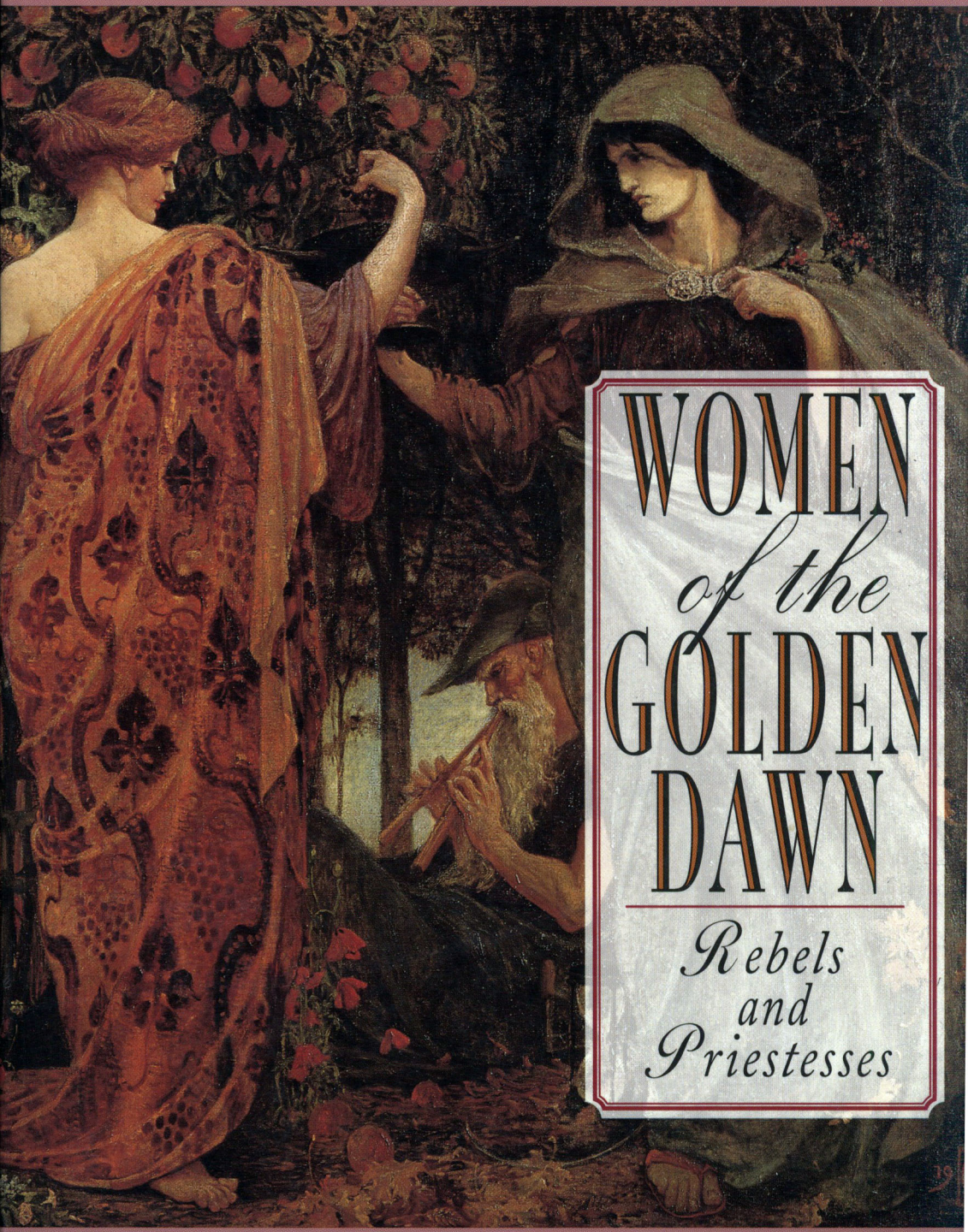
MAUD GONNE, MOINA BERGSON MATHERS,
ANNIE HORNIMAN, FLORENCE FARR



WOMEN of the GOLDEN DAWN

Rebels and Priestesses

MARY K. GREER

WOMEN *of the* GOLDEN DAWN

Rebels and Priestesses

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To the memory of
Joan Stover,
magical woman
and guardian angel,
who helped bring this book to light.
"She shall be remembered forever."

And to my daughter
Casimira Greer Buryn
of the next generation of magical women.

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Prefatory Notes

Structure

This collective biography is written chronologically, in order to emphasize the many links and parallels that existed among the four women whose stories I tell and to emphasize the synchronous events that created a personal and social gestalt. It is presented within the theme of the masque of spring, summer, fall, and winter—a ceremony of the seasons of their lives, illustrated by Walter Crane's 1909 painting *A Masque of the Four Seasons.*

Chronology

The chronology lists major dates and events. You may wish to refer to it frequently for clarification and review or to find a particular incident.

Horoscopes

Natal charts for major persons are found in Appendix A.

Astrology

Readers wanting an overview of astrological principles will find them in Appendix B.

The practice of astrology was a major part of Golden Dawn magic. The women of the Golden Dawn were intimately familiar with astrology, and they habitually examined their own charts and those of their friends. They anticipated pitfalls and discovered moments of opportunity. They explored the potentials and problems in their relationships through chart comparison. Although they left little commentary on their own astrological work, the essential principles have not changed in the intervening hundred years, and, since astrology gives specific information for specific dates, I have freely used their charts to help delineate their lives. Astrology is an especially appropriate biographical tool for examining the inner dynamics of personal complexes, needs, motivations, and ability to relate to others. In a few cases I have reconstructed their own techniques and probable conclusions, but I have been

most concerned with the psychological dynamics emphasized in modern astrology. However, readers of this book need not be familar with astrological terms and concepts to understand my conclusions.

As biography attempts to understand more about the subjects than they knew about themselves, I hope future biographers will discover the benefits of employing astrological analysis as an adjunct to conventional research.

MAGICAL TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Members of the Golden Dawn committed themselves to many years of intensive study, for the corpus of knowledge was culled from centuries of occult and mystical traditions. It would be impossible to present all of the tenets and magical concepts learned by initiates, or to make all those that are mentioned comprehensible to people who have not experienced them. Since many terms may be new, confusing, or easily forgotten, please refer to such words in the Index, where page numbers for their basic definitions appear.

NAMES

The persons in this book used a variety of names, which I have attempted to simplify. It is important, for instance, to use their magical names (which are italicized) when referring to their magical personalities, although these were frequently shortened to the initials only. The following list gives alternate names for each major personality. Others are given in the text as, for example, *L.O.* (Percy Bullock). All names are cross-referenced in the Index.

Florence Farr, Mrs. Florence Emery, *Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data, S.S.D.D., Sapientia.*

Annie Elizabeth Fredericka Horniman, Tabbie, Puss, *Fortiter et Recte, F.E.R., Fortiter.*

Moina Mathers, Mina Bergson, Bergie, *Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum, V.N.R., Vestigia,* the Countess MacGregor of Glenstrae.

Maud Gonne, Mrs. John MacBride, *Per Ignum Ad Lucem, P.I.A.L.*

Samuel Liddell Mathers, S. L. MacGregor Mathers, MacGregor, *'S Rioghail Mo Dhream, S.R.M.D., Deo Duce Comite Ferro, D.D.C.F.,* the Count MacGregor of Glenstrae.

William Wynn Westcott, *Sapere Aude, S.A., Nom Omnus Moriar, N.O.M.*

Fräulein Anna Sprengel, *Sapiens Dominabitur Astris, S.D.A.*

William Butler Yeats, Willie, W.B.Y., *Demon Est Deus Inversus, D.E.D.I., Demon.*

George Bernard Shaw, Bernard Shaw, G.B.S.

Chronology

12 August	**1831**	Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (née von Hahn) born soon after midnight at Dnepropetrovsk (then Ekaterinoslav), Ukraine.
16 September	**1846**	Anna Kingsford (née Annie Bonus) born at 5 A.M. in Stratford.
17 December	**1848**	William Wynn Westcott born.
8 January	**1854**	Samuel Liddell Mathers born at 11 De Beauvoir Place, West Hackney, London. Possible birth time: 10:56 A.M. GMT.
26 July	**1856**	George Bernard Shaw born in Dublin at 12:55 A.M. GMT.
		— *Spring* —
7 July	**1860**	Florence Farr born in Bickley, near Bromley, Kent, at 6:27 A.M. GMT.
3 October	**1860**	Annie Elizabeth Fredericka Horniman born in Forest Hill, London, at 7:35 P.M. GMT.
28 February	**1865**	Mina Bergson born in Geneva, Switzerland.
13 June	**1865**	William Butler Yeats born near Sandymount Castle, Dublin, at 10:40 P.M. TLT (True Local Time).
21 December	**1866**	Edith Maud Gonne born in Tongham, Surrey, near Aldershot.
	1867	Gonne family moves to Ireland. Fenian disturbances in Ireland. Yeats family moves to London. Bergson family moves to Paris for one year and then permanently to England.
21 June	**1871**	Maud Gonne's mother dies.
18 December	**1876**	Florence Farr's mother dies.
	1880	Mina Bergson enters Slade School of Art. Yeats family returns to Ireland.

	1882	Annie Horniman enters Slade, meets Mina Bergson. Florence Farr "fails" at teaching and takes up acting.
14 April	1883	Florence Farr's father dies.
	1883	Maud Gonne returns to Dublin as her father's hostess.
	1884	London Theosophical Society founded.
31 December	1884	Florence Farr marries the actor Edward Emery.
27 January	1885	S. L. Mathers's mother dies.
	1885	Mathers moves to London, meeting Wynn Westcott, Madame Helena Blavatsky, Kenneth Mackenzie, and Anna Kingsford; becomes "MacGregor" Mathers. Founding of Dublin Hermetic Society, W. B. Yeats presiding.
30 November	1886	Maud Gonne's father dies.
	1887	Publication of *The Kabbalah Unveiled* by MacGregor Mathers. Mina Bergson meets MacGregor Mathers. Decoding of cypher manuscript. Westcott writes to Fräulein Anna Sprengel. Maud Gonne begins affair with Lucien Millevoye.

SUMMER

22 February	1888	Anna Kingsford dies.
1 March	1888	Isis-Urania Temple of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn is chartered. Mina Bergson is first initiate as *Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum.*
	1888	Florence Farr separates from her husband, who emigrates to America. Mathers publishes *The Tarot: Its Occult Signification, Use in Fortune Telling, and Method of Play, Etc.*
30 January	1889	Maud Gonne meets William Butler Yeats.
	1889	First Ibsen plays performed in England.
January	1890	Annie Horniman initiated into Golden Dawn as *Fortiter et Recte.*
11 January	1890	A son, Georges, born to Maud Gonne and Lucien Millevoye.
7 March	1890	William Butler Yeats initiated into Golden Dawn as *Demon Est Deus Inversus.*
5 May	1890	Florence Farr opens in John Todhunter's *A Sicilian Idyll* with Shaw and Yeats attending.

16 June	**1890**	Mina Bergson marries MacGregor Mathers and takes the Celticized name "Moina." They move to Stent Lodge, Forest Hill.
July	**1890**	Florence Farr initiated into Golden Dawn as *Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data.*
15 November	**1890**	Florence Farr and G. B. Shaw begin their affair.
February	**1891**	Florence Farr appears as Rebecca in the first English production of Ibsen's *Rosmersholm.*
May	**1891**	Madame Helena Blavatsky dies.
31 August	**1891**	Maud Gonne's son Georges dies of meningitis. Deaths of Boulanger and Parnell follow within weeks.
Fall	**1891**	MacGregor Mathers meets Secret Chiefs in Paris. Establishes Second Order of the *R.R. et A.C.* (Rosicrucian).
16 November	**1891**	Maud Gonne initiated into Golden Dawn as *Per Ignum Ad Lucem.*
7 December	**1891**	Annie Horniman is first initiate in new Second Order.
22 December	**1891**	Florence Farr's Second Order initiation.
21 May	**1892**	The Matherses move permanently to Paris.
	1893	Westcott resigns as Praemonstrator of the Golden Dawn. Florence takes his place with Annie as Sub-Praemonstrator. Annie inherits money from her grandfather.
March-April	**1894**	Florence Farr produces landmark plays by Yeats (*The Land of Heart's Desire),* Shaw (*Arms and the Man*), and Todhunter (*The Comedy of Sighs*) at the Avenue Theatre, financed by Annie Horniman. Florence's books *The Dancing Faun* and *A Short Enquiry into the Hermetic Art* are soon published.
6 August	**1894**	Iseult Gonne born to Maud Gonne and Lucien Millevoye.
4 February	**1895**	Florence Farr's divorce from Edward Emery is finalized.
14 February	**1895**	Annie Horniman's mother dies.
	1896	Florence Farr begins the Sphere Group within the Golden Dawn and publishes *Egyptian Magic and* a commentary on *Euphrates; or The Waters of the East.* Annie Horniman and Dr. Berridge battle over teachings of Thomas Lake Harris.

29 October	**1896**	Mathers issues manifesto demanding written submission of Second Order members to his authority.
3 December	**1896**	Annie Horniman is expelled from the Golden Dawn for insubordination.
December	**1896**	Yeats, Gonne, and the Matherses work on rituals for the Celtic Mysteries in Paris.
January	**1897**	Maud Gonne inaugurates *L'Association Irlandaise* in Paris and begins her paper *L'Irlande Libre* (first issue, May). Lecture tour with Willie Yeats.
February	**1897**	Annie Horniman's father remarries. She severs all ties with both father and brother.
1 April	**1897**	Westcott quits Golden Dawn when his papers are "found" in a cab. Florence Farr becomes Chief in Anglia of the Golden Dawn
5 April	**1897**	MacGregor Mathers loses *Abra-Melin* manuscript on a train.
October	**1897**	Maud Gonne in United States for first time on a lecture tour.
9 March	**1898**	Moina Mathers's father, Michel Bergson, dies.
1 June	**1898**	G. B. Shaw marries Charlotte Payne-Townshend.
	1898	Publication of *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage* by Mathers. Moina and MacGregor begin "restoring" the Egyptian Mysteries.
26 November	**1898**	Aleister Crowley initiated into Golden Dawn as *Perdurabo.*
7 December	**1898**	First "spiritual marriage" between Maud Gonne and William Butler Yeats.
March	**1899**	"Rites of Isis" performance at Théâtre Bodinière in Paris, by the Matherses.
8 May	**1899**	Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen* is first production of the Irish Literary Theatre (London) with Florence Farr as general manager.
12 October	**1899**	Boer War begins in South Africa; Maud takes up the cause against England.

FALL

January	**1900**	Florence Farr writes Mathers. He accuses her of attempting to make a schism under *S.A.* (Westcott). She resigns.

16 February	**1900**	Mathers writes Farr refusing her resignation and accusing Westcott of forging the Sprengel letters. Mathers introduces Madame Horos as *S.D.A.* (Sprengel) to Ahathoor Lodge in Paris.
March	**1900**	Second Order committee investigates charges, deposes Mathers.
April	**1900**	Mathers annuls committee and its resolutions and sends Crowley to determine allegiance of members. Isis-Urania Lodge drafts new constitution with Farr as moderator and a reinstated Annie Horniman as scribe. MacGregor and Moina are expelled from the Golden Dawn.
Fall	**1900**	Farr's administrative techniques and her Sphere Group are brought into question by Annie Horniman.
	1900	Mathers creates Isis Temple for the World Fair/ Centennial in Paris. Maud Gonne is in United States raising money for Boers; writes inflammatory article "The Famine Queen"; founds "Daughters of Erin"; joins Ella Young's *Finé* group; meets John MacBride.
	1901	Internal battles over Sphere Group. Horos trial and unwelcome publicity. Florence produces and publishes two Egyptian plays (with Olivia Shakespear).
	1902	Florence resigns from Golden Dawn, which changes its name to Hermetic Society of the Morgenrothe. Yeats and Farr lecture on the psaltery. Maud Gonne plays lead in Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan.*
Mid-June	**1902**	Florence Farr joins Theosophical Society.
February	**1903**	Annie Horniman resigns from Golden Dawn
21 February	**1903**	Maud Gonne joins Catholic church and marries John MacBride.
9 October	**1903**	Annie Horniman creates costumes for Yeats's *The King's Threshold* and does Tarot reading from which she decides to finance an Irish theatre.
	1903-1904	Florence Farr is in numerous theatrical productions. Crowley betrays the Matherses; they live for a few months in Acton with Moina's mother.
26 January	**1904**	Jean Seaghan (Sean) MacBride born to Maud Gonne and John MacBride.
27 December	**1904**	Opening of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. Owned and rebuilt by Annie Horniman.

	1905	Florence Farr produces and publishes "The Mystery of Time: A Masque."
25 February	1905	Maud Gonne files for divorce.
	1906	Florence Farr and W. B. Yeats have an affair.
5 March	1906	Annie Horniman's father dies, leaving her an inheritance.
	1907	Florence Farr, on lecture tour of eastern United States, meets Pamela Colman Smith; writes for *New Age* magazine. Annie Horniman begins a repertory theatre in Manchester.
June	1908	Maud Gonne and W. B. Yeats renew their "spiritual marriage."
	1908-1910	Florence Farr writes for the *Occult Review;* publishes *The Music of Speech, A Calendar of Philosophy,* and *Modern Woman: Her Intentions.* Annie Horniman receives an M.A. from Manchester University for achievements in theatre.
December	1909	Publication of the Rider-Waite Tarot deck, illustrated by Pamela Colman Smith.

WINTER

March	1910	Mathers sues Crowley for publishing Golden Dawn rituals in the *Equinox.*
December	1910	Annie Horniman withdraws subsidy of the Abbey Theatre.
5 September	1912	Florence Farr leaves London to become principal of the Ramanathan Hindu Girls' College in Jaffna, Ceylon. *The Solemnization of Jacklin* is published.
August	1914	World War I begins. Maud Gonne works as a Red Cross nurse in Argeles, France.
April	1916	Easter Rising, Dublin. John MacBride executed.
29 April	1917	Florence Farr dies in Ceylon of breast cancer.
June	1917	Annie Horniman disbands the Gaiety Theatre Company.
Summer	1917	W. B. Yeats proposes to and is rejected by both Maud and Iseult Gonne.
20 October	1917	W. B. Yeats marries George Hyde-Lees.

	1918	Maud and Sean Gonne illegally enter Ireland. While Maud is imprisoned for six months without charge, Lucien Millevoye and Maud's sister Kathleen die.
5 November	1918	Mathers dies in Paris of influenza.
11 November	1918	Armistice Day marks end of World War I.
	1919	Moina Mathers returns to London, establishes the Alpha et Omega Lodge.
	1920–1921	Annie sells Gaiety Theatre, renews her involvement with the occult. She and Moina join G. R. S. Mead's Quest Society.
	1922	Moina Mathers expels Paul Foster Case from the Golden Dawn. Maud Gonne forms Women's Prisoners' Defense League.
	1925	William Wynn Westcott dies.
	1927	Dion Fortune (1890–1946) forms the Fraternity of the Inner Light "to be an Outer Court" to the Golden Dawn.
25 July	1928	Moina Bergson Mathers dies in London.
	1932	Annie Horniman becomes a "Companion of Honor" for her contributions to British Drama.
6 August	1937	Annie Horniman dies in Surrey.
	1938	Maud Gonne publishes her autobiography, *A Servant of the Queen.*
28 January	1939	W. B. Yeats dies at Roquebrune in the South of France.
27 April	1953	Maud Gonne dies near Dublin.



FRONTISPIECE TO *A SICILIAN IDYLL* BY JOHN TODHUNTER;
DRAWING BY WALTER CRANE, SHOWING FLORENCE FARR AS AMARYLLIS

INTRODUCTION

Why is it we are so skittish about learning from women, so afraid we'll lose our Politics, forget ourselves, or be trapped in the second-best sex? I'm asking these questions . . . in the hope that another generation of women will not have to ask these questions because they can trust their love for the women they learn from, trust themselves.

—SARA RUDDICK

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was founded in London in 1888 by three Rosicrucian Masons. For the first time men and women worked together as equals in magical ceremonies whose purpose was to test, purify, and exalt the individual's spiritual nature so as to unify it with his or her "Holy Guardian Angel."[1]

While the history of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn is well documented and several of its male members have become famous, their female counterparts have received little credit.[2] And yet, when one reads between the lines of the original documents, four women stand out as the true heart and soul of this magical Order. Their imaginative skills, determination, and belief in their own creative abilities worked a kind of great magic and changed the world around them.

This book is not a history of the Golden Dawn but a story of four amazing women and the difference magic made in their lives; it is also a statement of the difference magic can make in our own lives today. Together as author and reader, we will discover the ways in which these women found self-esteem, power, and wisdom, and how they experienced insecurity, guilt, anxiety, fear, and fantasy. We will learn what they gained from the techniques of the Western Mystery traditions, and how they became the spiritual foremothers of women practicing magic today.

If we want to discover our own creativity and ability to change ourselves and the world, it is imperative that we learn from those women and men who

practiced such transformative magic before us. The poet William Butler Yeats asserted that all knowledge, indeed all sound philosophy, is biography.[3] Until the twentieth century, however, biography was primarily a male terrain defined by career and public achievement; thus have knowledge and philosophy been defined by only half the human race, while the more personal and interpersonal accomplishments of women have gone largely unnoted. And yet it is from the life stories of our magical foremothers that we can learn to trust ourselves personally and as agents of change. This task is doubly complicated because, as one of the women of the Golden Dawn noted, it is a difficult matter "to write the life of an adept, there being so much of an inner and secret nature necessarily involved."[4] In addition, because the Golden Dawn was a secret organization, most of its members carefully destroyed their correspondence and private papers. I felt called upon to tell the story of these women so that we could thus *re-member* (meaning specifically "to put together the pieces of") the wisdom of those who have shed their light upon the path.

Following In the Footsteps—My Own History

I only recently realized that I have been following in the footsteps of these women all my life. I grew up on army posts in Japan, Germany, and the United States and was steeped in the rituals of premodernized Catholicism. In college I studied English literature and theatre arts, and in 1967 discovered the Tarot—somehow realizing that it would become the basis of my life's work. I *knew* that someday I would write a book about Tarot and teach its symbolism in college. Soon after graduation I traveled through Europe, settling in London, where I studied astrology, acting, and Tarot while working as a typesetter. As I wandered the streets I often felt I had been there before and had returned for a reason—but why?

By 1972 I was in Florida working as a graphic designer at a university where I completed a master of arts degree in English literature and taught Tarot as a noncredit course. Following a disastrous marriage and quick divorce, I returned to England for a visit. A series of adventures led me to a fifteenth-century manor house in the south of England, where I stayed with a dealer of Pre-Raphaelite paintings. The dealer's neighbor had a library of antique books on myth and magic, and walls adorned by a hand-drawn set of the Major Arcana of the Tarot—from the Golden Dawn, I now believe. Like Parsifal, I had reached the mystic castle but felt it impolite to ask questions! Upon my return to Florida my metaphysical interests left me an outsider at a university on the cutting edge of "progress" and "technology," and so I moved to San Francisco—the most European of U.S. cities—where I felt I had come home at last.

In San Francisco I joined the faculty and administration of New College of California, an alternative humanities college, which, at the time, epitomized my ideal of an education based on Socratic dialogue. With my students and some faculty we explored the Tarot as a manifestation of the psychological, literary, and philosophical need to understand the journey through life. Meanwhile, I studied East-West Psychology at the California Institute of Integral Studies and moved for two years to Bolinas, a small coastal town built on a Native American healing ground and reputed to bring either change or madness to those who lived there. It was true for me: In 1977 I discovered the Goddess in a borrowed copy of M. Esther Harding's *Woman's Mysteries: Ancient and Modern.* I stayed up all night reading while listening to the cows lowing and their bells clanging until I cried out, "I've found it!" "It" was the religion of the Goddess and the power of her mysteries. I knew I would never be the same. Through subsequent classes at New College, my students and I excitedly explored these mysteries: We asked questions and used writing, art, trance, divination, and ritual to explore possible answers, especially about what was different—what was so special—about women's perception, language, and physical experience, and about how we could honor and develop those abilities. *What we discovered was that we were practicing magic.* As I began to realize that many of our questions had been asked by women before us, I turned to their life stories to learn what they had discovered, and so I taught courses in women's biography and autobiography. Subsequently I met, shared with, and learned from many magical women, priestesses, and shamans.

I had a child, married again, and in 1985 ended an eleven-year association with New College. From 1983 to 1985 most of the original faculty left, allowing for necessary renewal of both individuals and organization, circumstances paralleling closely the breakup of the Golden Dawn. Following this break with academia, I wrote four books on Tarot, taught private classes, led workshops through New Age centers and women's gatherings in the United States and Europe, and moved from the Bay area to the Sierra Nevada foothills. My major focus now is on Tarot, women's transformation mysteries and rituals (especially the "blood mysteries"), and what I call magical writing. I am an initiate of a Golden Dawn–based temple, but my own preferred practice is an eclectic Goddess spirituality. When I found in 1989 that I *had* to write this book (for the stories and synchronicities kept tantalizing and tempting me away from anything else), I discovered that my entire life had been spent in preparation for writing it—that my background in literature, theatre, symbolism, scholarly research, Tarot, astrology, magic, ritual, and women's history all came together to make this my personal journey of integration and self-remembrance.

New Women for a New Age

The four women, original members of the Golden Dawn, were Florence Farr, actress, writer, and educator; Annie Horniman, patron of the arts, founder of two world-renowned theatres and the modern English repertory movement; Maud Gonne, aristocratic revolutionary who incited people to riot yet advocated amnesty; and Moina Bergson Mathers, artist, priestess, and channeler of Golden Dawn rituals. Born between the years 1860 and 1866, they were nurtured upon the provident but straitlaced bosom of Victorian England, coming to adulthood in the transformative years known as the *fin de siècle*.

The characters and beliefs of these women ran counter to the norms of their society; they personally embodied the strongest taboos and repressed characteristics of late-Victorian England; they acted *outside* the boundaries of public codes of behavior. Yet they initiated lasting changes in politics and culture; they heralded a "new age" and a "new woman."

They found meaning in actualizing their own ideals, in daring to follow their bliss—and they found it in magic. What made them so successful? Can we apply their beliefs and practices to make our own lives more successful and more meaningful? We will explore how they dealt with their environment and their magical training, how they made their choices, and where they derived their ability to rise beyond repression based on gender dominance. We shall see that by assuming the shadow masks of cultural taboos, by becoming the outcasts of society, each of them, in her own way, achieved freedom from the constraints of behavioral codes. We can learn what traits, characteristics, and wisdom emerged from their magical worldview and practices that allowed them to rise above those other "outsiders" who become disenfranchised, bitter, and ineffective.

In *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages,* Phyllis Rose suggests that in the nineteenth-century world, where God was replaced by an abstraction called Fact, "serious thinkers, those with an essentially religious temperament but divorced from religion by the failure of faith, were bound to search for a personal, freely chosen authority to validate their lives."[5] In the Golden Dawn that authority ultimately rested in one's own divinity. According to Israel Regardie, the practical purpose of the Golden Dawn initiations and practices was "to give a person more insight into their meaning, into their significance, into their functions as human beings . . . to gradually unite . . . [with one's] essential divinity and thus become more than human."[6]

Magical Mottos, Inner Myths

Each of these Golden Dawn women chose a motto to define her personal search for meaning and her link to the Divine. The motto became her magical

name, because in naming herself after the image of a central principle, each woman strove to make herself over in that image. Yeats said, "There is some one myth for every man, which if we but knew it, would make us understand all that he did and thought." Through their mottos we can glimpse the inner myths through which these women gave life to their souls. As you read their stories and discover how their mottos weave through their decisions and actions, you might think about the magical motto you would choose for yourself to express your own inner myth. What is the central principle or image by and for which you would wish to live? Wisdom, Light, Peace, Joy, Justice, Bliss, Strength, Truth, Unity . . . to quest, to love, to learn, to dare, to persevere. Is it symbolized by a Heart, Fire, Stars, a Sun, a Divinity? All of these appear in the mottos of members of the Golden Dawn, and always they tell something about the character of the person so named and about the central principle or image that motivates them. Through their mottos we will find the character, motivation, and aims to which the women of the Golden Dawn aspired, which can be seen through the related concepts of principle, quest, and task.

Florence Farr's magical personality was *Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data,* literally translated as "Wisdom is given as a gift to the Wise." The Latin word for wisdom has an additional meaning relating to the senses so that the expression can also be understood thus: "Taste is given to those who have the ability to savor it." The motto clearly places *wisdom* as Florence's dominating principle; her quest was to perceive its presence, and therefore her task was to hone spiritual knowledge.

Annie Horniman's magical motto was *Fortiter et Recte,* literally "Bravely and Justly," but perhaps best translated as "With Fortitude and Rectitude." Annie's focal principle was moral *uprightness:* to be straight and strong. Her quest was to find a standard straight enough and strong enough to warrant her task of upholding it with spiritual courage.

Moina Bergson Mathers was known magically as *Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum,* meaning "I leave no traces behind"—literally, "No tracks (footprints) turn back"—and, in fact, she left almost no physical evidence of herself. Moina's dominating principle was *selflessness.* The clue lies in "not turning back," for to not retrace the circle of incarnation she must annihilate (make null) her individual personality. We might therefore say that her task was to escape the spiral of karma and rebirth (and perhaps her own heritage), and her quest was toward spiritual evolution.

Finally, Maud Gonne's motto was *Per Ignum Ad Lucem,* "Through the Fire to the Light." Maud lived by the principle of pure *single-minded focus* to which everything else must be sacrificed. Her task was to burn away whatever was unnecessary to her purpose, sensing that the way to Spirit was through the strength of her Desire. This implied that only if she proved her worth

through the most intense, even painful, experiences could she achieve her quest for spiritual strength.

As Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar discovered when editing *The Madwoman in the Attic,* about nineteenth-century women writers: "Women will starve in silence until new stories are created which confer on them the power of naming themselves."[7] The women of the Golden Dawn demonstrate what is possible when we name ourselves. We will discover how together they sought, never looking back, to apply the gift of their wisdom to courageously evolve along the straightest path to the Divine within.

Yet their real stories lie not just in how they succeeded, but in how they failed, for biography is the story of a person in conflict with herself and her environment.

MIDWIVES TO THE PSYCHE

Not only were these women "outsiders" to their culture, but they spent much of their time outside the normal physical constraints of space and time. As in any spiritual quest, "outer" also means "inner," for they were explorers of astrological planets—the outer universe, and of the inner realms of the psyche symbolized by those planets, by means of a special kind of magic known as ceremonial or ritual magic. Its aim was ultimately to create change that was both inner and outer, personal and societal, and *willed* by the Divine within. "Will," in this context, is defined as *intent,* focused through the *imagination* and energized by *desire.*

I propose that it was magic that gave these women the knowledge, use, and understanding of their deepest creative abilities. Magic provided them with mythic models and foremothers who achieved such aims—and who had powers to produce change. They developed a taste for results that went beyond physical experience, beyond material rewards. They did not accept the roles and boundaries defined for them by family circumstances and societal expectations. They remade themselves after their own magical images and helped to remake their world. They belonged to the timeless legacy of the priestesses, sibyls, and healers who throughout history have been "midwives to the Psyche," assisting individuals and cultures in times of difficult passage.

