

## | Jacob Boehme, Emanuel Swedenborg and their readers |

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Behmen and Swedenborg saw that things were representative.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men* (1850)

In his lecture series on six European ‘great men’ who served as the strongest lenses ‘through which we read our own minds’, the American author and Transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) chose Swedenborg to represent the mystic—that class of persons concerned with ‘the world of morals’. Emerson attached great importance to the ‘moral sentiment’ believing it, rather than institutional Christianity which he rejected, to be the basis of true religious thought. According to Emerson, Swedenborg’s ‘moral insight’, ‘correction of popular errors’ and ‘announcement of ethical laws’ placed him among the ‘lawgivers of mankind’. Boehme by contrast, he regarded as a poet, sage and mystic who, ‘tremulous with emotion’, listened ‘awestruck with the gentlest humanity to the Teacher’ whose lessons he conveyed. In his estimation, however, Swedenborg and Boehme both failed ‘by attaching themselves to the Christian symbol, instead of to the moral sentiment, which carries innumerable christianities, humanities, divinities in its bosom’. But whereas Boehme was ‘healthily and beautifully wise’—‘notwithstanding the mystical narrowness and incommunicableness’, Swedenborg was ‘disagreeably wise’ and for all his ‘accumulated gifts’ paralysed and repelled because he

lacked poetic expression.<sup>1</sup> Though Emerson sometimes lumped them with Plato, Plotinus, George Fox, Madame Guyon and others, his occasional coupling of Swedenborg with Boehme is instructive. Both were raised in northern Europe as Lutherans, the sons of devout men. Both claimed to have experienced life-transforming visions which formed the basis of their extensive theological writings. Both were denounced by local clergymen but still attracted followers. Indeed, their deaths served only to increase the auras surrounding their life and teachings. Thus a legend took shape of Boehme as a simple, pious, barely literate artisan who had been given the gift of ‘Universall knowledge’ and shown the ‘Centre of all Beings’, while Swedenborg was held to have been a clairvoyant whose corpse—rather like that of the fabled Christian Rosencreutz—was discovered to be remarkably well preserved when first exhumed.<sup>2</sup>

This essay should be considered as part of a larger question: how were Continental millenarian, mystic and hermetic texts received and adapted in contexts for which they had not been intended? Its purpose is twofold—specifically to assess the extent of Boehme’s and Swedenborg’s influence by comparing the responses of English-speaking readers to their works. More generally, by focusing on continuities between early modern religious ideas and the Romantic imagination, it explores some of the routes through which certain beliefs traversed the Enlightenment. It will suggest that while the evidence for Swedenborg’s detailed knowledge of Boehme and his interpreters is largely inconclusive, these writings nonetheless form an important context for appreciating the initial reception of Swedenborg’s teachings. Mapping this readership also enables us to go beyond the boundaries of traditional Swedenborgian studies which have tended to emphasize denominational developments at the expense of wider contexts.

### I. Swedenborg as a possible reader of Boehme and Boehme’s interpreters

On 25 September 1766 Swedenborg wrote from Stockholm to Dr Gabriel Beyer (d. 1779), principal lecturer in theology at Gothenburg. Responding to Beyer’s question concerning his opinion of Boehme’s writings, Swedenborg declared ‘I can pass no judgment, since I have never read them’. Following another query on the subject, probably from Beyer’s brother-in-law, Swedenborg replied from Stockholm on 6 February 1767:

My opinion concerning Boehme and L[aw?]. I have never read them, and I was forbidden to read dogmatic and systematic books in theology before heaven was opened to me, and this for the reason that otherwise unfounded opinions and notions might easily have insinuated themselves, which afterwards could have been removed only with difficulty.<sup>3</sup>

Swedenborg died at London on 29 March 1772. Eight years later it appears that while in London Augustus Nordenskjöld (1754-92), a prominent Scandinavian follower and alchemist, heard an anecdote which in 1782 was published by Antoine-Joseph Pernety (1716-96), a former Benedictine monk and French translator of Swedenborg:

A certain man, a great admirer of Böhme, asked him in London, what he thought of that author. 'He was a good man', answered Swedenborg, 'it is a pity that some errors crept into his writings, especially with regard to the Trinity'.<sup>4</sup>

Although a nineteenth-century editor rejected Pernety's account because it contradicted what Swedenborg had stated to Beyer, the issue has not been satisfactorily resolved. Boehme himself claimed he had not received instruction from men or knowledge from reading books, but had written 'out of my own Book which was opened in me, being the Noble similitude of God'. Yet he also acknowledged having read the writings of 'very high Masters, hoping to find therein the ground and true depth'.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Swedenborg's sources remain only partially researched because few students of philosophy have taken his ideas seriously since Immanuel Kant dismissed him as a fanatic in *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer* (1766).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Swedenborg's voluminous output ranging from treatises on mathematics, longitude, anatomy, physiology, chemistry, cosmology, geology, metallurgy, mineralogy, philosophy and theology to journals recording his dreams and spiritual experiences, coupled with his inaccessible style—even in translation—has tended to discourage all but the committed specialist reader. Hence many older biographies, notably those by members of the church he never intended to found, are essentially a form of Protestant hagiography. His compatriots, however, have long recognized him as an extremely significant Swedish author and accordingly produced valuable critical

studies like Inge Jonsson's *Visionary Scientist* (1971) and Lars Bergquist's *Swedenborg's Secret* (2005).

It is noteworthy that during the eighteenth century a number of Boehme's treatises were anonymously translated into Swedish, probably from Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeld's German edition *Theosophia Revelata* (1730). Apparently unpublished, these survive in manuscript.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* by Thomas Bromley (1630-91), one of Boehme's foremost English interpreters, was anonymously translated into Swedish, probably from a German version issued at Amsterdam in 1685, as *Wägen till Hwilo-Sabbaten Igenom Siälens Fortgång uti Nya Födelsen* (1740). The censor Gustaf Benzelstjerna (1687-1746) had noted in his journal that when checking an auction catalogue on 13 May 1738 he had crossed out some writings—including two English works by Bromley.<sup>8</sup> Significantly, Benzelstjerna corresponded with another censor, Erik Benzelius the younger (1675-1743), Bishop of Linköping and Swedenborg's brother-in-law and patron.<sup>9</sup> Despite the censor's attention, Bromley's work spread among Pietist circles, particularly a small group gathered around the brothers Johan and Erik Eriksson in Stockholm. Benzelstjerna, however, appears to have been responsible for preventing the publication of 'Den sig nu brytande och fördelande himmelska skyn' (n.d.), an anonymous Swedish translation of *The Heavenly Cloud now Breaking*, probably from a German version issued at Amsterdam in 1694. This work was by another of Boehme's notable English interpreters, Jane Lead (1623-1704).<sup>10</sup>

According to his *Journal of Dreams* and from his own later account, Swedenborg's visions of the spiritual world began about autumn 1743, after arriving in Amsterdam on a journey from Stockholm.<sup>11</sup> Swedenborg may—or may not—have been familiar with the Swedish translations of Bromley, Lead and perhaps also Boehme that had begun circulating, but it is important to emphasize that while visiting Copenhagen in July 1736 he had remarked in his *Journal of Travel*:

The town is infected with pietism or Quakerism. They are mad enough to believe that it is well pleasing to God to do away with oneself and others, of which many instances are on record.<sup>12</sup>

Yet a passage in *The Spiritual Diary* of 1747 concerning the deceased Benzelius and Benzelstjerna is equally revealing. Scratching his itchy anus during the night Swedenborg apprehended their irrational spirits, censuring them for proudly supposing they were wiser than others.<sup>13</sup>

Ten years after Swedenborg's demise his reputation was attacked in John Wesley's periodical *The Arminian Magazine*. He was charged with insanity and, in a reworking of a well-known if unsubstantiated statement about Isaac Newton, ploughing with 'Jacob Behmen's heifer, and that both in philosophy and divinity'.<sup>14</sup> The latter claim was echoed in 1789 by Christian Wilhelm Schneider, editor of a Weimar publication, who maintained that in his youth Swedenborg had read not only Boehme but also Jane Lead and John Pordage (1607-81), another leading English Behmenist.<sup>15</sup> The question was also discussed in the Swedenborgian periodical *The Intellectual Repository for the New Church* by Robert Hindmarsh (1759-1835), preacher, printer, bookseller and former pupil at Wesley's school. Remembering in September 1814 that 'many years ago' he had been asked his opinion, Hindmarsh recalled his unfavourable reaction and Boehme's ignorance concerning the notion of 'divine influx'. Boehme's style he pronounced 'singularly uncouth and obscure', whereas Swedenborg's was remarkable for its 'clearness, simplicity, and orderly arrangement'. Condemning Boehme's fallacies, he concluded that Swedenborg's doctrines were much superior, 'as the brightness of the sun is to the reflected light of the moon'.<sup>16</sup> By the time Alfred Roffe responded in the pages of the same periodical Hindmarsh had been dead several years. Observing that followers of both men were strongly partisan, Roffe carefully pointed out many striking 'agreements' as well as 'differences' between the two—particularly their understanding of the Trinity, free will, angelic and Adamic nature, and cosmology. Stressing their 'Individuality and Originality', he subsequently criticized the theosopher Christopher Walton (1809-77) for insisting that Swedenborg had been indebted to Boehme. In addition, he dismissed the charge that Swedenborg had stolen his 'mysticism' from Lead.<sup>17</sup>

Modern scholarship has done much to contextualize this relationship between the 'Teutonic Philosopher' and the 'Baron'. Thus Signe Toksvig and more recently Arthur Versluis have located Swedenborg's theological studies within an esoteric tradition that included Johann Georg Gichtel (1638-1710), a Dutch theosopher influenced by Boehme,

Pietism and Kabbalah, whose massive *Theosophia Practica* (1722) could have been consulted by Swedenborg in the libraries of Leipzig, Dresden, Amsterdam or London.<sup>18</sup> Swedenborg's acquaintance with the writings of Boehme's principal eighteenth-century English interpreter William Law (1686-1761), however, remains very uncertain despite David Katz's assertion that there were obvious similarities.<sup>19</sup> More contentious still are Marsha Schuchard's far-fetched claims that Swedenborg was a crypto-Jacobite and Freemason who later associated with Samuel Jacob Hayyim Falk (c.1710-82), an alchemist and Kabbalist known as the 'Baal Shem of London'. These have usually been treated with caution—and rightly so, for her work generally rests on unsubstantiated connections made through uncritical readings of problematic evidence.<sup>20</sup> Even so, she has shown how Benzelius' extensive network facilitated Swedenborg's entry into learned circles in Hanover, Leipzig and London.<sup>21</sup> Inge Jonsson and his predecessor Martin Lamm have also established that Swedenborg referred to classical authors such as Aristotle, Cicero, Diogenes, Euclid, Homer, Ovid, Plato, Plutarch and Seneca. Moreover, Swedenborg disagreed with the Neoplatonist Plotinus about the freedom of the will and the origin of evil, but was deeply interested in Augustine whom he regarded as a Father of the Church of enlightened judgment. Among his near and immediate contemporaries Swedenborg was familiar with texts by the Italian anatomists Giorgio Baglivi, Giovanni Borelli and G B Cortesius as well as George Berkeley, Thomas Burnet, René Descartes, Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Nicolas Malebranche, Marcello Malpighi, Michel de Montaigne, Isaac Newton, Blaise Pascal, Christopher Polhem and Benedict Spinoza. In addition, he knew both Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's philosophical and scientific work and that of the mathematician Christian Wolff, which he excerpted copiously.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, an auction catalogue of Swedenborg's library and other evidence such as annotated books indicates that he possessed titles in English, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Latin and Swedish with an emphasis on anatomy, chemistry, geometry, metallurgy, mineralogy and scriptural exegesis.<sup>23</sup>

In the same way, our understanding of the background of Swedenborg's early followers together with the fluid milieu they inhabited has been greatly enhanced. Swedenborg's influence on French society and literary culture has been discussed by Karl-Erik Sjöden and Lynn Wilkinson, while English Swedenborgians are the subject of a pioneering doctoral

dissertation by Peter Lineham and an important article by Clarke Garrett which locates them within the ‘mystical’ Enlightenment.<sup>24</sup> Further studies, notably by E P Thompson and R W Rix, have tended to concentrate on Swedenborg’s most famous early reader—William Blake. There is also Alfred Gabay’s *The Covert Enlightenment* (2005), which synthesizes the secondary literature.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, it is now known that some English Swedenborgians had been Methodists, others were Freemasons, and that several had interests in Hermeticism, the Rosicrucians, alchemy, Kabbalah and Animal Magnetism. A few, like Swedenborg himself, were also mostly vegetarians. In addition, as its name indicated, the New Jerusalem Church (Revelation 21:1-2) established on 31 July 1787 linked separatist Swedenborgians with late eighteenth-century English millenarianism. That Behmenism comprised an aspect of this lively world should therefore come as no surprise.

