinity Kingsway London WC.

Source: freebmd but also Times Fri 1 September 1911 p1a for the venue; though it didn't give the date of the marriage.

Comment by Sally Davis: William Humphrys, his solicitor acquaintance Elliott C Gray, and his wife Jessie, all had one thing in common: a father who was a Church of England clergyman. But the ways and places in which the three of them grew up illustrate just how much difference there could be between one career in the established church, and another.

Jessie Holliday's father Ezra was the son of a working man, William Holliday, who was employed as a labourer in an iron works in the Wisbey district, later absorbed into Bradford Yorkshire. By 1861 Ezra's sister Alice, 14, was working as a worsted spinner; his brother Nathaniel who was only 10 was working at a coal mine (though not, presumably, at the pit face); and Ezra (aged 16) was clawing his way out of this grim background by way of being an apprentice teacher in a National School. Ezra married Margaret Alice Stephenson in 1869 when he had left Bradford for a job at Oswaldtwistle, Lancashire; I'm presuming he was still a teacher at this time. Ezra and Margaret had four children: Margaret; Jessie; Clara Annie; and James Harry. Jessie was born in 1875, so she was a little older than William Humphrys. Ezra Holliday never went to university but there were some rather limited ways in which a non-graduate could follow a Church of England vocation, and (though I haven't been able to find out the details) Ezra must have taken advantage of one of those ways: he was ordained as a curate in 1878 and as a priest in 1880. After two short periods spent as a curate, at Linthwaite in Yorkshire; and at Rawtenstall in Lancashire, where he founded a day-school, in 1883 he was appointed vicar of Dale Head, Clitheroe. In 1886 he was moved on to become vicar of Cloughfold in Manchester where he stayed until being promoted to be rector of St Luke's Miles Platting Manchester. He died in December 1903, still only in his 50s.

I find it a curious feature of the Holliday family that in 1911, Jessie, her mother, and her unmarried sister Margaret could all claim to be living off private means - it niggles at me that I don't know where the private means might be coming from, in a family with such a modest social background. On the day of the 1911 census the two Margarets (mother and daughter) had moved to the Fairhaven district of Lytham and could afford, between them, to employ the one basic general servant. Clara Annie had married Rev Charles Paul Keeling in 1903; they were living with their three sons at Todmorden, where he was the vicar. James Harry had qualified as a civil engineer in 1898; I couldn't find him on the 1911 census so he may

already have moved to Canada, where he died in 1929. Perhaps Jessie was the most adventurous of the Holliday daughters. She was living in London on census day 1911, lodging in the boarding house run by William Henry Warren at 45-46 Guilford Street Bloomsbury, only a short walk from Chancery Lane.

How did Jessie and William meet? - two single people living very near each other in London but from such radically different backgrounds? Mr Warren's lodgers at 45-46 Guilford Street were a diverse bunch which included some actors - perhaps the actors were friends of William. Or did Jessie work as a volunteer somewhere in London? - for the WSPU, like Frank Rutter's wife Thirsa? Or even the Allied Artists' Association? - I imagine that in the weeks before its annual exhibition, the AAA needed all the volunteers it could get. Or did William and Jessie just meet in a local café where both of them regularly ate lunch? We'll never know; but meet they did.

Despite the problems Automobile Owner... was having, William's income from other sources must have been good, because at some point between 1911 and 1916 he and Jessie moved out of London, to Hendon; and the most likely time for a clean break like that is immediately after their marriage. When they moved there, Hendon was a rather isolated area, with poor public transport links, on the very far outskirts of London, but William at least is likely to have known it and perhaps visited it, as the site of several car factories and a couple of airfields. Hendon had been popular since the Middle Ages as a place for London residents to spend the summer, and there were plenty of villas to rent, often standing in large gardens. William and Jessie moved into Cranbourne Lodge, one of a group of houses built in the 1820s (all since demolished). In 1908 barrister Ernest Bevir and his family had been living in it; but by census day 1911 they had moved to another house in Hendon. Perhaps Cranbourne Lodge had been empty for a few months when William and Jessie moved in.

Sources for the Holliday family:

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1470816 for the marriage of Ezra Holliday to Margaret Alice Stephenson 21 September 1869 at Oswaldtwistle Lancs.

At www.rossendale-fhhs.org.uk a history of Rawtenstall.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1886 p579.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1901 p666.

Probate Registry 1904, 1919, 1939.

For James Harry: Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers volume 131 issued 1898 p270.

Source for Hendon:

Middlesex volume V in the Victoria History of the Counties of England series. Published Oxford University Press and the Institute of Historical Research University of London; 1976: pp3-28. Cranbourne Lodge is not mentioned by name in this account; neither is the house that Ernest and Ellen Bevir were living in in 1911. I conclude that neither house was very big, or of any particular architectural or historical importance.

Cranbourne Lodge:

Gentleman's Magazine 1825 shows that it was already in existence at that date.

Royal Blue Book issue of 1908 p642 has barrister Ernest Bevir, living at the address.

Seen via google: a house called Cranbourne Lodge with the address 1 Cranbourne Gardens

NW11. From its photograph, the house doesn't look like something built in the 1820s, more like a house built with the rest of the Gardens, in the late 1920s.

SEPTEMBER 1911

William did manage to prepare an article for this month's Automobile Owner.... He began a two-part series on a problem his readers will have been all-too-familiar with - how to start an uncooperative engine. The second part appeared in the October issue.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 2 September 1911 pp32-33; and volume 7 number 3 October 1911 pp56-67.

SATURDAY 23 SEPTEMBER 1911 AND FOR THE NEXT FOUR WEEKS

There was a large exhibition at Olympia of the latest developments in electricity supply. Some at least of the exhibitors had been given Radium fire extinguishers to display on their stalls.

Source for the dates and exhibitors: Times Monday 25 September 1911 p4 Electrical Science and Industry. The report mentioned that both Marconi and Edison's firms would be exhibiting; and that visitors would also be able to examine the first ever storage battery to go on public display. The Times had produced a supplement to go with the exhibition, focusing on telephone and telegraphic equipment.

Source for Radium Fire Extinguisher Co's involvement: Gas Journal volumes 115-116 1911 p61. Comment by Sally Davis: my science advisor, Roger Wright, tells me that a powder fire extinguisher would be particularly good at putting out electrical fires. Given Radium Fire Extinguisher's involvement - which presumably William had negotiated - and the work he was doing around the first World War, I'd be surprised if William stayed away from this exhibition. The Times felt a visit to it was a must for anyone working in the industry or excited about the latest technologies.

NOVEMBER 1911

In this issue of Automobile Owner William did his customary preview of the Olympia motor show. The full-page advert for the Radium fire extinguisher added some new customer names for its list: the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary; Great Western Railway; Great Northern Railway; Great Eastern Railway; and the Metropolitan Railway in London.

Source: Automobile Owner...volume 7 number 4 November 1911 pp80-81 and back page.

BEFORE DECEMBER 1911

William must have bought some shares in the Automobile Co-operative Association's new venture, the ACA (Auxiliary Supply) Co Ltd; because he had been elected onto its board of directors. He was also on its management committee which was essentially the same men as were on the ACA's management committee.

Comment by Sally Davis: surely it must have been rather galling for William to find his own Radium fire extinguisher being ignored by the ACA in favour of its Kyl-Fyre rival. In this month's ACA Review there was an article praising it.

Source: Automobile Co-operative Association Review issue no 7, December 1911, back page and p17.

DECEMBER 1911

William's article in this month's Automobile Owner... reported on the general feeling of discontent amongst car owners at the lack of cars for sale at the Olympia show.

Comment by Sally Davis: the UK was actually in the middle of an economic slump at this time; obviously car owners weren't feeling it as much as car manufacturers.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 5 December 1911 pp104-105.

1912

DURING 1912

The British Diamond fire extinguisher company may have been re-registered at Companies House.

Source: London Gazette issue of 6 November 1928 the British Diamond (1912) is in list of liquidations.

And just confirming the continued existence of the Radium Fire Extinguisher Co:

The Railway News volume 98 1912 pv it was in a list of 4 firms making "fire appliances"; the British Diamond company was not in the list, perhaps because it didn't pay to be listed; or because it didn't happen to have any railway companies its customers.

Comment by Sally Davis: it's been impossible to discover whether William still had anything to do with the British Diamond fire extinguisher company. This whole business of why William should be involved with two rival fire extinguisher companies is very puzzling.

AGAIN, DURING 1912

Frank Rutter got a job as curator of Leeds City art gallery. He and his wife Thirsa left London. As part of the move, Frank resigned from his job as secretary of the Allied Artists' Association, where he'd been responsible for organising its yearly exhibitions.

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927 p193 for his resignation.

Wikipedia for the new job in Leeds.

3 JANUARY 1912

An insurance company staged a demonstration of the Radium Fire Extinguisher company's fire extinguisher on waste ground near Lambeth Bridge.

Source: Automobile Owner... pp132-33 and p131 for a full-page advert with 'satisfied customer' letters as well as a full-page advert on the back page. The insurance company's representatives built a wooden shed, filled it with inflammables of all sorts, dowsed it all with petrol and set it alight. Although employees of the Radium firm had offered to do the work of putting the fire out, the insurance company preferred to ask a youth from the crowd to do it, which he did very quickly, using only two canisters.

JANUARY 1912

Automobile Owner... magazine cut its price to 1d per issue. William's article was on what was likely to go wrong with a carburettor. There was a report on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's committee of enquiry into car taxation; it was uncredited and I think that Viscount M and F was its most likely author.

Source: Automobile Owner.. volume 7 number 6 January 1912 pp128-29 for William on carburettors; p136 for the Committee of Enquiry article which encouraged readers to join the Steam Car League.

FEBRUARY 1912

There was no issue of the Automobile Owner... this month.

MARCH 1912

Automobile Owner... was published again and William began a series called Motoring for the Beginner; which continued until July and would have gone on longer but July 1912 was the last issue of the magazine. In his first article for the series, William considered Cost. There was a small item reminding Steam Car League members that their subscriptions for 1912 were due; uncredited but must be by William, still the League's honorary secretary.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 7 March 1912 pp152-53 Motoring for Beginners; 162.

APRIL 1912

William's article in the Motoring for the Beginner series was a very detailed comparison of car insurance policies. He mentioned in passing how often cars caught fire after a collision. This month he had a second article printed, in which he called for a Government effort to secure a home-based supply of oil; suggesting benzol as a good one.

Comment by Sally Davis: the fighting in north Africa had got William worrying about security of oil supplies - he mentioned in his visionary article that oil-fuelled aeroplanes were being used to bomb Tripoli. The Government didn't heed William, and chose another route to secure supplies - meddling in the Middle East; the consequences of which we live with, daily.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 8 April 1912 pp176-78 for Motoring for the Beginner; and p179 for William on security of oil supplies. Radium Fire Extinguisher Co still had its advert on the back page but there was no coverage of it inside, in this and the last two issues.

MAY 1912

William's Motoring for the Beginner series considered which car was the most reliable for a first-time buyer and simplest for them to repair when necessary. Even many years after he had probably ceased to drive them, William unhesitatingly recommended the De Dion-Bouton.

Source: Automobile Owner... volume 7 number 9 May 1912 pp195-96.

JUNE 1912

For the second time that year, there was no issue of Automobile Owner... in June.

JULY 1912

Automobile Owner Steam and Electric Car Review was published for the last time. William's article in the Motoring for the Beginner series was on Maintenance. He stressed the importance of the owner knowing more about maintenance than the chauffeur, if they

employed one; if your chauffeur knew more than you, it would lead to unnecessarily high bills. He also advocated the 'little and often' approach to keeping the bodywork and engine clean. This needn't mean getting messy yourself: William explained that he didn't employ a chauffeur, but he didn't clean his car himself either.

Comment by Sally Davis: now William was married and living in a large house in the suburbs, I imagine he employed a handyman to do things like cleaning the car. As for the end of Automobile Owner.. I can't believe it came as such a surprise to its producers; but there was no indication at all in the July 1912 issue that it would be the last - not one word. Quite the opposite: William had promised that his Motoring for the Beginner series would have an article on tyres; but in July 1912 the series hadn't got as far as that. On p217 there was even an advert for Automobile Owner...'s insurance service. How long did that carry on for, I wonder, without the magazine?

Source: Automobile Owner Steam and Electric Car Review volume 7 number 10 July 1912. On pp211-12 Motoring for the Beginner. On the back page was the usual full-page advert for the Radium fire extinguisher. And inside the back page there was the usual full-page advert for the Steam Car League, with William still as its honorary secretary.

OCTOBER 1912

The Automobile Co-operative Association Review also published its last ever copy; again with no indication that no more issues would be printed.

Source: ACA Review issue 15 October 1912.

Comment by Sally Davis: Automobile Owner... had its own problems, and perhaps so did ACA Review. But the magazine, Motor Car Journal, which was published by Cordingley and Co, also printed its last issue in 1912. The earliest years of the 20th century had seen a huge boom in motoring and the motoring industry; this was followed by a decline - a relative one only, but people are so quick to get used to 'boom' as the norm!

Source for the relative slump: The Transport Revolution 1770-1985 by Philip Bagwell. Routledge 2002 p30.

Comments by Sally Davis: how much influence did William Humphrys have on the sudden cessation of two magazines he was associated with? He might not have much say at ACA Review but he was still Automobile Owner..'s managing director. However, he was also very likely its major creditor, still, and perhaps this tipped the balance. I haven't found any evidence that the magazine went bankrupt or even into voluntary liquidation; the company was wound up (I don't know when) with less hubbub than that. But I doubt if William came out ahead; and he lost a regular advertising outlet for his fire extinguisher firm.

And with Automobile Owner...'s demise I lose my most exhaustive source for William's life. After World War 1, 100-year rules, copyright issues and the way the electoral roll had been organised and kept, mean that there are fewer sources anyway. So my evidence for the rest of William's life - nearly 40 years of it - is pretty threadbare and tends to feature death far more than it ought.

ANOTHER DATE DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN but probably after William and Jessie moved to Hendon

William began to investigate electricity and wireless, particularly valves.

Source: see June 1914.

Comment by Sally Davis: I rather suppose that William didn't have any room for this kind of research until he was living at Cranbourne Lodge. It was probably while doing this research that he began to see himself as an engineer rather than as a journalist; though he still had the entrepreneurial touch and still wrote articles for magazines from time to time.

1913, which involved further cutting of the old cords that had bound together William's working life during the 1900s; and saw him embarking on a new phase of his life.

DURING 1913

The Institute of Journalists seem to have lost sight of William, suggesting that he stopped being a member.

Source: Scoop! Database at the British Library.

DURING 1913

The ACA's offices were shaken by accusations of financial irregularities; ending with the prosecution of two senior employees

Source: Times Fri 22 August 1913 p6.

Comment by Sally Davis: as William was still a member of the ACA's management committee, this crisis will have landed in his lap as well as in the laps of others. One of the men suspected had joined the management committee recently; presumably William had taken part in the recruitment process that had ended with his being offered the job. The decision to bring the police into the matter will also have been one that William helped to make.

? FEBRUARY ?MARCH 1913

At the annual meeting of the Allied Artists' Association, William, and his solicitor acquaintance Elliott Gray, were voted off its management committee.

Since I was Twenty-Five by Frank Rutter. London: Constable and Co Ltd 1927: p195. Frank doesn't name the "two old friends", "business men" who were dumped from the committee, but William, and Elliott Gray, must be the people he means.

JULY 1913

The London Wireless Club was founded in West Hampstead, as a forum for amateur wireless enthusiasts. In 1922 it changed its name to the Radio Society of Great Britain and at least in 1924, William seems to have been a member.

Source for the founding of the club: wikipedia. The Society still exists - see its website at www.rsgb.org.

AUGUST 1913

The prosecution of ACA employees Robert George Whitcomb or Whitcombe, and Henry Evans Walmsley, for embezzlement reached court. Court proceedings went on from time to time for the next three months.

Sources: Times Fri 22 August 1913 p6 and 27 November 1913 p14. The reports are very

short items. They don't give any detail of the cases and they don't name any witnesses. Exactly what the cases were against the two men is not clear.

NOVEMBER 1913

All the charges against the ACA's Whitcomb or Whitcombe and Walmsley were dropped for lack of evidence.

Times 27 November 1913 p14.

Comment by Sally Davis: so the trial petered out with neither man found either guilty or innocent - the most unsatisfactory result that could have been imagined, for all concerned. I presume neither man was still working for the ACA. It all gives me the impression of an organisation that had most decidedly lost the plot, for which William had to bear his share of the blame. The ACA did survive this calamity and the unwelcome publicity, however, and still existed during the first World War.

1914

14 JUNE 1914

William made the first of two applications to the British Government for a patent on a new design of thermionic valve (a piece of equipment known in the USA as a vacuum tube).

Source: via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent, to the Espacenet database of past patent applications, which contains 7 made by William. See GB221571 (A) which includes a short abstract and a diagram. The patent was granted and until it ran out, William would have had an income from anyone using his design in their equipment.

WORLD WAR 1

What William did during the war is almost a complete mystery.

Comment by Sally Davis: if William volunteered or was conscripted, he did not fight - the records of serving soldiers in World War 1 are well-covered on the web and William isn't in them. It's possible that he volunteered or was called up, but failed his medical. Given his expertise and experience, he would have been wasted in the trenches anyway. I can't quite see him standing aside and letting the war go on without him. Roger Wright and I have talked it over and we agree that William did do war work of some kind; but that either it was a secret, or the records of it have been lost, or both.

One thing William might well have been doing is using his wireless equipment to intercept messages being sent by the German army in Flanders. At the beginning of the war, many members of the Radio Society of Great Britain were recruited into MI8's branch, the Radio Security Service, to use their home-built equipment to listen in to enemy transmissions. See 1924 for some evidence that William was a member of the Society, at least during that year.

Sources are rather hard to find for this kind of work during World War 1: World War 2 is far better covered. But see the wikipedia pages on MI8 and on Radio Society of Great Britain for brief mentions of it.

1915

While still living in Leeds, Frank Rutter took over control of the Allied Artists' Association again.

Source: Frank's biography in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 48 p421 although the AAA, like every other such organisation, was in all-but-abeyance for the duration of the war. William and Elliott Gray are not mentioned in the ODNB coverage of Frank so I suppose that neither of them had anything more to do with the AAA after they had been ousted in 1913. The AAA was wound up in 1919 and Frank - back in London again - founded the Adelphi Gallery instead.

JUNE 1915

William made patent applications to the authorities in Britain and Switzerland, for a device that could strengthen a "cushion tyre" ("tire" in the USA) to make it more able to withstand pressure at its edges.

Comment by Sally Davis: just noting that the strengthened tyre was not something William invented for any war work he might have been doing; any such invention would be the Government's property not William's personal property.

Sources:

Britain: via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent to Espacenet. <http://www.gov.uk/search-for-patent>. See GB191508950 (A) which includes an abstract of the original information that accompanied the application.

Switzerland: again via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent to the Espacenet database. See application (in German) CH90825 (A) dated 17 June 1915; published 17 October 1921.

More detailed information on the device is available from William's US patent application:

JUNE 1916

William made an application for his cushion tyre/tire device to the patent authorities in the USA and France.

Sources:

USA: patent number US1248863, dated 15 June 1916 at www.freepatentsonline.com and also via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent to the Espacenet database. US patents are well-covered on the web, so it's also at google.com.gh/patents/US3234989 which gives fuller details of the device, William's address when he made the application (Cranbourne Lodge Hendon) and his current occupation (engineer). Although I think it must have run out, this patent was important enough to be referred to as part of the examination of US patent application (US3234989 made 1963) for a missile-proof ground wheel.

France: via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent to the Espacenet database. See FR482058 application (in French) dated 16 June 1916.

26 SEPTEMBER 1916

William and Jessie's son was born - Hugh William Humphrys, named after his father, and his Humphrys grandfather.

Comment by Sally Davis: when Hugh was born, Jessie was 41 and William 40. I did check as far as 1920 without finding any other children born to them. Given Jessie's age, it's likely Hugh was an only child.

Source for DOB: death registration for Hugh William Humphrys, registered October-December 1970 in Hove Sussex.

OCTOBER 1916

Having lived in New Zealand for several years, William's brother Hugh arrived in England with the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, on his way to the war.

Comment by Sally Davis: perhaps William and Hugh were able to meet, briefly.

Source: via www.aucklandmuseum.com to service record of Hugh Humphrys, service number 22538. He survived the fighting but returned to New Zealand. See google for evidence that he was still living in New Zealand several decades later.

1917

Frank Rutter resigned from his job at the Leeds art gallery.

Source: wikipedia and Frank's biography in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 48 p421. Throughout his time in Leeds Frank had continued to write on art for a wide range of newspapers and magazines, so he was able to just carry on doing so when he returned to London.

DECEMBER 1917

William's patent application to the US authorities was finally granted.

Sources:

See June 1916 above

Patent Office Journal issued by the US Government Printing Office volume 9 1920.

1 JULY 1918

Jessie's mother, William's mother-in-law Margaret Alice Holliday, died, in Prestwich, Lancashire.

Source: Probate Registry records for 1918. Jessie's sisters Margaret and Clara Annie were the executors.

AFTER WORLD WAR 1

London began to engulf Hendon.

Source: Middlesex volume V in the Victoria History of the Counties of England series. Published Oxford University Press and the Institute of Historical Research University of London; 1976: pp3-28. Early moves towards this had been made with the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act of 1906, and building had begun in what is now Golders Green in 1911. Stopped dead by the war, in the 1920s the expansion started up again, concentrating now on Hendon. The Underground Electric Railway (now the Northern Line) was extended from Golders Green to Hendon Central in 1923; but in general car ownership was assumed, with Hendon Way and the North Circular Road being begun in 1924 and the Great North Way in 1926.

?OCTOBER 1919

Evidence that William was still doing the odd spot of journalism - he was asked to comment on the new, cheap, "Speedy Car" for the Pall Mall Gazette.

Comment by Sally Davis: William's comments, and those of other journalists who wrote about motoring, were taken up by the firm that made the car, and put into a full-page advert which appeared on p17 of the Times on Saturday 25 October 1919. There had already been a smaller advert for the car, on p5 of the Times Saturday 13 September 1919. The Pullinger

Engineering Co was the manufacturer and they would be selling it at 110 guineas - 10 guineas in advance, in cash, to their registered office at Holborn Viaduct; and the rest when the car was delivered. What William had written in the Pall Mall Gazette could have applied to any such car: "A post-war scheme of this kind is what is wanted to bring down car prices and encouraging cheap motoring". He had not seen the car - and thereby hangs a tale because the Speedy Car was a scam! See Times 10 November 1919 p26 for a big advert for the Pullinger Engineering Co's share issue; and for the Times' financial reporter's reservations about it; and

The Transport Revolution 1770-1985 by Philip Bagwell. Routledge 2002 pp30-31 (I think though I found it hard to see the page numbers on the snippet I found) for the story of how the attempted fraud was exposed by the magazine The Motor.

If William could see what the consequences of bringing down car prices and encouraging cheap motoring - for example, the west-bound M4 at the start of the Easter weekend - he might have thought again!

18 OCTOBER 1919

Jessie's sister Clara died in Stockport where her husband, Rev Charles Paul Keeling, was the Rector; she was only in her fifties.

Source: freebmd and Probate Registry records but not until 1939 - see 1939 below. In 1921 her widower, the Rev Charles Paul Keeling, married Hilda Drinkwater.

DURING 1920

The Radium Fire Extinguisher Ltd was still in business providing William, Jessie and son Hugh with part of their income.

Source: The Electrical Review volume 87 1920 p270 listed the Radium Fire Extinguisher Ltd as one of the creditors of W Dennell and Co, engineers, of Sheffield, which had just gone bankrupt; so it wasn't all plain sailing for William and his fire extinguisher company.

JUNE 1920

William, Jessie and Hugh were still living at Cranbourne Lodge.

Source:

Patent Office Journal issued by the US Government Printing Office volume 9 1920. This is also a source for William describing himself as an engineer; though of course you wouldn't want to call yourself a journalist while applying for a patent on a piece of electrical equipment.

31 JANUARY 1922

William's father, Canon Rev Hugh Humphrys, died while spending a few days in Leamington Spa. At some point after his death - probably quite soon after - William's mother Louisa settled in Golders Green.

Comment by Sally Davis: probate was to William's mother and was granted in Dublin; so I take it that most of what the Rev Hugh had to leave was in Ireland. He left relatively little property in England - personal effects worth about £5000. Louisa Humphrys' income after her husband's death was probably from sources in her own family.

Sources:

Times Friday 3 February 1922 p1a death notices.

Probate Registry 1922.

DURING 1923

William was one of a group of journalists who were present when a statue of Frederick Henry Royce, one of the founders of Rolls-Royce, was unveiled.

Via google to www.rrht.castlewoodconsultants.com, copies of Archive, the newsletter of the Rolls Royce Heritage Trust. Newsletter 92 2013: The Unveiling of the Royce Statue. It was a very unusual occasion - the subject of the statue was still alive. It's a pity that the article doesn't give a date for the ceremony; though beginning on p11 it does list all those people who were invited. William was representing Pall Mall Gazette. A special train was hired to take the London-based guests to Derby. The Earl and Countess of Birkenhead were the most senior guests and the Countess unveiled the statue.

JUNE 1923

William made a second patent application for a design of thermionic valve (vacuum tube in the USA); presumably an improvement on the patent of 1914.

Source: via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent to the Espacenet database. See GB223337 (A) priority date 25 June 1923, with an abstract and a diagram.

The Year-Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony 1925 pubd by The Wireless World mag; Iliffe and Sons Ltd of Dorset House, Tudor St EC4. On p813 in its list of British patent specifications published during 1924. Just noting what a large number of these were held by individuals rather than companies.

DURING 1924

Building began on what is now known as Cranbourne Gardens, and Cranbourne Lodge was knocked down.

Comment by Sally Davis: this is a bit speculative; but I think the houses of Cranbourne Gardens were built on the site of the old Cranbourne Lodge and its gardens. Using google you can see a house that's called Cranbourne Lodge, but Roger Wright reckons it's a 1920s building. I'm not so sure but it doesn't look much like a house built in the reign of George IV.

Source for the building of Cranbourne Gardens: Middlesex volume V in the Victoria History of the Counties of England series. Published Oxford University Press and the Institute of Historical Research University of London; 1976: footnote on p14 quoting the planning permission given by the local Urban District Council. I couldn't find direct information that Cranbourne Lodge was knocked down; nor that Cranbourne Gardens is on its old site; but there are plenty of references to old houses in the Hendon area being replaced by new streets of houses.

JULY 1924

William's drawing of a valve socket was the illustration to an article (by someone else) on how to built your own crystal unit.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm basing my assumption that William was a member of the Radio Society of Great Britain on the fact that he was asked to contribute to the Society's official weekly magazine, Wireless World and Radio Review. The Society was very active in north London, with branches in Golder's Green, North Middlesex and Hendon; it held more formal meetings in central London.

Source: the article for which he supplied the drawing was: An Experimental Crystal Unit, by an author just described as "S.A.C." Wireless World and Radio Review volume 14 part 2 issue of 23 July 1924 pp482-484; with William's drawing on p484. And for the local societies and their busy programme of meetings: p31; and Wireless World and Radio Review volume 14 part 2 issue of 9 April 1924 p59-60. Though I must note that I didn't find William's name in any issue of the magazine in 1924.

?MID-LATE 1920s

William, Jessie and Hugh moved to 32 Sunny Gardens, Hendon.

Source though not for the date they moved there: Probate Registry 1950.

21 DECEMBER 1925

William's old colleague on the ACA management committee, Jules de Meray, died.

Source for the date: The British Chess Magazine volume 46 1926 p139 obituary of Jules de Meray of 48 Sussex Gardens.

JANUARY 1926

William made his final patent application, showing that wireless equipment was now his main interest. The application was for getting rid of background noise when using wireless equipment plugged into the mains supply.

Source: via www.gov.uk/search-for-patent to the Espacenet database. See GB262979 (A) priority date 27 January 1926, with an abstract.

Comment by Sally Davis: William's son Hugh was now 10. He became a professional engineer so perhaps he was involved in these experiments with wireless. I think the application also indicates that wherever the Humphrys were living, it was a house fully wired with an electricity supply. Perhaps it was at William's instigation that Cranbourne Lodge - if that's where they still were - had had electricity installed.

1927

William had an article on 'the wireless engineer' published in the magazine Electronic Technology.

Source: Electronic Technology volume 4 1927 p189 originally published March 1927. The British Library doesn't seem to have copies of this magazine, at least not from around this time; so I haven't been able to check out the contents. It is a pity as this looks like the last piece of writing he ever had published.

AUTUMN 1928

The British Diamond Fire Extinguisher Co (1912) Ltd went into voluntary liquidation.

Source: London Gazette issue of 6 November 1928 in a list of liquidations there was advance notice of the final meeting to be held by the liquidator, at 52 Bedford Square on 10 December 1928. IF William still had any shares in this company, he will have needed to be at the meeting to help make the decisions about how the company's assets should be disposed of.

JUNE 1929

Jessie's brother James Harry Holliday died in hospital in Montreal.

Source: Probate Registry 1939.

11 JULY 1934

William (but apparently not Jessie) went to the funeral of Walter Beresford Annesley, the 7th Earl Annesley.

Sources for the funeral and William's presence at it:

Times Tues 10 July 1934 p21 and Times Thursday 12 July 1934 p17c a very short report of the funeral, which had been held at the burial ground in Eversley near Basingstoke. Very few of the mourners were named in the report. Most were close family, of course.

Comment by Sally Davis: while I've been searching through my sources for William I've kept an eye out for this man but not seen a single mention of him. That's not to say he wasn't an investor in one or more of William's businesses; but Companies House doesn't keep that kind of evidence for very long after a small company has ceased to trade and been wound up. The 7th Earl was a much older man than William - born in 1861 - so he won't have been a contemporary at Rugby or Cambridge. He doesn't seem to have been interested in cars; that is, not more than any man who has to drive one. So how did the two men know each other? I've got two suggestions, both with an Irish connection. Although the 7th Earl was born in England and spent most of his life living there, the peerage that he inherited (unexpectedly in November 1914) was an Irish one, with estates at Castlewellan, county Down. So that's one way. The other is by a family relationship more distant than I've investigated; perhaps through the Mears family, several of whom were at the funeral.

More about the mysterious Earl:

Times Tues 28 August 1934 p3 an notice under the Trustee Act 1925. Such a notice indicates that the late Earl had been receiving income from a trust fund; probably an Annesley family one.

Wikipedia on the Earls Annesley, though there's no additional page for the 7th Earl so he was not a public man. The 7th Earl did have an heir; but the 8th Earl died in 1957 without any children.

How the 7th Earl inherited the title from a very distant cousin: Times Wed 9 December 1914 p10.

Who Was Who 1929-40 p29 does have an entry for the 7th Earl but with very little information in it and nothing which sheds any light on how William might know him.

At www.onegreatfamily.com/Walter-Annesley/583844147 has a bit more on how he was descended from earlier earls but nothing showing how he might be related to the Humphrys family.

Probate Registry 1934, which shows that the 7th Earl left virtually no personal effects.

JULY 1936

William attended the triennial dinner of the Rugby School old boys' society, at the Café Royal, Piccadilly.

Times Saturday 11 July 1936 p19d.

18 APRIL 1937

William's old friend Frank Rutter died. He and his second wife had been living in Golders Green, and on the south coast where Frank used to go to get some relief from bouts of bronchitis.

Times Tue 20 April 1937 p1 death notices; with details of the funeral to be held on 21 April. And see part 1 of this life-by-dates for the sources for Frank's life.

26 FEBRUARY 1938

William's mother Louisa died, at 41 Woodstock Road Golders Green.

Comment by Sally Davis: though I suppose it must have been divided between William and his two brothers, Louisa's personal estate was valued by the probate registry at over £40,000 - a very nice sum in those days. William - the only one of her children still living in England - was her only executor. By this time, William was describing himself as a "radio engineer".

Probate Registry 1938.

22 DECEMBER 1938

Jessie's elder sister Margaret Stephenson Holliday died, in the Hendon Cottage Hospital, Hendon Way; leaving Jessie the sole survivor of her siblings.

Comment by Sally Davis: since their mother's death Margaret Holliday had been living in Sutton; perhaps she became ill while on a Christmas visit to her sister, brother-in-law and nephew. Probate was granted in May 1939 and seems to have led to the tidying up of two estates left very untidy for many years: those of Clara Keeling (dead since 1919) and James Holliday (dead since 1929). Jessie took the lead in sorting out James' estate, the most complicated of them all as he had left no Will and had died abroad.

Sources: Probate Registry 1939 for Margaret Stephenson Holliday; James Harry Holliday; and Clara Annie Keeling. Clara Annie's husband, Rev Charles Paul Keeling, died in August 1941.

SUMMER 1944

William and Jessie's son Hugh married Doris Hackett. They don't seem to have had any children.

Source: freebmd.

DURING 1946

There was what seemed to be a reference to William's thermionic valve (vacuum tube) holder in the magazine The Electrician.

Comment by Sally Davis: I came across the reference while googling on the web. When I

checked it out at the British Library, the volume numbers didn't match and the magazine had no index, so I wasn't able to find the reference. The Electrician was a weekly magazine, published by Benn Brothers Ltd of Bouverie House, 154 Fleet Street and aimed at professionals in the field.

21 MARCH 1950

William Humphrys died, suddenly, at home at 32 Sunny Gardens Road Hendon. He was cremated at Golders Green on Monday 27 March.

Comment by Sally Davis: William's personal estate was valued at about £63000. In the terms of the time, he was a wealthy man. It would be interesting to know how much of it was his inheritance from the Evans-Lombe family; and how much was his own doing, from the Radium fire extinguisher and his patented inventions.

Sources:

Times Thursday 23 March 1950 p1a death notices; emphasising the Evans-Lombe inheritance.

Times Friday 24 March 1950 p1a death notices: emphasising Hugh and Louisa Humphrys; and as the "dear husband" of Jessie.

Probate Registry 1950.

1958

The Radium Fire Extinguisher Ltd, which William had founded to sell a dry-powder fire extinguisher, was wound up.

Source: London Gazette 9 December 1958 p7515.

Jessie Humphrys continued to live at 32 Sunny Gardens until her death in December 1962. Hugh William Humphrys died in 1970.

Sources: Probate Registry 1963 for Jessie. Hugh Humphrys was her executor, described as an "engineer". And freebmd for Hugh.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

22 November 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

George Jacob was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 6 October 1894; he chose the Latin motto 'Polemonium caeruleum'. John Hugh Armstrong Elliot (known as Hugh) was initiated on the same evening and the two men might have known each other beforehand. George Jacob never got as far as making it into the inner, 2nd Order; but he was still a member in 1903.

This is one of my short biographies. I've found out virtually nothing about George Jacob, not even a birth registration or baptism I'm sure of. There is more information out there, for someone to follow up if anyone's interested. Seen April 2016 via discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk: at the Ipswich branch of Suffolk Record Office there are some records of George Jacob:

- HB 54/E34/1 - household and personal bills 1908-09, 1921-27

- HB 54 E34/2 - letters to him 1912-15, 1928
- IC/AA2/181/P283, Will of Emma Garrod Venn. At spw-surrey.com on the Bateman family home page there were Probate Registry details 1911 re death of Emma Garrod Venn, widow, of Ipswich. George Jacob, solicitor's clerk, was her executor: acting in his personal capacity rather than for his employer.

Sally Davis

April 2016

This is what I have found on GEORGE JACOB.

IN THE GD

George Jacob lived in Ipswich and probably worked there too. This would have limited the number of GD rituals he could attend in London. He kept a very low profile as a GD member, neither causing nor taking an active part in any of the controversies that rocked the Order between 1895 and 1903. He was not amongst the fourteen GD members who in July 1903 announced their intention of setting up a separate order, the Independent and Rectified Rite; the fourteen were all 2nd Order members so George Jacob may not even have known what was going on, at that time. However, he was one of eight members of the now-ex-GD who joined the IRR during the order's first year. Only a few records of the IRR have survived, so I can't tell for how long he was a member of it. The IRR was wound up in 1914.

Source: R A Gilbert's The Golden Dawn Companion (see the Sources section below for further details). Apart from the details published in Gilbert's book there are no records of George Jacob the two main GD collections I have access to.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Not that I've found. Unlike many other GD members he was never in the Theosophical Society; and if he was a freemason, he kept his involvement local to Ipswich.

Sources:

Theosophical Membership Registers 1890-1901.

The Freemasons' Library database which had nothing that was either by him or about him: follow the links to it at www.freemasonry.london.museum. Individual lodges kept their own records.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No, though there might be some in the local papers.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

I've no idea! The census data isn't consistent about his year of birth or the place. The year varies between 1862 and 1866; and the place is usually Ipswich when I can find him at all, but in 1911 he changed it to 'Suffolk'. Looking on Familysearch and freebmd, I couldn't find a birth registration or baptism which completely tied in with the census data.

In addition, by as early as 1871 George Jacob was not living with his parents. He's not on the 1881 census at all as far as I can see. And on the census days of 1891, 1901, 1911 he's living where he was working, in Ipswich; either as a lodger or in a household on his own.

So I haven't a clue as to who his parents were; and whether he had any siblings.

Sources though mostly without any information: Familysearch; freebmd; Probate Registry.

The least unlikely birth details were at Familysearch: England-EASy GS film number 1526610. A child called George Jacob was baptised on 27 November 1864 at Wiggerhall St Peter Norfolk; son of Charles and Mary. I searched the census data 1871 and 1881 and couldn't find Charles and Mary; perhaps they lived abroad.

EDUCATION

Again, unknown although perhaps the 1871 census is an indication of where he was educated: on that day, George Jacob aged 9 was in the household of Henry Knevett and his wife Maryam, at St Matthew's Square, Westgate in Ipswich. Henry Knevett was a shoemaker. George Jacob was described by the census official as a "visitor" - he was not related to the Knevetts. Perhaps he was lodging with them while he was at a day school.

WORK/PROFESSION

George Jacob was a clerk in a solicitor's office; presumably one in Ipswich, seeing that's where he lived. By 1901 he was the managing clerk and presumably had clerks working for him. But he never became a solicitor. Some clerks were able, in the end, to become articled and take the solicitor's exams: the GD's Percy William Bullock did so while he was a GD member. But Percy Bullock worked for a large law firm in the City of London, where opportunities to do that were likely to be greater than in Ipswich.

I have no evidence but I would suppose that George Jacob worked for the same firm of solicitors all his working life; and that the firm's offices were in Ipswich.

Source: census entries 1891, 1901, 1911. While I was looking through the Law Lists at the Society of Genealogists, I kept an eye out for George Jacob; but he didn't appear in them between 1897 and 1911; and 1911 was, I think, rather late in the day to start qualifying.

ADDRESSES

WHEN INIT??

On the day of the 1891 census, George Jacob was a lodger in the household of George Scott and his wife Jeanie, at 5 Wilberforce Street, Westgate, Ipswich. George Scott worked as a manager in a wholesale grocery firm. By the day of the 1901 census he had moved from there and was living on his own at 7 Arcade Street St Mary Elms Ipswich. There were two households at that address and although George Jacob's was listed first, it's likely he was renting a room or two from the other householder, Samuel Robert Prom, who worked as a labourer for a railway company. George Jacob was still a lodger on the day of the 1911 census, but had moved to 18 Broom Hill Road Ipswich. He completed a form as the head a household with only himself in it, so I can't tell who his landlord or landlady was; perhaps it was the Mrs Venn whose Will George Jacob was executor of when she died later that year.

Sources: census 1891, 1901, 1911 and Suffolk Record Office items at Ipswich, see the top of this file.

FAMILY

I've found no evidence that he ever married.

DEATH

George Jacob died in Ipswich in 1939. It was probably as a result of his own efforts that his household accounts and letters were deposited at the Suffolk Record Office, showing that he had a sense of the importance to social history of records of everyday life.

Source: freebmd.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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1 April 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Lewis or Louis Stanley Jastrzebski (known as Stanley) was the brother of GD member Bogdan Edwards. Stanley was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in September 1889 at its Horus Temple in Bradford, which Bogdan Edwards had helped to set up. Stanley chose the Latin motto 'Fiat lux'. He took a few years to do the study necessary to be eligible for the GD's inner, 2nd Order and was not initiated into it until January 1897.

Like his brother Bogdan, Stanley found his Polish surname rather a handicap as he tried to build up a career. Also like Bogdan, he decided to change it, in 1895. However, he came up with a different solution to the one opted for by Bogdan, shortening it to Jast (pronounced with a 'J', not a y or an I).

Stanley Jast became quite a prominent figure in his profession and consequently there's a biography. However, it's not easy to come by a copy so I've decided to do a 'life by dates' for Stanley for those who are interested. I've leaned very heavily on the biography, which was compiled by two former colleagues, with input on his early life from Stanley's niece Elsie, Bogdan's daughter. The biography is: *Louis Stanley Jast: A Biographical Sketch* turned out to be m longer than I'd expected. Published London: The Library Association 1966. By W G Fry and W A Munford. It has been very useful to me; but there's no mention of the Order of the Golden Dawn in it. I've also used Stanley's entry in ODNB which is based on Fry and Munford's work.

With my 'life by dates' lists, the event is in italics and the source of the information in my normal Times New Roman. Unless I say otherwise, the source is the biography of Stanley Jast by Fry and Munford.

1850s Stanley's father, Stefan Louis de Jastrzebski, arrived in England, after taking place in the 1848/49 attempt by Hungary to free itself from the Austrian empire.

March 1859

Stefan de Jastrzebski married Elizabeth (Lizzie) Morgan in Kidderminster.

1859/60

Stefan and Lizzie Jastrzebski moved to Halifax. Stefan opened a tobacconist's shop.

20 August 1868

Louis (or Lewis) Stanley Jastrzebski born in Halifax; the youngest of three brothers. The oldest of the three was Bogdan Jastrzebski, later Edwards.

Bogdan Edwards was initiated into the Golden Dawn in 1888.

Source: GD Members' Roll at the Freemasons' Library; transcribed by R A Gilbert for his The Golden Dawn Companion p134.

1870s The Jastrzebski brothers were at school in Halifax, firstly at the Park Chapel School, then at Field's Academy.

For more information on Field's academy see Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion at

freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com

Probably 1885 or 1886

Stanley failed the Civil Service entrance exam.

1887 Stanley started work at the Halifax public library as assistant librarian.

1887-89

Stanley was introduced to theosophy and astrology by his boss, James Whiteley.

For further information on Whiteley: his obituary in Library World volume 14 1912 p17.

1888 Stanley was promoted to be librarian-in-charge at Halifax Library.

1889 Stanley joined the Theosophical Society; which at that time operated in London only.

Source: TS Membership Register volume for January 1889 to September 1891 p114.

September 1889

Stanley was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. His brother Bogdan Edwards was already a member.

August 1890

Stanley's article Dogmatism and the Theosophic Brotherhood, was published in the magazine

Agnostic Journal. Three more articles by him were published in the magazine in January 1891.

Source: Lucifer: A Theosophical Journal volume VII September 1890-February 1891 p80 and p515.

December 1890

Stanley's humorous dialogue A Dream and its Interpretation was published in Lucifer.

Source: Lucifer: A Theosophical Journal volume VII September 1890-February 1891 pp309-14.

July 1892

Stanley was appointed Peterborough Council's first-ever librarian, with the brief to set up a library service in the town.

Other sources: ODNB.

1892-98

Stanley was working at Peterborough Library. In 1892 he joined the Library Association - the professional association for librarians. At its meetings and in journals, he began to promote the Dewey system of library book classification, against several other rival systems.

1893 Stanley's first published work: Catalogue of the Landing and Reference Departments of Peterborough Public Library.

1894 Stanley met James Duff Brown at a Library Association meeting in Belfast.

Duff Brown was the first big personality of the expanding world of professional librarianship. After beginning his career in his native Scotland, he was chief librarian of Finsbury and then Islington boroughs. He founded several library magazines in his time including The Library and Library World. Before librarianship was taught at college, he ran correspondence courses for professionals; and his book Manual of Library Economy (published 1907) was the standard work on the subject for many years. Duff Brown and Stanley became good friends.

Other sources for Duff Brown: his entry in ODNB.

1895 On Duff Brown's advice, Stanley Jastrzebski shortened his surname to Jast (pronounced Jast not Yast or Iast).

SO FROM THIS TIME ON HE'S KNOWN AS STANLEY JAST.

Stanley's mother Lizzie also changed her surname to Jast.

Sources: 1901 census; death registration.

1895 Publication:

Classification in Public Libraries with Special Reference to the Dewey Decimal System.

This had originally been an article in The Library.

1896 Publication:

The Up-to-date Guide to Peterborough Cathedral, city and neighbourhood including the Crowland and Thorney Abbeys. 6d. Published by Taylor and Downs of 28 Westgate Peterborough. Undated, but the introduction, by "L.S.J." is dated "Sep. 16, 1896".

1897 Stanley read a paper on the Dewey classification system at the International Library Conference, challenging the arguments being put forward against its use.

January 1897

Stanley was initiated into the Golden Dawn's inner, 2nd Order. It wasn't until you were a member of this order that you were allowed to try some practical magic.

Source: The Golden Dawn Companion for details see the Sources section.

July 1898

Stanley was appointed chief librarian of Croydon public libraries.

The records of the Golden Dawn don't seem to know about Stanley's move to Croydon so I suppose he ceased to be an active member around 1898.

Source: The Golden Dawn Companion for details see the Sources section.

October 1898

Stanley joined the TS's Croydon Lodge. Talks that he gave at Lodge meetings were published in 1941 as What it All Means.

Around 1898

Stanley and James Duff Brown were founder-members of The Pseudonyms, a lunch club for librarians working in the London area. The idea was that all members were known by a pseudonym. Stanley's was Orlando Furioso.

Comment from Sally: that members should be known by a pseudonym rather than their usual name echoes the GD's use of mottos rather than names. Orlando Furioso was the hero of Ludovico Ariosto's epic poem of the same name, which Stanley must have read. 'Furioso' means 'mad' not 'angry' - Orlando is driven mad by his love for Angelica.

1898-1915

Working for Croydon library service.

During Stanley's time in Croydon he was in charge of an expansion of the service including moving the libraries to new buildings; installing telephones; and setting up a monthly magazine. Croydon libraries became a model of what a publically-funded library service should be.

Other source: ODNB.

1902 Stanley became honorary curator of the Photographic Survey and Record of Surrey; a joint effort by a voluntary committee and Croydon Libraries Committee.

1902 Publication, though Stanley seems to have done nothing but edited some prepared speeches:

Inauguration of Edward Edwards' Monument.

Edward Edwards' pamphlet on public libraries had paved the way for the Free Public Libraries Act of 1850. The inauguration of his monument took place on 7 February 1902.

June 1904

Stanley was elected hon sec of the Library Association; he remained in post until 1915.

September-October 1904

As the Library Association's hon sec, he made a study-trip to the USA, visiting libraries and attending the International Congress of Arts and Science.

Sources: Fry and Munford. Stanley's own Who's Who entry, undated but probably 1940-41; printed as part of the title pages of his What it All Means (published 1941).

Further information on the the Congress: via archive.org to the transactions of the International Congress of Arts and Science published St Louis 1904 in 13 volumes. The Congress was held in St Louis from 17 to 22 October 1904 as part of the world fair.

1907 Publication:

A Classification of Library Economy and Office Papers

1910, probably in April

Stanley met Ethel Winifred Austin (known as Winifred) at a Library Association meeting.

Winifred Austin was Librarian and Secretary of the National Library for the Blind. For more on her work at the Library, see her entry in ODNB and my file TITLE WHAT IS IT?? Here I'll just say that Stanley's relationship with Winifred flourished despite the opposition of her family.

1913 Stanley was the Library Association's representative at a conference of librarians in the USA.

Sources: ODNB and Stanley's own Who's Who entry, undated but probably 1940-41; printed as part of the title pages of his What it All Means (published 1941).

1914 James Duff Brown died, aged only 51. Stanley edited the Library Association's memorial volume: Memoir and Appreciations of James Duff Brown 1862-1914.

August 1914

Like many others, Stanley was on holiday in Europe when the first World War broke out. He was stranded in Geneva for several weeks.

October 1915

Stanley accepted the job of deputy chief librarian of Manchester library service; on the understanding that he would succeed its chief librarian on his retirement.

1915-31

Working in Manchester.

1916 Stanley and Winifred Austin agreed to marry when the War was over.

1916 Stanley was one of the founders of the Manchester-based experimental amateur dramatic society, The Unnamed Society.

The Unnamed Society was the brainchild of designer Francis Sladen-Smith. Other members during the 1920s were: illustrator/designer William Grimmond; artist/designer Karl Hagedorn; designers Georgia Pearce and Lilian Reburn; and drama historian Geoffrey Whitworth. The Society's members wrote most of the early plays that the Society put on but they also produced works by H R Barbor and Harold Brighouse (author of *Hobson's Choice*).

Source for further information on The Unnamed Society: the book *The Unnamed Society*

(See the Sources section for details).

1916 Though he was no longer a member of Surrey photographic survey's committee, Stanley was joint author with H D Gower and W W Topley of *The Camera as Historian*, a 'how-to' book for groups wanting to carry out photographic surveys of their district. It was based on their experiences doing the survey of Surrey. Published London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co Ltd 1916.

1917 Publication:

The Origin of British Trade: the Commercial Library.

May 1918

Winifred Austin died of complications following a burst appendix.

Summer 1918

Stanley's mother Lizzie Jast died, aged 80. She had lived with him in Croydon and Manchester.

These two events seem to have released a spring of creativity in Stanley; to help deal with the grief, he started to write plays and possibly poetry as well.

October 1918

Stanley's play *The Lover and the Dead Woman* was performed by the Manchester-based amateur drama group The Unnamed Society.

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

December 1918

The Unnamed Society's Christmas pantomime was a version of *Aladdin*, prepared by Stanley.

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

1919 Stanley supervised the opening of Manchester's first library of commerce.

Source: ODNB.

March 1919

The Unnamed Society did a production of Stanley's play *The Geisha's Wedding*

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

December 1919

The Unnamed Society did a production of Stanley's play *The Loves of the Elements*

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

1920

Stanley became a member of *The Clarion Table*, a lunch club for professional people in Manchester. Millicent Murby was the club's only female member.

Source for the date: ODNB.

February 1920

The Unnamed Society performed three plays by Stanley on the same bill: *The Call of the Ninth Wave*; *The Eugenic Cupid*; and *Estelle Discovers Herself*

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

April 1920

Stanley's boss Charles Sutton retired and Stanley took over as chief librarian of Manchester library service.

January 1921

The Unnamed Society did a production of Stanley's *Venus and the Shepherdess*

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

October 1921

The Unnamed Society performed Stanley's Noh-theatre inspired play *Harbour*

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

April 1922

The Unnamed Society did a short season at the Margaret Morris Theatre in Chelsea. Stanley's *The Lover and the Dead Woman*, and *Harbour*, were amongst the plays they performed there

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

October 1922

The Unnamed Society performed Stanley's play *The Room*. It was on the same bill as artist Gwen John's *A Tale That Is Told*.

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

1923 First publication of fictional works by Stanley: *The Lover and the Dead Woman, and Five Other Plays in Verse*. London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd. NY: EP Dutton and Co.

April 1923

The Unnamed Society did a production of Stanley's play about the death of Lorenzo de Medici: *A Florentine Irony*. It was on the same bill as Harold Brighouse's *The Happy Hangman*

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

November 1923

The Unnamed Society performed Stanley's play *The Repentance of Melpomene*.

Sources: book *The Unnamed Society* and the published edition of *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays* 1923

1924 Stanley was president of The Unnamed Society when it was moving to new, bigger premises and trying to raise its profile nationwide

Early 1925

Stanley Jast and Millicent Murby were married, in Kensington.

1926-31

Stanley was librarian in charge of Manchester Corporation's project to build the famous circular central library.

1927 Publication: *The Child as Reader*

1927 Publication: *The Planning of a Great Library*

November 1927

Stanley's play *A Florentine Irony* was performed by the Festival Theatre Cambridge.

1928 Publication: *The Provision of Books for Children in Elementary Schools*

1929 Stanley was a member of a delegation sent by Manchester Corporation to the USA.

Source: Stanley's own *Who's Who* entry, undated but probably 1940-41; printed as part of the title pages of his *What it All Means* (published 1941).

January 1929

Stanley's five-act play *Shah Jahan*, based on the life of the emperor and builder of the Taj Mahal, was performed by The Unnamed Society; the last play by him they put on.

Millicent Jast acted as producer.

Source: *Shah Jahan: A Play in Five Acts*. London: Grafton and Co 1934. The book is dedicated to Millicent Jast.

1930 The foundation stone of Manchester Corporation's new library was laid. Stanley was made president of the Library Association.

1931 Stanley made two radio broadcasts, later published as *Libraries and Living*.

1932 Stanley retired. He and Millicent went to live at Beckington, just outside Bath.

Date unknown but probably after Stanley retired: he (and presumably Millicent) made a trip to the West Indies and Mexico. At some time during his life he also visited Morocco.

1932 Publication: *Libraries and Living*.

1934 *Shah Jahan* was published; Stanley's last play.

1935 Stanley wrote the introduction to Henry A Sharp's *Cataloguing: A Textbook for Use in Libraries*

1939 Stanley's last book on library organisation was published: *Libraries and the Community*. There was a second edition of this, published 1945.

1939 Stanley attended the annual meeting of the Library Association for the last time. He had been the Association's dominant personality since James Duff Brown's death.

1939 Stanley and Millicent lived for a short time in Penzance, while Stanley was working preparing his theosophical talks for publication.

1940 Stanley and Millicent moved to Twickenham.

1941 Stanley's talks to the TS groups in Croydon and Manchester were published as *What It All Means*.

Source: *What it all Means*. London: T Werner Laurie Ltd of Cobham House, 24-26 Blackfriars Lane.

25 December 1944

Stanley Jast died.

Probably June 1946

Stanley's *Poems and Epigrams* was published, privately.

Source: *Poems and Epigrams*, printed for private circulation by Wadsworth and Co, The Rydal Press Keighley. There's no printed publication date but 'June 1946' is written in pencil inside the front cover; it's not clear who by.

1966

Fry and Munford's biography of Stanley Jast published as part of a series on noted librarians.

I found two pictures of Stanley Jast, both from late in his life, both published in books and - unfortunately - both difficult for the man or woman in the street to gain access to though

there are copies of both of them in the British Library. The first picture is a drawing of Stanley in relaxed mode, with a cigarette hanging out of his mouth. It's by artist, illustrator and designer, and fellow member of The Unnamed Society, William Grimmond. Done around 1924 it was published on p8 of The Unnamed Book (see the Sources section). The second is a photograph taken by F W Schmidt of Manchester and printed on p11 of the 1946 book of Stanley's poems. The photo is undated but likely to be from before 1932 and may have been taken in connection with Stanley's retirement. It's more formal than the drawing, of course - he's wearing collar and tie, and there's no cigarette. Both show a man with thinning hair on top, a bushy moustache and a slight slouch in his posture. In the photo, though, there's less hair, and the moustache has gone grey.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

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The members of the GD at its Horus Temple were rather a bolshy lot, and needed a lot of careful management!

Family history: [freebmd](http://freebmd.com); ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.org); Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

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but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR LEWIS/LOUIS STANLEY JAST

Fry and Munford:

Louis Stanley Jast: A Biographical Sketch turned out to be m longer than I'd expected. Published London: The Library Association 1966. By W G Fry and W A Munford. Fry is former deputy City Librarian Manchester Public Libraries; Munford is Director-General of the National Library of the Blind.

ODNB volume 29 which has Fry and Munford as a source but also has some different information: p816

ON JOHN WHITELEY

The Library World volume 14 1912 p17 reported the death of John Whiteley, formerly chief librarian of Halifax borough council.

JAMES DUFF BROWN has a biography in the same series as Jast's own: James Duff Brown 1862-1914: Portrait of a Library Pioneer by William Arthur Munford published Library Association 1968. There's a wikipedia page using Munford as a source.

World Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Services by Robert Wedgeworth 1993: pp149-150.

CLARION TABLE

Fry and Munford used the Minutes of the Manchester Clarion Club 1913-21. Plus a typescript by S J Berry: The Clarion Table: the Record of a Manchester Luncheon Club, written at the request of some members. Both these items are in the manuscript collection of Manchester Corporation. I haven't seen either of them myself.

UNNAMED SOCIETY later the Manchester Library Theatre see its website www.librarytheatre.com: founded 1952; performs in that circular library built during Jast's tenure; still in operation.

My main source: The Unnamed Book printed for the Unnamed Society by Sherratt and Hughes, 34 Cross Street, Manchester. 1924.

There's information on The Unnamed Society in British Theatre and the Red Peril: the Portrayal of Communism 1917-45 by Steve Nicholson. Exeter: University of Exeter Press 1999. P22-24 in the chapter The Revolution Will Not be Dramatised. The incident being discussed took place in 1931. Stanley isn't mentioned by Nicholson but was probably still a member of The Unnamed Society at the time.

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AMandragora@attglobal.net

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Stanley Jast: Ritual, Magic, Drama and Love

RITUAL AND MAGIC

Very few of the members of the Order of the Golden Dawn ever wrote down exactly what had caused them to accept the offer of initiation into a magical order. Stanley Jast is one of the few: his *What it all Means* is not necessarily what every GD member believed - they were a pretty independent-minded bunch - but what one member did.

What it all Means was published in 1941. Its origins were in talks Stanley had given to Theosophical Society lodges in the 1900s and 1910s, but he still believed the same things after 30 more years' contemplation of Life's big questions. You can describe Stanley's beliefs as a mixture of theosophy and magic. Spiritualism, was another option for those seeking the answers that Christianity no longer seemed to give, but Stanley had no time for it or those who believed in it. He wrote:

“Spiritualism might be good enough
If spirits didn't talk such silly stuff.”

“A more convincing note they couldn't strike
They must be real dead people, they're so like.”

Between theosophy and the western hermetic tradition Stanley worked out some answers that he was satisfied with. He was a member of the GD and the Theosophical Society at the same time in the 1890s and may have considered the two of them complementary: GD for the Western occult tradition (including the Kabbalah - a part of the GD magical curriculum but Stanley was probably already familiar with it before he was initiated), TS for the Eastern; GD for practical magic, TS for theory and debate. His involvement with the TS lasted longer, though.

What it all Means begins with a chapter called 'many lives'. As far as I know, none of the senior members of the GD ever made any statement on reincarnation; so members were free to believe in it if they chose. As a member of the Theosophical Society, though, Stanley would have been aware that it was a contentious subject amongst TS members. Stanley himself was quite sure that “Reincarnation, with its complementary doctrine of Karma [is] the only working explanation of the mysteries of our life on earth”.

A belief in magic was something East and West had in common. In his chapter on magic, Stanley explained the three basics which underpinned it, which both East and West acknowledged: the existence of worlds and planes on different levels of matter and energy; man as microcosm of the macrocosm; and correspondences. East and West might describe and use the three basics differently but spells, for example, were a western equivalent to the mantras of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Stanley believed in magic, which he saw as a “revolution against a too prosaic world”. He could see that magic was still widespread in that prosaic modern world, though it was (and is)

referred to by other names. The recently-founded profession of chemistry annoyed him with its refusal to admit its alchemical roots. He acknowledged that there was a qualitative difference between the old practice of alchemy and the work of the modern chemist, but in his opinion, that was nothing for modern chemists to feel pleased about: they concerned themselves solely with physical processes; while the “true alchemists” who had been their forebears had seen the physical processes as an expression of metaphysical truths.

For Stanley, the best illustrations that magic was still alive and well in the prosaic world, were people’s belief in prediction and charms. Why else the visits to the astrologer, and the mascot on the car’s dashboard? Modern rationalism had not rid people of the hope that astrology would tell them their future. And while rejecting the “hocus-pocus” of charms sold by dubious “professors”, Stanley himself believed that “suitable objects...utilised as reservoirs of power” could be very powerful talismans, particularly those which had been a “personal possession of someone we love or have loved”, and which held something of the loved one’s personality and spirit. How to consecrate an object as a talisman was magic taught in the GD. Perhaps it was a magical practice that Stanley continued to carry out even after he had ceased to be an active member of the GD.

Another thing all GD initiates learned was how to conduct a magical ritual to keep themselves safe and get best results. Stanley gave a brief description of how you do it. One of the purposes of magical rituals was to create enough psychic energy for the participants to make contact with other planes of existence. Conversely, powers from these planes of existence needed a human agent through which to work, to reach the material world.

Stanley saw worship as a human attempt to reach these other planes of existence, which he thought of as “the divine”; but he was sure that without the use of ritual there was no chance of success. He preferred the Eastern rituals for getting there: an individual working alone (meditating, for example), rather a congregation attempting to get there using a mediator like a priest. To Stanley, the chances of a Protestant congregation getting there and experiencing the divine were very small, now that Protestant religious practice had been “shorn of all its magical elements”.

Stanley’s carefully-considered beliefs in reincarnation and karma, magic and meditation, and the existence of something or things out there beyond the material world, carried him through some tough times: tragic bereavement; and years of suffering with angina - death at his elbow, so to speak. His wife Millicent thought that he was better prepared for death than most people. She wrote to W A Munford that Stanley had been, “ready to pursue his enquiries into ultimate things on that higher plane to which he believed that physical death gives passage”.

RITUAL, MAGIC AND DRAMA

Although *What it all Means* doesn’t have a section on drama and theatre, it’s clear from his other writings that Stanley thought that ritual and theatre could complement each other. Drama in ritual heightened the psychic tension; ritual in drama gave it depth. He doesn’t seem to have written any dramatic works, however, until he was coping with two deaths that occurred in 1918: that of Winifred Austin (see below) whom he would have married, had she lived; and his mother Lizzie who had lived with him and kept house for him since the 1890s.

Stanley was already a member of the experimental amateur dramatic group The Unnamed Society, which was looking for new theatre-works to perform. Stanley chose to channel some of his grief through plays: six in the three years from autumn 1918 to autumn 1921.

The Unnamed Society's financial means were very limited, and until 1923 their performance space was small and had not been built as a theatre. Plays written for the Society couldn't ask for much in the way of scenery and props. Stanley's plays were all short - three could be put on in the same evening. Trying to sum them up - having read them but never seen them performed - I'd say they were like tableaux, or 17th-century masques - there was not much plot, not a great deal of action, and virtually no characterisation. Several had Choruses, which Stanley used in the Greek manner to comment on action that had taken place elsewhere. Stanley himself said of all of them that they needed "decorative grouping" - as if the characters were meant to stand like statues for at least part of the time - and he described one in particular (Venus and the Shepherdess) as "a play of poses". Dance figured in nearly all of them; Stanley was a fan of dance and wanted it incorporated into theatre more than it was - he called it "that lovely but still too isolated art". His plays were not examinations of human personality, but "dramatizations of purely philosophic theses". He even tried, in Harbour, to write a play about the Buddhist process of achieving enlightenment; and wrote it in the manner of a Noh play, a very stylised form of Japanese drama with music. He could have read about Noh theatre in English by the early 1920s though I don't know whether he could have seen any. The actors in a Noh play all wear masks; Stanley's play *The Love of the Elements* also required the actors to be masked. And there's one other indication of Stanley's interest in Japanese culture: one of the plays is *The Geisha's Wedding*.

Stanley actually described *The Loves of the Elements* as a "lyrical Ballet-Masque" rather than a play. In it he was trying to put centre-stage elements of theatre which are usually incidental if they're there at all - poetry, music, dance, design and lighting. Some music was composed specially for it by Georgia Pearce. The 'characters' were taken from magic: the elements earth, water, fire and air (in that order), and their elemental spirits.

Well, The Unnamed Society was asking for experimental plays.

Perhaps the most orthodox of the plays is the one that was the most personal: *The Lover and the Dead Woman*. It begins with the Lover mourning at his love's grave, unknowingly watched by the dead woman's Spirit. In what must be a reflection of Stanley's own beliefs about death, the Spirit says that she prefers to be remembered in people's memories, rather than commemorated in stone; and in any case her Spirit was never in the grave, only her body which is now dust. There's a painful meeting between the Spirit and her Lover, and there's no happy ending - when the Spirit says she must go now, the Lover accuses her of being "Death's paramour...The grave thy adulterous bed". They part in bitterness, he to regret having accused her like that, and she to

"tread the dim and shadowy realms
of wandering and unhappy ghosts.

Alone,

Waiting until he comes."

Between 1920 and 1923 the Unnamed Society performed several other plays by Stanley. He

decided against publishing them and as far as I know, none of the texts or stage directions exist any longer. They were: The Eugenic Cupid (which I'd love to read); Estelle Discovers Herself; The Room; A Florentine Irony; and The Repentance of Melpomene.

Stanley's magnum opus as a writer of plays was *Shah Jahan* which - though put on by The Unnamed Society - was a more traditional style of play, with five acts, a couple of plot-lines and recognisable characters. It's about the reign of Shah Jahan, who built the Taj Mahal in memory of his dead wife Mumtaz, but Stanley hadn't wanted to write a history play and he took some liberties with historical events. Like in many of his earlier plays, there's a philosophical element to *Shah Jahan*: there's a long scene where a Jesuit priest and a Muslim mullah describe their beliefs at Shah Jahan's command (he ends up criticising both of them). And the play ends with a scene that harks back to *The Lover and the Dead Woman*: Shah Jahan, now deposed by his son as unfit to rule (having bankrupted the state with his building projects), is inside the Taj in the dark, talking to Mumtaz's ghost. She calls his name, and he realises that as long as - though dead - she still loves him, they will be reunited when he dies. He asks for death to come:

“Let the pendulum
Of my spent spirit stop
Now.”

Shah Jahan was the last play Stanley wrote. The published edition is dedicated to his wife Millicent, who had produced the Unnamed Society's performances of it: Mumtaz to Stanley's *Shah Jahan* perhaps.

LOVE: THE WOMEN IN STANLEY'S LIFE.

Stanley came very late to love and was acutely aware of it: in his epigram *Belated Love* he says:

If that my love too fierce appears,
Remember 'tis so late
The love of all my loveless years
On thee is concentrate.

I think that he had to wait, for the type of woman he could be attracted to, to come along. She was rather rare at the time. I thought the two women Stanley loved deserved their own section in his biography though neither of them were ever in the *Golden Dawn*.

ETHEL WINIFRED AUSTIN

Several of the sources I found for Winifred Austin said she had been born in 1875, but the correct year is 1873. She was born in Blackheath, one of the nine children of George Austin and his wife Mary Anne. George Austin had been a partner in Austin Brothers, of Gracechurch Street and then Gresham House Old Broad Street in the City of London: ship brokers, insurance agents and coal shippers; but he retired from the business in 1878 leaving

his brother Charles William to carry it on. Most of Winifred's childhood was spent in Hove. On the day of the 1881 census, the Austins were living there in some style, employing a cook, a housemaid, a parlourmaid and a nurse. However, the Austins moved back to south London, to Clapham, where George Austin died in 1887 aged 62. Three years later Winifred's mother died, at an even younger age - she was only 56.

One of the articles I read about Winifred said that the early deaths of her parents had meant that - in addition to all the difficulties and unhappiness of being orphaned while still a teenager - her schooling didn't go according to their plans, and finished earlier than it might have done otherwise. Instead of going to an expensive finishing school, as was apparently her parent's intention, Winifred spent a year as a governess in Switzerland - possibly around 1891 when she was not in England on the day of the 1891 census.

In 1901, aged 27, Winifred was still leading the life an unmarried woman of the middle-classes was expected to lead. She was living at 10 Rusholme Road Wandsworth, with her elder sister Beatrice, and her brothers John, Charles and Francis, none of whom were married; and she wasn't contributing to the household expenses by earning any money. All the brothers were now working and could afford to pay for a cook and a housemaid. But even if the money coming into the household had been much less, Winifred would not have been expected to do anything but voluntary work. When she went out and got herself a job with a wage, her family deeply disapproved of it although it meant she could contribute to the family finances. It didn't make any difference to them that the job Winifred took was one that made an important contribution to bettering the lives of the disabled.

In 1906, Winifred was offered and accepted the job of librarian and secretary to the National Lending Library for the Blind (NLLB), which at that time was at 125 Queen's Road Bayswater. The household she had been living in probably for nearly two decades was beginning to break up - eldest brother John got married that year - but Winifred was still making a very big leap for a woman of her class. And why was she offered the job at all when she had - apparently - no experience of the work? It's clear none of the articles on Winifred's life can quite understand how that happened, and Winifred's entry in ODNB states specifically that she had no experience of the tasks that the job required. If it hadn't been for this statement by ODNB, I'd have said that she had been one of the NLLB's volunteers - it was a small charity, heavily dependent on donations and voluntary work; and voluntary work was something middle-class families would allow their unmarried daughters to do. The ODNB entry seems adamant, though, so why Winifred got the job will have to remain a mystery.

However little understanding Winifred initially had, of the NLLB and of the rapidly expanding field of librarianship, she threw herself into her new job in a way that suggests pent-up energy and organisational ability at last being given a purpose. In the next few years she revolutionised not only NLLB but library services for the blind all over England. She raised money. She bought and got donations of books, and shelves to put them on. She learned braille to better supervise the volunteers who transcribed books into braille for the library's users. She set up new branches of NLLB outside London. She brought all the libraries for the blind that were in existence into one umbrella group, helping to set up the Federation of Libraries for the Blind in 1913. Around 1909 she joined the Library Association - the professional organisation for librarians - to keep up to date with developments in the field, and to make her library and the problems of blind people better known.

Winifred's salary did not make her financially independent: at least in the early years she was employed at the NLLB, she earned £75 per year. In 1911 she was still living with her brother Francis at 70 Redcliffe Square, off the Old Brompton Road. On census day, Francis completed the census form - he was head of the household; but Winifred made sure he wrote down the full details of her job title and who her employers were. Probably to her brother's great irritation, she took a pride in the fact that she was a working, salaried woman.

Winifred and Stanley Jast met, through the Library Association, probably in 1910. By this time Stanley was the senior librarian of Croydon Library Service and an important figure in the world of professional librarianship. Both were very busy so the relationship between them progressed slowly, at Library Association meetings and during long country walks. In 1916, marriage began to be discussed between them when Stanley was offered the job of deputy-director of Manchester Corporation's library service, to succeed as director when his boss retired around 1920. But there were problems.

When they met, he had been 42, she had been 37 - it wasn't exactly young and hormone-driven love - but all the articles on Winifred agree that the Austins were strongly against her marrying Stanley Jast, for two reasons. The first was based on typically Victorian snobbery about the infinite gradations of the class system. Stanley was the son of a man who kept a tobacconist's shop in a northern industrial town. His relationship with the daughter of a City businessman - even one who had earned some of his money by brokering shipments of coal - was exactly the sort of consequence middle-class families were trying to prevent by not letting their daughters and sisters go out into the world of work. The second was more personal. Stanley's biographers Fry and Munford describe him as a 'big man'. They don't just mean his height: Stanley had a personality to match. He was dynamic; he was one to take a lead; he had strong opinions and didn't hesitate to maintain them at length; he dominated his company; he was impatient; he didn't suffer fools gladly. In Fry and Munford's word, he was "overwhelming", and Winifred's family just didn't like him.

That might have been enough to put many women off, but I think there were other reasons why Winifred hesitated to commit herself to marrying Stanley. The first was the war, which swelled the number of blind people in Britain with soldiers injured in the fighting. This crisis added to Winifred's sense of the importance of her work; it gave her a sense of urgency; and it added to the amount of work she was doing. In addition to her normal duties she did volunteering work teaching braille to newly-blinded soldiers. She became a member of the Local Government Board's advisory committee on the blind. When other libraries started to have staffing problems she took in books from them until the NLLB building was absolutely full. So in 1916 she got a grant to move the NLLB to bigger premises at 18 Tufton Street Westminster, and negotiated with the local council to have it exempted from paying rates. While the war continued, there was no question of her stopping working.

Winifred was going to have to stop work when she married, and move to Manchester. Stanley's salary in Manchester was perfectly able to support the two of them, but that wasn't the difficulty. I get the impression that Winifred really didn't want to give up her work and all that she was achieving for blind people. It gave her life purpose and fulfilment.

In 1916 Winifred did agree to marry Stanley, but she said she would not do so until the war was over. And therein lies the tragedy. In May 1918, just before she and Stanley were going

to go away for a few days' holiday, Winifred was taken to hospital with pains in her abdomen. She died a few days later, probably from the results of a burst appendix.

To say that Stanley was devastated is putting it mildly, I think. But he wrote out his grief in plays and poetry, and that aided his mourning so that he was able to put his grief behind him in a few years. In 1920, he met a woman who was similar to Winifred in many ways, though very different in others; and this time, he did get married.

MILLICENT BEATRICE MURBY of whom Stanley said, in a birthday ode

In a world that's at odds

She's a gift from the Gods.

Winifred Austin and Millicent Murby were exactly the same age: born in the autumn of 1873. They were both born in south London. Both were middle children in large families. And both their fathers had been businessmen. But - as regards how and where they grew up - the resemblance between them ends there.

Millicent Murby's father Thomas was the owner of Thomas Murby and Co the publishing firm. In the mid-19th century it made its reputation publishing school and examination texts. It was still in existence in the 1960s, concentrating by then on geology and travel - it published Heyerdahl's book *The Kon-Tiki Expedition*. The family's financial means were rather more modest than the Austins' - or perhaps Thomas and his wife Emma were just more careful. On the day of the 1881 census the Murbys were living at 26 Canterbury Road in Lambeth and although they had eight children under 15 at home that day, they only employed a general servant (to do the heavy cleaning) and a nursemaid.

I've had to make more guesses about how Millicent grew up: she's not in ODNB, I haven't been able to find out where she went to school, and neither she nor her parents are on the census in 1891 or 1901: I suppose they were away, as a family, somewhere in Europe, on both days. This habit that the GD members and their associates have of going away over Easter has been a plague on my research! In this case it has meant that I can't say what the Murbys' financial circumstances were during the 1880s and 1890s, nor when Millicent started work.

For start work she did, and not in the manner of Winifred Austin. The sources on Millicent that I have found don't mention that there was any trouble in the family about Millicent and her sisters doing paid work. Millicent took the exams, passed them, and went into the Civil Service and although I don't know the date she did so, I think it's likely that it was when she was in her 20s. In 1911 she was working in the War Office. Thomas Murby had died in 1909 and the family had broken up. On the day of the 1911 census Millicent was living at 135 Ramsden Road Balham with her sister Grace Marian, who was also working, as a clerk to an accountant. They were earning enough to be able to employ one domestic servant who lived-in.

It is a pity I haven't been able to find out more about Millicent's working life. I do know that she ended her career in the Civil Service as a health inspector, possibly taking a post made

available by men volunteering for the War. And that her job had moved her to Manchester possibly by 1916, definitely by 1920.

It's been much easier to find out what Millicent did in her leisure time. Long before they met, she and Stanley shared an interest in theatre; though as far as I know, Stanley never acted in plays, he only wrote them; and Millicent never wrote any plays, only acted in them and produced them.

It was through her interest in amateur dramatics that Millicent came to know the actress and performer Florence Farr, one of the most senior members of the Golden Dawn in the 1890s; though I'm quite sure Millicent was unaware that Florence was a member, and in any case Florence had left the Golden Dawn by the time the two women met. Florence and Millicent were involved in two productions in early 1905. Florence Farr was in charge of both of them, choosing the plays and the actors and directing the performances. The first of the two plays which brought her and Millicent together was one of the earliest productions of George Bernard Shaw's *The Philanderer*, written in 1893 and banned until 1902. It was staged for one performance only, on 20 February at the Court Theatre, and Millicent played the role of Sylvia Craven.

Then in May 1905, Florence Farr chose Millicent to become the first actress to play the title role in an English-language production of Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*. There were two performances of it, on 10 and 13 May, at the Bijou Theatre in Archer Street, Bayswater. Robert Farquharson played Herod and Louise Salom Herodias. At the time, professional productions of *Salomé* were banned in the UK; Florence's production was allowed because it was an amateur one. *Salomé* was a controversial role - still is - and I suppose that Florence Farr chose Millicent to play it partly because Millicent was willing to do so when other actresses might not have been; though she must also have had more experience than just playing in *The Philanderer*. Perhaps Millicent had bitten off rather more than she could chew though; or perhaps she was just busy with other things a year later when the production was revived for a few more performances. Someone else - a Miss Darragh - played *Salomé*. That wasn't the only cast change: Florence Farr played Herodias herself. Max Beerbohm reviewed both sets of performances for the *Saturday Review*; he didn't think Florence's Herodias was villainous enough, and he preferred Miss Darragh's *Salomé* to Millicent's.

George Bernard Shaw went to one of the last rehearsals of *The Philanderer* so Millicent could have met him then. But she was probably acquainted with him already because they were both members of the Fabian Society. I couldn't find any evidence for Winifred Austin as an active political campaigner, but Millicent Murby was an active feminist. She was treasurer of the Society's women's group for many years and a member of its Executive Committee. A campaigner on issues around women's work and working conditions, in 1906 she gave evidence to the Select Committee on Wages and Conditions of Employment in the Civil Service. She also lectured on specific problems and wrote on the subject for the journal *The New Age* in 1908. Her pamphlet *The Commonsense of the Woman Question* was published in 1908. And in 1912 she had an article in the feminist review *The Freewoman*. She had to be careful, though: as a civil servant she couldn't get too publicly involved in political campaigning. For example, I couldn't find any evidence that she let her commitment to votes for women take her as far as joining the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), in the years before the first World War the most high-profile and violent campaigning group on the subject.

I presume it was through friends she made at the Fabian Society that Millicent was recommended to the French philosopher and academic Henri Bergson to oversee an English translation of his book *Creative Evolution*, to be published in the USA. She was working on this project in 1912 (in addition to her day job, of course).

Although they shared an interest in theatre and were both acquainted with Florence Farr, Stanley Jast and Millicent Murby didn't meet until 1920, when Stanley joined The Clarion Table (or Club), a lunch club for professional people based in Manchester. Millicent was its only female member (how did she stand it?!)

By 1922 they were close enough friends for Stanley to ask Millicent to be secretary to a society he was helping to found; and for her to agree to his request. The society was the Manchester and District Regional Survey Society. It was founded to do for Manchester what Stanley and fellow volunteers had done for Croydon in the 1900s - put together a pictorial record of local buildings, to be kept in the local library (the collection is now in Manchester Local History archive).

In the late 1920s Millicent will have found herself with more time on her hands to fill with this kind of voluntary work. In 1924 she had agreed to marry Stanley Jast provided he didn't expect her to go all domestic and do cooking and cleaning; and women civil servants had to give up their job on marriage. They married in London early in 1925 - he was 56, she was 51 - and the marriage gave Stanley at least a great deal of happiness.

Stanley's salary was a good one and meant that he and Millicent were well able to employ servants to carry out the household work Millicent had successfully avoided doing all her life. So she was now free to campaign on an issue she may have felt strongly about for many years; but had been unable to pursue actively while she was employed by the government. She began to campaign for what in due course became the clear air acts. In 1933, for example, she gave a talk at the annual conference of the National Smoke Abatement Society (founded in 1928) called 'The Altar of Fire Worship'. Her pamphlet *How the Citizen Takes the Air*, subtitled *The Personal Significance of the Smoke Problem* was published by the Society in 1934.

Another thing marriage gave Millicent more time for was theatre production. Stanley had been a member of The Unnamed Society since 1916; if Millicent had been a member at that early stage, they would have met sooner. Millicent could have joined the Society any time after 1920 but the book I consulted for the early 1920s didn't mention her. Either she wasn't a member at that time; or she worked back-stage - the names of the people who did stage management, built props and scenery and sewed costumes weren't mentioned in the book. By January 1929, however, she was a member; she oversaw The Unnamed Society's performances of Stanley's play *Shah Jahan* at the Little Theatre that month.

Stanley was due to retire in 1932 and neither he nor Millicent had put down any deep roots in Manchester. They decided to move south once he had retired. In 1931 they found a house in Beckington, just outside Bath. Millicent moved there to get it ready while Stanley worked his last few months.

Stanley's retirement meant that he could work on his writing. His main efforts went on *Shah*

Jahan - published in 1934 and dedicated to Millicent - and What It All Means, based on much earlier talks he'd given at the Theosophical Society and finally published in 1941. I think he wrote more poetry, too, but this is just a guess of mine, as none of his poems are dated. I assume - again without definite dating evidence - that it was during the 1930s that the Jasts travelled: to the West Indies and possibly México, and to Morocco.

Stanley and Millicent lived in Beckington for several years. Then, in 1939, they moved to Penzance. This might have been to give Stanley the peace he needed for his latest attempt to finish What It All Means, but both he and Millicent were urban people really, and after only a few months and despite the risks with war about to break out, they moved back to London, to Penryhn House, 3 Riverdale Road Twickenham.

Stanley died, very suddenly, on Christmas Day 1944. He had been suffering from angina for several years. In remembrance of him, Millicent got together all the poetry he had written and prepared a book of them, a private edition to send to his friends and the libraries he had worked for. Louis Stanley Jast: Poems and Epigrams doesn't have a publication date but it was probably printed in 1946. There were poems written for and dedicated to both Millicent and Winifred Austin in it.

Millicent continued to live at Penrhyn House until her death in 1951.

I'm no judge of poetry - it seems to pass right over my head unless I hear someone read it out. However, I did like some of Stanley's poems and epigrams so I've written some out. If you'd like to read them, the link is [HERE](#).

SOURCES FOR THIS FILE

What It All Means by L Stanley Jast MA. London: T Werner Laurie Ltd of Cobham House, 24-26 Blackfriars Lane EC4. 1941.

The ditty on spiritualism is from Louis Stanley Jast: Poems and Epigrams subtitled "Yet Speaketh". Inside the front cover is a pencil note with the only date the book has on it: "Mrs M Jast June 1946". On pii: printed for private circulation only, by Wadsworth and Co of The Rydal Press Keighley.

Millicent Jast's comment on Stanley's preparedness for death was made in a letter to W A Munford, who later co-authored the biography I have relied on so heavily: Louis Stanley Jast: A Biographical Sketch by W G Fry and W A Munford. London: The Library Association 1966. P61 there's no date for it, unfortunately, but the quote reads as if Millicent wrote it very soon after her husband's death - perhaps in reply to a letter of condolence.

THE GROUP OF SIX PUBLISHED PLAYS

The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays in Verse by L Stanley Jast. London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd. NY: EP Dutton and Co. 1923.

About Japanese Noh theatre: it is poss that Jast knew something about it by 1920s via these works in English:

Certain Noble Plays of Japan, from the manuscripts of Ernest Fenellosa, chosen and the work

finished by Ezra Pound with an introduction by W B Yeats. Published Dundrum: Cuala Press 1916.

Noh Theatre of Japan: with Complete Texts of 15 Classic Plays by Ernest Fenellosa and Ezra Pound. Dover Publications 1917.

For Ernest Fenellosa, see his wikipedia page. It's possible that Stanley had even met him on one of Fenellosa's visits to London. Fenellosa died in London in 1908 and his widow handed over his notes to Ezra Pound and W B Yeats. Yeats was a member of the Golden Dawn.

SOURCE FOR THE UNPUBLISHED PLAYS 1920-23

The Unnamed Book published Sherratt and Hughes of 34 Cross St Manchester 1924. As well as text there's drawings, illus of costume design etc and a drawing of Stanley Jast who was the Society's president that year.

SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan: A Play in Five Acts. London: Grafton and Co 1934. First performances of the play had been given by The Unnamed Society at their Little Theatre Manchester; first night was 14 January 1929.

ETHEL WINIFRED AUSTIN

Austin Brothers:

Via google I saw the firm listed in several directories including the 1873 issue of Griffith's Guide to the Iron Trade of GB; seen via archive.org

London Gazette 9 July 1878 p4061 in a list of dissolving partnerships, a notice issued 4 July 1878 ending the partnership of George Austin and Charles William Austin of 152 Gresham House Old Broad St. Charles William Austin would continue the business on his own.

Via google I saw that a firm called Austin Brothers had existed until relatively recently, though as part of a bigger firm.

Winifred:

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 2 p1011 [Ethel] Winifred Austin 1873-1918. Friend of novelist Naomi Royde Smith; Smith's 1948 novel Love in Mildensee is dedicated to Winifred's memory. The main source for the ODNB's article is W A Munford, Library World volume 60 1959 166-70: Portrait of a Woman Librarian: Ethel Winifred Austin (1875-1918). The other sources are other works by Munford on the National Library for the Blind (the NLLB's title from 1916); he seems to have made quite a study of it.

Short biography of Winifred in The Library World volume LIX 1958 pp 166-70; and a response by letter from E A Savage, who seems to have known both Stanley and Winifred in volume 60 May 1959 pp250-51, disputing the year that they met.

MILLICENT BEATRICE MURBY is not in ODNB, except for a brief mention in Stanley

Jast's entry.

THOMAS MURBY AND CO

Plenty of references on the web to books published by the firm, which seems to have been in business until relatively recently. The earliest publication by the firm that I saw on the web was an edition of Murby's Scripture Manuals designed for students preparing for exams. The firm continued to publish books even during World War 1 when paper was very scarce except for contributions to the war effort : Andrews' Schoolroom Chart of Geographical Illustration an edition published 1915. The firm was then at 32 Bouverie St.

Eruptive Rocks by S James Shand; 3rd edition 1947 published by Thomas Murby and Co now of 40 Museum St WC1.

Via www.reading.ac.uk its archive and museum database; Thomas Murby and Co described as "the leading geological publisher" of the post 2nd World War era.

MILLICENT AS AN ACTRESS

About Florence Farr's involvement: Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's New Woman by Josephine Johnson. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1975. Pp114-119.

Bernard Shaw Theatrics: Selected Correspondence by Shaw and Dan H Laurence. Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1995. One letter to Murby is included in the selection: number 37, on p59-60, written on 13 February 1905 to "Miss Murby" (so they weren't on first-name terms).

For information on Salomé see wikipedia and also Wilde: Salome by William Tydeman and Steven Price. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996: beginning on p184 is a list of the play's performances, with cast lists.

I haven't been lucky finding any information on the New Stage Club.

MILLICENT AND THE FABIAN SOCIETY

Educate, Agitate, Organiz: 100 Years of Fabian Socialism by Patricia Pugh. London: Methuen 1984 pp107-108

The Public Organisation of the Labour Market: Being Part 2 of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, editors Sidney and Beatrice Webb. London and New York: Longmans Green and Co 1909. This contains a paper by Murby: Disabilities of Women as Workers.

The Common Sense of the Woman Question by Millicent Murby; originally a lecture delivered to a Fabian Society meeting, published as a pamphlet London: New Age Press 1908.

Website www.modjournal.org is the Modernist Journals Project of Brown University and the University of Tulsa. Searching for 'Murby' on its search facility I found a lot of references to Millicent in The New Age of 1908, an article by her - True Gospel of Feminism; reviews of her pamphlet The Commonsense of the Woman Question; and a lot of responses to the review. There was nothing by or about her later than 1909. See wikipedia: The New Age started out in 1907 as pro-women's suffrage but by 1912 was against it. Also on website

www.modjournal.org, The Freewoman: a Weekly Feminist Review; article by Millicent published in 1912.

AS TRANSLATOR OF BERGSON

The Feminist Avant-Garde: Transatlantic Encounters of the Early 20th Century by Lucy Delap. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007. Pp121 in the chapter Individualism in Feminist Political Argument.

Via google to www.abebooks.com a page offering for sale an autographed letter by Henri Bergson dated "Paris 19 Nov. 1912" to "Chère Miss Murby".

The fact that she's not the translator so much as an editor of someone else's translation is made clear at website www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Bergson... And the book referred to in the letter is named as Bergson's Creative Evolution. Arthur Mitchell of Harvard University thanks Millicent for her "great assistance". She had "studied the translation phrase by phrase" and her revision had "resulted in many improvements".

THE REGIONAL SURVEY OF MANCHESTER

Via archive.org to the Manchester Archives and Local History Studies page reference M18. The Archives hold the papers of the Manchester and District Regional Survey Society. The Society existed 1921-30, and Stanley Jast had been the the prime mover in its foundation. Millicent was the Society's Secretary.

AIR POLLUTION

British Politics and the Environment by John McCormick 1991 p89 in the section Privatization and Pollution. The National Smoke Abatement Society was formed in 1929 by the merger of two organisations that had been campaigning on air pollution issues for some years: the Coal Smoke Abatement Society and the Smoke Abatement League.

Medicine, the Market and the Mass Media editors Virginia Berridge and Kelly Loughlin 2013 p224 the importance of local campaigning groups to keep the issue of air pollution alive. The NSAS was based in Manchester from 1929 to 1927 when it moved to London. It campaigned for smokeless zones and rigorous enforcement of legislation that had already been passed.

Times Monday 25 September 1933 p9 The Altar of Fire Worship: talk by Millicent Jast given at the 5th annual conference of the National Smoke Abatement Society.

How the Citizen Takes the Air, the Personal Significance of the Smoke Problem by Millicent Jast. Manchester: National Smoke Abatement Society 1934.

There's a short obituary of Millicent Jast in Library Association Record 1951 p102.

17 October 2013

Stanley Jast as Poet

Like his brother Thaddeus de Jastrzebski, Stanley Jast was a poet. It's possible that he wrote

poetry all his life, but I've found it a bit difficult to tell. I'm no expert! And none of his poetry is dated.

Poetry mostly goes straight over my head. I liked some of Stanley's work, though and I wrote out some of the shorter poems: see below.

A few poems Stanley were published in 1923 along with some plays he'd written during the previous five years, in *The Lover and the Dead Woman and Five Other Plays in Verse*. On page 2 of that volume, is *To My Lady of Skiddaw*, with a note by Stanley to say that, from some points along the eastern side of Derwentwater, Skiddaw looks like a woman, lying down with her face towards the sky.

Above the lake, below the sky,
With the hills for her bier, doth my lady lie.
Was ever death-bed so free and so high?

Her winding sheet of purple and grey
Is shot with the sparkling lights of day,
And stirred by the winds in their autumn play.

Her head to the East, and her feet to the West,
And her beautiful limbs in their last sad rest,
And never a heave of the cold, still breast.

Alone with the stars, and close to the sun,
And love and lover are over and done,
Though the lake still gleams, and the streams still run.

And many the lovers shall come as we,
And as fair to them shall the landscape be,
But never again, ah God, to me.

Although he doesn't say so, Stanley wrote *My Lady of Skiddaw* in remembrance of his fiancée Winifred Austin, who'd died in 1918.

The other poems in this volume are very short. They're all dedicated to women who had been involved in productions of the plays - a couple of the actresses, and one of the costume designers, all members of The Unnamed Society amateur dramatics club that had put the plays on.

The rest of the poems I've picked were all published in *Louis Stanley Jast: Poems and Epigrams*. They were collected by Stanley's widow Millicent, and published for private

circulation amongst their friends, probably in 1946. There are a few long ballads including one about Judas Iscariot and one about the River Thames. Millicent also included an unfinished attempt to write a masque in the 17th-century style, Fragments from a Masque on the Virtues and Vices; beginning with a long speech made by "Murder", followed by two more, to be spoken by "Scandal" and "Avarice". However, most of the poems are short. I thought I detected - as I read through the volume from front to back - a move away from 'thee' and other rather Victorian phraseology towards a more natural, speech-like use of language influenced by 20th century modernism; but I'm probably wrong!

Stanley was inspired to write a poem by a wide range of different places and happenings. There are poems about the sea and about foreign places - the West Indies, several towns in Morocco, more on the Lake District, and a town in Holland; and English ones - Manchester ship canal, the woods at Mapledurham House, Holmbury Hill in Surrey. Some are on philosophical subjects - usually taking them not very seriously; including one called 'Bacon and Shakspeare' (sic) which Stanley may have been inspired to write by remembering Golden Dawn member Robert Masters Theobald, who wrote many pamphlets and letters arguing that Bacon had written Shakespeare's plays. Some poems were dashed off for special occasions - particularly as birthday presents for Millicent, with references to her as Stanley's equivalent to Dante's Beatrice - Beatrice was Millicent's second forename. Other literary references show the range of Stanley's reading: Omar Khayyam, Wordsworth, Goethe, Descartes, Byron's Childe Harold and H G Wells. In the poem 'On the Destruction of British Libraries in the German Air-Raids' Stanley meditated on a bi-product of war that had hit him particularly hard.

I preferred the more humorous ones.

The Engineer and the Sea

Said the sea:

"I hate that mole you've thrust in me.

It is a slight

Both on my dignity and might,

And I will smash it in despite."

The engineer

With half a smile and half a sneer,

Said: "Don't talk tall,

I've measured to a decimal

Your darndest rage against my wall."

Then the sea

Called on the winds and moon to be

His partners, and

Rolled in his fury on the land,

And broke that mole in his great hand.

It was in vain.

The engineer brought truck and crane,
Lifted the blocks,
And others quarried from the rocks.
The mole intact at the ocean mocks.

The engineer
Said to the sea: "Just look you here.
Power is not sense.
You're mighty strong but mighty dense.
I've power and intelligence."

Then the sea
Said sulkily: "Well that may be."
And drew away
His flooding waters from the bay,
And high and dry the harbour lay.

If I Had Known, which could be about Winifred, or Millicent:

If I had known
That in your garb of white,
Alone,
Over your window-stone,
You had leaned on the amorous breast of Night,
And gazed into his thousand eyes,
So passionate-deep and secret-wise;
The while the wind played with your unbound hair,
And with a subtle care,
As seeming unaware,
Stirred the light draperies there;
If I had known,
How feverish-jealous would my heart have grown,
That while I'm far away,
Even as was then the Day,
You did requite
The ardent wooing of the stealing Night.

A wry comment, possibly about Sir Richard Burton, in Unexplored:

Famed for his great discoveries, far and wide,
Himself he'd not discovered, when he died.

And another, this time about urban regeneration, in Town Planning:

The Devil, tired of Hell's monotony,
Decided for a change to study botany,
And being fond of-----*, he flew
Where on a time, some pleasant things grew.
"Phew!" cried the Devil, "What's the matter, what
On earth has happened to my favourite spot?
Has slumdom spawned? Or is't a hideous dream?"
"That," said a passer-by, "is our town-planning scheme."
"This," quoth the Devi, "I did not expect.
Who are the committee? Who's the architect?
No matter, in due course the lot I'll see.
Hell needs extending. They shall plan for me."

* Fill in your own place-name!

On Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, in The Dictators:

When God said
In His wisdom, dark and dread,
"Let the Dictators be!"
The Devil he
Heard the decree
With zest
For he could rest.

And finally, Stanley's Eyes are for Crying:

Eyes are for crying.
Heart is for sighing.
Body's for dying.
Earth is for lying.

17 October 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

George Cecil Jones (who was called Cecil, not George) was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 12 July 1895. He chose the Latin motto 'Volo noscere'. He did the work necessary to reach the inner, 2nd Order quickly - he almost certainly knew a great deal of it already - and was initiated into the 2nd Order on 11 January 1897. It's not clear from the GD records that have survived but it's likely that he dropped out of the GD after Samuel Liddell Mathers was expelled from the GD in May 1900.

UPDATE DECEMBER 2017

I've recently found out a whole lot more about Cecil Jones' family.

CECIL JONES' EARLY LIFE

Cecil Jones' father, George Cecil Jones senior, was born in Cirencester in 1847. By 1871 he had moved to London to work, and was living as a lodger at 55 Jasmine Grove Penge in the household of Joseph and Joanna Goodenough. One of the other two lodgers in the household that day was a William Jones, also born in Cirencester and perhaps George Cecil's brother. All three of the lodgers worked as clerks in a bank; perhaps the same bank.

In 1872 George Cecil Jones married Sarah Matthews at St Swithin's in the Walcot district of Bath. Sarah's father, Thomas Matthews, was land agent at the Bathurst Estate near Cirencester. Sarah had worked before her marriage as a governess in the household of William Gaynor (or Gayner) of Filton, near Bristol. The GD's George Cecil Jones, was born in Croydon on 10 January 1873; events conspired to make him George Cecil Jones senior and Sarah's only child.

In 1871, George Cecil Jones senior was probably already employed by the National Bank of Scotland, because the inquest on his death mentioned that he had been at the Bank for many years. He was promoted several times so that on the day of his death he was one of the bank's accountants; having worked his way up, I would imagine, from a beginning as one of the many clerks in its accounting office. In terms of the average Victorian office, this was a rapid rise up the hierarchy. Perhaps too rapid. The inquest heard that George Cecil Jones senior had been working very hard recently, and had at the same time been suffering from "great depression of spirits" about the Bank's future.

A man with depression: still a very much resisted concept even today. In her book "Shattered Nerves" Janet Oppenheim describes how attitudes towards depression in men changed during the mid to late 19th century; and what contortions of explanation were needed by the medical profession to square the existence of men with depression, with male stereotypes in which mental breakdown called not only the individual's manliness into question, but also the future of the Empire. In 1878 when George Cecil Jones senior decided he could not carry on living, he had reached a position of responsibility at his work, but he probably wasn't high enough up the hierarchy to be in one of power: it was the classic depression-inducing combination. In that mental state it's difficult to admit you need treatment; besides which, treatment for

George Cecil Jones would have been expensive and finding the money for it would have added to his worries. I doubt if he went to a doctor.

That George Cecil Jones senior should suffer from depression was bad enough; that he should decide to kill himself made it all much worse; and that he should do it almost in public, at his place of work... The verdict at the inquest was one of suicide while in a state of temporary insanity.

In 1878 mental illness was shameful, especially in a man; and suicide was illegal. However, I think the National Bank of Scotland made sure that Sarah Jones and her son didn't suffer financial distress in addition to all their other trouble: on the 1881 census, she is listed as having an income from an annuity, which is likely to have continued until her death. Sarah did try to leave the past behind: on the day of the 1881 census she told the official that her name was Mabel Jones; and that her son's name was George. On that day she was living at 117 Ramsden Road, near Clapham Common. Her brother Edward Matthews, an accountant, was living with her, and so was her nephew, another Edward Matthews. The younger Edward was 9 and perhaps had come to London to provide companionship for Cecil Jones.

In 1887 Sarah Jones married again. Her second husband, Frederick William Gayner, had a farm at Filton, just north of Bristol; he may have been related to the family who had employed Sarah before her marriage. The marriage was a failure and husband and wife separated.

END UPDATE 4 DEC 2017

EDUCATION

Where Cecil Jones first went to school is another thing I don't know, but when he was a bit older, he attended the City of London School, run by the Corporation of London for the sons of men in business and the professions; and he stayed at the school even after his mother's remarriage. All applicants had to have a reference from a Corporation councillor or alderman: I imagine the Bank had arranged that in Cecil Jones' case. The school assumed that pupils could already read and write; it concentrated on adding to the basics with a broad and in-depth preparation for a life in work. English, Latin, French, Greek, German, even Sanskrit were taught; and elocution lessons were available to rid pupils of accents that might restrict the range of jobs open to them. The school offered a wide range of science subjects: maths, arithmetic, drawing, basic chemistry and natural philosophy. For this, the pupils' parents had to find fees of 10 guineas per year although several scholarships were available. It was an education better than could be had at many public schools.

One of Cecil Jones' fellow pupils at City of London School was Julian Levett Baker, the son of another man who worked in a bank (though not the same bank). Cecil and Julian were exactly the same age and perhaps in the same class, and shared some interests; they formed a friendship which lasted the rest of their lives.

WORKING LIFE

Cecil Jones and Julian Baker had both decided that they were going to be chemists by the time they left City of London School; and for them that didn't mean training to be a pharmacist, it meant chemistry in its modern sense, which is based on laboratory analysis of substances to assess their constituent elements and their properties. Perhaps Cecil and Julian

were already curious about alchemy but even if they hadn't been, he might have been excited by the possibilities of a working life in chemistry. Modern chemistry was still in its infancy and was a very fast-moving field at that time: anyone working in it would be breaking new ground on a regular basis. And at the same time, more jobs for chemists were being created in local government, by new legislation, and also in industry, by the need to understand and control industrial processes: a new profession was in the process of being created. Living in London was again an advantage: they were both able to get one of the best specialist educations in chemistry available in the UK, though not at the same institution. While Julian Baker trained at the Finsbury Technical College, from 1889 to 1893, Cecil Jones did City and Guilds exams at the Central Technical College of the London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education, one of the myriad and diverse colleges that (by 1900) were making up the University of London. The earliest source I could find for Cecil Jones' education says that he also went to Birmingham University; but doesn't give dates for when he was there, and I'm not even sure whether he was a student there or - which would have been much later in his life - an examiner.

Leaving college well qualified, Cecil Jones went to work for Heinrich Bernhard Helbing and Francis William Passmore, who were in partnership as analytical chemists. Helbing had been born in Darmstadt and had - I presume - trained as a chemist in Germany. Francis William Passmore had trained in England with B H Paul, the expert on quinine and caffeine, before some time working for Emil Fischer in Wurzburg, Germany, at the time Fischer was doing research on sugars which by the 1920s was seen as classic. Later in his career, Passmore was called as an expert witness in legal cases on sugars and saccharins; and gave evidence to the House of Lords on the chemistry of dried milk. During Cecil Jones' time at the partnership, Passmore and Helbing published a series of booklets which indicated the kind of analysis the partnership was doing: on chloroform (in French); on disinfectants; on Symphoral (also called Symphorol), a newly-discovered diuretic; and on malakine, a new preparation for getting rid of parasitic worms. At some stage (the copy I saw didn't have a date on it) the partners also published a 12-page pamphlet on how to prepare English herbs and drugs; which might have been of particular interest to Cecil Jones.

After 18 months working for the Helbing and Passmore partnership, Cecil Jones left London in 1894 and moved to Hampshire. In July 1895, when he was initiated into the GD, he was living in Vyne Road Basingstoke, a few minutes' walk from his new workplace. He had taken a job with a firm which seems to have gone quickly through a number of names, but which in 1910 was called Dowson Economic Gas and Power Co Ltd. Joseph Emerson Dowson had founded the firm to manufacture a steam boiler he had designed to generate gas from high-quality anthracite coal. Coal tars and ammonia were bi-products of the process; they could be sold on for use in the chemical and dyeing industries. The steam boiler went into production in 1878 and was the first gas generator of its kind to be built in the UK; it was soon being sold in North America as well.

In 1884, the Dowson firm's headquarters were at Great Queen Street, Westminster. The equipment was built at Kingsclere Road Basingstoke; or so Roger Wright and I think - we couldn't find much information about the site at Kingsclere Road on the web and the factory doesn't seem to exist any more. On the 1901 census, Cecil Jones is described not as a chemist but as a chemical engineer and Roger, as my science advisor, suggests he may have been working on improvements to the equipment's efficiency. I add that he may also have been required to improve its safety: in 1901 he wrote a paper on The Need for Greater Care in Introducing Gas-firing into Small Gasworks. By the day of the 1901 census, he had moved a little way out of town and was living at 57 Waterloo House, Cliddesden Road in the

Greenbank district of Basingstoke, an address shared by Arley Short although Short and his family kept a separate household. Perhaps it was at this address that Aleister Crowley had come to stay with Cecil Jones and learn some basic alchemy, late in 1898.

In 1902, Cecil Jones changed employers again. Moving from job to job every few years like this was very unusual at the time; it's important to remember that he was working in a profession where new job opportunities were being created all the time. However, this latest move was also a promotion, to a post as managing chemist, perhaps in charge of a department and taking decisions on policy and development. It may have been on the strength of this promotion that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of Chemistry in 1902. The move he made was from Hampshire to Essex and from gas power to brewing. Julian Baker had already taken a job with a brewery firm; after a scare about arsenic in the coal used to fire the brewing process, those brewers who could afford it had thought it wise to hire experts to do routine analyses, not only of the coal that was being used, but also of the malt. Cecil Jones' new employer was the very rapidly expanding firm of Free, Rodwell and Co Ltd, whose maltings were at Mistley on the River Stour in Essex, below the house owned by Robert Free, one of the company's founders. Following a stock market flotation in 1893, in which £75,000 was raised, Free, Rodwell and Co began to build big-time at Mistley, turning it one of England's most important brewing centres in only a few years. Robert Free was particularly keen to build units where East Anglia's large barley crop could be stored while awaiting processing; the firm's eight-storey maltings and kiln number 1, the most technically advanced of their kind when they were built around 1896, are now Grade II listed. Free, Rodwell and Co raised a further £30,000 by a second share issue in 1898 and used it to finance the building of a small village, New Mistley, for the firm's workers. The village had several different styles of house in it, from small houses for its labourers, to detached houses for more senior staff. Robert Free died in 1902 and the decision to appoint a chemist may have been taken by his son, who took over the firm that year. Cecil Jones was still working for Free, Rodwell and Co, and probably living in one of the houses at New Mistley, when he got married.

In January 1905, George Cecil Jones married Julian Baker's sister Ethel Melinda. He continued to work for Free, Rodwell and Co for two more years. He and Ethel lived in Mistley and their daughter Eileen was born there late in 1905. However, in 1907, Cecil Jones resigned from his job, and the family moved back to London. I think this was probably a joint decision, influenced by a number of factors: Ethel might have been finding it hard work and rather lonely, living with a small baby a long way from her family in south London; Aleister Crowley was spending more time in England, based in London; and Cecil Jones had decided to go into business for himself as an analytical chemist - a very common move amongst chemists of his generation.

As a married man with a family to support, perhaps 1907 was not the best time for him to be deciding to go self-employed, but I think he might have been planning for it and moving towards it all his working life. It would explain why he had changed jobs several times: he had been gaining as varied an experience of industrial chemistry as possible, and making his name known to as wide a field of potential clients as he could. He continued to keep his name in the profession's public eye until the mid-1920s with a series of publications, mostly on aspects of brewing chemistry, some written on his own and some with co-authors including A R Ling, who had been Julian Baker's boss in the laboratory of the London Beetroot Sugar Association in the 1890s. He and Julian Baker prepared a series of tables on specific gravities, for use by the brewing industry, following the budget of 1914; as Cecil Jones' name is listed first on this work, I think he did most of the calculations necessary to prepare the

tables.

Between 1910 and 1920, Cecil Jones did some work for Julian Baker, reading long and complex articles on chemistry and reducing them to a quickly-read abstract for publication in the magazine Julian was editing at the time, *The Analyst*. Cecil Jones' last published article, asking *Is Forced Malt Objectionable in the Brewery?* was published in 1925 in the *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*; again Julian Baker was the journal's editor.

Compromises had to be made once Cecil Jones had founded his own business, not only because he no longer had a regular income and possibly a rent-free house, but also to cover the legal fees of a libel case he instituted late in 1910 (see below for much more on that). On the day of the 1911 census, Cecil, Ethel Melinda, their daughter Eileen and their son George Alan (born in 1910) were living - not in a new, possibly detached, house in Essex but at 41d London Road Forest Hill, a small flat in a converted suburban villa. It was near Ethel's family, however; south of the worst of the London smog; and convenient for Forest Hill station and trains into the City, where Cecil Jones' business was based in rooms on the top floor of 43-45 Great Tower Street. Completing his census form, Cecil Jones described himself as an 'employer', not as self-employed, so he had at least one person working for him - probably a trainee recently out of technical college, like he had once been himself.

The day chosen for the 1911 census was a few weeks before the libel case *Jones v The Looking Glass* and others, which ended the association for which Cecil Jones is most famous: his magical friendship with Aleister Crowley.

CECIL JONES AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

Before I start this section I want to say a little about the sources for it. Elaine Simpson and Cecil Jones were the two GD members who knew Aleister Crowley the longest. As neither of them wrote any memoirs or autobiography, the main source for their lives in esoteric circles is Crowley's writing. Even if Crowley had been a scrupulous memoir-writer, to have only one source is always unsatisfactory and all memoirs are a justification of the writer's actions and opinions in the face of contemporary or future criticism. There are added problems with Crowley, the main one being not so much the hostility he shows to ex-friends of his; but his inability to see anyone as having a life outside what he wants from them. That said, Crowley is a source and I suppose that's better than nothing. There's very little mention of him in the GD archives at the Freemasons' Library, and the only other source there is that you could use to build up a picture of Cecil Jones as a person doesn't do him any favours - it's a transcript apparently taken by the *Times* newspaper's court reporter, at the libel trial *Jones v The Looking Glass* and others, of April 1911.

Either Allan Bennett or Julian Baker could have recommended Cecil Jones to the GD hierarchy as a candidate for initiation: they were both already members when Cecil Jones was initiated. All three spent their working days doing modern chemistry. Unlike most of their co-professionals, however, they maintained an interest in the origins of their profession; and unlike most members of the GD, they had a practical understanding of alchemy. They didn't regard ancient alchemy as solely about chemical processes. Cecil Jones, certainly, was open to the idea that alchemical texts were as much metaphorical as practical. He also had no problem with the idea that magic could be used to make contact with other beings, who might

hand over - to the right candidate - the kind of information that would bring great power. His interest in magic wasn't confined to alchemy, he read more widely than that. For example, he was familiar with one at least of the 17th-century manuscripts which helped develop the legend of Christian Rosenkreuz; though he had no particular desire to be a member of a Rosicrucian order and didn't see the GD as such a thing - which, indeed, it wasn't by the time he joined it, it had moved away in several different directions from its Rosicrucian foundations.

During the time that he was a member of the GD, Cecil Jones was living and working outside London. The number of rituals and meetings he could attend was limited. In addition, he was rather quiet and retiring by temperament, not a genial friend-to-all like Julian. So he was not as well known to other GD members as Julian was. However, he was a much-respected member, and his help was called on by Florence Farr in March 1900 when she was facing the biggest crisis of her GD membership - what to do about a letter she had received from Samuel Liddell Mathers claiming that all the documents on which the GD had been founded had been faked by William Wynn Westcott. Mathers had warned Florence never to tell anyone this; but of course, she felt she really couldn't leave such accusations just lying there unchallenged. She decided to hold a meeting on 3 March 1900, to tell a few 2nd Order members what Mathers was saying, and ask them what they should all do about it. The people she invited were a very select band, whom she knew well and trusted: Dorothea Hunter and her husband Edmund; Marcus Worsley Blackden;

W B Yeats; Percy Bullock - and Cecil Jones. Cecil Jones didn't attend that meeting - it was probably organised at such short notice that he couldn't make it. He was told of its outcome however: those who were there agreed that they would have to investigate the allegations. They formed themselves into a committee, and on behalf of the group Percy Bullock wrote to Mathers to explain their decision and ask him to explain further. The investigating committee met again on 10 March 1900 and this time Cecil Jones was able to go. But never again. I guess that until he'd read Mathers' letter, he hadn't realised exactly what was happening. Once he did, he wanted no more part in it. He might not have been as worried that the GD's foundation was based on forged documents as he was about Mathers' part in allowing and perpetuating and possibly even writing the forgeries. What did you do when your magical masters were proved to have aided and abetted a fraud and benefitted from it in money and other terms? Did you denounce him and seek another master? Did you stay loyal, thus aiding and abetting the fraud yourself? Faced with a dilemma, Cecil Jones withdrew. He may have written to Florence Farr to say he wouldn't take part in the investigation. If he did write, the letter hasn't survived; and at the 2nd Order meeting of 21 April 1900 he was replaced on the investigating committee by Charles Rosher. Cecil Jones didn't attend that meeting. He certainly knew that it was due but I imagine he didn't want to be there and find himself very much put on the spot. Although it was a regular 2nd Order meeting, scheduled some time before, it took place in the wake of the struggle for possession of the 2nd Order rooms at 36 Blythe Road, between supporters and opponents of Mathers' one-man rule of the GD: another problem which Cecil Jones would have found difficult to deal with, if he had known what was happening, and one which leads us neatly to his relations with Aleister Crowley.

CECIL JONES AND ALEISTER CROWLEY 1898-1900

If you've read the introduction to my web pages on the GD you will know that I don't 'do' magic - I'm not an occultist, just a historian. I'm not going to write the story of the magical partnership between Cecil Jones and Crowley. I'll just say that Julian Baker introduced Aleister Crowley to Cecil Jones in October 1898 and that the two men continued to do magic together, from time to time, until an incident in November 1910 brought their magical

friendship to an end. The friendship extended to each of them meeting the other man's wife; though I don't know whether the two wives knew each other. I refer anyone who wants to read more about the magical aspects of the friendship, to Richard Kaczynski's *Perdurabo*, which I have used myself. What I'm going to look at is something slightly different.

Even using Crowley's writings I get the impression that there was more of a meeting of minds between him and Cecil Jones, than between him and Julian Baker. It was Cecil Jones, not Julian Baker, that recommended Crowley to the GD hierarchy (which as I've said above, essentially meant Mathers, by this time) as a potential initiate. However, Crowley was friendly with both Baker and Cecil Jones in 1899 and until he met Allan Bennett, regarded them as the only GD members with anything to teach him. At this early stage in Crowley's magical career, he also thought of them as experienced and knowledgeable and deferred to their opinion. When he got impatient with the study required to reach the stage where he could be initiated into the GD's 2nd Order, he went to them and argued that he should be allowed to skip it, as he already knew most of it. But he bowed to their dictat that - however dull the study was - he must obey the GD rules and submit to the discipline of carrying on doing it. It may have been in response to Crowley's frustration that Cecil Jones gave him 116 pages of notes, drawings and diagrams he'd made in July 1898 on various aspects of GD magic; by the 1960s they were owned by John Fuller, who collected Crowley memorabilia.

In both Crowley's memoirs - *The Spirit of Solitude* (1929) and *The Confessions* - Crowley uses the same phrase to describe what Cecil Jones' first impressions of him were: "that I had a tremendous natural capacity for Magick". Maybe that is Crowley being wise long after the event, but there is evidence from 1899 to back up the idea that Cecil Jones recognised Crowley as someone with special gifts for magic. And it was Cecil Jones who first put it to Crowley that he carry out the Abra-Melin rituals. This was a radical suggestion. He made it in 1898 or 1899, when Crowley's knowledge of magic, though expanding rapidly, was still only a few months old; and Mathers' translation, *The Book of Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage* had only been published a few months before. If Crowley did the rituals - which were complex and time-consuming - he would become one of the only living people to have carried them out: so Cecil Jones was assuming a great deal in urging Crowley venture into this virtually unknown territory. As far as I know, Cecil Jones never carried them out himself.

About the meeting of minds, here's a tale from *The Spirit of Solitude* suggesting that both men were on the same wave-length when it came to magical manifestations. Crowley mentions an occasion (which must have occurred some time during 1899) when he and Cecil Jones were about to leave Crowley's flat in Chancery Lane to go out for something to eat, when they noticed "semi-solid shadows on the stairs; the whole atmosphere was vibrating". Returning from their meal they found the flat had been ransacked and its contents strewn all over the place. I'm not going to speculate on the semi-solid shadows, but if I'd come back to my flat and found it turned upside down, I'd have supposed that burglars had been and gone. However, Crowley interpreted it as Abra-melin's demons seeking him out already, even though he'd not yet begun the Abra-melin rituals; and apparently Cecil Jones agreed with the way Crowley saw it. They watched "semi-materialised beings... marching around the main room in almost unending procession".

In 1899 Crowley was not a member of the GD's 2nd Order and consequently was not yet allowed to do practical magic under GD auspices. However, he and Cecil Jones were doing magical rituals together. For example, anxious about Allan Bennett's health (he suffered terribly from asthma), they invoked the spirit Buer, who was supposed to heal the sick.

However, there were constraints on how much of a magical partner Cecil Jones could be to Crowley. Crowley was planning to do the Abra-Melin rituals in 1900, but when Crowley asked Jones to stay with him as he carried them out, as magical assistant cum bodyguard, Cecil "did not see his way to come". I suppose it's possible that Crowley offered to pay Cecil's living expenses during the six months the rituals were supposed to take, but if he did, Cecil Jones turned the offer down. I think myself that Crowley won't have made that offer; he still had a private income at that time and he was always inclined to forget that other people did not have that privilege, and thus needed to work for a living. If Cecil Jones had agreed to give up his job to spend six months as a magical assistant, he would have severely dented his career as a chemist and left himself completely dependent on Crowley for money. No wonder he couldn't see his way to come.

By early 1900, Crowley was ready and very willing to have his second GD initiation and be allowed into its inner, 2nd Order. The 2nd Order members in London refused to initiate him. I imagine Cecil Jones approved of Crowley's decision to go to Paris and be initiated by Mathers. When Crowley returned and found himself still excluded from the 2nd Order, Cecil Jones and Julian Baker both felt a certain responsibility for the impasse. They tried to negotiate with Florence Farr (the GD's most senior figure in London) a way round the continued refusal; but couldn't come up with a solution acceptable to all parties. And it was at this point in the saga of Crowley and the GD that Florence Farr received Mathers' letter about the forged documents.

Cecil Jones didn't take any active part in Crowley's attempts to seize the 2nd Order's rooms in London on Mathers' behalf, in mid-April 1900. Did he know about the attempts in advance? - none of the accounts of what happened suggest that he did. Once he found out - probably from Crowley and after the event - what did he think? He might still have been in favour of reinstating Mathers' rule, but - in view of what he knew by then about the GD's fraudulent foundation documents - he might just not have known what outcome to hope for, and thanked his lucky stars that his work meant that he didn't have to make a decision. However, when both Mathers and Crowley were expelled from the GD in May 1900, a line was crossed in Cecil Jones' mind.

In Cecil Jones' eyes, the GD without Mathers would be a useless organisation: Mathers' skills as a magician and occultist outweighed all his considerable downside; and in any case, an apprentice should remain loyal to his or her master. GD members Edward William Berridge and John William Brodie-Innes shared that understanding of the magical apprentice/master relationship. After May 1900 they continued to defer to Mathers in magical matters and to consider themselves as part of a magical order still led by Mathers. The evidence in the GD archives suggests that Cecil Jones ceased to be a member of the GD after May 1900; and he also never joined either of the GD's daughter orders, A E Waite's Independent and Rectified Rite/Order, or Robert William Felkin's Stella Matutina. I don't think any papers of Mathers' survive other than those in the GD archive at the Freemasons' Library; so we can't tell whether Cecil Jones and Mathers continued to have any kind of relationship, magical or otherwise, after 1900. Cecil Jones' main magical relationship in the next few years was with Crowley; although because Crowley was so often abroad, he mostly practised alone.

In the late spring of 1900, rumours reached some at least of the GD's members that the police were allegations that Crowley had been involved in homosexual relationships while at university. Homosexual acts were illegal. Edward William Berridge spoke to Crowley about the rumours - asking him if they were true - and got an answer that he remembered a decade

later, so ambiguous had it been. Crowley's memoirs say that he contacted several GD members, asking them if he should be worried, though the memoirs don't say how specific he was, on the question of what exactly he should be worried about. Cecil Jones was one of the people Crowley went to, and - like the others - he used either tarot or astrology to answer Crowley's question. He reached the same conclusion as the others: no, Crowley shouldn't be worried. However, in late June or early July 1900 Crowley left England for Mexico, and spent almost all the next three years abroad. A few months after he left, at a time while he was trying to do magic and not getting anywhere, Crowley was glad to receive a letter (apparently out of the blue) from Cecil Jones. I daresay they continued to correspond, but Crowley's memoirs suggest that he and Cecil Jones didn't meet again for nearly six years. And when Crowley was faced with a magical crisis, in 1905-06 - whether to accept that the entity he called Aiwass as a genuine emissary from the spirit world, announcing a new world order - he chose not to go to Cecil Jones to discuss his dilemma. Instead he took his troubles all the way to Shanghai, to Elaine Simpson.

In mid-1906 Crowley and his wife Rose came back to England intending to spend at least a few months there. Much had happened, magically speaking, in Crowley's life. Because he left no records, we don't know what had been going on in Cecil Jones' magical life, though in the work-a-day world, he (like Crowley) had got married and had a daughter. Crowley and Cecil Jones began meeting again; but now their original magical roles were reversed. Crowley describes how in December 1906, Cecil Jones urged him to admit that he had reached the 8th level of the 3rd Order, a level of magician-ship thought until then to be unattainable by any human - a uniqueness that Crowley actually resisted for several years though in the end he succumbed.

Cecil Jones might have come to regard Crowley a magician who was something more than human; but he was not a slavish acolyte - perhaps the events of 1900 had taught him to examine potential magical masters for their feet of clay. The role of slavish acolyte was soon to be taken by others, beginning with Victor Neuberg whose role in Crowley's life was later described by John Fuller as "a cross between a disciple and a maid of all works". Jones still thought of himself and was still thought of by Crowley at this stage, as a person to take note of. When he challenged Crowley to do a particular magical practice, suggesting self-harming as a punishment for failure, Crowley did the practice and when he failed at it, carried out Jones' suggested punishment. Crowley ended with cut-marks all over his arms - which got Cecil Jones in hot water with Rose Crowley. Crowley doesn't record whether he, in his turn, suggested particular magical practices to Cecil Jones. During 1906 and 1907 Jones and Crowley met regularly to compare what they were doing, and the idea gradually emerged of forming that 3rd magical order that Cecil Jones believed Crowley was now eligible for. This was the order known as Silver Star or A...A, and as the two saw it in 1907, it would have themselves and one other person as its three worldly chiefs. It took a while to find a suitable third person, but once John Frederick Charles Fuller had been chosen, they were able to launch the A...A in 1909.

I think that the founding the A...A was another turning point in the relations between Cecil Jones and Crowley. John Fuller (looking back from the distance of 1966) remembered it as Crowley's order. The evidence from 1909-11 certainly shows Crowley as the order's most important member, acknowledged as its most senior magician and working hard as its publicist and its organiser. Both Cecil Jones and Fuller were background figures in comparison; but of course, they had to go to work (Fuller was in the army and didn't see much of Crowley at all during 1910). I'm not suggesting that Cecil Jones objected to this; I don't suppose he even saw it like that; but there was beginning not to be room in Crowley's

life for other magicians with experience.

A distraction from the idea of the new magical order was the final collapse of the marriage of Aleister and Rose Crowley, in 1908-09. Crowley spent a lot of both those years abroad and was in North Africa in November 1909 when Rose got her divorce and custody of the marriage's only surviving child, Lola Zaza Crowley (born 1906). As part of the divorce settlement, Crowley borrowed money against a sum of £4000 he would inherit when his mother died; the borrowed sum was put into a trust fund to provide income for Crowley himself, and Lola Zaza. Crowley's mountaineering partner Oscar Eckenstein agreed to be one of the trust fund's two trustees; and Cecil Jones was the other. These two were Crowley's most trusted friends in 1909.

Two strands contributed to the ending of the magical friendship between Crowley and Cecil Jones very shortly afterwards: Crowley's plans for the A...A, which became very ambitious and very public; and the homosexual relationships that he'd always had alongside and in between his heterosexual ones, from his time at Cambridge University up to and including 1910.

The staging of the Rites of Eleusis at Caxton Hall in Westminster in October and November 1910 brought the A...A a lot of newspaper coverage. The coverage included a series of articles in a racing paper called *The Looking Glass*, which got more and more personal about Crowley and the people he knew. As a senior member of the A...A, Cecil Jones must have gone to see the Rites; but he did not appear on the stage in any of them; and Allan Bennett had left magic far behind and was now a Buddhist monk, living in Asia. Somehow, though, their names became known to *The Looking Glass*, with details of how close they had both been to Crowley years before. I wonder who had been talking to the press indiscreetly? In its article published on 26 November 1910, *The Looking Glass* named both Cecil Jones and Bennett as close friends of Crowley during 1899; and did a bit more than hint that Crowley and Bennett had had a homosexual relationship. The gist of that article was taken up by the moralist and fraudster (isn't it interesting how often the two go together?) Horatio Bottomley and published in his magazine *John Bull*. In *The Confessions* Crowley was sure that he himself was the real target for all *The Looking Glass*'s mud-slinging - that Cecil Jones and Bennett were just collateral damage - and he was probably right. A lot of the legal case that followed turned on the fact that Crowley and Bennett had been given plenty of grounds to sue for libel, especially by *The Looking Glass*, but that neither of them had done so. But Cecil Jones did so.

Cecil Jones consulted Percy William Bullock of Bullock and Co solicitors. Percy William had been one of the most senior, most hard-working, and best-liked members of the GD during the 1890s. Although he seemed to favour studying manuscripts rather than practical experimentation, he had always had an interest in alchemy, so he and Cecil Jones had that in common and may have remained friends after the expulsions of 1900. Though they never did magical work together as far as I know, Percy William may have been Cecil Jones' solicitor for his business affairs. Even if he wasn't, Percy William was a solicitor Cecil Jones knew; it would have been easier to go to him for advice about taking these particular legal proceedings. The evidence that might come up if the case got to court might result in Crowley being arrested; Bennett wouldn't be arrested but only because he now lived in Asia. It would probably also involve making the existence of the GD public again (it had already been made public at least twice).

The offending paragraph in the article in *The Looking Glass* was worded so that Cecil Jones actually stood outside the allegations it made against Crowley and Bennett. It would be interesting to know what advice Bullock offered Cecil Jones when they originally spoke about the article. As time went on and Crowley didn't show any signs of suing despite having grounds, but Cecil Jones still wanted redress for the implied insult, Bullock seems to have decided that he needed an opinion from a barrister on whether Cecil Jones stood any chance of receiving an apology and damages if Crowley wasn't demanding them. The barrister Bullock conducted decided that Cecil Jones should still be able to demand an apology and damages both from *The Looking Glass*, and from John Bull that had repeated the gist of it.

It was down to Cecil Jones, as the client, to decide whether to take the next step. No doubt hoping it wouldn't come to court, he chose to continue with the legal proceedings. Only a letter from Bullock and Co was needed to persuade Bottomley, as editor of John Bull, to publish a retraction of the article they had printed. John Bull also printed a statement saying that Cecil Jones was no longer an associate of Aleister Crowley - a statement which turned out not to be true. However, *The Looking Glass*' editor and publishers wouldn't retract what had appeared in their magazine.

Cecil Jones wouldn't back down either, and the case reached court in April 1911. Cecil Jones had to go into the witness box and help put his own case: he was asked questions to this end by Mr Simmons, his own barrister; and then asked more difficult ones by Mr Schiller, barrister for *The Looking Glass*' publishers. It's very difficult to come out of such an ordeal with dignity. Cecil Jones was under a great deal of stress - had been for several months, I imagine - but reading a verbatim report of his cross-examination, I thought he didn't help his own cause at all. What you need in these circumstances (or so it seems to me) is a convincing performance of innocence wronged which gains the jury's sympathy. Cecil Jones (in my view) came over as irritable, argumentative and a bit too clever for his own good. He sounded brusque, if not arrogant, and created the wrong impression.

Schiller was building a case on the basis of guilt by association. He focused much of his cross-examination on eliciting what kind of relationship there had been between Cecil Jones and Crowley, around 1899 and also more recently. He asked what Cecil Jones thought of Crowley, what he'd known about him, then and now, and whether they were still in touch. Cecil Jones' replies were that, yes, he still considered Crowley a friend of his. When Schiller asked what exactly that meant, Cecil Jones told him that he still saw Crowley every two months or so and spoke to him regularly on the phone. Schiller made quite a bit out of the fact that Cecil Jones had introduced Crowley to his wife and that she knew him quite well; giving the jury the impression that if she knew Crowley, Mrs Jones was not quite a lady. And then de Wend Fenton, the editor of *The Looking Glass* (acting as his own barrister), got Cecil Jones to admit that he had continued to associate with Crowley despite thinking of him as (to quote de Wend Fenton) "a notoriously evil person".

When Cecil Jones was finally able to leave the witness box, Samuel Liddell Mathers and then Edward William Berridge were called as ex members of GD - to give evidence on the side of *The Looking Glass*. Mr Schiller wanted to ask them what sort of an organisation the GD was, and what was known about Crowley by its members in 1899-1900. Mathers contradicted some statements Cecil Jones had made earlier, about whether or not the GD had been a Rosicrucian organisation. I can't quite see why the exact nature of the GD should matter to the trial, but the fact that Mathers was so sure something Jones had said in the witness box was wrong, can't have gone down well with a jury probably already prejudiced against Jones.

And Berridge's evidence - although stopped by an objection made by Cecil Jones' barrister - made it clear that in early 1900 some members of the GD at least had heard rumours that Crowley was homosexual.

Crowley was in court for both the days of the trial. In his memoirs he said that he went in disguise and no one recognised him, but that isn't true. During his cross-examination Cecil Jones admitted that he could see Crowley in the court-room. The jury were probably aware that Crowley had chosen not to sue and Mr Schiller left them wondering why Cecil Jones hadn't asked Crowley to give evidence on his behalf. There was a moment, after Berridge's evidence, when Cecil Jones' barrister Mr Simmons hovered on the brink of asking the judge to call Crowley as a witness; but he didn't actually do so, and as a result, the only person who was called to speak on Cecil Jones' side was John Fuller. Kaczynski suggests that Fuller's evidence came too late to counter all the insinuations that had been made by earlier witnesses. I'd also point out that Fuller had only known Crowley since 1906. The case was about events and 'who knew what' during a period before Fuller and Crowley had met.

Mr Schiller's summing-up on behalf of The Looking Glass' publishers persuaded the judge (if he hadn't made up his mind already) that, "If a man values his own reputation so cheaply that he does not mind associating with that kind of creature, he must not complain if comment is made about it". The jury agreed as well, and decided that the offending words in The Looking Glass were fair comment, and consequently not a libel. Normally, the loser of such a case would have to pay the legal costs of both sides, so the penalty Cecil Jones might have faced would have been heavy financially as well as in terms of his reputation; though the decision about costs is up to the judge and he may not have ordered Jones to pay for all the lawyers.

By not suing for libel, Crowley had saved himself from the kind of outcome to a libel trial that had engulfed Oscar Wilde in 1895. By not calling him as a witness, Cecil Jones too had prevented Crowley being arrested for homosexual offences. By not volunteering to be a witness, Crowley had saved himself by bringing down public humiliation on his friend. When the trial was over, John Fuller asked Cecil Jones why he hadn't had a subpoena issued, forcing Crowley to be a witness or face charges of contempt of court. Jones had replied that if Crowley wouldn't volunteer to help him, he certainly wasn't going to beg. Fuller thought that Jones had been very honourable, though misguided.

Cecil Jones had said in his cross-examination that he had been one of those GD members who had heard the rumours of Crowley's homosexual relationships; but he had dismissed them as malicious gossip. Anyone might assume that a friend of theirs couldn't be a criminal, but I think that maybe Cecil Jones had shut his eyes to things about Crowley that he wouldn't have dismissed so lightly in another man. As with Mathers, so with Crowley: the great magician outweighed the human failings. Cecil Jones could have seen - but he was not looking - that Crowley tended to leave people to their fate if helping them would put him on the spot - though of course, the 'spot' was a considerable one in this case and might have ended like it did for Oscar Wilde, in Reading gaol.

A large number of papers reported on the trial. You would expect papers like the Daily Mirror, the Daily Mail and the Daily Express, perhaps, to cover it, but even heavy-weight papers like the Daily Telegraph and the Morning Post published reports; and both the London papers, the Evening News and the Standard. So Cecil Jones' clients, his acquaintances and his neighbours at work and at home would have been able to find out what was being said about

him and his friends; and people learned his name who would otherwise have gone their entire lives without hearing anything about him. And seeing he had lost the case, a large number of the people who now knew his name will have got the wrong impression - I do think it was a wrong impression - of what Cecil Jones and his friends got up to; and what magicians get up to.

You just have to live these things down.

After April 1911, did Cecil Jones and Aleister Crowley continue their friendship as he had described it in court? - meeting every so often to discuss their magical progress, and having weekly chats in the meantime on the phone? If you believe *The Confessions*, they did not, because Crowley dropped him, annoyed at what he saw as a betrayal by two old friends, Cecil Jones and the editor of *The Looking Glass*. Those who write their memoirs write them with the intention of having the last word. After ten years of receiving from him magical cooperation, and support both in his magical career and his private life, Crowley dismissed Cecil Jones, the man who got him into the GD and helped teach him the basics of what he knew about magic, as a “pompous imbecility”; and - apparently - never had anything to do with him again. According to Kaczynski’s biography, they didn’t even meet when (from January 1945 to December 1947) they were again living in the same town.

Cecil Jones might have wanted to move on after the disaster of April 1911 and erase the name of Crowley from his mind, but he couldn’t do so completely. He was still a trustee of Lola Zaza Crowley’s money. He could also have refused to carry on at the task; but after the trial he probably saw more clearly than before, why trustees were needed. He did not have to meet Crowley, most of the work was done by solicitors; it was decisions about how the money in the fund should be spent that the trustees were required to make. As a trustee, Cecil Jones will have had some dealings with Rose Crowley, who had custody of Lola Zaza until she came of age in 1927; and with the artist Gerald Kelly, Rose Crowley’s brother, who seems to have done his best to act as a father-figure to Lola Zaza. Financial and legal work on the trust fund was required after the death of Lola Zaza’s grandmother, Emily Crowley, in April 1917; but again, Cecil Jones will have been dealing with Emily’s brother Tom Bond Bishop, whom Emily had named as her executor. After Cecil Jones’ first co-trustee, Oscar Eckenstein, died (in 1921) he may have been sole trustee for several years, until Gerald Yorke replaced Eckenstein in 1928. Cecil Jones might have expected to have to face some conflict between himself as an ex-friend, and Yorke as a new friend of Crowley, but Yorke took an independent and serious view of his duties as trustee. After Rose Crowley died in 1932, Crowley wrote to Yorke (but apparently not to Cecil Jones) suggesting that all the income from the trust fund be paid to him, now that Lola Zaza had inherited money from her mother; but both trustees agreed to refuse the request.

Unless all parties come to an agreement to terminate a trust fund, it continues until all its beneficiaries are dead or any other requirements have been fulfilled. I couldn’t find any evidence as to when Lola Zaza’s trust fund was wound up. It didn’t happen at her coming-of-age. It might have happened when she married Frank Hill in 1934 but I don’t think it did. Most trust funds benefiting women are not terminated when they marry and in any case the other beneficiary, Crowley himself, would have had to agree the terms. Another possible date for a winding-up was after Aleister Crowley died in 1947. However, the trust fund could have continued, with trustees being replaced as they died, until Lola Zaza Hill died in 1990.

As far as I can tell, Cecil Jones never published anything on magic or alchemy. Assuming that

he is the author identified as "G.C.J." in the July 1909 issue of Occult Review, he did contribute one book review. However, even this was under special circumstances: the book he reviewed was Crowley's book of correspondences, 777, which Crowley had worked on from notes compiled several years before, mainly by Allan Bennett but also by Cecil Jones and other GD members. Like so much in the occult world, the review was an in-joke, Cecil Jones pretending not to know who wrote the book or what the A...A was. With the exactitude of the scientist, he noticed some misprints, but excused them by saying that - given the nature of the work - he was surprised not to find more (perhaps Crowley should have asked him to copy-edit the manuscript before it went to the publishers). He applauded the supposedly unknown author, saying that the book brought into the public arena much "that has been jealously and foolishly kept secret in the past"; although he ended his short piece by warning future readers of 777 that of course, in the occult, there were some facts that could never be learned from books.

AFTER CROWLEY

If Cecil Jones continued to take any interest at all in magic and alchemy after 1911, he kept it quiet and worked either alone or with people he could trust. He continued to run his business until he retired in 1939 - and his timing in choosing that year to stop work was impeccable, because the premises he'd last been based in were destroyed soon after, in the Blitz. Cecil Jones' daughter Eileen, rather than his son George Alan, seems to have been the one to be a chip off the old alchemical block: in 1926 she graduated in chemistry at the University of London. In 1935 she married Stanley Breach Lewis, who I think was a teacher. It's been difficult to find out much about George Alan Jones but in 1949 he was working as the general manager of a dairy. On the probate registry record for his father's Will, he's described as a grocer; perhaps he was still with the dairy firm.

World War 1 was a conflict in which chemistry - and the chemists who could make it work and/or make it deadly - were an important factor. Alas, though, I have no idea what Cecil Jones did during that war: I haven't found a single reference to it, it was probably classified in any case. It's possible that he just continued to work at his business, though I find that difficult to believe.

The bomb that wrecked the building where Cecil Jones last worked probably destroyed all the records of his business, if he had not tidied them away as waste already. I have hardly found any information on the kind of clients Cecil Jones had, and the sort of analysis work they needed him to do. Perhaps a great deal of his work was on the materials of brewing - not all breweries were big enough to afford to employ a full-time chemist. The one piece of work I did find a reference to, was from the years just before Cecil Jones retired, and it can't have been typical of his daily routine: he was chosen by the geologists of the University of Cambridge's British East Greenland Expedition to analyse rock samples they had collected on the Skaergaard Peninsula in 1935 and 1936.

Not immediately, but soon after he retired, Cecil Jones and Ethel Melinda moved to Hastings, probably to 14 Elphinstone Road, his home address when he died. Perhaps Cecil's mother Sarah Gayner went with them. She died in 1949 at the age of 100; though she did not die in Hastings.

Cecil Jones kept active, at least during the first years of his retirement, developing new interests and keeping up old ones now he had more time. He enjoyed listening to music (both

live and on the radio), corresponded with a large number of people, and continued to read widely. He kept his brain active by working on his French and Italian, and learned enough to be able to communicate in Esperanto (I wonder where he took lessons in that?) 1952 was a very sad year for him though: Ethel Melinda Jones died; and then an operation reminded Cecil Jones again of his mortality by restricting his mobility, so that he could no longer dig his garden.

Not only did Cecil Jones outlive Aleister Crowley (died 1947) - that might have been expected. He also survived his own wife, his sister-in-law Muriel Albinia Baker, both of Julian Baker's wives and even Julian himself (died 1958). He was able to write the best obituary of Julian Baker, but it must have been a melancholy task. He lived on for three years after his friend, dying aged 87 in St Helen's Hospital, Hastings, on 30 October 1960.

At the end of the process of doing what I could to build a biography of Cecil Jones, I still find him a very elusive personality. Even the two descriptions of his character that I found don't entirely agree. Many years after their friendship had ended, Crowley described him thus: "a Welshman... [with] a fiery but unstable temper, [he] bore a striking resemblance to many conventional representations of Jesus Christ. His spirit was both ardent and subtle. He was very widely read in Magick; and, being by profession an analytical chemist, was able to investigate the subject in a scientific spirit". Crowley also credited him with a wry sense of humour.

See the Sources section below for a poem by Crowley dedicated to Cecil Jones; undated but written before 1910 when they were still speaking to each other.

The other description is from one of Cecil Jones' obituaries and is based on the memories of people who knew him through his work; it's also obeying the dictat de mortuis nil nisi bonum. A rather different picture of him emerges from it than that written by Crowley: amongst his colleagues in chemistry, Cecil Jones was known for his sound judgement and good advice, and for combining "great physical caution with outstanding moral courage". The writer of the obituary remembered Cecil Jones as "tolerant and always contented": perhaps this calmness - so different from Crowley's memory of him - was the wisdom of age and experience. However, it agreed with Crowley on the "whimsical sense of humour". So I'll leave Cecil Jones making a remark in the witness box in 1911, about the time in 1899 when Crowley, seeking to baffle his creditors (of which he had a large number) signed the lease on a flat using a flamboyant Russian alias. Cecil Jones said of this: "a wiser man would have called himself Smith".

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this

information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR GEORGE CECIL JONES

Who's Who in Science (International) editor H H Stephenson. London: J and A Churchill 1912 p148. This notes that Cecil Jones was FIC, FCS and a member of the Society of Chemical Industry, the Institute of Public Analysts and the Institute of Brewing.

THE OBITUARY

The Royal Institute of Chemistry Journal volume 85 numbers 1-38 1961: p122 in the March 1961 issue.

BUT HE'S MUCH LESS OF A PUBLIC FIGURE THAN BAKER

For example, between 1905 and the late 1930s Julian Baker's name appeared in the Times quite often; but I never saw Cecil Jones referred to.

And he wasn't involved very much in this huge conference of professional chemists:

Seventh International Congress of Applied Chemistry published in 6 volumes London: Partridge and Cooper Ltd 1910. It was held in London from 27 May 1909 to 2 June 1909 and was a HUGE event with a gruelling series of social occasions as well as days full of lectures. The great and the good of chemistry from all over the world attended this. Neither Julian Baker nor Cecil Jones was important enough to give a lecture or dominate the social occasions; though Baker did speak at the final session, on 2 June 1909 at the Imperial Institute. Cecil Jones was a member of the Congress, but unlike Julian Baker he hadn't served on its organising committee. Mrs Baker may have served on the Congress' women's committee but Mrs Jones didn't - she was expecting her second child at the time.

GEORGE CECIL JONES SENIOR (assuming I have found the right person)

Times 9 April 1878 p1a in the deaths column: George Cecil Jones aged 30 of the National Bank of Scotland, accountant, had died “on 1st April 1878 at 37 Nicholas Lane Lombard Street”. Times 3 April 1878 p10 in a series of reports on inquests.

VICTORIAN ATTITUDES TO DEPRESSION

“Shattered Nerves”: Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England by Janet Oppenheim. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991. Chapter Five: Manly Nerves, especially pp150-152.

BACK TO CECIL JONES

EDUCATION

Re City of London School: Our Schools and Colleges: Volume I Boys by Frederick Shirley de Carteret-Bisson. London: 1879: p703.

The University of London 1858-1900: the Politics of Senate and Convocation by F M G Willson. The Boydell Press 2004 p462 begins a list of institutions that made up the University of London in 1900: p463 Central Technical College of City and Guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education is one of them.

At www.britannica.com US based website of Encyclopedia Britannica: the City and Guilds of London Institute is now part of Imperial College.

EMPLOYERS

A good statistical introduction to chemistry as a profession in this period is on the web at www.euchems.eu, article by Anna Simmons of the Open University: Working in a Transitional Territory? Chemical Consultants in the United Kingdom 1870-1914. Read at the 6th International Conference on the History of Chemistry. I think the publication's title is Neighbours and Territories: the Evolving Identity of Chemistry: pp555-563. The statistics in this article seem to be showing that - after the gaining of experience in the field - self-employment as a consultant was the preferred option for chemists in the early days of the modern profession.

Passmore's training with B H Paul. The articles below seem to have been particularly important in establishing Paul's reputation:

Seen at pubs.rsc.org, Analyst vol 2 1877: 7-8: The Presence of Cinchonidine in the Quinine Sulphate of Commerce, by B H Paul, PhD.

Via archive.org to Year-Book of Pharmacy 1886-87 p70: The Amount of Caffeine in Various Kinds of Coffee, by B H Paul and A J Cownley.

I didn't see any publications in which B H Paul and F W Passmore were the authors.

In the British Library catalogue and on web, a series of publications by H Helbing FCS and F W Passmore:

BL 1893 Facts About Disinfectants

BL 1894 Malakine: Its Physical, Chemical and Therapeutical Properties

Information on malakine and what it is from The Medical Bulletin: A Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery volume 17 1895 p341, p529.

BL 1894 The Properties and Advantages of Symphoral, the New Diuretic

The web shows symphoral or symphorol preparations are still widely available. Chemical

Synonyms and Trade Names by William Gardner. Crosby Lockwood and Son 1924 p243.

Not BL 1892 Recherches...sur le chloroforme médicinal. 11-page pamphlet

Not BL and I couldn't see a publication date: The Growth and Preparation of English Herbs and Drugs. 12-page pamphlet.

The Helbing and Passmore partnership was legally dissolved, probably a long time after the partners had gone their separate ways, at a rather telling date: London Gazette 10 March 1916 p2595 dissolved by mutual consent as of 1 August 1914; although this official notice of it had not been issued until 22 February 1916.

Later career of F W Passmore:

Reports of Patent, Design and Trade Mark Cases volume 23 1906 p274.

Journals of the House of Lords volume 151 1919 p17.

At www.nature.com volume 108 issued 17 November 1921 p379 short obituary of Francis William Passmore wh'd died on 29 October [1921] at his home at Bexley Heath.

Dowson Economic:

I found very little information on Joseph Emerson Dowson; or on his invention for the production of coal gas, which doesn't seem to have been patented.

British Library catalogue does have this: Joseph Emerson Dowson as co-author with Alfred T Larter: Producer Gas published London: Longmans and Co 1906.

The Health Exhibition Literature volume 18 1884 p248.

At www.gracesguide.co.uk information originally published by the Iron and Steel Institute in 1935: Dowson Economic Gas and Power Co Ltd, of Basingstoke had amalgamated with Mason's Gas Power Co Ltd of Levenshulme in 1910 to form Dowson and Mason Gas Plant Co Ltd.

Metallurgia: British Journal of Metals volumes 61-62 1960 p34.

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk to a list of building control documents held at Hampshire Record Office: couldn't see the exact number of file, but the Dowson's plant was in Kingsclere Road.

Remediation of Former Manufactured Gas Plants... by Allen W Hatheway 2011 p183 Table 3.10

Free, Rodwell:

Website list.english-heritage.org.uk using information from Industrial Archaeology of East Anglia by John Booker. Batsford 1980.

The British Malting Industry since 1830. Christine Clark 1998 p85-88, p107, p110, p192, p255.

Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain, editors Sarah Tarlow, Susie West 2002 Article by Shane Gould on Mistley: p148.

Essex by Nikolaus Pevsner and James Bettley 2007 p601.

AND IN BUSINESS AS AN ANALYTICAL CHEMIST

Kelly's Directory of London 1908 street index p452 in which he is not listed as a resident of 43-45 Great Tower Street though 2 other analytical chemists are.

Kelly's 1910 street index p365 in which G C Jones, analytical chemist, occupies the 5th floor of 43-45 Gt Tower Street. Opposite this building is the one in which Bernard Dyer worked, the best-known analytical chemist of his day.

PUBLICATIONS

Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley CA: NAH Books originally 2000; the one I looked at was the revised edition, 2010: pp580-81 has a good list of articles.

Allen's Commercial Organic Analysis edited by Alfred Henry Allen 1913 seems to be a reprint (possibly with additions) of Commercial Organic Analysis 1912; there's also a 3rd edition 1918. The 1913 edition contains 2 articles by G C Jones: Alcohols; and Wines and Potable Spirits and -Glucosidal Bitters.

The Brewers' Journal 1915. Article by George Cecil Jones and Julian Baker (in that order, so I think Cecil Jones did most of the work on it): Original Gravity Tables Computed to Hundredths of a Degree. It was later published as a pamphlet: Original Gravity Tables Computed to Hundredths of a Degree, from the table attached to the Finance Act 1914.

The Analyst volumes 41-42 1916 pi editor is Julian L Baker; and G C Jones is on the list of those who are preparing abstracts for publication from articles published in other chemical magazines: this is what The Analyst magazine does. You can see back copies of The Analyst at pubs.rsc.org. There are examples of G C Jones doing review work for The Analyst in 1910, 1911, 1913 and 1920 as well as 1916.

Journal of the Institute of Brewing volume 31 1925 p189 article by G C Jones: Is Forced Malt Objectionable in the Brewery?

The work for the British East Greenland Expedition may not have been published in Cecil Jones' lifetime.

At journals.cambridge.org the journal Polar Record volume 2 no 13 January 1927 pp24-26 has genl information on the expedition of 1935-36.

This was the earliest reference I could find to Cecil Jones' work being published: Geoscience issue 12 1984 in Dn as Meddelelser Om Gronland translated as Syenitic and Associated Intrusions of...E Greenland p3 with authors as W A Deer, D R C Kempe and G C Jones. I did find a reference in Greenland Geoscience volume 1 1979 p4 to a publication by Wager in 1937 which may have mentioned Cecil Jones' analysis work, but I cldn't find any more information on the web. IF the 1937 paper mentioned Jones, then he must have done the work around 1936.

Region of East Greenland by W A Deer, D R C Kempe and G C Jones: p14.

EILEEN CECIL JONES

University of London Calendar issue of 1920 p318; issue of 1926 p314. And issue of 1932 p459 in an alphabetical by surname list probably of graduates: Eileen Cecil Jones 1924-26 2nd class chemistry.

GEORGE ALAN JONES

This was too common a name for me to identify him with confidence. He is described in Cecil Jones' Probate Registry listing as a "grocer", but no address is given for him.

THE OTHER EXECUTOR, Cecil' son-in-law Stanley Breach Lewis

No probate entry as far as 1966 and only 1 other item: London Gazette 26 January 1973 p1314 notice probably issued under the Trustees Act 1925 re the death of Gertrude Dora Lewis, spinster of West Wickham Kent, who'd died on 28 January 1972.

JONES AND THE OCCULT

In the Golden Dawn Collection now at the Freemasons' Library:

GD 2/4/3/2 is typed letter to SLM composed by PWB and dated 4 March 1900. In it SLM is told that "yest anoon" Florence Farr had told the flwgd GD members the contents of SLM's letter of 16 Feb 1900 alleging the GD founding docts were forgeries. Pp were: Dorothea and Edmund Hunter; MWB; WBY; PWB. GCJ had been asked to be present when Florence F told the others; but he hadn't turned up. The group wld be asking him to attend their next mtg.

GD 2/4/3/6 is Mins of mtg of 10 March 1900, after no response had been rcvd from SLM when the group asked him if the allegs were true. Those present at the mtg decided to give SLM one more week to make a response: GCJ was at this mtg.

GD 2/4/3/16a mins of mtg of 29 March 1900 of the group now a cttee investigating the allegs. Those present: Florence F; Dorothea and Edmund Hunter; PWB. GCJ didn't attend this one.

GD 2/4/3/26a dtls of resolns passed at a 2nd Order mtg 21 April 1900 at which 22 pp were present. The ((investigating)) cttee constituted on 12 March 1900 was approved to run the 2nd Order until a m prop constituted execv took office; except that 2 orig members were deemed no lgr to want to be on it, and 2 were elected to replace them. The 2 that were deemed no lgr on the cttee were: Blackden and GCJ; the 2 who replaced them were Helen Rand and Charles Rosher. Rosher spcfc to replace GCJ. GD 2/4/3/35 is the Mins of the 2nd O mtg of 21 April 1900, heavily annotated and n actually having a list of all those who attended. However, from the a/c of those who took an active part I managed to make a list; and GCJ wasn't one of them, I think he didn't go to the mtg.

And he seems to have tkn no fur active part in the events of 1900 in the GD.

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Apparently there is an article on him in Welsh Occultists LLC Books 2010. The British Library hasn't got a copy of the book so I haven't been able to check it out.

THE TWO EDITIONS OF ALEISTER CROWLEY'S CONFESSIONS

The first one, published during his life-time, only reaches early 1904.

The Spirit of Solitude: an Autohagiography subseq re-Antichristened The Confessions of Aleister Crowley. In two volumes published London: Mandrake Press Museum St 1929. This is on the web at hermetic.com/crowley/confessions.

THE MORE FAMILIAR VERSION PUBLISHED AFTER HE HAD DIED

The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography. I used the edition edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, published London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1979.

The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage translated by Samuel Liddell

MacGregor Mathers. When Cecil Jones suggested that Crowley try doing its rituals, the book was hot off the press: published London: J M Watkins 1898.

<http://Www.hermetic.com/crowley/confessions>: A time-line of Crowley's life is at

Www.lashtal.com/wiki/Aleister_Crowley_Timeline which is the website of the Aleister Crowley Society. I think it's based on Crowley's papers.

There are plenty of biographies of Crowley already. The one I have consulted is *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley* by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley CA: NAH Books originally 2000; the one I looked at was the revised edition, 2010.

The *Winged Beetle* poems by Aleister Crowley. 350 copies privately printed 1910. The whole book is dedicated to John Fuller, a great admirer of Crowley's poetry. Most of the poems are dedicated to one person or another. Only three members of the Golden Dawn are honoured thus: Cecil Jones; Allan Bennett; and Elaine Simpson. None of the poems are dated. P22-23
The Hermit: An Attack on Barbercraft is dedicated to Cecil Jones:

p22 At last an end of all I hoped and feared!

Muttered the hermit through his elfin beard.

Then what art thou? the evil whisper whirred.

I doubt me sorely if the hermit heard.

To all God's questions never a word he said,

But simply shook his venerable head.

God sent all plagues; he laughed and heeded not,

Till people took him for an idiot.

God sent all joys; he only laughed amain,

Till people certified him as insane.

But somehow all his fello-lunatics

Began to imitate his silly tricks.

And stranger still, their prospects so enlarged

That one by one the patients were discharged.

God asked him by what right he interfered;

He only laughed into his elfin beard.

P23

When God revealed Himself to mortal prayer

He gave a fatal opening to Voltaire.

Our hermit had dispensed with Sinai's thunder,
But on the other hand he made no blunder;

He knew (no doubt) that any axiom
Would furnish bricks to build some Donkeydom.

But! — all who urged that hermit to confess
Caught the infection of his happiness.

I would it were my fate to dree his weird;
I think I will grow an elfin beard.
None of the poems in the colln are dated.

CECIL JONES' PUBLISHED WORK ON THE OCCULT

Occult Review volume 10 July-December 1909. Editor is Ralph Shirley. Published by William Rider and Co Ltd. Volume 10 number 1 July 1909 p54-55 a review by "G.C.J." of the anonymous 777 Vel Prolegomena Symbolica ad Systemam Sceptico-Mysticae Viae London: Walter Scott Publishing

THE RITES OF ELEUSIS

Occult Review volume 12 number 4 October 1910 p213-15 on the Rites of Eleusis, describing what would happen at them and giving the dates of the performances and where to get tickets.

JONES v THE LOOKING GLASS

Times Thursday 27 April 1911 p4a in the law notices section: King's Bench Division, before Mr Justice Scrutton and a jury: Jones v The Looking Glass Publishing Co (Limited) and others which had "commenced yesterday [Wednesday 26 April] and concluded to-day". This article was short - just a summary of the judgement. The alleged libel appeared in The Looking Glass on 26 November 1910. Mr Simmons was Jones' barrister. Mr Schiller was the barrister for the publishers of the The Looking Glass. The Looking Glass' editor, Mr de Wend Fenton, appeared in his own defence and on behalf of The Looking Glass' printers. Jones' solicitors were Bullock and Co.

On the web at www.100thmonkeypress.com there is what is described as a transcription by the Times' court reporter of some (but not all) of the evidence: far more than appeared in the Times' report. The cross-examination of Jones is there, and the evidence given by Samuel Liddell Mathers and Edward William Berridge; but not the evidence of Jones' witness John Fuller.

Small pamphlet 666 Bibliotheca Crowleyana a catalogue of books pamphlets etc by or about Aleister Crowley, collected and with an Introduction by Major-General J F C Fuller with copyright Fuller 1966. It's a typescript, published Delectus Books: Introduction is pp2-8; Cecil Jones' 1898 manuscript file p25; Fuller's coverage of the Jones v The Looking Glass trial p27.

LOLA ZAZA'S TRUST FUND

See Kaczynski for the details and for the death of Eckenstein and the appointment of Gerald Yorke. Probate Registry record for the death of Emily Bertha Crowley and the identity of her executor.

3 December 2017

Email me at

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

END JONES

Frank Jubb was offered initiation into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in 1890 by members of its Horus temple in Bradford. But he turned it down - probably the only person in the G membership lists who never actually became a member. R A Gilbert in his list of members (see the main Sources section at the end of the file) suggests that Frank might have got as far as signing a pledge form before changing his mind; and so had to be recorded in the archives.

I imagine the normal procedure, if someone refused the chance to join the GD, was to throw away any paperwork involving them; so that except in one case, we now don't know who they were. The one case is Arthur Conan Doyle. There's nothing in the GD files to indicate he had the chance of initiation but decided against it; but he wrote about the incident himself many years later.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh though Frank Jubb didn't live in any of those places, he grew up in Halifax before moving to London. I've done what I can with Frank Jubb, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on him out there, but it will be in the Halifax and south London record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to

look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

April 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on FRANK JUBB.

IN THE GD

Nothing! Frank Jubb didn't get as far as being initiated. However, unlike with most GD members, I can hazard a guess as to who he knew who might have put his name forward as a possible recruit. Frank had grown up in Halifax. There were two GD members living in Halifax around 1890. One was Lewis Stanley Jastrzebski (pronounced Yast-shemb-ski) who was employed in the Council's library. Given Frank Jubb's background, the more likely one was Stanley's brother, Bogdan Edwards, who was a GP.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Not that I've found; and perhaps this is the point: Frank Jubb didn't have any interest in the occult.

Sources checked:

Theosophical Society membership registers 1890-1901.

The catalogue of the Freemasons' Library. Frank Jubb wasn't in it though that doesn't necessarily mean he was not a freemason, it might just mean that he kept his involvement very local. My own feeling is that he wasn't a freemason.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

There may be some in the Peckham local papers. I haven't found any elsewhere.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Frank Jubb was a son of Abraham Jubb and his wife Hannah. Abraham Jubb had been born in Mirfield, between Huddersfield and Dewsbury. He trained as a doctor, qualifying in 1847, by which time he was working as a surgeon in the Halifax Infirmary. He joined the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association to keep up with the latest developments in his profession.

Abraham Jubb was a member of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society and seems to have been particularly interested in fossils: some fern species and shells found by Dr Jubb in the seams of the Halifax coalfield, were donated to the Society's collection.

Abraham Jubb married a local woman, Hannah Phillis Ambler, in Halifax in 1849. They had

a large family. Frank was one of the youngest of their children, born in 1864.

I think that the Jubb family lived on Akeds Road in Halifax for several decades. They may even have lived in the same house. The house numbers are different in different censuses but that may just indicate that the houses were renumbered by the Post Office at some stage. I think the street name is the same in the censuses of 1871 to 1891; but in 1871 in particular, the census official's handwriting leaves everything to be desired; so I'm not sure.

On the day of the 1871 census, Hannah and two of her daughters were away from home; but the Abrahams, father and eldest son, were at home, with Catherine (11), Frank (7) and the youngest child Ada (aged 2). Abraham senior and Hannah were comfortably off, employing a nursemaid, a cook and a housemaid. By 1881 both their sons had left home. Daughters Emily, Catherine and Beatrice were all still unmarried and living at home; and the Jubbs were employing just a cook and housemaid, the services of a nursemaid no longer being needed.

Hannah Jubb died in 1889 and loosened the family's ties with Halifax. Abraham Jubb junior was working as a commercial traveller and by census day 1891 he was living in Cheetham in Manchester with his wife Ellen. Abraham Jubb senior was still at Akeds Road in 1891, with daughters Emily, Catherine and Ada who were all still unmarried. By 1901, however, Abraham Jubb senior had retired and had moved to Morecambe with Emily and Ada; where he died in 1906.

Sources for Frank's family in Yorkshire and Lancashire:

At Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 0990708, 0990757: baptism of Abraham Jubb, 1 June 1823 at Mirfield Yorks. Parents Thomas and Mary; Mary's surname before her marriage wasn't given.

General Medical Council registers began in 1859. Abraham Jubb was registered between 1859 and 1903 though census data indicates he had retired a few years before his last entry. He was Licensed to practice by the Society of Apothecaries of London and by the Royal College of Surgeons of England, in 1847.

Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal number 34 1844 issue of 20 November 1844: Abraham Jubb was listed as having gone to Derby Town Hall on 14 November for a meeting of the Association, called to consider a parliamentary bill intended to increase regulation of the medical profession.

Transactions of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association 1845 p358: Abraham Jubb as senior surgeon at the Halifax Infirmary.

Leisure:

The Naturalist 1839 p445.

Probate Registry 1906.

EDUCATION

What schooling Frank Jubb had I do not know; I would presume he went to a school in Halifax. Unlike his elder brother, Frank went into his father's profession. He's not on the census in England in 1881 so I guess he was already in Ireland, studying medicine. In 1881 he passed the English Royal College of Surgeons' exams but he didn't get licenced to practice until 1888, by the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland.

Source:

GMC Registers 1891 to 1932.

Medical Times and Gazette: A Journal of Medical Science, Literature, Criticism and News 1881. London: J and A Churchill of 11 New Bond Street. 1881 volume 2 p425 issue of 1 October 1881.

WORK/PROFESSION

Frank's GMC registration for 1891 lists him at his father's address - 28 Akeds Road Halifax - but his census return for that year shows that he had his own household, of which he was sole member, at 4 Hopwood Lane. He was working as a physician. He was probably gaining some GP experience in his father's practice though he might have been working at a hospital instead or aswell - I haven't been able to discover whether he was employed elsewhere. Abraham Jubb senior was likely to retire quite soon and Frank could just have inherited his father's patients and stayed in Halifax. He chose otherwise, moving south to establish himself in the relatively new London suburb of Peckham. Though he moved house several times, he remained in practice as a GP in Peckham for the rest of his life.

Frank was 50 when the first World War broke out; rather old to volunteer and of course he had his family and his patients to think of. However, he was able to contribute to the war effort. In April 1915 he and a large number of other men - all presumably qualified doctors although the list doesn't specifically say so - were given military rank in the Royal Army Medical Corps. Frank was made a lieutenant. As more and more casualties were brought back to England for treatment, these men spent time working for the Home Hospitals Reserve in addition to their normal work.

Sources:

GMC Registers. Frank's listed for the first time in 1891 at 28 Akeds Road Halifax. Unfortunately there are then a few Registers in which he isn't listed, until he reappears in 1899 at

35 Nunhead Crescent Peckham Rye. In the Registers of 1903 and 1907 he's at 125 Evelina Road Nunhead. By 1911 he'd moved to 135 The Rye Peckham. The next Register available at Ancestry is that of 1923. In that issue, and throughout the 1920s, Frank's at 241 Peckham Rye SE15 which might be the 1911 address renumbered. His last appearance in the Registers is in 1931, still at 241 Peckham Rye.

125 Evelina Road and 135 The Rye Peckham are Frank's home addresses on the relevant census: his medical practice was based in his own house.

The Lancet 1915 volume 1 January-June p1255 issue of 12 June 1915.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

No, though this is because the evidence is lacking. On the web, membership of such societies as the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society is better covered in the mid-19th century than

later. The activities of local groups like choirs, friendly societies, sports or social clubs are covered by the local papers and haven't made it onto the web as yet.

FAMILY

In 1897, Frank Jubb married a woman called Lucy Donovan.

I haven't been able to identify Lucy Donovan on a census before her marriage to Frank; so I know nothing about her background except that her family was probably Irish. Even her name has been a bit of a problem: she was registered as Lucy Donovan in Greenwich in 1873; but her marriage registration has her as Violet Lucy A R Donovan. I wasn't quite sure what name to look for on census returns so I searched using both her forenames; but I couldn't find her.

Frank and Lucy had one child, a daughter born in 1898 and named Phyllis after Frank's mother. On the day of the 1901 census they were living at 125 Evelina Road in Peckham where they employed just the one, live-in servant girl. They had moved to 135 Peckham Rye by 1911. Phyllis was at school, of course. And the Jubbs were still being cautious with their expenditure, employing one general servant.

I found a marriage registration in Camberwell for a woman transcribed as Phyllis O (sic) Jubb in 1920. Jubb is not a common surname especially in south London and I think the bride may have been Frank's daughter, whose birth was registered as Phyllis Dorothy. If so, she married Robert Comrie.

DEATH

Frank Jubb died in King's College Hospital in May 1932. Lucy Jubb acted as his executor; and after that she disappears from view. Perhaps I should have searched freebmd further than 1960, but I couldn't find a death registration for her before then. I checked 1932-40 but she didn't remarry in England during those years.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

If it was Frank's daughter who married Robert Comrie in 1920, he may have descendants. I wasn't sufficiently confident that it was her in that marriage registration to check that out.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I

have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

10 April 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Probably Vera possibly Foster definitely Kelly who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in October 1899 and chose the Latin motto 'Veritas simile'.

The name says it all, when it comes to the problem of identifying the lesser-known members of the Golden Dawn. When compiling his list of GD members R A Gilbert couldn't read this woman's handwriting, and transcribed a best guess. I hoped that I might do a bit better when

I finally got to see the GD Members' Roll which R A Gilbert had as his original source; but I couldn't make anything more of her name than Gilbert had.

I didn't see much point in trying to follow up someone whose name I couldn't be sure of.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

This is the second of my three files on Florence Elizabeth Sherard Kennedy, who was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in May 1891. As well as Florence, five other people were initiated that evening: Florence's sister Cecilia Macrae; Cecilia's sister-in-law Louisa Ida Macrae; Augustus Montague Cooper; Agnes Alicia de Pallandt; and Emily Katherine Bates.

Florence chose the Latin motto 'Volo'. She was not the first person to have opted for it - Oliver Firth, initiated in 1888, had got there first. However, Florence was allowed to have

her choice because Firth was a member of the GD's Horus, temple in Bradford, so that references to them weren't likely to get mixed up.

Florence and her sister were committed Isis-Urania temple members during the 1890s. They both did the necessary study and were initiated into its inner, 2nd Order, in the autumn of 1892. However, whereas Cecilia Macrae was involved with Stella Matutina, as late as the 1920s, Florence did not join any of the GD's daughter orders.

Believe it or not, this is one of my short biographies. It covers Florence's life until the death of her first husband. She lived for 50 more years! With access to Florence Kennedy's papers, I am sure I could have written a full-length book. However, the papers are in Athens. I'd love to go and work through them, but I can't afford to stay in Greece long enough to do them justice.

Short it may be, but this biography is still in three pieces:

- the Laings, which you can find on my GD Index page under 'the two Macraes'. It includes coverage of Cecilia, Florence and their siblings growing up in a very wealthy family; and also of their first cousin Agnes Cathcart, née Baxter, who was a GD member in Edinburgh.

This file is the second one of the three:

- Florence in the GD and TS, and her early art training.

And then there's the third one:

- Florence and her husband Edward Sherard Kennedy; their work as artists; and the last few years of the marriage.

Sally Davis

June 2017

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

Just reiterating here that this is the second file of three: what I have found on FLORENCE ELIZABETH SHERARD KENNEDY, née Laing; who was known as Flo or Floy to her friends.

IN THE GD

Florence and her elder sister Cecilia joined the GD together and they tended to act as a duo within the Order. In order to be allowed into the GD's inner, 2nd Order, members had to study a wide range of occult texts and pass a series of exams. In May 1892, Cecilia borrowed a large number of manuscripts from William Wynn Westcott's unofficial GD library

(essentially, his own collection of occult books) in order to begin this daunting programme. I'm sure she intended to work through them with Florence. The careful study of difficult documents, and the being examined on them by experts in the field, were not something either sister is likely to have done before. They both passed the exams, though, and became 2nd Order members in the same month.

In 1893, with the GD looking for a new set of rooms for meetings and rituals, the sisters were entrusted with the task of inspecting a possible venue in Albert Street, just behind Mornington Crescent station. They visited it together, and agreed that it wasn't suitable. The search eventually ended with the renting of rooms in Oakley Square, a few minutes' walk away.

They also tended to act as one during the various controversies that engulfed the GD in the mid-1890s.

The first of those was GD founder Samuel Liddell Mathers' expulsion of Annie Horniman from the GD in the autumn of 1896. It was thought at the time, and has been the general view since, that Mathers did it because Annie had stopped paying him and his wife Mina/Moina the allowance she had been giving them for the last few years. I think there's also evidence that Mathers felt threatened by Annie's increasing influence within the GD, where she was respected for her understanding of magic and as a hard-working member of Isis-Urania temple.

Mathers tried to out-flank those who were likely to criticise his decision, by widening his field of attack - he made charges of insubordination against quite a few other GD members, including both Florence and Cecilia. The sisters were some of Annie's many personal friends in the GD - presumably that's why Mathers accused them. But it was Florence that Annie wrote to later, telling her that the cutting off of her supply of money to the Mathers was the real reason why she had been ejected; which suggests that Florence was the sister that Annie knew best. In December 1896/January 1897 Frederick Leigh Gardner organised a petition that pleaded with Mathers for Annie to be reinstated. Florence and Cecilia both signed it; but when Mathers made it a matter of obedience that the petition be dropped, both submitted to his authority. However, the necessity for submission to Mathers had made Florence very angry, more so than Cecilia: Florence had thought that the wording of the petition had been sufficiently humble to appease even Mathers, and was disgusted to find that it wasn't. She went to William Wynn Westcott (the other founder of the GD) to ask him to intervene; only to find Westcott doing what he usually did in a GD crisis - nothing, thereby avoiding conflict with more aggressive personalities. Westcott told Florence that the GD members should bow to Mathers as a great magician, even on issues that didn't really involve magic.

Mathers' fury at Annie Horniman's refusal to finance him any more was because he had no other income. He did not intend to get paid work and perhaps even thought it was his and Mina's right to have their magical work supported by the Order with money. The end of Annie's funding meant that for the rest of the 1890s, GD members regularly found themselves having to send money to the Mathers, to finance their occult work, their rent and their other expenses. Though it must have gone against the grain with her, Florence did send £10 to them to tide them over one of these crises, in 1897.

The later 1890s in the GD's Isis-Urania temple were characterised by the growth of groups

within the larger group, where small numbers of members would meet regularly to pursue particular interests. The first such group was begun by Frederick Leigh Gardner and Frederick William Wright, in the spring of 1897. They invited Westcott to join them, he invited Reena Fulham Hughes and Cecilia Macrae to join, and the group ended by being Westcott's group. Florence was the last to be recruited into this sub-group: I expect Westcott was aware that he had disappointed her in the uproar over Annie Horniman. She agreed to join, though, provided the group met at times that were convenient. Monday afternoons were convenient to her and during 1897 the group mostly met at those times. However, by March 1898 Florence and Mrs Fulham Hughes had both given up going; Florence possibly doing so for reasons not connected with the GD.

Florence and Cecilia got on reasonably well with Frederick Leigh Gardner, but they seem to have been in a minority. Others - particularly the younger women - complained so often about his rudeness, arrogance and militaristic way of ordering the rituals, that in the end, in 1897, Florence Farr (now in charge of the GD's daily administration) decided she couldn't have such a divisive personality in the Isis-Urania temple any longer, and sent him to run the Horus Temple in Bradford instead.

It was Florence Kennedy that Gardner wrote to on 14 October 1897, complaining that Florence Farr had made her decision without hearing his side of the argument, and demanding that he have his say. But it was Cecilia who wrote back to him to say how sorry she was to hear that he had been ordered out of Isis-Urania. Cecilia was wondering how much longer the GD could continue in the face of so many upheavals and arguments. The sisters discussed whether they should both send in their resignations. In the end, they decided they wouldn't, in case their departures should be the final straw when it seemed that the GD might unravel at any moment.

Cecilia sent a second letter, telling Gardner what she and Florence had decided to do. The letter didn't contain any suggestion that Florence shared her sadness at Gardner's enforced departure. If Florence wrote back to him, the letter hasn't survived. There were reasons for why Florence's views may have differed from Cecilia's on this issue. Florence may have shared the majority view of Gardner's behaviour. It's also likely that Florence would have supported Florence Farr's decision in any case: the two Florences had become good friends. I'm sure Gardner was aware of this, which is why it was Florence's help he had tried to obtain, rather than Cecilia's, in fighting his dismissal.

In the late 1890s Florence Farr often visited Florence and Edward Kennedy at their country home - The Cottage, Edenbridge, in Kent. In fact, Florence Farr had written the letter dismissing Gardner from the Isis-Urania temple, at The Cottage, when she was staying there in August 1897; and had probably discussed the problems caused by Gardner's behaviour with Florence Kennedy. Florence Farr went to stay with Florence Kennedy for a longer period in 1900, to support her in the months after husband had died.

The friendship between the two Florences made it inevitable that Florence Farr should invite Florence Kennedy to join her Sphere Group, set up to delve further into Egyptian magic, a branch of magic that Florence Farr had researched. The records of this group - if there were any - haven't survived, but it's thought to have been in existence between 1897 and 1901, and the members of it are known, more or less, as Robert Felkin made a note of their names. As well as the two Florences, and Cecilia Macrae, there was Marcus Worsley Blackden, another expert on Egyptian magic and one who had actually been to Egypt; Harriet Butler; Robert

Felkin; Edmund Hunter; Dorothea Hunter; Henrietta Paget; Helen Rand; Robert Palmer Thomas; and Ada Waters. Though Felkin didn't include her name in his list, it's possible that Reena Fulham Hughes might also have been in the Group. When Mathers himself was ejected from the GD in 1900, it was members of the Sphere Group who took over the management of the Order; though Florence Kennedy was not one of those appointed.

AFTER THE GD

Florence's husband Edward died in January 1900 and she was not an active member of the GD after that. However, friendships made through the GD were still important to her. In 1902, W B Yeats mentioned in a letter that Florence had been paying £3 a week for the last year, for Althea Gyles to be cared for in a sanatorium. Margaret Alethea Gyles, known as Althea Gyles (1868-1949), was from an Anglo-Irish family and was related to Florence and Cecilia in a distant way; but she was also a friend of Annie Horniman; and for a short while had some kind of relationship with Aleister Crowley, who was in the GD from 1898 to 1900. She was an artist and illustrator, poet and novelist; but her chaotic lifestyle and self-neglect made her the despair of all who knew her and were probably the reason why she was not thought suitable to join the GD herself. In 1900 she had been sent to the Hospital for Diseases of the Chest, on City Road in London, and perhaps this was the treatment that Florence's money was funding. I don't know how long the payments went on.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

THEOSOPHY

The membership registers of the Theosophical Society show both Florence and Cecilia joining the TS between 1898 and 1901. That registers may not tell the whole story though. Handwritten notes on Florence's record describe her as a long-serving member, and as a member of London Lodge. London Lodge was founded in 1876, before the TS itself was set up in London, and for many years it held itself aloof from the TS in general, had its own finances and kept its own records. So there's actually no telling when the sisters first joined the TS. Later on (the TS's records don't say exactly when) Cecilia and Florence moved from London Lodge to join Blavatsky Lodge, where Helena Petrovna Blavatsky herself held sway from May 1887, when she settled in London, to her death in May 1891, around the time the sisters joined the GD. William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers were both active members of Blavatsky Lodge during the 1880s, and that it was most likely through them that Florence and Cecilia were invited to join the GD.

The GD records that have survived don't seem to know about Florence's remarriage (in December 1902); but the TS knew her new surname. In December 1900 Florence acted as co-sponsor for a new member, so she must still have been going to TS meetings regularly at that time. The new member was Miss Margaret Scott-Kerr of St James's Park; Florence's co-sponsor was Katherine Burke. Florence continued to send the TS a £20 donation/subscription each year until February 1909. At that point she resigned, one of the many members to do so when Annie Besant was elected TS president for life, in succession to Colonel Olcott. Cecilia resigned a few weeks later. Despite the change of lodge, and despite her resignation from the TS, Cecilia kept up a friendship with Alfred Percy and Patience Sinnett, who had been London Lodge's foremost members in the 1880s. Florence, however, doesn't seem to have been particularly friendly with the Sinnetts.

SPIRITUALISM

I haven't found any evidence that Florence was a spiritualist. It is hard to tell whether people

were spiritualists as spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now. However, it's unlikely that Florence and Cecilia Laing's family held seances at home: their father, Samuel Laing, did not believe that the dead were trying to contact the living through the agency of spiritualist mediums.

Sources:

GD

Freemasons' Library: GD collection GD2/2/8a Receipts for items borrowed from William Wynn Westcott during period 1891-1892. Receipt signed 1 May 1892 by Cecilia Macrae.

Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses by Mary K Greer. Rochester Vermont: Park Street Press 1995: p184 quoting Yorke Collection: New Springback Folder, letter Florence Kennedy to Frederick Leigh Gardner 6 January 1897. Beware her p246 though: she says that Florence Kennedy died in 1900; it was Florence's husband who died.

Howe (publication details in Sources section): p102; pp142-44; p170; p173; pp181-82.

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73 - letters mostly to Frederick Leigh Gardner, but occasionally copies of letters sent by him:

- copy of a letter from Frederick Leigh Gardner to Florence Kennedy 14 October 1897.
- letters William Wynn Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner 17 May 1897 and 31 May 1897 about the group Gardner and Wright were trying to bring together.
- two letters from Cecilia Macrae to Frederick Leigh Gardner, 19 October and 24 October 1897; from Oakhurst Oxted.

FLORENCE'S EGYPTIAN/SPHERE GROUP:

Cauda Pavonis was the newsletter/journal of the Hermetic Text Society. At www.alchemywebsite.com/cauda.html there is a list of articles published in it, beginning 1982 but it's not published any longer. When it was published it was issued by the Department of English, Washington State University at Pullman. Volumes 11-16 1992 pp7-12 article by Sharon E Cogdill on Florence Farr's Sphere Group.

The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: Letters of the Revd William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner and Others 1886-1905 edited and with introduction by Ellic Howe. Aquarian Press 1985: p93, letter from William Alexander Ayton to Frederick Leigh Gardner of 9 October 1900.

Althea Gyles:

There's a wikipedia page, saying that she moved to London in 1892 and studied at the Slade. She's also in ODNB.

There's no mention of Florence Kennedy in Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume I. Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume II 1896-1900 does mention Florence and Althea Gyles on p611 footnote 8.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-04 p32 footnote 4 another list of Sphere Group members, with the same 12 names but also suggesting p33 Reena Fulham Hughes,

who is not on the Cauda Pavonis list. Florence's payments towards Althea Gyles' treatment: P198 and footnote 1; letter dated 9 June 1902.

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 p37

Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett, unedited version published by the Theosophical History Centre London 1986. Mostly written 1916 but an addition starting again from p1 at the end. There's no mention of Florence in this account, though several of Cecilia. A P Sinnett was still going to stay with Cecilia and her husband as late as 1918.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Cecilia Macrae (born 1848) and Florence Kennedy (born 1853) were two of the five daughters of Samuel Laing (1812-97) and his wife Mary Dickson Cowan (1819-1902); there were also five sons, three of whom died young.

FLORENCE AS AN ARTIST: PART 1

I've said in my file on the Laing family that I haven't got any certain information about how the Laing sisters were educated: what they learned and who taught it them is a mystery. However, in the 1880s paintings by Florence were accepted by major galleries for exhibition; and she must have learned that standard of painting somewhere. This is a piece of speculation, but I'm going to suggest that Florence attended painting classes in Dresden during the winter of 1869-70. She certainly was in Dresden at that time, because she met the American artist Anna Lea (later Anna Lea Merritt) there that winter. Anna had gone to Dresden specifically to learn to paint in the studio of Heinrich Hofmann. In her Memoir, Anna doesn't actually say that Florence was a fellow art student; but I think it's a reasonable assumption to make.

Heinrich Hofmann was famous for most of his career as a painter, but changing styles in art were making his work look very old-fashioned by the end of his life and have caused him to be forgotten since. After a training in Germany, Belgium and Italy, he settled in Dresden in 1862 and remained there until his death in 1911. His religious paintings were much admired at the time and much copied, especially his paintings of scenes from the life of Jesus. He was appointed to a professorship at the Dresden academy, but not until June 1870; so Anna Lea - and Florence, if my hunch is correct - must have been private pupils, working in his studio.

Florence was the only member of the Laing family that Anna Lea says she met that winter. Anna's Memoir reads as if Florence was in Dresden on her own, but I'm sure she was not - she was only 16. The Laings often visited Germany and had many friends there. I doubt if Florence's parents would have let her go to Dresden for a stay of - possibly - several months, if she had not been able to stay with people they knew.

Anna Lea left Dresden for Paris early in 1870. She was settling in nicely there when the Franco-Prussian War broke out and caused her to have to opt for England as the place to continue her painting lessons. Hearing of Anna's unexpected arrival in London, Florence invited her to Sunday tea with the whole Laing family. In her Memoir, Anna describes both Florence and Cecilia Laing (later Macrae) as becoming life-long friends as a result of that tea

party; but in the Memoir Cecilia is mentioned far more, and Florence not at all after around 1900. It's likely that Anna Lea Merritt and Florence Kennedy were close friends in the 1880s. However, a break-point in their relationship came in 1891, with both Anna and Florence renting houses in the country but not near each other. Anna moved permanently to Hurstbourne Tarrant on the edge of Salisbury Plain; she mentions Cecilia visiting her there, but not Florence. Florence and her husband took a house in Kent near the border with Surrey; while keeping a house in London as well.

In the 1880s Anna Lea Merritt was living in Tite Street Chelsea, where her friends included the artists Whistler, Burne-Jones, G F Watts, Lord Leighton, Holman Hunt and others. It's possible (see the third file in this sequence) that Florence knew them already but if she didn't, she could have met them through Anna.

As part of her training, Anna Lea asked many of her acquaintances to sit for their portrait. She was especially pleased with the one she did of Florence, and Florence allowed it to be shown at the Royal Academy in 1879.

If Florence and Anna continued to train as painters together, in England, in the early 1870s, Anna doesn't mention it in her Memoir. One critic spoke in 1879 of Florence's painting *A Quiet Corner* as being "French-like in execution". He also described her technique as "delicate" but that doesn't mean anything in particular: it was something frequently said by male critics of paintings by women, signifying that their work had not stepped outside the allotted female sphere of the small and the un-heroic. I haven't come across anything that says where, when or with whom Florence might have acquired the ability to paint in a style that British critics associated with France; though I do put forward some suggestions below, in my third file on Florence Kennedy.

Sources:

Love Locked Out: the Memoirs of Anna Lea Merritt with a Checklist of Her Works ed Galina Gorokhoff. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. No publication date but the British Library stamp has "Sep [19]83": pxiv for Anna's account of her art training, and the sudden enforced move to London. On pxv: Anna Lea married the painting conservator and art critic Henry Merritt in 1877 but he died only a few months afterwards. On pxvi for Anna's Chelsea based artist friends. Ppxix-pxix: the move to Hurstbourne Tarrant, where died on 7 April 1930.

Mentions of Florence: p55, p77, p81, p195. Just noting here that Edward Sherard Kennedy is not mentioned at all in Anna's Memoir.

The books' checklist of paintings begins p239 with works from 1867. Anna's portrait of Florence Laing: p241.

Anna Lea Merritt's portrait of Florence must be the one you can see at this blog:

[//nataliavogelkoff.com/tag/florence-laing-gennadius](http://nataliavogelkoff.com/tag/florence-laing-gennadius). Florence kept it and it is now in the Gennadius Library in Athens. See also www.acsa.edu.gr

On Heinrich Hofmann, there's a wikipedia page with the correct training and professional details but the wrong name: Heinrich Karl Johann Hofmann. The man who taught Anna Lea Merritt and perhaps Florence Laing was Johann Michael Ferdinand Heinrich Hofmann.

Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler. Siebzehnter Band 1924 p260 in German so I couldn't read the list of his works.

Benezit Dictionary of Artists volume 7. Published Gründ 2006 in English: p196 with the same name as in the Lexikon but with very little information.

Building News and Engineering Journal volume 38 p535: review of the 1879 exhibition at the Grosvenor Galleries. Florence's oil painting A Quiet Corner was in the exhibition.

The third file in this sequence on Florence Kennedy looks at the years 1879 to 1900, the period in which Florence was married to her first husband, Edward Sherard Kennedy.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD members who were freemasons, the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England is now available via Ancestry: it gives the date of the freemason's first

initiation; and the craft lodges he was a member of.

To take careers in craft freemasonry further, the website of the the Freemasons' Library is a good resource: //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources.

You can get from the pages to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

To put contemporary prices and incomes into perspective, I have used www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare which Roger Wright found for me. To help you interpret the 'today' figure, measuringworth gives several options. I pick the 'historic standard of living' option which is usually the lowest, often by a considerable margin!

3 June 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

This is the last of my three files on GD member Florence Elizabeth Sherard Kennedy (born 1853) who was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in May 1891 and chose the Latin motto 'Volo'.

It might not look like it, but this is one of my short biographies. It covers Florence's life until the death of her first husband. She lived for another 51 years! With access to Florence Kennedy's papers, I am sure I could have written a full-length book. However, the papers are in Athens. I'd love to go and work through them, but I can't afford to stay in Greece long enough to do them justice.

Short it may be, but this biography is still in three pieces. The first two are:

- the Laings, which you can find on my GD Index page under the heading 'the two Macraes'. It includes coverage of Florence, GD member her sister Cecilia Macrae, and their siblings growing up in a very wealthy family; and also of their first cousin Agnes Cathcart, née Baxter, who was a GD member in Edinburgh.

- Florence in the GD and TS and her early art training.

This third one is:

- Florence and her husband Edward Sherard Kennedy; their work as artists; and the last few years of the marriage.

Sally Davis

June 2017

Florence married the man who was usually called Edward Sherard Kennedy in 1879.

EDWARD SHERARD KENNEDY

In official documents Edward Sherard Kennedy appears as Edward Sherard Calcraft Kennedy. With what names he was baptised, I can't say, as I haven't found any records of a baptism and - given his parents' circumstances - there may not ever have been a baptism.

Edward Sherard Kennedy was the illegitimate son of an earl and a singer: Robert Sherard, 6th Earl of Harborough; and the contralto/actress whose professional name was Emma Sarah Love. Emma Sarah had made a name for herself in oratorio and for her work in opera at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. She married Captain Granby Hales Calcraft in 1828 but eloped with the Earl of Harborough in 1829. Accounts differ as to how long the relationship between Emma Sarah and the Earl lasted. It lasted long enough for three sons to result from it, Edward being the youngest, born either 1836 or 1837; and even after it ended, the Earl saw to it that Emma Sarah and their children were looked after financially. I haven't been able to find out why Emma Sarah and her children ended up with the surname 'kennedy'.

Edward's life would have been very different if his parents had married, but Emma Sarah and Captain Calcraft were never divorced. The Earl finally married Mary Eliza Temple, a woman of his own social class, in 1843, and again, Edward's life would have been very different if the Earl and his countess had had any children; but they didn't. When the Earl died, in 1859, there were no legitimate heirs to the family's land; he could do what he liked with it, and he chose to leave the estates to his two surviving sons. Edward's elder brother, Bennet Sherard Kennedy, got the Sherard family's main estate at Stapleford Park in Leicestershire; though it appears that he didn't get the house and contents, at least, not all of them and not in 1859 - those were left to the earl's widow. Edward and Emma Sarah jointly, were left the manor of Teigh in Rutland and 1288 acres; plus 700 more acres around the village of Whissendine. I doubt if Edward could have done so well if he had been his father's legitimate younger son.

I haven't seen the sources that would prove this definitively (I'm meaning the Wills of the last earl and last countess) but I think that Edward and his brothers were left the Sherard family's art and antiques by the countess. Edward may even have had a friendly relationship with Mary Eliza: he and Florence Kennedy spent part of 1884 living in Exmouth, where Mary Eliza had settled with her second husband, Major Thomas William Clagett. In 1894, Christie's dealt with the sale of a wide range of antiques owned by Edward. He might have been an avid collector himself, but I do think that the items sold in 1894 were left to him by Mary Eliza.

The last Countess of Harborough had died in 1886. It took three years for the amount of her estate to be calculated and her Will to be enacted fully by her executors, probably because of the time it took to assess the art and antiques that were in the house at Stapleford Park and her

London residence in Manchester Street. In 1889 Mary Eliza's personal estate was finally valued at £76,643, a sum the measuringworth website calculates at about £7,774,000 in 2017 money. As well as the antiques Edward sold in 1894, he and Florence may have kept others, including a drawing by Sir Thomas Lawrence of Edward's grandmother Eleanor, the wife of Philip, 5th Earl of Harborough.

The sale at Christie's took place over several days. It included old mezzotints and engravings; old silver plate; porcelain, majolica, metalwork and faience; and books. Edward's collection of theatrical costumes was also in the sale. They are more likely to have been items Edward had bought himself, for use as props in his paintings. One report on the sale describes the costumes as Georgian; and there's actually a portrait of Edward by John Pettie RA in which he's wearing 17th century fashions - it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1875. Clearly, Edward had inherited his mother's taste for dressing up!

Apparently the sales didn't go well: the sale prices were low. Edward and Florence didn't need the money, of course. I think the disposal of so many Edward's antiques was part of a move they were making, out of London. If they were putting their London house out to rent, while they moved to the country, they wouldn't have had so much room to display them all.

Sources:

There's a wikipedia page on the Sherard earls of Harborough. Bennet is a name often used in the Sherard family; though Edward isn't.

Peerage and Baronetage of Great Britain and Ireland 1839 p501 on Robert Sherard 6th Earl of Harborough: born 30 August 1797; succeeded his father aged 10.

At www.cracroftspeerage.com: more details on the 6th Earl, whose parents had both died by the time he was ten. In 1843 he married Mary Eliza, daughter of Edward Dalby Temple. The 6th Earl died 28 July 1859. Illegitimate sons can't inherit titles so the earldom went extinct.

None of those sources mention Emma Sarah Love or the 6th Earl's illegitimate family.

EDWARD SHERARD KENNEDY'S MOTHER EMMA SARAH LOVE

Better men and women than I have failed to find anything certain about Emma Sarah Love's early life and family!

At [//people.stfx.ca/kobrien/ESL%20article%202011.pdf](http://people.stfx.ca/kobrien/ESL%20article%202011.pdf), there's the full text of an article on Emma Sarah Love by Kevin H F O'Brien and Ann Johnson, originally published in Theatre Notebook volume LIV number 3 2000 pp146-61. My page numbers are from the online version of the article. O'Brien and Johnson p1 gives Emma Sarah's dates as 1798 to 1881; with a summary of her career, which was ended by her elopement with the Earl of Harborough. On p3 they raise doubts about the accounts of her early life that Emma Sarah herself gave the press. On p9 and p21 they say that Emma Sarah's husband did begin divorce proceedings but decided he couldn't afford the expense. Emma Sarah died on 31 March 1881.

O'Brien and Johnson refer to two accounts of Emma Sarah Love's life in well-known volumes:

- Boase's Modern English Biography volume 2: for which entry she knocked several years off her age!
- Biographies of the British Stage which names a completely different man as her

father from the name Emma Sarah gave contemporary magazines.

They couldn't find any information about Emma Sarah's mother at all, not even her name; and they couldn't confirm the existence of either of the men supposed to be her father.

O'Brien and Johnson used these contemporary accounts, though again they found that the information supplied by Emma Sarah couldn't be trusted:

La Belle Assemblée court magazine volume XXVIII number 177 issue of July 1823 p1.

Oxberry's Dramatic Biography volume III 1824 p163.

Death of Emma Sarah Calcraft's legal husband: Harwicke's Annual Biography for 1856 p121: he died in January 1856. He was the younger son of John Calcraft, MP for Wareham in Dorset.

EMMA SARAH AND HER CHILDREN on the census.

I couldn't find Emma Sarah and her 2 sons on the censuses in 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871; I wasn't quite sure who I was looking for so I searched under Love, Sherard, Kennedy and Calcraft. Emma Sarah died a few days before the 1881 census.

Edward's elder brother Bennet Sherard Kennedy:

Trials of Oscar Wilde by Harford Montgomery Hyde 1972 p44 footnote 1.

At www.mytrees.com some dates though without sources: 1832-1886, married 1855 Jane Stanley Wordsworth 1833-1912.

Jane Wordsworth was a grand-daughter of the poet: see wikipedia on William Wordsworth. Wordsworth's eldest son John Wordsworth (1803-75) was married 4 times. Jane Stanley Wordsworth was the eldest child of the first wife, Isabella Curwen, who died in 1848.

Edward's nephew Robert Sherard Kennedy, son of Bennet and Jane - wrote as Robert H Sherard.

The Literary World volume 54 1896 some details: born 1861; friend of Oscar Wilde.

Men and Women of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries published G Routledge 1899 says that Bennet Sherard Kennedy went to school at Queen Elizabeth's College Guernsey when his family were living there.

The Real Oscar Wilde by Robert Harborough Sherard. T Werner Laurie Ltd of 8 Essex St Strand. No date but BL stamp gives 3 APR 17. On p52: Robert H Sherard met Anna Bonus Kingsford at one of Lady Wilde's famous 'at homes' in the mid-1880s. Anna Bonus Kingsford knew many people who in due course joined the GD. Robert Sherard was never a GD member himself though.

The Sherard family estates:

Kelly's Directory of Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Derbyshire 1881 entry for the village of Stapleford states that Rev Bennet Sherard Kennedy of Stapleford Park owns the whole village.

Seen at www.british-history.ac.uk, information from the Victoria County Histories series: A History of the County of Rutland volume 2 pp151-53 published 1935: pp151-53 on the parish of Teigh, which had come into the hands of the Sherard family by 1595. The manor of Teigh

and its advowson were bequeathed to Edward Sherard Calcraft Kennedy and Emma Sarah Kennedy (sic) in the Will of Robert, 6th Earl of Harborough. The two of them sold the manor and advowson to Richard Thompson of Stamford.

The sale of the manor of Teigh was not immediate:

At www.rutlandhistory.org details from the 1871 census returns p26: Owners and their Holdings. A list of landowners who didn't live in Rutland included Edward Calcraft Kennedy. P9 of the same list shows Mary Eliza, Countess of Harborough, as the absentee-owner of Stapleford Park.

London Gazette 1875 part 4 issue of 16 November 1875 p5450: list of sheriffs. Edward Sherard Calcraft Kennedy of Whissendine is one of three in Rutland. Same information was published in Law Journal 18 November 1876 pp659-60.

Via genesreunited to Leicester Chronicle 17 November 1877 and several other Leicestershire papers: Edward Sherard Kennedy is still a sheriff of Rutland. And he still is in a list published in

Leicester Chronicle 24 December 1881 and he is also still the lord of the manor of Teigh.