Florence Farr, speaking from the wisdom of her magical personality *Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data,* explained that "to become an adept of power is to possess the key of all the secrets of nature because you possess the key to your own nature."[8]

The modern magical practitioner Melita Denning describes the rewards experienced by a ceremonial magician as "the joy of discovering and of learning to use and control faculties one had not known oneself to possess, the

exultation of understanding, in the light of one's personal experience, episodes and allusions in other people's stories or in venerable legends which had otherwise seemed enigmatic or meaningless; the power to produce certain effects in the world of phenomena, and conversely the ability to delight in knowledge and experiences which are alien to this world."[9]

It is through the ceremonies of ritual magic, with its garb and paraphernalia, movements, incense, chants, that one experiences the growth of a new magical personality. An otherworldly state of joy, exultation, and delight—of ecstasy and heightened consciousness—is the natural state of that personality, as Denning points out. This is the true pursuit of happiness, the following of one's bliss. The ordinary external persona merely clothes the true Self, merely veils Isis.

As we grow more into our magical personality we shed whatever masks it; the sacred environment of ritual provides a safe space for removing the personal shell consisting of the limitations of time and space, of the nature/nurture effects of genes and environment, of all laws except metaphysical ones. The techniques of ritual are the pathways to bliss. The experience *inspires* one with the belief that one can succeed creatively, can attempt and do what was formerly believed to be *outside* one's own, or anyone else's, abilities. Magicians are always "outsiders" because they are open, as few are, to their innermost Selves.

Whether or not you choose to try Golden Dawn techniques or another form of magic, whether or not you want to become a Priestess or a Rebel, you can learn what inspired these women to take and use their creative power, to transform not only themselves but events and people around them.

Quaternities of Shadow and Light

History tells us that most outsiders, overwhelmed by the odds against them, become ineffectual, disenfranchised outcasts. They carry the shadow of society, representing everything people are most afraid to look at, and thus they become victimized, alienated, violent, rebellious. Just as we as individuals try to cast out or lock up that part of ourselves that feels trapped, isolated, angry, and defiled, society projects these characteristics onto outsiders and then tries to cast them out or lock them up. Mostly, society prevails.

The women in the Golden Dawn were inspired to discover the light within the dark, the inner within the outer, the God-Self within the shadow self. Bringing the shadow into the light, both were seen to be One. Carl Jung found that four kinds of inspiration motivate our human experience of such dualities. Jung called these the Four Functions: Intuition, Thinking, Feeling, and Sensation. Irene de Castillejo and Toni Wolff, following this model, likewise identified four personality types within the feminine psyche,[10] while

GOLDEN DAWN WOMEN	DE CASTILLEJO AND WOLFF, FEMININE TYPES	HARRIS, 20TH-CENTURY SHADOWS
Moina	Medium	Victim
Annie	Amazon	Exile
Maud	Mother	Predator
Florence	Hetaira[11]	Rebel

Nina Auerbach has defined four expressions of the feminine shadow in Victorian culture,[12] and Maxine Harris found four kinds of twentieth-century shadows of the feminine among urban bag ladies.[13] Astrologers have generally welcomed four asteriods into their pantheon as representative of four feminine types, as articulated by Demetra George.[14] All of these fourfold categories correspond amazingly with the four women of the Golden Dawn; each woman epitomizes one of four archetypes, which combined yield an entire range of female experience.

We will explore these fourfold classifications further in the next chapter and in the conclusion. For now, suffice it to say that the shadow characteristics are merely dark mirrorings of potential strengths. Moina Bergson Mathers discovered that the vulnerable Victim of Maxine Harris's classification is not necessarily weak but needs interrelationships to survive; she could become a Priestess dedicated to mediating between the human and the Divine. Annie Horniman discovered that the Old Maid or Exile does not have to be alienated but can become an Amazon—an actualizer of vision, bravely independent and self-sustaining. Maud Gonne found that the violent Predator is not only devouring but can be a Mother passionately defending what she has engendered. And for Florence Farr, the nonconforming Rebel was not just subversive, but can become an Alchemist who transforms experience into knowledge and back again. These are life-sustaining, growth-promoting, and change-creating characteristics. They are the basis of the concept called character, which results from a life motivated by the acting out of one's highest principles.[15] These women inspired themselves and others to transcend the limitations of their contemporary cultural beliefs. They can inspire us today to move beyond our own limitations.

In the Golden Dawn mythos, everything can be used to further the Great Work. The personal shadow, or so-called evil elements, were named the *qliphoth*. When mastered and harnessed in place, the *qliphoth* served one as "a mighty steed, a powerful beast" upon which to ride wherever one wanted

AUERBACH, VICTORIAN SHADOWS	GEORGE, ASTEROID GODDESSES	JUNGIAN FUNCTIONS
Angel	Juno/Hera	Feeling
Old Maid	Pallas/Athena	Thinking
Demon	Ceres/Demeter	Sensation
Fallen Woman	Vesta/Hestia	Intuition

to go.[16] This is an allegory of the enormous psychic energy that can be accessed by facing and conquering one's own fears, one's inner demons.

As we delineate Florence, Annie, Maud, and Moina, as we map the variations in their personhoods, we will find that their reality is masked to us. Instead we will see their personas—cloaking devices consisting of words, pictures, and memories that disguise more than reveal. These women will seem to take on the semblance of mythic figures acting out allegorical themes; they will appear as four modes of behavior, four functions of the Psyche, or as four kinds of response to a challenge. They will epitomize four values, four manifestations of the feminine shadow, four faces of the outcast. They will be four goddesses, four demons, but ultimately four human beings.

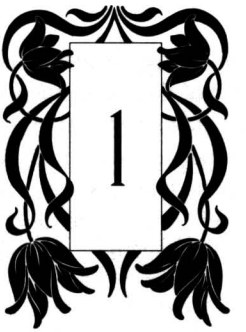
It is my contention that each of these women manifested her divinity in such a way as to achieve mythic status by embodying a major archetype of humanity. In doing so, each became a model for our own growth and development. Maud Gonne wrote, "The least gesture of a saint . . . must be more worth looking at than the whole life & agitation of those who take life easily, because of the power which is behind [her]."[17] For "saint" let us substitute Goddess, Hero, Woman of Power, and even Outcast.

These women are our spiritual four/foremothers, and as we weave the masque of their four seasons we will recount their tales of experience, their songs of wisdom. We may even find that they are we.

I invoke herewith the presence of Florence Farr, Annie Horniman, Moina Bergson Mathers, and Maud Gonne. I ask that we may enter their lives, and to do so call back the times in which they lived. As we end the twentieth century and begin a new millennium, may we draw upon their stories for the inspiration and knowledge to successfully implement our own personal, social, and political goals.



ANNIE HORNIMAN, CIRCA 1872. "GIRLS ARE TO DWELL IN QUIET HOMES . . . TO EXERCISE A NOISELESS INFLUENCE, TO BE SUBMISSIVE AND RETIRING."



Victorian Womanhood

All four of our magical women of the Golden Dawn were born between the years 1860 and 1866—two in London and one in Surrey, and one moved to England in childhood. Thus they all grew up in an English mid-Victorian world that had a very definite, inflexible, indeed, a "scientific" view of the upbringing and roles of women in society. This view, although frequently at variance with the actuality of women's lives, was universally lauded and followed by respectable middle-class families like those into which these women were born.

Volumes were written about the proper raising of girls, and much of it was like this 1865 piece from a schoolmistress, Elizabeth Sewell:

> Girls are to dwell in quiet homes, amongst a few friends; to exercise a noiseless influence, to be submissive and retiring. . . . [The girl is to be] guarded from over fatigue, subject to restrictions . . . seldom trusted away from home . . . simply because, if she is not thus guarded . . . she will probably develop some disease. . . . Any strain upon a girl's intellect is to be dreaded, and any attempt to bring women into competition with men can scarcely escape failure.[1]

Sara Tytler, in her article "Girls," which appeared in *The Mother's Companion* in 1887, shows that attitudes had not changed in the twenty years that brought our four women to maturity. She gave to young women the challenge of integrating two opposing sets of qualities: those of modesty, service, and suffering with those of uplifting, immortal queenship.

> The mother of the little woman-child sees in her the born queen, and, at the same time, the servant of the home; the daughter who is to lift the burden of domestic cares and make them unspeakably lighter by taking her share of them; the sister who is to be a little mother to her brothers and sisters; the future wife and mother in her turn, she is the owner of a destiny which may call on her to endure much and to suffer much, but which as it also bids her love much . . . is well worthy of an immortal creature.[2]

No woman of the time could escape the impact of these attitudes, yet a few would attempt to re-vision their application. Maud Gonne chose for her autobiography the title *A Servant of the Queen*, using two pivotal words from the above strictures. For Maud, the "Queen" was Ireland itself, and she found her destiny in being a servant of the land and its people. Thus, in her own life, she found a way of satisfying the dilemma of service and queenship—a solution little appreciated by virtuous society. Maud dedicated herself as an earthly embodiment of the ancient Goddess. She tried to lift the burden of domestic cares caused by hunger, imprisonment, and bondage to England. Her biographer, Samuel Levenson, implying that such work was not truly consequential, judged her as "more successful as a philanthropist than patriot" and "more of a propagandist than a fresh political thinker or effective organizer."[3] Like the majority of women, Maud encountered expectations of much servitude and little nobility.

Paintings from the period are a rich source of conscious and unconscious symbolism, from the minds of men, associated with the "virtuous woman," thus defining how one would recognize her. She was like a waxen angel, enclosed in a garden, alongside a sealed fountain, and usually reclining, drifting, or asleep. She often cradled a child or held a musical instrument whose strings appeared like prison bars between her and the viewer, or she might be half hidden by a shawl or hood. (A fallen shawl represented a fallen woman.)

"A loving woman's world lies within the four walls of her own home; and it is only through her husband that she is in any electric communication with the world beyond," wrote novelist George Eliot.[4] A grimmer description was that she was "bounded on the north by servants, on the south by children, on the east by ailments, and on the west by clothes."[5]

Since it was assumed that women's physiological functions diverted much of their creative energy away from their brains, and their frontal lobes were known to be lighter and less developed than a male's, they were therefore less intelligent, or so rationalized most medical doctors. Middle-class women were supposed to remain ignorant about sex until marriage; in fact, it was believed that a moral woman was seldom troubled with any kind of sexual feeling. A lady did not work, especially for pay. Women had only two major roles open

to them: the wife-and-mother and the daughter. A mature, unmarried woman, who had no one but herself to live for, was therefore "redundant."

By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, more than a third of all adult women were unmarried, and by 1900 almost three-fourths of all unmarried women over the age of fifteen were employed. These facts, which did not fit the prevailing attitudes about women, were simply ignored. The actual reality of women's lives in nineteenth-century England was never acknowledged. Publicly, the genuine everyday circumstances of these superfluous women did not exist.

The tenacious, all-pervasive ideal of femininity was far from the social actuality: "Few women could afford to pursue the course laid out for them, either economically, socially or psychologically," notes Martha Vicinus.[6] For instance, Maud Gonne, although financially secure, was in love with a married man and was also unsuited for a personal mothering role, preferring to mother a nation. Florence Farr craved the life of the mind. As a divorced woman she was among those who had "fallen." She not only had to earn a living but did so as an actress—a vocation often not differentiated in the public mind from prostitute. Annie Horniman was wealthy but not suited to marriage, accepting another's dictates, or abiding by social conventions; she was "redundant." Moina Bergson Mathers, although married, had chosen a disreputable, "fraudulent" magician who espoused fringe political ideas. Not only was she alienated from her orthodox Jewish family, but as a priestess, artist, and clairvoyant, she too fell within the shadow that lay outside the sphere of the "lady." These women were "outsiders," with all the power that term implies.

Changes were taking place within the world of respectable middle-class families. By elevating a wife or daughter onto a pedestal and making her the "angel of the house," the family gave her not only the right but the divine responsibility to bring the standards of her "natural" inclination toward moral superiority into practice within society. During the final two decades of the nineteenth century, women became active in charities, philanthropy, and social reform outside of the home. "Reclamation of fallen women was one of the few respectable activities available to philanthropically minded Victorian spinsters," notes Nina Auerbach.[7] Opportunities for education increased, because it was conceded that those who first influenced new generations—the mothers—must be educated for this important task. Women were speaking out not only on moral but also on political issues. Those who espoused women's suffrage pointed out that women—whose moral superiority was unparalleled—were therefore among the most qualified to elect the leaders of government.

The public concept of a "New Woman" began to emerge. She could hold a job or have a vocation. She loved whom and where she chose. Although she

continued to hold chastity as an ideal, she now considered the standard equally applicable to men.

One of the first descriptions of this shocking New Woman appeared in the *Graphic* on September 10, 1887:

> The fashionable beauty of the present period, that complex many-sided paragon, ... goes everywhere, she does everything.... She is a sportsman, an athlete, ... a divinity in a ball-room; she is alternately a horsewoman, a huntress ... and on occasions can even hold her own at cricket; she drives a pair of horses like a charioteer, pulls a pair of sculls like an Oxonian, competes in the universities with her masculine rivals; mounts the roof of a four-in-hand, or swiftly travels on a tricycle; she practices archery, she is great at private theatricals ... designs, models, and paints.... She is versed in the history of attire and epochs; is up in current literature, to which not infrequently she contributes.... Of the modern young lady *à la mode*, who wields alike the fiddle-bow, the billiard-cue, and the etching-needle, who climbs mountains, and is a presence in the gymnasium, none but herself can be her prototype.[8]

Of course, many people—both men and women—viewed the New Woman as a culture-destroying virago, a beast that threatened sanity, a witch. Says Auerbach, "The taboos that encased the Victorian woman contained buried tributes to her disruptive power."[9] Bram Dijkstra, in his book *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, explains that the art and literature illustrate how the New Woman "represents the unabashed independence and elemental sense of freedom the men of 1900 feared, and found most fascinating."[10] Martha Vicinus contends. "The woman who broke the family circle, be she prostitute, adulterer or divorcee, threatened society's very fabric."[11] Dijkstra explains why this was so:

> It is clear that by 1900 writers and painters, scientists and critics, the learned and the modish alike, had been indoctrinated to regard all women who no longer conformed to the image of the household nun as vicious, bestial creatures, representative of a pre-evolutionary, instinctual past, who preferred the company of animals over that of the civilized male, creatures who were, in fact, the personification of witchery and evil, who attended sabbaths and dangerous rituals astride goats.... Woman, in short had come to be seen as the monstrous goddess of degeneration, a creature of evil who lorded it over all the horrifically horned beasts which populated man's sexual nightmare.[12]

In the art of the time, whether from the Pre-Raphaelites or from the scions of the British Academy, we find repeated symbols of this destroyer of morality: a woman gazing into a mirror or skrying in a chalice; women depicted with large birds, bats, spiders, serpents, or beasts (most often feline)—generally

merging into or out of one another; unbound hair; broken or falling flowers; a loosely draped shawl or corsetless gown; any suggestion of the Egyptian or Oriental; cauldrons, books, boxes; poppies, apples, pomegranates; and the colors bright red and emerald green. According to Susan Casteras, the depiction of children playing at cards alluded to "mischief, evil, deception, vanity, and even amorousness, for the dangers of love were part of this game of chance."[13] And for female members of a magical society known as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, who not only donned Egyptian robes and read books of magic but also divined the future with the cards of the Tarot, no other proof of their iniquity was required.

Those who were first to adopt the lifestyle of the New Woman suffered social ostracism. For example, Irish suffragettes refused any public association with the mysterious and entrancing Maud Gonne because her image would be detrimental to their cause. In plays and novels, even those written sympathetically, the New Woman succumbs to hysteria or madness; she becomes physically ill or dies—often by her own hand; she *always* faces an unhappy end. Society is based upon order, which has no place for an independent, self-sufficient woman.

In reality, these women existed, and they, in fact, changed society. As outcasts they were unacknowledged, but that very inability of society to see who they were and what they accomplished gave them a particular power that today we find incomprehensible. Simply being outside the norms of society made them appear to be mysterious enchantresses. The fact that the women of the Golden Dawn were truly magicians took them even further beyond society's boundaries. They trafficked in all the symbols of the destroyer of morality as described by Dijkstra. In fact, two of them had strong associations with suspect animals: Annie, called Tabbie or Puss, appropriated the attitudes and mannerisms of a cat, and Maud was seldom seen without a bevy of beasts including exotic parrots and monkeys, and gigantic dogs with legendary names. Both Moina and Florence staged public performances of the mysteries of ancient Egypt, chanting reverberating but incomprehensible phrases through clouds of Oriental incense; even offstage, they favored loose, corsetless, Grecian lines in their gowns, like those the dancer Isadora Duncan would adopt a decade or two later.

These women accepted the projections that others fixed on them and lived them to the fullest extent of their power. Appropriating so well the symbols of decadence, they could rarely be seen for who they really were. This view has not changed in the intervening hundred years. To most of their biographers and social commentators (then and now) they seemed merely naughty, spankable children, playing dangerously with powers beyond their limited understanding, dressing in wanton garb simply to titillate and fulfill

the lust and fantasies of the repressed male voyeur. In Levenson's final chapter on Maud Gonne, called "Death of a Charmer," he dwells on her countless wrinkles and cavernous beauty, quoting one man who said "there was witchcraft in her voice," and another who avowed "there was a touch of magic about her."[14] Such praise has cost millions of women their lives. Adrian Frazier has deemed Annie Horniman a "rich vulgarian" who "did not possess . . . a 'real, essential power' within."[15] Thus, in order to deny them any power, the Golden Dawn women have been referred to as persons of "some interest"; as "more of a propagandist" than "fresh" or "effective"; or as "inadequate," "*quasi*-professional," and "second always" to those of true ability and genius, whom they *served* as scribes, muses, mediums, and intermediaries (my italics). Their greatest claim to fame, the justification for any remembrance, and the excuse for their supposed mediocrity is their physical beauty—a charge from which only Annie Horniman has escaped, although her wealth is found to be an appropriate substitute.

Nina Auerbach, in *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth,* shows how four central paradigms animate a pervasive Victorian vision of a mobile female outcast with divine and demonic powers: the Angel in the House, the Demon, the Old Maid, and the Fallen Woman. Auerbach argues that the fear of such disruptive, self-creating figures is what produces the sanctioned ideal of the dutiful, family-bound woman. The women of the Golden Dawn are self-creating figures whose societal mobility was, in part, a result of their outcast status. And each of them represents one of Auerbach's four central paradigmatic types.

Moina Mathers manifests the characteristics of what Auerbach calls the Angel of the House. Angel and house were seen as synonymous, creating an association between womanhood and domestic purity. Moina, pledged in a celibate marriage to MacGregor Mathers, forsook everything for him and in turn assumed unprecedented power as his personal goddess, his Priestess of the Goddess Isis. She was like Auerbach's "solitary self-referential divinity who takes all saving power to herself. . . . Replacing decadent and masculine theological imagery with the freestanding if fenced-in image of a female God."[16] Moina as Priestess, celibate in her purity, truly Angel, became the magical transmediator in the house. Elaine Showalter points out that "many New Women envisioned themselves as chaste yet maternal heralds of a higher race . . . female sexuality is purged, projected, or transcended."[17] Even MacGregor Mathers, who initially emulated the alchemist Christian Rosenkreutz—symbol of the "higher genius" in the Golden Dawn—would become a worshiper of the Goddess Isis who resurrects Osiris.

The Angel is the paradigm of woman as creator of man's soul, the source of

every worthy aspiration, the center of oneself, the circle of life, the unmoved mover. As Angel, Moina is militant rather than nurturing, a defender of a faith called Mathers—made in her own image. Moina's dedication to Mathers, and later to the perpetuation of the magical organization he created, was that of service to her own unquestioning ideal. In renouncing her personal artistic career for the sake of his work, she opted for the purity of spiritual idealism over the impurity of worldly pursuits.

The other face of the Angel is the Demon. Women exist only as spiritual extremes, says Auerbach,[18] giving examples of such polarities as the virgin or the whore, the saint or the sinner, Madonna or Lilith, the angel or the serpent; she must be either divine or demonic. Maud Gonne fits this image of the Demon, who, Auerbach contends, "has wit and intelligence but is humiliatingly dependent and aware of it."[19] Maud would become very aware of her dependency on the goodwill of the people of Ireland and of her need for men to substantiate her work. As the mistress of a married Frenchman and mother of two illegitimate children, she is siren, mermaid, demon-lover, serpent, the agent of the fall from grace. She keeps William Butler Yeats enchanted for twenty years, and she inspires him to write plays that will cause the Irish to rise violently against their keepers. As Cathleen ni Houlihan in the play Yeats wrote for her, she lures men away from the family hearth to a certain death for Mother Ireland. In marrying John MacBride, she draws him to his own destruction; he discovers that his wife will be no "servant of the home."

The Demon, according to Auerbach, emerges from a longing for power that is intense and frustrated, and provides an active momentum for the works in which she figures—in Maud's case, both political and poetic. Yeats was infuriated and fascinated by her "desire for power and excitement." Like the Angel, the Demon is magically free from change. "She resists continual mutation: her [unchanging] face is her emblem of her kinship with eternity."[20] Maud is immortalized both in the poetry of Yeats and in the recorded memories of all those who came in contact with her—a Helen without Troy, as Yeats was to envision her. "The angel becomes a demon by realizing the implications of her being."[21] Maud tells Yeats that she fears she is damned for eternity for wishing to sell her soul to the Devil in exchange for control over her own life.

Auerbach sees the Old Maid as representing both a "familiar domestic appendage and a frightening social harbinger" within Victorian culture.[22] A self-proclaimed spinster, Annie Horniman never married. Englishmen saw no productive role for a woman who did not directly serve a man and his family. With inherited money under her own control, and alienated from her family, Annie traveled extensively and independently, studied arts and metaphysics, and brought her own creative vision of a new kind of English theatre to birth.

Unlike the rest of humanity with its mundane commercial and domestic tribulations, the Old Maid is forever exiled from a place at the hearth. She is always only a visitor, or as Auerbach characterizes the spinster, a "heroic exile" with "freedom of locomotion," who travels "to dramatize her heroic self-creation."[23] While the spinster was no longer the image of the witch but was rather a "plaintive variant of the angel in the house," she still assumed a shaping power over herself and her world, which Auerbach sees as that of an authentic hero remaking herself out of the odyssey of her exile.[24] Thus Annie self-creates, as can only those who live outside the models consciously established by society. She has a psychic life of "silence, exile and cunning."

Old Maids are often seen in literature as hidden saints, chosen spirits, or great souls. Spinsterhood makes such a woman a finer, stronger being with a potent, though unmentionable, authority arising from a sense of her "life's special import." Annie Horniman finds her own specialness in several activities: In becoming a magician she obtains powers over the unseen forces of nature, giving her an ability to heal, to judge personalities, and to achieve foreknowledge of the value and timing of actions. Through the theatre she is able to influence the world of drama and the culture of a nation, ultimately giving birth to a theatre of ideas. Finally, she has the opportunity to nurture genius and simply to help people in need.

As a spinster, Annie is set apart often by her loneliness and her need to find a union, if not with an individual, then with the opportunities of the times. "The old maid displays not merely superiority of soul but of heart as well.... Old maids are secret and passionate emotional gamblers, willing to forfeit security for the solitary intensity of hopeless love."[25] Annie's passions—for Moina, for Yeats, for the theatre, and for the dream of artistic creativity behind them all—gives her the power to remake her world. The role of Old Maid allows her to escape from the ordinary, to forge her own path. Her ability transforms her from victim into leader, heralding the future of the race. Being outside the norms of society, what she creates is more than society "normally" allows.

Fallen Women, like Old Maids, are also exiles from conventional family experience. Both live beyond traditional morality; both are associated with exile, "so the fallen woman flamboyantly acts out the spinster's seditious, if submerged, heroic myth," says Auerbach.[26] Thus Florence Farr was the shadowy alter ego of Annie Horniman, carrying the projection of Annie's banished "evils." As a hardworking and dedicated actress, she had a potential for fame, wealth, glamour, and prestige not available to other women, and a freedom of behavior that went along with being a "public woman."

"A woman's fall is imagined as almost the only avenue through which she is allowed to grow."[27] This is because in her fall lies the potential for redemp-

tion and thus for renewal of self. A woman's emblem is the moon, which stands for mutability through its waning and waxing cycles. Her "power of metamorphosis... allows her to destroy and reconstruct her world."[28] And so Florence Farr renews herself through the roles of actress, divorced woman, agent for change within the Golden Dawn, public defender of the rights of women, college principal, Theosophist, and mystic. Her triumphs are obscured by the seeming tragedy of her death in exile, but the image of exile also promises the potential birth of a stronger, saving race that will reemerge like the phoenix.

Florence Farr transcended all the images that men tried to make of her. Shaw wanted to mold her into his own image of an actress, attempting to act out in real life the story that he later fictionalized in his play *Pygmalion*. Farr's spiritual potency—as head of Isis-Urania and of the Sphere Group, as alchemist and mystical writer—emerges from the transformative power of her fall. She raged against the lie she was expected to live, defying its potency: "Can't you understand what it is when a girl grows up and finds out bit by bit everything she has been taught and told is a pack of lies.... It's the governesses, it's the nurses, it's the silly novels, it's other girls. It makes me shudder when I think what a world of shams I'm living in, and what a sham I am myself," cries one of the heroines in her novel, *The Dancing Faun*.[29] She decides for herself that "freedom is beauty, and gives beauty."[30]

Fallen Women are often oddly bereft of erotic life, and Florence, despite her freedom to choose her own sexual partners and despite a public pronouncement of her promiscuity by her lover, George Bernard Shaw, found sex to be ungraceful and unaesthetic. "The close knowledge of weaknesses very seldom permits the affection to show through the contempt," she said.[31] Elaine Showalter describes how Farr's contemporary, the novelist Olive Schreiner, "came to believe that her generation of feminists had been called upon to sacrifice their sexuality and their opportunities for love in order to secure the future freedom of other women. Until New Men were educated to appreciate the love of free women, the most advanced women would be doomed to celibacy and loneliness."[32]

Henrik Ibsen's plays shook European and British complacency when translated and performed in the 1890s: Florence Farr was one of his first leading ladies, portraying Rebecca West in *Rosmersholm*. In essence, Ibsen's plays show how women are most degraded through serving the imagination and stimulating the genius of man. Ibsen dealt the death blow to conventional family values by having his heroines come face to face with the charade of conventional morality and by showing that the upholders of that morality are full of error, inconsistency, and even evil. He demonstrates how moral thinking is inherently immoral, a travesty and hypocritical facade which no right-

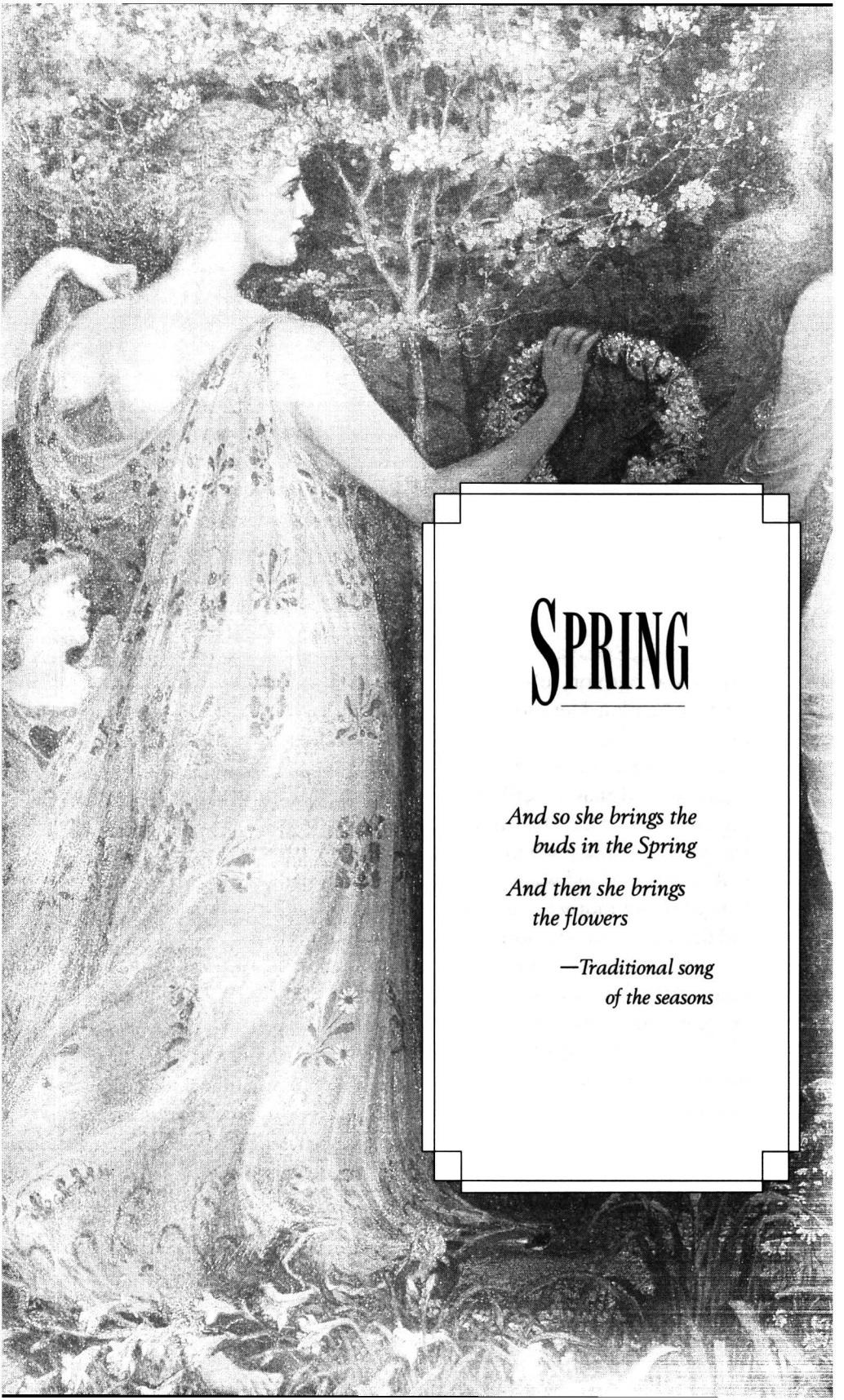
thinking person could possibly condone. Yet emancipation spells crisis. Via Ibsen's new vision, women could choose to leave their homes but only if they accepted the often drastic consequences. Having rejected the values of their society, they would have to search for their own sense of spiritual purpose in a mechanistic world.

When women learned to say *no* to their "physical and intellectual betters" (as all men considered themselves), they became outcasts. Maud said *no* to British rule and to Yeats's all-engulfing love. Florence said *no* to becoming a governess; she also said *no* to becoming the puppet-actress Shaw wanted her to be—for which he never forgave her. Annie said *no* to marriage and the conventions of her family. Moina said *no* to her Jewish heritage and to motherhood, choosing celibacy instead.

Existing only as extremes of society, Victorian outcasts were ego-driven isolates whose ability to transcend cultural restrictions made them disruptive and, at the same time, worshiped. Their magical powers took the form of secrecy and kinship with eternity that yielded a dangerous potential to reverse life's familiar order. They exchanged humiliating dependency for heroic exile in order to remake themselves and the world around them.