## II. The reception of Swedenborg’s writings among English readers of Boehme and other ‘Mystic authors’

In 1749 the first volume of Swedenborg’s *Arcana Coelestia* was printed by the Moravian John Lewis (d. 1755) and sold from his shop in Paternoster Row, Cheapside, as well as in the Strand and on Ludgate Hill. Seven more were to follow together with an additional treatise published by Lewis’ son, Swedenborg’s *De cælo et ejus Mirabilibus* (1758). In his advertisement of the *Arcana* Lewis affirmed that the author—as yet unknown—was undoubtedly a ‘very learned and great man’ who did not seek financial gain. This prompted an enquiry from the ‘ingenious and pious’ Stephen Penny (d. 1780) of Dartmouth, who having read it with an ‘extraordinary degree of pleasure’, wondered if the ‘illuminated’ writer was William Law.<sup>26</sup> As a young man Penny had been afflicted with smallpox, experienced financial hardship and mental distress. While in Rotterdam, however, he became acquainted with that ‘man of wonders’, Jacob Boehme. In a long letter to his sister written in August 1742 Penny recounted his spiritual growth, recalling that after browsing through an English extract and a number of epistles he progressed to a Dutch version of Boehme’s first work *Aurora*, or ‘Morning Light’. Despite its obscurity he became captivated with this ‘enchanted’ book, learning how to live in a manner that prepared him for the ‘enjoyment of eternal happiness’.<sup>27</sup> Afterwards Penny corresponded with Law, informing him of some ‘simple and illiterate sort’ of people he knew in Dartmouth

familiar with Boehme. Law in turn revealed his intention to undertake a new English translation of Boehme from the original German, together with the apparatus—notes and introductions—‘to prepare and direct the reader in the true use of these writings’.<sup>28</sup> Although Law did not live to see the publication of the first volume of *The Works of Jacob Behmen* (1764), it was probably among ‘the works of that wonderful man . . . the Teutonic Theosopher’ contained in ‘twelve different size volumes’ in German and English bequeathed by Penny to a Bristol merchant.<sup>29</sup>

Law himself owned seven volumes of Swedenborg’s *Arcana* and by April 1758 wanted one to complete the set—even though he would ‘never go through them’.<sup>30</sup> He had also met, corresponded and eventually disputed with John Wesley, who subsequently published his critical *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Law: Occasioned by some of his late writings* (1756). Wesley began by asserting that in ‘Matters of Religion’ he regarded ‘no Writings but the inspired’. Boehme and a ‘whole army of Mystic authors’ were nothing compared with St Paul. Censuring Law for continually blending philosophy with religion, he concluded by imploring him:

To spue out of your Mouth and out of your Heart that *vain Philosophy*, and *speak* neither higher nor lower Things, neither more nor less than the *Oracles of GOD*: To renounce, despise, abhor all the high-flown Bombast, all the unintelligible Jargon of the Mystics, and come back to the plain Religion of the Bible.<sup>31</sup>

Entries in Wesley’s *Journal* and references in his other letters, notably one sent to the editor of the *London Chronicle* in September 1760, indicate the same attitude towards what he considered to be Boehme’s unscriptural, irrational, contradictory, ‘affectedly mysterious’, ‘most sublime nonsense’.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, Wesley thought that studying Boehme confused his own followers. Indeed, during a conversation with Wesley in April 1761 the poet John Byrom (1692-1763) mentioned that six men had been expelled from the Methodists for ‘reading Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law’.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, a former bearded vegetarian turned Methodist named Ralph Mather (1750?-1803) reported in November 1775 that a farmer and several poor people living at Leigh, Lancashire loved ‘J. Behme and Wm. Law’.<sup>34</sup> Wesley feared that Mather had been ‘almost driven out of his senses by



Mystic Divinity' and after 'falling into mysticism and Quakerism' Mather admitted that he had been 'driven almost to stark madness . . . For an hour one evening language is out of the question to describe the Glory that surrounds me'.<sup>35</sup> A reader of Jane Lead, he ultimately became an ordained Swedenborgian minister.<sup>36</sup>

Wesley appears to have become acquainted with Swedenborg's writings in February 1772, noting in his *Journal* that he thought him 'one of the most ingenious, lively, entertaining madmen that ever set pen to paper'. Further entries indicate that Wesley believed Swedenborg to be a pious, raving lunatic.<sup>37</sup> He said much the same in a contribution to *The Arminian Magazine* for May 1782, pronouncing his opinions absurd, 'blasphemous nonsense', 'the whims of a distempered imagination':

Who illuminated, either *Jacob Behmen*, or *Emanuel Swedenborg* [ . . . ] Certainly it was, the spirit of darkness [ . . . ] And with what face can any who profess to believe the Bible, give any countenance to these dreamers [ . . . ] let the dreams of Baron *Swedenborg*, SINK INTO THE PIT FROM WHENCE THEY CAME.<sup>38</sup>

In December 1772 the Moravian minister Francis Okely (1719-94) wrote to Wesley regarding the 'riddle' of Swedenborg, agreeing that 'he speaks many great and important truths; and as certainly seems . . . to contradict Scripture in other places'.<sup>39</sup> An acquaintance of Byrom and Law, Okely began reading Swedenborg's *De caelo et ejus Mirabilibus* in 1767. Finding its contents both 'new and surprising' he secured two interviews with the 'Latin author' in September 1771 after his co-religionists Mary Lewis (1703-91), widow of the printer John Lewis, and her printer son-in-law Henry Trapp (1739-90) persuaded Swedenborg of Okely's good character. During their first conversation, which moved from English to Latin and finally German, Swedenborg showed an aversion to the Quakers and expressed an equally low opinion of the Moravians, whose services at their chapel in Fetter Lane he had attended in 1744. He also censured Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-60), benefactor of a Moravian community at Herrnhut, Saxony with whom Swedenborg claimed to have had 'several interviews' in the spiritual world. Although Okely thought Swedenborg had been insane when he began having visions of the spiritual world, he nonetheless bought another of his Latin treatises which he read

carefully before sending him about January 1772 ‘a full written sheet’ of what he was ‘obliged to disapprove’.<sup>40</sup> In September 1781 Okely transcribed a review of Swedenborg’s writings together with an account of him on the fly leaves of a volume containing three minor works by Swedenborg so that ‘every impartial reader should see everything as well against as for the Baron’s singular pretension’.<sup>41</sup>

As Ralph Mather observed, Okely professed ‘great love to the mystics’.<sup>42</sup> Significantly, his translation from the German of a short book by Johanna Eleonora von Merlau (1644–1724), future wife of the Pietist Johann Wilhelm Petersen, was sold by Mary Lewis—as were several of Okely’s own writings and his versification of select passages from the works of William Law. Moreover, Okely translated the *Evangelical Conversion* of the German Dominican and mystic Johannes Tauler (c. 1300–61), the *Divine Visions* of the Lutheran John Engelbrecht (1599–1642), and *A faithful narrative of God’s gracious dealings* with Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt (d. 1594?), a prominent member of the Family of Love who used the name Hiël (the ‘Life of God’). In addition, Okely translated *Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen* (1780). He introduced these by affirming his belief that ‘the Holy Scriptures, Jacob Behmen, Mr. Law, and every other *truly spiritual Writer*’ possessed ‘a sound and good Sense’—even on those occasions when it had not been granted him to penetrate it. Yet he also warned against putting Boehme’s writings in the hands of people ‘*not properly disposed*’ to them, for some readers had turned out ‘real conceited *Enthusiasts*’ while others had become perplexed to the point of ‘*Distraction*’.<sup>43</sup>

Another minister known for his ‘attachment’ to the ‘Mystic Writers’ was Thomas Hartley (c. 1709–84), rector of Winwick, Northamptonshire.<sup>44</sup> Twelve years before his death Hartley recalled that it was reading the works of William Law, ‘the Apostle of England’, which ‘first set him going’.<sup>45</sup> An acquaintance of Law and Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, to whom he dedicated his *Sermons on Various Subjects* (1754), Hartley praised Law’s ‘excellent Treatises’ for their usefulness, being well suited ‘to promote Piety’. He particularly admired Law’s *The Way to Divine Knowledge . . . As preparatory to a new Edition of the works of Jacob Behmen* (1752), declaring that ‘the sacred Truths of our Religion have their sure Foundations in the Depths of a Divine Theosophy’.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, it is noteworthy that Hartley’s *A Discourse on Mistakes concerning Religion*,

*Enthusiasm, Experiences* was reprinted with Thomas Bromley's *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (1759).<sup>47</sup> Moreover, in *Paradise restored. . . To which is added, a short defence of the mystical writers* (1764), Hartley admonished Wesley for the 'obloquy' he poured on those 'excellent men', insisting that they taught the way to 'Christian perfection' on 'surer principles' than Wesley had done. As for that 'wonderful man *J. Behmen*', Wesley had never understood either him or his 'incomparable book' *Mysterium Magnum*.<sup>48</sup> In the same vein, Hartley chided William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, for rashly censuring Boehme's writings as nonsensical, maintaining that while some found them unintelligible, others discerned profound meaning—at least in a 'great part' of them:

But however this wonderful man came by his knowledge (for he was an original and no copy) it certainly was above the ordinary course of nature that God opened in his soul such an amazing treasure of wisdom, as taught him so many and great mysteries, brought him acquainted with the birth of all things, unlocked to him the secrets of universal nature, and enlightened his mind with such a deep knowledge of the Scriptures.<sup>49</sup>

Nonetheless, Wesley was dissatisfied with Hartley's vindication of the mystic writers, bemoaning his 'vehement attachment' to them.<sup>50</sup> Afterwards Hartley conversed and then corresponded with Swedenborg, requesting biographical information to protect Swedenborg's reputation from possible slander as well as offering him a home in England should he need to leave Sweden because of religious persecution.<sup>51</sup> Hartley's interest in Swedenborg's teachings was shared by his acquaintance William Cookworthy (1705-80), with whom he had corresponded. An eminent Quaker minister, distinguished chemist, druggist and porcelain manufacturer of Plymouth, Cookworthy had probably read Swedenborg's *Arcana Coelestia* at the behest of his friend Stephen Penny.<sup>52</sup> Described as a sensible, learned man with an 'amazing Memory', Cookworthy conducted experiments on Devon cider and advocated using divining rods to discover metal, limestone and water hidden in the earth.<sup>53</sup> He was, moreover, a hearer of Methodist preachers and the millenarian May Drummond, whom he regarded as a 'strange phenomenon' of 'surprising Genius'.<sup>54</sup> Cookworthy may have rendered B at Louis de Muralt's *The Divine Instinct*,

*Recommended to Men* (1751) from French into English and also appears to have completed one of the earliest English translations of Swedenborg's works, *The Doctrine of Life* (1772).<sup>55</sup> His version of *A Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell* (1778) was revised and finished by Hartley, but published at Cookworthy's expense.<sup>56</sup> Hartley himself translated Swedenborg's *A Theosophic Lucubration on the Nature of Influx* (1770) and supplied a preface to Swedenborg's *True Christian Religion* (1781), which was rendered from Latin into English by John Clowes (1743-1831).<sup>57</sup>