THE LAST COUNTESS OF HARBOROUGH AND EDWARD'S ANTIQUES COLLECTION

Mary Eliza, Countess of Harborough's second marriage: via genesreunited.co.nz to Northampton Mercury 23 April 1864 marriage announcement; Countess of Harborough to Major Thomas William Clagett, Indian Army.

Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940. Antique Collectors' Club 1976. Florence Kennedy née Laing's entry on p287 gives her address in 1884 as Exmouth.

Probate Registry 1887 with the Will and codicil resworn 1889: death of Mary Eliza Countess of Harborough 1 July 1886 at 22 Manchester Street; late of Stanley Lodge Exmouth.

London Gazette 3 May 1887 p2480 two legal notices issued in connection with the deaths of Major T W Clagett of Stanley Lodge Exmouth (he died 16 May 1885) and the Countess of Harborough. The solicitors dealing with both estates were Smith Symes and Smith of Crediton.

The sale of Edward's collection:

The Athenaeum January-June 1894. London: John C Francis.

- pp98-99, in number 3457 issue of Sat 27 January 1894, in the list of forthcoming auctions at Christie Manson and Wood of King St, St James's Square
- p129 in number 3458 issue of Sat 3 February 1894 p131
- p229 in number 3461 issue of Sat 24 February 1894 p230
- p261 in number 3462 issue of Sat 3 March 1894 p263 just a change of date for the last sale.

On each occasion, items owned by Edward were part of a bigger sale including other people's antiques.

British Architect volume 41 1894 p92 calls Edward "the well-known artist". There were also tapestries in the sales, though the report didn't say that Edward was their owner.

Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of Eleanor Countess of Harborough; though the sitter's

identity is still disputed, apparently.

Earlier British Paintings in the Lady Lever Art Gallery by Alex Kidson. National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside 1999: p94 refers to the painting as formerly owned by Edward and bequeathed to him by a countess. The only countess that could have bequeathed it to Edward is Mary Eliza.

Journal of the Walpole Society volume 39 1962 pp3-5, pp9-11, pp13-336: Catalogue of the Paintings Drawings and Pastels of Sir Thomas Lawrence; compiled by Kenneth Garlick. On p101 the painting in question is in the list as definitely of Eleanor Countess of Harborough (1772-1809). Garlick describes it as probably executed after 1805. 20inches by 16. It's of her head only, and not finished; Garlick thought there had been a lot of repainting (not by Edward, I hope!). Now in the Lady Lever Art Gallery.

The Year's Art... volume 64 1945 compiled by Marcus Bourne Huish, David Croal Thomson and Albert Charles Robinson Carter. Macmillan and Co. On p46 Lawrence's head of Eleanor Countess of Harborough is in a list of paintings acquired by the Lady Lever Art Gallery since 1939; which leaves open the question of when it left the Kennedys' possession.

You can see the portrait at [//artuk.org/discover/artworks/portrait-of-a-lady-102565](http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/portrait-of-a-lady-102565) where it's described as "after Lawrence"; adding to the level of uncertainty about the painting and the sitter.

The portrait of Edward dressed in 17th century clothes:

John Pettie RA by Martin Hardie. A and C Black 1908 p149.

EDWARD'S FIRST MARRIAGE

Edward Sherard Calcraft Kennedy married Emily Paul at St Benet, Paul's Wharf, city of London in June 1857. I haven't been able to identify Emily Paul for certain, but perhaps it doesn't matter as they may have been divorced. The Public Record Office has records of a divorce case brought by Edward against Emily and a co-respondent called Mr Cheetham, in 1861. I haven't been to the PRO to look at them to see if the divorce was granted. I assume it was, but if it was refused - which some were - Edward would have had to wait until his wife died to remarry, even if they were no longer living together.

As far as I can tell, Edward and Emily Sherard Kennedy had no children.

Source:

Familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 547508, 574439, 845242. At St Benet Paul's Wharf London on 10 June 1857: Edward Sherard Calcraft Kennedy to Emily Paul.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 855942-944, baptisms at St Matthew Bethnal Green: had an Emily Paul daughter of James and Henrietta Paul baptised on 23 January 1835. She was the only emily paul with no other forenames baptised near London in the 1830s; though I saw one at Brighton, 5 July 1835: Emily Paul daughter of Walter and Ann.

At the National Archives, PRO: J77/31/K19 record of proceedings in Divorce Court 1861.

See www.cflp.co.uk, web pages of the Cambridge Family Law Practice for a brief history of divorce through the courts in England, which began with the Matrimonial Causes Act 1857. The only court given power in the 1857 law to try a divorce case was the High Court in London; where proceedings were open to the public.

I couldn't find any coverage of the case in the Times.

EDWARD SHERARD KENNEDY AND FLORENCE LAING

Florence married Edward Sherard Kennedy in the spring of 1879. I think that on their honeymoon they spent some time in Paris.

My account of Edward's interesting family background will - I hope - have given you the impression that he wasn't short of money. Neither was Florence: her father Samuel Laing had made a fortune through his shrewd investments in railways, the telegraph and the iron and steel industry, and on her marriage Florence will have been given an income to match. In 1902 it was £8000 per year (about £800,000 in 2016 terms) but that sum probably included money she had inherited from Edward.

The only year I was able to find Florence and Edward at home on census day was 1881, when they were living at 24 Westbourne Terrace. Florence's sister-in-law, GD member Louisa Ida Macrae, was living with her father Alexander Charles Macrae at number 119. Given Florence's probable income - never mind Edward's - their address and their household were quite modest: a house in a road near Paddington Station, and just two female servants, whose tasks weren't specified but cook and housemaid was a typical division of labour. They were only living in Westbourne Terrace temporarily though - perhaps while building work was being done on 6 Bedford Gardens, off Kensington Church Street. Art exhibition catalogues give 6 Bedford Gardens as Edward's address from 1872 - he may or may not have been living there with his wife; and as his and Florence's address until mid-1884.

In 1881 Florence and Edward may already have been planning and setting money aside for the house they had built between 1882 and 1884 to designs by architect Richard Norman Shaw. Norman Shaw designed the early houses in the hugely influential Bedford Park suburban estate at Turnham Green, west London, where several future members of the GD lived in the late 1880s and 1890s, including three more artists: Isabel de Steiger, and Henry Marriott Paget and his wife Henrietta.

For artists to commission an architect to design them a house wasn't a new thing. On the contrary, the Sherard Kennedys were the latest in quite a long line of them; Kate Greenaway was another who chose Norman Shaw for such a project. Florence and Edward bought land on a corner site in Chelsea near Pont Street, where Walton Street meets Lennox Gardens Mews. The brief they gave Norman Shaw was for a house with two artists' studios, with access to the studios separate from the house's front door. Richard Conder built the house that Richard Norman Shaw designed, with the two studios built one above the other, a staircase with its own door giving access to both of them, but not to the rest of the house. The total cost of the design and build was £173 and the Sherard Kennedys kept Walton House as their London residence until 1894; not as long as they'd expected to live there, I think, but I'll go into the reasons for that below.

The Kennedys might both be referred to in a modern assessment as "Sunday painters with private incomes", but having Walton House built for them was a very obvious statement of how Edward and Florence saw themselves and wished to be seen. They also both described themselves as artists to the 1881 census official. Florence as well, I mean: the census official

may not have asked her about her sources of income - they often didn't, with married women, assuming they were dependent on their husbands - but Florence told him anyway.

Sources: freebmd; censuses 1881-1901; measuringworth.com for modern approximations of Florence's income in 1902.

Their addresses: 1881 census and:

The Royal Academy of Arts Exhibitors 1769-1904 Volume 2 E-LAWRA compiled by Algernon Graves FSA. Orig pubd Henry Graves and Co Ltd and George Bell and Sons London 1905. BL's ed is SR Pubrs Ltd; Kingsmead Reprints 1970: p315 entries for Edward Sherard Kennedy and Florence Kennedy; paintings shown 1872.

Royal Society of Arts Birmingham Autumn Exhibition 1884 printed Birmingham: Hudson and Son. List of exhibitors p76 E Sherard Kennedy at 6 Bedford Gardens for the last time.

A History of the County of Middlesex: Chelsea Patricia E C Crook. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research 1911 p103 for the disparaging description of Florence and Edward, and the exact whereabouts of Walton House.

The wikipedia page for Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) has a good list of the places he designed. However, it doesn't include Walton House; perhaps because the building has been so much altered since.

Richard Norman Shaw by Andrew Saint. Revised edition 2010. Published New Haven and London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. Chapter 4: The Pattern of Practice: p173; p447 in which Saint describes Walton House as an "Unpretentious though large brick house at angle to road. Much altered from the first design. Converted to flats". The plans for Walton House are in the Norman Shaw papers at the Royal Academy.

Metropolitan Board of Works Minutes of Proceedings 26 June 1884 and 15 October 1884.

Familysearch: electoral roll listings - for Edward only of course - London Borough of Chelsea 1890-94.

FLORENCE AS AN ARTIST: PART 2

I think the History of the County of Middlesex's dismissal of both the Sherard Kennedys as Sunday painters is a harsh judgement on Edward. He seems to have painted consistently and exhibited regularly from the early 1860s to the 1890s; and then may only have been stopped by ill-health. Florence, though....there were so many other calls on a married woman's time; even if she had no children; and there was always the problem of a woman gaining and maintaining her confidence in her ability, in the face of the assumption that only men could do great art.

As Edward Sherard Kennedy was never a member of the GD, I shall list his exhibited works at the end of this file. Here I shall just say that I think he had an important influence on Florence as a painter. She might actually have worked as a pupil in his studio but what I'm meaning is that with his encouragement, Florence became a 'professional' artist, at least to the extent of doing work of a high standard and submitting it to galleries to be seen and bought by the public.

Here is a list I've put together of the paintings Florence exhibited; with dates, which exhibitions they were shown at; and one or two suggestions as to what the paintings might be about. All the paintings are in oils unless I say otherwise.

The one mentioned in one of my art dictionary sources:

1866	Up the Carnival	Exhibition venue unknown.
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The earliest work I've found evidence of:

1879/80	A Quiet Corner	Grosvenor Gallery, London
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A Quiet Corner was described at the time as depicting "rabbits on the borders of a wood; birch trees and ferns". Perhaps some of Florence's other works are in similar vein: In the Shade, for example, A Warm Day, and others.

1880	Paysage dans le comté de Sussex	Paris Salon
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1880	L'Alarme	Paris Salon
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1882/83	Autumnal Tints	Royal Society of British Artists, London
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The title may be a reference to the 1862 poem by Henry David Thoreau.

1883	A Corner of Sutherland	Society of Lady Artists, London
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1883	Spilt Milk	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool
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1884	In the Shade	Royal Society of Artists Birmingham
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1884	A Shady Path	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool
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I wonder if these two were actually the same painting.

1885	Beatrice Esmond	Manchester City Art Gallery
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Beatrice Esmond is a character in W M Thackeray's historical novel The History of Henry Esmond published 1852. It's set in Queen Anne's time. Beatrice is Henry's cousin, supposedly the most beautiful woman in England in 1712. Later in the novel she is married, as Madame

Bernstein.

1885	A Warm Day	RBS Artists
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1885	Thinking it Over	Royal Academy
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1886 London	A Song of Long Ago	Royal Institute of Painters in Oils,
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1887	Bacchante Resting	Royal Institute of Painters in Oils
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1887	My Mother's Portrait	RBS Artists
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1887	A Song of Long Ago	RBS Artists
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1889	Love me, love my dog	Royal Academy
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1889	Psyche	RBS Artists
1889	Interested	RBS Artists
1890	Six O'Clock in the Morning	Royal Institute of Painters in Oils
1890	Rest in Due Season	RBS Artists
1890	Ophelia	RBS Artists
1891	A Summery Idyll	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool
1891	The Morning After	RBS Artists
1891	Where the Bee Sucks	Royal Institute of Painters in Oils, London
1892	Where the Bee Sucks	RBS Artists
1892	Wisdom and Folly	RBS Artists
1892	Pleased with a Feather	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool
1893	Silentia	Royal Academy

As far as I can tell, Silentia was the last painting Florence ever exhibited.

Some other comments on the list:

I have not seen a single one of these paintings; either on a gallery wall, or on the web, or even as mentioned in recent sale catalogues. The ordinariness - the sheer banality - of the titles Florence picked for her paintings made finding them online almost impossible, but I'm not sure that was the only reason why I couldn't find a painting of her's to look at. Most were for sale when they were exhibited. Where the Bee Sucks was exhibited more than once, so might not have sold first time round. But in general, either Florence kept her paintings herself; or they were all bought and are probably still in private hands, if they haven't been thrown away.

Although Florence is not listed in the book on genre painting I mention in the section on Edward Sherard Kennedy, her work is described in some of the main art dictionaries as 'genre painting'. Genre painters in the 19th century catered for the middle-classes, who had money for such luxuries but no real interest in or understanding of what was thought of as 'great' art - large canvases depicting myth and legend, historical and religious subjects. Genre painters could earn very large sums of money from their work and were famous in their day. They have largely been forgotten and despised since, as their style and use of colour was very conservative. Popular 'genre' subjects included picturesque peasants, children and pets; scenes of domestic life; and scenes based on novels and poems. Even from Florence's titles I think you can see that she did paint some 'genre' subjects; though there are also titles that sound like portraits and landscapes and even a couple with what might be 'great', classical subjects.

Florence had work accepted by the Royal Academy and the Paris Salon. It means I can safely say that her work was not a part of any new trend - Impressionism, Symbolism etc. Both the RA and the Paris Salon were becoming notorious in her day for their rejection of such new ways of painting. The big city art galleries - the Walker, the Manchester City Art Gallery - also tended to stick with what they were familiar with, though the Walker always championed the pre-Raphaelites.

In the early 1890s Florence was taking part in a trend I'd already noticed when checking out the exhibited works of the GD's other artists: once they had committed themselves to the GD, they exhibited less paintings, presumably (definitely, in Isabel de Steiger's case) because they were concentrating on their GD study and consequently weren't painting so many. However, I think that in Florence's case, there were other reasons for the decline (see the section on Edward, below).

Sources:

Florence is in the basic art dictionaries, but the entries don't always square with information I've got from elsewhere; and I'm also missing some information.

Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940. Antique Collectors' Club 1976. Florence isn't listed at all under Laing; p297 only under Kennedy née Laing p287. As a figure, domestic and landscape painter.

10 at Royal Society of Artists Birmingham

2 at Dudley Art Gallery

1 at Grosvenor Gallery

5 at Walker Art Gallery Liverpool

1 at Manchester City Art Gallery

4 at Royal Academy

1 at Royal Society of British Artists

4 at Royal Institute of Oil Painters

I've managed to find more details of most of these. I haven't found the two Florence showed at Dudley Art Gallery: she isn't in the index to its exhibitors. The Dictionary doesn't give which years it refers to and I'm reluctant to work through 20 years' worth of catalogues; even if I did do, I'd probably miss both entries.

Dictionary of British Art. Volume IV: Victorian Painters I: The Text. By Christopher Wood. Antique Collectors' Club 1995. And also on p292 Mrs Edward Sherard Kennedy; Florence Laing, fl 1880-93. Genre painter. This volume only lists four of her works.

Victorian Painters: the Text by Wood Newall and Richardson 2008; p292 entry for Mrs Edward Sherard Kennedy mentions one painting - Up the Carnival - exhibited in 1866; though it doesn't say where. If they are correct, it is the only painting Florence felt brave enough to show in public before she married Edward.

FLORENCE: EXHIBITS BY GALLERY

DUDLEY GALLERY

The information in the Dictionary of British Artists isn't confirmed by Algernon Graves' handwritten index of exhibitors at the Dudley Gallery 1865-1882. There's no entry for Florence either as Laing or as Kennedy, in the index's Volume I-L. So I am probably missing two paintings by her from the list of works I've given above.

GROSVENOR GALLERY/GALLERIES

Grosvenor Gallery New Bond Street. Summer Exhibition 1880. London. Printed at the Chiswick Press which turned out to be nothing to do w W4: Charles Whittingham and Co of Took's Court Chancery Lane: p21, p63. This was the first ever exhibition at the Grosvenor Galleries and Florence was in very good company. Works by G F Watts, Spencer Stanhope, Alma-Tadema and his wife, Millais, Louise Jopling and her husband, Leighton and Burne-Jones were also shown.

Confirmed as Florence's only Grosvenor Gallery exhibit as far as 1894:

Grosvenor Gallery [etc] exhibitors compiled by Algernon Graves; covering the exhibitions to 1894 but not any later. Handwritten entries in three leather-bound volumes and without page numbers. Now in the National Art Collection at the V&A catalog says covers exhns at the Grosvenor to 1894. Volume 2 G-P:

1879 catalogue number 104 A Quiet Corner.

I found more references to this painting than to any other work by Florence:

Building News and Engineering Journal volume 38 p535 for its technique.

Grosvenor Notes issue of 1878, edited Henry Blackburn and designed to be a companion guide to the exhibition: p33 for its subject.

MANCHESTER CITY ART GALLERY

Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 3rd Autumn Exhibition 1885. Manchester: Blacklock and Co: p90, p39 Florence's Beatrice Esmond; catalogue 525, price £13/13.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS BOSTON

This I spotted on the web but I don't know what works the Kennedy's sent to the exhibition.

10th Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston Mass; to 31 December 1885. Boston: Alfred Mudge and Sons 1886. On p22 begins a list of Contributions to the Loan Exhibitions of the Year 1885. On pp25-26: Collection of English Water Colors and Drawings in Black and White, lent by the individual artists through Henry Blackburn of London. None of the names of the works on loan are mentioned. Both Kennedys are in the list.

PARIS SALON

I think that getting work into the Paris Salon was a real coup for Florence. Edward never exhibited anything there!

Les Peintres Britanniques dans les Salons Parisiens des Origines à 1939 by Béatrice Crespon-Halotier. Paris: L'Echelle de Jacob for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 2002. On p307, entry for "Mistress Edward Sherard ou Florence" Kennedy: two works both shown 1880:

1999 Paysage dans le comté de Sussex

2000 L'Alarme.

ROYAL ACADEMY

Having work accepted by the RA was difficult too.

The Royal Academy of Arts Exhibitors 1769-1904 Volume 2 E-LAWRA compiled by Algernon Graves FSA. Originally published Henry Graves and Co Ltd and George Bell and Sons London 1905. I went through the British Library's edition: SR Publishers Ltd; Kingsmead Reprints 1970: p315 entry for Florence Kennedy; on p357 confirming there's no entry for Florence Laing.

1885 catalogue number 1249 Thinking it Over

1889 510 "Love me Love my Dog"

1891 1068 A Summer Idyll

1893 878 Silentia.

Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-70 volume 3 p138: there's no entry for Florence as Gennadius (her surname after 1902). Volume 4 p178: there's no entry for Florence as Kennedy.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF OIL PAINTERS which was called the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours when it was founded in 1883.

Index of exhibitors at "Institute of Oil Colours" 1883-1891. Compiled by Algernon Graves and held at the National Art Library in the V&A. Hand-written - very badly, I could barely read it. Volume I-L, the page with ?p2559 written in blue pencil: entry for "Miss Florence S Kennedy" corrected several times to "Mrs", further down the page. The index has no entry for Florence as Laing.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTISTS BIRMINGHAM which changed its name in the spring of 1885 to ROYAL BIRMINGHAM SOCIETY OF ARTISTS. It held exhibitions in the spring and autumn of most years between 1880 and 1900.

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition 1884 printed Birmingham: Hudson and Son. List of exhibitors p76:

P24 100 £15 oil In the Shade

RBS Artists Autumn Exhibition 1885. List of exhibitors p73; catalogue p19.

The set of catalogues I was going through at the V&A was lacking the one for the autumn exhibition of 1886.

RBS Artists 61st Autumn Exhibition 1887. List of exhibitors p80; catalogue p30, p46.

RBS Artists 63rd Autumn Exhibition 1889. List of exhibitors p73; catalogue p21, p58.

RBS Artists 64th Autumn Exhibition 1890. List of exhibitors p78; catalogue p33, p46.

RBS Artists 65th Autumn Exhibition 1891. List of exhibitors p79; catalogue p47.

RBS Artists 66th Autumn Exhibition 1892. List of exhibitors p79; catalogue p32, p50.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH ARTISTS

The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 and The New English Art Club 1888-1917. Joint volume compiled by Jane Johnson. Antique Collectors' Club Research Project. First printed 1975; the copy I was looking at in the V&A was the reprint of 1993: p267 entry for Mrs Edward Sherard Kennedy:

1882/83 234 £21 Autumnal Tints.

For the painting's possible reference to the poetry of Henry David Thoreau (1817-62) see his wikipedia page.

SOCIETY OF WOMEN ARTISTS which at the time Florence exhibited there was known as the Society of Lady Artists.

The Society of Women Artists, Exhibitors 1855-1996 editor Charles Baile de Laperrière compiler Joanna Soden. Hilmarton Manor Press 1996. Volume 2 E-K p326 entry for Florence Kennedy.

Volume 3 L-R p3: there was no entry for Florence Laing.

WALKER ART GALLERY

13th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1883. List of exhibitors p120; catalogue p80.

14th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1884. List of exhibitors p161 entry for "Miss F S Kennedy"; catalogue p55.

Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 21st, 1891. The page number corners had fallen off the copy I saw but Florence was in the list of exhibitors; catalogue number 898.

Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 22nd 1892: again with no page number corners. Florence was in the list of exhibitors; catalogue number 519.

EDWARD SHERARD KENNEDY AS A PAINTER

I haven't been able to find out where Edward learned his trade as a painter. I think that if he had spent any time as a student at the Royal Academy, I would have come across information on it; so he probably didn't train there. And he's too early for the Slade School of Art. My hunches are:

- he trained in the studio of one or more genre painters - something quite tricky to prove;
- his training took place in Europe, perhaps in more than one country. He could certainly afford to spend the necessary length of time abroad.

Unlike Florence, Edward does appear in *Popular 19th Century Painting: A Dictionary of European Genre Painters*. The book's contention is that genre painters tended to stick to one sub-section of genre painting once they had established a reputation in it. In Edward's case, I don't think I agree: he appears in the book in the chapter on painters of 18th-century subjects, mostly literary, following in the tradition begun by Louis Ernest Meissonier (1815-91); and he certainly did do paintings in that mode. However, the list below shows that he did far more paintings on Shakespearean themes. *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It* were two plays he returned to and I wonder if there was a nod to his mother in that: during her stage career in the 1820s, Emma Sarah Love had been well-known for her 'breeches' roles.

Edward also painted some historical subjects - in the arbitrary distinctions of the academies of that time and before, history paintings were classified as 'great art' not genre. He exhibited landscapes, which the authors of the book on genre painters didn't include in their

genres; and a couple of portraits.

EDWARD: LIST OF EXHIBITED PAINTINGS

This isn't a full list: the two works you can find on the web most easily are not on it. In my own searches, the earliest exhibited work I found was 1863; and the latest 1892.

KEY: year/catalogue number/price (if known)/title/gallery

'?': couldn't read it very well

-: information not included in the source I used.

1863	149	-	Norah	RA
1864	45	-	La Tireuse des Cartes. With a quote from Antony and Cleopatra.	
1865	453	£26/5	Waiting for the Boats	Royal Society of British Artists
1866	520		Louis XI endeavouring to obtain the secret of her lover's name from Marie de Comines	RA
1866	563	-	Viola and Olivia; with a quote from Twelfth Night	RA
1867	385	£21	Olivia Unveiling to Viola	Royal Society of British Artists
1867	398	£10/10	The Forgotten Lesson	Royal Society of British Artists
1868	496	-	Hubert de Burgh...overhears the rumours of Prince Arthur's death; with a quote from Shakespeare's King John	RA
1868	126?	£22	At bay you naughty varlet!	Dudley Gallery
1868	476	£40	Rosalind, Celia and Touchstone. With quote from As You Like It Act 3 Scene 2 ending with Rosalind saying, "Out, fool!"	
Royal Society of British Artists				
1869	55	?£124	Strolling Acrobat en route	Dudley Gallery
1869	124	£20	Brittany 1869	Dudley Gallery
1870	312	-	Louis XI. His one good deed.	RA
1870	444	£80	Olivia and Viola. With quote from Twelfth Night Act 1 Scene 5.	
Royal Society of British Artists				
1870	141	£35	The Eavesdropper	Dudley Gallery
1870	213	?£20	The Beggar (then one word I couldn't read)	Dudley Gallery
1871	1082	-	The Wolf in the Fold	
1871	307	£40	Love Leads the Way	Dudley Gallery

1872	234	£52/10	Love Leads the Way	Royal Society of British Artists
1872	391	-	An Escape after the Night of St Bartholomew	RA
1872	573	-	Frederick Flowers Esq	RA
1873 Liverpool	230	£75	Love's Labour (sic) Lost	Walker Art Gallery
1874	82	-	"For Those at Sea"	RA
1874	605	-	Broken Up	RA
1875 RA	892	-	Mr Hardcastle tells the Story of "Old Grouse in the Gunroom".	
1876	1311	-	Angling	RA
1876 Liverpool	210	£84	Who Shall be Fairest?	Walker Art Gallery
1877	210	£10	Near Boulogne	Dudley Gallery
1877	302	£50	Sauve qui peut	Dudley Gallery
1877	one other work whose details I couldn't read			Dudley Gallery
1877 RA	578	-	The Cross Roads. Waiting for the Coach	
1878	372	-	A Quiet Corner in Sussex	Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts
Florence exhibited a work with a very similar title. It's possible this is her painting not his.				
1878	478	-	The Cross Roads	Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts
1878 Liverpool	451	£105	The Cross Roads	Walker Art Gallery
1879	81	£31/10	Tambour Worker	RSA Birmingham
1879	238	£120	The Cross Roads	RSA Birmingham
1879	445	£21	Sigh no more Ladies	RSA Birmingham
1879	219	-	An Outpost Disturbed	Grosvenor Gallery
1879 Gallery	37	£100	A Village (then one word I couldn't read)	Dudley
1879 Liverpool	48	£105	A Sad Maid Sat Sighing	Walker Art Gallery
1879	326	£21	A Labour of Love	Walker Art Gallery

Liverpool

1879	1238	£21	Music Hath Charms	Walker Art Gallery
Liverpool				
1880	1073	-	Darby and Joan	RA
1880	319	£15	Marking the Situation	Dudley Gallery
1880	108	£200	The Cradle of a River	Walker Art Gallery
Liverpool				
1880/81	368	£25	In Glory's Footprints	Royal Society of British Artists
1881	486	£84	Love's Labours Lost	Royal Society of British Artists
1881	44	£105	Darby and Joan	RSA Birmingham
1881	820	£31/10	One Touch of Nature	RSA Birmingham
1881	209	£31/10	"Returning Thanks"	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1881	1089	£63	Master of the Situation	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1882	?231	£10	Under the Apple Tree	Dudley Gallery
1882	one other work whose details I couldn't read			Dudley Gallery
1883	188	£21	A Breezy Day on Moel Garmon	RSA Birmingham
1883	222	£21	A Salmon Pool on the Conway	RSA Birmingham
1883	523	£73/10	Day Dreams	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1883	810	£10/10	Near Barmouth; watercolour	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1883	835	£10/10	A Silent Highway; watercolour	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1883	1044	£21/10	Dogberry and Vergis; watercolour	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1883	1383	£84	The Wolf in the Fold	Walker Art Gallery
Liverpool				
1883	1	-	Tempora Mutantor	RI/Oil Colours
1884	17	£7/7	Near Barmouth; possibly a watercolour	RSA Birmingham
1884	337	£7/7	A Silent Highway; possibly a watercolour	RSA
Birmingham				
1884	738	£21	A Silent Pool	RSA Birmingham
1884	299	£42	A Village Genius	RSA Birmingham
1884	371	£15/15	A Reverie	RSA Birmingham
1884	1616	-	Sally in our Alley	RA
1885	332	-	Grandmamma Sits for her Portrait	RI/Oil Colours
1885	71	-	Rosalind	RI/Oil Colours

Edward's painting Rosalind caught the eye of George Bernard Shaw, who made this baffling comment on it: it "almost makes one feel before the line at the Royal Academy".

1885	885	£200	Sally in Our Alley	Manchester City Art Gallery
1885	-	-	watercolours and/or drawings	Boston Museum of Fine Arts
1885	147	£84	Viola and Malvolio - "I Left No Ring!" Twelfth Night	19th Century Art Society
1886	164	-	The Shadow on the Path	RI/Oil Colours
1886	126	£100	"He Loves, But He Rides Away"	19th Century Art Society
1886	75	£25	Puzzled	19th Century Art Society
1887	1086	-	How Grandmama sat for her Portrait	RA
1887	158	£52/10	Rosalind	R Birmingham SA
1887	335	£63 oil	Tempora Mutantur	R Birmingham SA
1887	707	£52/10	My (sic) Grandmother Sits for her Portrait; a watercolour	R Birmingham SA
1887	421	-	Jacob and Esau	RI/Oil Colours

Edward's only venture into a religious subject.

1888	437	£25	All On A Summer's Day; watercolour	Royal Society of British Artists
1888	1?35	1?56	Return of the Revellers	RI/Oil Colours
1888	771	£25	All on a Summer's Day	Walker Art Gallery Liverpool
1890	808	£51/20	Clarissa; a watercolour	R Birmingham SA
1891	567	£150	Love's Young Dream	R Birmingham SA
1891	683	£25	The Age of Gallantry; a watercolour	R Birmingham SA
1892	637	£58	Times and Men are Changed	R Birmingham SA

List ends

I found one reference to Edward as an illustrator. However, even this may have been a painting originally, made into a print for publication by someone else. In 1876 Edward was one of eight artists whose works were used to illustrate Samuel Carter Hall's An Old Story, a Temperance Tale in Verse.

I haven't found many references to Edward in the papers of other artists that you can access online. Of course, if you're seeing your artist friends all the time because you all live near each other, you won't appear in their papers because there won't be exchanges of letters. However, there is one item in the collection of Whistler's correspondence now at the University of Glasgow Faculty of Arts; probably from 1874-76.

Sources:

Popular 19th Century Painting: A Dictionary of European Genre Painters. By Philip Hook and Mark Poltimore. Antique Collectors' Club 1986. The only other GD member who's listed in the book is Henry Marriott Paget; he's described as a specialist in paintings of children, which isn't correct, I think the authors have confused him with his wife, GD member Henrietta Paget, who did paint children. For Edward Sherard Kennedy: passim and especially p298 in a list of painters doing work in the '18th century' genre; he's not mentioned in the text.

Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940. Antique Collectors' Club 1976. P287 Edward Sherard Kennedy exhibiting 1880-95. Please note that when I was looking through individual galleries' catalogues I actually came up with more paintings by Edward than are in this list, except in the case of Dudley Gallery where I found less.

10 at Royal Society of Artists Birmingham

3 at Dudley Art Gallery

2 at Grosvenor Gallery

9 at Walker Art Gallery Liverpool

1 at Manchester City Art Gallery

3 at Royal Academy

3 at Royal Society of British Artists

4 at Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours

6 at Royal Institute of Oil Painters

I didn't confirm the paintings at the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours, as Florence didn't exhibit there, and she's the GD member.

Dictionary of British Art. Volume IV: Victorian Painters I: The Text. By Christopher Wood. Antique Collectors' Club 1995. On p292 Edward Sherard Kennedy; fl 1863-1890.

This work says Edward exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1880; but that was Florence.

DUDLEY GALLERY

Algernon Graves' Index of Exhibitors at the Dudley Gallery 1865-1882. Handwritten, very badly - I couldn't read a lot of the details. All exhibits are in oils. Not published; now in the National Art Library, at the V&A. Volume I-L with page number 2559 added in blue pencil: entry for Edward Sherard Kennedy.

GLASGOW INSTITUTE OF THE FINE ARTS which I find with google, the dictionaries above didn't have listings for it.

17th Exhibition of the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1878 editor George R Halkett: p34; p61.

GROSVENOR GALLERY/GALLERIES

Grosvenor Gallery [etc] Exhibitors, to 1894. Compiled by Algernon Graves; not published

but now in the National Art Library at the V&A. Handwritten; 3 volumes; no real page numbering system; no details of prices. Volume 2 G-P: entry for Edward Sherard Kennedy.

MANCHESTER CITY ART GALLERY

Corp of Manchester Art Gallery, Royal Institution 3rd Autumn Exhibition 1885. Manchester: Blacklock and Co. On the back cover is a list of current members of Manchester Academy of Fine Arts; Edward is not on the list. In the list of exhibitors p90; catalogue p59.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS BOSTON

10th Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston Mass; to 31 December 1885. Boston: Alfred Mudge and Sons 1886. Beginning p22 Contributions to the Loan Exhibitions of the Year 1885. On pp25-26: Collection of English Water Colors and Drawings in Black and White lent by the individual artists through Henry Blackburn of London.

NINETEENTH CENTURY ART SOCIETY also seen as 19th CENTURY ART SOCIETY; formed 1883. Catalogues extant for exhibitions to 1887. Edward was a member of the Society at least during the period 1885 to 1887, though he only exhibited in 1885 and 1886.

Times 12 December 1883 p2: report on the Society's inaugural exhibition at the Conduit St galleries.

1885. Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Autumn 1885 at the Conduit Street galleries, 9 Conduit Street. In the list of members p47. In the catalogue: p3, p16.

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Summer 1886. In catalogue: p3, p14.

Nineteenth Century Art Society Exhibition Catalogue Autumn 1886. In list of members p47. In the catalogue: p3, p9.

ROYAL ACADEMY

The Royal Academy of Arts Exhibitors 1769-1904, compiled by Algernon Graves FSA. Originally published Henry Graves and Co Ltd and George Bell and Sons London 1905. I used the British Library's edition: SR Publishers Ltd; Kingsmead Reprints 1970. Volume 2 E-LAWRA: p315 entry for Edward Sherard Kennedy.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF OIL PAINTERS which when it was founded was called the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours.

Bernard Shaw on the London Art Scene 1885-1950 edited and with introduction by Stanley Weintraub. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press 1989: p55 says that the Institute's exhibitions were held at Prince's Hall Piccadilly.

Handwritten index of exhibitors at the "Institute of Oil Colours" 1883-1891 amongst other galleries including the Dudley Gallery. Compiled by Algernon Graves. Volume I-L in which writing was so bad I couldn't read a lot of the details. That volume's has page numbers in blue pencil: ?p2559, entry for Edward Sherard Kennedy.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTISTS BIRMINGHAM which changes its name spring 1885 to ROYAL BIRMINGHAM SOCIETY OF ARTISTS.

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition 1879. 6d. On a title page, a list of current members;

all full members are men, Edward isn't one of them. In the list of exhibitors p51; and in the catalogue p20, p25, p32.

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition 1881 printed Birmingham: Hudson and Son. List of exhibitors p76; catalogue p23, p63.

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition 1883 printed Birmingham: Hudson and Son of Edmund St. In list of exhibitors p74; catalogue p28, p80.

RSA Birmingham Spring Exhibition 1884 printed Birmingham: Hudson and Son. List of exhibitors p68; catalogue p8; p35; p54.

RSA Birmingham Autumn Exhibition 1884 printed Birmingham: Hudson and Son. List of exhibitors p76; catalogue p34, p37.

Just noting that the change of name to Royal Birmingham Society of Artists came here, 1885. The set of catalogues I worked through at the National Art Library lacked the one for the autumn exhibition of 1886.

Royal Birmingham Society of Artists 61st Autumn Exhibition 1887. List of exhibitors p80; catalogue p29, p39, p58.

Royal Birmingham Society of Artists 64th Autumn Exhibition 1890. List of exhibitors p77; catalogue p59.

Royal Birmingham Society of Artists 65th Autumn Exhibition 1891. List of exhibitors p79; catalogue p47, p53.

Royal Birmingham Society of Artists 66th Autumn Exhibition 1892. List of exhibitors p79; catalogue p51.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH ARTISTS

The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 and The New English Art Club 1888-1917, compiler Jane Johnson for the Antique Collectors' Club Research Project. First published by the Club 1975; I was using the copy at the National Art Library, a reprint from 1993. On p267: entry for Edward Sherard Kennedy.

WALKER ART GALLERY

[3rd] Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures in Oil and Watercolours 1873. In the list of exhibitors p44; catalogue number 12.

6th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1876. List of exhibitors p52; catalogue p11.

8th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1878. I looked at this on microfilm at the Tate Gallery Archive; the list of exhibitors and which pages of the catalogue their exhibits were on was missing, so Edward may have shown more than the one in the catalogue p29.

9th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1879. List of exhibitors p106; catalogue p11, p27, p75.

10th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1880. List of exhibitors p93; catalogue p15.

11th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1881. List of exhibitors p106; catalogue p21, p65.

13th Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1883. List of exhibitors p120; catalogue p37, p50, p51, p61, p78.

Liverpool Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures 1888, which didn't have a list of exhibitors. Catalogue p5, p36.

For Shaw's odd comment on Edward's Rosalind:

Bernard Shaw on the London Art Scene 1885-1950 edited and with introduction by Stanley Weintraub. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press 1989. In the 1880s, Shaw was doing art criticism work for *The World* and other magazines. About Rosalind: p54, pp56-57. The actual comment was published in *The Dramatic Review* issue of 5 December 1885.

Whistler: www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk the web pages of Glasgow Faculty of Arts' collection of Whistler's correspondence.

Edward as an illustrator:

An Old Story, a Temperance Tale in Verse by S C Hall [Samuel Carter Hall]. 2nd edition published 1876; British Library catalogue doesn't give the publisher's name.

FLORENCE AND EDWARD'S PAINTINGS - WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

A good question. The short answer in Florence's case is: I don't know. In Edward's case, I don't know apart from two works, neither of which are in my list of exhibited paintings above.

At artuk.org/discover/artworks there's a database of over 200,000 works of art by about 35000 different artists. All are in public collections in Great Britain though not necessarily on display. The website doesn't have any entries for Florence Kennedy. It has two for Edward Sherard Kennedy: *Mr Micawber*, now in the Dickens Museum; and *Fading Away*, which is in the collection of the Wellcome Institute. They are both illustrated; in their subjects and their styles they are fine examples of 19th century genre painting.

Sources:

British and Irish Paintings in Public Collections compiled by Christopher Wright with Catherine Gordon and Mary Peskett Smith. New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2006 for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art: p477 entry for Edward Sherard Kennedy, but it only lists *Fading Away*: oil on canvas 112 x 90 cm. In the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine see also catalogue.wellcome.ac.uk/search/o45039i which is the accession number. It's only 'attributed' to Edward Sherard Kennedy. However I can state that he is the "E Kennedy" who painted it because the artist's address - 3 Upper Phillimore Gardens Kensington - is where Edward was living in the 1870s; it appears in a lot of the catalogues I list above. *Fading Away* was bought by Henry S Wellcome between 1900 and 1936.

London for Dickens Lovers by William Kent 1972. London: Methuen and Co Ltd. New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd. In the chapter on Dickens House and other Memorials p115 the House is in Doughty Street and the author is taking a tour through the house room by room. Pp126-127 section on the front room on first floor; paintings in that room include "a capital painting of Wilkins Micawber by E Sherard Kennedy". The artuk web pages give

these details: painted 1873. Oil on canvas 89 x 69 cm. Charles Dickens Museum accession number DH 507. Gift of J W Ellis 1933.

Checklist of Painters c 1200-1994 Represented in the Witt Library Mansell 1995.

Bénézit Dictionary of Artists a vast work, now in English, published Editions Gründ Paris 2006.

Volume 7 Her-Koo p1173 has an entry for Edward but not for Florence. There's a list of "auction records" up to 2002 which includes some more works not on my list of exhibited paintings:

1907	London	Flight after St Bart's Day
1910	London	as Prayer for those at Sea; 1874 oil
1979	London	as Prayer for Sailors; 1874 oil
1983	NY	Summer Afternoon; no date or medium
1989	London	Travelling Comedians on their Way; no date or medium
2002	Detroit	Sudden Showers; no date or medium

THE LAST YEARS OF THE MARRIAGE

I'm sure that when his books, silverware and theatrical costumes went under the hammer it was not because Edward and Florence had lost all their money. There must be another reason for them dispensing with so much art paraphernalia and I'm going to suggest one: they were needing to live a quiet life with more time spent out of town, because Edward's health was failing. Here are some reasons why I think that:

- the Kennedys both stopped sending their paintings to exhibitions and probably stopped painting altogether.
- they bought or leased a house in the country from the early 1890s. After 1894 Edward was not on the Electoral Roll in the London Borough of Chelsea, suggesting that their country house was now their main residence.

Of course, the process may just have been one of retirement, or getting fed up with the air and noise pollution of London and its speed of life. Florence took up residence in London again after Edward died, though, as if it was mainly for his sake that the move to the country had been made. I think Edward was ill, and getting iller.

The house the Kennedys leased or bought was The Cottage, at Edenbridge in Kent. Although in the country, it was within easy distance of London. The GD's Florence Farr often visited them there and at the end of the 1890s Cecilia and Charles Colin Macrae leased a weekend house a few miles away, in Oxted Surrey. Edward Sherard Kennedy died at The Cottage, on 11 January 1900, aged 63 or 64. He left personal estate worth £32133; which the measuringworth website translates as £3,191,000 in 2016 terms. Florence, Cecilia's husband Charles Colin Macrae, and Joseph John Morgan were his executors. He and Florence didn't have any children so I suppose Florence inherited everything.

Sources: census 1891, probate registry 1900.

Electoral roll evidence from London Borough of Chelsea seen at Familysearch.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1851041: burial of Edward Sherard Calcroft (sic) Kennedy at Edenbridge, 15 January 1900.

FLORENCE'S SECOND HUSBAND

Florence married Ioannes or Joannes Gennadius on 27 December 1902. Joannes was born in 1844 in Athens, and moved to London 1862 to work for Ralli Brothers. He was later employed as a diplomat, twice; being sacked once and resigning once, as a result of disputes with his employers. He's best known now, though, as the man who gave the Greek nation the collection of books that's now in the Gennadius Library in Athens. The Library was opened in 1926. Joannes Gennadius died on 7 September 1932. Florence lived until she was 98, dying on 14 January 1952.

For more on Joannes Gennadius, see *The Book Collector* volume 13 number 3 autumn 1964: *Portrait of a Bibliophile XII: Joannes Gennadius*. By Francis R Walton, who was Librarian at the Gennadius Library at that time.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female

members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD members who were freemasons, the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England is now available via Ancestry: it gives the date of the freemason's first initiation; and the craft lodges he was a member of.

To take careers in craft freemasonry further, the website of the the Freemasons' Library is a good resource: //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources.

You can get from the pages to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

To put contemporary prices and incomes into perspective, I have used www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare which Roger Wright found for me. To help you interpret the 'today' figure, measuringworth gives several options. I pick the 'historic standard of living' option which is usually the lowest, often by a considerable margin!

3 June 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Dr Herbert KNEVETT who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in September 1897, giving as his address 4 Elm Villas Ealing. He took the Latin motto 'Recte et Fortiter'.

I could not find this man anywhere, despite his having a doctorate which probably made him either a physician or a vicar and suggested where I should start to look. I looked, but couldn't find him in either profession. I kept trying! With different spellings as well: Knivett, Knyvett. Still nothing. I'd now take the view that he was a figment of someone's imagination, but for two possible clues (or am I getting that desperate?) which might also answer the question WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN?

Firstly the motto: which is a reversal of the one picked by Annie Horniman - Fortiter et

Recte; he might be a friend of hers (or even an enemy!)

Secondly the address: A E Waite also living in Ealing at about this time and they may have known each other. A very long shot, this one, as a recommendation from Waite would not have done the person he was recommending any favours with the GD hierarchy.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate and for Knevett the General Medical Council practitioners' list); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Crockford's Clerical Directory in case he was a priest in the Church of England. There aren't really equivalent directories for priests of other denominations.

Law Lists, General Medical Council information.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Herbert Knevitt was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on 22 September 1897 at its Isis-Urania temple in London. He took the Latin motto 'Recte et fortiter'. He

never followed up his initiation.

This is one of my short biographies, where I haven't found very much information on the GD member concerned. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

March 2016

This is what I've found out about HERBERT KNEVITT.

IN THE GD

I couldn't find any documents mentioning Herbert Knevitt. Just noting, however, that 'recte et fortiter' is 'fortiter et recte' the other way round. 'Fortiter et recte' was Annie Horniman's GD motto. Perhaps they knew each other.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Not that I've found. The Freemasons' Library has nothing in its collection which was either by him or about him. So if he was a freemason, he kept his involvement very local. I didn't find his name in the lists of Theosophical Society members that I checked.

Sources:

Freemasons' Library catalogues. Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1890-1900.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Herbert Knevitt was the eldest child of Herbert Price Knevitt and his wife Isabella Ellen, née Hardman, who had married in 1866. He was born at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1867. He had several younger sisters but was the only son.

The GD member's father Herbert Price Knevitt was born in 1834. He joined the Royal Navy and served in the East Indies and the Pacific in the 1850s and 1860s. He was still at sea in 1871 and his family were living with relatives in Lewisham while he was away. He retired early, perhaps due to illness or injury. He was appointed Superintendent of the Industrial Training Ship based at St Germans; was living there in 1881. Herbert Price Knevitt retired to Ealing and died there in 1896. Isabella Ellen Knevitt died in 1922.

Sources: freebmd; census 1861, 1871, 1881; probate registry entries.

Information at www.atu.com.au names Herbert Price Knevitt's parents as Thomas Lepard

Knevitt and wife Elizabeth Williams Price. It's not clear where the information came from.

At www.pdavis.nl Herbert Price Knevitt's naval postings came up as part of the family background of William Loney RN.

At search.ancestry.co.uk there's a photo of Herbert Price Knevitt as a midshipman.

Website users.isp.net.au lists the sisters of Herbert Knevitt the GD member. It also names a woman called Una Knevitt as his daughter. Una's dates are 1885-1978 (see freebmd): she's another sister.

EDUCATION

The GD's Herbert Knevitt attended the Royal Naval School at Dartford. Then London University.

Sources: census 1881 and Work/profession section below.

WORK/PROFESSION

The GD's Herbert Knevitt studied at London University and London Hospital. He qualified as Member of the Royal College of Surgeons and was licensed to practice by the Royal College of Physicians and the Society of Apothecaries in 1891.

I couldn't find the GD's Herbert Knevitt on the census of 1891 so I don't know what he was doing then. Perhaps he was working for P&O (see Sources below). By 1901 he was working as a GP at 4 Elm Villas Ealing Green. That was still true in 1911 and 1913. I haven't been able to find any information from later than 1913.

Sources: census 1891, 1901, 1911.

Lancet 1888 volume 1 January-June; p805 issue of 21 April 1888:

Lancet 1888 volume 1 January-June; p805 issue of 21 April 1888. Just noting that this volume, p703, issue of 7 April 1888 shows GD member Herbert A W Coryn in a list of students passing the exams of the Society of Apothecaries and thus being licenced to practice. It looks as though Knevitt and Coryn were both studying medicine at the University of London at the same time, and may have been friends.

At www.mocavo.co.uk p179 in a list dated 1910 of fellows and members of the Royal College of Physicians.

Seen via findmypast at British Library: General Medical Council's Medical Register issue of 1913.

Sources:

At users.isp.net.au I found information on the GD's Herbert Knevitt, which I am worried about. On the subject of his working life, it says that he first worked for the East India Company. This is wrong on two counts: firstly, by the time Herbert Knevitt has qualified it's not the East India Company it's the Indian Medical Service. Secondly, I can't find any evidence that he worked in India in any capacity. I checked these sources: Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930; India Office List editions 1892, 1895, 1897 and 1910; Thacker's Indian Directory editions of 1895 and 1901. There was no sign of him on any of them. I take that to mean that he definitely didn't work for the Indian Medical Service and probably never

lived in India at all. The website also says that he later worked (as a doctor) for the P&O shipping line. Information from the census indicates he was in practice as a GP in Ealing from the mid-1890s. This doesn't discount the P&O information, but I did notice a Herbert Pakeman Knevitt (born 1891 Lewisham) who definitely did work for P&O as a pursar; I wonder if the two Herbert Knevitts have got mixed up? For Herbert Pakeman Knevitt see www.atu.com.au.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

I haven't found any.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no historical traces.

I couldn't find any evidence.

ADDRESSES

1881: Royal Naval College Deptford.

1901-11 and probably much later: 4 Elm Villas Ealing Green.

?in retirement 1920s 1930s: South Lodge Ealing Green.

At death: Freeland Nursing Home, Freeland Road Ealing.

Sources: census 1881, 1901, 1911. GMC Register 1913 seen at findmypast. Probate Registry entries 1943.

FAMILY

The GD's Herbert Knevitt was married twice.

His first wife was Alice Ada Spencer, born Hackney 1873. They were married in 1897. However, in 1903 Alice Ada Knevitt filed for divorce. The petition was thrown out but in 1904 they tried again, this time with Herbert Knevitt as the appellant; Alice Ada Knevitt as the respondent; and a co-respondent (none was mentioned in 1903), a man called Rothwell. It's not clear whether the second attempt at divorce was successful. On the day of the 1911 census, Alice Ada and Herbert were not together; and he was employing a cook/housekeeper which he hadn't been before and which I take to mean that his wife was not living with him. He also employed a parlourmaid. I searched for Alice Ada on the 1911 census but couldn't find her; she's probably there, living with the co-respondent but using a surname that's not Knevitt or Rothwell.

Alice Ada died early in 1914; her death was registered with the surname 'Knevitt'.

Herbert Knevitt's second wife was Alice Marion, daughter of the late Rev W Thorp. They were married at St Benedict's Ealing in January 1916. They had one child.

Sources:

Seen via findmypast at the British Library: the Divorce Index application number 4246 dated 1903. Alice Ada Knevitt as apellant; Herbert Knevitt as respondent; no co-respondent.

Seen at discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk Divorce Index application number 4934 dated 1904. Herbert Knevitt as the apellant; Alice Knevitt as the respondent; co-respondent, no forenames, surname Rothwell. Reference: J77/820/4934.

The Lancet January-June 1916 p276 issue of 29 January 1916.

DEATH

The GD's Herbert Knevitt died in an Ealing nursing home, on 9 December 1943. Alice Marian Knevitt died in 1957, in the British Home for Incurables.

Sources: probate registry entries.

DESCENDANTS?

Just the one, I think: Herbert John Knevitt, born 1917. He was probably at school at Stonyhurst College. He then went to Imperial College London: B Sc mechanical engineering ?1938. Joined the RAF as a career officer. Retired 1962 as a Wing-Commander.

Sources:

At www.stonyhurst.ac.uk, website of Stonyhurst College, a donation in his memory.

At [//workspace.imperial.ac.uk](http://workspace.imperial.ac.uk) p12 a list of donors from the Annual Fund-Raising Report 2011-12 includes a donation in memory of the late Wing-Commander Herbert John Knevitt.

London Gazette Supplement 10 April 1962 p2930.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge

and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

John Valentine Lacy (known as Valentine, I think, rather than John) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 22 March 1898. The motto he chose was 'Main teyar Mun'; I'm not sure what language that is though it's likely to be a transliteration of an Indian one. It's not clear from the GD's administrative records how keen a member of the Order he was; he was certainly never initiated into its second, inner order. Marian Charlotte Vibart was initiated on the same day. The Vibart family had known Valentine Lacy for many years. See Marian's biography for more details of her life although her investment in Biltor Ltd is in this file as Valentine Lacy was involved in the firm too.

JOHN CLEMENT LACY

It has been difficult to find out about Valentine Lacy's family, for reasons that make them almost unique. Valentine's father was a very rare bird indeed - a Hindu from the Brahmin caste, who became a Christian convert. As such, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel thought he merited a memoir after he died; but I haven't been able to find a copy of it, only a review of it in the SPG's journal, so my understanding of this remarkable man's life is

a sketchy.

As far as I can make out, John Clement Lacy was born in 1825 and at that point his name was Chandi Deen. He started to train as a priest, but against his family's wishes abandoned it to become a doctor. An East India Company surgeon, Thomas Saumarez Lacy, was important to Chandi Deen at this point in his life: probably by taking Chandi Deen on as an apprentice, in Agra (where he was stationed) in the 1850s. Agra was certainly the place where Chandi Deen changed religions for the first time, and as a convert to Islam he played a prominent part for several years in Muslim agitation against the power Christianity was getting with the East India Company in charge in north India. So the next step is all the more baffling: Chandi Deen was baptised as a Christian in Agra in 1859, and took the name John Clement Lacy. Thomas Saumarez Lacy stood as John Clement's god-father and it was at T S Lacy's suggestion that the new Christian took the 'lacy' surname.

John Clement Lacy married and had a family, some of whose Christian baptisms can be seen via familysearch. I'd love to know more about his wife - was she a woman he had married while he was still a Hindu, a suitable woman chosen by his family? Was she another Indian convert to Christianity - probably, in that case, from a lower caste. Was she Anglo-Indian? - one parent British (usually the father) one parent Indian? Or was she? - I have to say I find this very difficult to believe - an Englishwoman? I haven't been able to find out anything about Valentine's mother - I'm not even sure what her name as a Christian was, because it's given differently in each baptism record. However, it is certain that John Clement Lacy's son John Valentine Lacy was born at Agra on 28 April 1867 and for this particular baptism, the name of the child's mother was recorded as Katherine Evelyn Lacy. Valentine was a middle child in a large family, mostly of boys but there was at least one daughter.

Dr John Clement Lacy practised medicine in Agra and from the 1870s also ran a pharmacy and dispensary called Lacy's Medical Hall. The memoir of his life is, of course, anxious to show him as a model Christian - a devoted family man, hard-working and humble - and as never regretting his conversion. There are hints that he didn't have an easy time: he had financial troubles and was also - inevitably, I think - the subject of open hostility from people who were not identified but were probably members of Agra's Hindu and Muslim communities.

In the mid-1880s, John Clement Lacy took one of his sons into partnership, probably Joseph (see below for a bit more on him) was in partnership with him and the business continued for some years after John Clement's death in 1902. John Clement's eldest son, Benjamin, became a Church of England clergyman and spent part of his career working for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Cawnpore (now usually rendered as Kanpur though I have also seen Khanpur), a name of dread memory for the 19th-century British and particularly for the Vibarts.

Two of John Clement Lacy's sons were sent to be educated in Britain. Given the mention in the memoir that he had financial troubles, the funding for this must have come either from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or as a result of a more personal effort by British residents of Agra and their friends, who saw him as somewhat of a martyr as well as a convert. By 1881, John Clement's sons Joseph and Valentine Lacy were at school in Edinburgh, and were boarding with George Forbes Vibart and his wife Annie.

The men of the Vibart family had been working for the East India Company in India for several generations by the late 19th-century. Although none of those I have traced spent time stationed in Agra, it's likely that they had all heard of the cause célèbre John Clement Lacy. George Forbes Vibart never worked for the East India Company. He chose to live off investments inherited from his father, John Vibart, instead. Shortly after his marriage, George Forbes Vibart and his wife Annie lived for a time on Jersey. Thomas Saumarez Lacy had been born on Guernsey and had many Saumarez relations living in the Channel Islands, some of whom George and Annie probably met while they were on Jersey. One way or another, George Forbes and Annie had heard of John Clement Lacy and they probably regarded it as their Christian duty to take in his sons when they reached Britain; though they may also have been glad of the extra income. As well as the two Lacy boys, two other boys were boarding with George Forbes and Annie on census day in 1881. George Forbes' and Annie's own two sons were only a few years older than the Lacy boys. George was training to be an engineer, and James Henry (known as Henry) was working for Scottish Widows (where, however, he would not remain for long - see below). Valentine Lacy and Henry Vibart became close, perhaps as much like brothers as was possible in the circumstances.

In due course, Joseph Lacy went back to India and was, I think, the son who went into John Clement Lacy's business. Valentine Lacy, however, never lived in India again. He was still in Edinburgh on the day of the 1891 census, lodging with Thomas Wight and family at 25 Tarvit Street. He told the census official he was a medical student. I suppose he must have been at Edinburgh University, where he would have listened to lectures by GD member Robert William Felkin, who was a lecturer in tropical medicine.

I couldn't find any evidence that Valentine Lacy qualified as a doctor, let alone practised as one, so I think he must have dropped out of university or - worse from his father's point of view - failed his exams. If he had been destined by his father to join the family medical practice, perhaps that's why he didn't go home - if he still thought of India as home. Elder son George having gone to work in India, George Forbes Vibart and Annie had moved south to be near their younger son Henry. Valentine Lacy followed them to London and got a job working in the office of a firm called Biltor Ltd.

As the company called Biltor Ltd that Valentine Lacy worked for no longer exists, I haven't found much information on it. It's also been difficult to find much about its founder, Emil Alexander Wüterich. It seems, though, that Valentine Lacy may have got the job with Biltor Ltd through George Forbes Vibart, as Marian Charlotte Vibart - who was George Forbes Vibart's first-cousin - was persuaded to buy shares in the company.

I found two patent applications made in England by Wüterich. One for a parlour game and its equipment seems to have been refused, but the other was granted, in February 1889, for a "device...for tobacco pipes or cigar or cigarette holders to prevent nicotine reaching the mouth of the smoker". There's a cutaway picture of a pipe with the device inside it, on the web - it looks like an inner tube. Following the grant of the patent, Wüterich decided to set up a limited company to exploit his patented device. He founded Biltor Ltd, with capital of at least £15,000, and Marian Charlotte Vibart and a woman called Anna Wüterich - Emil Alexander's wife, perhaps - as its other major investors. Wüterich may already have owned the tobacconist's shop at 93 Oxford Street (on the corner with Dean Street) that appears in some adverts for Biltor Ltd. Either that, or the shop was opened to sell pipes fitted with the patented device as well as all the other paraphernalia of smoking.

The patent of 1889 had been granted for a fixed number of years, and in 1902 as the time drew near for it to expire, Biltor Ltd and Marian Charlotte Vibart applied to the Patent Office to have it renewed. As was usual in such cases, the Patent Office sent an employee to look at Biltor Ltd's accounts. However, the accounts had been made up in such a way that you couldn't tell what income the company drew specifically from sales of the patented device, and what was from other items sold in the shop. So the renewal of the patent was refused. Someone - several someones - had been rather careless in doing office admin. On the 1901 census, Valentine Lacy had described his occupation as "Secretary to Biltor Ltd". If he meant that he was acting as the firm's company secretary, he must bear a share of the blame for what happened and for the shareholders' loss of future income; although Wüterich, too, had been lackadaisical, as the company's most active director. Nor did either of them get very good advice from their solicitors.

Biltor Ltd's shareholders had made efforts to make the patented device more widely known: they had exhibited it at the Paris International Exhibition during 1900, and it had won an award. After the blow of losing the renewal application, they decided to expand the business in England and by 1908 had opened a second shop, at 88 Queen Street Cheapside, in the City of London. The company was still going at both addresses in 1913 and continued, at least at 93 Oxford Street, until Emil Alexander Wüterich died in November 1927. Valentine Lacy acted as administrator of Wüterich's estate and was probably kept busy in 1928 as Wüterich had left no Will. How he earned a living after that - whether he took on the business himself, or just wound it up, sold the shop and retired - I don't know. He was 60, and - provided he and Biltor Ltd had paid his national insurance contributions - was entitled to a pension.

George Forbes Vibart and Annie had settled in Barnes and on the day of the 1891 census were living at 2 Carshalton Villas on Cambridge Road. I haven't been able to establish when Valentine Lacy moved to London. He was probably still living in Edinburgh in June 1894 when he joined the Theosophical Society's Scottish Lodge. The lodge met at 14 Royal Circus, Edinburgh, the home of John and Frances Brodie-Innes. John Brodie-Innes had been in the Order of the Golden Dawn since 1890. However, Valentine Lacy also knew other GD members. At the time he joined the TS, all applicants needed two sponsors who were already members. Valentine Lacy's two were Hugh Elliot and Florence ffoulkes; Hugh Elliot was initiated into the GD later in 1894 and Florence ffoulkes became a member in 1895. Florence ffoulkes' husband Henry was related to the Vibarts: his uncle Henry had married one daughter of Edward and Frances Lloyd and Marian Charlotte's mother was another daughter of the Lloyds. It's not at all difficult to see how Valentine Lacy might have been picked out as a suitable person to be initiated into the GD.

What Valentine made of the TS and the texts by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky that were its main source of spiritual ideas I can't imagine: amongst the many influences on her work was the Hinduism that his father had rejected for Christianity. However, once he had converted, John Clement Lacy had been (according to the memoir) an "earnest" Christian; and I would suppose that included banning his children from any reading of the texts of Hinduism. In that case, Blavatsky's work would be as new to Valentine as to any English born and bred member. He remained a member of the TS after he left Edinburgh, only giving up paying his subscription in 1902. He may have been a regular at TS meetings in London but I think probably not, because he never told the TS his new London address. Perhaps he tried the GD because theosophy didn't satisfy him and that brings me to wondering - how devoted a Christian was he, the son of a man who had all the zeal of the new convert and who had rejected his Brahmin family for religious reasons? Although the teachings of the TS had Hindu influences they had plenty of other sources, too; and the basis of the GD's teachings,

although mostly Christian, was similarly wide-ranging. What did Valentine Lacy make of it all? Seeing that he was not a committed member of either organisation, perhaps he found their eclecticism unconvincing; or even alarming.

The Vibart family seem to have been one certainty in Valentine Lacy's life; perhaps the only certainty. If ever someone was a stranger in a strange land, it was him. I've spoken of him above as uprooted from his cultural past; but - especially if both his parents were Indian as I believe they were - he was also a black man living surrounded by white people.

George Forbes Vibart died in August 1893. By 1901, Annie and Valentine had moved, but only down the road, to 1 Napier Villas Cambridge Road. Perhaps they had a relationship, by now, that was more mother and son than landlady and lodger. Their household was a modest one, with no servants living-in. Annie hadn't wanted to move too far from her son Henry and his family; they were living just round the corner, at 29 Cleveland Road, Barnes although Henry himself was often working away or abroad.

Annie's son James Henry Vibart was the actor Henry Vibart (born 1863, died 1939 or 1943): see wikipedia and imdb for details of his career which began around 1886 in the theatre and continued for 40 years, taking in silent films (he was in 70) and even the first years of the talkies. Although he was never a great theatrical star in the manner of Henry Irving, Henry Vibart was continually in work and established a reputation for being a reliable professional.

Henry met the actress Taigi Keene in 1886 or 1887 while they were working for the theatrical impresario F R Benson. Taigi was the eldest daughter of the artist and illustrator Charles Joseph Keene and his wife Annie, a professional artist's model. Taigi's three sisters also worked as artists' models but from 1883 until her marriage Taigi was a professional actress. The family were devout Catholics and Taigi was named after the Italian Maria Taigi, known for her charity work and her visions, which came to her when she fell into trance-like states while at prayer. Taigi and Henry Vibart had eight children (three had died by 1911), so she was kept pretty busy and was probably glad to live near her mother-in-law, with Henry abroad so often working with British companies touring in the USA, Australia and New Zealand. And after Annie Vibart died, in 1910, it seems to have been natural for Valentine Lacy to move in with Taigi, Henry and their children. On the day of the 1911 census they were all living in the same household, still in Barnes but a few doors down from Henry and Taigi's 1901 address, at 24 Cleveland Road.

And that's it! More or less all I know about Valentine Lacy. It's harder to find the GD members after World War 1: no census information; google books hasn't ventured that far as yet because of problems with copyright; and I decided not to pursue even London-based GD members through the electoral registers as it would involve too much work.

Valentine Lacy outlived almost all the people he knew that I have found out about. Taigi Vibart died in 1938; and Henry Vibart in 1939 or 1943 (see below for the discrepancy) perhaps his closest 'relations'. Marian Charlotte Vibart died in 1932; Florence ffoulkes in 1936; and Hugh Elliot's wife Blanche in 1947. Perhaps he kept in touch with Hugh Elliot, who lived until late 1948. Valentine Lacy died in the summer of 1947. I don't think he ever married.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR JOHN VALENTINE LACY

JOHN CLEMENT LACY, originally CHANDI DEEN

All I know about the conversion of Chandi Deen, his original name, and his subsequent career as a Christian physician, was published in *A Brahman Convert: A Memoir of Dr Lacy of Agra*, by Rev Benjamin J Lacy, John Clement's eldest son. It was published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1905, and reprinted in 1907; but the Society didn't send a copy to the British Library. The review I used, which reprinted the memoir's highlights, was in the Society's *The East and West: A Quarterly Rvw of the Study of Missions* volume 3 number 11 1905: pp357-58. Published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at 19 Delahay St W/m. On pp357-8 short rvw of *A Brahman Convert: A Memoir of Dr Lacy of Agra*, by Rev B J Lacy of Cawnpore. Rvw is anon, so prob by the editor; however, cldn't find any mention of the editor's name.

P357 It's abt a Hindu Brahman orig named Chandi Deen who was bapt Chr 1859 and took the name John Clement Lacy. B 1825 d 1902 in Agra. Educ as a brahmin pundit but abandoned that to train as a doctor ag his family's wishes; a Dr T S Lacy an imp help during his time training. Chandi Deen then went into Govt serv. Was stationed 1855 in Agra wh he

conv to Islam and campaigned ag the bldg of Rev French's CofE college in Agra (Rev French later bp of Lahore). However by the time the Mutiny broke out ((May 1857)) he was on the point of being capt Chr. Mutiny delayed this; as the fighting contd he was v helpful ((no dtls)) to E India Co. Batp finally took place 1859 w T S Lacy as godfather; it was T S Lacy's suggn that the new convert take his surname. From then on, J C Lacy's exist was "the record of the family life of one who was at once a skilful doctor and an earnest Christian"; he remained in Agra and had a priv medical practice there. P358 ((however)) rvwr notes that later in his life, JCL got into fnnl trouble; he was also persecuted by "some of his enemies" ((no fur dtls of who and f what)). Rvw ends w a tale tkn from the book of JCL clearing up the mud in ch left by a careless yng male convert who didn't wipe his boots.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded by royal charter in 1701 and still exists, though its name and its purpose have changed. Its early records are at Lambeth Palace Library and at the website www.mundus.ac.uk there is a short overview of the SPG until the end of the 19th century.

I did find one other reference to a man called Chandi Deen but it can't be to the man who became John Clement Lacy: Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany volume 14 1822 issued by the East India Co. On p247 there was a report on the 2nd Annual Disputation, held at the Hindu College at Benares. P249 mentions a student called Chandi Deen. Perhaps he was John Clement Lacy's brahmin father.

Baptism of (the adult) Chandi Deen as John Clement Lacy is at familysearch. Baptisms of some but not all of his children are there too. The marriage of Alexander Clement Lacy, a child of John Clement Lacy whose baptism record I didn't find is also recorded at familysearch.

I checked the General Medical Council Registers for John Clement Lacy: no one on the registers with that name and that address in India was registered between the 1860s and the 1900s. There was also no one called John Valentine Lacy.

Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930 Index p684 lists only one man with the surname Lacy: Thomas Saumarez Lacy. His career details p1840: born St Peter Port Guernsey 1816. MRCS 1838. LSA 1838. Retired 1 January 1866 and died on Guernsey.

What details I could find on John Clement Lacy between 1859 and 1902, were all in issues of Thacker's Bengal Directory between 1864 and 1908 which was the last year in which Lacy's Medical Hall appeared in it.

John Clement Lacy's eldest son Benjamin John Lacy became a clergyman.

Indian Law Reports: Allahabad Series 1899 has Mr B J Lacy, son of Dr J C Lacy, living at Agra.

The death of John Clement Lacy is in records at familysearch.

Thacker's Indian Directory issue of 1908 Part 2 p2010 B J Lacy is manager of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's mission school in Cawnpore.

Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News volume p 47: death notice for Rev Canon Benjamin Lacy of Allahabad; he'd died on 27 March 1920 from TB at the age of 57.

Familysearch burial records have one for a Joseph Lacy, at Agra in 1920; he was of an age to have been Valentine Lacy's elder brother.

BILTOR LTD

Companies' House keeps records of some limited companies. But it throws away the records of those whose turnover was below a certain level, after they have been wound up. I saw via google some modern companies called Biltor Ltd but they are not the one Valentine Lacy worked for.

Cosmopolis volume 8 1897 p923 has The Biltor Ltd at 93 Oxford St.

Sessional Papers House of Commons volume 31 issued HMSO 1901 p302.

London Gazette 19 December 1902 p8773: date of the hearing about the renewal of the patent.

Reports of Patent, Design and Trade Mark Cases volume 20 issued by the Patent Office p285 gave the start of the story of the renewal of the patent, and The Electrical Review volume 52 1903 p646 reported its outcome.

The cutaway picture of Wüteric's device is in Review of Reviews volume 29 1904 pviii as part of an advert. The design had been an award winner at the Paris International Exhibition in 1900. At 93 Oxford St only.

The expansion into a second shop: Spectator volume 100 1908 p756 had an ad f Biltor Ltd at 93 Oxford St ((wh is on the corner w Dean St)) and at 88 Queen St Cheapside.

The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Traders 1838-1914 volume 2 based on the London Assay Office Registers. Published by the Antique Collectors' Club 2000: p45.

London Gazette 10 April 1928 p2660-2661 notice issue 5 April 1928 in connection with the estate of Emil Alexander Wüterich.

[JAMES] HENRY VIBART

See imdb and wikipedia and The London Stage 1890-1899: A Calendar of Productions by J P Wearing.

Who's Who in the Theatre issue of 1914 p592 for the year of his first professional performance.

For some information on the plays Henry Vibart and Taigi Keene appeared in while working for F R Benson, see theatricalia.com though the website doesn't give the sources of its information.

About Henry Vibart's death. All the sources I found on him gave 1939 at Chessington as the year and place of his death; they must all be quoting the same source, a source I haven't traced so far. However, when I checked through freebmd, the only person called 'henry vibart' whose death was registered between 1930 and 1943 was a Henry James Vibart, also called Henry Vibart, who died at the Royal Hospital Richmond Surrey on 30 August 1943, although his normal address was in Devon. This man was the correct age at death to be the actor Henry Vibart. Either the actor Henry Vibart died in 1939 but his death wasn't registered - which happens sometimes though more usually at the death of an infant; or the usually quoted year and place of death is wrong.

TAIGI KEENE AND HER FAMILY

The National Museum of Wales at www.museumwales.ac.uk

<http://www.museumwales.ac.uk>, Has a nice illustration of Burne-Jones' Study of a Head (catalogue number NMW A 244). On 25 February 2014 the compiler of this web page, Henry Sire, contacted me by email to point me at the blog of Mercedes Blanco, who has reconstructed the career as artists' models of Taigi Keene's mother and her three sisters. The blog is at

sitioparatodo.blogspot.co.uk/2013/09/keene-mountain-nymph-sweet-liberty-identity.html.

To give you the gist of a website that's in Spanish, Taigi Keene's mother Annie was Edward Burne-Jones' favourite model and was also photographed by Julia Margaret Cameron. Taigi's sisters also became artists' models - youngest daughter Bessie was another Burne-Jones favourite - but Taigi herself only modelled for Louise Jopling (see below) as far as Mercedes Blanco could discover. I've used information about Charles Joseph Keene from Mercedes Blanco's blog; and also information about Taigi's career with the Royal Shakespeare Company, which was sent as a comment to the blog by a grand-daughter of Taigi and Henry Vibart, the actress Anne Wall. You do not need to read Spanish to appreciate the illustrations on this blog - plenty of pictures featuring Annie and her daughters, and a photograph of Henry Vibart in which I think he is dressed for a particular part (though I couldn't figure out which).

Henry Sire is a descendant of Charles Joseph Keene's first cousin Adelaide Keene. He told me that Charles Joseph Keene was a devout Catholic; and that Annie had become a Catholic after her marriage. They named Maria Taigi (born 1866) after a particularly devout Italian woman - see [en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Ven_Anna_Maria_Gesualda_Antonia_Taigi](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Ven_Anna_Maria_Gesualda_Antonia_Taigi) for some information on her life. She was beatified in 1920 but hasn't been made a saint.

For the portrait of Taigi by Louise Jopling, see: www.louisejopling.arts.gla.ac.uk Glasgow University's Jopling Research Project.

VALENTINE LACY IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p154.

6 March 2014

AMandragora@attglobal.net

LAW. First names unreadable (I have tried to read them) on the Golden Dawn members' roll. Whoever they were - it's not even clear whether it's a man or a woman - they were initiated into the Golden Dawn in March 1899 and took the Latin motto 'Magnum bonum'.

It keeps niggling away at me that there's nothing I can do, really, to identify this person. But there's no doing even the basic searches with so little information. I shall have to rely on a lucky chance - spotting a name while reading about someone quite different. It has happened in this search for the Golden Dawn, though not often.

WHO DID HE OR SHE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? - anybody's guess.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Thomas William Lemon was one of the earliest members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, being initiated at its Isis-Urania Temple in London, in April 1888. He chose the Latin motto 'Laus deo' but never followed up his initiation to any great extent. He resigned from the Order; though the date he did so is no longer known.

I have found plenty of evidence on Thomas William as a freemason; but very little on the rest of his life. He may have been known as 'William' rather than 'Thomas'.

Sally Davis

November 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

IN THE GD

He was never a committed member but he may have given the GD's founders some useful information. Like many of the GD's earliest initiates, he was a prominent member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA, of which more in the next section). The GD's founders, William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers, were also SRIA members. They may never have expected the SRIA's experts to be active members of the Order; but they wanted their input on the rituals they were going to develop, and their continued silence about the Order's existence.

Thomas William was known for his understanding of SRIA's ordinances and I think it's likely that he made suggestions about how to formulate the GD's rules and what to include in them.

Source:

Transactions of SRIA's Metropolitan College issue of 1920 p5 obituary of T W Lemon.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

FREEMASONRY

Thomas William Lemon was a very active freemason, especially from the early 1870s to the mid- 1890s. Though he was a member of several freemasons' organisations which met in London, most of his activity as a freemason took place in Devon, where he was living at that time.

There's now an online, digitised database of freemasons' magazines up to 1900; you can reach it via the Freemasons' Library website - see the details in the Sources list at the end of this long section. When I started working on Thomas William Lemon in freemasonry I was overwhelmed with references to him. I decided that I would concentrate on:

- reports from 1888-89, around the time Thomas William joined the GD; though it was clear that by this time he was a senior freemason in Devon, so details of his earlier career would be lacking
- reports from earlier and later, but only when they had information on his earliest initiations or on how senior a freemason he became.

That decision cut down the responses somewhat, but there were still so many that in the end I focused on reports in *The Freemason's Chronicle*, which had the best coverage of freemasonry in Devon. And it was in *The Freemason's Chronicle* that I found the year and place of Thomas William's first initiation as a freemason: 1872, at Sincerity Lodge 189, which met in Plymouth.

For a thorough, but basic, list of Thomas William's senior rankings in freemasonry; and a list - though it's not complete - of the lodges he was a member of, use his name to search the catalogue of the Freemasons' Library; details at the end of this section.

I don't suppose that the list below of lodges etc that he was a member of is complete either; but I've tried to give some added information on each of them.

THOMAS WILLIAM LEMON'S CRAFT LODGES

Starting with those published in Quatuor Coronati 2076's members' magazine *Ars Quatuor Coronati*, and therefore known to the Freemasons' Library.

LODGE OF CHARITY 223

Lodge of Charity 223 was one of several based in Plymouth that had been Antient lodges, members of the Atholls Grand Lodge, in the years before the Antients and the Moderns got together (in 1813) to form the United Grand Lodge of England. Lodge 223 was founded in 1799 but was only given the name it's now known by in 1809. And of course, being so old, it has had several different numbers; '223' dates from the great UGLE renumbering exercise of 1863. It has always met in central Plymouth. I do not know when Thomas William became a member of it.

LODGE VIRTUE AND HONOR 494 AXMINSTER

The references that exist actually place Thomas William in this lodge's Royal Arch chapter; but you can't be a chapter member without being in the lodge first. Why Axminster? When he lived in Devon most of his life? Well, I'm not sure, but his birth was registered in Taunton so perhaps he was introduced to the lodge through family connections or friends, still living in the area.

Being an old lodge, 494 had another number - 725 - before the 1863 renumbering. It was founded in 1818, closed down in the 1830s, and then was founded again in 1844 through the efforts of William Tucker (1815-55) of Coryton Park near Axminster; though at least at the outset it met at Chardstock.

I haven't been able to find out when Thomas William joined this lodge.

METHAM LODGE 1205

The warrant which set up Metham Lodge 1205 was issued by the UGLE in December 1867. It met in East Stonehouse, Plymouth. I haven't been able to access much information about this lodge; so again I don't know when Thomas William became a member.

ZETLAND LODGE 1071

Lodge 1071 was based in Saltash, across the River Tamar from Plymouth. It was consecrated in November 1865 and was a very locally-based lodge with the problems besetting many places in Cornwall as the county's mining industry declined. For example, it had a lot of visitors from Australia, to which many Cornish miners and mining engineers were

emigrating. And it was never a wealthy lodge, being badly hit by the short but sharp recession of 1911-12. It was a great day for the lodge when it was chosen for the May 1895 meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cornwall. The town was decked with flags and banners and there was a procession through the streets to a service in the parish church. Thomas William was a member of the lodge but not a prominent one: he never served as WM and though he might have been in the town for the May 1895 meeting, he didn't take the church service. In December 1889 (and maybe on other occasions) he did go to a more modest affair, the lodge's annual banquet. He joined in the after-dinner musical entertainment.

The lodge had a Royal Arch chapter (founded 1877); and there was a Mark Masonry lodge attached to it. I don't know whether Thomas William was a member of either of those, but I think probably not.

MASONIC TEMPERANCE LODGE OF ST GEORGE 2025

This lodge was one of many set up in the mid-1880s by freemasons who didn't want alcohol at lodge meetings and dinners. The petition to found such a lodge in Plymouth had 48 signatures on it - an unusually large number. Unfortunately the 48 weren't listed in the lodge history I found, so I don't know whether Thomas William was one of them. However, he acted as chaplain during the lodge's consecration and served as one of its early WM's (possibly its third) which suggests he was supporter of the lodge's efforts to bring the temperance movement to freemasonry. He would also have been glad of another of the lodge's purposes: to raise money for the Devon freemasonry charities (see below for his own involvement in these, especially the educational ones). Lodge of St George 2025 was consecrated on St George's day (23 April) 1884. It had close connections with another lodge Thomas William was a member of - Lodge of Sincerity 189 - and met in 189's masonic hall during its first years.

Lodge of St George 2025 set up a Royal Arch chapter in 1886. Thomas William was not one of its founders but by the time he became a member of Quatuor Coronati 2076 only a year or two later, he had done a year as its First Principal.

THOMAS WILLIAM LEMON'S CRAFT LODGES

Continuing with lodges he was a member of, which were not mentioned in *Ars Quatuor Coronati* and therefore not in the Freemasons' Library catalogue.

BRUNSWICK LODGE 159

Like Lodge of Charity 223, this was one of Devon's Antient lodges, appearing on the Atholl Grand Lodge roll. It was constituted in 1802 as number 208 and got the number 159 in the 1863 renumbering. Over the years the lodge met in a number of different places, though always in East Stonehouse; until in 1879 it built its own masonic hall in Hobart Street, named Ebrington after Viscount Ebrington who had just become Provincial Grand Master of Devonshire. In 1864 it set up a Royal Arch chapter. And it has many daughter lodges in Devon. In a report in *The Freemason's Chronicle* in December 1887 - probably of that year's installation meeting - Thomas William was mentioned as one of the lodge's PM's.

SINCERITY LODGE 189, based in Plymouth

This lodge, the first into which Thomas William was initiated, should perhaps begin the long list of lodges he was a member of. It was a very old lodge indeed, with a warrant dated November 1769: perhaps that was part of its appeal to him. It was very proud of its pedigree.

The book on its history published in 1909 listed all its WM's so far. As a result I can say that Thomas William and GD member Thomas Walker Coffin were both members of 189 and both served as its WM. Coffin was WM from July 1872 to July 1873; Thomas William was one of the people initiated during that 12 months. Thomas William was WM from July 1878 to 1879, though he was not living in Plymouth at the time, but near Honiton. Both men were both still paying their yearly subscription to the lodge in 1909, and were listed as its second and fourth longest-serving members; though neither now lived in Devon.

In December 1893, a special dinner took place at Stonehouse Town Hall, organised by Sincerity Lodge 189. Fifty freemasons gathered to celebrate 21 years since Thomas William Lemon's first initiation into freemasonry. The guests also wanted to thank Thomas William for his donations to the lodge and to Devon's freemasons' educational charities. At different times he had given the lodge twelve photographs; including one of his distant relation, Sir Charles Lemon 2nd (and last) Baronet, a former Provincial Grand Master of Cornwall; one of the foundation-stone ceremony of Plymouth's new masonic hall at 1 Princess Square; and one apparently of the Temple of Solomon.

PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGES OF CORNWALL AND DEVON

Not all freemasons wanted to be awarded higher rank than could be obtained in their local lodge: higher rank brought status and its public acknowledgement; but it also brought extra duties, and financial burdens. During the years that he was able to live as a gentleman of independent means, Thomas William was willing to go that bit further for his freemasonry, and served as provincial grand chaplain and provincial grand warden. I haven't been able to confirm the dates for these, except to say that he had served in both roles by 1889. I think he may served his year as grand chaplain in 1887-88, as *The Freemason's Chronicle* featured him in that role on several occasions during that 12 months or so. His appointment came in time for him to be involved in the ceremonies surrounding the building of Plymouth's masonic hall in Princess Square. On the day of the laying of its foundation stone, which I think was in December 1887, 600 freemasons went in procession through the city to St Andrew's church. Thomas William was one of the group of clergy that met them at the door; and he then led the church service and read the prayers. In October 1888 he attended the masonic hall's formal opening ceremony, and made a speech.

It seems that only one new craft lodge was consecrated in Devon during 1888, the 51st craft lodge in the county. In July 1888, Thomas William was one of the officers at the consecration of the Western District United Service Lodge 2258.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY, DEVON PROVINCE

Thomas William was a Royal Arch mason but during 1888-89 he mostly figured in *The Freemason's Chronicle* as a man at Provincial level rather than lodge level, as Grand Principal Sojourner and Grand Provincial Second Principal. During that time he helped instal the year's Principal at Harmony Chapter 156; and at Brunswick Chapter 159, as a Past Principal of the chapters of both Brunswick and Sincerity craft Lodge 189. He also made

donations to Brunswick Chapter 159, Fidelity Chapter 2230, and Huyshe Chapter 1009. All three received a miniature, hand-painted pair of Royal Arch tracing boards.; though I'm not sure Thomas William was even a member of the last two.

MARK MASONRY

The list published in *Ars Quatuor Coronati* says that Thomas William was a member of lodge 70, without further details. I believe the lodge in question to be Mark Masonry lodge ST JOHN LODGE 50, which is often given as '70' including in the FML database, due to its rather confused mid-19th century history. There's a valiant attempt to explain the many changes of name and number at that time, written by John G Dollery and published on the website of the Mark Masonry Provincial Grand Lodge of Devonshire. Dollery traced the lodge's antecedents back to the 1820s.

St John Lodge 50 is the only MM lodge I know for certain that Thomas William was a member of; and I couldn't find out when he was initiated. In October 1888, the *Freemason's Chronicle* - giving the lodge its old name (I think) reported him helping the installing officer at the installation meeting of Temple Lodge 50 (Temple was one of St John's past names); and then being installed himself as lodge chaplain for the coming year. Though the lodge now meets in Devonport, the meeting of October 1888 was one of the first to be held in the new masonic hall at Princess Square in central Plymouth.

MARK MASONRY PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF DEVONSHIRE

Thomas William had acted as MM Provincial Grand Chaplain on a temporary basis as early as 1878. He went to the province's annual meeting, presumably covering for someone unable to attend. During 1888-89 Thomas William was acting as Provincial Grand Chaplain again, this time for the whole year, while doing the same job in craft masonry: it was an exceptionally busy twelve months for him. He was one of the team of consecrating officers at the consecrations of these MM lodges: St George Lodge 303, at Stonehouse, in January 1888; St Martin's Lodge 379, at Liskeard, in February 1888; and De La Pole Lodge 372, at Seaton, in March 1888. He also helped instal Worshipful Masters at Mark Masonry lodges that year: in January 1888 at MM Sincerity Lodge 35, in East Stonehouse and immediately afterwards at the lodge's Royal Ark Mariners lodge as well; in August 1888 at Charity Lodge Plymouth 76; in October 1888 at Temple Lodge 50, in Plymouth; and in March 1889 at Hawton Lodge 100 (I'm not sure where that lodge met).

In August 1888, Thomas William was present at what was thought to be an occasion unprecedented in England. The annual meeting of the MM's Provincial Grand Lodge of Devonshire took place at Rose Ash, a rather remote village near South Moulton. Its main purpose was to lay a cornerstone with symbols of freemasonry on it, in the village's church of St Peter. Thomas William didn't lead the church service that was part of the ceremony; but he did do one of the readings.

MARK MASONRY AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Mark Masonry was rather younger than craft masonry: for example, the warrant for its Grand Masters' Lodge only dates from 1881 and as its lodge numbers show, there were not nearly so many MM lodges in Thomas William's time than there were craft lodges. Although a national hierarchy of officials quickly developed, perhaps it was still easier for MM freemasons to make the move upwards from provincial to national rank, and perhaps the expenses attached

to doing so were not so great. Thomas William's name does not appear in the list of high MM officials from May 1887; but he is in a list published in 1898, and was actually appointed an MM Grand Chaplain in 1885.

CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER FREEMASONRY LODGES

FORTITUDE MARK MASONRY LODGE 66, based in Plymouth

In March 1888, Thomas William presented this lodge with a photograph of the ceremony in which the Prince of Wales was installed the Prince of Wales as Mark Masonry's Grand Master. As a result, he was elected an honorary member of the lodge. The installation ceremony had taken place in July 1886; perhaps Thomas William had been able to go to it.

ST ANNE'S LODGE 970

In 1889 Thomas William gave this lodge another copy of his photograph of Sir Charles Lemon. I don't know why he chose this lodge, which was based in Looe; perhaps it had some connection with Sir Charles. He wasn't at the lodge meeting to make the presentation himself; and I'm sure he wasn't a lodge member.

FREEMASONS' CHARITY WORK

Being on the committees that ran the freemasons' charities could get you noticed in the right quarters and in Thomas William's case it obviously did. He became well-known in Devon for the amount of work he put into Devon's charities; and the amount he donated to them. He was chairman of the Masonic Educational Fund's general purposes committee. And in 1888-89 alone he donated 100 guineas each to the national freemasons' boys' and girls' schools; and 100 guineas to the Mark Masons' Benevolent Institution for Aged Freemasons and Widows of Freemasons. During the period 1888-89, he acted as steward at a meeting of Devon's Committee of Petitions; stewards were the agents that went around raising funds from lodges and individuals.

OTHER FREEMASONRIES

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE (AAR)

This freemasonry organisation is independent of the UGLE, with a separate masonic hall which in the 19th century was at 33 Golden Square Soho. Its lodge equivalents are known as Rose Croix chapters. Membership of the AAR is very select, being by invitation only. Only those who have been a Master Mason for at least one year are eligible; and even they have to be believers in the Christian trinity. Thomas William would have fulfilled those strict conditions by the mid-1870s at the latest.

The AAR equivalent of a craft lodge is called a Rose Croix chapter. There were two such chapters meeting in Plymouth in the 1880s, St Aubyn 20; and Huyshe 38 which met in Devonport. Although Thomas William was a welcome guest at St Aubyn 20, he was only ever a member of Huyshe 38. The AAR had several levels of initiation above the basic one and by 1880 Thomas William had reached its 30° level. It was not difficult to reach 30°, but in 1884, Thomas William reached the 31° level. Only allowed 81 AAR members could be 31° at any time; and it was the highest level in the AAR achieved by any man who joined the GD. He was still a member of the AAR, and of Huyshe 38 chapter, in 1900 after he had withdrawn from many of his other freemasonry commitments.

At the time of my sweep through *The Freemason's Chronicle* of 1888-89, Thomas William was High Prelate of Huyshe 38 chapter. At its March 1888 meeting he was one of four officers leading a ceremony in which three new members were elected and 'perfected'. When that part of the evening was over, he installed the year's MWS. A banquet followed, at which Thomas William took part in the singing and reciting. In September 1888 he presented the chapter with a set of photographs of current members of the AAR's Supreme Council.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE

As a Royal Arch and Mark Mason Thomas William was eligible to join the order usually known as the Red Cross of Constantine (its various full titles have all been a lot longer). He did join, but kept his involvement at a low level, never serving as a national officer and hardly ever attending the order's annual assemblies. The Red Cross of Constantine's craft lodge equivalent was called a

conclave. I think it's likely that Thomas William and Thomas Walker Coffin were both members of Sincerity Conclave 102, founded in 1873 and holding its meetings in East Stonehouse, at least in its early years; though I haven't been able to confirm that he was a member from the annual reports of the Order that I've been able to check. Thomas William was still a member of the Red Cross of Constantine in 1899 though Sincerity Conclave 102 may have been dormant by then; and Coffin had left the order.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS, often known as cryptic masonry

These are another group of freemasons independent of UGLE. They work the Ancient and Accepted Rite, also known as the Scottish. As with the AAR, membership was restricted and actually more demanding than the AAR with only those who were both Mark masons and Royal Arch masons being eligible. I don't quite understand the references to dates in the RSM's annual reports from the time, so I'm not sure exactly which year he was "received and acknowledged" as an RSM member. However it must have been very soon after the RSM first arrived in England - its Grand Council was only constituted in 1873. I think it's likely that he and Thomas Walker Coffin joined Sincerity Council 6, which was formed in 1876 and met in East Stonehouse; though I only have evidence for Coffin as a member of it, and that only from the 1890s.

Thomas William served as one of the RSM's two grand chaplains in 1883 and 1884; though he never rose any further up its hierarchy. In 1886, Thomas William helped at the ceremony at which future GD member Nelson Prower was admitted to the RSM. If he had ever been in Sincerity Council 6, Thomas William had left it by 1891 and joined the RSM's Grand Master's Council 1, which met in London. He was still a member of that council in 1899, the last year whose annual report I was able to find.

The evidence I've found suggests that Thomas William's most fervent commitment as a freemason was to the KNIGHTS TEMPLAR, properly known as the Order of the Temple. He donated to the Devonshire preceptory Royal Veteran Encampment 10, and may even have commissioned, a painting which embodied how he felt about the Order. I haven't been able to find a reproduction of the painting, but an article in *The Freemason's Chronicle* described it as showing a group of medieval templars taking their oath in time to go on crusade with Richard I. The idea of an Order of devout young men about to take up arms for Christianity would have appealed to Thomas William, both on personal grounds and as an acknowledgement of his family background.

Until 1889 all Knights Templar had to have been Master Masons for two years and also be a member of a Royal Arch chapter. Nowadays they have to be professed Christians; in Thomas William's day that seems to have been taken as read.

I haven't been able to find out exactly when Thomas William joined the Knights Templar. He was a member of the Loyal Brunswick Preceptory 24, which met in East Stonehouse. Like so many of the craft lodges of Devon, this was an old preceptory, its warrant having been granted in 1834. Thomas William had probably been recommended for membership by his mentor from Sincerity Lodge 189, T W Coffin, who was also a Loyal Brunswick 24 member. The evidence I've found shows Thomas William being installed as its preceptor in March 1888; which is so late in his knights templar career that I'm wondering if he was serving for the second time. His duties as preceptor will have added to the calls on his time in what was already an extremely busy 12 months.

In May 1887 - that is, the year before the GD was set up - Thomas William was appointed to succeed Lt-Col John Tanner Davy as the Knights Templar's most senior officer in Devon, the county's Provincial Prior. As the Knights Templar and the Knights of Malta were administered together, he also became Provincial Prior of the Knights of Malta. It's likely that T W Coffin recommended Thomas William as suitable for the post. Coffin was an elected member of the Order's governing body, the Council of its National Great Priory.

Until 1890 the National Great Priory held one meeting a year, in May, at the City Terminus Hotel in Cannon Street. After 1890 there were two meetings, the second being in December; and in 1890 the venue for both of them was switched to the Mark Masons' new hall in Great Queen Street. After each Knights Templar annual meeting, the annual meeting of the Order of Malta was held, with a banquet to follow. Thomas William attended his first National Great Priory in 1885, as a representative of Loyal Brunswick 24. Perhaps he was already being lined up to succeed Tanner Davy. During his time as Provincial Prior of Devonshire he attended nearly every annual meeting of both orders; and on each occasion he went to the banquet after the Order of Malta meeting. On a couple of occasions he was the most senior officer present at the banquet, and took the chair for the after-dinner speeches. At the same time he was having some success at getting more representatives of Devon's preceptories to attend the Knights Templar's annual meetings; and eventually one of them - James Keats from Loyal Brunswick 24 - was elected a Council member.

The years 1889 to 1894 were ones of great change at the Knights Templar, as the Order tried to make itself attractive to new members after a period of decline. The entrance requirements for prospective members were made less demanding, though the requirements for entry to the Order of Malta were actually toughened up. The entry fees Templar candidates had to pay were reduced. Efforts were made too to sort out the Order's finances and to strike off its roster those preceptories - quite a few - which had not sent in their annual subscriptions for more than three years. As Thomas William and T W Coffin continued to be active members of the Order through all these changes, they must have supported them; but other GD members who were also Knights Templar were not so keen. Nelson Prower didn't attend any annual meetings after the changes in entrance requirements came into force, and W G Lemon didn't go to any for several years. In 1890, GD members Jeremiah Leech Atherton and Francis William Wright both attended the May annual meeting (the last one, I think, before the changes took effect); but neither of them attended another one.

Back in his home county, it was Thomas William's job as Provincial Prior to call and chair meetings of all the members there; to supervise the installation of Encampment/Preceptory officers; and generally to promote the ideals of the Knights Templar and recruit new members. And in taking that on, Thomas William was up against the "lethargic condition" of the Knights Templar in the south-west, as *The Freemason's Chronicle* put it in 1892, in its review of freemasonry during the year 1891. Six preceptories were still going in Devon when Thomas William was appointed, though the review described them as having barely enough members to justify the existence of one. Three years into the job, Thomas William was being very zealous, the *Freemason's Chronicle's* reviewer said in 1891, but he wasn't getting much support. He was having some success with his own preceptory, Loyal Brunswick 24, but despite all his work, the Knights Templar's annual reports show that the Devon preceptories Royal Sussex (which met in Newton Abbot) and Trinity in Unity had stopped sending their yearly dues to the National Great Priory by 1890. Union or Rougemont preceptory stopped sending its annual subscription in 1892 and Holy Cross preceptory was declared defunct by the National Great Priory in 1893 after failing to send its dues for three successive years. The situation in Cornwall was much worse - but Thomas William hadn't been made responsible for that and was probably glad not to be.

Thomas William's work in Devon and his support of the changes in the Order led to promotion at national level. Although it was less spectacular, his rise coincided with that of the Earl of Euston whose sister, Lady Eleanor Harbord, joined the GD. In 1893 Thomas William served as Constable of the Order, one of its Great National Officers; pretty high up the Order's scale for a man who wasn't a member of the landed aristocracy. And at the December meeting that year, he was one of twelve men who were invested as Knights Commander of the Order of the Temple. The award of this title, however, seems to have been part of a carefully planned withdrawal from the Order. In the list of officers as at December 1893, Thomas William was no longer a National Great Officer of the Knights Templar and he wasn't in the list of officers for the Order of Malta either; though he did go to their banquet. He did not attend any annual meetings after that of December 1893, and by May 1894 he had resigned as Provincial Prior of Devonshire; no one was appointed to replace him. He was not named in a list of current Knights Templar drawn up in 1900.

The Knights Templar was the only freemasonry organisation in which Thomas William reached a senior national position. With that one exception, he preferred to keep his freemasonry very local.

COLLECTOR OF FREEMASONRY MEMORABILIA

I found two references to Thomas William having a collection of freemasonry memorabilia. A copy of the 1778 publication *Antients Grand Lodge* now in the Freemasons' Library collection was owned by him; and dated by him "1875", presumably the year in which he obtained it. He bequeathed it and his other books on freemasonry to *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia*. He also lent some items to a public exhibition of freemasonry memorabilia held at Plymouth's Huyshe Masonic Temple in July 1887; one of five such exhibitions organised by his friend W J Hughan. Unfortunately, *The Freemason's Chronicle's* report on the exhibition doesn't give any details of the items Thomas William had lent to it.

TWO WAYS INTO THE GD

QUATUOR CORONATI 2076

The first of the two was the craft lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076. It held its meetings in central London but had a world-wide corresponding membership who were entitled to receive its magazine, *Ars Quatuor Coronati* and go to meetings when they were able, though they had no voting rights and couldn't serve as officers. A number of GD members were also active members of QC2076. Thomas William had become a corresponding member of the lodge by May 1888 when, in London for the annual meeting of the Knights Templar, he attended its monthly meeting at the Freemasons' Hall. Quatuor Coronati 2076 had been founded as a forum for the study of the history and symbolism of freemasonry. Thomas William was not as keen on this as he was on Rosicrucianism and never made as much effort to get to QC2076's big occasions as he did those of the *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (see below for SRIA): for example, he didn't go up to London for QC2076's 10th anniversary *conversazione*, in 1895. He let his membership lapse, probably after his marriage in 1894; he was certainly no longer a member by 1900.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

This organisation was far more important to Thomas William than Quatuor Coronati 2076. The SRIA was an anomaly within freemasonry: it was not a lodge, and was independent of any freemasonry authority; but only freemasons could join it. In its Ordinances of 1905 - which Thomas William probably helped to draw up - SRIA stated what it had been founded for: "to give mutual aid and encouragement in working out the great problems of Life"; to discover the secrets of nature; to facilitate the study of the Kabalah and the "doctrines of Hermes Trismegistus"; and to investigate the meaning and symbolism of "all that now remains...of the ancient world". It was organised into colleges and a number of cities had one, including Cambridge, Bristol and Glasgow. Thomas William joined its Metropolitan College in London, in July 1885.

The meetings of both QC2076 and SRIA featured a talk by a member, followed by discussion and comments; the talk was then published in the group's magazine. Thomas William gave no talks at QC2076 and only two at the SRIA's Metropolitan College; one at the meeting of 9 April 1891, on the topic of Rosicrucianism, and a second in 1919.

Despite his reluctance to give any talks, Thomas William attended the Metropolitan College's meetings very regularly for nearly 30 years, and became respected for his knowledge of SRIA's rituals and ordinances. And despite his many commitments in Devon, he worked his way up SRIA's hierarchy to serve as its Celebrant (equivalent to Worshipful Master). He was installed as Celebrant at the meeting of 12 April 1894; and at the same time congratulated on his recent marriage, with W G Lemon (his immediate predecessor as Celebrant and a man who had been married for many years) making "a very genial and humorous speech" on the subject. By 1900, Thomas William was representing the Metropolitan College on the SRIA's governing body, its High Council. From 1907, there was only one person in SRIA senior to him - its Supreme Magus, GD founder William Wynn Westcott. Thomas William was thus in line to succeed Westcott; but the Supreme Magus was appointed for life and Westcott outlived him.

In 1909, the SRIA set up a new college, the Robert Fludd College, based in Bath. Perhaps Thomas William had lobbied for this, because he took part in its consecration ceremony and visited it several times.

By 1914, the Metropolitan College's meetings had changed from monthly to quarterly; and moved into the popular freemasonry venue of Café Monico in Piccadilly. Thomas William

continued to go to meetings regularly, even during World War 1, until there was a break after the meeting of January 1917. He next went to a meeting in October 1918, with the end of the fighting in sight but the country ravaged by the Spanish flu. The last meeting he went to was on 10 July 1919. It was a special one, at which the SRIA's jubilee was celebrated, and Thomas William read his paper on "Our Notable Deceased Officers and Fratres". There wasn't time to read in full two other papers that had been prepared, so precis of them were read instead. Both were by ex-GD members: George Frederick Rogers' paper on Hypnotism; and Marcus Worsley Blackden's paper on The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys.

SPIRITUALISM AND THEOSOPHY

I haven't found any evidence that Thomas William Lemon was involved in either of them. As an ordained priest of the Church of England he may even have thought that it was inappropriate for him to take an interest. He might also have been aware how controversial a subject spiritualism was within the Church of England: there was much debate on whether a member of the Church of England and especially the CofE clergy, could also believe in the reality of communications from the dead. I have to say, though, that it is hard to tell whether people were spiritualists: spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now.

Sources for the esoteric interests section: FREEMASONRY

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library: go to

[//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum)

and take the option 'Explore'. You don't have to have a reader's ticket to search the catalogue or to use the other online resources which include online copies, digitised as far as 1900, of the main freemasons' magazines, a very useful resource for some - but not all - freemasons' organisations.

General introductions to the various groupings within freemasonry.

Susan Snell and Peter Aitkenhead at the Freemasons' Library recommended these two books to me. Without them, there would have been even more mistakes in this section!

Beyond the Craft by Keith B Jackson. Published by Lewis Masonic, an imprint of Ian Allan Publishing Ltd of Hersham Surrey. First published 1980. I used the revised and expanded 6th edition, published 2012.

A Reference Book for Freemasons. Compiled by Frederick Smyth. Published London: Quatuor Coronati Correspondence Circle Ltd 1998.

Thomas William as a freemason:

Initiation: The Freemason's Chronicle December 1893 p4.

LODGE OF CHARITY 223

Websites www.brunswick159.com. And www.masonic-lodge.info

Via www.connectedhistories.org to a list originally at Lane's Masonic Records.

Lodge Virtue and Honor 494 Axminster 1844-1944 Centenary Celebrations It being in the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, Province of Devonshire. By T E Mayo. Published Exeter, W V Cole and Sons Ltd 1944. Thomas William is not mentioned in the account of the lodge's history and he's not in its list of WM's.

METHAM LODGE 1205

By-Laws of Lodge Metham 1205 issued 1909, printed Plymouth: Underhill and Co. This small leaflet gives a small amount of lodge history but very few members past or present are mentioned and Thomas William isn't one of them.

The Freemason's Chronicle May 1885 p13 Thomas William as WM-elect.

ST GEORGE LODGE 2025

By-Laws of the Lodge of St George 2025 Plymouth issued 1917. Printed by Bro J H Keys of Whimple Street Plymouth. On p6, the Introduction to the booklet is by Thomas William's friend William James Hughan.

History of the Lodge of St George 2025 1884-1949 by W J Gilbert who is a PM. There are no details in the booklet of when or where it was published but the authors Foreword (p1) is dated Aug 1950. P2, p41: the account of the lodge's history is (P2) based on those lodge Minute books that survived the destruction of the Freemasons' Hall in Princess Square Plymouth in March 1941.

And on (p4) a copy of A Retrospect of the Lodge of St George 2025, 1884-1905 written by C G Withell, an early lodge member. There's a good account of the lodge's founding and (pp13-14) good lists of important members. On p19: the lodge's Royal Arch chapter was consecrated in October 1886. Thomas William is not mentioned at all in the booklet.

ZETLAND LODGE 1071

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1889 p5.

Freemasonry in Saltash 1865-1965 by Lt-Cdr T C A Waghorn as WM of 1071. I couldn't find any details of who printed it and there's no actual publication date in the booklet though 1965 is a good guess. It's a good account of all the Saltash-based lodges but as with so many of the lodges I've already listed, Thomas William's name is not mentioned in it.

BRUNSWICK LODGE 159

The Freemasons' Library has some of the lodge's earliest records in its collection, so there's a good account of the lodge's history in the FML catalogue.

Website www.brunswick159.com is the lodge's website incl a history. However, there's no coverage of the years between 1879 and 1915, just the years I most wanted to look at.

Thomas William is not mentioned in the rest of the account.

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1887 p8 has it as 158 but that's a type-setting error. Thomas William is mentioned as a PM of the lodge.

SINCERITY LODGE 189

Bye Laws and History: Lodge Sincerity number 189 by M G Endle and L R Dunstan. Published 1909. Both Thomas Walker Coffin and Thomas William Lemon are mentioned in the booklet: p6, pp16-17, p18.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1887 p4.

The Freemason's Chronicle February 1888 p5.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p8.

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1888 p4.

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1893 p4 Presentation to Rev Dr Lemon, reprinting a report that had originally appeared in the Western Morning News.

OTHER LODGE CONNECTIONS

ST ANNE'S LODGE 970

The Freemason's Chronicle October 1889 p12.

FORTITUDE MARK MASONRY LODGE 66

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p11.

PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF CORNWALL

The Freemason's Chronicle September 1888 p4 though not an official in Cornwall, Thomas William went to a meeting of its Provincial Grand Lodge, in Camborne.

PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF DEVON

The Freemason's Chronicle January 1888.

The Freemason's Chronicle July 1888 p3.

The Freemason's Chronicle October 1888 p10.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY

HARMONY CHAPTER 156

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1888 p7.

BRUNSWICK CHAPTER 159

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1888 p11.

FIDELITY CHAPTER 230

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1888 p11.

HUYSHE CHAPTER 1009

The Freemason's Chronicle July 1888 p9 Just noting here that www.brunswick159.com website, in its history of Brunswick 159, describes Huyshe Lodge as one of its many daughter lodges.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1888 p11.

MARK MASONRY

At www.devonmarkmasons.co.uk, website of the Mark Masons' Provincial Grand Lodge of Devonshire, John G Dollery's history of St John Mark Masonry Lodge, current number 50. The lodge is still active and is on Twitter.

MARK MASONRY PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF DEVON

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1878 p13.

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1888.

CONSECRATIONS/INSTALLATIONS

The Freemason's Chronicle January 1888 p8.

The Freemason's Chronicle January 1888 p6.

The Freemason's Chronicle February 1888 p10.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p11.

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1888 p11.

The Freemason's Chronicle October 1888 p11.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1889 p5.

NATIONAL LEVEL

I am not able to use the archives at the headquarters of the Mark Masons. The two calendars I consulted for some sense of the history of Mark Masonry are in the collection of the UGLE.

Masonic Calendar for 1888, its 3rd year of issue. Thomas William was not listed as an officer in this Calendar, but only national officers' names were published.

Masonic Calendar of 1898 showed how much Mark Masonry had expanded in the intervening decade. On p37 Thomas William as one of the Grand Chaplain; 1885. On p45 W G Lemon as the only other GD member listed.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. I looked at the issues of 1880, 1885, 1888 and 1900.

Issue of 1880 pp43-44, p72

Issue of 1888 p13, p48, p57, p73,

Issue of 1900 p225.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p4.

ST AUBYN ROSE CROIX CHAPTER

The Freemason's Chronicle September 1888 p11.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE properly the Imperial, Ecclesiastical and Military Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine. The Freemasons' Library has a volume of its annual reports purporting to cover 1868 to 1899; however, if any reports were issued between those of 1874 and 1887, they were not included in this volume.

Statement of Accounts, Annual Report and List of Officers and Conclaves Published in London by George Kenning, who was a member of the order. The annual report for 1893 contains the first published list of past officers at national level but Thomas William Lemon isn't in it.

Issue of 1891 p3 shows Thomas William Lemon at the only annual assembly of the Order that I am certain he attended; that of March 1891. GD members W G Lemon and Nelson Prower were also at the meeting.

Issue of 1895: Beginning on p24, there is the first published list of current members of the Red Cross of Constantine: p28 for T W Coffin and p36 for Thomas William Lemon; who are both in Sincerity Conclave 102 at the moment. Sincerity Conclave 102 is in the list of conclaves, on p19. However p51 there are no dtls of this conclave in the list of when and where the conclaves meet; so it might be dormant; though (p21) it's not on the list of conclaves struck off the roll, either.

The last in the volume is the Issue of 1899 p40 in the list of current members.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS also known as the Cryptic Rite, a reference to the basic layout of one of its rituals.

Annual Report of Proceedings of the Grand Council of RSM of Engl and Wales etc. Published by George Kenning. The Freemasons' Library earliest volume of these covers 1887 to 1899.

Issue of 1887 p3; p9 notes Thomas William's apologies for absence from the annual meeting of February 1888.

The next issue with any mention of him was that of 1891: p3 has Thomas William attending the annual meeting, as a Past Grand Chaplain. Beginning on p16 was the first published list of senior RSM officers since 1871; p17. Beginning p20, list of current members; and just noting here how few are members of any of the RSM's councils at the moment. On p22 entry for T W Lemon "received and acknowledged" in the RSM's first year. P15 for details of Grand Master's Council 1 which was one of the RSM's four original ones.

Issue of 1896 re ann mtg p3 of March 1896. RSM is holding its ann mtgs at the Mark Masons hall now. On pp19-26 a list of current members: p23.

Issue of 1899: p24.

Thomas William as an RSM member helping to induct Nelson Prower: The Freemason May 1886 p12.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

If following up the references below, BEWARE The Freemason's Chronicle: it often gets the name of Thomas William's preceptory wrong, referring to it as the Royal Brunswick when it was in fact the Loyal Brunswick.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR AND ORDER OF ST JOHN OF...MALTA

Calendar of the Great Priory which changes its name in 1896. Published for the members of the Order. The report for each year contains the following:

- list of senior officers as at the annual meeting in May
- details of preceptories thus: name + number; are they still functioning; where they meet and when; date of warrant; current Preceptor
- very basic coverage of the annual meeting or (after 1890) meetings
- coverage of the meeting/dinner of the Order of Malta

- annual accounts.

I went through the Calendars from 1878 to 1900. Just noting here that Thomas William never served as preceptor of Loyal Brunswick 24 preceptory during that period.

I started with 1883, so the information on Loyal Brunswick 24 is from its p11: meets St George's Hall East Stonehouse. Warrant is dated 1830.

1884 issue pp30-31.

1885 issue p31.

1887 issue p1 in which Thomas William is listed for the first time as Provincial Prior of Devonshire.

1888 issue p16: date of Thomas William's appointment - 31 May 1887; p1 an account of Thomas William doing homage for his appointment at the December meeting of the National Great Priory. He was attended into the hall for this by (amongst others) Thomas Walker Coffin and W G Lemon. On p31 in list of those attending the annual meeting in May: Nelson Prower, soon to be in the GD, was there representing Mount Calvary D preceptory. PP32-33 Thomas William, W G Lemon and Nelson Prower also attended the meeting of the Order of Malta, in May 1888, and Thomas William presided at the banquet.

1889 issue p30; pp36-37 in which the changes to entrance requirements were first debated; pp38-39.

1890 p1, p6, p10, pp31-34; p35 ratification of the changes in membership requirements and efforts to sort out the Order's finances; p35 change of venue for meetings and p37 confirmation that there would now be two national meetings per year.

Following the 1890 issue: text of a leaflet United Orders of the Temple and Hospital, with alterations to statutes 1 and 2 and several new statutes.

1891 May issue p1, p30, p35. December issue p1, pp7-8 in which Thomas William read out a letter from W J Hughan.

1892 May issue p1, p30, p37-38. December issue p1, pp8-9.

1893 May issue p1, p31, p34, pp36-37. December issue p1, pp9-10.

1894 May issue p1, p28-29. December issue p1, p9.

Officers as at ann mtg of May 1894 p1 E of Euston as sub-prior; TWL is now "KCT" but he isn't

1895 issue p28.

With the 1896 issue the Calendar changed its name to become Liber Ordinis Templi volume 1.

Issues 1896-1900. The 1900 issue contains a list of all current members of both Orders. No GD members are on it.

The Freemason's Chronicle Jan 1892 p9 the review of freemasonry in 1891.

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1887 p4: Thomas William's installation as Provincial Prior of Devonshire.

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1887 P4 another report of Thomas William making his homage at the National Great Priory.

The Freemason's Chronicle February 1888 p4.

The Freemason's Chronicle October 1888 p10.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1890 p3.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1893 p4.

LOYAL BRUNSWICK 24 PRECEPTORY

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p13: Thomas William installed as its preceptor and also as its Prelate.

ROYAL VETERAN ENCAMPMENT 10

The Freemason's Chronicle October 1887 p7 the presentation of H Lynn's painting of Knights Templar soldiers taking their oath.

I've made some efforts to identify the artist, named only as "H Lynn" in The Freemason's Chronicle. I've looked at the British Library's collection of dictionaries of artists working in the 19th century, including those from Ireland and Scotland; miniaturists; sea painters; watercolourists, Royal Academy exhibitors...I haven't found H Lynn in any of these works. No such person has an entry in either of the DNBs, in Who Was Who, or in Boase. Perhaps it was someone working in Devon, and not exhibiting nationally at all.

KNIGHTS OF MALTA properly the Order of St John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta.

Beyond the Craft p26 says that all those hoping to be installed as a Knight of Malta must already be a Templar knight.

The Freemason's Chronicle May 1887 p4.

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1888 p10 the first Provincial Priory meeting that Thomas William organised after his appointment was the first that had been held in Devon for 12 years.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1890 p3.

DEVON MASONIC EDUCATIONAL FUND

The Freemason's Chronicle February 1888 p4.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p10.

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1889.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1888 p11.

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1889 p9.

FREEMASONRY MEMORABILIA

Antients Grand Lodge published 1778, bequeathed by Thomas William to SRIA and now in the collection of the Freemasons' Library.

The Freemason's Chronicle July 1887 p9.

TWO WAYS INTO THE GD

Quatuor Coronati 2076: Ars Quatuor Coronati number 2076 published annually by the Lodge.

Volume I 1886-88 p137. Unnumbered pages of each volume list the full and corresponding members. [p14] for the entry for Rev T W Lemon, member of lodges 70, 189, 223, 1071, 1205, 2025; a PM of 2025; member of chapters 70, 189, 223, 494, 2025; PZ of 2025.

I didn't follow Thomas William year by year but I did look in Volume XIII issued 1900. He was no longer in the Lodge's corresponding members list.

Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia:

Ordinances privately printed 1905.

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College

- Volume for 1885 p4
- Volume for 1891-92 p3 meeting of 9 April 1891
- Volume for 1893-94 pp1-2 meeting of 12 April 1894
- Volume for 1909 p49 and Volume for 1910 p1: founding of SRIA's Robert Fludd College at Bath
- Volumes for 1914-1919 confirming how regularly he went to London for SRIA meetings, even in wartime
- Volume for 1920 p7: obituary.

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900: pp14-15; pp31-32

Esoteric interests section: THEOSOPHY AND SPIRITUALISM

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

AND NOW THE REST OF THOMAS WILLIAM'S LIFE:

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

Apart from the short one in the SRIA Metropolitan College's Transactions for 1920, I haven't found one.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

There were two men called Lemon in the GD during the 1890s: Thomas William; and William George. They knew each other through freemasonry and its offshoots. However, from what little evidence I've come across, I would say that despite the fact that the surname is not a common one, they were not closely related.

While William George Lemon's family were Londoners, Thomas William Lemon was a member of a Cornish family, the Lemons of Carclew Park near Truro, whose wealth derived from the entrepreneurial and managerial skills of William Lemon (died 1760) who started out managing another man's smelting works and ended up owning the Wheal Fortune and Poldice mines at Gwennap and making a fortune from them. Lemon Street in Truro is named after him; he built his town house in it. He bought the Carclew Park estate, near Penryn, and had a house built on that, as well. His grandson entered politics, on the Whig side, and was made a baronet in 1774.

William Lemon's descendants had got into Debrett by its 1840 edition, but with family details designed to obscure the commercial origins of their wealth. The focus was on Sir Charles Lemon 1784-1868, who had succeeded his father as 2nd baronet. Sir Charles had three children, but they all died young. As he had no direct male heir, the baronetcy became extinct at his death. He left the Carclew Park estate to one of his sisters, Caroline Tremayne.

Thomas William liked to draw attention to the fact that he was distantly related to Sir Charles Lemon. In the late 1880s he presented photographs of Sir Charles to Sincerity Lodge 189 and St Anne's Lodge 970. However, the sketchy details in Debrett suggest to me that their common ancestor was most likely to be Sir Charles' great-grandfather, the William Lemon who died in 1760.

Thomas William's father and grandfather were both called Thomas Lemon and both of them served in the Royal Marines. As I've made clear above, I haven't discovered how either of them was related to the Lemons of Carclew Park. Thomas Lemon the grandfather reached the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was married to a woman named Elizabeth and died in 1856. In 1807, he was stationed in Gloucester, which is where Thomas Lemon, Thomas William Lemon's father, was born and baptised. I don't know whether he had any other children.

The younger Thomas Lemon joined the Royal Marines in 1827. In June 1844 he married Anne Cowling, the daughter of another Royal Marines officer. At the time of the marriage both Thomas Lemon and Anne Cowling's father were stationed at the barracks in East Stonehouse in Plymouth. Thomas William Lemon was born at Taunton in 1846. He was Thomas and Anne's only child. One reason for this was that Anne did not go with her husband on his long tours of duty in the East. On the day of the 1851 census, Thomas Lemon was abroad, probably in India. Anne and Thomas William were living at 4 Caroline Place Plymouth, a district occupied by many men who served in the forces. Anne's mother Elizabeth was living with them, and Anne was running a modest household with one general servant only, not even a nurse for Thomas William aged 5.

In the late 1850s Thomas Lemon's battalion was stationed in Calcutta. It was sent to China in 1857 when the 2nd China War broke out, arriving in time to take part in the battle of Fatshan Creek in June; and missing the Indian Mutiny/First War of Independence altogether. Despite heavy losses, the Royal Marines occupied Canton city in January 1858. Thomas Lemon was injured at some point in the campaign. He was mentioned in despatches, and was promoted to Colonel.

By 1861, Thomas William's grandmother Elizabeth had died; and Thomas Lemon had been sent home on leave. He and Anne were living in the Royal Marine barracks, presumably in the same house Anne was occupying in 1851 though the census form isn't clear on this point. They were still employing just the one general servant. Thomas William, aged 14, was with them; either because it was the Easter vacation, or because he was at school in Plymouth.

After his leave was over, Thomas Lemon returned to his battalion, which spent the next 10 years in the Far East including a spell stationed in Yokohama. Thomas Lemon was promoted again, and ended his working life as a Lieutenant-General. He was not in the UK on the day of the 1871 census; but neither was his wife. Perhaps Anne had finally decided join her husband abroad; but I think it's more likely that Thomas Lemon had retired by then, and was

enjoying a holiday. When they returned to England, Thomas and Anne settled at 9 Seaton Terrace, in the Mutley district of Plymouth; where they were next door neighbours to George Porter Rogers and his family. George Porter Rogers' eldest son George Frederick Rogers joined the GD in the mid-1890s.

Thomas Lemon died in February 1875. His personal estate was worth less than £12000; which doesn't sound like much, but in the mid-19th century a careful person could live well off the income from that, if it was carefully invested. I think that in the 1880s, Thomas William Lemon was able to do that.

Sources:

THE LEMON FAMILY OF CARCLEW PARK

The Great Cornish Families: A History of the People and their Houses by Crispin Gill. Published 1995, reprinted 2000. This edition pubd Halsgrove 2011. There's no chapter on the Lemons in the book as the house burned down and the baronetcy went extinct. However, the founder of the family fortune is mentioned three times: pi in the Introduction; p59 in the chapter on Molesworth St Aubyn of Pencarrow; and p105 on John Williams and his family who made a fortune smelting Cornish copper in South Wales. Gill disagrees with Debrett on when the Lemon baronetcy was created and who for; but I think Debrett is more likely to be correct on snobbish details like that. Carclew House burned down in 1924 but the gardens, laid out by various members of the Lemon family, are still there.

Debrett 1840 issue p348.

Thomas William's donations of photographs:

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1887 p4. Sincerity Lodge 189. An inscription on the photo reminded the members that Sir Charles Lemon had been a freemason and served as Provincial Grand Master of Cornwall from 1843 to 1863. I don't quite see the connection with a lodge based in the East Stonehouse district of Plymouth, so I presume that the donation was just a subtle piece of boasting on Thomas William's part.

The Freemason's Chronicle October 1889 p12.

THOMAS WILLIAM'S GRANDFATHER and FATHER

Modern English Biography compiled by Frederick Boase. Volume 2 I-Q p386 has a very short entry on Thomas William's father; with even briefer references to his grandfather.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 855617: baptism of Thomas Lemon 22 September 1807 at St Mary-de-Lode's Gloucester. Parents Thomas Lemon; and wife Elizabeth.

At //archive.lib.cam.ac.uk Thomas Lemon 1807-75, Royal Marines, is referred to; as mentioned in two archives now at Cambridge University:

- despatches concerning the occupation of Canton
- despatches to Lord Elgin.

At www.thegazette.co.uk a list originally published Edinburgh Gazette 16 April 1858 p757: Thomas Lemon's promotion to colonel.

Royal Marines Commandos: The Inside Story of a Force for the Future by John Parker. London: Headline 2006; seen via google so no page numbers. Royal Marines in the 2nd China War; and in Japan.

Seen at freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com but originally in the Times and elsewhere,

a list brought together by George Wingrove Cooke and published 1861 by Routledge Warne and Routledge: pp350-52, casualties of the 2nd Anglo-Chinese War.

Hart's Annual Army List 1863 p38 in the list of current colonels: Thomas Lemon CB, Colonel Commandant Royal Marines. With his promotions so far.

Probate Registry 1875.

EDUCATION

I haven't found out anything at all about where Thomas William Lemon went to school. Some but not all of the public schools' registers are now on the web but he didn't appear in any of those. He may have gone to school at the grammar school in Plymouth, the school later attended by George Frederick Rogers.

From whatever school he attended, Thomas William went on to Magdalen College Oxford University and graduated BA in 1869, MA in 1872. Many years later, he returned to Oxford, this time to Hertford College; he graduated BD and DD in 1889.

Sources:

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1880 607.

Pall Mall Budget p37 issue of 19 January 1872 University Intelligence: Oxford.

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1889 p4

WORK/PROFESSION

It was probably obvious to Thomas William's parents from an early age that their son wasn't going to follow his father and grandfather into the army. However, the family was not wealthy and he would have to go into a profession. He chose the Church of England, and was ordained in 1870. As a new recruit to the Church, Thomas William spent several years as a curate in various parishes in Plymouth: at Stoke Damerel; at St Paul Devonport for two years; and finally at St Mary Devonport for one year. On the day of the 1871 census he had been in the first of those parishes, Stoke Damerel, for a few months. On census day he was living in lodgings at 12 Stoke Terrace Stoke Damerel; this may have been a temporary arrangement while his parents were abroad. In 1878, Thomas William was given what should have been a permanent appointment, as vicar of Buckerell, near Honiton in Devon. His mother Anne, now a widow, went with him. On the day of the 1881 census they were living at the vicarage in Buckerell. Anne had a visitor, a Mrs Catherine Brown who had been born in Ireland. The house normally only had two people living in it, and Anne was managing it without any live-in servants.

Anne Lemon died in May 1884. Probate was granted on her Will only a few weeks later but even before then, Thomas William had left Buckerell and moved back to Plymouth, to 5 Woodlane Terrace. As his parents' only heir, he was about to inherit a very comfortable income. He gave up his job with the Church of England and for the next ten years, he lived on that income, devoting his time to gaining his two theology degrees, and to freemasonry. By the day of the 1891 census Thomas William had moved from Woodland Terrace to Cheltenham Place and was living at number 1, as sole member of one of the two households

at the address.

Not until he was about to get married, in 1894, did Thomas William ask the Church of England for another post.

Sources: census 1871, 1881, 1891; probate registry 1884.

Crockford's Clerical Directory issues 1880 p607.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1889 p765.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1895 p809.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

The social side of freemasonry is a very important part of it: all big meetings were followed by dinner at a hotel, for the members and their guests. Several reports of lodge and chapter dinners which Thomas William attended mentioned him as taking part with other lodge members in after-dinner songs and recitations; though without saying what he sang or recited. There's a certain theatricality about taking a Church service as well, of course; and about - say - being a Knight Templar.

I've already mentioned one book in Thomas William's collection of old volumes, and a second one, still in existence, proves he didn't just collect books on freemasonry. He had a copy of William Borlase's *The Natural History of Cornwall*, printed for the author in 1750 by W Jackson of Oxford. It is now in the library of the University of Toronto.

Sources:

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p8.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1888 p4.

The Freemason's Chronicle May 1885 p13.

For the William Borlase: search.library.utoronto.ca.

MARRIAGE AND LAST YEARS

In April 1894, Thomas William married Mary Louisa Brian. I think they had been engaged for about a year before they married. Mary Louisa (born 1862) was the eldest child of the wonderfully-named Thomas Cadwallader Brian, solicitor, and coroner for Plymouth from 1868 until his death in 1889. In 1891 Mary Louisa and her sisters Eleanor and Jessie were living with their mother Mary at 17 Woodford Terrace in Compton Gifford. Mary Louisa's brother Cadwallader was also at home while doing his legal articles; he qualified in due course and worked as a solicitor and I think his sons carried on the family business into the next generation. T C Brian had left surprisingly little money, for a man who worked in the law, and the Brians did not have any servants living-in, on census day.

After their marriage, Thomas William and Mary Louisa went to live in Cornwall. Evidence from freemasons' magazines shows that Thomas William was not so active in freemasonry in

Plymouth after he moved away - as you would expect. In 1895 Thomas William and Mary Louisa were living in Erme House, on Station Road Ivybridge, possibly while repairs were being done to the vicarage in Thomas William's new parish. As part of the preparations for his marriage, he had gone back to the Church of England and been appointed vicar of Poughill near Bude, where in 1914 the yearly stipend will have added £200 to his income from other sources. A group of trustees controlled the appointment, and perhaps Thomas William had used his freemasonry contracts in order to be recommended to them. By 1901 he and his wife had been able to move into the vicarage. On census day they were at home there, with a visitor, Rev Henry D Wilkinson, who was probably a friend of Mary Louisa as he came from Derbyshire where her father had worked at one time. The Lemons were keeping house with a cook and one housemaid. They were still living at Poughill vicarage on census day 1911, and still had two servants living in, though they may no longer have been employing a specialist cook.

Thomas William Lemon was still in-post at Poughill when he died, at the Vicarage, in December 1919.

Mary Louisa and her nephew Cadwallader Brian - now in practice as a qualified solicitor - were the executors of Thomas William's Will. One of their tasks was to hand over to the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia some books that Thomas William had left to the SRIA's library; the ones now in the Freemasons' Library collection.

Mary Louisa Lemon moved back to Plymouth and died there in February 1935.

Sources: census 1895, 1901, 1911; probate registry 1920, 1935.

Transactions of the Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College issue of 1920 p7 obituary.

Thomas Cadwallader Brian

Report and Transactions of Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art volume 140 2008 p203 mentions the Brian family as owners of the freehold of 22 George Street in Plymouth; the article seems to be suggesting that the Brians had owned the property at least since 1818.

Using google I saw several references to T C Brian practising law in Derbyshire and Yorkshire.

London Gazette 24 December 1861 p5561 has T C Brian of Freemasons' Hall Cornwall Street Plymouth acting in a bankruptcy case.

At www.plymouth.gov.uk a list of coroners who had worked in Plymouth.

The Freemason's Chronicle April 1894 p3: marriage announcement for Thomas William Lemon and Mary Louisa Brian. 9 April 1894 at Emmanuel Church Compton Giffard.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1895 p809.

Erme House Ivybridge is Grade 2 listed. See

www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1908 p868

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1914 p916.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

2 November 2016

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

**

William George Lemon was one of the earliest members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. He was initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in March 1888. He chose a Latin motto that reflected very well his outlook on life - 'Via crucis via lucis'. He did not resign from the GD until March 1893 but I'm not sure that he was ever a very active member of the Order.

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on WILLIAM GEORGE LEMON. A more detailed biography of him is awaiting someone with time enough to follow up the evidence I've found, particularly on his life in local government.

Sally Davis

November 2016

IN THE GD

The GD records still in existence don't feature him very much.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

William George was a very active freemason. He was one of the two most senior freemasons to join the GD. So active was he that when I searched the online database of freemasonry magazines to 1900, using 'W G Lemon' - the way he was usually referred to - I got 158 responses. I decided to concentrate on the lodges he was a member of; and the more exotic areas of freemasonry he was involved in. I took my basic information on William George's career in freemasonry from the Freemasons' Library catalogue: several items now in the collection were owned by him and the catalogue entries include the main details of his life in freemasonry, based on annual lodge returns to the United Grand Lodge of England. In the 'sources' section I call these details 'W G Lemon: FML freemasonry biography'.

CRAFT

An initiation into a craft lodge is the way into freemasonry: it is the basic requirement for involvement in other types of freemasonry.

CRAFT LODGE HONOR (sic) AND GENEROSITY 165

William George was initiated into the Honor and Generosity craft lodge 165 in January 1867. If a craft lodge has a low number it is one of the earliest to be founded: Honor and Generosity 165's constitution was written in 1767. It had been founded by a group of London businessmen but at the time William George joined it, most members were lawyers (like he was). It has always met in London; from 1837 at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate and from 1876 at the Inns of Court Hotel, Lincoln's Inn Fields, a very short walk from William

George's office.

It was in William George's nature, and in his religious background as a Congregationalist, to want to take an active part in any institution he joined. In a freemasons setting this meant spending one year at a time rising up a ladder of different official levels until reaching the top with a year as the a craft lodge's Worshipful Master (WM) or its equivalent in other freemasonry organisations. William George did this climb for the first time at Honor and Generosity 165 and did his year as its WM in 1874. In 1876 he went as the lodge's steward to the annual festival of the masonic girls' school: each lodge sent one each year to these fund-raising meeting-cum-dinner which were the focus of the year's money-raising activities on behalf of the UGLE's two schools and the widows' and orphans' fund. The stewards were in charge of their lodge's fund-raising. This was probably his first time as a steward at an annual festival; he did the job several times more in the years to come.

CRAFT LODGE SAYE AND SELE 1973

William George was a founding member of this craft lodge, which was set up in 1882. However, he didn't stay a member for long, resigning the following year.

CRAFT LODGE RAVENSBOURNE 1601 and see the 'royal arch' section below for William George in this lodge's chapter.

Ravensbourne Lodge 1601 was set up in the village of Catford in 1876, before it was engulfed by the outward progress of London's suburbs. It was named for the river which flows through Lewisham and met in its early years at the offices of the Lewisham District Board of Works. William George was an elected representative on this Board, possibly as early as 1876, and perhaps that's how he came to be involved with the lodge, as a founding member and its treasurer for 21 years. Doing the accounts of this lodge was no joy - particularly in its early years it struggled to recruit members, and by 1886 William George had had to lend the lodge £74 to keep it functioning. When he finally retired as treasurer, in 1897, a dinner was held for him at the Holborn Restaurant, a favourite freemasons' venue. At the dinner, the lodge members presented William George with a rather sheepishly worded illuminated address in beautiful copper-plate handwriting, which is now in the Freemasons' Library collection. Within it is a note from the writer, W Spratling, hoping that William George's health would improve so that he could start going to lodge and chapter meetings again. But William George died only a few weeks after the dinner.

As well as being treasurer all those years, William George served as Ravensbourne Lodge 1601's WM in 1881-1882. He also went as steward to the annual festival of the masonic girls' school in 1894, perhaps one of the last large freemasons' functions he attended.

Craft and all the other freemasonries expanded with the British Empire in the second half of the 19th century; both in terms of the number of lodges and the number of countries in which freemasonry was busy; and in the number of new orders being set up, either from first principles or by importation of ideas from other countries. After focusing his freemasonry on just two craft lodges in his first 15 years, William George played an important part in the creation of three new ones in his next ten.

CRAFT LODGE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON 2033

This lodge was a conscious imitation of lodges already set up for undergraduates and past graduates at both Oxford and Cambridge universities (although its history doesn't actually say so!); and some members of Isaac Newton University Lodge 859, based at Cambridge University, were honorary members of it. William George and his son Frank were both active in getting the lodge set up: their names are on the petition sent to the United Grand Lodge of England in 1884, requesting permission for the lodge to be founded. William George served the lodge as treasurer and Frank was one of its later WM's. It met at the Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street, where the UGLE headquarters is now.

CRAFT LODGE CHANCERY BAR 2456

The consecration of this lodge, on 28 November 1893 in the library of Lincoln's Inn, was a very grand affair indeed: the Earl of Lathom, one of the country's most senior active freemasons, led the team that performed the necessary rituals and the evening was graced by the presence of the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the UGLE, who couldn't spare the time to go to all that many freemasonry functions. William George was there as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (more on that appointment below) but also as one of the lodge's members - he served as its Inner Guard (IG) in 1893-94 though he didn't do his year as WM.

CRAFT LODGE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL 2603

The last craft lodge William George joined was the one set up in April 1896 for London County Council heads of department and elected councillors and ex-councillors. He was IG at its consecration at the Freemasons' Hall; though I doubt if he was an active member as his health was failing noticeably by then.

AS A SENIOR CRAFT FREEMASON

It was customary for the consecration of new lodges to be attended by WM's of other lodges and by other freemasons of high rank. Both William George and his freemasonry friend Webster Glynes went as guests to the consecration of Huguenot Lodge 2140 in May 1886. They were also both guests at a very different ceremony in January 1891, one which not many freemasons' lodges could have held - the centenary festival of Percy Lodge 198, in January 1891.

In 1890, William George made a big step onto the national stage in freemasonry: the UGLE appointed him Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; and its equivalent in Royal Arch masonry, the Supreme Grand Chapter, made him a Grand Standard Bearer. Being made a AGDC led to a series of invitations to take an official part in the consecration of craft lodges. William George was director of ceremonies when Columbia Lodge 2397 was consecrated, at the Café Royal in Regent Street, in March 1891. If he didn't know him already he may have been introduced to Issachar Zacharie during that evening; a few years later, Dr Zacharie founded an English offshoot of the Order of the Secret Monitor and William George was one of its first members (see below for more on that). And in 1892, William George was one of the officers at the consecration of St Stephen's Lodge 2424, at the Green Man assembly rooms in Lewisham.

For many masons, membership of one or more craft lodges is as far as they want to take their freemasonry. For those who wish to go further into its esoteric side, being 'exalted' into a Royal Arch chapter is a first step that will open up a number of choices. Though many don't

choose to have one, a Royal Arch chapter is an offshoot of a craft lodge. William George Lemon was exalted in the Union Chapter 414 in 1869; it was based in Reading and he might have been introduced there by relations of his wife Selina, who came from Abingdon. It was some years before he served as its First Principal (the Royal Arch equivalent to a lodge's WM): he spent his year in that office in 1886.

Ravensbourne craft Lodge 1601 didn't have a Royal Arch chapter until 1880. William George was one of its founders when the chapter was set up. He was its First Principal in its first year, and was its treasurer until 1893. The chapter's history describes him as "long-suffering" because despite having only eight members and only two meetings per year, the chapter quickly spent £100 on furniture and committed itself to £4 per year towards its lodge's rent of the meeting rooms at the Lewisham District Board of Works; balancing the chapter's books exercised all William George's accounting skills.

A SENIOR ROYAL ARCH MASON

Under the wing of the UGLE, Royal Arch masonry governed itself through a Supreme Grand Chapter, which met quarterly. At the spring meeting of 1890, William George completed his arrival on freemasonry's national stage by being 'invested' as Royal Arch's Second Standard Bearer for the coming year.

By the mid-19th century England had two other forms of freemasonry, operating independently of the UGLE: Mark masonry; and the Ancient and Accepted Rite. William George was involved with both.

MARK MASONRY

Mark Masonry could trace its origins back to the 18th century but didn't have its own grand lodge until 1856. It expanded enormously, in membership and consequently in organisation, during William George's lifetime and the seal of approval of its existence was set upon it by the UGLE in 1893 when its Grand Master, the Prince of Wales, became Grand Master of the Mark masons' grand lodge too.

BON ACCORD

William George joined Mark masonry's Bon Accord lodge in 1880. Bon Accord had been the first Mark lodge to be founded in England, in 1851, as the London-based offshoot of a Royal Arch chapter of the same name, in Aberdeen. As such it was pre-eminent in Mark masonry and was deemed not to need an identifying number. It met at the Criterion Restaurant in Piccadilly. William George was almost certainly recommended as a good recruit by his freemasonry friend Webster Glynes. The two men served as lodge WM's in successive years, William George in 1886-87 and Glynes in 1887-88. Both were still attending the lodge's installation meetings in the early 1890s and in 1896, William George's son Frank became a member. In 1882, Dr Issachar Zacharie also became a member.

CHISWICK LODGE 357

In 1885, Chiswick Mark masonry lodge 357 was consecrated, at the Star and Garter Hotel Kew Bridge. I haven't found more details of who were the founders of this lodge but I think William George must have been one of them. A magazine report on the consecration

described him as a representative of Bon Accord lodge - having a member of it at your consecration clearly being something to be proud of - but he was also elected Master Overseer (MO), one of the new lodge's officers for its first year. If he had made normal progress up the lodge's hierarchy from MO, he would have served as its WM in 1888.

William George reached national level in Mark masonry at around the same time he did so in craft masonry, being made Senior Grand Overseer at the meeting of the Mark Masonry Grand Lodge in June 1889. Shortly before, probably as part of making himself visible to the Mark masonry hierarchy, he had gone to the Holborn Restaurant to attend one of its charity functions, a dinner for its Grand Master's Lodge of Instruction. GD member Nelson Prower was also at the dinner.

William George was still just in post as Mark masonry's SGO when - after many years meeting at the masonic hall at 8a Red Lion Square - Mark masonry moved into its own headquarters building, the former Bacon's Hotel, next to the Freemasons' Tavern on Great Queen Street. Over the next two years, although his year in office was over, he was still attending the monthly meetings of Mark masonry's Board of Benevolence.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE (AAR) also known as the Scottish Rite

Like both craft and mark freemasonry, the AAR could trace itself back to the 18th century. Unlike craft and mark, however, it was a foreign import, having gone from France to the southern states of the USA, and then back across the Atlantic to arrive in England in 1819. Its governing body in England, the Supreme Council, was set up in 1845. One of its attractions for William George - a regular chapel-goer at the Congregationalist church in Blackheath - must have that all candidates for membership had to believe in the Christian trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. In addition, candidates had to have been a master mason (that is, a member of a craft lodge) for at least a year. And membership of the AAR was by invitation only. All in all, an exclusive group.

The AAR's equivalent of a lodge is called a Rose Croix chapter. Initiations within a chapter take the members as far as 18th degree of the AAR rite; above that, at national level, initiations and appointments go as far as 32° with the AAR's leader, its Sovereign Grand Inspector General, the only member at 33°. At least in William George's time it had its own offices and meeting rooms, at 33 Golden Square.

William George Lemon and Webster Glynes were both members of the AAR's Invicta 10 rose croix lodge. It had been founded in 1858 and held its meetings at the AAR's headquarters. Both men were members by 1880 and both served as the chapter's WM equivalent, Most Wise Sovereign (MWS), though I haven't been able to discover exactly when.

Getting into the AAR's national hierarchy required patience and spare cash. At any time, only 45 AAR members could be at level 32° and only 81 at 31°; so there was a certain amount of 'dead men's shoes' within the organisation. On the other hand, reaching those levels involved payment of large fees and I think it's significant that only one man who joined the GD - Thomas William Lemon - wanted to make it even as far as level 31°. Level 30°'s fees were not quite so high and there was no restriction on numbers, the main requirement being to have spent your year as MWS of a chapter. GD members Thomas Walker Coffin, Webster Glynes, Thomas William Lemon, Robert Roy, Eugène Henri Thiellay and William Wynn

Westcott had all reached that level by 1880; William George had reached it by 1888.

Also by 1888, William George's son Frank had joined the AAR's University chapter 30 which was based in Cambridge University; he was still a member in 1900 though he was now back working in London and living in Surrey.

ALLIED MASONIC DEGREES

The AMD was an umbrella group, taking under its wing and control various orders which had previously been independent. It was formed in 1880. One of the orders that did join was the Order of St Lawrence the Martyr, a loose-knit group of lodges using rituals based on what might originally have been a medieval mystery play about the martyrdom (on a gridiron) of St Lawrence in Rome in AD258. Articles in *The Freemason's Chronicle* in 1876 and 1893 described the ritual as English (meaning that it was not an import from elsewhere) but also as "uncouth and quaint" and used now in the North of England but not much elsewhere. Modern sources suggest that there was a grand lodge of sorts, which issued certificates to new initiates; and there was some kind of list of the lodges it had charge of, in the usual order of date founded. I tried looking in freemasons' magazines for coverage of the Order of St Lawrence from before the AMD was set up. There were a few reports of meetings from the 1870s, particularly of an Ebor Lodge based in York, and a London Lodge; but none mentioned William George so I don't know for sure when he was initiated.

William George was a member of one of the loose-knit lodges. In 1891-92 he served as WM of the London-based lodge known as Metropolitan A and perhaps he had been in that lodge from his original initiation into the Order. At the end of his year in charge, the other members of the lodge presented him with a commemorative jewel, which is now in the Freemasons' Library. Renamed as AMD's Metropolitan Council 1, it was meeting in the Mark masons' new hall in Great Queen Street by July 1892, when William George was reaching the end of his year as its WM; and I think from the report I read that the GD's Nelson Prower was WM-in-waiting. In August 1892 he stood in as acting JW at that year's installation ceremony but this seems to have been his last act as an officer in the Council. At its meeting of July 1897, its first meeting since his death, the Metropolitan Council sent its condolences to his family, remarking on how active a member of the Council he had been.

Some organisational changes were made to the Order of St Lawrence once it joined the AMD. The AMD opted for the use of the word 'council', rather than 'lodge' for its basic units. And whereas before, craft freemasons did not need to be Mark Masons to join the Order of St Lawrence the Martyr, all new members of bodies belonging to the AMD had to be craft masons, Mark masons and Royal Arch masons already - quite a test of a freemason's commitment. William George, and Nelson Prower, are the only two members of the GD that I know of who were members of the AMD.

ORDER OF THE SECRET MONITOR (OSM)

The OSM started out in the Netherlands in the late-18th century but reached England in the 1890s from America, through the efforts of its founder here, Issachar Zacharie, who after training as a doctor in the UK spent several decades in the USA. I've mentioned above that Dr Zacharie and William George Lemon were acquaintances through Bon Accord Mark masons' lodge. In 1887 Dr Zacharie decided to start an English offshoot of OSM, which he'd known when he was living in California. He invited a group of freemasonry acquaintances to a series of meetings at his house, 80 Brook Street, to discuss the possibility. William George

wasn't at the very first meeting, but he did attend the OSM's first official meeting in July 1887; all the men at that meeting became members of the OSM's first conclave (its lodge-equivalent), Alfred Meadows Conclave 1. A constitution was agreed on; William George might have played a part in drawing it up. A Grand Council to govern the Order in England was also elected - William George was a member - with Dr Zacharie as its Supreme Ruler. Very shortly afterwards, the OSM held its first annual festival, at the Hotel Victoria Northumberland Avenue, and a recruitment drive began with 30 new members inducted and several more conclaves founded. One of the new members was no less than the current Lord Chancellor - Hardinge Stanley Gifford, Earl of Halsbury - whom William George might have been acquainted with professionally. Another was William George's freemason friend Webster Glynes.

In 1895, the OSM attempted to become affiliated to the Allied Masonic Degrees. William George, played an important role in the negotiations, heading the committee that drew up a document outlining the OSM's position. Problems arose, however, and the process was only partially completed.

Despite his declining health William George was still managing to attend meetings of Alfred Meadows Conclave 1 as late as June 1896; by that time GD member Nelson Prower was also a member of it.

The ORDER OF THE TEMPLE (the Knights Templar) and the ORDER OF ST JOHN OF...MALTA

Today, one Great Priory governs both these orders. The orders were governed together in William George's time as well, but until the 1890s the chain of command was rather more complex. Both orders took their inspiration from the original, medieval, orders of knights who went to and fought in the Holy Land; and both orders did, of course, require members to be Christians. There were also other requirements of candidates; and the Order of Malta was an inner order, in that all candidates had already to be members of the Order of the Temple. The equivalent of a craft lodge in the knights templar Order is a preceptory. The Order of Malta doesn't seem to have been organised along those lines and there doesn't seem to be an equivalent to a lodge. It doesn't seem to have more than one meeting a year, either. It was held immediately after the annual meeting of the knights templar's National Great Priory, in May, and was followed - often after the minimum of business - by a banquet.

William George was probably initiated into the Temple Crossing Preceptory 45 in the early 1880s.

It had been founded in 1855 and in the 1880s was holding its meetings at the Ship Hotel in Greenwich. William George did his year as its Preceptor in 1884-85. The Freemasons' Library has a jewel that was presented by the preceptory at the end of that 12 months. During the 12 months he had attended the consecration of the Shadwell Clerke Preceptory and become its Prelate for the next year; GD member Eugène Henri Thiellay was elected a joining member at the meeting.

In May 1886 William George went to what was probably his first annual meeting of the National Great Priory, as Temple Crossing 45's representative and as a Constable in the Order's province of Kent and Surrey. His acquaintance Webster Glynes was there, also as a

representative of Kent and Surrey, and as representative of Harcourt Preceptory 74. Glynes went home after the Great Priory meeting, but William George stayed for the meeting and dinner of the Order of Malta, where he was Guard to one of the banners. In May 1887, William George was given a national appointment for a year in the Order of Malta, as ADC; and he was also made Hospitaller.

In December 1887 a special meeting of the knights templar was called for an occasion that had become rather rare: a newly appointed provincial prior would be making his homage to the Order's hierarchy. The new provincial prior was William George's acquaintance and namesake Thomas William Lemon. As ADC, William George was part of Rev Lemon's escort as he processed through the Cannon Street Hotel to make his obeisance.

ADC was the highest level William George got to in the Order of the Temple hierarchy, perhaps he because he didn't have the spare time and money to invest in going any higher than that; but possibly for other reasons.

Though it was not acknowledged in any issues of the Order of the Temple's Calendar of the Great Priory, from 1878 to 1889 the knights templar were in the doldrums: very little new blood got into the Order's top hierarchy; provincial and even national posts went unallocated for years; very few preceptories sent representatives to the annual meetings; and a lot of preceptories were noted in the accounts as being behind with their yearly submissions to the Order's head office. I also read, in a freemasons' magazine, an assessment of the Order's status in Devon which said that although half a dozen preceptories existed in theory, in practice they had hardly enough members between them to make one going concern.

In the late 1880s the Order of the Temple finally decided it had to do something to make itself more attractive to freemasons, at a time when there were so many different freemasonries to choose from. A report was commissioned, but its main recommendations - making the entrance requirements less demanding and the initiation less expensive - were not popular with a lot of the members; who had, of course, met those requirements before they were allowed in. William George and GD members Thomas William Lemon, Thomas Walker Coffin, Webster Glynes and Nelson Prower had all had to be craft masons, Royal Arch masons, and Mark masons of two years' standing before they could even be considered for the Order of the Temple. They had also had to pay an initiation fee of £5/5. The Report's recommendations about membership, and others about the organisation, administration and finances of the Order at national level, did go through; but it might be significant that William George only attended one more national meeting between 1887 and his death in 1897. In 1892, Temple Cressing and Kemeys Tynte preceptories demonstrated that the Order's troubles were continuing: they amalgamated, presumably because neither had enough members to be viable on its own. I wonder how William George felt about that? - gloomily resigned to the inevitable, perhaps.

The annual meeting of May 1894 was the last annual meeting of the whole two orders that William George went to, though he may have continued to go to meetings of Temple Cressing Kemeys Tynte Preceptory (which were held the AAR headquarters at 33 Golden Square) as long as his health permitted.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE

It's a pity that I couldn't find the Red Cross of Constantine's annual reports for the years between 1874 and 1887, because they would have covered William George's early years in the Order. The Red Cross of Constantine's equivalent to a craft freemasonry lodge is called a conclave. At least in the 1890s and probably from his initiation into the Order, William George was a member of Saye and Sele Conclave 122, which met in Belvedere in Kent. It had been founded in 1875 and although I couldn't find a list of founders, I think it's likely William George was one of them.

In 1885 William George was invested as Saye and Sele Conclave 122's Viceroy Eusebius for the coming year. The following year he moved onto the Red Cross of Constantine's national stage when he went to his first annual meeting and was elected Grand Standard Bearer. Most men only held the job for one year but he did it for two, retiring from it at the annual meeting of March 1888 after being appointed the Order's Grand Examiner.

Even at his first annual meeting William George took a very active part in its decision-making processes. In 1887 this willingness to take a lead in administrative matters led to his being elected to the Order's Grand Senate. The following year he got onto the Order's Grand Council, as its Grand Historiographer, and was also elected onto its executive committee where the Order's day-to-day decisions were made. He was re-elected to the executive committee each year until 1893, possibly 1894; and to the Grand Council for several years as well. At the same time, his progress up the national hierarchy continued: in 1890 he became a Grand Marshall; and in 1891 he reached the rank of Grand High Almoner. In 1891 he was also Chancellor General of two smaller orders that the Red Cross of Constantine had recently taken in - the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and the Order of St John the Evangelist. In 1892 he became a member of their joint Patriarchal Council, as its Grand Chancellor General. That year seems to have been his high point, however, and in the years afterwards William George began to cut back his commitment to the Order. By 1892 he was no longer on its Grand Council and I think the annual meeting of March 1892 was the last one he attended. By 1894 he had left the executive committee as well.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS OF ENGLAND AND WALES also known as Cryptic masonry.

Like Mark masonry (with which it had close links, at least to start with) the RSM was a freemasonry only recently founded in England; and like the AAR it had arrived in England from the USA. Its English Grand Council had been set up in 1873. The earliest list of RSM members that I found was from 1891, when William George was a member of RSM but not attached to any particular Council. However, there's evidence that he was in the RSM's Council number 1 in September 1889, as was GD member Nelson Prower. Webster Glynes had been a member during the 1880s but he resigned in 1889. Council number 1 met at 8a Red Lion Square in the late 1880s but followed the RSM Grand Council to the Mark Masons' hall in the early 1890s.

William George's commitment to the RSM was not strong: he was never elected a national officer.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

SRIA is an anomaly within freemasonry: it does not acknowledge the authority of any grand lodge but on the other hand its colleges are run like any lodge or chapter, and only freemasons can join it. SRIA is a forum for freemasons who are interested in freemasonry's esoteric side. GD founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers were both active members of it; and William Robert Woodman, William George's acquaintance from the Red Cross of Constantine and elsewhere in freemasonry, was its Supreme Magus in the 1880s. Woodman gave Westcott and Mathers his permission to found an order which would put into practice as ritual some of the mythology and symbolism SRIA studied in theory. Westcott and Mathers duly invited their SRIA acquaintances to join their Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

William George was already a member of SRIA's Metropolitan College in 1885, when the College first began to publish volumes of Transactions. In the next few years he made his way up the College's year-by-year hierarchy until, in April 1893, he should have been installed as its Celebrant (the equivalent of a craft lodge's Worshipful Master) except that he was ill and couldn't go to the meeting. He sent his apologies for absence in Latin! He did serve the rest of his year, however, his last duty being to instal his successor, GD member Thomas William Lemon. The Rev Lemon had got married a few days before his installation, at the age of nearly 50. William George - who had been married for nearly 40 years - made a "humorous" speech congratulating him.

There were limits to William George's involvement in SRIA, however. College meetings were organised around the reading of a paper on an esoteric subject by one of the members; but William George never read a paper. He also never served as a member of SRIA's governing body, the High Council. The Transactions issue of 1898 doesn't mention William George's death at all, so perhaps he had not been an active member since his year as Celebrant had finished.

THEOSOPHY

William George Lemon was not a member of the Theosophical Society.

SPIRITUALISM

I haven't found any evidence that William George had an interest in spiritualism. However, it is hard to tell whether people were spiritualists. Spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now.

Sources for this very long and complex section:

FREEMASONRY

General: 'W G Lemon: FML freemasonry biography'.

CRAFT - HONOR AND GENEROSITY LODGE 165

Just confirming here that 'honor' (without the 'u') is the correct spelling of this lodge's name. A Short History of the Lodge of Honor and Generosity 165 1737-1967. No author is actually

specified in this pamphlet, but the Acknowledgements are by A J Platt who says the booklet is based on notes originally written up by lodge member Ernest Franck from the lodge Minute Books. Passim. On p19: list of the lodge's worshipful masters, including (in 1848) C G Prideaux, author of the legal reference work Prideaux' Precedents.

William George's gradual progress towards serving as WM is noted in reports in these magazines:

The Freemason's Magazine and Masonic Mirror February 1870 p1.

The Freemason's Magazine and Masonic Mirror volume New Series 24 January-June 1871 p53.

The Freemason's Magazine and Masonic Mirror February 1871 p12.

William George at the masonic girls' school annual festival: The Freemason's Chronicle May 1876 p6: lodge Honor and Generosity 165 had raised £56/12.

CRAFT LODGE SAYE AND SELE 1973

History of the Saye and Sele Lodge number 1973 by "An Old Past Master". No publication details but the dedication is dated "March, 1912": p17, p35. The lodge meets at Belvedere Park in Kent.

CRAFT LODGE RAVENSBOURNE 1601

Ravensbourne Lodge 1601 1876-1976: A Short History of the Lodge. No author's name. Printed 1976 by Modern Press (Norwich) Ltd. Passim.

The Freemason's Chronicle April 1881 p6.

The Freemason May 1894 p1.

The Freemason's Chronicle May 1897 p8.

The illuminated address and note from Mr Spratling: FML call number BE 366 (1601) RAV.

CRAFT LODGE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON 2033

University of London Lodge 2033: By-Laws approved by the UGLE. Published 1884: [p20] list of members.

The Freemason 1905 p276 issue of 20 May 1905.

CRAFT LODGE CHANCERY BAR 2456

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1893 p2.

CRAFT LODGE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL 2603

The Freemason's Chronicle April 1896 p2.

A SENIOR CRAFT FREEMASON

The Freemason May 1886 p7.

The Freemason January 1891 p2.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1891 p9.

The Freemason's Chronicle May 1892 p4.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY

Ravensbourne Chapter 1601 1880-1980. Author and publication details unknown. Passim.

MARK MASONRY

Masonic Calendar for 1888, its 3rd year of issue.

Masonic Calendar issue of 1898: especially p4.

Bon Accord Mark Masons' Lodge:

By-laws of the Regulation of the London "Bon Accord" Mark Masons Lodge which is not thought to need a number. There was a first edition of this booklet in 1856. The edition I saw was published in London: 1898 with (p18) membership details correct to September 1898. Especially pp3-5; p11; and unnumbered pages at the end for the members' list. In its early years Dr Benjamin Babington, the physician and translator, was a member; his grand-daughter Anna Mary Babington joined the GD. Webster Glynes joined in 1869.

The Freemason November 1884 p8.

CHISWICK LODGE 357

The Freemason's Chronicle July 1885 p6.

I haven't been able to find a history of this lodge.

MARK MASONRY GRAND MASTER'S LODGE OF INSTRUCTION

The Freemason's Chronicle April 1889 p11. Just noting here that both William George and Nelson Prower are near the bottom of a very long guest-list in hierarchical order!

MARK MASONRY GRAND LODGE

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1889 p1.

The Freemason's Chronicle July 1889 p1.

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1890 p8

BOARD OF BENEVOLENCE - I think this is Mark masonry rather than any of the other kinds.

The Freemason's Chronicle September 1890 p3.

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1891 p11.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

It's not possible for me to use the AAR's own archives, with whatever chapter histories they have in them. My information has come from the Rules and Regulations... volumes held at the Freemasons' Library: Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. I looked at 1880, 1885, 1888 from which I took my information on the AAR's hierarchy, and 1900.

Rules and Regulations... correct to 30 June 1880 issued at 33 Golden Square: pp35-41, p43, p56.

Rules and Regulns... correct to 30 June 1888; issued by the Office of the Secretary General, 33 Golden Square: pp5-12 for the AAR's history and current rules; pp37-45 names of the current hierarchy; p53 for William George Lemon at level 30 now; p57, p66 for Invicta 10 chapter; p79 for Frank Lemon.

Rules and Regulations... to 31 July 1900 p74.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE - the Imperial, Ecclesiastical and Military Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine.

Statement of Accounts, Annual Report and List of Officers and Conclaves. Published in London by George Kenning, who was a member of it. Volume covering 1868 to 1899 but missing the years between 1874 and 1887 if any issues were published for those years.

Issue of 1893 was the first in the volume to have a list of past grand officers; going back to the 1860s: p18-21.

Issue of 1887 pp3-5.

Issue of 1888 p5.

Issue of 1889 is the first to include the orders of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and St John the Evangelist. Pp5-7.

Issue of 1890 pp3-5 just noting that as well as William George Lemon, GD members Eugène Henri Thiellay and Nelson Prower were also at the Grand Imperial Conclave (annual meeting) of March 1890.

Issue of 1891 p3, pp9-11.

Issue of 1892. A lot of senior members didn't attend this meeting. I think there was a flu epidemic that year. Pp6-7 W G Lemon did attend.

Issue of 1893 p3, p5, pp9-11.

Issue of 1894.

Issue of 1895 p4. On p24 begins the first full list of members of the Red Cross of Constantine in the volume: p36. According to the information on p56, William George was never MPS of Saye and Sele Conclave 122; very odd.

At meetings of the Order's Grand Imperial Conclave:

The Freemason March 1889 p3.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1890 p10.

One report I found on a meeting of Saye and Sele Conclave 122:

The Freemason's Chronicle November 1885 p11.

ALLIED MASONIC DEGREES

The Order of the Allied Masonic Degrees first edition by Harold Prestige, privately printed 1979. I saw the 2nd edition, revised and edited by Frederick Smyth. Published Ian Allan Printing Ltd 1999: p6 in the book's Part 7: the Constituent Degrees: St Lawrence the Martyr. Also pp68-69. And Prestige/Smyth's Appendix A, beginning p83: Rulers and Administrators of the AMD; and from p95 full list of current AMD councils. Metropolitan A (later

Metropolitan Council 1) doesn't need a warrant or date of confirmation. Just noting here the absence of any contemporary documentation of the early years of the AMD: no Proceedings volumes were issued until 1893.

See the online catalogue of the Freemasons Library for details and a picture of the jewel presented to William George in 1892.

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1876 p9.

The Freemason January 1879 p9 had a report on a meeting of what seemed to be all the members of the Order of St Lawrence or at least all the London-based ones; and yet the meeting was described as being that of a lodge, not of a whole Order. I think the Order must have been a rather small affair.

The Freemason's Chronicle January 1879 p10.

The Freemason May 1885 p13.

The Freemason November 1887 p5.

The Freemason July 1892 p11.

The Freemason August 1892 p11.

The Freemason's Chronicle August 1892 p5.

The Freemason's Chronicle Aug 1893 p7.

The Freemason July 1897 p15.

ORDER OF THE SECRET MONITOR

History of the Order of the Secret Monitor 1887-1963 by R J Wilkinson. Published 1964 by the Grand Council of the OSM in London and based (piii) on the Minute Books of the OSM's ruling council and executive committee. On p15 the Earl of Euston is mentioned as the current head of the Allied Masonic Degrees. The Earl's sister, Lady Eleanor Harbord, joined the GD. For the early years of the OSM in England: pp7-12.

Two further points about the OSM:

1) At some point I couldn't identify but definitely during its first five years, Alfred Meadows Conclave 1 changed its name to Premier Conclave 1.

2) In September 2016 I was talking to Susan Snell, archivist at the Freemasons' Library, about the OSM, and she told me that the OSM doesn't insist that its members be Christians. The OSM's rituals are based on the Old Testament stories of David and Jonathan, so it's a popular choice for Jewish freemasons who want to explore the esoteric side of freemasonry.

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1895 p5.

The Freemason June 1896 p4.

Dr Zacharie died in 1900: The Freemason's Chronicle September 1900 p3 has an obituary. He had a very exciting US Civil War! He's buried in Highgate Cemetery.

THE ORDERS OF THE TEMPLE AND OF MALTA...

Calendar of the Great Priory. I looked at 1878 to 1897.

Issue of 1881 p11 Thomas Walker Coffin was the only GD member at national level in either order.

Issue of 1883 p17 for details of Temple Crossing Preceptory 45.

Issue of 1884 p17 and Issue of 1885 p17.

Issue of 1886 p31, pp35-36. William George was Guard to the Banner of R; there are also banners of B, L, D, and A.

Issue of 1887 p1; p4; p15; pp31-32.

Issue of 1889 pp30-37.

Issue of 1892 pp6-7.

Issue of 1894 p29.

The publication previously known as Calendar and Reports of the Great Priory of England and Wales changed its title to Liber Ordinis Templi for its issue of 1896-1900. There was no mention of William George's death in the issue of 1897.

Ordo Templi Alphabetical List of Great Officers 1846-1915. Part 1 published 1888. Compiled by William Tinkler: p16.

The Freemason's Chronicle December 1887 p4.

The Freemason January 1885 p2.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS also known as the Cryptic Rite, a reference to the basic layout of one of its rituals.

Annual Report of Proceedings of the Grand Council of RSM of Engl and Wales etc. The earliest of these in the Freemasons' Library collection is that of 1887.

Issue of 1887 printed 1888 George Kenning: pp3-6. At this time there were 15 councils in the RSM including four in London; however, five were in a dormant state. 51 new initiates had joined the RSM in the past 12 months, which the annual report described as a "slow but steady" progress.

Issue of 1891 re p3 ann mtg of March 1891. Beginning p20, list of current members, very few of whom were members of any of its councils at the time. On p22 the entry for William George Lemon says that he became a member in the RSM's first year of existence; I'm not sure which year that was!

Issue of 1896 re ann mtg p3 of March 1896. pp19-26 a list of current members: p22.

Some confusion in The Freemason:

The Freemason October 1889 p14. I think The Freemason's reporter got William George Lemon mixed up with Church of England clergyman (and GD member) Thomas William Lemon when preparing this item: a "Rev W Lemon" was described as attending the RSM meeting at which Webster Glynes' resignation was read out.

The Freemason March 1891 p12 at this meeting of the same RSM Council, number 1, the attendee is definitely William George; but he's described as "PG Chap" ie Past Grand Chaplain; and again must have been confused with Rev Thomas William. GD member Nelson Prower - ubiquitous in London freemasonry at the time - was at this meeting.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900 especially p7, p14.

Transactions of the Metropolitan College which were first published in 1885.

Issue of 1885 p1.

Issue 1891/92 inside front cover, p1.

Issue 1893/94 pp1-2.

Issue of 1897/98.

And finally: THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

Not really. What I thought was an obituary in The Bankers', Insurance Managers' and Agents' Magazine turned out to be a very short announcement of his death.

Source:

The Bankers', Insurance Managers' and Agents' Magazine volume 64 1897 p108: he had died on 26 May [1897].

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

I have found only the most meagre information on William George's early life. The only references I've come across are vague: there's mention of a Rev George William Lemon (1726-1797) who might be a relation; and of a father called James Lemon (no dates given for him). The information may be accurate but I haven't found any evidence at all to corroborate it. As I was getting nowhere, I asked my contact in Canberra to check her family history sources (which are different from mine) to see if anyone in the family appeared on them; and to look at the censuses of 1841 and 1851 to see if she could spot him where I had failed.

Apart from finding what is probably him on 1851, she too drew a blank, and at that point I gave up.

The one piece of information that does seem to be born out by other evidence is that William George Lemon was born in 1831, possibly in Marylebone, in what is now London but was then Middlesex.

What I have failed to find out: confirmation of his year and place of birth; mother's name; father's occupation if any; names of siblings if he had any; where the family lived in the 1830s and 1840s; dates of death of both his parents. Neither I nor my contact in Canberra could spot William George, or James Lemon, on the 1841 census.

Though 'Lemon' is not a common surname, two members of the GD were called Lemon - William George, and Thomas William. I have not so far been able to find any relationship, however distant, between the two of them.

Source for this section:

Men at the Bar compiled by Joseph Foster; 2nd edition published 1885; p275. It's likely that the information in this volume was supplied by William George Lemon himself, what little

there is of it. The book describes William George's father James as a "gentleman". When I set out to do this GD research I understood that term to mean a man who didn't need to work but lived off income from rents and shares. Now, however, I view it as meaning nothing in particular except an anxiety to be seen as such a man.

EDUCATION

Where William George went to school is another mystery. He probably went to a day school in London but I haven't actually found any evidence for that. On leaving school, he definitely did go to London University and graduated BA in 1853. If my contact in Canberra has identified him correctly on the 1851 census, he was doing his university courses while working as a teacher. Over a decade later, he went back to London University and did a law degree, taking the Oxford Local Exams and graduating for the second time in 1866. He began studying to be a barrister in 1863, passed the exams and was called to the Bar in June 1866.

Sources:

Law Times 25 May 1867 p24.

Via ioearc.da.ulcc.ac.uk to the Educational Times New Series volume XV number 19 issue of October 1862 p152.

Men at the Bar compiled by Joseph Foster; 2nd edition published 1885 p275.

WORK/PROFESSION. HE HAD TWO DIFFERENT CAREERS

CAREER ONE: AS A TEACHER

Both my contact in Canberra and I are fairly sure that on the day of the 1851 census William George had left home and was working as an assistant teacher at the school run by William Arnum and his wife Caroline, at 18 Upper Belgrave Place in central London. This was a large establishment, with four teachers including Mr Arnum. One teacher was a woman, as the school was willing to take very young pupils. There were 17 pupils on census day, ranging in age from 13 to 4.

The following year William George was appointed to a very prestigious post: headmaster of the school run by the London Missionary Society for the sons of its missionaries working abroad. David Livingstone's sons had been sent there. In theory, the London Missionary Society was non-denominational. However, it had always had strong Evangelical leanings and William George would not have been appointed unless he had shared those views. He was a Congregationalist; and soon after his appointment he married a Baptist. When he took up the post, the school was based in houses in Mornington Crescent, just north of Euston Road. In 1857, he helped supervise the school's move to a building at Blackheath that had been built for the purpose, where it remained until long after he left it in 1866.

CAREER TWO: AS A BARRISTER

William George gave up teaching and began working as a barrister as soon as he was called to the bar, in 1866 at Lincoln's Inn. He remained in practice, at 2 New Square, until his death. He specialised in conveyancing, and equity. In 1869 his expertise led to his being

elected a director of British Equitable Assurance Company Ltd, whose offices at that time were at 4 Queen Street Place in the City of London (now EC4). Again, he remained a company director until his death.

I didn't find many references in the Times to William George's work as a barrister. The Times covered legal cases only when they involved the rich and famous or notorious, or interesting and difficult legal points; William George's specialisms didn't have much of either of those! However, in July 1887 his name did come up, as one of the men attending the 13th conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations. The Association was an international body with members from business and the law. Each year its conference had been held in a different country and I don't expect William George went to any of the meetings held in Europe. The 1887 conference was held at the Guildhall at the invitation of the Corporation of London. William George attended the day's meetings but wasn't on the guest-list for the evening's dinner at the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor.

Sources: censuses 1851-1891. Thanks to my contact in Canberra for spotting William George, listed as "Wm G", on 1851.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY whose records are now at SOAS.

For the London Missionary Society schools, see the Society's wikipedia page.

AS A BARRISTER

Times 7 June 1866 p9 and The Jurist volume 12 part 2 issue of 9 June 1867 p233.

Men at the Bar compiled by Joseph Foster. 2nd edition 1885 p275.

Law List 1893 p134.

BRITISH EQUITABLE

The company still exists. Its records are at the London Metropolitan Archive: see www.aim25.ac.uk/cats for a full list of its holdings.

References to William George as a director of the firm; which are mostly adverts:

Insurance Times and Organ of Insurance Associations volume 1 number 4 1870 p49.

Financial Register and Stock Exchange Manual 1879 p227.

The Insurance Guardian: A Chronology and Critique p97 issue of 20 August 1881.

Stock Exchange Year Book pages listing directors of British Equitable: 1880 p141; 1882 p170; 1883 p191.

The Bankers', Insurance Managers' and Agents' Magazine volume 64 July-Dec 1897 p108.

One source I found, at [//radicalsocialistbritishplanning.files.wordpress.com](http://radicalsocialistbritishplanning.files.wordpress.com): Guide to the 1892 Election stated that William George was head of the Prudential Insurance Co. I couldn't find any other reference to him in that role, and I think it must be a mistake.

Times Tues 26 July 1887 p10 The Law of Nations.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Only a very short time after he became a barrister, William George was asked by Rev Frederick Tomkins to contribute notes on points of law to his translation of The

Commentaries of Gaius on the Roman Law. William George and Rev Tomkins were both Congregationalists and had both been students at University College London. Rev Tomkins went on to do two other translations of Roman Law into English; though with other collaborators. The translation was published in 1869 and seems to have been the standard work on the subject, at least for a while: I saw a great many references to it on the web and a large number of university libraries have a copy of it.

Sources:

The Commentaries of Gaius on the Roman Law with an English Translation and Annotations by Frederick J Tomkins and William George Lemon. London 1869: Butterworths of 7 Fleet Street; publishers to Queen Victoria and with agents in Edinburgh, Dublin and Boston Mass. Gaius had a great deal to say about Roman Law - the book has 771 pages!! It's laid out in what seems to me to be a modern style, with the Latin on one page and the English facing it. Introduction ppi-ii is mostly about the choice of extant texts and the errors therein. It also thanks George Long for suggesting the project. George Long's wikipedia page says that he was a professor at University College London: of Greek in 1828; then of Latin in 1842. And Reader in jurisprudence and civil law at the Middle Temple 1846-49.

I haven't been able to find out much about Frederick J Tomkins except this reference to time spent in Canada in the early 1850s working at Gorham College, which was a Congregationalist educational institution: Lives of Dalhousie University by Peter B Waite. Volume 1 1818-1925 published Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University 1994: pp80-88.

POLITICS

This is the section where there's a lot of information waiting for someone who happens along and wants to take William George Lemon further. I've decided that with so many GD members to investigate, I'm not going to look through the records at the London Metropolitan Archive in search of W G Lemon the vestry-man, councillor and campaigner against Home Rule for Ireland. Instead I'm just going to indicate what he was involved in and - where I can find the information - for how long.

Most GD members seem to have taken no active part in politics, but William George was an exception to this rule. As to what political party he represented, that's a bit difficult to decide!

POLITICS - LONDON SCHOOL BOARD

I think this was probably William George's first effort at getting elected to something. He stood in the first ever elections to the newly-created London School Board, as a candidate for one of the four seats in Greenwich (which for these purposes included parts of what's now Lewisham). There was no active campaigning for the elections and there wasn't much in the way of party politics either, though some candidates did receive an endorsement from a local political party. William George wasn't endorsed by any political party but he did get an endorsement from one group of local ratepayers. Voting took place on 29 November 1870 and William George wasn't elected. I'm happy to say that Emily Davies, the great champion of education for middle-class women, topped the poll in Greenwich. William George never stood for the LSB again as far as I can tell.

Source: a wiki on these first-ever London School Board elections, with plenty of statistics.

Journal of the Society of Arts volume XIX November 1870 to November 1871 p26 issue of 25 November 1870 for the candidates in Greenwich; and p40 for the results.

Men at the Bar 2nd edition 1885, 2nd p275 confirms that William George did not stand in the LSB elections of 1885; though it doesn't say whether he stood - and failed - at other times.

POLITICS - POOR LAW BOARD

This is the area about which I've found least. In a profile of William George Lemon put together ahead of the LCC elections in 1892, he was described as being a Poor Law Guardian. The source didn't say where or give any dates. I think it was probably in Greenwich, and that he was probably still a Guardian in 1892.

Source: LCC Election 1892: The Elector's Guide. A Popular Hand-Book for the Election compiler and editor W T Stead; published by the magazine Review of Reviews at 125 Fleet Street. Short profile of W G Lemon, p89.

POLITICS - VESTRY OF LEWISHAM previously Lewisham Board of Works

Although I don't have a start date for it, this does seem to have been William George's longest-lasting political commitment. He was elected to the Lewisham Vestry while it was still being called the Board of Works. He retired from it in 1892, causing the other vestry-men a problem by not waiting for local elections.

Sources:

Men at the Bar 2nd edition 1885, 2nd p275 though without dates.

At www.ebooks.com, a collection of reports to the Charity Organisation Society: Reports of Council and Local Committees. Unfortunately I couldn't see which year! The COS had 38 district committees in the London area, each covering the same ground as the local vestry. On p12, W G Lemon was in a list of members of Lewisham Vestry elected by their fellows to represent the Vestry on the COS's local committee. The vicar of Lewisham and the chairman of the Lewisham Board of Guardians were members ex officio.

Blackheath Gazette Friday 20 January 1893 p5 report on the monthly meeting of the vestry, which had been attended by more ratepayers than vestry-men. W G Lemon had not been one of the 9 vestry-men who were present, as he had just retired.

POLITICS - the LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

The first ever elections to the newly-formed LCC were held in 1889. William George and F S Brereton stood in Lewisham. No one stood against them and both men were elected unopposed. In 1892, ahead of the LCC's second set of elections, the councillors' work and attendance records were subjected to a lengthy scrutiny by W T Stead, and published for the voters to check through. Stead's analysis showed that William George had had an average overall attendance record, going to 234 of the 344 sessions of the LCC and its sub-committees. He had been chairman of the LCC's Corporate Property sub-committee.

William George was one of the LCC councillors who completed and returned Stead's

questionnaire on the issues facing the voters: taxes; the LCC's powers (and their limits); and whether the LCC should take over the management of the metropolitan police. William George had said he was against the LCC extending its remit; he was one of few councillors (Stead noted) to feel that the LCC already had as much work as it could easily cope with and finance.

William George had been elected in 1889 as a Progressive (which equates to the Conservatives). The Progressives were in the majority after the 1889 election and William George had tended to vote with them, most of the time. For the purposes of the 1892 elections William George was being supported in Lewisham by the Progressive Party. However, he was being "hotly opposed" by two (other) Conservatives resulting, Stead remarked, in "a great deal of unpleasantness in the Unionist ranks" in the borough.

William George lost his LCC seat in the 1892 LCC elections. He chose not to stand in 1896.

POLITICS - IRELAND

In March 1893 the Conservative Party in Lewisham and Greenwich got together with the Liberal Unionists in the area to organise a joint meeting against Gladstone's second attempt to get an Irish home rule bill through Parliament. William George went to the meeting, which was held in Blackheath on 24 March. This was at a time when he was trying to reduce the number of his many and varied commitments, so he must have felt very strongly on the issue. It's likely that his views on home rule for Ireland were the same as they had been for many years - he was against it. However, on other issues, William George now found himself in the Liberal Unionist camp - hence the opposition to him from some Conservatives in Lewisham, which cost him his LCC seat.

Sources:

The Government of Ireland Bill 1893 has its own wiki. Unlike its predecessor it made it through the House of Commons. However, the House of Lords vetoed it.

Report on the meeting: via www.newspapers.com, the Blackheath Gazette Friday 24 March 1893 p5.

Times Saturday 5 January 1889 p6d The County Councils.

Times Monday 7 January 1889 p7c the County Council elections.

Times 15 January 1889 p6 The County Councils.

Times Friday 18 January 1889 p9e and f: the res of the LCC elections.

Times Friday 1 February 1889 p9b.

LCC Election 1892: The Elector's Guide. A Popular Hand-Book for the Election ed W T Stead published by the magazine Review of Reviews at 125 Fleet Street passim.

The New Hazell Annual and Almanack volume 8 1893. This being a google snippet I couldn't see a page number: in the 1892 LCC elections W G Lemon had stood as a Progressive/Liberal Unionist and had lost out by 200 votes to an out-and-out Progressive.

The Freemason and Masonic Illustrated volume 34 1896 issue of 2 February 1895 p62.

THIS IS PROBABLY POLITICAL AS WELL: MANAGEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

By the 1890s, London University was a sprawling organisation badly in need of reform and various bodies were set up to advise its Senate on how best to bring some kind of cohesion and overall control to it. William George was a member of the university's Senate, charged with overseeing the work of all the institutions that were now a part of it. One of the changes that the university as a whole was in need of was a new Charter, one whose clauses covered all its constituent colleges. In 1891 the Senate formed a sub-committee to draw up the new Charter's text. William George was on that sub-committee and was elected its chairman.

In 1892, William George's name was one of three put forward for possible election as a Fellow of the University; but he came second to another lawyer, Edward Henry Busk.

All graduates of the University are members of its Convocation. Most members (including me) are not very active, but in May 1893 and again in May 1894 William George was elected to the Convocation's Annual Committee, which spoke for all the graduates in any discussions with the Senate. He was also a member of the Joint Consultative Committee that tried to act as a bridge between Senate and Convocation. As a member of those committees he took part in a special debate in March 1894 as the university tried to make up its mind whether to accept the recommendations of the Gresham Commission on how it should be organised in future. William George was one of those who spoke against the Commission's recommendations. When it became clear that the Senate was going to accept them, he and five other members of the Joint Consultative Committee resigned. The five got together with other objectors to campaign against the changes to the Charter that the Commission's recommendations would require; but in the May 1895 elections to the Annual Committee they were all defeated. That was the end of William George's active involvement in the management of London University.

Sources:

Times 11 May 1892 p5 in ballot on wh 3 names to forward to QV as proposed fellows of Lo Univ, William George Lemon LLB had come 2nd.

University of London 1858-1900: The Politics of Senate and Convocation Francis M G Willson. The Boydell Press 2004.

Journal of Contemporary History volume 7 number 3 1972 pp243-62: University of London and Industrial Progress, by Michael Sanderson.

Public Administration volume 6 number 4 1928 pp350-60, article by Frank Heath on Lord Haldane's influence on higher education: p278 for background; pp31-11 and pp359-60 for the proposed new Charter; p335-36 for the Fellowship.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

You would think that a man who was married with a family, was self-employed and who had so many commitments in local government and freemasonry, would be too busy for hobbies; but William George Lemon found time to study the natural world and to encourage one of his sons to do the same. He was elected a member of the Geological Society of London in May 1862. By 1872 both he and his son Frank were members of the West Kent Natural History,

Microscopical and Photographic Society, which held its meetings at the London Missionary School and kept its library there. William George was the Society's hon sec in 1872 and one of its vice-presidents; he served as its president in 1881 and gave a series of talks, on the science of heat and light.

Sources:

Via archive.org to the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London, volume 19 part 1 1863 ppvii-viii.

Via archive.org to the West Kent Natural History, Microscopical and Photographic Society Reports for 1872 with a list of members, and a list of officers for 1873-74; p1, pp36-37. The address for William George and Frank Lemon is Montpelier Lodge Blackheath.

At www.scribd.com publication of those talks in the Society's proceedings. The first of the lectures took place in February 1881.

FAMILY

In 1855, in Abingdon, William George Lemon married Selina Kent, a woman ten years his senior. Selina was from a baptist family, and they married in Abingdon's baptist chapel. Selina's father, John Kent, was dead by the time of the marriage. The Familysearch website suggested that Selina and her family were on the 1841 and 1851 censuses, but I couldn't find them. I have found a few references to a man (possibly more than one) called John Kent, in business as a carrier in the 1810s, and perhaps later as a coach proprietor. There's also mention in local records of a mayor of Abingdon in 1873 who was a John Kent; perhaps a brother of Selina.

In the early years of their married life William George and Selina lived in the London Missionary Society School. They had four children: William Kent Lemon (1858); Frank Edward (1859); Esther Elizabeth (1860); and Annie Selina (born 1862). By the day of the 1861 census, the School had moved to Lee in Kent and the Lemons had gone with it. As the wife of a headmaster Selina was running a large household: as well as the 56 school pupils, there were her husband and three children; three teachers (two men and one woman); a housekeeper and wardrobe keeper, a cook, three housemaids and a page.

All that changed, of course, in 1866 when William George qualified as a barrister and left the London Missionary School to set up in practice at the Bar. On the day of the 1871, the family were not in the UK. They had probably already moved to 20 Montpelier Row in Blackheath, the house they called Montpelier Lodge, where they were lived until the mid-1890s. On the day of the 1881 census, Frank was away at university. William, the eldest, was still living at home; he was working as an clerk in an assurance company while training as an actuary. Both Esther and Annie were also at home. Rather curiously for a barrister's household, William George and Selina did not have any live-in servants. By 1891, however, they might have felt more secure financially - they were employing a cook and a housemaid. Their son William had left home by the day of the 1891 census but Frank was back, setting out on his career as a barrister. Though Annie still wasn't working, Esther had gone out to work, as the superintendent of a training college. Also part of the household on census day 1891 was a niece of William George: Emily Duckett, an unmarried woman aged 48 who had previously worked as a governess - that is, teaching in a private household not in a school. Like William George, Emily Duckett had been born in Marylebone; she is the only relation of his that I've come across.

Sources:

Men at the Bar 2nd edition 1885 p275.

Selina Kent:

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 583985: baptism of Selina Kent born 27 October 1821; daughter of John Kent and his wife Ann. The baptism took place at the Lower Meeting House, Ock Street Abingdon.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk papers at the PRO include B 3/2840 concerning the bankruptcy of a John Kent of Abingdon "common carrier". Date of bankruptcy originally July 1816 renewed 1825. There's also a Will of a John Kent of Abingdon PROB 11/1973/305 dated 12 January 1843.

Magazine Justice of the Peace volume 1 1837 p298 a list of magistrates appointed in 1836 in Abingdon includes a John Kent, coach proprietor.

At www.abingdon.gov.uk a list of the town's mayors includes one called John Kent: 1873.

The Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer New Series volume 12 1855: a marriage announcement for William G Lemon BA, of Mornington Crescent in London; and Selina, 4th daughter of the late John Kent Esq of Abingdon. The announcement was very short and didn't mention any other family members on either side.

DEATH

William George's health began to fail in the early 1890s, leading him to withdraw from as many of his social and political commitments as he could. In the early 1890s the Lemons had moved again. William George died at their new house, 2 The Retreat Blackheath, on 26 May 1897.

Sources: probate registry 1897.

The Bankers', Insurance Managers' and Agents' Magazine volume 64 1897 p108: short death notice.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

Selina Lemon died in 1900. I'm not sure that she and William George had any grandchildren: neither Esther nor Annie ever married and Frank and his wife were (I think) childless.

Frank Edward shared William George's interest in freemasonry and followed his father into many of the same lodges and chapters. He also kept up his youthful interest in nature study. In 1892 he married Margaretta Louisa Smith (died 1953), one of the founders of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. Frank drew up the RSPB's first constitution. He died in 1935.

Sources: probate registry 1900, 1923 (for the death of William Kent Lemon), 1927 (death of Esther) and 1953 (death of Annie).

ODNB volume 33 pp330-331: Margaretta Lemon.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD and also for the freemasons in it, the various resources at the Freemasons' Library: see the website at [//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum). Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources. You can get from it to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Irene Augusta Ada Lloyd was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 27 August 1896. Marcus Worsley Blackden was also initiated that evening and it's possible (though not very likely) that he and Irene knew each other already. Irene Lloyd chose the Latin motto 'Per angusta ad augusta', a nice play on one of her own names. Despite working for her living she did the study required to be eligible for the GD's inner, Second Order, and was initiated into it on 1 July 1898. On the day of her second order initiation, she had been married a few weeks. A couple of months later, she and her husband left the UK.

This is one of my short biographies. There's a great deal of information available on the web, and in Bristol Record Office, on Irene's ancestors. However, information on Irene herself is lacking.

Sally Davis

June 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on IRENE AUGUSTA ADA LLOYD, married name Holtzer, later Lloyd-Holtzer.

IN THE GD

I'm always intrigued to know who had recommended new GD initiates as suitable recruits. Irene was related to Charles Lloyd Tuckey, who was initiated in 1894. However, they were connected through several marriages and they might not actually have ever met; in addition, Dr Tuckey had resigned from the GD by late 1895 and presumably was no longer in regular contact with its more dedicated members by the time of Irene's initiation. It must have been someone else who had put forward Irene's name to the GD's founders.

Although Irene became very interested in the western magical tradition, and worked hard to build up her understanding of it, her ability to take part in GD rituals was limited by her working hours: she was not an active member in that sense.

Irene doesn't seem to have told the GD's record-keepers what her married name was. I suppose she just forgot.

Irene was never a member of Stella Matutina or the Independent and Rectified Rite - the two daughter-orders of the GD.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Irene became involved in theosophy, but only after she left England; perhaps it compensated her for the loss of the GD. Her interest began after she and her husband, Alfred Holtzer, went to Cape Town. Theosophy came relatively late to South Africa, the earliest lodge (in Johannesburg) not being formed until 1899. The disruptions of the Boer War then intervened, and the TS lodge in Cape Town lodge was not set up until the autumn of 1904. Irene and Alfred Holtzer were mainstays of the lodge in its early years: Alfred was one of its founder members; it met in their house on Camberwell Road in Three Anchor Bay; and Irene served as its president in 1908 and in 1914. After 1914, however, neither of them was an active member; the reasons for Irene not being so are made clear below. A biography of the writer and political campaigner Ruth Schechter says that the TS lodge in Johannesburg had a reputation for political activism: many of its members knew Gandhi - he was a regular visitor at its meetings - and supported his campaign for more rights for Indians living in South Africa. There's no indication in the biography that members of the TS lodge in Cape Town were politically involved.

I haven't found any evidence that Irene was interested in spiritualism. This is a tricky one, however: spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no overarching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now. What I can say is that if Irene was a spiritualist medium, it was not on such a level that her name became even nationally known.

Sources:

UK Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901, which had no membership entry for Irene.

www.theosophy.org.za/html/cape_town.html is the history of the Cape Town lodge of the Theosophical Society.

Website theosophy.ph/encyclo/index gives a more general history of theosophy in South Africa.

There are biographies of two early members of the TS lodge in Cape Town:

Abraham de Smidt 1829-1908 artist and surveyor-general of the Cape Colony. Self-published (I think) by the author Marjorie Bull 1981: p95.

The Cape Town Intellectuals: Ruth Schechter and Her Circle 1907-34 by Baruch Hirson. Witwatersrand Univ Press 2001; pxxvi, pxxiv. Ruth and her husband arrived in Cape Town in 1907. There's no mention in the book of either of them being a member of the TS in Cape Town. .

IRENE LLOYD - BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

There is plenty on the web and elsewhere about the Lloyd and Moffat/Duncombe families.

HER FATHER'S FAMILY

On her father's side, Irene was a member of the Lloyd family of Tipperary who claimed descent from the Welsh Lloyds of Bodidris. I've found it difficult to tie down exactly how the Lloyds and the Tuckeys were related, but they definitely have common ancestors in the early 18th-century couple, John Lloyd of Lloydsborough and his wife Mary, née Otway. While navigating my way through Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland and an exhaustive

pedigree of the Tuckey family of Cork and Waterford, I formed the impression that people named Lloyd had often married people named Tuckey, so Irene Lloyd and Charles Lloyd Tuckey were probably distant cousins several times over. Charles' mother was a Lloyd, so their relationship may have been closer. There was also a connection over several generations, between the Lloyd family and Bideford in Devon, with some members of the family having houses there, and Irene's grand-father being a curate there in the 1820s and marrying a local woman.

The pride of the Lloyd family in the early 19th century was its one connection with the Irish aristocracy, formed in 1786 when Julia Vereker, sister of the second Viscount Gort, married Frederick Lloyd of Cranagh, a great-grandson of John Lloyd and Mary Otway. Irene Lloyd was a great-grand-daughter of the Lloyd/Vereker marriage, through their third son the Rev Charles Lloyd. After several chaplaincies in Devon and nearly twenty years as a missionary on Prince Edward Island off the coast of Canada, the Rev Charles Lloyd was appointed curate of St John the Evangelist Durdham Down in Bristol, and so met the Vanderhorst and Duncombe families of Clifton.

On her mother's side, Irene was a descendant of Elias Van der Horst of South Carolina. When he was appointed one of the first US Consuls to serve in the UK, he set up home in Clifton, the 18th-century suburb of Bristol. In 1798, his second daughter, Mary Cooper Vanderhorst, married John Duncombe Taylor of Brislington and Antigua in the Leeward Islands. Both families owned land in the Bristol area; and they also had an income from estates in America and the West Indies that were worked by slaves. John Duncombe Taylor had been born in Antigua, and he and his wife seem to have chosen to live there for most of his life; though the only child that survived him, Irene's grand-mother Cordelia Duncombe Taylor, was born in Clifton around 1807.

Between 1807 and 1840, the slave trade and slavery were abolished in all places ruled by the British. The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 allowed the payment of compensation to owners of slaves, and in the 1850s and 1860s Irene's grand-mother was still doing nicely enough out of other investments; but as I was doing the research for this biography, I detected a slow decline in income and in social status in the family as the 19th century proceeded. The loss of the family's more-or-less-free labour played a part in that, but so too did mismanagement, debt, and costly legal cases. By the time John Duncombe Taylor died, in 1835, he had many creditors and part of his estate at Sion Hill in Antigua was mortgaged.

Cordelia Duncombe Taylor married Alexander Moffat, who worked as a doctor on Antigua. Their daughter Jessica Mary was probably born in 1835, but the year was dominated by the death of Cordelia's father and the cases brought by his creditors against his estate. Later in the year they were left money held in a trust fund by Cordelia's aunt, Eliza Cooper Vanderhorst. However, a condition of that money was that they change their surname to 'Duncombe'; so Alexander Moffat lost his surname. As Alexander Duncombe, he applied in 1837 for compensation for the freedom of two groups of slaves his wife had inherited from her father; but there were counter-claims from John Duncombe Taylor's creditors, and he and Cordelia were not paid the amount of compensation they might have been hoping for.

Cordelia and Alexander Duncombe continued to live on Antigua during the 1840s, perhaps trying to make a go of the Sion Hill estate. By 1851, however, Cordelia - now a widow - had returned to England and moved into 47 York Crescent, Clifton, Bristol. Although she may have visited Antigua again - she was not in the UK on census day 1861, for example - she

spent most of her time from then on in England. On census day 1851 she was at home in Clifton with her son Charles Duncombe (aged 6 and born on Antigua) and three servants including a 38-year-old woman called Elizabeth Aika who had also been born on Antigua and was perhaps a freed slave. Cordelia didn't mention the estate on Antigua to the census official who interviewed her; perhaps it was no longer providing much of an income. She told the official that her income was derived from house rents (most likely in the Bristol area) and from investments (most likely in government bonds).

Sources:

Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland editions of 1863; and 1871 p803: the Lloyd family of Lloydsborough and Cranagh/Cranna.

The Tuckey pedigree, compiled by Charles Lloyd Tuckey's brother, Rev James Grove White Tuckey. First published in Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society edition of 1919. Full text and same page numbers now available online at www.corkpastandpresent.ie beginning on p255, in 1627 with a Tuckey born in Worcestershire who settled in Cork.

At landedstates.rmigalway.ie I noticed that Lloydsborough House was for sale in 2014, owned up to that point by descendants of John Lloyd and Mary Otway.

The Gorts of Galway: see wikipedia.

The online version of Cracroft's Peerage sheds a little more light on the connection between the Lloyds and the Vereker/Gorts.

Irene's grandfather, the Rev Charles Lloyd:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen online so no volume number but p186 in that volume.

A Yearbook of Missions 1847 p295.

Gentleman's Magazine 1858 marriages p631.

The Vanderhorsts and the Duncombes, with one Moffat:

Via www.nationalarchives.gov.uk to a list of documents now held by Bristol Record Office: family and financial papers of the Vanderhorst, Duncombe and Cooper families, donated by Miss E I M Duncombe; accession number 5097. Catalogued as BRO 8032/...

One item I didn't mention in the main biography is 8032/14, an autograph book owned at one time by Irene's grand-mother Cordelia Duncombe. It covers 1806-28 and contains entries by various members of the Buonaparte family who were known to Vanderhorst and Duncombe family members living in Italy.

Seen online: Vital Records from the Gentleman's Magazine p274 has announcements of the marriage of John Duncombe Taylor and Mary Cooper Vanderhorst in 1798; and of his death, in Antigua, in February 1835.

Alexander Moffat's compensation claims after the abolition of slavery: www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/759 and [view/761](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/761). University College London's Legacies of British Slave Ownership database.

Alexander and Cordelia Moffat's change of surname: The Court Journal issue of 1835 p758 issued 3 November [1835] at Whitehall. The details were also published in the London Gazette.

IRENE'S PARENTS who were very elusive!

I couldn't find Irene's mother Jessica Mary Duncombe, later Lloyd, on any census! She was always elsewhere. And I've only found Irene's father Charles Lloyd once; in 1891, after the death of his wife.

Rev Charles Lloyd had married Elizabeth Tyeth, daughter of William Tyeth of Bideford, in 1826 while he was curate of Bideford. They had three sons and three daughters. Charles Frederick Lloyd was the eldest of the six, born in Devonshire around 1834 when his father was curate at Abbotsham. Charles Frederick will have spent childhood to adulthood on the more remote coast of Prince Edward Island, at the small settlement where Rev Charles was a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The family returned to England in 1857 and Charles Frederick set out on a military career by becoming an Ensign in the 3rd West India Regiment. I'm not sure, however, how much time he actually spent on active service, because in 1858 he married Jessica Duncombe, daughter of Cordelia and Alexander, and her family set up a trust fund which provided them both with an income. The family papers held at the Bristol Record Office suggest that Charles Frederick continued to be paid from this trust fund until his death; but that his children didn't ever benefit from it. Charles Frederick was promoted to Captain in 1863, and to Major in 1877; but in October 1869, he went on half-pay and was never on active service again.