As an oracle of the Goddess, the female outcast speaks as prophetess of times to come, interpreter of dreams of an unrevealed future. Outcasts are at home in the world of magic and infinite change. Their individual personalities merge with that of legend. Becoming vehicles of immortality, they self-create their own myths, weave a spell over poets and artists, and spread a belief in transcendence that heralds the future. "As the classical anthropologist [and friend of Florence Farr] Jane Ellen Harrison once expressed it, a myth is not something that springs 'clean and clear' out of the imagination, but is rather a *response* to the environment, an interaction between the mind and its external world" (my italics).[33]

Outcasts are the response to their repressive environment, the vital answer to the question: "Is this all there is?" Therefore they postulate *what isn't yet*, what has been excluded, or not yet born. With wit, intelligence, passion, and pain, they glory in their own apotheosis. Through their ecstatic and defiant self-transfiguration, they become creatures of their own creation. The political and cultural realities of our own time thus took substance from the experience of outcast women of former times such as the four women in this book. Their mythic personal histories, fired in the alchemical alembic of the Golden Dawn, are for us also a golden dawn, a symbol of inspired recognition of divine selfhood.



SPRING

And so she brings the
buds in the Spring

And then she brings
the flowers

—Traditional song
of the seasons



Florence Farr

Florence Beatrice Farr, the eldest of these four women of the Golden Dawn, was born on July 7, 1860, at 6:27 A.M. in Bromley, Kent, on the outskirts of London. Her mother was already forty-three, and the nearest of her four siblings, Henrietta, was seven years older. Florence was the unexpected child of her parents' old age.

As Bernard Shaw described Florence's family circumstances: "Florence was the daughter of Dr. William Farr, famous as a sanitary reformer in the mid-nineteenth century when he and Sir Edwin Chadwick were forcing us to realize that England was dying of dirt. Florence had been born unexpectedly long after her mother had apparently ceased childbearing: she was possibly indulged as a welcome surprise on that account."[1]

Florence's father, William Farr, was the son of a farm laborer. Raised and educated by his father's employer, he studied medicine in London and Paris, becoming an apothecary, and was later awarded an honorary degree as M.D. He had his first career break as editor of the *British Annals of Medicine* and was recognized for his understanding of the new statistical techniques in the equally new science of hygiology (hygiene).

In 1842 he married Mary Elizabeth Whittal of Shropshire, his second wife (the first died of consumption, leaving no children). Mary bore eight children within a span of seventeen years, but only six lived past childhood, only three married, and only one (Henrietta) had children.

By 1855 William Farr had begun an almost daily correspondence with hospital-sanitation planner Florence Nightingale over their mutual involve-

ment in the public health crisis. She was so revered in his home that he gave her name to his youngest child, who would have taken in Nightingale's achievements as part of her earliest nourishment.

Florence Nightingale, born in 1820 to a wealthy upper-class family, was heralded as the founder of modern nursing during the Crimean War; yet she was, in fact, more of an administrator concerned with sanitation than a nurse. When her mother demanded, upon her return from the Crimea, that she give up this highly improper work, Nightingale responded by becoming an invalid. She remained bedridden for more than twenty years, yet continued to direct a massive reform movement that changed universal medical practices. She was among the first, with the assistance of William Farr, to apply the principles of statistics to military and civilian hospitals, and she developed a cost-accounting system that was in continuous use until after World War II. Upon her mother's death, Florence Nightingale, then in her sixties, promptly rose from her sickbed and reentered the world.[2]

From Nightingale, Florence Farr learned that a woman could make her mark in a man's world, but she also recognized the determination and courage it took to do so. "Give us back our suffering," cried Nightingale in her rebellious essay *Cassandra*. "Passion, intellect, moral activity—these three have never been satisfied in woman."[3] William Farr saw that the most effective agents for improving the health of the country's civil population must be its women.[4] He promised himself that his daughter Florence would be well-educated to meet that need.

When she was thirteen Florence was sent from home to the Cheltenham Ladies' College in Gloucestershire, where she stayed with a cousin. At sixteen her whole life began to change; she fell in love and became fatuously engaged. She wrote of that year, 1876, later in a horoscope: "Very bad year." Not only did the engagement fail (with probable embarrassment), but her father became seriously ill with dysentery, and then a week before Christmas her mother suddenly died.

The next year she began studies at Queen's College, only recently opened as the first college for women in London. Her previous education qualified her for the Second Junior Term, and she continued through the First Senior Year with good marks. But by the Lent term of 1878 she was no longer taking a regular course of study; her inherent rebelliousness and independent nature were surfacing, although it is clear that she loved learning when she was permitted to follow her own interests. She left Queen's College in 1880 and on her horoscope wrote: "Good."

After his recovery, William Farr became a census commissioner, assembling reports and statistics on causes of deaths and establishing the first actuarial tables used by insurance companies. In 1879 he moved back to London

anticipating promotion to registrar-general at Somerset House, where he would be responsible for all the statistical records of births, marriages, deaths, and the England census. But the position was granted to the more politically favored Sir Brydges Henniker. Farr resigned and went into an immediate mental decline that led to his death via brain paralysis within three years. Decades later, Florence wrote of this period with still-remembered horror:

> I do not think any other training has such an effect on the young as that long watching of a case of senile paralysis: to see some capable strong-minded man . . . gradually change; the body just a little feebler month by month . . . the intellect evaporating and the friend one knew vanishing and needing nothing but the attentions that a one-year-old child requires of its nurse. To watch this heart rending disease saps all one's belief in the immortality of intellect and in the values of individual endeavour.[5]

Her sister Henrietta had married Henry Paget, an artist, in 1881—leaving only Florence to care for her father. She took a teaching position, knowing that she might soon be required to earn her own living, but within a year conceded that she had failed at teaching. Yet Florence, in the words of her namesake Miss Nightingale, realized that "the family . . . is too narrow a field for the development of an immortal spirit, be that spirit male or female."[6] She needed to find a place outside the home to apply herself.

Florence then decided on a career in acting. Nightingale had herself noted that it was one of the few areas where a woman could exercise her mental faculties: "Women, while they are young, sometimes think that an actress's life is a happy one . . . because in the morning she studies, in the evening she embodies those studies. . . . With such exercise of faculty, there is no end to the progress which may be made."[7] Florence first studied Shakespeare and "step-dancing" with the actor-manager J. L. Toole, who had a theatre at Charing Cross. The plays produced by Toole were "low comedy," designed to entertain the Cheapside masses. They featured himself as the star performer, leaving the other actors to stumble through their parts with no more than a single rehearsal.

Elizabeth Robins, an actress who later became a friend of Florence's, described what a woman experienced on the stage in those days:

> The strangulation of this role and that through arbitrary stage management, was an experience we had shared with men. But we had further seen how freedom in the practice of our art, how the bare opportunity to practice it all, depended, for the actress, on considerations humiliatingly different from those that confronted the actor. The stage career of an actress was inextricably involved in the fact that she was a woman and that those who were masters of the theatre were men. These considerations did not belong to art; they stultified art.[8]

Florence described her own experience with Toole in her biographical novel, *The Dancing Faun*, about a young actress. "He would turn on his most favored fair one the moment she overstepped the bounds with which his vanity entrenched him, saying, 'Am I the stage manager of this theatre or are you, madam?' This outburst would be followed by language unfit for publication, and days of sullen anger, the clouds only departing after the most complete self-humiliation of the offending one."[9]

Margot Peters, in writing about the actresses in the life of Bernard Shaw, comments that most actresses were "seen as merely an appendage to the actor-manager, someone to set off his acting by never competing with it."[10] Also, actresses were generally considered to be loose women and their profession not readily distinguishable from that of prostitution. Florence concluded that "the stage isn't a fit place for a woman unless she is a first rate actress; she must be able to boss the show or quit."[11]

On the other hand, Nina Auerbach points out that

> acting was one of the few professions whereby a woman could transcend her prescribed social function of self-negating service to live out her own myth: to an intelligent passionate woman the stage offered authority and fame, wealth, glamour, emotional and sexual freedom, and even, in the "Ibsenized" theatre of the 1880's and 1890's, a network of feminist thought and activity. The questionable social position of the early Victorian actress enhanced her mythic freedom.[12]

So playing the part of the young ingénue in such plays as *Uncle Dick's Darling* and *Mrs. Guffin's Elopement* gave Florence a sense of freedom from home and her father's sickbed. Florence used her own name during daytime matinées, when it was more likely that her family and friends would attend, but took a pseudonym—Mary Lester—in the evenings to protect her reputation and especially to keep the men in attendance from knowing who she was.

In April 1883, only two months after Florence's first attempts at professional acting, her father died. He left an annuity of £50 a year to each of his three unmarried daughters—just barely enough for a single person to maintain a meager existence. In consideration of his notable contributions to England, Florence Nightingale and others petitioned for increased pensions for Farr's daughters, but these were rejected. Henceforth, Florence's acting career became an economic necessity.

She moved in with her sister and brother-in-law, the Pagets in Bedford Park, and continued acting at Toole's. It was about a year later that she met Edward Emery, age twenty-three, one year younger than Florence. Formerly with the resident company of the Royal Princess's Theatre in Glasgow, and the Sadler's

Wells Company, Edward's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been well-known actors on the London stage since the mid-1700s. Having recently interred his actor-manager father, he found communion with Florence in the loneliness of being orphaned.

They subsequently toured together in a play called *The Private Secretary,* and on the last day of December 1884, after a whirlwind romance heightened by the allure of traveling, they married in Chiswick. "We all have our moments of weakness," she explained later in *The Dancing Faun.* "In one of these he married this child, who was full of dreams, full of ambition, full of hopes, wild as only those of a young actress who has made her first success can be. . . . She married him at a registry office, and disappeared from the stage."[13]

"Not only is first love innocent and valiant, but it sweeps aside all the wise laws it has been taught, and burns away experience in its own light," described Florence in another book. "Young English girls," she continued, "are very apt to mistake a feeling of gratified vanity and the emotion of a new sensation for love of some special man who happens to make love to them at the propitious moment."[14] Truly, it was "innocent and valiant" of them both to attempt a romantic love in the face of cold, bare rooms in cheap lodgings.

Florence soon found she hated housework and cooking. She must have felt relieved during the long separations when Edward played with a touring company, except that his earnings always seemed to disappear before he could bring them home. Now a respectable wife, she no longer appeared on the stage herself but found her mind slipping into desuetude and boredom. To make matters worse, she found that the marital niceties and affections could disappear in the face of absences, misunderstandings, and ordinary realities such as laundry and dirty dishes.

"The average working man," she complained, "marries a housekeeper, a cook, a maid-of-all-work . . . [and devotes] his thoughts to business, to betting, to cards, to golf, or any other amusement he may select to ensure that he may not become a 'dull man.'"[15] She grew disenchanted when she found that "romance and domesticity are not a very suitable combination."[16]

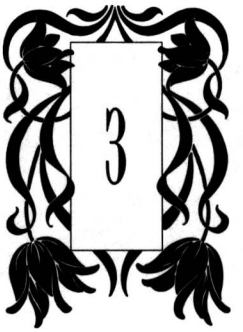
Florence demonstrated her unhappiness by refusing to do housework or cook, and on some days had not the energy to even get out of bed. Edward worked sporadically and she not at all. Her £50 a year was far too little to support two people, especially when one of them seemed to have been an inveterate gambler (as hinted by various friends and family). "He loved his profession; he loved trotting along the Strand and turning in to 'have a drink' with all the cronies he met in his progress. He also loved racing," is how Florence described the actor in *The Dancing Faun.*[17]

Florence, the pampered youngest child of elderly parents, raised to be independent, responded to the traumatic death of her father with a hasty bid



FLORENCE FARR AS A YOUNG WOMAN

for happiness through marriage, only to find herself more alone than ever. Into the bargain, she was now also poorly provided for, intellectually bored, and emotionally distraught at the loss of her romantic illusions. Worst of all, she found herself trapped in a loveless marriage with a morally weak and increasingly profligate husband.



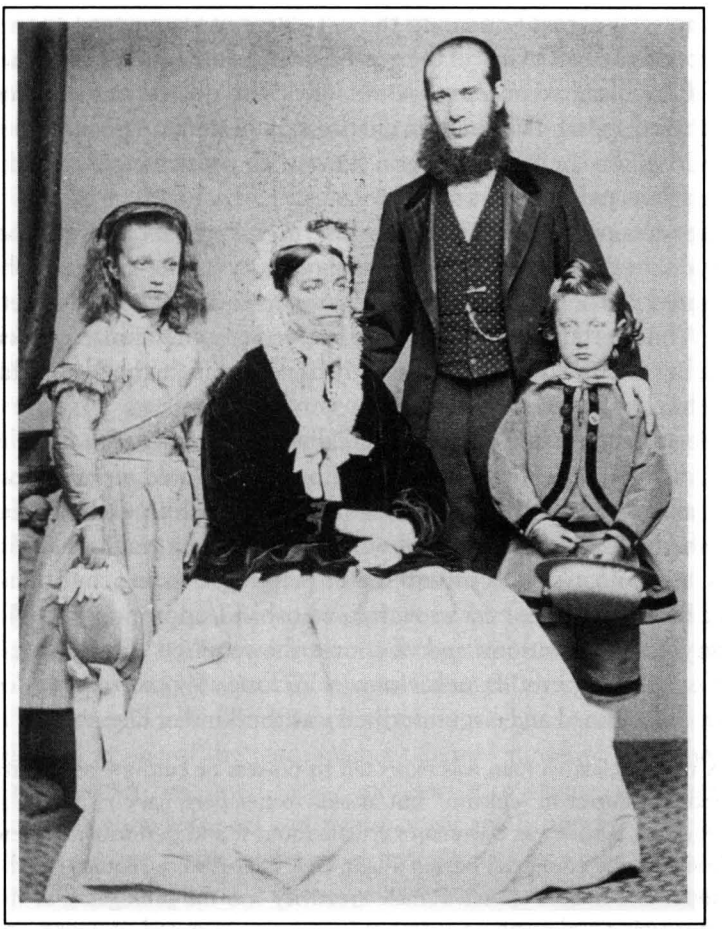
Annie Horniman

The years 1860 and 1861 saw the births of Anton Chekhov, Rudolf Steiner, Alfred North Whitehead, Gustav Mahler, and Claude Debussy. The first internal combustion engine was patented in Paris. George Eliot's *Silas Marner* was published, as was Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations*. Civil War began in the United States, and Europe was stricken with a major drought. Prince Albert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning died. Into this milieu, Annie Elizabeth Fredericka Horniman was born in Forest Hill, a suburban village southeast of London, on October 3, 1860, at 7:35 P.M.[1]

Her grandfather, John Horniman, from a Quaker family of cabinetmakers and educated at the Quaker school at Ackworth, had made his fortune with the Horniman Tea Company by being the first to put tea into individual serving bags. He was considered a responsible and judicious man, gave generously to good causes, lived a simple though comfortable life, and used the Quaker form of address of "thee" and "thou" throughout his life. Known as an individualist, he rebelled against convention when it countered his conscience; for instance, he refused to wear mourning clothes, which he considered a pagan custom. (His granddaughter Annie seems to have been much like him.) John had married his stepsister, Ann Smith, the daughter of his mother's second husband, and had two sons, the younger named Frederick John.

Frederick proved himself quite different from his father. Born to wealth, he spent it freely. Traveling widely in foreign countries, he always brought back personal treasures in his tea ships; at first he stored them in a stable, but later he constructed an entire building as his private museum.

In 1859, when Frederick was twenty-four years old, he married Rebekah



ANNIE HORNIMAN WITH HER MOTHER, FATHER, AND BROTHER, EMSLIE

Emslie, a woman ten years his senior. Eighteen months later Annie was born, and three years after that her brother, Emslie John, arrived; they were the only children of their parents. As a Liberal member of parliament for Falmouth, Annie's father eventually joined the Church of England, which more befitted his position than the Quaker faith of his father, but throughout most of her childhood the family was Congregationalist.

All the while, Frederick's "treasures" arrived by the shipload, reflecting his eclectic interests in entomology, musicology (he imported hundreds of drums and stringed instruments), cultural artifacts, elaborate costumes and armor, and archaeological finds. The Horniman home on Surrey Mount crowned a fifteen-acre private walled park. From the house, Annie could see in one direc-

tion completely across London to the hill village of Hampstead. In the opposite direction she had a view of the green Surrey countryside. Inside the house the children inhabited an exotic world filled with objects of magic and mystery at their disposal. The children did dress-up performances in Chinese brocade court gowns or African animal skins, with props of rare carved woods before backdrops of ancient tapestries.

Annie was a pretty child with large blue eyes, long, wavy red-gold hair, and clear, fair skin, but she lost this fairy-tale beauty as she grew up. She later commented, "When pretty children grow up to be *ugly* that is better for them." While certainly never ugly, she affected an unfashionable severity by keeping her darkened hair pulled tightly back, seeking to be plain, which she seemed to equate with integrity.

Annie and Emslie had an isolated childhood with only each other as playmates. Educated at home by Emslie's tutor, Annie doted on history and the classics, and she learned to speak German and French fluently, languages to which she later added Italian. She was also taught the traditional Victorian upper-class woman's skills of watercolor painting, dancing, and music. Her mother Rebekah did not travel with her husband, appropriate to Victorian propriety and conventions, and of course she required Annie to dress and deport herself "properly." Pamela Nunn in *Victorian Women Artists* describes how socially defined and circumscribed was this kind of life:

> A middle-class woman was expected to possess or cultivate sensitivity and an interest in "culture," but as aids to her personal charm, not as work. . . . As long as a woman's artistic interest and performance were leisurely, she could call herself a lady, and "ladies" were required in the upper and middle classes. Female creativity was the prerogative of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy and defined as amateur and unskilled, and desirably so. "An English lady without her piano, or her pencil, or her fancy work, or her favorite French authors and German poets, is an object of wonder, and perhaps of pity. . . . All accomplishments have the one great merit of giving a lady something to do; something to preserve her from ennui; to console her in seclusion; to arouse her in grief, to compose her to occupation in joy."[2]

Although they were not generally puritanical, Annie's parents considered the theatre a sinful place—it was forbidden to her and Emslie, and she did not see a pack of playing cards until she was nearly an adult. But Annie asserted her independence early. At seven she had decided that women should have the vote. At thirteen she clandestinely went with her German governess and her brother to the Crystal Palace to see *The Merchant of Venice*, and after that she constructed her own miniature stage with scenery and costumed players for whom she wrote dialogues, thus producing her first plays.

Soon she was given her own suite of rooms in the house, which afforded her privacy, but she was never allowed outdoors without a suitable companion. And, with this privacy, by the age of seventeen, she began rebelliously to smoke cigarettes, an unheard-of activity for a young woman in the 1870s. She continued to smoke heavily all her life, using a thick, dark holder that itself looked like a cigar, thus starting the legend much later in theatrical circles of her cigar-smoking. Being forthright and blunt in her attitudes and speech, she argued endlessly with her parents and disdained the protocols regarding guests and social occasions. Yet she met and knew many wealthy and privileged persons within her social class and was introduced to royalty.

In 1879 the Comédie Française came to London and, as it was the fashionable event of the social season, Annie was allowed to attend. From this time on, she became a passionate theatregoer. By 1881, as she was about to turn twenty-one, her parents agreed to a European tour for her and eighteen-year-old Emslie. They began in Paris, where they were both enraptured by the new Impressionist paintings they saw exhibited there. By the time they returned to England, both had decided to study art seriously.

On October 3, 1882, Annie's twenty-second birthday, she enrolled at the Slade School of Art on Gower Street. Among the relatively small student body of 150 men and women, Annie soon met a young woman who was to strongly influence her life. Mina Bergson, only eighteen years old, was already acknowledged as one of the Slade's most talented students. With her dark curly hair, mesmerizing good looks, and Jewish mystique, her fluency in French, and her knowledge of Continental music and European culture, Mina must have fascinated Annie, epitomizing her idea of the exotic art world that she was so hopeful of entering. These two women, opposite in social standing, family background, religion, appearance, and expectations, became heartfelt friends.

The Slade was, among other things, Annie's excuse for freedom. After many arguments with her family, they finally agreed that if a maid accompanied her she could go to school by train and bus (rather than family carriage), but soon she was slipping away to make the journey alone. At school she discovered that she had no great artistic talent, but she did learn to be a fair copyist and, more importantly, she developed a love and understanding of art.

Annie was soon given the nickname "Tabbie." The story goes that "a male student, sitting behind her, remarked that her head, from his position, looked exactly like that of a cat; her hair, recently cropped and taken up at the sides, giving the appearance of ears."[3]

In the summer of 1884 she actualized her dream of going to the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth. While in Germany she had the unforgettable experience of seeing Franz Liszt play. From this time on she attended every Wagner

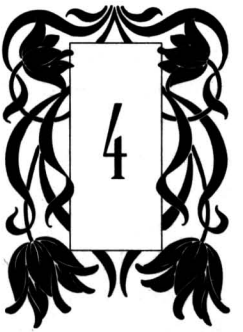
Festival but one until World War I, and she began what were to be frequent trips to the Continent, particularly to observe the avant-garde theatre productions appearing throughout Europe. This type of theatre was virtually unknown in England, where the public paid only to see comic operas, romantic melodramas, and Shakespearean standards. As a result, Annie gained an acute awareness of a subsidized theatre that creatively encouraged and developed new playwrights and serious drama. Her favorite city was Munich, with its clean streets and river, and she especially liked the beer.

In November of 1886 Emslie married Laura Plomer. Laura had been a friend of Annie's, but as her brother's involvement grew, Annie's amiability lessened. She and Emslie had been companions and best friends all their lives, but now Annie uncomfortably learned about the preclusiveness of marriage. Not only was she cut off from her brother, but her father had considerably enlarged his exhibits at Surrey Mount as he began to buy other collections, and now he was giving private showings by invitation. Her home was becoming a public museum.

Annie was raised in the conservative middle-class home of a wealthy merchant, whose religious choices leaned toward political expediency. Her father traveled the world collecting artifacts of natural history, trappings of strange cultures, and ritual paraphernalia, while her mother minded the domestic hearth. Theirs was a class in which, according to Florence Nightingale,

> women are never supposed to have any occupation of sufficient importance, . . . are not to talk of anything very interesting . . . [and are] to consider intellectual occupation as a merely selfish amusement. Women have no means given them, whereby they *can* resist the "claims of social life." They are taught from their infancy upwards that it is wrong, ill-tempered, and a misunderstanding of a "woman's mission" (with a great M) if they do not allow themselves *willingly* to be interrupted at all hours. . . . [Woman] must resign herself to her fate.[4]

In Annie's parents' world, marriage was the only *event* in a woman's life. However, Annie inherited her grandfather's eccentricities based on no-nonsense practicality and the Quaker ideal of increasing the quality of life for all humanity. Although she yearned for independence, fought the restrictions of family life, and sought the intellectual stimulation of higher education and travel, she must have felt betrayed when at twenty-six she suddenly lost her brother's companionship and the stability of her home.



Maud Gonne

Edith Maud Gonne was born on a full moon at the exact moment of the Winter Solstice. The planets Mercury and Neptune had both stopped their apparent backward march across the sky for a few days, hanging seemingly stationary before resuming their forward progression through the signs of the zodiac. Astrologically speaking, this sort of moment is associated with the birth of gods. This particular moment occurred on December 21, 1866, in Tongham, Surrey, near the military post at Aldershot. Maud was born in England, not in Ireland as she later led people to believe when creating her own myth of herself. From her autobiography we know only about what early influences she wished to acknowledge.[1]

Her father, Captain Thomas Gonne of the Seventeenth Lancers, issued from an English family of prosperous wine importers. Her mother, Edith Cook Gonne, came from an even more well-to-do trade family of London drapers. When her grandfather died in 1869, he left an estate of over £2 million, which at that time was an astounding fortune.

In 1868, when Maud was almost two years old, she moved with her parents to Ireland. Captain Gonne was among the troops stationed at Curragh to discourage revolts such as the Fenian Rising of the previous year. A sister, Kathleen, was born not long after they arrived.

Maud's mother soon became ill with tuberculosis; while passing through England on her way to Florence for a cure she died, on June 21, 1871, when Maud was only four years old and her sister almost three. Shortly before her mother died, Maud had brought some flowers home to give to her father. The

sadness in her mother's eyes when she realized the flowers were not for her became a childhood image of guilt that stayed with Maud throughout her life. The night before her death, Edith extracted her husband's promise to raise the girls himself. Edith had been orphaned early, then raised in boarding schools and by a variety of uncaring aunts, and she had a horror that the same thing might happen to her daughters. A frightened Maud remembered her father embracing her beside her mother's coffin and telling her in a strange and faraway voice, "You must never be afraid of anything, even of death."[2] Maud began her autobiography sixty-seven years later with this memory. The words, indelibly fixed in her mind, influenced her whole life. "If you have no fear, conscious or subconscious, I believe things will hardly ever harm you," she declared.[3] She deliberately set out to conquer fear. She trained herself to walk past overhanging shrubbery at night and later through forests where a man dare not walk alone. But her worst fears involved dreams of a veiled woman with dark, sad eyes, dreams that brought on fevers.

Early memories were of a mother who was "tall like a lily and beautiful" but often sad and listless, and of her quiet, acquiescent younger sister Kathleen. By contrast, her own energy and impulsiveness reflected her robust and dynamic father, a man who "loved life in all its many forms." Tommy, as she called her father, loved animals and gave animal names to his daughters, calling Maud "lamb" and Kathleen "bear"—a family joke based on their opposing temperaments.[4] Like her father, Maud was always to keep animals near her.

Because Maud showed signs of the same consumptive cough that carried off her mother (consumption was then the leading cause of death in women past childhood), the girls were relocated to the seaside at Howth, north of Dublin, in "an ugly little house" near the Bailey lighthouse, with their nurse Mary-Anne Meridith, called "Bow." Tommy visited on weekends. During the week Maud roamed the heather-strewn countryside, explored tide pools on the beach, and played with the local children. She cherished her memories of the hospitality of the people and visits to their simple cabins with colored pictures of the early Land League heroes—who had demanded tenants' rights from their English landlords—hanging side by side with pictures of Catholic saints.

In 1874, when Maud was eight, she and Kathleen were sent to live with relatives in London: first with their mother's aunt Augusta Tarlton and then with their great-uncle Frank Cook, both of whom were wealthy misers uninterested in children. With their playfulness blocked by strict regimens, the girls were soon bored and fading, until Uncle Frank's Portuguese wife, Emily, unhappily neglected and ghost-like herself, rescued them by telling Tommy that not only was Maud's health endangered but her French was abominable. So the girls were soon moved again, with their nurse, to a small villa in "a nest

of flowers" in the south of France between Cannes and Grasse.

During the years 1877–1883 Thomas Gonne was a military attaché in Vienna, then Bosnia, followed by India, and finally Saint Petersburg. Maud, Kathleen, and Nurse Bow remained at the Villa Fleurie, where an efficient French governess with republican leanings instilled ideals of independence in her admiring pupils.

The girls traveled to Geneva in the summer and to Rome in the winter in search of the best environment for Maud's lungs and their nurse's rheumatism. Tommy joined them whenever he could for cultural ramblings through cathedrals, museums, and art galleries, Maud playing the part of Tommy's companion. Maud at fourteen was already a towering five feet, ten inches tall, wore long dresses, and had red-gold hair long enough to sit on.

Maud received her first proposal of marriage in 1883, on a moonlit night in the Roman Coliseum, from a romantic and no doubt handsome Italian beau. She accepted him, but when Tommy received news of the engagement, he immediately fetched the girls to his new posting, this time in Ireland again.

From the age of sixteen until twenty, Maud lived with her father—now a colonel—in Dublin and acted as his hostess. Ireland was then garrisoned by more British forces than held the subcontinent of India, for the Phoenix Park murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke by extremist Fenians had occurred only the year before, and they were followed by a campaign of terrorism on both sides. Scarcely aware of these violent undercurrents, Maud lived in a world of Protestant dominion that held court at Dublin Castle, seat of English rule. She wore silks, rode horses in the park, and was the darling of ceremonial banquets and fancy-dress balls.

In March 1886 Maud, now a stunning six feet tall, was presented at the viceregal court in a dress shimmering with iridescent beads arranged like a fountain spilling onto a train of embroidered water lilies. Unbeknown to Maude, the young Lady Gregory also attended this ceremony and wrote of its opulence: "I have seen a crystallization of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world enough to last for a long time."[5] That evening Maud attracted the attention of the visiting Prince of Wales. This precipitated a precarious situation, for if she snubbed the philandering prince, it could ruin her father's career, but if she reciprocated, it would ruin her reputation. Her picture appeared in all the society papers as the latest beauty to rival Lillie Langtry and Lady Randolph Churchill. Colonel Tommy had to act fast. He dispatched her to her Aunt Mary, the Comtesse de la Sizeranne in Hamburg, whose chief hobby was launching professional beauties. The Prince of Wales followed. Discovering this, Tommy whisked Maud away to Bayreuth for the Wagner Festival and then home to Dublin.

Soon after, Maud went to stay at a country house in an area where

evictions of starving peasants from their land had been taking place. Her host was an ill-tempered, red-faced man who exclaimed, "That damned Land League [who were fighting the evictions] is ruining the country." He proceeded to denounce a man he had evicted for joining the League. On his way home, he said, he had seen Paddy Ward and his family lying in a ditch. "His wife doesn't look as if she was going to live till the morning," he told his guests. When Maud asked in protest why he hadn't done anything about it, he answered, "Let her die. These people must be taught a lesson."[6] Maud recorded this moment as her political awakening.

In her autobiography she states that she left the next morning and a few days later witnessed a great Land League procession with her father. Tommy had confined the British troops to their barracks to prevent any clashes, and now told Maud that he had made up his mind to leave the army and stand as a Home Rule candidate. He asked her to say nothing of this until he had sent in his resignation. But the next morning Tommy was not feeling well. Maud, not realizing that he was seriously ill, was feeling frustrated by the social and parental limitations placed on her. She sat by the fire and prayed to the Devil to "give her control of her own life and offered in return her soul."[7] The clock struck twelve, and she felt that her prayers had been heard and answered. Her father's illness grew worse. Maud dreamed of a funeral procession winding its way down to the sea. A coffin was hoisted onto a boat—something she had never seen before.

Ten days later Maud watched the same funeral procession as in her dream, as Tommy's coffin was lifted into a boat bound for England.[8] He had died of typhoid fever on November 30, 1886, at the age of fifty-one, less than a month before Maud's twentieth birthday. She had made her pact with the Devil and was filled with remorse, guilt, and a "strong subconscious conviction" that her soul was lost.[9]

How much of Maud's story of Thomas Gonne's interest in Home Rule for Ireland is true, we will never know. She repeatedly told reporters in America in 1897 that her family members were all conservative Loyalists.[10] It now seems that Tommy's conversion was part of a myth that Maud created to keep her love for her father in the face of her later hatred for the English.