A kinsman of Edward Byrom, the poet's son, Clowes accepted his cousin's offer of the rectory of the newly built St John's, Manchester in 1769.<sup>58</sup> Like John Byrom, Clowes read William Law's works with 'great diligence and much affection', finding that they 'tended to produce a pure, holy, and peaceable frame of mind'.<sup>59</sup> Though he came to disagree with Law's preference for a contemplative life and his ideas concerning the Trinity, the Scriptures and the human soul, it was through Law that Clowes became acquainted with several of the mystics.<sup>60</sup> According to his autobiography Clowes found much 'to love & to admire' in the writings of among others, Guyon, Engelbrecht, Hiël, Tauler, Boehme, Bromley and Lead.<sup>61</sup> Regarded as 'a pious solid young man', Clowes was introduced to Swedenborg's writings in 1773 by Edward Byrom's executor Richard Houghton (1732-80) of Liverpool. A friend of Wesley and correspondent of Hartley, Houghton recommended the work that Clowes would translate—*Vera Christiana Religio*.<sup>62</sup> In 1778 Clowes formed a Swedenborgian reading group at Whitefield near Manchester where, despite the doubts of older readers, word began circulating of 'a man who had been in heaven and hell, who had seen angels and devils, and talked of departed spirits'.<sup>63</sup> Four years later he began visiting a similar coterie at the cotton-spinning village of Bolton, Lancashire. This 'small society':

who read the theosophic Behmen and the pious Law, caught the triumphant news; and though some with temerity and fear examined the invaluable treasure, yet others with avidity embraced the gift of heaven.<sup>64</sup>

In 1782 the Manchester Printing Society was established and soon began issuing Clowes' translation of Swedenborg's *Arcana* in monthly instalments and then half-volumes.<sup>65</sup> These activities were reported to Beilby Porteus, Bishop of Chester, who summoned Clowes

only to dismiss him, as the latter recalled, with a warning to be ‘prudent and circumspect in his conduct’.<sup>66</sup> Clowes chose to remain in the Church of England and even went to London in 1787 to dissuade separatist Swedenborgians from founding the New Jerusalem Church.<sup>67</sup> Although unsuccessful his influence in Manchester remained undiminished, for an ecclesiastical visitation article of 1804 referred to some townspeople:

who are of a sober turn & who mind their Own Business & yet disregard public Worship, who talk of *Internal Worship* of the Kingdom of God within them &c such as mystics, Swedenborgians, readers and admirers of Jacob Behmen, Madame Bourignon, Madame Guion & others of that Class & of Rev Mr. Law.<sup>68</sup>

### III. The reception of Swedenborg’s writings continued—the Theosophical Society, Illuminati and New Jerusalem Church; Kabbalah, Freemasonry and Animal Magnetism

In 1764 the first volume of *The Works of Jacob Behmen* was printed for a publisher in Paternoster Row. Three more were to follow, as well as extracts from several of Boehme’s treatises issued in 1769 by ‘a gentleman retired from business’. Next appeared *A Compendious view of the grounds of the Teutonick Philosophy* (1770), printed by Mary Lewis of 1 Paternoster Row. Significantly, she also printed two early English translations of Swedenborg’s works, *A brief exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church* (1769) and *A Theosophic Lucubration on the Nature of Influx* (1770)—which prompted a reviewer to class the author with Boehme, Law and ‘other mystic writers’.<sup>69</sup> During the 1770s a further work appeared in English by Swedenborg, *A Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell* (1778). Printed in London by the Quaker James Phillips, it was also available in Bristol from the bookseller Thomas Mills (c. 1735-1820).<sup>70</sup> Formerly a clerk at one of the Countess of Huntingdon’s chapels where he preached ‘in the Methodist way’, Mills had issued *The Life of Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf* (1773), Boehme’s *The Way to Christ Discovered* (1775) and *The Worship of God, in Spirit and in Truth* (1775) by Madame Guyon—an author admired by Wesley. In 1778 Mills became a Quaker, but continued selling English titles by Swedenborg until he was disowned in 1789. Maternal grandfather of the historian and essayist Thomas Babington Macaulay, Mills’

grandchildren remembered him as ‘an old man of imposing appearance, with long white hair, talking incessantly of Jacob Boehmen’. Moreover, Mills was acquainted with Francis Okely and sold his translations of writings by Engelbrecht and Hiël as well as his edition of *Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen* (1780).<sup>71</sup> These were published by James Lackington (1746-1815), a former Methodist.

After Wesley’s death Lackington noted in his memoirs that many Methodist preachers and hearers had already gone over to the Swedenborgians, which he regarded as ‘a proof of the fondness of mankind for novelty, and the marvellous, even in religious matters’.<sup>72</sup> In 1778 Lackington had entered into a short-lived partnership with John Denis (c. 1735-85), an oilman in Canon Street who provided the capital for the new firm’s successful bookselling enterprise. Following the partnership’s dissolution Denis, with his son and namesake, sold volumes in English and French by Swedenborg from their premises near Fleet Street. According to Lackington, the elder Denis’ private library of old and valuable ‘mystical and alchymical’ books was the best of its kind ‘collected by one person’. Denis was said to have ‘prized these kinds of books’ above everything and his son, who continued selling works by Swedenborg yet died a young man, shared this interest in the ‘Occult Sciences’.<sup>73</sup> *Denis’ Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Books* (1787) indicates the wide range of his father’s collection, which listed nearly 8,000 titles including works by Swedenborg, Guyon, Boehme, Bromley, Pordage, Lead and Law.<sup>74</sup> One noteworthy item offered for sale was ‘Two Epistles of Theaura John’. This was a volume bound in sheep leather containing four tracts by TheaurauJohn Tany (1608-59), self-proclaimed High Priest and Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jews, and Boehme’s most impenetrable interpreter. Each tract has been annotated by either the elder or younger Denis, whose monogram is inscribed at the beginning and end of the volume: ‘J.D. cost 15 shillings 1768’, ‘J.D. 1789’. Furthermore, Tany’s *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora* (1651)—the title alluded to Boehme’s most famous book—was commended for its ‘intrinsic value’ and praised as ‘A great Treasure tho’ in an earthen vessell’.<sup>75</sup>

While this volume was in the elder or younger Denis’ possession it was consulted more than once over a period of several years by Henry Peckitt (1734?-1808), who made extensive extracts in a notebook from each of the four tracts. A former physician and apothecary, Peckitt lived in retirement at 50 Old Compton Street, Soho. Described as ‘a very worthy

character' and 'profound scholar', he was said to be an antiquarian, astronomer and lover of natural history with knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. In the earlier part of his life Peckitt had studied the 'mystic writers', notably Boehme and Guyon, but this was superseded by his interest in Swedenborg.<sup>76</sup> He took an active part in the early affairs of the separatist Swedenborgian New Jerusalem Church and was President of its first general conference held at London in April 1789. Peckitt's 'most valuable' library consisted of thousands of volumes including a rare collection of mystical books. His house, however, was consumed by fire in June 1785 and an estimated full wagon load of books lost to the flames.<sup>77</sup> Among the surviving manuscripts were the second volume of Swedenborg's *Apocalypsis Explicata*, which was subsequently published at Peckitt's expense, and extracts from Swedenborg's *Diary*. This contains Peckitt's note, 'A certain Philosopher (1620) calls the Rainbow a certain reflex contra glance of the Sun'—a quotation from John Sparrow's translation of Boehme's *Mysterium Magnum*.<sup>78</sup> Also extant are a transcript of an account of Jane Lead's last hours and the excerpts from Tany's writings, which has Peckitt's concluding remark:

I H:P: cannot rely upon this Mans declarations, as I do upon the honerable Emanuel Swedenborg's writings.<sup>79</sup>

Among Peckitt's Swedenborgian acquaintances was Benedict Chastanier (c. 1739-c. 1818), a Huguenot surgeon and pharmacist. Educated at the Catholic Collège de St. Barbe in Paris and, after running away to escape their 'savage persecution', at the Hôtel Dieu, Paris, Chastanier came to England in October 1763 aged about twenty-four.<sup>80</sup> He failed to settle in London, however, experiencing a 'remarkable' vision the night before he was to relocate in the vicinity of Northampton. In January 1768 Chastanier began studying the '*Mystic Writers*' and learned German to enable him to read Georg von Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum* (1735). He may have been influenced by Francis Okely who ministered to a small Moravian congregation at Northampton.<sup>81</sup> Yet since the early nineteenth century, historians of Freemasonry have maintained that during Swedenborg's lifetime Chastanier and other 'friends of the New Jerusalem' in France founded a quasi-masonic society of 'Illuminés theosophes' with seven grades:

1. Apprenti theosoph (apprentice)
2. Compagnon theosoph (journeyman)
3. Maître theosoph (master)
4. Theosophe illumine (enlightened theosophist)
5. Frère bleu (blue brother)
6. Frère rouge (red brother)
7. Sublime Ecossais ou le Jerusalem celeste (sublime Scotch).<sup>82</sup>

Although it has been claimed that Chastanier was master of the lodge ‘Socrate de la Parfaite Union’ at Paris and that in 1767 he introduced his system of illuminated theosophists into England, there is apparently no record of his membership of a London lodge.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, the chronology of this supposed fusion of Freemasonry and Swedenborgian doctrines is problematic, for only in mid-1768 did Chastanier start reading part of *Arcana Coelestia* in translation. Nor did he accompany his alchemist friends when they visited Swedenborg in London. In March 1776, however, he enquired about Boehme’s *Signatura rerum* at a Holborn bookseller’s and was instead handed a copy of Hartley’s translation of Swedenborg’s treatise *On the Nature of Influx*.<sup>84</sup> Having accepted its doctrines as the fulfilment of another vision, Chastanier gathered that same year a group to assist in the translation and publication of Swedenborg’s manuscripts. He himself transcribed ‘Worship and Love of God’ (1778) and ‘Continuation of the Last Judgment’ (1781).<sup>85</sup> Afterwards he edited and issued several French translations of Swedenborg’s works: *De La Nouvelle Jérusalem et de sa Doctrine Céleste* (1782); *Du Commerce établi entre l’Ame et le Corps* (1785); *Traité de la Vie* (1787); *Doctrine de la Nouvelle Jérusalem, touchant le Seigneur* (1787); *Du Dernier Jugement* (1787); *Continuation du Dernier Jugement* (1787).<sup>86</sup> The last four appeared in Chastanier’s *Journal Novi-Jérusalémite*.

Significantly, *Journal Novi-Jérusalémite* was addressed to all lovers of the truth, particularly Freemasons, who ‘are free and open-hearted’ and whom Chastanier had the ‘honour’ of calling his ‘brethren’. He also mentioned circulars which the Grand Orient in Paris had dispersed, presumably to lodges affiliated with it.<sup>87</sup> While Chastanier’s plan to establish a quasi-masonic ‘*Société Universelle*’ consisting of the elite among



alchemists, Kabbalists, Freemasons and students of the occult sciences was undated, there is an intriguing reference to 'la société Universelle' in a letter written 14 June 1784 to Lieutenant-General Charles Rainsford (1728-1809).<sup>88</sup> A correspondent of Chastanier as well as a Freemason and fellow reader of Swedenborg, Rainsford was said to have attended an international masonic congress under the auspices of the Order of Philalèthes convened at Paris intermittently between August 1784 and May 1785.<sup>89</sup> It is noteworthy that he shared Chastanier's interest in Georg von Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum* and Boehme, transcribing passages from *The Way to Christ Discovered* (1775).<sup>90</sup> Indeed, Rainsford made extensive extracts from a number of works by or attributed to alchemical, mystic and Rosicrucian authors such as Bernard of Treviso, Arthur Dee, Robert Fludd, Johann Grasshof, Heinrich Khunrath, Ramon Llull, John Pordage, Michael Sendivogius, George Starkey, Basil Valentine, Thomas Vaughan, Johann Otto von Hellbig, Johann Friedrich von Meinstorff and Johannes Weidenfeld.<sup>91</sup>