I haven't found any record of Jessica Mary Duncombe's birth. Her age at death makes it likely that she was born in 1835; and she was probably born on Antigua. She married Charles Frederick Lloyd at St Andrew's Clifton in September 1858 and they had four children: Constance Julia Lloyd, born 1859; Irene Augusta Ada Lloyd born April 1861; Charles Vereker Lloyd born 1864; and Adelaide Camilla Lloyd born 1873.

On census day 1861, Constance Julia Lloyd was staying with her grand-parents Rev Charles and Elizabeth Lloyd. The rest of the family were not in the UK. It's just possible that Charles Frederick Lloyd was on military in the West Indies or elsewhere, but I think it's more likely that they were visiting his relations in Ireland - they were all back in Bristol for Irene to be born there a couple of weeks after census day.

Charles Frederick and Jessica Lloyd were not in the UK on census day 1871. They had left Irene, Adelaide and Charles with Cordelia Duncombe in Clifton; Constance was at a boarding school elsewhere in Clifton. The census official in 1871 noted down Cordelia's income as being solely from shares, including shares in railway companies; perhaps the income from the property she had had in 1851 was now being paid to her daughter. Cordelia was still very comfortably off, however: she employed a nursemaid for her grandchildren, a cook, a house-cum-parlourmaid, and a lady's maid for herself. The job of lady's maid may have been what Elizabeth Aika had been doing in the household in 1851; but Miss Aika was not living with Cordelia in 1871.

Cordelia Duncombe died in 1875. She left personal estate valued at under £4000 - less than I would have expected. There was a dispute over the Will's contents which ended in the

Chancery Courts where one of the executors - William Cross, a Bristol surgeon - opposed one of the other executors - Cordelia's son Rev William Duncombe Vanderhorst Duncombe. Charles Frederick Lloyd was named on Rev William Duncombe's side in the dispute, as legal representative of his wife and daughters (but not his son for some reason). I haven't looked at the records of the case to see how it was resolved; but I think I can be sure that it further eroded the wealth of the family as a whole.

Charles Frederick and Jessica were not in the UK on the day of the 1881 census; and this time none of their children were either. However, at some point after Cordelia Duncombe's death they settled at 154 Elm Park Brixton Jessica died there in 1885 and the family scattered to the four winds (and three continents). Charles Frederick Lloyd - at least, I think it's him - is on the 1891 census, at Constantine Road in Hampstead, as a boarder in the household of Elizabeth Baker. If it is him, none of his children were with him on that day though Irene was visiting friends on that day and might have been living with him normally.

The trust fund records held at Bristol Record Office say Charles Frederick Lloyd died, in England, in 1901; they must be right, but his death doesn't seem to have been registered and there is no probate record for him.

Sources:

Charles Frederick Lloyd:

The South Wales Borderers 24th Foot 1689-1937 by Christopher Thomas Atkinson published 1937 by the Regimental History Committee and the University Press; p504.

Via google so it's a snippet to Bulletins and Other State Intelligence 1856 part 2 July-December, published 1857. I couldn't see the page number: Charles Frederick Lloyd to be an ensign.

United Service Magazine volume 121 issue 1869 p614.

London Gazette 30 April 1878 p2779.

Freebmd; probate registry records.

There are some details about him at family history website myheritage; but without any sources. BRO 8032/32/a-b which covers September 1881 to May 1900: details of trust funds benefiting Charles Frederick Lloyd and wife Jessica Mary.

BRO 8032/33: Will of Major Charles Frederick Lloyd of Tonbridge; and solicitors' letters 1887-1900 about his estate.

Marriage of Charles and Jessica:

Familysearch England-VR GS film number 1595529.

Via genesreunited to Western Daily Press of 1 October 1858, where the relationship of the groom to the viscounts Gort was part of the marriage announcement.

Familysearch England-VR GS film number 1596358: baptism of Constance Julia Lloyd 1859.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1595532: baptism of Irene Augusta Lloyd at St Barnabas Bristol 25 April 1861.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1749585: baptism of Charles Vereker Lloyd 28 October 1864 at St Andrew Bristol.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1749585: baptism of Adelaide Camilla Lloyd 19 June 1873 at St Andrew Bristol.

Death of Cordelia Duncombe:

Probate Registry 1875.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk, records of Cross v Duncombe, PRO reference C16/997/C181.

Death of Jessica Mary Lloyd:

Probate Registry 1885

IRENE'S SIBLINGS seem to have accepted the family's declining financial status: her sisters married men who worked for a living; and her brother worked as an engineer in India.

Irene's older sister, Constance Julia Lloyd, was the only one of the siblings who remained in England all her adult life. She married Lewis Behrens in 1887. Lewis Behrens was a teacher, firstly in schools, later as a self-employed teacher of languages. Lewis and Constance lived in East Anglia - though true to the family form I couldn't find them on the censuses for 1891 or 1901. Constance died, in Sudbury Suffolk, in 1902.

Charles Vereker Lloyd was a civil engineer. He went to India to work for the Indian Civil Service but had retired and returned to England by 1911. On census day 1911, he and his wife Elizabeth were amongst the guests at the Blenheim House Hotel in Church Street, Brighton. They had been married for one year; but had probably got married in India as I couldn't find a registration on freebmd. Charles moved to Clevedon in Somerset; but died in Clifton in 1956.

Adelaide, the youngest of the four siblings, went to Australia; I don't know quite when. I never spotted her on any census after her childhood, and I think she had moved to Australia by the mid-1890s. She married Julius Homan, probably in 1895, and probably in Tasmania. They had one child, Tasman Vanderhorst Homan, born in Tasmania in 1897. He became an engineer and inventor. Tasman Homan lived all his life in Australia but Adelaide returned to England. She died, in Stockbridge Hampshire, in 1945.

I couldn't find any evidence of any children being born to Constance Behrens or Charles Vereker Lloyd.

Sources for Irene's sisters and brother:

Constance:

The very little I found on Lewis Behrens was, unfortunately, from after Constance's death: Kelly's Directory of Lincolnshire 1909 p423 Lewis Behrens is a teacher in a school whose name I couldn't see on the snippet.

Edinburgh Gazette 4 June 1926 p619, also in London Gazette in a list of people subject to receiving orders under the Bankruptcy Act 1914: Lewis Behrens "teacher of languages",

living in lodgings at 25a City Road Cambridge.

Charles:

Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers issue of 1904 p180 Charles Vereker Lloyd is in the list of members. I also found him on the web, as a member, in the Minutes of Proceedings 1908 p195; and volume 190 1912 p241.

Probate Registry 1956

London Gazette 24 April 1956 p2440 list issued under the 1925 Trustees Act which is a set of procedures to be followed when winding up a Trust.

Adelaide Camilla.

My source for Adelaide's marriage is myheritage; which doesn't give sources for its statements.

Probate Registry 1945.

On Tasman Vanderhorst Homan, who seems to have been an only child:

Via Familysearch to www.findagrave.com only there's no grave as he was cremated. Record added in 2012. Tasman Vanderhorst Homan born 1897 Tasmania, died 1979 at Glebe NSW.

Also at Familysearch there are two records of journeys he made by ship; both of which give his year of birth as 1897:

1 = arriving Sydney New Zealand (not the one in NSW) from San Francisco. New Zealand Passenger Lists 1839-1973. Folder no 004440010 image 00138. Dated March 1941.

2 = New York Passenger Lists 1925-1957. GS film number 1758217 for an arrival in New York from Australia 1940.

At www.ipaustralia.com.au Intellectual Property in Australia. Patent number AU1956020650 filing date 10 August 1956 was filed by Tasman Vanderhorst Homan: a means for coating solid surfaces with comminuted material.

IRENE LLOYD: EDUCATION and WORK

I couldn't find any direct evidence at all about Irene's education. However, there are two pieces of indirect evidence that suggest she was well-educated for a middle-class girl of her time. Firstly, there was the job she was able to get (see below). And secondly, on census day 1871, Irene's elder sister Constance was a pupil at the small boarding school for girls run by Mary Jenkins at 10 Arlington Villas Clifton. Perhaps, in due course, Irene was sent there too. It's always hard to gauge the education given pupils in 19th-century girls' schools such as this, and I'm not going to speculate on it, except to say that it enabled her to get a job in the rapidly-expanding field of schools inspection.

On the day of the 1891 census, the official wrote down that Irene was working as an "Assistant Needlework Inspectress (Education Dept)". No more details were needed for the census return and I haven't found out anything more from any other source; but then, I haven't known quite where to look. I'm not able to say, therefore, what her qualifications were for the work she was doing; who her current employer was (although the entry reads as if it was the government); how long she had had that job; and whether she had been employed anywhere else previously. On census day 1891 Irene was 29 or 30, and she could easily have been in paid employment for a decade.

I shall assume that Irene worked until she got married; though I haven't any information on that either.

On census day 1891, Irene was visiting Edwin Luke and his wife Lucy in north London. Both Lucy and Edwin had been born in the west country. Edwin was working as the manager of a jewellery shop and Lucy was at home with her daughters Muriel and Marjory. They were able to employ two live-in servants: a nursemaid and the basic general skivvy. I would guess that it was Lucy Luke that Irene knew; they were the same age and had perhaps been at school together. Edwin and Lucy were living at 6 Quernmore Road Hornsey. George and Anne Holtzer and their family were living a few streets away, at 42 St Mary's Road Hornsey. In 1898, Irene married Alfred Holtzer.

Sources: 1891 census.

IRENE'S MARRIAGE

There has been a spot of social climbing on websites that mention Alfred Holtzer; when it comes to his father's work: several state that Alfred was the son of a barrister. I think the source of this is Alfred himself, speaking to the press later in life and allowing himself some dramatic licence when it came to his early days. The late 19th-century census returns all agree that George Holtzer, Alfred's father, worked as a barrister's clerk - that is, he was employed in the chambers of a barrister or firm of barristers, doing the financial and management side of the business while the barristers did the law and appeared in court. Quite a difference, not only in income, but also in social status.

While George Holtzer was a Londoner, his wife Anne was from Devonport; perhaps her family knew the Luke family, who came from Plymouth. George and Anne were living in Hornsey by census day 1871. Alfred was the youngest of their six children; born in 1869 and so several years younger than Irene Lloyd.

George and Anne's four sons all went into office work as clerks. On the day of the 1891 census, Alfred's work was noted down as "merchant's clerk"; so he was probably working, like so many others, in the City of London. He was stage-struck, though. One source says that he went as far as studying drama at the London Polytechnic (probably in the early 1890s); though he doesn't ever seem to have thought he could be a professional actor. Alfred was a regular at the West End theatres in the 1890s, though, and saw Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, Johnston Forbes-Robertson and Mrs Patrick Campbell.

Irene Lloyd and Alfred Holtzer married in the spring of 1898 and in October, they went to South Africa. Alfred's health was causing concern, and the sources for his life suggest that for several years at the end of the 1890s he was not well enough to work. He and Irene settled in Cape Town and Alfred's health improved so that in 1900 he was able to work again. He got a job with the Standard Bank and remained an employee until he retired, in the late 1920s. What he's remembered for in South Africa, though, is his contribution to Cape Town's intellectual and social life; and particularly for his part in the early days of amateur and professional theatre there.

Alfred Holtzer became one of mainstays of Cape Town's Owl Club, a (men only, I think) dining-cum-literary club formed in 1894. He was its honorary secretary from 1914 until he died. He did do some acting in South Africa but he is better known now for his work as a theatrical producer, lecturer in voice-production, playwright; and most importantly as one of the founders (in 1919) of the Cape Town Repertory Society.

All the references I found to Alfred's involvement in theatre in Cape Town date from 1914 and after. It's probably just a coincidence but in 1914, Irene went on her own on a trip back to England, and never returned.

Alfred Holtzer died in 1958 in Cape Town. There's a bust of him in South Africa, done by Moses Kottler at some stage before his retirement from the Bank; not as a commission but because "the man had an interesting face".

Sources:

freebmd; censuses 1901, 1911 on which they do not appear in UK.

Via Ancestry to UK Outward Passenger Lists 1890-1960: the ship 'Greek' left Southampton for Cape Province on 15 October 1898; amongst the passengers were Mr and Mrs Holtzer.

I couldn't find any evidence of Irene's return to England in 1914.

The Standard Bank is one of the biggest in Africa: see www.standardbank.co.za.

A family history tale of Alfred Holtzer, some elements of which are contradicted by evidence from other sources: via

[//genforum.genealogy.com/southafrica/page13.html](http://genforum.genealogy.com/southafrica/page13.html), to a posting by Tony Davis dated 9 June 2003. The posting asked descendants of Alfred and Irene Holtzer to contact the site. None had done so as far as June 2016. In the absence of web-based family history data covering Cape Town, this is my main source for them having no children.

The Owl Club has a short wikipedia page. There are several histories; which draw on Alfred's reminiscences as a long-serving member. See, for example, *The Third Tuesday: A History of the Owl Club 1951-1981* by Owl Club member Eric Rosenthal. Published for the Club in Cape Town 1982: 15-16.

Webpage esat.sun.ac.za/index.php/Alfred_Hotzer is part of the online Encyclopaedia of South African Theatre, Film, Media and Performance (ESAT); hosted by Stellenbosch University. NB as well as exaggerating his family background, Alfred may have cut a few years off his age when reminiscing to people in Cape Town: his year of birth is given as 1874. The profile of Alfred uses these sources amongst others:

Eric Rosenthal's *The Third Tuesday*.

The Cape issue of 8 March 1929.

Who's Who in South Africa 1940.

The Flag is Flying by Leonard Schach.

ESAT's web page is the source for the break-up of Alfred and Irene's marriage.

Stage by Stage: The Leonard Schach Story by Donald P Inskip. Cape Town and Pretoria:

Human and Rousseau Pubns (Pty) Ltd 1977. Published in a limited edition; British Library's copy is number 146 of 1250: p41-42 where Alfred Holtzer is described as "the Grand Old Man of Shakespeare in Cape Town and protagonist of the Irving-Tree approach". Alfred gave Schach one of his earliest roles, as Curio in Twelfth Night. See pp118-23 Schach became one of the mainstays of classical theatre in South Africa in the years after World War 2.

Lantern volume 38 1989 p20.

The bust of Alfred is mentioned in Moses Kottler: His Cape Years by Kottler and J de P Scholtz. Tafelberg 1976 p61.

DEATH

Alfred divorced Irene in 1923. Irene continued to live in England. She may have started to call herself 'lloyd-holtzer' rather than just 'holtzer' because she is listed in the probate registry records under both surnames. She died in Wells, Somerset, in June 1959.

Source:

Probate Registry 1959.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female

members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 July 2016mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net

Email me at AMandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Mrs Laura Gertrude LOVE who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in March 1897 and chose the Latin motto 'Veritas'. In December 1898 she was initiated into the GD's 2nd Order, the level at which you were allowed to start doing practical magic rather than just reading occult books and manuscripts.

I couldn't find this woman on any census; nor could I find a marriage registration for her so she was definitely not married in England. Not finding Laura's marriage means that I don't know what her original surname was. My thought that she had probably lived most of her life abroad was encouraged by her giving two addresses at the time of her GD initiation: 62 St John's Wood Terrace, Regent's Park; and the address of another GD member, which answers the question WHO DID SHE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? - it was Henrietta Paget, one of the GD's best (strictly unofficial) recruitment agents.

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Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Evan McFarlane (or MacFarlane) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh, on 22 March 1897. He chose the Latin motto 'Sic vos non vobis'. Miss Alice Jane Forsyth was also initiated that day; and the two of them are the last people on R A Gilbert's list of Amen-Ra members. The records of the Amen-Ra temple haven't survived but what evidence there is indicates that William Evan never pursued his membership of the GD any further. He was not initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order.

Kenneth Jack, who researches freemasons in Scotland, sent me details of William Evan's life when I hadn't been able to identify the man myself. Thanks for that Kenneth: he turned out to have led a most fascinating life. The GD attracted some keen travellers - Kate Bates; Henry Colvile and his wife Zélie; Mary Briggs Swan, for example - but I don't think any other members lived in so many far-flung places as William Evan McFarlane.

A NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF THAT SURNAME

Most members of the family spelled it McFarlane though of course both spellings appear in the census when census officials didn't ask for the correct spelling. The GD's William Evan was McFarlane for much of his life but then his surname seems to have morphed into the m-a-c spelling, possibly when he started work in Australia.

A MISSIONARY FAMILY

Missionary work sets my teeth on edge. My own spirituality isn't the proselytising kind. In this account of the McFarlanes I shall try to remember that people called to missionary work believed they were saving souls and bringing civilisation; not destroying cultures.

The London Missionary Society was one of the earliest missionary efforts to be founded in Britain, sending its first workers to Guangzhou (Canton) in 1807. China remained an important focus of its work until the victory of Communism made it impossible for any personnel to remain. LMS was also strongly represented in South Africa where Robert and Mary Moffat and their son-in-law David Livingstone made the society famous. Although in theory not restricted to any one denomination, it did favour recruits from the Congregationalists and Methodists.

The association of the McFarlane family with the London Missionary Society lasted about 80 years and two generations. It began with Samuel McFarlane (1837-1911), a man who had worked as a mechanic for a railway company in Manchester before being Called to take up the challenge of missionary work. Samuel was trained as a missionary-cum-teacher at Cheshunt College, founded in 1768 by the Methodist Lady Huntingdon and strongly Evangelical in its leanings. Originally based in a house in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, since 1906 it has been one of Cambridge University's theological colleges.

In 1858 at the end of his course, Samuel married Elizabeth Joyce, a daughter of John and Rachel Joyce, Nonconformists who ran a grocer's shop and bakery in Kempston, Bedfordshire. One of Elizabeth's brothers had studied with Samuel at Cheshunt College. Very soon after the wedding, Samuel and Elizabeth left for the third and least well-known arena of LMS activity, the islands of the Pacific. They were bound for Lifou (often written as 'Lifu'), the largest island in the Loyalty Island group; geographically, a part of the archipelago named New Caledonia by James Cook when he came across it in 1774. Samuel and Elizabeth reached Lifou in time for their eldest child, Sewell Samuel, to be born there in May 1860, probably at Chépénéhé, where they had their house and church built and set up their schools. All their other children were born on Lifou - Harriet (1863); the GD's William Evan (5 April 1866); a daughter (probably 1868) whose name I could not discover, who died young; Alfred James (1870) and George Walter (probably 1872).

Samuel and Elizabeth McFarlane were not the only Europeans on Lifou in the 1860s, nor the only missionaries; though their arrival with their colleague Mr Creagh, did represent an expansion of the LMS's efforts there. The LMS had been there since 1841 and Christianity was at least familiar to the natives, some of whom had become converts. And Lifou was not quite as isolated as you would think, just nearly so. Trading ships did call in bringing letters from home as well as goods and news, so that the visits of the vessel John Williams were always a cause for celebration. The island received visits from bishops based in New Zealand. And all the LMS missionaries working on islands in the Pacific did try to meet once a year. However, although Pacific islands are often thought of as idyllic, they aren't: Lifou was devastated from time to time by typhoons, when floodwater several feet deep would sweep through the McFarlanes' house; fresh water will have been in short supply; the weather was hot and humid; and while the views of vast expanses of ocean might be awe-inspiring and breathtakingly beautiful, they can also encourage feelings of isolation - they certainly did in Samuel McFarlane although he tried hard to overcome them.

Though he never said so in his book on Lifou, Samuel McFarlane did not enjoy his time there and looked back at it with a sense of frustration and failure. His failure was not solely his own fault though his abrasive personality contributed to it. When he and Elizabeth started their work on Lifou it was still an independent nation or series of tribal nations; but in 1864 a French warship arrived from New Caledonia (a French possession since 1853) and deposited a small number of troops and a governor; and Jesuit missionaries soon followed. Samuel McFarlane argued furiously that the Loyalty Islands never had been part of New Caledonia; but the French just replied that they were now, and that all their inhabitants were subject to French law and administrative decisions. For several months the LMS was banned from doing any work at all while the governor sent to Paris to ask whether its workers could stay. When the answer came back, it was a good one, in theory: the LMS was allowed to remain, and even given the protection of the French government. However, there was a clever twist to the permission that made the work of the British missionaries all-but-impossible: their work and schools now had to abide by the French government's educational regulations, which required French to be everyone's main language, and that school lessons should be taught in it.

William Evan McFarlane was born a few months after the LMS grudgingly agreed to be bound by those rules; and in the wake of a breakdown of law and order on the island, during which the LMS church at Chépénéhé was burned down; and there was fighting, with casualties, at a mission station elsewhere on Lifou. In fact the French soon withdrew all their officials and most of their Jesuits from the island; but a Resident remained, to enforce French law and make sure the inhabitants couldn't forget who was now in charge. The LMS's missionaries on the Loyalty Islands began to think that they would do better elsewhere, and soon fastened on the Torres Straits Islands and Papua New Guinea; still outside the control of any empire (though Australia was comfortably nearby) and still without any missionary activity at all.

In May 1870, when William Evan McFarlane was about four, his father and the Rev A W Murray left Lifou on a fact-finding trip to the Torres Strait. They were away for nearly a year - much longer than expected, held up on the return voyage by contrary winds - and with no news of them reaching Lifou during that time, it must have been a very anxious period for Elizabeth and Mrs Murray, left behind with the children. The trip convinced Samuel and Rev Murray that a mission in New Guinea could work - a fine example of religious fervour overcoming the realities on the ground - and it also set the pattern for the next decade of the McFarlanes' lives. As a result of their report on the 1870 recce and one (possibly two) other trips made by Samuel around 1871/72, the LMS duly moved into the Torres Strait islands and Papua New Guinea; with Samuel McFarlane in charge of the whole operation. It's obvious from his book on the LMS in Papua New Guinea that not only did Samuel prefer the scenery of the Torres Strait; he also much preferred his new job. As he had done in Lifou, he quickly learned two local dialects to the extent of being able to make translations from English into it; but he did very little actual missionary work from this time on. Instead, his time was taken up with exploration, the logistics of mission stations, administration and management of the project, and fund-raising; and to these ends he was away from his family often for months at a time. It was left to Elizabeth McFarlane to hold her family - and indeed, all the European missionaries' wives - together through all the danger and uncertainty, which included attacks on newly-built missions and their occupants and being left behind to worry while her husband made continual voyages along the southern coast of New Guinea, whose waters were still completely uncharted. She also endured the death of one of her children. It was not unexpected in these tropical climates that children would die; and a Christian woman might console herself by thinking of her child as now with God and free of earthly care; but it wasn't any easier to bear the grief, I'm sure. She was a remarkable woman.

For William Evan McFarlane and his siblings - five at the start, four at the end - the years from 1872 to around 1879/80 were ones of change in an atmosphere which mixed religious fervour and the excitement of new places and new challenges, with an understanding that personal safety must be disregarded while bringing God to the heathen. Being martyred - killed by hostile natives - comes over in Samuel's books as something that might be in God's plan for you, and you were not to turn from doing God's work in order to avoid it. And LMS missionaries, both native and European, did not turn; and some were killed including people the McFarlanes knew, the best-known example being Rev James Chalmers, who was killed and almost certainly eaten in April 1901 in Papua New Guinea, along with one British LMS colleague and a number of local trainees.

Those years began in 1872 with the McFarlanes and other LMS missionaries packing up and leaving Lifou - the only home any of the McFarlane children had known so far. While Samuel McFarlane made a trip to England to take a period of leave, raise funds for the new mission, and see his book on Lifou through the publication process, I think his family remained behind, in Sydney NSW; the biggest town the McFarlane children will have seen, and full of Europeans. Samuel was in England in the middle of 1873 and was probably away for a year. In his books he doesn't mention his family being with him on this trip home; so I suppose they weren't. He came to collect them from Sydney in 1874, but rushed off ahead of them back to the new mission's temporary headquarters at Cape York; so he was not on board ship with them when his younger daughter - William Evan's nearest sibling - died, either of sea-sickness or a fever. She was buried at sea and it must have been a traumatic event for Elizabeth and the other children, made worse by having to leave her behind, buried at sea.

Samuel settled his family at Somerset, Cape York, where the new mission was temporarily based. When the mission station at Cooktown on Stacey Island was ready for them, they moved in there; this would have been in 1875, I think. By the end of 1877, though, they had moved on again, to Murray Island; and this was probably Samuel and Elizabeth's last posting as missionaries in the field. Whether Elizabeth McFarlane had time at either of those places to found a school like the one she had run on Lifou isn't clear. In his books, Samuel doesn't pay his wife anything like what I consider to be her due, for her part in her husband's missionary work; though he does seem to be suggesting that most of the teaching at the New Guinea mission was being done by natives of the Loyalty Island that he had brought with him for the purpose. Perhaps Elizabeth's efforts were concentrated on the education of her own children: Sewell, the eldest, was in his late teens by the late 1870s. The fact that the young McFarlanes were growing up and needing to be prepared for the working lives that lay ahead of them, probably influenced Samuel and Elizabeth's decision to return to Britain.

I think the evidence from William Evan McFarlane's later life shows that he thought of Australia as a place where he had felt at home. Though it might have been when he was just a toddler that he first became fascinated by the evidence of God's handiwork that he saw above him at night - the stars of the southern sky; his interest in astronomy continued throughout his life. How free the children of missionaries were to run about and play, and not wear many clothes if it was hot, I really don't know. But William Evan's choice, on two occasions, to accept work in remote districts in hot countries, suggests that he was never very keen on life in cities; nor on Britain's climate - they just weren't what he was used to.

Samuel McFarlane went home to a job at the LMS offices in Blomfield Street, near Liverpool Street station in the City of London. His family settled down near Elizabeth McFarlane's relatives. By 1881, they were living at 24 Cauldwell Street Bedford; later they moved to

Elmstone Lodge on Bromham Road - they were living there in 1888 when Samuel was writing his book on the New Guinea mission. On census day 1881, Samuel was (yet again) away from home. Sewell was studying medicine at Edinburgh University but was home for the holidays. William Evan, Alfred and Walter were all still at school. Harriet had left school; she was listed as having no occupation but may have been studying to be a teacher or already employed as one - census officials didn't always ask women if they were working. All the family attended the Bunyan Meeting chapel in Mill Street.

The McFarlanes' lives might still be organised around missionary work and chapel-going but they had come back to a rather different Britain to the one they had left. Two developments in particular were making changes to the intellectual landscape that they might have struggled to ignore; and I think the evidence shows that the younger generation didn't ignore them completely. The first was the publication - on 22 November 1859, about the time that Samuel and Elizabeth reached Lifou - of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. The second had been going on longer but was becoming more widely accepted as legitimate: biblical criticism. Biblical criticism treated the Bible like any other book - as the product of human endeavour. It was a product of the Enlightenment, and Evangelicalism was a reaction to it, a restatement of the Bible as the words of God, written down by God's chosen scribes, true in every detail and not for negotiation on any terms. During the mid-19th century the movement went on apace and began to move from its Protestant origins into Catholicism with the work of Renan (translated into English by the husband of GD member Katharine Julia Buckman). It reached a peak with Julius Wellhausen's two-volume *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* published in Germany in 1878 and 1894 and seen as biblical criticism's equivalent to *The Origin of Species* in terms of being a point from which there was no return. Wellhausen himself produced a short summary of his argument for the 1881 edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, introducing it to a much wider audience; and the full first volume, translated by J Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies, was published in English in 1885 while William Evan McFarlane was still at school and his older brother Sewell had just begun work as a doctor.

There had been other developments too, in the twenty years Samuel and Elizabeth had been away. One in particular benefited their sons - greatly increased access to higher education, for those who could afford to pay. Samuel and Elizabeth took full advantage of this, at least for their sons, though their daughter Harriet had a more stereotypic education, studying music, probably with a local teacher and not to 'professional' level. Perhaps Samuel and Elizabeth thought that their sons' upbringing would ensure that their faith would be proof against these intellectual challenges, and with Alfred and Sewell they seem to have been successful. However, I think the working life of William Evan McFarlane shows that he was influenced by the new intellectual environment, to the extent of believing that without due care for the body, you could not expect people to focus on the care of their soul.

MISSIONARY WORK - THE NEXT GENERATION

Sewell, William Evan and Alfred all went to university; something that had not been an option for their father. The youngest brother, Walter, doesn't seem to have done so: perhaps the money ran out at that point. Sewell studied medicine at Edinburgh University, and then spent several years in Bristol, gaining experience as a GP. He married Mary Dora Armstrong of Clifton in 1886 and the two of them went to China in 1887. Until 1900, Sewell was the senior doctor at the Chi Chou Medical Mission at Hsaio-chang. 1900, however, brought the anti-Christian, anti-foreign Boxer rebellion. Sewell and his wife and family hung on in Hsaio-chang until June 1900 when the rebels were virtually on their doorstep; but then they opted to live to do further missionary work, rather than stay put and be martyred. By 1907

they were back in England and Sewell had gone to work for the London Medical Mission at Endell Street, treating bodies and souls in the dark continent of St Giles Covent Garden. He died in 1920. Letters written by Sewell in 1894 and 1900 show that he had all his father's Christian fervour; and that he was able to combine his science-based medical training with a belief in God's providence.

Alfred James followed most closely in his father's footsteps, by doing missionary work as a teacher. As the rules barring Nonconformists had been repealed, he was able to study at Mansfield College Oxford, before joining the LMS on graduation. He was also sent to China, and worked at various places in Hubei province - Siao-kan (then spelled Siaokan) (1896-99) and Hankou (then spelled Hankow) (from 1899); apparently continuing at his post right through the Boxer rebellion and beyond. At the end of the first World War he married another Oxford-graduate missionary, Dorothy Margaret Thorpe (born 1889). They worked together in China until 1935, when they retired to Weston-super-Mare, where Dorothy had grown up. Alfred died in 1957, Dorothy in 1961.

Although you couldn't describe any of the McFarlane family as explorers in the purist sense, Samuel (elected 1886), William Evan (1895) and Sewell (1900) were all Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society. Samuel had work published in RGS publications and was for a time on an group which advised the RGS on affairs in New Guinea.

FOR COMPLETENESS: WALTER AND HARRIET

On the day of the 1891 census, Harriet was working in Bedford, teaching music; she didn't mention being employed in a school so I presume she was giving lessons in her pupils' homes. She married another teacher, Ralph Everitt Corbold, in 1893. They lived in Manchester where Ralph was on the staff of Manchester Grammar School. Walter was also working as a teacher in 1891 but his appearance on the 1891 census (still living with his parents) is the last information I have on him. I cannot find out what happened to him after that date.

WILLIAM EVAN MCFARLANE AS A MISSIONARY

The GD's William Evan McFarlane was the third missionary brother. I get a sense of him, at least in his early adulthood, as not leading, but following very closely examples set by his elders. He left school with his father's level of religious conviction and went to Cheshunt College as his father had done. Ordained in May 1891, he joined the LMS straight away and was sent out to join its mission in Mongolia, which was having a crisis of personnel to go with all its other problems.

When William Evan left England, the LMS was on its second attempt to find a foothold in Mongolia. Its first (1820-1841) had been authorised by one Russian tsar and then banned by another; so the second attempt went through China. It was essentially the work of one man, Rev James Gilmour, who had arrived in Mongolia in 1870 and finally got his first convert in 1885. It had been difficult to follow up even this small and belated success: Gilmour was on sick-leave in 1889 and 1890; and as soon as he returned to work his deputy, Dr G P Smith took leave of absence and doesn't seem to have gone back. The situation went critical in May 1891 when Gilmour died suddenly, while he was in Tientsin for a meeting of the LMS's North China Mission; so that Rev J Parker and his wife were the only LMS representatives left in Mongolia. They needed help; and William Evan was it. While William Evan was on his way, however, the political situation between the native Mongolians and newly-arrived

Han Chinese, deteriorated; and in November 1891 the Parkers had to retreat to Tientsin; where William Evan found them when he reached north China.

It was the following April before Rev Parker thought that it was safe to return to Mongolia. He, his wife and William Evan arrived at the mission at Ch'ao Yang on 3 May 1892. The one convert of 1885 had become 50 converts by the end of the year so there was some room for optimism; but during those few months, William Evan caught dysentery. Perhaps weakened by the long journey he had had to make to reach his posting, he was unable to shake the illness off completely. After enduring repeated bouts of it for about 18 months he had to admit defeat: he left Mongolia in May 1894 and returned to England. Soon afterwards, hostilities broke out between Russia and Japan and the Parkers also had to leave.

William Evan may have continued to be a devout Nonconformist Christian all his life but he was never employed by a missionary society again as far as I know. He decided to follow the example of his eldest brother Sewell, and study medicine, even going to Edinburgh University medical school where Sewell had done his training. He started there in 1895 and joined the GD two years into his studies. Throughout his time as a student he lived at the same address - 28 Montpelier Park Edinburgh.

EDINBURGH AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

The GD's Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh had been set up in 1893. It had quite a few members who were doctors, including one whose name William Evan will have known: Dr Robert William Felkin, the medical school's Lecturer in Diseases of the Tropics and an ex-missionary himself (though on behalf of the Church of England rather than a nonconformist mission). However, William Evan might just have missed Felkin, who moved to London to set up in private practice around the time William Evan began his studies. A much more likely GD member to have recommended William Evan for initiation was William Peck, Amen-Ra's Hierophant (1896) and then its sub-Imperator (1897); husband of GD member Christina Peck, and brother of GD member Harriet Peck. Peck (1862-1925) was an inventor with a number of patents to his name; but he was also director of Edinburgh's City Observatory and a great populariser of astronomy, through books and talks - a Patrick Moore of his day. During his time in China and Mongolia William Evan will have had ample time to get familiar with the northern sky. The City Observatory will have offered him what might have been his first opportunity to look at stars through a telescope. I'm sure he made a beeline for Peck's domain whenever his medical studies permitted and it was inevitable that the two men should get friendly.

I've already said in the first paragraph of this biography that William Evan didn't follow up his GD initiation. Nor did he join Edinburgh's branch of the Theosophical Society - William Peck was an important member of that, as well. William Evan might no longer be a missionary but I think that some of the texts taught in the GD would have been rather too much like witchcraft and paganism for a man from such a devout Evangelical family. And the texts of the TS he might have regarded as heathen. He let the GD go and got on with his medical work; but perhaps he and the Pecks remained friendly.

William Evan graduated MB ChB from the University of Edinburgh in 1900 and went to gain some experience at the Wirral Children's Hospital in Birkenhead. I imagine he was offered the job through family contacts in Lancashire: Samuel McFarlane had friends in the Manchester area and he and Elizabeth had chosen to retire to Southport; and Harriet and her

husband were living in Chorlton.

SOUTH AFRICA

1900 and 1901 were calamitous times: the Boxer rebellion was on; and the Boer War was on. In South Africa, Britain's scorched earth policy with regard to the farms of its Boer opponents had led to the displacement of thousands of women and children by mid-1900. The military authorities began to herd them into what the Secretary of State for War referred to (in June 1901) as "concentration camps"; but the numbers needing to go to the camps rapidly outstripped the manpower and organisation available to create suitable places to live out the rest of the war, however long it took. With only tents for shelter, no clean water, no properly-dug sewage treatment and not enough food, the measles epidemic that had already been raging got out of control and was joined by typhoid, diphtheria and William Evan's old enemy, dysentery. Death rates shot up, particularly amongst children, but information on what was going on was censored by the Government; so it was not understood in Britain just how bad things were, until well into 1901. Even then, not everyone was in favour of sending help to the camps: politicians who had voted against the war opposed it; and others argued against helping the wives and children of Britain's enemies. William Evan was not one of those who felt that way. He volunteered to go to South Africa as a medical officer. At the end of 1901, he arrived at his allotted camp: Mafeking.

MAFEKING

Mafeking (now called by its correct name, Mahikeng) was a name known throughout the Empire by the time William Evan set out for South Africa. Everyone knew about the 217-day siege (from October 1899 to May 1900) and its eventual relief by Colonel B T Mahon and his troops. I'm not sure that quite many people would have been able to say where the town was, however - it's on the Upper Molopo River near the border with Botswana.

The handing over - you can call it an abandonment - of the camps by the military to the civilian authorities was hasty and ill-thought-out. There weren't enough civilian workers to take over and there was no clear chain of bureaucratic command; so that decisions that desperately needed to be made, weren't. Supplies of food and transport to get food to the camps were both lacking; and most of the camps were on starvation rations for months. At Mafeking these difficulties were made worse by the camp's isolation and the lack of men in the camp to do the heavy work like digging sewers, and channels to drain off the rain which raged through the tents after every downpour. By the autumn of 1901 the situation at Mafeking was chaotic and deadly. At the end of October 1901 there were about 5000 people in the camp, mostly women and children; but until the end of that month the camp had no nursing staff at all; until December 1901 the camp also had no one of sufficient rank to take administrative decisions; two senior medical officers came and then went (their health broken by the conditions) between October 1901 and January 1902, without making any real impact on the appalling sanitary arrangements; and the epidemics continued to rage, felling even some members of the staff.

The tide began to turn at Mafeking late in 1901. Death rates peaked in November 1901 as the epidemics began to abate. Just before Christmas a good civilian administrator finally arrived: Herbert Kembell Cooke (or Cook, I've seen both spellings). A second replacement senior medical officer arrived and began work. The camp got a trained pharmacist/dispenser. An orphanage had been needed for several months, so many women in the camp had died; at last, one was set up. And - doing his bit to improve matters - William Evan McFarlane joined the

staff, bringing the number of doctors to six (five men and one woman) and bringing also his welcome recent experience of work in a children's hospital.

A couple of months after William Evan's arrival, staff were at last able to have the odd evening off. To lighten the atmosphere in the camp and cheer people up, a series of concerts was organised during February and March 1902. And then, in late May, came the glad news of Peace.

ZEERUST

Despite the fact that the refugees didn't have farmhouses or crops to go back to, the British authorities began to hustle them out of the camps within days of peace being declared; most of the camps were empty by the end of 1902. The refugees in Mafeking concentration camp were all from the Zeerust and Rustenberg districts. It's not clear from any of the sources I've read, whether medical officers from the camps were expected to accompany refugees on their journey back whence they had come; but William Evan did so, at some point during 1902, and remained at Zeerust at least throughout 1903 and probably into 1904. The British had taken control of Zeerust and the area around it as part of the Peace deal. From July 1902, a British magistrate was in post at Zeerust; and one reference I saw on the web referred to a small hospital there having been set up at about the right time, by a Dr MacFarlane (sic); but I haven't been able to follow it up to confirm that William Evan was the man in the snippet.

SURREY

William Evan's name first appears in the General Medical Council register in 1903, care of a PO Box number in Zeerust. Ancestry doesn't have any registers between 1903 and 1907, but in 1907 his address was 53 Middle Hill, Englefield Green Surrey; though I think he had already left it by the time the register was published. One of the accounts of his life records him working for a Dr Beresford in Chertsey, Surrey; no date for that was given but I think it's probably now, and that the Dr Beresford in question was William Hugh Beresford, a GP living at Bentley, Egham Hill in 1901 and 1907 though by 1911 he had moved to Esher and might have retired. After several years working in a hospital or field-hospital environment, perhaps William Evan felt it was time to get some more experience as a general practitioner. He was, I think, looking at last for a permanent appointment. And an appointment eventually came up in Australia.

IRVINEBANK

Irvinebank, beneath the Atherton Tablelands of Queensland, was a mining and smelting town, renamed (from Glen Creek) promoted, organised and generally run by John Moffat of the Glen Smelting Company of Herberton, after he had bought up some leases on tin mines, around 1884.

People were drawn to the area by the prospect of well-paid work, but the town was always a small one, its population peaking at 1264 in 1911. In 1906, William Evan MacFarlane (note the changed spelling) was appointed as doctor in residence and doctor in charge of Irvinebank's Walsh District Hospital. Though most of his work was in Irvinebank he was also responsible for the Stannary Hills Hospital, making visits there twice a week. In fact, only a few years after he started work, Irvinebank began to decline, and people began to leave it, when the economic slump of the years before World War 1 drove metal prices down. Moffat was investing heavily in tramways and railways when this downturn occurred, and was badly caught out financially. He retired from the company in 1912 and Irvinebank's decline accelerated. William Evan, however, worked in Irvinebank for the rest of his life and became a popular and generous member of its community.

ASTRONOMY

A house next to the hospital came with the job; and possibly for the first time in his life, William Evan thought of himself as having a home. Certainly, he put down more roots at Irvinebank than he had ever done anywhere before. Some were roots of a particular and rather expensive kind - in 1917 he bought himself a telescope and built an observatory for it, in his garden. Whenever his work permitted - which wasn't as often as he would have liked - he went out to do some serious work observing double stars. Double stars are groups of two or more stars which appear to be in close proximity. Some really are close to each other and orbiting around a point in between the two; these are binaries. Other stars are not close at all, they just look that way from Earth. Félix Savary had computed the orbits of one binary system in Ursa Major as early as 1827; but there was still a lot of systematic work needing to be done on double stars when William Evan began his observations.

The telescope William Evan chose was a Cooke equatorial, a well-known brand whose users included the Royal Observatory at Greenwich as well as many serious amateurs. William Evan was able by 1917 to afford one of the larger ones - his had a 17.8cm (7inches) refractor. He was well set up, therefore, to see - in the constellation of Aquila - the brightest nova since 1604. Although it was just about visible to the naked eye the previous night, on the night of 8-9 June 1918 it outshone every other star but two, an instant astronomical sensation. At that time the life and death of stars was not well understood and there was as much bafflement as excitement amongst astronomers as the news spread and all telescopes were trained on it. It was probably statistics on the nova, gathered by William Evan during August 1918 and sent to the Royal Astronomical Society in London, that got him elected a Fellow in January 1919. Just noting, here, that if William Evan was still a Christian, he had no problem with using the scientific method, and the latest scientific equipment, to investigate God's handiwork further, to see how it worked. I'm not sure his brothers Sewell and Alfred would have felt the same. William Evan named the nova 'Vulcan Star' after the Irvinebank tin mine, and it continued to be called that locally for some years.

Novas are now known to be the ejection of extremely hot gas from an unstable star or binary system, making it shine far more brightly than up until then. The 1918 nova is rather dully called V603 Aquilae these days; there are photographs of it on the web. V603 Aquilae is one of the most studied novas. In 1964 Robert P Kraft was able to prove that the gas had been blown out of a binary system; observers in 1918 couldn't see enough detail to be sure. And since then, instruments in space and on land have peered at its light in the ultra-violet and X-rays.

I'm sure William Evan would have continued to use his telescope to observe the nova and other interesting features of the sky, and would have sent more data to the RAS; but the Spanish flu epidemic of 1918-19 intervened; decisively.

The Australian government put quarantine restrictions in place to keep out Spanish flu for as long as possible. However, it came ashore at last, in January 1919, with more or less simultaneous outbreaks in Hobart, Melbourne and Sydney. As Irvinebank was rather isolated, the disease eventually broke out there in July 1919. For several weeks after he tended the first cases, William Evan was kept extremely busy, working through the kind of vile weather that the disease thrived on: statistics have shown that in hot and humid climates it was particularly virulent. By mid-August the worst seemed to be over and he began to contemplate taking a deserved holiday, perhaps visiting India. But the flu came for him (and

it often came very quickly indeed): on a Thursday he didn't feel well; by the Friday he was thinking he wasn't up to making his usual visit to Stannary Hills Hospital; and on Sunday 18 August 1919 he died. The Spanish flu is known for having picked off the young (aged 20-40) rather than the older and youngest, so at 53 William Evan was a little above the age of maximum danger. However, he had lived for a great deal of his life in sapping climates; he had not spared himself, in those climates, to tend to the health (physical and spiritual) of others; and he had had dysentery in the past, which can weaken the heart. Virtually the whole of Irvinebank turned out for his funeral; he's buried in the town cemetery.

RIVERVIEW OBSERVATORY

William Evan died suddenly. All the evidence I've found indicates that he never married. And he lived far away from his closest relations. Consequently his legal affairs took some time to sort out. By 1921, however, his telescope was up for sale. It was bought by St Ignatius College Sydney NSW for the observatory Father Edward Francis Pigot was setting up in the school grounds. It's still in use today.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR WILLIAM MACFARLANE

OUTLINE OF WILLIAM EVAN'S LIFE: sent to me by Kenneth Jack in two emails over the weekend of 16-18 May 2015.

A very short biography was in Loxton's Medical Directory of Australia etc published by F W Loxton 1910: p146.

THE MACFARLANE FAMILY

See clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info for information on Rev Dr Samuel MacFarlane DD's Scottish birth and upbringing.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Most LMS documents are now at School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. Some of the artefacts collected by its employees are in the Horniman Museum, south London. And the National Library of Australia also has a large archive collection bought from LMS in 1961 and not just covering Australia and its dependencies: see www.nla.gov.au for a short hist of the LMS. And see wikipedia. There's also The London Missionary Society in Australia by Anna Johnston. Cambridge University Press 2003 though it appears only to cover 1800-60.

SAMUEL McFARLANE

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 952396 for his marriage to Elizabeth Ursula Joyce.

Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missionaries p448. This source did not have entries for any of Samuel's sons.

A rather less positive view of Samuel's career can be seen at adonbline.anu.edu.au/biogs.

Several works in the British Library:

As MacFarlane:

1863 La Evangelia hna cinihane hnei Mataio. As translator. Published Nengone: LMS Press.

1873 Tusi Salamo. As translator, with John Sleight. The BL's copy is London: British and Foreign Bible Society though there may also have been copies printed in Lifou.

1888 British New Guinea Vocabularies Part II is by Samuel, edited by R N Cust. London: SPCK though printed by James Chalmers of Port Moresby.

As McFarlane:

1885 Euangelia Mareko Detarer: Gospel of St Mark in the Language of the Murray Island. Sydney NSW: NSW Auxiliary Bible Society.

Given the kind of person he was and the kind of work he did, you wouldn't expect Samuel McFarlane to be interested in native artefacts. However, the British Museum has one item collected by him at Mabuia in the Torres Strait - catalogue number Oc.2489, a mask in the style of a crocodile. It was first exhibited in 1886.

MCFARLANE HARBOUR at Port Moresby is probably named after Samuel.

Adventures in New Guinea by Rev James Chalmers. London: Religious Tract Society 1886 p69.

MURRAY ISLAND, which isn't mentioned in Samuel's book on the New Guinea mission:

Via the latrove online newspapers to Sydney Morning Herald 28 March 1878: letter written to a friend in Sydney by Mrs Chalmers on 27 January 1878 at the Chalmers' base at Stacey Island.

REV JAMES CHALMERS

See wikipedia: 1841 to 8 April 1901. And for his death:

Times Mon 22 April 1901 p6 Murder of British Missionaries.

Times Tue 23 April 1901 p9

Times Tue 30 April 1901 p5.

None of the reports in the Times suggest that Chalmers and his companions had been eaten.

SEWELL MACFARLANE

Family history details, DOB and DOD, from rootsweb.ancestry.com

At h-net.msu.edu two items posted by michelle.renshaw@adelaide.edu.au in May 2006; transcriptions of letters written by Sewell in China during the 1890s.

Cross and Crown by Mary Isabella Bryson of Tientsin. Published London Missionary Society 1904: p153.

Via the latrove newspapers website to South Australian Register of 2 October 1900 p7: Hardships of Missionaries in China, a report based on a letter written 21 July [1900] at Kobe, Japan by Sewell S MacFarlane.

Burdett's Hospitals and Charities: Being the Year Book of Philanthropy editor Sir Henry C Burdett. Published Scientific Press 1912: entry for the London Medical Mission.

ALFRED JAMES MCFARLANE

Report of London Missionary Society vols 123-25 1918 p108, list of current staff with details including which chapel they had attended when young; and where they were educated.

At www.bunyanmeeting.co.uk a history of the Bunyan Meeting of Mill Street Bedford. See also wikipedia.

The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism, editor Deryck Lovegrove. London: Routledge 2002.

Familysearch: Manifests of Passengers Arriving from Canada into Vermont 1929-49.

CHESHUNT COLLEGE

At www.british-history.ac.uk: histories of the current Cambridge University theological colleges, using information from the Victoria County History series: History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, Volume 3: City and University of Cambridge. Published London 1959.

NEW CALEDONIA, LIFU (LIFOU) AND THE LOYALTY ISLANDS

Wikipedia on New Caledonia. Also on the Loyalty Islands but this entry doesn't give its sources. On Lifou.

More information in The Discovery of the Pacific Islands by Andrew Sharp. Oxford University Press 1960.

CAPE YORK

Wikipedia.

Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait Islands; by Alfred Cort Haddon 1901: Introduction p3.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

At web.esrc.unimelb.au details of that part of the London Missionary Society collection owned by the National Library of Australia which is now stored at the Papua New Guinea University Library with catalogue number NLS MS 3720.

Torres Strait Islanders: Custom and Colonialism by Jeremy Beckett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1897: p242 in its bibliography, two reports made by Rev A W Murray and Rev S McFarlane 1871 and 1872.

WILLIAM EVAN AS A MISSIONARY IN MONGOLIA

Via archive.org to The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 by Richard Lovett. Published in two volumes 1899 by Oxford University Press for the LMS: pp585-588; p610-614

When Lovett was preparing the book, the LMS still had not been able to return to Mongolia.

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Royal Geographical Society Year-Book and Record published by the RGS 1 Savile Row. The British Library only has the issues for 1898 to 1901; these seem to have been the first 3 of the series. Year- book 1898 p135, p189. Year-Book 1900 p135. Year-Book 1901 p139.

EDINBURGH

Robert William Felkin:

www.academia.edu/1906812/The_extraordinary_life_and_work_of_Robert_Felkin_-

Bahai_Mage. Article by Lil Osborn with details of early life based on his obituary in the British Medical Journal.

Who Was Who 1916-28 p824 entry for William Peck.

WIRRAL CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk, an introduction to the Hospital's records which are now in Wirral Record Office.

MAFEKING

There's plenty on the web about the siege, which made Robert Baden-Powell (founder of the Scouts) a household name.

See wikipedia and other sites which concentrate on the military aspects of it.

Wikipedia on what was known to the British as Mafeking but was later called Mafikeng and is now called Mahikeng.

Programmes of the Weekly Promenade Concerts held at the Burgher Refugee Camp Mafeking, February and March 1902.

Times Mon 7 July 1902 p5 a report on the land that was being annexed by the British in the wake of the war, which included the area around Zeerust.

MAFEKING CONCENTRATION CAMP

Further Papers relating to the Working of the Refugee Camps in South Africa which continues from an earlier report Cd853 issued December 1901. This report: HMSO, issued January 1902 and presented by the king to both houses of Parliament. The documents contained in it were all prepared October-November 1901. P5, p42, p45, p88-89.

The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell by Emily Hobhouse. London: Methuen and Co 1902: p93-94; pp118-126. On p130 Emily prints a letter from St John Brodrick MP, Secretary of State for War, which specifically describes the camps in South Africa as "Concentration Camps".

Wikipedia for the career of St John Brodrick 1856-1942. And Emily Hobhouse 1860-1926.

Further on Emily Hobhouse: John Hall's *That Bloody Woman: The Turbulent Life of Emily Hobhouse*. Cornwall: Truran Press 2008.

Modern accounts of the concentration camps, which both use the papers of Herbert Kemball Cook (or Cooke).

Mourning Becomes...Post/Memory, Commemoration and the Concentration Camps of the South African War by Liz Stanley. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press 2006. Especially Introduction; p15; p16n11; p85; p122p pp138-140; pp157-159; p167-168n56; pp183-85; p190; p326. A succinct account of the war, and lots of camp statistics.

Collective Violence and the Agrarian Origins of South African Apartheid by John Higginson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014: p100.

ZEERUST

Wikipedia for the founding and the geography of the district.

Royal Geographical Society Year-book and Record issue of 1902 has an entry for W E McFarlane (sic) giving Zeerust as his address.

Through Lands that Were Dark: Being a Record of a Year's Missionary Journey in Africa and Madagascar by F H Hawkins LL B, Foreign Secretary for the London Missionary Society with responsibility for Africa, China and Madagascar. Published: LMS 1914. I could have sworn I saw, via google, a reference in this book to a hospital at Zeerust started by a "Dr MacFarlane". I ordered the book at the British Library, but couldn't find the reference anywhere. Hawkins was making his journey in 1913, long after William Evan had left Africa. P60 has the only reference to Zeerust that I could find in the book: Hawkins passed through the town in order to catch a train from there to Johannesburg. He didn't stop.

IRVINEBANK QUEENSLAND

Two good websites for Irvinebank's geography and history and the important role played by John Moffat in the development of the town:

queenslandplaces.com, and particularly www.athertontablelandnetguide.com which reproduced contemporary accounts of the town; and had on it reproductions of articles in The Northern Herald of 20 August 1919 p9 including a photograph of him at his telescope; and The Cairns Post of 19 August 1919 p4.

The find-a-grave index has William Evan MacFarlane as buried in Irvinebank cemetery.

ASTRONOMY

At www.ulo.ac.uk website of the University of London Observatory, which has a Cooke telescope named the Joynson telescope after the man who gave it to them in 1932. Made 1863, 6" refractor.

At the Royal Museums Greenwich website www.portcities.org.uk short report on the equatorial-style telescopes bought by Royal Observatory and sent with five different expeditions in 1874 to observe the 1874 transit of Venus; including Cooke refractors.

Classic Telescopes by Neil English. Published New York: Springer 2013. On p2 Figure 2.7 shows a 3" Cooke refractor built around 1900.

Wikipedia on double stars and binary stars; and V603 Aquilae - a white dwarf and a red dwarf orbiting a central point every 3 hour and 20 minutes.

Cataclysmic Events and How to Observe Them by Martin Mobberley. Published Springer 2009: p46.

For the excitement at the time: via the latrove newspaper website at trove.nla.gov.au to Western Mail (published Perth Western Australia) Friday 14 June 1918 p20.

At www.ras.org.uk/library/obituaries/1314-ras-obituaries-38 a one-paragraph obituary of William Evan. It gets a lot of its facts about his early life wrong though of course it's pretty good on the reasons why he was elected FRAS.

Journal of the British Astronomical Association volume 28 1918 p236.

Australian Journal of Astronomy volumes 1-2 , published Astral Press 1985 p66.

SPANISH FLU

See virus.stanford.edu/uda for some general statistics.

In Australia:

Website www.emknowledge.gov.au, www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au and www.themonthly.com.au, article by Malcolm Knox published in the edition of April 2010. Knox had interviewed Dr Keith Horsley who was writing a book on the history of flu in Australia.

RIVERVIEW OBSERVATORY still exists and is a weather-station, see www.bom.gov.au. Pigot began taking weather observations in 1905.

Journal for the History of Astronomy volumes 3-4 1912 p211 suggests that some attempt at systematic observation of the night sky was going on at St Ignatius College in 1909; but without a telescope.

Explorers of the Southern Sky: A History of Australian Astronomy by Raymond Haynes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996: pp124-126.

5 August 2015

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

The Laings.

This is a file on the family background of three members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. The first two are sisters: Cecilia Macrae and Florence Kennedy, daughters of Samuel and Mary Laing. The third is GD member Agnes Cathcart, née Baxter, who was a first cousin of theirs.

My basic sources for any of my GD member biographies are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

THE COMMON ANCESTOR: SAMUEL LAING OF PAPDALE

Records of the Laing family in Orkney go back to James V's time but I'm only going to start with Samuel Laing (1780-1868), known as 'of Papdale', the family home he inherited in 1818, to differentiate him from his son, who had the same name. He was grandfather of all three GD members.

Samuel Laing of Papdale had a varied career: he served in the army in the years just before the Peninsular War; he managed various businesses owned by relatives. Back on Orkney he made a fortune from the kelp industry and helped developed Orkney's herring industry; before losing a lot of the money he had made, trying to establish himself in politics. He's

best known now for his last careers, as a travel writer and commentator on the European political and social scene; and as translator of the Icelandic sagas of Snorri Sturluson.

Samuel Laing of Papdale married Agnes Kelly in 1809. They had two children: Elizabeth Dorothy, mother of Agnes Cathcart; and Samuel, father of Cecilia Macrae and Florence Kennedy. Agnes née Kelly died in 1812 and her sister Mary came to manage the household and act as mother to the children.

Samuel Laing of Papdale travelled a great deal in Europe at different times in his life. He spent 1799-1801 in Germany, learning the language well and establishing a connection with Germany and German culture that his son's family continued, at least to the 1880s. His time in the army took him to Portugal and Gibraltar. In the early 1830s he stayed in several different places in France and Germany so that daughter Elizabeth could learn both languages. In the mid-1830s, he was living in Norway; where he began his saga translations. After his son had graduated from university, they travelled around Europe together.

Samuel Laing of Papdale began work on an autobiography. He got as far as 1856 but it was left unfinished when he had a severe stroke. Its final paragraph recorded the marriage of his grand-daughter, future GD member Agnes Baxter, to Robert Cathcart of Pitcairnie. Samuel Laing spent his last years living in Edinburgh with his daughter Elizabeth Dorothy Baxter. He died at her house, 4 Lynedoch Place Edinburgh, on 23 April 1868.

Sources:

I've drawn heavily on the book and online article below - both by R P Fereday:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000. Dedicated to the group of local residents who saved Papdale House from being knocked down and used for road-making in the 1960s. Fereday says that there are very few records in Orkney on the Laing family. He was using a manuscript copy of Samuel Laing of Papdale's autobiography, owned by Molly Somerset, a descendant of Cecilia and Florence's elder sister Mary Eliza, who married Edward Kennard.

Seen at www.ssns.org.uk: Samuel Laing of Papdale Orkney: A Kelp-Laird's Political Ambitions 1824-1834 by R P Fereday.

Some of Samuel Laing of Papdale's publications, found in the British Library catalogue:

1836 Journal of a Residence in Norway in the Years 1834, 1835, 1836. London. BL has later editions of this.

1839 A Tour in Sweden. London.

1842 Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France etc. London. BL also has later editions of this.

1844 The Heimskringla; or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway. Volume 2. SLP as translator from Icelandic of Snorri Sturluson. I didn't see volume 1; maybe the BL doesn't have a copy.

1850 Observations of the Social and Political State of the European People 1848, 1849. Longman Brown Green and Longmans

1852 Observations on the Social and Political State of Denmark. London.

1899 The Heimskringla... Volume 3. 2nd edition London: John C Nimmo.

ELIZABETH DOROTHY BAXTER née LAING, the elder child of Samuel Laing of Papdale, and Alice née Kelly.

Samuel Laing of Papdale's daughter married Henry Baxter of Idvies in two separate ceremonies in March 1834, one in Edinburgh and one at Kirkwall in Orkney. The marriage pleased her father: the Baxter family of Dundee was wealthy, and both families were Whig/Liberal in politics.

Henry Baxter had graduated from Edinburgh University in 1817 and qualified as an advocate; during the 1830s he also acted as a Church of Scotland Commissioner. He had succeeded to his father's estate at Idvies in 1833.

Elizabeth and Henry had two daughters, Agnes and Mary, before Henry died in August 1837. After his death Elizabeth, Agnes and Mary lived not at Idvies but at a house called Bangholm Bower until 1844 when they moved into Edinburgh so that the two girls could go to school. Both daughters inherited money from the Baxter family: their grandfather noted that they had £30,000 each as a marriage portion.

Sources:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000.

Seen at www.ssns.org.uk: Samuel Laing of Papdale Orkney: A Kelp-Laird's Political Ambitions 1824-1834 by R P Fereday.

Henry Baxter and his family:

The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943 published 1944 by the Faculty: p11.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland p1031 Henry Baxter as representative of Forfar in 1834.

Familysearch:

Scotland-ODM GS film number 1066694: marriage of Henry Baxter to Elizabeth Dorothy Laing 9 March 1834 in Edinburgh.

Scotland-ODM GS film number 990505: marriage of Henry Baxter to Elizabeth Dorothy Laing 20 March 1834 at Kirkwall, Orkney.

Via www.genesreunited.co.uk to the Perth Courier of 3 April 1834: marriage announcement.

SAMUEL LAING 1812-97

Samuel Laing, father of Cecilia and Florence, was the younger child of Samuel Laing of Papdale and his wife Agnes née Kelly. He was born in Edinburgh on 12 December 1812. After some time at grammar school in Houghton-le-Spring, and lessons with a private tutor, Samuel went to St John's College Cambridge in 1827, graduating as second wrangler in 1831 and being elected a fellow in 1834. While he was training as a barrister, he also worked in Cambridge giving maths coaching. He was called to the bar in 1837, at Lincoln's Inn. Although he described himself to the 1851 census official as a barrister, he was also the managing director of a railway company by that stage and his business involvement was always more important than his legal practice.

After a short period travelling in Europe with his father, Samuel Laing went to work as private secretary to the president of the Board of Trade, Henry Labouchere. In 1842 he moved within the Board of Trade to become secretary to its railway department, the start of fifty years of involvement in the law and finance of railways, and of investment in railways and other new technologies. In 1844 he persuaded the Liberal government to have a clause in their Railway Act forcing companies to have third-class carriages with fares no higher than 1 penny per mile. It led to a huge rise in the number of people using the railways, from which the British economy as a whole and Samuel Laing personally both benefited. After a few months in 1860 as financial secretary to the Treasury, he was sent to India by the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, to take charge of its finances; he was in India from 1860 to 1862, or possibly as far as 1865 (my sources differed on that point). During the period there was a great turnover of men at the top in India, that Samuel Laing will have had to deal with: Viscount Canning was governor-general until March 1862; he was replaced by the Earl of Elgin who was in charge until November 1863; for the next two months two men did the job temporarily before Sir John Lawrence took office in January 1864.

Samuel Laing was an MP; for Wick from 1852 to 1857, 1859-60 and 1865-68; and then for Orkney and Shetland 1873-85.

The railway company Samuel Laing was associated with for longest was the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway; he was made chairman of the Company in 1848, stepped down when sent to India, and took the helm again in 1866, staying in charge until 1894. In 1852, he and his deputy-chairman, both living in the Sydenham area, helped set up the company that moved the crystal palace from its original 1851 exhibition site in Hyde Park, and built a railway so that people could travel easily from London to see it at its new, Crystal Palace home. He was also a director of the Great Eastern Railway Company, at least in the 1860s; the General Credit and Finance Co, at least in the 1880s; the Railway Share Trust Ltd; and the Railway Debenture Trust Ltd.

It was inevitable that Samuel Laing's involvement with railways should bring him into contact with Robert William Kennard. R W Kennard was a member of the banking family, partners in Denison, Heywood and Kennard, but he didn't work for the bank himself. He invested in railways and also in two works (at Falkirk and Blaenavon) that supplied high quality iron and steel for the building of railways. The Laing and Kennard families were friendly by the 1860s and became family when the Laings' daughter Mary Eliza married the Kennards' son Edward in 1870. A new company was formed in 1879 to run Blaenavon iron and steel works - the latest in a series of companies known as Blaenavon Company Limited. Samuel Laing was an investor in it and became its first chairman; later his shares passed to other members of his family, and his son-in-law Charles Colin Macrae was a director.

Samuel Laing's investments were not confined to railways. In the late 1850s he put money into firms laying cables for telegraphs. Through these companies he will have known Ernest Bunsen, John Molesworth and John A M Pinniger; relations of all three of those men later joined the GD. He was also on the board of Scottish Widows Mutual Life; and on the management committee of the Royal Scottish Corporation, of Fetter Lane.

Scaling down his business and political involvement in the mid-1880s Samuel Laing began to write more. Most of his publications up to that time had been short works, often printed

editions of lectures or contributions to particular political debates. The books published in the last decade of his life tackled different issues. He had long been one of the Rationalists - not an official society, more a loose group of people (the men are the ones whose names are known) committed to scientific enquiry and to bringing new approaches to old problems. Samuel Laing may have been the eldest of this association of like-minded thinkers. Thomas Henry Huxley was an important, vocal member with a very high public profile. Huxley's one-time student, Edwin Ray Lankester, was the most prominent of the next generation. Lankester in his turn taught the likes of H G Wells... and so on. With more time on his hands, Samuel Laing began to publish the results of many years of discussions with this group.

His publications included three pamphlets on Ireland and two works arguing for agnosticism. His book *Problems of the Future* (published in 1889) contained essays on a range of subjects from astronomy to finance. The essay on mesmerism showed that he had read some at least of the recent publications on the subject; but he was not convinced that its effects were genuine. In the essay on spiritualism he admitted to having gone to one seance in his life, but said that he had left it with no desire to go further into the subject. Spiritualist phenomena seemed to him to be too easy to fake, and he was critical of scientists like William Crookes (a GD member) and Alfred Russell Wallace for believing so easily that the dead are communicating with us.

Samuel Laing had always had an interest in evolution and the origins of Man - hence, probably, his friendship with T H Huxley. In 1866, back from India and spending the summer at Stromness with his family, he took part in an archaeological dig, in which human remains were found, and what sound like some grave goods. He published an account of the dig at the time, including in it some notes on the human remains by Huxley. In the late 1880s Laing went into the question further, publishing two works which put into lay terms the latest scientific thinking on the origins of *Homo sapiens*.

Many of the ideas Samuel Laing was expressing in these later books were controversial - when looking through the British Library catalogue I came across several pamphlets issued as angry ripostes to them. After Samuel Laing's death, several were re-issued in cheap, mass editions by the Rationalist Press Association. A book on the history of the RPA suggests that Samuel Laing may have put money into the RPA. It did have a number of wealthy backers including Huxley, Herbert Spencer and Leslie Stephen (father of Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell), all identifying themselves as agnostics.

Samuel Laing died at his home in Sydenham on 6 August 1897. His personal wealth at his death was £96000-and-odd; using the formulas on website www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare, that equates to £65 million in modern terms.

Sources:

The *Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868* edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000. Dedicated to the group which saved Papdale House from being knocked down and used for road-making in the 1960s.

Oxford DNB volume 32 p229.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen via google where volume numbers aren't given; p77

Wikipedia for a list of governor-generals and then viceroys of India.

The archaeological dig: Times Fri 31 August 1866 p7 quoting a report originally in the Orkney Herald.

In business, taking 1867 as an example year:

Some of the many appearances of Samuel Laing in the business columns of the Times that year. I was looking at 1867 to see if Cecilia Laing appeared in the Social Columns at all: she was of an age to be making her debut. However, the Laings don't seem to have bothered with a court presentation for her.

Times Sat 5 January 1867 p3f notice from Scottish Widows' Fund; Samuel Laing MP as a member of its London honorary board.

Times Wed 13 February 1867 p10 Money Markets and City Intelligence: Samuel Laing elected a director, and deputy chairman, of the Great Eastern Railway Company.

Times Wed 26 June 1867 p10 Railway News. A reference to Samuel Laing as chief negotiator in the attempt to merge the London Brighton and South Coast Railway with the News:News:South Eastern Railway.

Blaenavon iron and steel works:

History of Technology vol 11 by Norman Smith pubd 2016 and already up on google: section cldn see p numbers The Kennards and the Crumlin Viaduct. Crumlin Viaduct was blt by the Kennards. Rise of Kennard family began 18th cent w John Kennard who ran a bank in Lombard St. Robert William Kennard was John K's 2nd son ((perhaps the first is the John Peirse Kennard mentioned above)): 1800-70, ironmaster, railway financier ((he must know Laing)), partner in Denison, Heywood and Kennard later the Consolidated Bank. RWK got into railways 1830s when he invested ((big time)) in iron-smelting: he bought Falkirk Ironworks and Blaenavon Ironworks which made high-qual wrought iron. Supplied ironwork f railways. He also had a depot at 67 Upper Thames Street. He was a director of Northern and Eastern railway and other railways.

In South Wales Coal Annual 1907 p105 a ref to the current Blaenavon Company Ltd having been formed in 1879 w Samuel Laing as its first chairman.

Stock Exchange Yearbook 1882 p247 lists the current directors of the Blaenavon Company Ltd: Samuel Laing who is chairman; J Brand; A C Kennard; H J Kennard. E F Quilter; W Smith; Capt F Pavy.

Investment in early cable-laying and telegraph companies: in a biography of John Watkins Brett, seen at

//atlantic-cable.com which is a History of the Atlantic Cable and Undersea Communications. Written by Steven Roberts. Samuel Laing was on its board by 1857, by which time it was the largest telegraph company in Britain. Its other directors at that time were John Watkins Brett;

Arthur Anderson chairman of P&O; and Lord de Mauley. In 1853 Brett had set up a company to undertake cable-laying for the French government. Directors of this were Samuel Laing; Ernest Bunsen (a relation by marriage of GD member Albertina Herbert); John Molesworth (a relative of GD member Hilton Molesworth); and Napoleon III's brother, the Comte de Mornay.

Solicitor for John Watkins Brett in his various enterprises was John A M Pinniger, father of

GD member George Cope. John Pinniger changed the family surname to Cope in order to inherit an estate in Ireland.

Moving the crystal palace to Sydenham:

Website www.foreshillsociety.com doesn't give sources but is a lcl hist group. A/c put on website 2004 re Crystal Palace High Level Line blt to bring pp from London to area after the crystal palace itself was moved there. Co formed 1851 w 9 directors, 4 of whom lived in the area incl Samuel Laing who had moved there in 1847; and Leo Shuster of Penge Place who was deputy chair of the London Brighton and S Cst Railway at the time, succ as its chairman when SL ret'd 1855.

And others: Debrett's HofC and the Judicial (sic) Bench 1884 p110 lists SL as ((currently)) a dir of the Lo/Br/S Cst; Genl Credit and Finance Co; and of the Sydenham Crystal Palace Co. Times Wed 1 December 1897 p10d.

See wikipedia for more on Thomas Henry Huxley and Sir Edwin Ray Lankester. They were both much younger than Samuel Laing: Huxley was 1825-1895 and Lankester was 1847-1929.

Publications:

Some of Samuel Laing's publications are in the British Library catalogue although the BL seems to be lacking some first editions: of *The Modern Zoroastrian* (1887); and of *Modern Science and Modern Thought* (1889).

1849 *Railway Taxation*. Westminster: Vacher and Sons.

1855 *Vindiciae Palmerstonenses*. By Vindex [Samuel Laing]. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

1862 *Lecture on the Indo-European Languages and Races*. Calcutta: no details of the publisher.

1866 *Pre-Historic Remains of Caithness...with Notes on the Human Remains* by T H Huxley. London: Williams and Norgate.

?1885 *Agnosticism and Christianity*. A Lay Sermon. London: Watts and Co.

1886 *A Sporting Quixote*. London: Chapman and Hall. Perhaps this is a novel.

1886 *Irish Land and Home Rule*. London: National Press Agency.

1887 *A Visit to Bodyke; or the Real Meaning of Irish Evictions*. London: Irish Press Agency.

1888 *Coercion in Ireland*. London: National Press Agency.

1888 *The Modern Zoroastrian*. London: no details of the publisher. BL also has a revised edition 1904 London: Watts and Co.

1890 *The Antiquity of Man*. A Paper. Brighton: Southern Publishing Co.

?1890 *An Agnostic View of the Bible*. Issued for the Propagandist Press Committee. London: Watts and Co.

1891 *Modern Science and Modern Thought*. London: Chapman and Hall. BL also has a revised edition 1903.

1905 *Problems of the Future*. Revised edition London: Watts and Co. I didn't spot the

original issue.

1909 Human Origins. London: Watts and Co.

A hostile review of Samuel Laing's Problems of the Future:

Light: A Journl of Psychical Occult and Mystical Research volume IX January-December 1889. London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Issue no 466 Sat 7 December 1889 p584 review by "M.A.I.": Mr Samuel Laing on Spiritualism.

The Rationalist Press Association:

Blasphemy Depot: A Hundred Years of the Rationalist Press Association by Bill Cooke. An official history, published by the RPA 2003.

Death and funeral:

Times Sat 7 August 1897 p1b death notices.

Times Wed 11 August 1897 p8a the Court Circular page: an account of the funeral. A lot of acquaintances were out of town for the summer; amongst those who sent apologies for being unable to attend was Baron Rothschild.

There was nothing in Times about his Will but there was coverage of it in The Railway News volume 68 1897 p442.

THE COWANS OF ORKNEY

Samuel Laing, father of Cecilia and Florence, married Mary Dickson Cowan in August 1840. Though the marriage took place in Paddington, both families were from Orkney and had known each other for generations. From Samuel Laing of Papdale's autobiography it looks as though Samuel and Mary were also distantly related by marriage: the autobiography mentions an Isabel Laing (born 1735) who married a Captain Cowan.

Mary Dickson Cowan was the daughter of Captain Malcolm Cowan RN (1788-1833) and his wife Elizabeth Degraives of Edinburgh. Malcolm and Elizabeth married in Marylebone in 1807 and always lived in London - Elizabeth was still living there in 1851. They had four sons and Mary, the only girl and middle child, born in 1819.

Sources:

The Autobiography of Samuel Laing of Papdale 1780-1868 edited and with supplementary information by R P Fereday. Bellavista Publications 2000.

At www.bayanne.info/Shetland/ the Shetland Family History database: family history information on Malcolm Cowan and Elizabeth Degraives.

At www.tandfonline.com there's an article Captain Cowan's Sails: pp181-186, by Y M Capper, a descendant of Malcolm and Elizabeth Cowan. It gives details of Captain Cowan's naval career and his design (1805) for a sail that was easier to reef.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk at Public Record Office; General Office of the Admiralty Accountant General. File reference ADM 45/2/495 is an application from Malcolm Cowan's executors for money owed to him by Navy at his death which had taken place on 1 March 1833.

SAMUEL AND MARY LAING AND FAMILY

They had the typical mid-Victorian family: large, and with several children who died young:

- Samuel born 1843 died 1870
- Malcolm born 1846
- Robert probably born late 1847/early 1848; died before 1861, probably 1858
- Cecilia Mary Bruce the future GD member, born 1848
- Mary Eliza born 1850
- Agnes born 1851
- Florence Elizabeth the future GD member born 1853
- Francis Kelly born 1854 died 1874
- Theresa Margaret later always given as Theresa Uzielli, born 1855
- Henry Rudolph born 1858.

Samuel Laing and Mary lived in a number of different places during their married life; depending on the season, whether Parliament was in session, and presumably other factors as well. They continued to live in the Brighton area until the 1890s, off and on. They also rented houses in Sydenham from the 1840s to the 1890s, though they were never at home in Sydenham on census day. From time to time they also had houses in central London.

Samuel and Mary Laing were in Brighton on census day 1851, at 37 Montpellier Crescent, and the list of people in their household that day also shows two other characteristics of their life: wealth - as indicated by the number and type of servants they employed; and visitors - they were a very hospitable couple! Their visitor in 1851 was a Scottish woman, Miss Elizabeth Traill, aged 27. There were no men on the Laings' household staff at this stage in the century; instead, in addition to the cook and one housemaid, they had a nurse an under-nurse, a sick nurse and a wet nurse, to look after Mary and five children aged four or under - Malcolm, Robert, Cecilia, Mary Eliza, and Agnes who had been born less than a month before. The eldest child, Samuel, was also at home.

On the day of the 1861 census, Samuel Laing was in Calcutta. Mary Cowan Laing and her household were in Edinburgh that day and Mary may have chosen to live in Scotland throughout her husband's tour of duty in India. Mary Cowan Laing's older sons were away on census day but Cecilia, Mary Eliza, Agnes, Florence and Theresa, and the younger boys Francis and Henry were all at home. Also listed was Sabine Reigammer, aged 34 and born in Kirkwall Orkney. Her relationship to Mary as head of the household is a bit of a puzzle - she is listed as a sister, but Mary did not have a sister and Samuel had only the one, Elizabeth Baxter; so I'm not sure who she is. Mary Laing was keeping house with five female servants; they must have included a cook and one or more housemaids and probably a nurse, though the tasks of each servant are not specified.

On census day 1871 Samuel and Mary Laing were back in Brighton at 1 Eastern Terrace, Kemp Town. The changes to the family over the last decade had been great. Some of the children had married; one was away visiting; some had set up their own households; and the eldest had died a few months before, leaving a widow and posthumous child. However, Samuel and Mary's son Francis and their daughters Agnes, Florence and Theresa were at

home, and they also had three visitors, Edith Boulderston, Ann Heartley and a man incorrectly written down as Marmaduke B Sampston - Sampson is the correct spelling. Marmaduke Sampson was someone Samuel Laing knew through his business connections: employed at the Bank of England for a while, from 1846 to 1871 he worked for the Times newspaper, probably as a financial correspondent, and was also consul general in London for the states of Argentina and Bolivia. He was on the committee which raised the money for the London Homoeopathic Hospital; through that committee he will have met Mr Rosher and Dr Charles C Tuckey, whose sons later joined the GD.

The servants in the Laing household on census day 1871 were indicative of how wealthy the Laings now were. Samuel and Mary now employed three men - a butler, a footman and a page; male servants cost a lot more than female ones however skilled and experienced. Another step up in financial and social terms was the presence of a ladies' maid. There was also a cook, a housemaid, a kitchen maid and a scullery maid.

On census day 1881 Samuel Laing was in Buckingham, visiting his daughter Theresa and her husband Arthur Byass. Mary was at the Laings' house in London - 5 Cambridge Gate Regent's Park - with Henry Rudolph, now working as a stockbroker. Though the number of family members living at home was at its lowest for several decades, the Laings still had a staff of eight: butler, footman, cook, lady's maid, two housemaids, kitchen maid and scullery maid.

By 1891 Samuel Laing was as retired as he was prepared to be, though he still described himself as working as the chairman of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway - a fact the census official was probably well aware of, as the conversation was taking place in 9 Brunswick Terrace, Hove. He and Mary were still housekeeping on a lavish scale, employing seven servants to look after the pair of them.

When Samuel died, in August 1897, he and Mary were at their house in Sydenham. Mary went to live with her eldest daughter, GD member Cecilia Macrae, after she was widowed, and died in 1902.

Sources: census 1851-91.

Marmaduke Sampson:

Because of his connection with homoeopathy, he's on Sue Young's web pages: sueyounghistories.com. She says of him that on money matters he had more influence than Queen Victoria.

Probate Registry 1876.

THE OTHER LAINGS - siblings of Cecilia and Florence; and first cousins of Agnes Cathcart. I include short notes on them because I found the family interesting. Only Cecilia and Florence Laing joined the GD.

SAMUEL LAING, the eldest child. 1843-1870

After going to Harrow School, Samuel was the only son of Samuel and Mary Laing to follow his father to Cambridge University. He started at his father's old college, St John's, but later transferred to Trinity College. He graduated in law in 1865. He trained as a barrister at the Inner Temple and was called to the bar in November 1866.

In August 1869 he married Martha, daughter of Thomas W Riddel Webster. He died in the spring of 1870, aged 26, a few months before his only child - another Samuel Laing - was born. Ironically, given the views of his grandfather, Samuel Laing born 1870 became a Church of England clergyman.

Sources:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis seen via google so I don't know the volume number, but p77 of that volume.

MALCOLM LAING 1846-1918

Malcolm followed his elder brother Samuel to Harrow. He then went to Sandhurst military college, where was an outstanding student, coming first in his class of 1864. He joined the 14th Hussars in 1865 as an ensign but had no real interest in a military career and retired from active service in 1870, having only reached the level of Captain. In such a wealthy family, he had no need to work for money and doesn't seem to have done so after 1870. From 1892 he was the Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland, but that's an unpaid post. Like his sisters Mary Eliza and Theresa, he was primarily a sportsman; though he didn't share their interest in hunting, preferring horse racing, shooting and fishing.

He wasn't in the UK for the censuses of 1881 and 1891 but by 1901 he was living at 18 Queen Street, just north of Piccadilly. His was a bachelor household, with just a cook/housekeeper and one general servant; but perhaps he was not at home very often. Like most of the other Laings, he was not in the UK on census day 1911.

He died in December 1917.

Sources: censuses 1881-1911; probate registry 1918; Who Was Who volume 2 p600.

MARY ELIZA LAING 1850-1936

I've mentioned in my account of Samuel Laing that his daughter Mary Eliza Laing married Edward Kennard. They married in 1870. Edward Kennard was the youngest son of Robert William Kennard (1800-1870), financier, investor in railways and owner of iron and steel works in Falkirk and Blaenavon. After R W Kennard's death, Samuel Laing invested in the Blaenavon works and the two families ran the works between them until about the 1920s, with Cecilia Laing's husband Charles Colin Macrae succeeding to Samuel Laing's share; and Edward Kennard and his older brothers succeeding to R W Kennard's share.

Mary Eliza and her youngest sister Theresa shared a passion for hunting; a passion not shared by the sisters who joined the GD, Cecilia and Florence. Edward Kennard was also a hunting fanatic and by 1891 he and Mary Eliza had a country house at The Barn, Little Bowden near Market Harborough, in the excellent hunting country of Leicestershire.

Edward Kennard died in the summer of 1910.

Mary Eliza and Edward Kennard had two sons, Lionel Edward (born 1872); and Malcolm Alfred (born 1876) who was best man at the wedding of Cecilia and Charles Colin Macrae's son Frank, in 1910. Neither of the sons went into the Kennard family businesses. Lionel Edward joined the army, and Malcolm Alfred the navy. They both died before their mother, possibly as a consequence of serving through the first World War. Lionel Edward died in December 1919; and Malcolm Alfred in 1934.

Mary Eliza was the only child of Samuel Laing to have any writing published. Charles Godfrey Leland, who met the Laings in 1870, described her as a "sporting" novelist. As 'Mrs Edward Kennard' she wrote four books, all published in the late 1880s, in Canada.

Mary Eliza died in Leamington in 1936, leaving personal estate of £56409/0/7. Samuel Laing of Papdale's biography was eventually inherited by her descendant (or possibly descendant-in-law) Molly Kennard.

Sources: census 1891, 1911; probate registry 1910, 1919, 1934 1936.

History of Technology volume 11 by Norman Smith published 2016. I read this via google and couldn't see the page numbers. For other information on the Blaenavon works, see the section on Samuel Laing.

Mary Eliza as author. The British Library only has her books in microfilm versions. They were all published in Toronto by the National Publishing Company. The dates of publication are uncertain.

?1888 A Crack County

?1888 The Girl in the Brown Habit

?1889 Matron or Maid

?1889 Landing a Prize: A Novel

Memoirs by Charles Godfrey Leland "(Hans Breitman)". 2 volumes. London: William Heinemann 1893. Volume 2 p261 which covers the Lelands' visit to Brighton in August 1870, just after Mary Eliza was married. I don't think the Lelands met Mary Eliza, they just heard of her by repute.

AGNES LAING 1851-1933

Agnes is the odd Laing out. She married Charles Albert Leslie Attila French in 1873. Charles French's family owned land in Galway and the estate of Ballybay in Monaghan, and Agnes spent most of the rest of her life in Ireland. Agnes and Charles had two sons, a second Charles Albert Leslie French (born 1876); and Cecil Francis French (born 1879). The younger Charles Albert Leslie French joined the British army and was stationed at Aldershot in 1901. Cecil Francis French was living in England by the 1900s.

At some point - probably when Eire gained Home Rule - Agnes and her husband moved to England. They settled in Leamington Spa, near where Mary Eliza Kennard may already have been living. Agnes' husband Charles French died in East Leamington in 1929; and Agnes died at Thornbridge, 42 Kenilworth Road Leamington Spa in June 1933.

Sources: freebmd; censuses 1881-1911 - she doesn't appear on any of them in UK; probate registry 1929, 1933.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography has nothing on Agnes' husband but in volume 20 p973 there's a short entry for a Robert French 1716-79, landowner in Galway; member of a family of Anglo-Norman origins.

Geneal and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage Burke 1868 pp305-07.

Geneal and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry Burke 1871 p784 Charles French's mother Emily Eleanora Wilhelmina Leslie; only surviving child and heiress of Charles Albert Leslie of Ballybay county Monaghan.

Familysearch Ireland-EASy GS film number 255953: Charles Albert Leslie son of Charles Albert Leslie French and Agnes Laing French. Baptised 24 February 1876 at Kildare Ireland. At www.monchique.com information, though without sources, saying that he married Idonea Mary Mina daughter of Jocelyn Henry Watkins Thomas.

Familysearch Ireland-ODM GS film number 256022 re b of Cecil Francis French on 7 March 1879 in Dublin.

Familysearch tax assessment lists: Cecil Francis French living in the St George Hanover Square district 1911 and several years previously.

THERESA LAING, registered at birth as Theresa Margaret but at her marriages as Theresa Uzielli. 1855-1943.

Theresa, the youngest of the five Laing sisters, made two very wealthy marriages.

The first took place on the same day her eldest sister Cecilia married Charles Colin Macrae; in July 1877. Theresa married Arthur Byass, whose father had made a fortune as a partner in the Gonzalez Byass sherry importing firm. Arthur's elder brother Robert Byass ran the firm after their father's retirement in 1870; but Arthur also had a substantial stake in it.

Theresa and Arthur had two daughters: May (born 1878) and Kathleen (born 1881). Both Theresa and Arthur were keen on hunting (keen is probably understating it). In the years after they were first married they hunted with the Duke of Grafton's pack. On census day 1881 they were at their house at The Mount, Chandos Road Buckingham, where Samuel Laing was visiting them and their daughters. To serve the four of them plus their visitor the Byasses employed a housekeeper, lady's maid, nurse and nursemaid, two housemaids, a kitchen maid, two scullery maids and a footman; and for the horses, two grooms, two stable boys and two other stable staff.

By census day 1891 the Byasses had moved to North Hall, Norton near Daventry in Northamptonshire. There, the stable staff had their own household. Employed in the main house were a butler, two footmen, a cook, a lady's maid, three housemaids, a dairy maid, two laundry maids, two kitchen maids, and a scullery maid. A man called Walter Faber, who described himself as a brewer from Northampton, was visiting them on census day.

The Byasses had probably moved into Northamptonshire to be nearer the Pytchley Hunt. On genesreunited I could see some references over the next few years to Arthur, Theresa and

their daughters attending the Hunt's social functions. Theresa's daughters got married on the same day in 1904. May married James Sidney Mason; they were living in Market Harborough on census day 1911 with their son. Kathleen married Douglas Knyvett Courage; he died in 1920 and I think she married again.

Arthur Byass died suddenly, in the spring of 1910. By census day 1911 Theresa had left North Hall and moved nearer her daughter May, to Bosworth House, Husband's Bosworth near Market Harborough. She had scaled down her household a little, to just five servants.

Theresa Byass married for the second time in 1915 and I think her husband may have been the man who was visiting her and Arthur on census day 1891: Walter Vadasour Faber. Walter Faber died at Thornby House, Thornby Northamptonshire in 1928.

Theresa Faber herself died in Scotland in August 1943, leaving personal estate alone of £487,640/13/2. Kathleen, wife of George Graham Middleton was one of her executors; I take it this is Theresa's daughter Kathleen.

Sources: census 1881-1911; probate registry 1910, 1929, 1943.

Gonzalez Byass:

See its wikipedia page and its own web pages as gonzalezbyassuk.com

Investors' Chronicle 8 January 1870 p37: announcement that the two partners in the firm will be taking their sons - including Arthur Byass - into partnership; and that the firm will now be known as Gonzalez Byass and Co.

The Statist: A Journal of Practical Finance and Trade volume 39 1897 p652 issue of 24 April 1897 has a list of the current major shareholders in the firm, and the estimated value of their shareholdings. The single largest shareholding was that of Robert N Byass £159,090; Arthur Byass had £55,000; B W Kennard and others to sum of £130,000, the 'others' possibly including members of the Laing family.

Royal Blue Book: Fashionable Directory and Parliamentary Guide 1908 p700 has a business address or flat in London for Arthur Byass at 25 Jermyn Street.

On Arthur Byass:

Web pages www.bayanne.info is the Northern Isles Family History site; information on Arthur Byass is included by virtue of his marriage to Theresa Laing.

Marriage announcement: Shetland Times 14 July 1877.

Hark Away: Sketches of Hunting, Coaching, Fishing etc by Frederick Feild Whitehurst. Tinsley Brothers 1879 p49, p316.

Times Thurs 26 May 1910 p1 and again Fri 27 May p1: short death notice for Arthur Byass.

HENRY RUDOLPH the youngest of the Laing children. 1858-1941.

Henry was the only one of Samuel Laing's sons who had a career in investment. He and his friend Fletcher H G Cruickshank founded the stock-broking firm Laing and Cruickshank in 1882. Later, Cecilia Macrae's son Frank Laing Macrae joined the firm.

It is likely that the rest of the family didn't know about the most important relationship in

Henry's life for many years after it began; for a very Victorian reason – the woman in question was from several rungs further down the long ladder of 19th-century social class. Bridget Maria Barnard was born in Great Amwell in Hertfordshire in 1855. Her father, James, had moved to Hertford by 1871 and was running a clothing shop there. On the day of the 1871 census, James and his wife Elizabeth had nine children living at home, aged from 18 years to 7 months: Bridget was the third of the six girls; and there were three boys. Victorian social mores made it very difficult for a Henry Laing to meet a Bridget Barnard on anything other than an employer/servant basis, and perhaps that's how the relationship began. It had developed, however, by census day 1881, a day on which Henry was at home with his mother: in December 1881, Bridget gave birth to their only child, a daughter, Florence Maude.

The relationship continued through the 1880s. Henry and Bridget may have been able to live more openly as a couple when they were able to spend time at a house Henry had at Costello in Galway, but were more discreet when they were in London. Maybe Henry was waiting for the right moment to tell his parents? Or – worse – for them to die so that he could make the relationship with Bridget public, and legitimise his daughter, without shocking them. After 12 or more years, however, the right moment had still not arrived and Henry's patience ran out: he and Bridget got married in a registry-office in February 1893. In the next few years they moved several times around the Sloane Street/Belgravia district, funded by some killings Henry was making on the stock market. They settled into 5 Cadogan Gardens Chelsea, in 1902.

In 1906 Florence Maude married Collingwood Ingram, grandson of Herbert Ingram, founder of the Illustrated London News. Some at least of Henry's siblings went to the wedding and more gave gifts – especially of jewellery – to the bride. The wedding reception was held at 5 Cadogan Gardens, with Bridget as hostess.

There's a wiki on Collingwood Ingram who was an ornithologist and plant collector, an authority on the Japanese flowering cherry, and creator of the well-known garden at The Grange Benenden. Two of Florence and Collingwood's children - Ivor Laing Ingram and Mervyn Jeffrey Ingram - were staying with Henry and Bridget on the day of the 1911 census, while their parents were in Leicestershire for the foxhunting. Bridget was coordinating two sets of servants that day: a cook, two footmen, two housemaids and a lady's maid probably worked for the Laings; and the Ingrams had lent the Laings a nurse and a children's maid while their sons were in residence.

As the adverts' small print tells us – share values can go down as well as up. Henry seems to have lost his touch with shares – or his interest in them - in the years before World War 1 and began to lose money rather than make it. Though he was still listed as a director as late as 1927, he had stopped being involved in Laing and Cruickshank on a daily basis many years before. He and Bridget moved to Mundesley in Norfolk. Henry died in January 1941, while staying with the Ingrams at The Grange; Bridget had died in 1935.

Sources: census 1901, 1911; probate registry 1936, 1941.

City of London: The History by David Kynaston. 2012. In chapter Playing the Game p113. Apparently Laing and Cruickshank were on their way to a poker game when they decided to go into the stock-broking business together.

Laing and Cruickshank: the First Eighty Years by R F Pearson and A D B Smith. Printed

privately, published 1968.

The Directory of Directors 1927 p902.

Bridget Maria Barnard: Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 104 2051 IT 2; census 1871-1891. Birth certificate 1882 of Florence Maude Barnard. Probate Registry 1936.

Marriage certificate of Henry Rudolph Laing and Bridget Maria Barnard. I'm not sure how many of either family were in attendance: neither of the witnesses look as though they are related to the bride and groom. Although you can understand why Bridget might have entered into an unmarried relationship with a man rich enough to keep her in comfort, she might still have been cast off by her family.

There's coverage of Florence Maude and Collingwood's wedding in the Lady's Pictorial issue of 27 October 1906 p657. The Lady's Pictorial was owned by the Ingram family.

Wiki on Collingwood Ingram. He also collected netsuke; his collection is now in the British Museum.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD members who were freemasons, the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England is now available via Ancestry: it gives the date of the freemason's first initiation; and the craft lodges he was a member of.

To take careers in craft freemasonry further, the website of the the Freemasons' Library is a good resource: //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources.

You can get from the pages to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

16 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Cecilia Mary Bruce Macrae was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in May 1891. It was a busy evening. As well as Cecilia, five other people were initiated: Cecilia's sister Florence Kennedy; her sister-in-law Louisa Ida Macrae; Augustus Montague Cooper; Agnes Alicia de Pallandt; and Emily Katherine Bates.

Cecilia chose a Latin motto, 'Macte virtute', but shortly afterwards she changed her mind and substituted another Latin phrase, 'Vincit Qui Se Vincit', usually shortened to VQSV or 'Vincit'. She was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order 18 months later, on 3 October 1892. She was one of the GD's longest-serving members, still active in its daughter order Stella Matutina in the early 1920s.

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on CECILIA MARY BRUCE MACRAE née Laing. For more on her background, there's a separate file on the Laing family.

IN THE GD

As the wife of a prominent lawyer and businessman, and as a mother, Cecilia had many

commitments. She managed large households and had a busy social schedule. However, it's clear from the GD's surviving documents that she was very serious about her membership of the Order.

CECILIA RECRUITS SOME NEW MEMBERS

A few months after Cecilia joined the GD, Grace Aurelia Murray was initiated. The address Mrs Murray gave the GD for correspondence was Cecilia's house in Cheyne Walk; she was a friend of both Cecilia and Florence Kennedy. It's likely that Cecilia was also responsible for recommending Mary Eliza Haweis to the GD: Mrs Haweis and her family moved into 16 Cheyne Walk, a few doors down from where Cecilia was living, over New Year 1884 and Mary Eliza was initiated into the GD a few weeks later. Agnes Cathcart, first-cousin of Cecilia and Florence, also joined the GD, in March 1894. It's possible she first heard of its existence from her cousins. However, she was initiated in Edinburgh, not London, where she also knew GD members John and Frances Brodie-Innes, and her introduction to the GD is more likely to have come from them.

SECOND ORDER STUDY

Candidates for initiation into the GD's 2nd Order had to study a wide range of different esoteric subjects, and pass some exams. It looks like Cecilia began working through this daunting programme in May 1892, when she took advantage of William Wynn Westcott's willingness to lend his own books and manuscripts, to borrow a large number of magical texts. She was ready for her second initiation only a few months afterwards.

MAGICAL SUB-GROUPS

In the late 1890s, members of the GD began to meet in small groups to do magic together in addition to and apart from the Order's formal rituals. It's an indication of how skilled a magician Cecilia wanted to be, and how much she enjoyed her membership, that she was a member of two of these.

Frederick Leigh Gardner and Francis W Wright started to set up the first of them, in the spring of 1897. William Wynn Westcott was keen to join this group and eventually it became his group rather than Gardner's and Wright's. Cecilia and Reena Fulham Hughes accepted Westcott's invitation to join. Westcott also asked Florence Kennedy, who said she was willing provided its meetings were at a convenient time for her. The group - including Florence Kennedy - did meet, but no records of what it did have survived and it's also not clear how long its meetings continued.

Cecilia and Florence also joined the Sphere Group, founded to focus on Florence Farr's speciality of Egyptian symbolism and invocation. More information has survived about this group. At some point, Robert Felkin compiled a list of its members. As well as beings from the astral plain, the members were Felkin himself; Florence Farr and her sister Henrietta Paget; Cecilia, and Florence Kennedy; Ada Waters; Marcus Worsley Blackden (another Egyptian magic expert); Helen Rand; Robert Palmer Thomas; Edmund Hunter, his wife Dorothea and his cousin Fanny Hunter. There's also reason for thinking Reena Fulham Hughes was a member though she is not on Felkin's list. The Sphere Group continued to operate at least until 1901.

CECILIA IN TIMES OF TROUBLE IN THE ORDER

Perhaps Cecilia saw the GD as a place where she and her sister could spend time away from the social engagements that took up so much of the rest of their days. When life in the GD

started to get very turbulent, in the mid-1890s, she worried about its future. Once or twice she trembled on the verge of resigning from the Order, at times of particular stress in it, but she always decided to keep up her membership.

In 1896, Annie Horniman was ejected from the GD by Samuel Liddell Mathers. Many members felt that Annie had been treated unfairly and Frederick Leigh Gardner began to organise a petition to reinstate her. Around Christmas 1896/early January 1897 (the letter is undated) Cecilia signed the petition. However, when Mathers saw the petition as a challenge to his authority, Cecilia was also amongst those who agreed to accept him as the final arbiter of who should or should not be in the Order. The petition was dropped and Annie remained outside the GD for several years.

Cecilia's relations with Frederick Leigh Gardner were good; she found him "fraternal, and Kind in manner". (She means 'fraternal' in the magical sense of fratres and sorores, of course). However, many GD members, especially the younger women, found him abrasive and intimidating. And when he was put in charge of the organisation of Isis-Urania's rituals, his approach to them was considered by many to be too rigid to allow the action to develop spontaneously. In the end, weary of listening to so many complaints about him, Florence Farr, as head of the GD in England, suspended him from Isis-Urania and sent him to run the Horus Temple at Bradford instead. On hearing this news, in October 1897, Cecilia took the trouble to write to Gardner saying how sorry she was to hear of his enforced departure from the London temple. This latest disruption of life in the GD had come at a particularly emotional time for Cecilia - her father, Samuel Laing, had died two months before. Consequently, she found herself unable to decide what if anything she should do about Gardner's suspension, except to wait upon events. She wrote again to Gardner a few days later, saying that she had talked the situation over with her sister. With many misgivings, she and Florence had agreed not to make any noise about the way Gardner had been treated, at a time when the GD seemed so unstable it might disintegrate any day.

Cecilia and Florence Kennedy were thus still members of the GD and of the Sphere Group at the beginning of 1900. Between February and April 1900 the Order broke dramatically with the past. The sequence of events began with Mathers telling Florence Farr that the documents allowing the GD to be founded were fakes; and ended with the expulsion of Mathers and some of his closest supporters from the Order and the setting up of a new hierarchy to run it. The new hierarchy was largely composed of members of the Sphere Group; but neither Cecilia nor Florence were involved. Florence Kennedy's husband Edward had died in January 1900, and they were thus both in mourning during the upheaval. Florence left the GD altogether at this point. Cecilia's name isn't in any of the records that survive (they are pretty sketchy) for the period 1900 to the GD's final disintegration into two daughter orders during 1903; but she may have been - probably was - going to some rituals and meetings.

AFTER THE GD - AMOUN TEMPLE AND STELLA MATUTINA

Another period of mourning prevented Cecilia from taking a more active part in the GD's collapse during 1903: her mother Mary died in the summer of 1902.

After several months of fruitless negotiations about the GD's future as 1903 wore on, Robert Felkin decided to go it alone with a solution: at the end of the year, he founded the Amoun

Temple. He intended it as a new temple within the GD and the names of its first new members were added to the GD's membership roll. However, it soon began to be thought of as the first temple in a new order, Stella Matutina. The first new recruits were initiated in 1904. Although W B Yeats was the temple's most senior member - having been in the GD longer than any of the other founders - Amoun Temple was dominated by Robert Felkin and his acquaintances. One of them was a neighbour of the Felkins, Christina Mary Stoddart: she was initiated in October 1907, when she was living at 56 Bassett Road. Until the first World War Amoun Temple even held its meetings and rituals in the Felkins' house at 47 Bassett Road North Kensington.

It's through Christina Stoddart that I'm able to say that Cecilia was an active member of Amoun Temple; despite her name not appearing on either of the lists of its members that still exist from before World War 1. In a letter to Georgie Yeats, written in 1919, Christina mentioned that she'd recently spent an enjoyable evening with Cecilia. Christina referred to Cecilia by her GD motto, not her name; and as a friend of long-standing to both women, known to them both through magic.

In 1919 Robert Felkin - now living in New Zealand - ordered that the Amoun Temple be shut down. However, it was still going two years later and its members were fighting back. In April 1921, Cecilia agreed to join a committee of Amoun Temple which would investigate claims Christina Stoddart had been making, that Robert Felkin had never been given authority to run any daughter order of the GD. The other members of the committee were Dr William Carnegie Dickson (son of GD member Dr George Dickson of Edinburgh) and John Brodie-Innes. I couldn't find any evidence that the committee had ever reached a decision on the matter they had been asked to research. Once again, deaths were probably what intervened: that of Cecilia's husband in November 1922 and that of John Brodie-Innes himself in December 1923.

Information is lacking but it looks as though Cecilia didn't take an active role in SM after her husband's death.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

SPIRITUALISM

The involvement of GD members in spiritualism is a tricky thing to investigate. Communicating with spirits, or with the dead, was a very locally-based, even family-based, pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now. However, in Cecilia's case there's one piece of evidence that suggests she won't have been involved in it on a regular basis: her father Samuel Laing published an essay arguing against it. Cecilia may have attended spiritualist seances at the homes of friends; but it's very unlikely the Laing family ever got round a table to contact the dead in their own home.

THEOSOPHY

Cecilia's membership of the Theosophical Society is listed in the membership register covering June 1898 to February 1901. Her entry is in the middle of a group whose dates of application aren't noted down, but she paid her first annual subscription to the TS in 1901. 1901 was a particularly disturbed year at the GD, and perhaps Cecilia was thinking it would be a good idea if she joined another organisation where she could meet people with similar interests. She was originally a member of the TS's London Lodge, before changing to Blavatsky Lodge. She resigned from the TS altogether in March 1909; a lot of members did

so at that time, disturbed by Annie Besant's reinstatement of Leadbeater as a TS member, against whom so many unpleasant allegations had been made.

Alfred Percy, author of *Esoteric Buddhism*, and his wife Patience, had helped found London Lodge in June 1878. The Sinnetts went to stay with the Macraes in the country in the summer of 1905 and the friendship survived Cecilia's move to London Lodge's main rival lodge; and Patience Sinnett's death in 1908. Cecilia and her husband were still friendly with Alfred Percy Sinnett many years after Cecilia had left the TS - he went to stay with them in Bournemouth in August 1918.

THEISM AND UNITARIANISM

Cecilia's curiosity about western and eastern esotericism was given permission, you could say, by ideas she must have been familiar with through the men in her life. Her father, Samuel Laing, was an agnostic who was not afraid to say so at a time when few were prepared to go that far in public. And her husband, Charles Colin Macrae - while never being a member of either the GD or the TS - had religious views that were definitely Christian, but very unorthodox. He was acquainted with two radical preachers, Moncure Daniel Conway and Rev Charles Voysey.

Moncure Daniel Conway (1832-1907) was the Unitarian minister of South Place chapel in Finsbury, London, from 1864 to 1865 and again from 1893 to 1897. Born in Virginia into a Methodist family that supported the Confederacy, his views on religion and politics had been changed in 1854 when he met Ralph Waldo Emerson. He had come to England in 1862 as a prominent supporter of the abolition of slavery; and had stayed on at South Place chapel and as a pamphleteer, biographer (of Thomas Paine and Nathaniel Hawkins for example) and literary agent. In 1884 Conway went to India on a fact-finding mission, travelling with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. Like any 19th century traveller, he took with him letters of introduction to people who would ease him into their social circles, including one from Charles Colin Macrae to Lewis P Delves Broughton, a barrister colleague from the 1870s when Charles Colin had been working in Calcutta. Perhaps, in the mid-to-late 1860s Charles Colin had been a member of Conway's congregation; I imagine he had at least read some of Conway's books.

Rev Charles Voysey must be one of the last people to be accused of heresy in England. He was called before a meeting of the archdiocese of York in 1869 and found guilty of beliefs inconsistent with employment in the Church of England. He appealed to the Privy Council but in 1871, the PC confirmed the decision reached in York. Rev Voysey was given one week to recant (coverage of the trial has a very 16th-century ring to it) but refused to do so. In the 16th century he might have been burned at the stake but in 1871 he just lost his Church of England living. A committee - the Voysey Establishment Fund - was set up to pay for a church building in which he could continue preaching the kind of sermon that had brought him to the attention of the Church of England authorities. While the money was being raised, the Fund paid for him to hold a service each Sunday in St George's Hall in Langham Place, London. Early members of the VEF included other radical clerics and two of the scientists whose researches had done so much to undermine belief in the central tenets of Christianity: Charles Lyell the geologist; Charles Darwin and several other members of the Darwin family; and bishop J W Colenso whose views had got him exiled by the Church of England to an appointment in South Africa. The feminist writer Frances Power Cobbe was also a vocal supporter.

Most of the views that the Church of England found so horrifying in the 1860s would probably not cause much uproar now; though some still would. In the first pamphlet issued by the VEF, Rev Voysey's beliefs were set out:

- people should think for themselves in matters of religion
- people should do good without expectation of reward
- that God is unity, there is no Trinity
- that Jesus was not divine or even partly divine: he was human and there was no miraculous birth
- there was no Fall and therefore no need for atonement
- everyone has a hope of everlasting life; there is no eternal torment
- no revelation should be accepted by anyone without question: a person's reason and their conscience are the supreme authority
- knowledge of God is a process towards better understanding; there is no such thing as sudden, complete enlightenment.

In refusing to believe in the trinity of father, son and holy ghost, Rev Voysey was in the same corner of that particular debate as the Unitarians. Rev Voysey came to call this set of beliefs 'theism' although a core belief in the Christian god still remained.

I've written out what Rev Voysey believed because in 1878 - shortly after he and Cecilia Laing were married - Charles Colin Macrae became vice-President of the Voysey Establishment Fund; which suggests he was a regular listener to Rev Voysey's Sunday lectures and a reader of his publications. In 1885 Rev Voysey was finally able to open his Theistic Church when the VEF bought the lease of an unused chapel in Swallow Street, Piccadilly; a move that Charles Colin Macrae must have guided through its financial and legal pitfalls. Voysey continued to preach there until his death in 1912 though the congregation dispersed very soon afterwards.

Two of Rev Voysey's daughters were initiated into the GD: Frances, wife of John William Brodie-Innes; and her sister Henrietta Voysey who was a professional, trained nurse. I think that the Macraes knew all the Voysey family before the GD was thought of, and they also hired Rev Voysey's architect son, C F A Voysey (who was never a GD member), to do work for them on their country house.

It's clear that Charles Colin Macrae was an active theist and defender of Rev Voysey's very modern take on Christianity. Although I do not know of any lists of those who went to the Theistic Church on Sundays in the late 1880s and 1890s, I'm assuming that Charles Colin Macrae did so regularly; and that Cecilia did as well.

Sources:

GOLDEN DAWN

Introductions to the GD:

Grace Aurelia Murray: RAG p147;

Mary Eliza Haweis: RAG p152. There is a biography: *Arbiter of Elegance* by Bea Howe, although it is not good on dates. Published London: Harvill Press 1967 p164; p265.

Agnes Cathcart: see my biography!

Cecilia in the GD:

GD collection at the Freemasons' Library; formerly owned by R A Gilbert. Call number GBR GD2/2/8a: a receipt dated 1 May 1892, written by Cecilia, for books and manuscripts on loan from William Wynn Westcott's own library.

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73, which contains a number of letters to Frederick Leigh Gardner from different GD members, spanning the 1890s to the 1920s; with a few copies of letters Gardner sent to GD members. There are letters by Cecilia and references to her in some others.

- Cecilia to Gardner [December 1896/January 1897]
- in a letter William Wynn Westcott to Gardner 17 May 1897
- Cecilia to Gardner 19 October [1897]
- Cecilia to Gardner 24 October [1897]

The Sphere Group:

Cauda Pavonis was the newsletter/journal of the Hermetic Text Society, published by the Department of English, Washington State University at Pullman. It's no longer published, alas! But some issues from the early 1908s are at www.alchemywebsite.com/cauda.html Volumes 11-16 1992 pp7-12 article by Sharon E Cogdill on Florence Farr's Sphere Group.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume 3 1901-04 p32 note 4; p33 give the same list of members.

AFTER THE GD

Yeats's *Golden Dawn* by George Mills Harper. London: Macmillan Press 1974. George Mills Harper's book is based on documents that were in Yeats's library when he died. When Harper was using them, they were in Anne Yeats' possession. They're now (April 2017) in the collection of the National Library of Ireland: see www.nli.ie/yeats. *Founding of Amoun Temple*: p124; its closure by Felkin p129. Christina Mary Stoddart's evening with Cecilia p130. Appendix R pp287-89: list of GD members issued 26 June 1902, which doesn't include Cecilia. *Amoun Temple* in 1921: p138, pp311-12.

STELLA MATUTINA from RAG's *Companion*: beginning p161 for lists of members; Cecilia isn't on either of them; Christina Stoddart is on p164. P41 for the history of *Amoun Temple* to 1916 when the Felkins emigrated to New Zealand.

Death of John William Brodie-Innes: Probate Registry 1924.

THEOSOPHY

At www.theosophy.wiki a history of the London Lodge based on writings by Emily Kislingbury and other prominent members of it.

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 p261.

The Theosophical Society's journal *Lucifer* volume 3 September 1888 to February 1889 issue

of 15 September 1888 p82 an uncredited review of Samuel Laing's booklet: Agnosticism and Christianity.

Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett; an un-edited version published by the Theosophical History Centre London 1986 and now easily available online. The autobiography was signed off in June 1912 but Sinnett then wrote an additional few pages in 1916: p83 of original and p5 of the 1916 additional section.

THEISM

For Moncure Daniel Conway 1832-1907 see his wikipedia page.

See Conway Hall's web pages for more on the South Place chapel, which changed its name in 1888 from the Religious Society of Finsbury to South Place Ethical Society. Conway Hall, named after Moncure Daniel Conway, is the home the South Place chapel's descendant, the Ethical Society. There's also a wiki at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conway_Hall_Ethical_Society

At www.blavatskyarchives.com/conway3.htm is an extract of Conway's book about his trip to the east: My Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East published 1906. He mentions the letter of introduction Charles Colin Macrae had given him.

Rev Charles Voysey:Oxford Dictionary of National Biography volume 56 pp608-09: Charles Voysey 1828-1912.

Lewis P Delves Broughton:

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1870 issue when Charles Colin Macrae was practising as a barrister in Calcutta. On p27 of the residents' list: L P Delves Broughton, barrister and registrar of the diocese of Calcutta.

Bengal Directory 1884 p973 in the residents' list: L P D Broughton was still a barrister but he was now also the administrator-general of Bengal; home address, 3 Outram Street Calcutta.

Cornish Sermons H-V 1-19 British Library catalogue reference 4478.f.82. Number 16 of the set is a publicity pamphlet, Voysey Establishment Fund, issued after the meeting that founded it, in July 1871. For Voysey's theology: p15. Beginning p9: list of contributors so far. On p10: "Miss F P Cobbe" had given £1. There was no donation from Charles Colin Macrae; he was in India at the time.

At www.darwinproject.ac.uk, in web pages run by the University of Cambridge: letter from F A Hanbury on behalf of the VEF; to Charles Darwin 4 September 1871 acknowledging his donation of £5. Footnote 2 for other donors to the VEF at this early stage. Hanbury's address was 24 Old Square Lincoln's Inn and the list of donors was very City and law-based.

Theological Tracts British Library catalogue reference 4372.g.6 1-18 includes An Historical Sketch of Theism. Published Williams and Norgate of Henrietta Street Covent Garden and South Frederick Street Edinburgh. It was originally a talk given at a meeting of the VEF on 27 November 1878 by Charles Colin Macrae as the VEF's new vice-chairman. Just noting here that on its p4, Macrae had defined modern theism as belief in "one God" which nevertheless "rejects all traditional religion". For Macrae, theism was the opposite of atheism.

CECILIA MACRAE: BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Cecilia was a daughter of Samuel Laing and his wife Mary Dickson Cowan. For more details on Cecilia's parents, see the first file in this set: the Laings. Here I'll just say that the families of both Samuel and Mary were from Orkney; and that Samuel Laing (1812-97) was an MP

and advisor to Liberal governments on the legalities and finance of railways. At the same time, he made a fortune as an investor in, and manager and director of, railway and other companies.

Samuel Laing and Mary Cowan married in 1840. They had ten children:

- Samuel born 1843 died 1870
- Malcolm born 1846
- Robert probably born late 1847/early 1848; died before 1861, probably 1858
- Cecilia Mary Bruce the future GD member, born 1848
- Mary Eliza born 1850
- Agnes born 1851
- Florence Elizabeth the future GD member born 1853
- Francis Kelly born 1854 died 1874
- Theresa Uzielli born 1855

and

- Henry Rudolph born 1858.

The family lived in increasing affluence between houses in central London, Brighton and Sydenham; though while Samuel Laing was on government business in India in the early 1860s, Mary Cowan Laing and the children were living in Scotland.

None of the Laings' daughters 'came out' by being presented at court and doing the round of the high-society balls and garden parties. Though the Laings were very wealthy, they moved in political, business and industrial circles rather than aristocratic ones. Samuel Laing wrote books on Darwinian evolution and the origins of man and the Laings' friends also included scientists and challengers of accepted ideas like T H Huxley and Edwin Ray Lankester.

The American journalist, playwright and traveller Charles Godfrey Leland, (who wrote as Hans Breitman) described the kind of social gatherings the Laings were able to hold as "brilliant and refined". Leland and his wife were on a prolonged tour of Europe while Leland's latest play was on the stage in the West End. They reached Brighton in August 1870 after several months doing the social round in London. They were soon introduced to the Laings, who were in Brighton for the summer. Despite the fact that the Laings were supposedly in mourning for their son Samuel, who had died in the spring aged only 26, they were still organising dinners, hunts, balls and excursions. The day trips included one to Lewes in a special train laid on by Samuel Laing as managing director and chairman of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway. In July of the following year the Lelands met Mary Cowan Laing, Cecilia and Florence in Germany, at the Hotel des Quatres Saisons in Homburg on the Rhine, where they had all gone to enjoy the celebrations surrounding the unification of Germany under the Prussian king who now became Emperor Wilhelm I.

Census day 1871 fell between those two marathons of socialising. On census day Cecilia was engaged in the visiting that was such a necessary part of the life led by her social class. She was staying with Robert Lowther and his wife Laura, at 57 Queen's Gardens Marylebone. They were an elderly couple - he was 81, she was 48 - but perhaps Cecilia was a friend of

Laura Lowther's niece Laura Martindale, who was 20 and living with them. I couldn't quite read what was written in the 'occupation' box for Robert Lowther but there was definitely a reference to his having been in India. I found some references to a Robert Lowther present during the siege of Lucknow (1857-58); perhaps Cecilia's host was that man and Samuel Laing had met him during his spell in India in the 1860s. Robert Lowther was wealthy enough to employ a butler, footman, cook and under cook, a lady's maid and a housemaid.

I have no idea what education Cecilia and her sisters had received. It's safe to assume that it would have prepared them for continuing in their parents' social circle, as wives and mothers and mistresses of a large household that entertained a great deal; but what exactly was taught them and by whom is a mystery. Census days shed light on just 24 hours in a decade; but the Laings did not have a governess in their household on any census day between 1851 and 1891. My guess is that their daughters may have gone to school in Edinburgh during the early 1860s and had lessons later from individual teachers who came to their parents' houses by the hour. Cecilia and Florence, at least, showed a willingness to pursue excellence in some subjects: Charles Leland wrote that Cecilia was described as the "first amateur pianiste" in England by no less a person than George Henry Lewes; and Florence's paintings were accepted for exhibition by major art galleries including the Paris Salon.

Most of what I know about Cecilia in her later life comes from a memoir written by her close friend, the artist Anna Lea Merritt. Wealthy Americans making prolonged visits to Europe were a feature of the social scene in which the Laing daughters grew up, but the Laings met the family of Joseph and Susannah Lea of Philadelphia in a rather less typical way, after Florence Laing and Anna Lea took the same art classes in Dresden in the winter of 1869-1870. When the classes were over, Florence Laing went back to England and Anna Lea went to Basel and then to Paris. Anna meant to make a long stay in France to get some more art training, but had to escape to London in July 1870 when the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Florence invited Anna to meet the rest of the Laings at dinner and Sunday tea, and that led to the two families meeting and becoming friendly.

The Leas went back to the USA in 1871 or 1872 but Anna - now determined to be a professional painter - was allowed stay in Europe. She continued to be friends with Florence but was closer to Cecilia and there's no mention of Florence in Anna's memoir after 1900.

Anna painted Florence, Cecilia and Charles Colin Macrae, and Mary Cowan Laing. Florence's portrait was probably done while they were both in Dresden, certainly before 1879. Anna painted Cecilia and her husband in 1879; their two sons in 1888; and there's a portrait of Charles Colin alone, dressed in highland costume, from 1900. The portrait of Cecilia's mother was done in 1898.

Cecilia and Anna both married in 1877; but Anna's husband, the painting conservator and art critic Henry Merritt, died only a few months later while Cecilia's lived until the 1920s. Both women's mothers then died in the same year, 1902. Cecilia's mother was living with Cecilia and her husband when she died. Once again, Anna was the unlucky one: her mother died in Pennsylvania and Anna hadn't seen her for many years. Anna describes Cecilia as "pouring out sympathy and faith in the spirit world around us" and Anna needed that ability in Cecilia, in the months after her mother's death. And it was Cecilia, not Florence, that gave timely help when Anna was struggling financially, especially in the early 1890s when she moved out of London to Hurstbourne Tarrant, north of Andover in Hampshire, and took on a house that needed a lot of repair work done on it. Samuel Laing helped too, sending her a lot of books.

Anna had left London for health reasons, not because she preferred country life, and during her first years in Hampshire she felt very lonely. Cecilia was one of three women friends who visited her regularly at that time. It was Cecilia who first encouraged Anna to write stories about village life; and then encouraged her to try and get them published. They first appeared in Century Magazine and then in book form, published by Kegan Paul, where Cecilia's friend A P Sinnett worked as a manager. Anna thought of Cecilia as more a sister than a friend - a substitute for Anna's own sisters (five of them) who had returned to the US with her parents.

Sources:

Charles Leland:

Memoirs by Charles Godfrey Leland "(Hans Breitman)". London: William Heinemann 1893. In two volumes. There's no index. Volume 2 p270; p215 mentions that while in Belgium, the Lelands had met the London-based publisher Nicholas Trübner and his wife. The Trübners were the people who introduced the Lelands to their friends when they reached England in 1870, including George Eliot and G H Lewes, Edwin Arnold, Lord Napier of Magdala, Lord and Lady Tennyson; Lord Bulwer-Lytton; and Richard Monckton-Milnes. The Laings definitely knew George Lewes and probably all the other people on that list though I don't have direct evidence for them knowing the others. The Lelands in Brighton: pp253-263; meeting Mary Laing, Cecilia and Florence again in Germany in 1871: p270.

Census 1871.

Robert Lowther:

At www.myheritage.com, which has interesting information but no sources.

Familysearch India-EASy GS film number 498985 for the marriage of Robert Lowther to Laura daughter of Benjamin Martindale; 10 June 1847 at Allahabad.

Anna Lea Merritt:

Love Locked Out: the Memoirs of Anna Lea Merritt with a Checklist of Her Works edited by Galina Gorokhoff. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. No publication date but BL stamp has "Sep [19]83". On meeting the Laings: p55, p81. The books' checklist of Anna's paintings doesn't list anything earlier than 1867. On p241: Anna's portrait of Florence Laing must be the "Miss Laing"; which was probably done as a student-to-student work. On pp241-242 the post-honeymoon portraits of Charles and Cecilia Macrae were almost certainly commissions - Cecilia giving Anna Lea Merritt work, at the outset of her career. They were never exhibited. They are in a list of works from 1879. On p241, the painting of Charles Alexander and Frank Laing Macrae was done in 1888 (when they were 8 and 6) and exhibited that year; this will also have been a commission. On p246 Anna's best-known painting was her Love Locked Out. It was exhibited at Royal Academy in 1890 and is now in the Tate's Chantrey Collection. P249 the list of Anna's works from 1898 includes two copies of a small portrait of a Mrs Laing which I would take to be Mary Cowan Laing, Cecilia's mother. And p250 for the portrait of Charles Colin in highland costume, from 1900.

By 1878 Anna Lea Merritt's work was good enough to be accepted by the Royal Academy:

The Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769-1904 volume 3. Edited by Algernon Graves. Published London: Henry Graves and Co Ltd and George Bell and Sons 1906. Entry p231 for Mrs Henry Merritt formerly Anna Lea.

1879 catalogue number 28: Florence daughter of Samuel Laing Esq MP; and two other

paintings

1886 catalogue number 134: St Cecilia, with a reference to Tennyson. I was wondering if Cecilia might have been the model for this painting

1888 catalogue number 323: sons of C C Macrae Esq.

CECILIA'S MARRIAGE

Cecilia Laing married Charles Colin Macrae and her youngest sister Theresa married Arthur Byass on the same day in July 1877, at the fashionable St Paul's Church Knightsbridge. Arthur Byass' family were partners in the Gonzalez Byass sherry importing firm. Charles Colin Macrae's mother Charlotte had died only a few weeks before. She was 57 and must surely have died very suddenly. The families decided that the preparations for the double marriage were too far forward to be cancelled or postponed.

Source:

Shetland Times of 14 July 1877 marriage notices. Seen 20 April 2017 at:

archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/SCT-SHETLAND/2000-06/1086776084.

CECILIA'S HUSBAND, CHARLES COLIN MACRAE

Samuel Laing will have met Charles Colin Macrae's father, Alexander Charles Macrae, in Calcutta in the early 1860s. It's likely he also got to know Alexander's brother, Colin Wilson Macrae, who was a partner in Pearce Macrae and Co, import/export agents, of 1 Clive Ghaut Street Calcutta. When Samuel Laing arrived in India in 1860 as its finance minister, Surgeon-Major Dr Macrae was a senior Civil Surgeon and Marine Surgeon in the Bengal Presidency. In 1863 he was promoted to surgeon to the viceroy. I'm not sure whether Samuel Laing was still in India in 1863, but when Dr Macrae retired in 1865 and returned to England, their acquaintance was resumed and their children became acquainted.

Alexander Charles Macrae married Charlotte Isa Reid or Reed, the daughter of a naval officer, at Fort William Bengal in November 1842. They had five children, though only three survived their Indian childhood:

- Charles Colin future husband of Cecilia Laing: August 1843 at Dorundah
- Fanny Catherine Ouseley born 1845
- Henry George Vernon Martal or Maptal born 1847 at Howrah; probably died young
- Edgar Elliott Maptal 1853-54
- Louisa Ida the future GD member born 1856 at Fort William Bengal.

Most sources I've seen say that Charles Colin Macrae was the only son; so I think that Henry Macrae must have died as a child. I've certainly found no references to him as an adult. In 1866 Fanny Macrae married Robert George Currie of the Indian Civil Service. She died in 1870 but the friendship between the Curries and the Macraes continued. Robert George married again, in 1872, and his son with his second wife - Alexander Charles Currie - was a close friend of Charles Colin and Cecilia Macrae, and executor of Charles Colin Macrae's Will.

There's more about the family in my biography of Colin Charles' sister Louisa Ida Macrae.

COLIN CHARLES MACRAE - EARLY LIFE

Alexander Charles and Charlotte Macrae sent their only surviving son to Eton. He went on to University College Oxford, and qualified as a barrister in 1868, at Lincoln's Inn. He then went back to India and spent 11 years in legal practice and as a court official in Calcutta before returning to England in the late 1870s. He set up in practice in the City of London as a barrister, member of the Parliamentary Bar and as Standing Counsel to the India Office. He retired from work as a barrister in 1889 but expanded an involvement he had already begun - probably through Samuel Laing - as director of a number of different companies. Many of them were railway companies, including the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway; Charles Colin was elected company chairman as his father-in-law had been, in 1920 when the chairman in between them - the 8th Earl of Bessborough - died. However, one company Charles Colin succeeded Samuel Laing in was a company on the supply-side of railway building - the Blaenavon Company Limited.

The Blaenavon iron works had been bought by Robert William Kennard (1800-70) during the 1830s and even during Charles Colin's lifetime, the Kennard family were still managing it and were its most important shareholders. The Kennards had invested heavily in Blaenavon, moving into steel as well as iron and buying land and mineral rights around the town, but it was a risky industry and various companies set up by the family to run the works had gone into liquidation. The Blaenavon Company Limited was founded to try to salvage something from the wreck in 1879, after an economic downturn had forced the Kennards to put the whole works up for sale. Samuel Laing had led the rescue bid and was the new company's first chairman. Charles Colin's shares - or perhaps Cecilia's shares - must have come to them from Samuel Laing; Laing was still a director of the company at his death in 1897. See the file The Laing Family for more on Cecilia's sister Mary Eliza who married R W Kennard's son Edward in 1870.

During the years he was working as a barrister Charles Colin Macrae published a few books, mostly on issues and controversies in Indian law.

Sources:

The Macraes are part of the clan Macleod:

See www.macleodgenealogy.org taken from *The Macleods: The Genealogy of a Clan Section III: Cadet Families Edinburgh 1970* by Dr Donald MacKinnon and Alick Morrison:

ALEXANDER CHARLES MACRAE

Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930 compiled by Lt-Col D G Crawford. Limited edition of 200. London: W Thacker and Co; Calcutta: Thacker Spink and Co: p113 as number 1307 in the Roll.

His entries in the local directories show how quickly he was able to rise up the ranks; due to the natural wastage of personnel in India's notorious climate and all the small wars that were being fought against native rulers.

Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1840 p245 with him in the list of Assistant Surgeons, first appointed January 1839.

Bengal and Agra Directory and Annual Register 1845 p153: stationed with the Ramgurh

Light Infantry Battalion p269 a native militia based at Dorundah in Nagpore.

Bengal and Agra Directory and Annual Register 1850 p274 now on the civil (not military) list and based at Howrah

Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1854 p275 promoted to Surgeon January 1853.

Times 27 January 1858 p6 originally London Gazette Tue 26 January [1858] appointed staff surgeon of the 10th Foot; he would move there from his present post with the 6th Light Dragoons.

New Calcutta Directory 1859 p70 A C Macrae is no longer in its list of military medical officers. On p222 in its list of residents of Calcutta: A C Macrae Presidency Civil Surgeon and Marine Surgeon. Home address 9 Middleton Street.

Thacker's Post Office Directory of Bengal issue of 1863 p37.

New Calcutta Directory 1863 Part 9-11 p253 Surgeon-Major A C Macrae, Presidency Civil Surgeon and Marine Surgeon is now also officiating surgeon to the viceroy and governor-general of India. Home address 9 Middleton Street which is also given as the home address of the next person in the listing: Colin Wilson Macrae of Pearce, Macrae and Co.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1866 p124 he's no longer listed.

Alexander Charles Macrae's family:

Familysearch India Marriages 1792-1948. India-EASy GS film number 498980: marriage of A C MacRae MD to Charlotte Isa (sic) Reid (sic), daughter of late Captain Reid RN.

Familysearch India Births and Baptisms 1786-1947. India-EASy

- GS film number 498983: Charles Colin Macrae born 16 August 1843. Mother's former surname given as Reed
- GS film number 498983: Fanny Catherine Ouseley Macrae born 19 May 1845
- GS film number 498985: Henry George Vernon Martal (sic) Macrae born 5 June 1847
- GS film number 498991: Edgar Elliott Maptal (sic) Macrae born 10 January 1853.
- GS film number 498994: Edgar Elliott Macrae buried Bishop's College Bengal 19 May 1854.
- GS film number 498994: Louisa Ida Murixa (sic) Macrae born 28 July 1856 at Fort William, St Paul Bengal.

Fanny Currie's marriage: via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Brighton Gazette of 3 May 1866 in a list of marriage announcements: Robert George Currie, son of Sir Frederick Currie Bart; to Fanny Catherine Ouseley Macrae, eldest daughter of Alexander Charles Macrae.

Her husband, Robert George Currie:

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1870 issue, the year of Fanny's death. On p50 in the list of residents: R G Currie, Bengal Civil Service, is settlement officer at Shahjehanpore.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1875 issue. On p1386 in the list of residents: R G Currie was still based in Shahjehanpore and was still settlement officer there; but he was now also working as a magistrate and tax collector.

Bengal Directory 1884 issue: there's no entry for him in the list of residents p1607 so he had left India.

Armorial Families entry for Robert George Currie, Bengal Civil Service; 1835-80.

Charles Colin Macrae:

Law Times volume 45 1868 issue of 2 May 1868 p11.

Who was Who volume 2 p689.

In India:

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1870 p143 in its list of residents and pp147-148 in its law list.
Thacker's Bengal Directory 1874 p213, p1379.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1877 p207, p633.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1879 he was in the residents' list on p683 but was described as being on leave. In fact if he married Cecilia in 1877 he must have been on leave for quite a while before this issue of the Directory was published.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1880 p1031 of the residents' list: no entry for him.

Charles Colin's legal publications in the British Library:

1870 Report of the Proceedings in the Cases of Ameer Khan and Hashmadad Khan.
Calcutta: "Englishman" Press.

1871 The Law of Divorce in India. Calcutta.

1874 The Indian Contract Act. Act IX of 1872. Calcutta: Thacker and Co

1883 Criminal Jurisdiction over Englishmen in India. Originally an article published August 1883 in Fortnightly Review. Published by the British India Committee.

1883 The Art of Advocacy. Selected from The Legal Companion. Serampore: M C Ghosh of The Law Press, 28 Grand Trunk Road.

Times Mon 9 March 1891 p9 Court Circular. Charles Colin was amongst those at a dinner at the Whitehall Club, called to honour and congratulate Sir Francis Jeune, who had just been appointed a judge. The dinner was given by the "members of the Parliamentary Bar".

Charles Colin Macrae in business; not by any means a full list:

Company matters are well reported in the Times. I looked for Charles Colin Macrae in 1877 - the year he married Cecilia Laing - and 1910.

Times 1877 had no mentions of him at all.

By 1910 it was a very different matter:

Times Fri 25 November 1910 p22 Public Companies. 12th AGM of the British and Chinese Corporation held "yesterday" at the Cannon St Hotel. Charles Colin Macrae must have been a director by now: he made the speech seconding chairman W Keswick MP's proposal to adopt the Annual Report. Both men got a rough ride from shareholders who thought they were being too optimistic about the Corporation's next few years, in unpredictable times; but the Annual Report was accepted.

Times Fri 22 April 1910 p16 report on the 61st AGM of Gresham Life Assurance Ltd. Charles Augustus Hanson was the company chairman. Charles Colin Macrae made a speech in favour of adding Lord Monk Bretton to the board of directors; a motion that was passed. C H Beadnell and Henry Hoare were re-elected to the board.

Times Sat 2 July 1910 p15: big advert for a Gresham Life share issue, listing Charles Colin Macrae as one of the company's eight directors. He was also chairman of the Railway Debenture and General Trust Co and director (though not chairman at this point) of the

London, Brighton and South Coast Railway.

The Post Magazine and Insurance Monitor volume 71 1910 p569 has the announcement of Charles Colin Macrae's election as deputy-chairman of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Ltd. As a JP and already chairman of the Railway Debenture and General Trust Co Ltd of 3 Bank Buildings.

Times 4 August 1910 p12 had a report on a half-year general mtg of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Co, with Charles Colin Macrae as deputy-chairman and the Earl of Bessborough as chairman. The company ran a ferry connecting Newhaven and Dieppe. The chairman and deputy-chairman had recently been in Paris improving relations with French railway companies.

Times Sat 28 May 1910 p17 report on a meeting of the Quebec and Lake St John Railway Company; called because the Railway Share Trust and Agency Co, as trustees of the Company, wanted to raise some money. Charles Colin Macrae chaired the meeting so he must have been a director of it, if not necessarily the chairman. Alderman Charles Augustus Hanson (see Gresham Life above) was involved with this company too.

A very Laing-Kennard-Macrae affair:

In South Wales Coal Annual 1907 p105 a reference to the current Blaenavon Company Ltd having been formed in 1879 with Samuel Laing as its first chairman.

Stock Exchange Yearbook 1882 p247 lists the current directors of the Blaenavon Company Ltd: Samuel Laing who is chairman; J Brand; A C Kennard; H J Kennard; E F Quilter; W Smith; and Captain F Pavy.

Mining Yearbook 1908 p650 has an advert-like entry for the Blaenavon Co Ltd. The current chairman is R W Kennard (who must be a grandson of the R W Kennard Samuel Laing knew). Other directors are: James R Baillie; A A Brand; E Kennard (Mary Eliza Laing's husband); F J Gordon; and Charles Colin Macrae. Its head office is at 86 Cannon Street.

At www.dmm.org.uk Durham Mining Museum's database of coal companies, using information originally published in the Colliery Year Book and Coal Trades Directory 1923: entry for Blaenavon Co Ltd which was by this time also mining coal. Charles Colin Macrae and an R W Kennard were in the list of directors. Neither of them was company chairman and most of the other directors were men who had not figured as directors in any of the earlier sources I found.

A very Laing-Macrae affair:

Times Sat 19 February 1910 p15 series of reports on the meetings of various railway companies, including the 37th AGM of the Railway Debenture and General Trust. Charles Colin Macrae was its current chairman, so it was his duty to make the speech urging the shareholders to adopt the annual report. He was heckled about the Trust's liabilities, when he said he couldn't understand the current low share price; and when he'd finished, he was asked awkward questions from the floor about what the Board was going to do about the situation. In due course Captain Malcolm Laing (Cecilia's brother, born 1846) was able to second the proposal - so he must be a director of the company - and the annual report was adopted in the end.

At en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White-Pass-and-Yukon, some pages on the history of the White Pass and Yukon Railway, which was built after the Klondike gold rush. Charles Colin Macrae was an early shareholder in the company, which bought the rights to build the railway in

1898.

Times Tues 15 November 1910 p17 a report on the 13th OGM of the White Pass and Yukon Railway Company, which was chaired by Charles Colin Macrae. Since last meeting the Company's Board of Directors had had to authorise expenditure on heavy machinery. There was mention in Times' coverage of the meeting, of the problems of operating on the Yukon River during the winter (when of course it was iced over for several months). As result of the expenditure, the Company was restricting its dividend to 2% this year.

Stock Exchange Handbook The Manual of Statistics volume 35 1917 Charles Colin Macrae is the chairman of the British Columbia Yukon Railway Co. Other directors include Henry Rudolph Laing (Cecilia's youngest brother). The company's head office was at 7 Moorgate St and its Company Secretary was there, but its Treasurer worked in Chicago and other senior employees were based in Canada. The annual meetings were held in October, in London.

Times Fri 9 September 1910 p11 the Court Circular page had a report on a meeting of those interested in investing in Mexico. Charles Colin Macrae was elected - with many others - to the organising committee of a dinner which would be held to celebrate 100 years of Mexican independence.

The Directory of Directors published by the Stock Exchange. Issue of 1914 p691: Charles Colin Macrae still had an office at 8 Bank Buildings EC. The snippet showed the beginning of the list of his current chairmanships:

Blaenavon Co Ltd

British and Chinese Corporation Ltd; chairman

Chinese Central Railways Ltd; chairman

Gresham Fire and Accident

A longer list of the companies Charles Colin Macrae was involved with are listed in his obituary in the Times Fri 1 December 1922 p15f Railway Debenture Trust; Railway Share Companies; British and Chinese Corp; Chinese Central Railway Co; London Caledonian Trust; Law Debenture Corp; the Newhaven Harbour Co; Gresham Life and Fire Insur Soc; the Trust Union Ltd; the Stirling Trust.

MARRIED LIFE

Cecilia and Charles Colin Macrae had two children, both boys: Charles Alexander Macrae, born in October 1878 in Scotland; and Frank Laing Macrae, born in London a few days before census day 1881. On census day 1881, Cecilia and Charles Colin were at home at 7 Lancaster Street, near Lancaster Gate on the north side of Hyde Park - a wealthy neighbourhood but not as wealthy as the streets on the south, Knightsbridge side. As Frank was only a few days old, a month nurse had been added temporarily to their normal staff of cook, two housemaids, parlour maid and a skivvy. Although Charles Alexander was only two, the Macraes did not have a nursemaid in the household on census day; perhaps they were between nursemaids, but the absence might also indicate Cecilia wanting to do at least some child-care herself - which was rather unusual for a woman of her social status.

The 1891 census was taken a few weeks before Cecilia was initiated into the GD. Cecilia and Charles were living at the address she gave William Wynn Westcott (the GD's administrator) for correspondence: 26 Cheyne Walk Chelsea. It was a wealthy neighbourhood but also popular in artistic circles. The Macraes were still keeping house with a cook, two

housemaids, and a parlourmaid; but with a kitchen maid, rather than the general skivvy. They had no male servants as yet. Also in the household that day were Charles Alexander, aged 12; and Cecilia's nephew, Samuel Laing born 1870, the son of her eldest brother - another Samuel - who had died before his son was born. Frank was at school, at New College Eastbourne. Frederick Schreiner, brother of novelist Olive Schreiner, had set up the school in 1872 and it had quickly established a reputation for being progressive - its religious stance was Nonconformist; it took pupils with backgrounds in trade; and from the number of non-teaching staff it employed, I'd say it took good physical care of its pupils. I find it interesting that Charles Colin Macrae had not wanted to send his son to Eton, the school he had attended himself.

Charles Alexander may have been attending a different school, where the Easter holidays had already begun, on census day 1891. However, I couldn't find any evidence of his being at school elsewhere, and he may have been educated at home. I think he might have had what the Victorians might have termed 'delicate' health: in her memoir, Cecilia's friend Anna Lea Merritt remembered that he had not been "fit for military service".

Cecilia's father Samuel Laing died in August 1897. His estate of £96000-odd (about £65 million in 2017 terms) was divided up and Mary Cowan Laing went to live with the Macraes. With Cecilia's inheritance and her mother's widow's jointure, the Macraes had more money to spend in the succeeding years: they started to employ expensive servants like butlers; in London they moved from rather bohemian Chelsea to Onslow Gardens off the Brompton Road; and they were able to afford a second house for weekends and summers in the country.

The Macraes may have leased or rented Oakhurst, in Oxted, Surrey - the first of their country retreats - before Samuel Laing's death. I've had some trouble tying down exactly when the Macraes moved into Oakhurst, but they were definitely there by October 1897 when Cecilia sent two black-bordered letters from that address to GD member Frederick Leigh Gardner. The choice of Oxted must have been because it was only a couple of miles from Florence's country house at Edenbridge in Kent; the Kennedys were spending most of their time there from about 1891. In 1898 the Macraes had some alterations done to Oakhurst; for which they employed the architect Charles Francis Annesley Voysey, son of Rev Charles Voysey and brother of GD members Frances Brodie-Innes and Henrietta Voysey.

On census day 1901, Cecilia and Charles Colin were at their London house, 93 Onslow Gardens; with Mary Cowan Laing and their son Frank. After New College Eastbourne, Stubbington School and Cheltenham College, Frank Laing had gone to Oxford University, to University College, his father's old college. Census day 1901 must have come at about the time he went to work for the stockbroking firm of Laing and Cruickshank, founded by Cecilia's brother Henry Rudolph Laing. I couldn't see Charles Alexander Macrae anywhere in the UK on census day 1901; as his health was not good, perhaps he had gone abroad for the winter. The Macraes were employing more staff than on previous census days: in addition to the basic set of cook, two housemaids and kitchen maid that they had had in 1891, they also had a nurse - to help Mary Cowan Laing, I presume, as she was now 80 - and that expensive butler; though there wasn't a footman.

Mary Cowan Laing died in the summer of 1902.

When the lease or rental agreement at Oakhurst expired the Macraes chose to pick a weekending house much further out of London. There was no longer any reason to choose somewhere near Edenbridge. Florence's husband Edward Sherard Kennedy had died in January 1900 - Charles Colin Macrae was one of his executors - and in December 1902 Florence had got married again, to a man who was a Londoner to the core, though he was not British. After the death of her first husband, Florence had let her membership of the GD lapse and she never joined any of its daughter orders and temples; perhaps the two sisters were not so close now.

Meonstoke House was in a rather remote part of Hampshire and it makes me wonder whether the wealthy Macraes now had a car or cars; Cecilia certainly her own car - meaning that the family had more than one - by 1915. The house still exists and in 2017 was for sale: Grade II listed as it's built in the vernacular style of the area; nine bedrooms, seven bathrooms, five reception rooms, and long gardens; though it is on the corner of two roads, and the stable-block which was part of the property in the Macraes' time is now a separate house.

The Macraes moved into Meonstoke House in 1905, in time for Alfred Percy Sinnett and his wife Patience to visit them during that summer. In 1907 or 1908 Anna Lea Merritt was their visitor - she published a book which included paintings she had done of some of Meonstoke Houses' garden and kitchen-garden borders. The following year Anna Lea Merritt began to create her own garden at her house in Hurstbourne Tarrant. In her memoir she wrote "My dearest Cecilia insisted on giving me the all-important flowering shrubs, which her experience selected admirably". Despite being hampered by continual changes of address, Cecilia was a gardener.

In 1910, Cecilia's son Frank got married and two of her brothers-in-law died; and two of the events show how much the German connection still mattered to the Laings.

In February 1910 Frank Macrae married Irene, only child of Friedrich von Mack and his wife. The Laings had not previously sent notices of family events to the Times, but this marriage was covered by the Times at some length; so I know quite a lot about it and about the bride. One set of Irene's grand-parents were Scottish - Colonel Archibald Campbell of Craignish and his wife. Her parents, the von Macks, were both German and lived in Homburg - the town Mary Cowan Laing, Cecilia and Florence had visited, definitely in 1871 and probably many times. The wedding was very much a Laing affair: Cecilia's nephew, Rev Samuel Laing (born 1870) helped conduct the marriage service; the best man was Frank's first cousin Malcolm Alfred Kennard; the bride wore a dress of white satin and Brussels lace which Cecilia had given her; and the reception was held at 93 Onslow Gardens where Cecilia and Charles Colin were still living.

The first of the two brothers-in-law to die that year was Theresa's husband Arthur Byass, on 24 May. He died at home in Northamptonshire, but Edward Kennedy was on holiday in Freiburg - Germany again - when he died on 14 July.

In 1910 Frank was made a partner in Laing and Cruickshank. After a honeymoon on the Riviera, he and his wife set up house in Hill Street, in wealthy and fashionable Knightsbridge. They were at home there on census day 1911, keeping house with a small staff of cook and parlourmaid. There were no children with them on census day and I think the marriage was childless. Cecilia and Charles Colin Macrae are not on the census for 1911

in England, and neither is Charles Alexander; perhaps they had all gone off together somewhere. I've found no evidence that Charles Alexander was working. There was no financial necessity for the son of such rich parents to work, of course, and by 1903 he was even able to finance a separate household at 16 Drayton Gardens, a few streets away from his parents. He might have been married: the marriage of a Charles Alexander Macrae was registered in the Axbridge registration district in 1900. (Though there are several contemporaries with that set of names and I'm inclined to think that the bridegroom of 1900 is one of the others.) Cecilia's son is on the Electoral Rolls in the borough of Chelsea from 1909 to 1911 but I don't know where he was from then until the first World War broke out; nor what he was doing.

Sources: census 1901, 1911, freebmd, probate registry entries.

Solicitors' Journal and Reporter volume 22 1878 p963 birth announcement for a son born to the Macraes 12 October 1878 at Brahan Castle Dingwall. The infant's names were not given but this is the birth of Charles Alexander Macrae.

On Schreiner and New College:

Robert Edwards Holloway: Newfoundland Educator by Ruby Gough. Montreal Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005: p22.

For Olive Schreiner see her wikipedia page. She and Frederick were the sons of missionaries, and grew up in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

Oakhurst:

Warburg Institute Gerald Yorke collection: letters from Cecilia to Frederick Leigh Gardner.

Royal Geographical Society Year-Book and Record from 1898 p136 in a list of current Fellows, Charles Colin Macrae's address is Oakhurst.

Charles Francis Annesley Voysey: see his wikipedia page and www.voyseysociety.org for more information. There's a biography and list of the works of C F A Voysey by Voysey and Wendy Hitchmough. Phaidon 1995 p233 though Hitchmough notes that no drawings for the project at Oxted have survived.

Men of Note in Finance and Commerce 1901 p146 has 3 addresses for Charles Colin Macrae: 4 Bank Buildings EC; 93 Onslow Gardens; and Oakhurst.

Meonstoke House:

Seen on zoopla on 10 April 2017; featured in Country Life volume 201 2007 p165 when it was for sale again.

It's listed: www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk as Grade II, 6 March 1967 NGR: SP6205507840.

A reference to the stables as a separate residence at www.rightmove.co.uk: they were being sold as Long Meadow House in February 2015; conversion from stables to house took place 40 years ago (so, mid 1970s-ish).

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute volume 34 1903 p390 a list of current members has an Arthur R Pontifex at Meonstoke House.

The Orchid Review volume 13 1905 p26 has an E J Lovell at the address.

Autobiography of Alfred Percy Sinnett published Theosophical History Centre London 1986: p83.

Two of Anna Lea Merritt's paintings of the garden of Meonstoke House appear in *An Artist's Garden* by Anna Lea Merritt. George Allen and Sons 1908. Opposite p168: Phlox and Nicotiana at Meonstoke House. And opposite pp189-90: Mixed Borders at the Kitchen Garden at Meonstoke House, either side of a 200 foot-long grass walk.

Cecilia's contribution to Anna Lea Merritt's garden at The Limes, Hurstbourne Tarrant:

Love Locked Out: the Memoirs of Anna Lea Merritt with a Checklist of Her Works editor Galina Gorokhoff. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. No publication date but British Library stamp has "Sep [19]83". Anna's dates are 1844-1930: p210.

CHARLES ALEXANDER MACRAE

Freebmd marriages registered in 1900. The Charles Alexander Macrae whose wedding was in Axbridge married either Ruth Gurney or Ada Mabel Holl. Though I've struggled to find evidence for Cecilia's son's life, I haven't found any for him having a wife.

Royal Blue Book 1903 p1121.

Familysearch: electoral rolls for London Borough of Chelsea 1909-11.

FRANK LAING MACRAE

Times 8 February 1910 p1 marriage announcement: Macrae to von Mack, on 7 February at St Peter's Cranley Gdns.

It's been difficult to find information on Irene von Mack though one website I reached via google did give her year of birth as 1886/87. There was no registration for her on freebmd.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Despite all their long-standing cultural contacts with Germany and despite the fact that Frank's wife was at least partly German, both Cecilia's sons must have volunteered to fight in the early days of World War 1 because they were both sent to Europe in 1915. Anna Lea Merritt recorded that Charles Alexander had been declared "not fit for military service" but he joined the army service corps as an ambulance driver. Frank was declared fit, and joined the 8th Seaforth Highlanders as a Lieutenant.

In February 1915, the 8th Seaforth Highlanders were sent to Chisledon Camp on Salisbury Plain to train for combat. They were moved to Tidworth Camp in May and set off from there for France, landing at Boulogne in July 1915. On the day they were due to begin the journey across the Channel, Cecilia went in her car to see them off, picking up Anna Lea Merritt from her house in Hurstbourne Tarrant on the way. At first they couldn't see Frank amongst so many soldiers but they stood on a vantage point to watch the troops march past, and Frank dashed out from the ranks and "clasped his dear mother in his arms; no time for words". That was the last time Cecilia ever saw him: Frank's name appeared in the Times on 14 October 1915 in a list of soldiers missing in action. His body was never found, but in the end he was deemed to have been killed in action on or shortly after the first day of the battle to take the village of Loos (25 September 1915), somewhere near the village. Charles Alexander died in Belgium the following April; there is a grave for him, in the St Riquier British Cemetery. Anna Lea Merritt said that he had "died from over-exertion".

Charles Colin Macrae had been 70 in 1913 and by the time the war broke out he had retired from most of his directorships and from being the chairman of the London, Brighton and

South Coast Railway; However, according to Anna Lea Merritt during the war he had been a special constable, in London, during what she refers to as “some emergencies” - which I take to be the riots in London and other towns during 1917 as the price of bread and potatoes went beyond most people’s ability to pay (rationing wasn’t introduced until the end of that year). After the war was over, he took on the task of restoring order to the finances and assets of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, which had been under government control during the fighting. Anna Lea Merritt reckoned that the effort the process had required of him wore him out; and the sorting-out of the chaos had still not been finished when he died.

Sources:

Love Locked Out: the Memoirs of Anna Lea Merritt with a Checklist of Her Works ed Galina Gorokhoff. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. No publication date but BL stamp has “Sep [19]83”.

Anna’s dates are 1844-1930. For the account of Frank Laing Macrae: pp220-221.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk, WO 339/12354 is Charles Alexander Macrae’s war record: Lt, Royal Service Corps 1914-1916.

See www.ipernity.com for details of men listed on the War Memorial at St Andrew’s Meonstoke. Frank Laing Macrae and Charles Alexander Macrae are both on it and Charles Alexander’s date of death is given.

Charles’ death wasn’t in the Times’ list of deaths in combat. There was no Probate Registry entry connected with it.

At www.roll-of-honour.com list of those on the Stock Exchange Memorial Roll of Honour, unveiled October 1922; with short biographies.

Times Thurs 14 October 1915 p3 Roll of Honour, issued by the Admiralty. A list of officers missing includes F L Macrae of 8th Seaforth Highlanders.

For information on the Seaforth Highlanders:

www.1914-1918.net/seaforth.htm

www.rbls-kirkwall.org.uk which lists quite a few men born on Orkney who joined the 8th Seaforth Highlanders and died at the battle of Loos; though Frank isn’t amongst them as he wasn’t born on the islands.

Probate Registry 1916: Frank Laing Macrae.

Some of Frank Laing Macrae’s estate wasn’t sorted out at the time:

Probate Registry 1943 re death of Louisa Ida Macrae on 24 January 1943.

Probate Registry 1943 re death of Frank Laing Macrae.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Cecilia and Charles Colin Macrae kept a house in London at least until Charles Colin’s death; though by 1922 they had left Onslow Gardens for 40 Cheniston Gardens, off Kensington High Street. That was probably where Cecilia spent the evening with Christina Stoddart, that Stoddart mentioned in her letter to Georgie Yeats in 1919. At some point after 1917 - probably after the Armistice - they left Meonstoke House, with all its agonising memories, and chose a weekend house in Bournemouth. The house was called Ravenshall, 2 Chine Crescent Road. A block of flats with an entrance at 19-21 West Cliff Road is on the site now, built before the 1970s. Charles Colin died at Ravenshall on 22 November 1922. A memorial

service was held in London but he was buried in Bournemouth. He left personal estate to the value of £37,575, nearly £2 million in 2017 terms. His executors were solicitor Ernest Burrell Baggallay, partner in Devonshire and Co of 38 Old Jewry; and Alick Currie.

ALEXANDER CHARLES CURRIE

Fanny Macrae, sister of Charles Colin and Louisa Ida Macrae, had married Robert George Currie of the Bengal Civil Service in 1866. Fanny had died in 1870 and her widower had married again. Alick and his twin brother George Hugh Currie (born 1873) were the sons of Robert George's second wife; but the Macraes regarded them as all-but-first-cousins. They were closer to them, it seems, than to Fanny's own daughter Lucy Alexa Heathcote Currie - I haven't found any mention of her in any source for the Macraes. Alick Currie went into the Indian Civil Service. He married Dorothea Crickett in Eastbourne in 1902, during a period of leave. Alick and Dorothea left India at the start of World War 1 and settled in Sussex, nearer to Louisa Ida than to Charles Colin and Cecilia.

With Charles Colin, Alick Currie had the painful task of sorting out the legal affairs of Frank Laing Macrae after he was killed. Probate on Frank's estate was initially granted to them both in May 1916 but the work wasn't finally finished until April 1943. Alick had to make a second probate application while he was acting as executor for Louisa Ida Macrae, who had died in January 1943. Alick died, in Sussex, in 1953.

CECILIA'S LAST YEARS

As Anna Lea Merritt said, ..Alas, for my dear lonely friend."

Aged 91, in September 1939 Cecilia was still living at Ravenshall in Bournemouth, with four servants including a butler - a very large number for the late 1930s after all the social change that the first world war had brought about. Apart from the housemaid, who had been born in 1917, the staff were all elderly and had probably been working for Cecilia for many years; though none had been with her on census day 1901, the last census I've been able to find her on. Alfred Pampton her butler had been born in 1876; Eva Cole, the cook, was born in 1885; Eleanor J Lawes her lady's maid had been born in 1876.

Cecilia's sisters Theresa and Florence were also still alive in September 1939 and so was her sister-in-law, Louisa Ida Macrae. However, all the other Laing siblings had died. So too had Anna Lea Merritt (in 1930) and some of the next generation of nieces and nephews. Irene Macrae had gone back to live in Germany and had stayed through the rise of the Nazis and the outbreak of the second World War; she died in Homburg in August 1941.

Cecilia finally died on 10 March 1942. She was 93. Her sisters Theresa and Florence survived her and so did her sister-in-law Louisa Ida Macrae. The economic crashes of the past twenty years, and her loyalty to servants - keeping them on when perhaps she didn't need such a large household any more - meant that Cecilia left less than half what her husband had left: £12636. Even in modern terms it was still a tidy sum though: the measuringworth website calculated its 2017 worth as £540,000.

Sources:

Ravenshall:

The Cambridge Review volume 38 1917 p27 refers to Herbert and Emma Sutton living in it.
London Gazette 1975 part 5 p6392 has a reference to flats at the address, which may be a newly-built block rather than a conversion of the house the Macraes lived in.

Death of Charles Colin Macrae:

Times Thur 30 November 1922 p15c announced the memorial service.

Times Fri 1 December 1922 p15f: obituary.

Probate registry 1920: entry Charles Colin Macrae

CURRIE, Alexander Charles

Wikipedia on the Currie baronetcy which has been dormant since 1978. Robert George Currie was one of the many children of Frederick Currie first Baronet (1799-1875) Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government and member of the Supreme Council of India.

Armorial Families entry for Robert George Currie (1835-80) Bengal Civil Service; 1835-80. His second marriage, in 1872, was to Annie Flora, daughter of A C MacKinnon.

At tacadrum.blogspot.co.uk some information on Fanny and Robert George Currie's daughter Lucy Alexa Heathcote Currie. She married John Orlando Summerhayes MRCS LRCP in the Punjab in 1895. He was director of the mission hospital where she was working as a missionary-cum-teacher. They and their family returned to England around 1909 and settled in Thame.

At www.haine.org.uk, some information on Alexander Charles Currie born 1873 in Shahjehanpore West Bengal; died 1953 Mayfield Sussex.

In the Indian Civil Service:

Thacker's Indian Directory 1900 issue Part 4. List of residents p1663: A C Currie was Assistant Commissioner of Buldana.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1910 issue Part 2. List of residents p84 A C Currie was still in Buldana but he had been promoted, to Deputy Commissioner.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1914 issue Part 2. List of residents p93 A C Currie was still Deputy Commissioner at Buldana. He was currently on leave and I think that he didn't go back to India again: he's not in the residents' list in the Thacker's Indian Directory issue of 1916.

At www.dnw.co.uk, a bit more on Alexander Charles Currie from the website of auction house Dix Noonan Webb, in a 2008 sale of Life Saving Awards, including a reference to his twin brother.

Probate Registry entries 1916 and 1943: estate of Frank Laing Macrae.

Probate Registry entry 1943: Louisa Ida Macrae.

BAGGALLAY, Ernest Burrell

There's an entry for him at london.wikia.com: 1879-1940.

Times 23 Jan 1940: obituary.

The Law Times volume 186 1938 p414.

The Solicitor's Journal volume 84 1940 p57

Love Locked Out: the Memoirs of Anna Lea Merritt with a Checklist of Her Works ed Galina Gorokhoff. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. No publication date but British Library stamp has "Sep [19]83": pxix.

Via Findmypast to 1939 Register, taken on 29 September 1939.

Probate Registry 1944 and 1952: death of Irene Alexandra Caroline Cecilia Elfriede Claudia Bernhardine Johanna Agnes Macrae of Dorotheenstrasse 33 Bad Homburg. The 1952 probate was granted to the Administrator of German Enemy Property.

CECILIA'S DEATH

Probate Registry 1942.

London Gazette 19 May 1942 p2204 legal notices includes one issued under the Trustee Act 1925 with reference to the death of Cecilia Mary Bruce Macrae.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD members who were freemasons, the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England is now available via Ancestry: it gives the date of the freemason's first initiation; and the craft lodges he was a member of.

To take careers in craft freemasonry further, the website of the the Freemasons' Library is a good resource: //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources.

You can get from the pages to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

To put contemporary prices and incomes into perspective, I have used www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare which Roger Wright found for me. To help you interpret the 'today' figure, measuringworth gives several options. I pick the 'historic standard of living' option which is usually the lowest, often by a considerable margin!

14 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Louisa Ida Marina Macrae was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, in May 1891. Five other people were initiated during the ritual: Louisa Ida's sisters-in-law Cecilia Macrae and Florence Kennedy; Augustus Montague Cooper; Agnes Alicia de Pallandt; and Emily Katherine Bates. Louisa Ida chose the Latin motto 'Fortudine' and gave the GD's administrators an address for correspondence - Cecilia Macrae's address - but that was as far as her membership ever went. She never followed up her initiation and by as early as July 1892 was no longer a member of the Order.

This is one of my short biographies. As with so many of the GD members, especially its women members, I have found virtually no information on Louisa Ida's life.

Sally Davis

May 2017

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on LOUISA IDA MARINA MACRAE.

DID SHE HAVE ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

A WORD ON SPIRITUALISM

I haven't found any evidence that Louisa Ida was interested in spiritualism. However, it is hard to tell whether people were spiritualists: spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now. Meetings of the British National Association of Spiritualists, and of other major London-based groups did receive coverage in the spiritualist press of the day; but I didn't see Louisa Ida's name mentioned in any of the issues of magazines like *Light* that I looked at.

THEOSOPHY

Louisa Ida was never a member of the Theosophical Society either.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

BIRTH IN INDIA

Louisa and her brother Charles Colin Macrae were children of Dr Alexander Charles Macrae and his wife Charlotte Isa Reid (or Reed; unfortunately I've seen both spellings).

Alexander Charles and Charlotte were both of Scottish descent. Charlotte was born in Scotland, but neither of them spent much of their lives living there. Alexander Charles was born in Demerara, Guyana (formerly British Guiana) in 1816. He studied medicine at Edinburgh University, qualifying in 1838. In January 1839 he joined what was then the East India Company's medical service. He spent all his working life in Bengal, beginning as an assistant surgeon with its Ramgurh Light Infantry regiment, based in Dorundah. He was with the regiment all through the 1840s, serving in the First Sikh or Sutlej War (1845-46) but by 1850 he had moved to a civilian posting in Howrah. He was promoted to Surgeon in January 1853 and became surgeon and marine surgeon to the Bengal Presidency. During the first Indian War of Independence/ Indian Mutiny he was seconded to the military, as staff surgeon with the 10th Foot and then with the 6th Light Dragoons. He was promoted to Surgeon-Major after the War, returning to his civilian work in Calcutta. In 1863 he was officiating surgeon to the governor-general and viceroy of India. The family were living in Calcutta, at 9 Middleton Street at that time. They were not the only Macraes in India: living with them was Colin Wilson Macrae of the merchants and agents Pearce, Macrae and Co of 1 Clive Ghaut Street.

Alexander Charles Macrae had married Charlotte, the daughter of a naval captain, at Fort

William Bengal in 1842. Their five children were all born in India. Charles Colin Macrae, who married GD member Cecilia Laing, was the eldest; born at Dorunda in 1843. Louisa Ida Marina was the youngest; born at Fort William in July 1856. In between Charles Colin and Louisa Ida were one sister and two brothers. The two boys died as infants. Fanny Macrae (born 1845) survived long enough to marry and have a child, but died in 1870.

Alexander Charles Macrae retired from the Bengal medical service in January 1865 and the family returned to Britain; but not to Scotland, they lived most of the year in London, with some summers spent on the south coast. Charles Colin Macrae was sent to England before his father retired, to be a pupil at Eton College.

Sources:

ALEXANDER CHARLES MACRAE:

Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615-1930 compiled by Lt-Col D G Crawford. Limited edition of 200. London: W Thacker and Co; Calcutta: Thacker Spink and Co: p113.

Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1840 p245.

Bengal and Agra Directory and Annual Register 1845 p153, p269.

Bengal and Agra Directory and Annual Register 1850 p274.

Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1854 p275.

Times 27 January 1858 p6 originally in London Gazette Tue 26 January [1858].

New Calcutta Directory 1859 p70, p222.

Thacker's PO Directory of Bengal issue of 1863; residents' list p37.

New Calcutta Directory 1863 Part 9-11 p253.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1866 p124 list of residents: no entry for him.

B/M/D records:

At //indiafamily.bl.uk: birth of Alexander Charles MacRae 21 December 1816.

Familysearch India Marriages 1792-1948. India-EASy GS film number 498980: marriage of A C MacRae MD, son of Colin Macrae to Charlotte Isa (sic) Reid (sic), daughter of the late Captain Reid RN; 1 November 1842 at Fort William Bengal.

Familysearch India Births and Baptisms 1786-1947:

- India-EASy GS film number 498983: birth of Charles Colin Macrae 16 August 1843. Baptised November 1843 at Dorunda. This region has Charlotte as Charlotte Isabel Reed.

- India-EASy GS film number 498983: birth of Fanny Catherine Ouseley Macrae 19 May 1845. Baptised August 1845 at Dorunda.

- India-EASy GS film number 498985: birth Henry George Vernon Martal (sic) Macrae 5 June 1847. Baptised December 1847 at Bishop's College Howrah. This time Charlotte's full name is given as Charlotte Isabella Reid.

I haven't found any other records at all of Henry Macrae either in India or elsewhere; and as biographical information on Charles Colin Macrae calls him an only son, I assume Henry died as a child.

- India-EASy GS film number 498991: birth Edgar Elliott Maptal (sic) Macrae 10 January 1853. Baptised February 1853 at Howrah. This regn has Charlotte as Charlotte

Isabella.

GS film number 498994: Edgar Elliott Macrae buried Bishop's College Bengal 19 May 1854.

- India-EASy GS film number 498994: Louisa Ida Murixa (sic) Macrae born 28 July 1856 at Fort William, St Paul Bengal. Baptised September 1856 Calcutta. Parents Alexander Charles and Charlotte Isa.

IN ENGLAND

The Macraes' first address after their return to England was probably Hastings, where Fanny Macrae married Robert George Currie in 1866. Currie was on leave from the Bengal Civil Service and Fanny went back to India with him. By 1866 Charles Colin Macrae was at Oxford University. After graduating, he qualified as a barrister in 1868 and went back to India to practice law in Calcutta. So on census day 1871, only Louisa Ida (now aged 14) was living with her parents at their London address of 38 Gloucester Gardens, Bayswater. However, two young cousins were living with them - Charlotte Mackenzie aged 19 and her brother Thomas, aged 15. Alexander Charles Macrae's pension and perhaps a contribution from the Mackenzie family allowed the Macraes to employ a cook, a housemaid, a nursemaid and a footman.

Charles Colin Macrae returned to England in 1877. The family had moved a few streets to 119 Westbourne Terrace by then, and Charles Colin lived with them there for a short time until he married future GD member Cecilia Laing in July 1877. Charlotte Macrae died a few weeks before the wedding took place. She was 57, and I can't believe that the wedding would have been arranged for a time when she was seriously ill; so I assume she died very suddenly. The wedding went ahead; it was probably too late in the day to cancel the arrangements.

Louisa Ida continued to live with her father until his death at age 92. By 1881, Charlotte and Thomas Mackenzie had left the household but a woman who was probably their mother had joined it, contributing a private income to the household budget: Alexander Charles Macrae's sister-in-law Alexandrina Mackenzie, a widow aged 65. I think she may have lived with the Macraes until her death. On census day 1881, the Macraes also had a visitor, a Miss Campbell (I'm not sure of her forename but it might be 'Catherine'). Miss Campbell was 26, of an age to be a friend of Louisa Ida's. The Macraes and Mrs Mackenzie were able to employ a butler, a cook, two housemaids and a kitchenmaid.

Electoral Rolls show Alexander Charles Macrae living in the borough of Paddington until 1895, so they were probably still at 119 Westbourne Terrace until then. However, I can't be sure because none of the Macraes were in the UK on the day of the 1891 census, which took place a few weeks before Louisa Ida and her sister-in-law Cecilia joined the GD.

If I have got the right person, Louisa Ida's aunt Alexandrina Mackenzie died in 1899, aged 81. By then, Alexander Charles Macrae had moved to 11 Mattock Lane Ealing, where he and Louisa Ida were on census day 1901. Something was written against Alexander Charles Macrae's census entry in the column which was asking about disabilities; I couldn't read what it was, but he was 85 by now so an entry in that column isn't surprising. The Macraes no longer had a butler. However, they still were able to employ a cook, housemaid and parlourmaid. They could have afforded a nurse, I should think, but perhaps Louisa Ida - now 44 - could manage her father's frailty without one.

Louisa Ida and her father made one more move before Alexander Charles Macrae died: they went to Eastbourne, to 7 Hartington Place. Alexander Charles Macrae died in Eastbourne in July 1908. Louisa Ida was 52 and had spent all her life as part of his household. He left very little - his pension died with him, of course, and his personal effects amounted to £196/13 - and I do wonder what Louisa Ida lived on for the rest of her life. There's some indication that Charles Colin Macrae helped her. When she died, her executor - Alick Currie - had to apply for a second probate registration for her nephew, Charles Colin's son Frank Laing Macrae; as if he had found financial papers belonging to Frank amongst Louisa Ida's possessions. Frank had been killed at the Battle of Loos in 1915; perhaps Charles Colin had persuaded Louisa Ida to have the income from some of Frank's investments. That's just a speculation of mine. Alick Currie was not Fanny Macrae's son but seems to have been regarded by both Louisa Ida and Charles Colin as if he might as well have been. He was the son of Fanny's widower, Robert George Currie, and Robert's second wife. After a couple of decades working for the Indian Civil Service, Alick had retired to Sussex around 1915.

Louisa Ida Macrae was not in the UK on the day of the 1911 census. Neither were Charles Colin or Cecilia, or their elder son Charles Alexander, so perhaps they had all gone somewhere together. Louisa Ida may have gone to live with Charles Colin and Cecilia after her father's death; but what little evidence I have found of her, after 1908, suggests not. I couldn't find her on the 1939 Register (taken in September 1939). I thought that was odd but perhaps her name hadn't been transcribed very well. She died in January 1943 and at that time, she was living at White Cliff, Southdown Avenue Peacehaven, in Sussex.

Sources: censuses 1871-1911; freebmd; Familysearch electoral rolls; probate registry 1943.

Law Times volume 45 1868 issue of 2 May 1868 p11: Charles Colin Macrae called to the bar, a member of Lincoln's Inn.

Times Fri 1 December 1922 p15f: obituary of Charles Colin Macrae.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge

and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD members who were freemasons, the membership database of the United Grand Lodge of England is now available via Ancestry: it gives the date of the freemason's first initiation; and the craft lodges he was a member of.

To take careers in craft freemasonry further, the website of the the Freemasons' Library is a good resource: //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources.

You can get from the pages to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

To put contemporary prices and incomes into perspective, I have used www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare which Roger Wright found for me. To help you interpret the 'today' figure, measuringworth gives several options. I pick the 'historic standard of living' option which is usually the lowest, often by a considerable margin!

14 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

George MARTIN who was initiated into the Golden Dawn at the Horus Temple Bradford in September 1896. He took the Latin motto 'Semper paratus'. His address at the time was 18

Hanover Square Bradford.

I haven't been able to identify this person on the census either in 1891 or 1901; he was not living at his 1896 address in either of those years. Another one of my failures.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

27 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Alfred MONCK or possibly Monk, who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in September 1890 and chose the Latin motto 'Vincit veritas'. From the information given by R A Gilbert, Alfred doesn't seem to have had much of the commitment necessary to get very far in the GD, and in 1892 he let them know that he was resigning. When he was initiated his address was 35 Seckforde Street Clerkenwell London EC.

Alfred appears in R A Gilbert's The Golden Dawn Companion with his surname spelled two different ways. On p145, in Gilbert's list of members in order of initiation, it's spelled with

the 'c' in it. However, when Mathers prepared a list of people who were no longer members, in 1894, he left the 'c' out. I think MONCK is the correct spelling. But I couldn't find Alfred anywhere, spelled either way.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

23 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Andrew NEILSON who was one of the earliest members of the Golden Dawn, being initiated in August 1888 and taking the Latin motto 'Perseverando'. In GD records from 1903 he was described as "demitted": that is, at some point between 1888 and 1903 he had not paid his subscriptions for three years and so his membership had lapsed.

A man who gives as his address the Union Bank of Scotland, Ingram Street, Glasgow, is not going to be easily found. He might have been employed at the bank, of course; but I think not. I wouldn't want mail from a group of magicians turning up at my place of work. It's much more likely that he moved around a great deal or actually lived abroad, using the bank

as a poste restante address. I certainly haven't found anyone who might be him, in my searches of the usual family history websites.

The only thing I know for certain about him is that he joined the Theosophical Society (TS) a year or so after his GD initiation; perhaps he found the TS more to his taste than the GD. He gave the same bank as his address, though, so finding him in the TS membership registers didn't lead me to any identification of him.

WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN? Despite knowing so very little about Andrew Neilson, I have a very tentative answer to that, based on the very early date he joined the GD. A large group of the earliest members were freemasonry friends of William Westcott, and it's possible that Andrew Neilson was one of them. He wasn't a member of any of the English lodges that Westcott had contacts with, however. It's much more likely that if Neilson was a freemason he was a Scottish one. Scotland is separate from England for freemasonry purposes and keeps its own records. I haven't checked the Scottish archives of freemasonry for more information on Neilson - it helps the archivists look, if you can give them a date of birth for the man in question, and of course I haven't got one.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

For the Theosophical Society: membership books for the period 1889-1901, held at the TS headquarters on Gloucester Place London W1.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Robert Baird Brash Nisbet was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus temple in Bradford in January 1892, taking the Latin motto 'Ex animo'. A few months later, in September 1892 Robert's wife Agnes Nisbet was initiated, also in Bradford. Rachel Taylor who later married GD member Joseph K Gardner; and J W S Callie (James) were initiated in the same ritual. Both of them were from Liverpool and both were good friends of Agnes and Robert through the Theosophical Society. Agnes chose the Latin motto 'Psyche'. Then, in June 1894 Robert's sister Jean Gillison was initiated, but at the GD's Isis-Urania temple in London. Julian Levett Baker, Henry Herbert Weltch and Harold N Lancaster were initiated in the same ritual as Jeanie; but I don't think she had met any of them before that evening. After some uncertainty - the motto 'Servabo fidem' is crossed out in her GD records, she settled on the Latin motto 'Cogito ergo sum'.

All three were keen initiates and I think they did at least some of the study-work together. They certainly worked through it at roughly the same pace: all three of them reached the stage where they were eligible for the GD's inner, 2nd Order during 1895. Robert underwent that second initiation in April of that year, Jean in August, and Agnes in December. However, Robert and Agnes must have had theirs in Paris, because they had moved there by early 1894. Jeanie probably had hers in London.

As Robert, Agnes and Jean were so closely related, this biography is of all three of them. There was a certain amount of official confusion, during her lifetime and at her death, as to what Mrs Gillison's Christian name was - Jane, or Jean; but I shall be calling her Jeanie, which I think is what she was called in the family.

THE NISBETS

Robert and Jeanie's parents were Thomas Nisbet and his wife Jane, née Brash. They were both Scottish. They married in Eastwood, then a suburb of Glasgow, in 1847; and only moved to Liverpool after Jeanie - their eldest child - was born. I couldn't find a baptism for Jeanie and no births in Scotland were registered at the time, but all her census responses suggest she was born, in Glasgow, in late 1847 or 1848. It's a pity about the lack of official information on Jeanie's birth: I still don't know whether she was baptised Jane, Jean, or Jeanie; but clearly she was named after her mother. Robert Baird Brash Nisbet was one of the younger members of the family, born in Liverpool in 1857. Between Jeanie and Robert were Helen (born 1849), Elizabeth (born 1850), and Alexander (born 1852); after Robert came George, the youngest, born in 1861.

On the day of the 1861 census the Nisbets were living at 39 Upper Hope Place in the Abercromby district of Liverpool. Thomas Nisbet was working in the offices of a shipping firm. I haven't been able to find out which shipping firm employed him - Liverpool had so many! But the shipping connection was an important feature in the Nisbets lives for the next 50 years or so.

While their children were young, Thomas and Jane Nisbet may have had to be careful of their money but by the day of the 1871 census the family was in a comfortable financial position, with not only Alexander but also Helen and Elizabeth working: this was a family where the

women were expected to work - at least until they were married - not just the men. Probably on the strength of all the extra money that was coming in, the Nisbets had moved to 22 Queen's Road Everton; and - another improvement in their living standards since 1861 - they were able to employ the basic, live-in general servant. Helen was teaching English, possibly in a school; and Elizabeth was employed as a day-governess which I think means that she was employed by a family, working in their home. Alexander was in the middle of his apprenticeship at a ship-broking firm. Robert and George were still at school. Jeanie was not at home on census day; she was in Scotland where (it seems) only the householders were asked to give their source of income; so I don't know whether she was working like her sisters or helping her mother run their big household. She was at 254 Bath Street in the Blythswood district of Glasgow, visiting Jane Binnie, who was either her aunt or her great-aunt (the census transcription was a bit vague on that point). Perhaps Jeanie had gone to see her aunt to give her some good news. In the autumn of 1871, Jeanie got married, to Robert Gillison. news:news:

THE GILLISONS

The Gillisons were also a Scottish family; they had come to Liverpool from Dumfriesshire. On the day of the 1851 census they were living in West Derby, Liverpool: Thomas and his wife Jane; and their children Margaret (an important person in Jeanie's life); James; Susan; Robert whom Jeanie married; the twins Isabella and Janet; John; and baby Thomas. There was one more child to come: William. Despite their large family, Thomas and Jane Gillison were well-to-do or wished to give that impression: West Derby was then a new suburb; and the Gillisons had two servants, not the basic one. The family were still living in the West Derby district in 1861. Though they had left school Margaret and Susan were not listed as having any source of income. It's possible - probable - that they were not asked whether they were doing any paid work but I think that in fact, they weren't working; the Gillisons were both better-off financially than the Nisbets and perhaps had a different attitude (more conservative, less practical) to the whole question of women's work. James and Robert were both at work. James had gone into the shipping industry as a shipbroker's clerk; in view of what happened later (see below) it's likely he was working for Joseph Chadwick. Robert had been apprenticed to a tea importing firm. The family had a visitor on census day, a Richard Bell, who ran a ship- and cattle-dealing business. He was probably a business associate of Thomas Gillison, whose source of income I could read this time (I couldn't in 1851). Thomas Gillison was in business as a farmer and cattle salesman, and in 1862 he was important enough in the local economy of Dumfriesshire to be elected a member of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland. On census day 1861 the Gillisons had four servants living in who reflected the family's sources of income and social status neatly: a housemaid and nursemaid; one farm labourer and a ploughman.

James Gillison, Thomas and Jane's eldest son, was the dynamic member of the family. In 1878 he and Joseph Chadwick founded the Gillison and Chadwick shipping line, often known as the 'drum' line as they gave their ships names beginning with Drum... The company's offices were at Mersey Chambers Liverpool when it was founded though by the 1890s they were at 10 Tower Buildings North. The firm was still in existence in 1915. Joseph Chadwick had been in the shipping business since 1872 and although I can't prove it, I do wonder whether members of the Nisbet family - Alexander, for example - actually worked for him, and then for Gillison and Chadwick.

Certainly James' youngest brother, William, worked for the firm: a merchant seaman, he was master of Gillison and Chadwick's barque British Sovereign, when it was wrecked and all hands were lost, somewhere off Dunnet Head on 2 or 3 May 1881.

Jeanie's husband Robert doesn't seem to have shared the Gillison interest in land, cattle and shipping. He preferred tea and having served his apprenticeship, worked in the tea business all his life. By 1891 he had been promoted to the challenging and delicate job of tea tasting - essentially, assessing quality and preparing blends - and it's a pity that I haven't been able to find out who he worked for. My guess, though, is that he worked for a big firm, in which promotion was marked by new job titles and (presumably) rises in pay. Although Liverpool was not as important in the world tea business as London, it did have a lot of firms that imported and sold tea. Amongst the biggest were Edward Billington and Son Ltd. Billingtons still exists but it's best known now as a sugar importer. However it was founded, in 1858, as a tea and coffee importing concern. From 1864 the firm was based in Liverpool. Rathbone Brothers - another firm known better for other things - also dealt in tea from China and coffee from Brazil; though their involvement in the tea trade ended in 1898. Other firms that Robert Gillison may have worked for imported tea along with other items. Two that I spotted in directories from around 1870 were Adair and Dawson of 73-77 London Road who dealt in Italian foodstuffs as well as tea; and Peek Brothers of 21 Harrington Street, importers of tea, coffee and spices.

It looks as though Robert Gillison's job occasionally took him abroad - perhaps as far as China - because he was not in the UK on census day 1881. In his absence, Jeanie had gone to stay with Robert's sister Margaret, who had married Alexander Armour. Much more about Alexander Armour below, but here I'll just say that he owned a firm which dealt in iron; perhaps he used Gillison and Chadwick's ships for transporting it. In 1881 Alexander and Margaret were living at 21 Percy Street Liverpool and like the Thomas Gillisons and James Gillisons, were comfortably off, employing a nurse and two maids of all work. Jeanie's stay with them and her visits to them must have had their sad side; because the Armours had six children while Jeanie and her husband remained childless. Perhaps Jeanie and Robert made up for the children they did not have, by taking a close interest in their nieces and nephews; particularly Alexander and Margaret's third son Robert Gillison Armour (born 1871); and Jeanie's sister Helen's daughter Jean Brash Price (born 1879).

I'll leave Jeanie at 1881, staying with her in-laws and close friends; and turn to her brother Robert. On leaving school, Robert trained and qualified as a book-keeper, which from my point of view is a pity: those skills are so widely useful he could have been welcomed as an employee by any firm in Liverpool. That's why he chose that work, I'm sure. But as the census officials didn't usually note down exactly who anyone's employer was, I have no idea which firm or firms Robert worked for. What is clear, however, is that he could afford to contemplate marriage and the setting up of his own household by the time he was in his late twenties - of course, by this time he will have been working for nearly two decades. In 1886 he married Elizabeth Agnes Williams, who was always called Agnes.

AGNES WILLIAMS

Agnes Williams was the elder daughter of Samuel Fletcher Williams and his wife Elizabeth. Samuel Fletcher Williams had a working life sharply different from the usual; it has a very modern feel to it, even, because unlike what was expected of Victorian men, he changed career at least twice. Born in Shrewsbury in 1842, he started out there as a clerk in an auctioneer's office, probably in the late 1850s. Then he moved on to working as a reporter for the local newspaper; until the late 1860s. Then, in an even more dramatic shift, he joined the Unitarian Methodists and trained as a minister. There were those in Victorian England who felt strongly that you could hardly think of the Unitarians as Christians at all - their very name announced the fact that they didn't believe in the trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and they also denied the divinity of Jesus. However, because of the kind of person who

attended their churches, they had an importance out of all proportion to their numbers.

Samuel Fletcher Williams had married Elizabeth Lloyd, in Shrewsbury, in 1862. Their family, by Victorian standards, was very small: Elizabeth Agnes was born in 1865 and her only sibling, Mary Emma, in 1867. By census day 1871 Rev Williams had begun his work as a Unitarian minister and had been sent to the Bethlehem Chapel at Newchurch-in-Rossendale (near Rochdale) and the family were living at a house nearby. Elizabeth's mother, Mary Lloyd, was living with them but they did not have any live-in servants at that time. Mary Lloyd had died by 1881 and Rev Williams had been moved on as well, to Hamilton Road Chapel in the Everton district of Liverpool. He and Elizabeth, Agnes and Mary Emma were living at 85 Everton Road Cherton. Agnes and Mary Emma were no longer at school; but they weren't working either and as far as I know neither of them did paid work before they married - the Nisbet daughters were very unusual in this respect. I don't suppose Agnes and Mary Emma were idle, however. As the family had only the one general servant, they will have been doing their share of household management. And as the daughters of a minister they would have been expected to set an example to his parishioners with an involvement in charity work. They also will have had to help their mother organise the many meetings that were part of their father's work. Looking on the web I found two examples of the kind of event I mean - a tea-cum-meeting of ministers in October 1879, and the spring meeting of the Liverpool and North Wales district of the United Methodist Free Churches, which took place over two days in 1882.

I've said that Robert Nisbet and Agnes Williams met in Liverpool, but it may not have been at her father's church services, which may have been rather too Unitarian for the Nisbets' liking. Robert and Jeanie's sister Elizabeth had married a Presbyterian minister, Robert Gilbert Flett, in 1872. Robert Flett had arrived in Liverpool from Edinburgh to take up an appointment as a minister. I would imagine all the Nisbets were regular attenders at Flett's church, and that's how he and Elizabeth had met; possibly the Gillisons were also in his congregation. Robert and Elizabeth's eldest child was Margaret Jean Flett (born 1873), probably Jeanie's god-daughter. It all suggests a close-knit community of Presbyterians originally from Scotland, keeping up the religion of their parents and their youth. But Robert Nisbet married a woman of a very different Christian persuasion.

Times were changing. Other ways of understanding the cosmos were beginning to creep into English society: amongst which were theosophy, and western esotericism.

THEOSOPHY

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Henry Olcott had founded their Theosophical Society in New York in 1874. But until *Isis Unveiled* was published, in New York in September 1877, the TS did not really have a text that those who were interested could refer to. I haven't been able to find out when it was first possible to buy a copy in England, but residents of Liverpool - which had such strong links with North America - might have been able to obtain American copies very shortly after the publication date. *Isis Unveiled* was divided into two volumes. The first - Science - might have seemed to be offering an alternative to Christianity which took account of recent scientific research. The second - Religion - was Blavatsky's first attempt to offer the West a philosophy based on the religions of the East. Blavatsky has been accused of plagiarism many times, but I'm not sure that her borrowing is relevant, really: to some people, including many people who were initiated into the GD, it offered a way of understanding the world, and the purpose of human existence,

when the tenets of Christianity were being challenged as never before.

Theosophy made some headway in London in the 1880s but it reached a lift-off point with regard to the rest of England, late in the decade - just around the time when the GD was being founded - because of two things: firstly the arrival of Blavatsky to take up permanent residence in London in May 1887; and secondly, the publication of her great work, *The Secret Doctrine* in 1888. In the years immediately after *The Secret Doctrine's* publication, membership of the TS in England grew hugely and quickly, with groups coming together to form lodges in every town. In addition, members of Blavatsky's entourage (though never Blavatsky herself) went on public lecture tours, explaining theosophy to the public. Although each lodge had to have permission to exist from the TS's headquarters in Regent's Park, they were self-supporting and self-governing, organising their own programme of talks (usually with speakers chosen from amongst the members), study groups (focusing particularly on *The Secret Doctrine* which even loyal followers found almost impenetrable) and social evenings. Federations of lodges were quickly established, one Europe-wide, one encompassing the USA, and even one just covering the north of England.

Robert and Agnes Nisbet, and Jeanie Gillison, were important members of the TS in Liverpool. I would suppose they were beginning to investigate the subject of theosophy by the late 1880s, but it does seem to have been *The Secret Doctrine* that made the difference. They might even have read Samuel Liddell Mathers' 1887 translation of part of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* to which Mathers gave a title in conscious imitation of Blavatsky - *The Kabbalah Unveiled*. Mathers was one of the founders of the GD.

All these ideas must have added to a general atmosphere of change in the family. Robert and Agnes began their married life by moving out of the city of Liverpool, to 8 Piercefield Road Formby - that was one change. Their two children were born in Formby - Dorothy in 1887 and Kenneth in 1889 - and that's where the family was on the day of the 1891 census, with a visitor from Birmingham, a friend of Agnes's, probably - Lizzie Dingley, a music teacher. In January 1891 had come an even bigger break with the past: Thomas Nisbet, Robert and Jeanie's father, died. Robert, their mother Jane, and Robert Flett were his executors. Though both Roberts were at home on census day 1891, neither Jane Nisbet nor Jeanie was, and I wonder if Jeanie had gone with her mother on some business connected with the estate; though if they had, it was not to a place anywhere in the UK - perhaps they had had to go to Ireland. Robert Jeanie's husband was staying with his father Thomas Gillison and his widowed sister Susan Hamilton at 3 Dryden Road West Derby, on census day.

In the months immediately after Thomas Nisbet's death - almost as if his going had released them to do so - Robert (in February) Agnes (in April) and Jeanie all joined the TS; though none of Robert and Jeanie's siblings ever did so, and nor did Jeanie's husband. At this point in the TS's history, all prospective members needed to have two sponsors who were members already, to support their application. The applications of Robert, Agnes and Jeanie suggest there was already an informal theosophy discussion group in Liverpool. In 1892 the members of this group would found the TS's Liverpool Lodge. In due course, most of them would also be initiated into the GD: John Hill; William Ranstead; Joseph K Gardner; J W S Callie; Mrs J M Stewart Walker; and Sophia Moffat from Edinburgh. Rowland Jevons was an important member of the group; he didn't join the GD but his sister Eliza did. Two people who joined the lodge after it had been founded also went into the GD: Robert Sandham, and Rev Thomas Appleton Duncan who was a Church of England vicar.

Jeanie was not quite so quick to join the TS. Perhaps she was more shaken by her father's death than Robert; and in the first few months after his death she may also have been spending a lot of time supporting her mother. She left it until September 1891. She was not quite so committed a member of Liverpool TS Lodge as her brother and sister-in-law either - though I don't mean that as a criticism of her; Robert and Agnes were exceptionally committed. Robert was Liverpool TS Lodge's first president and Agnes was the only woman member of its council in its first year (1892); though they persuaded Jeanie to join its council in 1893. As well as organising a series of public lectures at the YWCA in that first year, the lodge also had a discussion class on The Secret Doctrine - probably a continuation of what the lodge's original members had been doing before the lodge was officially founded. Also in 1892, Isabel de Steiger (née Lace) started coming to the meetings, back living in her home city after many decades of residence abroad and in London. See my life-by-dates biography of Isabel for more details of her long life in the occult, but here I'll just say that she brought with her to Liverpool TS Lodge the cachet of having met Blavatsky as early as the late 1870s; and having been a close friend of the woman you can think of as Blavatsky's opposite number in western esotericism, Dr Anna Bonus Kingsford. Isabel and Jeanie became friends.

By 1893, the lodge was looking for new, bigger rooms and in the meantime, its AGM was held at Robert and Agnes' house in Formby. The lodge members eventually decided to rent some rooms at 62 Dale Street in the centre of Liverpool, easy for all members to reach. Lodge meetings were held there every Thursday, with one member leading a discussion on a subject chosen beforehand. In 1893 Robert Nisbet took the lead on The Zodiac, Akasha and Astral Light and Karma; and Agnes took the lead on The Aryans. By the end of the year the meetings had moved to Crossley Buildings 18 South Castle Street and a new discussion group had begun, held on Sunday evenings to study The Key To Theosophy.

As if there was not enough change going on in their lives, and as if they were not busy enough already, it was during the first year of the Liverpool TS Lodge's existence that Robert and Agnes Nisbet were initiated into the GD - the western esoteric alternative to the TS. I haven't yet found out exactly how - through whom - the GD's members in Bradford and Liverpool were connected; though I imagine there was not one connection but several, through different people who knew each other through work or friendship, in these two great cities. In both cities the connection between the GD and the TS was very close, with nearly every member of one organisation also being a member of the other.

1893 was Liverpool TS Lodge's high point. They were able to attract as speakers at the meetings some enthusiastic theosophists from other lodges, Sidney Coryn and William Williams. Sidney Coryn was from south London where his family were very active TS members; his brother Herbert had been one of Blavatsky's inner circle. Sidney, Herbert and their sister-in-law Jessie Horne were all GD members. William Williams was a member of Bradford TS Lodge and the GD; he had come to give a talk on the Kabbalah, an important text for both groups.

In 1893, theosophy showed how far it had come in only a few years by being represented at the Parliament of Religions, which was held in Chicago as part of that year's World Fair. Robert Nisbet was one of the members of the council the TS set up to advise its representatives at the Parliament, though I don't think he actually went to Chicago in September 1893 to attend the Parliament; he's certainly not on the list of the people who gave

speeches at it.

Jeanie - older than Agnes and probably with a more conservative outlook; perhaps more nervous of stepping that far outside the usual female role of listener - didn't lead any discussions at Liverpool TS Lodge meetings. She had also yet to be persuaded to join the GD although - perhaps under Isabel de Steiger's influence - she was broadening her reading. She became a subscriber to *Borderland*, the magazine founded by journalist W T Stead in 1893 after he had become (rather belatedly) a convert to spiritualism. It's hard to tell, though, how deeply Jeanie was involved in spiritualism and whether she was a medium or just an attender of seances: spiritualism was a rather informal thing; there was a British National Association of Spiritualists by the 1890s but in general, spiritualist groups were small and very locally based; and much spiritualism went on in people's living room with only the family involved. So there's a lack of records.

Maybe spiritualism didn't convince Jeanie in any case: the following year, she did join the GD, where spiritualists and the skills of spiritualist mediums were not particularly welcome. I'm going to speculate a bit, here, because I find it a bit odd Jeanie should give the GD and the publishers of *Borderland* an address of 14 Freehold Street Liverpool to send their post to. That was her mother's home, not her own; and it wasn't either of the addresses Jeanie gave to the TS. The TS knew of her as living at a house called Breffni in the suburb of Egerton Park Rock Ferry; and then at 5 Sandringham Drive, back on the city side of the river.

In addition, Jeanie chose not to be initiated into the GD at the Horus temple as her brother and sister-in-law had been; she opted instead for the London temple, Isis-Urania, and probably went to the initiation ritual from her sister Helen Price's house in Barnet. Perhaps she didn't have quite as many friends in Bradford as Robert and Agnes did; but in London she could trade on Isabel de Steiger's acquaintances in the Order, or even on Isabel herself as Isabel was still making frequent trips there. My speculation, however, is that Jeanie and her husband didn't agree about Jeanie's curiosity about other ways of seeing the universe and man's existence in it: Robert Gillison could just about take her interest in theosophy though he didn't have much use for it himself; but spiritualism, and the western magical tradition, were a couple of steps too far for him. GD member Florence Maitinski faced similar objections from her husband and William Wynn Westcott in particular was against allowing her to be initiated in the circumstances. However, Mrs Maitinski went ahead and was initiated. And if my speculation is right, so did Jeanie, but she took steps to make sure her husband wouldn't find out. I end this speculation with a bit of wild speculation: were Jeanie and Robert Gillison living apart when he died? One or two small bits of information make me wonder about that.

Robert and Agnes left Liverpool to live in France at the end of 1893, and Jeanie might have decided she wouldn't bother with the GD herself, if they weren't going to be around. However, the TS helped Jeanie make up her mind the other way, by all-but tearing itself apart over the direction it should take now that Blavatsky was dead. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky had died in May 1891, while the Nisbets and Jeanie were still coming to terms with Thomas Nisbet's death. Controversy over who should succeed her didn't break out at once, but by mid-1894 two candidates had emerged: Annie Besant, who had Colonel Olcott's blessing; and William Quan Judge, an American who had the support of the American lodges and was also president of the TS's European federation. The struggle that ensued was not even ended by the death of William Quan Judge in 1894. The result of it was a victory for Annie Besant and her supporters but at a terrible cost: the bitterness of the debate, between theosophists who were supposed to be trying to rise above worldly considerations, caused droves of TS members to resign or drift away; entire lodges closed down for lack of support, including

Bradford Lodge; and the lodges in the USA declared themselves independent of the TS in London. World theosophy has not been united since.

Robert, Agnes and Jeanie will all have known Annie Besant as she often visited the north of England on lecture tours and had also been very active in the Parliament of Religions; though they probably didn't know William Quan Judge all that well. Unlike some members of the TS, including some of their friends, they chose not to get too involved in the battle for supremacy, which became very vitriolic and (in the end) humiliatingly public. And also unlike most people who were members of the TS as the argument began to rage, they did continue to be members of it. Liverpool TS Lodge managed to survive but the TS Membership Registers show clearly just how few new members were attracted to it in the years after 1893. But Robert and Agnes Nisbet, and Isabel de Steiger, all deserted it - they went to Paris, she moved to Edinburgh.

As the TS in England limped along, a public laughing-stock, Jeanie in Liverpool and Robert and Agnes in France pursued western esotericism more than theosophy in the late 1890s. The records of the GD's Ahathoor temple in Paris show that Robert and Agnes were two of its first members and in March 1894 Robert took over as its Cancellarius when his predecessor, Oswald Murray became ill and resigned.