Maud and Kathleen went to stay with Tommy's elder brother. Uncle William expected punctuality, attendance at family prayers before breakfast, and regular churchgoing. Maud responded with pneumonia. He demanded financial accounting of their pittance of an allowance, so she invented it a week in advance. He didn't want her outside the house during Socialist demonstrations, so she showed up at Trafalgar Square and stood on the speaker's platform.

When a young woman came to visit Uncle William one day, Maud realized

she was the woman for whom Tommy had written out a check on his last day alive. The woman claimed to have given birth to Tommy's baby six weeks previously, and she said she had no more money. Maud insisted that Uncle William help her, then went to see the baby. She would later help Mrs. Wilson obtain a position as governess to a Russian family and would take responsibility for raising her half-sister, Eileen.

Uncle William told Maud and Kathleen that Tommy had left them little money, so they had no choice but to be adopted by their great-aunt Augusta. Maud refused. With her cousins May and Chotie, the girls planned how to emancipate themselves. Tommy had once told her, "Will is a strange incalculable force. It is so powerful that if, as a boy, I had willed to be the Pope of Rome, I would have been the Pope."[11] Remembering now that "the power of will enables one to do anything," Maud decided that she would become an actress; her sister Kathleen and cousin Chotie would go to the Slade School of Art; and cousin May would study nursing. With money borrowed from Nurse Bow, they all began.

After four months, Maud, with some training from amateur drama and elocution lessons, was scheduled to appear as the leading lady in two plays for a theatrical touring company: One was an "abominable melodrama" and the other a play called *Heartsease*."[12] The posters were printed, with her name in large red letters, but on opening night Maud collapsed with a hemorrhage of the lungs. Then the truth emerged that William, with their best interests in mind, had lied about their financial means. Upon coming of age, Maud and Kathleen would actually be quite well off.

Maud departed with Aunt Mary and Kathleen for a "cure" at Royat in Auvergne, France. In her memoir she recounts how there, on a warm, muggy evening that felt ominous because of a coming thunderstorm, Maud was introduced to a tall Frenchman in his early thirties, who was also in Royat for his health. Maud was sure they had met before, although he demurred, and anyway, she couldn't think for the heat. Then the rain began to fall, with lightning and thunder. At the window she reached out to the rain and inhaled the intoxicating odor of wet earth, lush vegetation, and roses. Monsieur Lucien Millevoye followed her.

"Are you afraid of anything?" he asked over the clash of thunder.

"One must never be afraid of anything, not even of death," she answered. He kissed her dripping wet arm. The roses, the rain, the thunder, the kiss—this was life.

She met with Lucien every day. He told her of his personal dream to win back Alsace-Lorraine for France.

"With the help of a woman like you, a man could accomplish anything," he said.



MAUD GONNE AS A YOUNG WOMAN

"I am Irish and the whole of my country is enslaved," she responded.

"Why don't you free Ireland as Joan of Arc freed France? Let us make an alliance. I will help you to free Ireland. You will help me to regain Alsace-Lorraine."

She accepted the alliance, an alliance against the British Empire, a pact to death.[13] The relationship was destined; she was sure she had known Lucien in a previous life. Millevoye, as a disciple of the right-wing politician General Georges Boulanger, who many people thought would bring back the glory of the Napoleonic era to France, saw England as his enemy. He had the political connections and expertise to initiate Maud into the excitement of revolutionary activity. But this was more than just the political pact that she implies in her autobiography. Millevoye already had a wife and children from whom he lived apart. Since he and Maud could not marry, they became lovers.[14]

With health restored, Maud decided to visit her friend Lilla White, daughter of the British ambassador in Constantinople. Millevoye came to see her off at Marseilles; she bought a marmoset monkey that she appointed as chaperone, and Millevoye bought her a small revolver that became useful in Greece

when sailors tried to abduct her. In Constantinople she wanted to experience the "real life of the East" but found the customs impenetrable. She had to stop playing at being a Turkish princess in the embassy garden when a rumor circulated that the ambassador was keeping a harem.

Bored with the restricted life of a European woman in the Middle East, Maud traveled to Naples for the winter. Awaiting her was a telegram from Millevoye urging her to return to Paris. He had work for her to do. It was time to begin their alliance in earnest.

As soon as Maud arrived in Paris, Millevoye introduced her to Madame Juliette Adam, a republican who believed that an alliance with czarist Russia could protect them against any isolationist schemes that Germany and England had in mind. The Boulangists, now near the height of their popularity and greatly feared by the French government, wanted a proposal for a treaty contrary to British interests to be carried to the czar's chief advisor, Konstantin Pobedonostev. Anxious to demonstrate her political stand, Maud sewed the papers into her dress and left on the next train for Russia.

Stopped at the border because she lacked a signature on her passport, she managed to charm a fellow traveler into assisting her. Ironically, he was carrying the counterproposals from the Russian embassy in Berlin. Knowing just how close was the race, she delivered her papers to Pobedonostev first, thus helping to change the direction of European diplomacy and alliances.

Maud was the product of the contrast between the romantic figure of her permissive, cosmopolitan father and the dull, rigorous puritanism of her British relatives. England came to symbolize repression, both personal and political. Independence, which she associated with France and the French Revolution, became her religion. Haunted by guilts associated with the deaths of those she loved most, she let taboos and danger become her secret life.



Mina Bergson

On February 28, 1865, a child was born to a Polish Jew and the Irish-Jewish daughter of a Yorkshire doctor in the unlikely city of Geneva, Switzerland. Mina was the fourth of seven children born to Michel Gabriel Bergson and Katherine Levison, who were uprooted constantly in their search for a safe and supportive environment for Michel's musical genius.[1]

Michel Bergson descended from a distinguished Jewish family in Warsaw. His grandparents, Berek and Tamar Sonnenberg, built a synagogue in the Praga suburb in 1807, and their home was a meeting place for the Hasidim of Poland.[2] Michel was born there in 1818, maintaining strong connections with the Warsaw community throughout his life. His musical abilities were recognized early and he became a pupil of Chopin. Subsequently sent to study music in Germany, he trained as a pianist-composer, then traveled extensively, living in Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig, Paris, and Italy, and attained some distinction for his operas *Louisa de Montfort* and *Salvator Rosa*, which demonstrated inventive power, taste, and charm.[3]

At thirty-six he was living in Paris when he met and married twenty-six-year-old Kate Levison. They had three children within four years, but he was unable to find steady employment to support his growing family. Thus when he was invited to Geneva, Switzerland, to become the director of piano instruction at the Conservatoire de Musique, he readily accepted the opportunity. Jews had just obtained civil status in the canton (in 1857), and although he was recognized as "a fine interpreter of great music," influential families deplored having a Jew influence their daughters. Ultimately he was judged to

be a disagreeable character, who "could not properly direct" the staff instructors. It seems clear that, although he may have been temperamental, his students and the staff were responding largely from prejudice.[4]

Mina was only two and a half years old when the family suddenly left Geneva in midwinter and returned to Paris. During the next seven years, despite constant effort, her father was unsuccessful at finding consistent employment. In 1873 the family moved to a London suburb where the parents were to stay for the remainder of their lives.

Mina's mother, Kate Bergson, was described as a woman of refinement, humor, idealism, and Yorkshire practicality. According to her eldest son, Henri, she was "of superior intelligence, a religious soul in the highest sense of the word, whose goodness, devotion and serenity . . . almost saintliness, were the admiration of all."[5] Michel, on the other hand, at least to Henri, was proud, extravagant, and overemotional with a "rather gross . . . sensibility." He had an enthusiastic imagination and was fond of relating anecdotes. And, although generally good-natured, he could at times be malicious or spiteful.[6] This description, coupled with Michel's inability to hold employment, and Kate's "saintliness" (i.e., martyrdom), suggests the unstable environment of undiagnosed manic-depression.

After moving to England, Michel Bergson made his living as a piano teacher specializing in the Chopin method of instruction. He also collaborated with a Mr. Hast in the compilation and editing of synagogue music, and so the family's ties to the Jewish community remained strong. Mina was probably raised in a highly religious, possibly Orthodox, household.

Mina's brother Henri, holding the important distinction of eldest son in a Jewish family, was recognized by Paris's chief rabbi, Joseph Wertheimer, as a brilliant student. As a result, the nine-year-old boy (five and a half years older than Mina) was separated from his family and boarded at the Springer Institution in Paris while receiving a subsidized education at the Lycée Condorcet. He never lived with his family again.

Henri Bergson eventually became a teacher, joining the prestigious faculty of the College of France and becoming well known to the public for both his stirring lectures and his writings. His best-known book, *Creative Evolution,* presented his concept of the *élan vital,* or life urge. He postulated that the secret of life lies with the intuition, which is capable of perceiving the dynamism of time, and not with reason, which only deals with space. Thus he maintained that intuition, not scientific objectivity, is the truly creative and life-enhancing force of humanity. An impassioned speaker, Bergson made philosophy a topic of unparalleled public interest, and in 1912 a panel of Americans deemed his "rediscovery of the soul" the most significant event of that year.[7] The American philosopher William James admired his style: "It seduces

you and bribes you in advance to become his disciple. It is a miracle, and he a real magician."[8]

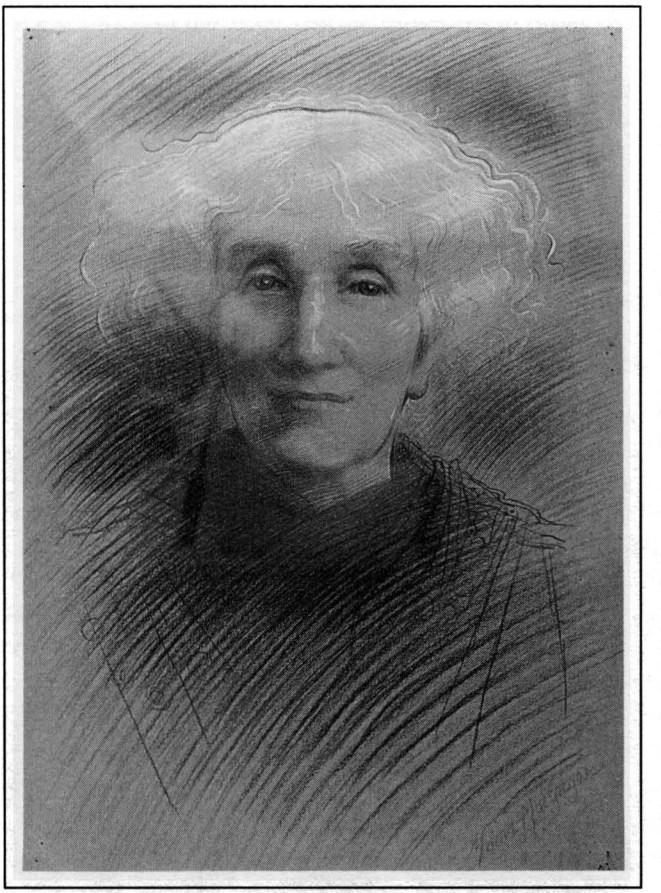
To Bergson, religion was dynamic, springing from mystically grounded activism in which God was a process, and the universe a space for birthing gods. Freedom of mind, working through the emotions to break down all barriers between individuals and nations, was essential to express the vital morality of such a vital religion.[9] In 1927 he won the Nobel Prize, the first Jew ever to do so. Although he had publicly expressed his affinity with Catholicism, at the start of World War II he rose from his deathbed for the public registration demanded of all Jews. He also refused personal exemption from restrictions placed on Jews and thus gave up his chair at the College of France just before he died. An exceedingly private man (like his sister Mina), his will required his personal papers to be burned without examination, so little is known of his personal life or that of his family.

Although Mina saw little of the brother she idealized while growing up, she was later to live near him in Paris for twenty-five years. It seems obvious that with their mutual interest in aspects of the spirit and in psychology (Henri became the president of the British Society for Psychical Research), they no doubt met often for discussion and probably argued over their differing perspectives.

Mina's brother Joseph, just two years older than she, eventually became a medical doctor in Berlin, where he was recognized for his knowledge of the classics and the Talmud.[10] A younger brother, Phillip, became a writer and actor (using the stage name Phillip Beaufort Barry) and moved to the United States around the time of World War II. Descendants of her younger brother, John Leslie, live in England and still include professional artists and musicians.[11]

Like her father and brothers, Mina began to develop her own talent early. In her case it was in art, in which she was encouraged. Raised in a household where piano lessons were given regularly, she must have played the piano herself and been knowledgeable about the musical world. In addition, she probably reflected the cosmopolitan air and sophistication of her parents. She spoke French like a native, it being her first language, and she was likely also fluent in German. In 1880, as an unusually talented and mature fifteen-year-old, she began attending the Slade School of Art.

The school had been founded in 1871 as an adjunct to London University, for training "fine artists" as opposed to those in "ornamental design." The Slade, directed by the Frenchman Alphonse Legros, was modeled after the French schools where male and female students studied the half-draped model together. Previously it had been considered proper for women to draw only from casts and statues, as direct knowledge of the body was considered not



KATHERINE BERGSON, DRAWN BY HER DAUGHTER, MINA

only improper but unnecessary. The prevailing view was that design, not fine art, was women's proper sphere. "It would be wiser if many who are now trying to win positions as painters and sculptors were to direct their energies and abilities into the less ambitious groove of applied art," advised the *Art Journal* in 1896.[12] Nevertheless, during the early years of the Slade, women students outnumbered men and were encouraged with scholarships. Mina was awarded a scholarship in 1883, which probably enabled her to continue her studies. She also won four merit certificates for drawing.[13] Her fine-arts certificates carried little prospect of her being able to support herself but indicated recognition of her talent. Although difficult to see in her later "spirit" drawings influenced by the Art Nouveau fashion, her skill in drawing is apparent in an evocative chalk drawing of her mother Kate.



MOINA MACGREGOR MATHERS, CIRCA 1895

Early in October 1882 Mina Bergson met Annie Horniman and began a close friendship that was to last, not unbroken, for their entire lives. Mina was called "Bergie" by Annie and her friends at the Slade, and like the others, she called Annie by her nickname of "Tabbie." Tabbie immediately recognized Bergie's artistic abilities and encouraged her to believe in herself as an artist. Later she was to provide Mina with funds to continue her studies in Paris.

In the summer of 1883, Mina's oldest sister, Juliette, married and left home. With her older brothers away at school, Mina was now the eldest child at home, with a sister and two brothers younger than herself.

In 1886 twenty-one-year-old Mina obtained a certificate of completion from the Slade and moved into a studio at 17 Fitzroy Street with a friend, Miss

Offor. She spent much of her time visiting museums in order to pursue her own studies, especially relating to her interest in Egyptian art.

It was sometime in 1887 while immersed in Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum galleries or perhaps in the Reading Room, that Mina met Samuel L. Mathers and sealed her destiny.

Imagine with me, for a moment, this meeting:

Mina Bergson, radiant at twenty-two, a cloud of unruly dark hair wildly escaping the clasp that holds it, turns from her pencil study of an Egyptian pharaoh to discover a man staring at her. His determined, aristocratic air and tall, obviously well-muscled body seem more fitted to a parade ground than to this mausoleum of the dead. His wide-spaced eyes are severe, as if he could actually see the cold pride and hauteur of the pharaoh slowly but inevitably crumbling to dust. She thinks: Could it be himself he sees, dispassionately, remorselessly?

Mina shakes herself and tries to return to her sketch, but the man's eyes won't let her. Although his face remains white and still, dark shapes form around him, coalescing into a pharaonic wig crowned by a ring of three stars. His hands are crossed on what could only be the shadowy hilt of a gigantic sword layered with jewels and Celtic knots worked in gold.

Afterward, describing her meeting with Mathers, Bergie assured her dear friend, Tabbie, "I won't marry him." Mina had only recently succeeded in moving away from her family and into shared rooms in London's West End, in what was a daring act for a young, single woman in Victorian England. Was there a sworn pact among Mina and her friends (not at all uncommon in those times) to keep inviolate their freedom, friendship, and independence?



Answering the Cry

MacGregor Mathers and the Birth of the Golden Dawn

Following the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, many of the basic assumptions about the divinity of humankind became open to question. By the 1880s England was rife with religious sects and spiritual groups that arose as a natural reaction to the materialism and mechanistic science of the day. This was underscored by the claims of the Fox sisters from as early as 1848 that the dead "survived" and could communicate with the living.

The French occultist Papus, in his 1889 book *Tarot of the Bohemians*, declared that the Western world was on the eve of a complete transformation. Materialism had benefited society to its maximum extent, analytic thought had been taken as far as theoretically possible, and so it was time for a return to "synthesis," the characteristic method of ancient initiatory religions. "Amongst the ancients," he wrote, "knowledge was only transmitted to men whose worth had been proved by a series of tests. This transmission took place in the temples, under the name of Mysteries, and the adept assumed the title of Priest or Initiate. This science was therefore secret or occult."[1] He proposed, as would the Golden Dawn, that the remnants of the ancient wisdom, whose syncretic law stated that there was only one truth underlying all religious expression, were best preserved not in Freemasonry, nor in the

world's religions (which had forgotten how to read the truth in their own great books), but in the cards of the Tarot. Out of this philosophical and spiritual ferment arose the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

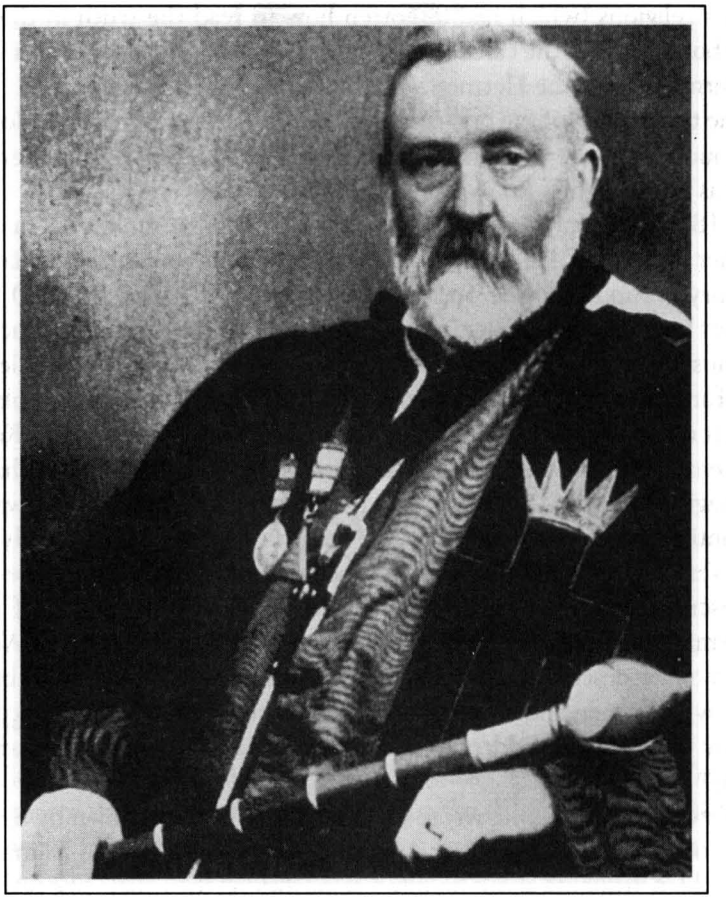
The true source of the organization known as the Golden Dawn (or G.D.) is shrouded in mystery. Claims were made and later countered, but here is the story as it is currently known.

In 1887 William Wynn Westcott, thirty-nine, was employed as a deputy coroner in London. He was also the secretary-general of a Rosicrucian Freemasonry group called the *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (*S.R.I.A.*), whose interest lay in spiritual alchemy and ceremony. In that year Westcott acquired a manuscript written in cipher. Although it was purportedly from Germany and of ancient origin, the cipher transcribed into English. Occult scholar R. A. Gilbert offers convincing evidence that it was actually compiled by Kenneth Mackenzie, editor of the *Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* (1877), who had met the magician Eliphas Levi in Paris, had studied his writings, and was well read in Continental works of alchemy and magic. Mackenzie died in July 1886, and Westcott obtained many ritual documents from his wife.[2] The cipher manuscript, written in a code divulged in the *Polygraphiae* of Abbot Trithemius (fifteenth century), with which both Mackenzie and Westcott were familiar, described a series of quasi-Masonic rituals that could be practiced by both men and women.[3] The manuscript was supposedly accompanied by the name and address of a Fräulein Anna Sprengel in Stuttgart, Germany.

Westcott stated that he wrote to Anna Sprengel, also known by her Latin motto of *Sapiens Dominabitur Astris* (*S.D.A.*) of Die Goldene Dämmerung (the Golden Twilight), about his interest in working the rituals. She responded with an official letter received November 26, 1887, giving Westcott the high rank or "grade" of Adeptus Exemptus (7°=4°)[4] within the Order and authorizing him to found a temple in England along with two co-chiefs, Dr. W. R. Woodman and S. L. Mathers.[5]

Yet *six weeks before receiving this letter*, on October 4, 1887, Westcott wrote Mathers, asking if he would become co-chief with one other and himself, with the aim of promulgating a "complete scheme of initiation."[6] Westcott proposed to roughly translate the cipher and then Mathers could write it up as a complete set of working rituals, for which work Mathers would be paid.

Creating an organization for the study of occult mysteries was not new. There had been Rosicrucian and Kabbalistic societies since the seventeenth century and schools of the Mysteries—requiring elaborate initiations—since the dawn of humankind. More recently, the Fox sisters in 1848 had sparked public interest in spiritualism. Madame Blavatsky had started Theosophy in 1875 and brought it to London in 1884. Anna Kingsford, one-time head of



DR. W. WYNN WESTCOTT

London Theosophy, had started her own Hermetic Society in 1885. France had had its Church of Carmel since 1840, and in 1888 the rival Kabbalistic Rose+Cross was founded by Stanislas de Guaita. All claimed contact with some kind of secret Masters who guided their endeavors.

Westcott and Mathers created not only an Order that would practice magic but an entire lineage to validate it in the eyes of prospective members. The real issue here, since we cannot know what actually happened, is: What was their intent? There were long-standing traditions of a hidden Rosicrucian order with mysterious powers. Lacking any knowledge of how to contact such an order (for members were not really members if they ever acknowledged their membership), the three men created their own order. Books and manuscripts aplenty existed giving specific details of magical ritual and practice, foremost among them the works of Eliphas Levi. Both Westcott and Mathers

were longtime students of occult literature, proficient in astrology, experienced in Masonic ceremony, and well read in Hermeticism and Kabbalah. Perhaps they reasoned that in starting an order (which they would subtly mention in the occult journals) they would bring themselves to the attention of true Adepts who would investigate and find them worthy of contact.

In the 1926 preface to a new edition of Mathers's *The Kabbalah Unveiled,* Moina Mathers explained that humanity's need for an understanding of life's great paradoxes has always resulted in the establishment of mystery schools:

> There remains always the perpetual cry of humanity, that plaint of a world in pain demanding apparently in vain some solution to the problem of existence. The answer of the ancient world to this cry of the Spirit of Humanity is to be found in the establishment of the Mysteries, as containing in their penetralia that which even the highest then known forms of religion had not, namely, a philosophico-religious reply resumed in Formulas and Ceremonies, to the problems of Life and Death, of Nature, of the Gods, of Spiritual Beings, etc., and lastly of the linking of these as a whole back to the First Cause of all things.[7]

S. L. MacGregor Mathers, who became a figure of importance in the lives of the Golden Dawn women, was born Samuel Liddel Mathers on January 8, 1854, at 10:56 A.M. in West Hackney, Middlesex.[8] His father was William Mathers, a merchant's clerk, and his mother, the former Mary Ann Collins, was thirty-nine when he was born as their only child. Educated at Bedford Grammar School, Mathers and his mother moved to Bournemouth after his father's death, where they lived on her small income. Mathers claimed that his father was Highland Scottish from the Clan MacGregor,[9] and as early as 1879, when he was twenty-five, Mathers was declaring himself the "Comte de Glenstrae," a title granted by the King of France in recognition for family services to the French, or so he said.

As Moina explained in 1926, "His ancestor, Ian MacGregor of Glenstrae, an ardent Jacobite, went over to France after the '45 Rebellion [that is, 1745] and under Lally Tolendal fought at Pondicherry. This ancestor was created Comte de Glenstrae by Louis XV. This French title was inherited by my husband and he always used it when living in France."[10]

Mathers became a soldier with the First Hampshire Infantry Volunteers, and although he was photographed in the uniform of a lieutenant, he was never listed among the commissioned officers. The way he used the title of Count and his donning of an officer's uniform for a photograph suggest that Mathers had a tendency to create his own self-image and history as a warrior-chief with little regard for the facts. His excessive devotion to Mars, the martial planet of aggression and action, was his leading characteristic. In his natal horoscope, with egotistical Mars opposing the secret yet imaginative Neptune,

he had an unconscious need to be special (see natal chart in Appendix A). This aspect also indicates that he saw himself as a spiritual warrior. As Yeats succinctly put it, Mathers was "one of those who incite—less by spoken word than by what they are—imaginative action."[11]

Mathers was an enthusiastic student of boxing and fencing, developing a skilled amateur's proficiency in both. He had a muscular body, tall and lean, with a long face and large eyes. Proud of his physique, he insisted that an occultist should maintain excellent physical condition. Various accounts give him a "cauliflower ear" or the scar of a saber cut on his wrist or forehead. His first book, *Practical Instruction in Infantry Campaigning Exercise* (1884), adapted a French military manual to the requirements of the British Army, an early example of his special ability to fit materials to a specific need. The manual seemed to serve the army adequately, for it was reprinted in 1889.

Mathers became a Mason in 1877 in the Lodge of Hengist and within eighteen months had progressed to the degree of Master. By 1882 he had joined the more esoterically specialized *Societas Rosicrucian in Anglia* (*S.R.I.A.*), taking the motto of the Clan MacGregor, *'S Rioghail Mo Dhream* ("Royal Is My Race"). That he kept this as one of his two Golden Dawn mottos lends some credence to the belief that the G.D. was developed as the practical arm of the *S.R.I.A.*

His interest in the occult was first aroused by reading *Zanoni*, a novel by Edward Bulwer-Lytton (author of *The Last Days of Pompeii*), who had met Eliphas Levi and was probably initiated into a Rosicrucian-styled order on the Continent. Mathers began to style himself after the magician-hero Zanoni (and later was even called "Zan" by his wife and intimate friends). One of the most exact astrological aspects in Mathers's chart (and therefore of great importance) was a trine between Jupiter and Uranus, which indicates an inspired occult/metaphysical leader or trend-setter. He had discovered his magical abilities in childhood; according to Yeats, "Mathers described how as a boy he had drawn over and over again some event that he longed for; and called those drawings an instinctive magic."[12]

Mathers refused to leave his widowed mother but was desperately frustrated living in Bournemouth, for all the knowledge he craved was in the libraries of London. It is not known what Mathers did for a living during these years in Bournemouth. Perhaps he lived off his mother's limited income, and he may have done some professional boxing. His crisis reached a peak in the spring of 1883, at the time of his astrological Saturn Return (that is, when the planet Saturn next returns to the zodiacal position it occupied when the subject was born, approximately at age twenty-eight). At one's Saturn Return one is confronted with the reality of circumstantial limitations; to develop maturity one must creatively grow despite limitation, which in Mathers's case

was signified by his responsibility to his mother. Just at this time Mathers met an alchemist named Frederick Holland, who expanded the frontiers of his knowledge, even in Bournemouth, by teaching him astrology, Hermeticism, and the principles of alchemical transformation.

Mary Ann Mathers died of bronchitis and pneumonia, "in the presence of her son," on January 27, 1885, as he was turning thirty-one. For Mathers, acutely aware of nonphysical energies, his mother's death may well have propelled him onto psychic planes and into an understanding of his destiny, which he was now free to manifest.[13] He moved immediately to London.

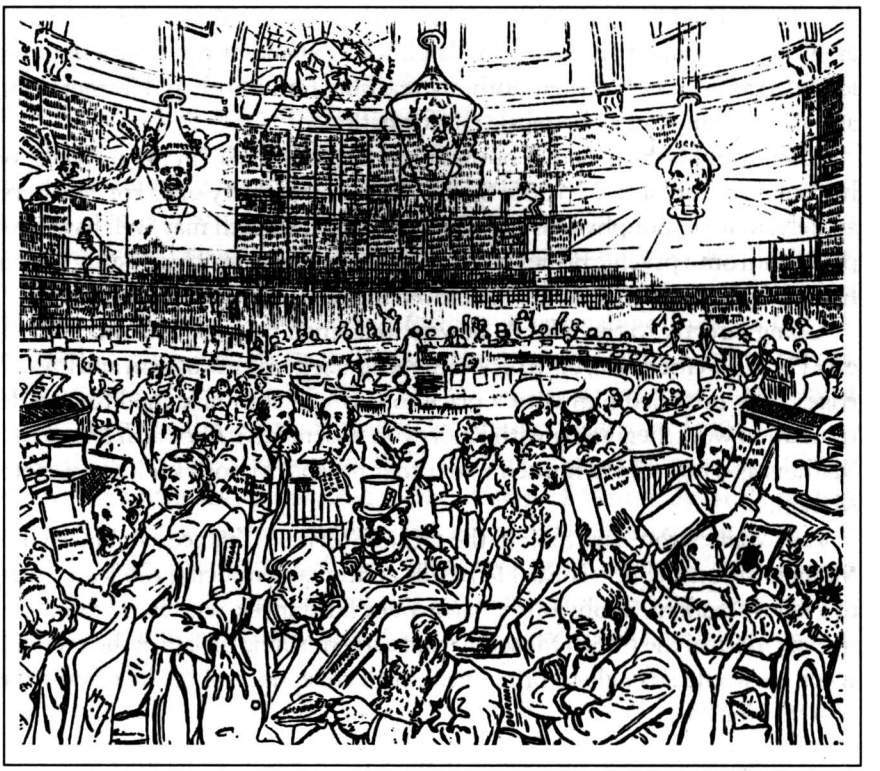
Going directly to the *S.R.I.A.*, he was welcomed by Westcott and the elderly Dr. W. R. Woodman, both of whom recognized his enthusiasm and knowledge. They provided him with a place to stay and commissioned him to do translation work, beginning with Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbalah Denudata.* Mathers also ingratiated himself with other notable Masons such as Kenneth Mackenzie.[14]

A. E. Waite wrote a memoir in the *Occult Review* of his acquaintance with Mathers around 1885–1886. He recalls continually noticing the lean figure of a fellow student, in obviously narrow circumstances, who frequented the reading room of the British Museum from early morning till late in the evening, when he would struggle to bring mammoth collections of books toward the central counter.