Equally important was Chastanier's connection with a peculiar masonic group known as the Illuminati. Founded at Berlin in 1779 by Antoine-Joseph Pernety under the protection of Prince Henry, brother of Frederick II of Prussia, it attracted people with interests in alchemy, astrology and Kabbalah. These included an English-speaking merchant of French extraction named William Bousie, who had apparently attended the masonic congress at Paris with Rainsford, and the wealthy Polish nobleman Thaddeus Grabianka (1740-1807), who adopted the title 'King of the New Israel'. In 1782 Pernety supposedly received a divine command to re-establish his circle in a new location forty days' journey from Berlin. He identified this as Avignon, a papal enclave where Scottish Jacobite exiles gathered around Charles Stuart had founded a lodge. His circuitous route went by way of Boehme's grave at Görlitz in Upper Lusatia.<sup>92</sup> Chastanier probably learned of the Illuminati through Carl Fredrik Nordenskjöld, a Scandinavian Swedenborgian, freemason and correspondent of Pernety who visited London in 1783.<sup>93</sup> Chastanier certainly knew the '*Mago-Cabbalist*' Pernety's '*falsificated Translation*' of Swedenborg's *Les merveilles du ciel et de l'enfer* (1782) which, at the suggestion of the brothers Carl and Augustus Nordenskjöld, contained anecdotes supplied by Christopher Springer (1704-88), Swedish consul at London.<sup>94</sup> Writing to Rainsford on 22 July 1785, Chastanier warned him that the Illuminati's interpretations were 'as far from the principles of Swedenborg as the Orient is

from the Occident'.<sup>95</sup> Even so, when Grabianka arrived in London on 7 December 1785 he immediately met with Chastanier at a hotel in the Adelphi.<sup>96</sup> Having worshipped with several groups of believers in an imminent spiritual millennium Grabianka departed for The Hague on 7 November 1786. Eventually he reached Avignon from where on 12 February 1787 his Society addressed the Swedenborgians at London in millenarian language as the 'Children of the New Kingdom'. This was received on 5 March 1787 and a copy subsequently printed by Robert Hindmarsh as *A Letter from a Society in France to the Society for promoting the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church in London*.<sup>97</sup> The separatist Swedenborgians later broke with the Avignon group over doctrinal issues, accusing them of promoting a 'Jesuitical scheme' which required recognizing the Virgin Mary as the fourth divine person in the Godhead and worshipping the angels Raphael, Gabriel, Michael and others.<sup>98</sup> Yet Chastanier maintained his links with continental Freemasons, directing his attention to a Society in Moscow and to the Exegetic and Philanthropic Society of Stockholm, among whose members was Swedenborg's nephew Karl Göran Silfverhjelm.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, in a work dedicated to the Archbishop of Paris entitled *Tableau analytique et raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Église de la Nouvelle Jerusalem* (1786), Chastanier noted that Boehme, Lead, Law, Guyon and other good mystics had perceived the distant dawn of this beautiful day, but only the enlightened Swedenborg had demonstrated its true nature and the next state of existence.<sup>100</sup>

While visiting London Grabianka had met with the Swedenborgian Theosophical Society at the home of Jacob Duché (1738-98), chaplain and secretary to the Asylum for Female Orphans in St George's Fields, Lambeth.<sup>101</sup> A member of one of Philadelphia's wealthiest families, Duché had served as rector of two Philadelphia churches and as chaplain to the Continental Congress in 1776. Loyal to the Church of England yet also sympathetic to the colonists' grievances, he injudiciously wrote to George Washington urging him to persuade Congress, by force if necessary, to rescind its Declaration of Independence. After Washington turned the letter over to Congress Duché went into exile in England with his family.<sup>102</sup> Renowned for his elegant sermons and literary accomplishments, Duché had a long-standing interest in Boehme and his interpreters. Hence a fellow clergyman described him in 1764 as 'enthusiastic and mystical, a follower of Behmen and William Law'. Similarly, Duché's successor in Philadelphia recollected:

A few years after his ministerial settlement he took to the mysticism of Jacob Behmen and William Law. From this he became detached for a time [ . . . ] He relapsed, however, to the theory of the mystics, and continued in it until the troubles which drove him from his native country.<sup>103</sup>

Duché himself recounted his spiritual odyssey in a long letter written in 1767 to the London publisher John Payne (d. 1787), recalling that he was ‘sometimes a deist and sometimes a Christian’ before providence acquainted him with William Law’s writings:

My mind which had hitherto been unsettled, dark, doubting, and yet anxious to find the Truth, became serene calm and sweetly composed. I seemed as if I had got into another world, with a new set of objects and a new set of Ideas, notions and sensibilities.<sup>104</sup>

By 1785 Duché had become a Swedenborgian, declaring that the ‘New Church from above, the Jerusalem of Revelation is come down upon Earth . . . Look henceforth for an Internal Millennium’.<sup>105</sup> His son the artist Thomas Spence Duché (1763–90) likewise accepted this doctrine and may even have introduced his father to it.<sup>106</sup> Fascinated by Grabianka’s account of the Illuminati, Thomas departed for the continent in 1788.<sup>107</sup> During his six-month visit he passed through a number of places where there were ‘religious Societies’ which were ‘all to be united to the Society in London, and a constant intercourse by letters to be kept up between them’. The Moscow and Avignon Societies were even said to have been united to the London Society for ‘some time past’.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, Thomas was said to have returned with ‘a mind highly improved & advanced by close Communion with the Lord and Conversation with some characters of High Rank in this World’. So much so that he found ‘great Openings of this Kingdom everywhere unconfined to any religious Sects & Denominations’.<sup>109</sup> Among his illustrious acquaintances was Rainsford, with whom he corresponded concerning alchemical authors:

I [ . . . ] have found a great clearness in them, and consistency with the mystical Writers—and am disposed to believe Jacob Behmen when he says that a Man must

be purified into a divine Magus, before he can have such a command over nature as to effect the Philosophical Change.<sup>110</sup>

It also appears that Thomas Duché visited Avignon for he (or his father) was mentioned there by John Wright, a carpenter from Leeds.<sup>111</sup>

Attracted by the Swedenborgian preaching of Ralph Mather and Joseph Salmon in Yorkshire, Wright had attended a New Jerusalem Church service at their chapel in Maidenhead Court, Great East Cheap. While in London he became acquainted with William Bryan, a Shrewsbury-born bookseller turned copperplate printer and former Quaker. Bryan had probably met Grabianka during a Theosophical Society meeting at Jacob Duché's home for he wrote a letter to the Avignon Society which was translated by William Bousie. After seeking divine guidance they replied on 16 April 1788, Chastanier translating their response at Bryan's request.<sup>112</sup> In January 1789 Bryan and Wright departed London for Avignon, lodging with Bousie en route at Paris. By April they had reached their destination. Tiemann von Berend, a Saxon said to be a Major in the Russian army whom Bryan had seen in England two years before, acted as interpreter until Bousie's arrival. The pair were employed making extracts from the Society's journals and learned of their remarkable prophecies about 'the Lord's second coming, and the restoration of his people, the whole house of Israel'.<sup>113</sup> In June Wright received a vision '*concerning the knowledge of the spirits and the spiritual world*', while Bryan claimed that a heavenly communication had shown the Society that Swedenborg's interpretation of his own revelations was no longer correct and that God himself would form a new church.<sup>114</sup> Each member of the Society was also 'distinguished by a particular number' (Bryan was probably 1,4,7 and Wright 1,2,3).<sup>115</sup> The two Englishmen returned to their families in September but in late November two Swedish nobles arrived at Avignon—Baron Gustaf Adolph Reuterholm and Karl Göran Silfverhjelm. Both were members of a masonic order known as the Templars.<sup>116</sup>

Wright and Bryan later became followers of Richard Brothers (1757-1824), a former naval officer who proclaimed himself Prince and Prophet of the Hebrews and Nephew of the Almighty. Suggestively, extracts from a 1656 edition of a compilation of Boehme's writings entitled *Mercurius Teutonicus, or, A Christian information concerning the last times* were reprinted in 1795 together with other *Prophetical passages, concerning*

*the present times* as a sign that Richard Brothers was ‘the Elijah of the present day, the bright star to guide the Hebrews’.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, Brothers’ likeness above the legend ‘Prince of the Hebrews . . . the Man whom GOD has appointed’ was engraved in April 1795 by the Swedenborgian William Sharp (1749-1824).<sup>118</sup> Politically sympathetic with the revolutionary forces in America and France, a member of the Society for Constitutional Information and an associate of Thomas Paine, Sharp had been examined on treasonable charges by the Privy Council in 1794. Afterwards he became a follower of the prophetess Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), whose likeness he also drew and engraved. It is noteworthy that Sharp had apparently taught Bryan copperplate printing and supported Bryan’s family during his absence at Avignon.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, Sharp’s earlier work included an engraving used as the frontispiece to Jacob Duché’s *Discourses on Various Subjects* (1779), and an engraving done from Thomas Duché’s portrait of the first Protestant Bishop of the United States, Samuel Seabury.<sup>120</sup>

According to Hindmarsh’s posthumously published *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, Sharp was one of a number of respectable gentleman who from about 1784 found their way to Swedenborgian meetings. His name appears on a composite and dateless list together with the ‘celebrated’ sculptor John Flaxman (1755-1826) and François Hippolyte Barthélémon (1741-1808).<sup>121</sup> An accomplished violinist, Barthélémon collaborated with his friend Thomas Duché in composing the music for a hymn sung at the Asylum for Female Orphans. Barthélémon was also a member of a French lodge known as L’Immortalité de l’Ordre which had been constituted on 16 June 1776 at ‘The Crown and Anchor’ in the Strand. Memoranda and extracts from their byelaws are preserved in Rainsford’s papers.<sup>122</sup> One of Barthélémon’s executors was Manoah Sibly (1757-1840), an ordained minister of the New Jerusalem Church. Raised as a Particular Baptist, Manoah was an autodidact who was said to have learned Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Syriac, as well as shorthand. In the 1780s he was a bookseller in Goswell Street specializing in Swedenborg’s publications and the ‘occult sciences’, particularly astrology, alchemy and magic.<sup>123</sup> His elder brother Ebenezer Sibly (1751-99), who had been initiated into Freemasonry at Portsmouth, shared these interests.<sup>124</sup> In 1789 Ebenezer founded what became known as the Lodge of Joppa, which met at ‘The Globe’ in Hatton Garden, the same area where a New Jerusalem Temple was erected in 1796.<sup>125</sup> A prolific author—his

published works come to approximately 2,500 quarto pages, Ebenezer compiled several popular books including *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (1790), dedicated to the ‘Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons’. This defence of astrology contained Swedenborg’s horoscope in which Ebenezer praised his ‘attempts to pry into the depths of Eternal Nature, and to solve the visions of the Deity’ while defending him from the charge of insanity.<sup>126</sup> Ebenezer also transcribed a number of works concerning alchemy, astrology, magic, Kabbalah and the Rosicrucians. Some of these texts, notably letters erroneously attributed to Michael Sendivogius copied in 1791, and extracts from Georg von Welling made in 1793, were probably obtained from Rainsford.<sup>127</sup> In addition, Ebenezer had four pen drawings taken from a manuscript by Dionysius Andreas Freher (1649-1728), a German draughtsman who wrote extensive commentaries on Boehme’s treatises.<sup>128</sup> Manuscript copies of Freher’s works were also in the possession of the artist and collector Richard Cosway (1742-1821). An admirer of Rubens and a reader of Swedenborg, Cosway owned some of Freher’s ‘Serial Elucidations’ of Boehme’s ‘Philosophy and Theology’. However, either through ignorance or in an attempt to increase the value at auction of Freher’s treatise on ‘Microcosmo or the Little World, Man, in his Primaeval and fallen State’, someone—most likely Cosway or his wife Maria—inserted an engraved portrait of Rubens and added ‘Faithfully translated from the Original Latin written by Petrus Paulus Rubenius’ to the title page.<sup>129</sup>

Other notable attendees at Swedenborgian meetings were the mathematical instrument maker George Adams (1750-95), the musical instrument maker Benjamin Banks (1727-95), the engraver John Emes (1762-1808), the miniature painter John Sanders (1750-1825), and the Alsatian artist Philippe Jacques de Louthembourg (1740-1812).<sup>130</sup> A former scene designer at Drury Lane Theatre and an elected member of the Royal Academy,<sup>131</sup> de Louthembourg painted Swedenborg’s portrait in oils—probably from engravings rather than life.<sup>132</sup> About 1787 he also painted *Tableau de la Loge des Compagnons* in watercolour. This illustration was designed for the notorious advocate of ‘Egyptian’ Freemasonry Count Alessandro Cagliostro, generally accepted as an alias of the Sicilian Giuseppe Balsamo (1743?-95), whom de Louthembourg entertained at his London residence. After accompanying Cagliostro’s wife on a journey to join her husband in Switzerland and then occupying himself by painting *Falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen*,

de Louthembourg returned to London.<sup>133</sup> Before his departure de Louthembourg, ‘bewitched’ with the ‘phantasies of an unsettled mind’, had conducted alchemical experiments in search of the philosopher’s stone. Perhaps this led him to believe that he had become an ‘adept in the art of healing’ for in July 1789 he was reported to have ‘turned an inspired physician’ with three thousand patients. Suggestively, his ‘panacea’ of barley water was mockingly likened to ‘mesmerism’—coined after the Viennese doctor Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), whose notion concerning a mutual influence which existed as a universally distributed and continuous fluid between heavenly bodies, animate bodies and the Earth, he termed Animal Magnetism.<sup>134</sup> A pamphlet by ‘a Lover of the Lamb of God’ dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury listed a few cures performed by de Louthembourg and his wife Lucy ‘without medicine’ at their home in Hammersmith Terrace, Chiswick. Its author Mary Pratt believed that the couple:

have been made by the Almighty power of the Lord Jehovah, proper Recipients to receive divine Manuductions, which heavenly and divine Influx coming from the Radix *God*, his divine Majesty has most graciously condescended to bestow on them, (*bis blessing*) to diffuse to *all* who have faith in the Lord as mediator, be they Deaf, Dumb, Lame, Halt, or Blind.<sup>135</sup>