It's just possible that Robert was sent to Paris by an employer needing an English accounts man in the Paris office. There were business contacts between Paris and Liverpool, and Liverpool had a French Chamber of Commerce, staffed by at least some French nationals. But I do feel that Robert and Agnes may have moved to Paris because Samuel Liddell Mathers was there; the Ahathoor temple was under his personal supervision. If that's the case, Robert might have arrived without a job. They took Dorothy and Kenneth, and will have needed to find a school for them. And a house or rooms to rent. And I bet neither of them could speak French well - though of course there's nothing like needing to earn some money, to help you learn.

Moving to Paris to be at what they considered to be the heart of the GD was a big commitment of faith and energy. In 1900, however, Robert and Agnes found their commitment being tested to its limit, by Mathers' behaviour; and in the end Robert in particular felt he had to choose between loyalty to the Order, and his friendship with Mathers. Mathers' behaviour was beginning to worry Robert very much indeed in the first few months of 1900 - so much so that he made a quick trip to London to discuss it with senior GD members there. He first went to talk it over with William Wynn Westcott. Westcott - a good record-keeper - later made some notes on what Robert had told him. Robert was concerned on a number of counts. Firstly, that Mathers should tell one person in London (Florence Farr) that the Order had been founded on faked documents; but then swear them to secrecy about it, and refuse to provide any proof. Secondly, that Mather's wife Mina (née Bergson) was either unable or unwilling to exercise any influence over her husband's increasingly bizarre decision-making. But mainly - and this was what had caused Robert to decide that a trip to London was necessary - because Mathers had been giving unprecedented privileges to a couple claiming to be long-serving occultists but who were not yet initiated into the GD. He had introduced them to the members of the Ahathoor temple as living proof that the GD's foundation documents were genuine after all. He had allowed them to be present at a GD ritual; and he had lent them manuscripts of GD rituals. The couple were the infamous Mr and Mrs Horos; and the borrowed manuscripts (never returned) were part of the evidence against them when they were prosecuted in London late in 1901.

Robert was a shrewd man; or he was a man who believed that the rules should be kept in all circumstances; or perhaps he was both. The rules of secrecy in an occult order are there for a good reason, after all. Robert had been sufficiently suspicious of Mr and Mrs Horos to ask Mathers whether he had been given any proof that the couple were the people Mathers claimed they were. Mathers had said he'd provide evidence later. When he didn't do so, Robert had tracked the couple to their hotel; to find that they'd left without paying their bill and the police were searching their rooms. With his fears confirmed, Robert had left Paris to warn the GD in London. After the meeting with Westcott he also saw Percy Bullock, to warn him as well; and to talk over the breach between Mathers and the GD's senior members in London, who were now running the GD on their own, with Percy as secretary. Thanks to Robert's prompt action, when the Horos couple arrived in London and attempted to edge their way into the GD there, the London members were ready for them. But damage had already been done to the Order which couldn't be wiped out merely by Percy Bullock sending the Horoses away; as was made very public 18 months later.

It's difficult to see how Robert could have remained a member of the Ahathoor temple after this; perhaps he no longer even wanted to be involved. I would suppose that Agnes was equally worried by what was going on. But he and Agnes do seem to have stayed in Paris. In 1902, they burned their boats with English theosophy and moved their membership to the TS in France; and the GD in England lost contact with them.

The last information I have on Robert, Agnes and their children is that change of TS membership from England to France. I've searched the web and my normal family history references, but I can't find any mention at all of any of them after that date. So whether they stayed in Paris or returned to Liverpool or moved on somewhere else, I really haven't a clue.

Very unsatisfactory. However, I can say what happened to Jeanie.

JEANIE IN LIVERPOOL

Jeanie, of course, was a married woman whose husband's job was based in Liverpool (here I am assuming that my wild speculation above is completely wrong): no going to Paris for more than a holiday, for her.

In 1895, Jeanie was still a committed member of the GD, working towards initiation into its 2nd Order. At the end of that year she was preparing to make what was perhaps a regular just-before-Christmas visit to her sister Helen Price for a week. She wrote to Westcott asking if he could put her in touch with Frederick Leigh Gardner, who at that time was in charge of the GD's study programme. Jeanie wanted to meet Gardner during her time in London and get some hints on how to tackle the exams she was about to take. I hope she got on with him when they met: Gardner's abrasive personality and his quickness to take offence had led to a lot of complaints, particularly from the GD's women.

At the very end of the 1890s, around the time Robert and Agnes moved to Paris, Liverpool TS Lodge started to show some signs of revival; and Isabel de Steiger returned to Liverpool from Scotland. During 1900 Jeanie and Isabel co-sponsored several new TS members. But then, on 11 January 1901, Robert Gillison died, aged only 57. On the day of the 1901 census,

Jeanie seems to have told the census official that she had a job. This is one of the small items that make me wonder if she and her husband had separated; although it might mean that Jeanie had had to find a job - as far as I know, the first she had ever had - because Robert was too ill to work. Oh, and alas that I can't read what she did for a living, other than being a "superintendent" of something. There's so little evidence of any of the GD's women members working, and when I come across one piece of evidence, it's too splodgy to read what this woman was working at! Census day came only a few weeks after Robert Gillison's death. Jeanie was living with her mother Jane Nisbet at 14 Freehold Street, Fairfield - the address where the GD thought she had lived all along, and which the TS don't seem to have known about. Pooling their income, Jane and Jeanie were able to afford live-in general servant.

Jeanie's next three years were tough. Her mother, Jane Baird Nisbet, died in the spring of 1902, aged 78. In the spring of 1904, Jeanie's sister-in-law and good friend Margaret Armour died, followed in 1905 by another sister-in-law, Margaret Armour and Robert Gillison's sister Susan Hamilton. In the midst of all this death and mourning, the demise of the GD as originally constituted (in 1903), must have seemed irrelevant and there's no evidence that Jeanie joined either of its daughter orders. She did keep up her membership of the TS, though, at least until 1906 - she told them her new surname. And in the end, there was a happy sequel to the death of Margaret Armour, née Gillison. In the autumn of 1905 Jeanie married Margaret's widower, her brother-in-law Alexander Armour.

ALEXANDER ARMOUR

Jeanie's second husband came from the same circle as the first: that close group of Scottish-born people from dissenting communities who had gone to live in Liverpool. He ran his own company dealing in iron; and in 1871 had made a patent application in the UK for an "an ammoniacal gas engine" designed by Emile Lamin of New Orleans. However, Armour was more involved in the civic life of Liverpool than other person in that close Presbyterian group. This involvement seems to have been at its height in the 1880s: in the 1900s, in his mid-60s, he may have been scaling it back. Still, as his wife, Jeanie would have been invited to more formal social gatherings than she had been as the wife of Robert Gillison. Armour had been on the boards of Mount Pleasant School and the Liverpool Institute; as late as 1899 he was on the governing committee of Liverpool's public museum; he was a member of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. He was also active in the organisation and management of Presbyterianism: one reference I found seemed to be indicating that he was a member of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England in 1883 though I wasn't able to follow it up to confirm it. And he was also a trustee of Lady Hewley's Charity, which handed out money to the right kind of dissenting minister and might have helped pay the salary of Rev Samuel Fletcher Williams.

Alexander Armour and Margaret Gillison had married in 1863 and had had the typically mid-Victorian large family, though two at least of their children had died young. On marrying Alexander Armour, Jeanie will have become step-mother and step-grandmother to a large number of people; though some of them may not have liked the speed at which their father had remarried - only 18 months or so after their mother's death. She may have had two of her new husband's children living with her and her new husband: Thomas and Robert Armour, both unmarried, were both still living at home on the day of the 1901 census and freebmd didn't have details of a marriage for either of them, between 1901 and 1910. Neither of them were involved in Alexander's business; they were both working as salesmen in the cotton industry.

JEANIE ALONE

Jeanie and Alexander Armour had two years of marriage before Alexander died, in the autumn of 1907, aged 72. His household was broken up and Jeanie didn't take either Thomas or Robert with her. By 1911 census she had moved into 12 Gambier Terrace, Hope Street Liverpool. On census day, Jeanie was in mourning again: her sister Elizabeth Baird Flett had died the previous summer.

11-12 Gambier Terrace was two houses run together as a boarding house by Mary Scott Simpson. It was very big but possibly uncomfortably crowded nevertheless - 13 lodgers lived there, as well as Mrs Simpson and her servants. The lodgers were a varied bunch though there were no families: men, young women, widows. Most of the widows, including Jeanie, described themselves as having private financial resources - pensions, share dividends etc. Most of the men were working - a physician/surgeon, a dentist, a businessman dealing in goods from Africa. All except one were born in the UK; though most had not been born in Liverpool. Gambier Terrace was one of the older parts of Liverpool, built in the early 19th-century on a scarp above where the Anglican cathedral is now. It was handy for central Liverpool while being above the worst of the pollution. Jeanie seems to have liked it: she was still living there when she died.

Isabel de Steiger will have known Gambier Terrace very well: the house at the north end of the row had been her childhood home. Both women gave up being members of the TS in the 1900s. Jeanie paid her last subscription in 1906 and Isabel finally despaired of it when Annie Besant was elected its president for life in 1908. Isabel moved around a lot in the early years of the 20th century but she also in Tranmere from 1911 to 1914; and finally moved to Rock Ferry in early 1917 and didn't leave the Liverpool area again. So perhaps the two women were able to keep up their friendship.

Jeanie died, at 11-12 Gambier Terrace, on 22 February 1920.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than

of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ROBERT, JEAN AND AGNES

HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY

Plenty about her on the web, of course. See blavatskyarchives.com for the important dates in her life - those that can be ascertained, that is.

Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology. I looked at the edition published in 1972 by the Theosophical Publishing House. On its p1 it gives the publication details of the first edition of 1000 copies: New York: J W Bouton September 1877.

The Secret Doctrine: the Synthesis of Science, Religion and Philosophy Two volumes were published in London by the Theosophical Publishing Co, 1888. A third volume, supposedly compiled from papers Blavatsky was working on at her death, was published in 1897 and was controversial even at the time.

ROBERT, AGNES AND JEANIE IN THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register volume for January 1889-September 1891 p204 for Robert. Sponsors: John Hill, W Gardner. And p214 for Agnes. Sponsors: Robert Nisbet and John Hill. P256 for Jeanie. Sponsors: Robert Nisbet and I A Duncan. This volume also has plenty of evidence of Robert sponsoring other people's applications for membership. The subsequent volumes show Robert and Jeanie sponsoring people; but not Agnes: Membership Register for September 1891-January 1893; Membership Register for June 1893-March 1895 - though the numbers of sponsorships is very low in this one. Robert does not sponsor anyone in any subsequent volume. Jeanie appears sponsoring 3 new members in the Membership Register for March 1895-June 1898; and 8 in Membership Register June 1898-February 1901, all but one with Isabel de Steiger as a co-sponsor.

The Theosophical Congress held by the TS at the Parliament of Religions. World's Fair 1893 Chicago Illinois September 15-17 [1893]. Report of Proceedings and Documents. Published TS American Section headquarters, 144 Madison Avenue New York 1893: p10.

LIVERPOOL TS LODGE

Lucifer was the TS in London's official magazine: edited during the 1890s by Annie Besant and then by Annie Besant and G R S Mead; and published by the Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi London WC.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume X March-August 1892. Volume X number 56 issue of 15 April 1892 p166. Volume X number 58 issue of 15 June 1892 p340.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI September 1892 to February 1893. Volume XI number 66 issued 15 February 1893 p517-18.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII March-August 1893. Volume XII number 67 issued 15 March 1893 p78. Volume XII number 69 issued 15 May 1893 p253.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIII September 1893 to February 1894. Volume XIII number 73 issued 15 September 1893 p71.

There was virtually no coverage of local lodge news in subsequent editions.

JEANIE AND SPIRITUALISM

Via the web to Borderland Quarterly Rvw vol 1 1893 p286 a list of subscribers incls Jean Brash Gillison of 14 Freehold Street Fairfield.

Borderland: Telepathy, Clairvoyance, Crystal-Gazing, Hypnotism, Automatic Writing; Quarterly Review and Index. Published London 1893-97: Horace Marshall. Editor W T Stead.

IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

The Kabbalah Unveiled:

See wikipedia on Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, who published volumes called Kabbala Denudata: in 1677-78 and in 1684.

Samuel Liddell Mathers' translation was of two only of those volumes. The Kabbalah Unveiled published 1887 and still in print. The first edition may have been a small one though; and no one thought to send any of the copies to the British Museum so the British Library still doesn't have one.

Robert and Agnes in the Ahathoor temple:

The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986: p39.

Warburg Institute. Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73. Letter from William Wynn Westcott to Gardner, writing on behalf of Mrs Gillison. Dated only 7 December; the year of 1895 seems most likely to me.

Westcott's two-page account of his meeting with Robert Nisbet is at the Freemasons' Library,

their catalogue number: GD 2/4/4/3. It's not signed but a handwritten note identifies the handwriting as Westcott's. It's dated 15 June 1900.

TRIAL OF FRANK DUTTON AND LAURA JACKSON alias Mr and Mme Horos.

Robert Nisbet was quite right to be worried about the Horoses; though even in his worst moments I can't imagine that he guessed what the outcome of their short period observing GD rituals in Paris would be. The Horoses used the rituals Mathers had so unwisely lent them to set up a little Order of their own in Regent's Park north London. Several young women were lured in. GD-style rituals were used to frighten them into staying, and swear them to secrecy; but eventually one ran away and went to the police. The trial of Dutton and Jackson received massive newspaper publicity. The reports in the Times are very thorough, with exhaustive coverage even of the series of committal hearings at Marylebone Police Court:

Times Friday 11 October 1901 p10: Extraordinary Charge of Conspiracy. The charges against Mr and Mrs Horos at this stage were conspiracy to cheat and defraud a particular young woman of jewellery etc.

Times Friday 18 October 1901 p7 had the first indications that the police were investigating more serious allegations.

Times Monday 18 November 1901 p22 with more charges including some under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Times 22 November 1901 p13 it was not until this hearing that the couple's real names were known. This is also the hearing in which the Order of the Golden Dawn was named in court; and its leader was mentioned by name as well: "Mr McGregor Mathers". Although the court was assured that the GD was a very respectable organisation; and the impression was given by the evidence that it existed only in Paris; members of the GD in the UK were aghast; and the GD's name was changed.

All through the committal hearings the couple had been remanded in custody. Eventually the police court sent them to the Old Bailey for trial. It was not until they appeared there that the seriousness of the charges against them became public. Dutton and Jackson could not afford a barrister and conducted their own defence.

Times Thursday 19 December 1901 p4 Dutton was charged with the rape of Daisy Pollex Adams; and Jackson with aiding and abetting that rape. The original charge of conspiracy to defraud was now one of three other, somewhat less serious charges concerning young women who were part of the Horos couple's supposed esoteric Order.

Coverage of the trial continued in the Times made it very clear to what use the Horoses had put the GD's rituals. The last day of the trial was reported in Times Saturday 21 December 1901 p14, with the GD mentioned by name again. On the trial's last day, the defence case was concluded; the judge summed up; and the jury took all of 5 minutes to find both of them guilty. They were both sentenced to prison with penal servitude: Dutton got 15 years; Jackson 7.

THE GILLISON FAMILY

The Liverpool Commercial List published Seyd and Co 1883. Entry number 1113.

Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers (GB), published by the Institution 1898 pxx Institution member Richard Chubb gives Gillison and Chadwick's offices as his

address.

Gillison and Chadwick and their ships named 'drum...':

At collections.rmg.co.uk, the Maritime Museum at Greenwich has a builders' model which formed basis for three ships built 1883 on the Clyde by Russell and Co, for Gillison and Chadwick: Drumblair; Drumburton; and Drumeltan. All three were subsequently wrecked on journeys across Pacific: Drumeltan in 1894; Drumburton in 1904; and Drumblair after a collision in 1915.

The Last of the Windjammers volume 1 by Basil Lubbock. Published Brown Son and Ferguson 1927 p256.

There is plenty of coverage of the some of the line's ships on the web - the ones that were wrecked! In order to minimise the financial damage to them as partners in the business, James Gillison and Joseph Chadwick created a limited company for each ship's voyage. In the event of a wreck, Gillison and Chadwick then acted as liquidators of the company. Two examples:

London Gazette 5 August 1892 p4452 notice issued 29 July 1892 by James Gillison and Joseph Chadwick acting as liquidators of the steamship company Drumburle Co Ltd.

And London Gazette 3 April 1900 p2230, liquidators under the Companies' Acts 1862-1890 this time of the Steamship Drumelzier Co Ltd. Notice issued 30 March 1900.

See www.plimsoll.org for Wreck Reports after investigations by the Board of Trade under the Merchant Shipping Act 1894 which ordered that after any wreck, an investigation into the circumstances must be held. For example: the investigation held 1-3 February 1898 into what happened to SS Drummond, owned by the Steamship Drummond Co Ltd of 10 Tower Buildings North, Liverpool. SS Drummond had left Maryport for Bahia Blanca on 24 December 1897 loaded with steel rails and coal. In hurricane conditions off Portugal, her cargo had shifted and the rudder had come off. The crew had been taken off by the steamer Melita Bohlen. Another ship towed the Drummond into Lisbon on 2 January 1898.

James Gillison married Mary Jane Affleck in 1869. Their sons Thomas and James went into the business as well in due course though they did not take it over when their father retired.

James Gillison retired in 1903: London Gazette 21 August 1903 p5298 list of Partnerships Dissolved included that of James Gillison and Joseph Chadwick who had traded as Gillison and Chadwick, steamship owners and insurance brokers; from 10 Tower Buildings North, Liverpool. Joseph Chadwick would be carrying on the business in partnership with Robert Barton Chadwick, as Chadwick and Son.

James Gillison died in 1910.

THE GILLISONS are one of several of the families mentioned in this biography who bought plots in Toxteth Park Cemetery. Via www.medialinkuk.co.uk to details of grave inscriptions in Toxteth Park Cemetery. Grave reference H 17 has buried in it:

- Jane Currie (died 1877) wife of Thomas Gillison (died 1892)
- their 2nd son Robert (Jeanie's husband) who died 11 January 1901 aged 57
- their daughter Susan (died 1905) widow of J W Hamilton.

The gravestone is also a memorial to Jane and Thomas' youngest son William Gillison,

master of the barque British Sovereign; missing 2 May 1881, presumed drowned.

At www.theshipsl.com a few details on William Gillison's ship, the British Sovereign.

ROBERT GILLISON IN THE TEA BUSINESS

Background information at www.tea.co.uk/east-india-company-UK the website of the UK Tea and Infusions Association.

Website www.ebsgroup.co.uk is the home of the Billington Group previously known as Edward Billington and Son Ltd.

Webpages at www.liv.ac.uk/library which holds the papers of the various firms run by the Rathbones. The pages have a good introduction to the manuscripts and the Rathbone family businesses.

A Green and Company's Directory for Liverpool and Birkenhead issue of 1870.

The Commercial Directory of Liverpool and Shipping Guide issue of 1871.

AGNES WILLIAMS

Her father Samuel Fletcher Williams:

As a clerk in an auctioneer's office:

The Law Times Reports volume 9 p831 Clarke v Fuller, heard at Shrewsbury County Court.

Rev Williams is described in the sources I found as a Unitarian; though after further investigation, I'm more confused about that than I was before I started:

For what Unitarians believe see the website www.unitarian.org: At www.liverpoolhistorysociety.org.uk/liverpool-unitarians-faith-and-action some names of notable Liverpoolian Unitarians.

At www.rathbones.com, William Rathbone IV, anti-slavery campaigner, was both Quaker and Unitarian.

At www.libraryofbirmingham.com a series of carte de visite portraits include one of the Rev Samuel Fletcher Williams (1842-1901).

Bethlehem Chapel:

The Methodist Unitarian Movement by Herbert McLachlan. Manchester University Press and London: Longmans Green and Co 1919: p68 has Bethlehem Chapel Newchurch as methodist-unitarian.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk - marriage registers from after Rev Williams' time there are now in Lancashire Archives. The chapel's full address was Newchurch-in-Rossendale, which is near Rochdale.

Hamilton Road Chapel: The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster volume 5 1893 p160 includes it in a list of United Methodist Free Churches. Built 1809 in Hamilton Road Everton.

Amos: the Rev Amos B Matthews, Victorian Methodist Traveller by John Matthews; published 1992 by the Self-Publishing Association, with John Matthews: p122.

United Methodist Free Churches Magazine issue of 1882
p424.<http://www.libraryofbirmingham.com>

Via www.unitarians.org.uk to a book Record of Ministers in Lancashire and Cheshire Until

1896 compiled by George Eyre Evans and published Manchester 1896: p88, pp142-43 which covers Rev Williams moves once he left Liverpool: New Hall Hill Birmingham: April 1884 to December 1889. Then Scarborough Unitarian church January 1889 to September 1893. Then Hackney Unitarian church: October 1893 and he was still in post there when the book was compiled.

Elsewhere at www.ukunitarians.org.uk Rev Samuel Williams' later went to work in Calcutta, but his health broke down and he had to return to the UK.

Obituaries:

Bye-gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties issue of 1901 p238 an obituary, which mentions his work as a newspaper reporter.

Probate Registry: Rev Samuel Fletcher Williams died in Brighton on 19 November 1901. None of his family were named as executors.

Mary Emma Williams: at www.lan-opc.org.uk, a list of marriages at St Peter's Formby includes 10 May 1888: Mary Emma Williams to Howard Prime Bowen, jewellery manufacturer of St Michael's Handsworth Birmingham. Howard is the son of George Bowen, electroplate manufacturer. LDS film 1849657.

ROBERT AND JEANIE'S PARENTS

Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 0102929: marriage of Thomas Nisbet to Jane (sic) Brash took place 28 January 1847 in Glasgow. Slightly different information is given at Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 1041057: marriage of Thomas Nisbet to Jane Baird Brash on 23 January 1847 at Eastwood, Renfrew.

I couldn't see a baptism record for Jeanie and the only one of her siblings that I found was Helen. Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 1042982: baptism of Helen McKean Nisbet, on 1 July 1849 in the Gorbals; daughter of Thomas and Jane.

Robert Baird Brash Nisbet was born in England and so appears in freebmd: July-September quarter 1857.

THOMAS GILLISON'S SCOTTISH CONNECTIONS

Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, issue of 1866, on a members' list: Thomas Gillison of 3 Dryden Road Liverpool, admitted as a member 1862.

ROBERT GILBERT FLETT

Familysearch had the baptism of Robert Gilbert Flett in 1836; son of John Flett and his wife Margaret née Tait.

Via archive.org to Harvard University's History of the Dialectic Society privately printed; undated but the Note at the beginning is dated Edinburgh University 1887. In the list of members p317 Rev Robert Gilbert Flett, a Presbyterian minister, joined 1858.

At www.toxtethparkcemeteryinscriptions.co.uk the Flett family plot is H 22 FLETT (G.N. 319). The grave contains: Rev R G Flett who died January 1919

Elizabeth Baird Flett (Jeanie's sister) who died in 1910

And three of their children, who died as infants.

ALEXANDER ARMOUR

London Gazette issue of 6 March 1874 p1540 in a page of patent applications, application number 517, dated 2 February 1871.

Via genesreunited to issues of the Liverpool Mercury:

Liverpool Mercury 10 November 1885 re Mt Pleasant School.

Liverpool Mercury 21 December 1887 and 20 June 1894 as a member of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.

Liverpool Mercury 24 May 1888 re Liverpool Library.

Liverpool Mercury 23 December 1890 at a dinner for old boys of the Liverpool Institute.

Via google to Annual Report of...The Free Public Museums published by Liverpool Museum 1899 p2, p42 and p44.

The Congregational Year-Book for 1901 p117 re Lady Hewley's Charity. The address for applications to its trustees is c/o Alexander Armour at Cereal Court A, Brunswick St Lpl.

At www.medialinkuk.co.uk is the page Toxteth Park Cemetery Inscriptions. Cemetery plot I19 (G.N. 363) is that of the Armour family. In the grave are:

- Margaret Armour died 20 May 1904; aged 66
- Alexander Armour died 15 November 1907; aged 72

and two of their child: Alexander Dow Armour died 1869 aged 6mths; and Annie Armour died 1889 aged 8.

HELEN MCKEAN NISBET

Helen married Charles Thomas Price in 1873 and they had eight children. Price was a Londoner but he ran a hardware and ironmongery business which had Liverpool connections - perhaps he was a customer of Alexander Armour. Once married, he and Helen always lived in north London, starting out in Finsbury. In the 1890s they lived in the pleasantly green suburb of New Barnet, at Lytton Villa, Lytton Road. This house was where Jeanie was probably staying when she had her GD initiation; and where she was going to be visiting just before being initiated into the 2nd Order. By 1901, however, the Prices had moved back into London and were living at 39 Leigh Road, a couple of minutes' walk from where I'm typing this. By this time, their son Charles was working in the family business. The Prices lived in Leigh Road until Charles Price died in 1915. Helen then moved back out of town, and died in 1927 at Glenlea, Woodville Road New Barnet. Jeanie Armour left no Will when she died in 1920; Helen took charge of the Letters of Administration process. She never joined either the TS or the GD.

24 July 2016

mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net

Email me at AMandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Richard Joseph NUNN was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in October 1889, taking the Latin motto 'Fortiter in re'. At his initiation his address was York Street, Savannah, Georgia USA and he wasn't an active member of the GD.

THE NUNN FAMILY OF WEXFORD

Richard Joseph Nunn appears on several US censuses; always as someone born in Wexford in Ireland. A variety of genealogical sources show men called Nunn as prominent in the county from the 17th century. One family in particular, the Nunns of St Margaret's Wexford, can be traced from 1675 to the mid-19th century. Perhaps Richard Joseph was a member of that family. I can't be more precise, however, as I haven't found any birth information about him other than what appears in those US censuses; and in his obituaries.

NUNN AS A DOCTOR

Richard Nunn was born in Wexford in December 1831. In his late teens he began to train as a doctor, spending time learning in both London and Dublin. Half-way through the process, he emigrated to Georgia USA. He finished his training at Savannah Medical College, graduating in 1854 and settling down to general practice in the city.

Richard Nunn spent almost all the rest of his life in Savannah, and came to identify strongly with his new home. During the US Civil War he served with Confederate Army in the Oglethorpe Siege Artillery, rising to the rank of captain before his health broke down and he had to quit active service. He returned to Savannah and judged himself well enough to continue his GP practice, but he had periods of ill-health, when he could not work, throughout the rest of his life.

He had gone abroad in search of better health in 1875 and was travelling in Europe when news reached him in the summer of 1876 of an outbreak of yellow fever in Savannah following very severe rains. He returned home to help with this very serious epidemic, which continued into the autumn. As the number of cases mounted, one doctor recorded that he was having to make 100 house-calls each day. Several of the medical volunteers caught the disease from their patients and died, but Richard Nunn was lucky, and survived.

By the end of the century Richard Nunn had been a physician for over 40 years. However, he was not resting on his laurels and was keen to try a few new ideas in his treatment of some patients. He joined American Electro-therapeutic Association - he may even have been one of its founders - and at its 1906 annual meeting he took part in the discussion which followed the reading of one of the papers. He described his use of two new techniques: cataphoresis - the use of electricity to force medicinal substances through living tissue; and the Roentgen (or Röntgen) Ray - an early form of radio-therapy using X-rays. He served as the Association's treasurer from 1903 to 1907 but I think that around that time, his health began to fail again, this time permanently. He died in June 1910 after a year of severe illness, and is buried in Savannah's Bonaventure Cemetery.

NUNN'S HOME LIFE

Richard Nunn appears on the 1880 US Census as a married man. This might be a mistake, though, as in all the census information I could find, he is never shown as living with a family; and the Will he made is not the Will of a man with a wife or children to provide for. The Will set up a Trust Fund to make donations to a list of Savannah charities, including a freemasons' lodge, a girls' orphanage and the YWCA.

FREEMASONRY

Richard Nunn was an active freemason within the state of Georgia. By 1889 he was a member of 15 lodges and three chapters and had served his year as the lodge's most senior officer in all of them - an extraordinary level of commitment.

Nunn was one of the prime movers in bringing the Scottish Rite to Georgia. He helped to explain how it worked to his fellow freemasons in 1882, did a great deal to popularise it in the state over the next few years, and in 1888 he was elected the state's Sovereign Grand Inspector General. The first lodge to use the Scottish Rite in Georgia was its Alpha Lodge of Perfection, whose charter is dated 17 October 1888. I can't prove that Richard Nunn was a member of that lodge but given his importance, surely he must have been.

This paragraph on the Scottish Rite is one I've also used in my biography of Alpheus Butts Simmons, trying to explain why the Scottish Rite held such a fascination for English freemasons in the late 19th century. It's my paraphrase of the detailed wikipedia page on the subject. Influential books in the 18th and 19th centuries had claimed that Charles II, James II and James II's son the Old Pretender had all been initiated into the Rite in their exiles. There's no historical evidence for the claims, but they gave the Rite a romantic and dramatic aura; and as the centuries passed, the Catholicism of the Stuarts, and (in Great Britain at least) the treasonable political leanings of those who succumbed to their glamour, faded away. Such historical evidence as there is shows the Rite starting out in mid-18th century France before travelling via the West Indies and New Orleans to the southern states of America. It was codified at a conference held in May 1801 in Charleston, South Carolina, when the 33 degrees of which it currently consists were established, and a hierarchy set up to rule the lodges who used it. The Rite thus constituted then travelled back across the Atlantic and into Europe. Though the Rite has never been recognised by English freemasonry's governing body, the United Grand Lodge of England, individual members of English lodges are allowed to get involved with lodges that use the Rite, if they choose.

NUNN AND THE GD

It was Richard Nunn's involvement in freemasonry which led him to being offered initiation as a member of the GD and I do think that the fact that he knew a great deal about the Scottish Rite was a decisive factor. In the autumn of 1889 Nunn made a trip to England, and as freemasons do (it's part of what being a freemason is for) he came armed with introductions to freemasons here, and attended a number of lodge meetings. One of Nunn's introductions was probably to William Wynn Westcott, a founder of the GD and member of many freemasons' organisations. It was an accepted thing in freemasonry to compliment senior freemasons, and gain their good will, by initiating them into your lodge. I think that's what happened with Richard Nunn and the GD: both sides of the deal probably understood it as a nominal membership only, and Nunn may never have attended another meeting after his GD initiation.

It was almost certainly Westcott who arranged for Richard Nunn to become a corresponding member of Quatuor Coronati lodge, number 2076: Nunn was present at its November 1889 meeting. As a corresponding member, Nunn wouldn't have been expected to be able to go to lodge meetings; he would also have no right to take any part in the election of lodge officers. However, he would receive copies of the lodge's journal. Quatuor Coronati lodge had been founded in the mid-1880s, with the intention of providing a forum for freemasons interested in the history and symbolism of the Craft. The members of Quatuor Coronati were delighted, I should imagine, to have at one meeting someone who knew so much about the Scottish Rite. Nunn, too, will have been pleased at being put in touch with so many freemasons who were interested in the history of the modern rituals: one of Nunn's obituaries mentions that he published several works on freemasonry, although I've only been able to find one book myself.

Richard Nunn was also a very senior member of the Georgia Knights Templar, an order within freemasonry which claimed to be based on rituals passed down in secret from the medieval Knights Templar military order. The GD's A E Waite saw the contemporary Knights Templar as bringing together medieval chivalry and an active Christian commitment and perhaps Richard Nunn also saw the Order in that way. Nunn didn't live quite long enough to be present at the first annual conclave of the Georgia Knights Templar - it took place in the year of his death. However, before that time he had served as a Grand Commander of the Order in Georgia. William Wynn Westcott was of course a member of the Knights Templar in England.

NUNN AND BORDERLAND

Nunn may not have come to England all that often but at least during the 1890s he kept in touch with people here. In January 1895 he appeared in a list of people who were regular readers of W T Stead's magazine *Borderland*, a kind of news digest of developments in the occult. People on that list may have been more than mere subscribers to the magazine: they were called members of "Our Circles". They were listed by country or county, and though some were denoted only by a number, others had allowed their names and addresses to be given, so that other circle members could get in touch and perhaps arrange to meet. William Wynn Westcott was also on the list - perhaps he had told Richard Nunn about the new magazine. *Borderland* was not a financial success; it was published between 1893 and 1897 before being forced to close down. There were other British-based occult magazines to try, though - the spiritualist magazine *Light*, for example; perhaps Richard Nunn was able to read those.

RICHARD JOSEPH NUNN and ALPHEUS BUTTS SIMMONS

I'm pretty sure that it was his connection with Richard Nunn that led to Alpheus Butts Simmons being initiated into the GD in 1894, probably during exactly that kind of trip to England that Nunn had made in 1889. Although Nunn was a generation older than Simmons (Simmons was born in 1864) they were united both by their profession and by their involvement in freemasonry. Like Richard Nunn, Alpheus Butts Simmons was a medical practitioner working in Savannah Georgia; and like Nunn, Simmons was a member of the American Electro-therapeutic Association so they were both using that kind of new technique. On the freemasonry side they had a lot in common. Though I can't prove it, I believe that one of the 15 lodges that Nunn was a member of was the Zerubbabel Lodge of Savannah; it was one of the organisations he wanted to benefit from the trust fund he set up in his Will. Simmons was also a member of the Savannah-based lodge Zerubbabel Lodge

number 15 and served as its Worshipful Master twice. Simmons was definitely in Georgia's Scottish Rite lodge, the Alpha Lodge of Perfection, which I'm sure Nunn was a member of as well. Those are close links between the two men, but there's more to link them: Simmons was also a member of the Georgia Knights Templar, and it occurs to me that perhaps Simmons might even have been a kind of freemason protégé of Nunn's. Certainly, when Simmons was preparing for his 1894 visit to England, Nunn was happy to supply letters of introduction to the people he himself had met there a few years before.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members:

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR RICHARD JOSEPH NUNN

THERE'S A SHORT PROFILE OF HIM AT ghs.galileo.usg.edu, the web page of the Georgia Historical Society. The web page also gives details of Nunn's WILL AND TRUST FUND - the Society still holds Nunn's papers though the Trust Fund was wound up in the 1970s. The money held in the trust fund was to be distributed as a regular income to these local organisations:

- Zerubbabel Lodge no 15
- the Board of Trustees of the Ancient and Accepted Rite
- the YWCA
- Savannah Female Orphan Asylum

- Society of the Cincinatti in the State of Georgia.

THE NUNN FAMILY OF WEXFORD

Burke's The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales: people called Nunn and living in Wexford in the 17th century, seen via google.

Wikipedia: list of high sheriffs of Wexford.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis has Edward Westby Nunn of St Margaret's Wexford in it. He's also in wikipedia's list of high sheriffs and looks about the right age (born 1819) to be an older brother of Richard Joseph Nunn, or perhaps a cousin.

NUNN ON THE US CENSUS in GEORGIA. All seen at Familysearch.

1860 GS film number 803115.

1880 GS film number 1254138.

1910 GS film number 1374191.

NUNN AS A DOCTOR

A detailed account of the 1876 yellow fever outbreak in Savannah, based on contemporary issues of the Savannah Morning News: see www.kristinekstevens.com/2012/01/yellow-fever-epidemic-savannah-1876.

Via www.sciencemag.org/content/18/459/508.full.pdf to Science magazine, New Series volume XVIII number 459 1903. A report on the annual meeting of the American Electro-Therapeutic Assoc, held at Atlantic City New Jersey from 22 to 24 September 1903.

Transactions of the American Electro-therapeutic Association 1906 p5, p118.

Transactions of the American Electro-therapeutic Assoc 1907 p5. This was the last volume I was able to see on the web.

SOME DEATH NOTICES/OBITUARIES. None of them are very long and one gets his age at death wrong.

Journal of the American Medical Association 1910 volume 55 number 1 p235.

Proceedings of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers volume 29 numbers 7-12 1911 p1432.

Pharmacology magazine volume LV number 3 1910 p235.

Charlotte Medical Journal volume 62 July-December 1910 p9.

BURIAL: records originally from www.findagrave.com: but seen at Familysearch: record ID 61889045.

FREEMASONRY

Nunn was such an important figure in freemasonry in the state of Georgia that he has a lodge named after him.

Photo of him via www.atmaslib.org, the Atlanta Masonic Library and Museum.

And also see his Will.

The New Age Magazine issued by the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry and published by its southern USA jurisdiction: volume 61 1953 p22.

Via Google to www.gascottishrite.org/SavSR/html/history.html

QUATUOR CORONATI 2076

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume II 1889 unnumbered pages at end of the volume listing current full and corresponding members: [p17] as corresponding member number 510 and as a member of 15 lodges and three chapters.

THE ONE PUBLICATION I'VE BEEN ABLE TO FIND (September 2015): At www.biblio.com the 2nd-hand bookshop, two copies of Nunn's The Building of a Rite privately printed in Savannah 1899.

AND FREEMASONRY'S OFFSHOOT THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

General information:

The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry by A E Waite. London: Rider and Co 1937: pp305-310; p311; p321.

A E Waite: Selected Masonic Papers edited and with an introduction by Edward Dunning. Wellingborough: Thorson Publishing Group's Aquarian Press 1988: p73, p97.

Proceedings of the Knights Templar (Masonic Order) Grand Commandery of Michigan issued 1911: p121, p125.

BORDERLAND

Borderland: A Quarterly Review and Index volume 2 1895. Editor W T Stead. Editorial office: Mowbray House Norfolk St London WC; publishing office 125 Fleet Street. Volume 2 number 7, issued January 1895 has the list: pp88-92.

SEE ALSO MY BIOGRAPHY OF ALPHEUS BUTTS SIMMONS

21 September 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Joseph O'REILLY who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in January 1892 and chose the Latin motto 'Meus agitat molem'. He was initiated in London, but can only have been on a visit there, because he gave 61 Upper Grangegorman, Dublin as his address for GD correspondence.

Anyone attempting to trace their ancestors in Ireland will know how difficult that is: so many census and other records were destroyed in the 1920s. WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN was actually easier to discover than details of Joseph's family history and employment, if any, because he had joined the Theosophical Society (TS), in Ireland, in 1891. One of the TS members who sponsored Joseph's application was George W Russell. Russell wrote regularly for the theosophical journals and also published poetry, all under the initials 'AE'. Russell was active in the burgeoning Celtic revival in Dublin, and so if you knew 'AE' you were also likely to know W B Yeats; though no one called Joseph O'Reilly appears in W B Yeats' letters. Perhaps the two of them didn't have time to get to know each other very well, because I think tragedy may have intervened: Joseph's entry in the TS membership books has a note "Dead Jan 94" on it. It's probably an indication of Joseph's priorities that the GD's records don't contain a note that he had died. There's only a note, dated 1903, that he had let his membership lapse.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch. They don't cover people living in Ireland of course. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Theosophical Society: Membership Register September 1891 to January 1893 p18 Joseph O'Reilly application dated 7 November 1891, subscription paid 1891-93. Sponsors: A W Dwyer and George W Russell. Address as for GD initiation.

AE: eg articles etc in Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine which ran from 1887 to 1897 and

was published by the TS in London.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats volumes 1-III don't contain any letters to Joseph O'Reilly.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Charles Chase Parr was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 27 November 1892. He must have chosen a motto on or before that day, but it wasn't recorded, and in fact his name is not on the GD Members' Roll. He wasn't a keen member - never passed any of the exams new initiates were expected to take - and left the Order in August 1893.

Charles Chase Parr and GD member Florence ffoulkes were distant cousins; she was initiated several years after him.

THE PARR FAMILY

Parrs in Charles Parr's time claimed descent from the same Lancashire family that produced Katharine Parr, last wife of Henry VIII and her brother William, Marquis of Northampton. Charles' daughter later claimed to be a direct descendant of the Marquis, but that's impossible as neither he nor Katharine had any children that survived beyond infancy. The earliest ancestor that Burke's Landed Gentry's 1852 edition was prepared to vouch for was a 17th-century John Parr who owned land at Rainford, near Liverpool. A grandson of this John Parr - another John - moved to Liverpool around 1700 and became a businessman. He had a son John who successfully continued the business. The son John married Anne Wolstenholme, daughter of the rector of Liverpool, and served as mayor of Liverpool in 1773. The mayor John Parr and wife Anne had several sons. Charles Chase Parr was the eldest son's grandson; Florence ffoulkes was the youngest son's great-granddaughter. I don't know whether either of them knew this! Though they were probably aware of being related in some way.

John Parr and Anne's eldest son (born 1757) was another John, generally called John Owen Parr to distinguish him from his father. In 1775 John Owen Parr was still working in Liverpool, probably in the family business, but later he moved to London, where he continued as a businessman but also worked as secretary to a group of businessmen involved in trading with Africa. In 1792 John Owen Parr married Elizabeth Patrick. They had ten children. Their sons did not work in business, they went into the professions. The eldest - another John Owen Parr - became a Church of England clergyman and kept the family connection with Lancashire by serving as rector of Preston. His younger brothers Thomas Chase Parr and Samuel both went into the army run in India by the East India Company.

Thomas Chase Parr was Charles Chase Parr's father. Born in 1802, he joined the East India Company's 4th Bombay Native Infantry (NI) and was probably in Bombay by August 1819 when his father died, in a very modern way, from injuries received when a carriage overturned in a street in Kentish Town. Thomas Chase Parr was nearly eaten by a tiger in 1825 but survived (it was shot by James Outram) to rise slowly through the ranks, making it to Major in 1839 and to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1846. From 1854 to 1856 he was Commandant

at Karachi, his most prominent appointment. During the Indian Mutiny he was Colonel of the 2nd European Regiment but on census day 1861 he was back in England.

Thomas Chase Parr was 44 when in 1846 he married Harriet Pott (probably born 1817), a daughter of businessman Charles Pott. In 1857 a second marriage took place which linked the two families: Thomas' elder brother Rev John Owen Parr (rector of Prescott in Lancashire) married Harriet's sister Mary Emily Pott.

Harriet and Mary Emily's father Charles Pott owned a vinegar-making factory in Southwark Bridge Road; he was elected to the Grocers' Company in 1822. In the 1820s he'd also been an early investor in the Phoenix Gas Company - his house in Southwark was one of the first in London to be lit by gas. It was probably this man who was a supporter of the Southwark-based Surrey Dispensary. And like many members of his family, he was an active supporter of the Foundling Hospital founded by Thomas Coram - lots of Potts are mentioned in the British History Online article on the building. Charles Pott served the Foundling Hospital as treasurer, probably taking over from his wife Anna's father, the barrister Samuel Compton Cox. On census day 1851, Charles Pott, Anna, and Harriet's younger sisters were actually in residence at the Foundling Hospital. However, they had a country house as well: since the 1820s, Charles Pott had leased Freelands, in the Plaistow district of Bromley, from local landowner Sir Samuel Scott; and in May 1846, Harriet Pott and Thomas Chase Parr were married in Bromley.

Charles Chase Parr was the oldest child of Thomas Chase Parr and Harriet: baptised at St Pancras Old Church in March 1847 and probably born in the staff quarters of the Foundling Hospital. Then came Alfred Arthur (1849), Harriet Bertha (1851), Willoughby (1853), Agnes (1856), Emily (1858) and Percivall (baptised early January 1860). Thomas and Harriet took Charles and Alfred to India and they were all living in Bareda, Bombay in 1851 when Harriet Bertha was born there, but all the younger siblings were born in Bromley. Although Thomas Chase Parr was still on active duty in India for perhaps as much as 20 years more, it was considered such a dangerous place to take children that the Parris seem to have opted for the strategy of Harriet and the children remaining in England, with Thomas Chase Parr coming back when he could - which seems to have been fairly often. I don't think Charles Chase Parr returned to India after those two or three childhood years; and he probably didn't retain clear memories of it.

On the day of the 1861 census, his father was on a long leave and back in England. Thomas Chase Parr and Harriet were visiting Harriet's brother, the Rev Arthur Pott, at his rectory in Northill, Bedfordshire. Charles Chase Parr and his brother Alfred (both on holiday from Harrow School) and their younger siblings were at Freelands with their grandparents the Potts. Charles Pott and Anna ran a fairly lavish household - they employed butler, footman, groom, cook, lady's maid, two housemaids, kitchen maid, one nurse and there was also one nurse specifically to wait on the children. Charles Pott was a wealthy man. When he died in 1864, his personal effects alone were worth about £70,000 (contemporary values).

I think Thomas Chase Parr must have been back in India again on the day of the 1871 census. Harriet Parr was living in Harrow and she told the census official that she was the head of the household. She was employing a governess for her two younger daughters, as well as a cook, a parlourmaid and a housemaid. Charles Chase Parr was living at home, able to contribute to the household expenses. He was working, as a solicitor.

I can't find any evidence that Charles had gone to university on leaving school. In fact, university study of the law was not necessary to qualified as a solicitor at that time; solicitors learned and did the exams while on the job. However, I do find it odd that Charles chose to be a solicitor, and have wondered whether - for a few years - money was tight in the Parr family. One reference I found to Thomas Chase Parr suggested that he had lost money when a bank in Bombay failed, around 1868: Thomas Chase Parr was amongst those signing a petition to the House of Commons arguing for compensation on the grounds that the bank's directors had broken the rules laid down for the Bank by Act of Parliament. (They never change, do they? - bankers.) Thomas Chase Parr certainly was not officially listed as retired until he was 76, in 1878; perhaps he couldn't afford to retire until then. He'd been promoted to General two years before: perhaps that helped ease the financial strain in the family. However, with regard to the oddity of Charles Chase Parr's line of work, I would suppose that a boy at Harrow School would go on to university at Oxford or Cambridge and then - if his family were wanting him to follow a legal career - would train as a barrister. This was the career path followed, at least to start with, by Charles' brother Percivall a few years later.

Charles Chase Parr qualified as a solicitor in 1871 but the earliest evidence I found for his working as one was from 1879 and he was only listed as one in Kelly's Directory from 1883 to 1885. Perhaps it was not his choice to be a solicitor, or even to choose the law as a profession, but the Parr family were probably less wealthy than the Potts, and couldn't afford for their sons not to work. Only certain types of work, however, would ensure the Parrs kept their middle-class status; so Charles might have been offered the choice of solicitor, clergyman, or following his father into the army (though the army could turn out to be a rather expensive investment). Charles' next brother, Alfred, went into the navy, another career which didn't involve much financial outlay by parents. The third brother, Willoughby, chose the Church of England option. The Parrs' financial situation seems to have been in better health, though, when they had to decide about Percivall.

If Charles Chase Parr would have preferred to be a sporting man-about-town, he wouldn't be the only young man to have wished for such a life while not having the income to support it. He did do what he could, though: in the memoirs of Raymond Blathwayt (journalist, writer and definitely a man-about-town), Charles is named as one of a group of young men who frequented Jem Mace's boxing saloon in St James's Street in the early 1870s. He was also a keen cricketer, though he was a late developer at the game - he never played for his school and it wasn't until he became a member of West Kent Cricket Club (WKCC) that his skills blossomed in the less competitive atmosphere of weekend cricket. He must have joined WKCC around 1874: he's first mentioned in a team which played against Eton College in June of that year, though he didn't actually get to the crease as the game was abandoned (rain, I expect). He developed into "a very fine hitter" and appears three times in a list of WKCC's highest-scoring batting performances. Only three WKCC batsmen between 1822 and 1896 scored more centuries for WKCC than he did. Charles' brothers Willoughby and Percivall were also members of WKCC in the 1880s. Willoughby wasn't very good! But Percivall was another big hitter; he was the best all-round sportsman of the three, playing football for Oxford University and England, and both sports for several amateur old-public-schoolboy teams.

Behind the sporting life, however, there must have been a more sober side to Charles Chase Parr, because he married a woman with deeply-felt religious beliefs and a serious commitment to church-based social work. Katherine Anne Parr was the daughter of Joseph Millar, who at least in the early 1850s was a Wesleyan minister in Liverpool. Both Joseph

and his wife Ellen were born in the Liverpool area. In 1872 Katherine and Charles were married in the Church of England church of St John the Evangelist Knotty Ash, but they had probably met in Harrow, because on the day of the 1871 census, that is where not only Harriet Parr but also Joseph Millar, Ellen, Katherine and her brother Gaskell were living. On that day, Joseph Millar told the census official that his main source of income was as a landowner; and that he was a Wesleyan minister but not currently working as one. I mention where Katherine and Charles were married, and that Joseph Millar was no longer employed by the Wesleyan methodists by 1871, because at some stage, Katherine Parr at least became a convert to Roman Catholicism.

I wish I knew when this conversion happened, and whether Charles Chase Parr was also converted. I haven't been able to find out anything about it. I think I can say that Joseph Millar was still a methodist at the time of his daughter's marriage. If anyone in the Millar family had become a catholic, having been brought up as a methodist, that would have caused a sensation amongst their friends (many of whom they might have lost as a result). If it had been Joseph Millar who had undergone such a profound change in the nature of his Christian belief he would, of course, no longer have been eligible to work for his old employer. However, his mentioning that he had worked for the Wesleyan ministry to the census official suggests a different story to me in his case: one of inheriting land and becoming able to live off the rents. I think it is Katherine Parr who is the convert; and that her conversion took place probably in the late 1870s/early 1880s.

My main sources for my belief that Katherine Parr at least was a Roman Catholic convert are the Who's Who entry and biographies of Charles and Katherine's daughter Olive Katharine, the writer Beatrice Chase. All these sources agree that she attended the school run by the Roman Catholic nuns of the Convent of the Holy Child Jesus, which was originally in a house in Marylebone High Street but moved to 11-12 Cavendish Square around 1890. The biographies also agree that later in her life, Olive Katharine made the first moves towards becoming a nun in the Dominican Order, before changing her mind; and that she and her mother built small Roman Catholic chapel near their house in Devon.

Olive Katharine Parr's being at a Roman Catholic school gives me a rough date before which this conversion must have taken place: Charles and Katherine's elder daughter was born in 1874 and should therefore have been a pupil at the school in the 1880s, though none of the sources I found give exact dates. I take it that her sister Hilda (born 1876) was a pupil there as well; though I haven't found any proof in her case.

Two biographies of Olive Katharine Parr, now summarised on a web-page, mention the charity work done by Katherine her mother as well as Olive Katharine's own. No dates are given but mother and daughter were working together, so it will have been in the 1890s, with 1903 probably bringing their efforts to an end at least in London. Katherine and Olive Katharine did their social work in the working-class districts of London (the biographies don't say exactly where), and also in workhouses. They may have been part of the project the Convent ran to teach working-class children. In addition, Olive Katharine undertook the management of Cardinal Vaughan's Catholic Children's Crusade.

The biographies of Olive Katharine don't mention Charles Chase Parr at all: both were written quite recently, nearly a century after he died, and both are by writers local to Devon and focused on its history. I haven't found any evidence that Charles Chase Parr became a Catholic; though that's not to say that he didn't do so, I just haven't found proof. My hunch

is that he either remained within the Church of England; or continued to search for something to believe in - the sort of frame of mind that might encourage you to join the Golden Dawn when the chance arose.

The 1881 census was the only one on which Charles Chase Parr was working as a solicitor. He, Katherine and their daughters were living in a house on The Common, Chislehurst, very near to where West Kent Cricket Club played their home games. Percivall (still at Oxford University) was staying with them on that day and they also had a boarder, Houghton Baldwin, who worked for a firm trading with the Far East. A nurse, cook and housemaid were employed. Thomas Chase Parr (now retired) and Harriet were living at Powis Lodge, the house Anna Pott had lived in between Charles Pott's death and her own (in 1876). It was next to the station master's house on Southborough Road in Bickley. Charles Chase Parr's sisters Agnes and Emily and son Willoughby were living with them. Willoughby was curate of Bickley at the time and the household's income ran to a governess, cook, parlourmaid, housemaid, nurse and gardener.

In June 1883, Thomas Chase Parr died and this inevitably led to changes in the family, to Charles' benefit if he didn't like working as a solicitor. On the day of the 1891 census, Charles Chase Parr and his family were described as living off "private means" - census short-hand for an income derived from investments. To me it looks as though Charles had inherited enough from his father for him to persuade himself that he could stop work and still provide for his family - provided he made some economies. The economies included moving himself, wife and daughters into Powis Lodge with mother Harriet and sisters Agnes and Emily. Harriet Parr was still a home-from-home for her children (a nice reflection on her character, I think). Even Percivall was living back home with her on that day: although qualified as a barrister he'd been working for W G Allen the publisher, and was a partner as well, with money invested; but the firm was in financial trouble and he may have lost or been about to lose his shirt over it. Harriet was listed as head of this three-generation household, and she ran it with the help of a lady's maid, a cook and one housemaid. To my modern ears, that doesn't sound nearly enough to cook and clean up after six adults and two schoolgirls, especially as the lady's maid would not be about to do any housework; though it was not untypical of the manoeuvres between status, comfort and income that I've seen in other households involving GD members at that time.

It was as a man with private means that Charles Chase Parr was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn in 1892. Who did he know who could recommend him as a possible candidate? I have no idea! I haven't found any evidence that he was a freemason - in the GD's first year or two, most initiates were. And he wasn't a member of the Theosophical Society (TS) - in the early 1890s, most initiates were already in the TS. Sometimes the address new initiates gave the GD for correspondence has given me a clue; but not in Charles Chase Parr's case. He told the GD administrators (that is, William Wynn Westcott) to send letters to an address in Queen Anne's Gate - but either he forgot to give the number at the time, or the information has disappeared from the GD records since 1892, because R A Gilbert's book doesn't give the house number. I looked at Kelly's Directory for 1892 and 1894 but they were only helpful in the negative sense. No householder in the street had the surname Parr, and none had a surname I associate with the GD. There were two solicitors' offices in the street; but Parr was not listed as a partner in either and in any case I have a feeling that's not the answer to the puzzle. I can only suppose that Charles asked a friend who was not in the GD if he minded taking in letters to him. He was not the only GD member to be wary of giving the people they lived with a chance to be curious, but I couldn't help wondering if in Charles' case, he was worried about what his newly-Catholic wife would

say if she found out. A belief in the one god was actually a requirement of those wanting to join the GD, and its rituals were based on the symbolism of the Christian Rosenkreuz legends, written by 17th-century German Protestants; but it might have been difficult to persuade Katherine Parr of those things. Perhaps nothing that Charles saw or took part in at the GD was able to overcome his reservations.

I do know of two GD members who have tenuous links with Charles Chase Parr and might have suggested to Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers that Charles would make a good recruit - Florence ffoulkes his distant cousin; and Hugh Elliot who had been at school with Charles' younger brother Percivall. But they both joined the GD after Charles had resigned. A much longer shot is the Farr sisters, Florence and Henrietta. The Farris had lived in Bromley around 1860; but they moved away after only a few years and in any case I haven't found any evidence that Charles knew them. So it's a mystery, who Charles Chase Parr knew in the GD.

Living off investment income has its problems, but it does give you time. Though he had time to take his GD membership further, to do the study initiates were required to do to reach the GD's second, inner Order and try some practical magic, Charles never did so. He was willing to donate time to WKCC, however: though he didn't actually play after the early 1880s, he was an active member of the club's management committee for many years.

Just as Charles Chase Parr is missing from accounts of the life of his daughter Olive Katharine, so is any mention of Charles' younger daughter Hilda. My searches on the web and elsewhere didn't come up with any information on her at all after census day 1891, and in the end I decided that she must have died young. I found a death registration from the summer of 1894 for a Hilda Parr aged 18; I think this is Charles and Katherine's daughter. I suggest, too, that Charles' only known poem may date from this time.

Death at a young age came to Charles himself a few years later: he died on 3 January 1897, aged only 49. His mother survived him by nearly a year.

Around 1903, Katherine and Olive Katharine left London and settled in Venton, just outside Widecombe-in-the-Moor in Devon. For more on their lives in Devon, see the websites I've listed in the Sources section.

I'll end this biography with the text of Charles Chase Parr's only published literary work - perhaps the only poem he ever wrote. It's undated, but I would suppose it was composed in the mid-to-late 1890s, an epitaph for daughter Hilda, or perhaps for himself.

LOVE MADE PERFECT

By many devious paths through weary days
Have I sought Love made perfect; in the spring
When wakening birrds and hawthorn blossoming
Made glad at dawn the dewy woodland ways;
In summer noonday, when a golden haze

Broods on the murmurous reaches of the tide;
In autumn twilight on the mountain side
Lulled by the dirges the wet hill-winds sing.

Now in the winter midnight, as alone
I mourn a life expended in vain quest,
And listen to the fir-wood's fitful moan,
One steals beside me - an unbidden guest -
And murmurs in mine ear with icy breath:
"In me is Love made perfect: I am Death".

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR CHARLES CHASE PARR

A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry Burke 1852 ed vol 2 p1052 re Parr of Grappenhall Heyes.

Charles' grandfather JOHN OWEN PARR. Beware, though! - there are several other John Owen PARRs, all descendants of this one

Remains, Historical and Lit... Edited by Jeremiah Finch Smith. Published 1866 by the Chetham Society of Manchester Grammar School. P187 gives a date of death for John Owen Parr: 5 August 1819. It also is the source of the information about the Africa trade committee.

The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events issue of 1775 by John Almon and Thomas Pownall. Beginning pp205-06 John Owen Parr is one of a large number of men from the Liverpool business and professional community signing a lament addressed to George III on the trouble he's having with the American colonies.

The Gentleman's Magazine volume 126 1819 p189 list of deaths that had occurred during 1819.

Charles' father THOMAS CHASE PARR

From Ancestry's baptism lists: Thomas Chase Parr was baptised at St Nicholas Brighton on 17 Sep 1802. DOB = 21 August 1802. Parents were John Owen Parr and wife Elizabeth Mary.

East India Register and Directory 1819 p314.

James Outram: A Biography by Major-Genl Sir F J Goldsmid CB KCSI. In 2 volumes, London: Smith Elder and Co 1880. Thomas Chase Parr's tiger incident is in volume 1 pp102-03.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of GB and Ireland volume 8 1846 p31 Major Thomas Chase Parr is a member of its Bombay branch.

The Gentleman's Magazine vol 180 p88.

United Service Magazine 1849 issue 1 p141.

United Service Magazine 1854 p469 Thomas Chase Parr of the Bombay Infantry is in a list of those recently promoted to colonel.

Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons 1868 p231-232 in a section called Correspondence - Old and New Banks of Bombay.

New Annual Army List 1869 p452 as a major-general.

Hart's Army List 1870 p308 in a list of lieutenant-generals.

Times Wed 20 June 1883 p14a obituary of Thomas Chase Parr who had been put on the army's retired list in 1878.

Modern English Biography by Frederic Boase; volume II I-Q p1359 Thomas Chase Parr D Powis Lodge Bickley 15 June 1883.

THE POTT FAMILY of Southwark and Bromley

For Pott family connections with the Foundling Hospital, see www.british-history.ac.uk, British History Online.

CHARLES POTT, Charles Chase Parr's grandfather:

A possible reference to Charles Pott, Harriet's father via www.nationalarchives.org to LMA, archives of the Surrey Dispensary of Southwark, records of the personal estate of Goswell Johnson of Bromley.

Probably him, in a List of the Wardens of the Grocers' Co 1345-1907, copy now at Harvard University. On p48 a Charles Pott; and an Arthur Pott. Both elected 1822.

Definitely him:

At a blog though no sources are given for the information on it: marysgasbook.blogspot.co.uk a page posted Aug 2009: Early London Gas Industry, list of subscribers to shares in the Phoenix Gas Co.

The Gentleman's Magazine issue of 1824 on p364: Domestic Occurrences in April has a list of private members' bills currently before the House of Commons. One concerns legislation to set up the Phoenix Gas Co.

The History, Antiquities, Improvements etc of the Parish of Bromley by Charles Freeman. Published Bromley: William Beckley 1832. On p103 a short section on the house called Freelands.

At www.kentarchaeology.org.uk a list of inscriptions at saints Peter and Paul, Bromley, orig published in The British Archivists volume 1 Sep 1914-June 1915.

At www.findagrave.com Memorial Number 113070083: burial of Charles Pott of Freelands who died 1 February 1864; and wife Anna 1788 to 24 December 1876. Both burials are in the churchyard of Sts Peter and Paul Bromley.

CHARLES AND ANNA POTT marriage and children:

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 598179. Marriage of Anna Cox and Charles Pott 10 August 1809 at St Pancras Old Church.

Familysearch has no baptism record for Harriet Pott, though it does have them for some of her siblings. There is some information about Harriet and her parents in the familysearch 'submitted genealogies' section, posted by kpendleton 1038988. Assuming the submitted genealogy is correct, www.thepeerage.com has a few brief details of Samuel Compton Cox, Master in Chancery, information taken from Burke's Peerage 107th edition volume 2 p2178. The only child of Samuel known of by thepeerage.com is Charlotte, who must be a sister of Anna Pott; Charlotte married Edward Leigh Pemberton 1795-1877, who was later an MP.

CHARLES CHASE PARR AS SOLICITOR

My information on Charles' working life is very sketchy. I went to the Society of Genealogists to look in their Law Lists for him but unfortunately they don't have volumes for some of the years I needed: 1872 to 1883.

Law List 1872: Charles Chase Parr is not listed.

I found one reference to him in legal notices published in the Times: 8 April 1879 p15; I'd have expected him to appear a lot more in it, as a busy London-based solicitor.

Kelly's Directory street directory issues of 1880, 1883, 1888 and 1890 and law directory issues of 1885 and 1889.

THE BOXING

Through Life and Round the World by Raymond Blathwayt; seen via google, a copy now at UCLA Library. Published London: George Allen and Unwin 1917 and dedicated to Herbert Beerbohm Tree and Harry de Windt as old friends of the author. P37. Around 1890, Percivall Parr had been a shareholder in W G Allen (as it was known then - the firm went bankrupt that year).

THE CRICKET

Scores and Annals of the West Kent Cricket Club 1812-96 compiled by Philip Norman data collected by Hugh Spottiswoode, up to the end of the 1896 season. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode 1897. Pp38; 258-259; 266; 306; 357; 362 for the date of death; 367-68. This is a very posh cricket club: the index is full of men with titles, and members who were at Eton, Harrow and the other well-known public schools.

ADDRESS CHARLES CHASE PARR GAVE THE GOLDEN DAWN which in R A Gilbert's book lacks a street number: Kelly's Directory street directory in issues of 1892, 1894.

KATHARINE ANNE MILLAR

Forenames like Katharine - or Katherine - or Catherine - or Catharine, to name but four spellings - are the bane of census users' existence! This particular Katharine or Katherine was registered as Catherine. None of the records of her that I found used the 'c', however, she seems to have preferred the 'k' spelling all her life. Sometimes with 'e', sometimes with the second 'a': not all public officials asked, I think - they just wrote. MillAr/MillEr isn't too helpful a name either. In this case, MillAr is correct.

22 November 2013: I saw evidence that Joseph Millar was working for the methodists in Liverpool around 1850 in a snippet from www.trove.nla.gov, the Australian online newspaper project. I could see that it was a marriage announcement: the ceremony took place at the Wesleyan church in Pitt St Liverpool on 29 September 1851 and was performed by Rev Joseph Millar. However, I couldn't get the website to download properly so I can't give details of the publication date of the newspaper.

Wesleyan Methodist Magazine Series IV 1851 p487 list of ministers currently working in Liverpool includes Joseph Millar, based at the Brunswick Chapel.

I didn't see any incidences to Joseph Millar as a minister after this relatively early date; but it might just be that the later information isn't on the web.

Marriage of Katherine Anne Millar to Charles Chase Parr:

At www.lan-opc.org.uk, the Lancashire Online Parish Clerk Project, LDS Film 2147887: marriages 1837-1917 at St John the Evangelist Knotty Ash; p90 entry 180 6 February 1872. I couldn't help noticing that although the register was signed by Charles' father, his mother and his sister Harriet Bertha; none of the Millar family signed it; perhaps not wanting to lend their Wesleyan names to a Church of England ceremony, or maybe there wasn't room for everyone to sign.

Times 2 December 1925 p1b death notice for Katharine Anne widow of Charles Chase Parr and mother of Beatrice Chase.

OLIVE KATHARINE PARR, professional name BEATRICE CHASE

Convent of the Holy Child Jesus: website www.kingsfund.org.uk gives a detailed history of the 11-13 Cavendish Sq; the King's Fund moved into it in 1995. At least on the web, I couldn't find anything about the Convent's time at its previous address.

For information on Olive Katharine and on Charles' wife Katherine, I used a biography at www.legendarydartmoor.co.uk which was based on two books on her, both published in Devon:

J Chard, 1994 *The Mysterious Lady of the Moor*. Newton Abbot: Orchard Publications.

C Green 1975 *My Lady of the Moor Ideford*: Ideford Publications. Also on the website are some photographs of Venton House, where Katherine and Olive Katharine lived from about 1903; and of the Roman Catholic chapel they built. Note that they were both buried in the Church of England churchyard at Widecombe-in-the-Moor, in Olive Katharine's case, against her wishes.

CHARLES CHASE PARR'S POEM

It appeared in *The Irish Monthly* volume 27 1899; editor Rev Matthew Russell, published by M H Gill and Son of Dublin. Seen on web via archive.org in a copy now in the library at the University of Harvard: p179. On p160 there's a review of Olive Katherine Parr's Poems published London: R and T Washbourne.

OLIVE KATHARINE PARR AS BEATRICE CHASE:

Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13000 Assumed Names and Their Origins by Adrian Room; p102; her dates are 1874-1955.

Via the web to *Mariale* issue of 1930 an article on Catholic Authors in which Olive Katherine Parr is included.

Further information on Olive Katharine's prayer-work during World War I: via archive.org to *Olive Katharine Parr/Beatrice Chase's Completed Tales of my Knights and Ladies* London/NY: Longman's Green 1919.

The Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook volume 35 1952.

Who Was Who volume 5 1951-60 p850. Just noting that the people listed in *Who's Who* write their own entry.

27 November 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Catherine Amy Passingham was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in its early days, in October 1889. She took the Latin motto 'In te domine speravi'. She didn't follow up her initiation; perhaps because she was living in Devon at the time and couldn't get to meetings. In September 1892 she must have been asked by the GD's administrators whether she still wanted to be a member, because there's a note on her papers saying that she did. However, she resigned in May 1893.

This is one of my short biographies. There may be more information on Mrs Passingham out there, but it will be in Leeds University archives, record offices, the local papers in a large number of towns... I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

July 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on CATHERINE AMY PASSINGHAM, née STAPLE (sometimes given as StapleS but I think Staple is correct).

IN THE GD

Not much.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes, and it's likely that she was invited to become a member of the GD because of the people she knew through them.

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Catherine joined the Society for Psychical Research (SPR) in 1884, almost as soon as it was founded. She and her husband were living at Milton on the outskirts of Cambridge at the time. They had a lot of acquaintances at the University, including some of the SPR's founders. The SPR held monthly meetings in London, some of which Catherine must have gone to because there's evidence that she knew some of the other members. She will have been acquainted with Dora de Blaquièrre, Violet Tweedale and Lina Rowan Hamilton, all of whom became GD members; Lina wasn't a member of the SPR herself, it was her husband, Colonel Gawen Rowan Hamilton, who was the member. Catherine definitely knew George Frederick Rogers, through the Theosophical Society as well as the SPR; and he was also a Cambridge University student. Catherine's most enduring Society friendship was with Clara Jeffreys of Glandyfi Castle; they seem to have still been in touch in 1902. Mrs Jeffreys never joined the GD but her daughter Florence Wynne ffoulkes did.

The SPR encouraged members to send in accounts of their psychic experiences. In the first volume of its Journal, there's an account Catherine had sent in, of a strange story told to her

daughter Mrs Gillig - actually a typical psychic tale of one person hearing the voice of someone who was dying somewhere else. In 1890, Catherine also donated to the SPR's library a book that had impressed her - Mary Boole's *Logic Taught by Love*. Despite the number of times she changed address in the ensuing decade, Catherine kept up her SPR membership at least until 1901.

SPIRITUALISM

It's often difficult to find out whether GD members were actively involved in spiritualism; it was a very locally-based, even family-based interest and has left few records. If Catherine considered herself to be a spiritualist medium, it was only in a minor, and non-professional way. It's likely that she was interested in spiritualism and probably attended séances; but her membership of the Society for Psychical Research shows that she wanted to know, at the very least, how spiritualist phenomena actually worked; and perhaps, even, to face the fact that most of them could be explained in rationalist terms and were not communications from the dead.

I've said already that it was difficult for Catherine to get to meetings held in London, once she left Cambridge. However, in January 1894 she was in London and went to one of the conversaciones organised by London's spiritualist umbrella group, the London Spiritualist Alliance. The centrepiece of this particular meeting was a talk on the Rev Stainton Moses' spiritualist experiences. Also there that evening were quite a few people who were initiated into the GD at one time or another, and perhaps Catherine knew some of them: Alice Gordon; Arthur Lovell; a "Miss Moffat" who is probably Sophia Moffat; Charles Lloyd Tuckey, an acquaintance of George Frederick Rogers; Constance Wilde; and the siblings Henry, Charlotte and Margaret Wright.

W T Stead began to publish an esoteric magazine in 1895, the review he called *Borderland*. Catherine was a keen reader of it while it lasted and shared Stead's hope that through the magazine, like-minded people could be brought together in locally-based groups all over the country. When the names of people willing to join such a group were published in *Borderland* in January 1895, her name was on the list for Devon. Perhaps she was able to set up just such a group in Exmouth; but she left England soon afterwards and probably lost touch with the other *Borderland* readers that she had met. *Borderland* wasn't a success as a business venture and ceased publication in October 1897.

THEOSOPHY

Perhaps I should have started with this, as Catherine's longest-running and most active esoteric commitment was to the Theosophical Society (TS). Theosophy was also the only venture into esotericism that Catherine shared with her family - her husband and two of her daughters were also TS members.

Catherine and her husband George Augustus Passingham are listed in the TS's membership registers as having joined between 1889 and 1891. News items in the theosophical magazine *Lucifer* make it plain that they were both members by late 1888, when they and their eldest daughter, Amy Gillig, were all helping to draft the rules of the TS's new Cambridge Lodge. Catherine served as the lodge's first president, with Mrs Gillig as its secretary. The lodge had at least one Indian member, a Mr C V Naidu, who was probably a university undergraduate. George Frederick Rogers of Gonville and Caius was another member.

The Passingshams left Cambridge early in 1889 and had moved to 11 Morton Crescent, Exmouth, by 1891. As part of a lecture tour in November 1892, Annie Besant gave a talk on theosophy at Barnfield Hall in Exeter, a talk that Catherine had probably organised. A few days later, Catherine and another senior member of the TS in London, Countess Wachtmeister, held a talk and discussion on theosophy in Exmouth. After the talks, the Passingshams tried to set up a TS lodge in Exmouth. There were not enough interested people in the town, but they did manage to form one in Exeter. Catherine's daughter Adelaide was secretary of the Exeter Lodge in 1893-94.

Another result of the visit of Mrs Besant and Countess Wachtmeister to Devon was Catherine being recruited to play a small part in the Parliament of Religions, held as part of the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago. A sub-section of that Parliament was a Theosophical Congress and Catherine was a member of the Congress' English advisory committee; other members included Annie Besant, Colonel Olcott and A P Sinnett. Some English TS members went to the Congress as delegates but I don't think Catherine was one of them.

In the period 1894-96 the TS worldwide tore itself apart over who should lead it and in what direction after the death of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. The TS in England was particularly badly hit, with the closure of most of its lodges as hundreds of members resigned, or let their memberships lapse. One of the consequences was less news of local lodges in the TS's magazines, though information in the TS's membership registers indicates that the lodge in Exeter closed down. During this turbulent period, in 1895, the Passingshams moved to Ireland. It was difficult to keep up with the TS under those circumstances. George Augustus Passingham's membership of the TS in England lapsed in 1897 and, as he never renewed it, his decision to stop paying his yearly subscription must have been in response to the schism. Catherine, however, kept her membership going through that crisis, one that followed it in the early 1900s, and a third in 1908, before finally resigning in 1909.

A thread - only a thread - running through spiritualism and theosophy (though not through western magic as far as I know) was a debate about whether or not serious spiritualists and theosophists should eat meat. As early as 1885, Catherine had become a subscriber to the magazine *The Dietetic Reformer*, which turned into the *Vegetarian Messenger* in 1887. A regular contributor to both was Thomas Allinson MD, founder of the Natural Food Company and campaigner for what he called hygienic medicine and birth control.

Perhaps Catherine and her family were vegetarians.

Sources:

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Journal of Society for Psychical Research volume 1 1884-85 p156 and p478-79.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume II 1884. London: Trübner and Co of Ludgate Hill. Pp317 begins the list of members as at December 1884.

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume 4 1889-90. Just noting it is for members only, it's not on sale to the general public: p264 donations to the library.

See wikipedia for some information on Mary Everest Boole (1832-1916) mathematician and feminist. *Boole's Logic Taught by Love* - London: Francis Edwards 1890.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume 9 1893 and 1894. Published Lo by

Kegan Paul Trench Trübner and Co; for the Society. p386 Catherine's current address is Lanina,

Llandyssil, Cardiganshire.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XI 1895 p618 Catherine's current address now is Fermoy, Castle Gregory co Kerry.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XV 1900-01 p502 Catherine is still a member, at Lake House, Prestbury nr Cheltenham.

LONDON SPIRITUALIST ALLIANCE

Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 14 number 681 Saturday 27 January 1894 p38.

Borderland: A Quarterly Review and Index volume 2 1895. Editor, W T Stead. Editorial office: Mowbray House Norfolk St WC; publishing office 125 Fleet Street. Volume 2 number 7 January 1895 p88-92 Catherine is at 11 Moreton Crescent Exmouth (actually it's Morton without the 'e').

Seen on the web: The Dietetic Reformer 1885 p280 Catherine was a subscriber at her Milton address. So also was another future GD member, the Rev Thomas Travers Sherlock. This was the only issue of the magazine I've been able to see. Issues of the Dietetic Reformer 1872-76; and its successor, the Vegetarian Messenger 1887-1935 are at Leeds University. I can't justify the expense of going there to go through them though I think it's likely I'd find more GD members' names in the lists of readers.

See wikipedia for the career of Thomas Allinson.

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889 to September 1891 pp126-127. George Augustus is "lapsed 12 97"; Catherine is "Resigned 14.1.09".

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p221, p250.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Published by Theosophical Publishing Co at 7 Duke St Adelphi volume III September 1888 to February 1889; issue of 15 October 1888 p105 news section.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Pubd by Theosophical Publishing Co at 7 Duke St Adelphi. Volume IV March to August 1889 issue 15 March 1889 p83.

The Theosophical Congress held by the Theosophical Society at the Parliament of Religions. World's Fair 1893 Chicago Illinois September 15-17 [1893]. Report of Proceedings and Documents. Published TS American Section, 144 Madison Avenue NY 1893: p10.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine September 1892- February 1893. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Co 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XI number 64 issued 15 December 1892 p342.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine September 1893- February 1894. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Co 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XIII number 73 issue of 15 September 1893 pp71-72.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Catherine Amy Staple was born in Exmouth in April 1840, the elder child of John Staple and his wife Sarah. She had one brother, John Charles, born in 1844. A quick online search produced evidence of people called Staple living in and around Exmouth in the 18th century, who may be ancestors of Catherine. A Richard Staple was paid for building and maintenance work on the parish church and vicarage in the 1730s. A John Staple and his wife were living in the town in 1780. I also saw plenty of men called John Staple, living in Devon, in the 19th century; part of a wider clan with that surname.

Catherine's father had been born in Withycombe Raleigh on the outskirts of Exmouth. He trained as a surveyor and in the 1850s was employed as clerk of works at Dorchester Abbey. On census day 1851 John Staple, Sarah and John Charles were living in a house in the abbey precincts which went with the job. They were keeping house modestly with just the one general servant. However, they were paying for Catherine's to attend the boarding school run by Anne Kellaway and her mother at Knapp House, Milborne Port Somerset. There were 12 pupils at the school, including Catherine, with ages ranging from 4 to 14. Three women taught there, one of whom as an assistant only; only one of them was a specialist, a music teacher.

John and Sarah Staple had been elderly parents and by 1861 John had retired and moved back to Exmouth. 1851 was the only census on which I could identify John Charles Staple. He was, apparently, alive in 1875 and living in Brompton; but I haven't been able to trace him.

On census day 1861 Catherine and her parents were living at the Manor House in Withycombe Raleigh.

Sources: census 1851-81.

Memorials of Exmouth published Exmouth 1872 by William John Wesley Webb: p125.

Exmouth Milestones, a History by Eric R Delderfield. Raleigh Press 1948 p196.

THE PASSINGHAM FAMILY

In 1863, Catherine married George Augustus Passingham. Later in his life, George Augustus published a genealogy of his family. Mention was made in it of his descent from Passinghams in Cornwall and Merioneth, but George Augustus went back in detail only as far as his grandfather, Colonel Jonathan Passingham of the 37th Foot (died 1835), who established his branch of the family in Heston, Middlesex in the early 19th century.

Colonel Jonathan and his wife Prudence had a large family. George Augustus was a son of their third son, another Jonathan, who married a cousin, Ellen Passingham. George Augustus was the second son of Jonathan and Ellen; born 1842 in Heston. There were also several sisters including one, Augusta Louisa, who went to Italy and entered the Roman Catholic Trappistine Order's convent at Perugia.

Sources:

The Visitation of England and Wales volume 18. Privately printed 1914; editor F A Crisp: pp57-61.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS PASSINGHAM

Catherine's husband had a private income which was enough for them to live comfortably on - though not extravagantly - for most of their married life. Perhaps that was what persuaded John and Sarah Staple to allow Catherine to marry him when she was 23 and he only 21. In the late 1860s and into the early 1870s he also earned money from a business based in Cambridge in which he was joined with his elder brother Jonathan. It was a very modern-sounding business, a gymnasium where young men at the university could learn fencing and practice other athletics skills.

George Augustus' main passion, however, was mountaineering and it looks like he gave up his association with the gymnasium in Cambridge because it was restricting his time in the Alps. He was known even while at Oxford University as a gymnast, and during the 1870s he gained a reputation amongst climbers as a man able to tackle the very toughest ascents and to do them in one long day, rather than sleep out on the mountain-side overnight. In the 1870s and early 1880s, Zermatt was his favourite base. In September 1872, with Dr Clinton Thomas Dent of St George's Hospital and their local guides, he made the first successful ascent of the south-east ridge of the Rothhorn from the Zermatt side. In 1879, at the third attempt, he became the first Englishman to climb the west face of the Weisshorn. And in 1880 he climbed Obergabelhorn. However, in the 1880s, after the death of his most trusted guide, Ferdinand Imseng, George Augustus began going further afield to climb. He had already done one year in Norway. Later went several times to the the USA. When not actually climbing in Switzerland, George Augustus was keen on shooting chamois. When he was older he developed a passion for salmon fishing, in Scotland and (seeing where they lived from the 1900s) on the Wye. An outdoor man.

Catherine accompanied her husband when he went abroad to climb; but she was never a climber herself and remained down in the valleys - presumably with the children - while he went off.

Sources:

GEORGE AUGUSTUS PASSINGHAM

Britain and Japan series Volume 2 Biographical Portraits. By Ian Hill Nish for the Japan Society of London. Published Folkestone Japan Library; I couldn't work out which year! Section p154-155 the Mutsu family. It has passing references to the gymnasium and to George Augustus as a mountaineer. It also mentions an article, maybe more than one, written by George Augustus and published in The Alpine Journal. Jonathan Passingham's daughter Ethel married a Japanese man. The author of the book is a descendant of theirs.

For my Grandson: Remembrances of an Ancient Victorian by Sir Frederick Pollock. London: John Murray 1933: p21 refers to the gymnasium, which he attended as an undergraduate. A biography of Pollock: Sir Frederick Pollock Bart 1845-1937 by Harold Dexter Hazeltine p237 says that Pollock was elected a member of the Alpine Club in 1867.

The Alpine Journal volume 9 August 1878-May 1880, numbers 61-68. Editor Douglas W Freshfield. London: Longmans Green and Co. Issue of February 1880 pp427-31: The Weisshorn from Zinal by G A Passingham. George Augustus' only published piece of writing is an account of the first ascent of the Weisshorn from Zinal, which he made with the Swiss guides Ferdinand Imseng and Ambrose Supersax in August 1879. Anything but triumphalist, it's a practical description of how the climb was done, and a warning to future climbers of the dangers they would face.

The Alpine Journal volume 30 February-October 1916 number 211 pp65-70; p185; and opposite p66 and p179: In Memoriam George Augustus Passingham, by J P Farrar. George Augustus' reputation was such that his obituary was included in the Journal despite the fact that he had never been a member of the Alpine Club.

Wikipedia for John Percy Farrar 1857-1929. He was the son of a doctor and born in Chatteris, Cambridgeshire; though his obituary of George Augustus doesn't read like one written by a friend. In 1883, Farrar became the second Englishman to climb the west face of the Weisshorn. He was a long-time editor of The Alpine Journal; President of the Alpine Club 1917-19; fund-raiser for the Everest Committee from 1921.

Wikipedia again, for Clinton Thomas Dent 1850-1912. Dent was one of the family which ran Dent and Co, the Hong Kong and China-based import/export business. If I've worked this out correctly, Dr Dent was a first cousin of GD member Vyvyan Dent, though they may not have known each other very well as Vyvyan Dent spent almost all his life in China.

Above the Snow Line: Mountaineering Sketches between 1870 and 1880. By Clinton Dent, as vice-president of the Alpine Club. London: Longmans Green and Co 1885: p35-53. Unfortunately the book has no index so I may have missed other references to George Augustus in it.

The climb is mentioned in The Valley of Zermatt and the Matterhorn: A Guide by Edward Whymper. London: John Murray 1897. Chapter IX: Zermatt and the Matterhorn p151; with the ascent's exact date.

Ancestry has several entries into the USA made by George Augustus Passingham; and one arrival, in August 1888, in Madeira. I imagine these were mountaineering expeditions.

CATHERINE PASSINGHAM'S FAMILY

Catherine and George Augustus Passingham began their married life in Exmouth where their first two daughters were born: Amy Passingham in late 1864; and Inez Ansell Passingham in the summer of 1866. In between those two births came a death, that of Catherine's mother Sarah, in late 1865. Shortly after Inez's birth, the Passinghams moved to Cambridge, in time for their last child, Adelaide Passingham, to be born there in the summer of 1867. The move was to allow George Augustus and his brother to set up the gymnasium; but it might also have been influenced by John Staple's decision to remarry. His second wife, Hyppolita Josephine, may have been French (I think; he certainly didn't marry her in England); she was also 29 to his 71, in 1871. John Staple died in 1875 and his widow soon remarried.

On census day 1871 Catherine, George Augustus and their three daughters were living at 5 High Street Milton, a village on the road from Cambridge to Ely. George Augustus described himself as a "teacher", so I'm assuming he was still involved in the gymnasium business at the time; though this was the year the Passinghams began going to the Alps for the summer and early autumn. Perhaps in preparation for this, they were housekeeping on a very small scale on census day: despite having three children under seven, they weren't employing a

nurse or a cook, just the one general live-in servant.

On census day 1881 Catherine, George Augustus and Amy were not in the UK. It seems a bit early in the year but perhaps they had already gone on a mountaineering expedition. A friend from Devon, Catherine Yelverton, was looking after Inez (15) and Adelaide (13) at 3 Cambridge Road Milton. Inez answered the census official's enquiries as head of the household; she told the official that her father was a "retired gymnast". The Passinghams' financial situation had improved since 1871 and they now employed two servants.

Sources: census 1871, 1881

The Alpine Journal volume 30 February-October 1916 number 211 pp65-70: In Memoriam George Augustus Passingham.

CATHERINE'S DAUGHTERS

All three of Catherine's daughters married graduates of Cambridge University. One of them was a university graduate herself, though not from Cambridge.

Amy Passingham continued the family trend of marrying young. In 1883, when she was 19, she married Charles Alvin Gillig, who was 20. They had two children in their three years together, but then separated. Amy got a divorce, in South Dakota, in 1891. In June 1892 she married Edward Armitage, someone she must have known while the Passinghams still were living in Cambridge. They had three children and lived at a house called Green Hills, at Tilford near Farnham in Surrey. Edward Armitage was an active freemason even in his undergraduate years, and will have known GD member George Frederick Rogers through Isaac Newton University Lodge number 859, of which they were both members.

In her father's Passingham genealogy, Amy's first marriage wasn't mentioned. However, George Augustus and Catherine can scarcely have pretended it hadn't happened: the Gilligs' son Charles William was living with them by 1891 and probably continued to do so until his death. By census day 1891, Charles William Gillig was being known as Charles William Passingham. It's possible that George Augustus and Catherine also took in Charles William's sister Margaret Amy Gillig; though there's no census evidence for that, in fact I can't find Margaret Gillig (later Passingham) on any census to 1911.

ADELAIDE

Adelaide's marriage is another that isn't mentioned in George Augustus' Passingham genealogy. I can't remember how I came across evidence of it; but I know it was quite by accident. Adelaide married solicitor Henry William Saw in May 1902, at Aberdovey, near where Clara Jeffreys (Catherine's acquaintance from the Society for Psychical Research) lived. Henry Saw had graduated from Cambridge University in 1887, so he and Adelaide are likely to have known each other from that time, when the Passinghams were still in Milton. He did his years as an articled clerk in Saw and Son, his father's firm in London; and qualified in 1893.

For all that she had probably known her husband for many years before she married, Adelaide's marriage lasted no longer than her sister Amy's. The divorce was heard in 1905

(in camera - I wonder why?) Adelaide had not had any children. And unlike Amy, she never married again. She died, in Ampthill Bedfordshire, in 1954, and left such a large personal estate that I've been trying to discover where she acquired it - without success.

INEZ

Compared to the ups and downs of her sisters' married lives, the middle sister Inez's life was positively tranquil. She married William Stuart MacGowan in 1889, after he had found work as assistant master at Cheltenham College. They stayed married, and had three children. William MacGowan taught at Cheltenham College until 1902 when he was appointed Principal of St Andrew's College at Grahamstown in the Cape Colony. He held that appointment until 1908 or 1909. He had been ordained while at Cheltenham College and after he and his family returned to England, he worked as a curate in various churches in London before being appointed vicar of Holy Trinity Kingsway, in Holborn, in 1919; he was still in post when he died in 1939.

William was a prominent freemason both in England and South Africa.

Sources for Catherine's daughters:

General:

Armorial Families volume 2 1929 p1506 .

The Passingham genealogy with its editing-out of two marriages which ended in divorce:

The Visitation of England and Wales volume 18. Privately printed 1914; editor F A Crisp: pp57-61.

AMY

Freebmd, which shows that Amy's children Charles William (1883) and Margaret Amy (1885) were both registered as Gillig.

A few details of the marriage, at The Green Bag volume 18 2001 p310: Charles Alvin Gillig was an American citizen. The Gilligs got a deed of separation 1886 and never lived together again. Mrs Gillig qualified as a teacher of cookery in 1889.

Amy was probably well off out of the life of Charles Alvin Gillig:

The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B Anthony by Stanton and Ann Dexter Gordon. London and New Brunswick New Jersey: Rutgers University Press 1997: p241 which covers 14-25 May 1883. Footnote1, actually about Charles Alvin's brother Henry.

Charles Alvin Gillig is the compiler of Charles A Gillig's London Guide, a publication aimed at US travellers. Published London: Gillig's United States Exchange 1885. Via google I saw a reference to its 14th edition, published 1900; and one from 1902 but I didn't see any later editions. I also saw one reference to a follow-up work: Tours and Excursions in Great Britain, published 1888.

Times Wednesday 2 June 1886 p11 originally published in London Gazette Tue 1 June 1886: a bit more about C A Gillig's business affairs.

Familysearch has tax assessments Charles Alvin Gillig; in Westminster 1888-91; and then in St Martin in the Fields from 1893.

There's a 2nd marriage for him, registered Strand 1899.

Probate Registry 1915: Charles Alvin Gillig's personal estate amounted to £97.

London Gazette volume 5 1915 p4944 creditors' notice after the death of Charles Alvin Gillig. There were 177 executors!

Times Fri 21 May 1915 p2 creditors' notice giving several addresses for Charles Alvin Gillig during his lifetime, including the National Liberal Club.

Charles Alvin Gillig accepted the legality of Amy's 1891 divorce at the time. Several years later, wanting to be rid of a second wife, he challenged it:

A Selection of Cases on Conflict of Laws volume 1 editor Joseph Henry Seale. Harvard University Press 1927 p26 reporting that Charles Alvin Gillig had been in court in South Dakota bringing a counter-claim against his wife's allegations of cruelty and desertion. The court had accepted Mrs Gillig's account of the marriage's break-down.

Law Reporter issued by the Law Times office; volume 94 1906. This was a snippet and I couldn't see a page number. An English court had declared that by bringing the counter-claim in 1891, Charles Alvin Gillig had accepted the legality of her South Dakota divorce.

Seen via www.newspapers.com, The Elyria Reporter of Elyria Ohio, issue of 22 February 1906 p5. A more detailed report on what Charles Alvin Gillig had been trying to do in 1906: he had been trying to get his second marriage declared null and void on the grounds that he'd never been legally divorced from his first wife. Judge John Gorrell Barnes rejected Gillig's arguments and so the South Dakota divorce stood.

Worried about the legal status of her three children with Edward Armitage, Amy Armitage clarified the issue by bringing a case under the Legitimacy Act 1858:

The Law Times Reports of Cases Decided in the House of Lords New Series volume 94 1906 p614.

The Times Law Reports and Commercial Cases volume 22 pp306-07: Armitage v Attorney General (Gillig Cited). This report gives the exact date and place of Amy's marriage to Edward Armitage: 30 June 1892 in the cathedral of St John Evangelist, Denver Colorado.

Amy's second husband Edward Armitage:

Visitation of England and Wales volume 18 1914 p61 as the 5th son of Rev Francis James Armitage, vicar of Casterton near Kirkby Lonsdale.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Abbas-Cutts part 2 p70 citing Times 15 March 1929.

Use the 'search the collections' facility at www.freemasonrylondon.museum to find a very detailed account of Edward Armitage's busy life in freemasonry. Here I'll just mention:

Ars Quatuor Coronati volume LXII part 1 pp137-138: an obituary of Edward Armitage, WM

of Quatuor Coronati Lodge number 2076 1913-14; contributor of two articles to the journal; and lodge treasurer from 1922 until his death. There are discrepancies, however, between this obituary and Alumni Cantabrigiensis as to his year and place of birth. Having taken a look at freebmd, I'm not at all surprised there's some confusion. The birth registration of an Edward Armitage April-June quarter 1859 in the Axbridge district of Somerset looks more likely than the alternatives.

The Freemasons' Library catalogue has a couple of works by Armitage:

Catalogue of books in the library of the Supreme Council of Ancient and Accepted Rite; 33 Golden Square. As compiler. Printed London: Spottiswoode and Co 1900.

Robert Samber. Printed Margate: offices of Keble's Gazette 1898. This had originally been published in Ars Quatuor Coronati.

Although I have found virtually no information on Amy's elder daughter Margaret Amy Gillig, I did find an obituary of her husband, a distinguished geologist and academic. See www.encyclopedia.com an entry for William Bernard Robinson King 1889-1963.

INEZ

William Stuart MacGowan was of Scottish descent. He appears somewhere in the pages of boyle-genealogy.webs.com

See [//thepeerage.com](http://thepeerage.com) (which uses Burke's Peerage as its source) for Rev MacGowan's two marriages (the second, as a widower in 1937), and for his and Inez's three children.

At prabook.com some detailed information on him, though without sources, particularly focusing on him as a language specialist and on his time in South Africa.

African Review volume 31 1902 p190, p534 the announcement of his appointment as Principal of St Andrew's College, Graham's Town South Africa.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis; via google so no volume number but p265 in that volume.

British Library has two works by him:

A Second German Reader and Writer originally published 1888; 7th edition 1900. Published by E A Sonnenschein in its Parallel Grammar Series.

The Religious Philosophy of Rudolf Eucken with an introduction by Eucken. London: David Nutt 1914.

At discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk WO 339/50547 information on his first World War service, as 2nd Lt Manchester Regiment 1914-22.

At search.lma.gov.uk/LMA_DOC/P82_TRI1.pdf, the list of archives held at LMA: items from Holy Trinity Kingsway Holborn include one letter dated 1924 from William Stuart MacGowan, home address 10 Middleton Road Golder's Green.

The All English Law Reports 1942 p310 evidence in a Chancery Court case heard December 1941 included MacGowan's date of death: 6 July 1939.

Visitation of England and Wales volume 20 pxxx short obituary.

ADELAIDE

As a student at Bedford College: census 1891.

Via the web, reached National Portrait Gallery site with photo of her c1890 taken by Evelyn Tennant Meers, with a note saying that Adelaide was "associated with 29 portraits" -

presumably all photos by Meers. I think you can now (July 2016) see this photo online.

Her husband Henry William Saw:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis A-C volume 2 p429.

The Law Students' Journal volume 14 1892 p64.

The Solitors' Journal volume 75 part 1 p279.

Probate Registry 1949. Details here show that he married a second time and had children. He died in December 1948.

The marriage:

Via genesreunited to Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette issue of 29 May 1902.

The divorce:

The Law Journal volume 39 1905 p551 list of forthcoming cases in the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty division includes Saw v Saw otherwise Passingham; to be heard in camera (I wonder why!)

Times 29 October 1954 p10 Wills and Bequests.

BACK TO CATHERINE PASSINGHAM: HER LATER LIFE AND DEATH

The Passingshams brothers' gymnasium business must have been given up by 1889 because George Augustus and Catherine left Cambridge early that year. They lived in several different places over the next decade, but none were anywhere near Cambridge. Their immediate destination was Catherine's home town and on the day of the 1891 census they were still living in Exmouth, at 11 Morton Crescent on the Esplanade. At this time Adelaide was studying at Bedford College London University; but as census day fell during the Easter vacation, she was at home with her parents. I couldn't identify Amy Gillig or her daughter Margaret on that census; I suppose they were in the USA or on the way there, in search of Amy's divorce. Amy's son Charles William Gillig - now with the surname Passingham - had been left with George Augustus and Catherine. Catherine was managing the household with a cook, a housemaid and a parlourmaid.

The Passingshams lived in Exmouth until 1895, I think; though with a break in 1893 when they spent some time at Llandyssil in Cardiganshire. Then they went to the west of Ireland, to Castle Gregory where they rented a house called Fermoye. I'm not sure how long they stayed there, but they were definitely back in England in 1900, staying for the summer at Westgate-on-Sea. By census day 1901 they had moved again, to Charlton Kings near Cheltenham. Their daughter Inez and her family were living at 2 Earlston, in Cheltenham. On the day of the 1901 census Catherine, George Augustus and Charles William were living at Lake House on Mill Street in Charlton Kings. I suppose Adelaide - not yet married - was normally living with them but on census day she was not in the UK. The Passingshams were managing with one fewer servant than they had 10 years before: they now only employed a cook and a kitchen-maid.

The MacGowans left for South Africa later in 1901 and though I don't think the Passingshams stayed much longer in Cheltenham themselves, there's a gap in their addresses. I can't find them again until 1909, when they were living near Cambridge once more, but on the other side of the city, in the village of Toft, at the former rectory, then called Toft Manor. Charles William Passingham died at Toft Manor in January 1909, aged 26; and the Passingshams left

Cambridge for the last time.

During the gap in addresses Adelaide Passingham had left home to be married (1902) and returned home after the marriage failed (before 1905). On the day of the 1911 census, she was living with Catherine and George Augustus at Berrow House, in the village of Berrow near Ledbury in Worcestershire. George Augustus, filling in the census form as head of the household, gave his daughter's surname as Passingham, and described her as an unmarried woman. He and Catherine had changed their in-house staff slightly again. They still had their cook, but instead of the 1901 kitchen-maid they had reverted to having a housemaid. They probably had a local woman coming in to do cleaning by the day.

The three Passinghams were still living at Berrow House when George Augustus died of a heart attack in July 1914. Catherine and Adelaide then moved from Berrow to Eastnor in Herefordshire, to a house called Woodside, where Catherine died in April 1918.

Sources: census 1891, 1901, 1911. Freebmd. Probate Registry 1914, 1918.

The Alpine Journal volume 30 February-October 1916 number 211 pp65-70: In Memoriam George Augustus Passingham.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital

Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 July 2016mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net

Email me at AMandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

George POLLEXFEN who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in December 1893, taking the Latin motto 'Festina lente'. In October 1895 he underwent the second-level initiation ceremony and became a member of the GD's 2nd Order, the level at which you moved beyond reading occult texts and could try some practical magic. In 1893 he gave as his address the bald and not very helpful 'Sligo'; but it was easy for the GD to get in touch with him, and for me to find out more about him and say WHO DID HE KNOW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN, because he was W B Yeats' uncle - the brother of W B's mother.

Anyone who was important in the life of W B Yeats has had plenty of literary coverage, so I won't be giving a biography of George here, just a list of references. Though I will say that he does illustrate rather neatly a conclusion I have reached about so many GD members: that they were bit-part players in the lives of the more famous.

George's role in the GD was rather larger than the judgement I've just made above implies however, and not just because he aided and abetted W B Yeats as a member. A note by the editors in Yeats' collected letters says that George was sent the birth details of people who were being mooted as possible members of the GD, so that he could do a horoscope as part of the process of deciding whether they were suitable to be offered initiation into the Order. As all initiates into the GD had to learn some astrology as part of their basic training, this argues a widespread admiration for George's skills at it, amongst senior GD members who could probably do a good-ish horoscope themselves. One of those would-be members who horoscope was checked out by George Pollexfen was W B Yeats' artist friend William

Thomas Horton.

George may also have been a member of the Theosophical Society (TS). I didn't find his name in the TS membership register but I might have missed him. He didn't write for the theosophical magazines but Lucifer in 1893 noted that a "G T Pollexsen" (I'm sure all the family suffered a wide variety of mis-spellings of their name!) had donated 10 shillings to the London-based theosophical group the League of Philosophical Workers, who were trying to raise enough money to rent some rooms. In the mid-1890s a group led by George W Russell and Frederick Dick was given permission by TS in London to form a lodge based in Dublin. I haven't been able to find a list of its members but George Pollexfen may have been one.

SOURCES in which George Pollexfen appears in books about W B Yeats:

Yeats and Women edited by Deirdre Toomey, 2nd edition Macmillan Press Ltd 1997.
Chapter 3: "The Music of Heaven", by Warwick Gould, based on letters and possibly an interview with GD member Dorothea Butler Hunter so many GD members are mentioned in it. Gould was particularly interested in Dorothea's memories of the group W B Yeats brought together to use astral travelling to help Yeats get a better idea of the functions of the old Irish gods. The group included Dorothea and her husband Edmund, uncle George Pollexfen, the Mathers and Annie Horniman; as well as some acquaintances of Yeats' who were not in the GD.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume II 1896-1900 P 665 et seq also has something to say about this group, which Yeats called the Celtic Order, and some more names of the members including Mary Briggs, who was in the GD, and whom Dorothea Hunter seems to have forgotten.

Lady Gregory's Diaries 1892-1902 edited and with an introduction by James Pethica.
Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe 1996. George Pollexfen's first appearances in the diaries isn't until rather late in my GD period - p149 July to August 1897, when (footnote126 p149) W B Yeats was staying with his uncle at George's house at Rosses Point county Sligo. The source for the footnote is the biography of W B Yeats' father: The Prodigal Father by William M Murphy; p176 says that during 1894/95, uncle George paid W B an allowance of £1 per week while W B struggled to make a living as a writer.

For a reference to George Pollexfen doing a horoscope for a prospective GD member:

W B Yeats and W T Horton: The Record of an Occult Friendship by George Mills Harper.
Macmillan Press Ltd 1980.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.
Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All

this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch. They don't really cover people living in Ireland, however. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Theosophical Society: membership registers held at the TS headquarters, Gloucester Place, London W1 and covering most of Europe but not, I think, Ireland.

For the donation, which I think is made by George Pollexfen despite the fact that the magazine got his name wrong:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI covering September 1892 to February 1893, editor Annie Besant. London: Theosophical Pubg Soc, 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XI no 66 issued 15 February 1893 P515.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Nelson Prower was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London in October 1888. He chose the Latin motto 'Tuteger vitae' but never followed up his initiation in any other way. At some point, he resigned from the Order; but the exact date he did so is not known now.

This is one of my short biographies. While there's a genealogy of his family, and massive coverage of his years as an active freemason, I've not found much information on the rest of Nelson Prower's life.

Sally Davis

November 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on NELSON PROWER.

IN THE GD

Nelson was one of the first people to be initiated into the GD. William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers had only started to recruit people in March 1888. Nelson was one of a group of men who were freemasons and members of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (see the Freemasonry section below for more on SRIA). I think Westcott and Mathers hoped that they could give advice on the rituals they would be using in the Order. They were probably not expected to be active Order members.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Particularly in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Nelson was a very active freemason. Indeed, that might be one reason for his not wanting to continue as a member. The freemasonry activities he was already committed to when he was initiated are likely to have taken up most of his leisure time.

Evidence for before Nelson's involvement in freemasonry before the mid-1880s and after 1898 has proved less easy to come by.

GLYNES, LEMON AND PROWER

In the years that Nelson was most active as a freemason, he will have been constantly meeting Webster Glynes and William George Lemon. Both Glynes and Lemon were in that group of freemasons initiated into the GD in 1888; only to drop out quite soon afterwards. Nelson was slightly the odd one out of the three; not working in the legal and local government circles that Glynes and Lemon did. But they were all less interested in craft masonry than they were in the other, newer types that sprang up during the second half of the 19th century, a boom time for freemasonry of all kinds.

FREEMASONRY

I'm not quite sure of my identifications here, but I think I've found evidence from the early 1860s that Nelson's father - John E M Prower - was a freemason. I think it was him who was a member of a military lodge in Gloucestershire; he had certainly been stationed when on active service. And someone called Prower - I presume it's John E M - served as an officer in the Wiltshire Provincial Grand Lodge. Nelson himself doesn't seem to have belonged to any Wiltshire-based freemasonry, but as a guest he attended at least two important Wiltshire occasions: the consecration of Swindon Keystone Mark Masonry Lodge 401; and the installation of the Earl of Radnor as the county's new Provincial Grand Master, an occasion at which he may have met the Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, for the first time. In 1901 Prince Arthur succeeded the Prince of Wales as Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England.

CRAFT MASONRY

Despite the explosion of other types of freemasonry in the 19th-century, most freemasons' first initiation was still into a craft lodge; and membership of a craft lodge was a requirement

of all candidates for some of the newer freemasonries. Probably in 1886, Nelson was initiated into Farringdon Without Lodge 1745, a recently founded one which met at the Holborn Viaduct Hotel and was part of a closely-knit group of lodges whose members worked in the City, in the law or in business. I'm not quite sure how Nelson was recruited as he never worked in either, though he was studying for the Bar at that time. I couldn't find the exact date of Nelson's initiation either; but by June 1888 he had been a member long enough to be chosen to act as steward at that year's installation meeting, which had a particularly large number of guests. He was making his way up the lodge's hierarchy of officers by that year and in May 1891 he was installed as Worshipful Master for 1891-92. He continued to attend meetings after that year, but not as often as he attended meetings of the lodge's Chapter; and he had resigned from the lodge by 1897.

One source I found said that Nelson was also a member of the Friars' Lodge 1349, which met at the London Tavern Fenchurch Street until 1886 and then at the Ship and Turtle Leadenhall Street. There is no mention of him in the lodge history I found at the FML; so I can't offer proof of this. If he was a member, his initiation must have taken place before February 1886.

ROYAL ARCH

Farringdon Without Lodge 1745's royal arch chapter was consecrated in 1886. It met at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet Street, a popular venue for freemasonry meetings. You were eligible to join a royal arch chapter if you had been a Master Mason for one month, and Nelson went to his first Chapter meeting in May 1886. Over the next 10 years he attended far more chapter meetings than lodge ones; suggesting a greater commitment to that kind of freemasonry. He served as MEZ (Most Excellent Zerubabel) from July 1892-93. Nelson seems to have let his hair down a bit more at chapter meetings than at lodge ones. Maybe they were more relaxed occasions. In July 1893 as he stood down as MEZ and was presented with a jewel to mark the occasion, he joined in the singing with piano accompaniment. The last meeting before 1900 that I found him attending was in 1897.

Perhaps meetings of royal arch chapters were more fun: Nelson was a regular visitor at two of them in the early 1890s. The first was Mozart Chapter 1929 which met at the Greyhound Hotel in Croydon. Nelson was a visitor at meetings every summer from 1890 to 1895. The second was Albion Chapter 9, which met at another popular freemasonry venue, the Ship and Turtle in Leadenhall Street. After attending the odd meeting as a guest over several years, he went with the members, their guests and their wives on their August 1896 summer outing, taking a train with them from Paddington to Reading and then a trip on the Thames in the launch Marion.

MARK MASONRY

If Nelson preferred royal arch masonry to craft masonry, he was more committed to Mark Masonry than to either. Nelson's initiation into the Prince Leopold Mark Masonry and Royal Ark Mariners Lodge 238, in March 1885, was the earliest for which I've got evidence. From that date until 1897, Prince Leopold 238 was the lodge he attended most regularly. Like Farringdon Without Lodge 1745, it met at Anderton's Hotel Fleet Street. Once again, Nelson showed himself very willing to serve as a lodge officer. He was as its WM twice: once in March 1889-90 and again - when none of the current wardens would do the job - in March 1890-91. And on at least one occasion (December 1892) he stood in as WM when the serving one was unable to get to a meeting. He acted as treasurer of the lodge from 1892 to 1896, when he resigned. It looks like it took a year for the lodge to accept his resignation -

resignations letters from him were read out at two separate meetings.

I couldn't find any references to Prince Leopold 238's Council before 1894 so perhaps it was founded in that year. As treasurer of the lodge, Nelson attended a couple of the Council's meetings in 1894 and 1895.

Nelson didn't attend meetings of the Lodge so regularly between late 1894 and spring 1897; but I'm fairly sure Nelson was not spending all of the year in England between those dates. His commitment to Prince Leopold Lodge 238 probably continued after 1900, at least for a few years. However, my sources for his involvement - the freemasons' magazines - have only been digitised as far as 1900. I've looked at some issues of *The Freemason* from the 1910s and haven't found the lodge meetings in its news columns quite so often; so I can't tell whether Nelson went to the meetings as often as he had done.

Unlike with craft masonry, Nelson got involved with the higher echelons of Mark Masonry. In 1890 he was chosen to represent Prince Leopold Lodge 238 at the Mark Masonry annual benevolent fund dinner. In 1889 he went to another fund-raising event, the annual festival of Mark Masonry's Grand Master's Lodge of Instruction, at the Holborn Restaurant; William George Lemon was a fellow guest. In 1890 and again in 1893, he went to meetings of the Mark Master Masons' Grand Lodge of Middlesex and Surrey; at the Ship and Turtle Leadenhall Street. And in the mid-1890s, as PPSGO he went to some (but not all that many) of the quarterly meetings of Mark Masonry's Grand Master's Lodge.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Nelson was also pretty active in the Mount Calvary Chapter 3 of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, which met in the AAR's masonic hall at 33 Golden Square in Soho. It wasn't easy to get into the AAR. Membership was by invitation only; you had to have been a master mason for at least a year; and you had to be willing to state your belief in the Christian Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Nelson was elected a member of Mount Calvary Chapter 3 and underwent the AAR rite of perfection in February 1886. Thomas Walker Coffin, who was initiated into the GD, was a member of this Chapter though he doesn't seem to have gone to many of its meetings during the period Nelson was active in it. Nelson went to its meetings regularly for the next eight years, making steady progress upwards through the AAR's ranks. In 1890 he reached the AAR's 30° level; though he never got any higher. That year he served as Raphael. From December 1892 to 1893 he was Grand Master (GM). By February 1894 he was at Second General level; in May 1895 he became First General; and in March 1896 he reached the top of the AAR hierarchy and served his year as MWS (Most Wise Sovereign). By 1900 however, he was no longer a member of Mount Calvary 3; though he was still in the AAR.

As well as becoming involved in Mark Masonry and the Ancient and Accepted Rite, both of which are independent of freemasonry's United Grand Lodge of England, Nelson also joined several other independent orders of freemasonry, some of which were very new to England.

ORDER OF ALLIED MASONIC DEGREES

Nelson went to his first meeting at the AMD's Metropolitan Council in November 1887. The Allied Masonic Degrees was a new institution - its hierarchy was only fully set up in 1879.

Like Mark Masonry and the AAR, it was not affiliated to the UGLE. It had its own Grand Council, headed by a Grand Master who in Nelson's time was the Earl of Euston, brother to Lady Eleanor Harbord who joined the GD. Having no premises of its own at the time, the AMD met at the Mark Masonry Hall in Great Queen Street. Only freemasons who were master masons, Mark master masons and royal arch masons were eligible. William George Lemon was already a member of the Metropolitan Council, which was the equivalent of a craft masonry lodge, when Nelson joined it; he might have been the man to recommend Nelson as a suitable recruit. Nelson served as the Metropolitan Council's secretary from 1890-91; and as its Organist from July 1892 to 1893; but in his first few years as a member he went to very few meetings. Probably he had just been too busy with other freemasonry commitments. As the Council's organist he began to go to meetings more often and over the next three years he began to climb the Council's ladder towards serving as its WM. However, he never reached the top: he didn't attend any meetings after that of July 1895 and in 1897, sent in his resignation.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR ie Order of the Temple; and the ORDER OF ST JOHN OF...MALTA

Like the Ancient and Accepted Rite, no one would be considered for installation as a knight of either order who was not a believer in Christianity. At the time Nelson became a knight of the Temple, candidates also had to have been a master mason for two years and be a member of a royal arch chapter; and requirements of candidates for the Order of St John of Malta were even more strict. Though I haven't found the exact date he joined, Nelson must have been a member of Mount Calvary D Encampment or Preceptory well before 1887. Perhaps the Order's combination of the religious and the militaristic appealed to him more than the ideas behind the AAR, because for the next few years, he went to the Mount Calvary D Encampment's meetings more often than the AAR's Mount Calvary Chapter 3. Mount Calvary D met for most of the year at the Inns of Court Hotel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but for the summer meeting the members went out of town, to the Mitre Hotel at Hampton Court. He was elected auditor in October 1887 at the same meeting he became preceptor for the first time, that of October 1887. After his first year as preceptor was over, in October 1888, there was a pause of 12 months and then Nelson became Second Standard Bearer in 1889; first Standard Bearer in 1890; and Captain of the Guards in 1891. In 1892 he began to go to more meetings than previously, though in this year, as for the past four, he had a lot of other freemasonry commitments. He went for a second time up the ladder of the preceptory's hierarchy, being Second Captain in 1892; First Captain in 1893; and served a second year as preceptor from October 1893 to 1894, being given a jewel on his second retirement from the post.

The orders of the Temple and of St John of Malta were administered together; though relatively few men were members of both. Nelson was amongst seven new members of the Order of Malta "admitted" during the annual meeting of both orders in May 1887 at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon Street. GD members W G Lemon and T W Lemon were also members of both orders. Nelson attended the annual meetings of the orders the following year and acted as "Guard to the Banner of R" at the meeting of the Order of Malta.

There were big changes in the next few years in the ways both orders were governed, as their national officers tried to prevent the continuation of a period of serious decline. The venue of the annual meetings, and the Order's administrative offices were both moved to what were thought to be more accessible locations; a systematic attempt was begun to take control of the Orders' accounts; preceptories that hadn't paid their annual subscription to the knights templar national hq were struck off. And in particular, it was made easier to become a knight templar: the Royal Arch chapter requirement was kept but the two years as a master mason was

dropped to one year and the fee was lowered. Not every man who was already a member agreed with the changes and perhaps Nelson didn't: he remained in the Order but he didn't go to any joint annual meetings between 1889 and the end of 1900. I haven't been able to find out whether he continued as a knight of Malta, but I would suppose that he did. He was still going to meetings of Mount Calvary D Encampment/Preceptory in 1901, after his return from a possible period abroad; but he continued to hold aloof from the Order's national management and never rose to national prominence.

ORDER OF THE SECRET MONITOR

The Order of the Secret Monitor (OSM) was so new to England that Nelson was able to become a member while it was actually being set up here. Its rituals emphasised brotherly love, drawing on the biblical story of David and Jonathan, and it arrived in England from the USA due to the enthusiasm of Issachar Zacharie, an English doctor who had worked in America during and immediately after the Civil War. Once again, William George Lemon got into the order before Nelson and may have encouraged him to think of being a member: Lemon was at the first official meeting of the OSM, in July 1887, when its Grand Council was formed (with Zacharie as its Supreme Ruler) and its first sub-group, Alfred Meadows Conclave 1, was founded.

Nelson was one of 21 men who were inducted into Alfred Meadows Conclave 1 at a meeting of the OSM at the Victoria Hotel, on 15 July 1887; also in that group were Nelson's freemasonry acquaintance Captain T C Walls; and William Robert Woodman, Supreme Magus of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA). It's possible that Webster Glynes was one of the 21 as well. He was definitely a member of the Conclave by 1889.

Nelson doesn't seem to have been all that impressed with the OSM; or perhaps he was just too busy to commit himself too much to it. He didn't go to Conclave meetings very often; though by April 1889 he had got himself onto the lower rungs of its ladder of hierarchy, as Alfred Meadows Conclave 1's WJ. In November 1890 he was serving as the Conclave's Guarder; but that seems to have been as far up the ladder as he went. He didn't go to any meetings of the Conclave at all between 1890 and late 1896, as far as I can tell. He went to one in June 1896; but that was the last one he bothered with. He will have met William George Lemon at that meeting, one of the last Lemon will have gone to, as he died a few months later.

RED CROSS OF ROME AND CONSTANTINE

Although its name clearly refers to the first Christian convert to rule the Roman empire, freemasons wanting to join the Order of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine did not have to be convinced Christians; though they did have to be royal arch masons. Like many other freemasonry organisations that weren't craft-based, it used the Mark Masonry Hall at Great Queen Street for its meetings. Nelson joined the order in 1886 and was PJ Warden in the Order's Premier Conclave by October 1887. He became Prefect in 1888. He was Junior General in 1889, a year in which a man called Edwin Prower attended the January meeting. I haven't found any other references to Edwin Prower in all my freemasonry researches; but as the surname 'Prower' is so rare, he must have been some relation of Nelson's, and perhaps his guest at the meeting. By November 1890 Nelson was Venerable and Eminent Viceroy (VE) and in March 1891 he reached the top of the ladder, being installed as the Conclave's

Most Puissant Sovereign (MPS). He was so conscious of the honour his fellow-members had bestowed on him by electing him as MPS that at the end of his year, he marked the occasion by giving the Conclave a banner.

Nelson went to the annual assemblies of the Order's Grand Imperial Conclave regularly between March 1888 and March 1893, by which time - using the Premier Conclave as his springboard - he was its Grand Vice-chancellor. However, he doesn't seem to have gone to any subsequent ones and over the next year his commitment to the Premier Conclave lessened dramatically. I couldn't find any evidence of Nelson at a meeting of the Premier Conclave after March 1895 though he was still nominally a member of the Order in 1899.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS also known as CRYPTIC MASONRY

Another freemasons' organisation that Nelson was eligible for by 1886 was the Royal and Select Masters: candidates had to be Mark master masons and royal arch masons. Like many smaller freemasons' groupings it had no premises of its own when Nelson was a member; it met at the Masonic Hall in Red Lion Square, the headquarters of Mark Masonry and then moved with MM moved into its new hall in Great Queen Street.

Nelson was admitted into the RSM's Grand Master's Council number 1 in May 1886. One of the officers carrying out the ceremony was Rev T W Lemon, who in due course became another of the freemasons invited to join the GD in its first year. Robert Roy, who also joined the GD in due course, was already a member of Grand Master's Council 1 when Nelson joined it. As the RSM was new to England, having only arrived from the USA in the early 1870s, movement up its national hierarchy could be quite quick: as early as 1888, Nelson Prower attended the RSM's annual meeting to be elected one of its two Grand Marshalls for the coming year. That level was as far up as Nelson chose to go, however.

Nelson went to a couple of meetings of the GM's Council number 1 most years between his admittance and 1896 but at its meeting of July 1897 his resignation from the it was acknowledged. In 1899 he was still in the RSM but was not a member of any of its councils.

FREEMASONS' CHARITIES

Just once, in November 1891, Nelson went to a meeting of craft freemasonry's Board of Benevolence. I think I would have come across him at more of its meetings if he had been a member of the board. Again just once, in July 1889, he was Prince Leopold Lodge 238's steward at the Mark Benevolent Fund festival; he managed to collect £5/5-worth of donations that evening. In June 1894 and again in May 1895 he made a donation to a freemasons' charity I haven't been able to identify; perhaps it was the Mark Benevolent Fund again. On each occasion he gave £10/10; a substantial sum for one man.

GUESTING

WM's, PM's and other high ranking freemasons were often invited to take part in important occasions. Despite having so many freemasonry commitments already, Nelson did accept some invitations. I've already mentioned two lodges whose meetings he went to quite often, though he was not a member of either. He also visited other lodges.

He went to an ordinary meeting of the Peace and Harmony craft Lodge 60 in February 1888; and to its installation meeting in February 1893. Perhaps tempted by the scale of the post-meeting banquet, he went along to the Greyhound Hotel Hampton Court for a meeting of Hemming Lodge 1512 in February 1892; The Freemason magazine described this lodge as “influential and prosperous”. In May 1892 he went to that year’s installation meeting of the Pegasus Lodge 2205 at the New Falcon Hotel in Gravesend; in 1901 he was actually working in Gravesend, perhaps as a result of meeting some influential local people. In June 1894 he attended a meeting of the Earl of Carnarvon Lodge 211, another lodge which met at Anderton’s Hotel in Fleet Street. In April 1895 he was back at Anderton’s Hotel as one of the guests and possibly one of the organisers, of a testimonial dinner for his freemason friend Captain T C Walls. And in May 1896 he went to the installation of Paxton Lodge 1686, at the Surrey Masonic Hall in Camberwell New Road.

And he also forged a visiting relationship with two freemasons’ organisations in Larnaca on Cyprus. This began in December 1891 when he went to the consecration of St George’s Lodge 2402. Then there was a gap of three years until December 1894, when he was at that lodge’s installation meeting and also went to a meeting of St Paul’s Chapter 2277. A source that I spotted using Google but wasn’t able to find in the online freemasons’ magazines, mentioned Nelson giving a speech in 1894 - presumably after one of the two freemasons’ meetings he’d just attended - praising the hospitality his hosts had shown him. After that month there was another gap between visits, until January 1897 when - although a visitor - he stood in as Senior Warden during St George’s Lodge 2402's installation meeting. There are both Greek and Turkish surnames in a contemporary list of members of this lodge.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

As so many early members of the GD were freemasons, Nelson could have been recommended as a good recruit by any number of the freemasons he knew. However, it’s most likely that he was initiated as a member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA); which was not a freemasons’ lodge or chapter although only freemasons could join it. As its name suggests, it was founded to focus on the myths and symbolism of Christian Rosenkreuz; and the GD was founded to put some of the SRIA’s research into ritual practice.

The SRIA was sub-divided into colleges. In 1886, Nelson was admitted into its Metropolitan College, which met in central London. William Robert Woodman was SRIA’s Supreme Magus, its highest office, held for life; he was a member of the Metropolitan College. GD founder William Wynn Westcott was its secretary and he succeeded Woodman as the SRIA’s Supreme Magus in 1892. GD founder Samuel Liddell Mathers went to the Metropolitan College’s meetings from time to time. T R Coffin, William George Lemon and Rev T W Lemon were members before Nelson joined. The centrepiece of each meeting of the various colleges was a paper read by one of the members and then commented on by his audience. Papers read at the Metropolitan College’s meetings were subsequently published in its Transactions.

Nelson contributed papers to Metropolitan College meetings on three occasions. That was a lot - most SRIA initiates remained members for years without reading a paper at all. In 1890 Nelson’s topic was the “present revival of mystic study”. Then, for four years, he was just too busy and it was not until 1894 that he was able to do the research-work necessary to

prepare a paper for such a well-informed audience. In October 1894, Nelson's topic was The Influence of Temperament on the Reception of Evidences of Things Unseen. In January 1896 it was The Relative and the Absolute.

As was usual with him, in the 1890s Nelson also began to make his way up the SRIA hierarchy towards serving a year as Celebrant, its equivalent to WM. He got as far as taking office as deputy celebrant in April 1897, but then - in January 1898 - he sent in his resignation. I've shown above that this was a time when he was resigning from quite a few other freemasonry commitments.

I hope I've managed to give the impression of Nelson Prower as - at least between 1886 and 1896 - a freemason committed to it, to the extent of being willing to take on a lot of official roles, often several at the same time. His initiation into the GD came in the middle of that decade; just as he was starting his busiest five years as a freemason.

I couldn't find evidence of any involvement by Nelson in English freemasonry in the early 1880s. Evidence from another source suggests he was in Canada. And after 10 hectic years in English freemasonry, his involvement does tail off around 1895-96 and I'm not sure of the reason for this. He may have been out of the country again; and perhaps found it difficult to get back into the swing of it once he returned. Perhaps there was too much else going on in his life. The digitised freemasons' magazine issues on which I've relied, end at 1900. I have been through the issues of The Freemason for 1905, 1910 and 1915. I didn't find any evidence of Nelson still being active in freemasonry in those years.

And to end the section on freemasonry, an apology:

This has been a difficult section for me to write. I don't suppose I've done a very good job. But I wouldn't have even been able to begin, without the information and explanations of two experts at the Freemasons' Library - Susan Snell the archivist; and Peter Aitkenhead, the assistant librarian and expert on freemasonry degrees. They recommended these books, which I have drawn on very heavily:

Beyond the Craft by Keith B Jackson. Original edition 1980. I used the 6th edition, 2012, to which Jackson has added details of several orders left out of the 1st edition. Hersham Surrey: Lewis Masonic, an imprint of Ian Allan Publishing Ltd. See www.lewis-masonic.co.uk

A good introduction.

A Reference Book for Freemasons. Compiled by Frederick Smyth. Published London: Quatuor Coronati Correspondence Circle Ltd 1998. Recommended by Peter Aitkenhead.

If, as an experienced freemason, you have spotted some glaring errors, please email me at the address at the bottom of this file and tell me what I should have said!

OTHER ESOTERIC OPTIONS:

SPIRITUALISM

Some spiritualists did join the GD, but not that many; and even fewer stayed for very long after their initiation. I haven't found any evidence that Nelson was interested in spiritualism. However, this is a tricky area to research: spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now.

Nelson's earliest encounter with the world of esotericism was with spiritualism. However, he approached it in a way that suggested he had reservations: during 1884 he joined the Society for Pyschical Research, which had been founded to see whether there was any scientific basis for the claims spiritualists were making. His name doesn't appear in any membership lists after 1884 so he must have not renewed it.

THEOSOPHY

More GD members were recruited from the Theosophical Society than from freemasonry. However, Nelson was definitely not one of them - he was never a TS member.

Given the kind of religious beliefs Nelson held, he may have regarded both theosophy and spiritualism as not being suitable subjects of enquiry for the devout.

Sources for the Esoterics section:

FREEMASONRY

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library (FML): go to

[//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum)

and take the option 'Explore'. You don't have to have a reader's ticket to search the catalogue; or to use the other online resources, which include searchable online copies up to 1900, of the main freemasons' magazines.

The FML is the headquarters and archive of craft masonry; not of the other kinds, which have their own hq buildings and archives. The FML is the only freemasons' library I have an introit into. If there are histories of the other organisations Nelson was a member of; I can't get at them.

For the freemasonry involvement of the Prince of Wales and then Prince Arthur Duke of Connaught, see the FML's website for its Information Leaflet 1: English Royal Freemasons.

WILTSHIRE

The Freemason November 1860 p14.

The Freemason May 1862 p12.

The Freemason June 1889 p4.

The Freemason November 1891 p3.

CRAFT

Farringdon Without Lodge 1745; 1878-1978. By P D Colton, PZ. No publication details and

the pages were unnumbered. No list of all members with dates of initiation, unfortunately. However, it's clear from the lodge's history and its WM lists how close it was to lots of other City-based lodges - many men were members of several of them at the same time, making a very tightly-bound community.

The Freemason June 1888 p11; December 1888 p11.

The Freemason June 1889 p11; December 1889 p11.

The Freemason February 1890 p7; April 1890 p9.

The Freemason April 1891 p8; June 1891 p8.

The Freemason June 1892 p6; October 1892 p8.

The Freemason February 1893 p10; June 1893 p10.

The Freemason September 1894 p6.

The Freemason April 1895 p7; December 1895 p10.

The Freemason February 1896 p8; July 1896.

On one occasion only, Nelson was a guest at a meeting of St Dunstan's Chapter 1589. It had even closer than usual links with Farringdon Without Lodge and Chapter 1745: The Freemason March 1895 p7.

ROYAL ARCH

FARRINGDON WITHOUT CHAPTER 1745

The Freemason May 1887 p13, in which Nelson was described as a member of the Royal Sussex Chapter. The Freemasons' Library had this book: A Sketch History of the Royal Sussex Chapter 342 AD 1905 compiled by G F Lancaster, a PZ of the Chapter. Portsmouth: Holbrook and Son Ltd of 154-155 Queen Street. On pp22-23, its members so far were listed; Nelson's name was not on the list. The Chapter's Roll of members covering 1870-1895 was one of the sources for the list; so I don't think Nelson was ever a member.

Back to Farringdon Without Chapter 1745:

The Freemason March 1888 p11; May 1888 p13; July 1888 p12.

The Freemason March 1889 p14; July 1889 p13.

The Freemason March 1890 p12; May 1890 p12; July 1890 p15, this was the installation meeting and he was made SN for the coming year.

The Freemason Mar 1891 p10; July 1891 p10.

The Freemason May 1891 p9.

The Freemason March 1892 p9; May 1892 p10.

The Freemason March 1893 p10; May 1893 p12-13; July 1893 p8.

The Freemason July 1893 p8.

The Freemason March 1894 p3; May 1894 p8.

The Freemason March 1895 p11; May 1895 p12; July 1895.

The Freemason March 1896 p10; May 1896 p12.

The Freemason May 1897 p10.

ROYAL ARCH - MOZART CHAPTER 1929.

The Freemason June 1890 p12; June 1891 p9; July 1893 p14; September 1892 p9; September 1893 p7; September 1894 p8; June 1895 p12.

ROYAL ARCH - ALBION LODGE and CHAPTER 9

The Freemason December 1890 p9.

The Freemason December 1891 p8.

The Freemason Mar 1892 p1.

The Freemason April 1892 p6.

The Freemason August 1896 p11.

MARK MASONRY

PRINCE LEOPOLD LODGE 238 for which I couldn't find a history.

The Freemason March 1885 p9; this meeting was such an important one for Nelson, leading to many opportunities, most of which he took up. It was the one in which he was "advanced" to the mark master mason degree.

The Freemason June 1885 p11.

The Freemason February 1886 p15; November 1886 p10.

The Freemason January 1887 p10; May 1887 p14; November 1887 p12.

The Freemason March 1888 p13; December 1888 p13.

The Freemason March 1889 p10, p14; May 1889 p13; November 1889 pp13-14.

The Freemason March 1890 p16, p18; May 1890 p12, p13; December 1890 p10.

The Freemason March 1890 p16.

The Freemason March 1891 p11; May 1891 p10, p12; August 1891 p11; November 1891 p13; December 1891 p13.

The Freemason February 1892 p5, p11; May 1892 p10; December 1892 pp10-11.

The Freemason March 1893 p10; May 1893 pp10-11; December 1893 p5, p12.

The Freemason March 1894 p7; May 1894 p9; December 1894 p11.

The Freemason March 1895 p13, p16; May 1895 p13; December 1895 p14.

The Freemason March 1896 p5, p10; July 1896 p5; Dec 1896 p10.

The Freemason February 1897 p16; March 1897 p7.

Prince Leopold Lodge's Council which is definitely a separate thing from its lodge:

The Freemason May 1894 p5.

The Freemason December 1895 p15.

MARK MASONRY GRAND MASTER'S LODGE

The Freemason April 1889 p10 with another account of the same meeting in The Freemason's Chronicle April 1889 p11.

The Freemason March 1895 p3.

The Freemason March 1896 p4.

MARK MASONRY SUSSEX

The Freemason February 1890 p7.

The Freemason Jan 1893 p6.

The Freemason February 1886 p12. This report described Nelson as a member of lodge 1349.

Friars' Lodge 1349: the First 125 Years 1871-1996 compiled by David Taylor PM using the lodge records including its attendance records. No publication details. From 1886 to 1919 the lodge met at the Ship and Turtle Leadenhall Street, a venue Nelson would have been very familiar with. However, there was no mention of him in the history of the lodge; nor as a WM or as doing any of the administrative work of the lodge. He might have been an ordinary member; but there's no evidence of that in this book, alas.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Reguls for the Govt of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members.

Rules and Reguls... as correct to 30 June 1888 is the first one Prower is in; issued by the Office of the Sec Genl, 33 Golden Sq. On p57 a list of the current AAR lodge equivs, called Rose Croix chapters; in order of founding; w p58 the latest being founded earlier 1888, chapter number 108 bsd Jersey CI. Beginning p59 fur dtls on ea indiv chapter, also in order of founding:

On p57 Mount Calvary 3 meets 33 Golden Sq. Warrant 6 June 1848. P62 T W Coffin is a member though he hasn't sent in this year's sub yet. Nelson Prower and T C Walls are members.

Rules and Regulations... to 31 July 1900. On p59 list of members at level 30°: p69 Nelson Prower 1890. On p260 Prower is still an AAR member but he isn't in any of the chapters.

The Freemason March 1886 p9; July 1886 p12; May 1886 p13.

The Freemason January 1887 p14; March 1887 p10; April 1887 p10; July 1887 p9; November 1887 p13.

The Freemason February 1888 p12; Mar 1888 p13; April 1888 p14; July 1888 p13; November 1888 p15.

The Freemason March 1889 p14; July 1889 p13; November 1889 p13.

The Freemason March 1890 p18; April 1890 p5; July 1890 p17; November 1890 p10.

The Freemason April 1891 p11; June 1891 p10; Aug 1891 p12; November 1891 p13.

The Freemason Feb 1892 p11; April 1892 p10; July 1892 p10; December 1892 p11.

The Freemason March 1893 p11; May 1893; July 1893 p11 GM.

The Freemason February 1894 p10; April 1894; August 1894 p8; November 1894 p10.

The Freemason February 1895 p12; May 1895 p13; Nov 1895 p7.

The Freemason March 1896 p9; May 1896 p15; November 1896 p10.

The Freemason March 1897 p14.

ALLIED MASONIC DEGREES

The Freemason November 1887 p5.

The Freemason February 1888 p13.

The Freemason May 1890 pp12-13.

The Freemason August 1890 p11.

The Freemason May 1891 p10.

The Freemason August 1892 p11; September 1892 p10.

The Freemason July 1892 p11.

The Freemason July 1893 p16; August 1893 p10; September 1893 p10.

The Freemason July 1894 p8; August 1894 p8; September 1894 p9.

The Freemason July 1895 p13.

The Freemason July 1896 p12.

The Freemason July 1897 p15.

ORDER OF THE SECRET MONITOR

History of the Order of the Secret Monitor 1887-1963 by R J Wilkinson. Published by the Grand Council of the OSM London: 1964.

The Freemason July 1887 p9.

The Freemason November 1887 p15.

The Freemason April 1889 p11.

The Freemason November 1890 p11.

The Freemason June 1896 p4.

Once, he went to the meeting of another OSM Conclave, as a visitor:

The Freemason October 1890 p13 report of a meeting of Horatio Shirley Conclave number 5.

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR ie Order of the Temple

Calendar of the Great Priory wh changes its name to Liber Ordinis Templi in 1896.

Published yearly for the Orders members. Each issue contains brief accounts of the annual meetings of the Orders of the Temple and of St John of Malta and the names of those who attended the annual meetings. For the Order of the Temple only, there is also a list of national officers; a list of the preceptories including those in suspension; and the Order's yearly accounts.

I looked at all issues of the Calendar from the early 1870s to 1900. Nelson first appeared in 1887 pp39-40; p12 for brief details of Mount Calvary D Preceptory - where it meets and how regularly; date of its warrant (1842); current preceptor. The preceptories which have letters rather than numbers are the oldest.

Calendar 1888 pp30-32.

Calendar 1894 p12: as preceptor of Mount Calvary D for the second time in only a few years; which suggests there was a shortage of members willing to take on the role.

Liber Ordinis Templi volume 1; issued 1900 for members of the Order and including the annual reports of 1896 to 1900. The issues of 1897 and 1898 had full lists of Order members. I saw 1898 first so the page numbers are for that year: p266 Nelson Prower is still a member; initiated into Mount Calvary D but not the member of any particular preceptory at present. GD members T W Coffin (p252) and Eugene E Street (p269) were still in the Order but Webster Glynes (p256) and T W Lemon (p261) had left it, and W G Lemon had died.

MOUNT CALVARY D as an Encampment:

The Freemason March 1887 p10; July 1887 p12; October 1887 p10.

The Freemason February 1888 p7.

The Freemason January 1889 p15; July 1889 p13; Oct 1889 p12.

The Freemason January 1890 p14; June 1890 p13; October 1890 p10.

The Freemason January 1891 p13; March 1891 p10; July 1891 p14; October 1891 p12.

The Freemason January 1892 p15; March 1892 p10; July 1892 p11; October 1892 p11.

The Freemason March 1893 p9; July 1893 p16; October 1893 p11.

The Freemason January 1894 p3; March 1894 p3; July 1894 p17.

The Freemason October 1894 p13.

The Freemason January 1895 p10; March 1895 p11; July 1895 p13; November 1895 p10; December 1895 p10.

The Freemason February 1896 p13; March 1896 p5; July 1896 p5. That was the last time it was referred to as an Encampment.

MOUNT CALVARY as a Preceptory:

The Freemason October 1896 p11.

The Freemason February 1900 p12 although he was at this meeting, Nelson was listed as a visitor, not as a member of the Preceptory.

The Freemason and Masonic Illustrated seen using Google, not as one of the digitised freemasons' magazines: Volume 39 1901 p74.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE properly the Imperial, Ecclesiastical and Military Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine.

Statement of Accounts, Annual Report and List of Officers and Conclaves published for the Order in London by George Kenning, who was a member of it. I looked at a volume at the Freemasons' Library which purported to cover 1868 to 1899. However, it did not contain any annual reports between 1874 and 1887, if any were published.

The first list of past grand officers that I found in the volume was published with the Issue of 1893; Prower appeared on p20 as, Grand Vice-Chancellor and member of the Order's Grand Senate 1893.

The first issue in which Prower was mentioned was that of 1889 for which there was a name-change of the Red Cross of Constantine to include two newly-recruited orders, those of the

Knights of the Holy Sepulchre (KHS) and of St John the Evangelist: p3 and just noting here that future GD member Eugène Henri Thiellay was in the same Council as Nelson.

Issue of 1891 p3.

Issue of 1893 p3 with Nelson not on the list of those at the annual meeting of March 1893.

Issue of 1895 p3 Prower at the last meeting of his spell as Grand Marshall. Beginning on p24, the first full list I came across, of members of the Red Cross of Constantine; p41, p49 and just noting here that Nelson's current address was c/o the St Stephen's Club, suggesting he wasn't living in London, at least not all the year.

The last in the volume was the Issue of 1899 re mtg p3 of March 1899: p45 confirming that Grand Marshall level was as high as Nelson had got.

Grand Imperial Conclave meetings, which were held quarterly.

The Freemason March 1888 p3.

The Freemason March 1889 p3.

The Freemason March 1890 p4.

The Freemason March 1893 p3.

Meetings of its Premier Conclave:

The Freemason October 1887 p10.

The Freemason June 1888 p10.

The Freemason Jan 1889 p13; March 1889 p10; June 1889 p10; November 1889 p13.

The Freemason January 1890 p3; March 1890 p13; June 1890 p10; November 1890 p5.

The Freemason January 1891 p13; March 1891 p11; June 1891 p15; November 1891 p5.

The Freemason January 1892 p10; June 1892 p10; July 1892 p11; November 1892 p10.

The Freemason March 1892 p10.

The Freemason January 1893 p10; July 1893 p16; July 1893 p16; October 1893 p11.

The Freemason January 1894 p11; March 1894 p3; November 1894 p6.

The Freemason January 1895 p10; November 1895 p10; March 1895 p11.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS also known as the Cryptic Rite, a reference to the basic layout of one of its rituals.

Annual Report of Proceedings of the Grand Council of RSM of Engl and Wales etc.

Published each year by George Kenning. I read the reports of 1887 to 1899; in a volume at the Freemasons' Library.

Issue of 1887: p3, pp8-9.

Issue of 1888 p3.

Nelson was not mentioned again until the Issue of 1891 in which there was a list of senior officers since 1871: p19. There was also the first list I'd come across of current RSM members and details of which council they belonged to: p23. Grand Master's Council 1 was one of the four original RSM councils and thus was not thought to need a warrant. It met in London.

Issue of 1896 p3 with annual meetings now at the Mark Masons' hall. P24.

Issue of 1899: p26.

RSM meetings Nelson went to:

The Freemason May 1886 p12.

The Freemason October 1886 p13; December 1886 p11.

The Freemason June 1887 p12; October 1887 p11.

The Freemason March 1888 p16; April 1888 p14; May 1888 p13.

The Freemason May 1889 p15; December 1889 p15;

The Freemason October 1889 p14.

The Freemason March 1890 p12, p14; May 1890 p13.

The Freemason March 1891 p12; June 1891 p10; December 1891 p13.

The Freemason March 1892 p9.

The Freemason February 1893 p11; March 1893 p10; June 1893 p11; December 1893 p9.

The Freemason June 1894 p9; October 1894 p13.

The Freemason March 1895 p11; June 1895 p7; Dec 1895 p7.

The Freemason March 1896 p10.

The Freemason July 1897 p13.

FREEMASONRY CHARITIES

The Freemason November 1891 p10.

The Freemason July 1889 p5.

The Freemason's Chronicle June 1894 p8 and May 1895 p1.

GUESTING

The Freemason February 1888 p8.

The Freemason June 1889 p4.

The Freemason November 1891 p3.

The Freemason February 1892 p8.

The Freemason May 1892 p8.

The Freemason November 1893 p7.

The Freemason June 1894 p8.

The Freemason April 1895 p15

The Freemason May 1896 p11.

LARNACA

ST PAUL'S CHAPTER 2277

The Freemason December 1894 p5.

ST GEORGE'S LODGE 2402

The Freemason December 1891 p14.

The Freemason December 1894 p11.

The Freemason Jan 1897 p12.

The reference I saw using Google was supposedly The Freemason and Masonic Illustrated volumes 32-33 1894 p231, p248. This should have turned up in the digitised online freemasons' magazine database; but it didn't.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

The Metropolitan College began to publish its Transactions in 1885.

Transactions of the Metropolitan College secretary and editor, William Wynn Westbrook. Privately printed, for the SRIA

1885 issue with membership details as at 1 January 1885: p1-3.

1886 issue p3

1890-91 issue p1.

1897-98 issue p1, p6.

For a general history of SRIA so far; Nelson's not mentioned in it:

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by its Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900. Especially pp14-15 for its Metropolitan College.

OTHER ESOTERIC OPTIONS

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume II 1884. London: Trübner and Co of Ludgate Hill. P317 begins the list of members at December 1884; p321 Nelson Prower MA of 12 Cambridge Terrace Hyde Park. Because several GD members were also in the Society for Psychical Research, I went through the Proceedings volumes for the 1890s, and also the Journal issues. Nelson's name didn't appear in any of them.

In the course of my research into other GD members, I've read quite a few magazines which feature spiritualism. I've not seen Nelson Prower's name in any of them.

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

Now for the rest of Nelson's life!

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Prower is a very rare surname. On the day of the 1871 census (for example) there were only 28 people called Prower living in the UK.

The Prower family were rather proud of their descent from the much older Mervyn family of Wiltshire and Dorset; through the marriage of heiress Frances Mervyn of Sturminster Newton

to Dr Robert Prower of Cranborne, around 1745. From the 18th century until 1869 members of the Prower family were vicars of Purton, a couple of miles north-west of Swindon in Wiltshire; starting with Frances and Robert's son Rev John Prower (1747-1827); and going on with Nelson's grandfather Rev John Mervin Prower (1784-1869) who was still vicar there when Nelson was a child. Rev John married Susannah Coles of Neath in Glamorgan. She died giving birth in 1811 to their only child, Nelson's father John Elton Mervin Prower.

John Elton Mervin Prower continued the connection with Purton, but didn't become a clergyman. He went to Charterhouse School and then spent a period travelling in Europe with William Makepeace Thackeray, a schoolfriend. After his return to England, he joined the army for a short time, serving a captain in the 67th Regiment. Later he was a major in the Royal Wiltshire Militia but the RWM was a voluntary regiment; Captain John Prower retired from the professional army around the time of his marriage. In July 1844 he married a woman of similar social background - Harriet Payn, a daughter of William Payn of Kidwells, Maidenhead, who had worked for the Thames Commissioners. Her brother William Payn was a writer; he also worked as editor of Chambers's Journal and then Cornhill Magazine; his daughter Alicia married George Earle Buckle, editor of The Times, in 1885.

After their marriage, John and Harriet Prower moved into Purton House, next door to the Rev John's vicarage; and that was where Nelson grew up. Nelson was born on 2 July 1856; the birth doesn't seem to have been registered. The name 'Nelson' hadn't been used in the family before; so I think he was named after the hero of Trafalgar. He had two elder brothers: Mervyn (sic, born 1847) and John Elton (born 1852); and three sisters - Maude (born 1854), Marion (born 1859) and Beatrice (born 1860).

On the day of the 1861 census, John Elton Mervin Prower and Harriet were at home at Purton House. Eldest son Mervyn was away at school, but the younger children were all at home and Harriet's young niece Blanche Payn had come to stay. They also had an aristocratic visitor, Lord Ashley MP, the eldest son of Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, the great reformer and campaigner. Six servants lived in: a footman, a cook, two nurse-maids, a governess for the daughters, and one housemaid; and I would suppose that a coachman and grooms and some gardeners were also employed by the Prowers in this rural village, while living separately. A very comfortably-off family.

I didn't find Nelson living at home with his parents and siblings on any census after 1861. On census day 1871, Nelson was the only member of his family in the UK - as it was still term-time, he was at Rugby School. His grandfather and his brother Mervyn were dead (see below for how Mervyn met his end); and Nelson's parents and siblings were abroad. In 1881, it was Nelson's turn to be travelling. John and Harriet had left Purton House and moved into London, to 9 Ashburn Place, South Kensington; Maude and Marion were with them on census day though Beatrice was elsewhere.

John Elton Mervin Prower died in 1882, while staying in Ramsgate. His personal estate was valued at £45,000. I haven't seen his Will but much of how Nelson spent the following years would be explained if Nelson had inherited from John Elton Mervin Prower enough money to live on without needing to work. When Nelson reappears on a census, in 1891, he doesn't admit to having a private income, so perhaps he had spent his and had nothing left; but census information and probate registry entries for his siblings show that Maude and Marion at least were living off inherited money.

Although they never lived in Purton House after the 1880s, members of the Prower family did continue to live in the village of Purton at least until the 1940s, at the house called Sissells.

Sources:

THE MERVYN FAMILY

Notes Historical, Generalogical and Heraldic of the Family of Mervyn was compiled by family member Sir William Richard Drake FSA, and privately printed in 1873: on pvii is printed Nelson's date of birth. Nelson's father was one of the people who had helped Drake in his researches.

JOHN ELTON MERVIN PROWER and HARRIET

Via www.myheritage.com to The County Families of the United Kingdom published London 1868: p441.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 425423: baptism of John Elton Mervyn Prower, son of John and Susannah; at St Michael Gloucester 20 October 1811.

Times Monday 1 January 1912 p13 a reference to the first publication of a youthful poem by Thackeray this month's Cornhill Magazine. It was a drinking song written in Weimar in the notebook of his "schoolfellow J.E.M. Prower".

See wikipedia for William Makepeace Thackeray, born 1811 so an exact contemporary of John Elton Mervyn Prower. Thackeray did not enjoy his time at Charterhouse School.

At www.purtonhouse.com there's a short history of the house, which still exists and is available for hire. The history was written by its current owner, using Ethel Richardson's A History of Purton. Unfortunately there's no mention of the Prower family on the website. They must, however, have left Purton House by 1908: Ethel Richardson lived in it from 1908 to 1922. The house was built 1810 in Regency style; with alterations to the building and a great deal of planting in the garden done around 1840, perhaps by John Elton Mervyn Prower and Harriet. At some point it was rented for three years by James Brooke, rajah of Sarawak.

THE PAYN FAMILY

For Harriet's brother James Payn see his wiki.

Times Saturday 26 March 1898 p5 Death of Mr James Payn. This is the source for his father's employment by the Thames Commissioners; he found time to run a pack of harriers as well.

Times 31 March 1898 p6 coverage of William Payn's funeral. Nelson's mother, his brother and one of his sisters went to it; though Nelson himself did not. I think he was working in Kent; if it was still term-time he may not have been able to get away. It's a pity, because amongst those attending the church service he would have encountered Henry James; Conan Doyle; Rider Haggard; members of the Ingram family who owned the Illustrated London News; representatives of Smith Elder and Co; and George Earle Buckle.

See wikipedia for George Earle Buckle (1854-1935) who married Alicia Isobel Payn in 1885. Buckle became editor of the Times in 1884 when still only 29. He stayed in post until ousted by its new owner, Lord Northcliffe, in 1911.

Gentleman's Magazine 1844 p201: marriage of John E M Prower to Harriet Payn.

NELSON'S SIBLINGS

MERVYN

Nelson's brother Mervyn Prower was the last person to die as a result of fighting between young townsmen and undergraduates in the streets of Oxford. He went to Rugby School; and then to Oxford University, to Brasenose College, in October 1866. On 9 November 1867 he was attacked in the street, hit on the head, and then kicked as he lay on the ground. He died three weeks later, in his rooms in college, having only regained consciousness for a few minutes after the assault.

Sources:

Times Saturday 30 November 1867 p12: Death of an Undergraduate.

Times Monday 2 December 1867 p1: death notice for Mervyn Prower.

Brasenose: the Biography of an Oxford College by Joseph Mordaunt Crook. Oxford University Press 2008 p206.

None of the sources give details of exactly what happened; nor whether anyone was ever arrested.

JOHN ELTON joined the Royal Engineers and ended his career as a Major. He was serving in Quebec with the Canadian Militia from 1881 if not earlier, until 1893; and then spent nearly a decade based at Falmouth in Cornwall, with the Royal Engineers' Submarine Branch.

In 1881 John Elton married Adèle Thérèse Kimber, daughter of René Édouard Kimber, the second man to hold the post of Usher of the Black Rod (Canada). He was in post from 1875 to 1901, succeeding his father, René Kimber, who had been appointed in 1867. John Elton and Adèle had three daughters - Cecile, Phyllis and Harline - and one son, John Mervyn Prower. Through their children their links with Canada were kept up: Phyllis married a man who had emigrated to Canada; and John Mervyn served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in World War 1.

In the 1900s John Elton and Adèle had 9 Ashburn Place South Kensington as their London address; and Sissells, in Purton village, as their country residence.

John Elton Prower's politics were Conservative: he was a member of the Constitutional Club. He died, in Bath, in 1915.

Sources:

At www.myheritage.com, a copy of Armorial Families which might date from 1905: p1220
At search.ancestry.com JEP is in Canada on census day 1881.

Evidence for John Elton Prower in Canada: Canadian census 1881, seen at search.ancestry.com.

Times 16 May 1883 p1 announcement of the death of John Elton and Adele's daughter

Harline; in Quebec; aged three weeks.

A wiki on those who have been Usher of the Black Rod (Canada).

Times 16 November 1886 p1 birth announcement: a son to John Elton Prower and his wife; on 1st inst [1 November 1886] in Quebec. Though the child wasn't named, other evidence indicates this was John Mervyn Prower.

Canada Census 1891 seen at Familysearch: John Elton Prower - but not the rest of the family - is a lodger in a household in the St Louis Ward of Quebec City.

Times 24 April 1893 p13 originally published in London Gazette: John Elton Prower's appointment as Captain Royal Engineers Submarine Branch.

Times Tuesday 30 May 1893 p11 John Elton Prower of the Falmouth Division Royal Engineers at a levee given by the Prince of Wales was present.

Without taking down the details, I saw several other references to John Elton Prower in his job at Falmouth; in the Times between 1893 and 1898. Not afterwards, though, and I wonder if he had been sent to South Africa.

Familysearch British Columbia Marriage Registrations 1859-1932 GS film number 1983977: marriage of Phyllis Prower to Cyril W Hoske, 6 January 1912 at Kamloops BC.

Probate Registry 1915 for death of John Elton Prower. His brother-in-law Henry Phillipson Spottiswoode was one of his executors. Immediately below it in the list for that year was an entry for Una Catherine Prower whose normal address 166 Church Road Norwood, Henry Spottiswoode's home. She was the wife of John Elton's son John Mervyn Prower, at that time serving as Captain in H M Army.

At www.cefresearch.ca, pages of the Canadian Expeditionary Force Study Group: John Mervyn Prower fought for the 8th Canadian Infantry Battalion. DSO and bar.

MAUDE and MARION PROWER both died unmarried. They lived with their mother Harriet until her death in 1903; then in Chelsea, until Marion's death in 1908. Maude then returned to Purton, to Sissells, now owned by the Prower family. She died in 1941.

BEATRICE PROWER was the only sister of Nelson to marry:

Times 10 June 1891 p1 marriage announcements: marriage of Beatrice Prower of 9 Ashburn Place South Kensington; to Henry Phillipson Spottiswoode who's the son of a General. At St Peter's Cranley Gardens; by Rev Elton Lee who is a cousin of the bride.

Henry Spottiswoode was a solicitor. In 1911 he and Beatrice were living in Norwood, south London. Three of their five children were at home with them: Arthur, working as an articled clerk; and John and Henry who were still at school.

NELSON PROWER: EDUCATION

Nelson followed his two elder brothers to Rugby School (in 1869) and then followed Mervyn to Brasenose College (in 1875). Unlike Mervyn, he survived his years at Oxford University and graduated in 1878, with a third-class degree in history. In 1882 he became an MA; but I think you could pay for those, then.

The records of the Middle Temple suggest that Nelson began the process of qualifying as a barrister: he registered in October 1883 and passed the Roman Law examination in April

1885. On the day of the 1891 census he was still a law student - or so he told the census official - but I can't find any evidence that he passed any more of the exams; and he never practised law.

Sources: 1891 census

Rugby School Register 1675-1874 compiled by A J Lawrence. Published 1886 p176 Nelson arrived at the school aged 13 (1869).

Brasenose College Register 1509-1909 volume 55. Published by the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press 1909; p307.

Times 6 December 1878 p5 and Times Friday 13 December 1878 p10.

Oxford Historical Register 1220-1900 p816.

Times Saturday 10 June 1882 p10 University Intelligence: Nelson in a group getting their MA degree.

At archive.middletemple.org.uk the Register of Admissions 1850-85 published by the Middle Temple: p640 entry for Nelson Prower of 10 Clifford's Inn Fleet Street; registered 31 October [1883].

Times Wednesday 15 April 1885 p10 The Inns of Court. List of those who had passed the recent Council of Legal Education exams.

WORK/PROFESSION

POSSIBLY CONSIDERS AN ARMY CAREER

While he was at university, Nelson joined the Oxfordshire Rifle Volunteers. Joining a volunteer regiment was not an unusual thing for a young man to do; especially if his father was already an officer in one. It didn't necessarily lead to a life as an army professional - in fact, usually not - and it looks from the lack of records that Nelson's involvement in the regiment ceased when he graduated. However, in 1886 he was actually presented to the Prince of Wales at a levee in London, as an officer in the Central London Rangers. He was presented by Major Florence, who was probably his immediate superior in the regiment. I haven't come across any other GD members who were presented to royalty on the grounds of being a member of a voluntary militia; and my other subject of research, Henry George Norris of Arsenal Plc, never was; so I'm wondering whether Nelson was considering following his brother into the army as a full-time career. If he was considering it, the plan came to nothing: for a couple of years, when he is mentioned in issues of *The Freemason*, it's always as a 'Lieutenant'; but from then on, he's just plain 'Mr'.

There wasn't much on web on the Oxfordshire Rifle Volunteers.

See Wikipedia for the Central London Rangers, a nickname for the 22nd Middlesex Rifle Volunteer Corps.

APPARENTLY, AS AN EDITOR

On census day 1891, Nelson was one of the three lodgers and one boarder at 5 Doughty Street Bloomsbury. As well as being a law student, Nelson also told the census official that he was an editor. I haven't been able to find out where he was working as an editor; though

he did have a relation by marriage, in George Earle Buckle, who could probably have found him that kind of employment. This was the time, though, of Nelson's greatest involvement in freemasonry. Perhaps he edited a freemasons' magazine - it would certainly explain the amount of coverage his freemasonry activities were getting. The Freemason's Chronicle is one magazine Nelson could have edited, and it happens that in 1891 its offices were very near where he was living. Freemason William Wray Morgan ran the Chronicle from his premises at the Belvidere Works, Hermes Hill, Pentonville; between King's Cross and The Angel. There's no clue in the weekly issues as to who the editor was and it's most likely that Morgan did the work himself; but Nelson could have been the editor.

Wherever he was working, and for however long he did the work, it would not necessarily have been a paid post.

AS A TEACHER

Nelson did not tell the 1901 census official that he was an editor. Either he forgot that part of his working life; or he was no longer employed that way. By 1901 he was a teacher at Clarence College in Gravesend. The college was a boarding school, with 13 boarders that census day. It was run by Charles Wimpres and his wife Elizabeth. They both taught at the school and Nelson was one of four teachers working for them and living on its premises at 72 Windmill Street in Milton. By 1905, the Wimpresses had gone and been replaced by a Mr Bishop who was a member of the Society for Psychical Research; but evidence from the Electoral Rolls shows Nelson living in St Pancras from 1903, perhaps teaching in that borough. He was still doing some teaching on the day of the 1911 census; but this time he described himself as a "tutor" - that is, he was teaching private pupils, rather than in a school.

The two census references are the only evidence I've been able to find about Nelson's work as a teacher. Even in the preface of a novel which was set in a boys' public school, Nelson didn't give any details of which schools he had worked in. I'm afraid his lack of willingness leads me to suppose that the schools were not particularly well-known or highly regarded.

Sources: census 1891, 1901, 1911

Army List 1878 Nelson Prower is in the Oxfordshire Rifle Volunteers. No details were given about his rank.

Times Monday 28 June 1886 p9 errata: Nelson's name had been omitted from the list of those presented at the levee "on Friday last" [25 June 1886]. Presented by Major Florence; as a member of the Central London Rangers.

Via archive.org to a few items on Clarence College ((see 1901 census)):

Journal of the Society of Psychical Research volume XII 1905-06 p159 the current principal of the College was Mr M S W Bishop BA; he had sent in one of the issue's curious incidents.

In Whitaker's Almanack 1909 p831 there's a reference to Clarence College merging with Cumberland House School, to form the Gravesend Boys' Grammar School.

Familysearch: Electoral Rolls St Pancras 1893-1895; 1901; 1903, 1904; 1906; 1908

Freddy Barton's Schooldays by Nelson Prower MA. London: John Ouseley Ltd of 6 Fleet Lane Farrington Street. Published early 1911. Preface, on an unnumbered page.

TRAVELS

Nelson's first long published work was written and printed in Canada. Its date of publication is uncertain; the British Library catalogue - which only has a microfiche copy without its title page - has "?1885". It's hard to keep up with Nelson's whereabouts between 1878 and 1885. He's not on the census in 1881, but must have been in London in October 1883 and April 1885 to start at the Middle Temple and take his first (what turned out to be his only) exam there. So 1881-82; or 1884-1885 are possible dates for a trip to Canada. He may have been working; the published work is about the religious attitudes of young Canadian men, whom Nelson might have met through work as a teacher. But it's just as likely, to my mind, that he went on a visit to John Elton Prower and his wife, while his brother was stationed in Quebec. Teaching does seem to have been somewhat of a last resort for him!

Though he didn't publish a book about his Canadian trip, Nelson was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1887. Canada may not have been the only place he travelled to: his first novel (see below) takes place in Sweden, Poland, Constantinople and the Greek Islands; though I have to say that none of those places is described, so he could just as easily have written the book without spending a day in any of them.

In 1889-90, Nelson definitely did go to the Holy Land, a journey he clearly thought of as a pilgrimage. If the poems he published in 1894 are a guide, he travelled to the east coast of Italy by train; took a boat from Brindisi to Jaffa; and then went to Jerusalem, where being able to see the sites Jesus visited in His last days moved him to write his long narrative poem Gethsemane. On his way back to England, he visited Greece.

In the winter of 1891 he went back to the eastern Mediterranean, to Cyprus. Using his apologies for absence from freemasonry meetings to try to work out where he was, it looks as though he stayed on the island over the winter of 1894-95; possibly for part of the summer in 1896; and for the winter of 1896-97. During these long stays on the island he might have been based at Larnaca - he went to some freemasonry meetings in the town. He may have continued to go back to Cyprus after 1897 but the evidence from the freemasonry magazines isn't so good for the late 1890s.

Sources:

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society seen online; volume 9 1887 p254.

Royal Geographical Society Year-Book and Record issue of 1898 seen online; p152.

Cyprus:

The Freemason December 1891 p14.

The Freemason December 1894 p5, p11.

The Freemason January 1897 p12.

And a lot of 'apologies for absence': see the FREEMASONRY section above.

Familysearch electoral rolls data for Nelson Prower:

St Pancras 1893-1895; 1901; 1903, 1904; 1906; 1908

Clapham 1912 only.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Despite what was thought at the time, Nelson was NOT the author of BOY-WORSHIP

A pamphlet called Boy-Worship was printed in Oxford in 1880. It's not clear now how many copies there were of it, as it was meant for circulation within the University. Few copies have survived and I haven't been able to see any of them. However, the pamphlet is mentioned in several modern studies of homosexuality in 19th century England. According to one of those modern studies, it was a 'how-to' book for the seduction of fellow students.

Although homosexual acts between consenting adults weren't illegal in England until the Labouchere Amendment of 1885, the pamphlet's author may still have feared the wrath of the University authorities. He wasn't taking any chances and published it anonymously. It's now known to have been the work of Charles Edward Hutchinson (born 1854), a graduate of Brasenose College whom Nelson must have known; but at the time, with nobody sure who had written it, Nelson Prower was amongst the men being rumoured to have done so. It's interesting that Nelson's name was bandied about in University circles until Boy-Worship's author owned up, and I have wondered myself about the sexuality of some of the GD members. The pamphlet was written on the understanding that homosexual relationships were very common at Oxford University, between staff and students, as well as between students. However, I think that Nelson's devout Christianity might have prevented him from acting on any homosexual tendencies he did feel.

Sources:

There's a full text of the pamphlet on the website of the Hathi Trust; but you can only read it if you are resident in the USA. The British Library doesn't have a copy, which isn't surprising.

At onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu its catalogue entry is: Boy-Worship author Charles Edward Hutchinson born 1854; with Nelson Prower as a contributor to it. Published Oxford 1880.

However at [//dp.la](http://dp.la), the Digital Public Library of America, the catalogue entry for the copy at Cornell University notes that it was "unjustly ascribed to Prower" of Brasenose.

The modern references to it:

Aestheticism and Sexual Parody 1840-1940 by Dennis Dennisof. New York: Cambridge University Press 2006 p39.

Secreted Desires - The Major Uranians: Hopkins, Pater, Wilde by Michael Matthew Kaylor. Published Masaryk University Press and originally a D Phil thesis: pxvii.

Mapping Male Sexuality: the Nineteenth Century by Jay Losey and William Dean Brewer. Madison New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press p262 in Part Two: Victorian.

THEOLOGY AND MORALITY

This 60-page booklet was printed - presumably at Nelson's expense - by the Gazette Printing Company of Montreal; probably in 1884 or 1885. In it, Nelson addressed the older generation of immigrants from the UK to Canada. He voiced his anxiety about the decline of Christian belief he had found in the immigrants' sons, and worried about where it might lead - possibly as far as the younger generation demanding independence from Great Britain. Nelson's own beliefs are stated very clearly in the booklet: he is an unquestioning Christian. He sees belief in Christianity as the bedrock of the Empire; is sure that other religions (past

and present) offer no basis for ethical behaviour or social cohesion; and demonstrates over 20 pages or so that the decline of religious belief has always led to a collapse in moral values in the past. He urges the older generation to lead the country's youth away from rationalism and back to Christianity.

REGGIE ABBOTT

Reggie Abbott or the Adventures of a Swedish Officer by Nelson Prower was the first of two novels Nelson wrote. Published London: George Redway 1890 with the British Library date stamp "13/2/90". Quotes: p2, p311.

The British Library's copy had its pages still uncut so it was quite difficult for me to get the gist of the plot. However, it was about religious differences between Reggie Abbott and his mother; with a reconciliation of sorts at the end (I think). It was set in the early 19th century, when Reggie was born, the son of an Englishman with a "natural taste for travel" and the widow he married when he reaches Sweden. It ended with Reggie declaring (in a manner rather removed from Nelson's views from only a few years before) that "that there is about as much probability of truth in one creed as in another". Perhaps a few years as a freemason had altered Nelson's religious opinions somewhat, though he was still a convinced Christian.

Even the reviewer in The Freemason was not very complimentary about the book, saying that its three main female characters were not well drawn; and suggesting that the author would be better off writing essays, than novels.

Source for the review:

The Freemason March 1890 p6

VARIOUS VERSES published London: Hayman Christy Lilly Ltd of 20-22 Bride Street EC. Times 3 January 1894 p10 Various Verses is in the Publications To-day column.

There are works by three authors (all men) in it: W F Harvey; Nelson; and the Rev R C Fillingham. There doesn't seem to be any over-arching theme to the book as a whole; so maybe the three poets just got together to lower the costs of each of them publishing a very small book on their own.

Poetry is a closed book to me so I'll just list the titles of Nelson's poems with comments on what some of them are about; and say that most are sonnets and only a page long, though the last, Gethsemane, is a long narrative work, begun by Nelson in 1889 during his time in the Holy Land, completed the following year, and then altered slightly for this book. Gethsemane had been published already, but anonymously. The comments of Nelson's friends had been "kind" so this time, it was published with his name attached. Though the poems are all probably from around the time Gethsemane was written, the only one that's dated is Gethsemane.

Nelson's poems:

p25 Charles the Second.

P26 Non Angli Sed Angeli.

This describes modern male Christian youth as a realisation of the Pope's comment - fighting for Christianity, in Christian brotherhood.

P27 On Landing at Jaffa.

The thrill of reaching the Holy Land.

P28 The Stoic and the Epicurean Conceptions of Death.

P29 On Seeing the Old Ships in Portsmouth Harbour.

Celebrating the young men of the Empire, joining the navy to free the world from tyranny.

P30 To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

As the poems are not dated, it's a bit difficult to suggest which archbishop Nelson is writing about. The most likely is probably William Thomson, who was installed in 1862 and died in 1890. He had previously been bishop of Gloucester and was perhaps known to the Prower family.

P31 On the Starting of Dr Nansen.

Describing the explorer as a "gallant Viking"; he's off not to the South Pole but to the source of the Nile.

p32 Toulon and Spezia.

P33 Ad Matthaeum Arnold. A tribute to the poet.

P34 On a First View of the Acropolis.

As a "Homage to the slain!"

P35 The White Chalk Cliffs.

With the poet glad to be home after travel in the South.

P36 On Passing Loretto in the Train.

P37 The "Victoria".

p38 Imperium et Libertas. On the Opening of the Imperial Institute.

This poem is another reference to anti-Imperialist tendencies Nelson had come across in Canada. He describes those who are agitating for greater independence as equivalents of King Lear's Goneril and Regan.

P39 The Muezzin.

This is an interesting one - it equates the Muslim call to prayer with the bells of a Christian church; both announcing that God is good.

P40 Abide With Me. In Latin.

P41 Translation from Newman.

That is, a translation into Latin.

'Newman' is Cardinal Newman, who wrote 'Abide with Me'. Theologian and academic John Henry Newman (born 1801) was racing up the Church of England hierarchy in 1845 when he converted to Roman Catholicism and began to race up that hierarchy instead. Nelson's two translations were perhaps written to commemorate Newman's death, in August 1890.

Pp42-67 Gethsemane.

In which Nelson criticises those brought up as Christians only to lose their faith; and those who call themselves Christian while not following its doctrine.

The Freemason found Nelson's poems more to its liking than his earlier novel.

Source for the review:

The Freemason January 1894 p6

TALKS AT SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

Nelson's talks at meetings of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, in 1894 and 1896, were published in the SRIA's Transactions volumes; but you could also buy them as free-standing leaflets, at least in the USA and as late as 1907.

Seen at www.iapsop.com/archive/materials, a list of talks given at SRIA. The list was published in The Rosicrucian Brotherhood volume 1; published by S C Gould of Manchester New Hampshire 1907 p35.

FREDDY BARTON'S SCHOOLDAYS

Freddy Barton's Schooldays by Nelson Prower MA. London: John Ouseley Ltd of 6 Fleet Lane Farrington Street. No year of publication in the book; and the stamp on the British Library's copy doesn't have the date on it. However, The Westminster Review published a review of it in its April 1911 edition. Nelson wrote a very short preface to the novel, in which he referred to another novel in this genre, Charles Turley's Maitland Major and Minor. Nelson implies that though "a delightful story" Turley's work lacks an extra dimension which Nelson has put into his new work, "a study of conditions of life in a private school"; including "the abuses that disfigure the prefect system", and the inevitable problems that arise in a school where power is divided between two men.

Maitland Major and Minor by Charles Turley (professional name of Charles Turley Smith). Published London: William Heinemann 1905. This work was in its 3rd edition by 1926; Nelson's own novel was never reprinted.

The Westminster Review volume 75 January-June 1911P p475. London: E Marlborough and Co of 51 Old Bailey EC.

NELSON'S POLITICS

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to mention Nelson's politics. If you have read this far you'll have a pretty good idea of them. When he was initiated into the GD in 1888, the address he gave for correspondence was the St Stephen's Club of Westminster. The St Stephen's Club had been founded in 1870. In 1879, Charles Dickens' son (another Charles Dickens) remarked on its very close relations with the Conservative Party, so that if you didn't have "Constitutional and Conservative Principles" you would never get in. The club's premises until the 1960s were at the corner of Embankment and Bridge Street, where Portcullis House is now. The club still exists and its connection with the Conservative Party continues.

Source for the club: wikipedia, which has the quote from Charles Dickens' son.

FAMILY

Nelson's mother Harriet died in June 1903. She had moved out of the Prowers' house in 9 Ashburn Place; probably so that John Elton, Adele and their family could move in. On the day of her death she and her daughters Maude and Marion were living at 110 Elm Park Gardens in Chelsea.

In 1909, at the age of 53, Nelson Prower married a widow, Maria Bowles. Their marriage was registered in the densely-populated St Pancras area of north London, where Nelson had been living for a few years; and I suggest that they had met there, a maximum of two years before the marriage. I don't know how they would have come across each other earlier in their lives - they moved in very different social circles.

Maria Coleman had been born in Reading in 1859. In 1884, she married Henry James Bowles, who worked for a railway company. In 1891, Maria and Henry were living at the station house at Hoo, near Maidstone in Kent, where Henry was the station manager. Three sons were with them on that day: Henry junior, William, and Alfred. Servants of any sort were not an option for a family on a railway wage, and Maria was doing the housework and looking after her children without paid help. I would have liked to know whether Henry and Maria had any more children, as a son called 'Ben' had an influence on Nelson and Maria's lives; but I couldn't find the family on census day 1901; perhaps one of the three sons I've found out about was usually called Ben. They were still living in north Kent at that time, I think, because Henry Bowles died there in 1907.

Nelson and Maria Prower moved south of the Thames after their marriage: Nelson was on the Electoral Roll for Clapham in 1912. Unfortunately, on census day 1911 they were visiting William Owston and his wife Ada, at 28 Crescent Lane Clapham Park; so I don't know where they set up home. When William Owston filled in the census form, he described Nelson as "Author and Tutor" - presumably because Nelson had asked him to. Freddy Barton's *Schooldays* had probably just been published. In addition to whatever royalties the novel was earning, Nelson was doing some tutoring to help pay the bills. It's most unlikely that Maria had more than a small amount of money of her own.

I don't know how long Nelson and Maria continued to think of England as their home, but records indicate they may have been living in Canada by 1921. I presume that all the anxiety Nelson expressed in the early 1880s, about Canada's future, had been set aside or overcome. Nelson may have carried on teaching in Canada for some years, but by 1937 he had retired. The various passenger lists at Ancestry.co.uk show Nelson Prower making several trips from Canada to England: one arriving in England May 1921 and then departing in May 1922; one arriving in June 1928 and I couldn't find a return journey for that; and a last one in March 1937, returning in June.

In the 1920s Nelson and Maria were probably living on the eastern side of Canada but in the end they went to Vancouver, following Maria's son Ben. Nelson Prower died in Vancouver in October 1943. Maria died at Burnaby, BC, in 1947.

Sources: freebmd, census entries 1891-1911, probate registry entries.

Familysearch Electoral Rolls for Clapham 1912.

Seen at Familysearch: Canada Passenger Lists 1881-1922 show Maria Prower but apparently not Nelson, arriving at Halifax Nova Scotia on the Aquitaine, June 1919.

Passenger Lists UK to Canada, seen at Ancestry.co.uk though without paying an extra amount in subscription I couldn't see the full details of most of the voyages.

UK Incoming Passenger Lists seen at Ancestry.co.uk.

Seen at homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com, transcriptions of the details of deaths in British Columbia Deaths 1943; LDS microfilm 1953640, item number 7348.

Seen at Familysearch: British Columbia Death Registrations 1872-1986, GS film number 2032471. The entry for Maria Prower gives her date and place of birth, and her original surname.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: [freebmd](http://freebmd.com); ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.org); Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Henry Pullen-Burry now (2015) has a page on wikipedia. However, it concentrates on the occult side of Henry's life; and doesn't have much information on Rose. So I decided to do a life-by-dates biography myself.

Dr Henry Pullen-Burry was initiated into the Hermetic Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, during November 1892; taking the Latin motto 'Anima pura sit'. The month was a busy one for new members: Harriett Emily Lammin, Charles Chase Parr, Albert Duncan Macmillan and Alfred J Hailey were also initiated. I imagine it was all done in one ceremony though the GD records aren't clear on that point. Despite his professional and family commitments Henry completed the study necessary to progress further in the Order in less than 18 months, and was initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order on 14 March 1894 - a date which had great significance for him later in life.

During the mid-1890s Henry was a very active member of the Order. The GD's Flying Roll 8 - A Geometrical Way to Draw a Pentagram - is by him; and he also contributed the fourth vision to Flying Roll 33 - Seven Visions of Squares upon the Enochian Tablets. He was acknowledged by other GD members as one of the Order's authorities on the Kabbalah. He and Annie Horniman met regularly to go astral travelling together. And around 1897-98 he did his best to recruit Arthur Conan Doyle to the GD; though without success. He was also willing to play his part in the mundane-but-necessary administrative work of the Order. But then, in 1898, he left England, ostensibly to get rich quick in the Klondike goldrush; and never returned.

Henry's wife Rose Pullen-Burry, née Anwyl, was initiated the week after her husband joined the GD's 2nd Order - on 20 March 1894, choosing the Latin motto 'Urge semper igitur'. That GD meeting was another busy one: Frederick Leigh Gardner and sisters Charlotte and Margaret Elizabeth Wright were also initiated. Rose probably didn't know the Wright sisters; but Gardner was an acquaintance of Henry's, through Mark freemasonry, and had possibly been recommended to the GD by Henry, though several other members knew him as well. Rose's progress to the GD's 2nd Order was nearly as quick as her husband's had been - she was initiated into it on 3 August 1895 - though she was never as prominent a member of the GD, and didn't serve as an administrative volunteer. She did continue as a member of the GD after her husband left her. When the original GD fell apart into its two daughter orders in

1903 she became a member of the Independent and Rectified Rite (or Order) the one founded by A E Waite and Marcus Worsley Blackden; though she was not one of the IRR's founder members.

This is the first of my three life-by-dates files on Henry and Rose Pullen-Burry. It covers their family background and Henry's professional life up to the time of their marriage in 1882.

Update September 2016: in August 2016 I was contacted by someone in Australia who had recently begun to research the Burry family of Sompting in Sussex. The someone didn't want to be named or even acknowledged, but I like to pay my debts. The someone - I shall call her 'my contact in Canberra' - sent me digital copies of original documents, and transcripts of newspaper announcements. Using them, the history of Henry Pullen-Burry's family in the decades just before he was born, has become a lot clearer. So many many thanks to my contact in Canberra.

THE BURRY FAMILY OF SOMPTING

People called Burre, Bury or (more recently) Burry were living in the parish of Sompting near Worthing in Sussex. Two 19th-century antiquarians found evidence that the contemporary Burrys of Sompting could trace their ancestry back to the nephew and heir of Richard Burre, whose tomb in the parish church dates from 1527.

Source: The Herald and Genealogist volume 1 1863 letter to the editor from a Mark Antony Lower: A Curiosity of Heraldry at Sompting. Mr Lower traced the family back to a Walter Burry who was MP for New Shoreham in 1319.

Via archive.org to Sussex Archaeological Collections volume 41 1898 printed by Farncombe and Co of Lewes for Sussex Archaeological Society: pp8-21, article by J Lewis André FSA: Sompting Church; plus the article's Appendix pp22-24 which mentions 15 headstones of members of the Burry family; latest listed was from 1784.

17th to EARLY 19TH CENTURIES

In 1689 an Edward Burry was a sheep farmer on a leased estate at Sompting Peverel. An 18th-century Henry Burry leased the demesne of Cokeham Manor.

Sources:

Victoria County History of Sussex volume 6 part 1 by A Constable published 1980: p35.

Sussex Archaeological Collections volume 41 1898 p24.

Sussex Poll for 1820 a list of current freeholders in the rape of Bramber includes p29 a Henry Burry of Sompting and p30 a George Pullen of Lancing

Via archive.org to Sussex Archaeological Collections volume 41 1898, J Lewis André's article, see above.

1780s

Among the children of Henry Burry of Sompting, and his wife Elizabeth, were another Henry (born 1787) and his sister Ann (born 1785).

Information from: my contact in Canberra who saw transcripts of the baptisms on

Ancestry.com. I've only got access to Ancestry.co.uk. At Familysearch GS film number 001068515 I saw the baptism of Ann Burry daughter of Henry and Elizabeth; on 29 July 1785 at Sompting. But Familysearch didn't have the baptism record of Henry Burry born 1787.

1813

Ann Burry and George Pullen were married in Sompting.

Source: Familysearch England-ODM GS = 1068992. Plus information on the marriage at www.myheritage.com.

1816

Henry Pullen-Burry's father John Pullen was born at Lancing, Sussex; son of George and Ann Pullen.

Source: Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 0915460, 0416749: birth of John Pullen 28 January 1816 at Lancing.

EARLY 19TH CENTURY

The Burry family rented out some of their property as lodgings for summer visitors to the south coast. Their holiday tenants included (in July and August 1827) Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, widow of the poet and author of *Frankenstein*.

Source:

The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley volume 1. Editor Betty T Bennett. Published Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1980; p556-570.

Comment by Sally Davis: the woman from whom Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley rented her holiday home was possibly Jane Maria Burry, née Scott, who had married Henry Burry (born 1787) in 1814. Source for the marriage was seen by my contact in Canberra: entry of the marriage in the register of St James Clerkenwell; 24 December 1814.

1838

Henry Burry (born 1787) prepared his Will. The Will set up a trust fund which would give both his wife Jane Maria, and his niece Elizabeth Pullen, an income for life, based on the profits of the various land-holdings Henry had in and around Sompting. As Henry and Jane Maria had no children, Henry's nephew John Pullen would work the land. If Elizabeth Pullen had no children, John Pullen would inherit the land after the deaths of the other beneficiaries. John Pullen was named as one of the Will's executors; and also as a trustee of the trust fund.

Sources:

Will of Henry Burry, prepared 1838, copy of which is now at the Public Record Office: PROB 11/2046 Image Reference.

Freebmd for the marriage of Elizabeth Pullen.

Comment by Sally Davis: the Will is a long and complex document; and the clerk who prepared the copy now at the PRO had handwriting that was very difficult to read. I hope I've got the gist of what Henry Burry wanted done; but I may have misunderstood, and left things out. I think the Will indicates that Henry Burry was thinking of his nephew John Pullen as his heir.

1841

John Pullen and his sister Elizabeth were living in Sompting with their uncle Henry and aunt Jane Maria Burry.

Source: 1841 census.

Comment by Sally Davis: perhaps Henry and Jane Maria had taken in John and Elizabeth around 1838, which was why Henry Burry's Will was drawn up then.

1846

Death of Henry Burry in Sompting.

Source: freebmd and see 1852 below.

MID-19TH CENTURY but apparently not before that

Sompting became an important centre of market gardening, especially fruit farming.

Source: Victoria County History Sussex volume 6 part 1 pp34-35, p53, p59-60 which comments on the opportunities offered Sussex farmers and gardeners by the expansion of towns like Brighton, Worthing and Hove as holiday resorts.

1849

John Pullen's sister Elizabeth married George Baker.

Source: freebmd.

Comment by Sally Davis: George Baker ran a grocery and drapery business in Littlehampton. This marriage might have made a very big difference to John Pullen's future, if any children had been born to it. But Elizabeth and George Baker were childless.

BY APRIL 1851 AT THE LATEST

John Pullen was living in Sompting with his aunt Jane Maria Burry, widow of Henry. Under the terms of Henry Burry's Will, John was running Henry's market garden business on 20 acres in the village. The business was employing 13 men.

Source: census entry for an unnamed house in Sompting.

Comment by Sally Davis. Jane Maria was 79. Although she gave her source of income as money derived from property she owned, she wasn't doing any farming or market gardening herself. John Pullen was working the land for her, as Henry Burry had intended. Aunt and nephew were employing two servants who lived in: a housekeeper and a skivvy.

SUMMER 1851

Jane Maria Burry died.

Source: freebmd.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm not sure I've read the Will of Henry Burry correctly on this; but I think that on her death, the income received by Jane Maria for her lifetime went to Elizabeth Pullen, now Baker, for her lifetime (and she survived John Pullen).

28 DECEMBER 1852 - the marriage of Henry Pullen-Burry's parents:

John Pullen of Lancing and Sompting married Emily, only daughter of George Heather of Broadwater.

Sources: freebmd; and via www.genesreunited.co.uk to Sussex Advertiser of 4 January 1853 p7.

I found very little information on Emily's father. This was probably him, via www.genesreunited.co.za to Brighton Gazette of 3 May 1855: a man called George Heather was chosen as a constable for the hundred of Worthing.

At genesreunited and elsewhere on the web, there was mention of a George Heather Smith of Worthing who owned a drapers' shop later in the 19th century; possibly a relation.

?BY 1855

Elizabeth Pullen Baker's husband George had died.

Source: discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk, document C17/3/65 now housed at the Public Record Office, is papers connected with a Chancery case dated 1855: Baker v Baker ex parte George Baker, late of Littlehampton Sussex, grocer and draper. The Applicant is Elizabeth Baker of Sompting, his widow; and the defendants were: Alfred Baker of Ashington Sussex.

1855

Birth of the GD member later known as Henry Pullen-Burry, at Sompting. His birth was registered as: Henry Burry Pullen. His siblings Louisa (1856); Bessie (the traveller and writer, 1858); Horace John (1860); Mary (1861); Emily (1863); and Arthur (1867) were also registered with the surname 'pullen'; but after Arthur, there was a change.

Sources: freebmd

1859

Earliest reference I could find to John and Emily Pullen living at Rectory House, Sompting.

Source: Victoria County History Sussex volume 6 part 1 p60 which cites Kelly's Directory of Sussex issue of 1859.

1861

John and Emily Pullen and their family were living at Rectory House Sompting. They employed a housekeeper, two nurses and a housemaid. John Pullen's market gardening business covered 54 acres and employed 28 workers.

Source: 1861 census.

FAMILY LIFE

IF these are Henry's parents, his family life was uncomfortable: the father, "pious and calvinistic", a regular church-goer and a good employer within his limits, but "hot-tempered and dictatorial" with his family; the mother, also pious, well-read and cultured, enjoying music and painting especially, but enduring a life of "intense and prolonged physical suffering" before dying of heart failure. Both parents were curious about spiritualism and held seances; all the family believed in ghosts; and one of their sons was a gifted psychic. If Henry's father is the man meant, he believed that his dead uncle visited him in dreams and gave him advice about how to manage his market-gardening business.

Although Henry never joined the family business, his writings show that he knew a lot about how to organise a productive, low carbon (though of course he didn't put it that way) market garden. They also show a habit of close observation that would have stood him in good stead in his work during the first part of his life.

Later in his life, Henry's views stood outside normal politics. However, he rejected the concept of private property and privately-held wealth. He also saw the traditional Victorian family as a very low point in the evolution of human society, lower (for example) than tribal life; and advocated that all children be removed from their parents to be educated. In one lecture he related an anecdote about family life with Rose where a morning conversation with her caused him to forget important information passed to him in a dream.

Sources are all in the unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m.

?The parents: Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 2. December 1919 Lecture 101 p606 and Lecture 102 p607. As with the ?evidence for 1852, no names are given.

Low opinion of family life: Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 2: January 1919 Lectures 54-56 especially Lecture 55 when he declares that being reincarnated into a family means a soul has been condemned to a life of very little educational value to it. Also January 1920 Lecture 106 p641.

The close observation: Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy parts 1 and 2 passim.
The low carbon market garden: Volume 4: The Aquarian Age. July 1921 Lecture 56 pp334-336.

The separation of children from their parents: Volume 4: The Aquarian Age May 1921 Lecture 48 p283 though he does say that no one will need to pay for their children's education.

MARCH 1868

John Pullen officially added the surname 'Burry' to his own one of Pullen.

Source: a deed dated 25 March 1868 and registered at the High Court of Chancery. An official notice prepared by his solicitors and dated 30 March 1868 was published in the Chichester Express and West Sussex Journal p1.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry Burry who died in 1846 was the last man called Burry to live in Sompting; though Familysearch shows another branch of the family living in Hampshire by the late 18th century. By taking the extra surname, John Pullen was doing what he could to keep the surname alive in the village; and acknowledging how his uncle had helped set him up in business.

Comment by Sally Davis on the naming of John and Emily's children, after this important change. The entries in freebmd show that Anne Elizabeth (born 1869) was the only one of John and Emily's children to be registered with the surname 'pullen burry'; Walter (born 1871) and Hubert (born 1872) were registered as 'burry'. The official notice of the added surname covered only John Pullen, not his wife or any of his children, but all the children used both surnames later in their lives. Though the surnames weren't joined by a hyphen in the official documents of 1868, it was soon added on.

John Pullen Burry and Emily were still living at Rectory House Sompting. On census day they were employing a household staff of cook, housemaid and nurse. Their children Henry, Louisa, Horace, Mary, Emily, Arthur and Anne were all at home on census day. Henry, now 16, was not listed as still at school, or as working; so I'm not quite sure what he was doing - studying at home perhaps. Source: 1871 census.

Comment by Sally Davis: the addition of 'burry' to 'pullen' is another bit of indirect evidence that John had inherited land from someone called 'burry'. The 1871 census didn't have information on how many people John Pullen Burry employed in his business but the 1881 census does indicate that it was continuing to expand.

SCHOOLING

I have found a small amount of information on where and how Henry and his siblings were educated. Bessie, Horace, Mary and Emily were all at school on census day 1871; the three youngsters were still living at home but Bessie was one of the pupils at Emily Davis' boarding school at Liverpool Terrace, New Shoreham. Later, Bessie spent some time continuing her education in Germany; perhaps some of her siblings also did so. On the day of the 1881 census, Henry's two youngest brothers were the only ones still at school: Arthur at Cranford College in Cookham near Maidenhead; and Walter at Helen Pollard's school at 15 Dyke Road Brighton. Perhaps Henry had gone to Miss Pollard's and then Cranford College in the late 1860s/early 1870s.

Sources: 1871 census; Victoria County History Sussex volume 6 part 1 p60; 1881 census. Who Was Who 1929-40 p1110 entry for Bessie Pullen-Burry.

Comment by Sally Davis:

If John and Emily were regular attenders at the Church of England parish church - which it seems as though they were - they will have been able to begin their children's education by sending them to Sompting's National School. This was only the equivalent of a primary school, however. John and Emily wanted their children to be better educated than that and were willing to pay the price that level of ambition entailed - both the school and college fees and the loss of the income they could have had if the children had been sent to work very young.

PROBABLY EARLY 1870s - MEDICAL TRAINING

Henry Pullen-Burry is in a list of students taking London University exams in 1874; they may have been medical exams, but I think they were entrance exams. He was a medical student in 1877, at University College London and at the London Hospital, probably doing his year as hospital houseman. In January 1878 he became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and was licensed to practice by the Royal College of Physicians. From that date he could work as a private general practitioner and was eligible to apply for posts in the public sphere.

Sources:

London Medical Record 1874 p508.

London Medical Record volume 5 1877 p391.

Source for Henry's time as a house surgeon in London: Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 1; Lecture 50 December 1918: p229.

??MID-1870s TO AT LEAST 1884

Henry Pullen-Burry served in a volunteer militia.

Sources: only one definite, from 1884. Plus an anecdote about a spiritualist experience he had later in life but which referred to a time he had been in the army. Recounted without any specific dates, in Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m; Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 2: Lecture 114 March 1920: p680 though without any firm date.

Comment by Sally Davis: it was nothing unusual in the late 19th century for young a young man to join a volunteer regiment. Several other GD members did so and so did the subject of my other history research project, Henry George Norris.

FROM 1878 TO 1898

Henry Pullen-Burry worked as a doctor. However, later in life he viewed doctors as the worst kind of materialist scientist. Although he thought that an occultist needed to be, in some senses, a physician, in 1921 he also noted how many medical practitioners were atheists and suggested that they were being recruited as black magicians. Doctors ranked with salesmen in his eyes - about as low as you could get in terms of morals.

Sources: Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m.

Occultist as physician: Volume 3 Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 2 Lecture 118 April 1920 p703. Doctors and black magic: Volume 4: The Aquarian Age. Lecture 36 January 1921: eg pp211-216 but he sticks the knife into doctors pretty regularly.

Comment by Sally Davis: by the 1920s Henry's hostility towards doctors had extended to the whole concept of science as practised in the materialist society of the West. He thought modern biological science in particular had lost the plot - if it had ever had it - of history as a progress of the soul through reincarnation in different species. He particularly condemned Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection, as expounded by Thomas Huxley whom Henry called a "pseudo-scientist", and I get the impression that he just couldn't stomach the idea of his soul having spent time as an ape; despite what he said about animals, plants and even rocks having some level of soul.

Sources: Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Evolution of the soul through reincarnation: Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy parts 1 and 2 passim.

The description of Huxley: Volume 3 Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 2 March 1920 Lecture 113 p673. The reference to Huxley comes in a passage where Henry was telling his audience that the work of Gustave Geley and Juliette Bisson with the medium Eva Carrière had proved the existence of life after death. His information on the work of Geley and Bisson had come from an article by Stanley de Brath in Occult Review volume 29 number 3: 149-156: Super-Normal Physiology and Materialization. De Brath was convinced; and so, therefore, was Henry - especially as he wanted to be.

There's coverage of Geley and Juliette Bisson on wikipedia; pretty sensationalist some of it is, too. For a calmer view, which disputes the idea that Bisson and Carrière had a lesbian relationship, see:

The Spiritualist Movement: Speaking with the Dead in America and Around the World published 2013, editor Christopher M Moreman. I saw this on the web; the British Library doesn't seem to have a copy or hasn't catalogued it yet, so I couldn't see the publisher. P234 describes how photographs were found amongst Geley's papers after his death which showed how Eva's materialisations had been faked - you could see the wires if you looked carefully.

A bit more background on Bisson and on Carrière, and the involvement of a Munich-based

psychiatrist:

Unruly Spirits by M Brady Bower. Urbana Illinois: University of Illinois Press 2010: p117 in the chapter The Limits of Method

PROBABLY 1878 to MID-1880

Henry worked at the London Hospital, firstly as house physician, then as house surgeon.

Source:

Reports from Committees Session 1890 volume XI covering 11 February to 18 August 1890 in the House of Lords; Paper 225. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. GB House of Lords Select Committee on Children's Life Insurance Bill. Published Eyre and Spottiswoode 1890, printed by Henry Hansard and Son. Online version found by Roger Wright in the outer reaches of archive.org. Minutes of Evidence 16 July 1890 pp23-24 evidence of Henry Pullen Burry about his medical qualifications and experience, though he didn't give exact dates.

UNCERTAIN DATE BUT PERHAPS DURING HIS TIME AT LONDON HOSPITAL

Henry was a voluntary fireman.

Source: an anecdote Henry told, in Volume 3 Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 1: Lecture 50 December 1918: p299 though again with no definite date.

Comment by Sally Davis: a date of the late 1870s, while Henry was still working in London, seems a likely time for this to have happened: surely fighting fires was young men's work.

1879

Henry's name was in the General Medical Council list for the first time.

Source:

GMC Register 1879 p142.

Comment by Sally Davis: the address Henry gave for this first listing was Sompting, probably because he didn't have a fixed address in London.

EXPANSION OF JOHN PULLEN'S BUSINESS

In 1881 John Pullen Burry told the census official that his market garden now covered 600 acres, and employed 45 labourers. Horace, now 21, was now working for his father; by 1891 so were Arthur and Walter. Only Horace, Anne and Hubert were living at home on census day 1881. John and Emily employed a cook and a housemaid; but - for the first time - there was also a live-in governess in the household.

Source: 1881 census.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry's long medical training probably couldn't have taken place without his father's business abilities and energy; however badly they may have got along.

There are quite a few references to the Pullen-Burry market gardening business, on the web. The firm is also mentioned in: Market Gardening: The History of Commercial Flower Fruit and Vegetable Growing by Ronald Webber. David and Charles 1972: p80.

This is a bit speculative, but while working my way through the history of Sompting in the Victoria County History Sussex volume 6 part 1 I noticed on p60 mention that the Crofts

family - who owned most of the land around - leased out the 340-acre Upton Farm in 1859. The lessee or lessees weren't name but I'm wondering if John Pullen took on part at least of that land. There must be some basis for the rapid expansion of acres involved in John Pullen's business between 1851 and 1881.

PROBABLY MID-1880 TO MID-1884

Henry was in general practice in Hertfordshire, with patients in Baldock, Stotfold and Arlesey. He was living in a house on the High Street in Baldock, and his sister Mary was keeping house for him. He had consulting rooms at Baldock, probably in the house on the High Street, with an occasional surgery in Arlesey.

Sources:

Reports from Committees Session 1890 volume XI covering 11 February to 18 August 1890 in the House of Lords; Paper 225. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. GB House of Lords Select Committee on Children's Life Insurance Bill. Published Eyre and Spottiswoode 1890, printed by Henry Hansard and Son. Online version found by Roger Wright in the outer reaches of archive.org. Minutes of Evidence 16 July 1890 pp23-24 evidence of Henry Pullen Burry about his medical qualifications and experience, though he didn't give exact dates. In the course of his evidence pp23-26 Henry mentioned that he was often not paid for the work that he did, especially by his poorer patients. He also said that he was often not called out to his poorer patients until the patient was on the point of death; if he'd been asked for medical help sooner, a lot of lives could have been saved.

GMC Register 1881 p173. Census 1881.

17 MAY 1882

Henry Pullen-Burry married Rose Anwyl at St Mary's Balham.

Sources: The Lancet 1882 p935 and Medical Times and Gazette 1882 p598.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't found any clue as to how Henry and Rose met. It's just a hunch that they did not know each other until they were in their 20s and Henry was living in London.

ROSE

THE ANWYL FAMILY

Anwyl is an unusual surname. On the web I found information on two families called Anwyl, who claim descent from Owain Gwynedd, ruler of the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd from 1137 to 1170. I presume Rose's father was a member of this family but I couldn't actually find his name in any of the genealogical sources I looked at.

Sources: wikipedia; Annals and Antiquities of...the county families of Wales by Thomas Nicholas published Longmans 1872; Section V pp664-700. And at landedfamilies.blogspot.co.uk.

Rose's father Thomas Anwyl was born in London around 1824; and worked as an auctioneer though he had retired by the 1870s.

Source: census entries.

Comment by Sally Davis: My knowledge of Thomas Anwyl is very limited and I've been

hampered with all the family by the number of ways you can mis-hear and mis-spell that surname.

Thomas Anwyl married Maria Adams in November 1850. They had four daughters, all born in central London: Florence (1855); Rose (1859); Gertrude (1862); and Blanche (1864).

Source: for the marriage: Familysearch England-EASy GS Number 413318. Freebmd.