> I grew curious as to the identity of this strange person, with rather fish-like eyes.... We must have spoken of occult books or subjects in one of the corridors, for he said to me in a hushed voice and with a somewhat awful accent: "I am a Rosicrucian and a Freemason; therefore I can speak of some things, but of others I cannot speak." ... The more I saw of him the more eccentric he proved to be ... a combination of Don Quixote and Hudibras, but with a vanity all his own. He would accost me suddenly, to deliver the inspirations of the moment, ... [one] concerned his great military ardor and his intention to join the French Zouaves in Africa, that he might spend "the rest of his life in fighting." ... [Or he would wear] a scarlet tie, to which he pointed proudly because it was assumed as a symbol of his fighting instincts.... On another occasion he said, "I have clothed myself with hieroglyphics as with a garment," so I inferred that he was then deep in Egyptology. He had a natural faculty for suggesting in his mystery-language that he had a most profound acquaintance with any subject he took up.[15]

W. B. Yeats also found Mathers haunting those revered halls:

> At the British Museum reading room, I often saw a man of thirty-six or thirty-seven, in a brown velveteen coat, with a gaunt resolute face, and an athletic body, who seemed ... a figure of romance.... His studies were two

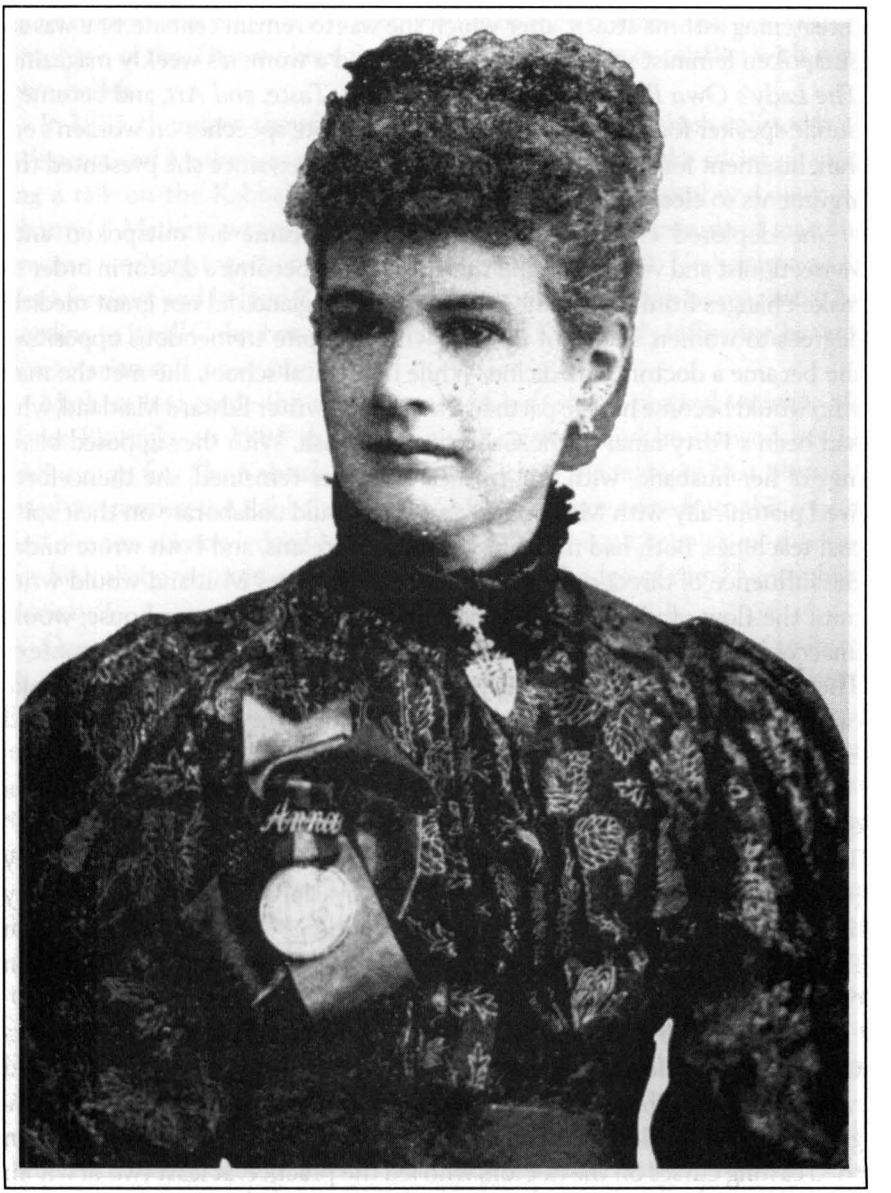


BRITISH MUSEUM READING ROOM, 1885

> only—magic and the theory of war, for he believed himself a born commander. . . . One that boxed with him nightly has told me that for many weeks he could knock him down, though Mathers was the stronger man, and only knew long after that during those weeks Mathers starved.[16]

In 1886 Mathers met the forty-year-old spiritual teacher Dr. Anna Kingsford and her spiritual partner Edward Maitland. It was Kingsford who convinced Westcott and Mathers of how important it was that men and women work together on the spiritual search. She believed herself to be a reincarnation of Mary Magdalen.

Anna Kingsford, born Annie Bonus on September 16, 1846, at 5 A.M. in Stratford, was the daughter of a prosperous shipowner in London, and upon his death was left financially independent.[17] Sickly for most of her life, she had visions from early childhood that made her family fear for her sanity but which she believed to be real. It is difficult to conceive where she got her strange ideas, for they were entirely unrelated to her environment and upbringing. When she married her cousin, an Anglican curate named Algernon



ANNA KINGSFORD

Kingsford, on the last day of 1867, she insisted that she keep the right to pursue her own career and independent beliefs, even to becoming Roman Catholic three years later—and taking the name Mary Magdalen. She had one daughter, whose conception on her wedding night precipitated a life-

threatening asthma attack, after which she was to remain celibate. She was an outspoken feminist who purchased and edited a women's weekly magazine, *The Lady's Own Paper: A Journal of Progress, Taste, and Art,* and became a public speaker for women's rights. She even wrote speeches on women's enfranchisement for members of Parliament to deliver, since she presented the arguments so clearly.

She deplored cruelty to animals and so became an outspoken antivivisectionist and vegetarian, and then decided to become a doctor in order to make changes from within the profession. As England did not grant medical degrees to women, she went to Paris, where despite tremendous opposition she became a doctor of medicine. While in medical school, she met the man who would become her life partner, the spiritual writer Edward Maitland, who had been a Forty-niner in the California gold rush. With the supposed blessings of her husband, with whom their daughter remained, she thenceforth lived platonically with Maitland so that they could collaborate on their spiritual teachings. Both had mystical visions and dreams, and both wrote under the influence of direct spiritual guidance. Sometimes Maitland would write until the flow of ideas ceased. Kingsford, in another room or house, would unaccountably feel the urge to write and then complete his topic in context. They called their work "Christian pantheism" and explored the esoteric significance of Bible stories and symbolism; they also drew from Greek, Roman, and Egyptian myths and from the Kabbalah.

An example can illustrate both her ideas and her method. She would ask a question such as "How may we discern the Astrals from the higher spirits?" Then she would write down an answer that came only as she wrote it: "They [the Astrals] are flattering spirits.... They always deprecate women. And they do this because their deadliest foe is the Intuition."[18] For Anna, like William Blake, Henri Bergson, Emmanuel Swedenborg, and other mystics, intuition or imagination was the source of wisdom, and it was a feminine function.

In 1880, at thirty-three years of age, Anna Kingsford completed her Doctor of Medicine degree with a thesis on the vegetarian diet for health and moral purposes. The subsequent book became the standard text in both England and France. Her feelings against vivisection were so strong that she even tried casting curses on the doctors who led the practice, at least two of whom soon died.[19] But when she tried to curse Louis Pasteur, she received a "shock in return," which presaged her own death.[20]

The Perfect Way, written by Kingsford and Maitland, was greeted as the most important book of esoteric wisdom published in modern times, and when Mathers later published the *The Kabbalah Unveiled,* he dedicated it to them. Kingsford and Maitland hoped to found a new Esoteric Church based on Christian mysticism. They spent a year as heads of the London Lodge of

the Theosophical Society but resigned when they realized that the Eastern emphasis of the Theosophical Society would always be in conflict with their own beliefs.

In 1885, therefore, they formed the Hermetic Society, which enlisted both Westcott and Mathers as members. Mathers lectured for the society, including a talk on the Kabbalah and another titled "The Physical or Lower Alchemy."[21] Mathers was especially struck by Kingsford's example of man and woman working together as equals on the spiritual quest. He became an ardent feminist and helped Kingsford with her antivivisection propaganda. According to Ithell Colquhoun, Mathers, through Kingsford's influence, became a vegetarian and never smoked.[22]

Mathers had made the acquaintance of his second magical woman, Madame Blavatsky, in 1886 through Anna Kingsford, and he showed her his manuscript for *The Kabbalah Unveiled.* Much of the material that Blavatsky used concerning the Kabbalah in *The Secret Doctrine* came from this source, and she too acknowledged Mathers as a brilliant occult scholar, even asking for his collaboration in establishing the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society.[23]

One day in 1887 at the British Museum, Mathers felt compelled to introduce himself to a beautiful woman whom he saw sketching his own favorite Egyptian statues; her name was Mina Bergson. Since meeting Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, Mathers had been searching for a partner in his magical endeavors. Mina Bergson—artistic, psychically sensitive, beautiful, from a family rooted in the Kabbalah, drawn to the ancient religious symbols housed in the museum, a Taurus to his Capricorn, ripe for his training—was perfect.

When Bergie introduced Mathers to her best friend, Tabbie, he claimed to be a Sun Aquarian, and he "looked like an Aquarian, being lean and dark," she said. But Horniman added that when he later became obsessed with martial matters, he "declared himself a Sun-Arian and 'adjusted' his wife's horoscope ... to match his own."[24] His Sun was actually in Capricorn, but with his strong Neptune in Pisces in the Twelfth House, he enjoyed the romance of deceptions.

Although Westcott was helping Mathers with occasional translation work, he earned barely enough for survival. After publication of the *Kabbalah Unveiled,* Mathers needed more work that used his special talents. Westcott provided it by asking Mathers to rewrite and elaborate upon the Sprengel-cipher notes so as to create full-fledged rituals that could be enacted. Mathers's particular genius came forth in this work. Astrologically he had a trio of planets in quintile aspect to each other: intellectual Mercury on the ambitious Mid-heaven, mystical Neptune, and organizational Saturn. These quintile aspects signify talent and genius, and in MacGregor's chart they show his ability

to organize mystical ideas into a practical and communicable form. Furthermore, in November and December of 1887, transiting Uranus and Saturn formed two more quintiles to complete a perfect pentagram in MacGregor's chart, emphasizing both revolutionary innovation and lasting structure embodied in a magical brotherhood. It was under these remarkable astrological aspects that Mathers created the Golden Dawn initiation rites.[25] Such a formation is incalculably rare, and the pentagram within a circle (like that of the horoscope) is perhaps the single major symbol of Magic!

On October 4, 1887, at the home of Fitzgerald Molloy, author of *A Modern Magician*, Mathers read the palm of a young socialist book reviewer, George Bernard Shaw, and perhaps also the hand of Oscar Wilde.[26] Early the next year, Mathers's small book on the popular pastime of divination with Tarot cards appeared. Dropping hints that he and the translator of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, Wynn Westcott, had practical knowledge of the occult mysteries, the book was clearly intended to draw prospective members to their magical Order.[27]

Anna Kingsford, suffering from a chronic lung disease, died at noon on February 22, 1888. One week later, on March 1, the founders of the Isis-Urania Temple of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn signed its charter. The magnetic and influential Anna Kingsford was thus, in some sense, the mother of the Golden Dawn and its first magical woman.

Mina Bergson illustrated the charter with drawings of the four mythic creatures (bull, lion, eagle, and angel) representing the holy name of God, and in a back room of the building that housed her flat on Fitzroy Street, Mina became the first fully initiated member of the Golden Dawn. It was the day after her twenty-third birthday. Mathers took an additional magical name, *Deo Duce Comite Ferro* ("God as My Guide, the Sword as My Companion" or *D.D.C.F.*), identifying himself as a sacred warrior.

In their summary of the roots of the Western Mystery tradition, John and Caitlín Matthews conclude:

> Thus the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was born, . . . the most prestigious organization of its kind since the Renaissance. Most modern schools trace their descent from the Golden Dawn, and through it, knowingly or not, make contact with both the Rosicrucian impulse and the great Classical and pre-classical foundations.[28]



Quit the Night and Seek the Day

THE PURPOSE OF THE GOLDEN DAWN

The Order of the Golden Dawn was a Hermetic Society whose members studied the principles of occult science and the magic of Hermes (also known as Trismegistus, Thoth, and Mercurius). The students' goal was to unite the Will with the highest Self. Will (with a capital W) was the consciously focused intention of one's highest, divine, or God-like Self, charged by a desire that was purified of all ego-content and actualized through an imagination that used all the senses but was untainted by material illusion. The process of achieving this involved a "search for the light," hence the name of the Order was based on the image of an alchemical sunrise. In the initiations, prospective members were enjoined to "quit the night and seek the day," meaning that they were to leave behind the material world of imbalance and seek spiritual harmony through self-examination. First they would examine and purify themselves using tools of astrology and divination, and then they would become one with their own divinity.

The Golden Dawn provided both the knowledge and the medium through which they could transmute their vital life forces into the higher currents of life in order to commune with planetary spirits, angels, and gods.[1] This involved a union of soul, mind, and body—necessitating correction of imbalances, combining of opposites, reclaiming what was lost, and surrender to dissolution and chaos. It required destruction and re-creation of the soul, symbolized by struggle between opposing forces. As Mina explained it: "We cannot understand Matter without understanding Spirit. . . . We cannot understand Spirit without understanding Matter."[2] Eventually the purified and

exalted Spiritual Nature united with what the Hermeticist calls the "Higher Genius," or the Kabbalist's "Adam Qadmon."

Westcott and Mathers cooked up a complicated but internally consistent recipe that included all the teachings from the Western Magical Tradition as shown in the accompanying "Timeline of Western Magic" (see pages 60–61).

The most basic tenets of magic appear in the *Emerald Tablet of Hermes*: "That which is below is like that which is above, and what above is similar to that which is below, to accomplish the wonders of the one thing." From this we get the more succinct dictum, "As above, so below," meaning that the microcosm of man is the mirror image of the macrocosm or cosmos, and what happens on earth is reflected in heaven and vice versa. Hermeticism also saw the "one thing" as giving birth to all contradictions and dualities with the initiate learning that "true equilibrium is the basis of the Soul."

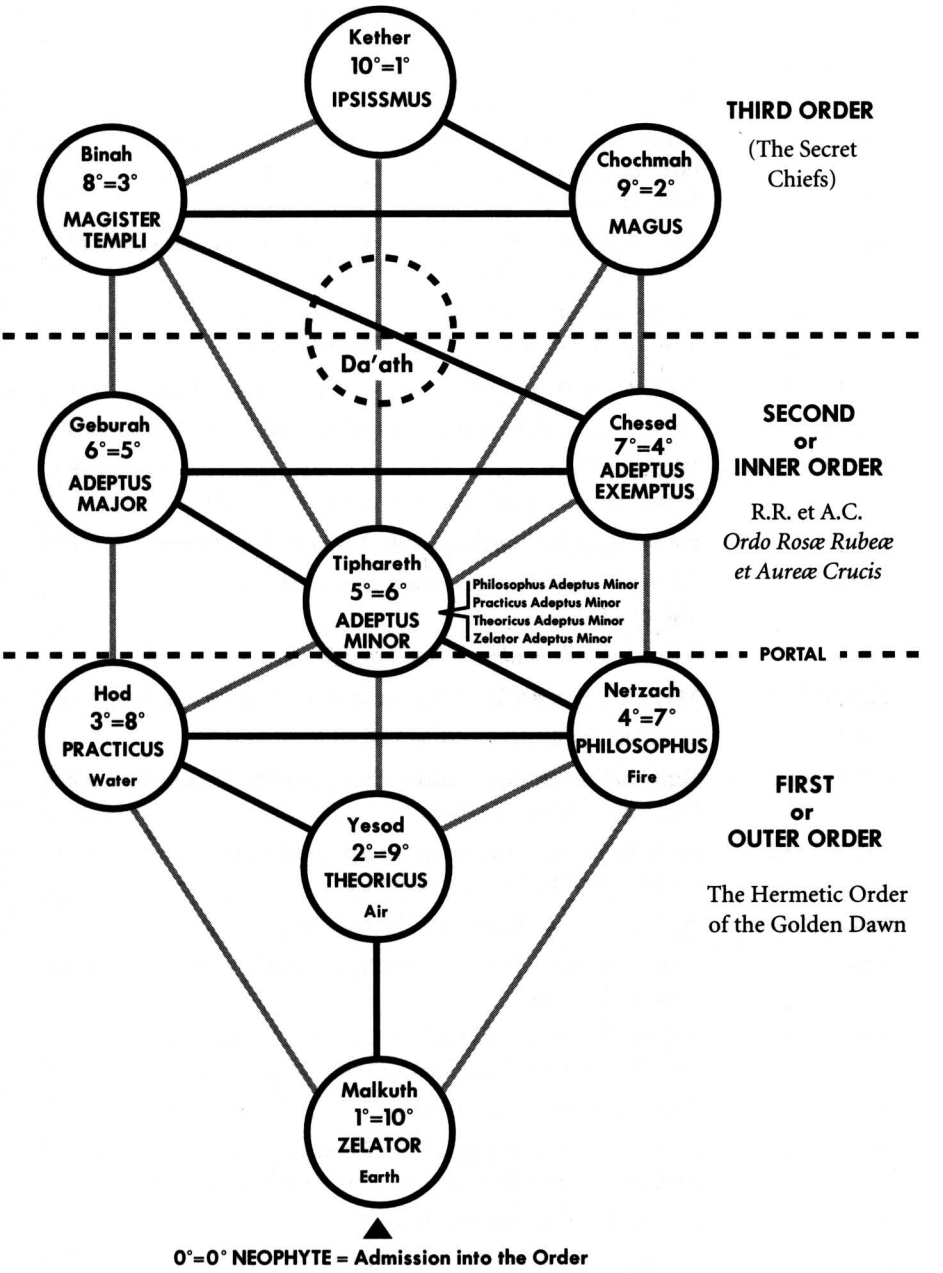
The Golden Dawn offered something quite different from the Theosophical Society, to which many of its members also belonged. Theosophists also sought to develop their own latent divine powers but focused on the study of Eastern philosophy. The Golden Dawn was also different from other spiritual societies in that it was not seeking to develop character through devotional faith or mysticism, nor was it a spiritual path that stressed "good works" or "forgiveness."

The Golden Dawn emphasized scholarship and learning, the practice of rituals, and what they called "skrying in the spirit vision."

The Golden Dawn was actually only the first, or Outer Order, of three orders. The *Ordo Rosae Rubeae et Aureae Crucis* (*R.R. et A.C.*) was the Second or Inner Order, while the Third Order remained unnamed to the uninitiated. Members advanced through a series of grades, each with its own initiation ceremony, based on the ten *sephiroth* of the Kabbalistic Tree of Life as demonstrated in the grades diagram (see illustration page 59). The degree numbers, for example 1°=10° (Zelator), indicate that this grade is the first from the bottom of the tree (the physical world) and tenth from the top (Spirit).

The first four levels of initiation (Zelator to Philosophus) required primarily an intellectual development. Initiates memorized the Hebrew alphabet, the structure of the Kabbalistic Tree of Life, and astrological glyphs, terms, and techniques. They received a series of papers explaining the symbols of the rituals, which were copied by hand. The only personal ritual they practiced was one for protection, called the Ritual of the Pentagram.

Eventually, if they passed a series of written and oral examinations, they advanced into the Second Order—the *R.R. et A.C.* Only at this point did they begin to create and perform their own rituals: that is, to actually practice magic. According to Wynn Westcott, Second Order practices included learning to extend one's powers of perception onto the astral (or super-physical)



GRADES OF MEMBERSHIP. MEMBERS ADVANCE THROUGH A SERIES OF GRADE INITIATIONS UP THE TREE OF LIFE. THE DEGREE NUMBERS (I.E., 1°=10°) INDICATE HOW FAR ONE IS FROM THE PHYSICAL WORLD AND THE WORLD OF SPIRIT.

TIMELINE OF WESTERN MAGIC[3]

c. 1000 B.C.	*Egyptian Book of the Dead, Chaldean Oracles of Zoroaster.* Building of Solomon's Temple.
600–300 B.C.	Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle. Reincarnation, archetypes, elements, sacred mathematics. Mystery Schools of Eleusis, Orpheus, Seraphis, etc.
A.D. 0	Apollonius of Tyana: philosopher, magician, possible author of *Emerald Tablet of Hermes.*
c. 100–300	Iamblicus, Julianus, Ptolemy. Neoplatonists, theurgists, and astrologers. Possible source of *Emerald Tablet.*
c. 200–300	*Sepher Yetzirah* ("Book of Creation"), earliest Kabbalistic text.
722–815	Gebir: Arabic alchemist, translated *Emerald Tablet* into Arabic.
c. 1000–1100	Works of Ptolemy and other Greek astrologers are translated from Arabic into Latin (reemergence in the West).
1118	Founding of the Knights Templar by Hugh de Payens.
1193–1280	Albertus Magnus: philosopher, alchemist, translated *Emerald Tablet* into Latin.
1203	Armadel's *Clavicules de Salomon* ("Keys of Solomon").
1250–1305	Moses of Leon: scribe of *Sepher Zohar* ("Book of Splendor").
1313	Templars abolished by papal bull.
c. 1300	Guild of English stonemasons claims esoteric lineage from the building of Solomon's Temple.
1330–1417	Nicholas Flamel and his wife and magical partner, Pernelle, become wealthy through alchemy.
1442	First mention of Tarot cards, Ferrara, Italy.
1463	*Corpus Hermeticum* translated into Latin by Marsilio Ficino for Cosimo de Medici.
1462–1516	Abbot Trithemius of Sponheim: mystic, scholar, author of *Steganographia* (on angel magic) and Golden Dawn cipher.
1484	Christian Rosenkreutz (Brother C.R.C.) dies in Germany.
1486–1535	Henry Cornelius Agrippa: Neoplatonist, author of *De occulta philosophia* (1533)—major source of Renaissance magic.
1493–1541	Paracelsus: physician and alchemist.
1552	First publication of the Kabbalistic *Sepher Yetzirah.*
1527–1608	John Dee: magician to Elizabeth I. Received Enochian (angelic) language via skryer Edward Kelley.
1575–1624	Jacob Boehme: Christian mystic, Kabbalist, author of *The Signature of Things* (on symbolism).

1604	*Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe.
1604	Tomb of Christian Rosenkreutz opened.
1605	Publication of the Rosicrucian *Constitution.*
1614	*Fama Fraternitas of the Meritorius Order of the Rose Cross.*
1616	Founding of Rosicrucian Society by Elias Ashmole, William Lilly, et al.
1617	*Utriusque cosmi . . . historia* by Robert Fludd: mystic Rosicrucian, scholar, magician, Kabbalist, astrologer.
1655	*Euphrates, or, The Waters of the East* by Eugenius Philalethes (aka Thomas Vaughn, 1621–1665): alchemist.
1658	*Strange Relation . . .* by Meric Casaubon. Includes transcriptions of John Dee's diaries.
1677	*Kabbalah Denudata* by Knorr von Rosenroth: Christian Kabbalist.
1707?–1784?	Comte de Saint-Germain, Rosicrucian adept.
1717	Founding of modern Freemasonry.
1781	*Le Monde primitif* by Court de Gébelin, claiming Egyptian origin of Tarot.
1801	*The Magus* by Francis Barrett (possible member of a Cambridge temple of the mysteries).
1810–1875	Eliphas Levi: revolutionary, former priest, magician, scholar.
1831–1891	Helena Blavatsky.
1842	*Zanoni* by Edward Bulwer-Lytton.
1848	Fox sisters claim spirit communication in New York.
1854	*The Dogmas & Ritual of High Magic* by Eliphas Levi. MacGregor Mathers born.
1870	*The Rosicrucians, Their Rites and Mysteries* by O. H. Jennings.
1875	Founding of the Theosophical Society by Madame Blavatsky.
1877	*Isis Unveiled* by Helena Blavatsky.
1884	Founding of the London Theosophical Society.
1885	Founding of the Hermetic Society by Anna Kingsford and of the Dublin Hermetic Society, W. B. Yeats presiding.
1887	Translation of *The Kabbalah Unveiled* by MacGregor Mathers.
1888	Founding of the Kabbalistic Rose+Croix by Stanislas de Guaita in Paris. Members include Péladan, Papus, Oswald Wirth.
1888	*The Secret Doctrine* by Madame Blavatsky.
1888	Founding of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

planes, develop intuition through divination, vibrate names of Power (and thus influence those Powers), and become familiar with the magical influences of color.[4]

In a sense, the Golden Dawn founders were re-creating the Greek Neoplatonic philosophy of A.D. 5 called theurgy, which promoted the practice of psychic skills and mediumship so as to attain spiritual growth. Greek theurgists who worked through their Higher Genius were called to serve as highly respected guides and counselors for individuals and the country.[5] Several of the members of the Golden Dawn likewise became guides and counselors for their countries and for all of humanity.

The Golden Dawn specialized in the symbolism of the Kabbalistic Tree of Life. Anthropologist Tanya Luhrmann likens the Tree to a radio transmitter and receiver, with the magician as the operator who broadcasts on a wide choice of frequencies.[6] Looked at another way, the magician imagines him- or herself ascending the Tree of Life—from the Kingdom of Earth in Malkuth at the bottom, to the Crown of Kether at the top—along a series of paths depicted as the Major Arcana of the Tarot. After experiencing the Ineffable Light of Kether, the task is to bring that light of knowledge back down to Malkuth for the good of all humankind.

Luhrmann, in her anthropological study of modern magicians, found that those in Western Mysteries groups (of which the Golden Dawn is the preeminent model) saw themselves as "spiritual commandos, a secret band of do-gooders who stand guard over a naive humanity . . . [protecting] a society which barely knows of their existence."[7] The initiate works to regenerate him- or herself and the planet by acting as "a pioneer in the march of human evolution."[8] Dion Fortune (a later member of the Golden Dawn) described the occultist as "a soldier-scholar dedicated to the service of God."[9]

Fraternity among members was an essential factor. "Any breach in the harmony of a circle will permit the entry of an opposing force . . . on both the spiritual and psychic planes," wrote Moina Mathers. The first ten or twelve years of the working of the Order "would be in the nature of an experiment . . . the students would be sifted."[10] By then they hoped to have a core group that could work together in total confidence. As we shall see, the estimated time was about right for an entire restructuring of the Order.

Spiritualism and mediumship was at its height in the mid to late nineteenth century; however, the Golden Dawn required, in the initial pledge, that no one give up their will to another, nor allow themselves to be hypnotized. They believed spiritualist methods to be a dangerous way of contacting the astral planes, because such methods contradicted their own emphasis on the development of the Will; they wanted nothing to do with séances or trance possession. They felt that their practices were safer ways of exploring

these unknown psychic regions. Moina Mathers warned that psychic work was not to be undertaken until "the student was aware of the nature of the entities he would be likely to encounter, and especially to have some idea of the constitution of Man. When this is achieved he will be equipped and enabled to face the many dangers and difficulties he will encounter in the invisible world."[11]

Their work revolved around ceremonial magic, which is of three types: initiation, evocation, and invocation. In *initiation*, a candidate is presented to a particular kind of force intended to stimulate the psychic centers. In *evocation*, particular forces are contacted and then their energies focused on a corresponding purpose, which may be inner or outer in nature. In *invocation*, one invites a god in, in order to partake of that consciousness.

The steps of the ritual symbolically act out what is taking place in the spiritual or cosmic realms. A sacred circle is created in which the officers allow the forces to be channeled through them, while the Hierophant (Revealer of Mysteries) directs these energies. The ritual objects are consecrated (made sacred) so that they too become the things they symbolize. The god-forces or spiritual beings are then evoked from the astral into the material plane. According to Dion Fortune, "No rite is effectual unless these invisible beings are present. It is the knowledge of who they are and how their presence is obtained which constitute the real secrets of a degree."[12] Finally the astral forces are dispersed and the ceremonial energy is closed down.

The spiritual-plane participants in the rituals of the Golden Dawn were such figures as Osiris, Isis, Hathor, Anubis, Thoth, Ashtaroth, the Shekinah, Jehovah, the Messiah, Sophia, Christian Rosenkreutz, Solomon, Boaz and Joachim, the angels and archangels, Hermes, Mercury, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, sylphs, gnomes, undines and salamanders, and eventually the entire Celtic pantheon. No distinction was made between monotheism, polytheism, and pantheism.

Magic in the Golden Dawn worked via a number of tools and techniques that had to be carefully learned. They included words of power that vibrated on the astral plane; laws of correspondence between symbol and that which it symbolizes; evocation of Spirits or the assumption of god-forms by the magician; knowledge of timing through the moon, planets, stars, and seasons; and the experience of traveling astral pathways between the hierarchies of energies and through the planes to effect changes and bring back information.

As shown in the Magician card of the Tarot, magicians draw power from above (aided by angels and forces of a higher spiritual vibration) and channel it through their bodies and into physical reality. They use ritual first to contact the spiritual forces and second by grounding the forces, to manifest the effects they desire.

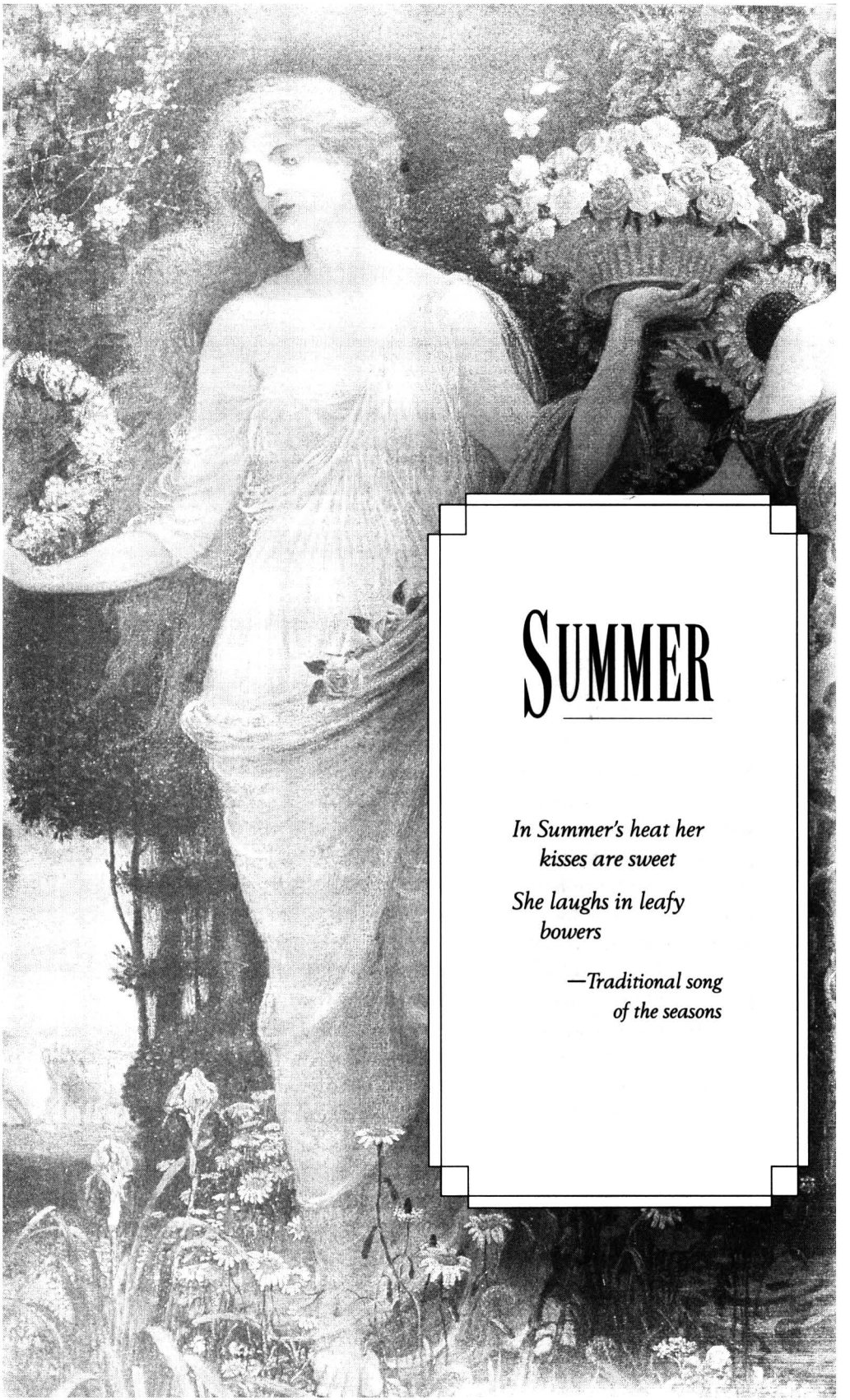


THE MAGICIAN FROM THE TAROCCO ITALIANO, LIKE THAT USED BY ANNIE HORNIMAN AND W. B. YEATS

Kenneth Mackenzie, who possibly originated the Golden Dawn cipher manuscripts, defined magic as "a psychological branch of science, dealing with the sympathetic effects of stones, drugs, herbs and living substances upon the imaginative and reflective faculties."[13] While some writers have regarded magic as psychotherapeutic work (Francis King and Israel Regardie, for example), others have characterized it as the discovery of the unity within all duality, the truth behind all illusions. W. B. Yeats sought knowledge of what he called "the single energetic Mind," and its pole, "the single Memory of nature," both of which he believed could be evoked by symbols.[14] But I like Florence Farr's definition of magic best: "Magic is unlimiting experience." That is, magic consists of removing the limitations from what we *think* are the earthly and spiritual laws that bind or compel us. We can be anything because we are All.