Although the de Louthembourgs had intended to dispense their services primarily to the poor, admission tickets to their ‘public healing room’ were touted at inflated prices causing a riot. Their patients were of all ages and resided locally, ranging from the wife of a man living with the French ambassador to a female vocalist; an apprentice to a gentleman. Significantly, among them was Rainsford’s son, for whose recovery the ‘handsome young’ Lucy prayed.<sup>136</sup> Yet during a crowded debate held at Coachmakers’ Hall in September 1789 it was decided that de Louthembourg could not have performed any ‘Cures by a Divine Power’ without medical treatment. This outcome echoed the findings of a public enquiry held at Paris in 1784 which had determined that ‘touch, imitation, and imagination’ were the ‘three greatest causes of the effects attributed to magnetism’.<sup>137</sup>

Discredited in France and then England, the practice of Animal Magnetism nonetheless flourished at London during the intervening period. One of its foremost exponents was

the Irish-born surgeon and midwife John Boniot de Mainauduc (c. 1750-97), a former student of Mesmer's opponent Charles Deslon, whose thriving clinic at Bloomsbury Square attracted aristocrats and the wives of Quaker industrialists. According to the watercolour painter George Cumberland (1754-1848), de Mainauduc had many pupils pretending to be able 'to cure diseases by Sympathy' including the Duke of Gloucester and Richard and Maria Cosway:

Loutherbourg is at the head of this Sect—who I suspect have a Scheme to empty the pockets of all the credulous christians they can find.<sup>138</sup>

Chastanier too had been 'initiated' by de Mainauduc, possibly at Grabianka's suggestion, acting as his 'powerful' and 'constant' assistant for six months before setting up an alternative clinic specializing in the treatment of nervous diseases, gout, deafness, convulsions and the like at his home on 62 Tottenham Court Road.<sup>139</sup> Afterwards he reprinted the Marquis du Thomé's views on Magnetism, which had been communicated to the *Journal Encyclopédique*. Another Swedenborgian the diplomat William Gomm recommended the practice and translated a letter on the subject.<sup>140</sup> Likewise, Rainsford translated a treatise on somnambulism and an account of 'Magnetic Healing', describing himself as an 'Admirer and Student in animal magnetism'.<sup>141</sup> His correspondent Ebenezer Sibly claimed to be a Fellow of the Harmonic Philosophic Society at Paris and was a defender of Mesmer.<sup>142</sup> Swedenborg's nephew Silfverhjelm also wrote a brief introduction explaining the phenomena of Animal Magnetism and somnambulism (1787).<sup>143</sup> This association between Swedenborgians and supporters of Magnetism was emphasized in an anonymous work issued at Avignon and by a pamphleteer who maintained that 'Swedenborgian doctrines' had help spread the practice. But as the vogue for Animal Magnetism began to wane so several of its prominent Swedenborgian adherents repudiated it. Even de Loutherbourg resumed painting.<sup>144</sup>

In 1796 de Loutherbourg acquired a copy of Jane Lead's *The signs of the times* (1699). Altogether he owned five or more works by Lead, one of which—*A fountain of gardens* (1696)—had been in the possession of John Denis the elder.<sup>145</sup> Like de Loutherbourg, Mary Pratt also read Lead as well as Boehme, Guyon, the Welsh preacher William Erbery



(1604–54), the Cambridge Platonist Peter Sterry (1613–72), and ‘many (almost all) Hermetic books’. Pratt’s ‘persecuting’ husband was a ‘strenuous follower’ of the ‘visionary’ Swedenborg whose ‘deluded society’ was ‘spreading contagion’ in London. Moreover, she had no fellowship with him in religion because ‘the writings of the Baron militate against the pure doctrine and experience of God manifested in the flesh’.<sup>146</sup> He has been identified as a contributor to *The New Magazine of Knowledge concerning Heaven and Hell* (1790) and *The New Jerusalem Journal* (1792) under the pseudonym ‘Ignoramus’.<sup>147</sup>

#### IV. William Blake (1757–1827)

In 1790 William Blake began *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, a heterodox illuminated book combining prose, poetry and pictures. Its title was a reworking of Swedenborg’s *A Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell*, with the striking addition of the term ‘Marriage’. Ridiculing Swedenborg’s belief that a spiritual equilibrium between heaven and hell had been restored and the Last Judgment fully accomplished in 1757 (the year of Blake’s birth), he noted that it was now thirty-three years since the advent of ‘a new heaven’ yet the ‘Eternal Hell revives’. Moreover, Blake charged Swedenborg with making vain boasts, insisting that he had not written ‘one new truth’ but ‘all the old falsehoods’. Thus Swedenborg’s ‘conceited notions’ were ‘a recapitulation of all superficial opinions, and an analysis of the more sublime—but no further’. Indeed, according to Blake:

Any man of mechanical talents may, from the writings of Paracelsus or Jacob Behmen, produce ten thousand volumes of equal value with Swedenborg’s, and from those of Dante or Shakespear an infinite number.<sup>148</sup>

There is no evidence—despite repeated claims by Marsha Schuchard to the contrary—that Blake’s father was a Swedenborgian.<sup>149</sup> Nor can it be substantiated, as E P Thompson suggested, that his mother’s first husband was kin to a Muggletonian.<sup>150</sup> Even so, important recent discoveries by Keri Davies and Schuchard appear to prove that Blake’s mother Catherine and her first husband Thomas Armitage were briefly members of the Moravian congregation that worshipped at Fetter Lane.<sup>151</sup> While this raises interesting questions about early influences on Blake’s religious and artistic development it remains

unlikely that he is to be identified with the 'Mr. William Blake' who subscribed to Jacob Duché's *Discourses on Various Subjects* (1779). For as a young journeyman copy engraver he probably lacked the means.<sup>152</sup> Similarly, suggestions that Blake heard Duché preach at Lambeth and that he could have attended meetings of the Theosophical Society at Duché's home seem extremely doubtful.<sup>153</sup> Blake and his wife Catherine did live at 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth close to the Asylum for Female Orphans, but they moved there in March 1791—by which time Duché, who had resigned his post on 1 January 1789, was living at 63 Sloane Street, Chelsea.<sup>154</sup> Yet a 'W. Blake' and 'C. Blake' did sign the Minute Book of the New Jerusalem Church at their first general conference held at Great East Cheap on 13 April 1789. That this was William and Catherine Blake is generally accepted.<sup>155</sup>

Blake was never baptized and admitted into the New Jerusalem Church—unless this is recorded in the destroyed portion of the Minute Book. Furthermore, Blake's annotations in his copies of Swedenborg's *The Wisdom of angels concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom* (1788) and *The Wisdom of angels concerning Divine Providence* (1790) show growing disapproval of the doctrines.<sup>156</sup> Nonetheless, Blake returned to Swedenborg in his prophetic poem *Milton* (1804-8), depicting him as 'strongest of men, the Samson shorn by the Churches', while in *A Descriptive catalogue* (1809) he observed that 'the works of this visionary are well worthy the attention of Painters and Poets'.<sup>157</sup> In 1810 the diarist Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867) noted that Blake had been invited to join the Swedenborgians but declined, 'notwithstanding his high opinion of Swedenborg'.<sup>158</sup> Robinson also believed that Blake was 'not so much a disciple of Jacob Böhmen and Swedenborg as a fellow visionary', elsewhere remarking that Blake regarded Boehme as 'a divinely inspired man'.<sup>159</sup> It may have been the sculptor John Flaxman who, before departing for Italy in 1787, told Blake of Swedenborg's writings,<sup>160</sup> and it was to Flaxman in September 1800 that Blake addressed some autobiographical lines:

Paracelsus & Behmen appear'd to me, terrors appear'd in the Heavens above  
And in Hell beneath, & a mighty & awful change threatened the Earth.  
The American War began. All its dark horrors passed before my face  
Across the Atlantic to France. Then the French Revolution com-  
menc'd in thick clouds.<sup>161</sup>

## V. Directions for future research

According to *An Inquiry into the Commission and Doctrine of the new Apostle Emanuel Swedenborg* (1794), the ‘Baron’s followers’ had ‘from their infancy a predilection to the marvellous and surprising’ and were but ‘old turncoats’ from ‘enthusiasts’ such as Boehme and the Shakers.<sup>162</sup> Although several prominent Anglicans and Methodists, some Moravians, a handful of Particular and General Baptists and a Huguenot émigré were attracted to Swedenborg’s writings it was the Quakers, as Thomas Hartley recognized, who were the ‘likeliest people’ to adopt and spread Swedenborgian doctrines. That so few did was because Swedenborg held the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper necessary as ‘a connecting link between the spiritual and material worlds’, whereas Quakers denied their validity. Significantly, this issue had also been at the heart of seventeenth-century doctrinal disputes between Quakers and English Behmenists.<sup>163</sup> As early Quakerism had been marked by dominant personalities, dissension and schism, so too was English Swedenborgianism. Moreover, just as the Quakers had archived their history by recording testimonies, preserving and copying letters, collecting and cataloguing publications, so Swedenborg’s followers established organizations for transcribing, translating and disseminating his writings. Indeed, just as the Quaker leadership had used institutional mechanisms to enforce conformity eventually recasting themselves within society and remodelling their origins, so Hindmarsh’s *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church* marginalized the contribution of non-separatist Swedenborgians and foreigners, minimizing the importance of alchemy, Animal Magnetism, astrology, Freemasonry, Kabbalah, magic, mysticism, numerology, the Rosicrucians and Behmenism to a number of Swedenborg’s early readers. The process of recovering these influences, of restoring them in the history of the Swedenborgians is still not complete. While the Swedenborg Society’s archives have been explored by several scholars much remains to be done on a national and local level, particularly in London. A new and revised edition of Rudolph Tafel’s *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg* (1877) would be one forward step, a biographical dictionary of Swedenborg’s readers another.

### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men. Seven Lectures* (1850; reprinted, ed. Andrew Delbanco, Cambridge, MA, 1996), pp. 3, 4, 53, 70, 76, 80; see also, L Braham, 'Emerson and Boehme: A comparative study of mystical ideas', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 20 (1959), pp. 31-5; A Hallengren, 'The Importance of Swedenborg to Emerson's Ethics', in Erland Brock, E B Glenn, Carroll Odhner et al. (eds.), *Swedenborg and His Influence* (Bryn Athyn, PA, 1988), pp. 229-50; E Hurth, 'The Uses of a Mystic Prophet: Emerson and Boehme', *Philological Quarterly*, 70 (1991), pp. 219-36; A Hallengren, 'Swedenborgian simile in Emersonian edification', in Stephen McNeilly (ed.), *In Search of the Absolute—Essays on Swedenborg and Literature* (2004), pp. 15-22.

<sup>2</sup> *A reall and unfeigned Testimonie, concerning Iacob Beme* (1649), p. 2 [printed with *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen*, tr. J[ohn] E[l]listone] (1649)].

<sup>3</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Small Theological Works and Letters* (ed. John Elliott, 1975), pp. 217, 219, 221; cf. Lars Bergquist (ed.), *Swedenborg's Dream Diary*, tr. Anders Hallengren (West Chester, PA, 2001), p. 217. According to the *New-Jerusalem Magazine*, 1, no. 2 (1790), p. 73, 'L' was supposed to be Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801), with whom Swedenborg corresponded.