1871

By 1871 the Anwyl family had moved out of London and were living at Cornwall Cottage, Devonshire Road Streatham. Thomas and Maria only employed the one, basic, general servant. Florence, Rose, Gertrude and Blanche were all described as still having lessons; perhaps at a day-school or with a governess who came by the day, as there was no live-in governess in the household on census day.

Source: 1871 census.

Comment by Sally Davis: the Victorians, not understanding exactly how germs caused illness, laid great emphasis on better air. As Gertrude was perhaps a delicate child (see below) the search for a more healthy environment for her would have been one reason for the move out of central London. However, in 1871 the Anwyls were living very modestly - they were much less well-off than the Pullen-Burrys - and rents were lower out of town. As to what education Rose Anwyl had and where she had it, I haven't found any real information. In the lectures Henry gave around 1918-1920, Rose is hardly mentioned but when she is, Henry is often disparaging of her intellectual abilities. If she lacked the spirit of intellectual enquiry, it was more likely to be as a result of the typical, unchallenging education given to middle-class girls, than any lack of intelligence.

SPRING 1872

Rose's youngest sister Gertrude died, aged 10.

Source: freebmd.

1881

The Anwyl family were still living at Cornwall Cottage, Devonshire Road Streatham. They were still employing just the one general servant. The three remaining daughters were all still unmarried, and still living at home. It was from this house that - the following year - Rose Anwyl was married.

Source: 1881 census.

Rose and Henry Pullen-Burry's married life and their time in the Golden Dawn are covered in the next file of this set of three.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.

The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

6 January 2017

Email me at:

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

This file continues the life-by-dates of Henry Pullen-Burry and his wife Rose Pullen-Burry née Anwyl: it covers 1882 to 1898 and includes the period when they were both members of the Order of the Golden Dawn.

17 MAY 1882

Henry Pullen-Burry married Rose Anwyl at St Mary's Balham.

Sources: The Lancet 1882 p935 and Medical Times and Gazette 1882 p598.

Comment by Sally Davis: I haven't found any clue as to how Henry and Rose met. It's just a hunch that they did not know each other until they were in their 20s and Henry was living in London.

HENRY AND ROSE TOGETHER

JUNE 1883

Henry and Rose's first child, Ethel Pullen-Burry, was born, in Baldock.

Source: Familysearch England-ODM GS number 1537857 IT 2-5.

JANUARY 1884

Henry went to Colchester to take an exam in military tactics. At that time, he was a Lieutenant in the First Hertfordshire Royal Volunteers. He passed the exam and was awarded a certificate the following April.

Source: announcement in the Hertford Mercury and Reformer 12 April 1884, p2, found online for me by my contact in Canberra.

Comment by Sally Davis: other than his own spiritualist anecdote, told many years later and without dates, this is the only source for Henry in the volunteer force. I would think that he didn't join another regiment once he had moved away from Hertfordshire.

1884, PROBABLY AFTER APRIL THAT YEAR

Henry was appointed to the medical staff of the Midhurst Poor Law Union in Sussex; working in its Milland District. Henry and Rose moved to the small village of Bramshott in Hampshire.

Sources:

For the appointment: Lancet 1884 p807.

For his working in general practice as well: Reports from Committees Session 1890 volume XI covering 11 February to 18 August 1890 in the House of Lords; Paper 225. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. GB House of Lords Select Committee on Children's Life Insurance Bill. Published Eyre and Spottiswoode 1890, printed by Henry Hansard and Son. Online version found by Roger Wright in the outer reaches of archive.org. Minutes of Evidence but especially pp23-24 for Henry's qualifications and experience.

1884 TO EARLY NOVEMBER

Charles Webster Leadbeater was curate of Bramshott and Liphook.

Comment by Sally Davis: thanks are due to Rose and Henry's descendant Anwyl, who emailed me in June 2017 to alert me to this curious coincidence. Rose and Henry were never in the Theosophical Society but by the time they arrived in Liphook, C W Leadbeater was a member of its London Lodge. Even if the Pullen Burrys were not regular church-goers, they must have at least been introduced to Leadbeater as a fellow resident of the villages of Liphook and Bramshott. Leadbeater had been ordained in the Church of England, and given the job as curate, as the result of efforts made by his mother's brother-in-law, Rev William Wolfe Capes. Capes was rector of Bramshott and Liphook from 1869 to 1901, but as he was often away, he needed a curate to take care of the parish in his absence. Giving the job to Leadbeater also solved the problem of finding an income for Charles and his widowed mother Emma. Early in November 1884, Leadbeater resigned from the Church of England in order to go to India with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott.

Sources: see their wikipedia pages for information on Charles Webster Leadbeater and Rev William Wolfe Capes. Capes was an historian; he published a series of works using documents in the library at Hereford Cathedral; and some classical histories.

At theosophy.ph/encyclo the entry for Charles Webster Leadbeater describes his very sudden decision to abandon the CofE and follow Blavatsky. They sailed from England on 5 November 1884. Leadbeater became a Buddhist shortly after.

Evangelicalism in the Church of England c 1790 to c 1890: A Miscellany editors Mark Smith, Stephen Taylor. Woodbridge: Boydell 2004. In footnotes: p149 footnote 56: William Wolfe Capes 1834-1914 was rector of Bramshott 1869-1901.

The 1881 census shows Charles and his mother Emma living at Hertford Cottage, Headley Road in the hamlet of Liphook.

LATE 1884

Henry and Rose's only son, Henry, was born and registered with the confusing name Henry Burry Burry.

Source: freebmd. As an adult and in the permanent absence of his father, the GD Henry's son used the surname Pullen-Burry.

AFTER 1884 BUT POSSIBLY QUITE SOON AFTER

Henry was initiated into the freemasonry craft lodge Carnarvon Lodge 804. He then joined its Royal Arch Chapter. The lodge and chapter were based in Havant, where they had their own masonic hall.

Comment by Sally Davis: my information is about the Chapter rather than the lodge it was attached to; but I think I'm OK in assuming that Henry joined the Chapter as a member of the Carnarvon craft Lodge 804.

Source:

Generally on freemasonry:

Freemasons' Library at freemasonry.london.museum, which has a searchable catalogue and access to digitised freemasons' magazines to around 1900. In August 2016 I searched the digitised magazines. There were plenty of responses to the search term 'Burry'; but all but the one from 1896 (see below) turned out to refer to G C Burry - George Cook Burry - Henry's distant relation from the branch of the Burry family based in Christchurch

Hampshire.

Source for Henry in Carnarvon Chapter 804:

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1896 p4: report on that year's installation meeting of the Carnarvon Royal Arch Chapter 804.

General source for Carnarvon Lodge 804 and its Chapter:

Carnarvon Lodge 804 Havant: By-Laws and History, prepared by W W B Beach; J le Feuvre; and E Goble who are all members and were able to base their account on the lodge's Minute books, account books and a Manuscript lodge history. Printed 1893. Particularly pp22-32. The lodge had been consecrated in 1860. As the lodge and chapter were in Havant, Henry was unlikely to have known about them, or have been acquainted with any of their members, until he went to work for the Midhurst Poor Law Board. Henry is not named in the account of the lodge's history. However, the history does mention that a group of members left to found their own lodge, in the early 1880s. Carnarvon Lodge 804 then made a big effort to recruit new members, beginning in the mid-1880s just when Henry and Rose arrived in Bramshott. Carnarvon Lodge 804's Royal Arch Chapter had been consecrated in 1873. In 1879, one of its members was Eugene Edward Street, who later joined the GD.

PROBABLY BETWEEN 1884 AND 1897

Henry was initiated as a Master Mark Mason, a group of freemasons independent of the United Grand Lodge of England.

Source for Henry being an MMM: Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London. Catalogue number NS73: letter sent by Frederick Leigh Gardner to Henry on 30 September 1897.

General sources for Master Mark Masonry: the Grand Lodge of Master Mark Masons has a website at www.glmnm.com but there's not much on it about its history. There's a wiki on its history and www.markmastermasonscomwall.org.uk has a history page in preparation. I haven't got access to the Mark Masonry Grand Lodge in London so if there are any lodge/chapter histories there, I can't get at them.

1885-98

Henry and Rose lived in Bramshott, where Henry worked as a GP in addition to doing his workhouse duties. Yew Tree House, on Station Road, was where they were living when they were in the GD. The GD only took its first initiates in 1888 and I don't think Henry and Rose knew any of the early members; but later in his life Henry mentioned that he and Rose were having spiritualist seances before they joined the GD; sitting at the kitchen table, sometimes with guests but sometimes with just the two of them. When there were just the two of them, Rose acted as the medium using the automatic writing technique.

Sources:

For when they arrived in Bramshott: GMC Register 1885 p194.

Comment by Sally Davis: Liphook was a small place and Bramshott even smaller but when the Pullen Burrys lived there it did have one resident of note - the botanist Mary Ann Robb who built Chitlee Place and its arboretum in 1880.

Source for the seances: Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Volume 3, Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 2: March 1920 Lecture 111 p665.

1886

Winifred Margaret Pullen Burry was born, Henry and Rose's last child.

Source: freebmd; Winifred was registered in Wandsworth - perhaps born while Rose was visiting her parents.

1887 or 1888

Henry acquired a manuscript of mystical writings by a Kabbalist he later called 'Heer Rose' or 'Heer Rose of The Hague'. Although he did not pay the writings any real attention for nearly 20 years, when he was older he saw his coming across them or being offered them as a defining moment in his life. It certainly was an important staging-post in his progress towards being the Adept he considered himself to be, when preparing a set of lectures around 1920.

Source for Henry's acquisition of the manuscript and his attitudes towards it: unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Volume 3, Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 1: February 1919 Lecture 60 p355; though by this time Henry couldn't remember exactly when Heer Rose's works had come to his hand.

Comment by Sally Davis on Heer Rose, 27 January 2016. While I was working my way through the typescripts SRIA1938m, I was never very sure I believed in Heer Rose's existence. I could see how very useful it would be if Henry invented such a person and efforts by me, Roger Wright and Adam P Forrest of Portland Oregon failed to find anything more than a photo. Eventually I asked Susan Snell, archivist at the Freemasons' Library, if she had any contacts in the Netherlands that she could ask to search Dutch-language sources. She offered to email Jac Piepenbrock of the library of freemasonry in the Netherlands. I was grateful, but I didn't expect anything to come of it. Imagine my surprise, then, last week, when Susan forwarded me information rooted out by Mr Piepenbrock, which proved not only that Heer Rose was real, but also that - in his professional sphere - he was quite well-known, at least in the Netherlands. I can now do a short biography, based on the sources Jac Piepenbrock forwarded to Susan Snell. A note of warning, however: I was only able to get google to translate one of the sources into English; so I might have got some of it wrong!

Willem Nicolaas Rose was born in 1801 at Cheribon in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). From 1819 to 1822 he was a pupil at the artillery school in Delft, training as an engineer/architect. He was employed by the city of Rotterdam from 1839 to 1855. His last project for the city - a sewage and water purification system - brought him to national attention, and in 1858 he accepted the job of chief architect to the Dutch government in The Hague. He retired in 1867 and died in 1877. In 1824 he had married Johanna Maria van Alphen, a member of another Dutch family with East Indies connections. So far, so respectable, but in his spare time Heer Rose was a spiritualist medium, using the automatic writing technique to convey messages from the beyond which described (amongst other things) great battles between angels and devils. It was the language in which Heer Rose wrote these messages down - very Book of Revelations - that convinced some people who attended seances with him that he was an Old Testament prophet updated, writing down the exact words of God. His visions were publicised in the Netherlands by the magazine *Spiritistisch tijdschrift*, edited by Frederik Willem Roorda van Eysinga (1827-97) and published intermittently between 1872 and 1881.

Many thanks to Susan, and to Jac, for doing so much to bridge the gap between Heer Rose and Henry Pullen-Burry. However, there are still gaps left. It's a nuisance, but none of the

Dutch information on Heer Rose mentions the Kabbalistic writings that Henry Pullen Burry acquired: perhaps for the very reason that he had acquired them and they had thus gone beyond the knowledge of Dutch historians. And how did Henry get to know about them? The way Henry spoke of Heer Rose in his later lectures, I don't think the two men ever met. Did someone take them to England, intending to sell them there, after Heer Rose's death? Or did Henry come across them in the Netherlands somehow? There's a small clue in Oliver Gee's thesis that at least in the early 1900s there was contact between spiritualists in England and the Netherlands; but it's all rather tenuous.

Sources for Willem Nicolaas Rose (all in Dutch of course):

The photo of Heer Rose found by Roger Wright can be seen at [//media-kitlv.nl](http://media-kitlv.nl), website of the Universiteit Leiden Digital Image Library, digital collection of the University of Leiden.

Sources found by Jan Piepenbrock:

There's a wiki on him at https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willem_Nicolaas_Rose, using these sources:

C A A de Graaf in Rotterdam jaarboekje 1954: 177-208 on the water purification works. The wiki has a link to the article.

E M Berens W N Rose 1801-77 published Rotterdam 2001; Stedenbouw civiele techniek en architectuur.

Entry in www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl

Oliver Gee's thesis presented to the University of Amsterdam in 2011: *Wolken met Gouden Boorden*. Google translated it as: *Clouds with Golden Edges*. Its subtitle in English is: *the Last Two Historical Novels of H J Schimmel in the Light of his Spiritualist Beliefs*.

On p3 a note on the cover photos says that the one of H J Schimmel, probably taken in 1903, shows him reading a copy of *Light*, the magazine of the London Spiritualist Alliance.

Information on S F W Roorda van Eysinga: dates and early life - p7, p24. His support of the ideas of the French spiritualist Allan Kardec (who believed in spiritualism and reincarnation) - p24. *Spiritistisch tijdschrift* and its publication of automatic writing by Heer Rose as medium - p33 footnote 34, p36 footnote 55. Roorda van Eysinga's client/guru relationship with Willem Nicolaas Rose - p36 and p36 footnotes 53, 55, 56. The information on Roorda van Eysinga and Heer Rose is from letters Roorda van Eysinga wrote between 1872 and 1886, with Rose's influence continuing after his death. The letters are now at Harmonia, the Collection of the Dutch Association of Spiritualists.

That Willem Nicolaas Rose was not a freemason although his father was: membership lists for Dutch and Dutch-speaking freemasons' lodges at

<http://dare.uva.nl/cgi/arno/show.cgi?fid=343363>

Simon Hendrik Rose (1769-1823) was member of Lodge 'La Vertueuse' in Batavia (Djakarta).

A final comment: *Spiritistisch tijdschrift* is the only magazine to publish any of Heer Rose's spiritualist writings. And if the Kabbalistic manuscript Henry Pullen Burry had in his possession is still in existence, someone is keeping very quiet about it. It was probably thrown away decades ago - the only evidence of Heer Rose as a scholar of the Kabbala.

Comment by Sally Davis 16 March 2016 on Heer Rose and English spiritualism; based on sources hunted out for me by my co-worker on Henry Pullen-Burry, Adam P Forrest of Portland Oregon.

It was always a puzzle to me when I was going through those typescripts as to how Henry could have come across automatic writings made by Heer Rose as a medium. Thanks to Adam, I now see that Henry could have been aware of Heer Rose as early as 1872, though that seems rather early for him. The spiritualist newspaper *The Medium and Daybreak* reported in November 1872 on the visit to the Netherlands of Mr Herne and Mr Williams, English spiritualists, who took Katy King with them to act as medium at several seances organised by Dutch spiritualist A J Riko of The Hague. Heer Rose and Roorda van Eysinga attended one of those seances.

Henry's a bit more likely to have seen an extract from an article in *The Herald of Progress* in 1881. *The Herald of Progress* was published in Newcastle-upon-Tyne but was easily available in London through E W Allen of 11 Ave Maria Lane EC. The article had originally been published in *Revue Spirite, Journal d'Études Psychologique*, the French spiritualist monthly; which was also relatively easy to gain access to in London - there was an advert for it in the same edition of *The Herald of Progress* in which the article appeared. The article in *The Herald of Progress* was in English, a translation of what I suppose must have been an original in French; and this explains something else I've wondered about, with Henry and Heer Rose: surely Heer Rose's writings must have been in Dutch, which I'm quite sure Henry couldn't understand. Now it seems some of them at least could be read in French, the whole idea of Henry being so influenced by Heer Rose is much more of a going concern. The article as it appeared in *The Herald of Progress* was called *Transitional Man*. Even if Henry didn't read the article in 1882, Heer Rose's automatic writings on this species supposedly sitting between Man and the Apes were in the papers Henry obtained in the late 1880s and had with him even in his last years. See the last file in this sequence for how important Henry thought Heer Rose's idea of a transitional species was; for him, they did away with the need for Darwin's theory of descent by natural selection - Henry hated the idea that Man was descended from the apes.

The final references Adam Forrest found were from the very time that Henry thought he had obtained the manuscripts of Heer Rose's writings. Two articles appeared in the English spiritualist journal *Light...*, both attributed to a writer with the writing name "1st M.B. (Lond)". The first was published in 1888: *How to be Happy*. It used writings by Heer Rose as a guide to achieving a happy life. The second - *The Object of History* - was published in 1890 and subtitled *Spirit Communications Through W N Rose*. In it, the author described how Heer Rose's automatic writing explained history, as "great events...arranged in due order, for the attainment of a definite purpose"; and progress, as part of the Creator's plan for His universe, moving towards a "universal civilisation" based on virtue and wisdom. Like the *Transitional Man* species, Heer Rose's concept of where modern progress was heading, was fundamental to Henry's later understanding of the purpose and meaning of his own life.

Almost I'm tempted to say that "1st M.B. (Lond)" was Henry Pullen-Burry himself. I've decided to stop myself from doing so, because he published so little: only one item that I know of, a short book on the Kabbalah, and that right at the end of his life. Even the typescripts of Henry's lectures to his spiritualist group in Portland (late 1910s/early 1920s) were not published, just circulated amongst occultists.

Sources for the early references to Heer Rose in the English press:

The Medium and Daybreak: A Weekly Journal Devoted to the History, Phenomena, Philosophy and Teachings of Spiritualism. Published London, from offices in Southampton Row WC and available through agents in most British cities; editor and publisher is James Burns. Volume 3 number 139 issue of 29 November 1872 p465-66 and p470 for the publishing details.

In the 1890s, A J Riko was editing a Dutch spiritualist magazine called Sphinx: see Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research, published in London by the Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 14 1894 number 710 issue of Saturday 18 August 1894 p386.

The Herald of Progress: A Weekly Journal devoted to the philosophy and teachings of spiritualism. Volume 2 1881. Publication and distribution details p344; small ads p351 including adverts for Revue Spirite and also The Theosophist. Volume 2 number 44 issue of Friday 13 May 1881 pp299-300 and volume 2 number 47 issue of Friday 8 June 1881 pp340-41: The Transitional Man. At the end of the article was a letter from John Yarker, written after reading the first part of it. Yarker says that at seances that he'd been present at in 1876 and 1877, the medium had seen creatures similar to those described by Heer Rose: at the end of the short letter, brief synopses of what the medium had desc at those sessions, w dates in 1876 and 1877. So the idea of a transitional species was not just confined to Heer Rose in the late 1870s. John Yarker was a freemason and a well-known figure in occult circles.

And the two articles by "1st M.B. (Lond)":

Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research published in London by the Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 8 1888 number 410 issue of Saturday 10 November 1888: pp550-51. And volume 10 1890 number 481 issue of Saturday 22 March 1890 p139.

After that long digression on Henry and Heer Rose of The Hague, back to the life-by-dates:

EARLY 1889

Henry's mother Emily Burry (sic) died, aged only 57. IF she's the person referred to in the source below, on the evening of her funeral, her family held a seance with her psychic son as the medium. At that seance the recently-dead mother (possibly Emily Burry) spoke through her psychic son to say that she had already seen the Saviour, who had recognised her.

Sources:

For the death freebmd. I couldn't find any newspaper coverage of the funeral.

For the seance and ?Emily's communication with her son:

Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Volume 3, Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 1: December 1919 Lecture 102 p 607.

ALL DAY ON 14TH APRIL 1890 AND AGAIN ON 16 APRIL

Henry and other important figures in the parishes of Headley, Bramshott and Selborne walked the boundaries between the parishes to reach agreement on exactly they were.

Comment by Sally Davis: with the Poor Law operating at parish level, this was not just an

interesting day out for antiquarians. This beating of the bounds had been called for by the parish overseers and financial and legal issues would be decided by the results of it. Despite the effort's serious purpose, everybody does seem to have had a good time, especially on the first of the two days, when they were treated to lunch at Mr Whitaker's house in Headley.

Source: local history webpages at www.johnowensmith.co.uk/headley/bram1890.htm: Contemporary Account of the Perambulation of the Bounds of Headley and Bramshott Parishes in the Year 1890.

Quick comment by Sally Davis: just to say that at least in 1890, in outward appearance Henry was still living as a middle-class professional and responsible member of a rural community.

FRIDAY 27 JUNE 1890

Henry gave was one of several doctors who gave evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee in connection with a proposed Children's Life Insurance Bill. He made allegations about patients he had had in Arlesey in Hertfordshire that were very upsetting to the people of Arlesey; most of which were challenged or even refuted by local officials.

Sources:

At hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1890/jun/16/second-reading coverage originally in volume 345 pp961-91 of the Bill's 2nd reading in the House of Lords, on 16 June 1890.

Reports from Committees Session 1890 volume XI covering 11 February to 18 August 1890 in the House of Lords; Paper 225. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. GB House of Lords Select Committee on Children's Life Insurance Bill. Published Eyre and Spottiswoode 1890, printed by Henry Hansard and Son. Online version found by Roger Wright in the outer reaches of archive.org. Minutes of Evidence but especially pp23-26 for what Henry said.

Times Mon 30 June 1890 p9 Children's Life Assurance: Select Committee. There was no coverage of the evidence heard, but the names of the Committee members and those who had given evidence on 27 June 1890 were listed.

Comment by Sally Davis: though he had been in general practice in Liphook for six years by this time, Henry evidence was about his practice in Hertfordshire, specifically about the patients he had in the village of Arlesey. He wanted to tell the Committee that he had come across quite a few cases of suspicious deaths amongst infants of families living in Arlesey, and thought that the children had been allowed to die - when medical treatment could have saved them - so their parents could claim on the child's insurance policy. He said that the practice was particularly widespread amongst the village's most "wretched" and "depraved" group of families, whose fathers drank and whose children were nearly all illegitimate. Pressed by several Committee members, he had to admit that his opinion was hearsay - based on what was 'common knowledge' in the village; that he had never refused to issue a death certificate, however suspicious he might have been as to the circumstances; and that he did not know of any case where a parent had been prosecuted as the result of a child's death in Arlesey. Asked which insurance companies were operating in the district, Henry referred to the Prudential by name, and mentioned another firm though he couldn't remember the name of that one.

In justice to Henry, I will say that other witnesses giving evidence to the Committee were saying the same things. However, they seem to have been a bit more discreet about naming names and places. The Bill had been sponsored by the NSPCC, and was being guided through the House of Lords by the bishop of Peterborough, Dr William Connor Magee, who

had been made the Select Committee's chairman.

Source for Dr Magee: see wikipedia.

16 JULY 1890

Letters challenging Henry's assertions about the residents of Arlesey were handed to the Select Committee as part of the evidence of Thomas Charles Dewey, senior manager at the Prudential Insurance Company.

Sources:

Reports from Committees Session 1890 volume XI covering 11 February to 18 August 1890 in the House of Lords; Paper 225. Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. GB House of Lords Select Committee on Children's Life Insurance Bill. Published Eyre and Spottiswoode 1890, printed by Henry Hansard and Son. Online version found by Roger Wright in the outer reaches of archive.org. Minutes of Evidence 16 July 1890 pp146-147 evidence of Thomas Charles Dewey.

Comment by Sally Davis: the outraged Arlesey locals included the Medical Officer of the Poor Law Union; the clerk to the local School Board, who sent statistics showing the relatively low number of illegitimate children in the village; the Registrar of births, marriages and deaths, stating how few of the death certificates signed by Henry were of children who were insured; and the vicar of Arlesey, saying how upset the villagers were and saying that most children's deaths could be attributed to ignorance of basic child and sick care, they weren't the result of wilful neglect.

17 JULY 1890

The anger at Arlesey about Henry's Select Committee evidence was mentioned in the Times; and Henry was named as having caused it.

Times: 17 July 1890 p12 Child Life Assurance. The report was short and only the vicar of Arlesey's letter of objection was mentioned. No details were given of all the facts collected by local officials to challenge Henry's allegations. Perhaps the Times reporter agreed with Henry's point of view, despite the evidence.

For a modern assessment of whether Henry and his medical colleagues were justified, see www.tandfonline.com/doi: article by Daniel J R Grey: Liable to Very Great Abuse. The article's purport is that there was no good evidence of widespread child murder for the sake of collecting on the dead child's life insurance; and the lack was widely acknowledged as early as 1914. The attitudes of witnesses like Henry Pullen-Burry was indicative of a middle-class hostility towards working-class lifestyles which came out in more than just allegations about wilful child neglect. The 1890 Bill was sponsored by the NSPCC, which had recently been founded.

Final comment by Sally Davis, 5 January 2017: thanks are due to two people for galvanising me to produce this new section on Henry's evidence to the House of Lords, and its consequences: Henry's great-great-grand-daughter who asked if I could find a copy of the Select Committee evidence, after the House of Lords had lost theirs; and Roger Wright, who found one in the further reaches of archive.org after I'd been defeated, trying to pin it down in the British Library catalogue.

18 NOVEMBER 1890

Henry (but not Rose) attended one of the London Spiritualist Alliance's regular evening meetings, held at their headquarters, 2 Duke Street Adelphi, London WC. The main speaker that evening was Alice Gordon, whose talk was about Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's powers of telekinesis. Mrs Gordon was already a member of the GD - she was initiated in December 1889. So it's possible that Henry first found out about the GD's existence, through Alice Gordon.

Source: *Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research* published in London by the Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke Street Adelphi. *Light...* was a major spiritualist weekly, published from 1880 into the 1930s. Volume 10 number 517, issue of Saturday 29 November 1890 p575.

Comment by Sally Davis: as well as checking out 1890, I also looked at the volume of *Light...* published in 1895. I only found the one reference to Henry, so he wasn't a very active member of the London Spiritualist Alliance; but then, he lived out of town.

5 MARCH 1891

Henry's father John Pullen Burry died. IF it's his father Henry is talking about, in the SRIA 1938m source below, John's ghost wandered around the market garden for a couple of weeks after he'd died, unwilling to let the business go; and then made a last appearance in front of one of his sons who lived quite a long way off (possibly Henry himself). On a more down-to-earth note, John's executors were his son Horace, his daughter Emily, and Ernest Henry Blaker. He left a personal estate of £7337.

Sources: freebmd and Probate Registry 1891.

Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Volume 3, Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 1: December 1919 Lecture 101 p 606 though not all the details Henry gives seem to fit John Pullen as the subject of the anecdote.

Comment on strife in the Pullen-Burry family, by Sally Davis: my contact in Canberra sent me a transcript of quite a long report on the funeral of John Pullen Burry, published in the *Sussex Agricultural Express* 10 March 1891 p3. Three of his children didn't attend: Louisa, who had died; Hubert, who was probably in New Zealand; and Henry, with less excuse. I've suggested that Henry Pullen-Burry and his father didn't get on; the absence of Henry and Rose at this crisis tends to confirm my guess. Though it might have been Henry's siblings that he wanted to avoid, there's something about the tone of the report, that makes me wonder whether John Pullen Burry was a respected man, but not one who was well liked. Amongst the other mourners were George Cook Burry, of the branch of the Burry family that was now based in Hampshire; and Ernest Henry Blaker, as the family solicitor. John Pullen Burry was buried in Sompting churchyard, near his Burry ancestors.

Comment by Sally Davis: Ernest Henry Blaker was based in Chichester. Source: *The Law Journal* volume 85 1938 p115 an obituary of him, as solicitor and for 30 years the Registrar of Chichester County Court.

John Pullen Burry's sons Horace John and Arthur took over the business; and his daughter Emily may also have played an active role in it though one less acknowledged in the sources I found.

Sources:

At www.familychest.co.uk a Conveyance of October 1893 was up for sale; to which Horace John, Emily and Ernest Henry Blaker were signatories, as they tidied up John Pullen's estate.

The Gardener's Chronicle 1913: by this time the firm is known as H and A Pullen-Burry.

Municipal Yearbook and Public Utilities Directory 1924 p220 shows Arthur Pullen-Burry living at

Rectory House, Sompting.

At www.roll-of-honour.com/Sussex/Sompting, there's a photo of the Sompting war memorial. Hilary, son of Horace John and Alma; and Cyril son of Arthur; were both killed in World War 1.

APRIL 1891 - not long after the funeral

On census day 1891 Henry and Rose Pullen-Burry were still living at Yew Tree House, Station Road, Bramshott, with Ethel (6), Henry (5) and Winifred (3). They employed two live-in servants - their tasks aren't specified but they were probably a skivvy and a housemaid, or a skivvy and a nurse. As this was a rural household, they also employed a groom to look after either a horse or (depending on how prosperous Henry was) a carriage, for Henry to use to visit patients.

Less than a month after their father's death, Henry's sisters Mary and Emily, and his brothers Arthur and Walter were all still living at Rectory House Sompting; employing a cook and a housemaid. Horace and his wife Alma were living at West Cottage Sompting with their daughter Dorothy and two servants. Henry's brother Hubert wasn't on the census; he had probably already gone to New Zealand. Bessie, who always seems to have lived a life completely apart from the rest of the family, was staying in a boarding house at 20 Old Steyne, Brighton.

Source: 1891 census.

Further on Hubert by Sally Davis: website www.thepeerage.com which uses Burke's Peerage as its source, says that Hubert Pullen-Burry married Marion Hariette Olivia Cooke in 1896; she was the daughter of a civil engineer, Charles Edward Cooke. 1931 edition of Debretts says Hubert and Marion were living in Auckland NZ at that time. See www.geni.com and familysearch for him having died in Wellington NZ in 1956.

EARLY 1890s

Henry was elected as an officer in the Carnarvon Royal Arch Chapter 804.

Comment by Sally Davis: any freemasons' lodge or chapter has a hierarchy of officers which administer the lodge and carry out its rituals. Anyone willing to be an officer is first elected at a low level. They then spend one year at each higher level, ending with a year in the top post - Worshipful Master in a craft lodge.

Source for Henry in the hierarchy of Carnarvon R A Chapter 804:

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1896 p4 Ryl Arch. Rpt of the quarterly mtg of Carnarvon Chapter 804, Tues 18th ult; no venue gvn. It was the installn mtg: "H B Pullen Burry" was one of the officers f cmg year: "N". He's 2 down from the chapter's WM-equiv. After the mtg, the banquet but again no venue gvn.

NOVEMBER 1892

Henry's initiation into the Golden Dawn's outer order.

Source: RAG p150.

14 MARCH 1894

Henry was initiated into the GD's 2nd Order. Once in the 2nd Order you were allowed to do practical magic. All members of the 2nd Order had a second motto. Henry chose the Latin phrase 'Deus et lex'.

Sources:

For the date of the initiation: RAG p150.

For Henry's 2nd Order motto. The records of the Isis-Urania temple's 2nd Order have not survived and as a result hardly any 2nd Order mottos are known. However, Henry used his in a series of letters to Paul Foster Case in the early 1920s. The letters have not been published but in March 2010 Jim Eshelman posted extracts from them onto the Temple of Thelema website at www.heruraha.net. Thanks to Adam Forrest of Portland Oregon for sending the extracts to me.

AFTER 14 MARCH 1894 TO END 1895

Henry served as the GD's sub-cancellarius.

Source: RAG p32, and p50-51 for the work of the cancellarius and sub-cancellarius.

Comment by Sally Davis: the job title 'cancellarius' or 'sub-cancellarius' sounds impressive but on a daily basis it involved helping to manage the Order's budget, by way of sending out reminders of yearly subscriptions due; notifying members of the dates and places of rituals and other formal meetings; supervise the exams initiates needed to take to progress to the 2nd Order; and keeping track of members' addresses (no easy task when people moved house so often). Just noting that RAG p32 doesn't give an exact date for when Henry became sub-cancellarius, the date of after 14 March is mine; I don't think that - given the requirement to supervise exams - the job would have been thought appropriate for someone not in the 2nd Order.

20 MARCH 1894

Rose Pullen-Burry's GD initiation.

Source: RAG p152.

PROBABLY 1895 though possibly as early as 1893

Two GD Flying Rolls were compiled to which Henry contributed: numbers 8, and 33.

Sources for the texts:

RAG The GD Companion p115, p117 but neither are dated.

Try also: Francis King's *Ritual Magic in England 1887 to Present Day* published Spearman 1970; or his *Magic, The Western Tradition* published Thames and Hudson 1975.

The dates of both flying rolls are uncertain.

In their *The Chronology of the Golden Dawn* Mary K Greer and Darcy Kuntz give a specific date for Flying Roll 8 of 25 February 1893 (p24); they assign Flying Roll 33 to some time in 1895 (p27). Holmes Publishing Group, Postal Box 2370 Sequim Washington 98382 USA; 2007.

However, Adam P Forrest is not so sure about Flying Roll 8:

Argument for an 1895 date for Flying Roll 8, by Adam P Forrest, using R A Gilbert's transcription of Westcott's Catalogue of the Flying Rolls: Flying Roll VIII was originally "Enoch Suggestions", and the original issue date was 25 February 1893. "Enoch Suggestions" was later erased, and replaced with "Geometric Pentagram." According to R A Gilbert, the date was changed to 1895 when the name of the Roll was replaced. If you're interested, William Wynn Westcott was apparently willing to have the Roll copied for a fee, and the price was 1 shilling.

A bit more on Flying Roll 8, including some information which might indicate a date, by Sally Davis:

Flying Roll 8 is A Geometrical Way to Draw a Pentagram. All Henry's own work. Assuming that you must be in the 2nd Order to take part in building the flying roll library of rituals, Flying Roll 8 must be from after March 1894. The Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London: Catalogue Number NS57 is a notebook of uncertain origin, bought by Gerald Yorke in 1950 at Sothebys. On its p63 someone has written out Flying Roll VIII; and on p64 they've drawn the pentagram according to its instructions, in red and black ink and with some annotations as to the meaning of the pentagram's points. You need a pair of compasses to get the pentagram right.

Adam P Forrest agrees with Greer and Kuntz about Flying Roll 33:

Flying Roll 23, by Adam P Forrest, again using R A Gilbert's transcription of Westcott's Catalogue of Flying Rolls: Flying Roll XXXIII had originally been "New Regulations," which NOM had erased and replaced with "Enoch Visions" on his catalogue list.

Unfortunately, he had stopped dating the Rolls in his catalogue entirely by then. The last dated Roll was number XXIX, issued November 3, 1894, so the Enochian Visions was probably issued in 1895. As it was a long Roll, the price for copying it was listed as 5/6.

Some more information on Flying Roll 23, and a hint at a date of after mid-1894, by Sally Davis:

Flying Roll 33 is Seven Visions of Squares upon the Enochian Tablets, to which 5 people contributed: Helen Rand (visions 1 and 2); Annie Horniman (vision 3); Henry (vision 4); Pamela Bullock (visions 5 and 6); and Edward William Berridge (vision 7). . As Pamela Bullock's married name is used rather than Carden, her maiden name, Flying Roll 33 must be later than June 1894, the month she married Percy Bullock.

16 MARCH 1895

Rose Pullen-Burry's father Thomas Anwyl died.

Sources: freebmd; probate registry records.

Comment by Sally Davis: I think, from what happened to Rose's mother and sisters after her father's death, that he had not left them much money.

EARLY 1895

Henry did his best to prevent Alice Isabel Simpson from being initiated into the GD. Many years later he said of Mrs Simpson: "I knew the woman well, and protected in words as well as in action as Cancellarius against her advancement" before being over-ruled by Mathers.

Sources and comments by Sally Davis. The source is Henry, writing to Paul Foster Case; date unknown but in a sequence of letters written between January and July 1921; that is to say, over 25 years after the events he's mentioning. See a long extract from the letter at website www.heruraha.net. It's interesting that Henry knew Alice Isabel before she joined the GD, but perhaps he didn't; perhaps his involvement was as one of those chosen to investigate

whether she was a suitable candidate - a process of enquiry which took place with virtually every potential recruit (see 1897/98 below for an account of the process from the receiving end, by Arthur Conan Doyle). Why the subject of Alice Isabel Simpson came up in Henry's letter: Paul Foster Case's 2nd Order motto was Perseverantia - see www.golden-dawn.org/biocase.html; he was a member of the Alpha et Omega Order's New York-based Thoth-Hermes Temple. Alice Isabel's GD motto was Perseverantia et Cura Quies, usually shortened to 'perseverantia'.

Source for initiation and motto of Alice Isabel Simpson on 12 July 1895: RAG p155. She was initiated into the 2nd Order on 27 May 1899. If he'd been around, Henry would probably have tried to stop this second initiation but by then, he was long gone to the Klondike and couldn't have done anything about it even if he'd known it was going to happen. Alice Isabel and her daughter Elaine Mary did take an active part in Aleister Crowley's attempt to take over the GD on Mathers' behalf, in April 1900, and were expelled from the Order as a result; but again, Henry was either still in northern Canada, or in the USA, in April 1900 and couldn't have done anything to help or hinder them.

An easy-to-read account of what happened in April 1900: Ellic Howe chapter 15 pp219-232.

ALL OF 1896 AND 1897; and possibly EARLY 1898

Henry must have done a good job as sub-cancellarius: at the beginning of 1896 he was promoted to cancellarius when the previous holder of the post, Percy Bullock, became sub-imperator. The cancellarius' duties included producing some yearly accounts for the Order's hierarchy to consider; and a list of current members and their progress as magicians - a kind of end-of-term report.

Source: RAG p32.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry will have prepared the accounts for 1896 and 1897; but probably not those of 1898 and that might have been the point at which the GD members began to wonder where he was.

MARCH 1896

In Carnarvon Royal Arch Chapter 804, Henry reached the level of 'N' - Nehemiah; a few levels down from the Chapter's top job of First Principal.

Source:

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1896 p4.

Comment by Sally Davis: if things had followed their usual plan - which they didn't - Henry should have served his year as the Chapter's First Principal around 1899/1900.

LATE AUGUST 1896

GD member in Glasgow and active Scottish freemason Edward Macbean wrote to Henry as one of the GD's experts on the Kabbalah; asking how two particular Hebrew words should be transcribed. A copy of Henry's reply has survived: he signed it 'fraternally yours' but he also ticked Macbean off on two counts: because Henry had had to pay excess postage on Macbean's letter, which hadn't had enough stamps on it; and because Macbean had signed with his own name, rather than his GD motto.

Source: Freemasons' Library GD collection item GD 2/5/5/1, undated but with a pencil note saying "Rec'd 25/8/96".

Comment by Sally Davis: no doubt Henry thought that, as an official of the GD, he should

strive to maintain standards; but the letter is short and abrupt, he comes over as unnecessarily officious and surely the excess postage he'd had to pay can't have been a great deal. Perhaps the letter played upon worries he had about money on quite other counts.

WINTER 1896-97

Henry staved off trouble in the GD's Isis-Urania temple.

Source: Henry, writing to Paul Foster Case; date unknown but in a sequence of letters dated January to July 1921. See a long extract from the letter at website www.heruraha.net.

Comment by Sally Davis: 1897 was a turbulent year and perhaps Henry did more behind the scenes to guide the GD through it than is evident from the sources that have survived. However, he was not able to make Mathers change his mind about Annie Horniman; nor was he able to prevent the disturbance caused by two major withdrawals of committed members of the Isis-Urania temple later in 1897: William Wynn Westcott and Frederick Leigh Gardner. I think that Henry is making himself out to be more influential in the GD in the late 1890s than in fact he was, to impress Foster Case, a rising star in the occult in America.

?3 DECEMBER 1896

Samuel Liddell Mathers expelled Annie Horniman from the GD. Rose and Annie were good friends. Through Annie's visits to Yew Tree House to go astral travelling with Henry, the two women had, of course, known each other since before Rose had been initiated into the GD; perhaps Annie had helped persuade Rose to join. So Rose was as outraged as many other GD members by the injustice of Mathers' action, which had everything to do with his personal finances and very little to do with magic. A petition was quickly circulated, organised by Frederick Leigh Gardner; begging Mathers to reinstate Annie. Mathers chose to make the issue one of command and obedience and, in the end, all the petition's signatories knuckled under to him, Rose included. Annie remained in exile from the GD, though still friends with many members, until Mathers in his turn was expelled, in April 1900.

Sources:

Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London. Two items:

Catalogue number NS73 letter from William Wynn Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner gives the date of Annie's expulsion as 3 December [1896] though Westcott admits that Mathers hasn't told him it had happened, as yet, he'd found out from Percy and Pamela Bullock.

Catalogue number NS73: a number of letters all dated December 1896 or January 1897, from various GD members to Frederick Leigh Gardner; most of them signing the petition to reinstate Annie Horniman; though some explaining why the writer felt they couldn't sign. Including the one from Rose Pullen-Burry, but not one from Henry.

And see also Ellic Howe who describes exactly how Annie Horniman came to be expelled, with quotations from letters that passed between her and Mathers during autumn 1896; and gives an account of the petition and Mathers' hostile reaction: pp126-144.

BY 22 DECEMBER 1896

Henry had gone to Paris to see Mathers. He stayed with Samuel Liddell Mathers and his wife Mina for about a fortnight, ample time for him to study Mathers with a physician's eye and

reach the conclusion that Mathers had become mentally disturbed by “unbalanced Mars work”.

Source: Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London: letter from Rose Pullen-Burry written at Liphook 22 December 1896 in response to one from Frederick Leigh Gardner wanting her to sign the petition to reinstate Annie Horniman.

Comment by Sally Davis: Rose apologises that Henry is not at home to sign the petition; and does seem to be implying that Henry’s trip to Paris was on Annie Horniman’s behalf. For certain causes, Henry seems to have been willing to abandon his patients (and the income that some of them represented) to rush off on GD affairs; or had he been going to visit the Mathers in any case?

Source for Mathers’ mental state: Henry himself, writing to Paul Foster Case BUT many years later. The date of the letter is unknown but it’s one of a sequence of letters Henry wrote to Foster Case between January and July 1921; that is to say, over 25 years after the events he’s mentioning. See a long extract from the letter at www.heruraha.net the Temple of Thelema website.

MARCH 1897

Someone wrote a letter to William Wynn Westcott’s employers telling them he was a prominent member of a rather dubious society. As a result, Westcott felt obliged to resign as an officer of the GD. Florence Farr took over as the most senior GD member resident in the UK but power in the Order passed to Samuel Liddell Mathers in Paris.

Source: Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London. Catalogue number NS73: two letters from Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner, dated 17 March 1897 and 18 March 1897. The first letter makes it clear that this occasion was not the first time information about Westcott’s occult activities had been drawn to his employers’ attention.

Comment by Sally Davis: it’s generally assumed by historians of the GD that the anonymous letter was sent by Mathers. I must say that the change of personnel at the top in England was a blow to historians: record-keeping in the GD went downhill badly after Westcott had to give up doing it!

SEPTEMBER 1897

Frederick Leigh Gardner was declared persona non grata at the GD’s Isis-Urania temple after a series of complaints about his behaviour, particularly towards the women members, and particularly as organiser of its rituals. Gardner resigned from the GD as a whole on hearing that a recent Isis-Urania members’ meeting had declined to hear his side of it. When it became clear to Gardner that Henry had supported the meeting’s decision, he wrote a very angry letter to Henry as a fellow Mark mason, reminding him of the obligations imposed on freemasons to support each other; pointing out that Henry had often enjoyed hospitality at Gardner’s house; and declaring him not fit for the company of “moral and upright men”. Henry wrote back, resenting Gardner’s “abuse”; and their acquaintance-ship ceased.

Comment by Sally Davis: Gardner sent a copy of his abusive letter to William Wynn Westcott, who wrote back dismayed that Gardner had made “such a slashing onslaught on the poor man”; and advising Gardner just to let the matter go (rather than upset anybody else, presumably).

See Ellic Howe for why and how Gardner came to be expelled: pp175-186.

Source: Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London. Catalogue number NS73: set of 3 letters Frederick Leigh Gardner sent to Henry, dated 22 September 1897, 28 September 1897 and 30 September 1897; plus Henry's reply to the last one, also dated 30 September 1897; and one letter from Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner dated 1 October 1897.

UNCERTAIN DATE but not later than mid-1898

Writing in 1923 or 1924, Conan Doyle gives "1898" but for reasons I outline below, it's more likely to have been 1897

Henry paved the way for Arthur Conan Doyle to join the GD. But Conan Doyle declined the offer of membership.

Source:

Any paperwork connected with people being considered as possible GD initiates has not survived as far as I know. Particularly with people who declined membership, I imagine that all letters and memoranda about them were thrown away at the time. Conan Doyle's own recollection of what happened is the only source that I know of for his being offered GD membership. He published it in an article, long after the event: Pearson's Magazine volume 57 January-June 1924, issue of March 1924. Article by Arthur Conan Doyle: My Adventures in the Spirit World: pp203-09; in which Henry is named, but the other GD member that Conan Doyle met is not.

Comment by Sally Davis, based on Conan Doyle's article and at some length because it sheds some light on what happened to you if you were being considered for GD membership:

Conan Doyle and Henry Pullen-Burry got to know one another in the late 1880s when they were both general practitioners in Hampshire. As personal information on GD members and their habits are rare, I give Conan Doyle's description of Henry here: according to Conan Doyle, Henry was "a small doctor...small in stature, and also, I fear, in practice"; he smoked a pipe; and shared Conan Doyle's interest in spiritualism and theosophy. In the article Conan Doyle portrays himself as reading widely on the occult at this time, but as far more wary of it than Henry was, though he was swayed by the belief expressed in spiritualism by two scientists he admired, William Crookes the chemist (who was a GD member though Conan Doyle won't have known that) and Alfred Russell Wallace the traveller and evolutionary biologist. Conan Doyle was intrigued to discover that Henry had a room in his house "reserved for mystic and philosophic purposes", which no one but himself was allowed to go in (I wonder where Rose did her magic, in that case? Actually, having a room set aside for occult purposes was not so unusual amongst GD members - those who could afford a house big enough, that is.) Although Conan Doyle gave up his practice at Southsea, took some extra training, and set up as an ophthalmologist in London, he and Henry must have kept in touch and in due course Henry recommended Conan Doyle to the GD hierarchy as a future member. Did Henry have one eye on gaining the kudos of having brought on board the creator of Sherlock Holmes? Probably. The usual discreet enquiries were made; Conan Doyle was judged a suitable candidate; and Henry was authorised approached to him with an invitation to join. Conan Doyle seems to have interviewed Henry (not the other way round). He wanted to know exactly what he might be getting into if he accepted; and on what it would do for him. Henry told him that he would gain "powers which people would call supernatural ...knowledge of deeper forces of nature". This sounded good to Conan Doyle, he asked to join, and few mornings later he awoke with a sense of having had some kind of psychic exam during the night, which he took to be his suitability being checked out by GD members. Conan Doyle still wasn't sure though: he checked out what would be expected of

him as an initiate, and began to worry about the level of commitment Henry said would be required - after all, he had his medical work and Sherlock Holmes to attend to. After thinking it over further, he decided not to be initiated.

Henry wasn't that easily put off, however. A couple of months after apparently having accepted Conan Doyle's change of mind, he called on him bringing another GD member with him, someone Conan Doyle knew of as "famous and much-travelled". A letter written by William Wynn Westcott confirms that the second caller was Robert William Felkin, (future founder of Stella Matutina) a well-known authority on the treatment of tropical diseases, having spent time in east Africa as a medical missionary before qualifying fully as a doctor. The two GD members proceeded to have a conversation about astral travelling that put Conan Doyle right off. Looking back from 1924 he remembered having "brushed against something strange, which I am not sorry that I avoided". He worried that people willing to develop these powers might - in the process - lose their sense of Christian ethics.

Henry's original idea of bringing to see Conan Doyle a GD member he knew of and would be impressed by was a good one. But that conversation about astral travelling: not so clever. Reading Conan Doyle's account in a copy of Pearson's Magazine sent to him by Frederick Leigh Gardner, Westcott commented that both Henry and Felkin "appear to have spoken in a wild manner" - reflecting, perhaps, on the Famous Initiate That Got Away.

Source for Westcott's comment: Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73: letter written 17 April 1924 by Westcott, to Gardner.

Sources for Conan Doyle: wikipedia; and GMC Registers.

1898

Henry set out for the Klondike.

Sources for his getting at least as far as a boat on the Yukon River (though without dates):

Unpublished set of typescripts at the Freemasons' Library catalogued as SRIA1938m. Volume 3, Science and Hermetic Philosophy Part 1: November 1918 Lecture 47 p282 and December 1918 Lecture 51 p301.

What on earth was he doing? Comment by Sally Davis:

People had been finding small deposits of gold in the Klondike River valley in north-west Canada for a while; but the big strike was made in August 1896 by George Carmack, his Indian wife Shaaw Tháa and her family. If Henry had been a reader of the Times newspaper with enough spare time to peer into its smallest news items, he might have noticed a reference to "wonderful discoveries of gold" being reported to members of a Royal Geographical Society expedition stationed at Fort Cudahy, in February 1897. But the news didn't really break in the USA until 16 June 1897, with the arrival at San Francisco of an American steamer from Alaska; and in Britain not until the end of July 1897, with published confirmation in the Times including advice issued by the Canadian Emigrants' Information Office and warnings of the dangers of this isolated place with six-month-long frozen winters. Amongst the instructions was the advice to leave setting out for the Klondike until next spring - that is, spring 1898. If Henry was struck by gold fever in July 1897 he seems to have paid attention to the advice; but huge numbers did not. Result: sky-rocketing prices for even basic groceries; frostbite; and places which had been tiny settlements with no real

infrastructure of roads or sewers, suddenly having to accommodate thousands of new, ill-equipped, exhausted and fractious arrivals.

Sources:

wikipedia, which focuses on the American experience of the gold rush.

Times Friday 23 October 1896 p10 review of Warburton Pike's *Through the Subarctic Forest* published Arnold 1896.

Times 23 February 1897 p5.

Times 5 April 1897 p8 - the British government hadn't yet been able to confirm that the rumours are true.

The Klondike Stampede of 1897-98 by Tappan Adney. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers 1900: p1.

Times Thursday 29 July 1897 p11 article: *The Yukon Goldfields*.

15 JANUARY 1898

Henry made a passport application.

Source: Index to the Register of Passport Applications 1898, seen at findmypast: applicant H B P Burry.

SPRING 1898

Henry left England, headed for the Klondike River.

Possible source for the Atlantic crossing but not the exact date: findmypast passenger lists show one male H Burry travelling by ship from Liverpool to Halifax Nova Scotia at some point during 1898. It might not be the GD's Henry, of course.

Comment by Sally Davis on the date Henry sloped off. As soon as the news reached the USA's East Coast, Harper's Weekly magazine sent their reporter Tappan Adney to the Klondike as their man on the spot. He left New York on 28 July 1897 and went by the recently-opened Canadian Pacific Railway to British Columbia; stopped off to get well kitted-out at Victoria British Columbia and again at the Fort Selkirk trading post; and reached Dawson City by boat along the Yukon River on 23 October 1897, 92 days after he set out. Perhaps other people, not bothering to get so well-prepared (there were plenty of those) might have made the journey more quickly; but on the other hand, Henry had to cross the Atlantic before he could get to the start. For reasons I give below, I think Henry must have set out not later than mid-1898 and probably earlier than that.

There's some doubt about whether Henry meant to come back.

Comment by Sally Davis: this is all rather speculative, based on the addresses he and Rose gave for 1898 to 1901. For most of that time both the General Medical Council and the GD thought that both Henry and Rose Pullen-Burry could be reached at 185 Victoria Street in London, care of a Mrs Wreford. The entry for Henry in the GD's address book was "Away at Klondike" as if the writer fully expected Henry to come back. However, for 1901 and after there's no known address for Rose; and in 1901 the GMC had an address for Henry in Thornton Heath. It's hard to reach a conclusion but I'll make two suggestions: either that originally, Henry did mean to return to Britain eventually, but changed his mind; or that he never intended to return but didn't want to say so, especially to Rose.

Sources:

RAG p150 and p152, with details taken from the GD address book.

GMC Register 1898 p277 and GMC Register 1899 p288.

Kelly's Directory 1898 street directory p745.

Kelly's Directory 1901 street directory p818.

GMC Register 1901 p295.

ROSE AFTER HENRY LEFT

Rose and the two daughters, at least, moved to London, to rooms at 185 Victoria Street; they lived there until 1901.

Comment by Sally Davis: the Kelly's Directory entries for 185 Victoria Street suggest that in 1898, there were people living in the rooms above a tailor's business which occupied the street level. But the 1901 issue has the building occupied solely by business tenants. So it's likely that by 1901 Rose and her daughters had to go and live elsewhere. I expect they were glad of it: although there was a temperance hotel right next door which would have been quiet enough, next door to that was the entrance to Victoria Station.

At some point Rose realised that her husband was not going to come back. She and her three children were left with very little money. Annie Horniman stepped in to help.

Sources: Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73: letters from William Wynn Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner, written 12 November 1921, 6 January 1922 and 17 April 1924. Although the letters were written long after the event, Westcott had met up with Annie Horniman shortly before leaving England for South Africa in mid-1921. He'd probably got the information from her - asking after old friends. However, though he says that Annie Horniman had helped Rose and her family, he doesn't give details. By 1924 he had also received a letter from Henry Pullen-Burry; I suppose he Henry could have told him how Annie had helped, but somehow I doubt it. I'm still looking, but so far I haven't found any other sources for the help Annie gave to Rose and her children: that is, sources saying what the help was (school fees? Rent?) And how long it went on for.

Comment by Sally Davis: who knows how long it took Rose to realise that her husband was gone for good. Perhaps he sent her a letter. Or perhaps she eventually had to admit it to herself after many months of gradually diminishing hope. Her predicament was a grim one. I presume that like most young women of her age and class, Rose Pullen Burry had had the kind of education that prepared her for marriage and motherhood, not for work, in any field. There's no evidence that she ever had a job, even after her husband left her. Annie Horniman had inherited a fortune from her grandfather, the founder of the Hornimans tea importing firm. Before Rose was left with no income, Annie had already been very generous with money towards Mina (and thus Samuel) Mathers. Although I haven't found any evidence specifically saying that Annie's help was financial in Rose's case, money was what Rose will have been most in need of, however embarrassed and humiliated she might have felt by needing to accept it from her wealthy friend. Rose's daughters were educated for work - they were both teachers - and fees for them to get the necessary qualifications would have been something Annie could offer and Rose would be glad to accept. Probably Annie paid the fares for Ethel and later Winifred to travel to South Africa, where they both found jobs. In one of the biographies of Annie Horniman she's mentioned as taking Helen Pullen-Burry on holiday with her in Europe.

The theatre group:

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume IV 1905-1907. Editors John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Published Oxford University Press 2005: p437-38. Ethel did not find this involvement with the theatre company wholly delightful: she and her fellow volunteer Miss Gildea were so upset by J M Synge's behaviour in public with his various mistresses, that they complained to Annie about it.

The holiday in Europe: this is a tricky one. I read the information in Annie H: A Pioneer in the Theatre by Sheila Gooddie. Methuen 1990: p89. In the notes for the information, on p199 footnote 17, the source is given as "Helen Pullen-Burphy's unpublished reminiscences; Horniman Collections, John Rylands University Library of Manchester". What worries me is that I haven't come across anyone called Helen Pullen-Burphy in my other reading; she certainly wasn't a child of Henry and Rose.

Rose may have changed her name from 'pullen-burphy' to Burry.

Comment by Sally Davis: though it may just be the way Annie Horniman had always thought of her.

Source for the change of name, if it is one: Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume IV 1905-1907, editors John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Published Oxford University Press 2005: p430 letter from Annie Horniman in Edinburgh, to W B Yeats 27 June 1906, where Annie tells Yeats she'll be back in London on Thursday, at which time "Mrs Burry is coming to the flat".

Rose may have got married a second time, to a man called Wreford.

Source for a remarriage of Rose to someone called Wreford is:

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume IV 1905-1907 editors John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Published Oxford University Press 2005; footnote 10 p430 in connection with Annie Horniman's letter of 27 June 1906, p430.

Comment by Sally Davis: I don't think Rose married a second time, though I can see how the idea arose that she did: "Address as Mrs Wreford" does make it sound as though Rose has remarried someone else. But I haven't found evidence of a divorce; or a marriage registration - at least, not in England - and the evidence from Annie Horniman in 1906 and William Wynn Westcott in the 1920s suggests that she remained Mrs Burry or Pullen-Burphy. I can think of two possible reasons for the appearance in Rose and Henry's lives of a 'mrs wreford'. The first is that Rose was using an assumed name - which leads me to wonder whether she and Henry were hiding from creditors. The second is that Mrs Wreford was Rose's landlady at the Victoria Street address, a woman running a boarding house and taking in post for her lodgers. I have to say that I haven't been able to confirm either of these theories: I don't know how I could confirm the first without a court case involving Rose masquerading as Mrs Wreford; Kelly's Directory for 1898 lists only the business on the ground floor, not the residents of the rooms above. I haven't got lucky trying to find Mrs Wreford on the 1901 census; I can't see Rose or her daughters either - perhaps they were abroad with Annie Horniman.

Further comment by Sally Davis 6 January 2017: I am now in contact with the great-granddaughter of Ethel Bauristhene, née Pullen-Burphy, and there's been no mention of a second marriage for Rose.

Rose's son, the younger Henry Pullen-Burphy, went to live in the USA.

Thanks to Adam P Forrest for finding him there.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry Pullen-Burry the younger was the only member of the family I could find on the 1901 census: he was working as a stable-man on a stud farm in Orpington Kent, and lodging with his boss, Tom Olliver, and Tom's wife Alice at 1 Gray's Cottages Cudham. Perhaps he had chosen the work; but it's just as likely that his future had been thrown into chaos when his father joined the gold rush and didn't come back. By 1911 he had left England for North America. He fought in the first World War as a soldier with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. The US census of 1930 has him living with his wife Mayna and their three sons at Hennepin Minnesota.

Sources:

At //livesofthefirstworldwar.org details of the members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

Via Familysearch to US Federal Census 1930.

Update January 2017: Ethel's great-grand-daughter has sent me a very detailed family tree compiled by one of Henry's American descendants.

Rose went to live in South Africa. ?probably before 1911. And finally, having qualified as a sports and medical masseur, Winifred went to South Africa, in 1916. At some point, probably in South Africa, Ethel and Winifred were both members of a co-masons lodge. Ethel's husband, Antonio Bauristhene, had some correspondence with Alister Crowley in the mid-1920s.

Ethel and Winifred both married in South Africa, and they both have descendants.

Sources:

ETHEL to South Africa:

findmypast passenger lists: Miss E Pullen-Burry travelled from Southampton to Durban, sailing on 10 March 1906 on the Donald Currie and Company ship German.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume IV 1905-1907 editors John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard. Published Oxford University Press 2005; footnote 10 p430 in connection with Annie Horniman's letter of 27 June 1906; and p524 footnote 10 which mentions a 'thank you' letter Annie Horniman wrote to Yeats in November 1906, after he had sent her a presentation copy of his Poems 1899-1905. Annie told him that she'd already bought several copies and sent one to "Ethel Burry in Natal".

WINIFRED to South Africa:

On the day of the 1911 census, Winifred was one of the students at the Physical Training College in Dartford.

Source for Winifred going to South Africa: findmypast passenger lists have a Miss Pullen-Burry, aged 29, going from London to Durban on the Union Castle line's Walmer Castle, leaving 19 February 1916.

Winifred's profession:

Seen at google, the 1936 issue of Directory of Masseuses and Masseurs covering July 1920 to June 1936. Published London: Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics. On p552 Winifred is listed under her married name, as Winifred Margaret Pullen Gillmaster. There's no address for her and it's not clear whether she was still working; though she was still a member of the Society.

ROSE to South Africa:

Source: I couldn't find an obvious candidate on findmypast. The most likely one was a woman called Rose Burry, date of birth unknown, who sailed from London on 14 June 1909 on the John T Rennie and Son's ship Inchange, bound for Durban; though the marital status of this woman was given as "Single". I couldn't find Rose on the 1911 census, so perhaps she'd left the country by then.

ETHEL AND WINIFRED AS CO-MASONS

Unlike the freemasonry that most people know of, co-masonry allows women. When she first contacted me, in December 2016, Ethel's great-grand-daughter sent me a photo which she asked me to identify, saying that both Ethel and Winifred Pullen-Burry were in it, but that that was all she knew about what was going on. Roger Wright managed to find on the web a website selling official co-masonry regalia; and to identify some of the items being worn or held by people in the photo. I'm now fairly comfortable with the idea of the photo as showing the men and women members of a co-masons lodge, possibly at the end of a lodge meeting. Ethel is sitting on an ornate chair in the middle of the front row, and I think she is the current Worshipful Master of the lodge. Winifred is sitting to her right (as you look at the photo) one of two women and one man carrying a rod of office; I would guess she is one of the other lodge officials for the year. As at 6 January 2017, the lodge name and number, and the date of the photograph, are still a mystery.

ETHEL AND WINIFRED'S MARRIAGES AND DESCENDANTS are on the family tree sent me by Ethel's great-grand-daughter.

Rose was living in Johannesburg in 1921.

Source: Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73: letter from William Wynn Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner written 6 January 1922. Though he does not say so, I believe Westcott got the information from Annie Horniman, whom he met up with in England in 1921 before leaving to live in Durban. Just as Westcott was living in South Africa with his daughter (Lilian Gee), Rose must have been living with one of her daughters.

Rose died in South Africa, in 1922.

Source though without a specific date: Gerald Yorke Collection catalogue number NS73: letter from William Wynn Westcott to Frederick Leigh Gardner, 17 April 1924 in which Westcott calls Rose "Mrs Pullen-Burry" and says she died about 18 months ago. He doesn't say where he had come by the news; but I note that he had received (after years of silence) a letter from Henry Pullen-Burry during 1923; perhaps Henry knew that his wife had died.

For what happened to Henry after 1898 you'll need to go to the third file in this life-by-dates sequence.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All

this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

6 January 2017

Email me at:

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

This is the third file in my sequence of life-by-dates biographies of Henry Pullen-Burry and his wife Rose. This file puts together all I've found out about Henry in the USA: 1898-1927. There's also a section by Adam P Forrest (see 1908) giving some good reasons why Henry chose to live there.

A huge thank-you to Adam Forrest, of Portland Oregon, who inspired me to do the biographies of Henry and Rose; and then provided me with lots of information on the occult scene that Henry was part of in Portland.

HENRY AFTER ROSE

1898 TO 1927

Though he was often registered to practice, with the General Medical Council in the UK, Henry never worked as a doctor again.

Sources: it's difficult to prove a negative, but there's no evidence for him in general practice and (see below) some evidence suggesting he tried a number of other jobs instead.

PROBABLY OCTOBER 1898 TO SPRING 1899

Henry and his travelling companions (he describes the group as a "family" which I think is significant; a family of "four rough men") - were marooned on a boat stuck in the frozen Yukon River, somewhere upstream of Dawson City.

Comment by Sally Davis: I just can't see Henry Pullen-Burry as a "rough" man! However, I imagine the journey from Hampshire had toughened him up a bit.

That Henry did enter the USA during 1898: via Familysearch to US NARA 1910 census entries GS film number 1375299.

Source for winter's length and conditions in the Yukon valley: The Klondike Stampede of 1897-98 by Tappan Adney. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers 1900: passim as the book is about his journey; but also p162 for the fact that the river was iced up each winter; p165 in 1897 the icing-up had begun by 23 October 1897 and it was 50 degrees below at 7am, when Adney left Fort Selkirk; and p175 the river ice was four inches thick a couple of days later when Adney finally got to Dawson. P366 for the first signs of the 1898 thaw - 1 May; but p370 the melt water promptly put Dawson under water.

Sources for Henry being iced-up: typescript of evening-class given by Henry Pullen-Burry in Portland Oregon 1918-1919; now at the Freemasons' Library in Covent Garden with catalogue number SRIA1938m. Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 1. Lecture 47 given November 1918 p281-82 which has the quote about the 4 rough men; and Lecture 51 given December 1918 p301.

Later source: The Man who created Sherlock Holmes: the life and times of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle by Andrew Lycett. Weidenfeld and Nicolson 2007: p209-10; pp209-10, p423.

MAY 1899

The ice on the Yukon River melted, freeing the boats that were trapped but destroying a lot of them.

Source for the destruction of some boats by ice floes: Adney (see above) p162, Adney quoting the man who ran the trading post at Fort Selkirk.

Comment by Sally Davis: with the melting of the ice, Henry and his three travelling companions would have been able to finish their journey to the Klondike goldfields. I haven't found any direct evidence at all for whether they got to them or not; whether they stayed as a group or all went their separate ways; and how long it was before Henry went south again.

Henry did not make his fortune in the Klondike goldrush.

Source: another negative, but that Henry spent the rest of his life living from hand to mouth is clear from the few sources that exist for his later years, when he was living in Portland Oregon.

?1899?1900 TO 1908

Henry moved from job to job and possibly from place to place as well. He spent time as a salesman, and loathed it; and also worked in the office of a saw mill.

Sources:

Henry as a salesman:

Appearances in the set of 4 volumes at the Freemasons' Library in Covent Garden, catalogued as SRIA 1938m, typescripts of lectures given by Henry Pullen-Burry between 1918 and 1920 to an occult group in Portland Oregon. Volume 4 of the set: The Aquarian Age. Lecture 36 given January 1921 and one of a group of them on the existence of black magic in the modern world: 211-216.

Henry as a clerk in a sawmill, and generally about this period in his life:

Letter from Henry to Michael Whitty, publisher of the occult magazine Azoth; written 7 June 1919. You can read the letter at www.heruraha.net, the Temple of Thelema website. It and a series Henry sent to Paul Foster Case were posted there in March 2010 by Jim Eshelman who was able to see the original letters but doesn't say where they are now; as at March 2010 they hadn't been published.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry is writing to another occultist so he would say this wouldn't he (and he's also on the lookout for sympathy for his plight) but in the letter to Whitty he implies that his main effort at this time was being put into his occult studies. He describes himself at this time as "a sort of Elijah in the wilderness". It's not clear from the letter exactly where this wilderness was - whether in the Yukon; elsewhere in Canada; or in the USA; or in all those places; but Henry ended up in Oregon.

1904 to 1911

Henry was in what he called his "passage through the 6=5", a particularly hard time.

Source: letter to Whitty 7 June 1919 see above.

Comment by Sally Davis: it seems as though, even if he had wanted to return to the UK and his wife, Henry didn't have the money to pay for the journey. I wonder if he would have come back, if he had raised the fare?

PROBABLY 1906, definitely before 1908

Henry was a member of an occult group, possibly the New Thought Circle he lectured to in 1908 (see below). Through a conversation with another member, he became convinced of the truth of the writings of the man he referred to as 'Heer Rose of The Hague'. He'd acquired them around 1888 but had not paid them much attention. From this time on, however, the writings became more and more important to him, as predicting the Age of Aquarius.

Source: Appearances in the set of 4 volumes at the Freemasons' Library in Covent Garden, catalogued as SRIA 1938m. These volumes are all typescripts, apparently of lectures given by Henry Pullen-Burry between 1918 and 1920 to an occult group in Portland Oregon. Volume 3: Science and Hermetic Philosophy part 2: Lecture 60 given February 1919 p355 though he's a bit vague about when this life-changing conversation took place.

Comment by Sally Davis: in Lecture 60 Henry described how he had listened to another student describing a vision he or she had had, and gradually realised that a lot of what the student was telling him had been described in the writings of Heer Rose, including the existence in the past of creatures that looked like apes but were nevertheless human. The existence of this missing-link creature was very important to Henry, who had come to hate the Darwinian idea that our species is descended from apes. After this encounter, Henry began to study Heer Rose's writings with very close attention and they formed the basis for a lot of what he later wrote about the Aquarian Age. By early 1908 he had enough information to hand on Heer Rose's ideas, to give a lecture on "The Eternal Memory", one of the two extra sephiroths that Heer Rose had postulated in his writings. Source for the lecture: Morning Oregonian 10 January 1908 p9.

JANUARY 1908

Although he was still registered with the British GMC at an English address, this year is the earliest evidence for Henry living in Portland. He had probably been there for a while and got to know people because he was already a member of Portland's New Thought Circle, which met on Friday evenings at Miss Eisner's house, 454 Columbia Street.

Sources:

GMC Register for 1908 p307 and for 1909 p312. In both issues, Henry's address was 11 Osney Crescent Paignton. I don't know who was really living there.

Morning Oregonian 10 January 1908 p9.

Comment by Sally Davis: new thought circles exist at the moment, though it wasn't clear to me whether they are continuations of the one Henry was a member of, or more recent foundations. A New Thought Circle existed in Medford Oregon in 1917, but I couldn't see any other evidence of the Portland one. Source for Medford's New Thought Circle: Medford Mail Tribune Saturday 3 February 1917 p4: a thank you note to its women members.

WHY PORTLAND? Here are some very good reasons why, researched and written by Adam P Forrest:

Referring to events in the 1920s, Emma Hardinge Britten scholar Marc Demarest (Chasing Down Emma, 2011, July 11) described Portland with wry affection as "the strange wooded attractor of the weird".

Portland had been an active centre of New Thought (the equivalent of today's New Age) and other forms of alternative spirituality since long before Pullen-Burry arrived. In 1850, within two years of the birth of Spiritualism in upstate New York, séances were being held in Portland. As early as 1867, the First Society of Progressive Spiritualists was meeting weekly in Portland. The New Era Spiritualist Camp was founded a few miles south of Portland in 1873, to serve as a site for Spiritualist camp meetings.

Theosophy has been active here since at least the foundation of the Willamette Lodge in 1890. The Prometheus Lodge was founded in 1895. Another lodge, the Theosophical Society in Portland, celebrated its centennial in 2011. During the course of the 1890s, Annie Besant, William Quan Judge, and Countess Wachtmeister all lectured in Portland.

From 1886 to 1918, a very influential New Thought periodical, The World's Advance Thought, describing itself as "the Avant-Courier of the New Dispensation" was published in

Portland by Lucy A. Rose Mallory, whom no less an admirer of New Thought than Leo Tolstoy described as “the most important woman in America”.

In 1901, astrologer Llewellyn George founded both the Portland School of Astrology and Llewellyn Publishing in Portland. Now located in Minnesota, Llewellyn Worldwide has become the world’s largest publisher of New Age and occult books.

In Pullen-Burry’s time, popular Rosicrucianism arose in the United States, and took ready root in Portland. Max Heindel’s Rosicrucian Fellowship established a group in Portland within months of the Fellowship’s founding in 1909. Public classes studying Heindel’s books met regularly in the Portland public library. By 1923 *The Triangle*, a periodical of Spencer Lewis’ AMORC, was able to report that in Portland “the work is going on . . .with the usual enthusiasm”, and that the Emperor of the Order would be visiting the Portland AMORC group for a week. Also in 1923, J C F Grumbine relocated his Rosicrucian and mystical Order of the White Rose from Cleveland to Portland, where it continued to operate until his death in 1938.

Azoth: The Occult Magazine of America was edited from 1917 to 1921 by two consecutive Adept Praemonstrators or chief teachers of the New York temple of the AO (the Mathers loyalist branch of the Golden Dawn), firstly Michael Whitty and then (briefly) Paul Foster Case. In August 1921, in the same issue in which Pullen-Burry advertised his course of 123 mail-order lectures on Occultism, the magazine posted its statement of ownership. One of the ten owners was William E. Lillie of Vancouver, Washington USA, an integral part of the Portland metropolitan area.

At the Vernal equinox in 1920, a significant event transpired in Portland for another Golden Dawn Adept, for it was here that William Butler Yeats, on a lecture tour of America, received his famous samurai sword as a gift from Junto Sato.

End of Adam Forrest’s section; so back to Sally Davis who would like to comment that although there isn’t any direct evidence for it, surely Henry must have known most of the people Adam mentions; and most of the societies and magazines.

Sources and follow up for Adam Forrest’s section:

Chasing Down Emma: see Marc Demarest’s blog on the history of spiritualism, at ehbritten.blogspot.co.uk. Though you do have to be patient!

Lucy A Rose Mallory: a number of references to her on the web, and you can read copies of her magazine *The World’s Advance Thought* at www.iapsop.com

Max Heindel, writing name of Carl Louis von Grasshof. There’s a wikipedia page on him: 1865-1919, born Denmark. Worked as an engineer for the Cunard Line. Settled 1903 in Los Angeles, joined the TS and studied astrology. Author of several works on Rosicrucianism, particularly *The Rosicrucian Cosmo-Conception* (1909). Important work with Rudolf Steiner. Died 1919 in California.

Harvey Spencer Lewis, also known as Sar Alden; and Wisar Spenle Cerve. There’s a wiki on him: 1883-1939. Author, commercial artist. Founder (1915) and first imperator of the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis (AMORC). I could see copies of the journal *The Triangle* via google; all from the 1920s.

Jesse Charles Fremont Grumbine; no wikipedia on him as yet. Upstate Cauldron: Eccentric Spiritual Movements in Early New York State by Joscelyne Godwin. SUNY Press 2015: p253 Grumbine BD heads a list of what looks like the teachers in an academy; as chair of metaphysics, ontology and divinity. On p311 Cayuga is listed as where Grumbine had his first ministry, in 1884 as clerk to the Universalist Society. As founder of the Order of the White Rose also known as the Order of Melchisedek.

At www.iapsop.com magazine The Rosicrucian Brotherhood volume 2 number 8 July 1908 announced the founding of the Ancient Order of Melchisedek, Brotherhood of Jesus.

I noticed a very large number of publications by Grumbine on a wide range of esoteric subjects including Auras and Colors; Clairvoyance; Clairaudience; Spiritualism and Channeling; Psychometry and Psychic Skills - etc.

1910

Henry appears on the US Census, living in Mr and Mrs Martin's lodging house in Multnomah, Portland Ward 4. This year, for the first time, his entry in the British GMC also gave an address in Portland - 247½ Fifth Street Portland.

Sources:

GMC Register 1910 p217.

Via Familysearch to US NARA 1910 census entries GS film number is 1375299: household in Portland Ward 4, Multnomah. Just noting that Henry was still describing himself as married. The census didn't ask people their occupation, unfortunately.

JULY 1910

Henry began offering private tuition in chemistry and natural philosophy.

Source: Henry's advert, in the Morning Oregonian 6 July 1910 p15 in the small ads.

Comment by Sally Davis: this is probably the point at which he gave up his job at the saw mill, the last work he had (it would appear) in which he was an employee, rather than self-employed.

DATE DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH BUT AFTER 1910, PROBABLY AFTER 1918

Henry tried to make a living by selling typescripts of individual lectures from the set of evening classes now at the Freemasons' Library and catalogued there as SRIA 1938m.

Sources:

Letter from Henry to Michael Whitty, publisher of the occult magazine Azoth; written 7 June 1919. You can read the letter at www.heruraha.net, the Temple of Thelema website. It and a series Henry sent to Paul Foster Case were posted there in March 2010 by Jim Eshelman who was able to see the original letters but doesn't say where they are now; as at March 2010 they hadn't been published.

Set of 4 volumes at the Freemasons' Library in Covent Garden, catalogued as SRIA 1938m. In Volume 1: The Hermetics of the Bible p67 a little note dated November [1920] says that copies of the lectures contained in the volume could be bought for 25cents per lecture.

1912/1913 AND POSSIBLY LATER

Henry was living at 311 East 48th Street Portland.

Source: GMC Register 1913 p222.

Comment by Sally Davis: I do find it curious that Henry was still wanting to be registered with the British General Medical Council; because after many years of rootlessness he had now found himself a niche in the USA. He continued to send in his details to the GMC for its register until his death.

20 DECEMBER 1914; 3pm, Room 300 of the Alisky Building, Portland Oregon

Meeting - possibly the first meeting - of a group calling itself Ekklesia Number 1 of the Ekklesiae Autochristophysis. Henry was an important member of this group; possibly its leader and founder. It still existed in 1920.

Sources: announcement of the meeting, called a public "service", in the Sunday Oregonian of 20 December 1914; published Portland.

Source confirming Henry's involvement in the group: set of 4 volumes at the Freemasons' Library in Covent Garden, catalogued as SRIA 1938m. In Volume 1: The Hermetics of the Bible, p1 and on the first page of each lecture, a Mrs Helen Bailey of 251 West Broadway Portland is named as honorary secretary of Ekklesia 1. Lecture 67 p67 announced that the annual meeting of Ekklesia 1 would take place on Sunday 21 November [1920] at the K P Hall at 409 Alder, Portland.

?FROM DECEMBER 1914 TO 1921 (though possibly not continuously)

Henry gave a series of weekly lectures to the group known as Ekklesia 1 of the Ekklesiae Autochristophysis. His lectures were typed up and bound in the volumes now in the Freemasons' Library and catalogued as SRIA 1938m.

Sources: the four volumes (one in two parts) SRIA 1938m.

Long comment by Sally Davis on the four volumes of typescript now in the Freemasons' Library as catalogue number SRIA 1938m.

This is a monumental work: there are 1789 pages which contain 912,390-ish words; it's the result of research, astral travelling and writing by Henry over 35 years, and meetings of one or more occult groups in Portland over eight years. Though I'm not sure what Henry intended when Ekklesia 1 was set up in late 1914, by the time he was finishing off the last of the volumes he did have a clear sense of what they were all for, a purpose very much at the heart of the occult world of his times - and you can include some at least of the GD members in that, he was not the only member writing along the same lines. All the volumes are laid out as a series of lectures, a set of evening classes in hermetics.

First and second volumes of the four: The Hermetics of the Bible; and The Occultism of the New Testament. Although they were typed up during 1920, the lectures resulted from discussions and other work, that Henry mentioned as having gone on several years before; so they were the first set of classes he thought of. Henry's thesis was that the Bible is an occult text book, and its full meaning will only be made clear if you read it as a Kabbalistic text. The Hermetics of the Bible concentrates on the Old Testament, particularly the Book of Ezra, the Psalms especially 82 and 119, the causes and results of the Jewish captivity in Babylon, and a Kabbalistic interpretation of the creation myth in Genesis. The Occultism of the New Testament focuses on St John's Gospel, and on what is predicted in it about the new Age in which Henry now believed he was living.

Third volume of the four, which is so big it's in two parts: Science and Hermetic Philosophy. Each lecture has a date on it and the full set of lectures was delivered weekly between January 1918 and May 1920. In it, Henry (I suppose inadvertently) showed why he was no longer a practising doctor. He now hated the methods and the assumptions - essentially the whole idea - of contemporary, mechanistic science; on the grounds that it discounted the idea of the constantly re-born, ever-developing soul; rejected the idea of god or gods; and suggested the descent of Homo sapiens from apes. Henry hoped that the new Age would bring forth a hermetic science, based on axiom verified by means of astral travel to other realms and communication with their non-human inhabitants, rather than hypothesis verified by observation and experiment; and carried out by trained Adepts rather than scientists. In the two parts of the course, Henry argued that evolution is not about species, but about souls. He believed that everything on this planet, even rocks, had some form of consciousness and a soul, however basic and inert, which could move forward - essentially upward through reincarnations in ever-more-complex species - towards reincarnation in a human body, a particular high point but not the last stage in a soul's development. He also believed that elsewhere in the cosmos, entities existed that were at a higher level of consciousness than humans. In Part 2 (begun in December 1918) Henry concentrated on human biology and psychology and social organisation. The importance to Henry of the writings of Heer Rose of The Hague is clear in it - Rose and the French advocate of reincarnation Allan Kardec appear in Henry's list of the few people chosen to receive some hints as to what the imminent next Age of history would consist of. (Henry had read Kardec's work probably in the English translation made by GD member Anna Blackwell.) Rose and Kardec had been given their information by what Henry describes as (Part 2 Lecture 89 p533) entities representing the "great Cosmic Order of super-man souls...the Adepts of spiritual science". Science and Hermetic Philosophy ends with a series of lectures on Death and After - what happens to the soul after the death of its latest human body.

Henry was aware of some at least of the most recent discoveries of materialist science. In Part 1 Lecture 2, given January 1918, p2 he said that "Substance...is matter in vibration" with different substances vibrating at different rates - a description with string-theory overtones; and he described the atom as an arrangement of electrons in balance. He was also very excited by the discovery of radium and X-rays; and by experiments with spiritualist mediums: he was convinced that they provided evidence of the continuation of the soul - of life after death. However, most 19th and 20th-century science only indicated to Henry how far Mankind had to go before the souls that inhabited the human bodies of the contemporary world could move to any higher level of existence.

Fourth and last volume: The Aquarian Age, lectures delivered by Henry between May 1920 and September 1921. These lectures make clear - or clearer - what was now the purpose of Ekklesia 1 (I'm not at all sure that its purpose at the outset was the same). Its members were not just students of hermeticism listening to Henry as their occultist teacher. Henry now thought of himself as an Adept successor to Heer Rose of The Hague, whom he now met regularly on his astral travels. In Henry's astral travelling and other occult practices he had also met entities that had confirmed the arrival of the Age of Aquarius and told him what would be the main differences between it and its Piscean predecessor. The people of Ekklesia 1 - the people listening to the lectures - were to be trained as mediums and would use that training to find out more still about the Aquarian Age. They would communicate those findings to the public at large. The result would be the re-establishment of the Golden Age of Ibez, a civilization that had existed first in the Mexican Gulf and later in the Pacific, around 1 million years ago; led by the group known as the White Lodge who were now in charge of the rescue of Mankind from the state it had got into when Ibez sank into the ocean. The lectures gave details of what Aquarian society would be like; but warned the mediums-to-be

of the dangers of the Aquarian Age being prevented from taking root by the efforts of black magicians in the world (by which Henry meant most scientists, and big business). He ended the whole great effort by denying the Brotherhood of Man - as each soul has two unique parents, each human is an only child-cum-soul - and proclaiming instead (Lecture 66 given September 1921, p393) a “universal Father-Mother” of all souls.

How typical Henry’s beliefs were, amongst occultists of the time, I really wouldn’t know, I’m not an occultist myself although I gather from some that are, that Henry’s views were not original. Other GD members (Ellen Gaskell for example) certainly shared the conviction that the world was (at last) leaving the Piscean Age of unquestioning monotheism and moving into the Aquarian Age of religion based on knowledge: an age in which hermeticists would come in from the margins to take their proper place at the centre of soul and social development. Both Ellen Gaskell and Henry thought of themselves as heralds of the Aquarian Age. It was, I think, how Henry had come to justify to himself his desertion of his family; and his poverty and loss of social status since: he had a higher purpose and could not expect reward in this life - which, after all, was only the latest life of his soul’s progress through reincarnation to another level of existence.

I also wonder about whether Henry would still have counted himself as Christian at this stage in his life. In Science and Hermetic Philosophy and again in The Aquarian Age, he describes Christianity as being degraded and commercialised and part of the problem not the solution.

For more on this business of the astrological ages:

Ibez became most widely publicized as part of the Theosophical legends on Atlantis and Lemuria in Alice Bailey’s A Treatise on White Magic (1934). You can read the relevant section online at:

<http://www.light-weaver.com/bk/magic/magi1161.html>

Alice Bailey A Treatise on White Magic published 1934 in London by J M Watkins and in New York by the Lucis Publishing Co.

For some of the Theosophic teachings about Ibez with footnoted sources, try:

<http://www.hiddenhistoryhumanity.com/8A%20Shamballa%20Mayans%20Brazil%206th%20RR%20I.htm>

Comment by Sally Davis on whether the Bible is a kabbalistic document. All I know about the Kabbalah is contained in Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction by Joseph Dan, Gershom Scholem Professor of Kabbalah at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Published Oxford University Press 2007. On p13 Dan says that Jewish esotericism dates from the first century CE and later; and (p6) that the “kabbalah...first appeared in southern Europe in the last decades of the twelfth century”. The Sefer Yezira, much used by my GD members, appears first (p17) in the Jewish European culture of the tenth century. Though most modern scholars assume that its origins were third or fourth century, it’s in the absence of certain evidence as no copies exist from that early.

BY 1919

Henry had moved from East 48th Street Portland; though I don't know where he went to.
Medical Register 1919 p147 with Henry's address as "Portland Oregon USA".

JUNE 1919

Henry began to correspond with Michael Whitty; so he had found out about the existence of the occult magazine Azoth. The correspondence ended (as Henry no doubt hoped it would) with Henry writing an article for the magazine.

Source: letter from Henry to Michael Whitty, publisher of the occult magazine Azoth; written 7 June 1919. You can read the letter at www.heruraha.net, the Temple of Thelema website. It and a series Henry sent to Paul Foster Case were posted there in March 2010 by Jim Eshelman who was able to see the original letters but doesn't say where they are now; as at March 2010 they hadn't been published.

More information on Azoth:

Azoth: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to... Volume 7 numbers 1 to 6; and Volume 8 number 1. You can read volumes 7 and 8 at www.iapsop.com/archive/materials/azoth/ and there are a few more details about the magazine, which was published by the Azoth Publishing Co Inc of Cooperstown New York, from 1917 to August 1921. Editor: Michael Whitty; sub-editor (by 1920) Paul Foster Case; with specialist editors including Frank C Higgins, whose specialism was freemasonry - works by Higgins are mentioned by Henry in one of the volumes catalogued as SRIA 1938m.

Comment by Sally Davis: I'm not sure how and when Henry found out about Azoth - I guess he heard it on the American occult grapevine. If he hadn't known of its existence already, he would have learned through Michael Whitty, that an offshoot of the Alpha and Omega Order (founded by Samuel Liddell Mathers after he'd been expelled from the GD in 1900) existed in New York - the Thoth Hermes Temple. Whitty was its senior figure in the late 1910s, and his protégé Paul Foster Case its rising star. Henry would have found some familiar names amongst the writers who appeared in Azoth: as well as Mathers, E W Berridge had items published in it. Whitty died late in 1920. There's an obituary in Occult Review volume 33 number 2 February 1921 p75 though it has virtually no coverage of Whitty's time in the USA. Whitty turns out to have been English by birth (born 1862). He was the grandson of the original Michael John Whitty, founder of the Liverpool Daily Post.

JULY 1920 TO JANUARY 1921

Henry's article appeared in Azoth: Occult and Religious Symbolism.

Source: see iapsop website details immediately above.

?AROUND 1920, 1921

Ekklesia Autochristophysis either morphed into or was taken over by a more dynamic Portland-based group.

Source: this is a bit of speculation by Adam Forrest, based on his knowledge of occult activity in Portland Oregon in the years after the first World War and a careful reading of the local sources for both groups.

BY 1921

The Brotherhood of Atlantis and Ibez had been founded.

Sources, both discovered by Adam P Forrest: Morning Oregonian of 20 March 1921, obituary notice for Linus M Clark of 10½ 16th Street North, Portland; who is described as a member of that Brotherhood. Source for Henry as another member of the Brotherhood, possibly its

leader after Clark's death: announcement of Henry's funeral, in Oregonian 3 January 1927.

DECEMBER 1920 TO MID-1921 and possibly later but I couldn't find evidence of later Henry corresponded with Paul Foster Case.

Comment by Sally Davis: Henry's letters to Whitty and to Foster Case are more or less the only source for what he'd been doing in the years between 1898 and (say) 1908; and also the only source I know of for his comments on the struggles of the GD in the late 1890s.

Source: extracts from Henry's letters (but not the replies), posted in March 2010 at www.heruraha.net, website of the Temple of Thelema, by Jim Eshelman. Eshelman seems to have been able to see the letters but doesn't say where they are now; as at March 2010 they hadn't been published. Eshelman had been intending to write an article on HPB as a 7=4; but the set of letter-extracts were as near as he got to that.

For further information on Paul Foster Case: wikipedia; and a timeline compiled by Lee Moffitt and dated 26 September 1997 at kcbventures.com/pfc/documents/timeline.pdf. Moffitt suggests that Foster Case was grateful to be noticed by a member of the original GD - he felt it gave his position at the Thoth Hermes Temple greater legitimacy - he had only been a member of it for a few years when he took over as the Temple's senior occultist after Whitty's death.

EARLY 1923

Henry met Arthur Conan Doyle again, in Portland. Conan Doyle found Henry much like he had been in the 1890s - "full of Rosicrucian lore, and occult knowledge".

The Man who created Sherlock Holmes: the life and times of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle by Andrew Lycett. Weidenfeld and Nicolson 2007: p209-10; p210, p423-26. Conan Doyle passed through Portland during a lecture tour.

1925

Henry's book Qabalism was published.

Source: Qabalism originally published by The Yogi Publication Society of Chicago; available on demand now through Kessinger Legacy Reprints.

Comment by Sally Davis: in his book, Henry puts forward a lot of the arguments that figured in the lecture series volumes (SRIA 1938m). I did notice a couple of changes in his thinking, though. In the Preface to Qabalism he said that the Kabbalah is the secret wisdom of the White Lodge of the Ibez civilization, and seemed to be trying to deny that the Jews had anything to do with it other than uncomprehendingly passing the wisdom on, via the Bible. Henry also included a chapter on the life and work of Philo Judaeus; who was hardly mentioned in the SRIA 1938m volumes. Henry did mention the mystical writings of Heer Rose of The Hague; but only ever referred to 10 sephiroth, rather than the 12 he suggested Heer Rose was advocating in the SRIA 1938m volumes.

30 DECEMBER 1926

Henry Pullen-Burry died of toxaemia in Multnomah Hospital. The soul that had occupied his body was released to await its next rebirth.

Source: Oregonian 3 January 1927: death and funeral announcement.

GMC Register 1927 p168 had an entry for Henry Pullen-Burry for the last time. His address was given as 413 Goodnough Buildings Portland. That's not his house, or at least I think not: it was the meeting place where Henry was delivering his lecture series during 1920 and 1921.

AFTERMATH - SRIA 1938m. How the volumes might have come to end up in the Museum of Freemasonry in London.

All the volumes have a name handwritten on the inside of the leather binding: "C C Adams". That's Cecil Clare Adams (1891-1963) son of the architect Henry Percy Adams of the London-based practice Adams Holden and Pearson. After Winchester and RMA Woolwich, in 1910 Cecil went into the Royal Engineers. He survived the first World War and the second, being awarded the MC and retiring with the rank of Colonel. In 1917, during a tour of duty in Ontario Canada, Cecil married Louisa Augusta Kirkpatrick. They had one child, Margaret Cecil Adams, born back in England in 1921.

Cecil had a lifelong interest in the occult. In 1913 he was initiated into A E Waite's Independent and Rectified Rite. By the early 1920s he was a freemason and member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia's Metropolitan College; from which so many of the GD's original members had come, around 1888-89. He also joined the freemasons' lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076, founded in the late 1880s as a forum for the study of the history and symbolism of freemasonry. Though the demands of his profession meant that he couldn't always attend meetings of the SRIA or QC2076, he rose through the ranks in QC2076 and served as its WM in 1940. In 1949 he was paid the compliment of being asked to give the United Grand Lodge of England's annual Prestonian Lecture. The subject of the lecture was always left to the chosen lecturer; Cecil spoke about Our Oldest Lodge.

All in all then, a likely reader of lectures on the Kabbala and the Aquarian Age. Quite how Cecil found out about Henry's sets of lectures I don't know; perhaps he stumbled across Azoth, the first issues of which were published while he was stationed in Canada; or perhaps he knew through IRR friends of the existence of the Thoth-Hermes Temple and went to Canada with letters of introduction. Somehow, he got plugged into occult circles in the US, and eventually bought what is probably a full set of the lectures Henry gave to his Ekklesia 1 between 1918 and 1921. It was probably Cecil that had the typescripts bound in leather; and in due course either he or his heirs gave them to the SRIA, where they are now part of its library at the FML.

Sources for Cecil Clare Adams: see en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ for Cecil's father and www.mallandain.com/rf.fulcher.mathieson.htm, for his father's affair with Cecil's step-mother Alice Mathieson whom he married in 1898 when her divorce came through.

Familysearch Ontario Marriages 1869-1927 now housed at Toronto, GS film number 002130760

There's an obituary in Royal Engineers' Journal published by the Institution of Royal Engineers; volume 77 1963 p318.

Initiation into the Independent and Rectified Rite: RAG p174 C C Adams, taking the motto Verum exquiro.

For SRIA: I looked at the Metropolitan College's Transactions of 1920-25; edited by W John

Songhurst and privately printed. The issue of 1921 p17-18; issue of 1922 p30-31; and issue of 1924 p20 show Cecil beginning to progress up the ranks of the College's officers towards spending a year as its Celebrant. However he doesn't appear in the issue of 1924, presumably because he had been posted abroad. He was still a member though (p64), at level V°. He also appeared in the issue of 1925 p57 as VII°.

Quatuor Coronati 2076: via google to Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volume 52 1941 p283 Cecil C Adams as the previous year's WM, installing the coming year's one.

His lecture: at public.76465.fr01.ikeepincloud.com a list of those giving the UGLE's Prestonian Lecture.

Either Cecil Adams was lending his copies around, or there were other copies of some of Henry's lectures in circulation in London in the 1920s. In the Gerald Yorke collection there are some notes by Dr Carnegie Dickson on that part of The Hermetics of the Bible which covers Genesis chapter 1, the creation story days 1 to 3 (but not 4 to 6); and on the earlier part of The Occultism of the New Testament, where Henry considers St John's gospel up to the end of its chapter 5.

Source: Gerald Yorke Collection NS32, notebook at least partly used by Carnegie Dickson.

Comment by Sally Davis: Carnegie Dickson was the son of Dr George Dickson who was a member of the GD in Edinburgh in the 1890s. Carnegie Dickson was initiated into the GD's daughter order Stella Matutina in July 1909. Stella Matutina suffered in the years after its founder, Dr Robert William Felkin, emigrated to New Zealand; but was revived by Carnegie Dickson and other London-based members in the 1920s.

Sources:

RAG p41, p142, p165.

Gerald Yorke Collection of GD and Crowley papers, now at the Warburg Institute University of London. Catalogue number NS32: Notebook used by Rev A H E Lee and Dr Carnegie Dickson. Carnegie Dickson's notes of Hermetics of the Bible Lectures 34 to 44; and notes on part of The Occultism of the New Testament.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all

new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

12 September 2015

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Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

George Frederick Rogers was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 18 June 1895; he chose the Latin motto 'Omnium frater'. That evening was a busy one at the GD: Mary Palethorpe Reynolds, Harold John Levett and George Cope Cope were initiated in the same ritual. Though George knew many members of the GD already, I'm not sure that he had met any of the other new initiates. The GD records that have survived suggest that George never followed up his initiation; though he didn't ever go so far as to resign from the Order either.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford,

Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

November 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on GEORGE FREDERICK ROGERS; known at least at university as 'Long' Rogers - he was 2.03 metres tall (6' 8")!

IN THE GD

When he was initiated into the GD, George Rogers had been a member of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia for two years, and the Theosophical Society for at least five years. Both of those organisations were good recruiting grounds for the GD though I think the SRIA is the more likely route in George's case.

In the GD's earliest days many members of SRIA had received a GD initiation, probably in order to advise the GD's founders on the rosicrucian details of the rituals they were going to set up. Most of them had not wanted to be a member of an order that was intending to do practical magic, and let their membership lapse. By the time of George's initiation, the GD's earliest days were six if not seven years into the past and the original flow of initiates from SRIA was more of a trickle. However, George might still have been offered initiation by on the grounds that he had information and advice to offer. The most likely person at SRIA to have wanted George in the GD was William Wynn Westcott - one of the two main founders of the GD, and from 1892 the SRIA's most senior member, its Supreme Magus.

One other person who could have recommended George for initiation was Charles Lloyd Tuckey, who had been initiated in July 1894. Charles was a member of SRIA, probably because George had recommended him. The two men were both doctors and had been members of the Society for Psychological Research for several years. They shared an interest in mesmerism and hypnotism.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

George was very interested in some aspects at least of the western esoteric tradition, and while he was not an active member of the GD, he kept up active membership of several other esoteric groupings.

FREEMASONRY

George became a freemason at a very young age. He joined the Isaac Newton University Lodge number 859, which was based in the university and had a reputation for bringing on

young freemasonry talent. I think George had already set his foot on the ladder of the lodge's hierarchy of officers by the time he took his BA exams in 1887. He continued up that ladder while studying for his MB and BS. It was an expensive business: lodge officers were expected to wear a modified version of Court evening dress while carrying out their duties. It was also an exacting business: the lodge was known for the high standard of its ritual work. And once they were sufficiently senior, officers of the lodge were given a rank in the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cambridgeshire, with its attendant duties. In addition, there were exchange visits between Oxbridge-based lodges that senior officers of the lodges were expected to attend. George reached senior warden level at the installation meeting of November 1890 and went to the annual festival meeting of the equivalent lodge at Oxford University, Apollo University Lodge number 357.

On 27 November 1891 George reached the top of Isaac Newton University Lodge's hierarchy, the first student from Gonville and Caius College to serve as its Worshipful Master. As WM of one Cambridgeshire lodge he was invited to important meetings in other ones. He led a delegation of Isaac Newton University Lodge 859 members to the installation of Lt-Col Robert Townley Caldwell as the new Provincial Grand Master of Cambridge; and attended that year's installation meeting of Etheldreda Lodge 2107 in Newmarket, in February 1892. His year as WM was particularly busy as the Lodge was in the process of building its own Masonic Hall. It had owned land on Corn Exchange Street for many years but had only just raised enough money to commission architects and pay builders. George had the good fortune to be WM when the Earl of Lathom (standing in for the Duke of Connaught as the most senior freemason in England) laid the new building's foundation stone, on 6 May 1892; though he had handed on the baton to his lodge successor Francis Carr by 1893 when the first meetings were held in it. George's own installation had been held at the lodge's earlier meeting place, the Red Lion Hotel; meetings of the lodge from 1916 to 1920 were held there again, after the military requisitioned the Masonic Hall.

After his year as WM was over in November 1892, the number of freemasonry functions George attended dropped. In the summer of 1893 he had more important exams to take; and then he started work, in London. However, he was going back to Cambridge for freemasons' meetings when he could spare the time. He was still involved with Cambridgeshire's Provincial Grand Chapter and in 1895 had made it to the rank of Principal Sojourner. And in 1897 he went as a visitor to a meeting of the Scientific Lodge number 88, Cambridge University's other - much older - freemasons' lodge.

As far as I can tell, George didn't join any freemasons' lodges while he was living and working in London in the late 1890s. He joined a Rosicrucian group of freemasons instead - see the next section for more on that. The formation of London Hospital Lodge 2845 came a little late for him - the process of setting up it up didn't begin until after he had got a job back in Cambridge. He didn't attend the early meetings of the lodge's founders but later on, he added his name to the petition to the United Grand Lodge of England; probably at the request of the lodge's first WM, Ernest Sansom, the hospital's senior physician and consequently George's ex-boss. George was present at the lodge's consecration, on 2 October 1901 at Hotel Cecil; and was one of that year's officers though quite a long way down the list of them. I imagine that Isaac Newton University Lodge 859 will have been his main freemason's lodge now he was back at the University.

THE ROSICRUCIANS

If you were particularly interested in the esoteric side of freemasonry there was a group of

colleges that you could join which specialised in research into the legend and symbolism of Christian Rosenkreuz; and George joined it. This was Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia; not exactly a freemasons' lodge, but you had to be a freemason to be a member. George was admitted to the SRIA's Metropolitan College on 13 April 1893. After business had been dealt with, college meetings were organised around the reading of a paper by one of the members, followed by a discussion of the points raised in it. The paper would then be published in SRIA's Transactions. On 11 January 1894, George's medical acquaintance, professional hypnotherapist Charles Tuckey, became a member in time to hear George read his paper on Mesmerism, a subject they had probably been discussing between themselves for quite a while. Charles was never a committed member of SRIA and resigned in 1897 but George remained an active member until after the first World War. He made his way up the ladder of official posts in the Metropolitan College to serve as its Celebrant (the equivalent of WM) from January 1904 to January 1905. His interest in hypnotism continued and he had a paper on the subject prepared for the meeting of 10 April 1919. There was not enough time to read it that evening, but he gave a short resume of it at the following meeting, 10 July 1919.

By the early 1920s, George was one of the SRIA's longest-serving members. As an ex-Celebrant at its Metropolitan College, and the reader of a paper, he had the rank of Hon Magi 9° and a place on the SRIA's governing Council. However, accounts of the SRIA's Metropolitan College in the 1920s show that he did not attend any of its meetings during that decade, even those in the April of each year that were meant to be obligatory. In 1931 he finally sent in his resignation. It was accepted with regret - all resignations were accepted with regret - at the meeting of 8 October 1931. The Metropolitan College's Transactions usually acknowledged the death of members but not necessarily of ex-members; there was no mention of George's death in the 1943 issue.

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

George and Charles Tuckey were important members of the Society for Psychical Research and George at least will have known some of its founding members well - the Society's founders had included a group of Cambridge University academics.

George joined the Society in October 1885, just after he had started at Cambridge University, and four years before Charles did. Meetings got easier to attend in 1893, when he went to work as a junior doctor at a London hospital. By 1895, George was a member of the Society's governing council and he remained a member for many years, even after returning (in 1900) to join the academic staff of his old Cambridge college.

THEOSOPHY

Unlike Charles Tuckey, who had no interest in eastern philosophy, George was interested in theosophy. His Theosophical Society membership application appears in the TS's Register for 1889 to 1891 but without a date. However, a news item in the TS's magazine Lucifer shows that he was a member by February 1889 - as with freemasonry, he'd got involved while still an undergraduate.

The TS organised itself locally by way of lodges, run rather like freemasons' lodges. While he was still at university, George was a member of Cambridge Lodge. So was Catherine Passingham; she was the Lodge's president in 1888-89 and her daughter Amy Gillig was its

honorary secretary. Mrs Passingham was also a member of the Society for Psychical Research, so it's likely George knew her and her family quite well around 1888-89. He may have met them even before that: in 1892 Amy Gillig married Edward Armitage, Cambridge University graduate and member of Isaac Newton University Lodge 859 since before George joined it. The Passinghams left Cambridge early in 1889. To fill the gap Catherine Passingham and her daughter would leave, a Mr Naidu (clearly born in India) was made lodge president and George became vice-president. Catherine Passingham - but not her daughter - was initiated into the GD in October 1889.

George was still a member of the TS when he moved to London in 1893. While living in London he was a member of Blavatsky Lodge, which met at the TS's headquarters in Regent's Park; though Helena Petrovna Blavatsky had died by then so George wouldn't have heard her speak. George remained a member through the mid-1890s - though not a member of any particular lodge - when the majority of members lapsed or resigned, as a struggle for power and future direction tore the TS worldwide apart in the years after Blavatsky's death; carefully keeping the TS records up to date through moves to three different London addresses between 1893 and 1900. However, he stopped paying his annual subscription around 1899, and there's a note on his membership entry deeming his membership to have lapsed as of November 1902. Cambridge Lodge may have been closed by then anyway - more than half the lodges in England shut down during the power struggle.

If George kept up his interest in theosophy after 1902, it will have been in a private way only.

SPIRITUALISM

Catherine Passingham was a spiritualist as well as a theosophist. In the mid-1890s at least, she attended meetings and social events at the London Spiritualist Alliance. I haven't found any evidence of Mrs Passingham persuading George Rogers to give the LSA a try, though. The spiritualist magazine *Light* covered LSA events, and usually included a guest-list; but I didn't spot George's name at any event in the 1890s. It is hard to tell, however, whether people were spiritualists. Spiritualism in general was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and the London Spiritualist Alliance was just an umbrella-group for some spiritualist events in London.

Sources:

FREEMASONRY

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library, accessible online at www.freemasonry.london.museum/catalogue.php. You can search the catalogue via the website. And if you follow the option 'resources' you can reach a searchable digitised database of freemasonry magazines. It only goes as far as 1900 though.

The Freemason November 1888 p10.

The Freemason March 1889 p5.

The Freemason November 1890 p11.

The Freemason February 1891 p11.

The Freemason November 1891 p3 and p8.

The Freemason February 1892 p3.

The Freemason November 1892 p1.

The Freemason June 1893 p3.

The Freemason March 1895 p6 and Freemason's Chronicle March 1895 p4.

The Freemason November 1897 p6.

The Freemason December 1900 p2.

The Freemason October 1901 p2.

I also searched The Freemason's 1905 volume but couldn't see any references to the lodges George Rogers was involved with.

A Hundred Years of the Isaac Newton University Lodge number 859 1861-1961. No indication of the author. This was just a brochure, keener to celebrate the close links the lodge had with the United Grand Lodge of England, and to mention the distinguished careers of its members; than to write a lengthy account of the lodge's history. However it did have a list of the lodge's worshipful masters to date; also lists of its secretaries and treasurers - George never served in either of those roles. Held at the Freemasons' Library.

Edward Armitage:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Abbas-Cutts part 2 p70 citing Times 15 March 1929.

Ars Quatuor Coronati volume LXII part 1 p137-38: In Memoriam Edward Armitage. As a member of Quatuor Coronati Lodge 2076, Armitage will have known GD founder William Wynn Westcott.

London Hospital Lodge number 2845. Not really a lodge history, just a four-page leaflet giving some details of its founding. No author's name or publication details. And no date of publication. The latest date I found in the text was 1945. Held at the Freemasons' Library.

THE ROSICRUCIANS

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College beginning with the issue of 1893-94 and continuing until that of 1943 though with a break after the 1931 issue. Held at the Freemasons' Library.

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900 and there are no subsequent updates to it: pp31-32.

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research published by the Society from its offices at 19 Buckingham Street Adelphi, London; and for members only. Even corresponding and associate members have to be elected. Volume 2 1885-86 p57, October 1885 - joining date of George Frederick Rogers.

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume 4 1889-90: p49 April 1889 - joining date of Charles L Tuckey.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume 9 1893 and 1894. Published London by Kegan Paul Trench Trübner and Co for the Society: p371 list of Council members doesn't yet include George; p388

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume 11 1895 p602 George is now a member of the Council; p620.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume 15 1900-01 p443 George was probably too busy to do many book reviews but this issue has him reviewing Alice Feilding's Faith Healing and Christian Science. Also p485 Charles Tuckey is also a Council member now; p503.

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889 to September 1891 p129. Four different addresses are listed on George's entry: his parents' house in Plymouth and three in London. There's no record of his address after 1900, when he returned to Cambridge; so he had let his membership lapse by then.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine March-August 1889 with Blavatsky as editor. Published by the Theosophical Society Publishing Co at 7 Duke St Adelphi. Volume 4 issue of 15 March 1889 p83 news item on TS's Cambridge Lodge.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

I haven't found any.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

George Frederick Rogers' parents were George Porter Rogers and his wife Sarah, née Wills. George had been born in London and Sarah in Cheshire, but they married in Plymouth. George's mother was from Dartmouth and perhaps that's why he chose to settle in Devon.

George Porter Rogers was a businessman, but from 1875 he also had income from a patent for improvements to sewing machines. He patent was held jointly with Charles Walter Vosper. Vosper was an engineer and probably did the design; while George contributed the money to develop Vosper's ideas.

George Porter Rogers' main source of income was from wholesale warehouses in Old Town Street and Treville Street, and later in Commercial Street, in Plymouth. In 1878 he was a partner in Rundle Brown and Co. At the end of that year Henry Brown retired; the remaining partners carried on as Rundle Rogers and Brook. George Porter Rogers was also active in the local Liberal Party, becoming the president of its Plymouth and Western Counties branch in 1891. By that time he may have been the only partner remaining from the original business: he only was involved in the purchase from Plymouth Council of warehouses and other premises in Commercial Road Plymouth, in August 1890.

George and Sarah married in 1866 and had eight children. George Frederick Rogers was their eldest child, born in April 1867. On census day 1871 George Porter Rogers and Sarah were living at 1 Moor View Terrace Plymouth with George Frederick and his two next siblings, Ida and Amy. Even at this relatively early stage in George Porter Rogers' business life, they were able to afford two servants. By census day 1881, four more children had been

born, but George Porter Rogers' mother Mary had come to live with them, bringing her income from investments; and the warehouse business was doing well. The family had moved to the street they lived in for the next two decades - Seaton Terrace Compton Gifford - and they were able to employ a cook as well as a housemaid and a nurse. On census day 1881 they were living at number 10. Their neighbour at number 9 was Anne Lemon, widow of Lt-Col Thomas Lemon of the Royal Marines. Mrs Lemon's son, Rev Thomas William Lemon, was a freemason and future GD member.

By 1891 Anne Lemon had died; and the Rogers family had either moved a few houses down the street, or had their original house renumbered. On census day 1891 George Porter Rogers, his wife, mother, daughters and youngest son Edgar were living at number 16 Seaton Terrace. With several of the children no longer living at home, George Porter Rogers and Sarah had scaled back their household staff to a cook and a housemaid only; but they were going to the expense of employing a live-in governess.

George Porter Rogers died in May 1911, leaving as much as £25000 in personal estate alone. George Frederick Rogers was one of the executors of his father's Will; with his mother Sarah, his brother Victor and Edward Barclay Smith MD who I suppose was the family doctor.

Evidence from later in their lives suggests that George Porter Rogers' sons Victor and Edgar went into their father's warehouse business, with Edgar branching out into clothes manufacture. George Frederick Rogers was the family's academic star, however: he got into Cambridge University. He never worked in the family business.

Sources:

GEORGE PORTER ROGERS

Census 1871-1891; Probate Registry 1911.

Commissioners' of Patents Journal issue of 9 July 1875 p1839.

London Gazette 7 January 1879 p72 list of partnerships dissolved.

Libl and Radical Year Book 1887 p71 with George Porter Rogers as one of the two vice-presidents of the Plymouth and Western Counties Liberal Club.

Seen at discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk, details of documents at the Plymouth and West Devon Record Office items 1302-124.:

Times Wednesday 30 December 1891 p4: amongst those congratulating W E Gladstone on his birthday: George Porter Rogers as chairman of the Plymouth and Western Counties Liberal Club.

London Gazette 11 August 1899 p5039 a long list and I couldn't find the top of it to find out what it was! It's all men, by county, so I think it's probably a list of new JP's. George Porter Rogers, now of 2 Warleigh Villas Ford Park Plymouth, is on the list for Devon.

GEORGE FREDERICK ROGERS: EDUCATION

The GD member - I'll call him George from now on - went to Plymouth High School, and passed the exams to go to Cambridge University in 1885. He was a undergraduate at Gonville and Caius College, and graduated BA in 1887.

Source:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part 2 No 5 p344.

Times 16 December 1887 p9 University Intelligence.

WORK/PROFESSION

Although his family as comfortably off, George was going to need a profession, and he chose medicine. It was while he was working for his degrees in medicine that he spent his year as WM of Isaac Newton University Lodge number 859. He graduated in medicine and surgery in 1893 and as MD in 1896.

He moved to London in 1893 to work at the London Hospital. He began there as a new graduate would, as receiving room officer, before being promoted to house physician and house surgeon. In his first two years at the hospital he was living out, probably in lodgings: at 123 Gloucester Terrace, then at 66 Mornington Road Gloucester Gate and lastly at 3 Vernon Chambers Southampton Row. Probably in 1895, though, he was appointed to work on the hospital's maternity ward, for which he needed to live on-site.

It's surprising how few certain details I've been able to find about George's working life, and I'm not absolutely sure even when he left the London Hospital. I think he remained there until 1899. Then he might have had some time between jobs, before returning to his old Cambridge college, Gonville and Caius, in 1900 as junior demonstrator in the Anatomy Department. The appointment was for five years, at £100 per year; but it was renewed twice. By 1912 it had expanded, as well, to include examining undergraduate students.

George moved back to Cambridge in 1900 but not into college. On the day of the 1901 census he was the only lodger at 4 King's Parade Cambridge, where the householder was Louisa Greef, a widow of 72. By 1911 Mrs Greef had either died or moved away, and George had taken over as the householder. On census day 1911, he was employing a housekeeper and a housemaid to keep house for himself and his one lodger Anne Lane, an elderly spinster who worked in a music shop. Two servants for a small household in which both residents were out all of most days seems excessive; so perhaps George was not out all of most days, but working in general practice at that address when not doing his job at the Anatomy Department.. His entries in the General Medical Council registers and the medical directories don't make it clear whether or not he was working as a GP.

George's third five-year appointment as junior demonstrator expired in December 1914 but I think he had probably not been doing the work for nearly two years: in 1913, he was appointed an Inspector of Vivisection for the Home Office. When the war broke out, he joined the Royal Army Medical Corps and served until 1919; though I don't know where he worked and such evidence as I've found suggests he continued to do his Home Office job. In 1916 he was living in London again, at 46 Norfolk Square Hyde Park but this seems to have been a temporary phase because he moved back to Cambridge, to 9 King's Parade in 1917.

George continued to work for the Home Office until 1943 but after 1928 I don't know where he was living. He must, I suppose, have left King's Parade Cambridge; but the usual sources for this kind of information give 'c/o' addresses only.

Sources:

Times 19 June 1893 p7 University Intelligence.

General Medical Council registers 1895 to 1931; there are no entries for him after 1931.

A note about the Medical Directory: like Who's Who, it's dependent on the people listed sending in details of their current employment and whereabouts.

Medical Directory 1895 volume 1 London p309.

Medical Directory 1897 volume 1 London p327.

Medical Directory 1900 Provincial section p1080.

Times 30 January 1904 p12 University Intelligence.

Medical Directory 1905 Provincial section p903. Then there's no change in the entry for George Rogers until:

Medical Directory 1912 Provincial section p973.

The first World War is where George's entries start departing from what was really going on:

Medical Directory 1916 Provincial section p971 but with the Norfolk Square address and the new job at the Home Office listed as well as the junior demonstrator job at Cambridge University, as if he was doing both when University sources say he'd left his university job.

Medical Directory 1917 Provincial section p975 with George's jobs as per 1916 but his address as 9 King's Parade Cambridge.

The 1917 entry continues unchanged until:

Medical Directory 1928 Provincial p1006 with George's employment details exactly as 1917 but no address other than c/o Barclays Bank Cambridge. That entry then continues without alteration until:

Medical Directory 1944 when there is no entry for him at all.

The fact that George's job as junior demonstrator ended in 1914 is from:

Cambridge University Calendar 1919 issue, seen via archive.org: p85 Anatomy Department staff: George Frederick Rogers as junior demonstrator, the most senior of three of them; dates 1900-1914. Further down the page are his terms and conditions, and salary. On p10 George is on the list of those eligible to vote for the MP for Cambridge University.

However:

Also seen online: Cambridge University Calendar issue of 1921-22 p13 and p90 with exactly the same entries as in the 1919 issue. It's as if time has stopped!

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part 2 No 5 p344 which gives the dates of his employment by the Home Office as 1913 to 1943. It's also the source of his nickname of Long Rogers.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Apart from the two talks that were published by the SRIA, I don't know of any.

DEATH

George Rogers died in November 1943. He had probably been retired for a few months, as his death took place in Yelverton, Devon. George's youngest brother Edgar Stanley Rogers was living in Yelverton on census day 1911, with his wife Lilian and two children; and may still have been living there in 1943. George had appointed Edgar to be one of his executors, with an accountant, William John Ching. George left a comfortable amount of money to his heirs, whoever they were - £24700-and-odd in personal estate alone. George had never married and so had no known descendants.

Sources:

Probate Registry 1944.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Kate Eleanor Broomhead was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn in June 1890 at its Horus temple in Bradford, as Bradford's second woman member. She chose the Latin motto 'Persevera'. Later she moved to London and became a member of the GD's Isis-Urania temple. Although it took her a decade to do the study, she was finally initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order in 1900. By this time she was married to the artist Cosmo Rowe. When the GD split into two daughter orders in 1903, Kate Rowe went into the Independent and Rectified Order or Rite.

Sissie Rowe (properly, Sarah Ann Rowe) was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn on 7 November 1896 at its Isis-Urania temple in London. Initiated as part of the same ritual were Robert Palmer Thomas; Henry Edward Colville and his French wife Zélie; and Marion Cunningham; though I imagine Sissie didn't know any of them before that day. Sissie chose the Latin motto 'Veritas sin timore'. Early on in her membership she was excused paying the annual member's subscription on grounds of poverty (William Wynn Westcott was very understanding towards GD members who couldn't afford to pay); and she never made it into the inner, 2nd Order. But she does seem to have continued as a GD member until 1903 before joining one of its daughter orders. I'm certain that Sissie Rowe was recommended to the GD's senior members (William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Mathers) by Kate Broomhead: Cosmo Rowe was Sissie's brother.

THE BROOMHEAD FAMILY

Both Kate's parents had the surname 'broomhead'. A surname database on the web traces the name back to 13th century West Yorkshire, though by the mid-19th century people called 'broomhead' had spread into Lancashire and Derbyshire as well. How closely related Kate's parents were to each other I haven't been able to discover. I think that probably they were not closely related.

THE HENRY BROOMHEADS OF SHEFFIELD

Kate's mother Martha was the daughter of a Henry Broomhead who was a member of a family whose men were solicitors, with offices in Sheffield and possibly Rotherham as well.

Unfortunately, several of the solicitors in the family were called Henry, and I've found it difficult to figure out which one was which and how - if it all - they were related to each other.

I shall start somewhere in the middle of Martha's story with the day of the 1851 census. On that day, Martha was living with her father Henry and her mother or possibly step-mother Harriott at an address I couldn't read very well but which I think was 32 Paradise Square Sheffield. Certainly there was a solicitor's practice at that address around that time, I found other evidence of that. Harriott had been married before and Martha had a much older step-sister, Harriet Knowles. Martha was 22 (born around 1829). Her father was 61 (born about 1790). I have found Henry, Harriott (this time spelled Harriett) and Harriet on the 1841 census, this time at North Church Street Sheffield; but I couldn't find Martha.

Martha's father was dead by 1861; he died either in 1852 or 1857 with 1857 looking the more likely to me. Census evidence from later on in the century suggests that Martha inherited some money from her father, which was invested in an annuity to give her an income.

THE BROOMHEADS OF WORKSOP

Kate's father, John Broomhead, was probably the wealthier of her parents and he too inherited money tied up in an annuity. On the day of the 1851 census John's father, William Broomhead, described himself to the census official as a farmer; but he was also the owner of a brickworks. At this time of rapid expansion of cities in industrial Yorkshire and Derbyshire, the brick-making business was far more important as a source of income than the farm, employing 58 men to the farm's eight. John Broomhead had been born in 1822 when his parents were still living in Worksop. William Broomhead and his wife Hannah had moved away from Worksop by 1851; but despite the income the brickworks must have been bringing in, they were living modestly, next to the brickyard in Styrrup, Nottinghamshire; and they were only employing one servant to work in the house. William and Hannah had two sons. John's brother George had left home by this time but he lived nearby, at Harworth.

Kate's parents John Broomhead and Martha Broomhead married each other in 1858. The marriage was registered in Worksop but may have taken place in York. John and Martha had two children: Kate Eleanor, born 1859, and Henry Broomhead (full name Henry Broomhead Broomhead) born 1862. John and Martha set up home close to John's relatives and the brickworks, and on the day of the 1861 census were living just south of Styrrup, in Blyth, Nottinghamshire at 9 Main Street. At some point in the next decade William Broomhead retired from active participation in the brick-making business and moved away from the brick-yard. His decision to retire may have been influenced by the death of Kate's grandmother Hannah; I'm not sure of the date of her death but it was between 1861 and 1871. It's not clear to me who took charge of the family business, but I think it's more likely to have been George than John, I think George is the older brother. On the day of the 1871 census William Broomhead was living alone in Blyth, looked after by a housekeeper. John, Martha, Kate and Henry were still living in Blyth, at 20 Main Street.

William Broomhead died in 1874. It's likely to have been after his death and as a result of it, that John and Martha moved to Bridlington in Yorkshire. They lived there in a house called Zetland Villa, which doesn't seem to exist any more, on a street called Humber Road which also doesn't show on modern streetmaps. Kate was in her mid-teens when this big change

probably took place. One of the benefits of it might have been a rather better education for her. Unlike with most of the GD's women members, I do have some clue as to what subjects Kate was taught: later in her life, she thought of herself as a professional musician. The basis of a middle-class girl's musical education at that time (if she had one) was piano and singing. However, Kate showed more aptitude and enthusiasm than most girls, and learned the violin.

John, Martha and Kate's brother Henry Broomhead were all at home at Zetland Villa Bridlington on the day of the 1881 census. Kate was away visiting an Eliza Whitfield, at 17 Fountain Street, North Myton near Hull. I haven't been able to discover what the relationship between Kate and Eliza Whitfield was. Mrs Whitfield seems to be rather too old and not of the right social class to have been a schoolfriend of Kate's. Her husband had been a ship's chandler, so perhaps Eliza had married him after working for John and Martha Broomhead as a servant. She was a widow by 1881, with young children.

Kate's mother Martha died in 1882. Henry had started work by this time and had probably moved away from Bridlington. He trained as a solicitor and worked in Beverley. In 1888 he married Mary Robinson Oakes of Bridlington.

On her mother's death and because she was still unmarried herself, Kate will have been required to take over the duties of keeping house and caring for her father, who was now in his late 60s. On the day of the 1891 census, though Martha's income from her annuity had died with her, John Broomhead was still able to employ a cook and a housemaid, so Kate will have been free of some household chores. During the 1880s she may have been attempting to build a career for herself as a musician: she was described on the 1891 census form as "violinist music", which must be based on what she or her father told the census official. John and Kate had two visitors staying with them on census day, whom I think were Kate's friends rather than her father's. Both the visitors told the census official that they were working. Hannah Helen Whitworth was a teacher of music and piano, Eliza Wilton was an artist. They were both a little younger than Kate - Hannah was 26 and Eliza 28 to Kate's 31 or 32 - and both had been born in Yorkshire; perhaps they were ex-schoolfriends.

By census day 1891 Kate was already a member of the GD. As Kate had never lived in or near Bradford, how Kate got to be a member of the GD there has puzzled me. Hannah Whitworth may be the connection - she had been born in Bradford and though she was not a GD member herself, she may have introduced Kate to people who were.

In July 1890 - a month after joining the GD - Kate also joined the Theosophical Society. Most applicants for membership of the TS had to be sponsored by two people who were already members but in Kate's case, one sponsor was enough because of the regard in which he was held. Kate's sole sponsor was Walter Old, known as W R Old and as W Gorm Old, but also by a motto he used when publishing anonymously - Sepharial. It's a mystery, how Kate and Walter Old got acquainted but I suppose they must have met in London, where Walter Old was one of the select group of people who were personal friends of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. At this time he was a very active theosophist and TS member. He edited the TS's members' magazine, The Vahan. He was a founder member of the TS's esoteric group; GD founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers were also members. And he published books on theosophy, astrology and the Kabbalah.

Despite Kate knowing one of the TS's inner circle, she was rather an outsider in the TS

during her time as a member. There was a very active TS group in Bradford and Kate certainly knew some members of it - in the early 1890s nearly every member of the GD in Bradford was also in the TS. It would have been very easy for her to join the Bradford lodge; she would have been very welcome, especially by its women members who organised all its meetings, usually holding them in one of their houses. But she didn't join it; in fact, she didn't join any of the lodges of which the TS was comprised. Not so odd is her decision to let her membership of the TS lapse in 1895. A dispute about who should lead the TS after Blavatsky's death was tearing the TS apart at that time; many of its most active and previously-loyal members left - including (I think) Walter Old. Kate may not have been one of the TS's active members, but she did decide to quit. From 1895 on, she stuck with the GD; even through several similar disputes.

Although Kate was initiated into the GD in Bradford, she may have had the same 'arms-length' relationship with the Horus temple there, as she had with Bradford's TS. She had GD contacts in London, at least from 1892 when she borrowed some manuscripts on geomancy from William Wynn Westcott's extensive library. Westcott was very willing to lend books and papers from his collection to GD initiates, but they did have to go to London to collect them and sign for them, and to return them. When she called in at the GD offices to borrow the manuscripts, Kate have have been staying in London with friends she had made through the GD. If she was serious about working as a musician, London was definitely the best place to pursue this ambition; but there was no possibility of her taking up permanent residence there while her father was alive. However, John Broomhead died in April 1893. Kate inherited an income from him - perhaps not a great deal but enough to inspire her to follow her hopes. She moved to London soon afterwards.

Kate's first address in London was South Kensington but she soon migrated slightly westwards to the cheaper and newer district of Hammersmith, where many artistic and musical people lived, including several members of the GD. The focus for much of Hammersmith's social life was William Morris and his family. It wouldn't have been difficult for Kate to get involved with the more public side of the Morris family's social life - there were regular talks and debates and musical entertainments at their house, Kelmscott House. But she could also have been introduced to the Morrises through mutual acquaintances like the GD's Florence Farr, who was a friend of William Morris' daughter May. Florence was living in Dalling Road Hammersmith in 1890; a few years later she moved number 67 The Grove Hammersmith at a time when Kate was living at number 112.

Florence probably also got to know another social group in Hammersmith with GD connections. This group was built around the composer and music teacher Ferdinand Praeger who lived with his family in Brackenbury Road Hammersmith, a few streets away from The Grove. Ferdinand's son Wilfred became a GD member and later married another GD member, organist and composer Lilian Blyth, who joined the GD in Bradford in 1893 and moved to London a few years later. Lilian and Kate didn't coincide as members of the GD in Bradford but there was another way in which they might have got to know each other: Lilian had cousins living in Beverley Yorkshire where Kate's brother Henry was working by the 1890s.

Lilian Blyth and Kate Broomhead had difficulties in common if they were trying to be professional musicians. In the 1890s there were more women musicians than there had been for centuries and some of the old prejudices against women playing certain instruments were dying away. The violin, which Kate played, had been seen earlier in the century as too

technically demanding for a woman to master, but by the 1890s it was - with voice, and piano - their favourite choice of musical study. Women also now had two places where they could study music to college level: the Guildhall School of Music and the Royal College of Music. So those women who wanted to, were good enough and could find the money for the fees could at least reach professional standards of musicianship. (I'm not sure that Kate's family finances would have run to paying for her to study music at college.) However, even those women who had graduated from one of music colleges had the odds stacked against them as professional musicians, and the very fact that the music colleges took women students meant that there were more and more well-trained women chasing not very many good, professional, regular jobs. The big urban orchestras were male preserves, and women were often forced to earn their money as teachers or by playing in restaurants and department stores - not what they had hoped for at all, I would imagine. Women were fighting back, however: there were a lot of all-women orchestras in 1890s London organising their own concerts.

I wish I could say that I had found evidence that Kate was in regular employment in London as a violinist. I haven't found any evidence along those lines. That's not to say she wasn't a professional musician at all; though the lack of evidence means that she was never a soloist with a national reputation, she would have shown up in the Times or on the web if she had been. She could have had several years in the violin section of one of the women's orchestras - the Orchestra of Young Ladies, the English Ladies' Orchestral Society and the Aeolian Ladies' Orchestra were the best known. As I couldn't find a list of any of those orchestras' members (I realise it was rather a big ask) I simply don't know whether Kate played in them. She could have settled for something much less, just to keep playing, to earn money and be able to call herself a professional; and been a member of an ensemble which played in a West End restaurant. In the 1890s women musicians had some difficult choices to make and some of the options were pretty humiliating.

COSMO ROWE

Four years or so after moving to London, Kate married the painter and illustrator Cosmo Rowe. Her husband has turned out to be a most elusive man: even the name 'cosmo' is not the one he was given by his parents, nor the one he used when exhibiting paintings in the 1880s and 1890s; though it is the name that is used now by art sale websites. He was known as 'cosmo' during his lifetime, but just to his friends and his wife.

The art sale websites and even the National Portrait Gallery website give these dates for the man they know as Cosmo Rowe: 1877 to 1952. They can't be right. The information some websites give, that he was American, may not be correct either; but he may have grown up in America as he doesn't seem to have spent much of his childhood in the UK.

Legal documents I've found all agree that Kate Broomhead's husband, the man also known by the name of Cosmo Rowe, was William John Monkhouse Rowe; and my own research has found that his dates were 1860 to 1947.

I shall call William J M Rowe born 1860 by the name 'cosmo' in order to prevent myself from confusing him with his father, who was also called William. It has been hard to find out much about either of Cosmo's parents. The only information I'm certain of is that they were William Rowe and Elizabeth Monkhouse who married each other at Chorlton-upon-Medlock in January 1855. Chorlton-upon-Medlock is just south of Manchester city centre; it was then

a middle-class suburb. William Rowe was 28 when he was married; I haven't been able to find out where he was born. Elizabeth Monkhouse was 34 or 35 and had been born in Wakefield. William and Elizabeth had remarkably few children for a mid-Victorian couple, presumably because of Elizabeth's age at the time she was married - 35 was a lot older then, in terms of fertility, even than it is now. William and Elizabeth's daughter Sarah Ann Rowe was born in Manchester in 1856; she was known as Sissie - she even appears on the census as Sissie rather than Sarah. William and Elizabeth's son William John Monkhouse Rowe was born, also in Manchester, in 1860. He wasn't baptised until 1871, perhaps because his parents left England fairly shortly after his birth - they were not in the UK on census day 1861. I wish I knew where they went, but I don't - the USA is as likely a destination as any.

William Rowe and his family had returned to Manchester by 1867 and were living at 173 Tamworth Street in Hulme when William Rowe died there in July 1867, at the age of 39.

On the probate registry record for William Rowe who died in 1867, his occupation is given as "Artist". Finding out anything about his career has been tough: I couldn't find any paintings that were by him, exhibited or otherwise; there were no references to him in the artists' dictionaries that I looked at. He could have begun to train his children in drawing and painting, but he won't have been able to teach them a great deal, because they were both so young when he died: Sissie was 11, Cosmo only seven. Later, however, both Sissie and Cosmo earned money from art. Cosmo got some professional-standard training in the end; but I haven't found any evidence that Sissie did and the evidence I did find shows that her education in art and other subjects was inadequate to the task she later had of contributing very necessary income to the family budget.

Elizabeth Rowe and her children were not in the UK on the day of the 1871 census and they may have spent many years living abroad; though again I don't know where. They were back in England by 1881, but were no longer in Manchester. They were living at 8 Store Street, St Giles in the Fields, in the Finsbury district just north of the City of London. On census day 1881 Elizabeth told the census official that she was living off an annuity. Sissie was not living with Elizabeth and Cosmo on census day 1881 and I haven't found a likely candidate for her anywhere else in the UK - though I may just have missed her, living with other relatives, perhaps.

This is where there gets to be a bit more information about what Cosmo Rowe was doing with his life in his early twenties: in the mid-1880s he became a friend of H G Wells; and according to books on Wells, the two of them met at the Normal School of Science in South Kensington. During H G Wells' years as a student at the Normal School, he met the woman who became his second wife and made several male friends who remained friends for life. Cosmo Rowe was one of those friends, and I think that it was at this time that Cosmo acquired the name: it began as the name his college friends called him.

While they had all been at the Normal School, H G Wells, Cosmo Rowe and their friends got out and about visiting museums and galleries; to talk a great deal about the future and their future; to take part in debates at the Talking Club; and to found a college magazine, the Science Schools' Journal. H G Wells was the journal's first editor. The books on Wells don't mention who else worked on preparation of the journal or what they did; but I think it's a reasonable guess that Cosmo Rowe worked on it, perhaps doing layout and illustrations. H G Wells didn't know London well; he wanted to get involved in left-wing politics but didn't know where to go looking for them. It seems to have been Cosmo Rowe who did know and

took H G Wells about: to Kelmscott House in Hammersmith, to hear William Morris and George Bernard Shaw; and to meetings of the Fabian Society.

HAMMERSMITH SOCIALISTS

In the late 1880s when H G Wells' friends had left the Normal School, he and they were still meeting regularly. Cosmo was living on Euston Road at that time and they all used to go round to his rooms every Sunday evening. By this time, Cosmo Rowe was one of the socialist group that gravitated around William Morris in west London in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Morris' Hammersmith Socialist Society was founded in November 1890, and Cosmo was a very hard-working member of it. He was its literature secretary, in charge of producing the Society's political pamphlets. He painted the Society's sign, which hung outside the room where it met. And he did speak at some meetings himself, sharing the job with William Morris' son-in-law Henry Halliday Sparling (May Morris's husband), who was secretary of the Socialist League; as a result of which, Cosmo became one of the Morris family's supper-party circle.

Many socialists - including H G Wells - got impatient with the Hammersmith Socialist Society's lack of drive and its focus on debate rather than on-the-street activism, but through the Society Cosmo will have met some very well-known names in the world of contemporary English intellectual socialism. I've already mentioned George Bernard Shaw but there was also Prince Kropotkin - more an anarchist than a socialist; Sidney and Beatrice Webb - more two social democrats than two socialists; Annie Besant - who would leave politics for theosophy; Thomas J Cobden-Sanderson, the bookbinder and founder of the Doves Press; and socialists-to-the-end like Ramsay MacDonald; J S Middleton who in the 1930s was the Secretary of the Labour Party; and Keir Hardie - Cosmo's drawing of Keir Hardie is now in the National Portrait Gallery. If these people were acquaintances of Kate Broomhead and Cosmo's sister Sissie, they must have spent some interesting evenings. Some evidence from the mid-1930s suggests that Cosmo Rowe was another of the group's socialists-to-the-end, although he never became an out-and-out politician; and perhaps some of the people in the list above were still his friends in 1930s. If Kate Broomhead was a socialist-to-the-end, she will have had no chance to do much about it in the 1890s of course; the idea that women might vote in general elections wasn't on the agenda even of socialists at that time, as far as I know. However, I would suppose - I may be wrong - that even in such a situation, it would be difficult for a woman to marry a man whose politics she didn't share; so I'm cautiously assuming that Kate did have socialist sympathies.

Or maybe not. The Hammersmith Socialist Society wasn't all heavy political argument. A woman might want to get involved in the group's musical evenings, even if politics were something she didn't bother with. At one concert Cosmo Rowe sang duets with Emily Isobel Harrison who was a soprano in the Hammersmith Socialist Choir. In 1901 she married Gustav Holst, who was the choir's conductor. Perhaps Kate and Sissie sang in the choir and there will have been chances for Kate to play her violin. Cosmo also had musical friends outside the Hammersmith Socialist Society. A drawing by Cosmo of the piano teacher James Kwast still exists. Kwast lived in Frankfurt where perhaps Cosmo went to visit him; in 1895 Percy Grainger was one of Kwast's pupils so there's a possibility that Cosmo, Kate and Sissie knew Grainger.

I've gone on a bit about Cosmo Rowe's social/political life because it's the only handle I've got for the kind of friends Sissie Rowe and Kate Broomhead must have had in the early-to-mid 1890s. As usual, the available information is on the men not on the women; and even

with the men it tends to focus on those who got more famous later, so that teasing out the part Cosmo Rowe played in it all has been quite hard work. There's no mention of Sissie Rowe playing any part in William Morris' circle. That doesn't mean she never went to any of these social events, it just means that she was not a well-known person either at the time or later, so historians haven't noted her name. Exactly the same is true of Kate Broomhead; but the Hammersmith Socialist Society was a very likely venue for a first meeting between the two women. They had got to know each other by late 1896; by which time Kate probably knew Cosmo as well. Just in time, in a way, because late in 1896 William Morris died, and the group of which he was the centre began to drift apart.

As well as his banner for the Hammersmith Socialist Society, Cosmo Rowe did art work and illustrations for other socialist organisations, including the Land Nationalisation Movement. He also did a drawing of William Morris which he later made up into a full-scale portrait in oils. But all that work was certainly unpaid, so how was he earning his daily bread?

The books on H G Wells say that Cosmo Rowe trained as an artist at the National Art Training School, which was renamed the Royal College of Art in 1896. They don't give dates for when he was a student there. That he was a student there around 1880 seems likely, given the dates of three out of his four exhibited works; on the other hand, a reference to him in connection with a students' magazine from the late 1890s might mean he'd left it as late as his mid-30s to complete his art training. I suppose he must have gone to the Normal School as a kind of insurance policy in case he couldn't earn enough from his art; a training in zoology would also have enhanced his employability as an artist and illustrator. I couldn't find any evidence that he ever worked as a teacher and I think he never intended to unless things were desperate.

I believe Cosmo Rowe was already working as an artist when he started at the Normal School of Science. I think he is the William Rowe who in 1883 began working as a painter of porcelain for Doulton (now Royal Doulton), using the identification mark 'WR'. This person continued to work for Doulton until 1939 - giving Cosmo, if my identification is correct, a regular (though possibly not very great) income from work that he could do at home and combine firstly with his teacher-training and later with his unpaid work for the Hammersmith socialists. Working for Doulton, with consignments of pottery to be painted and possibly deadlines to meet, might explain why Cosmo exhibited so few large-scale oil paintings: two, possibly three, in the mid-1880s; one in 1891; and one in 1900. I've found mention on the web of two more paintings that he painted but never exhibited (at least I don't think he did); but that seems to be it, for large-scale works. No portraits of Kate or Sissie, alas!

One of the artists' dictionaries I consulted while on the trace of Cosmo Rowe described him as an printer and etcher, but I couldn't find any information about that side of his work and I only found evidence for two sets of illustrations. Professor Conwy Lloyd Morgan's *Animal Sketches*, published in 1891, contained 60 pictures by Cosmo in which he made good use of his Normal School lessons in zoology (which was taught until 1885 by T H Huxley). And in 1897 Cosmo's drawings illustrated H G Wells' *War of the Worlds* when it was first published, in episodes, in *Pearson's Magazine* in the UK and *Cosmopolitan* in the USA. H G Wells was quite a cartoonist himself though he never did professional work as an illustrator; perhaps Cosmo had helped him improve his technique and confidence. Many years later, when Wells was very famous, Cosmo started to bring together a collection of his friend's drawings, some of which have since been published.

In the 1880s and 1890s Sissie Rowe was also doing work that could be described as artistic but her working life illustrates harshly the difference in outcome between two 19th-century siblings possibly with equal talent, one of which was male and the other female. Sissie was working at home, which by this time was rooms at 9 Amor Road (off The Grove Hammersmith) where the householder was Edwin James Neville. Sissie was employed as a retoucher of photographs - adding colour and fine detail with paint, and covering up blemishes, particularly on portraits (no colour photography yet, of course). Valeria Coulter, the grandmother of my husband Roger Wright, did the same job as Sissie did at about the same time, though she worked in her employer's studio, not at home.

MARRIAGE

Kate Broomhead and Cosmo Rowe married in the summer of 1897, during the period Cosmo Rowe's illustrations to *The War of the Worlds* were appearing in *Pearson's Magazine*. She was 38, he was 37; so perhaps it was not surprising that they didn't have any children. On the other hand, perhaps it was their choice: in the advanced social circles in which they moved, it wouldn't have been difficult to find out how to have sex without babies. On the day of the 1901 census they were living in rooms at 18 Beauclerc Road Hammersmith. They didn't stay in them much longer, however, before moving out of west London to Wealdstone, possibly to 71 Masons Avenue near Harrow and Wealdstone station, where Cosmo was still living almost 50 years later. Perhaps, now that William Morris was dead, they felt they had nothing in Hammersmith to stay for.

On the day of the 1901 census, Sissie Rowe and her mother were living at 14 Weltje Road south of Ravenscourt Park tube station. Mr Neville had given up his tenancy of 9 Amor Road but the move to Weltje Road also suggests that - without Cosmo Rowe's contribution to the budget - finances were getting uncomfortably tight for Elizabeth and Sissie. They were renting rooms from William Stevens, a retired engine fitter who - after a life working for a railway company - was probably a lot more comfortably off than they were. Elizabeth was now 81. Sissie (now 41 herself) had taken on more paid work - work of the sort that a relatively poorly trained and educated middle-class woman could do at home while looking after an increasingly frail relation. As well as her photograph retouching she was now sewing ribbons. She was self-employed and might have had to spend precious time doing the rounds of the local drapers to sell her ribbons, as well as sewing them up. To me, her life seems grim - and it's at this depressing point that Sissie Rowe passes out of the family history records that I am able to access at the moment. I believe that by the day of the 1911 census, Elizabeth Rowe was dead; though I can't find a death registration for her up to that date so perhaps she lived on beyond 91. On her death, whenever it was, Elizabeth's income from the annuity would no longer be available to Sissie. Sissie isn't on the 1911 census. The 1921 census might tell me more and perhaps confirm my guess that she was living and keeping house for Cosmo later in her life. I haven't found any information about her death - when or where - as it's been hard to identify her.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

Cosmo Rowe never joined the GD or its daughter orders; but Kate continued to be a member after her marriage, studying for her 2nd Order initiation. By the time she became a member of the 2nd Order, in July 1900, she was one of the GD's longest serving members; though she chose not to play an active part in its gradual disintegration until the very end of that process, in the spring of 1903. Neither did Sissie Rowe - a much less senior member - presume to take any sides in the disputes of the years 1900 to 1903. However, after the annual meeting of the GD's 2nd Order members in the spring of 1903 it was clear that the Order was not

going to continue. Sissie wasn't in the 2nd Order and won't have been allowed to attend the meeting; but I'm sure Kate would have told her what happened - there wasn't much point in keeping quiet about 2nd Order business to non-2nd Order members any longer. The two women probably mulled it over together, trying to decide what if anything to do.

Kate found it easier to make up her mind. She was one of a group of 14 2nd Order members (led by A E Waite) who signed a declaration on 24 July 1903 announcing their independence from the original GD. This was the first statement of intent of what became the Independent and Rectified Order or Rite. Eight more erstwhile GD members joined this group before the IRRO/R was constituted on 7 November 1903. Sissie Rowe took longer to move on from the GD. She didn't sign the declaration in July and she wasn't at the ritual of November. However, she was one of seven other ex-GD members who joined the new order after its official founding-date, though the exact dates on which any of them did so are not known. The records of the IRRO/R aren't in the public domain if they exist at all, so I don't know how active a member of it Sissie Rowe was; or whether she dropped out of it or continued her membership of the order until A E Waite wound it up in 1914.

Kate clearly intended to continue her involvement in magic by becoming a member of the IRRO/R. Having signed the declaration of intent, she then went off to Paris with her husband to combine a holiday with getting up-to-date with modern art trends. And there, on 2 August 1903, Kate died, aged 43. It was sudden and unexpected, and Cosmo Rowe was devastated: a sad little death notice appeared in the London Daily Mail. So devastated was he that he didn't cope well with the legal and financial aftermath. Kate had made a Will - probably on the occasion of her marriage - and had appointed her brother Henry as her executor. However, chancery court proceedings about the Will and its provisions were still going on in 1917 and it looks as though, in mourning his "dear wife", Cosmo Rowe had forgotten to pay some of her creditors.

Cosmo Rowe - if I've identified him correctly - continued to work for Doulton for many years but I couldn't find any mention of any large-scale art works by him after Kate's death; or any illustration work. That absence of information may just be a feature of the sources I've looked at; but I do get an impression of a man whose life stuck at the point of his wife's death. I've said I don't know when Sissie died, nor where she was living or how she was supporting herself after 1901; but it looks as though she might have died before her younger brother. Cosmo died in November 1947 and a few weeks later, a firm of solicitors in Sheffield put a notice in the Times asking if anyone knew whether he had made a will. The notice was probably inserted at the request of Henry Roland Broomhead, son of Kate's brother Henry. It took two years to sort out Cosmo's estate; if Sissie had still been alive perhaps it wouldn't have taken so long. A Will did turn up eventually: Henry Roland was its executor and perhaps its main beneficiary.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914.

The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR KATE ELEANOR BROOMHEAD ROWE

THE BROOMHEAD CLAN

See www.surnamedb.com for information on the Broomheads from medieval to modern.

At ancestry.co.uk a map of surname distribution 1891 census.

THE HENRY BROOMHEADS solicitors in Sheffield and it's clear even contemporary sources have a hard time telling one Henry from another.

Via google to Sheffield Directory and Guide issue of 1828 p14.

The Legal Observer or Journal of Jurisprudence volume 17 1839: list of those who had passed their solicitors' exams in 1838.

HENDERSON V BROOMHEAD AND WINTER V BROOMHEAD

I'm fairly sure (though not absolutely convinced) that the Henry Broomhead whose behaviour caused these two court cases can't be closely related to Kate: the dates are wrong. But I found the cases so hilarious I thought I'd include details of the website which has the longest coverage of the gory details. Law Times volume 33-303 issue of 23 July 1859.

MARTHA BROOMHEAD, Kate's mother:

I couldn't find any information on Martha's birth: not the date and not her mother's name.

This might be the marriage of Henry and Harriet though if it is, Harriet is Martha's step-mother not her birth mother. Sheffield Independent 2 August 1839 recent marriages.

JOHN BROOMHEAD Kate's father

Familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 504068, 504070, 504543.

MARRIAGE OF JOHN BROOMHEAD AND MARTHA BROOMHEAD

For it's having taken place in York before being registered in Worksop: familysearch England-EASy GS film number 1655794.

Via google to www.genuki.org.uk, to a transcription of Bulmer's Directory for Bridlington issue of 1892: Mr John Broomhead is in the alphabetical list of prominent residents, at Zetland Villa. No further information on the address was given so perhaps none was needed in what was a small town. And there was no information on John Broomhead's occupation (he didn't have one) or his sources of income.

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p172.

THE GOLDEN DAWN AND HAMMERSMITH

For Florence Farr's friendship with May Morris:

Women of the Golden Dawn by Mary K Greer. Rochester Vermont: Park Street Press 1995 p81.

Sources for Lilian Blyth and Wilfred Praeger: see their combined biography on my web pages.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

Sources are lacking for what exactly happened in the GD between 1901 and 1903. Ellic Howe in his history of the GD uses A E Waite's account of the events, but says that it definitely isn't a full or accurate account. The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972: P251-52. The full list of those GD members who joined A E Waite's Independent and Rectified Order or Rite is in R A Gilbert's Golden Dawn Companion pp169-170 and in A E Waite: A Magician of Many Parts by R A Gilbert. Wellingborough Northants 1987 p178.

WOMEN MUSICIANS

I drew my information on the general picture from

Musical Women in England 1870-1914: Encroaching on all Man's Privileges. Paula Gillett. Macmillan 2000.

There was no entry for Kate, as Broomhead or as Rowe in the New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians 2nd edition. I didn't really expect one as this is a very new edition, but I rather think Kate wasn't in the original edition either.

SARAH ANN ROWE, known as SISSIE; and COSMO ROWE

Marriage of William Rowe and Elizabeth Monkhouse: Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 2112985.

Baptism of Sarah Ann Rowe: familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 438179 and 438178.

Birth and baptism of Cosmo Rowe: familysearch England-EASy GS film number = 438182 though badly transcribed as William John "Menbhens" Rowe. Both the 1860 birth date and the 1871 baptism date are given.

HAMMERSMITH IN THE 1890s

PO Directory 1894 Northern Suburbs Hammersmith street directory p204 Amor Road.

PO Directory 1896 Northern Suburbs Hammersmith street directory p178 Amor Road.

PO Directory 1898 Northern Suburbs Hammersmith street directory p192 Amor Road.

WAS SISSIE ROWE AN ARTIST LIKE HER BROTHER?

If you mean: did she paint large or even medium-sized works and exhibit them in public in an art gallery? I think the answer is no. I haven't been able to find a shred of evidence for any such works by her. So it's likely that she didn't paint such works on private commission either.

WHEN DID SISSIE ROWE DIE?

Again, I haven't found a likely death registration for her; and there doesn't seem to be an entry for her in the Probate Registry. At Cosmo's death, the call for people to come forward who could say whether he ever wrote a Will suggests that Sissie was either dead by then; but she may just have been mentally incapacitated or very ill and not able to give the information.

COSMO'S EDUCATION

The most informative source was:

The Picshuas of H G Wells: A Burlesque Diary Gene K Rinkel and Margaret E Rinkel. Urbana and Chicago: Univeristy of Illinois Press 2006 pp50-51. On p51, Figure 2.9 is a cartoon invitation card sent by Wells to Cosmo Rowe and kept by Cosmo so that it's still extant. There's no date, but evidence on p49 establishes it as sent during 1896.

Good on Wells' life in general during his period at the Normal Schools:

H G Wells: Desperately Mortal by David C Smith. New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1986. Particularly pp11-21.

Other information on the Normal School of Science:

Imperial College's website at www.imperial.ac.uk

At www.british-history.ac.uk, British History Online, funded by English Heritage. Information reproduced from Survey of London volume 38: South Kensington Museums Area. Editor F H W Sheppard published 1975 pp233-47

A brief mention in an official History of Imperial College 1907-2007 by Hannah Gay. London: Imperial College Press 2007.

COSMO AS AN ARTIST

If Cosmo did any paintings of his wife Kate, they have not survived.

His education. The mid-1890s date for him as a student comes from his name coming up when I was searching google scholar. The reference was to a magazine The Beam published by students at the National Art Training School South Kensington. It ran for numbers 1-3 only, in 1896. I haven't been able to find a copy of it to check out the reference to Cosmo.

Victorian Tiles by Hans van Lemmen. Princes Risborough: Shire 2000 p23.

International Dictionary of Miniature Painters, Porcelain Painters and Silhouettists editor Harry Blättel. Munich: Arts and Antiques 1992 p782 there is an entry for one William Rowe and no Cosmo Rowe. The source for his entry is J P Cushion Handbook of Pottery and Porcelain Marks London: 1980.

The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940 compiled J Johnson, A Greutzner. Antique Collectors' Club 1976. P439 which has an entry for "William J Monkhouse" Rowe, exhibiting 1883-91 and described as "Printer and etcher", London. There's no entry for Cosmo Rowe and no entry for any man called William Rowe who might have been Cosmo Rowe's father.

Dictionary of British Art volume IV: Victorian Painters volume 1: The Text by Christopher Wood. Antique Collectors' Club 1995. On p453 there's no entry for Cosmo Rowe. There are entries for a William J Monkhouse Rowe; and a William Rowe "Junior". On the Occam's Razor principle and given the dates of the works exhibited, I am assuming that the two entries are the same artist. The second entry acknowledges the existence at some time of a William Rowe senior who is also an artist; but there's no separate entry for such a person.

The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors...1769-1904 volumes 5 and 6 compiled by Algernon Graves. S R Publishers 1970 p383 and again I'm using Occam's Razor to assume two entries are in fact the same artist. A William Rowe exhibiting 1883 and 1886; and a William M Rowe exhibiting 1891. The William M Rowe at least is definitely Cosmo: the address is the one he, Elizabeth and Sissie were living at on the day of the 1891 census; in Frithville Gardens off Uxbridge Road. There's no entry for a William Rowe who might have been Cosmo and Sissie's father.

Dictionary of British Artists Working 1900-1950 by Grant M Waters. Eastbourne Fine Art 1975 p287 has no entry for Cosmo Rowe, under any name.

THE VERY FEW REFERENCES I'VE FOUND TO ART WORKS BY W J M/COSMO ROWE

Animal Sketches by Professor Conwy Lloyd Morgan of Bristol University. London: E Arnold ?1891 with 60 illustrations by "W Monkhouse Rowe".

At www.1st-art-gallery.com a portrait of William Morris in oils by Cosmo Rowe, possibly 1895. This is one of the websites that says that Cosmo Rowe is American and gives dates of 1877-1952. This portrait - the only one in oils that I've found - might be the one also covered by website bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings, as now owned by National Trust and housed at Wightwick Manor.

Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger editors Malcolm Gillies, David Pear and Mark Carroll. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006: illustration pxiii and dates that Grainger was Kwast's pupil pxv.

War of the Worlds:

Information from wikipedia: War of the Worlds was first published in serial form during 1897, in different magazines in the UK and the USA: Cosmopolitan magazine in USA; and Pearson's Magazine from April to December 1897 in the UK. It was published in book form in 1898 by William Heinemann and has never been out of print. I came across Cosmopolitan volume 23 1897 on the web. On p478 Cosmo Rowe is credited with some of the illustrations to War of the Worlds, but not all of them.

Arnold Bennett and H G Wells: A Record of a Personal and Literary Friendship by Arnold Bennett, H G Wells; edited and with introduction by Harris Wilson. London: Rupert Hart-Davis 1960: p42 footnote 2.

Fire in the Stone: Prehistoric Fiction from Charles Darwin to Jean M Auel by Nicholas Ruddick. Middletown Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press 2010. Figure 1.6, p216 footnote 26.

Two drawings of James Keir Hardie by Cosmo Rowe are now in National Portrait Gallery, because of their famous sitter, not because of Cosmo's fame as an artist because he had none. Perhaps that's the reason why even the NPG identifies him as American, 1877-1952. The NPG website www.npg.org.uk says both are drawings done a photograph taken by G C Beresford, not from life. Catalogued as NPG 2542 and NPG D42979 and dated 1905 making them the only works (other than the works for Doulton) known to exist by Cosmo Rowe which were likely to be done after Kate's death.

At www.findartinfo.com were details of 2 works by Cosmo Rowe in their recently sold list.

1 = another portrait of Keir Hardie; pencil; sold 2012.

2 = one of the illustrations Cosmo Rowe did for Wells' War of the Worlds; gouache; sold 2009.

An oil painting apparently signed by "Cosmo Rowe" was sold on ebay in April 2014: Gypsy Dancers, 18½" x 27". Oil on board; signed; undated.

COSMO ROWE AND H G WELLS

H G Wells: Desperately Mortal by David C Smith. See above in the Cosmo's Education section.

The War of the Worlds: A Critical Text of the 1898 London First Edition H G Wells and Leon E Stover. Jefferson North Carolina: McFarland and Co Inc Publishers 2001 in the Annotated H G Wells Series; number 4. Introduction p9; p28.

COSMO ROWE AND WILLIAM MORRIS/HAMMERSMITH SOCIALISTS

William Morris, Prophet of England's New Order by Lloyd Eric Grey. London: Cassell and Co Ltd 1949: p307-13; p332-335; p344-345. In the 1930s L E Grey had written to Cosmo Rowe while researching the book: his account of the Hammersmith socialists in the early and mid-1890s is based on Cosmo's replies.

William Morris the Marxist Dreamer by Paul Meier, translated from the original French by Frank Gubb. 2 volumes, Sussex: The Harvester Press; New Jersey: Humanities Press 1978. Volume 1 p210; also quoting a letter written by Cosmo Rowe in the 1930s.

KATE'S DEATH

Via newspaperarchive.com to London Daily Mail of 7 August 1903 p1 death notices.

The Law Times, the Journal and Record of the Law and Lawyers volumes 143, 144 1917 p32 list under the heading "Creditors under estates in Chancery".

London Gazette 23 October 1917 a legal notice following on a decision in the Chancery Court in the matter of the estate of Kate Eleanor Rowe deceased.

COSMO ROWE'S DEATH

Times 17 December 1947 p1 legal notices, repeated Times 24 December 1947 p1.

19 June 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http:pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

George Rowell was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 28 February 1894; he chose the Latin motto 'Obsta principiis'. It was a busy evening at the GD: Mary Eliza Haweis and James Madison Durand and his wife Theodosia were also initiated that day; though I'm not sure that George would have known Mrs Haweis and the Durands before the ritual began - they moved in very different circles.

George Rowell did begin the programme of study that new initiates were expected to undertake if they wanted to be able to do practical magic. However, a note was written in the Isis-Urania administrative papers that his membership had lapsed. This usually happened when a particular member hadn't paid their yearly subscription for three successive years. There's no date on the note, but it was probably written before March 1897 (see 'in the GD' below for why). George didn't join either of the GD's daughter orders, Stella Matutina or the Independent and Rectified Rite.

This is one of my short biographies. George Rowell had a hard-working, busy life. I've found a bit of information on his career as an anaesthetist, but he didn't leave any papers behind him that have found their way into the public domain.

Sally Davis

July 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on GEORGE ROWELL.

IN THE GD

In December 1894 at the Isis-Urania temple, George's friend Victor Toller was initiated into the GD. Perhaps it was George who had put Victor's name forward as a suitable candidate. Victor changed his mind only a few weeks after his initiation, and sent in a letter of resignation. The friendship continued, however, and when Victor died in 1915, George Rowell was one of his executors.

Why March 1897? In March 1897 William Wynn Westcott resigned as the GD's chief administrator. Afterwards, record-keeping in the Isis-Urania temple was not so thorough and meticulous; and in any case a lot of it was kept by the various officials in their homes, and has been lost.

Sources:

R A Gilbert *The Golden Dawn Companion* and Ellic Howe pp166 et seq. For full publication details see the main Sources section at the end of this biography.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

George Rowell's particular professional speciality may have made him curious about altered states of consciousness. But I haven't found evidence that he had any other occult interests.

The majority of GD members arrived in the Order from freemasonry or from the Theosophical Society. George Rowell was not in the TS and I also haven't found anything to show he was a freemason. It's more difficult to discover whether GD members had any interest in spiritualism, as so much of it was based in the home and left no records behind. Those national or local organisations that did exist haven't left membership records that are available to the public, as far as I'm aware.

Negative sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

Freemasons' Library database of records at the United Grand Lodge of England, which you can access online at [NAME](#). There's no sign of George Rowell in the FML's records. This doesn't necessarily mean he wasn't a freemason. What it does mean is that - if he was one at all it was at a very local level (lodges keep their own membership records) and he never rose to national prominence.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

George Rowell was born in Banbury, Oxfordshire, the eldest son of Robert and Ann Lydia Rowell. Both George's parents were recent arrivals in the town, but whereas his father had not moved all that far - he'd been born in Rugby - his mother had been born in west Africa, in The Gambia. Her sister Clara was born in Hackney in 1844 so the Grants did return to England from time to time. However, Ann Lydia is not on the 1851 census and might have been back in The Gambia then.

Robert and Ann Lydia met in Banbury. Robert Rowell was working in a businessman's

office; and on the day of the 1861 census, Ann Lydia Finden Grant and her widowed mother were running a small boarding school, with Ann Lydia as the schoolmistress.

Robert Rowell and Ann Lydia Finden Grant married in 1862. George Rowell was the eldest of their large family, born late in 1863. On the day of the 1871 census, the Robert and Ann Lydia were living at 15 Oxford Road Banbury, with George and his brothers Charles (aged 6), John (4) and William Norman (1). William Norman Rowell was the brother George was closest to later in life. As well as the basic young woman general servant, the Rowells were employing a nursemaid, suggesting that they were quite well-to-do even then.

By 1881, Robert Rowell had moved the family to Chipping Norton and started his own business as an ironmonger, employing 10 men and four boys. Census day 1881 fell during the university vacation so George was at home; as were his youngest brother Robert (9) and his sisters Lydia (7), Rose (4) and Alice (2). Ann Lydia's sister Clara was living with them; she was usually employed as a nurse but perhaps was between appointments on census day. For this large household the Rowells employed two servants, and a governess for their daughters.

After George went to university he never lived permanently in Chipping Norton again. Robert Rowell senior died in 1894. Ann Lydia and her daughters moved to Oxford; and George's brother William Norman Rowell took over the ironmongery business. Under William Norman the original ironmonger's shop was expanded into an engineering business, specialising in road building and maintenance. William Norman and his family seem to have done very well out of it - by 1911 they had moved to Ivydene, in the village of Ascott-under-Wychwood. Ivydene was a substantial residence - it 15 habitable rooms; though William Norman's wife Florence was still housekeeping with only the one basic live-in servant.

Sources: freebmd; census data 1851-1911; probate registry 1895.

People called Grant in The Gambia:

Historical Dictionary of The Gambia by Arnold Hughes and David Perfect. 4th ed. African Historical Dictionaries number 109 Scarecrow Press Inc 2008. 1st ed was A Hughes and H A Gailey 1999. On p90 there is mention of a Sir Alexander Grant who was sent in 1816 to occupy what became James Fort in The Gambia. He was acting governor of Sierra Leone in 1820-21 and, with the rank of Major, commander of the British garrison in The Gambia 1822-26.

The Missionary Register volume 4 1816 p326 in its Foreign Intelligence section announced the formation in Sierra Leone of a local branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society had been set by a group of British including John Grant Esq. The connection is that the British toehold in The Gambia was, at this stage, being run from Sierra Leone.

History of The Gambia by J M Gray. Cambridge University Press: 1940. On p336 a Major Grant (I assume Alexander Grant is meant) is mentioned as negotiating a lease on land then used to build Fort George on MacCarthy Island in The Gambia. On p336 footnote 2 quotes a letter from Lieutenant-Governor Rendall to a John Grant, 1 January 1833, seen in Report of the Select Committee on West Africa published 1844 p239.

Report of the Select Committee on West Africa published 1844 p241 Appendix 13 dated April 1842 is or contains a petition by British people in The Gambia asking the British government to provide better legal documents of land ownership to British subjects claiming land on MacCarthy Island. One of the petitioners was John Grant.

Given how small the British population of West Africa was in the early 19th century, perhaps Ann Lydia Finden Grant was a relation of one of both of the men called Grant who are mentioned above. Ann Lydia was born in 1836 or 1837.

There's an Ivydene Cottage at 35 West Street Chipping Norton, but given the size of William Norman Rowell's house it's more likely to be the Ivydene which is still at 2 Church Close, Ascott-under-Wychwood.

Report of Proceedings of the 3rd International Road Congress, London 1913 published Oberthür 1913 p235 W N Rowell of Ivydene Chipping Norton is in a list.

Municipal Yearbook and Public Utilities Directory 1933 p300 W N Rowell still in business at same address.

EDUCATION

George Rowell probably attended local schools in Banbury and Chipping Norton. Then he went to Guy's Hospital to study medicine. An outstanding student, he qualified LRCP and MRCS in 1886 at the relatively young age of 23; and was made a Fellow of the RCS as early as 1888. Perhaps he had gone through his medical education at a bit too high a speed, though: it took him a few years to decide what career path he wanted to pursue, what medical specialisms (if any) he wanted to focus on.

Sources:

General Medical Council Registers.

Times 12 August 1884 p12 University Intelligence.

Lancet July-December 1886 p277 issue of 7 August 1886.

Times 18 December 1888 p9 Royal College of Surgeons England: list of newly-admitted fellows.

WORK/PROFESSION

George spent 1889 as resident surgeon at Guy's Hospital. But then he went to work for P&O as a doctor aboard its royal mail ships. He was still working for the company early in 1891 and so is not on that year's census in the UK. The period on board ship gave him some basic GP experience, but also decided him against settling down as a GP back in England. Instead he decided to specialise in anaesthetics. Resigning from P&O later in 1891, he began to work as an anaesthetist at the Royal Dental Hospital. That was an unpaid post but George was soon offered paid work at Guy's Hospital, which was his main place of work for the rest of his professional life though he also acted as anaesthetist in several other hospitals. Here is a list of all the jobs he had, starting with those at Guy's; though without many dates as I haven't been able to confirm more than one or two.

Anaesthetist, Guy's Hospital. 1893. This was a salaried post.

Demonstrator in anaesthetics, Guy's Hospital. 1896.

Lecturer, Guy's Hospital Medical School. No definite date but probably by late 1897.

At death: senior anaesthetist, Guy's Hospital.

Assistant Anaesthetist, Royal Dental Hospital Leicester Square. Appointed 1891. This was an honorary appointment, and was definitely not full-time - more like one or two sessions a week -but there was still promotion available.

Anaesthetist, Royal Dental Hospital. 1898-1905 when he resigned. There had been trouble about the honorary appointments in 1903.

Two more jobs. George's obituary in the BMJ seems to be suggesting that he worked at these two hospitals in between spells at Guy's, returning to Guy's to take up the appointment as senior anaesthetist. However, the obituary in The Lancet doesn't give that impression.

Anaesthetist, West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases.

Anaesthetist, National Orthopaedic Hospital.

During World War 1. These jobs were both honorary and additions to his other work:

Anaesthetist, King George Hospital

Anaesthetist, Royal Flying Corps Hospital.

Working at so many different places made for a busy life but soon won George a reputation in his chosen field. He was asked to do research work on behalf of the medical profession, particularly in the 1890s and early 1900s when a number of different substances including chloroform, ether and cocaine were being investigated as possible anaesthetics.

Member, BMA Anaesthetic Commission; and served as its assistant secretary. Beginning in 1891.

Member, BMA Chloroform Commission. Beginning 1901.

He was a member of many professional societies:

BMA Metropolitan Counties branch.

Royal Society of Medicine, where at his death he was president of the anaesthetics section.

Medical Society of London

Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society.

Sources:

The most important were his two obituaries:

The Lancet 1918 volume 1 issue of 27 April 1918 p621 obituary and some personal reminiscences.

At www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov: British Medical Journal of 27 April 1918 p495.

Lancet January-June p119 issue of 9 January 1892. Times 13 August 1892 p3.

Lancet July-December 1891: p383-84 coverage of that year's BMA meeting. George spoke at its Therapeutics/Anaesthetics section, on what to do if your patient appeared to be dying of chloroform poisoning.

Lancet July-December 1892 p269 coverage of BMA meeting, which that year was held at Nottingham. P272 on behalf of the BMA's Committee on Anaesthetics, Professor Victor Horsley gave reported on what it had done so far. George was too junior to give the report but he will have worked on some of the clinical trials that had been done in the past year, and helped prepare the report for the BMA.

Lancet January-June 1897 p1275 issue of 8 May 1897. George read his paper on how to anaesthetise children at a meeting of the Harveian Society of London, held 29 April [1897].

Times 6 August 1898 p16 George as a staff anaesthetist at the Dental Hospital of London Medical School.

Lancet January-June 1901 p280 issue of 26 January 1901: an item on a report issued by the Anaesthetics Committee of the BMA. On p709 issue of 9 March 1901; the report had been discussed at a meeting of the Society of Anaesthetists held on 1 February 1901. I haven't found any direct evidence of George as being in the Society of Anaesthetists; but surely he must have been.

Lancet 1903 January-June p453 issue of 14 February 1903; p601 issue of 28 February 1903; and p1679 issue of 13 June 1903; giving updates on a dispute at the Royal Dental Hospital. In a very 21st-century manner, the Hospital Management Committee had appointed a man to supervise the work of its honorary anaesthetists and investigate exactly what they did. The man had recommended that they be asked to join the Management Committee but be replaced on the wards by two paid employees: a move which the Lancet and the men involved construed as a sacking. This was in February. Over the next few months, the in-post honorary anaesthetists and their retired predecessors fought an action which resulted in the complete capitulation of the Management Committee; the Lancet didn't report what happened to the supervisor and investigator but I expect he kept his job like these management consultants do. As one of the threatened honorary anaesthetists, George must have taken a part in the furore and he obviously began to think that work at the Hospital was stress in his life that he could well do without - he resigned from his honorary post two years later.

Oxford University Calendar 1904 p43 the first of a series of page-sized adverts from all the major teaching hospitals in London. Most listed their current staff. On p43 Guy's Hospital Medical School University of London: G Rowell heads the list of its anaesthetists.

Lancet July-December 1904 pp538-39 issue of 20 August 1904 in the journal's coverage of this year's BMA meeting. George had taken part in a session on chloroform as an anaesthetic; the discussion focused particularly on the number of deaths from overdoses.

On p1716-18 issue of 17 December 1904 the Lancet reported on the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society's Adjourned Discussion on chloroform anaesthesia, which had taken place on 13 December 1904. George spoke at that meeting, giving his assessment of two different pieces of equipment currently in use to administer chloroform. He spoke out against the idea that there should be a list of recommended dosages, saying that dosage couldn't be treated as a "mere matter of weights and measures".

The Lancet had a particularly large amount of coverage of the various rival anaesthetics during 1904 as the debate about their suitability continued; however, after 1904 its coverage declined.

British Medical Journal 1904 but I couldn't see the exact date on the google snippet: George as one of two honorary secretaries of the Metropolitan Counties Branch of BMA.

Lancet January-June 1909 p957 issue of 27 March 1909 the Lancet mentioned that a private members' bill was before Parliament to regulate the administration of anaesthetics. The Lancet quoted a lot of reactions in medical world to the tenets of this bill - the General

Anaesthetics Bill - though George wasn't one of the doctors quoted.

Lancet July-December 1910 p551, 555-56: report on that year's BMA meeting, held in London. The Anaesthetics section of the BMA held a discussion on the "open system of ether administration". Rowell described his experience with it, saying that it was simple to use, and free from complications. He also made the opening remarks at a session on how to treat a patient that had gone into shock on inhaling an anaesthetic.

Lancet January-June 1913 pp31-34 issue of 4 January 1913 item on the December [1912] meeting of the Medical Society of London. The main discussion was on intestinal stasis and George spoke about its anaesthetic aspects. On pp1163-67 item on the April 1913 meeting of fellows of the Royal Society of Medicine; on alimentary toxæmia. George had spoken at that meeting too, on the work of Mr Lane, which he had been able to observe personally.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Not as many as you would suppose. George did contribute a chapter on the use of gas and air in anaesthetics to a publication the Lancet calls Underwood's Anaesthetics.

Notes on Anaesthetics with an Appendix.... by Arthur Swayne Underwood was published in London by C Ash and Sons in 1885, which is much too early for George to have anything useful to say on the matter. His piece is in its second edition:

Notes on Anaesthetics in Dental Surgery by A S Underwood and C C Braine. London: C Ash and Sons 1893.

And noting here a book that George didn't write, despite being very well qualified to do so: the student textbook Dental Anaesthetics, whose second edition was published in 1913.

Source:

Lancet July-December 1913 p153 issue of 19 July 1913 a note welcoming a second edition of Dental Anaesthetics by Wilfred E Alderson MD, lecturer at Newcastle-upon-Tyne Hospital and Dental School. Published Bristol: John Wright and Sons Ltd.

FAMILY

It was not until 1906 that George married.

George's bride was Frances Emily Holmes, about whom I've been able to find out virtually nothing. The only census on which I can identify her is that of 1911, on which she was described as having been born around 1880 in Sudbury Suffolk. An Emily Frances Holmes' birth was registered elsewhere in Suffolk in 1880 and this registration might be the woman George married.

I know nothing about her parents, not even their names. Though I could see when searching with google, evidence of people named Holmes living in the Suffolk area in the late 19th century, no one called Frances Emily or Emily Frances came up.

George had been living in the Cavendish Square district of London W1 since the mid-1890s and on their marriage, he and Frances Emily set up house at 6 Cavendish Place. They had one child, George William Rowell, born in 1908. On the day of the 1911 census, George, Frances Emily, and George William were all at home; with their cook, parlourmaid,

housemaid and nurse - a very well-to-do household. George's nephew Robert Norman Rowell, son of William Norman Rowell, was living with them while he studied engineering.

George's mother Ann Lydia was still alive in 1911, though well into her 70s; but she and George's sisters were abroad on census day. Ann Lydia Rowell died late in 1917, in Oxford, aged 81. George only survived her by a few months.

DEATH

The first World War put a strain on everyone, of course. George didn't volunteer to work in the front-line hospitals in Flanders. Instead, he and others still working in London did their best to cover for the absence of those that had volunteered, as well as dealing with all the casualties that were sent to England for further, often complex treatment, in temporary hospitals set up all over the country.

Obituaries try hard not to speak ill of the dead. In George's case there was no ill to speak of, but his obituaries do suggest that his determination to take on so much extra wartime work had led to a decline in his health. He caught an infection and died, at home, on 18 April 1918. The Spanish Flu did a dress-rehearsal in spring 1918, making ready for the main event of that autumn, and I do wonder whether that was what killed him. He was 54.

His sudden death shocked his colleagues and there was an immediate sense of how very much he would be missed. In addition to the basic obituary, the *Lancet* published two appreciations of George as a doctor and as a co-worker. The second was from someone just identifying themselves as "EP". The first was from William Arbuthnot Lane, senior surgeon at Guy's Hospital who - amongst many other specialities - did ear nose and throat operations and developed a successful technique for treating cleft palates. Both spoke of George as a man extremely good at his job, both as a teacher and as an administrator of anaesthetics. As a senior anaesthetist, many of the most difficult cases fell to his lot; but in his working life he had had very few failures; that is to say that very few patients had died as a result of the anaesthetics he had administered.

Sources:

The two obituaries quoted as sources for the 'work/profession' section above.

There's a wiki on Sir William Arbuthnot Lane. During World War 1 he fought for the funding for the famous face-rebuilding plastic surgery unit at Queen Mary Hospital Sidcup.

FRIENDS

Sir William Lane - who lived in Cavendish Square, round the corner from George - and "EP" both spoke of George's popularity, with his students and with his contemporaries. He was a good, loyal friend - Lane described him, interestingly, as having more friends than most men have.

People's friends are not always easy to spot when they leave so little historical evidence behind them. I do know of one of George's friends, though; possibly two.

I've already mentioned GD initiate Victor Toller as a long-time friend of George Rowell. Victor died in October 1915. His Will named George as the second of three executors. The third was perhaps a friend to both George and Victor - Robert Hope Case, who prepared a

number of poetry anthologies and an edition of the works of Christopher Marlowe. The first executor was Victor's widow, Mary Elizabeth Toller, and this may have presented George with a situation requiring all his social skills: the evidence I've found suggests that the Tollers were living apart when Victor died.

There are several works by Robert Hope Case in the British Library catalogue; all are as editor rather than author. Victor Toller's Will describes Hope Case as a professor of literature. The poetry anthologies were published during George and Victor's lifetimes:
English Epithalamies London: John Lane 1898.

The Bodley Head Anthologies London: John Lane 1896-1902.

The edition of Christopher Marlowe was not published until after World War 1 though both Victor and George may have been able to hear of the work in progress.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

There seem to be several George William Rowells on the web and in Ancestry's probate registry listings. I haven't been able to identify George Rowell's son for certain.

Frances Emily Rowell was only in her late 30s when George died. In September 1919 she married again. Her second husband was Archibald Dunbar Brander of the Imperial Forest Service in India; and I suppose she went out to India with him. At his retirement they went to live in Scotland, where Frances Emily Brander died in 1954.

George's stress in World War 1 was no doubt increased when Robert Norman Rowell joined the army in April 1916. However, he survived the war and died in Oxfordshire in 1960; probably having inherited his father's business. William Norman Rowell had died in 1936.

Sources:

Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News volume 46 1919 p45 announcement of the engagement and imminent marriage of Frances Emily Rowell and A A Dunbar Brander OBE.

At archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com posted January 2001: some information on the Dunbar Brander family of Pitgaveny; including the date of Frances Emily's second marriage. Her second husband died in 1953.

The Dunbar Brander family is in www.thepeerage.com which uses Burke's Peerage as the basis for its family history information. Burke's doesn't seem to know of any children from Frances Emily's second marriage; so I guess there weren't any.

Spotted via google so I couldn't see the date of the issue; but it must be late April 1916: London Gazette p5617 Robert Norman Rowell as 2nd Lt with effect from 19 April 1916.

Probate Registry 1936 and 1960.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 July 2016mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net

Email me at AMandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Robert Roy was one of the first people to be initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. His initiation took place at the GD's Isis Urania temple in London, in June 1888. He gave the GD his address and chose a Latin motto, 'Nil desperandum', but was never an active member.

This biography is short, for two reasons. Firstly, there's a note in a GD address book that describes Robert's membership as "nominal". Secondly, I haven't been able to find out much about him, on the web or elsewhere, except for his involvement in freemasonry; for reasons which might become clear if you read the biography through.

Sally Davis

November 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on ROBERT ROY.

IN THE GD

As well as calling Robert's membership of the GD "nominal", there are also notes on its membership roll saying "no papers left" and "portal only". I think he was initiated in order to bind him to silence about the GD's existence. He may have offered the GD's founders some advice on ritual or legal matters; but that was as far as his membership ever went.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

FREEMASONRY

GD founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers knew Robert as a fellow freemason, more particularly as a member of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA). For more on SRIA see the end of this 'freemasonry' section. SRIA was an exception in Robert's life as a freemason: the freemasons' lodges he joined had connections either with his university, or with his profession.

CRAFT LODGE ISAAC NEWTON UNIVERSITY 859

Robert's first initiation, in 1874, was into Isaac Newton University Lodge 859, the first lodge to be founded at Cambridge University.

In 1876, he joined two more lodges, most of whose members were Oxbridge students or graduates:

CRAFT LODGE OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE 1118 and its ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER

Initiation into a craft lodge was the basic way into freemasonry. Robert joined the Oxford and Cambridge Lodge 1118, which had a rule that at any time, two-thirds of the members had to be graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. The lodge was founded in 1866 and met, not in

Oxford or in Cambridge, but at the Freemasons' Tavern in Covent Garden. The lodge always had a problem with members leaving London or even England and letting their membership lapse - all its founding members had moved on by 1880. So Robert served a year as its Worshipful Master (WM) almost as soon as he became a member, in 1876. There was a thread running through the membership of the lodge, of members whose wives joining the GD. Robert may have known Rev Hugh Reginald Haweis (WM in 1867) whose wife Mary Eliza was a GD member; Henry William Wynn ffoulkes (WM in 1882) whose wife Florence became a member; and Hugh Elliot (WM in 1891) who joined the GD himself and then arranged for his wife Blanche to do so.

If you were interested in the ritual and esoteric side of freemasonry, a Royal Arch initiation was your next step. Oxford and Cambridge Lodge 1118 set up a Royal Arch chapter in 1874 and Robert became a member of that too.

CRAFT LODGE ALMA MATER NUMBER 1492

Issac Newton University Lodge 859 had become a victim of its own popularity by the 1870s and had more members than it could easily cope with. Alma Mater Lodge 1492 which was founded in 1874 to help cope with the overflow. Robert joined 1492 in May 1876. Although membership was restricted to Cambridge University graduates, 1492's founders had always intended that the lodge would meet somewhere convenient for members living in London. Lodge meetings during Robert's lifetime were held at the Railway Hotel Bletchley. Again, Robert was not a particularly active member of the lodge and didn't serve as its WM.

CRAFT LODGE QUATUOR CORONATI 2076

Quatuor Coronati 2076 was founded in 1886 as a forum for the study of the history and symbolism of freemasonry. Meetings were based around a paper or papers read by members and then published in the lodge's magazine *Ars Quatuor Coronati*. The lodge had relatively few full members but a very large number of corresponding members living all over the world. Robert became one of these in November 1888, a few months after his GD initiation and was probably urged to do so by William Wynn Westcott, who was a full member. Corresponding members could attend lodge meetings although they couldn't vote or hold office. Robert went to three meetings, in June 1889, October and November 1889 but thereafter hardly ever went to any although he did keep up his corresponding membership.

CRAFT LODGE MIDLAND AND OXFORD BAR 2716

You didn't have to be a barrister to be a member of this lodge; but it was set up for barristers who worked on the Midland and Oxford court circuits, or who had done so in the past. It met not in the Midlands or in Oxford, but at the Café Royal on Regent Street in central London. It was set up in 1898 and Robert was one of the founders. Founder-members usually served as a new lodge's officers in its first year, but that didn't happen in Robert's case and he never did a year as the lodge's WM. All members of bar lodges were eligible to join the Royal Arch chapter which held its meetings at the Inns of Court. I haven't found any records of this chapter so I don't know whether Robert did take up the option to join it.

CRAFT LODGE and ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER ALDWYCH 3096

In 1905, Robert helped to found a new craft lodge with a particular purpose: Aldwych Lodge 3096 was founded as a temperance lodge. Although it later relaxed its rules, during Robert's

lifetime only freemasons who never drank alcohol under any circumstances could join it. As with the Midland and Oxford bar lodge, Robert never served the lodge as an officer. He might have joined its chapter, though - founded in 1907 - and might have helped members of Aldwych 3096 set up the Federation of Temperance Masonic Lodges, founded in 1912. Named after the road called The Aldwych, which came into being in 1905, and most of its members in its early years were business and professional men with offices in the streets around it. The lodge met nearby, at the Mark Masons' Hall on Great Queen Street.

CRAFT PROVINCE OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE

I've found one reference to Robert's being a Past Principal Grand PT WHAT'S THAT? In the province of Cambridgeshire; an office he must have held while he was still at Cambridge University.

MARK MASONRY

Mark Masonry was set up in England in the mid- to late-19th century: its first Grand Master was not appointed until 1856. It is separate from craft masonry, with its own Grand Lodge and offices in St James, but all prospective members must already be a member of a craft lodge.

Mark Masonry's Metropolitan Council was formed so early in mark masonry's history that it was deemed not to need a number or a warrant. Robert joined this Council, probably in the early 1880s, and served as its WM in 1885-86.

Mark Masonry lodge KING SOLOMON 385 was founded in October 1887 and I think it's quite likely that Robert was a founding member of it. In a Mark Masonry yearbook from 1887 he's listed as due to take office as the lodge's WM at its next installation meeting.

The two yearbooks I looked at for information on Mark Masonry show how much it expanded in the 1870s and 1880s. Not only were a large number of new lodges founded; but its national organisation grew rapidly so that by 1898 a full list of national offices and office-holders could be published. However, the list showed that Robert had kept his involvement in it to lodge level only.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE (AAR)

The AAR is an independent form of craft freemasonry. It has its own hierarchy; its own freemasonry degrees from 4 to 33; and its own masonic hall at 33 Golden Square. There's evidence of some form of its Rite being worked in England in the mid-18th century but a Supreme Council to govern those using it was not set up in England until 1845. Membership of the AAR is by invitation and only those who have been craft masons for a year are considered. The modern AAR also expects prospective members to believe in the Christian trinity; such belief was probably taken as read in Robert's time. The AAR's equivalent to a craft lodge is called a rose croix chapter.

Once again, Robert chose a university-based group to become a member of: he was in Oxford and Cambridge Chapter 45, which had been founded in 1873 and held its meetings at the AAR headquarters. Hugh Elliot, who later joined the GD; Henry Wynn ffoulkes, whose wife

joined the GD; and the Earl of Euston whose sister joined the GD; were also members of this chapter. By 1880 Robert had reached the AAR's 30° level of initiation, the highest level you could achieve easily - you had to have served as a chapter's Most Worshipful Sovereign (MWS, its equivalent to a craft lodge's WM) to get there. However, in 1891 Robert achieved something which required more patience: he made it to the 31° level. Only 81 members were allowed at this level at any time, so there was a certain amount of waiting for dead men's shoes to be done. The initiation fees for it were high, as well, and only one other GD member achieved it, Rev Thomas William Lemon. Robert was still in the AAR in 1900, the last year whose records I looked at.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE (RCC) whose full name is much longer.

There's some evidence of a degree called RCC being worked in early 19th century England but the Order that Robert joined was not set up until the 1860s; after which it went worldwide with great speed. Candidates for initiation have to be Royal Arch masons already. I haven't found out which Royal Arch chapter Robert belonged to but I presume it must have been Oxford and Cambridge Lodge 1118's and that he could have been considered for RCC membership from the mid-1870s.

Robert was a member of the RCC's University Conclave 128. It had been founded in 1875 and Robert might have been a founding member. However, the earliest details I could find of it were from 1895; it might have been dormant by then as there was no information on it in the list of current conclaves. It was meant to hold its meetings in Cambridge.

Robert is in a list of RCC members from 1899 but his involvement in RCC was at a very low level: there's no mention of him in lists of the RCC's national officers.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS (RSM)

The RSM arrived in England from the USA during the 1860s or early 1870s and a Grand Council to rule it in England was set up in July 1873. Those wishing to join it had to be Royal Arch masons and Mark Master masons already. The RSM's equivalent to a craft lodge was called a council and the equivalent to a craft WM was called a Thrice Illustrious Master (TIM).

When Robert joined the RSM, it didn't have its own headquarters building. Its meetings were held in the masonic hall in Red Lion Square until the early 1890s, when they moved to the Mark Masons' new hall in Great Queen Street. Robert was initiated into the RSM's Grand Masters Council 1 in 1879, the same year that future GD member Rev Thomas William Lemon joined it. Grand Masters Council 1 was - as its number implies - one of the first RSM councils to be founded in England. Despite its title, it had relatively few members, so that the same man (not Robert) served as its TIM from 1871 to 1882. In 1886 future GD member Nelson Prover joined Grand Masters Council 1. In 1896 Otto Heinemann joined it; he wasn't in the GD but one of the senior employees at his publishing firm was - Hugh Elliot.

The RSM was the one freemasons' organisation in which Robert did serve as a national officer. In 1880, very shortly after he joined it, he spent a year as the RSM's Steward; though he never got any further up its hierarchy.

In 1896, Robert, Rev Lemon and Nelson Prower were all still members of Grand Masters Council 1. Rev Lemon was still a member of it in 1899 but by that time, both Robert and Prower had left it; though they were still members of the RSM as a whole.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

Members of Quatuor Coronati 2076 were initiated into the GD in its early years; and so were members of the Theosophical Society (see below for more on that). However, the most likely route for Robert to take to the GD - however nominally - was via SRIA. Only freemasons could join the SRIA though it maintained its independence from the UGLE. Organised in colleges (usually one per town or city) it was a forum for the study of the history of freemasonry and the meaning of its symbolism. The two main founders of the GD - William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers - were both very active members of SRIA's Metropolitan College, and they recruited other members of it to their new Order.

My source for Robert's time in the SRIA is the Transactions of its Metropolitan College. Robert was already a member of the Metropolitan College by the time the first set of Transactions were issued, in 1885; and was still a member though rather less active, in 1913, its last issue before a gap covering World War 1. In that period he attended virtually all the College's April meetings, at which the officers for the coming 12 months took up their posts. Despite working out of town he managed to get to most of its other meetings, and to serve on some of its sub-committees. In 1885 he was already one of the two auditors of the College's accounts and from 1892 until at least 1905 he was its Treasurer. For some years from 1892 he was also the College's honorary secretary. From 1891 to 1905 he was one of the College's two representatives on the SRIA's governing body, its High Council. He probably stood down in order to have the time to be a member of a committee set up to revise the College's rules. By 1910 he was less involved in the running of the College but had joined its study group, which met twice a month between October and July and went on outings to places of historical interest in the summer.

One reason why Westcott and Mathers might have been keen to have Robert in their GD is indicated by a remark Westcott made in 1889 about Robert's ritual work. He called it "facile and accurate". Of course Westcott was not using the word 'facile' in its modern, derogatory sense but in its original sense of being easy and perhaps flowing, looking effortless. This was probably a reference to Robert's work during his twelve months as the Metropolitan College's Magister Templi, in 1887-88. The College's equivalent to a craft lodge WM was its Celebrant. Robert never served in that capacity, though he was its President (a more administrative role) in 1887. As President, he was chosen with Westcott and SRIA's Supreme Magus Dr William Woodman (but no one else) to be given a rank in the SRIA's equivalent in the USA, in October 1887.

As with Quatuor Coronati 2076, SRIA meetings were organised around a talk given by one of the members, with discussion afterwards. Most talks at the Metropolitan College were then published in its Transactions. Robert was obviously more of an administrator than a researcher and lecturer; and he was also a busy professional man: during his long association with the College he only gave two talks. The first was in January 1889, on The Numbers and Mystic Knowledge. The second is rather mysterious: he gave it in July 1899 but the title was not printed in that year's Transactions and its text was not printed in any of the volumes, either.

THEOSOPHY

My research into the GD members has shown that very few were both freemasons and theosophists. Robert Roy is one of the few; so were GD founders William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers. It's difficult to say from the Theosophical Society records how active he was, but he joined it in November 1889. The TS was organised very like freemasonry, into locally-based groups which were called lodges and held their own meetings, with speakers either from amongst the members or from amongst the TS hierarchy. Robert was a member of Blavatsky Lodge, which met at TS headquarters, a house in Regent's Park which was owned by TS member Countess Wachtmeister. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky lived in the house from May 1887 to her death in May 1891, so if Robert went to lodge meetings regularly, he will have been well acquainted with her. He remained a member of the TS through the divisions and bitterness of the 1890s when theosophy struggled to focus itself after Blavatsky's death. 1904 was the last time he paid his annual subscription and he was judged no longer to be a member, in 1907.

SPIRITUALISM

I haven't found any, although it is hard to tell whether people were spiritualists as spiritualism was a very locally, even family-based pursuit and there was no over-arching organisation with a membership list that can be consulted now.

Sources:

FREEMASONRY

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library: go to

[//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum)

and take the option 'Explore'. You don't have to have a reader's ticket to search the catalogue; or to use the other online resources which include online copies, digitised as far as 1900, of the main freemasons' magazines, a very useful resource for some - but not all - freemasons' organisations.

Oxford and Cambridge Lodge 1118 and R A Chapter: Notes from the Minute Books compiled by Horace Nelson. No publication details; nor a date but [p6] the Preface is dated December 1925: passim.

The History of Oxford and Cambridge University Lodge number 1118 1866-1966 by E W R Peterson MA. Especially pp31-39 - full list of members and the date they joined; pp40-49 list of officers.

A Hundred Years of the Isaac Newton University Lodge 859 1861-1961. No indication of the author and it's really only a small brochure. Passim for a lodge history very much focused on the great and good who'd been its members; pp16-17 list of WM's so far which doesn't include Robert Roy.

Isaac Newton University Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons 859 Cambridge 1861-2011. Foreword by J M Whitehead especially p54 WM's so far; and p55 secretaries and treasurers.

Some Personal Impressions of the First Hundred Years of Alma Mater Lodge 1118. Author is G Walker of Emmanuel College. No publication details but the Foreword by Jeremy Pemberton is dated August 1983. Passim but especially Appendix E: list of WM's. Robert Roy is in this list, but as a student at Peterhouse College, which contradicts the evidence from later legal sources.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume I 1886-89. Unnumbered pages at the end of the volume list current officers and members. On [p16] of this list, Robert Roy as corresponding member number 372; of 83 Kensington Gardens Square, with joining date November 1888.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume II 1889 p109; p140; p144. It might be pure coincidence but at the second of these meetings GD member Sydney Turner Klein was proposed as a full member of the lodge; and at the third, he was admitted. Perhaps Robert and Sydney were acquaintances though I'm not quite sure how they might have met.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volumes from 1890 to volume XIII 1900 p53 when he was still a corresponding member.

MIDLAND AND OXFORD BAR LODGE 2716 from 1972 known as Midland, Oxford and South Eastern Bar Lodge.

Freemasons' Library Lodge File for 2716: invitation to the consecration of the lodge: p7 for the list of founders.

Bye-Laws and List of Members of the Midland and Oxford Bar Lodge 2716 published London 1920: p2, p4.

The Midland, Oxford and South Eastern Bar Lodge 1898-1998 by its current WM, Leslie Wise. It's a small pamphlet, with no publication details on it: p2 with Robert Roy sixth on its list of named founder members. There's a typesetting error: he's listed as a member of 559; they mean 859 - the Isaac Newton lodge. Pp3-4 for list of officers serving in its first year; p5; p8.

ALDWYCH LODGE 3096

Aldwych Lodge 1905-80. The first 20 pages is a reissue of an earlier booklet: Aldwych Lodge 3096: An Outline of Events During the First Fifty Years by Victor T Farrant. London: CPS 1955. P3 for the process of founding it; p6 for officers serving in its first year - not including Robert Roy. On p7 a list of founders includes a "Robt Ray" which must be the GD member; p8; p19 - list of officers so far; p24.

For aspects of freemasonry other than craft I have been thankful to be able to consult these two books, recommended to me by my friends at the Freemasons' Library:

Beyond the Craft by Keith B Jackson. Original edition 1980. I used the 6th edition, 2012, to which Jackson has added details of several orders left out of the 1st edition. Hersham Surrey: Lewis Masonic, an imprint of Ian Allan Publishing Ltd. See www.lewismasonic.co.uk

A Reference Book for Freemasons. Compiled by Frederick Smyth. Published London: Quatuor Coronati Correspondence Circle Ltd 1998.

MARK MASONRY

Masonic Calendar for 1888 which was only the third time one had been published: p15 for its current Grand Lodge and Grand Masters since 1856, when the first was appointed; p52 for its lodges, the first only having been set up in 1881; p75 for King Solomon Lodge 385; p70 for the Metropolitan Council.

Masonic Calendar for 1898, mostly full of lists of officials at national and provincial levels. There was no section on the current MM lodges.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. I looked at:

Issue correct to June 1880: pp35-41; membership list pp43-46; list of current chapters p77.

Issue correct to June 1888, the one published around the time the GD was being set up. Passim for its rules, and current hierarchy.

And lastly Issue correct to July 1900: p55 for members at level 31°; p74; p264.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE properly the Imperial, Ecclesiastical and Military Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine.

Statement of Accounts, Annual Report and List of Officers and Conclaves published in London by George Kenning, who was a member of it. I looked at a volume covering 1868 to 1899. However, if any reports were issued between 1874 and 1887 they are missing from the volume. Robert's name doesn't appear in any issue before that of 1895, which had the first list of members to be published so far: p21, p42, p51.

The last in the volume is Issue of 1899: p46.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS which is also known as the Cryptic Rite, a reference to the layout of one of its basic rituals.

Annual Report of Proceedings of the Grand Council of RSM of England and Wales etc.

Issue of 1887 printed in London 1888 by freemason and publisher George Kenning. Just noting here that on p4 the annual report described the last year as one of "slow but steady extension" of the RSM in England; with 51 new recruits. 15 councils were named, though 5 were currently dormant; 4 out of the 15 were based in London.