The Golden Dawn membership was divided into three Orders and ten Grades corresponding to the ten *sephiroth* or way-stations on the Tree of Life. In the Outer Order, initiates learned spiritual philosophy. In the Inner or Second Order, they began to practice magic itself, making and consecrating magical implements and using divining and skrying techniques to acquire more knowledge. The Invisible or Third Order was the realm of the guiding forces of the Order, the "Secret Chiefs," or spiritual Masters whose mundane existence was hidden from all who had not yet proved themselves worthy.

This was the organization into which Mina Bergson was initiated, and that would soon captivate the minds and imaginations of Annie, Florence, and Maud.[15]

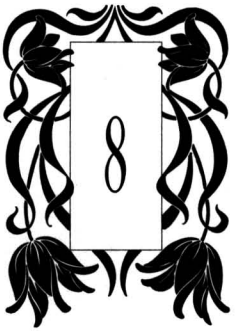


SUMMER

In Summer's heat her
kisses are sweet

She laughs in leafy
bowers

—Traditional song
of the seasons



Upright Fortitude

ANNIE HORNIMAN

1888–1890

Early in 1888 Mina Bergson introduced her close friend Tabbie to MacGregor Mathers, the man she "wasn't going to marry."

As Annie remembered it: "A few days later a friend (not an occultist) went with me to the studio which she was sharing with Miss Offor. There he [Mathers] asked me to join the Golden Dawn. I wrote and refused to do so for the present."[1] Since Bergie was "not an occultist," this must have been previous to the official founding of the Golden Dawn. Annie was suspicious of Mathers's intentions and his influence on her good friend. As far as Tabbie was concerned, Bergie could not *really* be serious about this mystical mumbo-jumbo. Tabbie realized, as she completed her last term at the Slade School of Art, that she would never become a great artist, but Bergie showed much promise and did not need involvement with a man to end her career before it had even begun.

In the summer of 1889 Annie made her annual pilgrimage to Bayreuth for the Wagner Festival. In an article about Bayreuth, Carl Jones noted that Wagner's goal (like that of the Golden Dawn) was "to revive the ancient festival dramas of initiation and spiritual illumination. . . . By attempting to unite religion and art, Wagner sought to enrapture his audience with magical images and to offer his listener an experience of spiritual inspiration equal in effect to the pagan mystery rites of ancient times."[2] Later, in Munich, Annie



ANNIE HORNIMAN AS A YOUNG WOMAN

Horniman saw her first Ibsen play, *An Enemy of the People*. The result was to make her aware of how dissatisfied she was with the crowd-pandering English theatre of comic opera and trite melodramas; she became inspired to do something to bring innovative and soul-inspiring drama to London.[3] When she returned home, she joined the Stage Society, whose purpose was to promote new plays for intellectual (and therefore small) audiences.

That Christmas, the gap within the family circle—which had begun when her brother Emslie betrayed her by marrying—noticeably widened. Her father decided to open their home for visitors to his collections. Her mother, turning sixty-five, belonged to another era, consumed with afternoon teas and social gatherings. Her brother Emslie and her friend Bergie were busy with their own lives, and Annie felt she belonged nowhere.

She later said that in 1889 she "experienced a very painful part" of her life. While we cannot be sure what this was, there are several clues. Her astrological chart shows that transiting Saturn was prominent that year. Astrologically, Saturn signifies one's deepest fears and is attended by feelings of loneliness and isolation. First it conjuncted her Jupiter and Venus, and squared her

Moon—suggesting that she might feel unattractive, or fear a narrowing of options, and experience general insecurity. The latter planets are concerned with relating to others and establishing bonds, but Saturn would instead bring alienation from home and loved ones. Saturn then moved into her Fifth House, causing pain or restriction in affairs of love. I suspect that Annie became romantically involved with someone while traveling on the Continent, perhaps an older man (this being a Saturnian characteristic) with an interest in the arts (Venus), and that the affair ended cruelly for her, with her love being unrequited. Finally Saturn conjuncted her natal Saturn, the Saturn Return, casting into doubt her previous assumptions and attitudes about her life. (On the positive side, the Saturn Return tends to establish one's own uniqueness and sense of individual purpose and brings focus upon building a career or doing something of value.)

Annie was not as beautiful as the other three Golden Dawn women, but she was emotionally intense. She wore loose, corsetless pre-Raphaelite gowns that she designed herself, and at the Slade School she had developed some proficiency in drawing and painting. Her interest in Wagner was well known. In Yeats's unfinished novel *The Speckled Bird*, he describes Annie and provides another clue to what happened that year:

> Dunn [Mathers] brought him [Yeats] to a studio at Chelsea and introduced him to a woman who had some little reputation for design and was, he said, longing for some work at visionary things ever since he foretold by geomancy that her engagement would be broken off. She had been engaged to the young man they had met at Henderson's, but he had set her free because he hadn't money to marry on. This woman had a gentle nature that uttered itself in gentle eyes and in a soft and graceful body like the body of a pigeon.
>
> There were several portraits in her studio which charmed one at a first glance . . . [but lacked] knowledge in the drawing and in the modelling. There were also a few designs for chintzes and wall-paper that were really beautiful, with abundant colors and flowing form, though without much originality of colour or form. Miss Cleat [Annie] herself was attractive, but less from any harmony of features than from a certain atmosphere of emotion, in which she enfolded herself instinctively. She was obviously interested in everybody who talked to her and in all that they said to her, and her whole body seemed to respond to every emotion of sympathy as though it were the string of a wind harp. She was dressed in a dark blue dress that was meant to resemble more closely than it did the dress of one of Rossetti's women, and there were some paint marks on the dress. When they knocked at the door they could hear her whistling, and Dunn [Mathers] said, "She is a great Wagnerian and goes regularly to Bayreuth. She will be quite happy in drawing anything out [of] the Grail quest. . . .

> "... You have only to look at her for a moment to see that she was born under some strange aspect of the sun and moon. The sun has given her a love of pattern, and the moon the power of making it endlessly and without thought."[4] He added, ... "Her young man had the moon in the seventh in opposition to Mercury in his ascendant.[5] No wonder it came to nothing."[6]

When Annie returned to England from the Continent, she turned to Bergie for help in putting her life back together. Mina's guide and teacher, MacGregor, taught Annie some psychic techniques for sealing her energy, and he and Mina probably experimented on her, developing their technique of past-life readings to help Annie understand and learn from the crisis she had just undergone.

MacGregor instructed her in astrology and from this she learned the exact nature of her emotional testing. Because her natal Moon squared Jupiter and Venus, she was to experience difficulty in matters of love and the disapproval of her parents—especially her mother—and there could be loss through business speculations. Deception, slander, and poor judgment could also cause difficulties. She came to understand that the current transit of Saturn aspecting these planets was considered "malific"—intensifying these tendencies. From her experience Annie learned: "We must all take courage and look our difficulties full in the face, neither magnifying them nor avoiding them; and we shall find in many cases that a little self-denial, a little exertion of Will, or even a little commonplace prudence will vanquish them completely."[7]

By the time transiting Uranus conjuncted her Mercury in the Sixth House of service, Annie realized its import: She had found a unique fellowship in which her unconventional intellect could be of service. MacGregor and Mina and their occult teachings had helped and convinced her. "In December 1889 I determined to join the Order having received much kindness from them both. In a very painful part of my life they proved themselves to be very considerate friends."[8]

Several years later, while traveling in Norway, Annie reminisced in a Golden Dawn teaching paper (called a "Flying Roll") about her experiences with initiation. It is one of the few sources of information about her own occult beliefs and experiences. She makes it clear that she had been considering entering the Golden Dawn since its inception.

> Naturally, when first asked to join and told that he is considered suitable, the Candidate feels strongly that he must be rather a remarkable person to be so chosen. That was the first stage with me, and it lasted until I was actually admitted into the Order nearly two years later. Of course some spiritual gifts are necessary to make true progress, but it is very hard to judge which person has them or even to tell our own power until time

and training have developed the tendencies hidden in our innermost natures.[9]

Mathers, although eager to admit her at first, delayed her initiation until she had completed her Saturn Return. "The necessity of overcoming opposition at the outset, is a test in itself, which shows individuality and fixity of purpose," Annie found.[10] By the time she was actually to experience initiation, she was ready to commit herself fully.

Meanwhile, her home life was obviously a challenge: "The uncongenial spiritual surroundings in which most of us are obliged to live out our lives have their uses; we learn to concentrate our minds amidst the distractions which are the more dangerous to our progress when they are not in active opposition to it." Although her family did not impede her membership, neither did they try to understand it. In any case, it is clear that she found a deep fulfillment through the Order: "To those who have made some little progress the true prosperity of our Order is very dear, and we look back with real gratitude at those who watched us until they thought fit, and then brought us in to what has become a great and important part of our lives. In some cases it was an intimate friend."[11] Annie, like many people drawn to religious cults, was at a stressful turning point in her life, and she saw that the solution to her problems lay in a search for meaning. The Golden Dawn was her solution: "None of us," she said, "who have made sacrifices for it in a right spirit are disappointed with the result.... It is a gradual process, and often a painful one to experience, but well worth the sorrows to be borne and the difficulties to be overcome by the earnest student."[12]

In January 1890 Annie Horniman was finally initiated into the Golden Dawn at Mina's studio on Fitzroy Street. She chose the magical motto *Fortiter et Recte,* meaning "Bravely and Justly." For Annie, justice became a point of personal honor; she was not afraid to challenge anyone she thought was involved in any sort of wrongdoing. But in striving for justice, as we shall see, she frequently lost sight of compassion.

NEOPHYTE RITUAL
0°=0°

Initiation means beginning. It indicates the commencement of growth in a new direction, often via instruction. Initiation rites involve breaking with an old set of beliefs. The rites kindle new beliefs and connect the soul-mind with patterns of higher consciousness. According to Israel Regardie, "Initiation is the preparation for immortality.... Immortality is acquired when the purely human part [of one]



THE FOOL FROM THE TAROCCO ITALIANO

becomes allied to that spiritual essence which was never created, was never born, and shall never die."[13] *The appropriate image for this timelessness is the 0 or Fool card of the Tarot. And akin to the Fool, the Neophyte Ritual in the Golden Dawn is designated as grade 0°=0°.*

Annie Horniman arrives at the temple location on Fitzroy Street for her Neophyte initiation. In Mina's familiar flat she is robed in a white gown, hoodwink over her head so that she can see nothing, and a rope tied three times around her waist. A sense of strangeness descends as she waits anxiously by herself until a temple officer, called the Hegemon (who is also robed and smelling of frankincense) arrives announcing: "Child of Earth, arise and enter the Path of Darkness." He guides her sightlessly stumbling to the door of the temple.

Annie feels herself being sprinkled with water and fumigated with incense before being conducted into the inner room. Asked why she seeks admission, she is prompted by her guide to respond: "My soul is wandering in darkness seeking for the Light of Occult Knowledge, and I believe that in this Order the knowledge of that Light may be obtained."

Helped to a kneeling position, her right hand is placed on a triangular symbol, and she is again prompted in a lengthy speech of Obligation to the Order. She promises to keep secret everything relating to it, to maintain kind and benevolent relations with all Fraters and Sorors, to not suffer herself to be hypnotized or mesmerized or placed in a trance state, to never use occult powers for any evil purpose, and to persevere through the ceremony of admission. Then, with trepidation, she swears that should she violate any of her oaths she will voluntarily

submit to "a deadly and hostile current of will set in motion by the chiefs of the Order, by which I should fall slain and paralysed without visible weapon as if slain by the lightning flash." She suddenly feels the heavy touch of cold steel against the back of her neck. Then it is gone.

The Hierophant (or Revealer of Mysteries, representing the Highest Self of the candidate) reminds Annie that "the Light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not." They now circle the temple following the light of a lamp that the Hierophant has called the "Light of Occult Science," although Annie, blindfolded, can see nothing.

Suddenly stopped in the West, her hoodwink is raised, and she finds herself looking down the point of a sword. Enjoined by one called "Darkness" to be without fear, she is then hoodwinked again. In the East she is threatened with a scepter by one called "the Light of a Golden Day." The Hierophant reminds her of the evil of unbalanced force, and she is once more hooded.

The Hierophant, speaking as a voice from her Highest Self, then calls to her:

I come in the Power of the Light.
I come in the Light of Wisdom.
I come in the Mercy of the Light.
The Light hath Healing in its Wings.

She kneels as the Hierophant invokes the Lord of the Universe. Then from all around her, she hears voices calling:

Inheritor of a dying world we call thee to the living beauty.
Wanderer in the wild darkness we call thee to the gentle light.

As though responding to their call she is raised to her feet and her hoodwink removed. She is standing under a circle of wands and swords, points touching directly over her head, while a voice enjoins:

Child of Earth, long hast thou dwelt in darkness.
Quit the night and seek the day.

There is a loud clap, and for the first time, she hears herself called by her magical name:

Fortiter et Recte we receive thee into the Order of the Golden Dawn.

She is given secret signs, a hand grip, a Grand Word, and a password of the Neophyte grade, then is led between the two pillars of the temple, the symbolic Gateway of Occult Science, as through a birth canal, for the final consecration. The meaning of each symbol in the ritual is now explained, as is the knowledge she must acquire to progress to the next grade. The initiation is over, but not the ritual.

With the hall of the grade of Neophyte symbolically closed, Annie finds herself

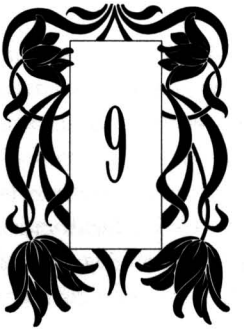
present at her first ceremony, making the signs she has just learned and partaking with the others in the Mystic Repast. When her turn comes, she approaches the altar, where she inhales the perfume of a rose as the symbol of Air. She then warms her hands over the sacred Fire. She eats bread dipped in salt representing the Earth. And finally she drinks the wine, a consecrated emblem of elemental Water.

With the words used in the Greek Eleusinian Mysteries, KNOX OM PAX, *"Light in Extension," meaning "Light moving out in a single ray," the ritual is over. Changed forever, Annie will henceforth be* Fortiter et Recte.

There were now seventy members in the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, although many had resigned or become inactive—not wanting to memorize Hebrew words and astrological glyphs in order to pass difficult examinations. But Annie quickly learned the required curriculum and within a few months took the 1°=10° and 2°=9° grades of Earth and Water. By July, Annie had passed the additional examinations for grades 3°=8° and 4°=7°. In six months she had learned the Hebrew letters and the structure of the Tree of Life in the four Kabbalistic Worlds, the astrological symbols and how to construct a horoscope, the names of the Tarot cards and their meanings and correspondences, the meanings of a large number of alchemical terms and symbols, the orders of angels and their names, the sixteen figures of Geomancy, and the inner significance of a variety of geometrical forms that appeared in the rituals. She had progressed as high as was possible at that time in the Order.

Now that she was an insider she was anxious to encourage the intense psychic connection that everyone perceived between Mina and her MacGregor, the priest and priestess of the rituals. Without income or proper lodgings, MacGregor found it difficult to provide the teaching and experiences that the budding occultists desired. One day, however, MacGregor and Mina visited Annie's house, and MacGregor took an interest in Frederick Horniman's collections.[14] Annie spoke with her father and arranged that MacGregor would take over some of the curating and cataloging duties in the museum. As part of his recompense, he would be housed at Stent Lodge on the Forest Hill estate.

Annie would no longer be alone at the manor, and her friends could have gracious surroundings and financial support for their work. Moreover, the couple would have the financial means to marry and formalize their joint commitment as Soror and Frater in the Great Work. Annie would be their patron.



Never to Retrace My Steps

MOINA BERGSON MATHERS

1888–1890

From March 1888, when Mina Bergson was initiated, until mid-1890, nothing is known of her activities. We can presume, however, that she and MacGregor were often together, Mina learning all that she could about magic and both dedicating themselves to Golden Dawn activities.

The parishioners of the vicarage at Chacombe near Banbury would have been surprised and disturbed had they known what the vicar's basement contained. In its recesses were counters supporting bulbous-bottomed bottles topped with tapered beaks, looking like pelicans straining to feed their young. Tubes flowed from vessels of "greene-lyons blood" into vials of darkest nigredo, and upon rose-red elixirs floated heavy drops of silvery azoth. Other vessels, four and five deep, contained powders, plants, resins, alcohols, salts, and sulphur—o'ertopped by a graying harvest of herbs dangling from the ceiling. In a corner, like some strange beast, squatted a large and rotund athanor crowned with a copper alembic from which depended a triple spout.

Mina Bergson, residing at the old house through May and June to establish residency and have banns announced for her upcoming marriage, asked endless questions about the apparatus, for the seventy-five-year-old vicar, William Ayton, was indeed an alchemist—as well as a Freemason, Theosophist, and initiate of the Golden Dawn. Kenneth Mackenzie called him "a profound occultist."[1] Mina impressed the Reverend Ayton with her occult abilities, and he

approved of her magical union with MacGregor: "Some of our Lady Members are the most advanced. One of Jewish extraction is, I think, the most advanced of all. It is a thing to be worked together, husband and wife especially."[2]

At the end of June he wrote, "We have been busy with having Miss Bergson here for the time required by Law for Publication of Banns of Marriage, which ended in Mr. MacGregor Mathers coming down last Monday, marrying her in my Church and carrying her off."[3] It was on June 16, 1890, that the church solemnized their marriage. Mina's Jewish family must have found it difficult to accept, for her new husband was not only a gentile but a worshiper of Osiris—god of the Egyptians who had once enslaved their people.

The seemingly precipitant marriage occurred when transiting Saturn (creating form and structure) and Uranus (unpredictable and unorthodox) were harmoniously aspecting the planets that formed Mina's major aspect pattern in her chart (a pentagram).[4] This transit would symbolize her entire marriage to MacGregor. Together they revolutionized (Uranus) ceremonial magic, creating an orderly system (Saturn). Although she had to face resistance from her family over the difference in their ages, background, and religion (transiting Uranus opposite her Venus), she entered the marriage with open eyes, excited at the prospect of breaking through the limitations of family orthodoxy. It was a time of heady ideas and frenetic learning, with her husband as her guide and teacher (Saturn). On the other hand, Westcott came to see her as ensorceled: "Mrs. Mathers was obsessed by Samuel Liddel M——."[5]

As soon as she married, Mina changed her first name to Moina, a Celtic variant that she felt was much more suited to her totally new life and ideas. So she went from being Mina Bergson, a Jewish art student, to being Moina Mathers, priestess of the Golden Dawn. She never again used the name Mina.

The Matherses began using their new home at the Hornimans' Forest Hill Lodge to host metaphysical salons and evenings of psychic experimentation. There, MacGregor and Moina developed and perfected their techniques of "skrying in the spirit vision," a means of linking their minds in order to experience mutual visions. They discovered that Moina was a natural clairvoyant who could see detailed scenes unfolding in symbolic tableaus that MacGregor interpreted as past-life experiences. His gift lay in applying her visions to a third person's current affairs. The twenty-five-year-old poet William Butler Yeats, initiated into the Golden Dawn on March 7, was fascinated by tales of fairies and magic, and, of course, he went to Forest Hill to investigate the phenomenon of Moina's vision.

"Though I was not to be convinced . . . that they were old lives," Yeats reflected, "I was to learn that they have almost always some quite definite relation to dominant moods and events in this life. They are, perhaps . . . symbolical histories of these moods and events, or rather symbolical shadows

of the impulses that have made them, messages as it were out of the ancestral being of the questioner."[6]

Events recounted in his essay "Ideas of Good and Evil" allow us to imagine the experiences of Yeats and a friend, arriving to spend an evening with Mr. and Mrs. Mathers at the Mathers's little house on the edge of the park at the top of Surrey Mount.[7] Sweeping views across London are blocked only by a few trees. Within the house they enter a longish room, where they find MacGregor Mathers seated on a dais holding a mitre-headed mace. Yeats and his friend sit down in the middle of the room, and Moina sits between them and MacGregor. With Mathers as "the evoker of spirits" and Moina as "the seeress," the ceremony of evocation begins. Mathers turns to a tablet of many-colored squares (based on John Dee's Enochian language and representing angelic and planetary spirits) and chants strange yet powerful-sounding words over it.

Almost at once, Yeats has the odd sensation that his imagination is moving by itself, bringing up vivid images that he cannot change or shape. He perceives his friend in the midst of a group of white figures in bishop's mitres—suggested, he thinks, by the mace MacGregor holds.

Mathers commands in a deep voice, "Let him be blotted out," and Yeats watches as his friend disappears from his mind's eye, and in his place appears a man dressed in black wearing a curious square cap.

"It is your friend in the past life that moulded this present one," explains Moina. "That life will now unfold before us."

As Moina describes what she sees, Yeats finds that he often sees things before she can describe them.

"I think he is a Fleming of about the sixteenth century," she begins. "He is walking along narrow streets and has come to a narrow door with rusty ironwork above it. He goes in."

Yeats sees a dead body lying on a table, but he keeps quiet to see if Moina will mention it.

"He is walking down a long hall and up into some kind of pulpit. He's a clergyman. I can hear his words—they sound like Low Dutch. . . . No, I am wrong. I can see the listeners; he is a doctor lecturing among his pupils."

Yeats impatiently asks if she sees anything else in the room.

"Yes, I see a subject for dissection near the door."

The man goes out into another house and then downstairs to a large cellar full of retorts and strange vessels, where he stops to eat. While he is eating, Moina and MacGregor begin speculating about the man's character and habits.

"He seems to be absorbed in naturalism . . ."

"He's excited by the ancient stories of magic and thinks he can copy them with his science—"

"Wait, he's going to a flame. There's a vessel on it that's been heating slowly,"

interrupts Moina. "Now he's taking out something wrapped up in cloths. He's unwrapping the cloths—layers of them. It's the image of a man. But rough, not sculpted."

"He's trying to make flesh by chemical means," declares Mathers. "He won't succeed, but his brooding has drawn so many evil spirits about him that the image is partly alive. See, it's moving a little on the table." Yeats, hearing little squeals, shivers but keeps silent.

"I hear little squeals," says Moina.

But Mathers has a different impression: "They're not squeals. He is pouring a red liquid out of a retort through a slit in the cloth. The slit is over the mouth of the image and the liquid is gurgling in a rather curious way."

Weeks pass swiftly as the man continues to work in his cellar. Then Moina sees him lying sick in an upstairs room, with a man in a conical cap standing beside him.

"The image is still in the cellar and it's moving feebly about on the floor," says Moina. Yeats and Mathers both see the same thing. Yeats watches as fainter impressions of the image pass continually from the cellar to the man in his upstairs bed. "What are those things?" he asks Mathers.

Mathers shivers. "They are the images of his terror."

"The man in the cap is telling the sick man to get out of bed and come to the cellar," continues Moina. "The sick man is afraid. The other has to support him, but they go down to the cellar together. Now the man in the cap is making a symbol over the image. It falls back as if asleep. He's putting a knife into the other's hand and saying, 'I have taken from it the magical life, but you must take from it the life you gave.' The sick man is stooping down. He is severing the head of the image from its body. Now the sick man falls."

"He's wounded himself in doing this," explains Mathers. "For he filled the image with his own life."

The vision changes and flutters, and then they see the man lying sick again upstairs, while the man in the conical cap watches over him.

"He will recover in part, but he will never be well again," says Mathers, looking further into the future. "His story spreads through the town and shatters his good name. His pupils leave him. Men avoid him. He is accursed."

Mathers ends the evocation; looking straight at Yeats's friend he pronounces, "He was a magician."

The friend, white and awestruck, says, "All my life I have seen myself in dreams forming a man by some means like that. When I was a child I was always thinking of contrivances for galvanizing a corpse into life." Although Yeats's friend had read *Frankenstein,* none of the others had. "Perhaps my bad health in this life comes from that experiment," his friend concluded.

Yeats now bravely asks to have a past life of his own revealed. "You must not

try to see the images yourself," Mathers tells him. So Yeats expects, like his friend, to see nothing.

Mathers repeats his evocation before the tablet of colored squares, and Moina begins speaking as an image forms in her mind.

A man in chain armor passes through a castle door. "The rooms are bare and rude," she describes with surprise. "I was expecting it to be magnificent and full of pageantry. The man is walking through a large hall to a little chapel that opens out of it, where a ceremony is taking place. Six girls dressed in white are taking something—a yellow object—from the altar."

Yeats catches glimpses of the scene and is sure that the object is golden, although someone else says it is yellow flowers.

"The girls are laying the object in the man's hands. He leaves the chapel and goes into the hall, passing over two grave markers." The vision breaks up and slowly coalesces into a future time.

"I see him again," says Moina. "But now he's clothed in a monk's habit, standing with some men-at-arms in the middle of a village. He calls the villagers about him and reads from a parchment. They—the monk, soldiers, and villagers—are all boarding ship for some long voyage."

Eventually they see the ship arriving in what appears to be the Holy Land.

"They are laboring to build something among the palm trees. It's something sacred, and only the gentlemen work, while the common men stand idle. They are bringing large stones, with ceremonial formality, from particular directions—from the cardinal points."

"They're building a Masonic house," exclaims Mathers—whose mind is always running on Masonry and discovering it in strange places, thinks Yeats.

They now agree to stop the vision in order to eat supper, but immediately afterward they return to the evocation.

"While we've been eating, they've been building. It's not a Masonic house at all but a great stone cross," says Moina in surprise. "Everyone has gone except the man in armor and two monks whom I didn't notice before. He's standing against the cross, his feet on stone rests so that he's lifted above the ground, with his arms spread out."

Each day he stands upon the cross, and each night he goes to a small cell. The vision flutters like the drifting of leaves before the eyes of the magical voyeurs. The figure grows old and white-haired, as do the monks who now hold him on the cross.

"Why is the man standing there?" Yeats asks the evoker of spirits. But before Mathers can answer, Yeats sees for himself two people, a man and a woman, rising as from a dream within a dream before the eyes of the man upon the cross. "I see a man and a woman," says Mathers. "One of them is holding out his arms. He has no hands." Yeats suddenly remembers the two

markers he had passed in the great hall outside the chapel. "Is the knight undergoing a penance for violence?" he asks Mathers.

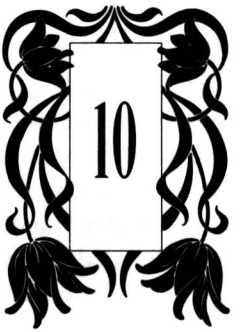
"It could be, but I don't know," confesses Mathers. "In any case, the vision is gone. I can see no more. It has completed its cycle."

Later, Yeats wondered who had made up the story—if it was a story. He knew he had not. "And the seeress had not, and the evoker of spirits had not, and could not. For it arose," he concluded, "in three minds . . . without confusion and without labor. It may be, as Blake said of one of his poems, that the author was in eternity."[8]

Yeats was impressed by the cohesion of vision among the three people. "At the time these two visions meant little more . . . than a proof of the supremacy of imagination, of the power of many minds to become one, overpowering one another by spoken words and by unspoken thought till they have become a single, intense, unhesitating energy. One mind was doubtless the master . . . but all the minds gave a little, creating or revealing for a moment what I must call a supernatural artist."[9] In fact, such mutual visions would become the basis of the Golden Dawn's frequent information-gathering journeys into the astral regions, which sometimes involved as many as five or six people simultaneously intervisioning the journey. These meetings at Forest Hill continued through the year, and Moina, directed by MacGregor, was the means through which this magical artistry was able to manifest.

By summer 1890, a number of initiates had advanced through all the teachings that the Golden Dawn could offer in the grades of its Outer Order, and they were beginning to demand something more practical. MacGregor, Westcott, and Moina began to prepare for admittance of members to a Second, Inner Order patterned upon the death and resurrection of Christian Rosenkreutz. What they needed was a special vault or chamber in which to perform the elaborate ceremony that would psychically transform seeker into magician.

At the end of August, Westcott received a letter stating that Anna Sprengel had died on July 20. The communicant stated he had risked the disapproval of the Secret Chiefs who had not supported Sprengel's chartering of the London lodge. Contact between the English and German lodges would henceforth be severed. The last letter to arrive from Germany said that if they continued conducting ceremonies in big lodges (which was not done in Germany), the Chiefs would not help them "until they see what sort of effect the change will have on the interests of this society."[10] In order to advance with the work of the Second Order, the English lodge would have to contact the Secret Chiefs themselves.



Wisdom Given to the Wise

FLORENCE FARR AND G.B.S.

1888–1890

"It was not a duel but a card scandal that brought his early career in London society to an untimely end. He was obliged to leave England, although circumstances necessitated the hushing up of the scandal," explained Florence Farr in her autobiographical novel *The Dancing Faun.*[1] And so she encouraged her husband, Edward Emery, to accept a part with the Wyndham theatrical company, which was leaving to tour the United States. Edward's fare was paid by his sister, Winifred Emery, and her husband, Cyril Maude. Everyone wanted to be rid of Edward. Thus with the passing of 1888, Florence ended another "bad" year as she noted on her astrology chart.