<sup>4</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *Les merveilles du ciel et de l'enfer*, tr. Antoine-Joseph Pernety (Berlin, 1782), p. 64, in Rudolph Tafel (ed.), *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg* (2 vols., 1877), vol. 1, pp. 62, 650; cf. S Sandel, *An Eulogium on the lately deceased Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg* (1784), p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Boehme, *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen*, tr. J[ohn] E[l]listone] (1649), 2.10, 2.14, pp. 20, 21; Jacob Boehme, *Aurora, That is, the Day-Spring*, tr. John Sparrow (1656), 10.45, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Gregory Johnson (ed.), *Kant on Swedenborg. Dreams of a Spirit-Seer and Other Writings* (West Chester, PA, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> British Library, London, Add. MS 40,058, Jacob Boehme, 'Christosophia eller Wägen til Christum, författad i nio små Böcker som nu äro sammandragna i åtta'; BL, Add. MS 40,059, Jacob Boehme, miscellaneous works, translated into Swedish.

<sup>8</sup> Anders Bygden, Carl Lewenhaupt and Erik Lind (eds.), *G. Benzelstjernas Censorsjournal, 1737-1746* (Stockholm, 1884-5), p. 41; Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians. A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Uppsala, 1948), pp. 54, 150.

<sup>9</sup> Johan Hinric Lidén (ed.), *Brefväxling imellan ärke-biskop Eric Benzelius den Yngre och dess broder censor librorum Gustaf Benzelstierna* (Linköping, 1791).

<sup>10</sup> Bygden et al. (eds.), *Benzelstjernas Censorsjournal*, p. 272; Thune, *Behmenists and Philadelphians*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. J K Williams-Hogan, 'Swedenborg: A Biography', in Brock, Glen and Odhner et al. (eds.), *Swedenborg and His Influence*, p. 14; Inge Jonsson, *Visionary Scientist: The Effects of Science and Philosophy on Swedenborg's Cosmology*, tr. Catherine Djurklou (West Chester, PA, 1999), pp. 124-7.

<sup>12</sup> Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part i, p. 79; cf. Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Spiritual Diary*, §5764.

<sup>13</sup> Swedenborg, *The Spiritual Diary*, §4851; cf. *ibid.*, §§4760, 5962.

<sup>14</sup> John Wesley, *A check to the Delusive and Dangerous Opinions of Baron Swedenborg* (ed. W Williams, High Wycombe, 1797), pp. 10, 12.

<sup>15</sup> E P Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast. William Blake and the Moral Law* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 133 n. 12.

<sup>16</sup> R Hindmarsh, 'A comparison between Jacob Behmen and Emanuel Swedenborg, particularly on the subject of divine influx', *Intellectual Repository for the New Church*, 2 (1815), pp. 188-90.

<sup>17</sup> A Roffe, 'Mr. Hindmarsh and Jacob Behmen', *Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine*, n.s. 8 (1847), pp. 328-31, 385-90; A Roffe, 'Jacob Behmen', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, 2 (1856), p. 92; A Roffe, 'Jane Lead and Swedenborg', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, 2 (1856), pp. 470-1; cf. Christopher Walton, *Notes and materials for an adequate Biography of the celebrated divine and theosopher, William Law* (1854), p. 158; Anne Penny, *Studies in Jacob Böhme* (1912), pp. 75-85.

<sup>18</sup> Signe Toksvig, *Emanuel Swedenborg: Scientist and Mystic* (New Haven, 1948), p. 83; Arthur Versluis, *The Esoteric Origins of the American Renaissance* (New York, 2000), p. 19.

<sup>19</sup> J H Overton, *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic* (1881), p. 422; David Katz, *God's Last Words. Reading the English Bible from the Reformation to Fundamentalism* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 172-3.

<sup>20</sup> M K Schuchard, 'Swedenborg, Jacobitism and Freemasonry', in Brock, Glenn, Odhner et al. (eds.), *Swedenborg and His Influence*, pp. 359-79; M K Schuchard, 'Yeats and the "Unknown Superiors": Swedenborg, Falk, and Cagliostro', in Marie Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon (eds.), *Secret texts: the literature of secret societies* (New York, 1995), pp. 114-68; M K Schuchard, 'Emanuel Swedenborg: Deciphering the Codes of a Celestial and Terrestrial Intelligencer', in Eliot Wolfson (ed.), *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Secrecy in the History of Religions* (New York, 1999), pp. 177-208; M K Schuchard, 'Jacobite and Visionary: The Masonic Journey of Emanuel Swedenborg', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 115 (2003), pp. 33-72.

<sup>21</sup> M K Schuchard, 'Leibniz, Benzelius, and the kabbalistic roots of Swedish illuminism: Leibniz, Benzelius and Swedenborg', in Allison Coudert, Richard Popkin and Gordon Weiner (eds.), *Leibniz, mysticism and religion* (Dordrecht, 1998), pp. 84-106.

<sup>22</sup> Jonsson, *Visionary Scientist*, pp. 11, 12, 23-4, 27, 30, 38, 40, 46, 56, 64, 75, 79, 80-1, 119, 190-1.

<sup>23</sup> Alfred Stroh (ed.), *Catalogus Bibliothecae Emanuelis Swedenborgii* (Stockholm, 1907); Lars Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret, A Biography* (2005), pp. 469-82.

<sup>24</sup> Karl-Erik Sjöden, *Swedenborg en France* (Stockholm, 1985); Lynn Wilkinson, *The dream of an absolute language: Emanuel Swedenborg and French literary culture* (1996); Peter Lineham, 'The English Swedenborgians, 1770-1840: a study in the social dimensions of religious sectarianism', unpublished University of Sussex D.Phil, 1978; C Garrett, 'Swedenborg and the Mystical Enlightenment in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 45 (1984), pp. 67-81; P J Lineham, 'The origins of the New Jerusalem Church in the 1780s', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 70 (1988), pp. 109-22.

<sup>25</sup> W R Ward, 'Swedenborgianism: heresy, schism or religious protest?', *Studies in Church History*, 9 (1972), pp. 303-9; J F C Harrison, *The Second Coming. Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850* (Rutgers UP, 1979), pp. 21, 72-3; M K Schuchard, 'The Secret History of Blake's Swedenborg Society', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 26 (1992), pp. 40-51; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 129-45; Brian Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and its Development in England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 198-204; R W Rix, 'Healing the Spirit: William Blake and the Magnetic Religion', *Romanticism On the Net*, 25 (2002), 37 pars., <<<http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2002/v/n25/006011ar.html>>>; R W Rix, 'William Blake and the radical Swedenborgians', *Esoterica*, 5 (2003), pp. 96-137, <<<http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeV/Blake.htm>>>.

<sup>26</sup> *The New Magazine of Knowledge*, 1 (1790), pp. 395-401; John Clowes, *Remarks on the Assertions of the Author of the Memoirs of Jacobinism* (Philadelphia, 1800), pp. 6-8; 'Miscellaneous information', *Intellectual Repository for the New Church*, n.s. 2 (1827), pp. 179-80; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part i, pp. 498-9; Robert Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church, in England, America, and other parts* (ed. Edward Madeley, 1861), pp. 2-6.

<sup>27</sup> Stephen Penny, *Stephen Penny's letter, to his sister Martha Penny* (1780), pp. 27-39.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. Williams's Library, London, MS I.1.43, printed in Walton, *Notes and materials*, pp. 45-6 n., 597-8; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 36-8; Harrison, *Second Coming*, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> National Archives, London, Prob 11/1077, will of Stephen Penny (probate 19 April 1781), fol. 130v.

<sup>30</sup> Walton, *Notes and materials*, p. 592; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part i, p. 498 n; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 34-5.

<sup>31</sup> John Wesley, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Law* (1756), pp. 5, 102.

<sup>32</sup> John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley* (3rd edn., 14 vols., 1831), vol. 1, pp. 375-6, vol. 2, p. 46, vol. 3, pp. 18-20, 160, 502-3, vol. 10, pp. 179, 184; John Telford (ed.), *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley* (8 vols., 1931), vol. 2, pp. 118-19, vol. 3, pp. 107, 321, vol. 4, pp. 105-7, vol. 5, p. 342, vol. 6, p. 328.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Parkinson (ed.), *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, Chetham Society, 32, 34, 40, 44 (2 vols., Manchester, 1854-57), vol. 2, part I, p. 629.

<sup>34</sup> DWL, MS I.1.43, printed in Walton, *Notes and materials*, pp. 595-6; Desirée Hirst, *Hidden Riches. Traditional Symbolism from the Renaissance to Blake* (1964), p. 241; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 116, 119.

<sup>35</sup> W R Ward and Richard Heitzenrater (eds.), *The Works of John Wesley. Journal and Diaries* (Abingdon, Nashville, 1993), vol. 22, pp. 386, 387-8, 397, 399; Telford (ed.), *Letters of John Wesley*, vol. 6, pp. 67-8; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 65, 129-31; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', pp. 77-81.

<sup>36</sup> DWL, MS I.1.43, printed in Harrison, *Second Coming*, p. 23; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 64-5, 138; C H Odhner, 'Ralph Mather', *New Church Life*, 16 (1896), pp. 154-5, 168-70.

<sup>37</sup> Ward and Heitzenrater (eds.), *Works of John Wesley. Journal and Diaries*, vol. 22, pp. 216-17, 301-2; Wesley, *Works*, vol. 4, pp. 149-50; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1213-14; cf. Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>38</sup> Wesley, *A check to the Delusive and Dangerous Opinions of Baron Swedenborg*, pp. 10-38; S J Rogal, 'Swedenborg and the Wesleys: Opposition or Outgrowth?', in Brock, Glenn, Odhner et al. (eds.), *Swedenborg and His Influence*, pp. 295-307.

<sup>39</sup> *The Arminian Magazine*, 8 (1785), p. 552, reprinted in Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, p. 696; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> W B Hayden, 'A Document concerning Swedenborg', *The Monthly Observer and New Church Record*, 6 (1862), pp. 95-101; Bergquist (ed.), *Swedenborg's Dream Diary*, pp. 30-8, 53, 299-302; Bergquist, *Swedenborg's Secret*, pp. 169-70, 205-6.

<sup>41</sup> Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, p. 1244; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 42.

<sup>42</sup> Walton, *Notes and materials*, p. 596.

<sup>43</sup> *Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial, and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen*, tr. Francis Okely (Northampton, 1780), pp. vi-ix.

<sup>44</sup> James Hervey, *A collection of letters, by the late Reverend James Hervey* (2nd edn., 2 vols., 1784), vol. 1, p. 240.

<sup>45</sup> T Compton, 'Thomas Hartley', *New Church Magazine*, 10 (1891), p. 134.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Hartley, *Sermons on Various Subjects: with a prefatory discourse on mistakes concerning religion* (1754), pp. xxxiii-xl.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Emanuel Swedenborg, *A Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell*, tr. William Cookworthy and Thomas Hartley (1778), p. ii.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Hartley, *Paradise restored . . . To which is added, a short defence of the mystical writers* (1764), pp. 394-5.

<sup>49</sup> Hartley, *Paradise restored*, pp. 443-7; cf. William Warburton, *The Doctrine of Grace* (2 vols., 1763), reprinted in William Warburton, *The Works of the Right Reverend William*



*Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester* (7 vols., 1788), vol. 4, pp. 625-6.

<sup>50</sup> Wesley, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 160; Telford (ed.), *Letters of John Wesley*, vol. 4, p. 234; A Douglas Selleck, *Cookworthy 1705-80 and his circle* (Plymouth, 1978), pp. 106-7.

<sup>51</sup> Swedenborg, *Small Theological Works and Letters* (ed. Elliott), pp. 309-31; R L Tafel, 'New documents concerning Swedenborg', *New Church Magazine*, 4 (1885), pp. 374-5, 387-9; C Odhner, 'Thomas Hartley', *New Church Life*, 15 (1895), pp. 136-7; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 42-3.

<sup>52</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 50 (1780), p. 495; Swedenborg Society, London, MS A/143, partly printed in J Clowes, 'Memoir of Mr. W. Cookworthy', *Intellectual Repository for the New Church*, n.s. 1 (1825), pp. 439-47; Anon., 'Swedenborg and the late William Cookworthy', *Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine*, 3 (1856), p. 412; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1166, 1170-3; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 48-50.

<sup>53</sup> K Morgan (ed.), *An American Quaker in the British Isles* (1992), pp. 109-10; Francis Geach, *A reply to Dr. Saunders's pamphlet, relative to the dispute concerning Devonish cider* (1768), pp. 8, 9-18; William Pryce, *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* (1778), pp. 116-17, 120.