Issue of 1888 printed 1889 pp10-11: following the death of the RSM's founder in England, Canon Portal, the Earl of Euston was elected the RSM's new Grand Master.

Issue of 1889 printed 1890; and Issue of 1890 printed 1891: no mention of any GD members.

Issue of 1891 p3. Beginning p20 the earliest list of current members that I could find: pp22-23.

Issue of 1896 pp23-24; p28; p29.

Issue of 1899 was the last one in the volume: p24 TWL still in Grand Masters Council 1; p26.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College make it clear he's a regular attender at meetings from the first issue as far as the last before his death: 1885 to 1913.

Particularly issues of:

1885 inside front cover - list of senior members of the College.

1886 pp2-3.

1887 p3, p8.

1888/89 p7.

1891/92 inside front cover.

1892/93 p3.

1895/96 p6.

1899/1900 p1, p4.

1905 p3, p7, p15.

1910 p69.

1911 was the year in which - after a quarter of a century of pretty regular attendance at Metropolitan College meetings - Robert began to send in apologies for absence.

1912 p43 the meeting of October 1912 was the last I know he attended though I daresay he continued to go to some at least, until his death. No volumes of Transactions were printed during the years 1913 to 1917.

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900: p14.

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p130.

For Blavatsky in London: blavatskyarchives.com

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

I haven't found any. Quite the reverse in fact: he continued to be listed in the Law Lists until the late 1930s, over 20 years after his death.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Piecing together information from different sources, I think that the GD member's father and his grandfather were both called Robert Roy; and that they compounded the confusion that was likely to cause, by both - in their day - running the school known in its last years as Burlington House Academy in Fulham. The process began with GD member's grandfather Robert Roy founding or taking over a school situated in Old Burlington Street behind Piccadilly. Around 1807 he moved that school out of town, to the village of Fulham. As part of this move, he took over Fulham Academy, a well-known school that was already in the village. He moved Fulham Academy and his own school into a new building, Burlington House, and renamed the school Burlington House Academy. Burlington House still exists, as flats, in the road now named Burlington Road but originally called Back Lane.

Robert Roy the GD member's father was his father's second son, born in 1791. He was sent to Cambridge University to prepare him to take over the running of Burlington House Academy in due course. Robert Roy the GD member's father graduated in 1815. He was ordained in the Church of England but doesn't seem to have ever worked as a parish priest, so the ordination was probably to enhance Burlington House Academy in the eyes of devout parents looking for a suitable school for their sons.

Rev Robert Roy - the GD member's father - was still running Burlington House Academy in 1835. He was probably still at the school when he married in 1845. But by 1853 Burlington House Academy had shut down.

In August 1845, Rev Robert Roy married Caroline, daughter of Thomas and Ann (or Anne) Bignold. Caroline had been born in Clapham in 1818. Although I don't have definitive proof, I believe Caroline's father was a son of businessman Thomas Bignold of Norwich and London, founder (in 1808) of Norwich Union Fire Insurance Company and Norwich Union Life Assurance Society. Robert Roy the GD member was the son of Rev Robert and Caroline. He was born in 1847 and was an only child in a mid-Victorian England full of huge families.

On the day of the 1851 census, the three-year-old Robert Roy was with his parents, visiting Roy relations in Skirbeck Lincolnshire. The head of the household was away from home that day, but other sources indicate that he was Rev William Roy, formerly head chaplain at Madras, but now Rector of Skirbeck. From the information I've found, I haven't been able to work out whether the Rev William was an uncle or the elder brother of Rev Robert. At home at Skirbeck Rectory on census day 1851 were three of Rev William's daughters, two in their teens and one in her twenties, keeping house with a cook/housekeeper, a housemaid, a kitchen maid and a laundress.

Perhaps Rev Robert Roy had gone to Skirbeck to do parish duties for his relation while he was away. Rev Robert's occupation was written down by the 1851 census official as 'clergyman' (not as a teacher or headmaster) so he had already left Burlington House Academy, or closed it down.

In 1861, Rev Robert Roy, Caroline and GD member Robert (now aged 13) were living at 9 Drayton Terrace in Kensington. Caroline's nephew Alfred Bignold, aged 10, was staying with them and Caroline was managing the small household without a cook, with the help of one housemaid.

Sources: censuses 1841, 1851, 1861, probate registry 1863.

Burlington House Academy: at www.lbhf.gov.uk, a document whose first page I cldn't see but which is connected with a process under Section 69 of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conserv Areas) Act 1990, probably helping to lay the groundwork for Fulham Conservation Area: p5 section 4.6: Burlington Road.

Supplement to Captain Sir John Ross's Narrative... by John Braithwaite. Published 1835: pxciv lists the Rev Robert Roy of Burlington House Fulham as one of the book's subscribers.

At www.british-history.ac.uk Burlington House in Fulham, with information reproduced from Old and New London volume 6 Chapter 37. No author gvn but published Cassell Petter and Galpin London 1878.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 585471-72: baptism 1 July 1791 at St Luke Chelsea of Robert Roy son of Robert Roy and Mary.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 307716 et seq: baptisms at Holy Trinity Clapham. On 18 May 1818, Caroline daughter of Thomas Bignold and wife Ann née Puxley. Familysearch also had baptism details for two brothers: Alfred and Alexander.

At heritage.aviva.com a hist of the Norwich Union Fire Insurance Company and the Norwich Union Life Assurance Society, both of which were founded 1808 by Norwich businessman Thomas Bignold. In the list of company secretaries:

1808-1815 Thomas Bignold the founder; who therefore can't be Caroline Roy's father.

1815-75 Samuel Bignold, the last Bignold to hold that office.

There's a wiki on Samuel Bignold: 1791-1875, third son of Thomas Bignold and his wife Sarah.

On Familysearch I noticed a burial of a Thomas Bignold in 1835 in Norfolk; perhaps this was Caroline Roy's father.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 598186 et seq: marriages at the old church of St Pancras: 29 August 1845, Robert Roy to Caroline Bignold.

Gentleman's Magazine volume 24 1845 marriages in November: p522 29 [November] at St Pancras New Church: Rev Robert Roy of Camden Town to Caroline, daughter of the late Thomas Bignold of Norwich and Philipines in Kent.

Rev William Roy:

Seen via google: announcement of a birth of a daughter in Gentleman's Magazine 1837 is already describing him as a former chaplain at Madras. Also on google I noticed later mentions of a son of his, another Robert.

Via archive.spectator.co.uk to The Spectator 16 October 1862 p19 death announcement for Rev William Roy DD, Rector of Skirbeck Lincolnshire.

EDUCATION

Rev Robert Roy died in January 1863. Until his father's death I think Robert Roy the GD member had been educated at home. His name hasn't come up on any of the pupils' lists that are on the web, and the entries for him in Alumni Cantabrigiensis and the Middle Temple pupils' list don't list any school for him. Robert the GD member followed his father to Cambridge University; but not until 1873 so ten years need to be accounted for that might have been occupied by Robert going to school; or by him having a tutor. Information from the census isn't helpful.

The sources I've found don't agree about which Cambridge college Robert went to. The legal sources give Downing College but a freemasonry source says it was Peterhouse. He left the university - probably in 1876 - before taking his degree.

In January 1876 he began to study for the Bar exams, at the Middle Temple. He was called to the Bar in June 1881.

Sources:

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part 2 No 5 p375.

WORK/PROFESSION

The Law Lists show that, once he was qualified to practice, Robert Roy became a barrister on the Oxford circuit, working at the Gloucester sessions. For nearly twenty years, he didn't have chambers in London, but in 1900 he moved into the Temple, into rooms at 2 Garden Court. In 1911 he moved to 2 Brick Court but this was temporary and at his death in 1916 his professional address was back in Garden Court again.

Sources:

Website archive.middletemple.org, men admitted to the Middle Temple: p599 in the admissions' list for 1876.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis Part 2 No 5 p375.

Men at the Bar 2nd edition published 1885: p275, p405.

Law lists: 1893 p196; 1900 p222; 1911 p258. And 1925 p242; 1835 p237; 1940 p238 all apparently unaware that he had died; perhaps his chambers carried on without him. He's not listed in the issue of 1941 p292.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Not that I am aware of.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

Freemasonry and theosophy are the only ones I've come across, though he was a member of the New University Club, whose premises were in St James's Street.

Source:

Men at the Bar 2nd edition published 1885: p275 p405.

FAMILY

Census evidence indicates that Robert continued to live with his widowed mother until her death; though after he started work on the Oxford courts circuit in 1881, he will have spent a lot of time out of town. They probably moved back to Fulham soon after Rev Robert's death and were certainly there on census day 1871, at 4 Munster Road very near where Burlington House Academy had been. Caroline was living off an annuity. Robert told the census official he was a landowner. Perhaps he had inherited some land from his father; however, he never mentioned having income from property in any subsequent census, so the income from it can't have been large. He and his mother were certainly living modestly enough, with just the one general servant. Census day 1881 came about three months before Robert's final Bar exams. Caroline Roy still had just the one servant but they had moved to what sounds like a nicer part of Fulham: 1 Fulham Park Gardens.

By 1888, Robert had been in practice as a barrister for several years and they could afford to pay more rent and employ more servants. They had moved to 83 Kensington Gardens Square, where they were on census day 1891 with a cook and a housemaid.

Caroline Roy died early in 1894 and Robert, as a bachelor, gave up the house in Kensington Gardens Square. I couldn't find Robert on the censuses of 1901 and 1911 - census day always fell during the law courts' Easter vacation and Robert was probably abroad on holiday both times. Other evidence shows that by 1900 he had taken business premises at 2 Garden Court, in the Temple precinct, and was living, when in London, in a flat - 6m Hyde Park Mansions, just off Marylebone Road near Edgware Road station. I don't know when he first became a tenant there but the huge block doesn't appear in the PO Directory until 1885. GD member Dora de Blaquièrè lived at 1 Hyde Park Mansions from 1884 until 1899.

At some point, Robert retired, or at least reduced the amount of legal work he did, and moved to the south coast. At his death, he was living at 29 St Saviour's Road, St Leonard's-on-Sea. He died in June 1916. He had never married.

Sources: censuses 1871-1911; freebmd; probate registry 1916; Law Lists which confused me by having entries for him up to 1941.

Date at GD Initiation - see Basic Sources section immediately below.

Hyde Park Mansions: PO Directory of London 1883 has no entry for Hyde Park Mansions.

PO Directory of London street directory 1885 p486 Hyde Park Mansions, Marylebone Road.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 Volume XIII 1900 p53.

London Gazette 3 November 1916 p10683.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the freemasons who were in the GD;

Generally for initiations into craft lodges: United Grand Lodge of England membership registers to 1921. See them at Ancestry by taking the 'schools directories and church histories' options.

See also the various resources at the Freemasons' Library: see the website at //freemasonry.london.museum. Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources. You can get from it to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

3 November 2016 <mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net>

Email me at:

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Alfred Ernest Scanlan was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford Yorkshire, between March 1893 and the end of that year. He chose the simple and relevant Latin motto 'Medicus'. Although he had many other calls on his time, and despite not actually living in Bradford, he was able to do the study necessary to progress

further in the Order; and was initiated into its inner, 2nd Order in April 1896. As the records of the Horus Temple have been lost, it's not possible to say how long Alfred remained an active member of it.

Alfred was one of a small group of GD members who lived in Middlesbrough. He was the link between two of the others, William Charles Hopgood and Arthur Wilson, who were initiated at the Horus Temple during 1894.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

February 2016

This is what I have found on ALFRED ERNEST SCANLAN.

IN THE GD

There's nothing by or about him in the GD collections at the Freemasons' Library and the Warburg Institute; and as I've said above, no records remain of the GD in Bradford. However, there is one letter to him, and his reply, in the Collected Letters of W B Yeats; and a copy of his natal chart is in the Yeats archive in the National Library of Ireland.

The letter is a copy of one by Yeats to Scanlan, undated but thought to be from around January 1901. It was, perhaps, a difficult letter for Yeats to write, which is why a copy exists: it might have taken several attempts to get the wording right. Yeats wanted to ask Alfred if someone confessing to a Roman Catholic or high Anglican priest was obliged to mention that they were a GD member; or that people they knew were. Quite why Yeats should be asking Alfred this question is something the editors of Yeats' letters don't have an answer to; and I certainly don't have one. But the editors do suggest why Yeats was asking it now: the woman he loved, Maud Gonne - who had been in the GD for a brief period - was preparing to convert to Roman Catholicism in order to marry a Catholic. A long confession of past sins was a part of the process and Yeats was obviously worried about how much information she would have to give away. Alfred replied that he thought not, on both counts; which Yeats was probably very glad to hear.

The exchange suggests that Alfred was familiar with the ins and outs of confession: that he was a Catholic or a very high Anglican himself. Quite a few GD members had a background at the 'high' end of the Church of England spectrum; though very few were Catholics when they were initiated. I haven't found any confirmation of Alfred's particular beliefs myself; but it's a difficult thing to research.

As to Yeats' having Alfred's natal chart, it is with a group that have the date 1908 attached to them: quite a while after the GD had fallen apart into its two daughter orders.

There are no other letters from Alfred amongst Yeats' papers, but perhaps Alfred and W B Yeats knew each other better, and for longer, than you would think.

Sources:

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-94 p18.

At www.nli.ie, the National Library of Ireland. Its Collection List 60: Occult Papers of W B Yeats, Mss 34,270 and 36,273-36,285. Ms 36, 274/11. Other charts in the group are those of the spiritualist William Stainton Moses; and GD member Edmund Hunter and both his sons - Edmund had married Yeats' friend, GD member Dorothea Butler.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes indeed. Like so many GD members, particularly at the Horus Temple, he had come to the Order through membership of the Theosophical Society.

Alfred had applied to join the TS in November 1891. At that time, all applicants had to have two sponsors who were already members. Alfred's sponsors were impeccable, making his acceptability a foregone conclusion. They were Walter Richard Old (later known as Walter Gorn Old) and G R S Mead, two members of the very select inner circle that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky formed around herself when she took up residence in London in 1887. Old became general secretary to the TS's British Section when it was founded in October 1889, so he probably processed Alfred's application himself. G R S Mead was co-editor (with Annie Besant) of the theosophical magazine *Lucifer* for much of the 1890s, and published a series of books on aspects of the occult.

The TS underwent a big and rapid expansion in the early 1890s, with lodges being set up to act as local meeting places in most English cities. As both Old and Mead lived in London and went to TS meetings there, though, I'm not sure how Alfred - who never lived in London to my knowledge - got to know them. Perhaps he was able to go to enough meetings in London to make their acquaintance; but he was never a member of any of London's theosophical lodges. I think it's just as likely that he knew Walter Old through medicine. W R Old was a qualified doctor, though he doesn't seem ever to have practised. I've tried to find out where Old trained. I haven't had any luck so far; but it's possible that he and Alfred were at Edinburgh University together. They were about the same age. Astrology links Alfred with W B Yeats and also with W R Old: Old was an acknowledged expert on the subject, working and publishing as Sepharial.

Alfred didn't act as sponsor to new TS members himself very often, but in September 1893 he did do so for Thomas J Charlton of Middlesbrough, a friend of his I would suppose. Where he was active as a TS member was in helping to found Middlesbrough TS Lodge, in June 1893. GD member Arthur Wilson was also a member of this; though GD member William Charles Hopgood was not in the TS at all - Alfred knew him as a fellow GP in the city. A typical meeting of a TS lodge would have a speaker, either one of the members or a visitor from another lodge. In November 1893, Oliver Firth came from Bradford TS lodge to give a talk to Middlesbrough TS on Karma, Free Will and Fate. As well as being in the TS in Bradford, Firth was a member of the GD there; it's most likely through him that the three men from Middlesbrough found out about the GD's existence. Members of the TS in

Middlesbrough also worked with Firth and others from Bradford Lodge to set up the magazine *The Northern Theosophist*, which ran for two years and showed just how active theosophists in the north of England were - until a major dispute within the TS worldwide brought the phase of expansion to a halt, in 1894-95. The dispute was, essentially, over who should lead the TS and in what direction, now that Blavatsky was dead. It became very vitriolic, and eventually very public. Many members resigned in disgust or despair at how the dispute was handled, or just stopped paying their yearly sub, and it seems Alfred Scanlan was one of those. By December 1897, his membership was judged to have lapsed. Any theosophy that he read or discussed or believed after that was purely a private affair and he had his membership of the GD as a western-esotericism based alternative; another esoteric group rent from time to time by noisy dispute, but at least it was all kept relatively secret!

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p21 entry for Alfred Ernest Scanlan, with details of addresses during his period of membership; which lodges he was a member of; and when he ceased to be a member (usually this was by not paying the yearly subscription for three successive years). "Lapsed 12 97".

Walter Old and G R S Mead both have pages on wikipedia.

Website theosophy.ph/encyclo: Old's appointment as general secretary of the TS in Britain.

Alfred as sponsor: Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p35.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893. Edited by Annie Besant, published by the Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XII number 70 issued 15 June 1893 p341 in the news section: formation of Middlesbrough TS Lodge.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIII covers September 1893 to February 1894. Editor Annie Besant, published by the Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XIII number 75 issued 15 November 1893 news item p254: Oliver Firth's talk at Middlesbrough TS Lodge. And Volume XIII number 76 issued 15 December 1893 p265 involvement of members of Middlesbrough Lodge in setting up the magazine *The Northern Theosophist*.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

This is a tricky one, because I haven't been able to discover the name of Alfred's father. I couldn't find Alfred and his father in the same household in any census; and all I know about his father was that he was a watch-maker - the census official in 1871 asked Alfred's mother what her absent husband did for a living.. I did find a reference to a James Scanlan, a watch-maker in Rhyl in Wales around 1848; but that's not much to go on.

Alfred was born in 1857, probably in the city of Chester. I couldn't find him or his family on the 1861 census. On the day of the 1871 census, his father was away, but the rest of the family were at home at 11 Llanfair Street Ruthin: Alfred's mother Margaret; an older brother who may have been from a previous marriage Margaret had made; Alfred's sister Selina aged 16, who was working in her father's business; and Alfred, aged 13 and still at school. This was a modest household which employed no live-in servants.

Alfred began to train for a career in medicine in 1875 and never lived with both his parents again. I think his father was dead by 1891. In 1880, Selina married Rev William Davies. They were living near Oswestry on the day of the 1881 census.

Sources:

Watchmakers and Clockmakers of the World volume 1 p689.

Census information: 1871, 1881.

EDUCATION

Not known in any detail apart from his medical training.

WORK/PROFESSION

He was licensed to practice LRCP and LRCS in Edinburgh in March 1881. After a short time working at Snaith in Yorkshire (he was living there on the day of the 1881 census) he moved to the Linthorpe district of Middlesbrough. He spent the rest of his life as a GP and surgeon there. William Charles Hopgood also lived and practised in Linthorpe and the two men must have known each as fellow professionals at least.

Sources:

Via archive.org to the Minutes of the General Council of Medical Education (the GMC) volume XIV issued 1877: Alfred Ernest Scanlan and a couple of other doctors had asked that the start of their medical training be backdated to October 1875; the GMC granted their request.

The Students' Journal and Hospital Gazette 1880 p200 Alfred Ernest Scanlan of Chester is in a list, presumably of those who have just passed their final exams.

GMC registers (which first appear in 1887). If you were only in private practice you didn't have to register and Alfred didn't register until 1899; from then until 1927, however, he's in all the issues. In 1899 his address was Brynhenlog, Princes Road Middlesbrough but by 1903 he'd moved to Westbrook, elsewhere in Linthorpe, and that's where the practice remained until the death of Alfred's son, who took it over when Alfred retired.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

I haven't found any.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

Apart from theosophy and the GD, no - but life as a GP doesn't leave much time for them.

ADDRESSES

1891 80 St Paul's Terrace Middlesbrough: his home, not the address of the GP surgery

1893 The Surgery, Feltham Place Middlesbrough; not his home

FAMILY

In 1885, Alfred married Jemima Sayce, at Stockon-on-Tees. Jemima was the youngest daughter of Evan Sayce, who in 1871 was working as the foreman in an iron foundry in Middlesbrough. They hadn't been living in Middlesbrough for long though: all the family, including Jemima (then aged 15) had been born in Wales. In 1881, Evan Sayce was unemployed and Jemima had gone to live with William Walters and his wife Ann, in Marsh Road Linthorpe. The census entry for that address is a bit confusing: I can't tell from it whether Jemima is working or not; and she's described as the step-daughter of William Walters but I can't see how that can be right.

On the day of the 1891 census, Alfred and Jemima were living at 80 Newport Road Middlesbrough with their children Lena Nesta (born 1887) and James Ernest (born 1890). Alfred's mother Margaret, now a widow, was living with them, and so was James Cormac, described as a "surgical assistant" who was (I guess) working for Alfred. In addition, to Mr Cormac, the Scanlans also employed a nurse/housemaid, and one general servant. Margaret Scanlan died the following year, aged 74.

I can't find Alfred, Jemima and their children on the census in 1901: census day 1901 was very near Easter so perhaps they were on holiday. On census day 1911 Alfred, Jemima and Nesta were at home at Westbrook, Cambridge Road Middlesbrough; though James was not in the UK as far as I could see. Perhaps James was abroad with school friends - in 1905 he had started as a pupil at Epsom College, founded as a school for the sons of physicians. Though their household was smaller now, the Scanlans were still employing two servants - they were now very comfortably off. Nesta had left school but wasn't working.

As Alfred's last entry in the GMC Registers was in the list of 1927. Perhaps he retired shortly after that. He and James had been working in partnership for several years by this time.

Sources:

Census 1891, 1901, 1911.

At www.mocavo.com the Epsom College Register 1855-1905 p267.

DEATH

Alfred Ernest Scanlan died on 9 January 1930. Jemima died in December 1941. As far as I can see, their daughter Lena Nesta Scanlan didn't marry.

Sources:

Probate registry entries 1930; 1942.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

I couldn't see a probate registry entry for Nesta; which means either that her estate fell below the level at which a registry entry was necessary; or that she died after 1966 when Ancestry's

list of entries comes to an end.

JAMES ERNEST SCANLAN

Alfred and Jemima's son James joined the navy as soon as he was medically qualified, being made a temporary surgeon lieutenant in November 1916. He survived the war, and returned to Middlesbrough to become the junior partner in his father's GP practice, taking it over entirely when Alfred retired. In 1924 he married Lucy Emmett Pearson. They had two daughters, Patricia and Moira. James survived his mother by only a few months, dying in July 1942.

Sources:

Navy List of January 1919 p476 with a list of temporary surgeon-lieutenants appointed 1916.

London Gazette 9 November 1926 p7288 James acting as executor; current address

Brynhenlog, Princes Road Middlesbrough.

Probate Registry entry 1942.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Evelyn Diana Sheffield was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 14 June 1901; she's one of the latest initiates on my list. She chose the Latin motto 'Vires animat veritas'. By 1901 the GD's record-keeping was at a low ebb so it's not possible to tell whether Evelyn made it to the inner, 2nd Order. When the GD turned into its two daughter orders in 1903, she didn't join either of those orders.

Introduction by Sally Davis, 9 April 2015.

I was really struggling to find anything out about Evelyn's family background and what she'd been doing until she came across the GD. Now I know why! Evelyn Diana Sheffield - claiming to be a member of the aristocratic Turnour family - was not at all what she seemed! In December 2014 I was contacted by her distant relation Tony Martin, who sent me two articles he'd written about Eliza Dinah Fairchild. I've decided that I can't do better than to reproduce them below, with Tony's permission. At the end of the two articles I've just added some very basic family history details; which I certainly wouldn't have found if Tony hadn't contacted me and told me who Evelyn Diana Sheffield really was.

ELIZA DINAH FAIRCHILD, BETTER KNOWN AS EVELYN DIANA SHEFFIELD:

Tony Martin's articles, sent to me by email in December 2014:

ARTICLE ONE: My Fair Lady

My grandfather had a cousin Eliza Dinah Fairchild born in 1856 in Southampton. Her father was a ship's steward and at some stage Eliza moved to London as a barmaid. My distant cousin and fellow ancestry researcher, Kate Parker, discovered that in July 1877 Eliza married Henry Digby Sheffield, younger brother of Robert 5th Baronet Sheffield, which makes her the great, great aunt of Samantha Cameron. By this marriage she also became the sister-in-law of the Dowager Countess of Ilchester. Yet there was no hint of this remarkable event in my father's comprehensive record "Your Family and Mine" which he produced in

the 1970's. She had been completely airbrushed out by the previous generations.

Shaw's Pygmalion story is well known and Eliza's story mimics but predates it. Henry Higgins manages to change Eliza Doolittle into a convincing Lady. Eliza Dinah Fairchild was a 20 year old London barmaid when she married Henry Digby Sheffield the 44 year old brother of Robert 5th Baronet Sheffield. He then successfully re-invented her as Evelyn Diana Turnour, daughter of the Vicomtesse D'Lardio, born in Spain. This information appeared in his alumni record for Trinity College, Oxford and in Burke's Peerage.

Both Kate and myself were intrigued by this story and were desperate to find out what happened to Henry and Evelyn. The answers came from an unexpected source – The Black Sheep index which I checked online and found that Evelyn Diana Sheffield was listed. From the Index I received a copy of The News of The World for 26th February 1905 which related the breach of promise case which Evelyn brought against the Marquess Townshend.

The article was a goldmine of information. After their marriage in 1877 the couple had left the country. They travelled in the U.S.A and Canada "shooting big game and fishing for big fish". Henry Digby died in October 1888 in Jacksonville Florida. Evelyn was in England at the time of his death. Her name was subsequently linked with several men and in 1889 was the companion of a Mr Garden in Ireland "she being such a good rider to hounds". Mr Garden died in 1892 leaving property to Mrs Sheffield valued at £7000.

In 1900 Evelyn took a house in Bassett Road, North Kensington. In 1903 she was introduced to the Marquess of Townshend. "They took a liking to each other and frequently met. But wherever they went Evelyn did all the paying. "She was regarded as a wealthy woman; she lived in a good house, well furnished, and had good pictures around her". On September 16th the Marquess proposed marriage. He was 38 and she was 48 but purported to be much younger.

In reality both were deluded about the other. Townshend needed a rich wife to restore the family fortunes and Evelyn wanted wealth and a title to confirm her place in society. Both were soon disabused. Townshend discovered that that Evelyn was not as rich as she appeared and it was clear to Evelyn that she was not rich enough to meet Townshend's needs. The offer of marriage was withdrawn on the grounds "that the plaintiff was an adventuress and a clairvoyant and otherwise unfit to become Marchioness". Evelyn was undeterred and sued for breach of promise and to defend her reputation. It was a reckless decision given her origins and history.

The court case ran through the details of her exotic pedigree and her many liaisons much to the amusement of the crowded court. Evelyn must have been mortified judging by the portrait produced by the newspaper artist for the subsequent newspaper report. Evelyn's counsel had established the breach of promise but was suddenly interrupted by her solicitor who instructed him to stop the case. Townshend's counsel then started to make a statement –"that her connections, her marriage, her birth and her property are a tissue of lies. We have certificates, which show that she was the daughter of a respectable servant in a respectable family. Her father and mother kept a small public house in Southampton, and she was a barmaid in London..." The Judge then stopped further revelations and judgement was entered for the defendant Townshend.

For Evelyn the loss of the case must have been a disaster as apart from the legal costs her reputation and place in society had been totally lost. The case had been madness but perhaps her assumed identity had become real to her and she was living proof that who dares wins until finally losing when it really mattered. Her story raises many intriguing questions. Why for instance did the 44 year old Henry Sheffield marry a 20 year old barmaid when to do so was social suicide. Judging by the marriage and subsequent success with men of substance she was a desirable companion, a sporting lady who played the part to perfection. Some pass through life with little fuss or incident but for a barmaid from Southampton her improbable marriage and life of travel and good living was amazing. Eliza Dinah denied her humble origins and lived a life and background entirely of her own making. Eliza Doolittle could hardly have done better.

After the marriage she would have been an embarrassment to her husband's family and thereafter she sought to distance herself from her own family. After 1905 there was no going back as respectability was so important in those times and once cut off it was for good, never to be mentioned again. Skeletons were kept firmly in the closet. I found her in the 1911 census in Bromley with the occupation "medical" which I believe referred to nursing. She appeared at the same address in the 1916 Kellys after which nothing. Finally, in March 2011, I located and obtained her Death certificate. She died in Lewisham in 1942 aged 86. The certificate was made out in the name "Eliza" Sheffield which would have annoyed her greatly.

Tony Martin

Quotations are from the News of The World article dated 26/2/1905

ARTICLE TWO: The Improbable Life & Times of Eliza Fairchild originally published 2011 in LostCousins which you can see online at lostcousins.com

Eliza Dinah Fairchild was born in Southampton in 1856. In 1877 she married Henry Digby Sheffield brother of the 5th Baronet Sheffield. She later sued the Marquess Townshend for breach of promise in 1905. The story won the Federation of Family History Society's 2011 competition and was published in Your Family History magazine. The transformation of barmaid Eliza into society lady Evelyn mimics but pre-dates Shaw's Pygmalion / My Fair Lady so a strong case can be made that Eliza Fairchild could have been the original inspiration for Eliza Doolittle and Shaw's play.

With family history the research must always continue because there is always more to be discovered. In the case of Eliza, or "Evelyn" the persona she so successfully adopted, the research reveals an even more bizarre and improbable story. After the article was published I connected with Evelyn's great great nephew, Ian Fairchild, through Lost Cousins and together with distant cousin Kate Parker, who originally found Eliza's story, we continued to trawl all sources.

The most productive source for Evelyn's life after the death of her husband in 1888 was the News of The World report on the 1905 law suit against the Marquess. In the article it mentioned Sir John Sebright someone she looked on as her guardian. Later in the piece it mentions- "she was regarded as a wealthy woman: she lived in a good house, well furnished, and had good pictures around her". The source of her pictures is probably explained by the will of Sir John who died in 1890. He went bankrupt in 1887 with debts of more than £140,000, a colossal sum for the time. In his will which covered nominal assets Evelyn was

left £500 and his photographs, pictures and albums. Sir John's widow was not left destitute, however, because it was reported that his life was insured for £140,000. Sir John's grandfather the 7th baronet bred the highly decorative "Sebright Bantam".

Another gentleman mentioned in the News of The World was a Mr Tallerman who Evelyn was "very friendly with". I found nothing on Mr Tallerman until I chanced upon a patent application, dated 1894, in the name Tallerman and Sheffield in Victoria, Australia, for some medical equipment. Given Evelyn's society background I thought this bizarre and unlikely but once again truth was stranger than fiction.

Lewis Abraham Tellerman was born in London in 1845. He was in business with his older brother Daniel trading as S D & LA Tallerman Colonial & Export Merchants. Daniel was in Australia between 1853 & 68 and developed a method for preserving and transporting meat in cold storage. He returned to London introduced cheap restaurants and penny dinners to popularise Australian meat. His brother Lewis also spent part of the 1870s in Australia. On his return about 1880 he developed and patented the Tallerman-Sheffield Hot Air Treatment of Disease for treating rheumatic-gout type conditions with super-heated air. The Tallerman-Sheffield Dry Air bath was tested successfully in 1894 at St Barts hospital and then taken up by that and other London hospitals spreading to Paris, Berlin, Baden Baden and Philadelphia. He also ensured that the treatment was available for free for the treatment of the sick and disabled poor. Evelyn's patent contribution is unknown.

Lewis Tallerman died in 1903 at the Langham Hotel. He seems to have been quite a character. He was a Director of the Gaeity Theatre in London and died suddenly at the conclusion of a dinner party he had hosted for his friends at the Langham. In 1911 Evelyn was living in Bromley and her occupation is listed as medical. It would be nice to think that she was a private practitioner of the Tallerman-Sheffield Hot Air treatment but sadly there is no confirmation available at present.

Evelyn's main benefactor mentioned in the News of The World was John Lewis Garden, 1833-1891, a Suffolk landowner. Given the improbable connections discovered concerning Evelyn's other benefactors I decided to check him out in detail. I was not disappointed. Research showed that Mr Garden was the estranged husband of Princess Caroline Murat the great granddaughter of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, the husband of Napoleon's sister, Caroline. The Garden marriage was not a happy one and the couple lived apart. According to the court report when he died in 1892 Mr Garden left property to Mrs Sheffield valued at £7000. At a time when many people were living on £1 a week that was a huge sum.

The 1861 census shows John Garden staying at Fentons hotel in St James's St London. According to The News of the World report which is a blend of reliable facts and Evelyn's invented origins she met her husband, Henry Digby Sheffield, when he lived in St James's. All the main men in her life appear to have known each other and shared a similar life style. It is entirely plausible that Eliza was employed in an establishment such as Fentons Hotel which has several barmaids listed in the census returns. It will be interesting to see what further research reveals. I am sure she will not disappoint us.

By Tony Martin.

THE BASIC FAMILY HISTORY INFORMATION:

Eliza Dinah Fairchild: birth registered Southampton in the quarter October-December 1856.

Census information 1861 and 1871 indicates she was the daughter of George Frampton Fairchild and his wife Eliza Dinah née Johnson.

Sources for Eliza Dinah Fairchild's husband, Henry Digby Sheffield:

Web pages johnmadjackfuller.homestead.com have a detailed genealogy of the Digby/Sheffield family. Henry Digby Sheffield is the younger son of Sir Robert Sheffield, 4th baronet, of Normanby, Burton Stather Lincolnshire and his wife Julia Brigida née Newbolt. Baptised 27 February 1833.

Website www.thepeerage.com uses Burke's as its main source: it describes Henry Digby Sheffield as marrying Evelyn Diana Turner (sic) Fairchild on 7 July 1877 and gives Henry Digby Sheffield's date of death as 22 October 1888.

Website www.craycroftspeerage.co.uk confirms that Henry Digby Sheffield and wife Evelyn Diana had no children. By marrying Henry Digby Sheffield, Eliza found herself with in-laws who were in the peerage: her husband's younger sister Sophia Penelope had married William Fox-Strangways 4th Earl of Ilchester.

SHEFFIELD v TOWNSHEND

The trial was a sensation, reported by every major newspaper including many in other countries. The account in the Times of Friday 24 February 1905 p3 and Saturday 25 February 1905 p15 is an easy one to find.

For the financial troubles of the Marquis Townshend, search online using 'townshend' and 'sheffield' to find: [//query.nytimes.com](http://query.nytimes.com)

Evelyn Diana and her husband had gone to some trouble to concoct a background for her that sounded plausibly aristocratic while being almost impossible to verify. Putting Evelyn Diana's case at the beginning of Sheffield v Townshend, her barrister said that she had been born in Cádiz, Spain, the daughter of Commander Edward G Turnour RN and his Spanish wife; and that she had been orphaned in childhood. THE TURNOUR FAMILY really did exist, and 'edward' was a common name in the family.

Lodge's Peerage and Baronetage 1857 edition, p601 the Turnour family are earls of Winterton.

Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal: Isabel of Essex Volume p146 also has an entry for them.

A BIT MORE ABOUT LOUIS TALLERMAN'S INVENTION:

The Tallerman-Sheffield Patent Localized Hot-Air Bath. London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox 1895.

And try looking on the web for the patents.

AND MY 'basic sources' SECTION THOUGH IT'S NOT SO RELEVANT IN THIS CASE AS I DIDN'T DO ANY OF THE WORK!

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.

Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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Copyright TONY MARTIN and SALLY DAVIS

9 April 2015

Sally Davis's email is at:

Amandragora@attglobal.net

I can forward messages to Tony Martin.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Alpheus Butts Simmons was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in July 1894. No motto was noted down for him in the GD's records, and his address was given only as "United States"; so it was pretty clear that he was not expected to be an active member.

UPDATE, MARCH 2015

My original biography of Alpheus Butts Simmons was two sentences long, I think! The GD archives gave his address as "United States" - and that was all I could find out! However, things have moved on a very little since then, especially on google. I've been prodded to try again with Butts Simmons by Adam P Forrest of Portland Oregon, who recently sent me two short obituaries of Alpheus Butts Simmons that he'd found on the web. So here is what we know now.

THE BUTTS SIMMONS FAMILIES OF GEORGIA USA

There's a very detailed family history website (for the full name see the Sources section) from which I think I can safely say that Alpheus Butts Simmons was descended from two prominent families long resident in the state of Georgia. The Butts family could trace its ancestors back to a Josiah Butts who had been born in Kent, England, in 1692; and the forename 'alpheus' was traditional in the family. The Butts and Simmons families had inter-married several times in the early 19th-century. Though I couldn't find on the website either mention of the GD's Alpheus Butts Simmons or any two people who might have been his parents, I think the GD's Alpheus must be on the family trees somewhere.

ALPHEUS BUTTS SIMMONS' LIFE

According to his obituaries (all of which were infuriatingly brief) Alpheus Butts Simmons was born on 19 October 1864 in Irwinton, Wilkinson County, Georgia. He studied medicine at the University of Georgia at Atlanta and graduated in 1884. He will then have spent several years gaining experience in general practice; but he probably also spent them learning about and practising electro-therapeutics. Electrotherapeutics is the use of electricity to treat illness. It has a longer history than you would think: a very quick search of the web showed reference books for doctors being published as early as 1874. An English translation of lectures given by a professor in Leipzig, presumably to medical students, was published in New York in 1883 and might have been a work that Alpheus read and used. Although electrotherapy is used for other purposes as well, it's most notorious as electro-convulsive therapy.

Alpheus set up in private practice in Savannah Georgia in 1889, presumably mainly as a GP but also as a practitioner using electro-therapeutics to treat patients diagnosed as having psychosis or neurosis. He joined the American Electro-Therapeutics Association in 1891, the year it was founded. He retired from his medical practice several years before his death. He died at Little Forest, Chatham County, on 11 February 1915 of a cerebral haemorrhage. There's no mention in the obituaries of a marriage and my instinct tells me he never married.

THE FREEMASONS IN GEORGIA

It's clear from the Butts-Simmons family history website that the men in both families had a tradition of becoming prominent freemasons in Georgia: a list of members of the Georgia Grand Lodge, from 1854, has many Butts and Simmons in it. It would have been a natural

thing for another member of both families to get involved in freemasonry, and Alpheus was initiated into Zerubbabel Lodge number 15, based in Savannah, in 1890; and into the Alpha Lodge of Perfection in 1891, when he was still only in his twenties. He served as Zerubbabel Lodge number 15's Worshipful Master twice. Although many freemasons didn't take their involvement in freemasonry any further than being members of their local lodge or lodges, Alpheus became very committed, perhaps to the extent that his duties as a freemason became more important than his work as a doctor. He was a royal arch mason. But his main commitment seems to have been to the Georgia Knights Templar.

Alpheus was knighted into the Palestine Commandery of the Knights Templar in November 1892 and served as its commander in 1897. The fact that he became a Knight Templar tells you something about Alpheus' religious beliefs. Whereas the GD (for example) required only a belief in a supreme Being, to be a Knight Templar you had to profess to be a Christian; so that it's very likely that Alpheus was a regular church-goer. He was elected Georgia's grand sword bearer in 1902 and thereby became a member of the Georgia Grand Commandery's governing body. The Grand Commandery held its 49th conclave in Savannah in 1910, the year that Alpheus was serving as its Grand Commander. His photograph appears on the front cover of the conclave's Proceedings - a slight, rather dapper man, without the engulfing beard that was fashionable at the time, looking very young - as indeed he was, especially to serve as one of freemasonry's higher officials.

ALPHEUS, RICHARD JOSEPH NUNN AND THE GOLDEN DAWN

How did a doctor who spent virtually all his life in the USA get initiated into the GD? I can't actually prove that Alpheus ever even came to England, and yet he was initiated. The answer is: Alpheus knew GD member Richard Joseph Nunn. On the face of it, they might not look like men who knew each other well: they were born one generation apart (Nunn was born in 1831) and whereas Alpheus was a member of families who had been living in Georgia for at least a century, Nunn had only arrived there from Ireland in 1851. However, these obstacles to any acquaintanceship were outweighed by the things the two men had in common. They were both physicians in general practice in Savannah; and as doctors they both took an interest in new methods of treatment - they were both members of the American Electro-therapeutic Association. The main interest that connected them, however, was freemasonry and its offshoots. Although I cannot prove it beyond all doubt, I believe that, like Alpheus, Nunn was a member of the Zerubbabel Lodge number 15. And Nunn was definitely a member of the Georgia Knights Templar, possibly one of its founders; so in becoming a senior member of the order himself, Alpheus was following a path first trodden by Nunn.

Richard Nunn was one of the earliest GD members, being initiated in November 1889 during a visit to London. I believe that when Alpheus was preparing for a trip to England (the one I suggest he must have made in 1894) Nunn gave him letters of introduction to senior freemasons that he had met there, one of whom was GD founder William Wynn Westcott. Both men will have brought with them to England an experience of a type of freemasonry not well understood by English freemasons - the Scottish rite.

Alpheus was a member of Georgia's Alpha Lodge of Perfection; Richard Nunn was almost certainly a member as well but I don't have actual evidence in his case. The lodge was founded in 1888, the first in Georgia to use the Scottish Rite. And the Scottish Rite had what seems to me (as a non-freemason and non-occultist) a peculiar fascination for British freemasons. There's a detailed wikipedia page on its history which I'll paraphrase here. Influential books in the 18th and 19th centuries had claimed that Charles II, James II and

James II's son the Old Pretender had all been initiated into the Rite in their exiles. There's no historical evidence for the claims, but they gave the Rite a romantic and dramatic aura; having lost, in the intervening centuries, any suggestion of treasonable political leanings. The historical evidence shows the Rite starting out in mid-18th century France before travelling via the West Indies and New Orleans to the southern states of America. It was codified at a conference held in May 1801 in Charleston, South Carolina, when the 33 degrees of which it currently consists were established, and a hierarchy set up to rule the lodges who used it. The Rite thus constituted then travelled back across the Atlantic and into Europe. Though the Rite has never been recognised by English freemasonry's governing body, the United Grand Lodge of England, individual members of English lodges are allowed to get involved with lodges that use the Rite, if they choose.

Their membership of the Knights Templar was another factor which linked Richard Nunn, Alpheus and William Wynn Westcott. A E Waite's book *The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry* wasn't published until 1937 but he had been studying the 18th-century manuscripts on which it was based for decades; and it probably represents ideas that were widely understood to be true by late 19th century freemasons. Waite was a knight templar himself. The earliest evidence he could find for the existence of the "Rites of Strict Observance" (on which knightly orders including the templars were based) was contained in papers written by members of a group called the Martinists, who were active in late 18th-century Lyons. However, he and other members of the templars wanted to believe that the Martinists had merely been the first to write down rites that had been formulated by the medieval templars before the order was banned; and had been passed down verbally, in secret, ever since. Waite saw the order as combining Christianity and a modern version of medieval chivalry. Perhaps this high-minded and serious approach to the obligations of freemasonry was what appealed to Alpheus Butts Simmons about the templars.

Westcott may not have had quite that level of religious fervour that many Knights Templar had; he was just interested in all of freemasonry's sub-divisions and got himself initiated wherever he could. However, he was happy to meet another senior Knight, and to offer him the same compliment he had paid Richard Nunn - initiation into the GD. The fact that Alpheus never even got as far as choosing himself a motto or giving a full address does indicate that he was not going to follow up his GD initiation in any way: the GD's administrators were not expecting to need to write to him at all.

Alpheus also followed Richard Nunn in becoming a corresponding member of the English freemasons' lodge Quatuor Coronati 2076 at about the same time as his GD initiation; but by 1900 he had allowed that to lapse as well. Clearly he preferred to focus on his work with freemasonry in his home state.

The other group of GD members who might have known of Alpheus Butts Simmons are the GD's medical practitioners, who all seem to have known each other through their interest in the use of alternative treatments to tackle conditions not susceptible to conventional medical approaches. However, I do think that via Westcott's contacts in freemasonry was the more likely route.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

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Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

BUTTS AND SIMMONS

The family history website is at
rolodafile.com/daniell-ditmore/f46.htm

There are transcriptions of contemporary documents in it including the 1854 list of Grand Lodge members.

Spotted on the web: there are Butts and Simmons family cemeteries in Hancock County Georgia; but I note that Alpheus Butts Simmons was not buried in either of them.

Also spotted on the web: people with the surnames Butts Simmons, living in Georgia now.

At www.findagrave.com an entry for Alpheus Butts Simmons who is in Bonaventure Cemetery, Savannah. A photo of headstone confirms the year of birth and year of death. However, the website says he died in Montgomery Alabama, which contradicts all the obituaries, such as they are.

AS A DOCTOR

Transactions of the American Electro-therapeutic Association issued 1891. Alpheus Butts Simmons is on its list of members.

Early publications on electrotherapeutics:

Electro-Therapeutics by David Francis Lincoln. H C Lea 1874.

Via archive.org to Hand-book of Electro-Therapeutics translation into English by I Putzel MD of lectures given in German by Dr Wilhelm Erb of Leipzig. New York: William Wood and Co 1883.

Practical Electro Therapeutics by William Francis Hutchinson 1888.

The Journal of Electro-Therapeutics was in its 18th volume by 1900.

FREEMASONRY IN GEORGIA

Transactions.. Of the Supreme Council of the 33rd and Last Degree of the Southern Jurisdiction (of the Scottish Rite) of the USA. Issued 1897 by the House of the Temple: p134.

Tableau of Members issued by the Southern Jurisdiction of the House of the Temple 1910. On p10 in a list of current members Alpheus Butts Simmons of Savannah is 2nd, after Joseph C Greenfield of Atlanta.

QUATUOR CORONATI 2076 which was founded to provide a forum and publishing medium for research on the history of freemasonry.

Butts Simmons is not on the list of corresponding members given in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* volume VII 1894, so he must have joined after that time.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum volume XIII 1900. Endpapers: Alpheus Butts Simmons was now missing from the list of corresponding members.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

Proceedings of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar for the State of Georgia at the 49th Annual Grand Conclave held in the City of Savannah, Georgia May 11, 12, and 13, A.D. 1910, A.O. 792: p3 - a short biography of Alpheus as the current Grand Commander. Found by Adam Forrest and sent to me February 2015 by email.

The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry by A E Waite. London: Rider and Co 1937: pp305-310; p311; p321.

A E Waite: Selected Masonic Papers edited and with an introduction by Edward Dunning. Wellingborough: Thorson Publishing Group's Aquarian Press 1988: p73, p97.

AND SEE MY BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD JOSEPH NUNN

THE OBITUARIES WHICH PROBABLY ALL HAVE THE SAME SOURCE

Journal of the American Medical Association volume 64 part 2 1915 p1778. Also found and sent to me by Adam Forrest February 2015.

Proceedings... of the Grand Commandery Knights Templar of Michigan, issued 1915: p120

8 September 2015

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

Alice Isabel Simpson was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 12 July 1895. Francis Freeman, George Cecil Jones, William Forsell Kirby and John Herbert Slater were also initiated on that day though I don't think Alice Isabel knew any of them. Alice Isabel chose the Latin motto 'Perseverantia et cura quies'; as this was cumbersome it was usually shortened to Perseverantia. She was initiated into the GD's 2nd, inner order on 27 May 1899.

Alice Isabel seems to be called Amy by her family and close friends; but I think I'll stick with Alice Isabel.

Alice Isabel's daughters Elaine Mary and Alice Beatrice (known as Beatrice) were also initiated into the GD, Elaine in 1897 and Beatrice in 1899. Aleister Crowley met Alice Isabel and Elaine Mary after he was initiated in 1898, and they became acquainted - I won't say 'friendly'. After the incidents known to GD-studiers as the battle of Blythe Road, Alice Isabel and Elaine were cast out of the GD in April 1900 by its newly-formed governing committee. Beatrice Simpson was not cast out but her position as a member must have looked pretty untenable after the expulsions. The evidence may have been lost, but I haven't found any indication that Alice Isabel challenged the ruling; she had other things on her mind at the time.

Many years later, in his Confessions, Aleister Crowley described Alice Isabel thus: "a sixth-rate singer, a first-rate snob, with dewlaps and a paunch; a match-maker, mischief-maker, maudlin and muddle-headed." He did actually stop short of identifying her by name, but all the same - what spiteful things to say! Fortunately, the evidence suggests that he didn't say them either to her or about her at the time.

Update September 2014: thanks are due to Clint Warren for this chance to add to Alice Isabel's biography. Clint has access to Crowley's original diaries and as a result I'm able to make some corrections to my account of Alice Isabel in 1900 and 1902. As a result of the information Clint has been sending me, I've also peered more closely at GD documents at the Freemasons' Library concerning the events of April 1900.

A LIFE ON THE MOVE - THE HACKSHAW, THE SUTHERLANDS AND THE HALLS

When John Hall married young widow Lucy Sutherland in the church at Rondebosch, Cape Town in 1848, two people were united who - though British - had spent hardly any of their lives in Britain.

Lucy Campbell Hackshaw had been born in 1817, at sea - which set the tone for a life spent almost continually moving on. She was the eldest child of Harry Hackshaw and his wife Harriet Marion (née Mackay), and I presume the couple were in transit between their house in London and the Hackshaw plantations on the island of St Vincent, West Indies when the birth occurred. In 1836 Lucy married another St Vincent plantation owner, her first cousin Duncan Forbes Sutherland (born 1801). The marriage seems to have been childless, and didn't last very long either: Duncan died in 1844. I don't know how Lucy spent the next four years - perhaps she continued to live in the West Indies - but I think it's likely that she had known John Hall for quite some time when they married. In the course of his working life John had been stationed in the West Indies in the 1820s and again from 1841 to 1844; so he could have known her as a child, and/or when she was married for the first time. I think Lucy Sutherland travelled to the Cape Colony in South Africa to marry him; though she could have moved there before he did.

John Hall was born on the hills of Westmorland in 1795, the son of a farmer (also called John) and his wife Isabella née Fothergill. The younger John studied medicine at Guy's Hospital and St Thomas's Hospital in London. However there was not enough money in the family to fund his undertaking a degree-course in medicine, so John Hall joined the army medical corps, in time to be involved in patching up the wounded of Waterloo in 1815. Thereafter he had a fairly typical army career of being continually moved about: after his first spell in the West Indies, he was stationed in Ireland from 1832-35; and at Gibraltar 1836-37; before returning for his second spell in the West Indies where and when he might have met Duncan and Lucy Sutherland. He then took a year, finally to put some letters after his name, graduating MD from St Andrew's University in 1845. He was sent to the Cape Colony in 1846, where he went on campaign with the governor Sir Harry Smith, who became a loyal friend and was one of the witnesses when John Hall married Lucy. She was 30 on the day of their marriage; he was 52 and hadn't been married before. John and Lucy remained in Cape Town until 1851 and - I think - their daughter Lucia Georgina was born there. Then man, wife and child moved on again, to Bombay where John had been appointed Principal Medical Officer. Alice Isabel was born in December 1852, probably in Bombay. She was christened several months later at Mahabaleshwar, a hill station which was the official residence of the governor of Bombay and his staff during the hot season.

1854 coloured Alice Isabel's life by turning out to be the defining year in John Hall's career: at the outbreak of the Crimean War he was ordered to Turkey as Chief Inspector of Hospitals. The story of the hospitals in the Crimea, the involvement of Florence Nightingale and the reports in the Times are well-known so I won't repeat them. I'll just say that as the most senior British medical officer in the Crimea, John Hall came to stand in the eyes of the

British public as a symbol of all that was wrong with medical care there. As is so often the case, it was not any one person's fault that so many men died in such squalor without actually seeing any fighting. As the introduction to a memoir of John Hall's career wrote, serving a government that went to war unprepared was a theme that ran through John Hall's working life. However, the public wanted one person to blame for what happened in the Crimea and that person was John Hall. John Hall did remain in post until 1856 but didn't work for the army medical corps after that, as far as I can see. He was given a knighthood on his retirement, but that was pretty poor compensation for being hung out to dry like he had been.

I don't know where Lucy and her two daughters lived during the years of the Crimean War - I can't believe that they spent them in Turkey - and immediately after the war there are three years completely unaccounted for. I pick up the trail again in 1859 when the family were together again, living in England for what turned out to be the only time, with John Hall on leave or possibly suspended from work. The Halls had hired a house in Dawlish, on England's south coast. However, while they were there, John Hall had a stroke which was probably brought on by the trauma of the past few years. He was due to retire shortly in any case and had been intending to return to India and spend his retirement writing a memoir-cum-apologia, putting his case against the one made so public by Florence Nightingale and her supporters. However, the stroke partly paralysed him. He didn't return to India; and he never wrote his memoir. He wouldn't remain in England though: as much (I imagine) for financial reasons as because of his bitterness about the way he'd been hounded. Instead, he and his family set out on their travels again, through Europe.

As he was a retired officer, John Hall was obliged to live by the War Office rule that he should not stay in any one country longer than two years. His biography doesn't give dates but I've pieced together the following itinerary from it. From Dawlish and when John Hall was able to travel, the Halls went to Paris. Later in her life, Alice Isabel was known for her fluency in foreign languages and Paris is probably where she learned her French. In 1862 the Halls went to Stuttgart where Alice Isabel at least (I'm not so sure about her sister) learned German and music (especially singing). When the two years were up (1864?), they moved to somewhere by Lake Geneva and at this time they may also have spent a few months in the Tyrol. The next move came within the two year allotment, however, and was probably dictated by Lucia Georgina's health. She had always been a delicate child, apparently, but by 1865 (she was about 15) was definitely ill not just delicate. In search of a warm, dry climate for her, the Halls went south to Sicily in 1865, renting a villa on Mt Etna. An outbreak of cholera on the island caused them to retreat to Bellagio on Lake Como, where in the early autumn John Hall suffered a series of heart attacks. They moved once more, to Pisa, in October 1865, perhaps in search of better medical treatment. John Hall died in Pisa on 17 January 1866 and Lucia Georgina died only three months later.

WILLIAM SIMPSON

I don't know where mother and daughter spent the next few years, except to say that they don't appear on the 1861 census in the UK. I imagine they continued to live abroad, because it was in Munich that Alice Isabel Hall married Rev William Simpson in 1873.

Just as Lucy Hackshaw had married two men a generation older than herself, so did Alice Isabel marry a man over 20 years her senior. William Simpson was born in Dublin, probably in 1829, the son of solicitor Robert Simpson. He attended Trinity College Dublin, graduating in 1851, and then went to Durham University to study theology in preparation for a career in the Church of England. He was ordained as a priest by the bishop of Norwich, Samuel

Hinds, who was probably a friend of the Simpson family - he'd been in Ireland from 1831 to 1833 as chaplain to the archbishop of Dublin, and had returned in 1843 as prebendary of St Patrick's cathedral, a post he'd held until appointed to the bishopric in 1849. It's just possible that bishop Hinds knew the Hackshaws and the Sutherlands as well as the Simpsons: he had grown up in Barbados where his family owned plantations (and the slaves that went with them, of course - all the families who owned plantations owned slaves until the law freed them). Bishop Hinds was in the anglo-catholic wing of the Church of England and it's clear from his later career that Rev William Simpson shared his high-church preferences.

Bishop Hinds found William Simpson two jobs as a curate in Norfolk immediately after he became a priest: at Wymondham 1851-54 and at Quiddenham from 1854. No more permanent posting as a vicar or rector was forthcoming, however, and in 1857 William Simpson applied to work as a chaplain in India. I think his first Indian appointment was delayed by the Mutiny/First War of Independence, but in 1858 he began work at St George's church in the British cantonments in Agra at the very good salary of £500 per year. While living in Agra, he must surely have known the family of John Clement Lacy, a convert to Christianity from Hinduism who worked as a pharmacist and doctor in the town; John Clement's son John Valentine was a member of the Golden Dawn. No one stayed anywhere for long in India, however, and William Simpson was soon transferred to Kasauli, a hill station near Simla. After a period of leave at the end of the 1860s he was promoted, and transferred again to Mathura (between Delhi and Agra) where Hindu celebrations of the life of Krishna no doubt offended the British residents - the god was alleged to have been born in the town. William Simpson worked in Mathura from 1868 to 1871 and then had another period of leave. It was during this second spell of two years out of India that he and Alice Isabel were married.

However she had spent the last few years, on Alice Isabel's marriage she began another six years of being moved on. When she and William Simpson returned to India after William's leave was over, he was sent to work in Bihar at Bankipore, now a suburb of Patna but in the 19th-century the more important settlement of the two, a centre of British administration and also of an indigo-growing district. They were only stationed there for a few months, however, before William Simpson was moved to Dagshai, a hill station between Simla and Kalka, founded by the East India Company in 1847 as a TB sanatorium. Their two daughters were both born during this posting and baptised at Kasauli, Elaine Mary in April 1875 (although she had been born in February) and Alice Beatrice (known as Beatrice) in August 1877. Both Alice Isabel's daughters have names with romantic/poetic connections: Elaine (a very unusual name for the 19th century) must be named for the young woman who dies of unrequited love in Tennyson's *Lancelot and Elaine*; and Beatrice for the woman (a real woman, who also died very young) who inspired the poem and appeared to Dante in his *Inferno*.

Around the time of Beatrice's birth William Simpson was moved back down onto the north Indian plains, to Roorkee on the Ganges canal, where the Bengal engineers' corps had its headquarters and two artillery units were also stationed. This was William Simpson's last real posting in India; in 1877 he was not 50 yet but was possibly in poor health - as many were after service in India. In 1879 he spent a few months working in Allahabad, capital of the United Provinces, but this was clearly a temporary job, as that year he retired, on a full pension. He, Alice Isabel and their daughters left India but I'm not sure where they went immediately afterwards. They are not on the 1881 census. Perhaps they were in Ireland, where William Simpson had relations that Alice Isabel had probably never met; or perhaps they were living somewhere in Europe, where Alice Isabel had spent so much of her life so

far. I can only tie them down to the UK in August 1886, when Alice Isabel's son William Arthur John Simpson (known as Arthur) was born in Scotland, where Lucy Hall had lots of relations.

In 1888 William Simpson came out of retirement to take the job of vicar of St John the Evangelist Baillieston, in the east end of Glasgow, a parish with a high-church tradition. On the day of the 1891 census the Simpsons were living at a house transcribed for Ancestry as 'mansion house' but more likely to be 'the manse house' - the Scottish equivalent of the English vicarage or rectory. Alice Isabel was running her household with a cook, a nurse for 4-year-old Arthur, and a housemaid.

It's very likely that Alice Isabel and her husband had decided he should take another Church of England appointment in order to fund their children's education. As the Simpsons didn't have a moneyed background, Arthur in particular was going to have to make his own way in life. Many middle-class families lavished what money they had on the education of their sons but skimmed on the daughters, comforting themselves with the thought that they would marry. Alice Isabel and her husband would have none of that unrealistic attitude; and when it came to Beatrice, that turned out to be a very wise stand to have taken, because Beatrice - the more independent of the daughters - also chose to make her own way in life. Perhaps Alice Isabel would have liked a wider, more systematic education than she had received. For whatever reason, she and Rev William bought some of the best education that was then available for young women. In one of her books, Beatrice says that she had attended "Cheltenham College", by which she must mean Cheltenham Ladies' College. It would be ridiculous and un-motherly for Alice Isabel to favour Beatrice over Elaine in the matter of schooling; so although I have only got evidence for Beatrice, I'm assuming that Elaine was also sent to the College. Cheltenham Ladies' College was founded in 1853 but rose to national if not international prominence after the appointment of Dorothea Beale, the feminist and skilful campaigner for women's education, as its Principal, in 1858.

On the day of the 1891 census it's likely that Elaine and Beatrice were still at school, but they were home for the holidays. Lucy Hall was by this time living in Glasgow too, presumably to be near her daughter and grand-children; she was a boarder in the household of George and Margaret Dick in Kelvinside. A professional lady's companion, Mary Buck, was also boarding there and may have been employed by Lucy Hall to keep her company, though the census data isn't clear on that point.

On the evidence of Crockford's I believe that William Simpson died in 1894 or 1895. I can't find a death registration for him; and the census official in 1901 complicated matters by listing Alice Isabel as a married woman rather than a widowed one. But the circumstantial evidence of the years after 1894 suggests William Simpson died around then: because Lucy Hall and Alice Isabel went on the move again, to London. The choice of London might have been because they would be near Lucy's closest surviving relative, her brother Robert Hackshaw who lived in Croydon with his family. But the main reason was more likely to have been the need to meet the right people and get Alice Isabel's daughters suitably married. Lucy and Alice Isabel were both living on the income from investments held in trust funds and by 1895 they had pooled these resources to set up home together in the house where Aleister Crowley visited them, at 15 Randolph Road in the area to the west of Edgware Road. Several other GD members lived in the district because although it was very convenient for central London, rents there were reasonable.

Alice Isabel was initiated into the GD only a few months after the family moved to London. I don't know who it was that recommended her as a likely candidate, but I think it's safe to say that between them, Lucy Hall and Alice Isabel could muster a wide circle of acquaintances. The habit in both India and South Africa of keeping open house for British travellers; Lucy's large number of Scottish relations; Alice Isabel's musical contacts; her husband's Irish relations and his friends amongst Church of England clergy; friends that Lucy and Alice Isabel had made when living in Europe - the point of GD contact could have come from any of them. On the day of the 1901 census, for example, Lucy and Alice Isabel had both Arthur and Beatrice still living at home; and between them they were entertaining three visitors: Emma Bonsom, who had been born in Ireland and was perhaps a relation of William Simpson; Emma's daughter Daphne Bonsom who had been born in the Cape Colony; and a woman called Margaret whose surname I'm not certain of - it might be Wheat or White - the only person in the household other than the servants who had been born in England. Alice Isabel was running the household with the help of a cook, and a general servant so it's not surprising that she took from July 1895 to May 1899 to do the study necessary to gain initiation into the GD's inner, 2nd Order - where you could (finally) start to do some practical magic rather than just read about it. Despite her busy life she was still keen enough to find time to do the study though; and despite what Crowley said of her, she also had the application and gained enough understanding of subjects like the Kabbalah, tarot and astrology to pass the tests in them set by senior members of the GD. The kind of reading and study matter she brought home with her from GD meetings and rituals obviously inspired Elaine to want to join as well. Elaine was initiated in January 1897 and - not having her mother's household duties to do - made it into the 2nd Order before her, being initiated in March 1899. Even Beatrice got hooked and was initiated into the GD in September 1899; though circumstances meant that she never got the chance to follow up her initiation - circumstances involving Aleister Crowley as I'm sure most readers of this biography will be aware.

One reference to Alice Isabel in the GD archives, and the writings of Aleister Crowley, are the only sources for Crowley's relationship with Alice Isabel Simpson; and Crowley's writings have to be treated with care. The best known of those is the Confessions, part of which (events to 1904) was originally published as *The Spirit of Solitude* in 1929. The Confessions are meant to be eye-catching and in them Crowley says a great deal that doesn't reflect what he wrote at the time in his diaries: extracts from the diaries in emails sent me by Clint Warren make that very clear. Some of the diaries can be seen at the website www.lashtal.com/wiki/Aleister_Crowley_Timeline. Lashtal looks to be based on his notes and magical/appointment diaries and so has information written at the time that Crowley was a GD member; but it's a magick/Crowley website and a lot of what Crowley wrote about his period in the GD has been edited out.

Crowley does not explain when and how he became acquainted with Alice Isabel and her daughters. My guess is that they didn't know him at all before he was initiated into the GD in November 1898; and Clint Warren - with better knowledge than I have of Crowley's contemporary acquaintances - is inclined to agree. It's clear from the writings I've mentioned above, that Crowley did not think any of the Simpsons could help him get what he wanted from the GD: initiation as quickly as possible into its 2nd Order. With that purpose in mind, he focused his time and effort on George Cecil Jones and Allan Bennett to the exclusion of all other GD members. However, he did call on the Simpsons, something he couldn't have done without an invitation, though the invitation may have come from Elaine rather than Alice Isabel. He may have become sufficiently friendly to be invited to musical evenings in the house - though when he calls Alice Isabel a sixth-rate singer he may just be making it up,

he may never have heard her sing.

In *The Confessions*, Crowley excuses his nasty summing-up of Alice Isabel by saying that she had “put it all round London and New York that I had entered her daughter’s room at night in my Body of Light”. In *The Spirit of Solitude* the fact that there were rumours is mentioned twice - once when Crowley mentions them running through the GD in London in the early part of 1900; and once when dealing with later events. Only the second mention accuses Alice Isabel of starting them. If he accused her of starting them in 1900, he doesn’t say so; and Crowley’s and Alice Isabel’s actions in 1902 suggest that he didn’t.

If there were rumours along those lines, they would only have had an real impact in magical circles: Crowley accuses Alice Isabel of suggesting that he was going into Elaine’s room as an astral traveller; not that he was going into Elaine’s room in person. Crowley says he was offended by the rumours - which is rich, coming from him. In *The Spirit of Solitude*, however, he seems to be offended more on Elaine Simpson’s account than his own. He makes a good point, too: “Even had the tale been true” he says, “the woman (that’s Alice Isabel) must have been as witless as she was worthless to splash her own daughter with such ditch-water”. I must say, I find it increasingly difficult to imagine Alice Isabel rumour-mongering on the subject of her daughter’s relationship with a young man; it would have been so counter-productive. If the relationship between her daughter and Crowley had gone beyond what was acceptable to contemporary mores, surely she would have wanted the fact kept very very quiet? It seems she did ask Crowley and Elaine whether the rumours were true: more the action of someone who had heard rumours, than someone who had started them. Both Crowley and Elaine denied the rumours, of course, leaving Alice Isabel in a difficult position with regard to any continuing relationship between them.

It’s more difficult to sort out the business of the rumours because they are tangled up in Crowley’s mind (and consequently in his writings) with the struggle to take possession of the GD’s 2nd Order rooms at 36 Blythe Road; with Crowley acting for Samuel Liddell Mathers, against senior GD members in London who were trying to act independently of Mathers. There are also some slight inconsistencies between Crowley’s two accounts of Alice Isabel’s part in what happened, but both agree that it wasn’t an active one, she didn’t go beyond offering Crowley an initial moral support, which she later withdrew. On Sunday 8 April 1900 Crowley visited her and Elaine before leaving for Paris, where he intended to be initiated into the 2nd Order by Mathers, having been refused initiation by senior members in London. Both Alice Isabel and Elaine pledged their support for the plan he outlined to them that day, in which he to would take possession of the 2nd Order rooms as Mathers’ agent and make all the 2nd Order members swear personal allegiance to Mathers.

Having obtained the initiation and Mathers’ approval for what he was going to do, Crowley returned to London on Friday 13 April. On Monday 16 April he called at the Simpsons’ house to put them in the picture. This, I think, was a difficult and important meeting for Alice Isabel. She began to have seriously cold feet about the plan as described to her this time, perhaps because it had expanded since she’d last heard it. It now included some changes to the rituals, that hadn’t been mooted before. And it also demanded that all GD members in London be required to meet Crowley in person and swear their allegiance to Mathers; the original plan was to have involved only the 2nd Order members. Whether Crowley told Alice Isabel that these allegiance-swearing interviews were going to take place in her house, isn’t clear. Elaine certainly knew they were; but may not have made it plain to her mother. One way or another, though, Alice Isabel got alarmed, and either at this meeting or one shortly

afterwards, Crowley reacted by treating her as hostile. When Crowley wrote his account of 1900 many years later, he implied that he put Alice Isabel through all the questions and demands for loyalty (though not the revised rituals) that he was intending to make all the GD members submit to; though this seems to have been an exaggeration. In any case, Crowley seems to have been satisfied enough with any replies that Alice Isabel may have made, so she must have convinced him of her continuing loyalty to Mathers as the GD's only leader.

According to *The Confessions*, it was Alice Isabel who told Crowley the reason why the London 2nd Order members had voted to refuse to initiate him; which was, that the 2nd Order suspected him of using the sex act to gain magical power - a well-known magical technique but a deeply controversial subject within the GD. Can this be true? - in 1900, a young man and an older woman who are not related - not even all that well-acquainted - discussing the use of sex as an aid to magical ritual? I suppose it can, though I have my doubts; though if this was what was being said about Crowley within the GD, it would certainly give Alice Isabel good cause for being very anxious about how friendly Elaine and Crowley were becoming. However, it may not have been true: in the (much earlier) *The Spirit of Solitude* Crowley gives a completely different reason for the refusal, a much more mundane one: jealousy of Crowley's quick progress from initiate to the GD, to initiate of the 2nd Order. He doesn't say whether it was Alice Isabel or someone else entirely who told him this reason.

Perhaps originally Crowley had been thinking that Alice Isabel would go with him to take possession of the 2nd Order rooms. Once she had started to doubt what he was going to do, he changed his mind; she may also have refused to take any further part in the proceedings. One way or the other, Alice Isabel did not go with Crowley and Elaine on Tuesday 17 April or on Thursday 19 April, when the struggle for 36 Blythe Road took place. If Alice Isabel tried to prevent Elaine from going, she did not succeed, and Crowley probably never knew about the attempt.

Alice Isabel's original pledge of support, and the intended use of her home to bring the GD members to heel; was enough to condemn her in the eyes of the ruling committee set up by those in the GD who were trying to break free of Mathers. On 19 April, its members voted to eject her from the GD along with Elaine, and Crowley, and Edward Berridge who had agreed to lend Elaine his keys to the 2nd Order rooms. There's no evidence that Alice Isabel made any attempt to challenge the decision. It seems, too, that she didn't blame Crowley for her expulsion - at least, not enough to cut off all acquaintance with him. When visiting Paris in 1902, she and Crowley met one afternoon at the rooms he was renting. Crowley had only recently returned to Europe after two years abroad, so there must have been at least one exchange of letters between them during that time. Their acquaintance did gradually decline, however. In *The Spirit of Solitude* and *The Confessions* there's an coda to it that Alice Isabel can hardly have intended: Crowley thanks Alice Isabel (rather grudgingly) for putting the idea of having an astral relationship with her daughter into his head.

Alice Isabel let the GD go in April 1900 - she had other things she needed to focus on. If she was worried about the relationship between her daughter and Aleister Crowley, she would soon be able to pass responsibility for curtailing it to someone else. She had found an eligible husband for Elaine and as a result, she had a wedding to organise.

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

The eligible husband was Paul Harry Witkowski, German-born but based in Hong Kong where he worked for Arnhold Karberg. Arnhold Karberg was a business with a large property portfolio which also acted as agent in the Far East for a number of European and American shipping and insurance companies. It had branches in China, London and New York as well as Hong Kong, and in Hong Kong had a guaranteed seat on the board of directors of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Witkowski was sufficiently senior in the partnership to occupy that seat on HSBC's board from 1899 to 1901 while an even more senior employee was on leave in Europe. He had every prospect of becoming a partner in the firm himself: eligible indeed.

Seeing Witkowski was working in Hong Kong not the firm's London office, it's a puzzle how he and Elaine met. Perhaps the Simpsons had known his family for many years, since John and Lucy Hall had lived in Germany in the 1860s.

Did Alice Isabel breathe a big sigh of relief on 12 June 1900 when Elaine Simpson and Paul Witkowski were married at St Saviour's Paddington? They left for Hong Kong shortly afterwards and the following year Alice Isabel visited them there. I don't know the date of the visit for certain but I'd put my money on June 1901. At the end of that month, Elaine gave birth to her first child - Alice Isabel's first grandchild - and it would be a heartless or penniless mother who would not be with her daughter at such a time, taking charge of the household and giving the new mother every support. I suppose Alice Isabel never knew that Elaine and Crowley had got back in touch only a few months after Elaine had got married; and that they spent a traumatic few days together in Shanghai in 1906, during which they came very close to committing adultery. If she had known, I'm sure she would have been very worried indeed, but it was no longer her problem to solve: her son-in-law would have to deal with it.

Crowley doesn't mention either Beatrice Simpson or Arthur in his account of his short-lived acquaintance with Alice Isabel. Arthur must have been at school at the time and perhaps their paths never crossed; and Beatrice doesn't seem to have made any impression on him. Thinking of Elaine as safely married, however, Alice Isabel could turn her attention to the futures of these two younger children.

I'm inclined to think that Alice Isabel might have wished Beatrice well when she decided she wanted to be an actress: the sources I've found (which admittedly are rather limited) show Beatrice as the only one of Alice Isabel's children to inherit her artistic and creative skills; though none of her children seem to have had her musical talents. I'm sure Alice Isabel went to see Beatrice make her professional acting debut, at the Princess's Theatre in June 1899 in a play called *One of the Best*, playing the kind of ingenue role that was usually given to young actresses just starting out. Over the next few years Beatrice had similar small parts in other London productions; and then she got a break which must have caused Alice Isabel as much anxiety as pride - she was offered work in New York. One website I came across said that during the run of *There's Many A Slip*, at the Garrick Theatre New York in the autumn of 1902, Beatrice got engaged to one of her fellow actors, James Erskine. Such an engagement was the sort a young woman might well enter into when her mother was an ocean's distance away: James Erskine was an earl, the first member of the British aristocracy to become a professional actor; but his other attributes were the sort to give a careful mother nightmares - he'd been declared bankrupt and was divorced with two children. However, nothing came of the engagement, if it ever existed, and Alice Isabel could breathe again. Beatrice never did

marry.

Of course, Beatrice had to take the opportunity offered her, to work in America. She left England in the summer of 1902. Although she often came back to Britain on visits - in 1912 for example and again in 1925 - she never really lived in the UK again. Also in 1902, Alice Isabel and Lucy Hall left Randolph Road and it was probably at this point that they moved into the flat at 14 Cadogan Court, a typical late-19th century block on Draycott Avenue in the maze of streets between Fulham Road and King's Road. Lucy finally died there, on 21 April 1907. Arthur had joined the Royal Artillery as a lieutenant in 1906, so with Lucy's death Alice Isabel felt able to go travelling again - she went to the USA in July 1907, probably to visit Beatrice but perhaps to see other friends as well. While she was away, her son-in-law, Paul Witkowski, died in Germany. In the early months of 1908, Elaine was in England dealing with her husband's estate; but by 1911 she had got married again, to another German, a Herr Wölker, and was living in Hamburg. Whether Elaine made Alice Isabel a grandparent again, with either of her husbands, I don't know; her only grandchild (I don't know its gender) may have been Elaine's child born in 1901.

Arthur was still in England on the day of the 1911 census. He and a fellow officer were staying in a lodging house at 93 Jermyn Street, perhaps taking some leave as Arthur's current posting was with the Royal Artillery at Leeds. Alice Isabel was back in England, but had moved out of London. She was living at 41 Egerton Road, Bexhill, in Sussex, putting the finishing touches to the project originally conceived by her father in the 1850s: the biography *The Life and Letters of Sir John Hall*. Not feeling up to researching, editing and writing it herself, she had consulted Sir George Birdwood of the India Office, a historian himself, member of an old East India Company family and briefly a colleague of Sir John Hall in the Bombay Medical Service. Birdwood had recommended the young and relatively unknown Indian author Sid Mahan Mitra for the task; and Mitra was staying with Alice Isabel on census day, still working on the papers that Alice Isabel had inherited from her parents. It was on the strength of this book that both Alice Isabel and Elaine as well were elected members of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1911; Alice Isabel remained a member until 1925.

The evidence of the Royal Asiatic Society membership lists is that Alice Isabel didn't live in England between 1912 and the early 1930s. At the very least, she spent most of each year abroad perhaps returning, like many did, for the 'social season' in the spring. I'm sure she was in England in May 1912 when Beatrice gave what can probably be described as an early performance-poetry recital at the Crosby Hall in Chelsea. But I haven't found any information as to where she was spending most of her time.

Early in 1914, Arthur had made the decision to apply for an army secondment, probably in order to speed up his progress towards promotion. He'd been sent to West Africa, arriving there in May 1914, so that none of Alice Isabel's children were in England when the first World War broke out. The years of the first World War must have been very difficult for all the Simpsons, with Elaine married to a German (he was a government official too) and living with him in a country that had suddenly become an enemy; and Arthur fighting for the British. Visiting Elaine would have been out of the question, I imagine; and even exchanging letters might have been difficult. Arthur got his promotion to captain in October, and remained on the Gold Coast until April 1915. Then he came back to fight in Europe and for Alice Isabel a period began of dreading the man with the telegram. Arthur fought in Belgium and France from August 1915 to sometime during 1917; but from May 1917 he was a working as gunnery instructor and was probably not on the front-line. In November 1917 he

was sent to Italy. While he was there he was promoted to acting lieutenant-colonel and was wounded twice, but not severely - he was able to continue his army career. Elaine also survived the war and Alice Isabel could relax, at least on that point.

I think Alice Isabel continued to live mostly abroad in the 1920s; perhaps there was a catching-up of lost time with Elaine. She joined the Ladies' Army and Navy Club in 1924; members could stay at the club's premises in Burlington Gardens W1 when they were in London. I don't know exactly when she decided to move back to England again, but at least in the early 1930s she had one child living here: by 1930 Arthur had been posted to the School of Artillery on Salisbury Plain. Beatrice had moved further away than ever, though, from New York to California.

By 1935 Alice Isabel was living in Kensington, at 22 Courtfield Gardens off Cromwell Road. She died on 16 January 1935 at one of two hospitals which both had the address 28 Marloes Road: St Mary Abbot's hospital for the acutely ill; and the Kensington Institution for the chronically ill. Just as she had chosen to join a women's club, Alice Isabel appointed a woman solicitor to be the executor of her Will: Irene Stoney, who probably worked for Chatterton and Co of 231 the Strand.

ALICE ISABEL'S CHILDREN AFTER HER DEATH

Elaine was still alive at the end of the 1920s when she got back in touch with Aleister Crowley after many years. I haven't been able to find out when or where she died. Beatrice died in California in 1956. If I have identified the right person, Arthur retired from the army and went to South Africa, dying in Durban in 1960; the very little evidence I came across suggested that, like Beatrice, he never married. If Alice Isabel has any descendants, they are most likely to be German.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female

members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ALICE ISABEL SIMPSON née HALL

LUCY HACKSHAW

I couldn't find any information on the death of Lucy's father Harry Hackshaw. I think he must have died in the West Indies. After Lucy's mother Harriet Marion Hackshaw died in 1877 (in England) her nearest living relation was her brother Robert James Hackshaw. He had been living in England at least since the 1870s and in 1872 had married Elizabeth Rowe, a member of another family that had owned land on St Vincent. In 1881 they and their children were living in Camberwell. Robert was employed as a bailiff at the county court in Shoreditch. Elizabeth Hackshaw died in 1890 and 1892, Robert had married Louisa Campbell Popplewell. He and Louisa were living in Croydon in 1901.

LUCY'S FIRST HUSBAND: DUNCAN FORBES SUTHERLAND

Timesonline: Times 10 October 1836 p4 marriage notice for Duncan Forbes Sutherland and Lucy Campbell Hackshaw. The wedding took place in London.

At website [//svgancestry.com/index.php/sutherland-of-st-vincent](http://svgancestry.com/index.php/sutherland-of-st-vincent) there is an account of the Sutherlands of St Vincent posted 2006 by Joan Leggett who is a descendant of the family. It also covers their relations, the MacKay family. Joan Leggett gives the year of Duncan Forbes Sutherland's death. There's a list of subscribers to a book by Charles Shephard An Historical Account of the Island of St Vincent, published 1831. In the list are H Hackshaw of Gloucester Place Portman Square and several Sutherlands including Duncan Forbes of St Vincent. Finally, Joan Leggett posts a list of officers who served in the St Vincent Militia between 1787 and 1828: both Harry Hackshaw and Duncan Forbes Sutherland are on the list as serving during the 1820s.

The Sutherland family estates in St Vincent had to be sold in the 1860s to pay debts: see Times 30 November 1863 p4d. So it's likely that Lucy Sutherland was a rather impoverished widow.

More information on the Sutherland family can be found at

[Www.kittybrewster.com/ancestry/sutherland.htm](http://www.kittybrewster.com/ancestry/sutherland.htm) including the fact that Duncan Forbes Sutherland and Lucy had no children.

SECOND HUSBAND: SIR JOHN HALL

He's in ODNB and on wikipedia but I got most of my information from Life and Letters of

Sir John Hall MD KCB FRCS whose author is S M Mitra but it was Alice Isabel Simpson who commissioned him and provided the letters and other documents he used. London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta: Longmans Green and Company 1911. Introduction by Rear-Admiral Sir R Massie Blomfield KCMG. Amongst the sources used were John Hall's books of copies of the letters he sent as part of his medical-military duties, which he had kept to use for his memoir-cum-apologia. The book covering 1843 to 1866 was sold at Bonhams on 26 June 2007. See www.bonhams.com/auctions/15231/lot/26,. Unfortunately the website doesn't give details of who bought the book. The earlier book, covering 1827-43, is now in the Wellcome Library.

For Rondesbosch, where John Hall and Lucy were married, see wikipedia. It's most likely they were married at St Paul's church, which seems to have been the first English church built in the district: see www.stpaulsrondebosch.co.za building began 1832.

The Life and Letters of Sir John Hall was also my source for Alice Isabel's youth and education and the different places she lived until her marriage. And for Lucy Hall's death; the announcement in the Daily Telegraph 24 April 1907 is reproduced in the book. At the end of the book there are a couple of pages on Alice Isabel and her child; and some photographs - facing p543 one of "Lieutenant W A Simpson"; facing p298 of Alice and her grandchild, taken in Hong Kong in 1901. On p544 is all the information I've been able to find about Elaine's second marriage; and mention of Beatrice's volume of poems Songs of the Elements.

Baptism of John Hall: familysearch England-ODM GS film number 0924749 IT 4.

Not even familysearch had any record of the marriage of John Hall to Lucy Campbell Sutherland. I also couldn't find any record of the birth of their daughter Lucia Georgina, which I deduce took place in South Africa.

ALICE ISABEL HALL

Birth and baptism of Alice Isabel Hall: www.familysearch.org, parish records of the Presidency of Bombay.

Via www.familysearch.org Great Britain-EASy and VR, GS film number 1929839: marriage of Alice Hall to William Simpson.

REV WILLIAM SIMPSON:

Alumni Dublinensis 1593-1860 editors George D Burtchaeli and Thomas U Sadleir 1935, p753. Thacker's Bengal Directory 1864 p82.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1867 p173.

Thacker's Bengal Directory 1875 p1544.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1891 p1190.

ST JOHN'S BAILLIESTON

See www.findachurch.co.uk

Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689-2000 by David M Bertie published Edinburgh: T and T Clark 2000. P598.

Irish Identities in Victorian Britain editors Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley published London: Routledge 2011: p144.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1900 Volume 2 p1241 still has an entry for Rev William Simpson, which I found a bit strange: as incumbent of St John's Baillieston from 1888-95.

Births of Elaine Mary Simpson and Alice Beatrice Simpson: see familysearch.

The Gates of Light by Beatrice Irwin (Alice Beatrice Simpson). London: Rider and Co. Undated but British Library catalogue gives the publication date as 1930. P154 but it's just a very brief biographical paragraph and it doesn't mention Elaine.

RANDOLPH ROAD wrongly said by Crowley to be Randolph Place:

Kelly's London Directory 1894 p608 street directory does not list anyone called Hall or Simpson in Randolph Road.

Kelly's London Directory 1899 p680 street directory has Lady Hall - that is, Lucy - as householder at 15 Randolph Road.

THE SIMPSONS AND ALEISTER CROWLEY

The proposed use of Lady Hall's house by Crowley as Mathers' envoy in 1900: Freemason's Library GD collection GD 2/4/3/30.

Part of The Confessions (covering events as far as 1904) was published in two volumes as The Spirit of Solitude: an Autohagiography subsequently re-Antichristened The Confessions of Aleister Crowley. London: Mandrake Press Museum St 1929. It contains more about his travels and his climbing expeditions than appears in the later editions. The coverage of Crowley's time in the GD, and the people that he met there, is in more or less the same words as the better-known edition edited by Symonds and Grant; although what went on at Blythe Road is not mentioned at all. However, there are one or two differences as regards Alice Isabel; and some information on Elaine which was cut from later versions. Symonds and Grant also cut passages in which Crowley spells out in so many words his contempt for all women. He sees all women as having no morals and no intellectual ability of any kind, and being bound up in their reproductive capacity to the exclusion of all else.

The later, better known version does include information on Crowley's life after 1904:

The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant London: Cape 1969. A version of this edition is also on the web at

[Www.hermetic.com/crowley/confessions](http://www.hermetic.com/crowley/confessions). I think people need to remember that when he was writing The Confessions Crowley had long ago run through the money he inherited and was now living on his reputation.

Website www.lashtal.com/wiki/Aleister_Crowley_Timeline is run by the Aleister Crowley Society. The section of this website which covers 1898-1900 is based on Crowley's own Abra-Melin Notebook.

For more scholarly and detached accounts of Crowley and the Simpson family, I recommend Howe or Kaczynski:

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd 1972. There's a good chapter on the battle of 36 Blythe Road and what followed, based on Crowley's Abra-Melin Notebook and an account of the battle written for the GD's ruling committee by GD member Edmund Hunter; with long quotes from both.

Perdurabo: the Life of Aleister Crowley by Richard Kaczynski. 2nd edition Berkeley California: North Atlantic Books 2010: pp77-79, p92. On p65 however, Kaczynski wrongly identifies Alice Isabel's father as Sir John Hall 1824-1907, prime minister of New Zealand 1879-82. There are a lot of men called John Hall at any one time!

AFTER THE GOLDEN DAWN

Birth of Elaine's first child in late June 1901: Crowley's diaries for June 1901; details sent to me 28 August 2014 by Crowley researcher Clint Warren.

Alice Isabel calling on Crowley in Paris January 1902: letter from Crowley to Gerald Kelly, undated but written around 15 January 1902 and seen by Clint Warren. Details sent to me 8 September 2014 by Clint Warren.

Kelly's London Directory 1902 p697 street directory Lady Hall is still at 15 Randolph Road but by Kelly's London Directory 1903 p698 15 Randolph Road's resident is Miss Rebecca Pepper, dressmaker.

Deaths of Lucy Campbell Hall and Paul Harry Witkowski: probate registry records.

At familysearch passenger arrival lists Ellis Island: Alice Isabel Simpson arrived 21 July 1907 on the Cedric from Liverpool.

ALICE ISABEL AND ELAINE IN THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland published by the Society which was then at 22 Albemarle Street London. Issues from January 1911 to 1927.

ALICE ISABEL SIMPSON'S DEATH

Probate registry records.

28 MARLOES ROAD

See English Heritage's buildings' website www.british-history.ac.uk, an article there taken from the Survey of London volume 42 published 1896 chapter XXII. And Lost Hospitals of London, at website ezitis.myzen.co.uk/stmaryabbots.html.

London Gazette 21 February 1936 p1201 notices issued under the Trustee Act 1925 S27.

FOR ALICE ISABEL'S DAUGHTERS see their biographies. Arthur Simpson never joined the GD or its daughter orders.

BEATRICE'S POETRY PERFORMANCE IN LONDON

The New Science of Color originally published 1915; this information from a modern reprint by Nabu Public Domain Reprints 2014: p124-128.

And BEATRICE IN LONDON 1925

The Gates of Light by Beatrice Irwin. London: Rider and Co 1930 p155.

ALICE'S SON WILLIAM ARTHUR JOHN SIMPSON

BEWARE a man with exactly the same name 1877-1964, police chief in Suffolk MBE 1920, died 1964. I think I have got the correct man, in the Probate Registry records for 1960.

Monthly Army List January 1914 column 533 and column 611.

Monthly Army List Oct 1914 column 533 and p2516.

Debretts 1920 p1799 as MC and DSO, 1918.

The VC and DSO: A Complete List volume 3 p68. Published 1924, compilers O Moore Creagh and Edith M Humphris.

Monthly Army List October 1930 column 250c.

Army List 1930: half-yearly list ending December 1930 p322 a good listing of his career so far.

At www.shelaghspencer.com is a list of British Settlers in Natal 1824-1957 compiled by Shelagh O'Byrne Spencer; I couldn't see from the website what her sources were but in any case, William Arthur John Simpson was not in her list.

15 September 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Elaine Mary Simpson was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 1 January 1897. She chose a Latin motto, 'Donorum dei dispensatio fidelis'. Elaine's mother, Alice Isabel Simpson had been a member since 1895 and both women were keen to do the work necessary to get to the stage of being offered initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order, where you could start doing some practical magic. Elaine beat her mother to it by a few months, though, being initiated into the 2nd Order in March 1899. Later that year, Elaine's younger sister Beatrice was also initiated into the GD.

Elaine and her mother were both ejected from the GD in April 1900 for taking the wrong side in the incident known as the battle of Blythe Road. In Elaine's case her expulsion probably didn't matter all that much as she was going to have to stop taking any active part in the GD's meetings and rituals quite soon. She did (after a pause) carry on with her magic, though, until 1906.

UPDATE SEPTEMBER 2014: thanks are due for this update to Clint Warren, who contacted me in August. He has access to Crowley's original diaries and as a result I'm able to make some corrections to my account of Elaine in 1901. He also inspired me to peer more closely at GD documents at the Freemasons' Library concerning the events of April 1900.

SECOND UPDATE APRIL 2017: further thanks are now due to Claire StEdward Crowley from Australia, who has been researching the Witkowski family. She has sent me copies of several documents and transcriptions of several more; giving me more detail about Elaine's two husbands than I'd been able to get on my own.

THE PROBLEM OF SOURCES

Most people leave very few traces for historians to follow up. It's very difficult to compile a biography of them, and it's as true - alas! - about most members of the GD as about anyone else who wasn't royal/aristocratic, famous/infamous, and/or a professional writer. In Elaine's case I have more evidence about her life - even her life in magic - than for the majority of GD members. But that's not saying much and anyway, the evidence I've found focuses on other people, the GD member gets to play a bit-part in it. The person who wrote most about Elaine is Aleister Crowley and that has been a problem for me. Part of the trouble is the Crowley sources and how they have been edited. The rest of the trouble is Crowley's own character. Misogyny is typical of men in any generation, but Crowley states his in so many words. He also seems incapable of seeing anyone he meets (man or woman) as an individual in their own right. He can only see them as bit-part players in the Drama of Aleister Crowley's Life. I think myself that he always had that tendency; but by the time even of the earlier version of *The Confessions*, it's very pronounced.

Having got that off my chest I shall start.

THE SIMPSONS

I'm not going to belabour Elaine's early life in this biography as it's covered from her mother's point of view in the biography of Alice Isabel Simpson. Here I shall say that Elaine Mary Simpson was born in India, the eldest child of Rev William Simpson and his wife Alice Isabel, daughter of Sir John Hall. She was born on 2 February 1875, probably at Dagshai in the foothills of the Himalayas, possibly at nearby Kasauli where she was baptised a couple of months later. Rev William was chaplain at Dagshai at the time of Elaine's birth. Elaine's sister Alice Beatrice (known as Beatrice) was born in 1877, also at Dagshai or Kasauli, but shortly afterwards their father was moved on, to Roorkee on the north Indian plains. The British cantonments at Roorkee, at which the Bengal Engineers' Corps and two units of artillery were stationed, may have been Elaine's earliest memories. However, she may have had no clear recollection of India at all, because when she was four, Rev William retired and though I don't have any certain evidence of this, I think the family left India to return to Europe. Where they spent the next few years is also a mystery (they are not on the 1881 census, for example) but they were living in Scotland by August 1886 when Elaine's brother William Arthur John (known as Arthur), the last of William and Alice Isabel's children, was born.

In 1888 Rev William came out of retirement to become the vicar of St John the Evangelist, Baillieston and for the next five or six years, the Simpsons lived in the parish's manse house, on the eastern edge of Glasgow. On the day of the 1891 census Elaine's grandmother Lucy Hall was staying or perhaps living near them (though not with them). Elaine and Beatrice were at home on census day. They may have finished their education but it was more likely they were home for the Easter holidays. The only definite information that I have about the education Elaine and her sister had comes from Beatrice: she says that she went to "Cheltenham College" - by which she must mean Cheltenham Ladies' College, founded in 1853 but put on the educational map by its great Principal, Dorothea Beale (appointed in 1858) who did so much to raise the standards of education for middle-class girls. It was a boarding school, and a fee-paying school; perhaps Rev William's decision to come out of retirement was taken with fees in mind. Beatrice doesn't mention how long she was at the College, or when she was there. She doesn't actually mention that Elaine went there too but it would be perverse of the Simpsons to send one daughter there but not the other. Even if

Elaine had only spent a couple of years at the College, what she learned there will have put her amongst the best-educated of all the GD's women members. However, she probably could already speak German and probably French very well by the time she went there, and perhaps some Italian, too. Alice Isabel knew at least the first two languages well, having spent her youth moving from country to country with her parents, living in Paris, Germany, Switzerland and Italy during the 1850s and 1860s. She could also have taught Elaine and her sister the basics of music and singing, which she had learned in Germany. She and Rev William will have shared with their daughters their love of Dante and Tennyson. I wonder what Elaine made of the poem Lancelot and Elaine? Finally, as the daughter of a Church of England vicar, Elaine will have received a very thorough religious education before she went away to school. As Rev William's personal preferences were at the high-church end of the Church of England scale of religious observance, they will have watched Church of England services being carried out in such a way as to encourage strong emotional responses, through a focus on the drama and symbolism of the Christian rituals.

I have explained in my biography of Alice Isabel Simpson that though I haven't found any direct proof, I believe Rev William Simpson died around 1895. Following his death, Elaine's grandmother and mother moved to London. Sharing the expenses, they rented a house at 15 Randolph Road in the district to the west of Edgware Road. Elaine was 20 when this happened. I think I can safely say that she was not working, nor expected to work. The ideology of the time was that middle-class women would marry, and so it was not necessary that they should work, even before marriage. My impression of Elaine is that she did not have the strength of mind required to challenge that - the level of determination needed was very great. She was probably happy enough following the ideological path; at least until her mother joined the Golden Dawn in 1895. Alice Isabel began bringing home the study-material required of GD initiates who wanted to progress to practical magic by being initiated into its inner, second order - texts on the Kabbalah, astrology and tarot for example - and the attention of Elaine and (to a lesser extent) her sister was caught. Elaine had probably read a great deal of the study-programme before she was initiated into the GD herself. She was approaching her second initiation in the autumn of 1898 when Aleister Crowley underwent his first GD initiation.

ELAINE AND ALEISTER CROWLEY

Neither the lashtal website nor the two versions of The Confessions mention any of the Simpson family before the events of April 1900. I'm never quite sure how well individual GD members could get to know each other at the GD rituals. I'm also not sure how often Crowley went to the GD rituals after the first few he attended. During 1899 had was working very hard magically and otherwise, preparing himself for initiation into the GD's 2nd Order and for carrying out the Abra-Melin rituals. In both versions of The Confessions Crowley writes that he didn't consider most of the GD members as having the magical knowledge he would need, especially for the Abra-Melin rituals. This judgement would have been particularly true of Elaine and her mother, as Crowley regarded women as intellectually negligible. As it happens, Crowley was quite right that the Simpsons couldn't help him. He was after people who knew about alchemy. Relatively few GD members did so and Crowley focused his learning efforts on those people. Despite this, the accounts of the events of 1900 make it clear that by then, Crowley had come to know the Simpsons reasonably well. It's not clear which of the women he knew first. Not Beatrice, I think - she wasn't initiated until 1899. It's more likely that it was Elaine, as the younger of the two who were members when Crowley joined. One of the Simpsons invited him to call on them all at home. By doing so, Crowley was agreeing to move out of the world of mottoes and magic, and into the world of real names. However, in most of his published writings on this period, Crowley refers to

Elaine as 'Fidelis', the shortened form of her long motto; an important indication of his attitude, in my view.

Now I get to a bit that's got to be very speculative: because of a lack of the necessary information; but also because the few sources that do exist show only one side of it. Even using the different versions of *The Confessions* (which I regard as an unreliable source) I do get the impression that Elaine Simpson and Aleister Crowley were attracted to each other; and that the attraction continued for several years, and almost reached a sexual relationship. Evidence for friendship and attraction on Elaine's part is that Elaine sided with Crowley in one of the GD's internal disputes, to her cost. A couple of times in her life she also picked up the thread of the relationship, after either Crowley or circumstances had caused it to be dropped. And at least once she responded positively to an attempt by Crowley to restart a relationship that had looked dead and gone. On Crowley's part, he did consider the relationship dead and gone at one stage; only to start it up again when badly in need of advice from someone with knowledge of how magic works. I'm not going to discount the possibility that Elaine would have married Crowley if she had been asked. But she wasn't asked and anyway, by the spring of 1900 she had agreed to marry someone else. The very fact of her being engaged may have made it easier for Elaine and Crowley to be acquaintances; and it may have made Elaine a little more careless than she might otherwise have been, about the consequences of considering herself Crowley's friend. For his part, Crowley writes of Elaine in terms I haven't find him using about any other woman, not even his wife, although he uses words that consider her to be scarcely adult. Looking back at 1900 from the late 1920s, he wrote of Elaine at that time as "a young girl of perfect purity" (she was 25, a few months older than he was) and at the end of the relationship, still described his feeling for her as somehow above or outside sex. She seems to be unique in his life, in that respect!

Who was the man whom Elaine was due to marry, in the spring of 1900? I've suggested in my biography of Elaine's mother Alice Isabel that the credentials of Paul Witkowski as a husband were of a kind to satisfy any woman anxious to marry her daughters well. He was 11 years older than Elaine and had already got a long way up the office hierarchy in the Hong Kong based firm Arnhold Karberg. There was a BIG problem with him: he was Jewish. But in order to marry Elaine, he converted to Christianity and I'll just say here that Elaine must have been a very charismatic woman, to have Paul Witkowski and Aleister Crowley, in their different ways, do so much for her.

Jacob Arnhold and Peter Karberg had registered the company in Germany in 1866, but they had founded it in Canton. In 1900 it had offices in London and New York but its main sphere of operations was still China, where it had offices in Hong Kong, Shanghai and 37 other towns. It owned property in Hong Kong and Shanghai and also acted as agent in the Far East for a large number of insurance and shipping companies. Karberg had retired from active participation quite early on in the firm's history although his name was kept; but the Arnholds were still very much in charge, members of the family chairing its board of directors from 1897 to 1910. From 1888 to 1914, Arnhold Karberg was so important a player in the economy of Hong Kong that it had a permanent seat on the board of directors of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. From November 1899 to December 1901 Paul Witkowski sat in that seat, acting up while an even more senior employee of Arnhold Karberg was on leave.

Paul Witkowski had gone to work in Arnhold Karberg's Hong Kong office in the early 1890s

when the Simpsons were still living in Scotland. Although his surname sounds Polish, he had been born in Berlin and was German-speaking. The puzzle therefore is, how did he and Elaine meet? They could certainly have met in Glasgow, with Witkowski on a business trip to the city. However, I've speculated that Alice Isabel may have known his family since the 1860s when she and her parents were living in Germany. In the spring of 1900, preparations for a summer wedding will have been in hand, the Victorian middle-class wedding taking quite as long to organise as its modern successor. Elaine's mind doesn't seem to have been as much on the marriage job as it could have been, however; she may have been feeling swept along by the tide of her mother's enthusiasm, as many brides-to-be do. Both she and her mother got involved in the power struggles within the GD; some of Alice Isabel's support may have been unwitting and she also had doubts about what was going forward; but Elaine played an active role on Crowley and Mathers' behalf and - at least according to Crowley's accounts - didn't have any second thoughts about her involvement.

Crowley had become involved in those power struggles when the GD's 2nd Order members had voted to refuse him initiation into the 2nd Order. He had decided to go to Paris and get Samuel Liddell Mathers to initiate him instead; and to return to London to assert Mathers' authority over the 2nd Order, forcing its members to accept him as one of them. Before he even set out for Paris he laid before both Elaine and her mother, a plan for taking over the 2nd Order's rooms at 36 Blythe Road. They both agreed to help him. Between London and Paris, however, the plan seems to have got more all-encompassing: it involved all the GD members - not just the 2nd Order - answering a series of questions on their loyalties, and swearing an oath of obedience to Mathers and to Crowley as Mathers' representative. According to Crowley's various accounts, Elaine's mother started to get cold feet, and Crowley subjected her to all the loyalty questions, and demands, that he was intending to be made of all the GD members in due course. Elaine, however, was still keen to help: Crowley writes that she was one of the group of members that held the view that GD members should obey Mathers as the head of the order, as student magicians always did their masters.

In still being willing to commit herself on Mathers' and Crowley's behalf, Elaine was stepping into a dispute that was bigger than she or Crowley could have known. In *The Spirit of Solitude* Crowley writes of the letters in German from the supposed Fraulein Sprengel as if they were genuine; perhaps even in the 1920s he wasn't aware that the GD's foundation documents had been faked. And in 1900 neither he nor Elaine had been in the GD long enough, or knew Mathers well enough, to have experienced the full range of his increasingly difficult behaviour. As Crowley's friend, Elaine probably felt he'd been denied initiation into the 2nd Order unfairly, having done all the necessary study-work and more. The GD archives don't contain any indication of what the reasons were for the refusal, but in the earlier and later versions of *The Confessions*, Crowley gives two different ones. In the later *The Confessions* Crowley says that Elaine's mother had told him the reason: that he was suspected of using sex to raise magical energy; a well-known ritual, but one deeply controversial in the GD. However, in the earlier *The Spirit of Solitude* he says that the decision had gone against him because of jealousy of his very rapid progress from first initiation to readiness for the second; and he doesn't say who told him what the reason was. Which one is correct? Goodness knows.

The first part of Crowley's plan of action in London as Mathers' representative was to take possession of the 2nd Order's rooms at 36 Blythe Road. As a bona fide member of the 2nd Order, Elaine could not be kept out of them, and she agreed to go to them with Crowley and insist on being let in; letting him in with her. However, as a relatively new initiate into the 2nd Order she did not have any keys to the rooms herself. Crowley arranged to borrow a set

from Edward Berridge, another supporter of Mathers, and once Elaine was in, Crowley was intending get the locks changed so that no one else could get in without their permission. Once in possession, he would begin the process of getting the GD members to swear a new, rather different, pledge of loyalty to it and to Mathers as its head, by sending a summons to each member, requiring them to attend an interview. These interviews would take place at the Simpson's house; and Elaine was the person to whom responses to the summons would be addressed.

As a result of her cooperation with Crowley, Elaine would be given the post of Third Adept in the GD after the coup, with Crowley as First Adept and Berridge as Second; Mathers being by now conspicuously absent from Crowley's thinking. In suggesting that Elaine be the Third Adept, Crowley was offering her a great step up in status: she had only been doing magic in theory for three years, and magic in practice for one year. He may have been thinking, too, of giving her an important role when all the GD members were having to reaffirm their vows and loyalty: as Mathers' chosen envoy he would be taking charge of that process himself, of course, asking the questions; but a scribe would also be in the room, taking notes, and perhaps Elaine was going to be the scribe. Both would be masked (this is beginning to sound like 1984). I imagine Elaine found the idea of achieving such high rank in the order very attractive; it made her feel an important part of Crowley's plans for the Order's future, even though she would not be able to participate in person in them, for very long.

Elaine and Crowley met briefly on Monday 16 April 1900 to finalise the seizing of 36 Blythe Road. On Tuesday 17 April the plans seem to have gone without a hitch and in what is apparently the last entry in his Abra-Melin Notebook, Crowley was able to describe the day as "Fight, police, victory". Without a hitch, that is, but not according to what Elaine may have understood beforehand: she may have had Berridge's keys with her when she and Crowley arrived, but none of the accounts of what happened say that she used them. Instead, the locks on the door were forced; and so were the locks on the cupboards inside. My feeling is that merely opening the door with a key didn't appeal to Crowley's sense of theatre. Smashing them open - much more exciting; but as a result Elaine may have been guilty of breaking and entering.

Once in and with the locks changed on 17 April, Crowley took possession of a list of 2nd Order members and started to send telegrams to them, summoning them to attend his test of loyalty. However, the GD's senior members in London were not that easily cowed and a return bout at 36 Blythe Road was played on Thursday 19 April in which Crowley was ordered to leave by W B Yeats and Edmund Hunter and went, threatening legal action. Edmund Hunter's account of 19 April mentions that Elaine was in the 2nd Order rooms with Crowley again; and that a parcel was delivered for her during the day from a wigmaker, which she took with her when she left. Perhaps she had intended to dress up for the occasion, following the example of Crowley who was wearing a kilt, a black mask and a dagger. That same evening, the committee of London-based members who were opposed to Mathers expelled Elaine, her mother, Crowley and Berridge from the GD.

Neither Elaine nor Alice Isabel contested their expulsion as far as I know - certainly nothing in the GD archives at the Freemasons' Library indicates that they did. The ramifications of Blythe Road did rumble on for a month or so, though. Crowley had added his name to the list of 2nd Order members he found at Blythe Road; on behalf of the members in London, Percy Bullock struck it out again. Legal action began about items now missing from the 2nd

Order rooms: Crowley saying he wanted compensation for them, apparently on Mathers' behalf; the GD in London arguing that as they had all put money in to buy them, they were not Mathers' property but the GD's as a whole. A letter from the GD's solicitor to Crowley's solicitor contained words which Crowley decided had "threatened the reputation of Miss Simpson". Julian Baker tried to act as mediator on that issue but it was only decided when Elaine - wisely, I think - chose not to take undue offence at what might have been written. There's no evidence in the GD files that any of these legal exchanges got as far as court, or even as far as an out-of-court settlement, and Elaine - as the possibly libelled person - was the only one who could have started a libel case, or stopped it.

Elaine was moving on. On 12 June 1900, she and Paul Ignatz Witkowski (known during his marriage as Paul Harry) were married at St Saviour's Paddington. Aleister Crowley left England that month to go climbing in Mexico. Elaine and her husband went to Hong Kong, where at least for a time, she put aside these childish things. This was force majeure as much as choice: she had to adapt to a new country and cope with the climate of the tropics, which made so many Westerners wilt; make new friends; learn her new double-role of wife and mistress of the household - which is likely to have contained several servants to supervise; and she was soon pregnant, having her first child - Georgiana - during 1901. She would have played hostess to visits from both her and her husband's relatives: Alice Isabel certainly went to Hong Kong to see her grandchild during 1901. Having made the long journey from Europe, visitors would stay for at least several weeks. And taking part in Hong Kong's social life would have been important for Elaine personally, to help her settle, but also for her husband and his business career. They had two communities to be socially involved with - the British community and the large and important German contingent in Hong Kong.

If her mother is to be believed, Elaine would have managed all these changes well: Alice Isabel says of Elaine that she had inherited her grandfather John Hall's "wonderful adaptability to new environments". However, I think Crowley's writings suggest a somewhat different interpretation. She might have been bored, starved of the kind of challenge her GD study had given her. So when Crowley acted on the suggestion inadvertently made by Alice Isabel, contacting Elaine to suggest that they should visit one another astrally, she agreed. He made the suggestion late in 1900, only a few months after they had - apparently - gone their separate ways.

In the two versions of *The Confessions* Crowley's partner in astral travelling is only identified as

a "Sister of the Order (that GD, that is) who lived in Hong Kong". However, he identifies the Hong Kong-based Sister as "Fidelis" later, so it definitely was Elaine. They exchanged letters and agreed a way to both be prepared to travel astrally at the same time; taking it in turns to be the one who astrally travelled and the one who stayed put. This was not as easy as they had reckoned: they had to calculate the correct time allowing for the fact that they were not in the same place and Crowley was travelling a great deal - through Mexico, to the USA, across the Pacific. When their first attempt actually worked, Crowley was rather surprised, and they did get their calculations wrong quite often, but on other occasions their astral beings conversed - not just about magic, Elaine seems to have described her house in Hong Kong. Being in touch with her again encouraged Crowley. He had been trying to do magic while in Mexico but hadn't had much success. Needing to cross the Pacific in any case to visit Allan Bennett in Ceylon, he decided to stop off at Hong Kong and tell Elaine his magical troubles.

In the first version (but not the second) of *The Confessions* Crowley gives a description of the woman he was expecting to meet again, describing “her purity, her fearlessness, her loyalty, her scorn of all dishonourable device and deed, her single-heartedness, her eager and ecstatic aspiration”. It was a very generous piece of praise; and somehow I think he only wrote it so that it could be followed by a big BUT; because when he got to Hong Kong he found Elaine, “playing at Magick, as another might play at bridge. But her true life was dresses, dinners and dances; and her thoughts were taken up by her husband and her lover.” Then he gives a quite ridiculous reason why all European women take lovers in hot countries, and to illustrate just how low she had fallen, continues, “she had won the first prize at a fancy dress ball by appearing in her adept’s robes and regalia!”

What Crowley said in the first version of *The Confessions* about Elaine’s activities in Hong Kong is fanciful, a rather spiteful account invented long after the actual visit. Elaine might well have spent her first few months in Hong Kong in a whirl of social engagements while she tried to find her feet in her new surroundings, but she certainly wasn’t spending her time that way by mid-1901: Crowley’s own diary for 1901 tells a different story. Having let Elaine know he was on his way Crowley left Hawaii almost at once. He arrived at Yokohama on 16 June 1901 to find a note or letter from her, saying that he couldn’t visit her right now, and asking him to wait a few months, until October. Right now, Elaine told him, she was giving birth to her first child.

Careful study of Crowley’s diaries for 1901 leads Clint Warren to suggest that Crowley and Elaine may not have met face-to-face that June. I agree that it would have been very difficult for them to do so. Elaine and Paul’s house was probably full of staff hired for the birth and the few weeks after, and of excited grandparents-to-be. I’m sure Alice Isabel’s trip to Hong Kong that year was timed (unless the baby arrived prematurely) for her to be there for the birth of her first grandchild and to give her daughter support and reassurance at a critical time in her life. Childbirth was a dangerous business. Even if the birth went easily and she recovered well, a new middle-class mother would probably not be up and about for a few weeks; and even if she was not the lying-in-bed kind (it sounds as though Elaine wasn’t) she wouldn’t be expected to entertain guests.

Had Elaine even told Crowley that she was pregnant? Probably not - after all, he wasn’t family; and these were women’s matters, even within a family, men were not supposed to be too concerned with the nuts-and-bolts of them. Elaine’s imminent motherhood came as a surprise to Crowley and he decided there was no point in waiting around for three months for her to recover. He left Hong Kong after only a few days, continuing on his way to meet ex-GD member Allan Bennett in Ceylon. But he sulked. Focused as ever on his own needs and not anyone else’s, he took it badly that Elaine couldn’t see him when he wanted to talk to her and claimed that there had been no way back from what he had found out while in Hong Kong: “No hope here, then!...Well and good, so be it!...The umbilical cord was cut; I was an independent being”.

But the only umbilical cord being cut in 1901 was that of Elaine’s daughter Georgiana. At another point of crisis in his life, it was Elaine that Crowley was still looking to for help. Two years after having the basic text of *The Book of the Law* dictated to him by the spirit Aiwass (8-10 April 1904) Crowley was still uncertain whether the communication was genuine, and he decided that Elaine was the one person with whom he could discuss his doubts.

A lot had changed for both of them, between 1901 and early 1906. Probably in 1902, in a reorganisation following Philipp Arnhold's move from the Shanghai office to the London one, Arnhold Karberg sent Paul Witkowski to Shanghai. It was an important move for him. Arnhold Karberg had been chosen to represent German financial interests when the Chinese imperial government wanted a foreign loan; perhaps Paul Witkowski was going to play a role in this kind of politically-charged negotiation. The Witkowskis had to adapt to living in a new country again. Could Elaine speak Chinese by then? That will have helped her, although Shanghai had a large and powerful foreign community. I expect she could at least give her servants orders and possibly more: both she and her mother seemed to have had a facility for learning foreign languages. In 1904 in Shanghai, Elaine had a second child, her son Richard Paul.

The changes for Crowley had been even greater: in August 1903 he had married Rose, sister of GD member Gerald Kelly; they also had had a child, in 1904. Did Elaine know of this? Hmm. Did they keep in touch? - from that supposed parting shot of Crowley's in 1901, you wouldn't have thought so. However, a reference in the later version of *The Confessions* indicates that by the autumn of 1905, Crowley and Elaine were meeting astrally again: Crowley mentions one such meeting that October, in which he saw her "accompanied by a golden hawk in whom I later recognised one of the Secret Chiefs of the A...A". During that particular astral encounter, he and Elaine discussed the Great Work, which they both agreed would result in "the creating of a new universe".

In early 1906 Crowley, Rose and toddler Lilith were travelling in the Far East. That April, Crowley decided to leave Rose and the baby to go back to England on their own and go to visit Elaine. It's not clear to me whether Rose knew of his intentions or even where he was going; nor whether Elaine knew she was expecting him. However, Elaine did make him welcome, at least at first.

Before I try to make sense of April 1906 in Shanghai I want to say two things. Firstly, the account of those days on the lashtal website differs from the only other extant account, that of the later version of *The Confessions*. They are both based on Crowley's papers. Elaine never wrote up her side of what went on. Secondly, Israel Regardie was probably the first Crowley follower to admit in public that Aiwass was an aspect of Crowley's own personality. I was glad to read that (February 2014) in a wiki page on *The Book of the Law*, because it confirmed what I'd thought was pretty obvious even from the accounts of April 1906 that do exist. Had Crowley sufficient self-awareness to know it? - an interesting question.

Right. Crowley arrived in Shanghai on 6 April 1906 and went to call on Elaine at once, explaining to her in that initial meeting his anxieties about Aiwass and the communication Aiwass had made. Both accounts agree on that. The lashtal timeline then records that Elaine was ill the following day, and they couldn't begin on Crowley's plan, which was to carry out the Abra-Melin rituals with Elaine in attendance, writing down whatever conversations Crowley had with any spirits that manifested themselves. Crowley gave it a couple of days before calling on her again, but she was still ill; he wasn't able to see her until 13 April and she wasn't really better - that is, physically able to help him - until 20 April. On 12 April - perhaps realising he was going to have to stay in town longer than he'd intended - Crowley wrote to Rose; but he didn't tell her why he was in Shanghai. On 18 April, with Elaine still not well enough to act, Crowley was starting to change his plans. He decided to ask Elaine to take the major role in communicating with Aiwass, rather than do it himself. Aiwass was finally invoked (Crowley seems to have been sure they'd got the right entity), in the room

Elaine had as her magical temple, by Elaine, on 20 April 1906 and again on 21 April; on that second day, urged on by Aiwass, Crowley and Elaine started to do the Great Work - that is, have sex for magical purposes - but stopped; and on that same day, Crowley left Shanghai for Nagasaki on his way to Britain via the USA. During the boat-trip Crowley had his turn to be ill. Once he reached Kobe, on 24 April 1906, he wrote to Rose again, but again didn't mention anything about Elaine. So that's one account.

Shanghai was a very unhealthy city to live in, but I think that Elaine's illness was as much psychological as medical. Crowley had arrived with very little warning and was asking a lot of her. It's no wonder she took to her bed. However, several days later, she did agree to do what he wanted.

The later account, in *The Confessions*, doesn't mention Elaine's illness; or the letters to Rose. While the lashtal account doesn't say where Crowley was staying but gives the impression that for at least the first few days, he was in a hotel, the later account says that on 9 April, Crowley moved into Elaine's house, and that for the next 12 days they were "constantly working (at magic, that is) together". As part of this, Elaine invoked Aiwass on 18 April.

Well, they can't both be right. I believe that the lashtal website's account is more likely to be right, because it's based on contemporary information not a memoir composed many years later.

In *The Confessions* Crowley and his editors give more detail of what actually happened in the magical sense, during the times that he and Elaine were together - or what he thought happened. It's clear that at least in some respects, Crowley didn't get what he wanted. Well, no, not that exactly - that what Crowley thought he wanted, and what he actually wanted were different things, and opposed. Also - although he doesn't say this - I don't think he appreciated it when Elaine began to show some independence of judgement. Also, she was willing to play what she saw was her part in the creation of the new universe: that is, to do the Great Work - have sex with him for the purpose of raising the necessary magical energy; which threw Crowley into a quandary.

When answering the question Crowley had come to Shanghai to ask, Elaine seemed to be very certain. She told him that she thought that Aiwass was a real spirit - which made him unhappy. On that assumption, she wanted them to study Aiwass' communication together, by reading *The Book of the Law*. Crowley's initial reaction was that he didn't want them to do that, at least, not together.

When Elaine invoked Aiwass, the first communication she received from him (I'd call Aiwass an 'it' but Crowley always knew it was male - a clue in itself) was that he wanted the two of them to do the Great Work. But then Aiwass added that Elaine would refuse to agree to it; that if she refused, she would be "useless" to Crowley; and that Crowley had been wrong to confide in Elaine because it gave her power over him. So he had his get-out clause - the case against Elaine. But then Aiwass began to argue the case 'for' Elaine, describing Crowley as Elaine's "true helper" and as someone she had a right to demand help from. Aiwass also helped Crowley's dilemma along by telling them both that it was inevitable that they would do the Great Work together and once they had done so, they would be bound together "irrevocably". The final element in the debate was Elaine telling Crowley that she felt he was "absolutely necessary for her"; apparently this wasn't a channeling of Aiwass'

opinions, this was Elaine speaking as her real self. By 'necessary' did she mean in magic? Or in all her life? I think she may actually have meant 'all her life'; at least, she thought she did. I suggest this was what had made her ill: a desire to have sex with Crowley and commit herself to him.

In the end, they did begin the Great Work. Why didn't they continue, and found the new universe? Crowley attributes it to "my will" and to Elaine's "feeling that we have done enough for honour". Again, hmmm. It sounds lofty and purposeful if only negatively, and Crowley rationalised his part in the stoppage still further by declaring that his "love for Fidelis" (not Elaine and I think that's an important distinction) "excluded the material almost entirely". Maybe, maybe. But I think they both panicked, at the implications of having sex - being bound 'irrevocably' is a pretty alarming idea and what about their lives in the non-magical world? Of course, but more mundanely still, they could have just been interrupted. Elaine's temple was only a room in her house, a house full of servants and children and perhaps her husband, home from work. And Crowley had a boat to catch - both the accounts give an impression of a man in a hurry. Dull, unmagical reasons.

Crowley must have gone to Shanghai to do the Great Work with Elaine as his sexual partner if circumstances were right. But if you take it that Aiwass was a manifestation of parts of Crowley's own subconscious, you can see Aiwass' communications as a struggle within Crowley about Elaine's role in his future. Was she to be his 'other' in magic? And if so what kind of 'other'? - an equal partner? An acolyte? And what about the wider aspects? A lot depends on why you think Crowley had left his wife and child to seek out a woman he'd despaired of five years before. Had he intended never to go back to Rose? Was he thinking he could have one woman for magic and one for his daily life? Was he thinking clearly at all?

And what about Elaine? She seems almost to have made up her mind for Crowley and magic and against her husband and their life together. I don't think she would even have debated this choice if she had been entirely happy with her husband; but in the end, she decided in favour of her marriage and her children.

And Crowley for his wife. I noticed that in all Crowley's writing about his relationship with Elaine, he only mentions her marriage twice: once when she was still only engaged; and once, in a half-sentence, to note that her husband had died. In the versions of *The Confessions* Elaine's nearly always referred as Fidelis - the short-form of her GD motto; once she's referred to by her real-world name - but as Elaine Simpson, even though Crowley was writing about the time of her marriage when he did so. Crowley decided in Shanghai that his feelings for Elaine were a non-sexual love, but I do wonder so it's even possible that her willingness to be his sexual partner in magic shocked him. I don't think he ever thought of her as married; she remained a young girl in his mind's eye.

During the years of their close relationship Crowley was writing poetry regularly. He gathered together a lot of his poems in 1910 and published them in a book he called *The Winged Beetle*. None of the poems in the book have a date on them but from the evidence of those dedicated to GD members, they were written over a long period. Elaine's one of the few people to have more than one poem dedicated to her. *The Opium-Smoker* is dedicated to "Elaine Simpson". I think it was written around 1899 when Crowley was just getting into

drugs as hallucinogens, apparently guided into their use by Allan Bennett. Most of the poem is a reverie of things usually unseen appearing to the poet in his opium-induced trances. The poet seems to be on his own apart from a "boy" who brings him the drug; so Elaine's not smoking and en-visioning with him. She might be the "compassionate maid" that the poet calls on to bring him light, at the end of the poem as he attempts to write down his visions.

The second poem is Ad Fidelem Infidelem and is dedicated to "Elaine W-----", the only time in all his writings that Crowley acknowledges Elaine's surname as a married woman and - by inference - the existence of a man who was her husband. I hope I'm not infringing copyright law in printing the poem in its entirety. If anyone thinks I am doing so, please let me know and I'll withdraw the poem while I find out whose permission to get:

Ad Fidelem Infidelem

Ah, my sweet sister, Was it idle toil,
When in the flowerless Eden of Shanghai
We made immortal mischief, you and I,
"Casting our flame-flowers on the dull brown soil?"
Did we not light a lamp withouten oil
Nursed by unfruitful kisses, stealthily
Strewn in the caldron (sic) where our Destiny
Bides brooding - Mother, bid its brew to boil!
Ah, Sweetheart, we were barren as Sahara,
But on Sahara burns our subtle star.
Soon an oasis, now too lone and far,
Shall bloom with all the blossoms of Bokhara:
See! o'er the brim the mystic fountain flows!
Cull from the caldron (sic) the ensanguine Rose!

Did Crowley send Elaine a copy of this poem, or of the book? If Elaine did have a copy I wonder what she made of Crowley's reference to his wife Rose, which suggests to me that he was regretting opting for her rather than Elaine when he thought he had the choice. But on the other hand, perhaps the poem is just a fantasy of what they might have had but too late now.

AFTER CROWLEY - THE REST OF ELAINE'S LIFE

Where was Paul Harry Witkowski while all this magic and nearly some adultery was going on his house?! He must at least have not objected to Elaine's keeping one room for her magic; but was his attitude one of indulgence, or a real understanding that it was important to her? He was never in the GD himself and probably understood virtually nothing of what went on in it, but surely he hadn't bargained for a magician who was an old flame of his wife's to turn up and do magic with her over at least two intense days. Perhaps Crowley's timing was better than he knew, and he reached Shanghai while Paul was away. But the almost-cuckolded husband's part in all this is intriguing. He was never put to the ultimate test, however, and - in whatever manner - the marriage of Paul Witkowski and Elaine

continued until it was ended by Paul's death. Though perhaps it did not satisfy either party to it.

Hmmm. Maybe it's not so odd that Crowley and Elaine never met again as far as I can tell. They had come very close to going too far, not so much on the sexual level but in their emotional involvement; and had both drawn back. Their parting wasn't one of bitterness and estrangement.

Crowley knew about the death of Paul Witkowski, so Elaine must have written to him about it. There are other letters from Elaine in Crowley's papers. Their last contact was in 1928 - Elaine wrote to Crowley inviting him to visit her in Frankfurt. He did reply to her letter, but it looks like he didn't visit (I haven't seen his letter myself - it's just referred to in Kaczynski's biography).

I know very little about Elaine's life after April 1906. Whether she continued to do magic on her own, in the room in the house in Shanghai and other places she lived in later - who knows.

Paul Witkowski died on 6 September 1907 aged 42. He was back in Germany, staying with Alfred Schwenger, in Bad Nauheim. However he and Elaine had not moved back to Europe permanently, Paul's normal address was still Shanghai. It's not clear from the death registration whether Elaine was in Germany with her husband. She was certainly back in Europe in 1908 when she was winding up the English part of his estate. Thanks to Claire Claire StEdward Crowley I can (April 2017) say that in 1909 Elaine married again. Her second husband was Karl Julius Emil Wölker (born 1870) who worked for the German postal service. They lived in Hamburg. Elaine may have had a second family with him; I don't know. Claire Claire StEdward Crowley has looked for a second family and not found one. She has found official notification that Elaine and Wölker were divorced in 1924.

Elaine contributed enough to the preparation of *The Life and Letters...* to be elected with her mother as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society before it was even published, in November 1910. She kept up her membership of the Royal Asiatic Society only until 1912.

The last I know of Elaine is an exchange of letters with Crowley in 1928. More details on the rest of her life will be published by the Ordo Templi Orientis in their definitive edition of Crowley's Confessions.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note,

though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ELAINE SIMPSON WITKOWSKI WOLKER

HER MOTHER AND FATHER

Birth and baptism information via familysearch.

Life and Letters of Sir John Hall MD KCB FRCS by S M Mitra though commissioned by and using original documents provided by Alice Isabel Simpson. Published London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta: Longmans Green and Co 1911 p298, p544.

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1891 p1190.

Website www.findachurch.co.uk

Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689-2000 by David M Bertie published Edinburgh: T and T Clark 2000, p598.

That St John the Evangelist Baillieston was a high church establishment, see Irish Identities in Victorian Britain editors Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley published London: Routledge 2011: p144.

For Rev Simpson's presumed death:

Crockford's Clerical Directory 1900 Volume 2 p1241

HER EDUCATION

The Gates of Light by Beatrice Irwin (Alice Beatrice Simpson). London: Rider and Co. Undated but British Library catalogue gives the publication date as 1930. P154 but it's just a very brief biographical paragraph and it doesn't mention Elaine.

The website of Cheltenham Ladies' College is at www.cheltladiescollege.org but it's very focused on the present and future. Wikipedia has a page on the history of the College. Between those pages and the College's old girls' society at www.clcguild.org I found several

lists of ex-pupils but neither Elaine nor Beatrice were named in them; though GD member Florence Farr was.

ELAINE'S FIRST HUSBAND PAUL IGNATZ (known as HARRY) WITKOWSKI

His parents' names, and his being born in Berlin: details on his death registration - see below.
His life in the Far East.

The Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea (sic), Indo-China, Straits Settlements etc published by the Hong Kong Daily Press. For Arnhold Karberg, issue of 1889 p294. For Paul Witkowski's arrival in Hong Kong: issues of 1892 (in which he wasn't listed) and 1894 p215. For a possible date for the move to Shanghai, issue of 1902 p362.

The Bankers', Insurance Managers' and Agents' Magazine volume LXXIII January-June 1902. London: Waterlow and Sons Ltd 1902 p606

ARNHOLD KARBERG

See wikipedia for an introduction to the firm, which still exists.

History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation in 4 volumes. Volume 1 is The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China 1864-1902: on an Even Keel. Frank H H King, with Catherine E King and David J S King. Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press 1987: pp336-37, pp461-66, p701. Volume 2 is: The Hongkong Bank in the Period of Imperialism and War 1895-1918: Wayfoong, the Focus of Wealth. Frank H H King with David J S King and Catherine E King. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988 pp22-24 and p719.

Article on the web in its entirety: The German-Speaking Community in Hong Kong 1846-1918, by Carl T Smith, based on a talk he gave, presumably at the Royal Asiatic Society because it was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch volume 34 1994. Very interesting on the important part in Far East commerce played by Arnhold Karberg and other German firms before World War One.

Elaine and Paul Witkowski's child: info sent March and April 2017 by Claire StEdward Crowley by email but she hasn't been able to find original documents for any of it. Child b 1901 was Georgiana. Claire also saw information on a son, born 1904 in Shanghai: Richard Paul Witkowski. She saw at least one arrival in US from 1920s but the last known address for him was Naples.

Death registration details for Paul Witkowski, translated from the German; including the names of his parents and where he was born. The registration had a note on it that he was Paul Ignatz Witkowski, not Paul Harry. Sent by email April 2017 by Claire StEdward Crowley

Probate Registry 1908 re death of Paul Harry Witkowski.

ELAINE SIMPSON AND ALEISTER CROWLEY

For 1901: Crowley's own diary, accessed by researcher Clint Warren.

The account of the trouble at Blythe Road that I usually use is: The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923 by Ellic Howe. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd 1972. The chapter is based on Crowley's Abra-Melin Notebook (though the last entry in that notebook is Saturday 21 April) and an account of the battle written for the GD's ruling committee by GD member Edmund Hunter; with long quotes from both.

The early and later versions of The Confessions:

The Spirit of Solitude: an Autohagiography subsequently re-Antichristened The Confessions of Aleister Crowley. London: Mandrake Press Museum St 1929. It ends in April 1904, just before Aiwass dictated The Book of the Law.

The authorised version! - the one most people know: The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography. The edition I used: edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, published London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1979.

There's also a version of The Confessions on the web at Www.hermetic.com/crowley/confessions:

The website I refer to as 'lashtal', which is run by the Aleister Crowley Society:

www.lashtal.com/wiki/Aleister_Crowley_Timeline.

The Winged Beetle poems by Aleister Crowley. 350 copies, privately printed 1910. Only three members of GD have a poem dedicated to them: George Cecil Jones; Allan Bennett; and Elaine. On pp163-67 The Opium-Smoker and p145 Ad Fidelem Infidelem.

The Golden Dawn sources, held at the Freemasons' Library. Call number GD 2/4/3/37 is the expulsion order, read by Florence Farr at a meeting held at the Isis-Urania temple on 5 May 1900. All GD members were entitled to attend this meeting so Florence didn't go into details about the reasons for the expulsions.

GD 2/4/3/38 is a series of letters and a bill for fees to Annie Horniman from solicitor Charles Russell of 31 Norfolk Street. Wealthy and generous Annie Horniman was paying the GD's costs in the legal actions arising from the incidents at Blythe Road.

GD 2/4/3/40 is a very short note, anonymous but written on Annie Horniman's printed notepaper at Flat H1 Montague Mansions Portman Sq; so probably by her. It's where the quote about Elaine's threatened reputation comes from.

GD 2/4/3/41 is notes needed for the legal cases.

The biography of Crowley that I use is Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley by Richard Kaczynski. Berkeley California: NAH Books originally 2000 this revised edition 2010. Most of his information on Elaine's early life he got from The Life and Letters. There's an error on p65 - he identifies her grandfather wrongly. There are so many men called John Hall!

ELAINE'S LATER LIFE

Elaine's second marriage: marriage registration, in German, sent me by Claire StEdward Crowley April 2017. Attached is a brief note of the divorce: in the Frankfurt courts, 27 February 1924.

The Life and Letters of Sir John Hall

1928:

Kaczynski op cit p155. It's not clear from this reference whether the letters exchanged in 1928 were the latest in a correspondence lasting many years; or whether Elaine had contacted Crowley after a long period of quiet. The reference to their having been an exchange of

letters is made in a letter from Crowley to Gerald Yorke 1 January 1929, now in the Yorke Collection, Warburg Institute University of London. I couldn't tell from the reference whether Elaine's letter is still in Crowley's papers.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland published by the Society at 22 Albemarle Street London. Issues of January 1911 to 1930.

26 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

<http://www.wrightanddavis.co.uk>

Thérèse Charlotte Simpson was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Amon-Ra temple in Edinburgh, on 23 March 1896. She chose the Latin motto 'Aliis nutrior'. Two other people were initiated on the same evening - Emily Robertson and William McNair Wallace - and even if none of the three of them had met before the ritual, Mrs Robertson and Mr McNair will have known Thérèse by repute.

This is one of my short biographies. I didn't know anything more about Thérèse Simpson than anyone could come across using Ancestry, until I found www.kosmoid.net, web pages about Henry and Marjory Simpson, Thérèse's parents. It's based on original documents: drawings and photographs, extracts from letters, reminiscences from 19th century family members. A big big thank you to its compilers, for pointing out to me that Thérèse Simpson and her family were very well-known in 19th century Edinburgh. That being so, there must be a whole lot more information on them. In Edinburgh. I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

March 2016

Here's what I have found on THÉRÈSE CHARLOTTE SIMPSON without having spent several months in Edinburgh reading the newspapers and going through local archives.

A word before we start: even Thérèse's childhood appearances in the census have the two French accents on her forename - her parents were very insistent on them!

IN THE GD

The records of the Amon-Ra temple have been lost, so it's not possible for me to say how keen a member of the GD Thérèse was, or how far she progressed as a magician. I think I can say with a fair amount of certainty that Thérèse wasn't initiated into the GD's inner, 2nd Order. She may even have given the GD up as a bad job quite soon after she was initiated, and not because she found that the western esoteric tradition didn't interest her as much as

theosophy. All the GD's temples had their share of internal disputes, but letters sent by GD member William Sutherland Hunter suggest that Amon-Ra was particularly bedevilled that way. Hunter's friend Edward Macbean resigned from Amon-Ra early in 1898, probably for that very reason; and Hunter himself seems to have stopped going to the rituals later that year. Perhaps Thérèse felt the same.

Between 1900 and 1903 the GD in London split into two factions. After 1903 each faction set up its own daughter order - Stella Matutina and the Independent and Rectified Rite. Although Thérèse was living near London by then, there's no evidence that she joined either of them.

Sources:

For the strife in Amon-Ra:

Gerald Yorke Collection held at the Warburg Institute: letters to and from Frederick Leigh Gardner, reference number NS73. Letters to Gardner from W S Hunter: 1 June 1897 and 17 January 1898. Hunter tried his best to keep out of all the arguments, but told Gardner that the in-fighting had left him feeling that none of the temple's members could be trusted.

Lists of members of the two daughter orders do exist and are published in R A Gilbert: see the main Sources section below.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes. Like so many people who were initiated into the GD, Thérèse was a member of the Theosophical Society. Thérèse had joined the TS in 1889, when it was only really active in London. Her becoming a member so early suggests that she was going to some at least of its London meetings. If she was doing so, she will have met not only Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, but also several people who joined the GD later; as well as William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers, who founded it. In the early 1890s, there were enough people in Edinburgh with an interest in theosophy to set up two TS lodges there, and a library. Andrew Petrie Cattanach, ran the library. In 1893 he helped to found the TS's Scottish Lodge, which Thérèse was a member of until she went to live in England. Cattanach worked for Cowan and Co - see below for Thérèse's family connection with the firm. He was initiated into the GD in 1893.

Andrew Cattanach might have been the one who recommended Thérèse as a suitable candidate for initiation into the GD. However, in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh nearly everybody who was in the TS was initiated into the GD as well; so sooner or later, someone Thérèse knew in the TS would have put her name forward.

Thérèse continued to be a TS member through a series of upheavals that nearly destroyed it in the 1890s and 1900s; and through her move to England, some time after 1901. However, in 1907 Annie Besant was elected the TS's president for life. She brought back Charles Webster Leadbeater, whose relationships with some of the TS's adolescent members had forced his resignation from the TS several years before. Thérèse was amongst many hundreds of TS members who resigned over Leadbeater's re-instatement, sending in her resignation letter in November 1907. After that, if she maintained her interest in theosophy, it was in private.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p130 Thérèse Simpson. Application 27 September 1889. "Resigned 14.11.1907". While I was going through the registers I couldn't help noticing how many members resigned in 1907, or never paid their annual subscription after that year.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume VII September 1890 to February 1891. London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume VII issue 15 December 1890 p344 announcing the TS's library in Edinburgh, run by A P Cattanach at 67 Brunswick Street. Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XI September 1892- February 1893. Published London: Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XI number 64 issued 15 December 1892 p342-43 a report on the Scottish Lodge giving Mr Cattanach of 67 Brunswick Street Edinburgh as its contact.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

There ought to be obituaries of Thérèse in the Edinburgh newspapers, even though she died in England. I hope the Scots had not forgotten her.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Again, many thanks to the compilers of the kosmoid web pages, which show very clearly that Thérèse's family were at the forefront of Edinburgh's musical life for a large part of the 19th century. Her parents, Henry and Marjory, were both talented musicians - both of them played the piano and at the kosmoid website there's a picture of Marjory playing her guitar. I'm not quite sure I've got the right person but I think it's Marjory's sister Lucy, who married Thomas Constable, that is mentioned as a talented pianist in one of the sources below this section. Thérèse's sister Elizabeth married James Montgomerie Bell, who was later a founder of the Edinburgh Bach Choir.

Not to diminish any of that, but the Simpsons and their relations by marriage were accomplished and keen amateurs, not professionals. Thérèse and her brothers James and Frederick James did all earn money by teaching music. However, only Thérèse and Frederick James ventured any further into the world of the professional musician. Thérèse sang in public; though I would doubt very much whether she took payment for her appearances. And Frederick James, the best educated (musically speaking) of all Henry and Marjory's children, published some songs.

There are other reasons for being fascinated by Thérèse's family background.

HER FATHER HENRY SIMPSON

The kosmoid website says that Henry Simpson was a son of Dr Robert Simpson who worked and lived in Russia. I am a little worried about this information as Henry's marriage registration says his father's name was Alexander Simpson. However, Henry was born in Russia, so he probably is related to the Dr Robert Simpson who arrived in Russia in 1774 to take up a position as medical officer to the Russian Imperial Navy. Dr Robert rose through the medical ranks and was appointed chief surgeon of the naval hospital at the navy's main base in Cronstadt (or Kronstadt) in 1792. He later left the imperial navy and went into private practice in St Petersburg. Henry Simpson was born in St Petersburg in 1805.

Henry Simpson made what in 19th century terms would have been described as a very good marriage, with the daughter of a wealthy Scottish industrialist.

MARJORY COWAN

Marjory Cowan was a member of the paper-making family of Edinburgh and Valleyfield Mill at Penicuik. Her grandfather, Charles Cowan, was the first family member to hold the lease of the Valleyfield Mill. Her father, Alexander Cowan, and her brothers, made the firm one of the world's biggest paper-makers and distributors; as Alexander Cowan and Sons, and later as Cowan and Co. Alexander Cowan was married twice. Marjory was one of his 11 children, though only 8 survived to adulthood. He moved his family to Edinburgh in 1811 and into Moray House Canongate around 1830. The family was prominent in those circles in Edinburgh where society, business and politics met. Marjory's brothers Charles and James were both MP's for Edinburgh at different times; James also served as Lord Provost of Edinburgh; John was made a baronet. Marjory's sister Lucia Ann married Thomas Constable, son of the Edinburgh publisher Archibald Constable.

Henry Simpson married Marjory Cowan in May 1833. I couldn't find any information about whether Henry Simpson was working for Alexander Cowan and Co before his marriage; but he did work for it after he married Marjory.

Sources:

Russian connections of Henry Simpson's family:

At www.electricscotland.com there's what seems to be a whole book on the importance of the Scots in Russian history. I couldn't see the title, author or page numbers. Information on Robert Simpson - though without any mention of an Alexander Simpson - is in its Chapter 9: Scottish Families Living in Russia. It's surprising how many there were, especially in the navy.

The Cowan family of Penicuik and Edinburgh:

See wikipedia for several of its members.

Website scottishprintarchive.org, the web pages of the Scottish Printing Archival Trust.

At www.scotlandswar.ed.ac.uk, information on the Cowan connection with Penicuik.

Henry and Marjory:

The website on them and their family is at www.kosmoid.net

Date and place of their marriage from Familysearch Scotland-ODM GS film number 1067747.

HENRY AND MARJORY and THEIR FAMILY

Henry's work for Alexander Cowan and Co had sent him to Liverpool by 1838. Thérèse Charlotte Simpson, known to her family as Rézie, was born in the parish of St George Everton at the beginning of that year. On census day 1841, the Simpsons were living at Green Bank in Birkenhead, where their son Alexander had been born a few days before. With them on that day were Elizabeth (aged 5), Thérèse, Frances (aged 2); and the four family servants. By 1845, when Thérèse's next sister, Harriet, was born, Henry and Marjory

were back in Edinburgh. Sister Marjorie was born in Scotland as well, in 1847, but the Simpsons then spent several years in Cronstadt, where Joseph and William were born (1850 and 1853). I'm sure Henry and Marjory made full use of the opportunity it gave them to visit imperial St Petersburg.

When Henry and Marjory returned to Scotland they set up home in Portobello, on the North Sea coast. Frederick James, their last child, was born in Portobello in 1857. By the day of the 1861 census they had moved into Selville House, where the family lived until the mid-1880s. Census day 1861 was the last census day all the children were at home - Elizabeth, Thérèse, Frances, Harriet, Marjorie, Joseph, William and Frederick. The Simpsons were employing a cook-cum-housekeeper, a housemaid and a nursery maid - quite a modest staff for so big and (presumably) so wealthy a household. Thérèse was 23, and was perhaps already singing solos.

EDUCATION

I haven't come across any details of what ordinary education Thérèse might have had. On the census days of 1841 and 1861 there was no governess living in Henry and Marjory Simpson's household. Census days are just snapshots of people's lives, but perhaps the Simpson daughters - like the Simpson sons - never had a governess but attended a school in Edinburgh. Living for several years in Russia might have been quite an education in itself.

Thanks to the kosmoid website, I have found out about Thérèse's musical education. Her parents thought her sufficiently talented, and sufficiently willing to do the necessary work, to pay for her to have some specialist teaching.

WORK/PROFESSION

Thérèse was a soprano. I've already suggested that she probably did not take money for her singing; it would not have been seemly for a woman of her social class even if she had needed the money. However, she did sing solos at public concerts; and probably also at soirées in Edinburgh and elsewhere, though evidence for this kind of private musical evening is harder to find.

The kosmoid website lists three named teachers and one unnamed one who taught Thérèse at different times.

"Miss Yaniewicz" (as she's spelled on the kosmoid website), more usually spelled Janiewicz.

This was Felicia Janiewicz, daughter of Feliks Janiewicz (1762-1848) the violinist and musical impresario. Feliks began his career in the orchestra of the king of Poland; he spent time in Vienna, Italy and Paris before the wars in Europe drove him to settle in the UK. After some years in Liverpool he and his family moved to Edinburgh in 1815. Felicia was the eldest of his three children, a pianist, singer and teacher of singing in Edinburgh. Her scrapbooks still survive and it would be good to know if Thérèse Simpson appears in them at all.

Thérèse's second teacher, A W Smith, was more difficult to find out about. Such evidence as I did come across suggested that eventually he went to the USA. However, he was living in Edinburgh in 1861 when he helped to found the Edinburgh Glee Union; and was still a

professor of singing in 1885, giving lessons at 4 West Castle Road Merchiston - though by that time Thérèse was giving lessons herself.

When exactly Thérèse had lessons with Miss Janiewicz and Mr Smith I haven't been able to discover. However, the 1850s and 1860s seem likely, when Thérèse was in her twenties and thirties. The Kosmoid website doesn't give a name to the teacher Thérèse went to Paris to have lessons with in 1875. And perhaps that's a good thing from the point of view of the teacher's reputation, because the lessons Thérèse had with whoever it was, put her singing career in jeopardy. Fortunately, her voice recovered after she had had some sessions with the teacher and composer Franz Bosen.

I haven't found much evidence for Thérèse Simpson's concert appearances. I'm sure I'd uncover a lot more if I could spend some time looking at the Edinburgh newspapers. I also discovered that there was at least one other 'Miss Simpson' singing in public in the UK in the second half of the 19th century - a woman from Lancaster. So I'm not sure if it was Thérèse who was the "Miss Simpson" who took part in a singing competition at the Crystal Palace in 1872; or if it was Thérèse who was the "Miss Simpson" whose libretto was mentioned in a magazine in 1894. The Miss Simpson of 1872 did not win the competition; on the other hand, the reporter in *The Musical Standard* thought the judges had made a serious mistake, in choosing Anna Williams instead - the limitations of Miss Williams's voice were exposed only a day or two later, in the gala concert at the end of the competition!

I feel more confident about it being Thérèse who sang the solo soprano part in a performance of Mendelssohn's setting of the 42nd Psalm, at the Music Hall in Edinburgh in May 1875. I also think it was Thérèse who sang the solo O Peaceful Night at a concert at the same venue in 1891 in which the Western Choral Society sang Cowen's cantata *St John's Eve*. And I sincerely hope it was Thérèse who was both solo vocalist and conductor when an amateur women's choir gave a concert at the Queen Street Hall in Edinburgh in May 1883 to raise money for the Edinburgh Suffrage Society. If Thérèse was a believer in votes for women, she was one of the few GD members who showed any obvious interest in the social and political issues of their day. Good for her and I'd like to think that some of the other women GD members in Edinburgh were in the choir that evening.

By 1881 if not earlier, Thérèse was giving singing lessons; and I presume she was being paid for this, because she described it as her source of income to the census official that year. She was being interviewed for the census at Selville House, where she and her brother James - also a music teacher - were at home, with just two servants as their parents were away. On census day 1891 Thérèse told that year's census official that she was a school teacher and I take that to mean that she was not just teaching music. In the past ten years there had been many changes to her family and financial situation. Her father had died, the house at Portobello had been given up, and Thérèse's career as a singer was probably in decline, as she was now over 50. She was living in Haddington, apparently on her own, but in some comfort as she was employing two servants. On census day she had a visitor, Elizabeth Martin from Glasgow, who perhaps was a singing pupil.

Sources for Thérèse's singing teachers:

Oxford Dictionary of Music online p431 entry for Feliks Janiewicz though it doesn't mention his children.

At pwm.com.pl/en, a dictionary of Polish musicians, there's an entry in English for Feliks Janiewicz which you can access directly if you search with that spelling of his name. I think the information at this website is what was used by the Oxford Dictionary; though it has more details including brief entries on Feliks' children.

The British Library catalogue lists a few works by Feliks Janiewicz: songs, chamber works; and some orchestral pieces including a couple arranged more recently by Panufnik. The catalogue doesn't have contain works by any of his children.

Felicia Janiewicz's scrapbook is mentioned at tub.archiveshub.ac.uk: GB 73 AAD/2003/14/8 covering the 1820s to 1862. It's in the V&A archives, in the papers of her nephew, the architect Charles Harrison Townsend. Townsend designed the Horniman Museum in south London, for the father of GD member Annie Horniman.

The British Library had only one work written by A W Smith; it was published in 1905 in the USA.

The Musical World 1861 p108 issue of 16 February 1861: report on the first concert of the Edinburgh Glee Union.

Dr Carter Moffat's Ammoniaphone published 1885 p37 as a Professor of Singing, based in Edinburgh; in a set of small ads.

I saw several references via google to an A W Smithm musician and composer, in the USA; it must be the same man.

The British Library has songs written by Franz Bosen, often to poems translated from German; also opera arias arranged for violin and piano. The earliest of these was published in 1842; most were from the 1850s and 1860s.

At www.concertina.com, an issue of the Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle 39 published 2006. Article by Allan W Atlas: Ladies in the Wheatstone Ledgers: the Gendered Concertina in Victorian Engl 1835-70: p6 . The concertina had been invented 30 years previously in 1860 and already had a wide repertoire. Bosen as mentioned as one of those composers who had written works for it.

Thérèse's own career as a singer and teacher of singing: census 1891, 1901.

The British Library catalogue has no works by her.

The Musical Standard issue of 6 July 1872 report on the singing competitions held recently at the Crystal Palace National Meetings.

The Monthly Musical Record 1875 p107 issue of 1 July 1875 concert by the Sacred Harmonic Society at the Music Hall Edinburgh on 29 May [1875].

Musical Times and Singing Class Circular volumes 18-20 1877 p331 concert at the Corn Exchange by the Vocal Union. "Miss Simpson (Edinburgh)" sang the soprano solo role. This was a google snippet; I couldn't see the date of the concert, or which town it had taken place in.

Everywoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions volume 13 1883 p268 issue of 19 June 1883: concert in Queen Street Hall Edinburgh 26 May [1883].

Musical News volume 1 1891 p202 concert by the Western Choral Society in the Music Hall Edinburgh in which the main work was Cowen's (sic) cantata St John's Eve.

A libretto that was possibly by Thérèse: The Musical Herald and Tonic Sol-fa Reporter issues

550-51 1894 p366 issue of 1 December 1894.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Not that I've found, either of musical scores or of a book; but I've only searched the British Library catalogue. If Thérèse wrote any songs, they are more likely to have been published in Scotland.

FAMILY

Thérèse never married. Her closest relationships were with her musical siblings and their families; particularly the youngest and best musically-educated of them, Frederick James.

The death of Henry Simpson, in December 1885 must have been a terrible blow to such a close-knit family; though I think it was not unexpected. Thérèse's mother Marjory went to live with Thérèse's eldest sister Elizabeth, and her husband John Montgomerie Bell. John Bell was a writer to the Signet (a legal position) in Edinburgh. On the day of the 1891 census they were all living at 55a Grange Road in Edinburgh but Marjory Simpson died a few months later.

FREDERICK JAMES SIMPSON

When I say that Thérèse's youngest brother Frederick was the best educated of her family, musically speaking, I mean that unlike his older siblings, he studied music at Oxford University, at the National Training College which became the Royal College of Music; and in Germany. He was 19 years younger than Thérèse and a man - opportunities were available to him that had not been to her or even to his older brothers. However, educational opportunities aren't everything. Frederick doesn't seem to have worked as a musician; at least, I think I would have found evidence if he'd been a soloist though not necessarily if he'd played in an orchestra. The British Library has only 12 works composed by him, mostly songs. It doesn't have a score of a symphony he wrote - the Robert the Bruce Symphony - which incorporated the tune of Scots Wha Hae. The symphony was given its first performance in England in 1889; but has never been played regularly since.

In 1901 and again in 1911 Frederick is described in the census as a music teacher. He must have been taking private pupils - like Thérèse was - because as far as I can see, he was never employed by any of the music colleges. Shortly after he left Oxford University the job of professor of music at Edinburgh University became vacant. Frederick applied for it, but didn't get it. I get the sense of a man who promised much but delivered rather less.

In 1901 Thérèse and Frederick were both teaching music. Thérèse had moved from Haddington back into Edinburgh and was living at 1a Hill Place. She was on her own there - no servants and no live-in pupils. Frederick had settled in England and was living at Little Baddow, now a suburb of Chelmsford. He was employing a housekeeper to look after four young lodgers. Later that year, he married Georgina Chapman Hopwood. By 1907, Thérèse - now nearly 70 - had gone to live with Frederick, Georgina and their two children, at a house called Holville, at Hayes End in Middlesex. She wasn't at home on the day of the 1911 census; perhaps she was visiting relations in Scotland.

Thérèse continued to live with Frederick, Georgina, Henry and Lucy - it made sense to pool

their financial resources. At some point - perhaps when World War 1 broke out - they all moved to the village of Wheatacre near Lowestoft in Norfolk. Thérèse died in 1923 and her death was registered in the Loddon registration district, which contains Wheatacre. Frederick died at The Old Rectory Wheatacre in 1942.

Sources: census 1901, 1911.

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p130 entry for Thérèse Simpson: Holville, Hayes End, Middlesex was the last address she gave to the TS administrators. It's also the address Frederick James Simpson was living at on the day of the 1911 census.

There's no probate registry entry for Thérèse Simpson.

For Frederick James Simpson:

British Library catalogue. The 12 works are mostly songs with one or two pieces for orchestra. The earliest is 1888; after 1906 there's a gap until a last item dated 1918; there's nothing by him after that.

A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge compiled by Charles Francis Abdy Williams. Novello Ewer and Co 1893. On p116 Frederick James Simpson as a graduate of New College; I couldn't see the date of his graduation but the man at the top of the page graduated in 1891.

Edinburgh University Calendar 1892 p568 reporting the names of the applicants for the chair of Music.

Icons of the Middle Ages: Rulers, Writers, Rebels and Saints editor Lister M Matheson. Greenwood Press 2011. Snippet seen via google so no page numbers. Some details of Frederick's career; and a reference to his Robert the Bruce symphony.

Probate Registry 1942.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than

of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

28 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

The Spink sisters were initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford; but none of them remained in the Order for very long. The first sister to join was Florence Margaret Firth (née Spink), initiated in September 1890 and using the Latin motto 'Volantia'. Her husband Oliver Firth was a member already. They had married the month before her initiation. Catherine Elizabeth Spink (always called Kate) was initiated on 2 May 1892 and chose the Latin motto, 'Viator'. On that evening, Emily Douglas and possibly Robert Elliott Steel and Charles Herbert Grason were also initiated in Bradford. All the sisters had probably known Robert Steel for several years - he was a friend of Oliver Firth. Gertrude Jane Spink was initiated in November 1892 and chose another Latin motto 'Persevero'. However, by the time of Gertrude's initiation, Oliver Firth was in trouble with the GD hierarchy for his rather negative attitude towards the Order's rituals, seen by other members as disrespectful - see more about that in my biography of Oliver and Florence after her marriage. Oliver resigned from the GD, rather than be brought to heel, making the continuation of his wife and sisters-in-law in the Order rather difficult. Florence and

Gertrude resigned as well; and Kate didn't bother to pay her year's subscription in 1893. None of the sisters had any chance to progress very far with the study of western esotericism that was expected of new GD initiates; in any case they were more interested in eastern philosophy.

THREE SISTERS CALLED SPINK and THE HORTON CONNECTION

Kate, Florence and Gertrude were daughters of John Spink and his wife Elizabeth. John Spink had been born in 1837 in York but had moved to Bradford by 1861, drawn by the continuing rapid expansion of the city, with its opportunities for work not only in the cloth industry but in all the enterprises that supplied the needs of the city's inhabitants.

Not being based in Bradford, I haven't been able to find much information on John Spink's wine and spirit importing and selling business. On the day of the 1861 census, it was already doing well enough for him to be able to employ one young man to assist him. They were both living above their offices and store-rooms at the King's Arms Inn in Great Horton, a coaching inn increasingly redundant in the railway age, which John Spink was renting from the Rudd family. Also living at the Inn were John's uncle Thomas Banks and Thomas' wife Martha who was probably housekeeping for everyone. Thomas and Martha had also moved to Bradford from York. Thomas was working as a plane-maker and may have known Joseph Clayton, who was later a senior member of the GD. Clayton was a plane-maker during the late 1840s and 1850s but was working as a teacher by 1861.

John Spink's business continued to prosper - it would have been easier to find details of it if it had got into financial trouble! - and by 1901 he had turned it into a limited company, possibly with family members drawing income from it as shareholders. His early connection with Horton had ended - he had given up renting the King's Arms Inn and must have taken larger premises somewhere in Bradford, although I haven't been able to find out where; and from the earliest years of his marriage he and his wife chose to live, not in Horton but in other Bradford suburbs.

In 1866 John Spink married Elizabeth Bottomley, a member of an old-established West Riding family. I've found several references to men called Bottomley living in Horton in the early 19th century; I imagine they are all related to Elizabeth even if only distantly. In 1815 a John Bottomley, who worked as an accountant, was one of a group of men buying land to extend the local dissenters' chapel. In 1847 a Samuel Bottomley was one of Bradford City Council's first intake of councillors, being elected to represent Little Horton with five other men including a John Clayton. Elizabeth's father Eli Bottomley owned a worsted stuff mill in Horton which in 1861 was big enough to employ 113 women, 24 men and three boys. Also in Horton was the Shear Bridge worsted mill run until the early 1870s by Oliver Firth's father, Thomas Firth, and from then until the 1890s (probably), by his sons Alfred and Oliver. The Bottomley and Firth families both lived near their mills in Horton at this time and must have known each other from the 1850s if not earlier.

JOHN AND ELIZABETH SPINK'S FAMILY

Kate, Florence and Gertrude were the eldest of John and Elizabeth Spink's children, born in 1867, 1868 and 1869 respectively. By the day of the 1871 census, the Spinks were living in Manningham, at 3 Walmer Place. Elizabeth's unmarried sister Jane Bottomley was living

with them and the household employed two live-in servants (probably a nurse and a maid-of-all-work but the census isn't specific on this point). During the 1870s more children were born to John and Elizabeth: a son, Bernard Joseph Spink, in 1872; a fourth daughter, Maud Joan Harrower Spink in 1875 while the family was on holiday at Poulton-le-Sands in Lancashire; and Harold, probably in 1879. By 1881 John Spink's business was doing well enough for him to move his family into 108 Whetley Hill, Manningham, a large building which had previously been the Rev Henry Heppinstall's school. On census day 1881 another of Elizabeth's sisters was living with them - Margaret Bottomley - and the Spinks had increased the number of their servants to employ a cook, as well as a nurse and a housemaid: they were getting to be very well-to-do. On that day Kate, Florence, Gertrude and Bernard were all described as "scholar" by the census official; it's a 'catch-all' term of course. Another source I found showed that Jack was later sent to Giggleswick School, but I know nothing about where, or how, or how much education any of his siblings had. In an important sense, a significant part of the sisters' education didn't take place until the late 1880s and early 1890s, when they were in their twenties.

When searching freebmd for the Spink family, I couldn't find a birth registration for Harold Spink; nor could I identify him at all after the 1881 census - at least, not for certain - so I assume that he died as a child and the death wasn't registered, an oversight which often happened when parents were grieving for the death of an infant. Maud, the youngest Spink sister, definitely died young, in 1883; her death was registered. Two more sons were born to John and Elizabeth: John Harrower Gilmour Spink in 1884 and Geoffrey Gordon Spink in 1887; but the deaths of Harold and Maud meant that there was a gap in the middle of the family: there were 13 years between Bernard and John (known as Jack) and that large gap was reflected in what happened to the siblings later in life.

I wouldn't expect the daughters of a middle-class 19th-century family to work in the family business; and none of John and Elizabeth's daughters were ever described as employees. However, neither did any of their sons join the firm, although it was continuing to do well, diversifying into brewing, and into importing cigars as well as wines and spirits. By the day of the 1891 census, the Spinks had moved again, to Baildon Lodge in the village of Baildon. Florence had married the year before but Kate, Gertrude, Bernard, Jack and Geoffrey were all still living at home. Bernard was apprenticed to an iron founder - possibly to George Hodgson, machine maker and iron founder, who lived next door - and Jack and Geoffrey were still at school. Kate and Gertrude had, of course, left school and were living the life of unmarried women from the middle-classes while they waited (or so the ideology went) for some man to marry them. Except that neither Kate nor Gertrude ever married; and that during the 1890s and 1900s their time was occupied by something probably outside the range of the majority of young women they knew: theosophy. It was through theosophy that all the Spink sisters met men and women who were in the GD. Oliver Firth was one, but there were plenty of others because in Bradford the theosophists and GD initiates were all members of the same, relatively small, close-knit group.

I've suggested in my biography of Oliver Firth that unofficial groups of people interested in theosophy were probably getting together in Bradford, as elsewhere, in the late 1880s when the arrival of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky to live in England (in 1887) and even more the publication of her *The Secret Doctrine* (in 1888) led to a surge of interest in eastern philosophy as Blavatsky interpreted it. All three Spink sisters eventually felt committed enough to theosophy to join the Theosophical Society which Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott headed; none of their brothers did so. When they joined, all applicants for TS membership had to be sponsored by two members. All the sisters had the same two sponsors - Oliver

Firth; and Thomas Henry Pattinson. Pattinson ran his own jewellery and watch-making business in Bradford and it's likely that both the Spink and Firth families were amongst his customers. However, he was also a leading light of the TS in Bradford; a long-time acquaintance of William Wynn Westcott, sharing Westcott's interest in alchemical texts; a prominent local freemason; and a founder - with his friend Bogdan Edwards - of the GD's Horus Temple. Florence Spink was the first sister officially to join the TS, in February 1890; she and Oliver Firth were probably engaged by this time. Kate Spink joined the TS later that year; and Gertrude became a member in 1892.

The evidence shows that all three sisters were much more committed to the TS than to the GD and probably didn't regret giving up their GD membership so soon after having gained it. Kate and Gertrude in particular were very active members of the TS; Florence rather less so as she had a husband and (by 1895) three children to occupy her. But all three stuck with the TS through some very difficult times in the mid-1890s and continued to be members until 1909. And through some very difficult - not to say obtuse - texts on theosophy, particularly *The Secret Doctrine*, whose content was the subject of many study groups set up to debate its trickier points, including one in Bradford.

In the early 1890s Oliver Firth was one of the most prominent members of the TS in Bradford, sponsoring a large number of new members; helping set up the Bradford Lodge and serving on its committee; and being a very active organiser and speaker at national and european level as well. The contribution of the Spink sisters is not so easy to spot from the records of the TS. For example, they were not great recruiters to the TS. In the 1890s Kate didn't sponsor any new applicants at all, and Florence and Gertrude sponsored only a handful between them, all women who were probably friends of theirs.

Despite the prominent role played in it by Blavatsky, theosophy was largely a man's world. The committees that ran the lodges into which the TS was organised on a local basis were dominated by men. Perhaps encouraged by her husband, Florence did serve on the committee of the newly-founded Bradford Lodge in 1892-93; but in the 1890s neither of her sisters was involved on the admin side. The majority of even the letter-writers to the main theosophical magazines were also men, and this too was something the Spink sisters didn't attempt to challenge, perhaps suffering from a lack of confidence about their ability to put their thoughts into words, or to argue a case in the manner of men with a classical education. Kate and Gertrude didn't write anything that was published in any of the major theosophical magazines. Florence wrote one article, on a subject that didn't challenge the contemporary ideologies of male and female roles. Nevertheless, it was - I think - an important article, one of very few I've come across to look at what the choice of theosophy as a spiritual path might mean in daily life. Florence debated what theosophist parents should do in the way of giving their children a religious training. Should they explain theosophy to them at an early age and encourage them to follow its principles? Or should they leave the subject alone while the children were young, hoping that they would find their own way to it as adults? She concluded that the first option was preferable; and I suppose she was applying that belief to the religious upbringing of her own three children.

What the three Spink sisters did for theosophy in Bradford was organise and host lodge meetings: in the early 1890s Bradford Lodge was holding several of these each week, and to keep costs down, most were held in the houses of its members. During 1893 and 1894, for example, Florence, with the help of Sarah Midgley, organised the Lodge's Sunday evening meetings. They were held in Baildon, probably in Florence's house.

In the mid-1890s the TS was shaken, and eventually divided into two, by a struggle for power between William Quan Judge and Annie Besant in the wake of Blavatsky's death. The dispute was resolved in 1895 by the assumption of power by Besant as Olcott's chosen candidate; and the resignation of all American lodges from the TS worldwide to form a separate organisation. I've covered this dispute in more detail in my biography of Oliver Firth as he played an active part in it. Here I'll just say that Kate, Florence and Gertrude played no part in the debate, but did stay loyal to the TS worldwide when many despaired and left, disturbed and embarrassed by the bitterness with which each faction fought its corner. The sisters remained members through the take-over by Besant; and through the rise to prominence of an American successor to Judge, Katherine Tingley, who toured Europe in 1896 looking for new recruits. However, all the sisters will have had to agree that theosophy in Bradford had suffered very badly, with splits between factions and a falling-off of Bradford Lodge's membership and number of meetings.

Perhaps it was to occupy the time left vacant by the collapse of theosophy-based social life in Bradford that Kate and Gertrude spent more time in the mid-1890s on photography and developing prints from negatives. In 1895 and 1897 (but not in any other years between 1870 and 1915) an exhibitor named "K G Spink" showed several prints at the annual Royal Photographic Society exhibition; though this person was not, apparently, a member of the Society. K G Spink may be a genuine person having nothing to do with my three Spink sisters; but I think she might also be someone at the Society's confused reading of the fact that Kate and Gertrude were joint exhibitors, having both helped in the photography and in the printing. The prints were made using the popular gelatine + silver chloride method; probably on pre-prepared paper - it was widely available - though possibly by going back to basics and starting with sheets of gelatine and the chemicals. In 1895 the prints exhibited were 'On the Cliff'; 'Ironing - Study' (so photographer not really likely to be a man, I think!); 'Daughters of the Soil'; and 'Weary go the feet when the heart is old'. In 1897 K G Spink showed just one exhibit - 'Oh! If I'd as much money as I could tell'. Although some prints in both exhibitions were for sale, none of K G Spink's prints were. The catalogues I found on the web did give pictures of some of the exhibits, but none of K G Spink's prints were illustrated. The titles of the prints, though, reminded me of some of the paintings exhibited by the GD's artist members: the sort of painting that gets described as a 'genre' work, often depicting domestic scenes or the picturesque poor.

It took the rise to prominence of the charismatic and energetic Katherine Tingley to rouse the TS in Britain from its post-split exhaustion. Mrs Tingley's clarion call of 'universal brotherhood' was seen as a real threat and senior officials of the TS in London decided they must take action. In the autumn of 1897 Annie Besant went on a theosophical lecture tour of the north of England, her first for several years. Theosophists in Bradford made a big effort to overcome the issues that now divided them, and organised a visit by Annie Besant to Bradford. Time and a venue were booked for her to give a public lecture; a meeting of Bradford Lodge was arranged so that Annie Besant could meet those who were still its members; and the following afternoon a *conversazione* was held with her as its main guest. At the *conversazione* Annie Besant persuaded Kate, Florence and Gertrude to organise a study class, again the first that had been held in Bradford for several years. Although the sisters must have wondered how many people would attend it, they must also have hoped for some kind of return to the busy agenda of meetings they'd had in the early 1890s. And it was probably as a result of Annie Besant's visit to Bradford that Florence began planning her one and only article on theosophy. Over the winter of 1897-98, two more "drawing-room" meetings were held, one in central Bradford and one in Baildon; perhaps the Spink sisters

organised those too and it's very likely that the one in Baildon took place at John Spink's house. Things were not the same, though, and in 1900 the two factions of Bradford theosophy - Bradford Lodge and Athene Lodge - met together to admit that neither group was large and active enough to continue as they had been. Athene Lodge was wound up, though its excellent library was kept intact; and in 1902, Bradford Lodge was reconstituted. Florence was the revitalised Bradford Lodge's new secretary and librarian; but by that time Gertrude at least, if not Kate as well, had moved on to greater things.

The late 1890s were a time of change in the Spink family. At some point during the 1890s Elizabeth Spink died; I am not certain of the exact date but the most likely death registration I found for her was from the end of the decade. In 1896, Bernard married Minnie Lease. And around 1900, Jack and Geoffrey emigrated to Canada. Even though Jack had not yet gone abroad, Geoffrey was not in England on census day 1901. Aged 64, John Spink was still working in his wine and spirit business. But only Kate, Gertrude and Jack were still living at home, at the house called Hawkswood in Baildon. Kate and Gertrude were running the household which included a cook and two housemaids; and Jack was training at an accountancy firm. John Spink, Kate and possibly Gertrude as well were still living at Hawkswood in 1904 though at some point between then and 1909 the family made one last move, to Bolton Grange in Yealdon, near the Harrogate Road. John Spink died there in August 1909; by which year Jack had probably gone to Canada and Kate and Gertrude were living in London at least part of the time.

KATE AND GERTRUDE IN LONDON

John Spink was a generous and a very un-Victorian father, allowing both his unmarried daughters to leave home. In the early 1900s they were both in their thirties - above the age when they were likely to marry - but that didn't weigh much with contemporary society, which expected unmarried daughters to remain with ageing parents until the parents' deaths. Not only did John Spink allow his daughters to follow their own star, he seems to have given them an income on which to do it; or perhaps they had inherited a little money from their mother.

The choice of London as the venue for the 1905 congress of the TS's European Section was decisive for Kate and Gertrude. Although I can't find direct proof, I think both sisters attended the 14th annual convention of the TS in Britain in July 1904, where the decision about where to hold the congress was made. Both sisters volunteered to help with the year-long process of organising the congress and as a result, very soon made London their home. If they were at the annual convention, they might have met Rudolf Steiner, who was attending it though not strictly a member of the TS in Britain.

KATE

Kate's contribution to the European Section congress was to act as honorary secretary of its British Sub-committee. At least during 1904 she was able to do this while still living with her father, but the following year - presumably because of her good work on the congress sub-committee - she was offered a job with the TS that had to be done in London. Bernard Keightley resigned his post as General Secretary of the TS's British Section in 1905, probably at the European Congress, and Kate was appointed to succeed him. The job - which was unpaid - was based in the TS's offices at 28 Albemarle Street. It will have used a range of office and organisational skills that makes me wonder whether Kate had actually done more administration and record keeping than I've found any evidence of; perhaps for the

Bradford TS Lodge in the 1890s, or possibly even for her father's business. A large part of the work was preparing for publication two 'transactions' volumes, the detailed accounts of the first two congresses of the TS's Federated European Sections. As well as editing both volumes Kate also oversaw the printing process and raised the funds to pay the printers. Finding the funding was wearisome, and she more or less ran out of money in the middle of June 1907. Theosophical Review had to issue a plea from her, suggesting that each TS lodge buy one copy of the transactions for its library; otherwise, printing of any copies would have to stop. She did get her money - the volume was published later that year.

The skills Kate honed in her post at the TS British Section stood her in good stead later on, and got her at least one subsequent job which was almost certainly paid, rather than honorary.

Kate started out her life in London living in Bayswater at 46 Moscow Court, a big block of flats on Moscow Road off Queensway. Gertrude was living with her there in 1908. However, by 1911 their rental agreement must have ended and Kate had moved to 188 Marylebone Road, above the treatment and training rooms of the National Institution for Massage by the Blind. I don't know whether Gertrude lived with her there at any time, but the sisters were not living together on the day of the 1911 census. Filling in the census form as the head of her own household (a household of one) Kate said that she was working as a "publisher manager". I wish I knew more about this! But all I can say is that her employer was not likely to have been the TS British Section, for reasons I give below. Perhaps it was a publishing company and if it was, I suppose she was earning a salary. Kate was still at the same address in November 1914 when her brother Geoffrey named her as his next of kin, when he signed up in Calgary to fight in the 31st Battalion, Canadian Infantry.

Kate Spink drops out of my sight in November 1917 at a point of dread in all the sisters' lives: during that month Geoffrey Spink was wounded at Passchendaele, still giving Kate as his next-of-kin, at the Marylebone Road address. I can't find any other information about her from then until the day of her death in May 1953, at 10 Marlborough Road Kingston-upon-Hull. Though the eldest, Kate was the last of the Spink sisters.

GERTRUDE

Gertrude's voluntary work for the TS worldwide took her in a very different direction from the one Kate followed; but they did both end up doing work involving at least some managerial and organisational skills. Gertrude first made a name for herself with the TS hierarchy in London by doing a job of art work which would greatly enhance a book on theosophical interpretations of things seen in visions. Perhaps her experience making prints from photographic negatives had encouraged her to think that she could do the job well.

C W Leadbeater's book *Man Visible and Invisible* was published by the Theosophical Publishing Society in 1902. The book had 22 coloured illustrations, painted by Count Maurice Prozor from Leadbeater's descriptions of his visions. Each of Prozor's paintings had then been copied by Gertrude with an air-brush, before being sent to be reproduced using the photochromogravure method - a new putting-together of the photogravure and chromolithography processes which resulted in very beautiful colour prints. In a short author's note, Leadbeater thanked Gertrude for the "many days" she had spent doing this exacting but trying task. I'm sure she wasn't paid for her work, but it had two useful results: she gained more knowledge of how printing was done; and she got her name better known, at least in

theosophical circles. There's no suggestion Gertrude contributed anything at all to the text of Leadbeater's book.

Her work for Leadbeater led to Gertrude being thought of in the TS as someone with knowledge of and contacts in the art world. At the TS's 14th annual convention in July 1904, she accepted the role of chief organiser of the art section of the 1905 TS's European Section congress, her name having been put forward for the job by Bernard Keightley. Organising a congress in London was work that couldn't be done properly by someone living all the time in Bradford, so I imagine Gertrude started to spend a lot of time in London in 1904. At meetings of the congress's arts and crafts sub-committee, she will have been working with Annie Besant representing India (where she now largely lived), Beatrice Webb, and representatives of countries like Germany and Italy where theosophy was still popular and well-organised.

Another likely result of Gertrude's work on Leadbeater's book was her increasing involvement with the Artificers' Guild. The Guild was a product of the arts and crafts movement. It was founded in 1901 by the designer and metalworker Nelson Dawson, but had to be rescued from financial chaos in 1903. Its rescuer was Montague Edward Fordham, owner of the gallery Montague Fordham Ltd whose display rooms at 9 Maddox Street showed works by jewellers, metalworkers and furniture-makers. Gertrude's first contact with the Guild was probably through meeting Fordham and the other directors to arrange for exhibits by Guild members to be shown at the congress.

The changes made by Fordham to the way the Artificers' Guild was run ensured that it was able to exist and prosper until World War 2. Investment in the Guild was desperately needed in 1903 and I presume Fordham organised a modest share issue; it's clear from what happened in 1906 that Gertrude owned shares in the Guild, and 1904-05 is a likely time for her to have bought them, impressed by the Guild's standard of work. Another important move by Fordham as he attempted to put the Guild on a secure footing was his appointment of Edward Napier Hitchcock Spencer as its senior designer. Spencer stayed in post until the 1930s. Under his guidance, and using the gallery at Maddox Street to display its products, the Guild built a reputation for high-quality stained glass panels; jewellery; and items made of steel, wrought iron and silver. One of the Guild's most widely-publicised pieces was the Ariadne necklace of 1906; and a particular high point came in 1911, coronation year, when the Guild supplied jewelled gold and silver cigar boxes for the cars of George V and Queen Mary. The income from these successes meant that the Guild was able to expand its training programme for young metalworkers and employ more people: at the height of its popularity (which was probably the years before World War 1) 40 people worked for it, as administrators, designers and craftsmen and women.

Although Montague Fordham was a good businessman, what he was really interested in was rural crafts. By 1906 he was wanting to spend more time on them and on the social and economic problems of rural counties - he was already known as a writer and lecturer on these issues. This meant standing down from active involvement in the Artificers' Guild and as part of a careful process of withdrawal, Fordham resigned as a director of the company in 1906. Henry Waring also stood down and Gertrude was elected to replace Waring. You can't serve as the director of any limited company without owning shares in it. The earliest record of the Guild employing a secretary is from 1906 as well: Ernest Woolverdige was appointed to the post. Who did the secretarial work before Woolverdige isn't clear from the accounts of the Guild that I've seen; but perhaps Gertrude was helping out with office tasks and that is

why her name came up as a suitable successor to Waring.

Gertrude was still a director of the Guild after 1911 when Fordham's involvement with it finally ceased and two new directors joined the board. She did a lot of letter-writing on behalf of the Guild, taking charge of the Guild's communications with firms that displayed items in its gallery. A small group of such letters that have survived are from Gertrude to the architect and designer Sydney K Greenslade who was doing work for the Martin Brothers' salt-glaze pottery business in Southall. I think Gertrude's input and - by then - her experience in the Guild must have been vital during the war years. From 1916 comes the only other piece of art-work by Gertrude that I have found any evidence for; probably the only other one she ever did. That year the Guild produced a lacquered wood candle-holder suitable for a nursery; designed by Edward Spencer and painted by Gertrude. I get the impression that Gertrude never kidded herself that she had more than limited artistic skill: I don't think she would have been helping with Spencer's candle-holder if so many Guild employees hadn't been away at the Front. But help she did, doing something she knew she could manage; at a time when the Guild needed all the help it could get in order to keep going as an organisation.

Though possibly not a director by this time, Gertrude still wielded influence with the Guild in 1928 when her niece Margaret Firth (Florence's younger daughter) was appointed secretary. I imagine she continued to be a shareholder until the Guild was wound up, in 1942.

KATE, GERTRUDE AND 1909

In 1905, Kate and Gertrude were probably looking forward to many years of involvement in theosophy. Things didn't turn out that way: beginning in 1906, the TS was shaken to its core again, this time by a scandal that reached into the heart of contemporary attitudes to sexuality. In 1906, C W Leadbeater was accused of encouraging young boys to masturbate to relieve their sexual tensions. This was a dreadful thing to be saying about him: the Victorian attitudes to masturbation that still prevailed viewed it as a religious sin and a danger to health. However, before long some far more serious suggestions were being made. As part of his voluntary work for the TS, Leadbeater had a lot of contact with the adolescent sons of TS members - I'm less clear whether he had any with their daughters. Rumours began to circulate that Leadbeater's relationships with some of the boys he knew, were sexual; or that at the very least Leadbeater had homosexual feelings towards the boys entrusted by TS members to him for walking holidays and such. The accusations were the worse for going against a general principle of theosophy that the path to enlightenment was best served by celibacy. Leadbeater wasn't married and many theosophists had assumed that he was celibate on theosophical principle: now that was being called into question in the most alarming way. An investigation into what was being said about Leadbeater never found any absolute proof, but he resigned from the TS in 1906 anyway.

I imagine all the Spink sisters, and Oliver Firth, knew what was being said about Leadbeater: after all, Kate Spink was working in a TS office and both she and Gertrude had many friends amongst the TS's hierarchy in London. Gertrude, Oliver and Kate must all have come across Leadbeater at meetings and conferences - he was one of the TS's most active members. Gertrude probably knew Leadbeater best, though the question does arise: how well did she know him? The work she had done for his 1902 book could have been done without the two ever meeting; although I would suppose that they were in regular contact. But relationships between the sexes even with people supposedly beyond the age of marriage were still very restricted in scope; I don't think Gertrude and Leadbeater could ever have known each other well.

Who was the most shocked of Kate, Gertrude, Florence and Oliver? - two middle-aged spinsters or a couple with an adolescent son?

Leadbeater's resignation looked as though it had solved the TS's problem; but it hadn't. Annie Besant, a close colleague of Leadbeater, had always believed he was innocent of the accusations that had been made. For three years she couldn't do anything about it, but when Colonel Olcott died and she was elected his successor as the TS's president-for-life, one of her first acts was to get Leadbeater reinstated as a TS member. This happened in February 1909 and resulted in another mass resignation from the TS. Members of the TS who had stuck it out through the Besant v Judge struggle and its aftermath decided that enough was enough; including Kate, Gertrude, Oliver and Florence, who had all resigned from the TS by the end of March 1909. Despite nothing being proved against Leadbeater, they had all agreed that they could not remain in the TS, now he had been allowed back. No smoke without fire? Or did they know that some of the gossip was true?

In practical terms Kate was the most badly and immediately affected: she could hardly have remained in her post at the TS, even if she had wanted to, and presumably lost her job. All four of them, though, must have felt very deeply the sour and shocking end to over 20 years of involvement with the TS. In their different ways all four of them had worked hard in theosophy's cause. If they continued to follow the spiritual path laid out by theosophy, none of them regretted their resignation from the TS to the extent of deciding to be members again.

Whether or not this was for temporary, practical reasons, Kate and Gertrude were living apart on the day of the 1911 census; I think myself that there may not have been enough room for two to live in Kate's room or rooms at 188 Marylebone Road. On census day 1911, Gertrude was living with the Artificers' Guild's chief designer Edward Spencer, at 12 Hammersmith Terrace. Spencer was married (to Maud) and had three small children so having Gertrude as a boarder helped with the family income; though this was still a modest household as regards servants - the basic maid-of-all-work was the only servant who lived in. When Edward Spencer filled in his census form as head of this household he generously made Gertrude out to be two or three years younger than she actually was (39 not 41 or 42). Probably having asked Gertrude how she would describe her current income, he wrote that she was a "director of metalwork business". Whatever income Gertrude may or may not have had in the past, and whatever its sources, this was the first time anyone had declared any occupation and income for her on a census form.

I have found only a handful of references to Gertrude after the 1911 census: the piece of art work from 1916 and the appointment of her niece as Artificers' Guild secretary hint at what was happening in her life but there are large gaps that I could fill if I had money and time to travel the country in search of more evidence.

At some point between 1911 and 1947 (36 years with virtually nothing known about her!) Gertrude moved out of London to the house her sister Florence Firth was probably already living in - Beenhams Cottage, Railway Lane Littlemore, on the outskirts of Oxford. It's not clear who the householder was - if any one sister was - but Gertrude was still living at that address for several years after Florence died in 1939. However, ill health overcame her in the end and she became a permanent patient at Restholme, 230 Woodstock Road Oxford. This was a specialist, private hospital - fees were £500 per year in 1950 when C S Lewis had to

make the decision to move his companion Jane Moore to be cared for there. Gertrude died at Restholme in April 1947.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR THE SPINK SISTERS

JOHN SPINK'S FIRM

The King's Arms:

See www.clanbarker.com for information about it and its builder, Gilbert Brooksbank the fifth.

Rambles Round Horton by William Cudworth. Published by subscription 1886; printed in Bradford by Thomas Brear and Co Ltd: p168, p180

At archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com a posting from 2002 by Caroline Brand who was married to a descendent of John Spink. And Roy Stockdill's reply.

Manningham, Heaton and Allerton (Townships of Bradford) again by William Cudworth. Published by subscription 1896; printed in Bradford: couldn't see the page number as the book wouldn't download to archive.org, but there was a reference to Rev Heppinstall's school now lived in by John Spink.

JOHN SPINK AND FAMILY

A likely baptism record at familysearch England-ODM GS film number 990872: John Spink baptised 9 April 1837 at St Denis York; son of Joseph and Elizabeth.

BOTTOMLEY FAMILY OF HORTON AND ELSEWHERE IN YORKSHIRE

Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion pages at freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com lists a large number of people called Bottomley; though no one called Eli. Some at least in the list are Methodists. Of course, all living in Calderdale not in Bradford.

Rambles Round Horton by William Cudworth, see just below for publication details; p22, p49, p228.

FIRTH MILL IN HORTON

Rambles Around Horton by William Cudworth. Published 1886 by subscription; printed in Bradford by Thomas Brear and Co Ltd 1886: p37, p149.

JOHN AND ELIZABETH SPINK

That Maud Spink was born in Poulton-le-Sands:

www.lan-opc.org.uk the online Lancashire births, marriages and deaths database: LDS film 1526062 Baptism Register 1861-95 p110 entry 879.

BAILDON LODGE

Baildon and the Baildons: A History of a Yorkshire Manor and Family Volume 1 by W Paley Baildon FSA. Privately printed at St Catherine Press: p56 a quote from Parson's Yorkshire Directory of 1823; p432 about the purchase of the Baildon estate by Titus Salt.

The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronical volume 222 1867 p235 birth of a child of Titus Salt and his wife; they are living at Baildon Lodge which is rather curiously described as "near Leeds".

National Art Collections Fund Review of 1997 p81 mentions that the Salt family left Baildon Lodge in 1872.

At saltairedailyphoto.blogspot.co.uk information that Titus Salt moved into the house called Milner Field in 1873.

HAWKSWOOD

Its approximate location: from entries in the 1901 census. Zoopla for its current address: Hollins Hill Baildon. Streetmap shows the road above Baildon village on the edge of Ilkley Moor.

A subsequent resident mentioned in The Economist volume 105 1927 p486 Sir Henry Whitehead knight, chairman of Saltaire Ltd; he also has a house in Surrey.

BOLTON GRANGE

The house probably doesn't exist any more though zoopla shows the short, dead-end road Bolton Road still does.

A previous resident mentioned in The Annual Register of World Events editor Edmund Burke issue of 1853 p129: report on a break-in at the house, then the resident of Charles Clough, solicitor and clerk to the Bradford County Court.

Another previous resident mentioned at website www.bayanne.info the family history of the Shetland family. Ancestor John Horsfall Bankart 1823-92 and his family lived at Bolton Grange 1860s to his death. He was a "stuff merchant". This website is using censuses and probate registrations as its sources.

Borough of Bradford: Bye-Laws issued by Bradford City Council 1867 p13.

JOHN (JACK) AND GEOFFREY SPINK GO TO CANADA

Giggleswick School Register 1499-1913 p190 J H G Spink left the school 1898.

See canadiangreatwarproject.com for the war records of both Jack and Geoffrey; though it's not clear from the information on it whether Jack survived the fighting.

At www.abgensoc.ca are the Alberta Homesteads Records 1870-1930; there are files f John H G Spink and Geoffrey G Spink but I couldn't tell what era they cover.

Using search.ancestry.com.au you can see Canada Voters' Lists 1935-80. Geoffrey G Spink was registered to vote in British Columbia in 1935. I couldn't find an entry for a John H Spink but there was one for a John Spink (who may not be the right person) also dated 1935, living in Wetaskiwin Alberta.

THE SISTERS IN THE GD

See my file on Oliver and Florence Firth for Florence's book published 1904.

KATE AND GERTRUDE

At erps.dmu.ac.uk the website of de Montfort University: reproductions of and indexes to the Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society from 1870 to 1915. You can read the original exhibition catalogues:

The Photographic Journal issue of 28 September 1895 p7, p12 and full list of K G Spink's exhibits on p28.

The Photographic Journal 1898 though the exhibition was held in 1897: p24.

More on the printing methods:

Gelatino-Chloride see website www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary, run by Encyclopaedia Britannica for a neat description.

See Encyclopaedia of 19th-century Photography by John Hannavy. New York and London: Routledge 2008: p573 for information on the development of the technique.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

On Kate: Theosophical Society Membership Register volume January 1889-September 1891 p192. She resigned 2 March 1909.

On Florence: Theosophical Society Membership Register volume January 1889-September

1891 p150. She resigned 1 March 1909. Florence's sponsorship of new members:

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1893 to March 1895 p193 October 1894 applications of Hannah Halliday of Shipley and Clara Moseley of Shipley. In both cases the other sponsor was John Midgley

Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901 p215 July 1900 application of Mrs Florence M Butterfield of Manningham. The other sponsor is Gertrude Spink.

A mention in Lucifer:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume X number 55 issue of 15 March 1892 p80 committee members at Bradford Lodge for 1892-93.

On Gertrude: Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p118. She resigned on 23 March 1909. Although a member from 1892 Gertrude didn't sponsor anyone until 1899 Theosophical Society Membership Register June 1898-February 1901: p139 Ernest T Dexter, with co-sponsor Countess Wachtmeister; and p215 Florence Butterfield.

1901 census information indicates that Ernest T Dexter, aged 23 and as yet unmarried, worked in the offices of a railway company; he had been born in Bradford.

All the sisters mentioned in Lucifer:

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine volume XXI September 1897 to February 1898 p378; pp 466-469: Florence's article Theosophy and Education; p572.

KATE AND GERTRUDE

MOSCOW COURT

Moscow Court

At www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk there's a picture of the elevation of this block of flats on the Moscow Court Place side of building. The postal address of the block is Moscow Road.

Royal Blue Book: Fashionable Directory and Parliamentary Guide issue of 1908 p1371 has an entry for "Spink, the Misses" both at 46 Moscow Court. With "Miss Kate" Spink listed as also at 28 Albemarle Street.

KATE SPINK AFTER 1900

Theosophical Review volume 33 1904 p486.

28 Albemarle Street is a TS address:

Who's Who Year Book published by A and C Black Ltd, issues of 1905 and 1908 have Kate Spink at 28 Albemarle Street.

For Bertram Keightley see wikipedia.

The Theosophist volume 27 1906 pxxxvi Kate's job title given as General Secretary of the British Section of the Federation of European Sections.

Theosl Rvw vol XL no 238 issue of June 1907 p292 in the editl, a ref to "Miss Kate Spink" working "untiringly" to prep f pubn the first 2 vols of the Trans papers of the first 2

congresses of the Federated Eur Sections of the TS. Kate had written to TR asking for funds to complete the work, otherwise publication of them would have to cease. Specifically she was suggesting that each TS lodge be given a copy of them for its library. Some copies of them at least were printed:

Trans of the Federn of Eurn Sections of the TS 1907 p4 gives Kate at 28 Albemarle St as "Hon Sec" of the Bh Section of the Federn.

That the job was not paid:

Transactions of the Federation of European Sections of the TS 1907 p4.

At www.forgottenbooks.com a copy of Lilian Edger's Elements of Theosophy published London: Theosophical Publishing Society 1907 pp202-03.

188 MARYLEBONE ROAD is on the north side near Marylebone station:

Journal of Commercial Education volume 9 1894 p12 refers to an S Hunter at the address though it's not clear from the entry whether it's a home or an office address.

The Yearbook of the Scientific and Learned Societies of GB and Ireland issue of 1901 p329 188 Marylebone Road is the current address of the Association of Registered Medical Women.

Some people do seem to live at the address: Notes and Queries 1909 p138 refs to a Perceval Lucas with address 188 Marylebone Road.

At rcnarchive.rcn.org.uk, The British Journal of Nursing issue of 5 September 1914 p192.

GERTRUDE

Man Visible and Invisible subtitled Examples of Different Types of Men as Seen by Means of Trained Clairvoyance. Charles W Leadbeater. London: Theosophical Publishing Society 1902. There's a frontispiece, 3 diagrams and 22 coloured illustrations. On an unnumbered page, a very short author's note. Illustrations opposite p66 and opposite p138 both have at bottom right: "Photochromogravure, Lyons and London". On p144 the book was printed by Neill and Co Ltd of Edinburgh.

See wikipedia for more information on the technique but most of it is in French or Japanese.

The Penrose Annual: Review of the Graphic Arts volume 17 1912 p16.

At www.forgottenbooks.com detailed information on how it works from Harmsworth's Universal Encyclopaedia though I couldn't see the date of publication: p81 photogravure and photo-lithography.

At www.Martin2001.com is the webpage of Martin2001 Antique Prints for further information see its comprehensive 'methods' section.

For more on Leadbeater see theosophical publications now in the library at Sheffield University.

TS European Congress:

Rudolf Steiner in Britain: A Documentation of his Ten Visits by Crispian Villeneuve. Forest Row: Temple Lodge 2004: in Chap 4 on his 4th Visit in 1904 p?84

Transactions of the Annual Congress of the Federation of European Sections of the TS. Published 1907 by the Federation. I couldn't see the page number but there was a list of those who served on the Congress's arts and crafts sub-committee.

ARTIFICERS' GUILD

Theosophical Review volume 37 1906 p149 Gertrude Spink is mentioned as the Secretary of the Artificers' Guild, with address 9 Maddox Street London W. However, no other sources that I've found say she was the Guild's secretary.

The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths Volume 1 The Biographies (which include companies as well as individuals). By John Culme using information from the London Assay Office Registers. Woodbridge Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club 1987: pxiv, p16. Other sources used by Culme for the article were pxiv of Charlotte Gere's European and American Jewellery 1830-1914 London 1975 and contemporary issues of The Studio, volumes 32, 44, and 46. P16 note 8.

The Ariadne necklace, designed by Edward Spencer and John Bonner, was featured in The Art Journal 1906 pp55-56; last sold 1981.

The design archive, but not the office records, of the Artificers' Guild Ltd is now held by the Goldsmiths' Company: see it at www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk/library/archives:

At www.925-1000.com is the online Encyclopaedia of Silver Marks, Hallmarks and Makers' Marks. Information on the Artificers' Guild's personnel, on the website's contributors' notes forum, posted by 'dognose' 2014.

Gertrude's painted nursery candle of 1916:

The Studio Yearbook of Decorative Art issue of 1916 p76; and the same information in Decorative Art in Modern Interiors volume 11 1916 p76.

FORDHAM AND SPENCER

Montague Edward Fordham see wikipedia and Who Was Who volume IV 1941-50 p399.

Not much seems to be known about Edward Spencer but there's a little information about him at

www.styles-silver.co.uk the website of Styles Silver of

MARTIN BROTHERS and GREENSLADE

Via apps.nationalarchives.gov.uk to GB 1158 55: papers held at Ealing Local History Centre at Southall. The papers of Sydney K Greenslade are held as part of the archive of Martin Brothers and the Martinware Salt-Glaze Pottery. On the catalogue's p3 as part of its 'C, Letters from Greenslade's Friends and Principal Correspondents: a few letters from Gertrude Spink to Greenslade, written 1908-15, catalogue item numbers 1858-1863.

Ceramics - Mastering the Craft by Richard Zakin. A and C Black 1990. P209 for the four Martin brothers.

Prob the exchange of letters is n personal but part of Gertrude's job at Artificers' Guild.

On Sydney K Greenslade - very little information; here's what I did find:

Website www.parksandgardens.org for dates 1867-1955.

Going Modern and Being British: Art, Architecture and Design in Devon c 1910-1960 editor Sam Smiles. Exeter: Intellect 1998 p27 Greenslade designed Exeter Public Library 1925. And the National Library of Wales, a "severe, neo-Classical" building.

No entry in Who Was Who and no obituary in the Times.

230 WOODSTOCK ROAD

Zoopla shows it in Summertown, now divided into at least 10 flats.

Jane Moore and 230 Woodstock Road:

C S Lewis - A Life: Eccentric Genius, Reluctant Prophet by Alister McGrath. Hodder and Stoughton 2013 p247.

For speculation on the exact nature of Lewis' relationship with Jane Moore see wikipedia and biographies.

MORE POSSIBLE COVERAGE OF GERTRUDE AS A PRINT-DEVELOPER

It's possible that the GD's Gertrude Spink is mentioned in the American magazine The Photographic Times volume 27 1895 p105 and p115. HOWEVER, while searching the web I've come across several references to an American Gertrude Spink who was a temperance campaigner around 1920; so I assume that the article refers to the American woman.

8 April 2015

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Robert Elliott Steel was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford, in May 1892, taking the Latin motto 'Tuum cuique'. It's likely that Catherine Elizabeth Spink, Emily Douglas and Charles Herbert Grason were initiated during the same ritual and that he knew at least Miss Spink before that evening. However, Robert Steel never really followed up his initiation and when he moved away from Bradford - if not before - he lost contact with the GD entirely.

The vexed question of spellings: R A Gilbert in the Golden Dawn companion has Robert's surname spelled Steele but all the sources I've come across spell it Steel without the last 'e'. In my searches for Robert I've seen his middle name spelled Elliot and Elliott; but having researched his mother's family, I think Elliott is correct.

THE STEELs and the ELLIOTTs, A NORTHUMBERLAND CONNECTION

Both Robert Steel the GD member's parents told various census officials that were born in Northumberland. They were born in villages quite near each other and probably knew each other - or their families knew each other - from very young. The GD member's father was also called Robert Steel. He was born in Cowpen, a mining district on the outskirts of the port of Blyth. And Anna Eliza Elliott was born in Hartburn, a small village in the hills behind Blyth. It hasn't been easy to identify either of them from the earliest censuses, but I think Robert Steel may have been the son of a ship-owner, Thomas Steel, who was living with his wife Jane in Blagdon Street Cowpen on the day of the 1841 census. Three of their children were still living at home and not yet married. The eldest son, John, had qualified as a master

mariner though he was not at sea on that day. Robert was the second son; he had served an apprenticeship and had gone into business as a linen and woollen draper, employing his younger brother Tindle and an apprentice, John Tulley or possibly Tunney. With so many men in the family in work, Jane Steel was able to employ one servant.