"There was some trouble (not domestic) that ended in his emigrating to America and passing out of Florence's life," Bernard Shaw later confirmed, hinting that Emery's involvement in gambling and drinking were severe enough to create legal problems for Florence.[2]

Yeats's sister Lollie thought that Edward "was a very bad hat,"[3] and Florence's niece, Dorothy Paget, described her "Uncle Ted" as a man of "weak character, charm, and a love for animals and little children who all responded to him."[4] Florence, in her novel, wrote, "He could not bear to see animals suffer; he got on splendidly with children. He treated women as if he was their father, and men as if he was their redeemer.... He took other people's money, their property, and their affections, with equal grace and admirable cordiality."[5] Florence, in responding to Edward Emery's charm, learned the hard way

that in the long run character was more significant than cordiality.

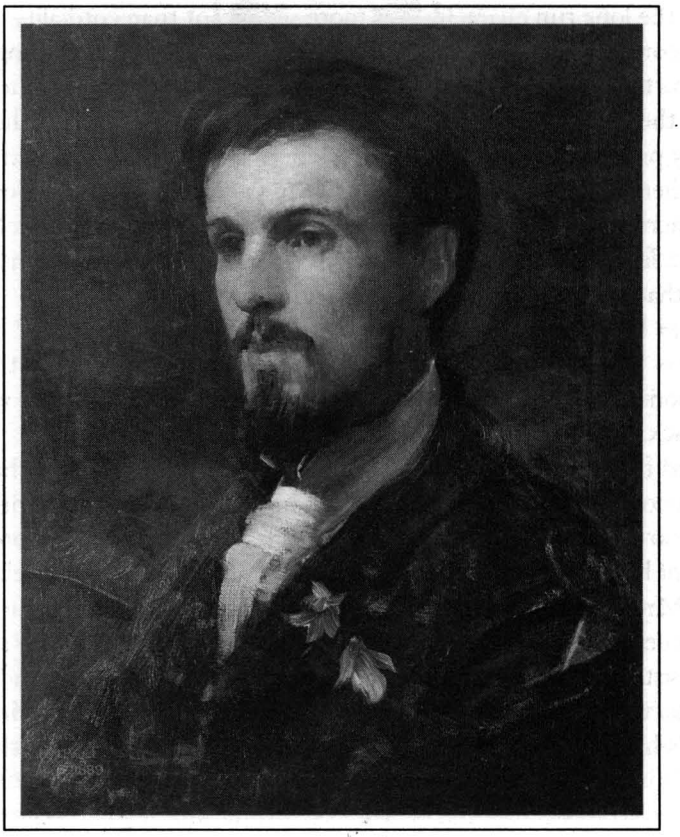
She completed her first Progressed Lunar Return at the beginning of 1888, signaling that she was ending an old emotional life and beginning a new one. Before the end of the year her natal Twelfth House Sun crossed her Ascendant by progression to enter her First House of self-expression, and she completed her Saturn Return cycle. It was a time of renewal, and she would never again sacrifice her freedom and personal direction for the wishes of another; she had faced that which she feared most—the end of her marriage—and found that new possibilities were appearing before her.[6]

"I was brought up in a large family until I was twenty-three," explained Florence, "and I lived the orthodox married life for four years, so that I have given home and the family as much trial as seemed necessary."[7] She would not look back.

Freed from the demands of marriage but needing to stretch her subsistence income, Florence went to live with her sister, the artist Henrietta Paget, and her artist and stage-designer husband, Henry M. Paget, in Bedford Park. To augment her income, Florence studied embroidery under the tutelage of her friend May Morris, who headed the embroidery workshop for the craft and design company belonging to her father, William Morris.[8] With May and Willie Yeats's sister Lily (the elder of his two sisters, Lily and Lollie), Florence worked on projects during the evening gatherings of the Socialist League held at the Morris's home. It was here that she met many of the intellectual thinkers of the day, including Bernard Shaw, an orator famous for his speeches laced with references to economics and delivered with an ironically barbed wit.

Bedford Park, where Florence lived with the Pagets, was a newly designed garden suburb of London near West Kensington. Catering to architects, artists, and writers whose homes were often decorated with stained glass and William Morris prints, "it was seen as Arcadian, Aesthetic, Bohemian; as an unconscious example of a Romantic Socialist Co-operative."[9] There was a large park, convenient shopping, and a railway station and buses for easy trips into town. Bedford Park's community clubhouse regularly produced plays that attracted notice throughout literary London.

The visiting American author Helen Hunt Jackson wrote in astonishment that "any woman who lives in Bedford Park may go to the club, read periodicals, play billiards, smoke (if she likes) as freely as if she were a man."[10] Indeed, the "female tongue had been unloosed," for the ladies of Bedford Park started a discussion society of their own, featuring lectures by notables such as the American suffragette Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The women talked about everything from dress reform to how women could study science, and they maintained that "the general belief in the inferiority of women is not based on evidence."[11] After the stifling boredom of marriage, Florence felt rejuvenated



WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS, PAINTED BY HENRY M. PAGET, APRIL 1889

by this environment of creativity and free thought. Love, she concluded, was an illusion—and marriage a kind of death.

In April 1889 Florence met an Irish neighbor and poet, twenty-four-year-old Willie Yeats, when her brother-in-law Henry painted his portrait. At the time, Willie was immersed in the Theosophical Society and was editing the works of William Blake. He looks "half-poetic, half masculine," noted a local journalist. "He has the poet's forehead, and in moments of irritation or emotion he will sweep the dusky hair from off it. The chin is, however firm and reliant, and the mouth is close set with an air of strong determination. . . . He is tall and lath-like; His face is dark . . . long and oval, and from out it gaze two large sad brown eyes."[12]

Willie, who was experimenting with poetic drama, had talked the elder Irishman John Todhunter—a graduate of Trinity College, medical doctor, world traveler, and poet—into writing a pastoral play. Todhunter agreed, pro-

vided that Florence Farr Emery play the lead role. She had, after all, been a professional actress, and her low, mellifluous voice would be perfect for the recitation of verse. With her slim, boyish figure she made an appropriately chaste-looking priestess of the Moon Goddess Selene. The play, *A Sicilian Idyll: A Pastoral Play in Two Scenes,* almost certainly was written by the melancholy and probably love-struck Irishman specifically for Florence.

As rehearsals commenced, Yeats watched Todhunter's study fill with props and costumes such as "shepherd crooks and long sticks topped with pine cones to serve as wands for shepherd priests of Bacchus, who in the first scene enter in slow procession carrying the image of the god and singing his praises, and on the chairs are colored silks to be made into stately costumes."[13] Since Willie had just been initiated into an occult society known as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, he was eager to help stage the ritual scenes.

A Sicilian Idyll is the story of the shepherdess-priestess Amaryllis (Florence) who, scorning the love of men, cherishes the love of women as a true reflection of her soul. She claims, "We are priestesses of that pure flame / Whose temple is the soul."[14] But, "If I did love, / I should be dangerous to the man I loved.... I thank the gods I love no man!"[15] When the traveler Alcander steals a kiss, she finds herself chained to him in "mad thoughts." Overhearing him speak to her friend Thestylis of love, she feels betrayed (although he is actually speaking about Amaryllis).

To avenge herself Amaryllis summons the Moon Goddess Selene in her dread form as the sorceress Hecate, and she demands the death of Alcander:

> *Hear me, Selene, for to thee I sing!*
> *Calling on thee by thy most dreadful name,*
> *Hecate; thou who through the shuddering night*
> *Pacest where black pools of fresh-offered blood*
> *Gleam cold beside the barrows of the dead:*
> *Dread goddess, draw him dying to my feet!*[16]

What she finds, though, is that the charm is affecting herself. Alcander enters dying; she admits her love, kisses him, and thus saves both their lives. The players then crown the love-god Eros "lord of all our flocks and herds."

The play opened on a full-moon night in May 1890; the long room of the red-brick clubhouse, with its black panels, gilt Cupids, and Morris friezes, was crowded with a distinguished audience. Florence's sister-in-law, the actress Winifred Emery, was there with her producer husband, Cyril Maude, and so was Florence's friend May Morris, who was pleased to see her admirer Bernard Shaw in his official capacity as theatre critic. Yeats wrote in an article for the *Boston Pilot,* "Mrs Edward Emery ... won universal praise with her strik-



FLORENCE FARR AND HER BROTHER-IN-LAW HENRY PAGET IN *A SICILIAN IDYLL*

ing beauty and subtle gesture and fine delivery of the verse. Indeed her acting was the feature of the whole performance that struck one most, after the verse itself. I do not know that I have any word too strong to express my admiration for its grace and power. . . . I have never heard verse better spoken."[17]

Shaw was struck by Florence's good looks, which "no doubt helped her achieve a success that would have cost a plainer woman more to achieve"; on the other hand, he was disparaging of her mumbling.[18]

Yeats made a close friend in Florence, who led him to a discovery that was to influence his life. Florence Farr read poetry for pleasure. While she was upon the stage, no one else could hold an eye or an ear. Her "speech was music, the poetry acquired a nobility, a passionate austerity that made it akin for certain moments to the great poetry of the world."[19] Willie found in Florence "an almost perfect poetic actress," and she soon became an inspiration for his own modern poetic drama.[20]

He wrote of this time in his autobiography:

> Florence Farr lived in lodgings some twenty minutes' walk away at Brook Green, and I was soon a constant caller, talking over plays that I would some day write her. She had three great gifts, a tranquil beauty like that of Demeter's image near the British Museum reading-room door, and an incomparable sense of rhythm and a beautiful voice, the seeming natural expression of the image. . . . She would dress without care or calculation as if to hide her beauty and seem contemptuous of its power. If a man fell in love with her she would notice that she had seen just that movement upon the stage or had heard just that intonation and all seemed unreal. If she read out some poem in English or in French all was passion, all a traditional splendour, but she spoke of actual things with a cold wit or under the strain of paradox. Wit and paradox alike sought to pull down whatever had tradition or passion and she was soon to spend her days in the British Museum reading-room and become erudite in many heterogeneous studies moved by an insatiable, destroying curiosity. I formed with her an enduring friendship that was an enduring exasperation.[21]

For Florence, *A Sicilian Idyll* marked a turning point. The confused days of her Saturn Return were over, and her marital failure was behind her; like Hera-made-Virgin-again, she found that others were magnetically drawn to her wherever she went. As if to confirm her now complete freedom from the past, she had moved out of her sister's house and found her own lodgings.

The mystical and transformational outer planets of Pluto and Neptune were forming a rare conjunction in Gemini affecting everyone at this time, but because this also exactly conjuncted Florence's natal Uranus in the Eleventh House of humanistic, visionary movements, Florence was clearly ripe for deep metaphysical involvement in a revolutionary, occult organization of sorors and fraters. Bernard Shaw saw in her the embodiment of the New Woman, another manifestation of this conjunction.

In Yeats's opinion, no one in the Golden Dawn could evoke in rituals the kind of shivers that Florence did on stage when she elevated the chalice to pour the libation or summoned the Moon Goddess Selene with resonant command. He was therefore anxious for her to meet his new friends and mentors, MacGregor and Moina Mathers, who shared Florence's interest in

ritual and ancient cultures. They finally met at the home of Madame Blavatsky, to whom Florence was also being introduced for the first time.[22]

Florence had discovered something about the power of ritual when she acted as priestess in the play. A growing sense of her unique purpose was intensified by serious Saturn transiting in opposition to her mystical Eighth House Moon in Pisces. This focused her imagination on a deep inner search for the meaning of existence and a belief in her ability to evoke the unseen world. But she needed the support and nurturance of others, and Willie Yeats filled that need when he introduced her to MacGregor and Moina. Notably, he did not recommend the Theosophical Society, which had just expelled him for his insistence on occult experimentation.

Florence was initiated into the Golden Dawn in July 1890, following both Annie Horniman and Willie, who had been initiated earlier that year. She took as her secret motto *Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data,* "Wisdom is a gift given to the Wise."

Catapulted into a new life as her progressed Moon conjuncted her Neptune in the Ninth House of philosophy and higher learning, she felt drawn to the British Museum to study the vast repository of ancient, secret knowledge housed there. Yeats found that "her sitting-room at the Brook Green lodging house was soon a reflection of her mind, the walls covered with musical instruments, pieces of oriental drapery and Egyptian gods and goddesses painted by herself in the British Museum."[23]

Florence and Yeats began going to the Matherses' home in Forest Hill for metaphysical gatherings. One day Mathers took Florence for a walk though a field of sheep.

"Look at the sheep," he said. "I am going to imagine myself a ram."

To her amazement all the sheep ran after him.

Once he tried to quell a thunderstorm by making symbols in the air with a Masonic sword. And another time he gave her a piece of cardboard with a colored geometrical symbol on it. He told her to hold it to her forehead, and she had a vision of walking on a cliff above the sea, sea gulls shrieking overhead. It was so real, so unequivocal, she felt as if the darkness had been rent with a knife and the scene poured through.[24]

Florence had originally met Bernard Shaw around 1888 or 1889 at William Morris's Hammersmith house, where he had been attending their socialist meetings since 1884. Shaw, a late bloomer, had at that time discovered a hitherto unsuspected magnetism he held for women, particularly those who could see through his cynicism to the sensitive, wounded soul within. He gathered around him a large number of women to whom he "made love," in the Victorian sense of intimate communication through letters and conversation and the singing or playing of musical duets.[25]

Jan Marsh suggests that a large part of Shaw's problematic relations with women "seems to have been caused by Shaw's desperate desire to be liked and admired—hence his often absurd flattery, which some women had difficulty distinguishing from true adoration—in conflict with his deep-seated fear of rejection, together with an apparent distaste for sex and parenthood; this caused him to encourage and then rebuff female attentions, when they became insistent."[26]

Time after time, Shaw found himself enamored of a married woman whose husband, at least for a while, would welcome him into their home. This provided him with safety while enabling him to expound outrageously upon the maddening effect the woman's presence had on him. "Shaw loved a triangle ... the husband adoring of his wife and carelessly generous with the amount of adoration he would tolerate from others; the wife gloriously unconventional, but fortified against his lovemaking by 'a happy prior attachment,'" explains biographer Margot Peters.[27]

Florence, although still married, was quite free. Shaw encountered her later in the summer of 1890 at a picnic in the garden of Merton Abbey, William Morris's factory in Sussex. She astonished him, he said, "by asking me would I play the Stranger in the *Lady from the Sea* if she succeeded in getting up a performance. She said that as I had a red beard she thought I would look the part in a pea jacket. I pleaded ineptitude and declined."[28]

Timothy d'Arch Smith, in a biographical sketch of Florence, pointed out that when Shaw, "obsessed with the 'emancipated' woman and with a desire to prove to the public that actresses were not habitually loose women but honest, hardworking people getting on with their careers ... [found] an emancipated woman who was also an actress and, at his instigation, a divorcee, [it] was the fulfilment of several dreams at once."[29]

Shaw, more than fifty years later, described his early acquaintance with Florence as he then remembered it:

> She acted in an entertainment at the house on the Mall; and on this occasion I made her acquaintance, and had no difficulty in considerably improving it. She set no bounds to her relations with men whom she liked, and already had a sort of Leporello list of a dozen adventures, none of which, however, had led to anything serious. She was in violent reaction against Victorian morals, especially sexual and domestic morals; and when the impact of Ibsen was felt in this country, and I wrote somewhere that "home is the girl's prison and the woman's workhouse," I became persona grata with her.[30]

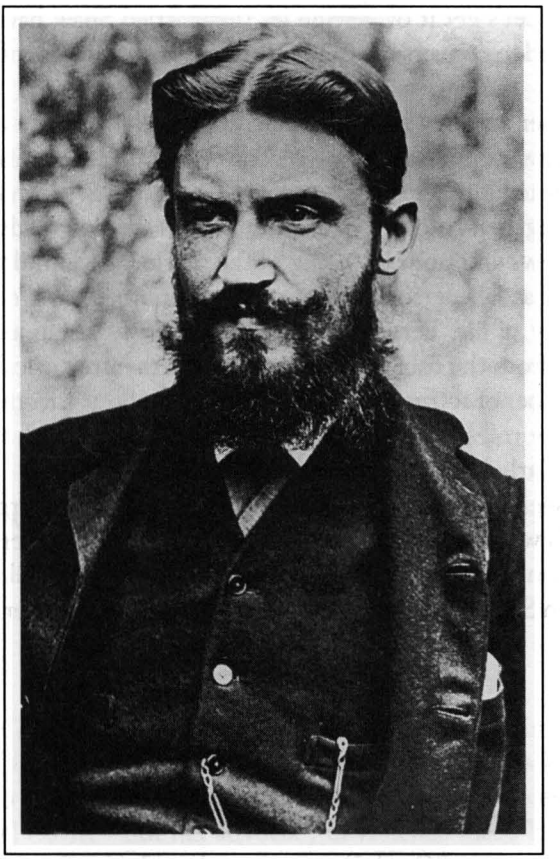
Speaking even more explicitly about Florence Farr's affairs, Shaw told his biographer Hesketh Pearson: "She attached no more importance to what you

call love affairs than Casanova or Frank Harris; and she was too good-natured to refuse anything to anyone she really liked. I think she was rather proud of her Leporello list, which contained 14 names in 1894."[31] As with most "kiss and tell" scenarios, Shaw's comments have been interpreted as proof of Florence's promiscuity, disregarding Shaw's well-known tendency toward character assassination, exaggeration, petty jealousy, and male chauvinism. From currently known sources we can only be sure of three lovers: her husband, Shaw, and, briefly, Yeats. Yet Francis King demonstrates the effect of Shaw's public disclosure: "The surviving Golden Dawn tradition is that Florence Farr was not a nymphomaniac"—from where could he have possibly gotten this idea?—". . . but that she was almost incapable of saying no to any man who asked her to sleep with him."[32] Another of Shaw's biographers, Michael Holroyd, assumes that she must have been infertile since she never became pregnant by the many lovers Shaw claimed for her.[33] These judgments are flagrantly sexist and based solely on the recollections of a man who had forgotten that he ever wrote her any letters and whose affections were ultimately rejected by Florence.[34] What is most objectionable is the so-called documentation of her promiscuity, nymphomania, or inability to say no, ad nauseum, based entirely on hearsay from a rejected lover. On the other hand, Florence may well have chosen to explore any experience that would bring greater knowledge and wisdom. While disdainful of "the ungraceful antics of love," she recommended the benefits of the physical act for producing heirs, for diversion (as long as it never became serious), and as hygienic exercise. A later plea for the sacredness of the prostitute may have come from her own experience invoking god-forms to bring through the Goddess in the sexual act for the healing of another and herself. She was a New Woman in what was not yet a new world.

By 1890, Saturn, the planet of focus and limitation, was entering Florence's Second House of money and resources; she was feeling financially restricted, anxious to establish some security, and willing to submit to concentration on disciplined work. Her embroidery was accomplished enough to be shown at the 1890 Arts and Crafts Exhibition organized by Walter Crane at the New Gallery, where she displayed a curtain of blue linen, with a fruit tree design, and two embroidered sachets.[35] Working part-time as May Morris's assistant, Florence would supplement her income with occasional embroidery commissions—sometimes for fellow Golden Dawn members.

On the evening of October 4, after a special showing at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Shaw walked Florence home. This was the beginning of a six-year relationship drama that rivals any modern soap opera.

Later the same month, Shaw met Florence at the train station, and they went to the first Saturday concert of the season at the Crystal Palace. After-



BERNARD SHAW, ABOUT THE TIME HE MET FLORENCE

ward they both returned to Florence's rooms, where "what with playing & singing & talking to her about Ibsen (I persuaded her to get up *Rosmersholm* instead of *The Lady from the Sea*) I stayed too late to keep my appointment with Pennell."[36]

Shaw saw Florence as "a young independent professional woman, who enjoyed, as such, an exceptional freedom of social intercourse in artistic circles in London. As she was clever, good natured, and very good looking, all her men friends fell in love with her." And Shaw no less than the others. Although he was sexually involved with another woman, even this affair had not given him the finesse he needed to woo Florence, who tended to lose "all patience with the hesitating preliminaries of her less practised adorers." Thus, when Shaw "clearly longed to kiss her," and she did not "dislike him sufficiently to make his gratification too great a strain on her excessive good nature," she seized the stammering Shaw firmly by the wrists, brought him into her arms by a smart

pull, and said "Let's get it over." She let the startled Shaw have his kiss, and then "proceeded to converse with him at her ease on subjects of more general interest."[37]

By November 15 they had had their "first really intimate conversation," which was Shaw's euphemism for sexual intercourse. Transiting Jupiter finally crossed into Florence's freedom-loving Aquarian Seventh House of relationships, giving her an older help-meet and professional advisor who expanded her views and understanding of the world. She found that what she had thought of as her personal beliefs and preferences could now be viewed as a philosophy of life. Bernard Shaw, in addition to being an expositor of socialist views from the Fabian perspective, was a theatre critic. He offered, to a growing number of actresses, quite astute advice about effective acting techniques and new roles for women that would challenge both them and the public, particularly as he was an advocate of Ibsen.

For Shaw, seeing Florence resulted in terrible scenes and arguments with his first lover, a wealthy widow friend of his mother's named Jenny Patterson. So Jenny left on a trip to the East and was not to return until the following spring. By then Shaw and Florence would be seeing each other regularly.



Through Fire to Light

MAUD GONNE AND WILLIE YEATS

1888–1890

Maud Gonne turned twenty-one just prior to the beginning of the new year of 1888; her inheritance now empowered her to live as she chose.

Wanting to work for Irish liberation, she offered her services to parliamentarian Michael Davitt—but her advocacy of violence made him suspect that she was a spy. Finally she found a mentor in John O'Leary, who had spent six years in an English prison for planning the Fenian Rising. His words became the impetus for her work. "You must read," he said, "read the history of our country, read its literature; I will lend you the books and then you must lecture."[1] He meant for her to concentrate on converting Protestant Unionist landowners to their cause through her access to their social gatherings, but that was too tame for Maud.

She and Ida Jameson (of the famous whiskey family) began by staging a concert in Dublin presenting only Irish music and poetry, during which she recited the poem "The Banshee and Dark Rosaleen"—written by the same John Todhunter who was currently writing a play for Florence Farr. By refusing to play the British anthem, *God Save the Queen*, they shocked society and made all the newspapers. In Ida, Maud found a companion with psychic abilities similar to her own. Both had been able, since childhood, to see things invisible to others. She told Ida of her Dark Woman, and Ida told her of seeing the dog with eyes of flame that haunted the Donnybrook Road.

Following John O'Leary's advice, Maud applied for membership in the Celtic Literary Society, only to learn that women were excluded. Next she found that, since the Ladies' Land League had been disbanded (by the men), women were excluded from active participation in all nationalist organizations. "We disbanded the Ladies' Land League when we came out [of jail]," the men told Maud. "They did too good work, and some of us found they could not be controlled."[2] The plain fact was that women were not welcome in the Irish battle for freedom, for this was "men's work."

Frustrated in her efforts, Maud went to Donegal that fall to see for herself the effect of the 150 eviction notices that the landlord Colonel Olpherts alone had served to families who could not pay their rents. Taking letters of introduction, she, her cousin May, and her faithful Great Dane, Dagda, set out through the blustering rains. They went to courts where young men who spoke no English were given jail sentences for cutting turf or gathering seaweed for fertilizer. Maud wrote letters to newspapers and persuaded journalists to investigate for themselves. She found rooms and paid rents for those few people whom she could help directly. "A thousand Irish men, women and children were left homeless and how many of them died that winter I do not know," she grieved.[3] But she now knew who needed her the most—the poor of the land.

Maud missed Lucien. In January 1889 she returned to Paris, where she and Lucien Millevoye renewed their political and emotional ties. But she soon felt the need to go back to Ireland, where she was just beginning to make her efforts felt. She stopped briefly in London, armed with letters of introduction to people with whom she could discuss Irish affairs. John O'Leary's sister Ellen wrote her friend Willie Yeats that she was sending "a new lady friend of ours and new convert to love of Ireland" to visit his father.[4] Was Ellen hoping to match Willie's poetic soul with Maud's fiery passion for Ireland?

William Butler Yeats, who was to become the co-magician and intimate friend of all four women of the Golden Dawn, was born on June 13, 1865, at "Georgeville," Sandymount Castle, just outside Dublin. His birth time of 10:40 P.M. puts him exactly on the cusp of Aquarius Rising, with Sun in Gemini and Moon in Aquarius.[5] With the air element strongly emphasized, he was a child of the mind, eager to play with words and ideas, and he would revolutionize English poetry and Irish theatre, in the manner of a true Aquarian.

Yeats's grandfather and great-grandfather were clergymen of the Church of Ireland, and his father, John Butler Yeats, was expected to follow in their footsteps. However, while at Trinity College, John rebelled, rejecting "revealed religion" as mere myth and fable. Thus he later brought up his son, Willie, with the same disregard for organized religion. But Willie was in awe of the majesty of spirit and still needed something to contain it. When his father

read him Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, this need transformed into a longing to become a magician-poet.

Willie lived with his family, first in Dublin and then in London, where he began school. He returned to Dublin when he was fifteen. He spent his summers in the Irish countryside of Sligo with his mother's merchant family. At seventeen, responding to a primal call, he spent one night awake by the lake on the Isle of Innisfree, a kind of vision quest that he described as bringing stark terror during the night, followed by ecstasy at the beauty of the golden dawn.

Never a good student, he was unable to pass the entrance exams for Trinity College; he went instead to an art school in Kildare Street, thinking he might have some of his father's talent as an artist. There he met George Russell, a strange young man who also preferred his own imagination to the assignments of the faculty. Together they read the new Theosophical writings on reincarnation by Blavatsky's Secret Masters, who taught an "ageless wisdom." They formed a Hermetic Society, with Willie as chairman, to explore and test these ideas.

In his early twenties, Yeats met John O'Leary, the Fenian leader, who gave him books to read and talked to him about Ireland's right to be free of England. Willie was inspired with the idea of fighting for Ireland through literature. Perhaps giving Ireland a literary identity could be the first step toward its unique identity as a country.

From boyhood he had been drawn to country tales of fairies and ghosts, and his soul was enthralled by the Pre-Raphaelite myths of the Celtic dawn. Adding this to his Theosophical studies, he began evolving a personal worldview that included the life of the spirit. He read the works of Paracelsus, Jacob Boehme, Emmanuel Swedenborg, and William Blake.

In 1887, when he was twenty-two, his family moved back to London, where his father hoped to support the family as a portrait painter. They settled at 3 Blenheim Road, Bedford Park, near Florence Farr's sister and brother-in-law, the Pagets. His mother, sinking into a deep depression that caused her to retreat from involvement in the lives of her children, withdrew into an upstairs room.

Hearing that Madame Blavatsky had just settled in London, Willie went to discover the truth about reports of fraudulent séances in India. He found her "a sort of female Dr. Johnson" and was intrigued enough to join the Theosophical Society, drinking up Blavatsky's opus, *The Secret Doctrine*.[6]

He suggested at the Theosophical Society that they experiment with their principles, by attempting, for instance, to raise up the ghost of a burned flower using a technique he had found in Sibley's *Astrology*. In response, he was charged with creating a disturbance and was asked to resign.[7]

On January 30, 1889, the twenty-two-year-old Maud Gonne arrived in Bedford Park to meet the Irish portrait painter J. B. Yeats and his family. In his autobiography, Yeats introduces Maud Gonne thus: "I was twenty-three years old when the troubling of my life began."[8] Maud did not even remember this tumultuous first meeting, thinking that she had encountered Willie at a literary gathering in Dublin later in the year. What she remembered was "a tall lanky boy with deep-set dark eyes behind glasses, over which a lock of dark hair was constantly falling, to be pushed back impatiently by long sensitive fingers . . . stained with paint—dressed in shabby clothes."[9] Willie remembered her standing by the window of their parlor, through which he could see light falling on the fragile, fresh apple blossoms heaped there, and her complexion was as luminous as they were.[10] Quite suddenly, Willie was in love.

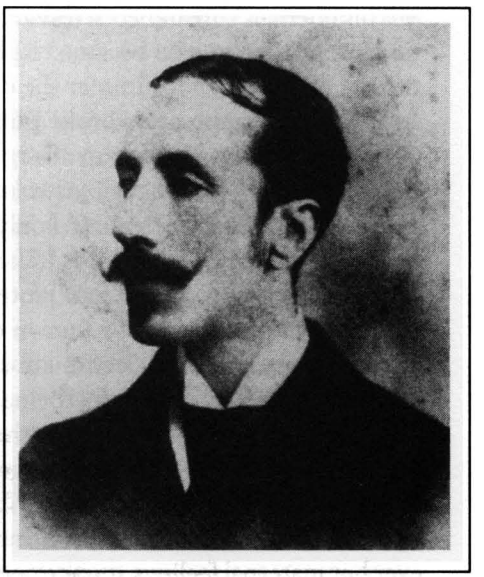
The young woman wore her stylish Paris gown carelessly. She put on airs with her "sort of royal smile," but Lily Yeats noticed with shock that "she was in her slippers."[11] Maud's eager enthusiasm for the "cause" of Ireland annoyed John Butler Yeats, especially when Maud excitedly espoused the necessity of war. Lily was also annoyed, noting in her journal that "Miss Gonne, the Dublin beauty (who is marching on to glory over the hearts of the Dublin youth), called today on Willie, of course."[12] Women instinctively realized that Maud allied herself naturally with men and was contemptuous of feminine social niceties.

Willie, on the other hand, was entranced. Maud had read his newly published book of Irish tales, crying over the story "Island of Statues" and favoring the character of the Enchantress.[13] He found Maud "not only very handsome but very clever," although somewhat sensational in political matters. Not usually an advocate of violence, he found himself agreeing with Maud's exuberant sentiments: "If she said the world was flat or the moon an old caubeen [an Irish hat] tossed up into the sky I would be proud to be of her party. . . . She will make many converts."[14] Yet he was frightened by her "desire for power, apparently for its own sake," and by her belief that any means justified the end if inspired by unselfish motivation.[15]

"Her beauty . . . seemed incompatible with private, intimate life," he sighed, seeing her as "a classical impersonation of the Spring; the Virgilian commendation 'She walks like a goddess' made for her alone."[16]

Every evening until she left, Willie dined with Maud and her entourage at her rooms on Ebury Street, where he found her surrounded by the animals that she took everywhere with her; she was "a kind of 'Diana of the Crossway,'" he noted. "Her pet monkey [made] . . . little melancholy cries on the hearthrug, and there were two young pigeons in a cage."[17] She struck him like "a Burmese gong, an overpowering tumult."[18] And he promised to write a play for





MAUD GONNE AND LUCIEN MILLEVOYE

her, based on one of his Irish fairy tales called "The Countess Kathleen O'Shea," in which the Countess sells her soul to the Devil to free the Irish people from their hunger.[19] Maud suggested that it be acted by amateurs in Dublin and that she herself would attempt the role.[20]

Maud was soon back in Dublin. She acquired a flat above Morrow's bookstore on Nassau Street, near the National Library and Trinity College. Her friends, including Willie when he was in town, visited at all hours of the day and night for political discussions and to read their newest plays and poems. By accompanying the matron, Miss Beresford, on her rounds of hospital wards, Maud learned some nursing, which she felt would be useful to her. Maud also joined the Dublin Theosophical Lodge, attending meetings with Willie's friend George Russell, who had begun writing mystical stories under the name "A.E."