<sup>54</sup> Swed Soc, MS K/120, William Cookworthy to Richard Kingston (Plymouth, 24 December 1744; Plymouth, 1 August [no year]).

<sup>55</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 6; cf. Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> Compton, 'Thomas Hartley', p. 132; Theodore Compton, *William Cookworthy* (1895), pp. 56-7; Selleck, *Cookworthy 1705-80 and his circle*, p. 109; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 45-6.

<sup>57</sup> Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part i, pp. 500-1; A E Beilby, *Rev. Thomas Hartley, A.M. Rector of Winwick, in Northamptonshire* (1931), p. 47; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 43-4.

<sup>58</sup> Theodore Compton, *The Life and Correspondence of the Reverend John Clowes, M.A.* (3rd edn., 1898), pp. 11-16; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 75-6, 78-9.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Fletcher, *Autobiography of Mrs Fletcher of Edinburgh* (1875), pp. 40-4; Compton, *Life and Correspondence of John Clowes*, p. 120.

<sup>60</sup> Compton, *Life and Correspondence of John Clowes*, pp. 17-19; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 81-2.

<sup>61</sup> Chetham's Library, Manchester, Mun A 3.51-2, John Clowes, 'Autobiography', fol. 49, printed in John Clowes, *A Memoir of the late Rev. John Clowes, A.M.* (2nd edn., 1849), pp. 14-15; cf. Swed Soc, MS A/4, John Clowes, 'Memoirs', copy in the hand of G Harrison, p. 29; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 82.

<sup>62</sup> DWL, MS I.1.43, printed in Walton, *Notes and materials*, pp. 595-6; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, p. 242; Harrison, *Second Coming*, p. 22; Clowes, *Memoir*, p. 27; Compton, *Life and Correspondence of John Clowes*, pp. 19-25; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 83-4.



<sup>63</sup> *Aurora*, 1, (1799-1800), pp. 317-18; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 121; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 79.

<sup>64</sup> *Aurora*, 1, (1799-1800), p. 134; James Dakeyne, *History of the Bolton New Church Society from 1781 to 1888* (Bolton, 1888), p. 2; *Life and Correspondence of John Clowes*, pp. 37-9; Carl Odhner, *Annals of the New Church vol. I. 1688-1850* (Bryn Athyn, PA, 1904), p. 116; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 119, 121; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', pp. 73-4, 79.

<sup>65</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 7, 67; Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, pp. 117, 120.

<sup>66</sup> Compton, *Life and Correspondence of John Clowes*, pp. 38-45; C Higham, 'The Rev. John Clowes and his Diocesan', *New Church Magazine*, 33 (1914), pp. 364-9; 'An Anonymous Letter', *New Church Magazine*, 97 (1978), pp. 14-17; Alfred Gabay, *The Covert Enlightenment. Eighteenth-Century Counterculture and Its Aftermath* (West Chester, PA, 2005), pp. 63-4.

<sup>67</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 54-5; Compton, *Life and Correspondence of John Clowes*, p. 48; Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, pp. 131, 133; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 230.

<sup>68</sup> Cheshire and Chester Archives, Chester, EDV 7/3, quoted in Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 80.

<sup>69</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 6; *Monthly Review*, 42 (1770), p. 448.

<sup>70</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 9.

<sup>71</sup> George Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (1909), p. 15; A Hessayon, 'Jacob Boehme and the early Quakers', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 60 (2005), p. 215.

<sup>72</sup> James Lackington, *Memoirs of the forty-five first years* (9th edn., 1794), p. 180.

<sup>73</sup> Lackington, *Memoirs*, pp. 207, 209; NA, Prob 11/1125, will of John Denis the elder (probate 19 January 1785), fols. 106v-07v; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (9 vols., 1812-15), vol. 3, p. 641.

<sup>74</sup> *Denis's Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Books* (1787), pp. 18, 38, 109, 131, 133-4.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31, no. 808; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, shelfmark T 151; Ariel Hessayon, *'Gold Tried in the Fire': The Prophet Theaurau John Tany and the English Revolution* (Aldershot, 2007).

<sup>76</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 78 (1808), pp. 172, 848; NA, Prob 11/1474, will of Henry Peckitt (probate 5 February 1808), fols. 240r-45v; Anon., 'Epistolary correspondence of the earlier members of the Church', *The Monthly Observer*, 1 (1857), pp. 419-20; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 15; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1191-2.

<sup>77</sup> Swed Soc, MS D/41, Henry Peckitt's memorandum of the fire (1785); Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 18-19, 31-3; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part i, pp. 542-6, part ii, pp. 712-13.

<sup>78</sup> Swed Soc, MS A/45, 1, Henry Peckitt, extracts from the 'Diarum' of Emanuel Swedenborg; cf. Jacob Boehme, *Mysterium Magnum*, tr. John Ellistone and John Sparrow (1656 edn.), 33.32, p. 208, 'Of this the Rain-bow is a type and figure, for it is a reflex [Antitype] or contragance of the Sun'.

<sup>79</sup> Swed Soc, MS A/25, Henry Peckitt MSS (n.d.).

<sup>80</sup> *New-Jerusalem Magazine*, 1 (1790), p. 112; Benedict Chastanier, *A Word of Advice to a Benighted World* (1795), pp. 15, 18-19; Anon., 'Epistolary correspondence of the earlier members of the Church', *The Monthly Observer*, 1 (1857), p. 419; J Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier and the Illuminati of Avignon', *New-Church Review*, 14 (1907), p. 185; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 141-2.

<sup>81</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>82</sup> R L Tafel, 'Swedenborg and Freemasonry', *New Jerusalem Messenger* (October, 1869), p. 267; Samuel Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite and the Great Masonic Leaders of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1870), pp. 127-32; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, p. 1176; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 191-2; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 143-4.

<sup>83</sup> Claude Antoine Thory, *Acta Latomorum, ou Chronologie de l'Histoire de la Franche-Maçonnerie française* (2 parts, Paris, 1815), part 1, pp. 89, 308, 318, 501; information from Diane Clements, Director of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

<sup>84</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, pp. 21-4; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 186-8; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 142-3.

<sup>85</sup> Anon., 'The Heavenly Life—Spiritual Aphorisms', *Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine*, n.s. 9 (1848), p. 409; R McCully, 'Benedict Chastanier: an early New Church worthy', *New Church Magazine*, 9 (1890), pp. 527-8; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 188-9.

<sup>86</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, pp. 24-5; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1177-8; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 189-90.

<sup>87</sup> Benedict Chastanier, *Annonce d'un journal Novi-Jérusalémite* (1787), pp. i, vii; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1176; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 197.

<sup>88</sup> [Benedict Chastanier], *Plan Général d'une Société Universelle* (no date); BL, Add. MS 23,669, fol. 92r-v; G P G Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers in the British Museum', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 26 (1913), p. 107; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 144, 196; cf. M K Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried. William Blake and the Sexual Basis of Spiritual Vision* (2006), pp. 186-7.

<sup>89</sup> G P G Hills, 'Notes on some Masonic personalities at the end of the Eighteenth Century', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 25 (1912), p. 156; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', p. 95; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 198-9; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 75.

<sup>90</sup> Library of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, MS 624; Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, MS 4037, no foliation.

<sup>91</sup> Wellcome Institute, MSS 4032-4039; Alnwick Castle, MS 600.

<sup>92</sup> Clarke Garret, *Respectable Folly. Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 99-104; M L Danilewicz, "'The King of the New Israel': Thaddeus Grabianka (1740-1807)", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 1 (1968), pp. 48-56; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 201-2.

<sup>93</sup> Swed Soc, MS K/144, Antoine-Joseph Pernety to Carl Frederik Nordenskjöld (Berlin, 30 October 1781) [German copy]; BL, Add. MS 23,669, fols. 1r-2r, Antoine-Joseph Pernety to Carl Frederik Nordenskjöld (Berlin, 30 October 1781) [incomplete English translation]; Auguste Viatte (ed.), *Les sources occultes du romantisme: Illuminisme-théosophie, 1770-1820* (2 vols., Paris, 1928), vol. 2, pp. 279-83; Swed Soc, MS K/140, Antoine-Joseph Pernety to Carl Frederik Nordenskjöld (Berlin, 15 February 1782); Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, p. 1177; Danilewicz, 'King of the New Israel', pp. 55-6; Garret, *Respectable Folly*, p. 104; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 202-3; J Williams-Hogan, 'The Place of Emanuel Swedenborg in Modern Western Esotericism', in Antoine Faivre and Wouter Hanegraff (eds.), *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion* (Leuven, 1998), p. 235.

<sup>94</sup> Benedict Chastanier, *Tableau analytique et raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Église de la Nouvelle Jerusalem* (1786), p. 32 n.; Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, p. 25; S Sandel, *An Eulogium on the lately deceased Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg* (1784), pp. 31-6; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 637-8; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 189-90; Garret, *Respectable Folly*, pp. 109-10; Williams-Hogan, 'Place of Emanuel Swedenborg in Modern Western Esotericism', p. 236.

<sup>95</sup> BL, Add. MS 23,669, fol. 99r-v, translated from the French in Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 75; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', p. 111.

<sup>96</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, pp. 25-7; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', p. 192; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 204.

<sup>97</sup> BL, Add. MS 23,675, fols. 24r-v, 26r-v; Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, pp. 34-5; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 41-7; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', p. 111; Danilewicz, 'King of the New Israel', pp. 58-63; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 76; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 204-6.

<sup>98</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, p. 36; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 44; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 194-5; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 203.

<sup>99</sup> 'Annals of the New Church', *New-Jerusalem Magazine*, 1 (1790), p. 175; BL, Add. MS 23,670, fol. 275r; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1177, 1179; Garret, *Respectable Folly*, p. 113; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 196; Williams-Hogan, 'Place of Emanuel Swedenborg in Modern Western Esotericism', p. 238.

<sup>100</sup> Chastanier, *Tableau analytique*, p. 40 n.; cf. [Benedict Chastanier?], *Emmanuel Swedenborg's New-Year's Gift to his Readers* (1791), p. 27.

<sup>101</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 52 (1782), p. 360; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New*

*Jerusalem Church*, pp. 40-2; cf. Francis Dobbs, *A Concise View from History and Prophecy* (Dublin, 1800), pp. 258-60.

<sup>102</sup> Anon., 'The Rev. Jacob Duché', *The Monthly Observer*, 1 (1857), pp. 79-82; W B Hayden, 'Rev. Jacob Duché', *The New Jerusalem Magazine*, 38 (1865-6), pp. 496-503, 561-9, 615-22; C Higham, 'The Rev. Jacob Duché, M.A.', *New Church Review*, 22 (1915), pp. 210-25, 404-20; C Garrett, 'The Spiritual Odyssey of Jacob Duché', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 119 (1975), pp. 143-55; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 164-9.

<sup>103</sup> E D Neill, 'Rev. Jacob Duché, the First Chaplain of Congress', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 2 (1878), pp. 62-3; Bird Wilson, *Memoirs of the life of the Right Rev. William White, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1839), pp. 28-9.

<sup>104</sup> DWL, MS I.1.43, partly printed in Walton, *Notes and materials*, pp. 423-4, and quoted in Garrett, 'Spiritual Odyssey of Jacob Duché', p. 145; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 32.

<sup>105</sup> Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Jacob Duché to Mary Hopkinson (5 May 1785), quoted in Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 73; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 166.

<sup>106</sup> A F Gegenheimer, 'Artist in exile: the story of Thomas Spence Duché', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 79 (1955), pp. 3-26.

<sup>107</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, p. 27.

<sup>108</sup> Gegenheimer, 'Artist in exile', pp. 20-1; Garrett, 'Spiritual Odyssey of Jacob Duché', p. 153; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 206; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 76.

<sup>109</sup> Maryland Historical Library, Baltimore, Redwood Collection, Jacob Duché to William White (30 August 1788), quoted in Hayden, 'Rev. Jacob Duché', p. 618; Garrett, 'Spiritual Odyssey of Jacob Duché', p. 153; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 76.

<sup>110</sup> BL, Add. MS 23,669, fols. 129r-130v, 101r-3r; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', p. 109.

<sup>111</sup> John Wright, *A Revealed Knowledge of some things that will speedily be fulfilled in the World* (1794), p. 61; Hyde, 'Benedict Chastanier', pp. 195, 200; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 207.