Anna Eliza Elliott was born around 1830, from what she told census officials. I haven't been able to identify her for certain on any census before she was married. However, researching other people called Elliott who told census officials that they were born in Hartburn, I believe that she had at least two brothers or cousins, John and Henry, who both moved south to act as managers of large estates, one in Bedfordshire and one in Hertfordshire.

THE STEEL FAMILY IN MANCHESTER

I reach safe ground for the first time with these two families in December 1851, when Robert Steel married Anna Eliza Elliott at Stannington, another village near Blyth Northumberland. Whether Robert had already left Northumberland for Lancashire I don't know. The birth of their son (the GD member) Robert Elliott Steel happened early in 1853 in Tynemouth, the registration district which included Blyth, Horton and Cowpen - but a woman about to give birth to her first child might well choose to return to her family even if she usually lived elsewhere. Robert's only sibling, Elizabeth Eleanor Steel, was born in Preston, in 1856. I suppose her parents were living in Preston at the time, but within a few years the family had moved to Manchester

On the day of the 1861 census, Robert and Anna Eliza were living with Robert the younger (now 8) and Elizabeth (4) in semi-rural Levenshulme, at 5 Poplar Cottages on Stockport Road, the turnpike road from Stockport to Manchester. Robert Steel told the census official he worked in a warehouse; but if he is the person from the 1841 census, he wasn't an employee moving stock around, he was the owner of the business. If he was not at the school already in 1861, Robert the GD member was about to delight his parents by winning a place at Manchester Grammar School. So far (July 2014) Robert is the only GD member I've come across who had been at one of the old grammar schools; it meant that - possibly even including members whose parents had paid for them to go to public school - he was one of the most thoroughly educated members the GD ever had. There was no chance of Robert's sister getting a grammar school education, of course, even if she had been as clever as her brother; but if I have identified her correctly, her parents had sent Elizabeth to a good school too: on the day of the 1871 census, an Elizabeth Steel aged 15 was one of the pupils at the school in Gateshead run by George and Frances Higginbotham.

By 1871 the Steels had moved to Cheetham, another suburb of Manchester, at this stage still largely a middle-class village. On the day of the 1871 census they were living at 179 Elizabeth Street but by 1872 I think they had moved to 1 Mizpah Terrace Waterloo Road. Robert the GD member's brilliant career in education was continuing: he had passed the entrance exams to London University and was an undergraduate there in 1871. However (and again, if I've found the right man) Robert Steel the elder's wholesale and retail draper's business (at 11 Whittle Street Manchester) was in financial trouble. In the autumn of 1872 one of his creditors could wait no longer and Robert Steel had to agree to liquidation proceedings. I couldn't find any evidence that he actually went bankrupt; so it sounds like he was able to pay his creditors, at least in part, and may have been able to continue in business. However, by 1881 he was dead - probably: I can't pin down a death registration for him, but Anna Eliza told the 1881 census official that she was a widow.

ROBERT STEEL AT UNIVERSITY

It's hard to know, of course, whether Robert the GD member would have joined the family business if it and/or his father had survived. I think myself that his parents hoped that he would educate himself out of the stigma (as mid-Victorians saw it) of earning a livelihood from trade. In this respect, perhaps it was a good thing that Robert and Anna Eliza had only two children instead of the large brood that was typical of families at that time. Although they did not have to pay fees for their son, other expenses were inevitable with a son at such a school, and many families, even middle-class ones, could not have managed financially without their sons starting work at the earliest opportunity rather than going to university. For Elizabeth's education, Robert and Anna Eliza will have had to pay. Their children's education would have been one reason why Robert and Anna Eliza had gone without things that their acquaintances would have considered a necessity - for example, they didn't have a live-in servant in 1861 or in 1871. Even so, Robert the elder's financial troubles meant that Robert the GD member could not continue his course at London University, for which his parents will have had to find both tuition fees and living expenses. Instead, in 1872 he tried for a demyship (a particular kind of scholarship) at Magdalen College Oxford - and got it. He graduated with a first in natural sciences in 1876, and chose teaching as his career.

ROBERT IN BRADFORD

Robert's first job was at a school similar to the one he had been a pupil in: a grammar school for boys, founded in the 16th century. He was appointed science master at Bradford Grammar School, probably in 1876, and remained in that job until 1894. On the day of the 1881 census he was living at 28 Blenheim Road Manningham and his mother Anna Eliza was keeping house for him, with the help of one servant. Elizabeth Eleanor was working as a teacher too. She was one of two resident teachers employed at Susanna Armytage's boarding school for girls at a house called Ivy Grove in Middleham, Yorkshire.

As Robert gained experience as a teacher he was able to earn a little extra money in the rapidly-expanding world of exam guides and text-books. In 1889 he compiled a set of reference exam papers in inorganic chemistry for the publisher Bell. In 1890 and 1891 he wrote three books for Methuen and Co: a book on practical chemistry to help pupils preparing to sit the Science and Art Department's exams; *The World of Science*; and *A Class-Book on Light*. In his spare time Robert went walking in the hills of Yorkshire. He joined the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society and it's quite likely that Robert found his way to the GD through his interest in the wonders of Yorkshire's scenery. I haven't found that Robert was a member of the Yorkshire Naturalists' Union, but it's very likely that he knew people who were; and one who was definitely a member of it was Oliver Firth.

If Robert knew Oliver Firth, a route for him into the GD is clear. In the early 1890s and possibly for a couple of years before that, Firth was one of the lynch-pins of that part of Bradford's social scene which took an interest in the occult. When the Bradford lodge of the Theosophical Society was set up in the early 1890s Firth was one of its founding members; and for the next three or four years he recruited energetically amongst his acquaintances. In due course, a lot of those Firth had sponsored into the TS went on to be initiated into the GD in Bradford, probably because he recommended them. Amongst the many people he sponsored into the TS were the three Spink sisters - Catherine, Florence and Gertrude - daughters of a local wine merchant. All three Spink sisters were initiated into the GD in due course, Florence in 1891 just before she and Firth were married, and her sisters in 1892, the same year as Robert Steel.

I think it's likely that Robert Steel and Oliver Firth got to know each other in the late 1880s if not sooner, through their interest in geology. So keen was Firth to draw people into the TS and GD that I can't suppose he missed the opportunity to try to recruit Robert to them. However, Robert never joined the TS and although his curiosity was aroused by the GD for a time, it turned out that he didn't share Firth's interest in magic either. Perhaps Robert was too practical and too rational a man; or thought himself to be too modern a man to study magic. It probably didn't help advance the GD's cause with him that although there were several professional chemists and an alchemist amongst its members, they were all based in London: William Crookes was a chemist whose researches had led him to investigate spiritualism and chemistry's borders with physics; the Rev William Alexander Ayton was not a chemist by training but he had decades of experience as an alchemist; Julian Levett Baker and George Cecil Jones worked as chemists, but they also had an interest in the alchemical origins of their profession. Robert might have found conversations with those four men very interesting. However, it seems very unlikely that he ever met any of them. From the mid-1890s Julian Baker and Robert Steel were both members of the Chemical Society (Robert was elected a member in 1885) and the Society of Chemical Industry; so it's likely that they had at least seen each other's names on members' lists; but I'm sure neither would have known that the other was in the GD as well.

The Steels had left Manningham by 1885 and had moved to Spring Cliffe House, Heaton Road. This move from a house to rooms in a block possibly happened because Elizabeth Steel was no longer working; I can't believe that it had been any part of Robert the elder and Anna Eliza's plan for their children, that their daughter should have to work. Perhaps by the mid-1880s with ten years' teaching behind him, Robert's salary was enough for Elizabeth to give up her job and be the stay-at-home middle-class sister and daughter her parents had meant her to be until she married. By census day 1891 Robert, Elizabeth and Anna Eliza had moved again and were living in an apartment in Hawthorn House at 1 Ladderbanks Lane Baildon. (A few months later the newly-married Oliver and Florence Firth would also rent rooms there.) Robert's wages were enough to cover the wages of one live-in servant.

ROBERT IN NORTHAMPTON

Robert was known at Bradford Grammar School for his flair as a teacher, and in 1891 had 15 years' experience. However, it took another four years for a job to come up that was the right kind of next step in his professional career. In 1894 he was appointed headmaster of the Northampton and County School. It was on the strength of this promotion that he was able to marry Annie Caroline Elliott in 1895. I believe that Annie Caroline and Robert were cousins, possibly even first-cousins.

Annie Caroline Elliott was born in 1856, third child of Henry Elliott and his wife Caroline. She had two older brothers, Robert and William; and a younger sister Emily who died in 1873 aged 14. Annie Caroline was born at Haynes (also called Hawnes) Park near Ampthill in Bedfordshire, but her father told a succession of census officials that he had been born in Hartburn, Northumberland - the same village that Robert Elliott Steel's mother Anna Eliza had been born in. I haven't found conclusive proof to back up my belief, but I do think Henry Elliott and Anna Eliza were related; the relatively rare surname and their place of birth just seem too much of a coincidence.

Henry Elliott had moved south to take a job as an estate manager and he may have been employed by the Haynes Park estate. Its owner, the Rev Lord John Thynne, lived there only when he was able to spare the time from his job as canon and sub-dean of Westminster

Abbey. Lord John had inherited Haynes Park from an uncle in 1849; and perhaps Henry Elliott had been appointed to run the estate in that year. Lord John died a few weeks before the day of the 1881 census, but Henry Elliott seems to have continued in his job during the 1880s and early 1890s when Haynes Park was owned by Lord John's eldest son. After her mother died in 1875, Annie Caroline kept house for her father, firstly at The Dairy, Haynes, and later at Park Farm Ampthill.

Robert Elliott Steel and Annie Caroline Elliott may have been engaged to be married for several years before Robert got his job in Northampton, and even then they waited another year for the Steels to get settled in the house that came with his job, before getting married. Preparations for the wedding were probably well in-hand in June 1895 when Annie Caroline's father Henry died, presenting everyone with a dilemma. Bereavement usually caused the weddings of the dead person's closest relatives to be put off for about a year while the Victorian mourning rituals were observed. However, as Henry Elliott's house had also gone with his job, his death had left Annie Caroline with no income (she had never worked for wages) and nowhere to live. So the wedding went ahead, perhaps with less celebration than in happier circumstances, on 14 August 1895.

On their wedding day, Robert was 42 and Annie Caroline 39; so it's perhaps not surprising that they only had one child, Caroline Eliza Steel, born in 1896. Annie Caroline however, gained a kind-of extended family at Northampton and County School: on the day of the 1901 census, her household at 37-38 East Parade consisted of Robert and herself and Caroline; plus one of the other teachers at the school, George Charlesworth; a staff of cook, parlourmaid, nurse, laundry maid and housemaid; and 13 boy boarders between the ages of 14 and 18. At Northampton and again at the last job Robert Steel held, Annie Caroline was a surrogate mother to several generations of boys away from home. The arrival of Annie Caroline had freed Anna Eliza from household management and she was not in the UK on census day 1901. Perhaps she was travelling with her daughter and son-in-law: in 1898 Elizabeth Steel had married either John Stuart Woodhall or William Handley (for why I am not sure which, see the Sources section!)

THE MOVE TO SHERBORNE

I haven't been able to find out much about Northampton and County School, though I do get the impression that it had been founded relatively recently - since the 1870 Education Act - and specialised in science. In some ways it was an ideal job for Robert Steel but after a few years in the post, he began to get frustrated, both with the control of the curriculum being exercised by the authorities, and the results of that control. The trend that was being dictated by the education authorities was towards ever more specialisation in a narrower range of subjects. Science specialist he may have been, but Robert was a firm believer in the importance of science pupils learning the classics - as he had done at his grammar school. He began to look about him for a job where both disciplines were still taught to all pupils. Eventually a vacancy came up that was in some ways a demotion, but in others a really plum appointment. In 1907, he moved to Sherborne School as science master and curator of the school museum. He almost certainly knew the museum by repute already; it had an excellent geological collection which included specimens found by an ex-pupil, the ammonite expert Sydney Savory Buckman; Sydney's sister Katherine Julia Buckman was a member of the GD in London.

THE SHERBORNE BONE

In 1911 Robert became involved in a curious incident, a kind-of dress rehearsal for the more famous Piltdown Man discovery of 1912. Sherborne School is near what is now known as the Jurassic Coast and one of Robert's duties and pleasures as curator of the school museum was going out into the countryside looking for geological specimens and fossils. A favourite site for investigation was Major Wingfield Digby's quarry on the outskirts of town, where Robert had found a layer of deposits from the Pleistocene period. He encouraged pupils who seemed keen, to go specimen-hunting on their own and after one such expedition to the quarry, pupils Cortesi and Groves showed Robert a piece of bone which looked like it had a drawing cut into it. How Robert reacted at the time to this possible evidence of ancient art isn't certain any longer: the memory of everyone involved in the incident was coloured by what happened later. However, it is clear that Robert was sufficiently hopeful that the bone and the drawing were genuinely ancient to send the evidence to be examined by Arthur Smith Woodward at the Geological Society of London. Woodward was rather busy at the time assembling the pieces of Piltdown Man's skull: he and Charles Dawson presented the find at the Geological Society's meeting of December 1912. It wasn't until 1914 that Woodward published an article on the Sherborne Bone, saying that it was a genuine piece of Palaeolithic art. His conclusion generated a lot of discussion in the geological community - not everyone was convinced - but the war then intervened, and it was not until the 1920s that any further investigation of the find was possible. In 1923, Robert and Arthur Smith Woodward revisited the site where the two pupils said they had come across the bone. They didn't find anything of interest, from the Pleistocene or any other period; but whatever doubts Robert had about the bone, he kept to himself for several more years. In 1926, however, articles were published in Nature stating that the bone was a fake, embarrassing Robert, Woodward, Cortesi (Groves had been killed in the war) and even Charles Bayzard, who in 1911 had been working for Robert at Sherborne School museum. But if it was a fake, who created it? - and who was it intended to make a fool of?

A flurry of letters followed from those involved, sent to each other and to the press. Cortesi wrote to Sherborne School's headmaster, asserting that the bone and the art were genuine. Cortesi's school-friend E A Ross Jefferson, wrote to back up Cortesi - it had been he who in 1911 had suggested Cortesi show the find to Robert. Bayzard wrote to Nature saying that he'd suspected a hoax at the time the bone was found, and that the joke had been on Robert. Robert then wrote to Nature saying that if the bone was a hoax, it was intended to deceive Bayzard; and that if it was so obviously a fake, why had no one at the Geological Society said so years before?

Piltdown Man was revealed as a hoax in 1953. Not having got quite that level of publicity, and being rather more difficult to date with any certainty, the Sherborne Bone was not definitively proved to be modern until 1995, but dating techniques not available during Robert's lifetime have confirmed that it was not a piece of Palaeolithic art, it was a hoax. Groves, Cortesi, Ross Jefferson and their fellow pupils have to be the most likely hoaxers; attempting to pull the legs of the staff. When they also fooled several more eminent geologists they must have been delighted.

By 1926 Robert no longer had to face being quizzed about the Sherborne Bone every day in school. He had retired in 1923 and of course that involved leaving Cameron House, The Avenue, Sherborne where he had lived while he had been working. His mother Anna Eliza had died in 1915, at the remarkable age of 89, so it was just Robert, Annie Caroline and daughter Caroline Eliza who moved a few miles out of Sherborne to The Thatch, a house on Gold Street in the village of Stalbridge. Though she was slightly the younger, Annie Caroline died first, in December 1931. Robert Elliott Steel died in October 1933; he had been ill for

some time. Caroline Eliza never married. After the death of her parents she moved to Charminster, where she died in 1942.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert.

Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR ROBERT ELLIOTT STEEL

ROBERT STEEL father of the GD member:

At www.visionofbritain.org.uk a short account of Horton and villages close by, using as its source John Marius Wilson's Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales, published 1870-72.

I found very little good evidence about the Steel family of Horton, but I did find a query posted April 2010 at boards.ancestry.co.uk posted April 2010 on John Tunney and John Steel who were 1st cousins whose parents had been born in Horton. Mary Steel had married John Tunney.

That Robert Steel the father may have been in business as a draper in Manchester: London Gazette 30 August 1872 p3874 proceedings under the Bankruptcy Act of 1869.

THE ELLIOTT FAMILY of Harburn Northumberland:

At www.curiousfox.com, an enquiry mentioning a John Elliott born Hartburn 1818, who was living at Bell Bar Hertfordshire by 1851. There was no mention by the enquirer of an Anna Eliza Elliott, just a possible brother Robert.

Website www.brookmans.com on Brookman's Park, serialisation of Peter Kingsford's A Modern History of Brookman's Park. Chapter 2 covers 1816-80.

1851 census which shows a John Elliott born in Hartburn living at Bell Bar in a house right next to the gates to the Brookman's Park entrance. He has a visitor, Robert Elliott aged 23. John descends himself as "bailiff"; it's a good guess that he's working at the Brookman's Park estate.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film numbers 252497 and 252498: marriage of Robert Steel and Anna Eliza Elliott.

ROBERT ELLIOTT STEEL

EDUCATION

Journal of the Chemical Society 1934 part 1 p565 obituary written by E. Hope.

MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL see wikipedia.

LONDON UNIVERSITY

At www.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/resources/CopyofExaminationRegisters.pdf Robert Elliott (sic) Steel is on a list of examinees June 1870.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE AND ITS DEMYSHIPS: see wikipedia for an explanation.

At www.magd.ox.ac.uk, a catalogue of the library at Magdalen College Oxford, their ref MC: P233/3C1 is a scrapbook of letters to (and some from) Edward Chapman, sent/received between 1866 and 1901. The list of correspondents includes Robert Elliot Steel described in the catalogue as holding one of the demyships from 1872 to 1876.

SOCIETY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Chemical News and the Journal of Industrial Science volume 51 1885. It's a weekly journal, published on Fridays, and its founder and current editor is GD member William Crookes. Issue of 27 February 1885 p101 report of the meeting of the Chemical Society held Thursday 19 February 1885: Robert Elliott Steel was amongst those elected a member at that meeting.

Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry volume 11 1892 pxxii members' list.

British Library catalogue for the textbooks:

1889 Natural Science Exam Papers; as compiler. In the School Examination Series, editor A M M Stedman. Published Bell. On the web I saw a few references to this book as a Part 1 - Inorganic. But I couldn't find any references at all, at the British Library or via google, to a Part 2 which ought to have been Organic.

1890 Practical Chemistry for the Elementary Stage of the Science and Art Department's Examinations. London: Methuen and Co.

1891 The World of Science. London: Methuen and Co.

1891 A Class-Book on Light. London: Methuen and Co.

ELIZABETH ELEANOR STEEL'S MARRIAGE

The marriage of Elizabeth Eleanor Steel was registered at Durham in the autumn of 1898. That much is clear from freebmd. However, it wasn't possible from freebmd to work out who she married. I needed information from elsewhere to see whether her husband was John Stuart M Woodhall or William Handley. When this happens - it's quite common with my GD research - my first port of call is Ancestry.co.uk. But with Elizabeth Steel I couldn't find her, or either of the men she might have married, on 1901 or 1911. So I tried google, but nothing came up either for her with either surname, or for either of her supposed husbands. So I have no information about her at all, from the date of the marriage. Stumped!

BRADFORD

For the grammar school see www.bradfordgrammar.com and wikipedia.

At pygs.lyellcollection.org Proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society volume 11 1890 members' list pp498-504.

Transactions of the Yorkshire Naturalists' Union parts 17-22 published by the Union 1892.

SHERBORNE

Wikipedia: good account of the school's history.

THE BONE HOAX

FOR PILTDOWN MAN see wikipedia and a lot of other websites.

Definitive proof that the bone was modern not Palaeolithic - see SOS-veleia1.wdfiles.com/local-files/start/Sherborn.pdf which reproduces Journal of Archaeological Science volume 25 1998: 777-787: AMS Dating and Microscopic Analysis of the Sherborne Bone by F D'Errico of France's Institut de Quaternaire; C T Williams Department of Mineralogy Natural History Museum; and C B Stringer Department of Palaeontology Natural History Museum. On p787 is a reference to an earlier article on the subject, Stringer et al in Nature volume 378 1995 p452.

See some of the letters written in 1926 at

www.clarku.edu/~piltown/map_report_finds/horse_head.html, website of Clark's University. Bayzard's letters appeared in Nature 16 January 1926 and Nature 13 February 1926 p233. Robert Elliott Steel's reply was in Nature 18 February 1926.

HENRY ELLIOTT and ANNIE CAROLINE ELLIOTT

For Haynes or Hawnes Park see www.british-history.ac.uk which uses information from the Victoria County History's A History of the County of Bedfordshire volume 2 pp338-344 published 1908.

For the ownership of Haynes Park by the Thynne family: a wiki at wikipedia.

For Lord John Thynne:

Information on him at www.westminster-abbey.org, and www.thepeerage.com which uses Burke's Peerage.

While searching with google I saw some references to a W B Greenfield who farmed the Haynes Park estate in the 1900s; but he seems to have been dead by 1912.

At www.waymaking.com some details about the house and its history after Greenfield's death.

See www.haynesparkprogramme.org, the house is now owned by the Radha Soami Satsang Beas which runs it as a Science of the Soul study centre. The RSSB's headquarters is in India.

Later owner of Haynes Park W B Greenfield: using google I saw several references to him, particularly as a blood-stock breeder; but nothing involving Haynes Park before the 1900s and he seems to be dead by 1912.

THE THATCH STALBRIDGE

It's listed, see www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk,

29 July 2014

Amandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/

Rose Mary Howard Swain was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on 2 December 1891 at its Isis-Urania temple in London. She chose the Latin motto 'Non in tenebris'. Two other people were initiated at the same ceremony: Ada Alice, wife of A E Waite; and James Webber or Webber Smith; though I'm not sure Rose Mary knew either of them before that evening.

INTRODUCTION

This is one of my short biographies. As I have found with so many GD members, especially the women, there isn't much information specifically on Rose Mary's life. However, there is quite a bit on her complex family background - more, in fact, than I originally turned up. This is a rewrite of my original biography of February 2016; made necessary, and easy to do, by Roger Mace, a descendant of the Whitmore family from Rose Mary's father's side. In August 2016, Roger read my original work on Rose Mary and contacted me to make several comments on it. Since then he has sent explanations, speculations, copies of documents and a family tree. The section on the Swain family, is now a joint effort between Roger Mace and me.

Sally Davis

November 2016

This is what Roger Mace and I have found on ROSE MARY HOWARD SWAIN, married

surname Robinson.

IN THE GD

Based on information I found at the Theosophical Society - see the next section for more details - I'd say Rose Mary Swain was invited to join the GD by one or other of its founders. This is pure speculation but I wonder whether Rose Mary's father and William Wynn Westcott had been acquainted as fellow doctors.

Rose Mary did start to work her way through the texts new initiates were encouraged to study as part of their progress towards the GD's inner, 2nd Order. When she married in 1893, she did let the GD know her new surname so I think she was still a fairly active member then. However, she and her husband went to live in the London suburbs, and over the next few years had quite a large family. She let her GD membership lapse.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Yes. About a year before her initiation as a GD member, Rose Mary had applied to join the Theosophical Society. At that time, all applicants had to be sponsored by two people who were already members. Rose Mary's sponsors were William Wynn Westcott and his fellow GD founder Samuel Liddell Mathers and I'm sure it must have been one or both of them who told Rose Mary about the GD's existence and asked if she'd like to be a member.

There was a period in the early 1890s when Rose Mary was involved with both the TS and the GD. In January 1892 she acted as a sponsor herself, when her teacher friend Edith Lanchester applied to join the TS. However, she resigned from the TS in March 1895. This might have been because she had a child and a home to run by then; though she might - like many others - have felt

disgusted and despairing as factions in the TS fought over who should lead it, and in what direction, now that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky was dead.

Sources for TS membership:

Theosophical Society Membership Register January 1889-September 1891 p158 application of Rose M H Swain.

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p45 January 1892 application of Edith Lanchester.

For more on the socialist and feminist Edith Lanchester, see ODNB, wikipedia and www.workersliberty.org. In 1895 the Lanchester family arranged for Edith to be detained under the 1890 Lunacy Act when she announced her intention of setting up home, unmarried, with an Irish labourer, James Sullivan. The case caused a national outcry; I hope Rose Mary did what she could to get her friend released. Edith was let go after a week, when doctors not selected by the Lanchesters declared her sane. She did set up home with Sullivan and they stayed together until his death in 1945. In 1897 Edith became secretary to Eleanor Marx.

Roger Mace in his emails of August 2016 told me a bit more about the Lanchester family: first, that they owned the Lanchester car-making firm; and secondly that the Bride of Frankenstein, Elsa Lanchester, was a member of the family.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Both Rose Mary's parents' families - the Swains and the Rays - have their bewildering aspects. Both families had a trend towards men and women dying young; and to non-nuclear-family households with much coming and going of personnel. Both families contained people called by exactly or more or less exactly the same name. There are several men called 'Isaac Swain', and the name-set 'Isaac Howard Swain' occurs many times in the extended family of Rose Mary's father. And on the other side, Rose Mary's grandmother and mother were both called 'Rose' and she herself then named one of her own daughters 'Rosemary'.

THE SWAIN CONNECTION

The Swains were one of a group of staunch Non-Conformist families living in and around Stockport in Cheshire, in the late 18th century. Roger Mace has found that the Swain, Willis, Wilson, Whitmore and Spensley families were connected by marriages and by joint business ventures; and also by bankruptcy and legal proceedings in the Chancery Courts, when things went wrong!

The direct line of descent of Rose Mary's father from Swain family members living in Stockport begins with the man Roger and Sally will call Isaac Swain 1. Isaac Swain 1 was born in 1716 and married Sarah Willis. A son of theirs, Isaac Swain 2 (born 1755) made a fortune as a pawnbroker and cotton waste spinner, and from property and other investments in Stockport. He married a woman called Jane Howard, usually known as Jenny, and her surname was taken up by their descendants as a forename. Isaac Swain 2 and Jane had eight children, five of whom survived infancy. They included a son, born in 1803, who was the first to be named Isaac Howard Swain. We'll call him 3/1 - third 'isaac swain', first 'isaac howard swain'. The four surviving daughters were: Sarah Willis, who married a Whitmore; Jenny, who married a Spensley; Hannah; and Mary Ann, who married a Wilson. The sons-in-law were involved in a variety of businesses: pawnbroking; auctioneering; silk manufacture; silk trading and newspaper ownership. The businesses were not always successful and Whitmore went bankrupt in 1843 when the Illustrated Weekly Times failed. Through these marriages, the name-set 'isaac howard swain' passed into the Whitmore family and the forename-set 'isaac howard' passed into the Spensley family. And Isaac Howard Swain 3/1 (Rose Mary's grandfather) passed the forename-set on through his family.

Isaac Swain 2 died in February 1837, and his widow in 1839. His Will was disputed, and legal cases concerning it were still continuing in 1852; a lot of the money and property that Isaac Swain 2 had amassed, was lost in the process.

Isaac Howard Swain 3/1 married Mary Ann Blake at St Mary Stockport, in September 1837. They are Rose Mary's grandparents on her father's side. They had two sons. The first, Isaac Howard Swain 4/2, was born in 1838/9. No official record of the death of Rose Mary's grandfather Isaac Howard Swain 3/1 has been traced. However, Roger Mace has found a manuscript note written by his Whitmore brother-in-law (Sarah Willis Swain's husband) in a

book of memoranda relating to the death of Jenny Swain. According to that note, Isaac Howard Swain 3/1 died in Dieppe, France, on 8 February 1841. A court case was in progress against him at that time, by a judgement creditor. The 1841 census shows his widow, Mary Swain aged 20, living in Macclesfield with her son "Isaac Swain" - that is, Isaac Howard Swain 4/2, Rose Mary's father - aged 2. On census day, Mary Ann was pregnant for a second time. Her son John Wilson Swain was christened in Stockport on 15 November 1841, but died the following year.

The widowed Mary Ann Swain may have spent the next few years living with her relations-by-marriage, the Wilson family. In 1848 she married again, in Kendal Westmoreland. Her son Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 went with her and her new husband, to London.

Mary Ann Swain's second husband was Rev Alfred Povah, born in 1824 and thus six years her junior. Legal documents from the 1840s suggest that he had been a friend of the family for many years. At the time of the marriage he was curate of St James Westminster. In the 1850s he ran a school in Southwark. By the early 1860s he'd been appointed vicar of St Olave Hart Street in the City of London. He remained in post there for many years and later wrote a book about the parish. Rose Mary's father, Isaac Howard Swain 4/2, grew up living with the Povah family and had at least two half-brothers, Alfred and John Povah.

Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 studied medicine at St Andrew's University and Guy's Hospital in London. On the day of the 1861 census the Povahs were abroad so Isaac, doing a spell on the wards at Guy's, was staying at 280 Tudor Road Battersea, with his aunt Mary Ann (daughter of Isaac Swain 2) and her husband John Hewetson Wilson. Wilson, who had been born in Knutsford in Cheshire, didn't need to work but lived off the income from property in Sussex, Westmorland and Stockport, and from shares in the Kendal and Windermere Railway. He wasn't an extravagant man - he and Mary Ann had were employing only two women servants, a cook and a general servant. However, a coachman was also living in on that census day. At the back of the Wilsons' house must have been some stables, with the groom or grooms sleeping above the horses. Keeping a carriage was an expensive business - this was a wealthy household.

Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 gained his license to practice surgery, medicine and midwifery in 1862. John Hewetson Wilson died in August of that year. Amongst many other bequests, he left £1000 to Mary Ann Povah; and £1000 to Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 which - unlike the bequests left to the other beneficiaries - was in cash with no strings attached. Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 used the inheritance to move to Shaftesbury, Dorset and start up a practice as a GP. In 1866 he was appointed deputy coroner there, to cover the usual coroner's illnesses and absence. The appointment might have led to Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 becoming the coroner for Shaftesbury himself in due course. However, he chose instead to move to Cheshire, nearer to where his extended family - many of them still comfortably off despite the trouble over Isaac Swain 2's Will - could bring him more patients. By the mid-1870s he was in practice in the village of Brindley Ford, a few miles south of Congleton. And then, like his father, he died young - in February 1875 aged only 36 - and his widow moved to London.

THE RAY FAMILY, ROSE MARY'S MOTHER

Rose Mary's mother was also from a medical family. Rose Stammers Ray (born 1841) was the eldest child of Edward Ray and his wife Rose, née Mann, who had married in 1840.

Edward Ray was a surgeon and GP with a practice in Dulwich; as was his eldest son Edward Reynolds Ray who probably inherited his father's patients.

Rose Ray grew up in a wealthier household than that of Isaac Howard Swain 4/2's step-father, Rev Povah: on the day of the 1851 census, her parents were employing a cook, a housemaid, two nurses, a groom; and possibly a governess although the census entry is a bit vague on that point. The two nurses had the care of Rose Stammers Ray and her six siblings - Edward Reynolds, Alice, Charles, Herbert, Julia and Katherine. Rose Stammers Ray's father Edward died in 1868, when his wife was in her late 40s.

ROSE MARY'S PARENTS

Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 and Rose Stammers Ray were married in 1863. Rose Mary Howard Swain was the eldest of their three children, born on 1 December 1864 in Shaftesbury. She had a sister, Florence Emily Howard Swain, born 1866 (also in Shaftesbury); and a brother, Isaac Howard Swain the 5th and 3rd (and I think the last, in this line of descent), born in 1867 in Stockport, after the family had moved to Cheshire.

By 1871, Rose Mary's parents were at their last address together, 45 Brindley Ford. With Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 still in the process of building up his practice, their household on census day 1871 was a very modest one, with no live-in servants, not even one (a groom or an apprentice) helping Isaac with his work as a GP. The household was also lacking one of its family members on census day: Florence Swain, the younger daughter, was already living with her uncle Edward Reynolds Ray and his wife Alice, in Dulwich.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF WIDOWS

After the death of Rose Mary's father Isaac Howard Swain 4/2 - probably very soon after - Rose Stammers Swain returned to London, to live with her mother, Rose Ray. The two widows, mother and daughter, stayed living together until the mid-1890s. Rose Mary the GD member lived with them until her marriage. The other two permanent members of the household for that long period were also women: Rose Ray's daughter Julia, who never married; and Rose Ray's grand-daughter Alice Ray Simon, the only surviving child of her daughter Alice, who had died two days after the birth. Other family members came and went: George John Simon, the widower father of Alice Ray Simon, had lived with his mother-in-law in the 1870s; Rose Mary's brother Isaac Howard Swain 5/3 lived with the two widows during the school holidays and until he went to work in the East; on census day 1881 the household had a lodger, Blanche Eagle, a 14-year-old schoolgirl; and by 1891 Rose Ray's youngest daughter Katherine Hazeldine had come to live with them after she too had been widowed. One person who didn't ever live in the household as far as I can see was Rose Mary's sister Florence: she continued to live with her uncle and aunt and their daughter Eliza Ray, until she married.

In the 1870s Rose Ray had been living in Brixton but by 1881 she and her daughter had moved to

9 The Grange, Shepherd's Bush. I haven't been able to identify this street and by 1891 the Post Office might have given it a new name - 45 Shepherd's Bush Green. Whether or not it was the same house as in 1881, 45 Shepherd's Bush Green was where Rose Mary Swain and her relations were living on the day of the 1891 census. Alice Ray Simon was away that day, perhaps staying with her father in Essex. I'm not sure what income Julia Ray had - possibly

none at all until her mother died - but the widow's portions of Rose Ray, Rose Stammers Swain and Katherine Hazeldine enabled them to employ the same number of servants that Rose Ray had been able to afford in the early 1870s: a cook, housemaid and parlourmaid. None of the older women ever did any paid work and would probably have thought it beneath them; but Rose Mary was working in the early 1890s.

Between 1891 and 1893, the household moved out of Shepherd's Bush to a house nearer to Hammersmith, in Girdlers Road; and it was from there that Rose Mary was married.

Sources for this family section:

Information and copies of original documents sent me by Roger Mace, a descendant of the Whitmore family; from - inter alia - documents he has inherited relating to the Whitmores, Swains and other families living in 18th-century Stockport. They included a neat summary of the Will of Isaac Swain of Stockport - Rose Mary's great-grandfather - whose death in February 1837 unleashed so many legal cases. In the Will Rose Mary's grandfather (Isaac Howard Swain 3/2) was left his father's silk mill and the property surrounding it.

Familysearch England-VR GS film number 1751723 had a baptism record for Rose Mary's father Isaac Howard Swain II though he was not baptised with the name 'howard'. 1839 at Stockport Cheshire. Father Isaac Howard Swain ((3/2)). Mother Mary Ann.

Death of Isaac Howard Swain ((3/2)): handwritten memorandum written by his brother-in-law Whitmore in a book of items relating to the death of Jane Howard Swain. Copy sent by Roger Mace, by email September 2016.

Problems caused by the early death of Isaac Howard Swain 3/2: The Jurist volume 5 1842 p886 mentions a case being brought against the infant Isaac Howard Swain (that's 4/3, Rose Mary's father) by his father's creditors.

Second marriage of Mary Ann Swain: Gentleman's Magazine 1848 p423.

Rev Alfred Povah:

Calendar of King's College London issue of 1850 p215 Povah is in a list of graduates in classics; 1847.

Census 1851, 1861

The Annals of the Parishes of St Olave Hart Street and Allhallows Staining in the City of London published London: Blades East and Blades 1894. Seen at archive.org.

Probate Registry 1901.

Announcement of Isaac Howard Swain 4/3's licence to practice medicine: Lancet 1862 part 1 January to June p559 issue of 24 May 1862 I H Swain. His address is given as St Olive's Rectory Hart Street, in the Mark Lane district of the City of London.

For Isaac Howard Swain 4/3's inheritance from his uncle: Will and probate grant of John Hewetson Wilson who died 9 August 1862; obtained from the Public Record Office by Roger Mace September 2016.

GMC Registers for 1862 to 1875.

His appointment as a deputy coroner: Dorset Quarter Sessions Order Book. Confirmation of Isaac Howard Swain's appointment, to cover when necessary for the coroner's illness and

absence. Issued by the coroner, William Henry Rennie Bennett 25 August 1866. Copy of this item sent by Roger Mace; email August 2016.

Death announcement: Lancet 1875 part 1 January-June p357 issue of 6 March 1875. There was no obituary.

Birth of Rose Mary Howard Swain (though she isn't named): via genesreunited Dorset County Chronicle issue of 7 December 1864.

Rose Mary's baptism (by her step-grandfather Rev Alfred Povah) at St Olave in London on 18 January 1865: Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 55703.

Florence Emily Howard Swain: Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 55703. Florence was also baptised at St Olave, on 11 May 1866; she was born 6 January 1866.

Rose Ray's households of widows and orphans: census 1871, 1881, 1891.

Isaac Howard Swain 5/4, Rose Mary's brother:

Epsom College Register from October 1855 to July 1905. Published London: Richard Clay and Sons 1905: pxi, pxii, p108, p121. He played football and cricket for the school; and left it in 1883.

His employment with the Bombay and Burmah Trading Corporation: probate registry entry 1896 for Rose Stammers Swain. See wikipedia for the Corporation; and also other websites as the company still exists, as a member of the Wadia Group. BBTC was founded in 1863 to manage the tea plantations of William Wallace; but moved into Burma and Thailand in the 1870s in search of teak. That's where Isaac Howard Swain III comes in: in the probate register 1896 he's described as a "forester".

His being in British Columbia in 1910. Familysearch British Columbia Marriage Registrations GS film number 1983703: marriage of Isaac Howard Swain to Winnifred Mary Gunson in Vancouver BC on 30 November 1910.

Isaac Howard Swain's wife had also been born in England and they came back to live in London eventually. Isaac Howard Swain died in March 1949 in Hampstead.

Death of Isaac Howard Swain 5/4: probate registry 1949.

Alice Ray Simon:

Freebmd and see www.geni.com pages on the Ingham family, managed by Ronald Goose and with a photo (in old age) of Alice Ray's daughter. Alice Ray Simon married Charles Patrick Ingham in 1896. Her daughter Rose Mary Julia Ingham was born in 1900.

Back to Rose Mary Howard Swain:

EDUCATION

A complete unknown. No governess was ever listed on census day in any household Rose Mary lived in while she was growing up; though one might have been employed who came each day to give lessons. Another possibility was that there was money enough in the Ray and Swain families to pay for Rose Mary to go to a private day school: that wouldn't show up on the census and it seems to be in the nature of such schools that their records are not on the web. It's just possible that she went to a National school; but these were looked down on by the middle-classes who preferred to pay for their children's education if they could afford it

(or let the girls do more or less without if they couldn't).

WORK/PROFESSION

Rose Mary did have a job in the early 1890s - the 1891 census official was told that she was working as a day-governess: that is, she was employed to give lessons in other households while still living at home. She was not working in a school; which probably meant that she had no teaching qualifications. Rose Mary's employers will all have had to be wealthy enough to afford to pay her to teach their daughters. There will have been plenty of those in the Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith area.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

No.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

Apart from the TS, no.

ADDRESSES

Born: Shaftesbury Dorset

?1871-75: 45 Brindley Ford, Wedgewood

1881: 9 The Grange Hammersmith; which might be the same house as

1890, 1891: 45 Shepherd's Bush Green

1893: 13 Girdlers Road Kensington which is just round the corner from Blythe Road where the GD's 2nd Order had its offices and ritual room in the late 1890s.

Immediately after her marriage, to at least early 1895: Greenway Bank, 32 London Road, Chalk Hill Bushey

By 1901 and still in 1913: Aysgarth, Upton Road Watford.

At death 1937: Darbys, Church Road Cookham Berkshire.

ROSE MARY'S HUSBAND

Rose Mary married a solicitor, Alfred Robinson. Alfred was born around 1860 in Croydon. He qualified as a solicitor in 1880 and may always have worked for Jesse Hind. He was taken into partnership by Jesse Hind in 1897, and they continued in business as Hind and Robinson, with offices at 8 Stone Buildings Lincoln's Inn, 6 Bishopsgate in the City of London, and in Nottingham, until Hind's retirement around 1905. It was probably at this point that the offices in Bishopsgate and Nottingham were let go and there were a couple of years in which Alfred Robinson was the only partner. By 1908 Alfred had taken Henry George Barrett into partnership, and that partnership continued, at 8 Stone Buildings only, until Alfred's own death in 1913.

I couldn't find any direct evidence that Alfred Robinson had been at London University but he did have a law degree and in 1891 he was one of the boarders at University Hall Gordon

Square, a lodging house where young professional men could have board and lodging in return for giving lessons to working people in the evenings. The Hall had been founded by dissenters and was closely associated with University College.

Sources for Alfred Robinson as a solicitor:

Law Lists: 1897 p538; 1904 p548; 1905 p522; 1906 p560; 1908 p393 and p570; 1913 p605; 1914 p625 though with Barrett as the only partner; and 1918 p463 when the partnership doesn't appear at all.

At mss-cat.nottingham.ac.uk items catalogued as Pl E12/6/8/8/13-83 all dated 1898-99 show Hind and Robinson involved in a conveyance of land at Clipstone Nottinghamshire. Jesse Hind died in Nottingham in 1906 and had probably come from there originally.

University Hall: 1891 census and

www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project page on University Hall and the Passmore Edwards Settlement.

ROSE MARY ROBINSON

Rose Mary Howard Swain married Alfred Robinson at St James Norlands in Kensington on 12 August 1893. They moved out of town almost at once, to Bushey in Hertfordshire, and had a large family. All the children were given the name 'howard' amongst their others and I do wonder about the Swain family's continual insistence on it. Were they claiming a relationship - either by blood or even by clientage - to the great Howard families, earls of Carlisle and dukes of Norfolk? Rose Mary's children were: Beatrice Howard Robinson born 1894; Rosemary Howard Robinson born 1896; Jessica Howard Robinson born 1897; Dorothea Howard Robinson born 1899; and the obviously longed-for son Edward Howard Robinson born late in 1900, after which there were no more children.

The household that Rose Mary had grown up in was wiped out by the deaths of its three senior members around the time of the birth of Rose Mary's second daughter. Rose Ray died in December 1895; Rose Stammers Swain died in January 1896; and Julia Ray died in June 1896, just before Alice Ray Simon was due to get married. Rose Mary's grandmother Mary Ann Povah also died, about four days after Rose Ray. A hard time for both Rose Mary and Alice. Alice's marriage did go ahead, though.

On census day 1901 the Robinsons were living at the house called Aysgarth, on Upton Road in Watford; with a nurse and two other servants (probably a cook and a housemaid) to help run a household with so many small children. The family were all still there on the day of the 1911 census. The children were all at school so the nurse had been dispensed with; though the Robinsons could still afford the cook and housemaid. They had visitors on census day - Rose Mary's sister Florence Winser (she had married Frederick Winser in 1899) and her daughter Florence Frederika, aged 10.

It seems to have been the fate of women in Rose Mary's family to be left widowed at a relatively young age. Alfred Robinson died in March 1913, perhaps rather suddenly (he died in central London rather than nearer home); Rose Mary was 49.

Sources: freebmd for births of Rose Mary's children; marriage of Alice Ray Simon; marriage of Florence Emily Howard Swain and birth of Florence Frederika Winser. Probate Registry entries 1896 for Rose Ray, Rose Stammers Swain and Julia Maria Ray; 1913 for Alfred Robinson.

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica published Hamilton Adams and Co 1917; p193 for the death of Mary Ann Povah.

DEATH

Rose Mary Howard Robinson died early in 1937 in a nursing home in Marlow, though her normal address was Darbys, a five-bedroom detached house on Church Road Cookham. Of course I can't tell whether she was living at Darbys on her own or with one of her children.

Sources: probate registry entries 1937; and zoopla February 2016.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

Rose Mary's son Edward Howard Robinson became an electrical engineer. After working for Radio Communications Company Ltd he started his own company, Edward Howard Ltd, in the late 1930s. He owned several patents. I haven't looked to see whether he married and had descendants. I think he died after 1966 - there's no entry for him in the probate registries on Ancestry.

Dorothea Howard Robinson qualified as a secretary and was personal assistant to the deans of St Thomas's Hospital from 1941 to her retirement in 1961. She then went to live with her sisters Beatrice and Rosemary.

Beatrice Howard Robinson and Rosemary Howard Robinson were living together at 13a Osmond Gardens Hove in the mid-1960s; Dorothea had joined them there in 1961. In a partial repeat of what had happened to their great-grandmother and grandmother, they all died within 18 months of each other: Beatrice in April 1965, Dorothea in March 1966; and Rosemary in the autumn of 1966. None of them had married.

Rose Mary's youngest daughter Jessica was the odd one out. She went to university, studying chemistry at Bedford College London. She graduated in 1920 and married 2nd Lieutenant Leslie Grayburn Barry of the Army Service Corps. I think Jessica may have had a daughter, Cynthia Grayburn Field. Jessica Barry bucked the general trend of her family by living until she was nearly 100: she died in 1994. She was always known as Poppy.

Sources:

Patent website www.patentmaps.com and via google to Official Gazette of the US Patent Office volume 627 1949 p401 patent number 2,484,120.

St Thomas's Hospital Gazette volume 64 1966 p80.

Probate registry entries 1965, 1966.

University of London Calendar issue of 1920 p498.

At <https://library.leeds.ac.uk>, item catalogued as LIDDLEWW1/009 which has Jessica Howard Robinson's name on it and some information on her life; though the contents seem

mostly to be records of her husband's family, the Barrys.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Eugène Henri Thiellay became a member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in August 1888, a few months after the Order was founded. He was initiated at its Isis-Urania temple in London and chose the Latin motto 'Amicus usque ad aras'. The sources that have survived suggest that he was never an active member of the Order. Eventually he resigned from it, though the date he did so wasn't noted in his membership record.

This is a short biography. There's a lack of historical evidence for his life, for reasons which will become clear if you read through it. My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

SALLY DAVIS

November 2016

This is what I have found on EUGENE HENRI THIELLAY, who might have been called Henri or Henry rather than Eugène.

IN THE GOLDEN DAWN

No evidence that he was ever an active member and he may have resigned early in 1890, at the same time as he resigned from the Rosicrucian Society; for reasons he declined to explain.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

THEOSOPHY

The most common way into the GD in the first 13 years of its existence was via membership of the Theosophical Society. However, this was not the route that Eugène Henri took - he was never in the TS. His way in was through freemasonry.

FREEMASONRY

At www.masonicperiodicals.org. it was all-too-easy to find Eugène Henri Thiellay - I got 401 responses to a search using his surname; and glancing through them it was obvious that he was very active, going to a great many lodge and other meetings, from the early 1870s to the late 1890s. I worked my way through the responses until the magazine reports started to get repetitive and there were no more new initiations - about the mid-1880s.

Eugène Henri may have been a freemason in France before he came to live and work in England. I don't know where to look for information about that. His earliest initiation into an English lodge came in April 1868.

CRAFT FREEMASONRY

Membership of a craft lodge has been the basis of freemasonry since the 18th century: all routes further into the subject start from there.

LODGE OF PRUDENT BRETHREN 145

Eugène Henri's April 1868 initiation was as a member of the Lodge of Prudent Brethren 145. As its low number indicates, it is one of the oldest craft lodges in England, founded in 1775 (though with a different name and number) and a member of the group known as Antient Lodges whose details appear in the Duke of Atholl's Roll. Since 1867 it had been meeting at the Freemasons' Hall in Covent Garden, near where Eugène Henri set up in business. Once he was a member, Eugène Henri began to move up the lodge's hierarchy of officers. In fact he went a bit further than most keen members, representing the lodge as its steward in 1874 at the annual fund-raising festival in aid of the Royal Masonic Institution for Boys - essentially, acting as the lodge's chief fund-raiser that year. He reached the top of the lodge's hierarchy in January 1876, spending his 12 months as its Worshipful Master (WM) in the lodge's centenary year. At the lodge meeting of January 1876, when he became WM, the lodge members got their first look at the centenary jewel the UGLE had agreed they could have to commemorate the lodge's first 100 years. The meeting was a big occasion, attended by 60 lodge members and 70 guests. Two months later the lodge held a celebratory banquet in the Pillar Hall of Anderton's Hotel in Fleet Street; with a very large number of guests. As WM, Eugène Henri was the evening's chief host.

In 1881 the lodge set up a benevolent fund to oversee the distribution to charity of 5% of its revenues. Lodge 145's had plenty of money to spend on charitable works, as its fees were high: in the 1880s it was charging 10 guineas for an initiation, a considerable sum at that time.

Eugène Henri was also a member of Prudent Brethren 145's Royal Arch chapter: see below, in the section on Royal Arch for more information on that.

In 1872, Eugène Henri became a member of two more craft lodges, one an offshoot of the other, and both holding their meetings in Surrey: Lebanon Lodge 1326 and its daughter lodge Era 1423.

LEBANON LODGE 1326 was the older of the two lodges. Eugène Henri joined it in March 1872.

ERA LODGE 1423

In December 1872 Eugène Henri was one of those members of Lebanon Lodge 1326 who signed the petition to the UGLE, asking permission to found an offshoot lodge as Lebanon 1326 had more members than it could easily accommodate. The new lodge was called Era Lodge 1423. It was consecrated in February 1873. Eugène Henri was appointed one of the lodge's officers for its first year, Senior Deacon (SD), and served as its WM from April 1877 to April 1878. He was also lodge secretary in 1881-82. Perhaps there was not such a need for a second lodge in the Hampton district as the members of Era Lodge 1423 had claimed: it had a problem keeping members. Originally holding its meetings at the King's Arms in Hampton Court, it changed its regular venue twice in its first few years in attempts to make it easier for members to get together; firstly to the Island Hotel in Hampton Court, and then to

the Albany Hotel in Twickenham, further into London. Despite these efforts, the 1880s saw membership decline. In 1884 the initiation fee was reduced from a high 10 guineas to a more reasonable 7 guineas, which kept membership of the lodge at around 18-20 until World War 1; but attendance at meetings was poor. It seems the lodge didn't have much luck, either: in April 1886 Sir Francis Burdett, a man very prominent in freemasonry at the time, accepted an invitation to attend a lodge meeting; but on the day of the meeting he was ill, and Eugène Henri had to stand in for him in all the special ceremonies that had been arranged. That it was Eugène Henri who took Burdett's place suggests he was the highest ranking craft freemason to attend the meeting: by this time he was a Past Grand Sword Bearer in the Province of Middlesex.

Eugène Henri was a founder member of two more craft lodges: New Cross 1559 near where he lived; and La France Lodge 2060.

NEW CROSS LODGE 1559

In 1875 Eugène Henri's name headed the list of those that petitioned the UGLE to allow the formation of New Cross Lodge 1559; and it was he who wrote the petition's accompanying letter. Also on the list of petitioners were one member of Era Lodge 1423 and two from Lebanon Lodge 1326; all acquaintances of his. The new lodge was consecrated at the New Cross Public Hall on Upper Lewisham Road, in February 1876. Eugène Henri should have been its first WM, but he was already in post as WM at Prudent Brethren Lodge 145, so he was installed as 1559's Senior Warden (SW) instead, serving his year as its WM in 1880. During and after Eugène Henri's lifetime membership of the lodge was cosmopolitan: two Italians were WM's in the early years, and in the year of the lodge's diamond jubilee a second Frenchman was an important member of it - Jean-Baptiste Rouard, who joined the lodge in 1884. In the late 19th century the lodge had plenty of members; but as with Era Lodge 1423, there were problems getting them to attend lodge meetings. Lodge 1559 met four times a year, on Saturday afternoons when offices and shops were closed. However, it changed its meetings' venue four times in its first few years in the search for a meeting place all members would be willing to go to. Not attending lodge meetings became a sore point - in 1891, the man due to be installed as that year's WM was outvoted by supporters of another candidate, on the grounds that the successful candidate went to more meetings. After trying the New Cross Public Hall and two different hotels in Greenwich, in 1897 1559's members agreed to pay an increased annual subscription in order to hire meeting-rooms at the Hotel Cecil on the Strand - near to where its members worked (including Eugène Henri) rather than where they lived.

LA FRANCE LODGE 2060

This lodge was founded in 1884 by a group of French businessmen living in London. Though it acknowledged the authority of the UGLE, it did its ritual work in French; its earliest lodge history is in French; and at least until the 1930s, most members had French surnames even if they had not been born in France. Eugène Henri's name was on the petition requesting permission to found the lodge. I think he must have been the most distinguished petitioner - he'd served as WM at three different lodges by this time - so it fell to him to be the new lodge's first WM. At the celebration banquet after the lodge's consecration, he proposed a toast to La France - though I'm not quite sure whether he did so in French or in English.

Although he never rose very high in the UGLE's national hierarchy, Eugène Henri did serve in the Province of Middlesex - in fact he seems to have been selected as a Grand ADC of Middlesex Province in 1875, before he was a lodge's Worshipful Master. The Provincial officials of Middlesex held their meetings at the Greyhound Hotel Hampton Court; Eugène Henri attended at least two during his 12 months in post. In August 1880 he also attended one meeting of a Lodge of Benevolence; this kind of lodge met to distribute money raised by freemasons for charitable use.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY

Family history information suggests that Eugène Henri was interested in the mystical side of Euclidean geometry, and wanted to get to know more about it. If you want to take your freemasonry further and explore its symbolism and rituals, the next initiation you need to undergo is one into a Royal Arch chapter. Royal Arch chapters are attached to craft lodges and have usually been founded by the lodge's members. Although not all lodges have a chapter, two at least of the lodges Eugène Henri was a member of, did have one.

PRUDENT BRETHERN CHAPTER 145

Prudent Brethren Lodge 145 had had a royal arch chapter in the early years of the 19th century. The Royal Arch Grand Chapter (royal arch's governing body in England) removed the chapter from lodge 145's control in 1866, so in 1869 the lodge members formed another one. Eugène Henri wasn't one of its founding members, but he had joined by 1876 and was making his way up the chapter's hierarchy of officers. He was the chapter's Most Excellent Zerubbabel (MEZ) in 1878 and as with his years as WM in some craft lodges, reports of meetings during his year in office show it to have been a busy one, socially. In February 1878, Prudent Brethren Chapter 145 held a public night at the Freemasons' Hall. Amongst the very long list of guests at this unusual freemasonry occasion was a William Kirby, who might have been the future GD member William Forsell Kirby. However, the chapter suffered from money problems, perhaps because of its very low subscription of 2 guineas a year (definitely not enough to hold a good public night on). There was also a lot of infighting amongst chapter members, leading to several instances of disputed elections to official posts.

A short note on disputed elections. My reading suggests that even having more than one candidate for any particular office, is very rare in freemasonry, these things usually being decided well in advance, at lodge or chapter meetings; and yet Eugène Henri was the member of one lodge and one chapter where they occurred at least once.

LEBANON CHAPTER 1326

Lebanon Chapter 1326 was a more peaceful place than Prudent Brethren Chapter 145, and a more prosperous one. It met at the Red Lion Hotel in Hampton. Eugène Henri joined it in August 1875. His name was put forward almost at once for an official post at the Provincial Grand Chapter, and he served as Provincial Grand Director of Ceremonies.

ERA CHAPTER 1423

A curious feature of this chapter was that its meetings got far more coverage in the freemasonry press than the meetings of its lodge did. Sir Francis Burdett took charge at its consecration in December 1876, at the King's Arms Hotel in Hampton Court. Eugène Henri was made its Second Principal in the list of officers for the chapter's first year; so that he will have served as First Principal (the equivalent to a craft lodge's WM) in 1877-78. He was

then the chapter's MEZ until July 1879, when he was given a commemorative jewel by its other members.

MARK MASONRY

After Royal Arch masonry, the next step into the esoteric side of freemasonry is via an initiation into a Mark Masonry lodge. Although it has antecedents in 16th century Scotland, English Mark Masonry developed in the mid-19th century - its first Grand Master was only appointed in 1856 and its earliest lodges date from 1857. It was and is separate from craft masonry with its own offices and national officers. In its early years it met in various freemasons' halls until the early 1890s when it was able to afford its own hall, an ex-hotel on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Although I haven't been able to discover the exact date, Eugène Henri must have been initiated into Mark Masonry - the correct term is 'advanced' - by 1871, when he was listed as a member of an MM lodge that had only just been founded: Northumberland MM Lodge 118. At the installation meeting in July 1871 he was made Junior Deacon for the coming 12 months. He should have served as WM in a year or two though I don't know whether he actually did.

By November 1873 Eugène Henri had become a member of one of Mark Masonry's most senior lodges, St Mark's Lodge 1, founded in 1867. He served as its WM in 1877-78 and later as its lodge secretary. As a past WM of a Mark Masonry lodge he was eligible to join the MM Grand Stewards' Lodge (which doesn't have a number); during the 1880s he was working his way up the hierarchy there too.

From Royal Arch and Mark masonry there are a number of other routes a keen freemason can follow, depending on his particular interests and the opportunities that arise. However, these routes rely on personal introduction; and the orders often have quite demanding entrance requirements.

ROYAL ARK MARINERS

There's evidence that this particular degree of freemasonry existed in some form in the 1790s but its governing body in England, the Grand Master's Royal Ark Council, was not set up until 1871, a couple of years after Eugène Henri first got involved in freemasonry. The first Royal Ark lodge was founded in 1872. All candidates for initiation (correctly, 'elevation') into a Royal Ark lodge must be Mark Masons already.

In a list of senior officers in Royal Ark masonry, issued in 1871, Eugène Henri is the third-ranking of four men serving as Grand Stewards in the Royal Ark Council. He had been appointed in June 1871 when he attended the inaugural meeting of the Council. He was probably at the meeting on behalf of one of the groups that soon became the earliest Royal Ark lodges - Royal Clarence Royal Ark Lodge 1. That proto-lodge had held its third meeting in April 1871 in the Freemasons' Hall in Basinghall Street, though as a fully-authorized lodge it moved to the Freemasons' Tavern in Covent Garden (nearer where Eugène Henri worked - perhaps he had a say in the change of venue). He was also a member of another of these proto-lodges, the one that became Prince of Wales Royal Ark Lodge 2. I haven't found much information on either of these lodges after their first few months in existence, so I don't know how long he was a member of either of them; or whether he ever served as an officer.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE (AAR) also known as the Scottish Rite

The AAR is a form of craft freemasonry, with origins in the mid-18th century. It came to England and Wales from the USA in the early 19th-century and its governing body, the Supreme Council, was founded in 1845. It is separate from the UGLE with its own hierarchy, offices and initiations covering 18 to 33 degrees. Its equivalent to a craft lodge is known as a Rose Croix chapter. In becoming a member, Eugène Henri was joining an exclusive group: AAR initiation was by invitation only. All candidates had to have been freemasons for at least one year. To join the modern AAR candidates also have to profess belief in the Christian trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit; in the 19th century, having to make such a statement wasn't thought necessary.

Eugène Henri was initiated into the AAR's rose croix chapter Palestine 29, which met at the AAR headquarters in 33 Golden Square. It had been founded in 1870 and he may have been a founder member (I haven't found a list of the founders). Sir Francis Burdett who has been mentioned above, and William Robert Woodman who will be mentioned below, were also members of this chapter. To my surprise, so was the well-known spiritualist Rev William Stainton Moses - I hadn't expected him to be a freemason. Though never a member himself, Rev Moses was acquainted with several people who were initiated into the GD. Eugène Henri was still a member of Palestine Chapter 29 in 1900 - he attended the installation meeting in December of that year - and had at some stage served as its WM-equivalent, its Most Wise Sovereign (MWS).

By 1876 Eugène Henri had undergone several more of the AAR's initiations, to reach its 30° level. This was the highest level members could get to, without waiting upon dead men's shoes: the 31° level had 81 members at any time and the 32° level only 45. Several other GD members had reached level 30° by 1888, when the GD was founded: Thomas Walker Coffin, Robert Roy and GD founder William Wynn Westcott. No one who joined the GD ever made it to the 32° level and only the Rev Thomas William Lemon got to level 31°; he had reached it by 1888.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE (RCC)

This order's full title, during Eugène Henri's time in it, was the Imperial, Ecclesiastical and Military Order of Knights of the Red Cross of Rome and Constantine; which gives a flavour of what it was about. There's evidence that the RCC's basic rituals were in use in the early 19th century; but the groups using them were informal and self-governing, having no overarching organisation or hierarchy until Robert Wentworth Little and others set up an RCC Grand Council in 1865. In the decades after that, the RCC expanded very rapidly both in England and abroad. The RCC's equivalent to a craft lodge is called a 'conclave'. All those wanting to be members of the RCC had to have been initiated into a Royal Arch chapter already.

The RCC has several smaller Orders contained in it, which only RCC members can join. I couldn't find evidence of exactly when Eugène Henri joined the RCC but he was 'admitted' into one of those smaller orders, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre (KHS) at a meeting in May 1871. In August 1873 he was 'received' into another of these smaller orders, the Constantine Council of the Cryptic Rite; and at the same time he joined the Rosicrucian

Society of which more below.

The first conclave that Eugène Henri joined in the RCC was its Plantagenet Conclave 2, which met at the Regent Street masonic hall. He was a member of that by April 1871 when he represented it at a meeting of the KHS Mount of Olives Sanctuary. He remained a member of Plantagenet Conclave 2 until the early 1880s at least and may have done his year as its Most Puissant Sovereign (MPS, its WM equivalent) though if he did do this, I couldn't find out when. I have more information, however, on Eugène Henri as a member of the RCC's Premier Conclave 1, which he joined in 1873. As their numbers suggest, both these conclaves were amongst the earliest to be founded. Premier Conclave 1 held its meetings at the Mark Masons' Hall. GD member Nelson Prower joined it in 1886 and was its Most Puissant Sovereign (MPS, its WM equivalent) in 1891.

As with some of the other freemasonry organisations he was a member of, Eugène Henri was willing to do what many other freemasons were not - spend time, effort and sometimes money climbing the ladder of national office. He put more of this kind of effort into the RCC than any other of the freemasons' orders he joined. He served a year as Grand Vice-Chamberlain in 1874. He did three separate sets of 12 months as a Grand Standard Bearer, in 1875, 1877 and 1879; most men just did one year in the post. As a senior member of the order it was probably part of Eugène Henri's duties to help organise the annual balls that the RCC held during the 1870s. He definitely attended the one that took place in April 1876 at Willis's Rooms in King Street, St James's: 180 RCC members and their guests, including their women guests, were there, and the dancing went on until 4 in the morning. The guest list published in *The Freemason* only included the men who were there, not the women they had brought with them. For reasons that will be made clear if you read on, I would dearly love to know whether Eugène Henri brought a woman-guest with him; though I think he probably didn't.

Eugène Henri was the RCC's Grand Inspector of Regalia in 1880 - a job to which I think he must have been particularly well-suited. And in 1883 he was elected one of the 12 members of the RCC's Grand Senate as its Grand Prefect; going on to do a year as its Grand Examiner in 1885. In 1886 he was Grand Historiographer and in 1887 he was Grand Orator; two more jobs I imagine he did well. He was the RCC's Grand High Almoner - in charge of its charitable donations - in 1888. And in 1889 he made it onto the RCC's most senior governing committee, its Grand Council, serving as its Grand Junior General for a year. This was as high up the RCC's ladder as he got, but it was pretty high for someone not a member of the English aristocracy. In March 1890, at the end of his 12 months in that post, he attended the RCC's annual meeting - its Grand Imperial Conclave - for the last time. He was still a member of the RCC's Premier Conclave 1 in March 1899 though perhaps no longer very active in it.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR, more fully the United Religious, Military and Masonic Orders of the Temple and of St John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta.

This group of affiliated orders looks back to the military orders set up during the Crusades; though there is no historical evidence of any connection through the intervening centuries with those medieval organisations. The modern Grand Conclave which governs the orders was formed in 1791. Those hopeful to join the orders must be Christians; they must also be

Royal Arch masons. The Order's equivalent to a craft lodge is called a preceptory and its equivalent to a craft lodge's WM is a preceptor. GD members Thomas Walker Coffin, William George Lemon, Thomas William Lemon and Nelson Prower were also members of the Knights Templar. The two men called Lemon, and Nelson Prower, were also in the Order of St John of...Malta.

Eugène Henri had been initiated - the correct term is 'installed' - into the Orders' Holy Palestine Preceptory 129 by November 1874. He was its preceptor in 1888, the year he joined the GD. Holy Palestine 129 met at the AAR's headquarters in 33 Golden Square. Eugène Henri also joined the Shadwell Clerke Preceptory on the day of its consecration, in January 1885; William George Lemon was also a member of this preceptory. However, Eugène Henri's involvement with those two preceptories was the limit of his commitment to the Order: he was never an officer at national level; he didn't join the Order of Malta as far as I can see; he didn't go to any of the Order's annual meetings; and was no longer in the Order at all by 1898.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS (RSM) also known as the Cryptic Rite, a reference to the basic layout of one of its rituals.

This form of freemasonry arrived in England from the USA in the early 1870s, just after Eugène Henri first became a freemason. It grew slowly and by its annual meeting of 1888 had only 15 councils (its equivalent of a craft lodge) five of which were dormant. It was governed by a Grand Council and had its own offices, in the masonic hall in Red Lion Square. It was very London focused, with four of the councils meeting in the city. To be considered for initiation (the correct term is 'received and acknowledged') into the RSM, candidates need to be Royal Arch masons. Two GD members other than Eugène Henri were in the RSM - Nelson Prower and Rev Thomas William Lemon. They had both joined it by the annual meeting of its Grand Council in February 1888, which I think was only the first or second the RSM had ever held. Eugène Henri joined the RSM in March 1891, also at an annual meeting. He was still a member of RSM in 1899 but had never become a member of any of its 15 councils.

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND (ROM)

There is evidence that lodges belonging to the ROM existed in London as early as the 1740s and a grand lodge was created (in Edinburgh) in 1767; so this is one of the oldest forms of organised freemasonry. It struggled during the early 19th century but has been active since the 1840s. To join the ROM you have to have been a freemason for five years. Membership is then by invitation only, and is much sought after as the ROM works some ancient degrees. I found one piece of evidence for Eugène Henri as a member of the ROM in 1885: that July, he attended the annual meeting of its London lodges, in the AAR headquarters at 33 Golden Square. The meeting was followed by a trip down river to Greenwich and a banquet at the Trafalgar Hotel. I don't think he was ever an important figure in the ROM, however: I would have found more evidence of his activities, if he had been.

Not all foreign imports were welcome to English freemasons:

ANCIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MISRAIM (or possibly Mysraim)

Just after the start of his involvement in freemasonry, Eugène Henri became involved in an

attempt to import into England the Ordre Maçonique Oriental de Misraïm ou d'Égypte, thought to have been formed either in Italy or in France in the early years of the 19th century. The main mover in the attempt to establish it in England was Eugène Henri's RCC-founding acquaintance Robert Wentworth Little, who was planning to draw the new Ordre in, as a sub-order of the RCC. With authorisation from the Grand Council of Rites for France, Little organised a meeting in December 1870 at the Freemasons' Tavern to set up the Ordre in England. A hierarchy for the new Ordre was set up, with the Earl of Bective as its sovereign grand master in England, and Sir Francis Burdett as his deputy. And the Ordre's first English lodge-equivalent, the Bective Sanctuary of Levites, was inaugurated. 80 freemasons attended the meeting; including Eugène Henri.

The new Ordre soon ran into trouble, however. The official policy of the UGLE seems to have been to ignore its existence, but individual freemasons in England were upset by the Ordre's claim to work the same degrees as craft freemasonry does. They felt that Robert Wentworth Little - who was a UGLE employee - should not have involved himself with it. The Bective Sanctuary of Levites did hold a couple more meetings, but then the Ordre dropped out of the contemporary media and probably ceased to function in England; though it was still operative in France in the 1950s. During its brief English life, 37 freemasons were initiated into the Ordre; unfortunately I haven't found a list of who they were so I don't know if Eugène Henri was one of them. I think he might have been, though - especially as the Ordre was governed from Paris. He certainly attended the Ordre's second English meeting, at the Caledonian Hotel Adelphi Terrace (just round the corner from where he worked), in January 1871. He also joined a committee that was raising money to give to Robert Wentworth Little; and contributed 1 guinea (which he could probably ill spare) to its fund. It's not clear to me what the money was going to be for. As Little hadn't been sacked from the UGLE, it wasn't needed to support him through a period of unemployment. It might have been to help him bring an action for libel: the Freemason's Magazine and Masonic Mirror had been making unpleasant comments about articles in other magazines on the more unusual types of freemasonry, published anonymously but known quite widely to be by Little. If that was the reason for the fund-raising, I don't think the case got as far as going to Court. In February 1872 a dinner was held, at which the £300 raised by the committee was presented to Mr Little. Perhaps Eugène Henri and Robert Wentworth Little were friends. Even if they were not, Little's death aged only 39 must have been a shock: he died in 1878.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA (SRIA)

When William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell Mathers founded the GD, it was as members of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia; specifically, members of its group in London, the Metropolitan College. Eugène Henri joined SRIA when it was still calling itself the Rosicrucian Society, in August 1873, being one of five men who did so at the same meeting at which he was 'received' into the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In the early 1870s (though possibly not later) the Earl of Bective and Sir Francis Burdett were members of SRIA though unlike Eugène Henri they didn't go to its London meetings very often. William Robert Woodman, Eugène Henri's acquaintance from the AAR, was an active member of it. At that August 1873 meeting, Kenneth Mackenzie - who certainly would have been a member of the GD if he had lived that long - read a paper on Philosophical and Cabbalistic Magic. Perhaps what he heard that evening set Eugène Henri off on the path that led to his accepting an offer to become a member of the GD.

The Metropolitan College started to publish yearly Transactions in 1886, by which time

Eugène Henri had been going to its meetings regularly for several years. He did not make his way up its hierarchy to serve as its equivalent to WM, however; instead he served as its president from April 1889 to April 1890. Perhaps his 12-months' in charge had been difficult, however: he didn't go to the meeting of April 1890, the one in which he should have handed the job to his successor. Instead he sent a letter, resigning from the College and from SRIA. No one at SRIA expected this decision, and in his letter, Eugène Henri asked not to have to explain it. He was elected an honorary member of SRIA but never renewed his ties with it. When he died, SRIA wasn't told.

Evidence from the freemasonry magazines shows Eugène Henri continuing to go to the meetings of various freemasonry groups throughout the 1890s - excepting SRIA - though he didn't serve in any official capacity in any of them during those years. Possibly the last freemasons' meeting he attended was the December 1900 installation meeting of the AAR's Palestine 29 rose croix chapter. He died a couple of months later.

Not all freemasons had obituaries in the freemasonry press, but *The Freemason* and *The Freemason and Masonic Illustrated* both thought Eugène Henri was sufficiently well-known, at least around London, to be given one. Both mourned him as a keen freemason, and as a childless widower.

It casts a fascinating light on how men were chosen to be freemasons, and how socialising amongst them was kept strictly to freemasons' meetings, that Eugène Henri was able to get away with what the family history evidence suggests he got away with. Though I don't understand how the members of New Cross Lodge 1559 didn't realise - they lived in the same small district of London as him. Or did they wilfully ignore what was under their noses?

Evidence from the census, birth registrations, the probate registry and family history websites indicates that Eugène Henri had abandoned his wife several years before she died, to go and live with another woman and have four children with her. The other woman may or may not have been married already; as far as I can tell, Eugène Henri never married her. And through thirty years of involvement with freemasons, he kept that side of his life completely hidden from their view.

SOURCES ESOTERIC INTERESTS

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

FREEMASONRY

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library: go to

[//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum)

and take the option 'Explore'. You don't have to have a reader's ticket to search the catalogue; or the other online resources which include online copies, digitised as far as 1900, of the main freemasons' magazines, a very useful resource for some - but not all -

freemasons' organisations.

Membership records of the United Grand Lodge of England; see them on Ancestry in the 'schools and directories' section.

LODGE OF PRUDENT BRETHREN 145

Lodge of Prudent Brethren 145 By-Laws p15 signed off by Shadwell H Clerke. 1882 printed by (active freemason) G Kenning of 16 Great Queen St: p3, p7, p11, p17.

Lodge of Prudent Brethren 145: Historic Records 1775-1932 no publication details of the original but on p4 the Introduction was written March 1908. This was the 3rd edition, published 1932. Author of the original edition: Henry Guy, a PM of the lodge and PZ of its chapter, using original sources. He used the few existing original sources. Especially pp48-53; pp59-60; p92; pp101-108 for the history of its chapter.

The Freemason Mar 1876 p1.

ERA LODGE 1423

Province of Middlesex: Era Lodge 1423: First 100 Years 1873-1973. No publication details or date; no author though booklet is signed off by F O Raynaud. History is based on lodge Minute Books. Pp1-6; p13; p15 for a history of Era Chapter; p19.

The Freemason February 1873 p12.

The Freemason June 1881 p5.

The Freemason April 1886 p5.

NEW CROSS LODGE 1559

New Cross Lodge 1559: Diamond Jubilee 1876-1936. A Short History of the Lodge by Henry Knill, the lodge's secretary, who had been a member since Eugène Henri's time. No publication details. Passim.

The New Cross Lodge 1876-1976. A very small pamphlet; no publication details or author's name though the Foreword is by Bonnie Martyn. No page numbers. On [pp3-4] which includes the list of the original petitioners, with the lodges they were already members of.

The Freemason February 1876 p7.

The Freemason August 1878 p1.

The Freemason December 1880 p4.

The Freemason May 1881 p6.

MIDDLESEX PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE

The Freemason July 1875 p11.

The Freemason August 1876.

LODGE OF BENEVOLENCE

The Freemason August 1880 p1.

ROYAL ARCH

PRUDENT BRETHERN CHAPTER 145

Prudent Brethren and "Philanthic" Chapter 145 Centen 1869-1969: A Glimpse into the Past. Noo publication details or any indication of its author. Pp1-5.

The Freemason December 1876 p4.

The Freemason February 1878 p10.

The Freemason December 1878 p4.

LEBANON CHAPTER 1326

The Freemason August 1875 p2.

ERA CHAPTER 1423

The Freemason December 1876 p11.

The Freemason July 1879 p4.

MARK MASONRY

Masonic Calendar for 1888, its 3rd year of issue. P15; p52; p54.

Masonic Calendar for 1898 which shows how enormously Mark masonry had expanded in the intervening 10 years. Unfortunately there was no coverage at all of individual lodges in this issue.

GRAND STEWARDS' LODGE which doesn't need a number.

The Freemason December 1886 p12.

ST MARK'S LODGE 1

The Freemason November 1873 p5.

The Freemason September 1874 p6.

The Freemason December 1877 p11 as current WM of St Mark's Lodge 1, Eugène was a guest at the consecration of Hammersmith Mark Masonry Lodge 211.

NORTHUMBERLAND LODGE 118

The Freemason July 1871 p12.

ROYAL ARK MARINERS

Seen online: Statutes and Regulations for the Government of Royal Ark Masons which includes a history of the Order and lists of officials. Issued by the Grand Lodge of Royal Ark Mariners London: 1871. P7; p35; p45 and just noting here that all national officers had to pay a fee on taking up their appointment; p47; p54.

The Freemason July 1871 p3.

The Freemason April 1871 p5 on Royal Clarence Royal Ark Lodge 1; and Prince of Wales Royal Ark Lodge 2.

The Freemason July 1871 p5.

ANCIENT AND ACCEPTED RITE

Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Degrees from the 4° to 32° Inclusive under the Supreme Council 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite [in the British Empire etc etc]; plus a List of Members. The earliest issue of this was published in 1864. I looked at the issues for 1880 to 1900. Particular references:

Issue of 1880 pp43-46; pp66-67.

Issue of 1888. I looked at this issue first as it was the nearest in date to the founding of the GD. So my understanding of how the AAR worked and what its rules are is based on pp5-13; pp37-47; p57.

Issue of 1900 p71.

The Freemason October 1876 p7.

The Freemason December 1900 p5.

RED CROSS OF CONSTANTINE whose full title was altered in 1889 to include two extra orders: the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and the Order of St John the Evangelist.

Statement of Accounts, Annual Report and List of Officers and Conclaves published London by George Kenning, who was a member of it. I looked at a Freemasons' Library volume of these, supposedly covering 1868 to 1899 but actually lacking the reports for 1874 to 1887, if any were published during that time. Particular references:

Issue of 1874 p7; p14.

Issue of 1887 pp3-4.

Issue of 1888 p5.

Issue of 1889 pp5-7.

Issue of 1893 had the earliest list of past grand officers, going back to 1860s: pp18-24.

Issue of 1895 had the first published list of RCC members; and the first published details of its conclaves: p45; p49

Issue of 1899 p48.

The Freemason April 1871 p5.

The Freemason May 1871 p7.

The Freemason August 1873 p4.

The Freemason April 1876 p7.

The Freemason September 1880 p4.

The Freemason December 1882 p11.

The Freemason January 1885 p10.

The Freemason's Chronicle March 1890 p10.

ORDER OF THE TEMPLE better known as the Knights Templar.

The Freemasons' Library has issues of the Calendar of the Great Priory published yearly for the Order. There was a name change, in 1896, to Liber Ordinis Templi. I looked through the issues of 1878 to 1900. Particular references:

Issue of 1888 p10.

Issue of 1898 pp252-269: list of current members.

Ordo Templi Alphabetical List of Great Officers 1846-1915.

HOLY PALESTINE PRECEPTORY 129

The Freemason November 1874 p5.

The Freemason April 1880 p6.

SHADWELL CLERKE PRECEPTORY

The Freemason January 1885 p2.

The Freemason December 1886 p10.

ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS

Annual Report of Proceedings of the Grand Council of RSM of England and Wales etc.

Issue of 1887 pp3-4; pp8-9. Issues of 1888 to 1890 looking for names of GD members.

Issue of 1891 p3, p24.

Issue of 1899 p27.

ROYAL ORDER OF SCOTLAND

The Freemason July 1885 p5.

ANCIENT AND PRIMITIVE RITE OF MISRAIM (or Mysraim)

The Freemasons' Library has a small folder of material on the order. It includes photocopies of 2 reports published in Rosicrucian and Masonic Record

- volume XI p136 annotated in pen "Jan 1871"
- volume XII p148 annotated in pen "April 1871".

There are a few letters, some issued by the Order and some by employees of the Freemasons' Library, written between 1890 and 2015. There's also a copy of part of a typed letter dated 18 April 1980 from the GD researcher and biographer Ellic Howe to an unnamed correspondent, in which he mentions the failed attempt to found the Ordre in London.

The Freemason January 1871 p3; p8.

The Freemason February 1871 p9.

The Freemason March 1871 p12.

The Freemason May 1871 p10.

The Freemason February 1872 p2.

ROSICRUCIANS/SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

The Freemason August 1873 p4.

At www.iapsop.com, an edition of The Rosicrucian and Red Cross: A Quarterly Record of the Societies' Transactions. No date on the cover but the volume covers meetings held during 1873. Printed London by Thomas Hearn: p25.

The Freemason August 1873 p4.

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College

Issue of 1889-90 pp1-3.

Issue of 1890-91 pp1-2.

And subsequent issues, which list Eugène as an honorary member long after his death.

History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia by the MW Supreme Magus Dr William Wynn Westcott. Privately printed London 1900: p15.

The obituaries:

The Freemason March 1901 p5

The Freemason and Masonic Illustrated volume 40 1902 p117.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Virtually unknown I'm afraid: Eugène Henri Thiellay was born in France; I wasn't able to find out exactly where. His age as given to various census officials varies a little, but he was probably born between 1834 and 1836.

The earliest record I could find which showed Eugène Henri living in England was the census of 1861. He was one of the two lodgers in the household of printer Charles Cole and his wife; in a house where there were at least six separate households. I couldn't read the name of the street the house was in, but it was somewhere in the Tottenham Court Road area of central London.

Sources: census 1851 - he's not on it; census 1861

For him possibly being known as Henry/Henri: seen online at Ancestry: list of pupils at Stanley Street school 1881; from records held at the London Metropolitan Archive.

WORK/PROFESSION

In 1861 Eugène Henri was working as a perfumer. The 1861 census wasn't one of those which asked whether people were self-employed or working for someone else; but at this stage I think he was an employee rather than a self-employed businessman. However, though he was living in England, he was also working with a colleague in France, a chemist called Léon Hugot. Jean Harlow, Marilyn Monroe, even Neymar (briefly during the autumn of 2016) have cause to be grateful to Eugène Henri Thiellay and his chemist partner! At the 1867 International Exhibition in Paris, the partners displayed their Eau de Fontaine de Jouvence Dorée - a 3% solution of hydrogen peroxide which dyed hair blonde. The product won a gold medal which well and truly launched it on the fashion scene. It was for use at home, though it needed four applications to work noticeably and cost (in France in the 1870s) as much as 20 francs a bottle. It was probably on the basis of its success that Eugène Henri set up his own business in the years soon after the Exhibition. He was one of the first professional hairdressers to hire a private room within a railway station. Eugène Henri's business was in the Charing Cross Hotel - very convenient for commuters, day-visitors to London; and for going to meetings of freemasons, so many of which were held only short walks away, in Covent Garden and Soho. As well as doing people's hair, Eugène Henri's business also sold the hair dye, perfumes and other toiletries, which were kept in a warehouse in New Cross. The business dealt in wholesale as well as retail and was still going at Eugène

Henri's death in 1901; though it was wound up by his executors.

My experience of hairdressers is limited but surely if you want to be a successful one you must please a wide range of different customers. Around 1890, GD founder William Wynn Westcott described Eugène as having "genial manners", and also as a "universal favourite"; proving that the same qualities are liked in freemasonry. You must also be able to keep a secret.

Sources:

Chemical News and Journal of Industrial Society volume 32 1875 p286 issue of 7 January 1876. The continuation of a longer article by a Dr A W Hofmann: Development of the Chemical Arts During the Last 10 Years. Hoffmann says that the Eau de Fontaine de Jouvence was manufactured in England at least by Hopkin and Williams of London.

Hofmann's article is the basis for a reference to Eugène in Hydrogen Peroxide by Walter C Schumb, Charles N Satterfield and Ralph L Wentworth of MIT. American Chemistry Society Monograph Series. Reinhold Publishing Corporation 1955: p18 in a section on the Technical Development of hair dye based on hydrogen peroxide. The authors give 1867-69 for the earliest dates at which the Eau de Fontaine de Jouvence might have been available.

Just noting here that Chemical News was founded in 1859, and edited for several decades after that, by William Crookes, who subsequently joined the GD.

Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600 editors Hannah Greig and Jane Hamlett. Published 2015. Seen online via google: p144 in an article Grooming Men: the Material World of the 19th Century Barbershop.

The Science of Hair Care editors Claude Bouillon and John Wilkinson. 2nd edition Taylor and Francis 2005: pp229-230 where they describe Hugot as the hairdresser and Eugène as the chemist though of course they may have both done both things; and pp232-237 on how hydrogen peroxide works.

Introduction to Cosmetic Formulation and Technology by Gabriella Baki and Kenneth S Alexander. Wiley 2015. In Chapter 5: Hair Care pp525-26 they give a quick resume of the extremely long history of dying your hair! Going right back to Mesopotamia.

Occupational Exposures of Hairdressers... International Agency for Research on Cancer WHO 1993 p43.

I couldn't tie down the date that Eugène Henri started his business but I did find it advertising in several professional magazines over a long period. For example:

The Year Book of Pharmacy issued by the British Pharmaceutical Conference: issues of 1874, 1876, 1877, 1883; ie issue of 1875 p705 an advert for E H Thiellay's Golden Hair Wash and his Eau Fontaine de Jouvence. He's described as "Parfumeur, chimiste" from premises in the Charing Cross Hotel and an export facility at New Cross.

Pharmaceutical Journal volume 36 1877 p968.

Year-Book of Pharmacy 1881-82 p593.

Kelly's Directory of Chemists and Druggists 1885.

I couldn't get this to download properly but at www.forgottenbooks.com there was a later edition of the Year-book of Pharmacy; perhaps from 1894-ish, with an advert for the Eau Fontaine de Jouvence in it.

London Gazette 8 October 1901 p6598 creditors' notice, part of the winding-up of Eugène Henri's estate including his business.

FAMILIES

In 1864 Eugène Henri married an Englishwoman of Scottish descent, Louisa McLacklan. They set up home at 103 Hemingford Road Barnsbury. There's no evidence they had any children. Louisa was still living at the Hemingford Road house when she died, in December 1872. Eugène Henri, as her husband, was her executor. However, by 1869 at the latest, he and Louisa had separated and he had moved south of the Thames to set up another household with someone else. He and the other woman appear in the same household on three censuses, 1871, 1881 and 1891 - they were together a long time. They set up home near Eugène Henri's warehouse, at 5 Amersham Road New Cross, and were still living there on the day of the 1881 census; by 1891 they had moved house, but only within the New Cross district.

Between 1869 and 1874, four children were registered in the Greenwich registration district (which includes parts of New Cross) with the two surnames 'Thiellay Byngham'. They were all boys: Edward Henry, born autumn 1869; Euclide Horatio born early 1871; Archambaud Vivian born 1872; and Godfrey Rodolphus born 1874. It's just possible that Edward Henry Thiellay Byngham was the son of Harriet and a man called Edward Byngham who died in the Greenwich registration district early in 1870, aged 45. However, all Harriet's other children were born after he was dead. It seems pretty clear that all four boys were the sons of Eugène Henri Thiellay and the woman who called herself Harriet Byngham.

Two of the sons died, never having appeared on a census: Edward Henry died in 1870; and Archambaud Vivian in 1877. However, Euclide (usually written without the last 'e') and Godfrey survived and were living with their parents in 1881.

THE MYSTERIOUS HARRIET BYNGHAM

She's very elusive! Despite being - with her two surviving sons - the only three people called Byngham with a 'y' in late 19th-century England. She's obviously the same person on each of the censuses but each one spells her forename differently: in 1871 she's Harriett; in 1881 she's Harietta; and in 1891 she's Harriet. Her surname is the same each time: Byngham, with a 'y'. Eugène Henri and Harriet (I'm going to stick with the most common spelling). However, I'm pretty sure that 'Byngham' was a surname she had given herself.

Harriet's surname was spelled with a 'y' by all three census officials, so she must have told them about its odd spelling. She also gave the three of them the same information on her age and place of birth: born in 1847/48 in Charlwood in Surrey. Charlwood is a village on the border with Sussex, near to what's now Gatwick Airport. Her marital status, however, was not so clear: in 1871 and 1891 she said she was married, but in 1881 - despite admitting that the two children in the household were hers - she said she was not.

I went looking on freebmd for a female, surname Byngham with a 'y', born circa 1847. I didn't find one so I looked for any likely candidates called Bingham with an 'I'. I did find a Harriet Bingham whose birth was registered in 1846; she might have been the right person, but the birth was registered in Holborn not Surrey, and there's the different spelling to

overcome as well. Trying the census, I found on 1861 a Harriete Bingham (with an 'i') born Surrey circa 1848, in the household of Lydia Chapman at 168 Euston Road; working as a domestic servant. She might also have been the woman I was looking for and at least she was in the right place in 1861 - central London.

Just in case Harriet was married, to a man called Byngham - Edward Byngham who died in 1870, for example - I searched freebmd and Familysearch for any marriage of a man called Byngham between 1860 and 1869. There weren't any in England and Wales, so if Harriet was legally married, it was not to someone called Byngham. She could have lived with this Edward Byngham without being married, of course; taking his surname - but when she lived with Eugène Henri she didn't take his surname.

Too many ifs and buts.

The only other thing that I've been able to discover about Harriet Byngham comes from the 1881 census. She told that year's census official that she was working, as a perfume maker (in 1871 and 1891, she said she was the housekeeper). In 1881 she must have been working for Eugène Henri. Perhaps she had even done so before her first child had been born; and they had met when she applied for the job. It seems that in 1881 the money she was earning was making a difference to the household finances. In 1881 there was a live-in, general servant; in 1871 and 1891 Harriet was keeping house with no live-in help.

What about the children? In 1871 there was a new-born infant in Eugène Henri's household; and in 1881 there were two boys of school age, Euclid and Godfrey. Eugène Henri told the census officials of 1871 and 1881 that he was a widower. He could have explained that the children were his sons by his dead wife. But he didn't, and he also told the officials that the boys' surnames were Byngham. So the census officials of 1871 and 1881 filled in their forms as if the boys were Harriet's children but not Eugène Henri's. In 1881, with Harriet having said she was not married, the column where Harriet's 'relationship to head of household' should have been indicated was left blank. I think that year's census official had a very good idea what was going on.

A list of pupils at Stanley Street school in 1881 also muddies the waters: Godfrey Byngham of 5 Amersham Road was listed. His next-of-kin was called Henry. But the list doesn't give the fathers' surnames - thinking them to be obvious, of course.

On the day of the 1891 census there were no children in Eugène Henri and Harriet's household to be explained away: both Euclid and Godfrey were both living elsewhere. Harriet told the official that she was married; and what she said about her source of income caused him to write "housekeeper" as both her occupation and her relationship to the head of the household. Eugène Henri said yet again that he was a widower. The 1891 official probably understood the relationship between the two members of the household to be one of employer/employee.

In December 1872, Eugène Henri was freed by his legal wife's death to marry someone else, if he chose. However, I couldn't find a record of his marrying anyone at any time between then and his death; at least, not in England. Perhaps Harriet was legally married all that time; though not to somebody called Byngham. Or Eugène Henri and Harriet could have married

some time after 1872, in France. Somehow I don't think they did. They probably looked and acted married in the eyes of their neighbours, and that seems to have been enough for them; though it might have been very awkward for their children.

It's not so much the breakdown of Eugène Henri's legal marriage that makes me seeth. These things happened then as they happen now, and several GD members were divorced or lived apart from their legal spouse. It's not even that he didn't marry his Harriet when he was free to do so - as I've said above, perhaps she wasn't free. It's his secrecy about this second relationship: he conned his freemasonry acquaintances and allowed census officials to assume that Harriet - who stayed with him for over 20 years - was sexually licentious.

THE 1890s

Neither of his sons went to work for Eugène Henri in the hairdressing and perfume business. By 1891 they had both left home. Godfrey Byngham was a grocer's assistant and was living in Leyton with his employer, Henry Pegg Hurd, and his family. Euclid Thiellay Byngham was sharing a room in Lamb's Conduit Passage while working as a cashier in a butcher's shop. Eugène Henri and Harriet had also moved, to 3 Park Road New Cross.

The 1901 census came a few weeks after Eugène Henri's death. Harriet Byngham's appearance on the 1891 census is the last information I have on her. I couldn't find a Harriet/Harietta/ Harriete Byngham or Thiellay in the UK in 1901 or in 1911. I checked to see if she had died in the 1890s or 1900s but I couldn't find a likely death registration as Byngham or as Thiellay. I have no idea what happened to her.

Sources: censuses 1851-1911; freebmd; much detective work and sideways thinking!

A Directory of Kent issued in 1874 has Eugène Henri Thiellay at 5 Amersham Road.

Seen at Ancestry: list of pupils at Stanley Street school 1881; from records held at the London Metropolitan Archive.

DEATH and WHAT HAPPENED TO HIS CHILDREN

Eugène Henri Thiellay died on 21 February 1901. As I haven't seen the Will I don't know who his beneficiaries were but it would be nice to think they were his common-law wife and children. His executor was a solicitor, Robert George Hovenden of Gardner and Hovenden, 16 Finsbury Circus, whose main task was to wind-up the hairdressing and toiletries business. Eugène Henri was buried at Brockley Cemetery. A lot of his freemason acquaintances went to the funeral and there were wreaths from Era Chapter 1423 and Red Cross of Constantine Premier Conclave 1. The chief mourner was a niece of Eugène Henri, come over from France: a Madame A Dilpick (sic). If Harriet and her sons were at the funeral, no one realised who they were; or did they realise and decide to keep it quiet? - "Deceased being a widower without issue" said The Freemason.

By 1911 Euclid Byngham was working as a commercial traveller for a drysalting company. He had married Esther Frost in 1894 and they had one child, Henry John Byngham, born

1896. They were all living at 33 Harcourt Road Brockley on census day 1911, with Esther's mother, another Harriet. Euclid died in 1925.

Godfrey Byngham joined the 4th Hussars in 1892 and was always known by them as Bingham with an 'I'. He was later a Chelsea Pensioner, and died in Montreal in 1920. Information at myheritage.com says that he married Hilda Moulton in 1901. There's no record of such a marriage in England and Wales so perhaps it took place in Canada. Perhaps the elusive Harriet Byngham went with Godfrey to Canada or joined him there after Eugène Henri had died. Godfrey and Hilda had three children. Their descendants are quite sure they are descended from Eugène Henri Thiellay.

Sources: probate registry 1901, 1925, 1950s. I couldn't find Mme Dilpick on the 1901 census, nor anyone with a surname which might be written down wrongly as 'dilpick'. I suppose she had returned to France.

London Gazette 8 October 1901 p6598.

The Freemason March 1901 p5.

Seen at www.myheritage.com, entries for Godfrey R Thiellay (sic) Byngham, born 1874 to Eugène Henri Thiellay and Harriet Thiellay née Byngham; brother of Euclid Horatio Thiellay Byngham.

Seen at Ancestry: a Chelsea Pensioner Soldier Service Record 1760-1920 for Godfrey Rodolphus Thiellay Bingham, regimental number 3292.

Via Familysearch to www.findagrave.com - Godfrey Bingham died 24 July 1920, buried in the Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

For the GD and also for the freemasons in it, the various resources at the Freemasons' Library: see the website at [//freemasonry.london.museum](http://freemasonry.london.museum). Its catalogue has very detailed entries and the website has all sorts of other resources. You can get from it to a database of freemasons' newspapers and magazines, digitised to 1900. You can also reach that directly at www.masonicperiodicals.org.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

28 November 2016 <mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net>

Email me at:

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Ethel THOMPSON who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in September 1900, taking the Latin motto 'Omnia expertum facto'. By this stage, GD record-keepers were not noting down the addresses of the members.

The census nearest to the date of the initiation was a favourite starting point for me, when attempting to identify the GD members. There were 846 women called Ethel Thompson on the 1901 census in England alone. And of course, the particular Ethel Thompson I was after might not have been any of those; quite likely not, in fact - the day of the 1901 census fell

during the Easter school and college vacation, so even GD members who lived in England and whom I'd identified very easily on other censuses were not on the 1901 one, because they were away from home.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

William Rowland Thurnam (who was always called Rowland) was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 20 March 1895. Louisa Florence Wynne ffoulkes was initiated in the same ritual but I don't think the two new recruits had met before that evening. Rowland Thurnam did go as far as selecting the Latin motto 'Chairmerinos oneiros' but never followed up his initiation in any other way. He was later described in the GD's administrative papers as 'demitted' - meaning that he had not paid his subscription for three successive years.

Though it's quite long, this is still one of my short biographies: more a list than an assessment

of Rowland Thurnam's life. I found a lot of information, not on Rowland himself so much as on his work, some of his leisure pursuits, and two famous people he was acquainted with. However, he was one of the GD's doctors. I'm not qualified to do justice to their working lives.

Sally Davis

May 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on ROWLAND THURNAM.

IN THE GD

Not much to report.

Rowland did know GD member Pamela Colman-Smith. However, she was not initiated until November 1901, so I think they must have met some other way. The evidence that exists about their friendship suggests that they may only have met just before the first World War.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

I haven't found any. Rowland was never in the Theosophical Society and I haven't found any evidence that he was a freemason. The TS, and freemasonry, were good recruiting grounds for the GD. Although he doesn't actually strike me as that sort of person, it's possible that Rowland was interested in spiritualism. Spiritualism is harder to research than theosophy and freemasonry. Unlike them, it did not have one over-arching, bureaucratic central organisation to which all those interested belonged. It was a very locally-, even family-, based pursuit.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library, accessible online at www.freemasonry.london.museum/catalogue.php

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

There's one in the Lancet. It's rather short, though.

Source:

Lancet 1941 volume 2 p460 issue of 18 October 1941.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

The surname 'Thurnam' is a rare one and I suppose that all the people I saw on the 19th-century censuses were related to each other, however remotely. However, proving exactly how they were related is a different matter. It would have been good to find that Rowland

Thurnam was a close relation of the mental health pioneer, antiquarian and phrenologist Dr John Thurnam (1810-73), as they were both physicians, but I didn't find any information to prove it.

Rowland Thurnam was a grandson of Charles Thurnam, bookseller and publisher. In 1816 he founded the firm of Charles Thurnam and Sons of Carlisle. Its publications focused on the local and natural history of Cumbria. It was still in business a hundred years after its birth, but with no member of the family involved with it any longer.

Sources:

John Thurnam: see ODNB volume 54 p722.

Charles Thurnam and Sons:

The British Library catalogue has plenty of books published by them.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record volume 105 1916 p653 celebrated the 100th anniversary of the firm's foundation; with information originally published in the Carlisle Patriot of 15 January 1916.

The Bookseller volume 65 1917 p604 issue of November 1917 also celebrated the firm's 100th birthday. It mentioned the library built up by the Thurnam family, describing it as "one of the most extensive and valuable [outside] London and Edinburgh".

ROWLAND THURNAM'S CHILDHOOD

Rowland Thurnam's father, James Graham Thurnam, was a son of Charles Thurnam the publisher, and worked in the family business. In July 1866 he married Elizabeth Irving, at Croglin in Cumberland. Rowland was their only child, born in May 1868. On the day of the 1871 census, Rowland and his parents were living at 41 Lowther Street Carlisle, with three servants. James Thurnam died in April 1872, in his early thirties.

Elizabeth Thurnam, and James' sister Margaret Dorothy Thurnam, were named executors of James Graham Thurnam's Will, so Elizabeth was probably still alive then; but she disappears from the usual records after that date. I couldn't find her on any census after 1871. Censuses are just a snapshot of course: if you always chose to take your holiday outside the UK around Easter, you would not appear on the census even though you normally lived in the UK. However, I couldn't find a death registration or a probate registry record for Elizabeth Thurnam; and she doesn't seem to have remarried, at least not between 1872 and 1885. Records local to Carlisle and Cumbria might find her and Rowland continuing to live in the town in which they had both been born; but without searching them, the whereabouts of mother and son are a mystery to me.

Sources: freebmd; census 1871-1911.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number 252834: marriage of Rowland's parents; with confirmation that his father's father was Charles Thurnam of Carlisle.

Familysearch England-ODM GS film number unknown: baptism of William Rowland Thurnam 25 June 1868 at St Mary Carlisle; date of birth 27 May 1868.

Probate Registry: 1872; 1879 for the death of Rowland's aunt Margaret Dorothy Thurnam.

EDUCATION

Like his mother, Rowland Thurnam was not in the UK on the census days of 1881, 1891 and 1901. Some of the pupils' lists of the larger 19th century boys' boarding schools are on the web now; but Rowland's name was not in any of them. He may, of course, have been attending a good school in Carlisle; or his mother may have employed a tutor for him so that he didn't go to school at all. There are indications from later in his life that he had some education in the classics. He also spoke French, well enough not to be daunted by a congress in Italy where the sessions were in French, German and Italian but not English. He may even have read a paper at that congress, in French. Later he translated plays and poetry from the French. Where he acquired this knowledge I can't say; but one possibility is that he and his mother lived in France while he was growing up.

Evidence of a classical education:

Notes and Queries New Series volume 7 January-June 1907. On p88 in the issue of 16 February 1907 there was a query from a Mr Le Wett of Teddington about some paintings at the local library, all labelled with the name 'Silvia' plus a place in the ancient world. On p136 in the following issue, there was a paragraph from Rowland Thurnam as one of two readers who had written in to say that the word 'Silvia' must be a mistake. The correct description of each painting was 'Sibylla' plus the place-name, making the subject of the set of pictures some well-known ancient prophetesses.

For Rowland's proficiency in French and probably Italian: see the 'Nordrach' and 'publications' sections below.

TRAINING

In 1886 Rowland went to St Thomas's Hospital medical school to train as a doctor. At the end of his first year, he was awarded one of the school's lesser prizes for first-year students. The winner of the top prize was Seymour Graves Toller, younger brother of Victor Toller who joined the GD in 1894. Victor's next brother, Neville, also started at St Thomas's, a year or two after Rowland, and it's likely that Rowland knew both brothers at least as student-acquaintances. Both the Toller brothers completed their medical training at St Thomas's but Rowland finished his at Durham University, graduating MB and BS in 1891. He returned to Durham to take another set of exams in 1898.

There's a gap in the records covering Rowland's work as a doctor: I haven't found out what he was doing between 1892 to 1895.

Sources:

Lancet 1887 volume 2 July-December p690 issue of 1 October 1887

Times Tuesday 20 September 1887 p10c Medical Colleges and Schools.

Lancet 1891 volume 2 July-December p793 issue of 3 October 1891.

St Thomas's Reports New Series volume 26. This was a Google snippet and I couldn't see the year of publication; but the Report states that Rowland was now on the staff at Bristol Asylum, so it must have been issued around 1898: p115 in a list of old students

The Durham University Journal volume 12 numbers 7-15 1896 p251-52 issue of 30 January 1897 The Medical Directory 1892. There's no entry for Rowland in this year's issue; so he did not go straight from his exams into work.

The Medical Directory 1900 p1164: Rowland graduated MD at Durham University in 1898.

WORK/PROFESSION

Not having found any information on the years 1892-94, I'm going to begin this section with evidence of where Rowland was working from the mid- to late-1890s. However, it's clear from other sources that he was not in England from late 1895 to early 1896; and also from late 1896 for over a year.

In 1894 Rowland was appointed Assistant Medical Officer at Bethnal House Asylum, on Cambridge Road at Bethnal Green in east London. It was a big hospital - it had 410 beds in 1892 - and although it had started out as a private business, by the 1890s it was taking patients who were paid for by their local Poor Law Union. The mid-1890s were a time of great change at Bethnal House: its original house was pulled down and a large new block was built. Rowland worked at the asylum throughout the building work, and had been promoted to Senior Medical Officer by 1895.

Rowland was no longer employed by Bethnal House in 1896; he doesn't appear in the Medical Directory at all in 1896 and 1897. He is listed in the 1898 issue, as 2nd Medical Officer at the Bristol City and County Lunatic Asylum at Fishponds, next door to the workhouse. By this time, however, he was working towards a complete change in medical direction.

Sources:

Bethnal House.

See the wikipedia entry on Bethnal Green.

At www.british-history.ac.uk some history, using A History of the County of Middlesex volume 11: Stepney and Bethnal Green. Published London: Victoria County History 1998.

At www.historytoday.com/sarah-wise/profits-madness volume 62 number 12 issue of December 2012: a picture of Bethnal House.

At booth.lse.ac.uk the Charles Booth online archive: Notebook B154 records a visit he made to Bethnal House.

The Medical Directory 1894 p1053.

The Medical Directory 1895 p351.

The Medical Directory 1896.

Bristol County Lunatic Asylum.

Wikipedia on what was Bristol Lunatic Asylum, now the Glenside campus of the University of the West of England.

At www.workhouses.org.uk/Bristol there's a map and plan of the site dated 1901; and a photo from c 1916 when it had been co-opted as a hospital for war wounded.

At www.bristolpost.co.uk article posted 21 September 2010: the Asylum finally closed as a mental hospital in 1994.

The Medical Directory 1898 p375

The Medical Directory 1899 Rowland is listed as per 1898.

1895 to 1897

In 1895 Rowland began to show symptoms (the notorious coughing-up of blood) of what was known at the time as 'phthisis'. We know it now as pulmonary tuberculosis; as much feared in the 19th century and early 20th as Alzheimer's Disease is now, and for similar reasons. Rowland was soon so ill his doctors thought he would die very soon. Professor Koch of Berlin had identified the bacterium that causes TB as early as 1882; but the steps from that discovery to treatment by antibiotics were not made until well into the 20th century; so in the mid-1890s to contract TB was usually to receive a death sentence.

Presumably thinking he had nothing to lose, Rowland decided to try a new cure: in September 1895 he went to Dr Walther's sanatorium at Nordrach in the Black Forest, founded in 1888. Dr Walther's way of treating TB sufferers used no drugs at all; instead his patients were fed large amounts of food, which they had to eat; they had carefully regulated periods of rest and exercise; and lived and slept in unheated rooms where the windows were open to the fresh air even at night in the winter. After spending six months following this regime, Rowland was pronounced cured in March 1896; he may even have been well enough to return to England and go back to work. However, he caught typhoid in the autumn of 1896, and the cough it left him with caused him to return to Dr Walther for a second period of treatment. Again, he made a recovery; he lived for another 40 years. This time, however, he didn't return to England at once; and he resigned from his job at Bethnal House. The traumatic time he had been through, of having to look an early death in the face, had resulted in completely altered career priorities. He and Neville Gwynn, a fellow medical student at Durham University and then a fellow-patient at Nordrach in Germany, decided to open a TB sanatorium in England which would use Dr Walther's methods. Rowland stayed on at Nordrach in Germany for a year, first as Dr Walther's assistant and then as his locum while Dr Walther was on holiday. Then he returned to England and took the job at Bristol County Asylum. But he also returned to Durham University to get some more qualifications; and he and Gwynn looked for a suitable site for the Nordrach-style sanatorium; and the financial backing to set it up.

Sources:

A modern history of TB and introduction to the situation in the 1890s and 1900s:

Linda Bryder's *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in 20th Century Britain*. Oxford Clarendon Press 1988 p297

Wikipedia on Phthisis pulmonalis and on Professor Koch and his contribution to the understanding of it.

Rowland's history as a TB patient; and his training as a TB-specialist doctor:

Consumption and Chronic Diseases, subtitled A Popular Exposition of the Open-Air Treatment. Emmet Densmore MD. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. No publication date but the copyright is dated 1899. Chapter IV is based on a visit Dr Densmore made to Nordrach-upon-Mendip. He interviewed Rowland as part of that visit, and later corresponded with him.

NORDRACH-UPON-MENDIP

In 1898 Rowland, his medical partner Dr Neville Gwynn and their financial partner Henry John Trenchard, found a suitable site on the Mendips near Blagdon in Somerset. They bought Willoughby's Farm in the ex-lead mining village of Charterhouse; using the farmhouse as offices and rooms for resident workers; and having wooden buildings constructed in the grounds for a maximum of 100 paying patients. The first patients took up residence at the Nordrach-upon-Mendip sanatorium in January 1899 and though medical partners came and went, Rowland worked there until he retired in 1931 or 1932; and he continued to be in partnership with Henry Trenchard as the sanatorium's joint owners at least until Trenchard died in 1938.

Sources:

A history of Charterhouse village, mentioning Nordrach-upon-Mendip and using the reminiscences of people who worked there: seen at mikek.org.uk/friendsrlm/03_charterhouse.pdf an article on the history of Charterhouse, by Jean Birks; also using books on local history; and articles in Mendip Times and Mendip Society Newsletter. There are photographs of the chalet-like wooden patients' wards, none of which exist now.

At www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov British Medical Journal issue of 4 February 1899: a letter from doctors Rowland Thurnam and Neville Gwynn, essentially announcing that Nordrach-upon-Mendip was open for business.

The Medical Directory 1900 p1164.

Nordrach-upon-Mendip continued in operation during World War 1:

Medical Directory issues of 1915 and 1917: Rowland is still listed as only working at Nordrach-upon-Mendip; he has no army rank.

Via genesreunited to Gloucestershire Chronicle 22 August 1914: Rowland was in a list of donors to the Red Cross Society; but there was no suggestion that he had become a member - that he was willing and able to do war work.

The Medical Directory 1930 volume 1 p1144 Rowland still has the job title of Medical Director at Nordrach-upon-Mendip.

The Medical Directory 1931.

NORDRACH-UPON-MENDIP AS A BUSINESS

By 1906, Neville Gwynn had left Nordrach-upon-Mendip. From this point on, Rowland was always the senior doctor at the sanatorium, with the job title of 'director' or 'superintendent'. A series of less experienced doctors spent time at Nordrach-upon-Mendip as Rowland's assistants, though I've found the names of only two: Charles Edwin Wheeler, who worked there from about 1904 to about 1907; and Daniel Leo Kennedy who was there in the early 1920s. During Kennedy's time at Nordrach-upon-Mendip, the sanatorium was included in a list of pharmacies. I couldn't find any evidence for it dispensing medicines except when Kennedy worked there. A listing for the sanatorium from 1922 suggests that by that time, Kennedy was the only medical officer who was resident on-site.

I haven't been able to discover how many nurses were employed at Nordrach-upon-Mendip at any time; and I've only found the name of one nurse who worked there - Elizabeth Victoria Wheeler, who worked at the sanatorium from 1901 to 1903.

Rowland's financial partner, Henry John Trenchard, was a west countryman, born in Taunton in 1866. In 1891 he was working in Bath, as a bank clerk, but by 1901 he had given up his job in the bank to live on the income from Nordrach-upon-Mendip. By the day of the 1911 census he had moved to Bristol and was living with his brother, with their niece to keep house for them in up-market Clifton.

Sources:

Like any private sanatorium, Nordrach-upon-Mendip was subject to Government scrutiny and inspection. It's mentioned in House of Common Debates volume 51 as part of a list covering pp541-44 which seems to be a full set of all TB hospitals currently operating in England and Scotland. The list was compiled as part of a written answer to an MP's enquiry. Dean Head Sanatorium, Horsforth, Yorks, whose proprietor was GD member Oliver Firth, was also in the list. I saw this information via a google snippet and couldn't see a date. Attempts to date volume 51 using the British Library catalogue proved baffling!

The Therapeutics of Mineral Springs and Climates. Isaac Burney Yeo 1904 p743: entry for Nordrach-upon-Mendip, at 862' above sea level, with 37 beds. Medical directors Dr Thurnam and Dr Gwynne (sic; I think Gwynn without the 'e' is the correct spelling). Nordrach-upon-Mendip also appears in subsequent editions of this reference manual.

Rowland's partners at Nordrach-upon-Mendip:

NEVILLE CLAUDE GWYNN

General Medical Council Registers: although Neville Claude Gwynn was working as a doctor from the mid-1890s, he's not listed in the Registers until 1915; he's last listed in 1943 and seems to have been in private practice throughout that time.

Medical Directory 1905: he wasn't listed at all in this issue. However, other sources show that he was still a partner in Nordrach-upon-Mendip at this time and was presumably taking an income from it:

London Gazette 23 April 1907 p2762: list of partnerships dissolved includes that of Neville Claude Gwynn, W Roland (sic) Thurnam and Henry John Trenchard, trading at Nordrach-upon-Mendip, Ubley Somerset as a "Sanatorium for the permanent reception of Consumptive patients". Dissolved by mutual consent with effect from 17 April 1907. Thurnam and Trenchard would continue the business.

Medical Directory 1910 issue volume 1 p677 Neville Claude Gwynn is listed at Tawcroft, Belstone, Okehampton in Devon. There's no indication of any official appointment; he's not listed as retired either; so he's a GP at that address.

Medical Directory 1920: p717 Neville Claude Gwynn has moved to Kingscote, 6 Berkeley Road Bournemouth. MB BS Durham 1895. MRCS LRCP 1893.

Probate Registry: Neville Claude Gwynn died in Eastbourne 2 March 1945.

CHARLES EDWIN WHEELER who had been born in Australia

A good resource website on homoeopathic practitioners has an entry for Charles Edwin Wheeler: sueyounghistories.com. Sue Young says that Wheeler started out practicing orthodox medicine before moving to homoeopathy later in his career.

General Medical Council Registers. Charles Edwin Wheeler is first listed in 1903; first registered to practice in July 1894.

Medical Directory 1904 Provincial list p1023 this is Charles Wheeler's first listing as

working at Nordrach-upon-Mendip.

Medical Directory 1905 p1015; and Medical Directory 1906 volume 2 p1005. Wheeler was listed in both these issues at Nordrach-upon-Mendip.

Medical Directory 1908 issue p339 lists him in practice in London at 5 Devonshire Street Portland Place. B Sc London 1889 MD 1893. BS 1892 MB 1st class with gold medal 1892. MRCS LRCP London 1892. Training as a student at hospitals in Leipzig and at St Bartholomew's in London. There are details of one publication, as joint author with Harold Meakin in British Medical Journal 1905: The Opsonic Index of Patients Undergoing Sanatorium Treatment for Phthisis.

Medical Directory 1914 part 1 London p375 Charles Edwin Wheeler is now at 35 Queen Anne Street. He's also assistant physician at the London Homoeopathic Hospital. He is the current editor of Homoeopathic World.

At www.awm.gov.au/people/rolls a very brief mention of Wheeler in World War 1: service number 55466. Embarked as a Private from Sydney July 1918 bound for Europe as part of a group of reinforcements. As author of: An Introduction to the Principles and Practice of Homoeopathy published British Homoeopathic Association 1920.

Probate Registry 1947. True to his beliefs, he died at the London Homoeopathic Hospital.

DANIEL LEO KENNEDY, who was Canadian

Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery volume 39 number 3 1916 p108 has him listed as resident in Portsmouth Ontario.

Medical Directory 1920 p79: Daniel Kennedy MC listed as resident Medical Officer at Nordrach-upon-Mendip which is described as run by "Thurnam and Kennedy". Kennedy is LRCP LRCS Edinburgh LRFPS Glasgow 1907. Temporary Captain RAMC. Then officer specialising in TB, West Riding, Yorkshire County Council. Honorary Assistant, St Cross Hospital Rugby.

Kelly's Directory of Chemists and Druggists 1921 p704 lists W R Thurnam and Daniel Kennedy at Nordrach-upon-Mendip Blagdon.

The Medical Annual volume 40 1922 p556 in a list of sanatoria: Thurnam and Kennedy. In this list, Kennedy is the only one of the two who is described as resident at the sanatorium.

London Gazette 12 October 1926 p6376 another list of partnerships dissolved; this time including that of William Rowland Thurnam, Henry John Trenchard and Daniel Kennedy at the Nordrach-upon-Mendip sanatorium, Blagdon. Dissolved by mutual consent as of 30 September 1926. Kennedy would be leaving; the other two partners would carry on the business.

Kennedy returned to Canada:

Medical Register 1957 part 2: Kennedy is in Ontario. First registered 11 August 1920. MCP and MCS Ontario 1919. MB 1915 Ontario; MD 1920 QU Ontario.

HENRY JOHN TRENCHARD

Sources: freebmd; census information 1891, 1901 (when he was staying at the Langham Hotel in London); and 1911; probate registry 1938.

ELIZABETH VICTORIA WHEELER

At www.kingscollections.org, records of the Royal British Nurses' Association, held at the

King's College London archives. Wheeler's record: first registered with the Association 4 December 1907.

September 1898 to September 1901 Central London Sick Asylum

September 1901 to February 1903 Nordrach-upon-Mendip

Miss Wheeler left Nordrach-upon-Mendip for the Northern Nursing Home Aberdeen. After one or two more short-term appointments she went into private nursing in 1907, based in Dulwich.

HOW THE CURE WORKED

The Nordrach Treatment of Consumptives in this Country by James Gibson. London: Sampson Low Marston and Co 1901. The book's subtitle is: How to cure and prevent consumption and other forms of tuberculosis. Gibson was a journalist, and another person cured of TB at Dr Walther's Nordrach sanatorium in the Black Forest. Gibson was a patient there from late 1895 to spring 1896 and so must have coincided with Rowland. The book brought together articles he'd written over the past two years, promoting the Nordrach TB cure. They had originally been published either in *The Nineteenth Century* or the *Westminster Review*. While preparing the book, he'd written to Rowland asking him to comment on allegations that the cure's frequent large meals, all of which had to be eaten up, left patients' digestive systems damaged. As you would expect, Rowland replied that he didn't know of anyone whose digestion had been permanently damaged at a Nordrach sanatorium.

Consumption and Chronic Diseases, subtitled *A Popular Exposition of the Open-Air Treatment*. Emmet Densmore MD. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. No publication date but the copyright is dated 1899: pp14-16, p19 in Chapter 3 describes a typical day at the Black Forest Nordrach sanatorium; apparently based on information supplied by James Gibson. The regime included: windows open day and night throughout the year, and no artificial heating in the patients' rooms; bed rest, often for months at a time; gaining weight; up to 10 hours sleep each night; and fixtures and fittings designed to create and trap as little dust as possible. Chapter 4 was based on a visit Densmore made to Nordrach-upon-Mendip and a series of conversations with Rowland and Neville Gwynn. On p20: the Nordrach diet with its emphasis on milk. Nordrach-upon-Mendip had its own herd of cows. And on p22 the repeated taking of the patient's temperature, through his or her rectum.

SOME ACCOUNTS OF LIFE AS A NORDRACH PATIENT

A personal experience of the Nordrach regime (though not at Nordrach-upon-Mendip) by someone who didn't even have TB:

Pause: *A Sketch Book* by Emily Carr. Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Co Ltd 1953. In this small book, the artist and writer Emily Carr recorded her time at the East Anglia Sanatorium, owned and managed by Dr Jane Walker. It followed the Nordrach regime while not using the name. She was a patient from January 1903 to March 1904; just missing GD member Edith Grace Collett, who had been the resident medical officer there until a few months before. Emily was discharged in the end, and went back to Canada.

Two members of the Clark shoe-making family of Street in Somerset were patients at Nordrach-upon-Mendip at different times:

Spitting Blood: *The History of Tuberculosis* by Helen Bynum. Oxford: Oxford University

Press 2012: p141 mentions Alice Clark (1874-1934) who had originally had treatment in 1897 at the German Nordrach. She was thought to be cured but had a recurrence of the symptoms in 1900. This time she chose to go to Nordrach-upon-Mendip, which was very near her home. She didn't like it there, though - felt that there was too much pressure being put on patients, to be cured.

Another account of Alice Clark: *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalisation* by Sandra Stanley Holton. London: Routledge 2007. On p210, Holton says that Rowland was a friend of the Clark family.

Quaker Inheritance 1871-1961: A Portrait of Roger Clark of Street. Percy Lovell. London: Bannisdale Press 1970: p77. Roger Clark was also a member of the shoe-firm owning family.

PUBLICISING THE OPEN AIR TB TREATMENT

In its first few years, Rowland went to quite a lot of trouble to publicise the Nordrach treatment system and Nordrach-upon-Mendip as an agent of it. He read papers to relevant societies, encouraged visitors to the sanatorium, gave interviews, replied to queries by letter, attended medical meetings, and wrote several articles, usually statistically-based.

In 1900 Rowland went to a big TB congress in Naples, where he was one of the few English-speaking doctors out of 1200 delegates. He read a paper - I'm not sure whether he did so in English or French - which was later published, in French, in the Congress's 'transactions' volume. He probably also networked a great deal at the congress, and took part in some of its social events, which included a trip to Capri, an at-home given by the city of Naples, lunch in the ruins of Pompeii, and several banquets.

The following year there was a TB congress in London, with sessions held at Queen's Hall Langham Place. Rowland went to this as well and as with all such events there was plenty of opportunity to meet and greet: a reception by the Lord Mayor of London; and garden parties at Kew Gardens and in the grounds of the Duke of Northumberland's London home at Sion House.

After the 1901 congress, Rowland seems to have cut back on his own efforts at publicity. Perhaps he and Dr Gwynn had as many patients as they had room for, by this time. Over the next few years, Rowland concentrated on publishing articles detailing the results of the Nordrach treatment. I couldn't find any articles on TB by Rowland after a short letter published in 1911, though this may just be a function of what you can access using Google.

Sources:

Lancet 1899 volume 1 January-June p31 issue of 7 January 1899 had a brief report on a meeting of the Newport Medical Society (of Monmouthshire). Rowland had read a paper on the open-air treatment of phthisis, which had caused a great deal of interest amongst the members present.

The Practitioner volume LXIII July-December 1899 pp50-56: Rowland's article *First Results of Nordrach Treatment in England*, published as an addendum to a much longer article by Dr Jane Walker on the East Anglia Sanatorium (the one Emily Carr went to - see above). Rowland's article included statistics and a photograph of the main building at Nordrach-

upon-Mendip. The article emphasised the necessity of the patient putting him or herself entirely in the hands of the medical staff, who would dictate every aspect of their lives while they were at the sanatorium, down to the most trivial daily details.

Consumption and Chronic Diseases, subtitled A Popular Exposition of the Open-Air Treatment. Emmet Densmore MD. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. No publication date but the copyright is dated 1899. Chapter 3 gave Nordrach-upon-Mendip a whole chapter's worth of free publicity. Though Densmore was worried about the level of medical attention given to the patients in a Nordrach regime; thinking that such very close supervision might be counter-productive. And he noted, too, that Nordrach sanatoria were all privately-run: they were no use to TB sufferers without the means to pay for what might be up to a year of in-house treatment.

An article based on Densmore's book appeared in the The Medico-Legal Journal published by the Medico-Legal Society of New York; editor Clark Bell; offices 39 Broadway. The journal got Densmore's name wrong - calling him Helen! Volume 18 1900 pp282-291 article by Dr Helen Densmore of Brooklyn: The Cure of Consumption.

Other accounts of visits to Nordrach-upon-Mendip:

The Philadelphia Medical Journal volume 6 1900 p1040.

Australasian Medicalette volume 19 1900 p269, emphasising that Nordrach-upon-Mendip had been set up in a building that already existed. Perhaps there was a debate in Australia as to whether such sanatoria had to have their buildings purpose-built - which would, of course, increase the cost of setting them up.

Scottish Medical and Surgical Journal volume 12 1903.

The Congress in Naples April 1900:

Lancet 1900 volume 1 January-June p661 issue of 3 March 1900; p1329 issue of 5 May 1900; p1388 issue of 12 May 1900. All the reports were compiled by the Lancet's Rome correspondent. The correspondent was very sorry, perhaps even rather disgusted, to have to note how few English doctors had bothered to attend.

Atti del Congresso contro la Tubercolosi Napoli 25-28 Aprile 1900 published 1901 pxxxix on the list of those who attended: Dr Rowland Thurnam of Nordrach-upon-Mendip. On p580 text of Rowland's talk on L'éducation du phthisique.

The congress in London July 1901; which got a lot more coverage in the Lancet than the larger event in Naples the previous year.

Lancet 1901 volume 1 January-June p48 issue of 5 January 1901; p647 issue of 2 March 1901; p1703 issue of 15 June 1901; p1770, focusing on Professor Koch, who gave a keynote speech; p1845 issue of 29 June 1901.

Lancet 1901 volume 2 July-December: a lot of coverage of the congress, which included an entire section on the effects of climate on TB. The index named nearly everyone who read a paper or responded to one; but Rowland was not amongst those listed.

Transactions of the British Congress on Tuberculosis for the Prevention of Consumption. In 4 volumes. The congress ran from 22-26 July 1901. Volume 1 included the list of delegates: p144 re Gwynn; and p152, p224 re Rowland - both of them attended; and also p195 GD

member Robert William Felkin. Volume 2: keynote speeches. Volumes 3 and 4: the work of the congress. There was a section on sanatoria but no one from Nordrach-upon-Mendip either read a paper at it, or took enough of a part in subsequent discussion to be mentioned in those volumes.

At www.jstor.org British Medical Journal issue of 14 March 1903, an article not by Rowland but focusing on the Nordrach treatment: Sanatorium Treatment of Pulmonary TB.

A set of two articles from 1905, by Rowland and his new assistant Charles Edwin Wheeler:

At www.bmj.com British Medical Journal 1905 volume 1 p65 issue of 14 January 1905. Article by Rowland and Charles E Wheeler MD: The Results of Four Years' Sanatorium Work in the Treatment of Pthisis. You can see this article at [jstor](http://jstor.org) as well.

And at www.bmj.gci.reprint British Medical Journal 1905 volume 1 pp65-67 issue of 14 January 1905, article by doctors Rowland and Wheeler: Treatment of Pthisis by Iodoform Infusion.

At www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov British Medical Journal 1911 volume 2; I couldn't see the page number this time but it was the issue of 30 September 1911. Article by Rowland: Tuberculin in Pulmonary TB. Tuberculin was Professor Koch's attempt to use the MTB to treat TB (see [wikipedia](http://wikipedia.org) for more information).

<http://www.resmedjournal.com>The British Journal of Tuberculosis editor T N Kelynack MD. Published London: Baillière Tindall and Cox of 8 Henrietta Street Covent Garden. In volume 5 number 4, issue October 1911: p255 began a series of letters giving "representative opinions" on the future of TB treatment in sanatoria. Rowland's letter (p274) was the last of the opinions, and the shortest. He argued that there would be more cures at sanatoria if the GP's of people diagnosed with the illness would send them to a sanatorium while the disease was still in its early stages. Perhaps here is the place to say that the [Wikipedia](http://wikipedia.org) page for TB notes that 50% of people who went to a sanatorium for TB treatment had died within five years; that sanatoria were no worse than other attempts at treatment; but they were no better, either. On p1 of volume 5, 1911, the journal's editor described the problem of TB as "a national calamity". Of course, it was an international one.

Moving on to Rowland's life outside his working hours:

THREE OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The British Library catalogue has a piece of music by Rowland: Tricotrin, published c 1885 by Swann and Co. It was a polka. This is the only evidence I've found for Rowland as a musician; though there's other evidence for him as a drama enthusiast and opera-lover.

The only other item by Rowland in the British Library is his booklet Parsifal. The Story of Wagner's Opera published in 1914 by the Catholic Truth Society as their volume 99. See below, the section on 'religion' for more information on this and the circumstances of its publication.

One piece of poetry by Rowland has been published:

Master, across the sea there comes thy song,
A flame of singing fire, of love for man,
That has not diminished its flame since first it ran
To speak its glow the minds of men among.
We know that some have said that thou wert wrong
To sing so boldly when thou first began;
Opposing thus, they only did but fan
This flame more pure than fire, than death more strong.

And men and women who have grown half tired
Of love that runs not smooth, and of the pain
Of love that's unrequited or expired,
Tho' vowed eternal, like sick flowers in rain,
Raise up their drooping heads, and so inspired
By thy sweet song, take heart and love again.

Rowland Thurnam.

The 'Master' to whom the poem was addressed was Walt Whitman. At the eighth annual meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship, held in Philadelphia USA on 31 May 1895, the poem was read aloud; though not by Rowland himself who (I imagine) wasn't there. It was then published in a Whitman commemorative issue of *The Conservator* magazine.

Source:

The *Conservator* volumes 5-8 March 1894-February 1898, published Innes and Son of Philadelphia though with an editorial address in Camden New Jersey. The editor was Horace L Traubel, who also had poems in this issue; from evidence on p49 it's clear that Traubel was a leader in the world of Whitman fan-dom. Issue of June 1895 volume 6 number 4 was a special one, commemorating the anniversary of Whitman's birth. On p55 *To Walt Whitman*, a sonnet by Rowland Thurnam.

I'm not quite sure why, but Rowland's poem is mentioned in *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman: The Complete Prose Works* published 1902 p231.

Just in case Rowland had more poems published, I checked out two useful reference works: *Late Victorian Poetry 1880-99: An Annotated Biobibliography* by Catherine W Reilly p473. And *Oxford Companion to 20th Century Poetry in England* editor Ian Hamilton. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994 has p542. There was no entry for Rowland Thurnam in either of these works; which makes his sonnet to Walt Whitman even more special.

See wikipedia for Walt Whitman and his huge influence on other poets. No doubt Rowland was very familiar with Whitman's great collection, *Leaves of Grass*, self-published in 1855 but going through seven editions in his lifetime. Just noting that Whitman's sexuality was the subject of speculation even during his lifetime.

There were branches of the Walt Whitman Fellowship in several American cities; and in

Bolton Lancashire. Some interesting stuff has been published on the Bolton branch; though I haven't found any mention of Thurnam's name so it's not possible to say whether he was a member.

Walt Whitman's Birthplace Bulletin 1957 p18 article by Verne Dyson on the Bolton branch. Social Capital, Trust and the Industrial Revolution 1780-1880 David Sutherland 2007. On p221 a reference to an article in Gender and History volume 13 number 2 2001 pp191-223: Calamus in Bolton. Spirituality and Homosexual Desire in Late Victorian England, by H Cocks. Cocks argues that the Walt Whitman Fellowship International group formed in Bolton c 1885 involved a group of men with an interest in the homoeroticism of Whitman's poetry. The members formed passionate friendships. Cocks' source for this is the Diaries of one of the members, a Dr Johnston; particularly an entry for July 1894.

Walt Whitman's Mystical Ethics of Comradeship by Juán A Herrero Brasas. Albany New York: SUNY Press 2010: p9 on the history of the Walt Whitman Fellowship International. It was founded in 1894 but folded after Traubel's death in 1919.

A more general book on Whitman worshippers: Worshipping Walt: the Whitman Disciples by Michael Robertson. Princeton New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press 2008.

RELIGION

Some members of the wider Thurnam family were Quakers. Rowland was baptised in the local Anglican church and one of his first cousins was a Church of England vicar. Careful thought about religious belief does, therefore, seem to have been a feature of his family. Rowland seems to have thought particularly carefully. Perhaps you can think of his initiation into the GD as part of his spiritual quest. The quest ended when he became a convert to Roman Catholicism, in 1908. Either from before this time, or as a result of his conversion, he was a friend of James Britten, a Catholic convert and tireless worker for the cause of Catholicism in England. Britten founded The Catholic Truth Society as a Catholic riposte to the tracts published by Anglicans, particularly high church Anglicans.

It was the Catholic Truth Society that published Rowland's version of the Parsifal plot. I think it might have been a commission given to Rowland by James Britten. Parsifal's first performance had taken place at Bayreuth in July 1882 but the Wagner family had always refused to allow it to be played anywhere else. When they changed their minds, allowing performances elsewhere in 1914, there was great excitement throughout Europe. Britten was anxious to have a Catholic view of Parsifal available to go with the first performances in England, at the Royal Opera House Covent Garden in February 1914. Most tickets for this short run were sold out well in advance. I wonder if Rowland got one? There were still a few going at 1 guinea a throw, a few days before the run began. Or he could - if he could have spared the time - have queued on the night and got in for 4 shillings, though he might have had to stand.

In March 1914, Rowland went to the Bristol Museum theatre to give a talk on Parsifal to an audience including members of the Bristol Choral Society.

Rowland's booklet has been described since as a specifically Catholic reading of the opera, in contrast to some other works which take a more Anglican view.

Sources:

On James Britten:

At archive.thetablet.co.uk, The Tablet issue of 18 October 1924 p12: an appreciation of James Britten who had just died, aged 79. Like Rowland, he was a convert to Catholicism. Just noting here that Britten's day job was as a botanist at the Natural History Museum, where he will have been a colleague of GD member William Forsell Kirby. From 1880 Britten was editor of the Journal of Botany.

Wikipedia for the first ever performance of Parsifal.

Times 16 October 1913 p15: short report giving dates of the performances of Parsifal at the Royal Opera House; and listing the cast and production team.

Times Friday 2 January 1914 p6 reports from Berlin and Paris on performances of Parsifal due there; and a note of performances due within the next few weeks in several Italian cities.

Times Monday 26 January 1914 p6 announcement on ticket availability for the Covent Garden run of Parsifal.

Rowland as a prominent English Roman Catholic:

The Catholic Who's Who volumes 6-9, volume 11, volume 15, published together 1913: p494.

The Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook volume 34 1924 p489.

The Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook volume 32 1939 p493, this time with some brief biographical notes and the year of his conversion.

Rowland's talk in Bristol:

Via genesreunited.com to Western Daily Press of 19 March 1914.

The academic assessment of Rowland's Parsifal:

At www.researchgate.net the University of Toronto Quarterly volume 49 (2) issue of January 1979: 117-38 article by William Blissett: The Liturgy of Parsifal.

ANY OTHER EVIDENCE FOR ROWLAND'S LEISURE TIME?

Plenty, though most of it is from Rowland's later years, when perhaps he had more time to spend on his many non-medical interests.

POEMS BY OSCAR WILDE

Rowland was the owner of a copy of Oscar Wilde's Poems, copy number 197 of the fifth reprint of a limited edition of 220 printed for the author. Rowland had sold this copy on, by the early 1920s, and it's now in the collections of the William Andrews Clark Library in California. Perhaps when he decided to become a Roman Catholic, Rowland felt embarrassed by owning it. I'd like to know when he originally bought it: was it before Oscar Wilde's trials (mid-1895) or after?

Source:

The Library of William Andrews Clark Junior issued by the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. Compiler/editor Robert Ernest Cowan. San Francisco: published by the Library and printed by John Henry Nash 1922. Library is part of the collections of the University of California. Volume 1: Poems, Plays and Wildeiana: p10-11.

BACK TO PAMELA COLMAN SMITH

I haven't found any information on when Rowland met Pamela Colman Smith; though I've said above that I'd suppose the meeting happened after the GD and happened quite apart from them both being GD members. The earliest evidence for them knowing each other is from long after the GD: a reference in 1916 to a forthcoming book on which they were cooperating. It was going to be called 'music drawings'; withdrawals by Pamela and "Notes by Rowland Thurnam" - possibly musical notes, seeing he'd had a piece of music published years before. I haven't been able to find a copy of the book and I wonder if it was never published.

Also in 1916, Pamela contributed a drawing of *The Passion* for a book in which Rowland was also involved - see immediately below for a bit more on that.

Sources:

The Dublin Review Part 1 1916 p63.

The Living Age volume 288 1916 p722.

TRANSLATIONS OF FRENCH DRAMA AND POETRY

As a new convert to Roman Catholicism with a good command of French, Rowland read a lot of work by French Catholic writers. He translated some of those works into English. The earliest that I know of is *Echange*, Rowland's translation of the three-act play *Echange* by Paul Claudel, about a struggle between two women who should know better, over the beautiful young man married to one of them; who chooses death rather than live with either. Rowland's English version was given one performance at the Little Theatre in London by the Pioneer Players, in May 1915. Claudel had undergone a 'conversion' experience as a young man after several years as an unbeliever - clearly Rowland identified with this.

After *Echange*, Rowland did a translation of Claudel's set of 14 poems on the stations of the cross. *The Way of the Cross* was prepared for publication as an artwork by calligrapher and designer Beatrice Waldram, with one black and white illustration by Pamela Colman Smith, of *The Passion*.

Wikipedia has some information on Paul Claudel (1868-1955).

I found mention of Claudel at www.theguardian.com, item posted 13 August 2004: describing him as a misogynist with anti-semitic and anti-muslim views. However, views like those were typical of his and Rowland's time.

Sources for Rowland's translations of Claudel:

The Academy and Literature published for the proprietor by William Dawson and Sons Ltd of Rolls House, Brems Bldgs EC; it's weekly, classed as a newspaper; price 3d. Volume 88 1915 number 2244 p300 issue of 8 May 1915.

Echange's one performance was listed in *The London Stage 1900-09: A Calendar of Plays and Players*. Volume 2 1917-19. J P Wearing. NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press Inc 1981: p545. The performance was reviewed in *The Era* 5 May 1915 p13; and *The Stage* 6 May 1915 p23.

Downside Review volumes 35-36 1916 p100: review of *The Way of the Cross*, translated by Rowland with calligraphy by Beatrice Waldram and a b&w illustration by Pamela Colman Smith. Published Westminster: Art and Book Co 1917 28pp. Looking for it on Worldcat I couldn't see any copies in England; though there is one in the Dublin National College of Art and Design.

I found mention on the web of another translation of Claudel's set of poems: *Stations of the Cross* translated by Rev John J Burke. CSP 1927.

For Beatrice Waldram:

English Mechanic and World of Science volume 63 1896 p540 Waldram is mentioned as a ex-student at Stamford Hill School of Art. Resident in Clapton, doing flower designs.

Via google books I found quite a few mentions of her in art and design magazines, eg *Decorative Art in Modern Interiors* volume 4 1909 p96, an advert for Beatrice Waldram as a designer of textiles and wallpaper; and as a calligrapher and illuminator. Now resident at 105 Great Russell Street.

Seen online, several copies of her biography of Greuze published Cassell and Co and in New York by Funk and Wagnalls 1923.

LILY OF KILLARNEY

Parsifal was not quite the only opera that Rowland had some involvement with. On 14 December 1923 he gave a talk on BBC Radio as part of a broadcast on Julius Benedict's opera *Lily of Killarney*.

Source:

At genome.ch.bbc.co.uk an extract from the Radio Times of 7 December 1923.

Western Daily Press 14 December 1923, specifically announcing Rowland's talk.

See wikipedia for Julius Benedict 1804-85; friend of Weber and Beethoven. Composer, conductor and author. First opera produced 1827. Arrived in England 1836 and remained in the UK until his death. *Lily of Killarney* was based on Dion Boucicault's play *The Colleen Bawn*; music by Benedict, libretto by John Oxenford. First production, Royal Opera House 1862.

ROWLAND AS AN ACTOR

In January 1926, for one night only as far as I can see, Rowland moved from translating drama to acting in it. He was one of several men acting the role of chorus in a production of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos* at the Scala Theatre.

Source:

Seen at [//theatricalia.com](http://theatricalia.com), a page from the Radio Times mentioning the performance on 10 January 1926. As it was in the RT, perhaps it was broadcast on radio.

GINEVRA

In 1928 Rowland moved from French to Italian to work with the actress and theatre producer Nancy Price. They were adapting for its first English production, Giovacchino Forzano's 1926 play *Ginevra degli Almieri*. Described (I think in a publicity handout) as a "grotesque

comedy with paradoxical situations”, it was set in the 14th century with a plot revolving around whether a woman pronounced legally dead - though still alive - could still be guilty of adultery. The opera was staged at the Everyman Theatre in September 1928 and was widely reviewed though without much mention of the translator. It was a comedy, but it didn't make the Times' reviewer laugh much; he (or she) thought its wit had worn itself out by Act 3.

Sources:

Wikipedia on Giovacchino Forzano 1884-1970: director at La Scala 1920-30. Playwright and opera librettist. Film maker. Supporter of Mussolini; which blighted his post-war career.

The London Stage 1920-29: A Calendar of Productions by J P Wearing. P617 in the list for 1928, item 28.322. Everyman Theatre 17 September to 29 September 1928, with reviews in Era 19 September; The Nation and The Athenaeum on 29 September; The Observer 23 September; and The Stage 20 September 1928.

Times Monday 10 September 1928 p10 in its Theatres column: forthcoming productions.

Times Tuesday 28 September 1928 p12 review: and that's where the 'grotesque comedy' quote comes from.

Wikipedia on Lilian Nancy Bache Price, stage name Nancy Price (1880-1970).

AND OTHER THINGS

The weather being an important feature of the Nordrach system, it's not surprising to find Rowland as a member of the Royal Meteorological Society in 1902; perhaps doing regular recording of temperature and rainfall and sending his results to Society headquarters.

Although he doesn't seem to have taken part himself, in 1910 Rowland allowed archaeologists and palaeontologists to search Nordrach-upon-Mendip's land. In 1910 he lent the diggers a tent as they continued their work in particularly bad weather. A flint scraper found in the grounds of Nordrach-upon-Mendip in 1921 by Ref F H Carr is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Finally, Rowland was a great lover of Cornwall, especially Kynance Cove on the Lizard. He died in Cornwall.

Sources:

Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society volume 28 1902 p234.

Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 1910 p137.

At england.prm.ox.ac.uk, a catalogue of the English Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum. The flint scraper found by Rev Carr is one of 127 such items from the Blagdon area.

Via genesreunited to Cornishman 16 October 1941.

ROWLAND AND AUBREY BEARDSLEY

In the mid-1890s, Rowland met Aubrey Beardsley. They had an acquaintance in common - Frederick Evans, who ran a bookshop on Cheapside in the City of London; and they probably met in his shop. Rowland and Beardsley don't seem to have known each other more than distantly, but Beardsley did enquire after him, in a letter to Evans written from Malvern in

November 1894: “By the way, how is Thurnam? I suppose he’s in the same boat as I, only further out to sea”. The editors of Beardsley’s letters assumed that the enigmatic ‘same boat’ reference indicated that Rowland shared Beardsley’s enthusiasm for Wagner.

At some point, Rowland either bought, or was given, a couple of drawings by Beardsley, which he still owned in the 1920s: an illustration of Tannhauser; and ‘Withered Spring’.

Sources:

The Letters of Aubrey Beardsley by Aubrey Beardsley, Henry Maas, John Duncan and W G Good. London: Cassell 1970: p47 for who Frederick H Evans was; the earliest letter to Evans is from mid-1893. The mention of Rowland: p78 letter from Beardsley to F H Evans, sent from c/o Dr Grindrod of Wyche Side Malvern; undated but assigned to November 1894 by the editors. On p79 the editors’ footnote 2 describes Rowland as the author of Parsifal, the Story of Wagner’s Opera, which was not published for another 20 years. There’s no other information about Rowland; they probably didn’t look for any more. There are no letters from Beardsley to Rowland in the book. That could be because none have survived; but I think it’s more likely that none were ever written. The reference to Rowland in the letter of November 1894 is the only mention of him in the book. On p237 the editors note that Beardsley was baptised a Roman Catholic on 31 March 1897, a few years before Rowland. On P440 is a short letter from Mabel Beardsley, Aubrey’s sister, telling Robert Baldwin Ross of her brother’s death earlier that day. Written from Menton; undated apart from “Wednesday”; the editors date it to 16 March 1898. Unlike Rowland, Beardsley died of TB.

About the Beardsley works that Rowland owned:

Aubrey Beardsley by Robert Baldwin Ross. London and New York: John Lane; first edition published 1909 but I got my information from Ross’s revised edition of 1921. 112 pages including a list of his works. On p69 item “27. Tannhauser, first published in Later Work”. This is a pen and ink study dated 1891, described as “(Property of Dr Rowland Thurnam)”. And p69 item “28. Withered Spring” again a pen and ink study. Its central motif was used later by Beardsley as one of the illustrations to the Morte D’Arthur Book 1 chapter xii. Item 28 was also published in Later Work; however, it was first catalogued in Fifty Drawings, in which it was given the title Lament of the Dying Year. No date given for the drawing which was also “(Property of Dr Rowland Thurnam)”.

Some further identification of the works mentioned in Ross’ book, from the British Library catalogue:

Later Work is probably The Later Work of Aubrey Beardsley. London: John Lane The Bodley Head and New York: Dover. 1901.

The Fifty Drawings is probably A Book of Fifty Drawings...with an Iconography by Aymer Vallance. London: Leonard Smithers 1897.

ROWLAND AND SAMUEL BUTLER

In April 1902, on his way back from a trip to Sicily, Rowland met Samuel Butler, author of Erewhon, quite by chance in the dining room of the Victoria Hotel in Rome. Butler was travelling the other way, wanting to get as far as Sicily but so ill he doubted whether he was strong enough to do so. Having discovered that he had a fellow guest who was an experienced physician, Butler asked Rowland for an impromptu medical check-up. To his

delight, Rowland said that he thought Butler was fit enough to make it to Sicily. Rowland told him that he had read Butler's book *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (published 1897) in which Butler argued that the *Odyssey* had been written by a woman poet residing in a Greek community in Sicily; in fact, that might have been the reason why Rowland had been in Sicily in the first place. Rowland and Butler stayed up chatting about the *Odyssey* until the small hours. Butler wrote of this meeting - though without naming the doctor - in a letter to his friend Henry Festing Jones. Within three months, he was dead - of TB.

In July 1912 Festing Jones and Rowland met in their turn, at the 5th annual Erewhon Dinner, at which Rowland made one of the after-dinner speeches, presumably on this 1902 meeting with the great man.

Sources:

Wikipedia for Samuel Butler (1835-1902) and for Henry Festing Jones, Butler's personal assistant, travelling companion and biographer. *Erewhon*, or *Over the Range*, Butler's utopian novel, was published anonymously in 1872; though its author's name was soon known. Rowland might also have read Butler's *The Odyssey of Homer* (1900) and *The Iliad of Homer, Rendered into English Prose* (1898).

Samuel Butler: A Memoir Part Two. By Henry Festing Jones. In two volumes; published in 1919. On p89, p428. The other speakers at the 5th Erewhon dinner were Edmund Gosse; Phipson Beale; Desmond MacCarthy; and Sir Charles Holroyd. There were 90 guests; all men, as women weren't allowed to attend until 1914.

Samuel Butler: A Biography by Peter Raby. London: Hogarth 1991 p288, identifying the hotel and stating that Rowland was on his way back from Sicily.

FAMILY

By 1916, Rowland and his aunt Anne Harriet Thurnam were the only two descendants of Charles Thurnam, founder of the publishing firm, who had his surname. Anne Harriet Thurnam died in Carlisle in 1917. Charles Thurnam did have other descendants, children of his daughter Catherine and her husband Henry Edmund Ford. Henry and Catherine Ford lived in Carlisle, where Henry was an organist and music teacher. Perhaps Rowland got his own interest in music from his uncle. Catherine and Henry's two youngest sons, Harold and Herbert, were around Rowland's age. Harold Dodsworth Ford (born 1864) became a Church of England clergyman with a parish in Carlisle. In 1895 he married Gertrude Emma Bennett. Rowland kept in touch with their only child, Edmund Brisco Ford (born 1901).

Edmund Brisco Ford spent all his adult life at Oxford University, as a student and then as an academic, an ecological geneticist. He became more widely known, at least to other specialists, when his *Mendelism and Evolution* was published in 1931 (its 8th edition was published in 1965). It was Rowland who suggested to Edmund Brisco Ford that he write a book explaining genetics to student doctors. Rowland died while Ford was still working on the text, robbing Ford of the chance to have him read and comment on each chapter. Rowland was quite right about the need for such a book: *Genetics for Medical Students* came out originally in 1942, went through two more editions in the 1940s despite the War being on, and was still an important reference work in 1973, when its 7th edition was published.

Source: probate registry 1917.

The Bookseller volume 65 1917 p604 November issue.

The Ford cousins:

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 90585: marriage of Henry Edmund Ford to Catherine Thurnam, daughter of Charles Thurnam; 15 September 1846 at St Mary's Carlisle.

Familysearch England-EASy GS film number 252809: Harold Dodsworth Ford baptised 30 October 1864 at St Mary's Carlisle.

Edmund Brisco Ford:

Wikipedia has a very short entry on him; he seems to have been a very self-contained, private man.

There are quite a few works by him in the British Library catalogue. I list the two I've mentioned:

Genetics for Medical Students Edmund Brisco Ford. London: Methuen and Co 1942. 2nd revised edition 1946; 3rd 1948; 4th 1956; 5th 1961; 6th edition 1967; 7th edition Chapman and Hall 1973.. On pvii of the 6th edition in the foreword, Brisco Ford describes Thurnam as "my cousin...the well-known authority on tuberculosis".

Mendelism and Evolution London 1931; the catalogue entry didn't give the name of the publishing firm. Its 8th edition came out 1965.

RETIREMENT

From 1899 to the early 1930s, Rowland had been the senior physician at Nordrach-upon-Mendip. In 1931 or early 1932, however, he retired from daily work there; although he and Henry John Trenchard were still financial partners in the business, drawing an income from it. The sanatorium did continue, at least until January 1938 when Henry Trenchard died; I haven't been able to find out what happened to it at that point.

Rowland moved right away from Somerset, living in Henfield in Sussex for a few years before moving to Bournemouth, probably at the outset of World War 2.

Sources:

The Medical Directory 1932 volume 2 p1183.

The Medical Directory 1933 volume 1 p1211.

The Medical Directory 1936 volume 1 p1253.

The Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook volume 32 1939 p493.

DEATH

Though his permanent address was in Bournemouth, Rowland died in Cornwall, on 8 October 1941. Perhaps he was taken ill while on a holiday, because he had a major operation and died shortly afterwards.

Sources: probate registry 1942.

Times 13 October 1941 p1a death notice.

The Lancet 1941 volume 2 p473 issue of 18 October 1941, death announcement; and p460, issue of 18 October 1941, a paragraph of obituary, focusing on Nordrach-upon-Mendip.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

Rowland never married and so there are no acknowledged descendants.

The Bristol Children's Hospital was evacuated to Nordrach-upon-Mendip's buildings at the outset of World War 2 and remained there throughout the war. In the reorganisation that went with the formation of the NHS, the sanatorium's buildings were incorporated into Ham Green Hospital, taking women patients only. Nordrach-upon-Mendip is no longer a sanatorium. Its wooden buildings have fallen down, though the main building - which pre-dated Rowland's arrival - does still exist.

Source:

Jean Birk's article on the history of Charterhouse village; seen at mikek.org.uk/friendsrlm/03_charterhouse.pdf

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 July 2016mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net

Email me at AMandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Victor Conyers Ebenezer Toller - known as Victor - was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 18 December 1894. Two other men were initiated in the same ritual: George Samuel Minson, and Edward Boxer. Minson and Boxer may have known each other, but I don't think Victor knew either of them before that evening. Victor did get as far as choosing a motto, 'Eureka' but only a few weeks after he was initiated, he resigned from the Order.

This is one of my short biographies. There may be more information on Victor Toller out there, but it will be in local record offices for Liverpool, Cardiff and West London; and the archives of the old General Post Office...I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

April 2016

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on VICTOR TOLLER

IN THE GD

Although he was only a member for a few weeks, I'm able to suggest that he was offered initiation through Dr George Rowell, who had become a GD member in February 1894. The two men were friends. Dr Rowell stayed in the GD for a little longer than Victor but then let

his membership lapse. The two men stayed in touch, though: when Victor died, George Rowell was one of his executors.

Source for the continuation of their friendship: probate registry 1915. There's nothing relevant to Victor Toller in the GD archives that still exist, apart from the details on the Membership Roll.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Not that I can see. It's possible, I suppose, that he was interested in spiritualism but I haven't seen his name in any of the sources for spiritualism that I've looked at.

Sources checked: Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901. Database and other records at the Freemasons' Library. Names of people who were interested in spiritualism are rather harder to come by: there were lots of spiritualist societies but they were very locally based and - for the most part - their records have been lost. There was no over-arching organisation for spiritualists whose membership lists I could look at.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Victor Toller was the eldest child of Ebenezer Toller and Mary Elizabeth Brown, who married in Scarborough in 1863. Ebenezer Toller had qualified as a doctor and had married on the strength of being appointed medical superintendent of the Gloucester District County Lunatic Asylum, run by the local Poor Law unions. He remained in post at the Asylum in Wotton St Mary until he retired.

Victor Toller was born in 1864. He had four brothers: Seymour Graves Toller born 1866; Harold Dowling Toller born 1867; Neville Percy Toller born 1868; and Hubert Joseph Toller born 1871.

For the first few years of Victor's life, employees of the Asylum were part of his parents' household. On census day 1871, the household included two other doctors and the Asylum's matron. It's not clear from the census entry whether the nurse/governess, the cook and the two housemaids worked only for the Tollers or had duties in the Asylum as well. By 1881 a separate house had been built or rented for the Tollers, next door to the Asylum itself. On census day 1881 therefore, the household consisted of the Toller family, their cook and their general servant. On census day Victor, Harold and Hubert were at home but Seymour and Neville were still at school.

Ebenezer had retired by 1889.

Sources: freebmd; census 1871, 1881.

EDUCATION

The Toller boys went to different schools. Seymour went to Malvern College. Neville was sent to Epsom College, a school founded specifically to teach the sons of medical

professionals, before being moved to Honiton Grammar School. Harold and Hubert seem to have been taught solely at home; a possible reason for this will become clear a bit further down this file. Victor was at Epsom College from 1878 to 1880, but was then sent to Oxford Military College for a while, before ending his schooling at King's School Gloucester. Perhaps Victor's parents were having trouble deciding on a career for him.

Seymour Graves Toller was the star amongst the Toller boys: from Malvern, he went to St Thomas's Hospital London in 1885 to train as a doctor. He won student prizes every year and very soon after he graduated was employed at the hospital as clinical assistant in its ear, nose and throat department. During the 1890s he rose smoothly through St Thomas's ranks as a doctor and teacher in its medical school. But in 1898 or 1899 what was shaping up to be a brilliant career in medicine in England was halted by illness.

Harold Toller died at Scarborough in 1890, aged 22; and Hubert had died at Hastings in 1891, aged 19. Seymour Toller's obituary implies that the illness he contracted in 1898 or 1899 looked to his doctors like TB; and that's possibly what his young brothers had died of. Seymour was advised to find work in a warmer climate and took the jobs of Physician of Clinical Medicine at Kasr-el-Aini Hospital in Cairo and professor at its medical school. However, the warmer climate of Egypt brings its own hazards, and Seymour Toller died in February 1902 after an illness lasting a couple of weeks. Neville followed his brother Seymour Toller to St Thomas's Medical School. Unlike Seymour he was better known as a good rugby player than as an outstanding student. He graduated in 1892 and continued at St Thomas's for a few years before going to work for P&O. He died in 1900, aged 31.

I've gone through the history of Victor's younger brothers here in order to make a couple of points about Victor: firstly, that he didn't enter his father's profession; and secondly, that by early 1902 he was the only brother of the five who was still alive.

Sources:

Epsom College Register from October 1855 to July 1905. Published 1905, London: Richard Clay and Sons. Pxi, p121, p126.

At archive.epsomcollege.org: Old Epsom Biographies Between 1855 and 1889: a short paragraph on Neville which also mentions Victor.

The Malvern Register 1865-1904 originally compiled by L S Milward and E C Bullock. 2nd edition from 1905, updated by R T C Cookson: p170-171 Seymour Graves Toller.

Times 20 September 1887 p10c exam results and prizes, "Summer Session 1886": both Seymour Toller and Rowland Thurnam appear. Toller was awarded the prize for the year's best student.

Seymour Toller and GD member Rowland Thurnam both started their training at St Thomas's in academic year 1885/86, though Thurnam was by no means as brilliant a student as Seymour Toller.

St Thomas's Reports New Series volume 26. It being a google snippet, I couldn't see a year but I think it's an issue from the early 1890s: p115 in a list of old students: Seymour Graves Toller.

At www.bmj.com 1902 volume 1 p564-65 issue of 1 March 1902 obituary of Seymour Graves Toller.

Medical Directory volume 1 1892 p326.

Medical Directory volume 1 1895 p342.

Medical Directory volume 1 1897 p371.

Medical Directory volume 1 1898 p376.

Medical Directory volume 1 1899 p380.

VICTOR'S WORK/PROFESSION

It looks from the various schools his parents tried, that Victor Toller was first scheduled to become a doctor like his father; and then sent to prepare himself for a military career; before finishing his schooling nearer home, perhaps with no clear end in view. He was working for the Post Office by 1885, and it would have been a typical working pattern for him to have remained an GPO employee until his death. In September 1885 he was in Liverpool, in the telegrams office. He was moved to Cardiff in 1886. In April 1890 he was moved again to become Junior Clerk in the Confidential Enquiry Department. This job was based at the GPO headquarters at St Martin-le-Grand in the City of London. From the records it seems that Victor continued to work in that department until he died, though it isn't clear whether or how often he might have been promoted. 'Confidential Enquiry' sounds like snooping to me: did Victor spend his working life after 1890 opening people's letters without their knowledge?

Sources for Victor's employer:

Seen at Ancestry, in the Postal Appointment Books 1737-1969; from microfilm at the British Postal Museum and Archive. Two entries (only) for Victor Toller: POST 58 (of 80) September 1885; POST 58 (of 80) December 1886.

Edinburgh Gazette 4 April 1890 p299 in a list of Civil Service appointments.

VICTOR'S MARRIAGE

Victor Toller married Martha Fauriel Dickson, in Wandsworth, in 1896. Martha Fauriel was born in 1878, a daughter of James Dickson and his wife Fanny Amelia. James Dickson was the Superintendent of Covent Garden fruit and vegetable market. He died in 1885, aged 43. In 1889 Martha acquired a step-father when Fanny Amelia Dickson married Hamilton Williams Price, who ran an import/export business specialising in goods from the Far East. There's a pattern in both the Tollers and the Dicksons, though, of men dying decades before their time and both Fanny Amelia's husbands followed it: Hamilton Price was 10 years younger than his wife but he died in 1904, aged 39.

On the day of the 1901 census, Victor and his wife - who is listed on the census as Fauriel, not as Martha - were living at 2 Hogarth Road, very near Earl's Court station. There were two households at that address: that of the Tollers, and that of Henrietta Lascelles. Mrs Lascelles is listed first so it's likely that Victor and Martha Fauriel were renting some rooms from her. They were employing one live-in general servant. They had no children.

On the day of the 1911 census, Victor and Martha Fauriel were at separate addresses. Victor was living in a residential hotel on the corner of Pembridge Square and Moscow Road in Notting Hill. Martha Fauriel was living with her mother Fanny Amelia Price on the other side of Hyde Park, at 2 Gloucester Mansions, Harrington Gardens South Kensington. This

could have been a temporary arrangement - in between house rentals, say - but I think they had separated and there's a bit of evidence from 1915 to back up that view. I haven't found any evidence that they divorced.

Sources: census 1891-1911; probate registry 1907.

DEATH

Victor Toller died in October 1915. At that time he was living at 45 Clanricarde Gardens Bayswater and - as far as I know - was still working for the GPO. He had made a Will, with three executors - his mother, GD member Dr George Rowell, and editor and academic Robert Hope Case. By this time appointing your widow to be your executor was normal but Victor did not name Martha Fauriel as an executor of his Will; which adds fuel to my suspicion that the two of them were living apart. She may have been its beneficiary of course - I haven't seen the Will myself.

Sources: probate registry 1915.

For George Rowell, anaesthetist at Guy's Hospital and elsewhere, see my biography.

I wasn't able to find out very much about Robert Hope Case but the British Library has some works by him; always as editor rather than author:

English Epithalamies London: John Lane 1898

The Bodley Head Anthologies London: John Lane 1896-1902.

And an edition of the works of Christopher Marlowe from after both George and Victor were dead.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

When Ebenezer Toller retired, in the late 1880s, he, Mary Elizabeth, and their two youngest sons moved to Scarborough, where Mary Elizabeth had grown up. If they died of TB it's likely that both Harold and Hubert were ill by that time. Ebenezer and Mary Elizabeth continued to live at the house called Zephyrs, on Holbeck Hill in Scarborough, as two more of their sons died; until Ebenezer died too, at the end of 1906. Victor Toller and his mother were two of Ebenezer's executors. After her husband's death, Mary Elizabeth went to live in Brighton with a distant relative, Edith Crosse, and Edith's son Dennis.

Mary Elizabeth lived on for nearly 20 years after the death of her last surviving son. There were no grand-children. She died in St Leonard's-on-Sea in 1932. A tragic life.

Martha Fauriel Toller went to live in Eire and died in Dun Laoghaire in 1949.

Sources: probate registry 1932, 1949.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

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Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 July 2016mailto:Amandragora@attglobal.net

Email me at AMandragora@attglobal.net

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Charles William Lloyd Tuckey was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 21 July 1894, taking the Latin motto 'Stant robora vires'. Charles Franks and Ethel Weltch were initiated during the same ritual and may have been acquainted with him already. Charles doesn't seem to have taken his initiation any further, and he resigned from the Order in November 1895.

Although it's pretty long, this is still one of my short biographies. I could have written much more about Charles Lloyd Tuckey but I don't really feel qualified to discuss the careers of the GD's doctors. Perhaps someone reading this introduction to him will be inspired to do more.

Sally Davis

May 2017

SMALL UPDATE FEBRUARY 2017

Gordon Bates is doing a PhD on Victorian Medical Hypnotism. I'm glad to say that it will contain a section on Charles Lloyd Tuckey. Gordon contacted me to say that he was having trouble accessing the Tuckey family history, so in the Family Background section below I've described an easier way to find it.

EVEN SMALLER UPDATE MAY 2017

Charles Lloyd Tuckey would have been pleased to find that there is now scientific evidence that hypnosis is genuine. Research at the Sackler Centre for Consciousness Science, in Brighton, has confirmed that people in a hypnotised state really are carrying out tasks involuntarily - they are not just trying to please the hypnotist. I read this news in the New Scientist on 1 April 2017 and thought it might be an April Fool's joke. But the results been published in Psychological Science volume 28 number 5, 2017 beforehand: see an abstract at <http://doi.org/b4sh>

My basic sources for any GD member are in a section at the end of the file. Supplementary sources for this particular member are listed at the end of each section.

This is what I have found on CHARLES WILLIAM LLOYD TUCKEY.

IN THE GD

Charles Tuckey was acquainted with so many people who were members of the GD that it's surprising that his name wasn't put forward for initiation earlier. It seems that the GD accepted Charles for initiation with rather more enthusiasm than he showed about being a member. He was a qualified doctor who used hypnotherapy to treat his patients, and had written articles about its use for the non-medical press. In the late 1880s and early 1890s he was one of the many medical professionals who were trying to discover how hypnosis

worked, and what exactly it was. As part of that exploration, he joined a variety of alternative societies and groups. In the end, though, he decided that scientific evidence for the claims being made by practitioners of magic and spiritualism was the most important thing to him as a medical professional: the Society for Psychical Research was the group he stayed a member of for longest.

Though George Frederick Rogers knew several other GD members including William Wynn Westcott, it might have been Charles who in put forward Rogers' name for initiation, in 1895.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

During the early and mid-1890s, yes.

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Charles joined this Society in 1889. You had to be elected to be a member, and it's likely that his name was suggested to the governing Council by George Frederick Rogers, a member since 1885. In persuading Charles to join the Society, Dr Rogers might have mentioned that Professor Dr A A Liébault of Nancy's name was on the list of the Society's corresponding members. The Professor was well-known for his use of hypnosis as a medical tool and Charles had spent several weeks in Nancy with him, observing how he used it with patients.

Charles became a very committed member of the Society, and kept up an interest in its activities even in his last few years, when his physical health was deteriorating. He was a member of its Hypnotic Committee in the early 1890s and its Library Committee until 1917; and regularly reviewed books for its Journal. In 1897 he was elected to the Society's Council - Dr Rogers was also a member - and served on it until 1922 when he could no longer get to London for its meetings.

FREEMASONRY

Charles was a freemason, though he kept his involvement to a modest level, being a member of two lodges only and not achieving rank within the United Grand Lodge of England. He may not have been very active after 1900, though that's more difficult to ascertain.

Though I haven't found any evidence that Charles' father was ever a freemason, his grandfather Davys Tuckey was one in Ireland in the mid to late 19th century; and various other members of the wider Tuckey clan were in England. An S D Tuckey was a member of Imperial Lodge number 1694 in the years after it was founded in 1877. I don't know how close a relation to Charles this man was, but it might have been through him that Charles was initiated into the lodge, in the late 1880s or early 1890s (I haven't been able to discover the exact date). When he joined Imperial Lodge 1694, its meetings were held in Chelsea, though in 1897 they were moved to the Holborn Restaurant in WC2 near the UGLE headquarters. Once initiated, Charles was willing to be elected onto the conveyor-belt of offices which made its way (one year in each office) upwards towards a year as the lodge's most senior official, its Worshipful Master. As a Senior Warden died during his year of office, Charles' time on the conveyor-belt was one year shorter than he would have expected when he put himself forward for its most junior office. He was installed as WM in November 1898 and served until the following November, 1899. He did not join the lodge's Chapter, consecrated 1894. As WM-elect he was present at the meeting (October 1898) which founded the lodge's lodge of instruction; though he doesn't seem to have been an active member of it. And the

lodge history suggests that he may have let his lodge membership drop in the years after he served as WM: the lodge history names the men who served the lodge longest and with most dedication, and Charles wasn't one of them.

His membership of Imperial Lodge 1694 made Charles eligible to become a member of two other freemasonry groupings - a lodge, and a lodge-like order.

The lodge was Quatuor Coronati, number 2076, founded in the 1880s as a forum for research into the history, symbolism and rituals of freemasonry. Many freemasons who also became GD members were prominent members of this lodge in the 1890s, and three served as WM in that decade - William Wynn Westcott, Edward Macbean, and Sydney Turner Klein. The lodge's rules allowed for only 40 members at any time, but the plan had always been to have a very large corresponding membership, who received the lodge's journal *Ars Quatuor Coronati* and were welcome at meetings, though not allowed to stand for office. Charles became a corresponding member in May 1892, and around the time he was also in the GD he went to some meetings of Quatuor Coronati 2076. The lodge held six meetings a year and they all followed a similar pattern: lodge business; followed by a member reading a paper, which was discussed by those present (and later published in the magazine); and then socialising, often around a display of freemasonry items brought by a member. The lodge occasionally held social events, and Charles went to the *conversazione* at which it celebrated its tenth anniversary. It was held on 28 November 1895 at the King's Hall of the Holborn Restaurant; around the time Charles resigned from the GD. This was one of those rare freemasonry events to which women were invited, and Charles took his sister Deborah Tuckey. He was never a full member of Quatuor Coronati 2076 however, and by 1900 he was no longer a corresponding member.

The lodge-like grouping Charles joined was *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (SRIA), which was not exactly a freemasons' lodge although only freemasons could join it. Like Quatuor Coronati lodge 2076, the SRIA focused on the esoteric side of freemasonry; and as its name suggests, it was particularly interested in the contributions rosicrucian legends had made and could make to freemasonry. The first GD rituals were rosicrucian ones and many early members of the GD joined the Order on that understanding; not only SRIA members though many SRIA members were initiated into the GD. William Wynn Westcott was an important member of SRIA as well as of Quatuor Coronati 2076; in 1892, he was appointed SRIA's Supreme Magus, an appointment which was for life.

Charles became a member of SRIA at the meeting of its Metropolitan College held on 11 January 1894; that is, six months before he was initiated into the GD. SRIA meetings were organised exactly like Quatuor Coronati 2076 ones, and Charles' first meeting was probably carefully chosen - his friend from the Society for Psychical Research, George Rogers, read a paper that evening on Mesmerism. Mesmerism was something which Charles was very interested in from a professional point of view, and he'd probably had many talks with Dr Rogers on the subject. After the paper had been read, Charles joined in the discussion of it at the SRIA meeting. Charles lasted longer as a member of SRIA than he did as a member of the GD but at SRIA's meeting in July 1897, his resignation was read out. George Frederick Rogers continued to be an active member of SRIA into the 1920s.

SPIRITUALISM

It's always difficult to find out whether GD members were spiritualists: it was a rather home- or district-based pursuit whose records have not usually survived if they existed in the first

place. However, in the 1890s, the London Spiritualist Alliance was an umbrella organisation for spiritualists in and around London. It organised lectures and social events and, in 1890, took over the finances of the occult weekly magazine *Light*, which subsequently published accounts of LSA meetings and articles by some of its members. A sub-group of GD members had been offered initiation into the Order through contacts made in the LSA.

Looking at issues of *Light* published from 1889 to 1900, I spotted Charles' name at one LSA function - one only. On 22 January 1894, he went to one of the LSA's conversaciones to hear a talk on Identity of Spirit. After the talk and the discussion were over, there was a chance to socialise and he may have passed the time with some of the GD members who were there: Alice Gordon; Arthur Lovell; Catherine Passingham (an acquaintance of George Rogers); Constance Wilde; Henry, Margaret and Charlotte Wright; and - possibly - Sophia Moffat.

THEOSOPHY

Theosophy was one field of esoteric study which Charles never got involved with. Of course, he could have read some books on the subject, but even in the early 1890s, when interest in the subject was at its height in England, he never joined the Theosophical Society.

In 1893 W T Stead (the crusading journalist) started to publish a new occult magazine, *Borderlands*. In 1894 Stead wrote to a number of people hoping for their support, including Charles. Charles wrote back agreeing that the public discussion of paranormal phenomena was a good idea and hoping that the magazine would shed the light of science on them. He urged Stead to authenticate any evidence of such phenomena that was submitted to him, and to study it with care - meaning, that Stead should be careful not to publish claims that couldn't be verified. I'm sure Stead was hoping for more than that from Charles, but I think he didn't get it. Charles' name doesn't appear in a list of subscribers to *Borderland* published in 1895. Some people on the list chose to remain anonymous, but I don't see why Charles should have insisted his name not be disclosed, as his interest in hypnotism was already so well known.

An account of a meeting in June 1893 at the Society for Psychical Research seems to show that Charles was trying to find out what altered states of consciousness were, by taking drugs. At the meeting, Professor W Ramsay described what he had experienced when he had dosed himself with chloroform. The account of the discussion afterwards reads as if Charles was speaking with personal experience of taking chloroform, and ether as well - two drugs being used at that time as anaesthetics. He was also able to report that Professor Ramsay's sensations under the chloroform - of being very receptive to all ideas - sounded more like the effect of taking Indian hemp or hashish. Charles may have been taking the hemp and hashish as drugs prescribed for him (or self-prescribed) for his own poor health.

Charles carried out his own experiments into hypnotism and its effects. They were probably an on-going programme in his life, when he could spare the time. He also investigated other "higher phenomena"; probably through the Society for Psychical Research, but the chance of making more such investigations must have been part of the reason why he had joined the GD. His researches convinced him that thought transference at least was real, not a hoax. He concluded that thought transference explained a large proportion of the effects that spiritualists and other occultists believed to be evidence of clairvoyance. That did not mean, however, that he thought transference was something occult; on the contrary, he decided it

could be explained by scientific means. Hypnotism, too, was not a supernatural phenomenon, Charles decided. Science and medicine could explain what it was and how it worked; there was no need for the involvement of communications from the dead or wisdom transmitted to certain humans by entities on other planes.

There's plenty of evidence that Charles kept up with European research into his subject; so he may also have been influenced in reaching his decision in favour of science, by the developing theories of Sigmund Freud. Freud's early publications were known (in German at least) to members of the Society for Psychical Research by 1893. In 1892, Freud had published *A Case of Successful Treatment by Hypnotism*.

Sources:

FREEMASONRY

Database of the collections at the Freemasons' Library, accessible online at www.freemasonry.london.museum/catalogue.php. Charles doesn't appear on the database, which inevitably tends to favour those men who were very active and very senior freemasons.

To use the FML's online, digitised database of freemasonry journals, go to www.freemasonry.london/museum

Take the option 'resources'; then 'Masonic periodicals online'. The FML has only digitised magazines to 1900 so far. If you want to search any later year, you'll need to go to the Library in WC2.

The Freemason May 1877 p8 published a long account of a meeting during a Royal visit to Ireland, in connection with the Masonic Orphan Schools in Dublin. Davys Tuckey is a long way down the list of freemasons who were present; and with no indication of which lodge he was representing. He didn't, at this time, hold national rank of any kind.

IMPERIAL LODGE

Some basic details of Imperial Lodge 1694 can be seen at www.hrionline.ac.uk the website of Lane's Masonic Records.

Imperial Lodge no. 1694. Centenary Booklet 1877-1977. No author's name is printed, but on p2 the acknowledgements are by "EWS" who, on p1, is identified as E W Savory, the current Lodge secretary. Neither Charles nor S D Tuckey appear in Savory's account of the lodge's history; suggesting that they were not ever important figures in it. Neither of them were named amongst the founders of the lodge's Chapter either. On pp36-37 Charles appears in the list of the lodge's WM's but isn't listed as having been its secretary or treasurer; nor is S D Tuckey so perhaps he only served for a short time. History of the lodge's chapter: pp43-44.

A note about freemasonry magazines as sources: run with very few staff, they were dependent on lodge officers sending in accounts of meetings. During the 1890s, for example, Imperial Lodge 1694 was holding its regular five meetings per year but reports of only a few were

published, usually those of the meeting at which the new WM was installed.

Freemasons' Chronicle of March 1896 p7 an account of a meeting of Imperial Lodge 1694 in February 1896 states that S D Tuckey was the lodge secretary at this time.

The Freemason November 1891 p8 Charles was at Imperial Lodge 1694's installation meeting in October 1891 at a hotel at 24 Victoria Street London.

The Freemason December 1893 p9 by 1893 Imperial Lodge 1694's meetings had moved to Cloots' Restaurant. Charles was the last in the list of named members in the report. As usual, the meeting and installation process were followed by a dinner.

Freemasons' Chronicle October 1898 p11 Imperial Lodge 1694 had moved its meeting-place again, to the Pier Hotel Chelsea. This report is of a special meeting held to inaugurate the lodge's Lodge of Instruction. Charles was there but only as the lodge's WM-elect.

QUATUOR CORONATI 2076

The Freemason July 1892 p15 report on the lodge's annual St John festival meeting, on 24 June. This was the first lodge meeting that Charles attended.

The Freemason regularly reported on the meetings of Quatuor Coronati lodge 2076. Charles attended some meetings but not very many, and none after 1896. He appears in the list of those present in the following issues:

The Freemason 1894 January issue p6; March issue p5; May issue p9.

The Freemason 1895 July issue p15.

The Freemason March 1896 p3; November 1896 p4.

Ars Quatuor Coronati volume VII 1894 p36 - Charles attended the meeting of Friday 5 January 1894 at which GD member Frederick Crowe gave a talk on Continental Lodge Jewels and Medals. Crowe was a well-known collector of freemasonry regalia. At the end of the volume, on unnumbered pages: the list of Corresponding members includes Dr Lloyd Tuckey of 33 Green Street; joining date May 1892.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volume VIII 1895 p1 report on the 10th-anniversary Conversazione. Other GD and lodge members who were there included Robert Palmer-Thomas, William Wynn Westcott, Frank Tate Ellis and Frederick W Wright.

Ars Quatuor Coronati 2076 volume XIII 1900: Charles is no longer in the corresponding members list.

SOCIETAS ROSICRUCIANA IN ANGLIA

Transactions of Societas Rosicruciana Metropolitan College 1893-94 p5-6 and 1897-98 p3.

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume 2 1885-86. Published by the Society and distributed to members only - it wasn't for sale to the public. On p57 new members included George Frederick Rogers of Caius College Cambridge; p88 the Society already had some works by Liébault in its library.

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume 4 1889-90. Published by the Society at

its offices at 19 Buckingham Street Adelphi. On p49 April 1889, the list of new members includes C Lloyd Tuckey MD of 14 Green Street Grosvenor Square. On p203 confirmation that all members had to be elected, even associate and corresponding ones.

Definitely the Journal of the Society for Psychical Research, report on the meeting of the Society held on 2 June 1893. However, I was sent this information in an email and haven't been able to discover which page the report was on. Professor W Ramsay's talk was: Experiments with Anaesthetics. Edward Maitland was also at the meeting and described experiments with chloroform undertaken by a woman doctor. The report of the meeting didn't name the doctor but gave enough information about her to make it very clear that Anna Bonus Kingsford was meant; Dr Kingsford combined practising medicine with being a mystic. She interpreted what she experienced while under chloroform as confirmation of her belief in the existence of four planes of being: spiritual; psychic; astral/magnetic' and physical/material. Not conclusions Charles agreed with.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume 11 1895 p604, p623 Charles Tuckey as a full member, now at 33 Green Street.

Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume 15 1900-01 p103 a review by Charles Tuckey of Dr J M Creed's My Experience of Hypnotic Suggestion as a Therapeutic Agent. On p485 a list of current Council members includes both Charles and George Frederick Rogers. On p507 a third new address for Charles although it may just be the result of street renumbering by the Post Office: 88 Park Street.

Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volumes 22-23 1925 p115 a short announcement of Charles Tuckey's death "on August 12th, 1925". On p22 of the Journal's October 1925 issue: an obituary, focusing on his varied work for the Society; and a note that Charles had left the Society £50 in his Will. There was also an appreciation by Dr Arthur Percy Allan (known as Percy) a fellow hypnotherapist and member of the Society, who had been a friend of Charles since his days as an undergraduate at Guy's Hospital in the late 1880s/early 1890s.

References to Charles' own poor health: the obituary above. Two more elliptical ones:

The Monthly Homoeopathic Review 1882 p326 Homoeopathy in Spain.

Psycho-therapeutics, or Treatment by Sleep and Suggestion by C Lloyd Tuckey MD. London: Baillière Tindall and Cox 1889: Chapter 1 p3 mentions a trip he made to Jamaica.

Spain and the West Indies are places that you might go if you were an enthusiastic traveller with a yen for rather out-of-the-way destinations; but you might also go to them in search of a warmer climate. A warm climate, especially warm winters, was a typical prescription for patients in poor health who could afford to pay for it.

SPIRITUALISM

Light: A Journal of Psychical Occult and Mystical Research volume 9 January-December 1889. Published London: Eclectic Publishing Co Ltd of 2 Duke St Adelphi. Just noting here that issue number 451 published Saturday 24 August 1889, mentioned an attempt to establish a London Hypnotic Society to encourage the use of hypnotherapy in healing. I couldn't see any other reference to such a Society but it does illustrate that the idea of hypnotism as an aid to medical treatment was around at the time.

Light: A Journal of Psychical, Occult and Mystical Research volume 14 number 681 Saturday 27 January 1894 p38. I'm not sure of the identification of the guest named only as "Miss Moffat". Two Miss Moffats were members of the GD: Sophia and her younger sister Kate.

Borderland: A Quarterly Review and Index volume 1 1894. Editor W T Stead; editorial address 18 Pall Mall East. Publishing office 125 Fleet Street: p20.

Borderland: A Quarterly Review and Index volume 2 1895. Volume 2 pp 88-92: list of member/subscribers. On pp25-32 an article by a writer identified only as 'X': The New Witchcraft: the Dangers and Uses of Hypnotism - nicely illustrating the kind of prejudice Charles was up against in his attempts to establish hypnosis as a medical tool.

Borderland: A Quarterly Rvw and Index. Editor W T Stead Volume 4 covers January 1897 to the last ever issue, October 1897. On p390 Stead said that the magazine's first issue had been published in July 1893; but the British Library only had issues from 1894.

THEOSOPHY

Theosophical Society Membership Registers 1889-1901.

Just noting here that Professor Liébault's work was known to members of the TS. Colonel Olcott visited him in 1891: see

Old Diary Leaves: the True History of the Theosophical Society by Henry Steel Olcott. Madras: Theosophical Publishing House. Volume 4 published 1931 and covering 1887-92. Pp393, p399-404.

Charles' conclusions about hypnotism and the occult: see the PUBLICATIONS section but particularly Occult Review editor Ralph Shirley. Published London: William Rider and Son Ltd, 164 Aldersgate St EC; and Phillip Welby of Henrietta St WC. Volume 1 number 2, issue of February 1905 p51-56: Charles' article Some Phases of Hypnotism. In this article, Charles criticises the work of Dr Charcot and others at the Salpêtrière mental institution in Paris. Charles didn't think that "hysterical" women were suitable subjects for experiments in hypnotism; his own research had suggested that Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates were better!

FAMILY BACKGROUND

In the last years of the first World War Charles' younger brother, Rev James Grove White Tuckey, compiled a pedigree of the Tuckey family. Rev James was able to trace them as far back as a Thomas Tuckey of Worcestershire, whose son Timothy moved to Cork in 1657. In the following three centuries the Tuckeys were prominent businessmen, Church of England clerics, and doctors in Cork, Waterford and later Dublin. They married into other professional families and into the landed gentry, creating a web of relations-by-marriage that stretched all over the southern-most counties of Ireland. Charles Tuckey was related to GD member Irene Augusta Lloyd through this clan-like cousin-hood, probably several times over.

Sources:

Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland 1863 and subsequently in 1871 issue p803: the Lloyd family of Lloydsborough and Cranagh/Cranagh co Tipperary; who claimed descent from the Welsh family Lloyd of Bodidris. I got completely lost in this! - trying to tie down exactly how Irene Lloyd and Charles Tuckey were related. I did manage to establish to my own satisfaction that they definitely had a common ancestor in the 18th-century John Lloyd of Lloydsborough and his wife Mary née Otway.

Rev James Tuckey's wide-ranging family pedigree can be read online at www.corkpastandpresent.ie IF you've got time to spare to find it! It's much easier to do what I was doing when I came across it: googling using Tuckey + pedigree. Then, it's more or less the first response in the queue. The Rev James' original article was published in the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, issue of 1919. For Colonel James Grove White of Kilbyrne, after whom the Rev James Tuckey seems to have been named, see p247. Some members of the Grove White family also appear in www.thepeerage.com.

CHARLES CAULFIELD TUCKEY of Doneraile, father of the GD's Charles, and family historian Rev James. His second name may be spelled 'caulfEild' - I've seen both spellings though the one I am using seems to occur more often.

The Tuckey family's first medical man was John Tuckey (1711-62) who worked in Dublin. His younger son, Davys Tuckey, married Isabella, daughter of Charles Caulfield of Killyman. The GD member's father, Charles Caulfield Tuckey, was Davys and Isabella's eldest son. Charles Caulfield Tuckey followed his grandfather into the medical profession, qualifying in Dublin. He began his working life in Ireland in the 1840s, at Castletown Roche Dispensary but soon moved to England.

By the time the first issues of the Medical Directory were published, in the mid-1850s, Charles Caulfield Tuckey was working as a GP in Canterbury, and that's where Charles the GD member grew up. There's never any mention in the Medical Directory entries, however, of his long association with homoeopathy, details of which I found on the [sueyounghistories](http://sueyounghistories.com) website which specialises in the careers of homoeopathic practitioners. The sueyoung's account of Charles Caulfield Tuckey doesn't give dates for when he was working at the Manchester Homoeopathic Hospital and the Homoeopathic Dispensary in Preston; but the early 1850s and possibly the late 1840s seem the most likely period. He was also in private practice as a homoeopath at Bow Lane, Fishergate Hill Preston, using homoeopathy.

Perhaps Charles Caulfield Tuckey continued to dispense homoeopathic cures when in practice in Canterbury. It's very likely that he did, because - once established in Kent - he was an important figure in the circle of people who set up the London Homoeopathic Hospital in 1858 and ran it thereafter; although he doesn't seem ever to have been a staff-member. He will have known Dr George Wyld, later a member of the Theosophical Society and friend to many GD members (though he was never in the GD himself); and the Rosher family, financial benefactors and administrators of the London Homoeopathic Hospital (Charles Rosher was a GD member).

The [sueyounghistories](http://sueyounghistories.com) website mentions one publication by Charles Caulfield Tuckey: A Dialogue on Homoeopathy. The British Library has a copy of it: published in London, 1856.

Sources:

Rev James Tuckey's family pedigree, seen online at www.corkpastandpresent.ie. It's a reproduction of the original article which was published in the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, issue of 1919.

Website sueyounghistories.com - entry for Charles Caulfield Tuckey and note the Tuckey heraldic shield. See also the entry for George Wyld.

There's an obituary of Charles Caulfield Tuckey in the British Homoeopathic Journal 1895. I haven't been able to run a copy of this to earth so far (June 2016) but I imagine the sueyoung's website got its details of his homoeopathic involvement from it.

The British Homoeopathic Review volume 3 1859 p17, p329.

The delightfully-entitled Some Local and General Excrescences of Homoeopathy 1858 by John Fitzgibbon Geary: p5 and just noting here that the Duke of Wellington was a supporter of homoeopathy.

Monthly Homoeopathic Review 1882 p298, p304, p370.

Annals of the British Homoeopathic Society and of the London Homoeopathic Hospital 1885. This was a google snippet so I couldn't see the page number.

Journal of the British Homoeopathic Society volume 3 1895 pxviii in a list, probably of members, with a date, probably their date of election: Dr Charles Caulfield Tuckey AB MB Dublin LRCSI; of Charleville Kew; with the date 1855.

North American Journal of Homoeopathy volume 43 1895 p376 a note of Charles Caulfield Tuckey's death.

The Royal Homoeopathic Hospital Great Ormond St London 1849-1949 printed for the hospital by Maxwell Love and Co of NI: p21: H Rosher was the hospital's treasurer 1859-80; and beginning p22 a list of senior staff members, which includes Charles Tuckey the GD member, but not his father.

The medical directories. Like Who's Who, they are dependant on information sent in by the doctors who are listed in them; so it must have been a choice of Charles Caulfield Tuckey not to tell the compilers that he used homoeopathy. The earliest ever issue of the Medical Directory was in 1846 and covered London only. By 1850 doctors practising in the English provinces (including Wales), or abroad with the forces, were listed but there was still no coverage of Scotland or Ireland.

Medical Directory 1855 was the first one in which there was an entry for Charles Caulfield Tuckey. In the 'Provinces' section p442 at Canterbury; though with no full address, suggesting he hadn't been in the town for very long. AB and MB Dublin 1841. LRCS Ireland 1840. Licensed to practice midwifery Dublin 1839.

Medical Directory 1860 p809 in Canterbury at 1 St Margaret's St.

In the issue Medical Directory 1866 p538 there was a change of address within Canterbury, to 4 St Dunstan's Court. Then all the details are the same until the mid-1870s when he isn't listed at all.

Pamphlets on Biology: Rofoid Collection volume 279 1876 p24 Charles Caulfield Tuckey was working with fever patients at Bantry Hospital.

Around 1880 he returned to England:

Medical Directory 1881 p742 lists Charles Caulfield Tuckey at the house called Charleville in Kew. No street name was given.

Medical Directory 1882 p753 he was listed with the Kew address; but as retired, and I presume he didn't ever practice medicine in Kew.

Medical Directory 1896 volume 2 p1820 in its list of practitioners who had died since the last issue.

CHARLES AND ELIZABETH TUCKEY

Charles Caulfield Tuckey was married twice. In 1843, in Doneraile county Cork, he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Lloyd of Limerick and his wife Jane. They had six children: a son Charles who was probably born in Ireland (as I haven't found any record of him) and who died in childhood; Janet, born in 1844 in Ireland and probably the eldest of them; Isabel, also born in Ireland in 1850; Deborah who was born in Preston in 1852; a second son named Charles - the GD member, Charles William Lloyd Tuckey, born in 1854 just after the family settled in Canterbury; and James the family history compiler, born 1864.

By census day 1861 the original son called Charles had died, and the birth of James the youngest child was three years ahead. The rest of the family were at 4 St Dunstan's Street in central Canterbury where they were probably living above Charles Caulfield Tuckey's consulting rooms. The family consisted of Charles Caulfield; his wife Elizabeth (Eliza on the census entry); Janet, mis-named 'jane' on the census entry; Isabel; Deborah, known as Dibby, perhaps the sister the GD member was closest to; and Charles the future GD member. Elizabeth Tuckey was keeping house with a cook and a housemaid; if Charles Caulfield Tuckey employed anyone in his medical practice, they were not living with the family.

1861 was the only time Charles Lloyd Tuckey the GD member was living with his parents, in England, on census day. In 1871 the Tuckeys were not in the UK at all; they were probably in Ireland, visiting relations. And by 1881 there had been many changes in the family. By far the biggest of those changes was the death of Elizabeth Tuckey, in Canterbury early in 1875. Charles Caulfield Tuckey gave up his practice in Canterbury very soon afterwards and went to work in Ireland for a while. He remarried quickly as well, just a year after he'd been widowed. His second wife was Susanna Love (or SusannaH - the sources are undecided on the correct spelling). Charles Caulfield retired around 1880, and he and Susanna set up home in Kew, in a house called Charleville. Charles Caulfield Tuckey continued to live there until his death in February 1895; and Susanna until her death in September 1899.

When Charles Caulfield Tuckey died, he left a tidy sum - more than £21000 in personal estate alone. Charles the GD member and his brother the Rev James were the elder Charles' executors. Relations between the elder Charles' children and their step-mother Susanna, seem to have been good and Charles the GD member was named as Susanna's executor, Rev James being in South Africa at the time of her death.

Sources:

Sources: census 1891; probate registrations 1895, 1899.

Rev James Tuckey's family pedigree, seen online at www.corkpastandpresent.ie, originally published in the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, issue of 1919.

Familysearch Ireland-ODM GS film number 0897422 IT 5: baptism of Elizabeth Lloyd 18 July 1821 at St Michael Limerick. Parents: William Lloyd and wife Jane. I tried looking for a baptism record for Charles Caulfield Tuckey at Familysearch, but couldn't find one. I also

couldn't find any records of the baptisms in Ireland of Charles and Elizabeth's daughters Janet and Isabel.

Familysearch Ireland-ODM GS film number 962669: marr of Charles Caulfield (sic) Tuckey to Elizabeth Lloyd 9 November 1843 in Doneraile co Cork.

Familysearch also had a series of tax assessments for Charles Caulfield Tuckey, resident of Canterbury. The earliest in the series was for tax year 1862/63; the latest was for 1874/75.

Familysearch Ireland Calendar of Wills and Administrations 1858-1920 GS film number 100978 image number 00395 named Charles Caulfield Tuckey as a beneficiary of a Will where probate was granted in Guernsey on 17 May 1876. I couldn't see whose Will this was, but Elizabeth Tuckey was the most likely person.

CHARLES TUCKEY'S EDUCATION

Both Charles and his brother James went to King's School in Canterbury.

Source:

The Lancet 1925 volume 2 p411 issue of 22 August 1925: obituary of Charles Lloyd Tuckey. Who Was Who 1941-50 p1168 entry for Rev James Grove White Tuckey.

WORK/PROFESSION

Charles Tuckey the GD member followed his father and great-grandfather into the medical profession. He began his training at King's College London and then moved to Aberdeen University. His mother's death, early in 1875, came a few months before he took his MB CM exams. He qualified MD, also at Aberdeen University, in 1884.

Charles was like his father, in being prepared to use cures that were unorthodox and frowned on by the powers-that-be in the medical profession. The earliest job I've found for him was as a medical officer at the Royal Homoeopathic Hospital. He worked there from 1878 to 1884. It was an honorary appointment, but the hospital did have a hierarchy up which the doctors could progress. Charles began his working life there as assistant physician; by the time he left, he'd been promoted to physician. He also acted as the hospital's honorary secretary in 1883 and 1884, when it was raising money for a purpose-built hospital.

Charles only ever had one other job working in a hospital - from around 1890 to 1894 he was visiting physician at the Margaret Street Infirmary for Consumption. This too was an unpaid appointment. Charles earned his keep as most doctors did at the time, from treating private patients.

Charles first set up his private practice in 1878 at 21 Henrietta Street, off Cavendish Square and at that stage and for several years more he was in general practice. He always lived in rooms above his consulting rooms. He moved several times. From 1884 to 1899 - the years of his greatest interest in the occult - he was living and in practice at 14 Green Street. In 1899 he went to 88 Park Street. He was still at Park Street in 1910 but by 1915 had moved again, to 47 Upper Brook Street. This was his last address as a practitioner: he retired in 1917 and left London. The houses Charles chose were all in the Mayfair/Oxford Street area, wherein lived the kind of person who could afford the prices he would have been charging for his private therapy sessions. On the day of the 1901 census, Charles had his unmarried sister Janet keeping house for him at 88 Park Street. She was running the household with the help of a cook and a housemaid. It's possible that Charles' sister Deborah had been living with

him for the past year or two; but on census day she was visiting friends, and later in 1901 she got married. For more on Janet and Deborah, see the FAMILY sections below.

Charles' interest in the occult suggested he saw the importance of the mind in the health and illness of the body. A need for some kind of evidence as to how the link worked became especially necessary to Charles when he decided to try using hypnosis on some of his patients. In 1888, he spent several weeks at Nancy and a couple more in Amsterdam, learning the technique used by Professor Liébault, who was well-known in Europe (though not so well-known in Britain) for his use of hypnosis as a treatment; and studying how it worked in general practice. In one of his published articles he mentions having also been to hospitals in Paris to see hypnosis used on mental patients; he doesn't say when he made this visit, but 1888 seems a likely date.

After this period learning the basics of hypnotherapy and being convinced that in the right circumstances, it could work, Charles gave up his own general practice and from that time until his own ill-health forced him to give up work, used hypnotherapy to treat the kind of health problems orthodox medicine still struggles with - addiction to drugs and alcohol, neurasthenia, depression, psychosis. Evidence he gave at an inquest in 1910 shows that he also used other alternative approaches to these difficult problems; and sometimes sent his patients to practitioners specialising in alternatives he wasn't an expert in.

Charles became widely known for his use of hypnotism as a treatment for chronic medical conditions. I only have statistics for his work with alcoholism, not for any other problem that his patients brought to him. Between 1897 and 1909 he treated 200 patients for chronic alcoholism. In one-third of those cases, treatment with hypnotherapy had led to a complete cure. That doesn't seem a particularly good success rate to me; but then alcoholism is particularly difficult to treat and perhaps other treatments available at that time did no better.

It mattered to Charles that hypnotherapy should be accepted by the medical profession as a useful technique, in the proper circumstances. He defended it with letters and articles published in the *Lancet*, whose editorial attitude reflected the hostility of many British doctors to the use of it, especially in the 1880s and 1890s. He gave talks to other doctors; sent articles to magazines for the general reader; and wrote what became (at least during his lifetime) the standard work on the subject, *Psycho-therapeutics* (for more on that, see the PUBLICATIONS section below).

I'm assuming Janet Tuckey, and possibly Deborah too, moved in with Charles when their step-mother died in 1899 and the house at Kew was given up. By the time Janet died (in 1908) she had left London - probably for health reasons - and on the day of the 1911 census Charles had no family members living with him. He was employing a cook/housekeeper, rather than a woman who just cooked; and a house/parlourmaid. The housekeeper will have carried out a lot of the household management being done by Janet in 1901.