<sup>112</sup> Wright, *Revealed Knowledge*, pp. 3-5, 59-60; William Bryan, *A Testimony of the Spirit of Truth* (1795), p. 20; Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, pp. 27, 37-8; Garret, *Respectable Folly*, p. 160.

<sup>113</sup> Wright, *Revealed Knowledge*, pp. 5-22; Bryan, *Testimony of the Spirit of Truth*, pp. 20-8; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 47-8; Danilewicz, 'King of the New Israel', p. 64; Garret, *Respectable Folly*, pp. 110-12; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 206-7.

<sup>114</sup> Wright, *Revealed Knowledge*, p. 44; NA, PC 1/18/19.

<sup>115</sup> Wright, *Revealed Knowledge*, p. 59.

<sup>116</sup> Garret, *Respectable Folly*, pp. 103-4, 113; Williams-Hogan, 'Place of Emanuel Swedenborg in Modern Western Esotericism', p. 238.

<sup>117</sup> *Prophetical passages, concerning the present times* (1795).

<sup>118</sup> Timothy C F Stunt, 'Brothers, Richard (1757-1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

<sup>119</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 94 part ii (1824), pp. 469-72; *European Magazine*, 86 (1824), pp. 191-6; Anon., 'Epistolary correspondence of the earlier members of the Church', p. 423; Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 123-4; Garret, *Respectable Folly*, pp. 161-2, 176; Richard Sharp, 'Sharp, William (1749-1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 255-6.

<sup>120</sup> A Graves, 'Portrait of Samuel Seabury', *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, 5 (1882), p. 318; Higham, 'Rev. Jacob Duché', pp. 405, 414.

<sup>121</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 23 n.; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 156.

<sup>122</sup> Higham, 'Rev. Jacob Duché', pp. 413-14; information from Diane Clements; BL, Add. MS 23,675, fols. 1, 3, 25; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', pp. 94, 126.

<sup>123</sup> NA, Prob 11/1483, will of François Hippolyte Barthélémon (probate 5 August 1808), fols. 305v-6r; 'Obituary', *Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine*, n.s. 2 (1841), pp. 40, 140-4, 238; Thomas Robinson, *Remembrancer and Recorder of Facts and Documents Illustrative of the Genius of the New Jerusalem Dispensation* (Manchester, 1864), pp. 105-8; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1219-21; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 173, 177, 178-9.

<sup>124</sup> A G Debus, 'A Further Note on Palingenesis: The Account of Ebenezer Sibly in the Illustration of Astrology (1792)', *Isis*, 64 (1973), pp. 226-30; A G Debus, 'Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition: The Medical World of Ebenezer Sibly (1751-1799)', *Medical History*, 26 (1982), pp. 259-78; Patrick Curry, 'Sibly, Ebenezer (1751-c.1799)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); Susan Mitchell Sommers, 'Dr. Ebenezer Sibly (1751-99), Masonic Polymath' in A Prescott (ed.), *Marking Well. Essays on the Occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons of England and Wales and its districts and lodges overseas* (Hersham, 2006).

<sup>125</sup> Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 261.

<sup>126</sup> Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (1790), pp. 821-8; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 177-8.

<sup>127</sup> Wellcome Institute, MSS 3203, 4594; Grand Lodge Library, London, MS 1380 SIB; John Rylands University Library, Manchester, MS 40; Alnwick Castle, MS 624; Glasgow University Library, Glasgow, MSS Ferguson 25, 99, 305, 310; BL, Add. MS 23,670, fol. 353r.

<sup>128</sup> Glasgow UL, MS Ferguson 25, fol. 2v.

<sup>129</sup> Walton, *Notes and materials*, pp. 684, 685; Glasgow UL, MS Ferguson 125.

<sup>130</sup> Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, p. 23 n.

<sup>131</sup> Christopher Baugh, 'Loutherbourg, Philippe Jacques de (1740-1812)', *Oxford Dictionary*

of *National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); J Gage, 'Loutherbourg: mystagogue of the sublime', *History Today*, 13 (1963), pp. 332-9; J H Kunin, 'The Date of Loutherbourg's "Falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 114 (1972), pp. 554-5.

<sup>132</sup> Swed Soc, M/4, portrait of Emanuel Swedenborg; cf. Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>133</sup> R Joppien, 'A Visitor to a Ruined Churchyard—A Newly Discovered Painting by P J de Loutherbourg', *The Burlington Magazine*, 118 (1976), pp. 296, 299; [Monsignor Barberi], *The Life of Joseph Balsamo, commonly called the Count Cagliostro* (1791), pp. 77 n., 144.

<sup>134</sup> Anthony Pasquin [pseud. = John Williams], *Memoirs of the Royal Academicians* (1796), pp. 80-1; W S Lewis et al. (eds.), *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole* (48 vols., New Haven, 1937-83), vol. 34, pp. 50-1; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, p. 199.

<sup>135</sup> Mary Pratt, *A list of a few cures performed by Mr. and Mrs. de Loutherbourg* (1789), sig. A2.

<sup>136</sup> Pratt, *List of a few cures*, pp. 3-9; BL, Add. MS 23,668, fols. 25v-26r; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', p. 112.

<sup>137</sup> 'London debates: 1789', in *London debating societies 1776-99*, London Record Society (1994), pp. 246-73; cf. *The Times*, 16, 17, 24 September 1789; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 54 part ii (1784), pp. 944-6.

<sup>138</sup> P Fara, 'An Attractive Theory—Animal Magnetism in Eighteenth-Century England', *History of Science*, 33 (1995), pp. 138-42; G E Bentley, 'Mainaduc, Magic, and Madness: George Cumberland and the Blake connection', *Notes & Queries*, 236 (1991), pp. 294-6.

<sup>139</sup> Chastanier, *Word of Advice*, p. 30; William Spence, *Essays in Divinity and Physic* (1792), p. 58; Daniel Lysons (ed.), *Collectanea: or, A collection of advertisements and paragraphs from the newspapers* (2 vols., n.d.) [BL, C.191.c.16], vol. 1, part ii, fols. 156v, 157r; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 185; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 213-14, 220.

<sup>140</sup> Chastanier, *Tableau analytique*, pp. 245-53; Beswick, *Swedenborg Rite*, pp. 198-9; Anon., 'Epistolary correspondence of the earlier members of the Church', p. 420.

<sup>141</sup> Alnwick Castle, MS 616, 1, 2; BL, Add. MS 23,675, fols. 34-6; Hills, 'Notes on the Rainsford Papers', pp. 110, 116; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', pp. 182-3; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, p. 262.

<sup>142</sup> Debus, 'Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition', pp. 261, 274-7; Sommers, 'Dr. Ebenezer Sibly', p. 112; Fara, 'Attractive Theory', pp. 155, 177 n. 198.

<sup>143</sup> Odhner, *Annals of the New Church*, p. 139.

<sup>144</sup> Anon., *Observations sur le Franc-Maçonnerie: le Martinisme, les visions de Swedenborg, le magnétisme* (Avignon, 1786); *The New Magazine of Knowledge*, 1 (1790), pp. 123-7, 279-80, 401-6; Anon., *Wonders and mysteries of animal magnetism displayed* (1791), pp. 7, 9-10, 17; Fara, 'Attractive Theory', pp. 151, 173 n. 172.



<sup>145</sup> Jane Lead, *The Enochian walks with God* (1694) [BL, 4105.de.2(10)]; Jane Lead, *A message to the Philadelphian Society* (1696) [BL, 4378.a.32]; Jane Lead, *A fountain of gardens* (1696) [BL, 4412.i.25]; Jane Lead, *The signs of the times* (1699) [BL, 3185.i.22(1)]; Jane Lead, *A living funeral testimony* (1702) [BL, 4409.de.32]. He also owned a copy of Richard Coppin, *A blow at the serpent* (1763?) [BL, 4139.bbb.52(1)].

<sup>146</sup> DWL, MS I.1.43, printed in Walton, *Notes and materials*, pp. 587-91; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, pp. 259-60, 276-81; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 43-4, 138-9.

<sup>147</sup> *The New Magazine of Knowledge*, 2 (1791), p. 311; *The New Jerusalem Journal* (1792), pp. 36-9, 91-2, 196; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, p. 139.

<sup>148</sup> Geoffrey Keynes (ed.), *William Blake. Complete Writings* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 149, 157-8; cf. M Schorer, 'Swedenborg and Blake', *Modern Philology*, 36 (1938), p. 160; M D Paley, "'A New Heaven is Begun': Blake and Swedenborgianism", in Harvey Bellin and Darrell Ruhl (eds.), *Blake and Swedenborg: Opposition is True Friendship* (West Chester, PA, 1985), p. 26; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 45, 141, 172; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 241-3.

<sup>149</sup> D Erdman, 'Blake's early Swedenborgianism: A Twentieth-Century Legend', *Comparative Literature*, 5 (1953), pp. 247-57; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, p. 212; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 194; Paley, 'New Heaven is Begun', in Bellin and Ruhl (eds.), *Blake and Swedenborg*, p. 15; cf. Schorer, 'Swedenborg and Blake', pp. 157-8; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 7, 8, 145.

<sup>150</sup> Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 107, 120-1.

<sup>151</sup> K Davies, 'William Blake's Mother: A New Identification', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 33 (1999), pp. 36-50; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 8, 13-15, 31, 55-7, 126-7, 342-4.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Higham, 'Rev. Jacob Duché', p. 405; Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 72; Paley, 'New Heaven is Begun', in Bellin and Ruhl (eds.), *Blake and Swedenborg*, p. 16.

<sup>153</sup> Garrett, 'Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment', p. 73; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 42, 132; cf. Harrison, *Second Coming*, p. 72.

<sup>154</sup> Higham, 'Rev. Jacob Duché', p. 416; D Erdman, 'Lambeth and Bethlehem in Blake's Jerusalem', *Modern Philology*, 48 (1951), pp. 184, 186-9; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, p. 213; Garrett, 'Spiritual Odyssey of Jacob Duché', p. 154; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 238.

<sup>155</sup> Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Wisdom of angels* (1788) [BL, C.45.e.1]; C Higham, 'Blake and the "Swedenborgians"', *Notes and Queries*, 11th series, 11 (1915), pp. 276-7; Erdman, 'Blake's early Swedenborgianism', p. 253; G E Bentley, 'Blake and Swedenborg', *Notes and Queries*, 199 (1954), pp. 264-5; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, pp. 213-14; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 234; Paley, 'New Heaven is Begun', in Bellin and Ruhl (eds.), *Blake and Swedenborg*, p. 16; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 125, 129-30, 133.

<sup>156</sup> Schorer, 'Swedenborg and Blake', p. 159; Erdman, 'Blake's early Swedenborgianism', pp. 248, 253-4; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, pp. 214-15; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 234,

281; Paley, 'New Heaven is Begun', in Bellin and Ruhl (eds.), *Blake and Swedenborg*, pp. 17-21; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, pp. 130-1.

<sup>157</sup> Schorer, 'Swedenborg and Blake', pp. 159-60; Erdman, 'Blake's early Swedenborgianism', p. 253; Hirst, *Hidden Riches*, pp. 217-18, 225; K Raine, 'The Human Face of God', in Bellin and Ruhl (eds.), *Blake and Swedenborg*, p. 101.

<sup>158</sup> Erdman, 'Blake's early Swedenborgianism', p. 252; D J Sloss and J P R Wallis (eds.), *The Prophetic Writings of William Blake* (2 vols., Oxford, 1926), vol. 1, p. 9.

<sup>159</sup> Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, reminiscences, and correspondence*, ed. Thomas Sadler (3 vols., 1869), vol. 2, pp. 305, 323; cf. Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake, 'Pictor Ignotus'* (2 vols., 1863), vol. 1, pp. 15-16; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 195.

<sup>160</sup> Erdman, 'Blake's early Swedenborgianism', pp. 255-7; Lineham, 'English Swedenborgians', p. 194.

<sup>161</sup> Keynes (ed.), *Blake. Complete Writings*, p. 799; Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast*, p. 130; Schuchard, *Why Mrs Blake Cried*, pp. 161, 167.

<sup>162</sup> Anon., *An Inquiry into the Commission and Doctrine of the new Apostle Emanuel Swedenborg* (1794), p. 14.

<sup>163</sup> T Compton, 'Thomas Hartley', *New Church Magazine*, 10 (1891), p. 134; A Hessayon, 'Jacob Boehme and the early Quakers', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 60 (2005), pp. 208, 210.