Charles made one more house-move - to 47 Upper Brook Street - before the first World War. When he married Beatrice Wood Marsland, in 1915, she must have come to live with him there. In 1917, however, Charles retired from practice, and they moved to Beatrice's house in Eastbourne. I couldn't find any evidence that Charles had done medical work as part of the war effort. This was probably not to do with any lack of willingness on his part, but because of the illness that forced him to give up his work.

Charles' consultations were, of course, between him, the patient, and the third person Charles insisted should be present while the patient was undergoing hypnosis treatment. Although he wrote up some cases for publication, the patients were always anonymous. However, two of his patients' names are known: one sad case became public during Charles' lifetime; the other one's diary was published many years later.

ALICE JAMES

Alice James was the sister of William James the psychologist and Henry James the novelist. By late 1890, copies of *Psycho-Therapeutics* were available in the USA and one was read by William James. A year later, Alice was dying of breast cancer after a lifetime of ill-health. Describing Charles' book as "very creditable", William wrote to Alice (who was living in London) to suggest that she call Charles in, to see if hypnosis could help control the pain, and let her sleep. As Alice was so ill, Charles went to her lodgings rather than have her come to him. He called several times between December 1891 and March 1892, using his hypnotherapy technique on Alice and also teaching her nurse, Katharine Loring, how to use it. The sessions were unsuccessful - they didn't relieve the pain and Alice went back to using morphia - and a few days after the last of them, she died.

HENRY BROOKS BROADHURST

Mr Broadhurst had only been a patient of Charles for a week when he committed suicide in Charles' house in Park Street. He had experienced periods of mental illness before, and had tried a number of different cures; when Charles met him he had been ill for three years. A week before his death, Charles and Mr Broadhurst's previous doctor, Robert Dundas Helm, had got together and agreed a programme of treatment for him. The programme was to begin with two other forms of therapy: a treatment with electricity (I wonder how that worked) and sessions of massage. Charles offered to have Mr Broadhurst staying in his house, at least at the outset of the programme, and treatment began at once. Charles was clearly very worried about the man's mental state and I imagine he was thinking that the case illustrated a problem he came up against all too often with new patients: that they had come to him very late in the day. In several of his published works Charles emphasised that hypnotherapy, like any treatment, was most effective if used as soon as possible after the symptoms appeared.

Charles didn't do electro-therapy himself, so he and Dr Helm took Mr Broadhurst to a colleague, Dr Sayer, for that session. Charles himself, or someone who worked for him, did the only massage Mr Broadhurst was given before his death. After those two treatments, Charles then discussed with Mr Broadhurst the possibility of some hypnotherapy sessions. Mr Broadhurst resisted the idea so Charles left him to think it over, hoping he'd feel more positively towards it in a few days. As a result, Mr Broadhurst had not actually had any hypnotherapy when he locked himself in his room one afternoon and shot himself through the head. Charles told the inquest that though Mr Broadhurst was suffering from "aggravated neurasthenia", he hadn't seemed delusional or suicidal in the short time he had been his patient.

It's a pity that the two patients whose names we now know, have to be classed as amongst Charles' failures. Charles found it very difficult to live with the failure of hypnotherapy to help people who needed help so badly: for example, the 200 alcoholics, of whom Charles managed to cure only 60 or so. He once told a young colleague that he found it very "trying"

to spend so much time with people who were mentally unstable. I imagine that on days like the day Mr Broadhurst killed himself, it was a lot more than 'trying'.

Sources:

Update February 2017: Gordon Bates has just alerted me to a book which sounds like a good introduction to the work of Tuckey and his fellow psycho-therapists. Philip Kuhn's *Psychoanalysis in Britain 1893-1913: History and Historiography* has just been published by Lexington Books.

The Lancet 1925 volume 2 p411 issue of 22 August 1925: obituary of Charles Lloyd Tuckey though with no mention of his work at the London Homoeopathic Hospital.

Homoeopathy:

The Royal Homoeopathic Hospital Great Ormond St London 1849-1949 printed for the hospital by Maxwell Love and Co of NI: p22 et seq for the list of the Hospital's honorary medical and surgical officers; including George Wyld of the Theosophical Society 1852-60 and Charles Lloyd Tuckey 1878-84. Charles' father is not in the list.

The Monthly Homoeopathic Review 1882 p532.

The Monthly Homoeopathic Review 1883 p373.

The Monthly Homoeopathic Review volume 28 1884 p364; p753 report on a fund-raising meeting at which Charles Tuckey was present as honorary secretary; and a Mr H Rosher - a relation of GD member Charles Rosher - as Treasurer.

Other medical references; although Charles' work in homoeopathy is not mentioned in them:

Medical Times and Gazette 1875 volume 2 issue of 14 August 1875 p200. News:

General Medical Council Registers 1883 to 1925.

Medical Times and Gazette 1884 volume 1 issue of 26 April 1884 p582.

Kelly's Post Office Directory 1884 trades directory p1806 under physicians: Charles Lloyd Tuckey is at 14 Green Street Grosvenor Square. While other doctors listed here did mention that they used homoeopathy, Charles chose not to do so.

Kelly's Post Office Directory 1891 street directory p379 at 14 Green Street Mayfair. I looked here to see if the house was divided into flats. It wasn't, so Charles was the sole householder.

Kelly's Post Office Directory 1895 street directory p402 for Green Street and p580 for Park Street. I wasn't able to work out exactly when he moved: no numbers on Green Street between 8 and 19 were listed; and 88 Park Street was divided into apartments with only one resident listed.

Kelly's Post Office Directory 1899 trades directory physicians p2262 Charles Lloyd Tuckey was at 88 Park Street by this time.

Medical Directory 1910 volume 1 London p340.

Medical Directory 1915 issue London list p359 Charles Lloyd Tuckey now at 47 Upper Brook Street.

Medical Directory 1917 Charles Lloyd Tuckey is still listed in the London section.

Medical Directory 1918 volume 1 p1062 as “retired”; current address Ingarsby, Silverdale Road Eastbourne.

His use of hypnotherapy: see the PUBLICATIONS section below.

For the number of alcoholism cases Charles treated:

Everybody’s Magazine volume 20 1909 p537: not an article, but a letter by Charles: The Power of Suggestion.

In the Lancet, often showing what Charles was up against:

Lancet 1888 volume 1 January-June p1110 issue of 2 June 1888: use of hypnotism as an anaesthetic at Vienna General Hospital. The Lancet’s view was that use of hypnotism too regularly on any one patient “produces in the majority of cases a marked psychological febleness”.

Lancet 1888 volume 2 July-December p985 issue of 17 November 1888: its use in cases of “hysteria” had been discussed at a meeting of the Neurological Section of the New York Academy of Medicine.

Lancet 1889 volume 2 issue of 12 October 1889 letter from Charles, written London 8 October 1889. The formation of a Hypnotic Society was being suggested. Charles felt that an attempt to found such a society in England wouldn’t be successful. He noted that practitioners in Europe - where hypnotherapy was an accepted medical treatment - weren’t aware of the prejudice of many British doctors against it.

Lancet 1890 volume 1 January-June p771 issue of 5 April 1890: Dr Milne Bramwell of Goole had demonstrated hypnosis to a group of doctors, on patients at a dentist’s surgery in Leeds.

Lancet 1890 volume 2 July-December p379 issue of 16 August 1890, in the journal’s report on that year’s British Medical Association conference. The Lancet mentioned in passing that the use of hypnosis had been discussed at the conference; but did not give details of what had been said.

Lancet 1891 volume 2 July-December p1024 issue of 31 October 1891: letter from Charles written Grosvenor Square 27 October 1891 grumbling about a “hypnotic séance at the Aquarium” due to be given by the visiting American, Professor Germane. Charles was particularly annoyed at a publicity leaflet he’d been sent, in which named members of medical profession were listed as having lent the séance their support; so soon after the BMA had denounced just this use of hypnosis as entertainment. One of the doctors lending his support to the seance was named by Charles as “Dr Wynn Westcott” - head not only of the GD but also of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia. It’s very clear from the letter that Charles despaired of ever getting British doctors to accept hypnotherapy, if this was the attitude they took to it.

Lancet 1892 volume 1 January-June p1304 issue of 11 June 1892: review of George C Kingsbury’s The Practice of Hypnotic Suggestion. The Lancet’s attitude was overtly hostile, although the prejudice of the (anonymous) reviewer against hypnotherapy seems to have been partly on the grounds that it was something widely used in Europe.

Lancet 1892 volume 2 July-December p803 issue of 25 September 1892 printed a letter from Charles, defending hypnotherapy against an attack by William Dale. Dale had been responding in his turn to an article by a Dr Robertson recently published in the Lancet under

the title Charles had probably invented - Psycho-Therapeutics.

From 1893 there was less coverage of hypnotism in the Lancet - its editors obviously thought the subject had had its day in the sun. If Charles sent letters to the magazine or gave talks on the hypnotherapy to meetings of medical societies, the Lancet didn't publish them. He only reappears once more in 1910:

Lancet 1910 volume 2 July-December p1765 issue of 17 December 1910 coverage of the anaesthetics section at a big meeting of the Medical Society of London; in which Charles took part and several papers on the use of hypnotism as an anaesthetic were read. Just noting, here, that the inquest on Mr Broadhurst wasn't covered at all in the Lancet. Perhaps that is some indication of a change in their attitude towards hypnosis. It's more likely, though, that they didn't want to give the incident any more publicity than it was already getting; as bringing the medical profession into disrepute.

Alice James:

Alice's ill-health - which contemporary doctors were unable to identify, let alone cure - is well documented in letters and diaries etc within James family. It has also been the subject of several case studies since.

The Correspondence of William James volume 7 (of 8) 1890-94. Editors Ignas K Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M Berkeley with Wilma Bradbeer. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia 1999 p114, p115 footnote 6; p586.

The Diary of Alice James originally published in the US as Alice James: Her Brothers and Her Journal; 1934 by Dodd Mead and Co. This edition: Penguin American Library 1982, editor Leon Edel's. Edel's copyright for his introduction is dated 1964 but even at this pre-feminism stage he was suggesting that Alice's ailments were a physical expression of her rage and frustration at the kind of limited and unchallenging life her family expected her to lead. In the 1992 Penguin edition: pvii; introduction p2-8; p14-16; and diary p221-222, p229-231.

Modern assessments of Alice's case and Charles' treatment:

Science and the Practice of Medicine in the 19th Century by William Frederick Bynum. Cambridge University Press 1994: p213-217.

The Invention of Telepathy 1870-1901 by Roger Luckhurst. I love the title! Oxford University Press 2002: p239.

At <http://dx.doi.org/10.1176/ajp.139.8.1079-a> an article on Alice's hypnotherapy treatment by Jerome M Schneck. Posted online 2006: American Journal of Psychiatry volume 139 number 8 pp1079.

Henry Brooks Broadhurst:

Times 4 October 1910 p3 County Magistrate's Suicide.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Yes, quite a few, with a concentration around the late 1880s/early 1890s when he was trying to explain and justify hypnotherapy both to doctors and to the public.

However, Charles' earliest publications were on homoeopathy:

The Monthly Homoeopathic Review 1882 p326 Homoeopathy in Spain. And p532 Case of Obscure Disease of the Stomach.

Homoeopathic World 1882: Sanguinaria in Neuralgia. I haven't seen a copy of this journal. I found the article mentioned in the Medical Times volumes 9-11 1882 p233 which said that Charles' arguments were based on out-patients he was treating at the London Homoeopathic Hospital.

Charles' earliest article on hypnotism was for the general public:

The Nineteenth Century volume XXIV July-December 1888. Editor James Knowles published Kegan Paul Trench and Co. Charles was amongst some very well-known names in publishing in this journal and the readers of his own article will have included many members of the intellectual elite. Other article-writers in 1888 were W E Gladstone (several times); Beatrice Potter (on social issues); Conan Doyle; Lyon Playfair; Francis T Palgrave of the poetry anthologies; Leslie Stephen, editor of the Dictionary of National Biography; Prince Kropotkin the social revolutionary; Algernon Swinburne; Ferdinand Rothschild; and C Villiers Stanford, looking like he doesn't care for the current worship of all things Wagner.

Charles' article: pp839-50 CLT: Faith Healing as a Medical Treatment. Pp839-840 are the source for Charles' training with Liébault at Nancy; and his trip to Amsterdam to see the work of Dr van Renterghem. It also mentions the latest publication by Professor Bernheim of the Faculty of Medicine at Nancy, another proponent of hypnotherapy: *De La Suggestion et de ses Applications à la Thérapeutique* originally 1880 2nd edition Paris 1887.

The article also shows in Charles a prejudice which he maintained in later works: against the working-classes as weak-minded and too easily influenced by suggestions made to them while they were under hypnosis. He had reservations about hypnotherapy's ability to treat the middle-classes, whom he saw as more mentally resistant to the technique.

PSYCHO-THERAPEUTICS

I almost put this in a section on its own, as it was such an important work, both for Charles himself, and in the development of psychology-based approaches to medical treatment. It was on its seventh edition when he died. The reviews of the various editions in the *Lancet* show how much the book had helped change the attitudes of some at least of the medical profession to the use of hypnotherapy, at least in the right circumstances. It contained one of the first uses, if not the first, of the word 'psychotherapeutics'. Its second edition was re-issued in 1998 in the *Classics in Psychology Series: A Collection of Key Works*. And it has frequently been cited as a reference in works on the history of health care.

It was published at exactly the right time, of course.

Charles' first, modest edition of Psycho-therapeutics was published in mid-1889:

Psycho-therapeutics, or Treatment by Sleep and Suggestion by C Lloyd Tuckey MD. London: Baillière Tindall and Cox 1889. Dedicated to Dr Liébault "in admiration of his genius".

The basic argument of the book is very simple: that certain illnesses and conditions can be treated by suggestions for how to get cured, made to the patient while they were under hypnosis. This first edition was small in many respects: it was only 80 pages long; it didn't

have much in the way of case studies in it and none by Charles himself; and its print run was so small that the publishers didn't send a copy to the British Library - the BL's earliest copy is the 1890 2nd edition.

In the next 35 years, Psycho-therapeutics underwent many alterations, growing and developing with its subject. All editions were published by Baillière Tindall and Cox, who must have been very pleased at the results of the slight risk they took in accepting Charles' original manuscript.

The 2nd edition of 1890 still kept the original title. It was also no longer, but the print-run was bigger and it was this edition that made it both to the British Library and to the USA, where Alice James' brother William read it in New England. William was a psychologist.

A third edition was needed by 1892 and this was the first one with the change in title to Psycho-Therapeutics, or Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion, rather than 'sleep and suggestion'; researchers perhaps realising by now that people under hypnosis were not asleep. The book kept the change in title throughout its future editions. This edition was also much longer than the first edition and had more case studies in it including cases Charles had treated himself.

There was a fourth edition in 1900, again enlarged and revised; and a fifth in 1907. The 1907 edition obtained the longest review by the Lancet of any so far: the book was becoming impossible for the Lancet to dismiss. It was the first edition to have an introduction that Charles hadn't written himself: he had asked Sir Francis Richard Cruise to do it for him.

In 1913 Charles once again went to work on a new edition - the 6th, which was 431 pages long. Sir Francis Cruise's introduction was kept and a new chapter was added, by Dr Constance Ellen Long, on the relevance to hypnosis of Sigmund Freud's theories. Charles was making sure his book was keeping bang up-to-date. By now the Lancet was welcoming Psycho-Therapeutics and calling it an "excellent introduction" to the subject and praising both its "lucid and pleasant style" and its "scientific and careful character". Such a change from 1889! This edition can be read in full at archive.org.

By 1921, Charles' health was in serious decline, but he was able to produce a seventh edition, with the help of a long-time friend and colleague, Arthur Percy Allan, another physician who used hypnotherapy. Dr Long's chapter on Freud did not appear, on the grounds that the subject now needed a book of its own; but there was a chapter by Dr Allan on the use of hypnotherapy during World War 1. Charles couldn't write about that from personal experience and as always, he was careful not to set himself up as an expert on anything outside the range of what he knew. Though the Lancet still held by its original belief that the medical uses of hypnotherapy were limited - something Charles had never disputed - it still welcomed the new edition and even went as far as admitting that psychotherapy was an important technique in modern medicine.

The reviews:

Lancet 1889 volume 2 p75 issue of 13 July 1889: a review of first edition so short and dismissive that it provoked Charles to write in with an article. To give it credit, the Lancet did publish Charles' response:

Lancet 1889 volume 2 issue of 24 August 1889 pp365-367 Charles' Cases Treated by Hypnotism and Suggestion.

Much more favourably inclined towards Psycho-Therapeutics was Robert William Felkin, future GD member and founder of Stella Matutina. He was sent a copy of Psycho-Therapeutics' first edition to cover it for the Edinburgh Medical Journal where he was a regular reviewer. So excited was he by it and a second book on the same subject - Rudolf Heindenhain's Hypnotism or Animal Magnetism - that he launched into not so much a review as a long and detailed history and defence of the subject which went on through several subsequent issues. I don't think that Charles and Robert Felkin will have known each other personally at the time; though Charles will have heard of Dr Felkin as one of Britain's foremost experts on tropical medicine.

Edinburgh Medical Journal volume 35 July 1889 to June 1890 beginning p240 issue of September 1889; last episode in p1036 issue of May 1890.

There was a more orthodox review of the book's third edition in EMJ volume 37 July 1891-June 1892; issue of March 1892 pp853-854; this review was anonymous. This was also a positive review, noting how much such a book was needed, and welcoming Charles' additions to the theory of the subject. The reviewer also praised Charles' use of case studies - 33 taken from the work of European practitioners and 28 from his own practice - saying that they illustrated exactly which kinds of illness hypnotherapy could treat, and which it couldn't.

The Lancet maintained its dismissive attitude:

Lancet 1892 volume 2 July-December pp777-778 issue of 1 October 1892: three-line review of the 3rd edition.

Lancet 1907 volume 2 July-December issue of 10 August 1907: review of the 5th edition.

Lancet 1913 volume 2 July-December: p1551, a review showing somewhat of a change of heart and including the praise I've quoted above. The reviewer noted that Charles' main alterations were to chapter 7, which was now full of case studies of Charles' own patients; he no longer needed those of other practitioners.

Lancet 1921 volume 2 July-December p706 issue of 1 October 1921.

Psycho-Therapeutics: modern reissue of its second edition.

Classics in Psychology Series: A Collection of Key Works. 1998, edited and with an introduction by Robert H Wozniak.

I can't now find where it was that I read that Charles had sent a copy of the Psycho-Therapeutics first edition to the explorer and traveller Sir Richard Burton. See wikipedia for plenty of information on Burton, including evidence which suggests that the two men are most unlikely to have met.

That's the end of my section on Psycho-Therapeutics. In the next few years, Charles wrote a series of articles on hypnotherapy for a variety of magazines:

ON HYPNOTISM

Brain: A Journal of Neurology volume XIV published New York and London: Macmillan and Co 1891. It was the official magazine of the Neurological Society of London which - in another sign of the times - had been founded in 1888. On pp539-556 as part of the magazine's series 'Critical Digests': Charles, On Hypnotism. Charles was not a member of the Society. Despite this, the members thought of him as the best person to survey the recent glut of publications on the subject of hypnotism and its uses. He's not in the members' list. Some well-known names who were members: Herbert Spencer, and Francis Galton.

THE APPLICATIONS OF HYPNOTISM

The Contemporary Review volume LX July-December 1891; in the issue of November 1891 pp672-86. This article had similar aims to the one Charles had published in the Nineteenth Century. The differences between the two are down to the rather different readership of the two magazines; and to Charles assuming rather more knowledge of the subject amongst his 1891 readers than his 1888 readers are likely to have had. He spent more time, in this article, discussing the various theories about how hypnotism worked and what kind of state, the state of being hypnotised was. And trying to address public anxiety about such questions as the possible loss of free will; whether people could be hypnotised at a distance; and whether the medical profession should have sole control of the technique.

CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM

The Value of Hypnosis in Chronic Alcoholism. London: J and A Churchill 1892.

This article first saw the light of day when Charles read a précis of it at the British Medical Association annual conference in 1892, as part of its Psychology set of talks and discussions. The longer article from which the précis was distilled was published as a small pamphlet.

Mention of the talk:

Lancet 1892 volume 2 July-December p383 issue of 13 August 1892.

The reviews:

The Literary World volume 46 1892 p508: review.

Edinburgh Medical Journal volume 38 number 2 January-June 1893 p758-59 issue of June 1893.

The review was anonymous but might have been by Robert Felkin.

A German translation of the pamphlet was published between 1892 and 1901 in the journal Zeitschrift für Hypnotismus. It's mentioned in Hypnotism or Suggestion and Psychotherapy, by Dr Auguste Forel, formerly professor at the Provincial Lunatic Asylum in Zurich. Translated by H W Armit from 5th German edition and published in London and New York by Rebman Ltd 1906.

Rebman Limited had been founded in London; it had moved to New York only a short time before Armit's translation of Forel's book was published. It was a small firm, specialising in medical texts. At least two GD members were involved with it. Hugh Elliott was a shareholder. Robert Felkin's involvement is not so clear but I think he was probably a shareholder too.

Sources for Elliott and Felkin's involvement:

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Volume III 1901-04 p328 note 3.

Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs by Arthur Edward Waite. London: Selwyn and Blount of Paternoster House EC 1938 p173-74.

ASSESSMENT OF THE GOLD CURE

Originally published in The Medical Pioneer July 1893 p149. Later reprinted (probably to reach a wider audience) in British Homoeopathic Review volume 38 issue of 1 January 1894 pp19-23: The Rationale of "the Gold Cure".

Leslie Enraught Keeley's 'gold' treatment for alcoholism was first used in the US in the 1880s but by 1893 there was a clinic in London, and much excitement about it as a cure. As a medical practitioner with experience of treating alcoholics, Charles was asked to assess Keeley's method. He visited the clinic and was made very welcome there, being allowed to watch, and to interview some of the patients. But when he wrote up his visit for The Medical Pioneer, the fact that he hadn't been allowed to know what was in the medicine the patients were taking worried him; particularly as the course of treatment was expensive. His own view, stated in the article, was that no one treatment would cure all alcoholics, as alcoholism had so many causes. He was also very frank about disliking the whole idea of Keeley's cure, because of the secrecy about what was in the medicine, but also because it was "purely...a commercial speculation". He didn't dismiss the cure out of hand. However, he suggested (though not in the terms I'm using) that it worked because of a set of essentially psychological factors: the money and time invested in the cure; that there was a medicine and that it was based on an expensive and rare substance; and timely suggestions made by staff and other patients.

See wikipedia for Leslie Enraught Keeley (1836-1900). Analysis from after Keeley's death found that the medicine used in the Keeley clinics had no gold in it. It did have strychnine in it.

THE PROVINCIAL MEDICAL JOURNAL

Edinburgh Medical Journal New Series volume 1 1897 p636 mentioned an article by Charles which had appeared in Provincial Medical Journal' December 1894 issue; its subject was how Charles had treated a boy with kleptomania. I haven't been able to find a copy of the original journal to check out the details.

After 1894, Charles wrote fewer articles and they were mostly shorter too: I expect he was too busy with his patients for much writing.

MISCHIEVOUS CHILD

Edinburgh Medical Journal New Series volume 1 1897 pp635-36 A Case of Mischievous Morbid Impulse in a Child, Treated by Hypnotism

SOME PHASES OF HYPNOTISM

This article has the distinction of being the only one Charles wrote for any esoteric journal. It appeared in the first ever volume of Occult Review, editor Ralph Shirley. Published London: William Rider and Son Ltd, 164 Aldersgate St EC; and Phillip Welby of Henrietta St WC. Volume 1 number 2 issue of February 1905 pp51-56. In this article, Charles set out most succinctly his argument for hypnotism as a phenomenon that could be explained by science - something he was well aware was likely to disappoint this particular group of readers.

NUMBER OF CASES OF ALCOHOLISM

Everybody's Magazine volume 20 1909 p537: not an article, but a letter by Charles: The Power of Suggestion.

PRACTITIONER

The Practitioner volume 86 1911 part 1 January-June: pp185-192: Treatment of Neurasthenia by Hypnotism and Suggestion. In this article, in a magazine specially for GP's, Charles emphasised the importance of them sending patients with neurasthenia for treatment as soon as they are diagnosed. Charles had found that one month of active treatment with hypnotherapy was necessary for every year that the patient had been suffering. Not sending a patient for early treatment increased its cost, as well as the likelihood of it failing.

Charles' article in The Practitioner was the last short work I know of, though in 1911 two more large and complex revisions of Psycho-Therapeutics were still ahead of him.

FAMILY

It's clear from the marriages of Charles' sisters, that even after Charles and Elizabeth Tuckey moved to England, they kept in touch with a wide range of relations - geographically and otherwise. So I include here some details of what happened to Charles' siblings.

JANET TUCKEY

I've speculated that Janet was the eldest of Charles' siblings. She was born in Ireland in 1844. She published some poetry and a book on Joan of Arc, and was one of several contributors to A Dictionary of Employments Open to Women, compiled for the Women's Institute in 1898. On the day of the 1891 census, she was proud to tell the census official that she had an occupation - though I don't suppose it brought in all that much of an income: the official wrote down on the census form that she was an "Authoress". On census day 1891 she and her sister Deborah were living with their father and step-mother at the house called Charleville, in New Garden Road Kew; and I suppose that both sisters continued to live with Susanna until her death in 1899. I've mentioned above that it's possible both of them then went to live with Charles, at least for a year or two. Janet died in July 1908 while staying at Ventnor on the Isle of Wight; but her permanent address by that time was in Caterham. She never married.

ISABEL TUCKEY

Both Isabel and Deborah Tuckey married men who were distantly related to them - both their husbands appear in Rev James Tuckey's family history. Isabel was born in Ireland about 1850. In 1881 she married James Grove White Crofts of the Crofts family of Churchtown. James Crofts had qualified as a surgeon in Ireland in 1878. He had joined the Royal Army Medical Corps and at the time of the marriage, was due to be sent out to India. While he was

married to Isabel he was stationed at Faizabad in the North West Provinces of India. Isabel went to India with him and died at Ranikhet, in the foothills of the Himalayas, in April 1886. She had no children. James Crofts married again many years later and had a daughter. He died in 1901, aged 44.

DEBORAH TUCKEY

Deborah was born in 1852 when the Tuckeys were living in Preston. Like Janet, she was still living with her father and step-mother on census day 1891. I've speculated that after Susanna Tuckey's death she went with Janet to live with Charles, but I can't say for sure because on census day 1901 she was staying the night with Robert Wood Marsland and his wife Frances; friends of the Tuckey family. Robert and Frances' daughter Beatrice was about Deborah's age; perhaps they in particular were friends. Many years later, Charles married Beatrice.

Later in 1901, aged 48, Deborah married her distant kinsman Rev Freeman Wills Crofts Gason, a widower with grown-up children. Rev Freeman Gason was vicar of Maynooth, county Kildare. Deborah lived with him in Ireland until his death in 1917. She then returned to England and set up home in Sharnbrook Bedfordshire, where she died in 1924.

The Golden Age mystery writer Freeman Wills Crofts must be related to Deborah's husband; though I couldn't figure out quite how. He was creator of the detective Inspector French, and a series of crime stories involving railway-timetable alibis.

REV JAMES GROVE WHITE TUCKEY

Rev James Tuckey is the only one of Charles Tuckey's siblings who is in Who Was Who. He was the youngest of the five surviving children by a decade, born in 1864 in Canterbury. After school at King's College Canterbury he went to Trinity College Oxford and then studied at Heidelberg University. After several years teaching at Durham University and in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he joined the army as a regimental chaplain in August 1895. In 1896 he married Emily, daughter of the late George Mason of Manchester; not someone who appears elsewhere on the Tuckey pedigree!

Rev James was with his regiment being besieged at Ladysmith from November 1899 to February 1900 - a very worrying time for his family. He also served at the front in World War I. He was mentioned in despatches several times and after the World War had finished was honoured by appointments as honorary chaplain to George V and to the bishop of Salisbury. He was still in South Africa on census day 1901 and was also abroad on census day 1911.

It was between 1916 and 1919, while he was working as assistant chaplain, general Southern Command, that Rev James compiled the history of the Tuckey family and its ramifications on which I've relied so heavily in this account of his brother's life. He left the army in 1923. He was appointed rural dean of Ripon in 1927 and remained in-post until his retirement in 1930. He died in 1947.

Like his brother Rev James, Charles did not marry someone who figured in Rev James' Tuckey family history. However, he did marry a woman that his family had known for many

years; at least from the time his father went to live in Kew, if not from much earlier, when Charles Caulfield Tuckey and Elizabeth had been living in Lancashire.

Beatrice Wood Marsland was the daughter of Robert Marsland. Robert Marsland had been born in Halifax and had started his career as a solicitor in the family firm G and R W Marsland of John Dalton Street in Manchester. However, by the time of Beatrice's birth in 1867, he had moved to London and set up in business on his own account in St Swithin's Lane, City of London. By 1901 he had retired and was living with his wife Frances, Beatrice and his son Reginald at 266 Kew Road Richmond, where they kept house in good style with a cook, a parlourmaid and a housemaid. This was the census day on which Deborah Tuckey was visiting them.

Robert Wood Marsland died later in 1901 and his widow and children moved out of London. On the day of the 1911 census Frances Wood Marsland was living at Ingarsby, Silverdale Road, Eastbourne; though she later moved again, to Bournemouth. Still living with their mother were Beatrice, now 43, and Reginald, now 37. The family was still able to employ a cook, parlourmaid and housemaid.

Charles Tuckey and Beatrice Wood Marsland married in Eastbourne in December 1915. She was 48; he was 61 and may already have had some symptoms of the illness he eventually died of. Charles' obituaries mention the illness but say very little about its symptoms; only that it involved a gradual loss of physical though not mental ability, and that in Charles' last years he needed an increasing amount of nursing care, which Beatrice undertook. Charles may have been planning to retire in any case, but the illness may have hurried this on: 1917 was the last year he appeared in the Medical Directory at the London address and still in practice. By 1918, he had retired, though he was still listed in the directory, at the house in Eastbourne where Beatrice and her mother were living in 1911. For a few years he was still able to attend meetings of the Society of Psychical Research; but between 1917 and 1922 he resigned from the committees he was on, and after 1922 was too ill to make the trip to London.

Sources:

JANET

British Library catalogue has these publications:

1874 Told Near Windsor (A Poem). Gypsy and Eng. 14pp. London: Trübner and Co.

1875 as "contributor" to English Gipsy (sic) Songs. In Romanny (sic) with Metrical Translations. The catalogue gives author as Charles Godfrey Leland (1824-1903) as the book's author; with Janet and an E H Palmer as contributors. London: no publishing firm so it was probably privately printed. I suggest that the contributions of Janet Tuckey and E H Palmer were to render into English metre some accurate but not poetic translations from the original Romany.

1880 Joan of Arc. "The Maid". The catalogue doesn't give a publishing firm so again it was privately printed.

1898 A Dictionary of Employments Open to Women by Mrs Leonora Philipps as main author; with assistants Miss Marian Edwardes, Miss Janet Tuckey and Miss Katharine Esther Dixon. London: Women's Institute.

Probate Registry 1908. Deborah and Rev James were her executors.

ISABEL

Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland 1886 edition: The Crofts of Churchtown. Some members of the Crofts family are also online at thepeerage.com: James Grove White Crofts is the youngest son of Wills George Crofts and Elizabeth née Grove White (1824-92).

Bengal Directory 1884 p1104, p625. On p785 is the listing for the settlement of Ranikhet. There were very few permanent British residents but the village was the site of a military sanatorium.

Medical Directory 1885 p1339 and in issues of 1890 vol 2 p1528; 1895 vol 2 p1648; 1900 p1867. All issues gave the same information about where and when Dr Crofts had qualified; but no indication of where in India he was working.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1885 volume 1 p547, volume 2 p1082

Thacker's Indian Directory 1886 p1130.

Probate Registry 1887.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1887 p1196.

Lancet 1900 p547 James Grove White Crofts' promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel.

Probate Registry 1901

British Medical Journal 1901 p683 very short obituary.

DEBORAH

Beware! Deborah's husband was one of three men (maybe more) with exactly the same name!

Some details of Deborah's husband at www.thepeerage.com,

Probate Registry 1924.

REV JAMES GROVE WHITE TUCKEY

Oxford University Gazette volume 14 1884 p56.

The British Library has one item by him: *The Amphioxus and its Development* originally written in German by Berthold Hatschek. Rev James as translator. London: Sonnenschein and Co 1893.

Wikipedia for the Siege of Ladysmith: 2 November 1899 to 28 February 1900.

Hart's Annual Army List issue 1901 p396 Rev James is in it with a date of August 1895 which I'm assuming was the date of his first commission.

London Gazette 1918 but this was a google snippet so I couldn't see the full date: p6515 in King's Birthday honours.

The Durham University Journal 1966 p26

Probate Registry 1948.

Who Was Who 1941-50 p1168.

ROBERT WOOD MARSLAND

London Gazette 9 July 1861 p2853.

London Gazette 30 April 1869 p2580.

London Gazette 4 May 1880 p2896.

Probate Registry 1924; entry for the death of Frances Elizabeth Marsland indicates she was living at Walden, Cromer Road Bournemouth.

DEATH

Charles Tuckey died in August 1925, at Eastbourne. Beatrice remained in Eastbourne and died in 1950.

Sources:

Probate Registry 1925, 1951.

The Lancet 1925 volume 2 p411 issue of 22 August 1925: obituary of Charles Lloyd Tuckey, very complimentary about his Psycho-Therapeutics.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital

Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

14 May 2017

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Marian Charlotte Vibart was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London on 22 March 1898. She chose the motto 'Neschamah', a Hebrew word that indicates she had been studying the Kabbalah (of which more below). At this stage in the history of the GD, record keeping wasn't as good as it had been in the early years, so I can't say for sure how long Marian Charlotte remained a member, or how active she was except that she was never initiated into the GD's inner, second Order.

John Valentine Lacy was initiated on the same evening as Marian Charlotte. He was a friend of the Vibart family.

THE VIBARTS

'Vibart' is a very rare surname. In the censuses between 1841 and 1911 there were never more than 22 people called Vibart living in the UK; though in the early part of the 19th-century there were quite a few living in India. Despite how few of them there were, I'm still not quite sure how they were all related.

I haven't been able to find anyone called Vibart earlier than a James Vibart who lived in Somerset. He's listed on an ancestry 'rootsweb' with birth/death years as 1703/1775. According to that rootsweb page, he married Mary, daughter of Sir John Meredith of Brecon. I think that all the Vibarts who appear on those censuses, and the Vibarts in India, are their descendants; certainly the forenames 'meredith' and 'james' crop up regularly in the 19th-century. Though if someone offered proof to me that they weren't, that wouldn't surprise me,

because there's conflicting evidence at ancestry and elsewhere as to exactly how many children the son of James and Mary had, and what their names were.

The son of James and Mary Vibart was James Meredith Vibart (1753-1827) and the sources do agree that he married Juliana Williams (died 1822). James Meredith Vibart (1753-1827) was the first Vibart to work for the East India Company. However, by the 1820s he and Juliana were living at Pitminster, just south of Taunton in Somerset, probably in the same house that James Vibart had done.

The sources agree that James Meredith and Juliana had three sons: Henry; John; and Thomas Gowan. But my rummaging around on the web and in the British Library India Office suggests they had two more sons: another James Meredith, born 1788 and still living in 1861; and Edward; and a daughter Frances Jane (I saw her name spelled the male way, Francis, several times in my searches but she's definitely female). Henry, John and Thomas Gowan went to work for the East India Company's civil service; James Meredith (died 1861) and Edward for its army.

Thomas Gowan Vibart, the third son of James Meredith and Juliana, was born 1798. He is Marian Charlotte Vibart's grandfather. There's a little more information on his career than on those of his older brothers. He undertook the East India Company training at its College of Fort William, Madras, where William Hay MacNaghten was a fellow-student. Thomas Gowan didn't have MacNaghten's facility with foreign languages; which led MacNaghten to a brilliant career in India. Thomas Gowan passed the exam in Bengali very well, but studied only one other Indian language, Persian, scraping a pass in that. He left the College in 1814 and was sent to Bengal where he worked as a magistrate and tax collector. It's no wonder so many Vibarts were happy to brave the dangers of India to work for the East India Company: a list of current employees from the late 1830s gives Thomas Gowan Vibart's salary as 1000 rupees per year, which sounds like a very tidy sum and I imagine his household in India reflected that.

In 1821 Thomas Gowan Vibart married William Hay MacNaghten's sister, Jane Russell MacNaghten. This was a very good marriage from Thomas Gowan's point-of-view, as the MacNaghtens were grantees of the East India Company, had more money (though there were a lot of them for it to go round) and - I think - somewhat socially superior to the Vibarts. Jane and William Hay MacNaghten's father, Francis Workman-MacNaghten, ended a brilliant career in the service of the East India Company as a judge in the Calcutta supreme court; he retired in 1825 and was made a baronet in 1836. During the 1830s he was the chief of the clan McNaughton. Another of Jane's brothers, Elliot MacNaghten, served from 1842 to his death as a director of the East India Company.

Thomas Gowan and Jane had three sons, Meredith James; Francis Elliot; and Elliot Henry; and five daughters, Letitia; Julia; Jane Maria; Matilda; and Eliza Maria. However Thomas Gowan Vibart suffered the fate of very many of those who lived in India: by 1837 he was ill enough to be sent on a long leave to Europe, and he never returned, dying in Leamington Spa in September 1839; his youngest daughter had been born only a few weeks before.

Jane MacNaghten Vibart and her daughters do not appear on the censuses of 1851 or 1861 and they were living in France for at least some of that time, either all year round or in the winter, returning to London for its social season. By 1881, however, she was spending more

time in England; though she was still choosing to employ a French lady's maid for herself, and a Swiss nurse for her grandchildren on 1881 census day. She died in 1886, having buried four of her children as well as her husband and even a son-in-law; but her surviving children were all well settled and especially in the case of her daughters, I think this was largely as a result of her own efforts and family contacts.

MEREDITH JAMES VIBART

Thomas Gowan and Jane's eldest child, Meredith James, was Marian Charlotte's father. He was born in 1822 or 1823 in India (I don't know exactly where as I haven't found birth or baptism details for him). He was sent to England (probably aged 8 or 9) in order to go to Harrow School, and left the school in 1838 after being accepted by the East India Company's military seminary at Addiscombe (just outside Croydon) to train for service in their artillery battalions. Getting into Addiscombe was quite an achievement. Entry was by examination and in 1838, 34 young men took the exams but only 14 were taken on. The course lasted two years and pupils' parents had to pay £65 per year in fees; but it was a good investment in the future career of their sons. Fellow pupils during Meredith James' two years included a member of the Prinsep family; and a George Elliot who might be a cousin of Hugh Elliot who became a Golden Dawn member - the Elliot family of west London also had a tradition of working for the East India Company.

Meredith James officially joined the East India Company as a 2nd Lieutenant in June 1840 and spent the next six years in India before going on a long leave, some of which he spent in South Africa at the Cape Colony with Augustus Fortunatus Bellasis (1822-72), East India Company civil servant, archaeologist and artist. The Vibart and Bellasis families were related through a couple of marriages; and the Bellasis family also knew the Forbes family of Bombay - Meredith James' uncle John had married Anna Forbes.

This long leave was a very long one. Meredith James eventually arrived in England after his stay in the Cape Colony in the summer of 1848 and was still there in July 1849 when, against strong opposition (the job was much sought-after), he was appointed one of the two orderly officers at Addiscombe school. The post had always been a two-year secondment, but Meredith James' tenure came to an end after only one, when the school's headmaster died and his successor abolished the job altogether. However, during his short time in-post at Addiscombe, Meredith James met Eliza Blackburn Lloyd.

THE LLOYD FAMILY

Eliza Blackburn Lloyd was one of the 17 children (11 daughters, 6 sons) of Edward Lloyd (died 1859) of Rhagatt in Merionethshire and his wife Frances, daughter of John Edward Madocks. The Lloyds were part of the web of blood-relations and business connections in north Wales and the north Midlands that also took in GD members like Blanche Elliot and Florence ffoulkes (who were cousins). However, they had London connections as well, the best of them to my mind being the 4th daughter Mary Charlotte Lloyd (born 1819), who lived in London with the campaigning journalist and feminist Frances Power Cobbe - though I have to say I haven't found any evidence at all that Eliza and Mary Charlotte were close. Eliza (born 1824) was closer to the 7th daughter, Jane Margaret (born 1822), who in due course married Rev Henry Powell ffoulkes, the uncle of Florence ffoulkes' husband.

Edward Lloyd and his father were both prominent barristers in Wales. Although one of Eliza's brothers, Charles Owen Lloyd, joined the East India Company (to be killed in 1848), the Lloyds had no strong connections with India. It must have been through Welsh or London connections that she and Meredith James met. They were married at Corwen in Merioneth on 1 August 1850.

Now I shall indulge in a bit of speculation and say that my own impression is that Meredith James Vibart did not enjoy being in the army; or did not enjoy being in it in India. He had to work - his family wasn't wealthy - but perhaps life in the army was not living up to expectations. Or perhaps there was something already wrong with his health - it got worse later - to cause him to be allowed to remain outside India for so long while still nominally an East India Company employee. Meredith James may also have worried about how Eliza would cope with India, coming from a family with no experience of living there. On the day of the census in 1851, he and Eliza were still in England. They were renting at house at Melcombe Regis, now part of Weymouth. Meredith James' sister-in-law Frances and her son Francis were staying with them. Frances was the widow of Francis Elliot Vibart who'd died in 1848; three-year-old Francis was their only child.

MEREDITH JAMES AND ELIZA IN INDIA

This section would be a lot better with one contemporary source that I decided not to use. During her short time in India, Eliza Blackburn Vibart wrote back to her sisters a series of letters describing her life there. They are now at the Centre for Maritime Historical Studies, Exeter University. I decided I couldn't justify the expense of going there to read them.

In 1851 Lt Meredith James Vibart may have been trying to find another posting in Britain, but if he was, he failed in the task. By 1853 he had returned to India, taking Eliza with him. He had been promoted to Captain and sent to one of the remotest frontiers India had to offer. In 1854 Marian Charlotte Vibart was born in the new, very English, hill station of Naini Tal (more usually run together as Nainital these days), the last staging post on the way to Almora, on the border with Nepal, where her sister Edith Frances was born in 1856, to complete Meredith James and Eliza's very small (by mid-Victorian standards) family.

Marian Charlotte Vibart's infancy was thus spent in the foothills of the Himalayas, an area beautiful but very remote - even in 1909 the Almora district had only one road paved to British standards. The area had come into East India Company hands in 1814/15 but in the 1850s there were still very few western residents, the Company relying on Gurkha regiments to keep the peace, with a sprinkling of British officers to command them. Missionaries were already present, running an English-language school and a leprosy asylum; but I couldn't find any references to the Church of England having a parish in the area so it's not clear to me how the British managed for Sunday church. As well as leprosy, smallpox was still rife - that must have alarmed the Vibarts. However, the district did have one western-trained doctor, a Dr Pearson, and he and the most senior Company official, Sir Henry Ramsay, began a programme of smallpox vaccination in 1854. As was usual in India, the British lived close together in a cantonment just west of Almora town so that is where Marian Charlotte spent - well, I'm not sure how long. Largely due to Sir Henry Ramsay's foresight and the respect in which he was held by local people, there was very little fighting in Kumaon during the Indian Mutiny/First War of Independence. However, there was some, and an account of it is given in my main source for what life might have been like for the Vibarts in this remote corner of India. All the British officers who were in command during the fighting are named in the account, but Meredith James Vibart isn't mentioned and I think this means that the Vibarts

had left Almora, if not by the first outbreak of mutiny (at Meerut - where Meredith James' cousin Edward D H Vibart was stationed - in May 1857), at the very latest by November, when the winter snows rendered coming down from the mountains almost impossible.

The India Office registers for the 1850s don't give any clue as to where Meredith James Vibart was stationed in the 1850s. In the issues of 1854-56 he was on the list of officers of the 8th battalion, Bengal Artillery. The 8th battalion's headquarters were at Cawnpore (now spelled Kanpur or Khanpur) but it was not unusual for individual officers to be sent to serve elsewhere, for example on secondment to native regiments, where they would give expertise and training; except that Meredith James Vibart is not listed as seconded.

I've no idea where the Vibarts were during the Mutiny/First War of Independence except to say that if they had been at Cawnpore they would not have survived. Major Edward Vibart was stationed at Cawnpore when mutiny broke out there in June 1857. His wife Emily and their four youngest children were with him. All of them were murdered in one of the most savage episodes of the whole mutiny.

The India Office register of 1857 listed Meredith James as having been transferred to the 6th battalion, whose headquarters were in the Punjab, but I'm not sure he ever actually served there. I think the Vibarts may have been extremely lucky and been in Calcutta by late 1857, not as refugees from the fighting but in order to negotiate Meredith James' retirement from the East India Company. He was transferred to the Company's invalid list in March 1858 and the Company began to pay him a pension in that month. It seems rather soon - early 1858 - for him to have to be pensioned off as a result of injuries received. Of course, he could have received an injury that made it impossible for him to continue on active duty, but he was being pensioned off at a time when the East India Company needed every fit man it could get, and I do wonder about the very long leave of 1846-51. Was Meredith James Vibart ill by the mid-1840s? - was a long period in a mild, dry climate prescribed for him? In which case malaria is a likely candidate for the illness he was suffering from. He may have been sent to serve in Almora because the climate was thought to be kinder to those suffering from malaria's tendency to recur; only to find that that the disease was endemic in parts of Kumaon as well as on the Indian plains. Back in Britain, Meredith James Vibart didn't die for another 30 years; though he never lived in Norfolk or Hayling Island, also places notorious for recurring fevers.

THE VIBARTS IN BRITAIN

When Meredith James Vibart was put on the Company's invalid list, his pension will have reflected the fact that he had only served the Company for twenty years. Returning to Britain, he seems at first to have had a long period of rest. In the longer term, though, he had to find another job. On the day of the 1861 census, Eliza had taken Marian Charlotte and Edith Frances on a visit to her unmarried sister Harriet Frances Lloyd. By this time, only four daughters were still alive of the original 17 Lloyd siblings. Harriet Frances was living in some style (she had a butler and a lady's maid) on a small estate at Nannau Isafon in Merioneth. Meredith James had not gone with his wife and children on this visit. He was out of the UK, perhaps visiting his mother Jane (who wasn't in the UK on that day either) before taking up a new military appointment as an adjutant with the Cheshire Artillery Volunteers. After five years in Cheshire, in 1867 Meredith James moved his family to Edinburgh to take up what was probably a very similar posting with the 1st City of Edinburgh Artillery Volunteer Corps: a man with experience of artillery, to take charge of enthusiastic but unskilled volunteers. He and Eliza were in Edinburgh on the day of the 1871 census.

Although there were so few Vibarts living in the UK, a family of them had settled in Scotland by 1871: George Forbes Vibart, his wife Annie and their sons. Marian Charlotte and Edith Frances were abroad on the day of the 1871 census, however, though they were not visiting their grandmother Jane Vibart - by this time she was living at 29 Belgrave Road Westminster, with her youngest daughter Eliza Maria. Marian Charlotte and her sister had plenty of other relatives to visit, though I don't think they went as far as India to stay with them. Their most likely destination was Belgium, where Meredith James' sister Julia now lived: in 1855 she had married a Belgian aristocrat, Comte Maximilien de Lalaing.

Meredith James was given his final promotion, to Major, in 1873. He may have retired - finally - from the army in 1878. On the day of the 1881 census Meredith James Vibart was staying in lodgings in Glasgow. Eliza, Marian Charlotte and Edith Frances were at the rectory in Whittington, Shropshire, visiting another of Eliza's surviving sisters, Jane, and Jane's husband Rev Henry Powell ffoulkes, archdeacon of Llandaff.

Meredith James Vibart's business in Glasgow may have been connected with his and Eliza's move south. They were living in Hampstead, north London, by 1887 at the latest.

Marian Charlotte Vibart was in her early thirties when a period of change began greater than she had experienced since she had left India as a child. 1886 was a traumatic year for all the Vibarts. Grandmother Jane Russell Vibart and Eliza's brother-in-law Henry Powell ffoulkes both died. And first cousin Francis Meredith Edmund Vibart and his wife Evelyn got divorced. That the marriage had broken down had probably been understood in the family for several years. Evelyn had brought her daughter Violet back from India in 1879, in time to have her second child in Sidmouth where her parents lived. There was nothing particularly unusual in that, as India was seen as a dangerous place for children and infants. However, Evelyn was still in Sidmouth in 1881 and probably didn't return to her husband. Living discreetly apart was preferred by many couples to the public humiliations and social stigma of divorce, but even agreeing on a separation could rupture the husband's army career - Francis Meredith Edmund was on half-pay, all-but-retired, as early as 1884. However, by 1886 Evelyn wanted to marry someone else (someone a great deal richer than her first husband) and divorce proceedings began, I would imagine at her instigation. The divorce didn't create a public scandal: no co-respondent was named when the case came up in court, and I couldn't find any reports on the hearing on the web or in the Times so the evidence heard wasn't that salacious. However, evidence of marital misconduct would have to have been brought by the spouse who had initiated the proceedings, and it would have been heard in court. No wonder Evelyn's mother-in-law, Frances Louisa Vibart, had gone to live abroad.

In 1887 Edith Frances married Frank Grafton Wignall; their son John Dighton Wignall - Meredith James Vibart and Eliza's only grandchild - was born early in 1888. This period of upheaval ended when Meredith James Vibart died in the spring of 1890, bringing the inevitable diminution of Eliza's income along with the grief. The 1891 census found Eliza, Marian Charlotte and the three Wignalls all living together in a house called Meadow View, in Burton Lane Hampton. Pooling all its various members' incomes, the household could still afford to employ a lady's maid, a cook, a housemaid and a gardener.

At some time during the 1890s Marian Charlotte Vibart invested some money in a limited company, Biltor Limited, that had been founded to exploit a patented design of pipe or cigarette holder. I haven't been able to find out anything about the company's founder, Emil Alexander Wüterich, so I don't know how Marian Charlotte met him. I think it must have been through Valentine Lacy and her first-cousin George Forbes Vibart (eldest son of John

Vibart and his wife Anna Holland Forbes) and his wife Annie. George and Annie had moved to Barnes by the 1890s but had been living in Edinburgh when Marian Charlotte was growing up there, so that she must have known them and their sons very well; and Valentine Lacy, their perpetual lodger, equally well. After their elder son (another George) had followed the well-trodden Vibart path to India, George and Annie had moved south to be near their younger son, the actor Henry Vibart, whose career on stage and later in films Marian Charlotte must have followed.

I don't know exactly when Biltor Ltd was set up but it was after February 1889 when the patent was granted to Emil Alexander Wüterich as the pipe's designer. I don't know, either, how much money Marian Charlotte invested, or where she had got the money from - perhaps she had inherited it from her grandmother or her father. I can say that no one else in her family invested in the firm, the only other shareholders I've found named anywhere were Emil Alexander and Anna Wüterich, perhaps the inventor's wife or sister. GD member Valentine Lacy went to work for Biltor Limited so there's more about the firm in his biography. In 1902, Biltor Limited and Marian Charlotte as an individual petitioned the patent office for an extension of the 1889 patent but they were refused, though the company continued at least until E A Wüterich's death in November 1927. Her investment gave Marian Charlotte an income or extra income, but perhaps not as much as she'd hoped for as the company was never very successful.

If you've got this far in Marian Charlotte Vibart's biography and are still wondering what sort of person she was, join the club: I realised yesterday (Sunday 12 January 2014) that despite all the work I'd done, I had no idea what she was like. Was she serious or light-hearted? Socially adept or gawky? A devout Christian or someone searching for something to believe in? A dutiful daughter or a restless one? Was she sorry - around 1890 - that she had never married, or glad? How did she spend her days?

Evidence to put a personality to the name is lacking: essentially it's one piece of music and two memberships, of the Theosophical Society and the Golden Dawn.

The one piece of music is a special case. The British Library has one song with music by Marian Charlotte Vibart, setting words from G J Whyte-Melville's long poem Sarchedon: A Legend of the Great Queen (by which he means Semiramis), which was published in three volumes in 1871. The song is for soprano with piano accompaniment and though the sheet music has no date on it, the British Library catalogue has assigned it to 1872. The extract Marian Charlotte set to music is not, in fact, about the ancient Middle Eastern goddess Ishtar, it's section in which a passer-by stops to watch and hear a palm tree bending towards another palm tree, murmuring its love. Perhaps Marian Charlotte chose to call her song 'Ishtar' as an echo of the exotic, Eastern setting of Sarchedon.

Ishtar is dedicated to "Mrs Henry ffoulkes" - that is, Marian Charlotte's aunt Jane Margaret ffoulkes (née Lloyd), the woman she and her mother and sister were staying with on the day of the 1881 census. In 1872, Jane Margaret and her husband Rev Henry ffoulkes had founded the Child's Convalescent Home at Rhyl in north Wales. The Rhyl History Club website that was my best source for the Home suggests that they did so as parents whose own daughter, Gertrude Mary, needed more than the usual level of nursing care: on the 1871 census, the ffoulkes' household included two nurses, which the website thought excessive for a family of three, including only one child. Gertrude Mary died aged only 12, in September 1876; although the Rhyl History Club website gives the cause of death on the death

certificate as “inflammation of the bowels” which is a vague - death from such a cause might be the result of a short but catastrophic illness, or a long-term disability.

A note on the sheet music’s front page says that all proceeds from sales of *Ishtar* (at 3 shillings a copy) were going to be donated to the Child’s Convalescent Home. Marian Charlotte published no more music, as far as I can tell, so *Ishtar* was a one-off charitable effort, not the beginning of even a stuttering career as a composer. It was a thoughtful and practical gesture to perhaps a favourite aunt, who was trying to help all sick children, not just her own.

After the publication of that one piece of creativity, another 25 years pass before Marian Charlotte Vibart emerges from anonymity to join the Theosophical Society. She applied to become a member in October 1897, only a few months before she joined the GD. By this time she and her family had moved further into London, to 113 Lansdowne Road Kensington Park; perhaps it was now easier than it had been, to go to TS lodge meetings. One of Marian Charlotte’s two sponsors for TS membership was a Lilian Lloyd. Lilian was possibly a relation but she sponsored the applications of quite a few prospective TS members at this time so perhaps the surname is just a coincidence.

Given that Marian Charlotte chose a Hebrew word for her GD motto, it’s safe to say that she had come to the GD through an interest in the Kabbalah. Perhaps she had read Samuel Liddell Mathers’ *Kabbala Denudata: The Kabbalah Unveiled*, a translation into English of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth’s translation of the first books of the Hebrew Zohar into Latin. Mather’s volume was published in 1887. He had dedicated it to Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland, both of whom were members of the TS. Marian Charlotte could also have come across *Collectanea Hermetica* volume IV, part of a series in which William Wynn Westcott and other members of the GD re-printed hermetic texts with new notes and commentaries. Volume IV reprinted the 1714 translation of *Kabbala Denudata* by ‘A Lover of Philalethes’ with explanations by Sapere Aude - that is, Westcott himself using one of his GD mottos. I think myself that Marian Charlotte would have needed to be acquainted with members of the GD to come across Westcott’s volume, but she (unknowingly, I should imagine) had several friends and relations who were or would become members - Florence ffoulkes whose husband was Rev Henry Powell ffoulkes’ nephew; Florence’s cousin Blanche Elliot and Blanche’s husband Hugh; and possibly Maud Cracknell, another woman sponsored into the TS by Lilian Lloyd. Any one of them could have recommended her and Valentine Lacy as suitable GD members.

If Marian Charlotte joined the TS because of an interest in the Kabbalah it was likely that she was disappointed by what was being discussed at its meetings. During the 1880s when Kingsford and Maitland had been members, western esotericism and Buddhism had been the two main strands in the TS’s teachings. However, by the late 1890s Annie Besant had taken charge of the TS in England and was leading it towards the teachings of Hinduism. I haven’t found any evidence that Marian Charlotte found Hinduism of interest, though she continued to pay her yearly subscription until 1900. She probably stopped paying when she and her mother, Edith Frances and Frank Grafton Wignall all went abroad - they are not on the 1901 census. Perhaps Eliza Vibart’s sister-in-law Frances Louisa went with them - she’s not on the 1901 census; but she wasn’t on 1891 either so perhaps she was living abroad and they had all gone to visit her.

The Vibarts and Wignalls returned to England in due course; possibly their time abroad was

cut short by the sudden death of Meredith James's sister Letitia Campbell in October 1901. There had to be an inquest as Lady Campbell had died - in a very modern manner - from an overdose of a drug she had been taking to help her sleep; evidence from her son-in-law indicated that she had got addicted to it. Marian Charlotte had to be back in England by late 1901 so that she could play her part in the application for the extension of Wüterich's 1889 patent.

Marian Charlotte and her mother, and probably the Wignalls as well, moved into 20 The Avenue Richmond. Marian Charlotte didn't take any part in the upheavals within the GD that led to the formation of its two daughter orders in 1903; and there's no sign from the records available that she joined either Stella Matutina or the Independent and Rectified Rite. Perhaps her mind was taken up with her mother's failing health - Eliza Blackburn Vibart died in November 1905; she left no Will so Marian Charlotte applied for letters of administration to wind up her affairs. Eliza Vibart's personal effects amounted to only £110 and though. In 1911 both her daughters claimed to have private means (that is, income from stocks and shares or a trust fund) I'm not sure how comfortably-off either of them were; I've already indicated that Marian Charlotte's income from the shares in Biltor Ltd wasn't what she had probably been hoping for; and having done a bit of investigation into Edith Frances's husband Frank Grafton Wignall, I can say that even before he married Edith Frances, he had no obvious means of financial support. However, the Wignalls had been able to fund sending their son to Clifton College, after which he had gone on to Sandhurst and become another descendant of the Vibarts to serve with the army in India, arriving there in 1907.

On the day of the 1911 census, Marian Charlotte and Edith Frances were living together, at 10 Pagoda Avenue Richmond. Frank Grafton Wignall had died at the age of only 51, early in 1908, and it made sense for the sisters to pool their financial resources.

Marian Charlotte must still have been in touch with her aunt Frances Louisa Vibart. She may even have been acting on Frances Louisa's behalf with any business she needed to have done in England, because Frances Louisa is not on the 1911 census and must still have been living most of her time (if not all of it) abroad. The consequences of the divorce of Francis Meredith Edmund from Evelyn had rumbled on through the years; as Frances Louisa was in her 80s by 1911, perhaps Marian Charlotte had to deal with them from time to time, on her behalf. Her advancing years, and the first World War, forced Frances Louisa Vibart to return to England, to the Kemp Town district of Brighton, where she died in March 1915. Though her grandchildren (Violet and Frank) were still alive, it seems that Frances Louisa had become estranged from both of them. Perhaps she had not been able to bring herself to have anything to do with her ex-daughter-in-law; and her son Francis Meredith Edmund Vibart had died, in Manchester, in 1898. Frances Louisa named Marian Charlotte as her only executor.

The war wore on. Edith Frances Vibart may have hoped that, serving in India, her son would be spared active involvement; but he volunteered or was sent to the Middle East, and was killed (in Mesopotamia or Palestine - my source wasn't clear on this) in 1917. Her only child. He had spent one last long leave in Britain in 1912 and hadn't given as much of his time to his mother as perhaps he ought, spending much of it bird-watching instead. With his death, Edith Frances lost the will to live, I think - she died herself in October 1918 aged 62. Again Marian Charlotte was called upon to be an executor. This time she was acting with her distant cousin and friend Sophy Lloyd, with whom Edith Frances had something of war's tragedy in common - Sophy's only son, Ronald Vaughan Lloyd, had been killed in 1916.

By the time of Edith Frances's death the sisters had moved again: Edith Frances died at 2a Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court. Philbeach Gardens is a crescent, off Warwick Road and only a couple of minutes' walk from Florence ffoulkes' house in Nevern Square; central, but cheap, and very convenient for Earl's Court exhibition centre, which may be significant. In 1903, Marian Charlotte's first cousin (aunt Julia's eldest son) the Comte de Lalaing, had arrived in London to take up what turned out to be the last appointment of his career as a diplomat: he had been appointed Belgium's Minister Plenipotentiary in Great Britain. The Comte was still in post in August 1914 when Germany invaded Belgium and precipitated the British descent into the first World War. He helped set up a committee to raise money to help the tide of refugees that began to arrive from Belgium over the next few months and I know from my research on Henry George Norris that a lot of them were housed in Earl's Court exhibition centre - probably temporarily on the grounds that the war would be over by Christmas but I think that in the end, they stayed there until after the Armistice. The worry and strain caused the Comte to retire on health grounds in 1915; but he couldn't return to his native land, he and his wife had become refugees as well. Marian Charlotte and Edith Frances were well-placed to do a spot of volunteering work amongst the Belgians stuck in the exhibition centre, if they had the mind. The Comte and Comtesse had returned to Belgium by 1919 but the war had had a profound affect on both of them: they both died during that year.

And that's all there is really. Marian Charlotte Vibart died in September 1932. She had moved again, at least once, though only a few streets west, and died at 35 Castletown Road West Kensington. She had named Henry Meredith Vibart's son Hugh Henry Rose Vibart - one of the few male Vibarts left - as one of her executors; and her solicitor Thomas Piercy Mills. She is buried next to her mother Eliza in Richmond cemetery.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR MARIAN CHARLOTTE VIBART

THE VIBART FAMILY

No one called Vibart has an entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

For the common ancestor of all 19th-century Vibarts: //archives.rootsweb.ancestry.com, pages on the descendents of James Meredith Vibart 1753-1827, of Somerset.

For JAMES MEREDITH VIBART (died 1827) father of Thomas Gowan Vibart amongst others: Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 volume IV S-Z. Published Phillimore and Co Ltd 1947: p355

Major Edward Vibart, his wife Emily and Cawnpore:

Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 vol IV S-Z. Published Phillimore and Co Ltd 1947. P354.

At glostesters.tripod.com/IM5.htm is a list of offices killed during the Mutiny.

Edward Daniel Hamilton Vibart, later a Colonel, is the eldest son of Major Edward and Emily. He was stationed at Meerut when the first mutiny began, in May 1857 and was later at the siege of Delhi. The Sepoy Mutiny as Seen by a Subaltern: From Delhi to Lucknow by Colonel Edward Vibart, late 15th Bengal Cavalry. London: Smith and Elder 1898

Marian Charlotte Vibart's grandfather THOMAS GOWAN VIBART

The Annals of the College of Fort William by Thomas Roebuck, the College secretary, from the college's official records. Published Calcutta 1819: p499, p503, p517, p525.

India Office and Burma Office List 1825 p10.

Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany issue of 1837 Home Intelligence items p264 and p312.

Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany issue of 1839 p169 Home Intelligence - a list of recent deaths includes that of Thomas Gowan Vibart of the Bengal Civil Service, at Leamington on 4 September.

For his salary at the end of his career: Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer issue of 1841 p236.

Marian Charlotte Vibart's grandmother JANE RUSSELL MACNAGHTEN VIBART and her

family

Debrett's The Baronetage of Engl issue of 1839 p457 entry for Francis Workman-MacNaghten. Francis married in 1787; his wife was Letitia daughter of Sir William Dunkin who'd also been a supreme court judge in Calcutta. William Hay MacNaghten was their 2nd son; Jane Russell MacNaghten who married Thomas Gowan Vibart was their 12th child.

At clanmacnaughten.net an item on Francis Workman-MacNaghten says that he was chief of the clan from 1832 to 1843.

There's plenty on the web about William Hay MacNaghten 1793-1841 and he's also in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography etc.

THE CHILDREN OF THOMAS GOWAN VIBART AND JANE RUSSELL MACNAGHTEN VIBART

Marian Charlotte Vibart's father MEREDITH JAMES VIBART

Via archive.org to a copy of the Harrow School Register 1800-1911 now held at University of Toronto. Meredith James Vibart left Harrow in 1838.

ARMY CAREER

India Office archives/Bengal Milit archives eg at IOR/L/MIL/10/47/394 though I found it didn't contain any information I hadn't already found elsewhere.

At Addiscombe:

The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany issue of 1840 p213 rpt on the latest exams f entry into the East India Company's milit seminary.

Addiscombe, its Heroes and Men of Note 1894 London: Archibald Constable and Co of Parliament St W/m. By Meredith James Vibart's cousin Col Henry Meredith Vibart who is an ex-pupil and now "Royal (late Madras) Engineers" with an introduction by Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer volume II ?1840 p147.

Augustus Fortunatus Bellasis:

British Drawings in the India Office Library: Amateur Artists. HMSO 1969. P105.

The British Library catalogue has a number of books of sketches by Augustus Fortunatus Bellasis 1822-72; though he worked for the East India Company, mostly in its Bombay presidency, he wasn't a professional artist.

For the Bellasis family see:

www.bellasis.net/belasisdescendants

British Drawings in the India Office Library: Amateur Artists. HMSO 1969. P105 covers Augustus Bellasis, who had leave 1846-47 which he spent in the Cape Colony. Capt M J Vibart was with him on that period of leave.

Back at Addiscombe:

Via newspapers.nl.sg to The Straits Times of 2 October 1849 p4.

Marriage to Eliza Blackburn Lloyd:

Gentleman's Magazine volume 189 1850 p427: marriage announcement.

Kumaon:

Administrative History of Uttarakhand (Kumaon and Garwhal) During the Rule of the East

India Company by Dr Ajay Arora of Naini Tal University. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers 1997.

The fact that Meredith James Vibart was in the Kumaon district is not mentioned in any of the issues of the India Register and Army List for the 1850s. I found out that's where he and Eliza were from the baptism records of Marian Charlotte and Edith Frances, seen at familysearch.

India Register and Army List issues of 1854-1856 p78 Meredith James Vibart is just listed as serving with the 8th battalion Bengal artillery; and that he had been promoted to Captain on 7 July 1853. The 8th battalion's headquarters was at Cawnpore though its 4th and 6th companies were in the Punjab.

India Register and Army List 1857 and 1858 both issues P78 Meredith James Vibart is now with the 6th battalion Bengal Artillery, whose official headquarters is at Subraon in the Punjab.

India Register and Army List 1859 p205.

More generally on Naini Tal, Almora and the Kumaon District

Wikipedia on the Chand kings of Uttarakhand.

At dsal.uchicago.edu is the Digital South Asia Library. Online there is a copy of the Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909 edition; vol 12 p169 Almora and surrounding district.

Back in Britain:

Edinburgh Gazette 11 October 1861 p1227.

Edinburgh Gazette 20 August 1867 p961.

London Gazette 13 August 1873 p4583.

London Gazette 24 February 1874 p831.

Marian Charlotte Vibart's mother's family, the LLOYDS OF RHAGATT MERIONETH

On the web at www01.us.archive.org, the text of Archaeologia Cambrensis issue of 1876; from a copy now at the University of Michigan. The edition included an article by J Y W Lloyd MA: The Lordships of Bromfield. On pp271-74, there's a section on Edward Lloyd and Frances née Madocks (sic), listing all their 17 children. Frances is the daughter of John Edward Madocks of Vron Iw. The article's author, J Y W Lloyd is Jacob Youde William Lloyd and the information in the article was later published in his larger work The History of the Princes, the Lords Marcher... published 1884; which also includes information on the ffoulkes family.

Frances Power Cobbe: Victorian Feminist, Journalist, Reformer. Sally Mitchell. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press 2004.

MEREDITH JAMES' BROTHER FRANCIS ELLIOT VIBART

Birth of Francis Elliot Vibart and of his son Francis Meredith Edmund: familysearch.

India Office file: IOR/L/MIL/10/47/413 says only that he was in the 5th Cavalry. I saw an index for a burial record in the India Office family history section: Bengal 1848.

Francis Elliot's widow Frances went to live with her mother, Frances Abbott: they are on the census in 1861 and 1871 together, in Blandford Square Marylebone. Frances Abbott died in 1880.

Divorce proceedings between Francis Meredith Edmund Vibart and wife Evelyn Fanny:

Times Tues 25 May 1886 p4 Law Notices, cases being heard today include: Vibart v Vibart.

Evelyn Fanny Vibart married Swainson Howden Akroyd only a few weeks after the divorce had been granted. Francis Meredith Vibart's daughter Violet Vibart lived with her mother and her mother's second husband until her marriage. In 1904 she married Bernard Cunliffe Foster of Duncote Hall Towcester, who died very shortly after the day of the 1911 census.

Evelyn Fanny Akroyd died in 1921; there's a hint in her probate registry details that she had separated from her second husband by this time.

For the descent of Ronald Frank Vibart (1879-1934) through bigamy, alcoholism and pub brawls:

Silence of the Heart: Cricket Suicides by David Frith. Edinburgh: Mainstream 2001. I read a 2011 edition online.

Website cricketarchive.com gives Ronald Frank Vibart's DOB as 5 April 1879, at Sidmouth.

MEREDITH JAMES' sister LETITIA VIBART CAMPBELL

Burke's Peerage 101st edition published 1956 on Letitia Maria Vibart born 1828, married 1854

George Campbell of Edenwood, Ceres, Fifeshire; 3 sons 2 daughters.

Via archive.spectator.co.uk to Spectator 4 February 1854 p19 marriage announcements

The career of Sir George Campbell 1824-92, lieutenant-governor of Bengal 1871-74, is well covered in wikipedia and Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online.

For the children of George and Letitia Maria Campbell see www.johngrile.com/FTree/CHRISTIE_FAMILY.htm.

Times Fri 25 October 1901 p8 short report on the inquest into the death of [Letitia] Campbell, on Tuesday 22 October 1901 from a suspected overdose of sulphonal. The verdict was 'misadventure' (rather than suicide).

At www.thefreedictionary.com/Sulphonal information originally in Webster's Revised and Unabridged Dictionary issue of 1913 on sulphonal. Roger found a photo on the web of a bottle of sulphonal, brand name 'Tabloid', manufactured by Burroughs-Wellcome, now in the museum at St Thomas's Hospital.

MEREDITH JAMES' sister JULIA VIBART DE LALAING

Because she lived in Belgium after her marriage, I've found very little on Julia's life; I don't know when or where she died.

For her birth (though she is not named), via google to forgottenbooks.org and Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register issue of 1830 volume 1 p293 Domestic Occurrences for January [1830]: Thomas Gowan Vibart's wife had given birth to a daughter on 6 January 1830 at Bauleah.

At geneagrophie.com a page giving information that Julia Ann Mary Vibart was born in 1830 in Rampart Bengal.

Allen's Indian Mail 1855 p243 in a list of recent marriages: on 17 April [1855] at St Mary's Bryanston Square, Julia A M Vibart to Count de Lalaing.

The bridegroom's name via freebmd: marriage of Julia Anna Maria Vibart to Maximilien Jean Ghistain (sic) de Lalaing registered Marylebone April-June quarter 1855. I think the name

'ghistain' is a mistake: 'ghislaine' is more likely.

Julia's sons, the diplomat and an artist:

Via the web to Who's Who volume 58 1906 p976.

The Connoisseur 1917 p243 obituary Of Comte Jacques de Lalaing who had died on 10 October 1917.

The International Studio volume 63 1918 p165 Comte Jacques de Lalaing KCMB was a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium.

Who Was Who 1929 p600 obituary of the diplomat Count de Lalaing awarded GCVO 1915.

MEREDITH JAMES VIBART's brother ELLIOT HENRY VIBART

Familysearch recorded his birth in Calcutta in 1831 but I could find nothing more about him so I presume he died, in India, as an infant.

MEREDITH JAMES VIBART's sister JANE MARIA VIBART MACNAGHTEN

Times Tuesday 13 September 1859 p1 marriage announcements: on the 10th inst [September 1859] at Ovingdean Church Sussex, Elliot MacNaghten of the Bengal Civil Service, to Jane Maria daughter of the late Thomas Gowan Vibart. Meredith James' cousin John Vibart (ex-East India Company) and his family were living at Ovingdean at this time. He had married Anna Holland Foster in Bombay; the Fosters were friends of the Bellasis family.

A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain Burke 1835 p307 on the

Workman-MacNaghten family of Beardville co Antrim. Jane Maria Vibart was marrying her first cousin: her bridegroom was the son of Jane Russell MacNaghten's brother Elliot MacNaghten and his wife Isabella (née Law).

India Register and Army List 1858 pxvi Elliot MacNaghten (the bridegroom's father) of 46 Eaton Square is a member of the court of directors of the East India Company; pxvii he's been a member since 1842.

At www.thepeerage.com, Elliot MacNaghten (Jane Maria's husband) lived 1837-March 1875. He and Jane Maria had three sons and two daughters but only one of them, Russell Elliot MacNaghten, married. The fact that Russell has second forename 'elliot' is interesting and suggests the family knew GD member Hugh Elliot's family, the Elliots of Elliot and Watney, brewers of Pimlico.

MEREDITH JAMES VIBART's sister MATILDA MARIA VIBART

Parbury's Oriental Herald and Colonial Intelligencer issue of 1838 p217 in the Home Intelligence section: the wife of Thomas Gowan Vibart had given birth to a daughter on 8 June [1838] at Boulogne-sur-Mer.

Familysearch affiliation publication number RG33 gives a baptism and a burial for her, both at Boulogne. She died in 1845.

The youngest in the family, MEREDITH JAMES VIBART's sister ELIZA MARIA VIBART

Birth from familysearch and death registration 1876 from freebmd. She never married.

GEORGE FORBES VIBART, HIS WIFE ANNIE AND THEIR ACTOR SON HENRY

See my biography of Valentine Lacy for more details of these relations. George Forbes Vibart (1825-1893) was Meredith James Vibart's first cousin - eldest child of John Vibart and his wife Anna Holland Forbes. His wife Annie (died 1910) was Scottish and the couple were living in Scotland by 1871. The actor Henry Vibart was their youngest son - his long career is covered by wikipedia and imdb although both those websites favour his later work in films over the several decades of theatre-work that came first. Henry married the actress and artists' model Taigi Keene.

EDITH FRANCES VIBART Marian's sister

Baptism in Almora from familysearch.

A few details on Edith Frances' husband Frank Grafton Wignall:

London Gazette 6 November 1883 p5264 list of partnerships to be dissolved includes that of Frederick Nock Rudgard and Frank Grafton Wignall wine and spirit merchants at 9 Exchange Arcade Manchester.

London Gazette 28 November 1884 p5556 another list of partnerships to be dissolved: this time it's Frank Grafton Wignall and Thomas Crosby Peers in business as Mobberley Bone Manure Co at Mobberley Cheshire.

Short obituary of John Dighton Wignall:

www.britishbirds.co.uk originally in British Birds volumes 1-12 1922 p38. At www.ancientfaces.com there's a section on the Dighton family which says John Dighton Wignall was killed on 26 January 1917.

Sophy Lloyd:

The County Families of the UK better known as Walford's County Families. Published annually; I looked at the 60th edition, from 1920: p841, when Sophy Lloyd was still alive.

Marian Charlotte's mother ELIZA BLACKBURN VIBART

Centre for Maritime Historical Studies, Exeter University.

Their reference Z/DR/3/22-48 is a set of letters written to her sisters by Eliza Blackburn Vibart, covering 1853-58.

MARIAN CHARLOTTE VIBART

Birth and baptism from familysearch.

BILTOR LIMITED

Earliest evidence I found of its existence:

Cosmopolis volume 8 1897 p923 has The Biltor Ltd at 93 Oxford St.

The patent and the application for its extension:

London Gazette 19 December 1902 p8773.

Reports of Patent, Design and Trade Mark Cases volume 20 [1902] issued by the Patent Office: p285: details of the hearing on the patent extension application.

The Electrical Review volume 52 1903 p646 reported on the outcome of the case.

London Gazette 10 April 1928 p2661 a notice winding up the affairs of the late Emil

Alexander Wüterich, issued by solicitors acting for John Valentine Lacy.

TO ISHTAR

BL catalogue: To Ishtar: An Eastern Love Song bound in a volume of other songs from around 1872.

Seen via google a reference to G J Whyte-Melville's Sarchedon: A Legend of the Great Queen published in 3 volumes London: Chapman and Hall 1871.

Jane Margaret ffoulkes, Eliza Blackburn Vibart's sister:

For more 'family history' information on the ffoulkes family, see my biography of Louisa Florence ffoulkes.

Jane ffoulkes' daughter Gertrude Mary Frances ffoulkes: see www.rhylhistoryclub.wordpress.com. In 1876 money was raised for a ward at Child's Convalescent Home dedicated to Gertrude's memory. The Home eventually turned into the Royal Alexandra Hospital and the ward named for Gertrude still exists.

INTEREST IN THE KABBALA

Marian Charlotte's motto:

at www.sacred-texts.com/jud/zdm/zdm020.htm a translation of the Zohar: Genesis Chapter XI The Strange Visitor includes this: "Man is a three-fold product of life (nephesh), spirit (rauch) and soul (neschamah)"...

Kabbala Denudata: The Kabbalah Unveiled by S L MacGregor Mathers ((sic)) 1887. It translates into English the Latin version of Knorr von Rosenroth; it also collates that Latin version with original Chaldean and Hebrew texts. It's a translation of these books in the Zohar:

- 1 = book of concealed mystery
- 2 = the greater holy assembly
- 3 = the lesser holy assembly.

Collectanea Hermetica volume IV 1894.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society Membership Register March 1895 to June 1898 p181.

16 January 2014

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Carl VOGT who was initiated into the Golden Dawn right at the end of my period, September 1900, and chose the German motto 'Durchdacht'.

It turned out, when I began to search for this GD member, that there was a noted Swiss politician and writer living in Switzerland: I got lots of references on the web for this man; but I was sure that he wasn't the man I was after. Bless Carl Vogt for having a name unusual in England, however - I found him on the 1901 census, living in the lodging house kept by Miss Lily J Moore at 24 Oakley Square London NW. Miss Moore's house was near Euston Station, very convenient for people working in the City of London, and half of her 8 lodgers described themselves as clerks and two more said they were accountants. Naturally, 7 of the 8 had been born elsewhere; the exception was Mabel Hancock, the only woman and the only Londoner. Two came from countries outside the Empire. One was Danish; the other was Carl Vogt.

How often have I wished that the census officials would give a bit more detail! When it came to what people did for a living, the officials' main focus was on getting the sources of people's income in as few words as possible so the information would fit on the form they had to use. When Carl Vogt described (possibly in rather thickly-accented English - I'm sure he could speak some English) how he earned his daily bread, the official just scribbled "merchant". So I know that Carl Vogt bought and sold for his living: but whether he dealt in silk or jute, or diamonds or coal, or shares or rivets, or all those things, I cannot say. And did he work for himself? Or for someone else? Or for a big firm, and if so was it an English one or a foreign one? The census official wasn't interested.

If I knew more about what Carl Vogt bought and sold, and who he did it for, it might hint at WHO HE KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN; but as things stand, I don't know who it was he had met who was in the GD.

Another problem with information on the census was that, if you were not born in England, the official was not going to make much effort to be exact. So in 1901, no matter how specific Carl Vogt might have been about where he was born, all that was jotted down was "Germany". Is that Berlin or Leipzig? Essen or Frankfurt? Or none of those places? The official did note that Carl Vogt was 45 years old, and unmarried.

Even that much information on Carl Vogt was a lot more than I had expected, so I tried the 1891 and 1911 censuses to see if he was a long-term resident in England. He was not on either of them; and although he could have been on holiday, or even away on business on both occasions, I think it's more likely that in 1901 he was working in London temporarily.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the

United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch. Of course none of these cover Europe. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Clotilde Rosalie Regina von Wyss was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on 8 February 1897, taking the German motto Mehr Licht. She was initiated at the GD's Amen-Ra temple in Edinburgh; she was living at 17 Cornwall Street Edinburgh at the time. Later she moved to 26 Gondar Gardens West Hampstead and was a member of the GD's Isis-Urania temple in London. However, she never seems to have done the work necessary to progress in the GD beyond the lowest grade and probably dropped out of the GD quite soon.

Before I start: how do you pronounce Clotilde's Swiss-German surname? You pronounce it: fon veess.

Clotilde von Wyss is one of the best-documented GD members. Not (I suppress a sigh here) that that's saying much. However, I do have good information on most of her life and I also find her one of the most interesting of the GD members I have studied: a dynamic personality, very attractive, but also (to one at least who knew her) alarming, even perverse and threatening. So this biography is quite a long one, divided into two parts:

- 1) a relatively straightforward Life, by date
- 2) aspects of her life in more detail - family, career in teaching
- 3) aspects of her life in more detail - Marie Stopes and other girls at North London Collegiate School; Ethelwyn Mackie

6 November 2013: thanks to Nigel Shepley of St George's School Edinburgh and Nicola Feggetter of North London Collegiate School for helping sort out where Clotilde went to school, and her brief life as a school-teacher.

Part 1: Clotilde's Life by Date

Sources referred to very briefly in the date list can be found at the end of Part 1 below the 'basic sources' section. What was happening in Clotilde's life is in italics; the sources for it are in my normal Times New Roman

13 Aug 1871 Clotilde was born, in Zürich

Sources for the year and the place: all the obituaries; Aldrich

Source for the day and the month: British Library Additional Manuscripts number

58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 22 Aug 1899

probably in Clotilde's childhood, possibly in her early childhood

Clotilde's parents separated

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 2 February 1900

childhood Clotilde spent her early years in Switzerland

Sources: obituary Linnean Society

?by 1884 Clotilde's mother (also Clotilde) moved to north London with her two daughters, the GD's Clotilde and Martha

Sources: obituary Nature; British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes

?August 1901 in which Clotilde says her mother has returned to live in Switzerland

after 16 years away.

1884-91 Clotilde was at school, most likely at South Hampstead High School, run by the Girls' Public Day School Trust. The school's motto was Mehr Licht, reputedly the last words of Goethe, which Clotilde later chose for her Golden Dawn motto.

Sources: Aldrich, who had access to the archives of the Girls' Public Day School Trust at the Institute of Education.

?late 1880s ?1890s

Clotilde read a great deal of theosophy, though she doesn't seem to have joined the Theosophical Society.

Sources: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII

ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 22 August 1899, in which she speaks of her reading as quite a long time in the past. And TS Membership Registers 1888 to 1900: I didn't see Clotilde's name in them (though I might just have missed it).

1891 Clotilde was living with Clotilde the elder and sister Martha at 12 Medley Road Kilburn; a small street backing onto the railway just west of West Hampstead station. The house was next door to the pub on the corner with Iverson Road

Source: census

?1891-94 Clotilde trained to be a teacher, at Maria Grey College in north London. She graduated with the Cambridge Teaching Certificate, with distinction

Sources: obituaries Nature; Journal of Education and School World volume 52 1920 p136

1895 Clotilde started her first job as a teacher

Source: entry for Clotilde von Wyss at the Teachers' Registration Council

1895-97 Clotilde was teaching at St George's High School Edinburgh

Source: St George's School archives; details sent to me September 2013 by the school's historian and archivist, Nigel Shepley.

Source for the school: www.st-georges.edin.sch.uk. Marie Stopes was a pupil at the school (see Stopes' wikipedia page) but not while Clotilde was there

While living in Edinburgh Clotilde got to know the biologist J Arthur Thomson, probably by taking one of Edinburgh University's extra-mural lecture courses, which he taught. His views on evolution and the natural world greatly influenced her own teaching philosophy. She also became friendly with GD member Edith Grace Collett who was studying medicine in Edinburgh.

Source for Thomson's influence: obituary Linnean Society

Source for Collett: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes ?August 1900

Feb 1897 Clotilde was initiated into the GD in Edinburgh

Source: GD Members' Roll transcribed in R A Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn Companion* p133.

Summer term 1897

Clotilde moved to London and began work as a science teacher at the North London Collegiate School in Camden. Marie Stopes was one of the school's star science pupils but NLCS already had quite a reputation for its science teaching

Sources: North London Collegiate School staff index; and the school's own website at www.nlcs.org.uk section on famous ex-pupils; Stopes' wikipedia page and the biographies listed in the Sources section.

Late 1890s to 1905 at least and possibly a lot longer

Clotilde gave talks on nature study, and taught it at evening classes

Sources: quite a few of them so I've put them in the Sources section below

22 July 1897 At its first meeting since Clotilde had joined the staff, the pupil members elected her vice-president of the NLCS Science Club. The Club president was Miss Aitken, the chemistry teacher but the committee responsible for the running of the Club was all pupils

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume XXII number 67 November 1897: 112-13

7 October 1897

Clotilde read a paper at the NLCS Science Club: Nature's Preparation for Rest during the winter..., illustrated with specimens collected by her and the pupil Club members

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume XXII number 68 April 1898: 159

December 1898

Miss Aitken and Clotilde led an expedition of NLCS Science Club members to Epping Forest and Chingford

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume XXIII number 70
December 1898: 251

10 February 1899

Clotilde returned to Maria Grey Training College to give a lecture: On the Teaching of Object Lessons

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume XXIV number 72 July 1899: 81

20 July 1899

Miss Aitken and Clotilde took the Science Club to Stamford Common to collect plant specimens

By autumn term 1899

Marie Stopes had been elected NLCS Science Club secretary.

Source for both: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume XXIV number

73

November 1899: 134

August 1899 Clotilde spent the summer vacation in Switzerland.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 22 August 1899.

About 1899 to 1901

Clotilde had close relationships with senior pupils including Gertrude Colls, Olga Kapteyn, Christine Pugh and particularly Marie Stopes. Some kind of

sisterhood was involved, apparently along GD lines in some respects

Sources: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letters Clotilde to Marie Stopes 1899-1909. Also: all the

Stopes biographies listed in the Sources section below; although I interpret the relationship with Stopes very differently

By December 1900

Clotilde, her Mother and possibly her sister too were living at 26 Gondar Gardens, West Hampstead.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 24 December 1899

End January/early February 1900

Clotilde's father died; she was not with him at his death.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 2 February 1900. I think he

died in Switzerland. Marie Stopes was very kind and understanding to Clotilde and her Mother in the first months after their bereavement.

August 1900 Clotilde spent the summer vacation with women friends in Norfolk. She moved to a new address, 12 Gayton Crescent off Hampstead High Street; but she only stayed there a few months

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letters Clotilde to Marie Stopes ?August 1900 and 3

October 1900.

September 1900

Clotilde applied for a job as lecturer at the Cambridge Teacher Training College for Women.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 3 October 1900.

January 1901 Clotilde began work at Cambridge Teacher Training College for Women as science lecturer, doing some private teaching as well. Margaret Punnett was the Principal and Punnett's successor, Charlotte Ainslie was also on the staff by 1901. Clotilde kept in touch with Marie Stopes and other ex-pupils as well.

At least until 1911, Clotilde kept in regular touch with NLCS and especially its headmistress Dr Bryant.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff

222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes ?April 1900 et seq

Also: obituaries; Aldrich; census.

For Punnett's appointment: via www.newspapers.com to Guardian of 29 March 1899 p14.
For Ainslie: ODNB

By 1901 Clotilde's mother and sister had left England. I haven't found any evidence that Clotilde had other relations living in Britain

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes ?August 1901.

Also: censuses for 1901 and 1911

January-June 1901

Clotilde met Beatrice Ethelwyn Mackie; who was Clotilde's own age but a student (that is, not a lecturer) at Cambridge Teacher Training College for Women

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes ?August 1901.

Also: that Ethelwyn Mackie was a student at the CTTC: census 1901. Census 1911; Clotilde's Will

Summer 1901 Clotilde returned to Switzerland, spending time with her Mother and cousins; and also went on a mountain climbing holiday with Ethelwyn Mackie.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letters Clotilde to Marie Stopes ?August 1901.

November 1901

Marie Stopes told Clotilde that she had received a proposal of marriage from a fellow student at University College London. She had turned it down, but

Clotilde realised that Marie was growing up and apart from her. Clotilde was still in touch with other ex-pupils.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 10 November 1901.

From November 1901

Clotilde wrote to Marie Stopes less and less often.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 10 November 1901 et seq.

1902 London Day Training College (LDTC) was founded by London County Council: teacher-training for those going to teach in elementary schools. John Adams was its first Principal; Margaret Punnett and D R Harris were appointed as its most senior staff members, although even they seem to have been part-time only at this stage

Sources: Aldrich; IOE website archives pages; and on the fact that the LCC's employee records no longer exist - London Metropolitan Archive's Information Leaflet 27: An Outline

of Sources for the History of Education in London

Summer 1902 Clotilde sent in a letter of resignation to Cambridge Teacher Training College but was persuaded to stay for one more academic year.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 8 December 1902.

?1902 ?1903 Clotilde joined the School Nature Study Union (1903-94). She remained a member until her death. Other founders included Claude Hinscliffe, curate of St George in the East CofE church, and botanist Kate Marion Hall

Sources: History of Education volume 25 (see Sources section for the rest of the details); SNSU Journal 1906-38; obituary SNSU Journal; website

www.stgite.org.uk/naturesstudy.html

Christmas 1902

Clotilde spent the holiday with Ethelwyn Mackie's family at their house in Scarborough.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 26 December 1902.

January 1903 Clotilde began teaching at the LDTC on Monday and Tuesday afternoons; in addition to the work she was doing at CTTC. At LDTC she taught hygiene, nature study, arts and crafts.

Source for the date: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 8 December 1902.

Sources including the subjects she taught: obituaries; Aldrich; Institute of Education (IOE) website archives pages; Studies and Impressions; Willis Dixon

4 March 1903 Clotilde returned to NLCS to give a talk: Some Aspects of Spring from a Naturalist's Point of View. She gave it "from behind a barrage of bottles, tubes and dishes" of pond-life specimens and flowers

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume for July 1903.

Summer 1903 Clotilde gave up her job at the CTTC.

Autumn 1903 Clotilde started as a full-time employee of the LDTC and moved back to London.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letters Clotilde to Marie Stopes 8 December 1902.

By October 1903

Clotilde was living near the LDTC, sharing a flat at 18 Somerset Terrace, Duke's Road

London - a convenient but noisy street on the south side of Euston Road opposite Euston Station.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 12 October 1903; I think she was sharing the flat with Ethelwyn Mackie although she doesn't say so.

1903-36 Clotilde remained a staff member at the LDTC until her retirement

1903-36 However, she continued to do work outside the LDTC - evening classes, and nature-study field trips

Source: Willis Dixon

Exact dates unknown but between 1903 and 1936

Clotilde was the first woman to be a volunteer teacher at Wormwood Scrubs

Source: Aldrich

January 1904 Clotilde and the NLCS's Dr Bryant gave talks at the Hampstead Science Society. Dr Bryant's was on bees; Clotilde talked about earthworms.

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume for March 1904: 19

4 June 1904 Clotilde led a group of members of the Teachers' Guild on an expedition to Totteridge, during which she showed them all how to lead a nature study lesson for children

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume for July 1904: 54

I'm not sure this means that Clotilde was a member of the Teachers' Guild. She may just have been asked to lead this session and the one in 1906 which you can see mentioned below.

Source for the Teachers' Guild but not for Clotilde's possible membership of it:

UCL Bloomsbury Project see

www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project/institutions/teachers_guild.htm

The Teachers' Guild records are now at Warwick University.

1905 As the LDTC began a period of rapid expansion (both in the number of students and in what was taught). In 1905 Percy Nunn and Margaret Punnett were appointed joint vice-principals and probably went full-time

1905 Clotilde's job description changed slightly - she was now LDTC's lecturer in nature study and drawing; I suppose she was still only part-time

Source: Art Workers' Quarterly volume 5 1906 p140

She was also continuing to give evening classes in nature study

Source: School World volume 7 1905 piv

1906 Clotilde was on the organising committee of the 3rd International Congress for the Development of Drawing and Art Teaching

Source: Journal of Education volume 28 1906 p859

The SNSU begins to publish a journal. Clotilde is its editor until ?1936

Source: SNSU Journal; obituary SNSU Journal vol 34 1939; obituary Linnean Society
7 December 1906

The NLCS hosted a meeting of the Teachers' Guild, during which Clotilde gave short demonstrations of how to study pictures, and how to use pictures while giving lessons on art and composition

Source: NLCS school magazine Our Magazine volume for February 1907: 22

1907 Clotilde did some plant identification work for an author

Source: Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494, translated and with an introduction by Mary Margaret Newett: p378. Published 1907 by the University of Manchester in its Historical series.

By 1908

Clotilde and Ethelwyn had moved to 3 Cromwell Mansions, a block of flats on the corner of King Street Hammersmith and Cromwell Avenue; near to Ravenscourt Park and tube station

1908 Clotilde contributed a short paper to the First International...Moral Education Congress: On the observation of nature as a character-building process

Source: the Congress' Papers... pp160-61. The Congress was held at the University of London from 25 to 29 September 1908.

1909 LDTC became a school within the University of London; though it was still run by and its staff were still paid by the LCC. LDTC began to teach undergraduate courses

Sources: Aldrich; Studies and Impressions; IOE website archives pages

Clotilde's The Child's World in Pictures was published by Adam and Charles Black. With 62 illustrations.

Clotilde contributed an article Nature Study in the City School, to Child Life: A Magazine for Kindergarten Teachers published by the Froebel Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Source: Child Life volume XI new series 1909 pp47-49

Seen July 2013 at Roehampton University archive:
studentzone.roehampton.ac.uk

Clotilde's article Ideal and Real was published in Broad Lines in Science Teaching

Source: Broad Lines in Science Teaching editor F Hodson. London: Christophers of Lancaster Place 1909: pp23-36

April 1909 As ex-pupil Olga Kapteyn was in England on a visit, Clotilde decided to hold a tea-party for “the old biology class”.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. Letter Clotilde to Marie Stopes 29 April 1909. Evidence from the 1911 census suggests Clotilde was sharing the flat with Ethelwyn Mackie.

29 April 1909 Clotilde wrote her last letter to Marie Stopes, inviting her to the tea-party.

Source: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. There are no more letters from Clotilde in the Stopes Papers

after the note written on 29 April 1909. I guess either Marie Stopes didn't go to the tea-party; or she did and there was a quarrel of some kind.

Academic year 1909/10

Clotilde was doing 25 hours per week teaching at LDTC. This was the most of any of LDTC's senior staff but even the 2 vice-principals were doing 22 hours or so and Clotilde didn't have their admin duties.

Source: Aldrich.

1910 Clotilde's *The World in Pictures* published by Adam and Charles Black; with 57 illustrations, 32 in colour. Subsequent editions in 1910, 1912, 1917 and 1919

1910 Clotilde's *Beasts and Birds. A Nature Book for Boys and Girls* was published by A and C Black. Originally with 55 black-and-white illustrations, it was reissued in 1912 and again in 1919 with 31 of the 55 in colour

Academic year 1910/11

Clotilde's teaching hours per week increased to 30. Half way through the year, the first of a series of part-time tutors was appointed to help with Clotilde's drawing and nature study commitments.

Source: Aldrich.

March 1911 Clotilde gave the NLCS library a copy of her *The Child's World in Pictures*

Source: NLCS school magazine *Our Magazine* volume March 1911: 12

1911 Clotilde and Ethelwyn Mackie were sharing a flat in Hammersmith. Ethelwyn was a secondary-school teacher employed by Middlesex County Council.

Source: census

1912 Clotilde's *Gardens in their Seasons. A Nature Book for Boys and Girls* was published

Source: I saw this book via google. The British Library doesn't have any copies of it so I haven't been able to find out the full publication details

1914 Clotilde (with two other women) was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society

Source: Proceedings of the Linnean Society 126th session November 1913-June 1914 p15, p70; Proceedings of the Linnean Society 127th session p1; obituary Linnean Society

World War 1 LDTTC started teaching post-graduate courses. There was a huge drop in the number of male students and rise in the number of women staff - sustained through the 1920s as so few male students or staff return from the War

Source: IOE website archives pages

From 1915 LDTTC began to teach an MA course

Sources: Aldrich; Studies and Impressions; IOE website archives pages

1919 Clotilde contributed drawings to Percy Nunn's The Teaching of Algebra

Source: The Teaching of Algebra (including Trigonometry) by T Percy Nunn. London: Longmans Green and Co 1919

1922 John Adams retired as Principal of the LDTTC; Percy Nunn succeeded him and was also appointed Professor of Education, University of London

Sources: Aldrich; Studies and Impressions; IOE website archives pages

1926 Clotilde was now LDTTC lecturer in the theory and practice of education. I'm not sure whether she's full-time by now; but this sounds like a full-time job to me

Source: University of London Calendar issue of 1926 p150

Clotilde was one of many education professionals who sent a written submission to the Hadow Report on higher education. Her boss Percy Nunn was one of those called to give evidence in person

Source: The Hadow Report 1926 seen July 2013 at www.educationengland.org.uk: The Hadow Report into The Education of the Adolescent. London: HMSO p261

Marie Stopes' Sex and the Young was published; it contained a section on the dangers of unrecognised lesbianism and homosexuality in schools; and especially the dangers to the pupil of teacher/pupil relationships. Stopes used examples from her own experience and observation, particularly of one woman teacher, anonymous then but now identified as Clotilde von Wyss.

Source: Sex and the Young by Marie Carmichael Stopes. London: Gill Publishing

Co Ltd 1926: especially Chapter 5 and even more especially pp53-54

1927 Clotilde's The Teaching of Nature Study was published by A and C Black. Further editions were published in 1928 and 1930

1927 Clotilde's Living Creatures: Studies of Animal and Plant Life was also published by A and C Black

1931 Clotilde was now the LDTTC's lecturer in biology

Source: Journal of Education volume 63 1931 p395

Clotilde's *The Elements of Biology* was published by Christophers. There were subsequent editions in 1932 and 1935

1932 LCC handed control of LDTC to the University of London and it became the University's Institute of Education (IOE). Percy Nunn was appointed its first Director

Sources: Aldrich; *Studies and Impressions*; IOE website

1933 IOE's Margaret Punnett retired. Punnett had got through so much work that her job had to be split into two. Clotilde was offered the part of it that was called Warden of Women Students; but declined it, with many thanks.

Sources: Aldrich, Willis Dixon

1934 Clotilde's *Biological Drawings. First Series, Animal Studies* was published by the University of London Press

Summer 1936

Clotilde and her boss Percy Nunn both retired from the IOE.

Sources: obituaries; Aldrich; Willis Dixon; IOE website archives pages

Clotilde (?and Ethelwyn) moved out of London, to Mousehill Down near Godalming, where she was able to spend more time on her studies of wood ants

Source: obituary Linnean Society

Clotilde acted as advisor to the producers of a documentary film on Wood Ants. She was present when the film was shown at a Film School that summer. The film was described as, "the climax to careful observational work on the part of children".

Sources: British Film Institute (BFI) website at explore.bfi.org.uk/4ce2b69cbc974: *Wood Ants*, 1936 made by Gaumont-British Instructional. The film was about the communal life of ants, and had been supervised by "C. von Wyss"

Sight and Sound volumes 5-6, published by BFI 1936: p157

Visual Aid Year Book issued 1949 by the Daily Mail School Aid Department; p177 as being 1 reel long, with some sound. Obviously it was still being used in schools then

Source: Willis Dixon

7 November 1938

Clotilde died. Ethelwyn Mackie and Ethelwyn Mackie's nephew were executors of Clotilde's Will

Sources: all obituaries; Aldrich; Probate Registry records for the Will

1950 Clotilde's *Biological Drawings. Second Series, Botanical Studies* was published by the University of London Press. Her *First Series, Animal Studies* was reissued

Unknown date but possibly as late as 1955

Two booklets were published which Clotilde prepared as part of a SNSU series helping teachers to do nature study classes: Seeds and Seedlings; and The School Aquarium

1956 Ethelwyn Mackie died

Source: Probate Registry records

1968 Clotilde's booklet Simple Experiments with Seeds and Seedlings (possibly a reissue of the SNSU booklet Seeds and Seedlings) was published, edited by M J Wootton

I've done two more files for this biography of Clotilde von Wyss: one on her family and her teaching career; and one on her personal life including her relationships with Marie Stopes, Olga Kapteyn and Ethelwyn Mackie. If you'd like to read them, please go back to our main GD Members' page and click again.

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BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. As far as I know, the records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have not survived either.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

SOURCES FOR CLOTILDE VON WYSS

Aldrich:

The Institute of Education 1902-2002: A Centenary History by Richard Aldrich. London: IOE Univ of London 2002 pp20-21 and there's a photograph of her as well. This is an official history of the IOE and it's based on the IOE's own archives including employee records. It was lucky for me that Clotilde ended up an employee of IOE rather than the LCC; otherwise her record would have been destroyed by now

The obituaries:

Nature volume 142 issue of 26 November 1938 pp944-45; it was written by "R.F.S.", someone I haven't identified so far

Proceedings of the Linnean Society 151st session October 1938-May 1939: p265

School Nature Study Union Journal volume 34 1939; I haven't got the page numbers for this as I haven't seen the original publication

History of Education volume 25

History of Education volume 25 number 2 June 1996 pp181-98: The School Nature Study Union 1903-94, by E W Jenkins and B J Swinnerton of Leeds University where the SNSU archive now is.

Studies and Impressions:

Studies and Impressions 1902-1952. London: Evans Bros 1952 for the University of London Institute of Education

London Higher:

London Higher: the Establishment of Higher Education in London editors Roderick Floud and Sean Glynn. London: Athlone Press 1998: p240

Willis Dixon:

The Institute: A Personal Account of the History of the University of London Institute of Education 1932-1972 by C Willis Dixon. London: University of London IOE; p11. Willis Dixon knew Clotilde personally; but only as a junior member of staff when she was one of the most senior members.

For Clotilde's relationship with Marie Stopes:

The Stopes Letters referred to in the Life. And these biographies:

Marie Stopes: A Biography by Keith Bryant. London: The Hogarth Press 1962. He quotes from letters between the two, but doesn't name Clotilde or even say she was one of Marie's teachers.

Marie Stopes: A Biography by Ruth Hall. London: Virago 1978. Hall names Clotilde and

identifies her as the young woman teacher castigated anonymously by Stopes in *Sex and the Young*.

Marie Stopes and the Sexual Revolution by June Rose. London and Boston Mass: Faber and Faber 1992.

Clotilde's evening work publicising nature studies:

Nature volume 61 1900 p283 a section on the Teaching of Botany covers a meeting held at the Imperial Institute on "Jan 10" [1900] at which Miss von Wyss of North London Collegiate School read a paper. Pp283-84 summarises the paper.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record volume 72 1900 p44 had a reference to Miss von Wyss of the North London Collegiate School giving a paper on Object Lessons in Botany.

PNEU Notes volume 12 number 9 1901; edited by Miss Russel of 26 Victoria St p160 news items sent in by several of its branches including the one in St John's Wood. At the St John's Wood branch meeting of 14 December ?1900 at North Hall, Mortimer Road, Clotilde read a paper: Nature Studies in the Home. In it she made an argument that she came back to very often: that encouraging children to do nature study at home could form the basis of "much moral instruction" pointing out that humans "have life in common with all organisms". Seen 21 July 2013 at website www.amblesideonline.org which is the archive of the magazine The Parents' Review: A Monthly Magazine of Home Training and Culture edited by Charlotte Mason.

The School World volume 7 1905 published by Macmillan and Co: piv has an announcement for a forthcoming series of 6 lectures by Miss von Wyss at the Hampstead Library, Prince Arthur Road: the Biology of Spring. The course would run on one evening each week over February and March and would include practical work. Clotilde was described as lecturer at the London Day Training College.

I couldn't find any sources for Clotilde doing this kind of work after 1905. Perhaps she was obliged to do less of it as her time became more taken up with her LDTC and regular voluntary work.

20 August 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

The life of GD member Clotilde Rosalie Regina von Wyss in more detail: FAMILY, CAREER IN TEACHING

For those of you who've arrived here other than via my file 'Clotilde's life in dates', she was born in Switzerland in 1871, spent most of her life in England, and died in Surrey in 1938. She was a biologist; a teacher, then a lecturer; and a writer. She never married. She had a long-lasting relationship with another woman.

FAMILY

It's been difficult to find out a great deal about Clotilde's family. Apart from her letters to Marie Stopes and the biographies of Stopes, my sources for her cover her professional life only; and when they mention family details, they all mention the same, bald, few. However, the Stopes connection has been helpful.

Clotilde (born 1871) and her sister Martha (born 1873) were born in Zürich. Their mother - also called Clotilde - was Swiss. I can see from web searches that there are and were people with the surname 'von Wyss' and 'Wyss' living in the Zürich district; perhaps some of the 19th-century ones were relations of Clotilde. In her letters Clotilde mentions relations, including a cousin, living in Bern around 1900.

The only thing I know about Clotilde's father is that he died early in 1900; definitely not in England, probably in Switzerland. From a letter written by Clotilde the day after she'd heard about his death, it's clear that her parents had split up while she was a child (the letter doesn't say exactly when) and that she had never had much of a relationship with him.

Perhaps the split happened in 1884 - though the letter I've just mentioned gave me the impression it had happened long before that - because around that year, Clotilde's mother went to live in London, taking her two daughters with her. She gave the 1891 census official some information on her source of income that is rather puzzling: she told him that her main income came from a sewing-machine company of which she was the secretary. However, the census official listed her as an employer, not an employee, as if her income was share dividends, not a salary. Having learned that she was separated from her husband, I've been wondering if she actually received money from her husband or from his family, the sewing machine company being the original source of it, but it not coming to her directly but via family members or lawyers. I think exactly what Mrs von Wyss was trying to explain to the census official will remain a mystery. She didn't want him to know she was separated from her husband: she told him she was married. Though he might have wondered why, in that case, she described herself (not her husband) as the head of the household.

Clotilde does seem to have spent enough of her childhood in Switzerland to think of it as home; and grew up speaking Swiss German as her first language. Switzerland being the multi-lingual country it is, she could probably speak French well too.

From her earliest years, she had an interest - not just that, a joy and delight - in animals, plants, and the natural world, that comes over (if obliquely) in the more personal of her books. Throughout her life she loved to observe animals and plants, to identify them and to draw them - she illustrated her own books and other people's - and to study their lives. She kept beetles and salamanders at home in her room, where she hoped they would breed; wherever she worked, she set up an aquarium; and when she retired, she began a systematic study of ants' behaviour that might have resulted in some important publications if she had only lived longer.

As a separated woman living on a restricted income, Mrs von Wyss was careful what she spent her money on. In 1891 she was living in Medley Road, a tiny street backing onto the railway just outside West Hampstead station; in number 12, next to the pub on the corner with Iverson Road. The von Wyss's neighbours look to me as though they were on the boundaries between the artisan and the bottom of the middle-class, in the endless gradation of the

Victorian class system: the pub owner (pubs weren't really respectable), a couple of clerks, a man who worked in a hairdressing salon, a widow living on an annuity...not quite middle-class, I think you'd say, particularly as none of them had servants that lived in. Rather than paying more rent and living in more respectable, indisputably middle-class surroundings, the elder Clotilde chose to invest her income on educating her daughters at a good school. Perhaps she was looking to a future when they would be able to support themselves and her; so that none of them had to rely on income from her estranged husband. If so, it was very advanced thinking on Mrs von Wyss' part; in the 1880s even middle-class women obliged to live on income from a husband who had left did not always think to educate their daughters for work.

CLOTILDE IN EDUCATION - AS A PUPIL

Clotilde's timing, in being born in the early 1870s, was very good. It meant that she was able to go to one of the schools founded as a result of the efforts of the first generation of reformers of women's education; rather than be haphazardly educated by governesses. Mrs von Wyss' choice of north London as a home was an advantage - because if you could pay, there was actually a choice of secondary schools for girls.

Nearly all the obituaries of Clotilde state that she attended the North London Collegiate School as a pupil. However, in October 2013 the School's Librarian, Nicola Feggetter, told me that Clotilde's staff index card makes no mention of the fact that she had been a pupil. Nor does there seem to be any other information in NLCS archives to suggest she was a pupil there; so I don't know how the idea that she had been one got about. In his book on the history of the Institute of Education, Richard Aldrich says that it was South Hampstead High School that Clotilde attended; and he has proved reliable on other matters. South Hampstead High School is one of the schools set up and run by the Girls' Public Day School Trust (now the Girls' Day School Trust). The GPDST had been founded in 1872 by Maria Grey and Emily Shirreff. Maria Grey had also founded Maria Grey Training College where Clotilde learned to teach.

South Hampstead High School opened in 1876. In 1886 the job of headmistress was given to Mary Sophia Benton, who had taught at the school during its early years. Miss Benton must have been appointed to the job either during Clotilde's time as a pupil or just before she started at the school. She was a new breed of teacher, a product of the first generation's reforms and initiatives. She had been a student at Newnham College and as such, was living proof of a woman's ability to grapple successfully with a university-level syllabus. While she was headmistress, the school focused on language teaching, especially French and German. I wonder if it was Miss Benton who chose the school's motto? - *Mehr licht*, reputedly the last words of Goethe. *Mehr licht* was the motto Clotilde chose when she was initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn. The school's other focus was on sciences - though the emphasis was probably more on botany and perhaps some zoology, rather than physics and chemistry. Physics and chemistry and even zoology were seen as boy's subjects even by women and as a result there was a lack of suitable women teachers for them. Botany was seen as a more feminine subject - it could be taught in girls' schools all-too-conscious of having to justify their existence all the time and avoid being accused of encouraging girls to be unwomanly. As Clotilde was able to teach school-girls and college students a variety of subjects later in life - biology, chemistry, maths, art and nature study - she left school educated to a high level in all of them.

CLOTILDE IN EDUCATION - LEARNING TO TEACH

Later colleagues of Clotilde viewed her as a born teacher. But the choice of work available to even the best-educated young woman was limited in the 1890s, so a career in teaching may have been not so much a choice as an inevitability for Clotilde. There's a lot of indirect evidence in Clotilde's letters to suggest that if her family circumstances had been different Clotilde might have chosen to go to university; but they weren't different, and that option wasn't open to her. I think this is an important point to note, when it comes to considering Clotilde's relationship with her pupil Marie Stopes.

Mrs von Wyss' choice to come to live in north London was vindicated again when Clotilde left school. Without leaving home and thus keeping expenses to a minimum, she was able to get the best teacher-training that was available to women at the time, at Maria Grey College in Fitzroy Square Bloomsbury. The College had been founded in 1878, to train women to work in secondary schools, and successful students left it with a recognised qualification, the Cambridge Teaching Certificate. Clotilde graduated from the College, probably in 1894, with a Distinction in the Certificate exams.

CLOTILDE IN EDUCATION - TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

Clotilde's first job was at St George's High School, Edinburgh and she was on the staff there from 1895 to Easter 1897. The school was set up in 1888 by the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women, as part of its wider plan to get Scottish women into university. The Association's plan had been very successful - in 1892, all Scottish universities had been opened up to women, and this must have given classes at St George's an impetus and focus that was perhaps harder to keep up in England where the struggle for that particular equality was still having to be fought. However, the Association's philosophy was based on the work of Friedrich Froebel, that every child should be encouraged to develop their talents - intellectual or otherwise - to the best of their ability. Clotilde's work later in her career shows that this was something she always believed in, so as a first appointment, a spell at St George's School would have been ideal for her. I do not know for sure what subjects Clotilde taught at the school; but I imagine they were the same subjects that she taught later - botany, biology, nature study and art.

While Clotilde was a teacher at the school it was still in its original building in Melville Street in the centre of the city. In 1897, Clotilde was living (probably in lodgings) within a short walk of the school, at 17 Cornwall Street.

At some point during her time working in Edinburgh, Clotilde met the biologist J Arthur Thomson. From 1886 to 1889 he was a lecturer at Edinburgh University. However, from the start of his career he'd always wanted to explain science and its processes to a wider audience, so that in addition to his work in the university's medical school, he ran courses in the university's extra-mural programme. Although I have no direct evidence for when he and Clotilde met and became friends, there are two likely possibilities: that they met through mutual friends in Edinburgh's academic/scientific social circles - the same circles through which Clotilde was introduced to the person or people who recommended her to the GD's members; or that Clotilde took one of Thomson's extra-mural courses. One way or the other, they met as kindred spirits - as lovers of the natural world.

Clotilde's obituary in the Proceedings of the Linnean Society refers to the influence Thomson had on her later work, but didn't go into details (LS members not needing to be told them, I would imagine) so tentatively I put forward two suggestions, a sort-of microcosm and macrocosm, based on Clotilde's books. Firstly: Thomson's emphasis on morphology, on shape and structure, and their use in classification. Observation and drawing are so important in this. And secondly: Thomson's firm belief, which under-pinned everything he did, that the wonders of the natural world were evidence for the existence of a divine Creator. Thomson didn't deny evolution as theorised by Darwin, but he did suppose that evolution was part of the Creator's plan. Even in the 1890s Thomson's belief that a god was necessary for the creation of the world was seen at least by scientists as old-fashioned; but Thomson continued to hold to it, and to argue on its behalf in his books, until his death in the 1930s. Although her books are couched in academic, unemotional language, several of Clotilde's later colleagues remarked on the intensity of her reactions to the wonders of the world around her, one describing them as almost mystical in their depth of emotion. Such reactions argue a very spiritual nature, one not easily contained within orthodox late 19th-century Christianity, though in one of Clotilde's letters she does mention attempting to keep Lent.

Perhaps Thomson's most important influence on Clotilde's work as an educator was an indirect one. In 1927 in her most personal book, *Living Creatures*, Clotilde writes a few words about standing with Thomson at the side of a moorland pool watching a newt - dull stuff to most of us perhaps, but an exciting and life-enhancing moment for both of them. In her teaching of nature study to children, and later to the future teachers of children, Clotilde tried to instil in them that kind of wonder in the face of Nature's marvels.

During the Easter vacation in 1897, Clotilde moved back to London and joined the staff of the North London Collegiate School (NLCS). Here the links back to the first generation of fighters for women's education were direct and short, the school having been founded in 1850 by the great Frances Buss and having only had one headmistress since her - Miss Buss's own choice as her successor, Dr Sophie Willcock Bryant, who had taken over in 1895. In 1884 Dr Bryant had been the first woman in England to be awarded the D Sc so again, Clotilde was at a school with a strong focus on science. Sophie Willcock Bryant was another keen naturalist and she and Clotilde were close. Perhaps you could think of Dr Bryant as Clotilde's mentor and certainly they remained friends long after Clotilde moved on from NLCS, through Dr Bryant's involvement with Clotilde's later employers.

NLCS already had a Science Club when Clotilde arrived. Miss Aitken, the chemistry teacher, was its president and Clotilde was elected by its pupil members as the Club's vice-president during the 1897 summer term. The Club usually met in school, but when time and exams allowed, Miss Aitken and Clotilde would lead plant and animal collecting expeditions - to Epping Forest in December 1898; and to Stamford Common in July 1899. Clotilde also gave talks to the Club, surrounded by specimens that she and the pupil members had collected. Clotilde formed very close relationships with a group of her most promising pupils, including two who became well-known in different fields later in their lives: Olga Kapteyn; and Marie Stopes. I'll talk at length about this group of pupils below.

CLOTILDE IN EDUCATION - TEACHING TEACHERS

Early in 1901, Clotilde went to work as a lecturer at Cambridge Training College for Women Teachers, now part of Cambridge University as Hughes Hall (named after its founder and first principal, Elizabeth Phillips Hughes). As Clotilde had only five years of teaching experience in 1900, such a step up might seem a bit premature but I don't think so, for two reasons: one - the rapid expansion of education at this time, so that there was always a crying need for experienced teachers to teach others how to teach; two - Clotilde's gifts as a teacher, which were becoming well-known in education circles. She needed all her skills and experience in this very demanding job, teaching science and science illustration; and I get the impression from her letters that she may have had to develop the courses as well as teach them. She listed her current tasks in a letter written in April 1901: she was giving two science lectures and one illustration lecture per week; organising courses of lessons for the students' teaching-practice, sitting in on them and discussing them with the students afterwards - 18 lessons plus 18 'criticism' sessions per week; and correcting 18 sets of teaching-practice notes each week. In addition to this heavy workload she was also doing some private teaching - 9 hours per week of chemistry and maths.

At CTC she encountered two more of the formidable figures in the second generation of women educators. The second was Charlotte Edith Ainslie, who was on the staff by 1901; she became its principal in 1902. The first was Margaret Punnett, a former student at CTC, who was appointed its principal in 1899 but who moved on in 1902 and lured Clotilde away from CTC (not that that was difficult) to work for her back in London. From census day 1901 I have a snapshot of Clotilde, still living in college although it was the Easter holidays; with Charlotte Ainslie as head of household as Margaret Punnett was away; and being visited by Marie Stopes, now a student at London University.

The job at CTC seems to have got Clotilde down almost from the beginning; and running through the letters she wrote in the next year or two are the twin themes of disappointment and failure; and a fear, that she couldn't shake off, that she was not doing the job well enough. It definitely didn't help that by census day 1901 Mrs von Wyss and Martha had returned to live permanently in Switzerland. Clotilde was still in college on that day because she didn't have anywhere else to go. She felt dreadfully lonely.

The one bright spot of Clotilde's time working at CTC was that while she was there, she met Beatrice Ethelwyn Mackie. I want to talk about Clotilde and Ethelwyn more later.

Clotilde was looking for a change of job by 1902. She actually got as far as announcing her resignation from CTC but its governing Council persuaded her to give it one more academic year - hoping, I should imagine, that she'd change her mind about wanting to leave. It was inevitable, under the circumstances, that Clotilde would hear of the existence of the London Day Training College: not only had Margaret Punnett left CTC to work as an administrator and lecturer there but Sophie Willcock Bryant was one of LDTC's founders, and was on its governing body which (at least in the early years) held its meetings at her house in Hampstead.

In the autumn of 1902 Clotilde applied to the LDTC and was appointed lecturer in hygiene, nature study, arts and crafts. She had been mistaken - obviously - in thinking that she had not done well at the CTC. Initially the job at LDTC was two afternoons per week only, so for the last two terms of the 1902/03 academic year Clotilde worked at CTC and LDTC together.

But in the summer of 1903 the job at LDTC was given enough hours (and therefore enough pay) for Clotilde to be able to leave Cambridge and return to live in London at last.

Some reminiscences from men involved with the LDTC in its early years show how brilliant Clotilde was as a teacher, and how memorable she was. G B Jeffery, who was a student and then a lecturer at LDTC, reflected many years later that Clotilde had been given the short straw in being asked to show students how to teach art and nature study; because most of his student friends regarded those subjects as “beneath contempt”. He had watched her succeeding in making them care about them “by the sheer strength of her personality and her infectious love of nature and art”. She was also helped by the Government’s regulations, which made nature study a compulsory subject in elementary schools in 1905. D R Harris, who worked at LDTC from 1902 to 1905, remembered how Clotilde had on one occasion in 1903 saved the day by volunteering to fill in for a scheduled lecturer who hadn’t turned up. Stepping into a lecture-room full of students now noisy and restive at the delay, and with no notes and no preparation, Clotilde had them eating out of her hand within minutes and held their attention to the end of her hour. D R Harris admired the “courage and mettle” she had shown.

Clotilde stayed working at the LDTC until she retired in 1936. This was not a standing-still, however, this was a moving forward and upward while remaining employed at the same place. 1903-36 were years in which the need for teachers continued to expand; and the levels of education required of them continued to rise. In 1909 the LDTC was adopted as a school within London University and so was able to begin teaching under-graduate courses in education. Despite the difficulties presented to the LDTC by the first World War, in 1915 it began to teach an MA course. An important point in Clotilde’s career came in 1922 when the LDTC’s first Principal, John Adams, retired. Percy Nunn took over as Principal and Professor of Education in the University of London and I think it was at this point that Clotilde began to move away (essentially, upwards) from teaching the subjects for which she had been hired, towards teaching the theory and practice of education. Since 1910, Clotilde’s work-load had necessitated part-time help in teaching art. In 1923 Marion Richardson took that post - another teacher widely known as inspired, she was an expert in teaching children how to write. In 1924 Richardson was handling the basics of the art teaching course, and some supervision of students; while T G Derrick taught the relationship of art to the wider world (which included how art was used in commerce and industry); and Clotilde taught individual pupil development, and the relationship of art teaching to education in general.

By the 1930s, Government emphasis was moving away from seeing nature as something to be studied as a whole, towards a more anthropocentric and laboratory-orientated focus on biology as a science, on hygiene and on disease prevention. Although it must have cost her some pangs to see her beloved nature study being pushed to the sidelines, by 1931 Clotilde was the LDTC’s lecturer in biology, involved not only in teaching would-be teachers how to teach the subject according to the new guidelines, but in formulating syllabuses. Her book *The Elements of Biology* (published in 1931) laid out a course for 12-15-year-olds to follow in preparation for their School Certificate exams. She was still arguing that it was impossible to study any organism without observing it in its native environment; and that the process of close observation could be used as a ‘way in’ to the problems and wider issues of biology.

Throughout this time of expansion and change, the LDTC had continued to be run by the LCC and all those who worked there had been LCC employees. In 1932, however, the LCC handed control of LDTC over to London University and it was renamed the University of

London Institute of Education (IOE) - which still exists, of course.

It was the actual practice of teaching that Clotilde loved and was so supremely gifted at: the hands-on interaction with pupils and pupil-teachers. While she was working at the LDTC, she did evening courses in nature study; she led field-trips during the college vacations; and she did voluntary teaching work at Wormwood Scrubs, where she had no problem being left on her own in a room full of up to 70 offenders. She turned down at least one promotion which would have lifted her beyond that daily classroom contact: when Margaret Punnett retired in 1933, Clotilde was offered the part of Punnett's job that was titled 'Warden for Women Students'; she was flattered, of course, but declined it.

CLOTILDE IN EDUCATION - THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING NATURE

Moving to London meant that Clotilde was able to get involved (in a way she wouldn't have been able to, living in Cambridge) in a voluntary organisation, the School Nature Study Union (SNSU). It's possible that Clotilde couldn't attend the meeting in October 1903 that set up the SNSU; the names that are mentioned in that connection are the Rev Claude Hinscliffe and Kate Marion Hall. In 1902, Rev Hinscliffe was curate of the inner-city church of St George in the East. And Kate Marion Hall was a botanist who in 1904 became curator of the Stepney Borough Museum, where she installed living fish and even monkeys amongst the stuffed birds inside, and kept bees in a wildflower garden outside. Both were concerned at how little chance East End children had to see, let alone study, the countryside.

Clotilde shared these concerns, and became one of the SNSU's most active members. I'm sure she influenced the focus it came to have, on helping teachers with the nuts and bolts of teaching nature study - she will have been more aware than most SNSU members of how little most teachers knew about the subject themselves, and how they struggled with a lack of equipment and inadequate facilities for experiments, as well as a lack of knowledge. She was a long-serving member of SNSU's executive committee. She contributed two leaflets to the series SNSU published, designed to help teachers with specific nature study projects. She used her position as an employee of the LCC to further the SNSU's aims: she helped set up a scheme whereby LCC-owned equipment and specimens could be loaned out to schools for use in class; and it was almost certainly through Clotilde that the SNSU was able to use the LDTC's building on Southampton Row for its annual conference. And she edited its journal for over 30 years from its first issue in 1906; the article I read on the SNSU named the journal as the SNSU's most useful and widely-known promotional tool. Though the main focus of the journal was botany and zoology, Clotilde was happy to include articles on nature in its widest sense, so geography, geology and astronomy also featured in it.

At conferences and exhibitions, in articles and books, Clotilde argued for importance of nature study, not only in teaching children (particularly urban children) about how the natural world worked; but also as a way of developing character, of instilling the right morals and encouraging the habit of careful observation. She was struggling against the indifference even of education professionals, but she continued to promote her sense of the subject's importance whenever she got the chance.

The emphasis on building moral character was important. It weighed with those who made decisions on how children were educated, what subjects they should study. But I think that Clotilde also wanted to see that as many children as possible were given the chance to go out

into the natural world and perhaps feel some of the joy she experienced in watching, studying and drawing it. In the SNSU journal's very first issue, she wrote that the purpose of nature study was to create delight. From 1909 to 1912 Clotilde also worked on a series of books trying to inspire children with those feelings: *The Child's World in Pictures* for example; *Beasts and Birds*; and *Gardens in their Seasons*. Many years later, she returned to the subject in *Living Creatures*, published in 1927. She was also quick to see the potential of film in preaching nature study to an even wider audience: in 1936 she acted as advisor to an educational film made by Gaumont-British Instructional, showing ants as communal creatures. The film was based on children's nature study work, which Clotilde had overseen.

Clotilde's teachers' aids continued in use a long time after she died: new printings of her SNSU leaflets were issued in the 1950s and as late as 1968; the film was still being shown in the late 1940s. But according to the article I read as my main source for this section, the SNSU didn't make its case strongly enough for the importance of nature study as an integral part of the school curriculum, so the subject was gradually squeezed out of the science syllabus entirely; a failure for which Clotilde must take some share of the blame. She might be having the last laugh though - if you can call it that: perhaps if the beliefs of the SNSU - that understanding and appreciating nature was an important part of children's education - had been taken more seriously, we would not now be in the environmental and climatic mess that we are.

CLOTILDE AS A CLASSIFIER OF SPECIES

I'm sure Clotilde saw the identification of plants - especially unknown ones - as a basic activity in her studies of the natural world. However, with all her other commitments she probably didn't do as much of it as she would have liked - for example, she didn't have a 'identification/classification' article in any botanical or zoological journal (as far as I know). She did do at least one piece of identification work that got published: in 1906/07 she was contacted by Mary Margaret Newett, who was working on the translation into English of the journal kept in 1494 by an Italian priest on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Newett had been stumped by a plant which must have been drawn in the journal but mentioned only by its name in Milanese dialect. Clotilde was able to identify the plant, either from a copy of one of the journal's illustrations, or perhaps by visiting Newett and looking at the original manuscript. It was a type of heather; and a note about it appears in Newett's book. It was this kind of work that led to Clotilde being elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society in June 1914.

SOURCES FOR THIS LOOK AT CLOTILDE'S FAMILY AND CAREER see the end of the 'life' file.

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AMandragora@attglobal.net

The life of GD member Clotilde Rosalie Regina von Wyss in more detail: PERSONALITY, BELIEFS, RELATIONSHIPS WITH MARIE STOPES AND ETHELWYN MACKIE

For those of you who've arrived here other than via my file 'Clotilde's life in dates', she was born in Switzerland in 1871, spent most of her life in England, and died in Surrey in 1938. She was a biologist and naturalist; a teacher, then a lecturer; and a writer. She never married. She had a long-lasting relationship with another woman.

CLOTILDE'S PERSONALITY

One man who knew the staff of the London Day Training College (LDTC) in its early years first as a student, then as a younger colleague, said many years later that each of them had possessed a uniqueness that made them memorable. One of the things he seems to mean was that they were all at least a little eccentric - he obviously thought (but didn't like to say) that it was true in Clotilde's case. Perhaps her younger colleague had heard the tale of how Clotilde would cross London by tube to work with a wood ants' nest in her handbag.

Percy Nunn, who was Clotilde's colleague at LDTC for three years and her boss for nearly another 30, called her "a rare and very special person". Teachers, students and pupils agreed that her enthusiasm for what she was teaching (and for the process of teaching it) infected even people who had started out thinking the subject was boring and irrelevant. They say that she was witty and vivacious. They admired her courage. And they all agreed - even one who was later very bitter towards her - that Clotilde was popular with everyone, contemporaries and young people alike.

Clotilde's lack of embarrassment in stating her love of the natural world did embarrass some others. Percy Nunn was probably not embarrassed. He described her as having "an almost...mysterious intimacy" with nature. However, Dr Percival Gurrey (another colleague) remembered with some discomfort that a favourite phrase of hers was, "You could get down on your knees to that" - 'that' being a dandelion, or even a particularly good student essay. Some of her colleagues were obviously worried that that one day Clotilde might actually do that - get down on her knees to something that moved her - say, in the middle of the staff room. That sort of thing does make the English cringe though of course Clotilde wasn't English.

A FEMALE WORLD

It's struck me as I've been researching Clotilde's life, how much she lived in a world of women.

Of course, men were around and they were in control: they held the top jobs, they held the purse strings, they took the decisions and women had to cope. But Clotilde's experience of a world of women wasn't that unusual during her lifetime. For various reasons, there were more women living in Britain than men; and assumptions about the appropriate behaviour of men and women - the public life/private life divide - though being challenged, were still tending to cause the two sexes to inhabit different social spaces.

Clotilde doesn't seem to have had any brothers; her father had gone probably before she was

a teenager; and any other male relations she might have had lived in another country. She went to a girls' school with women teachers; learned how to teach at a college with only women students; before teaching in two more girls' schools and then another women-only college. Most LDC students even in the early years were women - the generally-held view being that men didn't need to be taught how to teach - and the results of the first World War were that the preponderance of women students was compounded by the employment of more women staff-members in the 1920s. Under those circumstances, I don't find it surprising that Clotilde's closest relationships were with other women.

CLOTILDE, MARIE STOPES and all that jazz

Marie Stopes' papers (now in the British Library) contain a group of letters to her from Clotilde von Wyss (written between 1899 and 1909) which show a close relationship between the two of them. Naturally, Marie Stopes' biographers have all studied them closely, seeing them as important evidence from Stopes' formative years. I hope I've studied them equally closely, but I want to discuss the relationship in a very different way. Focusing not on Stopes but on Clotilde, I've come up with a rather different picture of what was going on than the Stopes biographers have tended to see. I want to make a number of points.

1) with two exceptions, what Marie Stopes wrote to Clotilde von Wyss during those years hasn't survived. Stopes' views on the relationship seem to have changed a lot - essentially getting more embittered - in later years, ending with her making an attack on a woman teacher she had known, on the grounds that she had been a lesbian who preyed on her pupils. Naturally (given what Stopes was saying about her) the teacher wasn't named in the book, but she's generally thought (on the basis of the letters) to be Clotilde.

2) as far as I know, no letters from Clotilde to anybody else have survived. We have nothing to compare Clotilde's to Marie with, to see if the relationship with Marie was unique in Clotilde's life.

3) about the language Clotilde uses. Marie Stopes' biographers have made a great deal of the passionate phrases contained in some of Clotilde's letters, but I would like to suggest that passionate phrases were part of Clotilde's character. I hope I've made clear in my section on Clotilde's working life, that they were part of the normal way in which she expressed herself about the natural world - even about students' essays. She was quite un-selfconscious when she was moved. For example: "I ran wildly at Mother", Clotilde wrote as she described what she did when she opened a welcome and thoughtful birthday present in August 1899. (Actually she ran at the wrong person - the present, an artist's easel, was from Marie). It's as if the words of everyday English isn't sufficient for Clotilde to express her feelings with, when she is strongly moved.

Marie Stopes also uses passionate phrases in one of the two items written by her and filed with the collection of Clotilde's letters: and on that occasion (July 1900) she was writing on behalf of herself and three other pupils as they sent Clotilde a gift at the end of the academic year. "The enclosed" Marie writes (apparently it was a brooch) is "fraught with meaning", representing as it does, not only, "a deep inner tie of friendship" but a "brotherhood" (sic - and interesting seeing they are all girls - 'sisterhood' doesn't convey quite the same meaning, I guess).

It's High Romantic stuff - almost like opera - an aria by Verdi, say. A little old-fashioned, perhaps - it made me think more of Byron and Shelley than the turn of the 20th century. It's a particular way of communicating feeling. No other letters written by Clotilde have survived as far as I know, so we don't know how she expressed herself in letters to other pupils, say - Olga Kapteyn, for example, who shared interests with Clotilde that Marie Stopes didn't, and who was still in touch with Clotilde as late as 1909.

4) "no man is an island" - still less a woman. Women always come as a package deal; and other people were involved in the relationship between Clotilde and Marie Stopes - on both sides. The letters show that Marie Stopes often visited Clotilde at home. However, Marie wasn't unique in this because the letters show Clotilde inviting other people to the house she shared with her Mother and sister - in April 1900 Clotilde bought buns for Gertie (probably her pupil Gertrude Colls) and someone called Dora (another pupil, I imagine), who were going to come to tea, and invited Marie round to share them.

Marie got to know Clotilde's mother and sister and she obviously developed a great fondness for Mrs von Wyss - she was very sweet to her in the few months after the death of Mr von Wyss. Of a bouquet of flowers Marie had sent to Mrs von Wyss in April 1900, Clotilde wrote, "You have made my Mother happy and what that means to me few can realize".

Conversely, Clotilde knew Mr and Mrs Stopes - probably only formally, but she did know them. Marie's father was a palaeontologist - amateur, but well-known. Clotilde had been pleased to meet a man with whom she had interests in common. Two years after Marie had sent condolences to Clotilde when her father died, it was Clotilde's turn to send sympathy on the death of a father; and in her condolences letter to Marie Stopes, Clotilde talked - with her usual 'High Romantic' language - of the "reverence and admiration" she felt for Mr Stopes. Marie's sister Winifred (Winnie) was a pupil at North London Collegiate School so of course Clotilde knew her too - well enough for Winnie, as well as Marie, to write to Clotilde during the holidays. It's clear, though - very clear - that Marie was Clotilde's favourite of the two. Winnie tended to get remembered as an afterthought in Clotilde's letters to Marie and there's not much mention of Winnie in the letters Clotilde wrote after she and Marie had both left North London Collegiate School.

5) June Rose in particular has criticised Clotilde - as the elder woman, the one with responsibilities - for allowing herself to have a close relationship with a pupil. In Clotilde's defence I just want to say that - because Clotilde had trained as a teacher at a young age for the times; and because Marie Stopes started going to school very late (her mother had taught her at home for several years) - there was an age-gap of only nine years between them.

6) the biographers focusing on Marie Stopes have not noticed, I think, that the years 1900 and 1901 were a difficult period for Clotilde, making her particularly vulnerable to and grateful for expressions of sympathy and kindness and declarations of love.

The two years began with news reaching the von Wyss's in London, of the death of Clotilde's father at the beginning of February 1900. The day the news came, Marie had noticed that Clotilde was distressed about something while not knowing the cause. She sent her some flowers, and got in response a 'thank you' note full of despair and anguish. "I have lost my Father then before ever I knew a Father's love and care", Clotilde wrote, and ended that sentence with a phrase she used several times more in her short letter: "the bitterness of it!" I

suppose that Marie had asked after all the family, because Clotilde went on to tell Marie not just about her own reactions but also about the feelings of her Mother and Martha: "The event has roused in us all the memories of sorrow and trouble unspeakable long, long buried". She herself had lain awake all the previous night, regretting "this sad end of a sad life" and - though she didn't put this into words - the end of any hope that she would ever have any kind of relationship with her father. Still over-wrought and "worn out with the strain of keeping up appearances all day", she told Marie that she had "consecrated" Marie's lilies "to the memory of my Father, they shall be a symbol of forgiveness". There was a lot that Clotilde, her Mother and her sister, would have to try to forgive.

Perhaps such a letter shouldn't have been sent by a teacher to a pupil, but the shock of the death and the emotions it had aroused, had put Clotilde far beyond thinking of that, she was thinking of Marie as a friend, who'd made a kind gesture of support at a desperate moment.

One of the results of the death of Mr von Wyss - or at least, something that happened within a few months of his death - was that Mrs von Wyss decided to return to live in Switzerland. I think that Mrs von Wyss and Martha had left England by October 1900, probably by the summer. Clotilde opted to stay where work and thus income was guaranteed but without her Mother and sister she began to feel lonely and described herself to Marie as "unutterably homesick", even for a land she hadn't lived in for over a decade. This wasn't the right time for Clotilde to move away from London to a new job in Cambridge, but good jobs didn't come up very often and she probably felt that she couldn't pass on the opportunity of one that she heard of in the autumn of 1900. The application process was lengthy, and there was an unexpected fortnight's delay in telling Clotilde whether or not she was actually going to be offered the post. Clotilde caught a cold and felt very low.

Clotilde did get the job, and by April 1901 was esconced at the "Training College Cambridge". She had been allotted some rooms on the college premises but wrote to Marie that she was still finding it difficult to get to know anyone very well, as she was having to work so very hard. Wearing black for the death of Queen Victoria kept her spirits low and by this time Clotilde was sounding like a person suffering from depression. That and overwork began to tell on her - she wrote a letter to Marie which she found in her desk several weeks later - she'd forgotten to post it. She was worrying about something that she didn't elaborate on in her letter of apology. It may have been anxiety about her work not being up to her own standards or because the job as a whole was not turning out as she'd expected; because she exclaimed, "oh Marie I am so endlessly, endlessly disappointed". However, it may have been family matters that were worrying her, not the job at all, because in a letter written while visiting her family in Switzerland later in 1901, she mentioned that there was now "bitter feeling" between her Mother and Martha, Mrs von Wyss being "disappointed in my sister" for reasons Clotilde didn't elaborate (so presumably Marie Stopes knew what they were).

The summer vacation of 1901 offered Clotilde a few weeks of respite, but then it was back to Cambridge where she hoped she would be able to "produce another year's work, with better results". And it was in November 1901 that Clotilde received from Marie a letter telling her that Marie had received an offer of marriage from a fellow student at University College London. The letter had assured Clotilde that Marie had turned the offer down, but the whole business gave Clotilde confirmation of a fear she was already living with: "a vague dread that you are drifting beyond my reach". She knew that her relationships with her ex-pupils were changing from her side as well: she had cancelled plans to spend time in the summer holidays in London, in order to stay longer with her Mother; and once term had begun she had only had time to write to her Mother and the short letters necessary for business - she hadn't written to Marie Stopes, for example, since August.

The letter Clotilde wrote in reply was quoted or referred to at length in all the biographies of Marie Stopes that I read: it's the letter in which Clotilde wrote, "You have outgrown me, little one, and our life-streams make different windings". None of Stopes' biographers considered or at least they didn't quote the words Clotilde wrote on either side of that sentence: "Can I in any way stay a stream...or determine its course long ago marked out by natural conditions?" Clotilde wrote, using metaphors from the natural world as she often did. "Nor would I do it if I could." This is where the "life-streams" sentence belongs: "our life-streams make different windings. Would we wish it otherwise?"

Clotilde might not like it, but she was facing up to the fact that her ex-pupils were growing up; and would order their lives in ways she wouldn't have wanted (more about what she would have wanted below). She didn't act offended or hurt at Marie's grown-up relationships with men: she ended her letter by making arrangements to meet her and Gertie Colls soon in London; and by sending "Love to Winnie".

Times had changed though: Clotilde didn't write to Marie Stopes again for over a year, until she had finally pulled out of the long period of depression that she had started to slide into in 1900. The death of Marie's father late in 1902 prompted Clotilde to write again and tell Marie some news that would make it easier for them to meet in future - she would soon be working two afternoons each week in London. She had been offered the chance to leave the job in Cambridge the following summer and put behind her the "failures" which "threatened to choke all that is best in me and rob me of all vigour". Clotilde wrote that it had been, "high time my fortune's wheel should turn"; and evidence that it had done so was her current feeling that she was, "ready to move mountains". That being so, Clotilde thought it would be nice to see Marie, either as part of her working afternoons in London, or if Marie could spare the time, over a weekend in Cambridge.

The relationship was certainly winding down, though as late as 1902 Marie was still sending Clotilde a book for Christmas. The remaining three letters from Clotilde in the Marie Stopes collection are all short notes. The first of the three was sent in October 1903, after Clotilde had not been at home when Marie called on her as part of her farewells before leaving to study in Munich. The next after that was in July 1904, in reply to one from Marie, saying she couldn't meet her on the day Marie suggested as she'd already agreed to spend it with old friends of her Mother's before leaving for Switzerland on her yearly round of family visits. Clotilde was very busy supervising teaching practices but hoped to be able to see Marie again if Marie could call on her one evening after 7.

Then all-but-five years went by before Clotilde wrote the last note in the Marie Stopes collection: in April 1909 she asked if Marie would be able and willing to come to a tea-party she was holding for other girls in "the old biology class" to meet up with Olga Kapteyn.

And that was it: not with a bang, with a whimper. Quite how we get from that to the long quote just below is hard to fathom. Unless Marie went to the tea party and there was a 'bang' then.

This is how (in 1926) Marie Stopes described Clotilde's behaviour on p54-55 of her *Sex and the Young*: the teacher developed relationships with, "a dozen or so girls of adolescent age, each one of whom separately she made believe that she alone was her special favourite...She

vowed to each one, and extracted a vow in exchange from each girl, that she would never marry but remain vowed and dedicated to herself. Each separately deluded girl felt herself pledged to remain all her life in a highfaluting (sic) fantastic kind of secret Order based on a muddled mixture of mysticism, pseudo-theosophical fantasies of ‘purity’ and crude physical expressions of personal love and sex feeling. The teacher accepted presents from the girls far beyond their means...Yet with it all so cleverly did she manage the veil of secret loyalty which she spun and which is naturally so congenial to a young mind, that all this continued for years undetected by either parents or head mistress”.

Naturally, Marie Stopes didn’t refer to Clotilde by name: if she had done, Clotilde would have had good grounds to sue her for libel.

I’m going to discuss the “kind of secret Order” below but here I’d just like to say that when she wrote the account of the popular but predatory and manipulative teacher, surely Stopes knew perfectly well that she was exaggerating. Perhaps she hadn’t looked at Clotilde’s letters in a long while; or only with eyes unable any longer to see them in their original light. Ruth Hall, in her Stopes biography, says that Marie Stopes had discovered the existence of masturbation and homosexuality at the age of 29 - that is, around 1909. Perhaps it’s not a coincidence that the relationship between Clotilde and Marie Stopes finally ceased at that time. It seems to me that after these discoveries, Marie started to see sexual perversion everywhere, including places and relationships where it had never been dreamt of.

The section in *Sex and the Young* may have been decrying perverted sexuality but what I see in the long quote is someone still raging against having discovered that in the competition to be the popular teacher’s Special One, she had not been the only winner. And yet, to feel such outrage at being duped, Marie Stopes would have had to forget that although Clotilde was particularly close to Marie, Marie was one of a small group of favoured pupils, “the old biology class”, all of whom were Marie’s friends. I’m sure that the three other girls who clubbed together with Marie to buy Clotilde the brooch were part of that group.

How Special was Marie Stopes to Clotilde? Pretty special, I think, particularly in the period 1899-1901. Was it love? Perhaps it was, on both sides, particularly during 1900, when Clotilde was struggling to cope with her father’s death; and both she and Marie were thinking of leaving North London Collegiate School soon. Clotilde’s letters make it clear that Marie thought she loved Clotilde and there’s one example in the Stopes Collection letters, a rough-copy of a letter that may never have been sent or at least not in that form, which Marie began, “Psyche my beloved”.

In a couple of her replies Clotilde writes of similarly deep feelings towards Marie. Both were written in 1900, in the months after the death of Clotilde’s father. The first was sent in response to birthday greetings and a gift from Marie, which had stirred up such a level of response that instead of writing her thanks immediately, Clotilde had gone out for a walk through a “ripe cornfield ablaze with dream-flowers”, giving herself up to “passionate thought”. And when she and Marie were both about to leave North London Collegiate School, she replied to gifts of a painting and some flowers from Marie, “My innermost being thanks you...and my soul gratefully loves you for it...What shall I do without you - oh that pain of parting it nearly wears me out. Good night my dear one”.

1900 was the most intense period of the relationship. At the end of the year, Marie started at

University College London and Clotilde moved to Cambridge. Finding the new job much harder and less enjoyable than she'd probably expected, Clotilde had little time for deep feeling or even keeping in touch. She does seem to have had time to reflect on the relationship with her ex-pupil and - perhaps - come to some realistic conclusions about it: that it could scarcely continue as it had done; that now she had left school (at the late age of 20) Marie was likely to start growing up and leaving old relationships and feelings behind; and that - no longer seeing her every school day - there was precious little Clotilde could do about it. The letter from Marie telling her of the marriage proposal she had received did not come as a complete surprise.

I don't know, of course, exactly how what feelings Marie Stopes expressed for Clotilde in her letters after this relationship-changing one. After receiving it, Clotilde did not write to Marie so often. In her letter of condolence after Mr Stopes's death, she expressed "love" but also "sympathy" and after the first paragraph, the letter was a 'what's been happening to me' one. "My old love to you", actually used first by Clotilde in July 1900 now seemed appropriate as a letter-ending, and she used it once or twice more, the last time in 1904 when she hadn't even seen Marie for over a year.

Marie Stopes' biographers Ruth Hall and June Rose agree that it's very unlikely that Marie Stopes and Clotilde von Wyss ever had sex. Under different circumstances - if they had both been wilder characters, or from different social circles - maybe it would have ended that way. I do wonder about the "passionate thought" that Clotilde allowed herself while walking through the cornfield; but even if her thoughts were sexual, I think Clotilde's own temperament inclined her towards a sex-free life. 'Thought' was as far as she was going to allow any sexual feelings to go.

I think that (if Marie had told her about it) Clotilde would have agreed, overall, with Mr Stopes' order (I think that 'order' is probably the right word) that Marie should not even think of marriage - ie entering into a sexual relationship - until she was at least 25. In fact, Clotilde makes clear in many of the letters that she hoped Marie wouldn't marry at all - that part of Marie Stopes' indictment in *Sex and the Young* has some truth in it.

The Stopes biographers all consider Clotilde as Marie Stopes' teacher; but I look at the letters in a different way - Marie Stopes as Clotilde's pupil. The girls in "the old biology class" were amongst Clotilde's favourites but Marie Stopes stood out because academically she was the best of them and was likely to go the furthest. Even after the bombshell news that at least one of her fellow-students wanted to marry Marie - perhaps I should say especially after that letter - Clotilde was all ears for news of Marie as a student. Again and again she writes back delighted to hear of yet more exam success on Marie's part and when Marie was off to do postgraduate work in Munich she wished her well with, "come home covered with glory, when you have helped forward the cause of scientific study". Some of the glory would be wearing off on Clotilde, of course, as one of the teachers who had prepared Marie Stopes for a career as a research scientist. (Marie started out as a palaeobotanist, putting neatly together the influences of her father and Clotilde.) "My child" and "Dear child of mine" can be read as Clotilde viewing Marie as, in some part, her own intellectual creation. "I am proud of all the things you have done", she wrote in reply to the bombshell, and it's in this context that I understand a phrase she uses that was used in June Rose's biography to suggest an emotional possessiveness on Clotilde's part: "I still consider you my property". Intellectual property, that is. Clotilde feared not so much that Marie would marry; but that Marie would marry and have to give up her academic work. In her reply to the letter with Marie's bombshell in it, Clotilde said that she wished she had Marie with her. Again, I read it not a wish to keep Marie to herself, but a wish to keep Marie in Clotilde's familiar world of women, beyond the

reach of any man who might bring an end to her brilliant career. It couldn't be done, of course; Clotilde accepted that Marie would make her own decisions.

CARA SOROR

In *Sex and the Young* Marie Stopes accused the anonymous predatory teacher of binding pupils to her via a “highfaluting (sic) fantastic kind of secret Order based on a muddled mixture of mysticism, pseudo-theosophical fantasies of ‘purity’ and crude physical expressions of personal love and sex feeling”. Marie Stopes seems to be suggesting that Clotilde initiated some of her pupils into something like the Golden Dawn. I say ‘something like’ because the GD was a very restrained magical order, with nothing like ‘physical expressions of personal love and sex’ going on in it; Aleister Crowley, when he joined, was very disappointed that there wasn't.

There's definitely some truth in Marie Stopes' accusation. “Soror” is the Latin word for ‘sister’; like ‘frater’ - brother - it was a term used by members of the GD; something Clotilde would have been well aware of by the first of her letters to Marie (August 1899). But she would also have known that the GD was a secret society, and that she shouldn't have mentioned anything about it to anyone not in it. What was she up to?

I think it goes back to “the old biology class” - the girls who gave her the brooch, and probably one or two others. In the letter that Marie composed to go with the brooch, she described the brooch as a gift to Clotilde in recognition that there was a state of “brotherhood” between her and the four girls who were presenting the brooch. The brooch was also a sign that all four of them would in the future work to, “illuminate...the dark unfathomable enigma of Life”. Marie, as spokeswoman for the four of them, hoped that whenever Clotilde wore the brooch she would remember them all as a group, although in the future they might all be separated by distance and circumstance. And Clotilde did remember: in August 1901 when - writing to “My dear little soror” - Clotilde said about the group “how I love to think of the set of you”. And if the “brotherhood” and the “old biology class” were the same people - I think they must be - she was still thinking of them, together, in 1909.

Clotilde does seem to have created a kind of ‘inner circle’ of pupils who considered themselves bound together with her as more than just teacher and pupils, by mutual devotion and a grand purpose that the pupils would attempt to achieve in the rest of their lives. Marie Stopes seems to be saying that vows of personal loyalty were exacted; and/or perpetual chastity. If they were, Clotilde doesn't seem to have been determined to hold the pupils to them once they had left school; her letter to Marie after the news of the marriage proposal does not insist that the vows were a binding contract. I don't actually think that it was a very good idea for Clotilde to create this “brotherhood” or sisterhood. Secret Orders of that kind are ideas not to be taken lightly, nor entered into too young. But it was probably fun for a while; and the exclusivity of the girls in the “brotherhood” was something they could feel pleased about when sitting with their classmates who were excluded without even knowing it.

If Marie Stopes' scathing 1926 summing-up of this “brotherhood” is correct (and heaven knows) the grand purpose was a theosophical one. The girls seemed to have had some discussion of theosophy with Clotilde by that time: in the first letter in the Marie Stopes Collection, Clotilde disclaims any chance of having found “the Key to Theosophy”. She had encouraged Marie at least, and probably the others, to read books on theosophy - she

mentioned being glad to hear that Marie had been reading Edwin Arnold's *The Light of the World*. She urged Marie to keep an open mind when considering works of Eastern philosophy; while at the same time admitting that the search for the Key was doomed to failure: "we shall never in this life complete that glorious song of truth, insight and adoration for which our soul craves" (High Romantic language again). At some stage - though not in this letter - Clotilde explained to her "brotherhood" that the search for the Key was helped by living a pure life. In 1926 Marie Stopes was interpreting 'purity' solely in the sexual sense; and seeing any attempt to insist on it as perverted and against the principles of eugenics. Her emphasis was too narrow - I've said she was seeing sex everywhere, and she seems not to have been able to see anything else in this case. It was true that in theosophical circles, sexual abstinence was approved of as likely to be a great help in the search for enlightenment. It was not enforced, though, and to theosophists 'purity' also encompassed drinking no alcohol and being a vegetarian, amongst other things.

Even theosophy was not on a par in Clotilde's mind with the glories of the natural world as a basis for a rich spiritual life. Clotilde's own soul sang amidst the beauties of Nature and when reading authors with similar views - like Henry David Thoreau, a book of whose writings she gave to Marie as a Christmas present in 1900. Neither theosophy nor transcendent Nature convinced Marie Stopes, but one of the "brotherhood" did retain an interest in theosophy throughout her life. In the concentration on Marie Stopes, and the absence of other letters by Clotilde, the relationship between Clotilde and Olga Kapteyn has been overlooked. It hasn't helped that Olga left England as soon as she had finished school and lived the rest of her life in Europe; mostly in Switzerland.

Clotilde was a scientist with a deep appreciation of art. She could combine these two traits in her drawings of plants and animals, but they are an unusual pair and most people choose to follow one or the other of them. Marie Stopes - encouraged by her Father - went with the science. Olga followed the art.

I found a surprising amount about Olga Kapteyn via the web - but then I'd rather expected to find nothing at all, like I had done with Gertrude Colls and Christine Pugh who were also in Clotilde's "brotherhood". Most of the information I did find was under her married name of Froebe-Kapteyn (also spelled Fröbe-Kapteyn).

Although Olga was born in England (in 1881) both her parents were Dutch. Her father, Albertus Philippus was an engineer and her mother Geertruida a feminist and social campaigner. On leaving North London Collegiate School, Olga went to study art history at Zürich University. I haven't been able to find out what she was doing in the 1900s but in 1909 she married the orchestral conductor Iwan Fröbe (or Froebe). He had been born in what is now Croatia. Because I can't read German I probably haven't understood the information on him that I found on the web but he seems to have worked with the Munich Tonkünstler orchestra around 1910, as their principal conductor or a guest conductor; and later worked in Berlin because that's where he and Olga were living when World War 1 was declared. When the war broke out they moved to Zürich and Olga lived in Switzerland for the rest of her life. She and Iwan had twin daughters but Iwan was killed in a plane crash shortly before they were born in 1915.

In 1920 Olga moved to Ascona where she got to know Carl Jung, who spent his summer holidays there. The idea that became the Eranos Conferences (or seminars) originally came from Jung and the Rudolf Otto, author of *The Idea of the Holy*. But it was Olga who did all

the work necessary to bring them into existence. They were a forum where experts in different disciplines could meet to discuss spirituality: in order to 'pay' for your attendance at one, you had to make a speech on that year's conference topic. The conferences were still going in the 1950s.

As late as the 1920s, Olga was still studying theosophy and Indian philosophy: the first Eranos conference was on yoga and meditation. Under Jung's influence, however, she began to research archetypes. In 1956 she founded the Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism (see its website at aras.org). She died in 1962.

Olga, like Marie Stopes, was a pupil after Clotilde's heart - but interested in and following up all the interests that Marie rejected. Although they probably didn't meet very often after Olga left England, they must have kept in touch at least until 1909 and probably much longer: when Olga paid a visit to England in April of that year, she went to have tea with Clotilde who invited other members of "the old biology class" to meet her.

If Marie had discovered at any time that Clotilde had a close and intense relationship with Olga Kapteyn, rather like the one she thought she had exclusively with Clotilde herself... It's pure speculation but if it was true, it might explain some of the hostility beyond the call of duty that Marie Stopes displayed towards Clotilde in 1926.

BEATRICE ETHELWYN MACKIE

As Marie Stopes continued to rage in *Sex and the Young* about the manipulative lesbian teacher she had known, the last accusation she made against the woman was that she was now in a relationship with another woman, one that showed every sign of being permanent; and that despite this, both partners were still employed as teachers.

It's likely that Clotilde saw meeting Beatrice Ethelweyn Mackie in a very different light: as the only good thing that happened to her in the miserable years 1900 and 1901.

Clotilde and Ethelwyn met at Cambridge Training College for Women Teachers. Clotilde was a lecturer, and Ethelwyn was a student, but this was no adolescent-snatching exercise: Clotilde was slightly the younger, though only by a few months. Although Ethelwyn never published more than a couple of leaflets on how to teach specific topics in nature study, she shared Clotilde's interest in the subject and must have taught it; she was also an active member of the Schools Nature Study Union. Ethelwyn was not Clotilde's brilliant pupil; but Clotilde had more in common with her than she had with Marie Stopes: a better basis for a long-term relationship.

Ethelwyn Mackie had grown up near Wakefield in Yorkshire, where her father, Edward Alexander Mackie, and her mother, Emma Gertrude (née Dunn), were both the children of corn merchants. Edward Alexander continued to run the family business. He and Emma Gertrude were very comfortably off - in 1881 they were living in the manor house at Warmfield-cum-Heath, where they employed six servants including a butler (butlers came expensive). Ethelwyn was one of the older daughters in their large Victorian family. She was

much less well-educated than Clotilde: although she may have gone to school for a year or two, in 1881 at least, she and her sisters were being educated at home by a governess. Any scientific knowledge that Ethelwyn gained was likely to have been hard-won, and on her own initiative. She might even have been one of the private pupils that Clotilde taught maths and chemistry to, during her time in Cambridge.

Times were changing but I think there was some resistance in the family to Ethelwyn's wish to train as a teacher and earn her own living. Family resistance would explain why she didn't start at training college until she was nearly 30; perhaps by then her parents had finally accepted that she was not likely to marry, or didn't want to.

Clotilde and Ethelwyn were friendly enough to be writing to each other in the summer vacation of 1901. But their big chance to get to know each other very well came when Ethelwyn's holiday in Norway fell through. She had been ordered to spend time in a mountain climate by her doctor; so she wrote to Clotilde and suggested that they pair up to go climbing (she can't have been that ill!) in Switzerland - where Clotilde was already, visiting her family. There was no question (it seems) of keeping this holiday with another woman a secret from Marie Stopes. Clotilde was quite open about it, though she felt it necessary to give Marie two reasons for agreeing to go: "Of course I was delighted [to agree to Ethelwyn's plan] because I too was a lonely female, besides I am very fond of her". 'Very fond' - nothing to get het up about in that, surely - and Marie didn't get het up.

Clotilde and Ethelwyn chose St Antonien (near Bern) as their base and rented a room in the vicarage. The weather wasn't always good but Clotilde told Marie they had still been able to do "a big climb" every day. Clotilde wrote a typically lyrical description of the two of them sitting on a mountain-top where there was still snow in the gullies, "beholding the holiness of beauty" in the peaks and clouds around. On one day they splashed out some money hiring a guide so that they could attempt the highest local peak, one that hadn't been scaled by a woman before. They were spending nearly all their time out of doors, nature-trekking when the weather didn't allow climbing. Clotilde told Marie that she had caught two salamanders during their expeditions and was intending to bring them back to England in her luggage. They came back down to Bern by a circuitous route so that they could visit a local pilgrimage site.

Close though they might have been, there had never been any suggestion that Clotilde and Marie Stopes should go on holiday together on their own. Even if they had gone off together I don't think Clotilde would have enjoyed a holiday in the Swiss Alps with Marie in quite the same way. In Ethelwyn she had found someone who shared some of her joy in Nature - who didn't just see it as an arena for scientific research, but could understand why Clotilde should feel exalted just by looking at it.

Clotilde did not mention Ethelwyn Mackie again in her letters to Marie Stopes until the letter of December 1902 offering Marie love and sympathy on her father's death. However, Clotilde's friendship with Ethelwyn had gone on apace, because in the same letter she told Marie that she had been invited to spend Christmas with Ethelwyn's family in Scarborough. She wrote her thank-you letter for Marie's Christmas gift from the Mackie's house there "in the midst of the riots of this lively household".

Clotilde didn't mention Ethelwyn by name in her three remaining letters to Marie Stopes so

this next bit is conjectural, but I think that Clotilde and Ethelwyn were sharing their first flat together by October 1903: "I wish you could have seen our little flat", Clotilde wrote, on learning that Marie had called on her when she was out - so she was certainly sharing with someone. Given the evidence from the 1911 census and elsewhere - including Marie Stopes' allegation of a lesbian relationship between them, still going on in the early 1920s - I think it's reasonable to suppose that "our" means Clotilde and Ethelwyn. The flat was in London where Clotilde was certainly working by 1903 and Ethelwyn probably was.

Somerset Terrace, facing Euston Road, was very convenient for Clotilde's work but not necessarily for Ethelwyn's. Flats near Euston Road were also noisy, dirty and you didn't get many rooms for your money. By 1908, possibly earlier, Clotilde and Ethelwyn had moved to Cromwell Mansions, on King Street Hammersmith near Ravenscourt Park. It was a large flat, with six rooms in addition to the scullery and bathroom. Although Ethelwyn filled in the census form, she described Clotilde and herself as joint heads of household, wanting to show the census officials that they shared the responsibility. It was just the two of them in the flat - they did not employ any servants who lived in. Their incomes might not have run to that expense, of course, and even if it had, they might have chosen to spend their money differently. They probably sent their heavy laundry out to professionals to be washed, and had a cleaner in by the day - one who could be relied upon not to panic at the sight of Clotilde's wildlife.

In 1911, Ethelwyn was working as a secondary-school teacher for Middlesex County Council; and I imagine that she had taken that job immediately on leaving the training college because that would have been typical of work-patterns at that time when there was much less moving from job to job than there is now. I also suppose that she remained as an MCC employee until she retired, which would have been at about the same time as Clotilde did (1936).

The evidence for a stable and long-term relationship between Clotilde and Ethelwyn is pretty clear in 1911. I can't prove that they continued to live together after that date, though I'm sure they did and if they didn't, they remained very close. There's the hostile evidence of Marie Stopes that they were a couple in the mid-1920s, and plenty of other indirect evidence from Clotilde's later books.

In the late twenties, Clotilde went back to writing after a gap of over a decade (mostly caused by the first World War, I imagine, with its financial uncertainties and its shortages of paper and compositors). She produced a series of books for an adult audience, some for people who were interested in nature study as a leisure pursuit, others for use by those who had to teach it. In Clotilde's prefaces to three of the books, she thanks Ethelwyn for help of the sort all authors need during the process of getting their ideas out of their heads, onto paper, and away to the publishers. Most authors thank their partner for help of this sort; and I think so did Clotilde. Ethelwyn gave "sympathetic interest" and "valuable criticism"; she undertook the "wearisome task of revising the typescript"; and carried out the "correction of proof sheets". Ethelwyn was involved in every stage of the preparation of the books. In addition, the most personal of them, *Living Creatures* (published 1927) is dedicated to her. So I don't think there's much doubt that the relationship between Clotilde and Ethelwyn was still fine, after nearly 30 years.

Some time in the 1930s - probably on her retirement in 1936 - Clotilde moved out of London to Mousehill Down, on Witley Common near Godalming. Although I haven't been able to

find any direct evidence, I imagine that Ethelwyn moved there with her and it might even have been Ethelwyn that suggested Surrey as the kind of place they would enjoy, because relations of hers had lived at Ewell during her childhood so she probably knew the county well.

Did the relationship involve sex? I've indicated above why I think not.

I don't think it matters much. Surely what matters is the close emotional bond that's indicated by Clotilde and Ethelwyn being together for so long. They supported each other, they could rely on each other. Marie Stopes' greater knowledge of what a relationship between two women might involve meant that she could not see it in the light of a life-time's emotional support and common interests. The result was that she comes across as less broad-minded about it than Ethelwyn's family. When she made her Will, Clotilde named Ethelwyn as one of the executors. The other was Rupert Harold Whalley, son of Ethelwyn's sister Elsie. Elsie was living in south-east London, at least before the first World War, and the two sisters had obviously kept in touch.

Clotilde died in November 1938 after only two years of retirement. Ethelwyn lived on for another twenty years. She didn't stay in Surrey - perhaps she found it too difficult to go on living there without Clotilde. She died in Sidmouth in 1956.

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SOURCES FOR THIS LOOK AT CLOTILDE'S RELATIONSHIPS

for most, see the 'life' file at the start of this sequence; but here I'll give again the details of the Letters and the Marie Stopes biographies I used, which include references to Ethelwyn Mackie:

The Letters I continually refer to are: British Library Additional Manuscripts number 58538; Stopes Papers volume XCII ff 222. There are 22 letters from Clotilde to Marie Stopes in the group; one piece by Marie, probably a first try at a letter later sent to Clotilde with a gift from Marie and three other pupils - Olga Kapteyn, Gertrude Colls and Christine Pugh; and one letter from Marie presumably another first-try. The earliest letter is from August 1899; the last is from April 1909; however, most were sent between 1899 and 1901.

Marie Stopes: A Biography by Keith Bryant. London: The Hogarth Press 1962. He quotes from letters between the two, but doesn't name Clotilde or even say she was one of Marie's teachers.

Marie Stopes: A Biography by Ruth Hall. London: Virago 1978. Hall names Clotilde and identifies her as the young woman teacher castigated anonymously by Stopes in *Sex and the Young*.

Marie Stopes and the Sexual Revolution by June Rose. London and Boston Mass: Faber and Faber 1992.

For Olga Kapteyn:

At www.genealogieonline.nl there's a 2-generation family tree for Olga and her parents.

There's no mention of any siblings in it. I don't read Dutch, so I don't know where the genealogical information has come from. The family don't appear on the censuses of 1881, 1891 or 1901 - visiting family in Holland, I suppose.

Information on wikipedia is under Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn.

Olga is mentioned, with some biographical material, in *Edges of Experience: Memory and Emergence* by Lyn Cowan 2006, which is a book about Jungian psychology: pp834-835. You can see the text at this website as well: dev.iaap.org which is the home of the International Association for Analytical Psychology, its page *Walking in the Footsteps of Eranos* is written by Robert Hinshaw who works for the IAAP in Switzerland.

5 November 2013

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Elizabeth WALTON who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in May 1899 taking the Latin motto 'Per crucem ad lucem'. There was no address for her in the GD records.

Despite having so little information to go on, other than her name, I did take a look at the 1901 census: there were 977 women called Elizabeth Walton living in England alone.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: [freebmd](http://freebmd.com); ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; [familysearch](http://familysearch.org); *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*; *Burke's Landed Gentry*; *Armorial Families*; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. *Who Was Who*. *Times Digital Archive*.

Catalogues: *British Library*; *Freemasons' Library*.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great

deal.

27 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

The person who appears in *The Golden Dawn Companion* p161 as Jemima Tertia WARNER did not exist, she's a very understandable transcription error made by R A Gilbert when he was reading off names from the GD's Members' Roll. See Jemima Tertia MANDER.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: *The Golden Dawn Companion* by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a variety of one-family genealogy websites.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

24 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Elizabeth Watkin Mills was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Isis-Urania temple in London, on 21 March 1896. She chose the Latin motto 'Semper procedo'.

William Thomas Horton was initiated on the same evening. Elizabeth Watkin Mills may have known Horton, but probably not. She didn't follow up her initiation at all as far as the records show, and in due course she was deemed to have resigned by default.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

March 2016

This is what I have found on ELIZABETH WATKIN MILLS. I found plenty of information on her husband, but only 'family history'-type information on her.

IN THE GD

Virtually nothing. Though I can suggest that she was offered the chance of initiation through a friend of both her and her husband, Frederick Crowe, who had been initiated in 1893 and knew a lot of the GD's freemason members. Elizabeth had known Fred Crowe since 1881 if not earlier.

I spotted some information on the web that suggested to me that Elizabeth was related to several other GD members by marriage, through the Hore family of Devon and Cornwall. GD members Thomas Coffin and the Coryn brothers, Herbert and Sidney - all born in Cornwall - had relations who were called Hore. Though how well Elizabeth knew the Coffin and Coryn (originally Corin) families I wouldn't know, and in any case I might be mistaken about the relationships.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Not that I know of. Unlike many GD members, she was never a member of the Theosophical Society.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

No. There are several for her husband but she's not mentioned in all of them.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

Elizabeth Watkin Mills was born in 1849, in Northam near Bideford in Devon. Her parents were Edward Hore and Elizabeth née Lashbrook Honey, who had married in 1847. Edward Hore worked in one of Northam's ship-yards; during the 1860s he was promoted to be the yard foreman. Edward and Elizabeth had five children. After GD member Elizabeth came Edward junior, born 1852; William born 1857; Thomas Hilton, born 1861; and Miriam born in 1864, who was registered as 'Minnie' Hore though all the census information indicates that 'minnie' was a mistake by the registrar.

I couldn't find Elizabeth's family on the 1851 census, but on the day of the 1861 census (a

few weeks before Thomas Hore's birth), they were living in a house that remained in the family until 1900: 87 Cross Street, Northam. On census day 1861 they had some lodgers, the Hilton sisters who had all been born in the Far East. However, taking in boarders seems to have been a welcome but temporary addition to the budget - the Hores never had lodgers on any other census. Nor did Edward and Elizabeth senior ever have any live-in servants. In those respects they were a typical, artisan couple, though their children all moved into the middle-classes - ending up, or marrying, someone who didn't work with their hands.

By the day of the 1871 census I daresay a lot had changed in the Hore family but there wasn't yet much sign of it in their census information. Edward and Elizabeth Hore senior were still living at 87 Cross Street; all their children apart from Elizabeth were still at home; and only Edward junior was working - as a ship's carpenter, probably in the yard where his father worked. Elizabeth the GD member was not with them, though; she was with her husband and they were not in the UK.

Sources: freebmd, census 1851, 1861, 1871.

ELIZABETH'S HUSBAND

In the spring of 1869 Elizabeth Hore married a man whose name was - at this stage - Robert Mills. Plain Robert Mills had been born in Painswick, Gloucestershire, in 1849. I think you can call him a late developer - he was in his mid-30s before his career as a baritone soloist really began. For his work as a concert musician, he added another surname to the one he had already got, and became ROBERT WATKIN-MILLS.

A couple of years ago when I first started investigating Elizabeth Watkin-Mills, there was nothing much on the web about her husband. Now, though, there's plenty: he has a wiki page; he comes up in an online Canadian music encyclopaedia; there are photographs; and there are even some recordings of him singing - his career lasted into the gramophone era. So I won't dwell too much on Robert Watkin-Mills, I'll just pick out some aspects of his work that interested me; and speculate about how the change affected Elizabeth, whose parents wouldn't have been able to afford to give her any musical training, even if she had shown any talent.

I wonder whether Elizabeth and Robert were in Italy on the day of the 1871 census. Robert Watkin-Mills' early life is not well dated in the sources you can find now. They do all agree that he spent time in Milan, studying singing with Federico Blasco, but none of them say when. It's only speculation on my part that he was living in Milan in the early 1870s. It wasn't until the mid-1880s, that his career finally reached a point at which concerts he was singing in were advertised in the Times. As late as 1881, he and Elizabeth were living in Wells - just round the corner from GD member Frederick Crowe - and as well as doing some professional singing (probably in the cathedral choir) Robert was running a firm that did monumental masonry work (again, probably for the cathedral as well as cemetery headstones).

By the 1890s, Robert Watkin-Mills was a well-known music professional, specialising in oratorio. He also worked with chamber ensembles and sang some lieder but I can't find any evidence that he did opera. He sang regularly at the Royal Albert Hall at Proms and other concerts, and at the Three Choirs festival. He was particularly associated with The Messiah,

Judas Maccabaeus and Elijah, but he was also willing to sing works that were not so well-beloved at that time. He did at least one performance of Beethoven's Mass in D, for example; and in June 1891 he also sang in what was only the tenth performance in Britain of Bach's B-Minor Mass, with Charles Villiers Stanford conducting. From the mid-1890s he did concert tours in the USA nearly every year; and in 1904-05 he also toured Australia.

He was a really busy man; and Elizabeth ended up living a far more comfortable life (from the financial point of view) than she may ever have expected. She didn't have any children, and though she might have been very sad about that, it meant she was free (if she wanted to) to go with Robert on his tours and see more of the world than most people.

Sources:

Who was Who Volume 3 1929-40 p 944.

From the web at www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com, the Encyclopedia of Music In Canada: Robert Watkin Mills. Born 4 March 1849 in Painswick Glos; d Toronto 10 Dec 1930. Studied music w Samuel Sebastian Wesley in Gloucester; w Edwin Holland in London; and Federico Blasco in Milan. Debut at Crystal Palace 1884 began his public career. Oratorio, partic kn f role in Judas Maccabaeus. From 1894 yearly concert tours of N Am; toured Australia 1904-05. He made a few records in 1903 and 1907-08. 1914 settled in Winnipeg w job of choirmaster at Broadway Methodist Church there. Marr 1919 Elsie Cantell, organist and singer. They moved to Toronto 1922 wh he was choirmaster and she organist at Knox Church; he also took priv pupils. His last public perf was at age 77 singing Messiah. In this there is no mention of a prior wife.

Issues of the Times 1890-1914; for concerts in which Robert Watkin-Mills sang.

See bbc.co.uk/proms/archive for details some concerts featuring Robert Watkin-Mills in 1895, singing Gounod and Mendelssohn and being conducted by Henry Wood.

MARRIED LIFE

By 1891, Elizabeth and Robert had moved to London and were living in a house called Glencoe, on Hyacinth Road in the suburb of Roehampton. A house that was named rather than numbered, and an address in Roehampton, argue a very comfortable income. Perhaps, though, the Watkin-Mills were not quite comfortable about splashing out on too many of the trappings of middle-class status, when Robert's income could be interrupted by (say) a bout of bronchitis: they were employing only the one basic general servant. Elizabeth's sister Miriam was visiting them on census day.

By census day 1901, Elizabeth and Robert had left Hyacinth Road. They probably had a house in London still, but on census day they were in Torquay - taking a break, perhaps, and giving Elizabeth time away from London after the death of her mother only three weeks before. On census day Robert had gone to stay with their friend Frederick Crowe, in Upton St Mary. Elizabeth had not gone with him. She'd stayed at the house they were renting - Broadlands, in Bromhill Road, Tormohan, Torquay. Now that Robert was working so regularly in the USA, she was willing to employ two servants, a cook and a housemaid. Her niece (who was probably also her god-daughter) Elizabeth Mills, was staying with her.

Census day 1911 found the Watkin-Mills out of London again. This time they were in

Sussex; at Shoreham-by-Sea near Brighton, renting a house called The Warren. Robert was still working, but at over 60 his career as a singer was reaching its end. He and Elizabeth were back to being careful, employing just the one servant; and they didn't have any visitors this time.

Sources: census 1891, 1901, 1911.

Elizabeth's niece, Elizabeth Ann Mills, was born in Wells in 1884: that much I discovered from freebmd. I wasn't able to identify her for certain on any census except the one in 1901.

DEATH

I'm fairly sure that Elizabeth died, at Hastings, in the summer of 1914. However, if she did, her death was registered as 'Mills', not Watkin-Mills. I've taken as confirmation of this date of death, what happened to her husband that year: Robert Watkin-Mills moved to Canada in 1914, and my source for him in Canada knows about him, but not about Elizabeth.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

Elizabeth Watkin-Mills has no descendants.

Robert Watkin-Mills went to Canada to take up the post of choirmaster at a church in Winnipeg. He married the organist and singer Elsie Cantell, in 1919. They moved to Toronto in 1922 to work at the Knox Church, as choirmaster and organist. Robert's last public performance as a singer came at the age of 77; appropriately enough, it was in *The Messiah*. He died, in Toronto, in 1930.

Source for Robert Watkin-Mills in Canada: see the Encyclopaedia of Music in Canada at www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com.

ELIZABETH'S FAMILY AFTER HER MARRIAGE

ELIZABETH'S PARENTS

On the day of the 1881 census, Edward Hore was still working at the shipyard though he may have been promoted again by this time: the census official wrote down Edward's profession as "shipwright". He and Elizabeth were (I think) still living at 87 Cross Street. Their address was written as 2 Prospect Terrace, Cross Street but I think 'prospect terrace' may have been an older name for that part of the street. Only Miriam was still living at home on census day 1881. She had left school, but either she was not doing any paid work or she was not asked about it. I think it's more likely that she wasn't doing paid work, just helping her mother at home - that would be consistent with the Hore family's rise into the middle classes.

Elizabeth's father died in March 1890. On the day of the 1891 census William was back living at home with his widowed mother; he was working as an insurance agent. Miriam was probably still living in Northam but on census day 1891 she was visiting the Watkin-Mills in Roehampton. I think the Hore family was still living at the same address as in 1881 but the house had been renumbered, to 86 Cross Street.

Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth Lashbrook Hore, died in March 1901. She died in Northam, but an address in Herne Bay was given as her permanent address in her Probate Registry record. I think she may have gone to live with her widowed daughter-in-law Mary Ann Hore - see Edward Hore below.

ELIZABETH'S BROTHER EDWARD HORE

By 1881, Edward Hore junior had left Northam. He had moved to Gillingham in Kent and was working there, still in ship-building though by this time he may have been a draughtsman rather than a carpenter - he was described as a draughtsman on the Probate Registry record for the death of his father. He married a local girl, Mary Ann Partis, in 1884 and they had two children at least, Florence Mary (born 1886) and William Edward (born 1887). I couldn't spot Edward and Mary Ann on the 1891 census; perhaps they were abroad on holiday.

It was probably a nasty shock to all the family when Edward Hore died in December 1899 - he was only in his late 40s. At the time of his death, he and Mary Ann were living at 47 Gardiner Street in the New Brompton district of Gillingham.

ELIZABETH'S BROTHER WILLIAM HORE

I've found it difficult to identify him on the census except when he was living with other members of Elizabeth's family. He acted as his mother's executor in 1901 so he was still alive then; but I haven't been able to find a date of death for him and I don't know whether he ever married.

ELIZABETH'S YOUNGEST BROTHER THOMAS HILTON HORE

Thomas Hore isn't on the 1881 census so perhaps he had already gone to Australia. In 1913 he was working for Queensland Government Railways. In October 1913 he gave evidence to a Parliamentary enquiry into the Queensland fishing industry, answering questions about the Railway's involvement in transporting fish from the ports; as indoor assistant traffic manager. He died, at Kedron in Queensland, in 1930.

ELIZABETH'S SISTER MIRIAM HORE

Miriam Hore doesn't seem ever to have done any paid work; which was in keeping with the Hore family's view of their class status in the later 19th century. In 1898 she married Lewis Chapple. In 1911 her husband was 68 to her 46 - a generation her senior. Chapple was a Devon man, but by 1903 he had moved to London to work as a commercial traveller for a joinery manufacturing firm. Miriam and Lewis had two children: Marion Elizabeth - another god-child of Elizabeth Watkin-Mills, I daresay - who was born in 1899; and John Edward William Lewis, born 1903. On the day of the 1911 census the Chapples were living at 46 Ellerby Street Fulham.

Sources:

Censuses 1881-1911. Probate Registry entries. Freebmd.

And for Thomas Hore:

Parliamentary Papers of the Queensland Parliamentary Legislative Assembly; volume 3 issued 1914: p8; p31

Via google to //billiongraves.com for Thomas' date and place of death.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

15 March 2016

Email me at

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Mrs Constance Mary WILDE, unlucky wife of Oscar, was initiated into the Golden Dawn very early in its proceedings, in November 1888, and took the Latin motto 'Qui patitur vincit'. At that time she and Oscar were living at the address most associated with them as a couple, 16 Tite Street Chelsea. An undated note in the GD's administrative files said of her membership that it was "in abeyance"; almost certainly NOT because of Oscar's trial but because of the much earlier uproar caused by his novel *The Portrait of Dorian Grey*.

It's always difficult to separate the wife of a very famous man from her husband so that she can shine in her own light for once, but there are several biographies of Constance. The latest is

Constance: the Tragic and Scandalous Life of Mrs Oscar Wilde by Franny Moyle. London: John Murray 2011 and now also in paperback. I shall only add some references which show that Constance knew various people who are **THE PEOPLE SHE KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN**, though I think the GD member most likely to have put Constance up for membership was W B Yeats.

Collected Letters of W B Yeats Vol I 1865-95 show that W B knew both Constance and her husband. He probably visited them on a regular basis, because there are no letters from him to Constance in volumes I or II. Constance's biography shows her setting up on the 'at home' circuit once she and Oscar had moved into Tite Street and I expect W B was one of her guests at these functions which were more like a public performance than chatting with friends. Moving in the same social circles, the Wildes and W B tended all to be invited to the same kind of social function - for example W B, Constance and Oscar were amongst 300 guests at a 'home rule party' in May 1888 at which Mrs Gladstone made a speech.

Reforming Women's Fashion 1850-1920: Politics, Health and Art by Patricia A Cunningham. Published Kent State University Press 2003. This book has references to GD members Dora de Blaquière and Mary Eliza Haweis, both of whom were involved the rational dress movement in which Constance was also an important figure. On p116 Cunningham explains that a more common-sense approach to dress was very much a part of what the aesthetic movement believed in. The Wildes were leaders of the aesthetic movement. Other people involved were Frederick Leighton; G F Watts; William Morris and May Morris. Cunningham DOESN'T specifically say that Constance, Dora and Mary Eliza all knew each other before they became GD members.

It's possible that Constance also knew GD member Isabel de Steiger in the years before GD existed. In Isabel's memoirs she mentions attending Lady Wilde's Saturday afternoon 'at homes' in the 1870s and 1880s. Consequently Isabel knew Oscar Wilde and his brother Willie, and may have met Constance as well although she doesn't specifically say so.

Memorabilia: Reminiscences of a Woman Artist and Writer by Isabelle (sic) de Steiger. London: Rider and Co. No publication date but there's a British Library stamp dated "27 May 27". Page 81: Isabel going to "Lady Wilde's on Saturday afternoons". Knowing Oscar and Willie Wilde, p85; but Willie better because he (but not Oscar) was a member of the Theosophical Society.

DE BREMONT

I will also say - because I doubt if it figures in the biography I've recommended - that Constance was a member of the Society for Psychical Research, which she joined in October 1892, after she had stopped being an active member of GD. Evidence of her continuing membership: Journal of the Society for Psychical Research volume V 1891-92 number XCIII issued October 1892 p297 the list of new members since the last issue includes p298 Mrs Oscar Wilde of 16 Tite Street Chelsea. She is still listed as a member in Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XI 1895 p624 has her as a full member, still calling herself 'Wilde' (she later took another surname, for the protection of her sons) but living in exile now, at Hotel du Parc, Glion sur Montreux, Switzerland. Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research volume XV 1900-01 no longer lists her in its members; she was dead by then.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

27 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

George Easthall WILLIAMS whose initiation date R A Gilbert was not quite certain of; he made a guess of December 1889. Williams chose the Latin motto 'Ad finem'. The address he gave for GD correspondence was the Primrose Club, at 4 Park Place St James's London SW1. A later note on his GD papers said that he had died by March 1892.

I couldn't spot this man for sure on the censuses of 1881 and 1891. Despite not having any idea how old George was, I did have a go at finding a birth registration for a child with all those names - that is to say, including 'Easthall' - but I couldn't find one. If he was born in England or Wales (I was using freebmd which doesn't cover anywhere else), he must have been among the many 'George Williams' whose registrations I came across.

I do know what George Williams did for a living. Via Google, I did find a reference to a man of that name (all that name) being appointed as the London correspondent for a number of American newspapers, in 1889. I haven't had any success following this reference up, though.

The other bit of information I can give is about George's politics. According to Wikipedia the Primrose Club was founded as a consciously Conservative gentleman's club: all prospective members had to pledge their support to the Conservative Party. Giving the Primrose Club as his address for post, doesn't imply George Williams lived there. Most gentleman's clubs had rooms which members could stay in from time to time, but I don't think you could actually take up permanent residence in them. It was more likely that George Williams actually rented rooms at a much less swish address, or moved from lodging house to lodging house on a regular basis. The Club would then be his one permanent address, and a place to eat and drink and meet people with whom he had a lot in common, while he lived out of his suitcase.

Of course, I looked for a death registration but couldn't find one for him, at least not in England or Wales. Which adds to my suspicion that he might have been an American, over in England as part of his job.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families;

thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

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Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

The reference to Easthall Williams as a newspaper correspondent: Current Opinion volume 2 1889 but as so often with Google, the snippet of information I could see didn't include the page number.

25 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Arthur Wilson was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn at its Horus Temple in Bradford, in July 1894. He chose the Latin motto 'Vox stellarum'. He did do some of the study recommended for initiates who wanted to progress further in the Order, but never made it to the inner, 2nd Order. I think he had a rather busy life.

This is one of my short biographies. They mostly cover GD members who lived in Bradford, Liverpool and Edinburgh. I've done what I can with those people, using the web and sources in London. I'm sure there's far more information on them out there, but it will be in record offices, the local papers...I'd need to be on the spot to look at them, and I've had to admit that life's too short!

Sally Davis

February 2016

This is what I have found on ARTHUR WILSON. The difficulty of being sure I'd got the right person has meant I haven't looked for much more than is listed below.

IN THE GD

I'm fairly sure that Arthur Wilson found out about the existence of the GD through Alfred Ernest Scanlan, a doctor in Middlesbrough; who in turn had found out about it through Theosophical Society contacts in Bradford where virtually everyone who was in the TS was also in the GD. A third man from Middlesbrough also joined the GD in Bradford - GP William Charles Hopgood was initiated in September 1894.

ANY OTHER ESOTERIC INTERESTS?

Arthur Wilson applied to join the Theosophical Society in June 1892. At that stage, your application had to have a sponsor who was a TS member already. Arthur's was Baker Hudson. A Middlesbrough branch of the TS was being mooted at this time and Baker Hudson became the Middlesbrough Lodge's first secretary when it was officially founded in 1893. Alfred Ernest Scanlan was also a member of the TS's Middlesbrough Lodge. In November 1893, Oliver Firth came to Middlesbrough from Bradford TS Lodge to give a talk on Karma, Free Will and Fate. Firth was one of the TS's most active members in the north of England at this time; and he was also in the GD. Later, Firth and the members of Middlesbrough Lodge worked together to set up the magazine *The Northern Theosophist*.

The founding of lodges in Bradford and then in Middlesbrough was part of a big expansion of the TS in England in the early 1890s. This came to a halt in the mid-1890s when a dispute broke out within the TS worldwide over who should lead it, now that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky had died. The dispute became vitriolic, and eventually very public. Large numbers of individual members left the TS or just stopped paying their annual subscriptions and entire lodges closed down for lack of members. Both Arthur Wilson and Alfred Scanlan had notes on their TS membership notes saying that their membership was considered lapsed, in December 1897. This meant that they hadn't paid their subscriptions for three years in succession, so both men had ceased to be active members at the height of the dispute, in 1894. After its promising beginning, Middlesbrough TS Lodge only lasted a couple of years.

Sources:

Theosophical Society Membership Register September 1891-January 1893 p119 entry for Arthur Wilson of 14 Grange Road Middlesbrough.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XII covers March-August 1893. Edited by Annie Besant, published by Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XII number 70 issued 15 June 1893 p341 in news section: formation of a new TS lodge based in Middlesbrough. None of its members are named, but both Arthur Wilson and Alfred Scanlan had notes on their membership record that they were members of it.

Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine Volume XIII covering September 1893 to February 1894. Annie Besant as editor, published by Theosophical Publishing Society of 7 Duke Street Adelphi. Volume XIII number 75 issued 15 November 1893 p254 in the news section: Oliver Firth's visit to the Middlesbrough Lodge. Volume XIII number 76 issued 15 December 1893 p265 mentioning how active members of Middlesbrough Lodge had been, in setting up the magazine *The Northern Theosophist*.

ANY OBITUARIES/BIOGRAPHIES?

There may well be, but only in the local papers. It would have helped Arthur in his profession if he had taken a part in the musical life of Middlesbrough (see below). If he had been well enough known, there would have been obituaries in the local papers.

BIRTH/YOUTH/FAMILY BACKGROUND

If I have identified the right man, the GD's Arthur Wilson was born in 1868, the eldest child of John Wilson and his wife Eleanor, née Woof. Arthur was born in Darlington, where his father owned a pharmacy. In 1871 John Wilson's business was at 40 Archer Street; by 1881 it had moved to 8 East Terrace. John and Eleanor's family was a large one: after Arthur came Lizzie, John Edward who may have died young, Frederick, James, Thomas, Kate, Annie and Nellie; all by 1881. The Wilsons could afford one general servant to live in. If John

employed anyone to help in the shop, they were living elsewhere and perhaps Eleanor took that role, when she had time.

Sources: freebmd; census 1871, 1881.

EDUCATION

John Wilson's business was a small, local one. What spare money there was for Arthur's education was spent on one subject - see below. I imagine all the children went to the local National School; provided their parents were Church of England and I've no information about that.

WORK/PROFESSION

By 1891 Arthur had left home and moved the few miles to Middlesbrough. He was already working as a music teacher. My searches of the web haven't come up with any indication that he went to any of the major music colleges, so it's most likely he reached music-teacher standard through private lessons. Allowing Arthur to take those lessons must have been where the Wilson family's spare money had been spent. At least as far as 1911, Arthur worked as a self-employed music teacher, giving lessons in his own home; I suppose majoring on the piano, but he may also have taught singing. Those two aspects of music are likely to have been the ones most in demand amongst the newly comfortably-off of industrial Middlesbrough, whose children must have formed the majority of his pupils.

In 1891, Arthur was living at 118 Grange Road Middlesbrough, as one of Mary Carter's lodgers.

Source: census 1891.

ANY PUBLICATIONS?

Not that I can identify.

ANY PUBLIC LIFE/EVIDENCE FOR LEISURE TIME? Bearing in mind, of course, that most leisure activities leave no trace behind them.

See my comments in the 'obituaries?' section above. Arthur did the kind of work where it's difficult to tell where professional interests end and leisure time begins.

FAMILY

Early in 1892, Arthur married Annie Thackeray. Though I haven't been able to identify Annie for certain, despite her relatively rare surname, she did consistently tell census officials that she had been born in Darlington; so I guess she and Arthur had known each other since childhood. They set up house further along Grange Road, at 106, and were still there in 1901. By that time they had a large family: Elsie Wilson born 1893; Alfred Thackeray Wilson born 1895 and named, perhaps, for Alfred Scanlan; Arthur Woof Wilson born 1896; and John Ellick Wilson born 1900. In 1911 Arthur also wrote on the census form that they had had a child that had died; perhaps one born between Arthur and John. After the day of

the 1901 census two more children were born: Muriel Kathleen Wilson in 1902; and Austin Wilson, whose birth registration I couldn't identify for certain but who was aged 6 in 1911.

This was a big household; and there also had to be somewhere in the house given over to Arthur's music lessons - as the family's source of income. By 1911, the Wilsons had moved to the west of Middlesbrough; to Hartington Road, Stockton-on-Tees. The house was big - it had nine habitable rooms - and Arthur was also earning enough money to employ one servant; in 1901 they hadn't had any servants living in.

Sources: freebmd; census 1901, 1911.

DEATH

I haven't attempted to look for death registrations for Arthur Wilson and Annie.

DESCENDANTS? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HAPPENED NEXT.

I did take a look with google to see if I could find out anything about the children Arthur and Annie had given names that might be easy to find. I also had a look in the Probate Registry records; finding one of those, only - but the others might have lived beyond 1966, when Ancestry's set of probate records comes to an end. I couldn't see anything on Alfred Thackeray Wilson so I've no idea what happened to him

ARTHUR WOOF WILSON

Arthur Woof Wilson started as an apprentice merchant seaman in 1913, being indentured in West Hartlepool. In 1915 he was one of the junior members of the crew of the Agenoria, a cargo ship owned by the Byron Steamship Co Ltd. The voyages Agenoria was making were very dangerous and eventually, in November 1917, she was torpedoed, off Ireland, while on the way from Archangel to Nantes with a cargo of timber. The third engineer was killed but the rest of the crew survived, including Arthur, and were able to beach the damaged ship on Belfast Lough.

JOHN ELLICK WILSON went to live in Darlington. He died there aged 28, in 1928.

Sources:

At collections.rmg.co.uk - Royal Museums Greenwich - their record RSS/CL/1915 - Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen. At www.benjidog.co.uk, details of what's on the Tower Hill Memorial to seamen and fishermen lost in war.

Probate Registry 1928.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the

large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden. Please note, though, that the records of the Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh were destroyed in 1900/01. I have recently (July 2014) discovered that some records of the Horus Temple at Bradford have survived, though most have not; however those that have survived are not yet accessible to the public.

For the history of the GD during the 1890s I usually use Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923*. Published Routledge and Kegan Paul 1972. Foreword by Gerald Yorke. Howe is a historian of printing rather than of magic; he also makes no claims to be a magician himself, or even an occultist. He has no axe to grind.

Family history: freebmd; ancestry.co.uk (census and probate); findmypast.co.uk; familysearch; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Burke's Landed Gentry; Armorial Families; thepeerage.com; and a wide variety of family trees on the web.

Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Useful source for business and legal information: London Gazette and its Scottish counterpart Edinburgh Gazette. Now easy to find (with the right search information) on the web.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

Find the web pages of Roger Wright and Sally Davis, including my list of people initiated into the Order of the Golden Dawn between 1888 and 1901, at:

www.wrightanddavis.co.uk

Samuel WILSON who was initiated into the Golden Dawn in December 1892 and took the Latin motto 'Finis coronat opus'. He didn't remain in the GD long, however, being considered to have resigned by August 1893. The only address he gave the GD for correspondence was the Atlas Club, of Newman Street London.

Several members of the GD gave a gentleman's club as their address for correspondence. It

might have been that they didn't want post from such a source to arrive at their home address and be opened by (say) their nose-y landlord. But all those members are ones - usually men - I've had difficulty identifying on the usual family history websites, and I do think a club address suggests a bird of passage, not likely to remain in England for very long. That makes the question of WHO THEY KNEW IN THE GOLDEN DAWN even more difficult to answer, and I haven't answered it in this case. I don't know anything about this man.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

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Famous-people sources: mostly about men, of course, but very useful even for the female members of GD. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Who Was Who. Times Digital Archive.

Catalogues: British Library; Freemasons' Library.

Wikipedia; Google; Google Books - my three best resources. I also used other web pages, but with some caution, as - from the historian's point of view - they vary in quality a great deal.

25 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net

Mrs Annie WOLF was initiated into the Golden Dawn in June 1890 and took the Latin motto 'Suo morte'. A note on the GD administration files shows that by the end of that year her membership was considered to have lapsed.

Rather a short stay in the Order! - one of the shortest, in fact. She gave her address as c/o the Aldine Hotel, Chestnut Street in Philadelphia USA. I got the impression, therefore, that when

she was initiated she was actually about to leave the country. An odd affair altogether and I haven't tried to find out anything about her.

BASIC SOURCES I USED for all Golden Dawn members.

Membership of the Golden Dawn: The Golden Dawn Companion by R A Gilbert. Northampton: The Aquarian Press 1986. Between pages 125 and 175, Gilbert lists the names, initiation dates and addresses of all those people who became members of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn or its many daughter Orders between 1888 and 1914. The list is based on the Golden Dawn's administrative records and its Members' Roll - the large piece of parchment on which all new members signed their name at their initiation. All this information had been inherited by Gilbert but it's now in the Freemasons' Library at the United Grand Lodge of England building on Great Queen Street Covent Garden.

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27 April 2012

AMandragora@attglobal.net