Willie sensed in Maud a "great generosity and courage" and a "mind without peace."[21] But many of his friends judged her methods and aspirations to be egotistic and sensational. Rumors of Maud's extravagant public deeds tainted her with notoriety that was also colored by venom and envy. She seemed to trigger some degree of irrational sociopolitical terror in both men and women.

By April 1889, Maud was back in France with Lucien Millevoye, their affair passionately picking up pace in step with the blooms of spring. Meanwhile, Millevoye's personal hero, General Boulanger, had been victorious in the Paris by-election and was expected to seize power immediately. When he failed to

act, his enemies threatened arrest and he hurriedly left the country. Lucien's career fared better—he became eligible for a post in the Chamber of Deputies. As for Maud, that summer she discovered she was pregnant.

In December the news broke publicly that the Irish parliamentary hero Charles Parnell was having an affair with Kitty O'Shea, the wife of an army captain. If Maud hadn't realized it before, it was now apparent that Ireland could be thought broad-minded only in its politics, not in its morals. Those who had once fancied Parnell as Ireland's king now spat on his name. He was cursed from both Catholic and Protestant pulpits. If Maud was to serve the Irish cause, it must never be known that she consorted with a married man and, worse yet, bore his illegitimate child!

While Annie Horniman was being initiated into the Golden Dawn in London, Georges Gonne was born into the world on January 11, 1890, and named after Lucien's idol, Georges Boulanger. Accustomed to nursemaids and governesses, Maud thought little of leaving him in abler hands. Her baby was less than six months old when she returned to Dublin for an extended stay. Whatever her maternal feelings, it was imperative that she maintain her appearance as a single woman.

Willie Yeats, who by this time had found himself unable to agree with Madame Blavatsky's requirement of obedience in all Theosophical matters, was looking for a different guide into the mysteries. Thus when he met MacGregor Mathers and his priestess Mina Bergson at "some Fitzroy Street studio," he suspected he had finally found what he was looking for. "I began to make friends among frequenters at the [British] Museum, and sometimes MacGregor Mathers . . . would join me at my coffee in the dim smoking-room of the Wheaten, a restaurant long passed away."[22] Yeats was easily convinced, and on March 7, 1890, he underwent initiation into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, taking as his magical name *Demon Est Deus Inversus* ("The Devil is the inverse side of God"), certainly as an acknowledgment of humanity's "fall" from unity into duality. Virginia Moore suggests that Yeats might have been referring to the personal daimon, a Greek term for the guardian spirit—an etheric self—rather than to a force of evil.[23]

It was not long before Yeats made a "curious discovery," which would affect others who likewise practiced magic. He found that after attending the Golden Dawn rituals, he "formed plans for deeds of all kinds" and that he was anxious to "return to Ireland to find there some public work." By contrast, after meetings of the Theosophical Society, Esoteric Section, he "had no desire but for more thought, more discussion."[24] In effect, there was something about ritual that promoted action, while discussion only promoted more discussion. Through ritual, he also experienced a type of meditation that was to become "the intellectual chief influence" on his life.[25] He found something in the sys-

tem of evocation, command, and prayer, with its prolonged attention span, which powerfully evoked images that affected his writing, "making it more sensuous and more vivid."[26]

Back in Donegal that summer of 1890, Maud arranged for the building of huts to house the homeless and encouraged the sheltering of evicted families. Rumors spread, spiced with truth, dramatizing her travels with dogs, monkeys, and cages full of birds. "They are saying you are a woman of the Sidhe [fairies] who rode into Donegal on a white horse surrounded by birds to bring victory," she was told.[27] To the people of the countryside, she was becoming something "more than human."

In June, Maud was in Liverpool speaking at election meetings in favor of Home Rule candidates. She told them about the evictions she had seen: "I told of the old couple driven out of the house they had built fifty years ago; of the woman with her one-day-old baby left on the roadside, of the little children trying in vain to kindle a fire in the rain."[28] The local newspapers were full of her speeches, and her candidate won the election.

She explained her approval of violent rebellion:

> If this little home of yours were to be knocked down and all your treasures scattered on the street and you and your wife put in separate wards of a workhouse and that baby taken from you and put in another part of the house which you knew to be unhealthy and overcrowded and it fell ill and neither you nor your wife were allowed to see it or care for it and it died, would you not feel like murdering its murderer,—the landlords in Ireland who, because cattle rearing is more profitable, are destroying homesteads like yours all over the country.... Might you not feel it your duty to stop such things as this slaughter of the innocent?[29]

To Maud, "Ireland was the all-protecting mother, who had to be released from the bondage of the foreigner, to be free and able to protect her children."[30] Was she speaking also of herself, in bondage to her love for a Frenchman and their child, yet needed by all the poor and helpless in Ireland?

In London she lobbied for the release of prisoners: "For I was always one-idea'd and I had promised a mother and wife ... that their sons and husband would be returned to them."[31] On one occasion, while visiting men in prison, she promised several life-sentenced prisoners that they would be released within a definite space of time. "Did I tell them the time? I don't remember," she said later. "Something spoke through me, something stronger than myself."[32] She was convinced that it was the voice of Ireland that had spoken through her, because the prisoners were released on the days just as predicted.

Before leaving London she asked Willie Yeats to introduce her to Madame

Blavatsky, because some members of the Dublin Theosophical Society had raised objections to her political activities. She found the Madame to be "a strange, interesting figure, with big pale luminous eyes in a large yellow face," who sat with "a pack of cards with which she played continually and mechanically even when she talked."

"My dear child," said Blavatsky, "of course you can do what you like in politics. That has nothing to do with theosophy. They must be flapdoodles in that Dublin branch. I will tell them so." Then the gaslights flickered and Blavatsky commented, "Spooks in the room," adding to Maud, "they are all looking for a miracle. . . . Now they think they have seen one. They also are flapdoodles."[33] Flapdoodle, it seems, was Blavatsky's favorite word.

On August 22, 1890, the first report regarding Maud Gonne appeared in the police files. While Moina and MacGregor were getting married and Florence Farr was being sponsored by Willie Yeats as a new initiate in the Golden Dawn, Maud was taking rifle practice and her speeches were being written down by police informers. Not long after this, Maud heard that she was under warrant for her arrest.

"I hated running away but I knew that jail would be the end of everything and before I died I wanted to get the prisoners released, I wanted to see Millevoye and I wanted to begin the fight against the British Empire in international affairs."[34] She was also physically exhausted and wanted to see her darling baby boy, who was just eight months old.



I Dreamed That One Had Died

1891

"Maud Gonne is dying in the South of France," the artist Sarah Purser told Willie Yeats at the beginning of 1891.[1] She had seen Maud in Paris, accompanied by a tall Frenchman and a doctor. The doctor apparently told Sarah that both were ill and would be dead in six months. Willie Yeats dreamed about Maud that night, turning the dream into a poem that he sent her. It began: "I dreamed that one had died in a strange place / Near no accustomed hand," and it ended: "She was more beautiful than thy first love / But now lies under boards."[2]

Maud had been convalescing during the winter of 1890–1891 in San Raphael, a fishing village on the Mediterranean, with Lucien Millevoye and baby Georges, who was learning to walk and speak his first words. Yet, even in the midst of their idyllic family life and fresh-air existence, she became aware that Lucien's interest in Ireland seemed to depend on the political breeze. Then he asked her to become mistress to a man who could help his political career. She returned to Paris in shock, concentrating her energies on pro-Irish activities "to avoid thought," as she always did during difficult periods in her personal life.

Had Willie in his dream seen the death of her first, innocent love for Lucien, or was it foreknowledge of another death soon to come?

Maud was soon speaking in public again, and in Bordeaux they began calling her "Ireland's Joan of Arc." Willie published accounts of her talks in the Irish papers.



FLORENCE FARR AS REBECCA WEST IN ISBEN'S *ROSMERSHOLM* AT THE VAUDEVILLE THEATRE, 1891, IN *ILLUSTRATED SPORTING AND DRAMATIC NEWS*

In February, Florence Farr appeared as Rebecca West in the first English production of Henrik Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*. John Todhunter was stage manager. The play was widely attacked as being "immoral," for as Bernard Shaw said, the central thesis of Ibsen's plays was that "the real slavery of today is slavery to ideals of goodness.... The destroyer of ideals, though denounced as an enemy of society, is in fact sweeping the world clear of lies."[3] Florence, however, was hailed by the critics as a great new dramatic actress. While escorting Florence regularly to concerts and teas, Shaw conceived the idea of remaking her into his ideal actress; and she, intrigued by his enthusiasm and vision, acquiesced to his direction—for a time.

In April, Jenny Patterson, Shaw's only previous mistress (despite his multitudinous emotional liaisons), returned from her travels and resumed her arguments with him about Florence, which he protested. In his letters to Florence he proclaimed her as his "other self—no ... my very self.... There is nothing that drives me to such utter despair as when I make some blundering and unsuccessful attempt to make you see some technical point ... and you shrink as if I were disparaging your artistic gifts."[4]

"I have an extraordinary desire to make the most of you," he continued.

"Not merely as an actress, but as a woman."[5] He backed this intent with criticism of her rendition of Rebecca in *Rosmersholm,* complaining that she was lacking "in intensity of realization and certainty of execution."[6]

One day in May, Shaw expressed total dismay that she was not home when he unexpectedly came to see her: "Miserable, ill-starred woman," he wrote, "what have you done? When my need was at its highest, my weariness at its uttermost, my love at its holiest, I found darkness, emptiness, void."[7] On the other hand, they were limiting their hours together because Jenny Patterson still demanded Shaw's regular attendance, and for some reason, he complied. Florence may not have minded, for she was also spending time with other men, such as John Todhunter.

In June, Florence acted in five performances of Todhunter's *A Sicilian Idyll* and his new play *The Poison Flower* at the Vaudeville. Yeats wrote in the *Boston Pilot* about the "charming actress Dr. Todhunter has discovered and written the part of heroine for." He enthused:

> Her performance of Beatrice, the girl who lived among the poisoned flowers, was as intense and passionate as her rendering of the role of Amaryllis, in the *Idyll,* was graceful and self-contained. She [has become] well known to theatre-goers through her acting in Ibsen's *Rosmersholm.* She will always, however, be best, I believe, in poetic drama, her exquisite recitation being no small part of her charm."[8]

On the other hand, critic William Archer wrote that she needed a "certain decision of manner," lacking "crispness of attack" and was "apt to seem a little purposeless at times."[9]

Shaw used these occasions to increase his fussy demands for Farr's development. When they were briefly separated in August, he wrote to her: "Prithee persevere with the speaking: I found with unspeakable delight last time that you were beginning to do it quite beautifully." And unleashing the bounds of his Pygmalion-like egotism, he continued: "You have reached the stage of the Idiotically Beautiful. There remain the stages of the Intelligently Beautiful and finally of the Powerfully Beautiful; and until you have attained the last you will never be able to compel me to recognise the substance of that soul of which I was shown a brief image by Nature for her own purposes."[10]

Perhaps Florence continued to see Shaw because he did help her become aware of her acting. She described such a realization in a novel: "He put her through the scene . . . making her cry with his severity, torturing her, and finding fault in every possible way with her efforts to express the feeling of the words she uttered. At the end of it she stood hopeless and dumfounded at the new world opening before her. For the first time it dawned on her what acting really meant."[11]

Shaw and Florence found that their tremendously busy lives gave each other the freedom needed to maintain a relationship between two independent, commitment-shy individuals.

Not surprisingly, MacGregor Mathers had a disagreement of some kind with Annie Horniman's father early in 1891 and was fired from his position. MacGregor and Moina moved from the Stent Lodge into small, cheap lodgings on Percy Street, off Tottenham Court Road.[12] Madame Blavatsky died that May. With two great occult leaders suddenly gone (the other being *Sapiens Dominabitur Astris*, Fräulein Anna Sprengel, who had "died" the preceding August), the field was open for someone else to establish their own direct line to the Secret Chiefs. Also, the Golden Dawn rituals effectively stopped with the Outer Order rituals of the elements. Nothing more would be forthcoming from the parent Order. If the Golden Dawn was to grow, Mathers would have to open the Second or Inner Order, and offer members instruction in the actual practice of magic.

Annie, distraught to find Moina struggling with poverty instead of advancing her art career, urged her to go to Paris to continue her studies—preferably without MacGregor, whose private agendas thwarted her own attempts to paint. Instead, MacGregor himself went to Paris in the summer of 1891, "to seek enlightenment." There he was contacted by a Higher Adept, Frater *Lux E Tenebris*, who, according to Ellic Howe, gave him materials for constructing a Second Order ritual.[13] Upon his return, MacGregor announced that the Secret Chiefs had ordered him to transfer his occult center to Paris. MacGregor accelerated his instruction in techniques of ceremonial magic, and Florence Farr learned all she could from him before he departed from London.

Maud Gonne returned to Dublin in July, and Willie rushed to see her. Her severe illness during the winter, disappointment and pain over Lucien, and the rigors of spring lecturing had taken their toll. "At the first sight of her as she came through the door, her great height seeming to fill it, I was overwhelmed with emotion, an intoxication of pity. She did not seem to have any beauty, her face was wasted, the form of the bones showing, and there was no life in her manner." As she hinted at her unhappiness and some disillusionment, he recalled, "I no longer thought what kind of wife this woman would make, but of her need for protection and for peace."[14]

While Willie was in the country, Maud had a dream about their having been brother and sister in a past life and sold into slavery together. She imagined them on a journey through the desert, alienated from everything except each other.[15] Maud wrote Willie a nostalgic letter relating this dream and seeming to ask for understanding and support regarding her sadness.

He rushed back to her and proposed marriage. "I had come into the room with that purpose in my mind, and hardly looked at her or thought of her beauty. I sat there holding her hand and speaking vehemently. She did not take away her hand for a while. I ceased to speak, and presently as I sat in silence I felt her nearness to me and her beauty. At once I knew that my confidence had gone, and an instant later she drew her hand away."[16]

Maud refused Willie, saying she would never marry. She could not bring herself to reveal the real reason. How could she tell him about the married man and their child—both of whom awaited her return to France? She could only reiterate that she needed his friendship.

Willie accepted this, and they reasserted their bond with a visit to Maud's old nurse, who was living in Howth. Climbing cliffs and hiking through the heather, they reenacted scenes from both their childhoods. He read to her from his play *The Countess Cathleen*, and she was moved at having inspired such a vision for Ireland.

Suddenly their peace was gone. Maud was called to return immediately to France. Quickly making arrangements to leave, she explained she was summoned by a secret political society that she couldn't refuse. The truth she could not tell him was that her son Georges was dying.

It was over in days. On August 31 he died of meningitis—at not quite twenty months old. Maud was disconsolate, muttering about a death bird that had pecked at the nursery window. She forgot how to speak French and required chloroform in order to sleep. Unable to bear either Lucien or her silent flat, she fled France after only a few weeks, going first to London. There she heard that Lucien's mentor and hero, General Boulanger, had just committed suicide on the grave of his mistress. Still campaigning for Ireland's cause, she dined with the Irish politician Charles Stuart Parnell, who seemed on the verge of a political comeback. Only days later she learned he too had died—in the arms of his wife, the former Kitty O'Shea—murdered, Maud believed, by his political enemies. Death was all around her; there was no escape.

Throughout the fall of 1891 the two outermost planets, Neptune and Pluto, were conjunct in Gemini and squared by Jupiter. Affecting the entire planet, this astral event signaled the passing away of the previous generation's outmoded beliefs and goals, and the influx of new spiritual ideas posed by the Higher Powers to prove their worth. This pattern intensified when transiting Sun opposed Jupiter on August 31; the entire formation formed a Grand Cross with Maud's own Venus and Mercury. This was the day that Georges died, and a certain naive optimism and trust in the goodness of life died in Maud, too. With Pluto, God of Death, opposing her Venus, she lost what she loved best. She also temporarily lost her ability to communicate outwardly, yet she was obsessed with the belief that she could maintain spirit contact

with her son.[17] With Neptune also opposing her Mercury and Venus, it was a confusing time bordering on madness, during which she was obsessed by her visions and desired only to escape from an unbearable reality. Maud, victimized by life and love, sought solace in metaphysical and occult teachings. At this time, her Moon also progressed opposite to her natal Saturn. Traditionally this is associated with sorrow and grief and sometimes the loss of a family member. This aspect often calls one's entire life purpose into question—and in Maud's case she saw herself as the "bad" mother who had neglected her child.

Swathed in black, she boarded the mail boat for Dublin, and found death there too, for the boat was carrying the body of Parnell back to Ireland. Yeats met her at the dock, and many in the crowd thought that her black gown and veils were an ostentatious tribute to Parnell to serve her own political purposes. Letting them believe what they would, she went directly to Parnell's funeral. Willie refused to go with her.

"I stood in the thick mud of Glasnevin among a dense and silent throng. Dusk was coming on. As the thud of the earth sounded on the coffin, a rift in the leaden sky parted the clouds and a bright falling star was seen. Hundreds of others saw it as I did." Only Maud, however, was seeing the life of her child as it flamed across the sky: "Life out of death, life out of death eternally," she described the moment more than thirty years later.[18]

She was constantly with Willie, saying only that a child she had adopted three years previously had died, thus gaining solace from Willie's spiritual philosophy. They were joined one evening by George Russell, who spoke to Maud of reincarnation. Maud asked him how soon a child might be reborn, and if so, where. Russell replied that it could be reborn in the same family.

Maud told them of her "apparition of a woman dressed in grey and with a grey veil covering the lower part of her face, which had appeared to her in her childhood."[19] Yeats was convinced that this spirit was what was troubling Maud's life, creating in her "a desire for power and excitement." If it were visible, it would speak, thought Willie. If she could face it, she could banish it. Using Golden Dawn techniques, Willie made the Tattvic symbol of the fifth element Akasha, combined with a second element, unnamed but most likely Earth. Almost at once the grey lady became visible to Maud and to Russell, as if it were actually present. Claiming to be a past-life personality, the spirit told her its story, beginning not long after the scene in her dream of the journey through the desert. "She had been priestess in a temple somewhere in Egypt and under the influence of a certain priest who was her lover gave false oracles for money, and, because of this, the personality of that life had split off from the soul and remained a half-living shadow."[20] This priestess now wanted to be reunited with Maud.

Together, Yeats and Maud returned to London, where Willie introduced her to MacGregor and Moina Mathers to ask their guidance. They arranged what Maud called "a sort of seance," with Moina as the seer. With no knowledge about the previous vision shared by Maud and George Russell, Moina saw a vision that was "curiously alike [Russell's] in total effect," and validated Maud's reccurring desert dream. As Willie remembered the discussion: "She made Miss G—— a priestess of a temple in Tyre." Moina said the priestess was befriended by a man resembling Yeats, who eventually helped her escape. "She afterwards went away by herself into the desert and died there," Moina concluded.[21]

In Maud's version of the session, Moina first gave her an exact description of the lady dressed in grey veils who had stood at the foot of her bed when she was a child. The woman confessed to having killed a child and wrung "her hands in sorrow and remorse."[22] Maud, on hearing this only three months after the death of her own child, was both astounded and terrified, and she felt corroborated in her guilt regarding her son's death.

Discussing the vision and Maud's haunting by the dark woman with the sorrowful eyes, Yeats and the Matherses "evolved the theory that she was what, in old Egyptian magic, was called the Ka," an aspect of the personality that survives death.[23]

This knowledge, and the need to have control over her Ka (for Maud took great pride in staring down fear and conquering all obstacles), persuaded her to seek initiation in the Golden Dawn. Willie assured her that she would learn techniques of command and control over astral-plane entities, and the two visions instilled hope that Georges's soul might reincarnate, possibly as someone she would meet in the future. The day after the séance, on November 16, 1891, she took the Neophyte Ritual to become a member of the Golden Dawn. Transiting Uranus trining her Moon was ridding her of unconscious attitudes and past-life patterns. The Golden Dawn teachings, such as astrology, were able to help her reexamine her life and find new hope.

"Oppressed by the drab appearance and mediocrity" of the members, Maud found only a few people in the Golden Dawn who interested her, including Moina Mathers, Florence Farr, the writer Algernon Blackwood, and John Brodie-Innes (Astronomer Royal of Scotland).[24] But the Golden Dawn philosophy kept her intrigued, and Willie was enthusiastic that she could now be directly involved in his evocation of images through symbols. Willie began to hope that they could live a life together, devoted to mystic truth like the alchemist Nicholas Flamel and his wife and partner in magic, Pernelle.[25]

For her magical motto representing her Highest Self, Maud chose *Per Ignum Ad Lucem*, "Through Fire to the Light," and henceforth Willie referred to her in their private workings as *P.I.A.L.* It was only through the

ordeal of trial by fire that Maud knew how to reach her goal, which was freedom—not for herself, but for Ireland. She was motivated by anger and revenge, a belief in the need for violence, and the desire to confront her own personal hell. But trial by fire is ultimately the test of purity of intention, so her motto also signified her unwavering commitment: the fire-walker who must never falter.

Willie thought that in order to make Maud his bride (which was like "taking captive some beautiful wild creature") he needed to snare her in a net of plans involving "some unpolitical form of national feeling."[26] He set about organizing a meeting for what was to become the National Literary Society, whose purpose was to establish nationalist libraries and publish books by Irish writers.[27] Maud, who possessed the funds, eloquence, and persuasive beauty for the task, was to found branches throughout Ireland. "Become the fiery hand of the intellectual movement," he urged her.[28] But books and libraries did not ultimately provide the spark that she craved.

Annie and Florence, who probably participated in Maud's Neophyte Ritual, were preparing for their own advancement as the first two persons admitted to the Inner Order, known as the *Ordo Rosae Rubeae et Aureae Crucis* (*R.R. et A.C.*).[29] About twenty members had been advanced to an honorary 5°=6° status (which allowed them to officiate in the preceding-grade rituals); all were now required to experience an intermediary Portal Ceremony followed by the new 5°=6° ceremony that Mathers had "received" from the Secret Chiefs in Paris. This admitted them to the *R.R. et A.C.*, which was based on the legend of Christian Rosenkreutz. The ritual, which elevated the candidate to Zelator Adeptus Minor status (known as Z.A.M.), was a re-creation of the death and resurrection of Christian Rosenkreutz.

A Vault was constructed within a rented room that served as the major site of all magical workings. It had seven walls, a special floor and ceiling, a circular altar in the center, and a coffin called the Pastos. Each wall was dedicated to a planet and painted with Hebrew letters and astrological and alchemical symbols and tinted in colors appropriate to the planetary influence. The work was done primarily by MacGregor and Moina, while the money for construction expenses was provided by Annie, who had also been surreptitiously supporting the Matherses all year.

"They were living at Percy Street and Mrs. Mathers asked me for a 'loan' immediately," remembered Annie. "I had only got about £8 (under £10 I know) in gold. . . . Then I had some money to spare and proposed that she should go to Paris, not as an occultist but as a fellow [art] student of great promise. During 1891 I think they must have still lived in England—I find two cheques, one for £50, March 5th, 1891, and one of June 3rd, 1891, for



The Portal, part of the Temple equipage used in Golden Dawn rituals

£40 payable to a friend who gave me others instead as I wished to keep the matter very secret."[30]

When Annie took her 5°=6° ceremony on December 7, 1891—preceding Florence Farr because she was leaving for Italy the following day and perhaps to make her special influence with the Matherses clear to everyone—the roof was not yet on the Vault, and "the painting on the Crook and Scourge was wet."[31]

Two weeks later, on December 22, Florence was initiated. It was within hours of the Winter Solstice, when the sun is at its lowest point in the sky, dying into the longest night of the year—a powerful time for a ritual of death and rebirth.

By the end of 1891, the Inner Order of the Golden Dawn, the *R.R. et A.C.*, was established with two initiates, Annie and Florence, to the Zelator Adeptus Minor (5°=6°) grade. Annie was urging Moina to continue studying art in Paris; MacGregor was in touch with the Secret Chiefs, who were also urging him to move to Paris. Florence was expanding the evocative power of her voice. Maud, as Ireland's Joan of Arc, was inciting the Donegal peasants to revolt, and, having lost the son born to her and Lucien Millevoye, had joined the Golden Dawn hoping to discover a way for him to be reincarnated.



Skrying in the Spirit Vision

1892

At the beginning of 1892, Florence Farr and Annie Horniman were thirty-two; Moina Mathers, Maud Gonne, and Willie Yeats were twenty-seven; and MacGregor Mathers was thirty-eight; while Wynn Westcott, their Grand Old Man, was only forty-four. There were more than seventy members in the Order, and in addition to the Isis-Urania Temple in London, there was Osiris Temple in Weston-super-Mare and Horus Temple in Bradford. Soon there would be two more: Amen Ra in Edinburgh and Ahathöor (pronounced *Ator*) in Paris.

Florence spent all her free time at the British Museum reading room, where Yeats said she became "erudite in many heterogeneous studies moved by an insatiable curiosity."[1] Dr. Westcott and the Rev. Ayton guided her through a reading list of Renaissance alchemists, and she soon discovered the fascinating Egyptian texts newly translated from the originals and from German. Florence also took advantage of Mathers's instruction in techniques of ceremonial magic, which he accelerated in anticipation of his planned move to Paris.

Moina, Florence, Annie, and Maud all excelled at the astral visioning known as skrying. It is an aspect of magic scorned by many male magicians who deem it to be a self-indulgent waste of time: Francis King, for instance, believes skrying can make one an "astral junky," while Ellic Howe says that these visions merely provide a substitute for "the real thing."[2] Although the modern feminist shaman Vicki Noble acknowledges that trancework can be "an exotic way of getting off," she finds that, "in its most profound sense, it provides an opportunity for the ego-personality to get out of the way and make itself

available to a higher power . . . and enter states of consciousness in which there can be an acknowledgement of other forces coexisting with us here in the world."[3] It is one of the most important techniques in any magician's tool kit and essential for learning how things operate on the nonphysical planes. Since most of the surviving Golden Dawn records written by the four women pertain to their astral journeys, we need to understand exactly what they were doing, and why.

Astral work was known as clairvoyance or Skrying in the Spirit Vision. "Becoming a 'Skryer' was not simply becoming a Seer," explained Mathers, "but was one who descries [understands] what he *sees*, not only the impassive receiver of visions beyond control or definition."[4] What Mathers emphasizes is the importance of insight and judgment or what Moina calls a balance between intuition and reason.

There are three kinds of clairvoyance, each requiring increased inner development. We could call them Seeing, Traveling, and Rising.[5]

The first stage, simple clairvoyance, or Skrying in the Spirit Vision, involves using a symbol as a mirror to reflect scenes of things not on the physical plane, nor bound by time and space. The emphasis is on *seeing* the vision, not acting in it.

The second stage is astral projection, or Traveling in the Spirit Vision, in which the skryer travels along a ray of personal consciousness to the place desired, interacts with what he or she finds there, and then returns to the body.

The third stage is called Rising in the Planes and involves traveling up the paths between the *sephiroth* on the Tree of Life. It is a spiritual process that focuses solely on the Divine.

Skrying was done, whenever possible, in the Vault or in a personal temple, before an altar, with insignia corresponding to the operation, clothed in the robes of the Adeptus Minor, and with personally created and consecrated magical implements that helped to crystallize the astral plane. Moina explained that magical implements "assist in the working of a ceremony, and the latter in turn should help recharge the implements. Therefore every voyage to the realms of fire or water should add . . . a flame to the wand and moisture to the cup."[6]

The purpose of skrying was to contact spiritual realms, map out their terrain, and bring back information. Skryers, who usually worked in a group with a scribe, carefully described their experiences on these astral journeys, including the attributes of the place; its elemental nature; its inhabitants, plants, animals, minerals; and its influence on Earth's plants, animals, minerals, and especially humans.[7]

Astral journeys were also used to diagnose and treat ailments of the astral

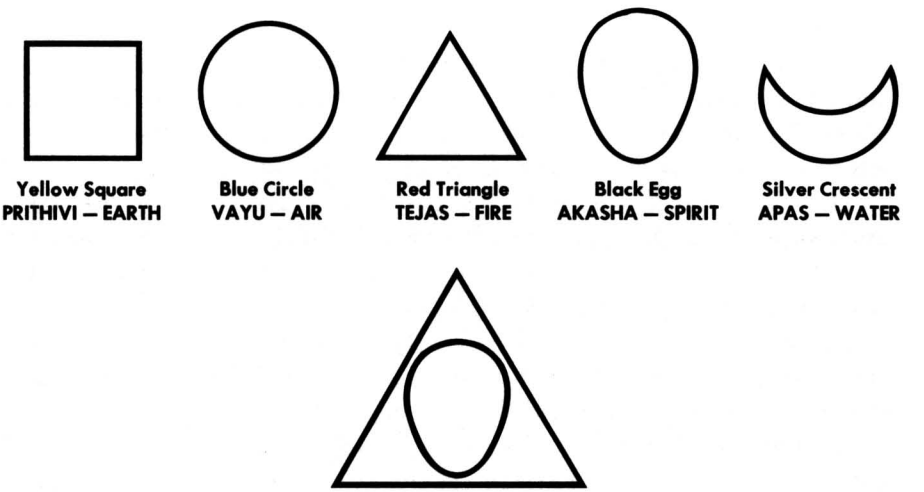
body, to examine past lives, or to summon guardians and erect psychic boundaries. Once in the astral environment, the skryer communicated with elemental beings, spirits of plants, planetary envoys, angels and archangels, gods and goddesses. Much of the information describing the inner meaning of the Outer Order rituals, which appears in the Order's "Z" documents, comes from astral journeys or from divination.

Skrying and astral journeys used symbols as gateways that concentrated tremendous power: astrological planets, Tarot cards, the Tree of Life, Enochian squares and pyramids, sigils, and diagrams of elemental forces called Tattvas. Tattvas were central to Golden Dawn magic. Their characteristics are described in *Nature's Finer Forces,* a book about Indian Tantrism by the Theosophist Rama Prasad. It presents twenty-five geometric symbols painted on cards that skryers can use as gateways to specific territories in the astral world. Each Tattva is a combination of two of the five elemental signs: a red triangle is Tejas, or Fire; a golden square is Prithivi, or Earth; a silver crescent is Apas, or Water; a blue circle is Vayu, or Air; and an indigo egg is Akasha, or Spirit. Thus, "Akasha of Tejas," meaning "Spirit of Fire," consists of a small indigo egg (Akasha) at the center of a larger red triangle (Tejas) painted on a black or complementary-colored square of cardboard.[8]

To understand the use of Tattvas, let us imagine Moina assuming the magical personality of Soror *Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum* and skrying with the "Akasha of Tejas" Tattva.

Clothed in her ritual robes, *Vestigia* first purifies the Vault with incense and water and with the "lesser banishing ritual of the Pentagram" in order to rid the space of all disturbing influences, including any personal emotions belonging to the mundane personality known as Moina. Holding a magical fire wand to help focus her will and clarify her intention, she gazes at a card showing an erect red triangle surmounted by a smaller indigo egg. She concentrates on the symbol and transfers "the Vital effort from the optic nerve to the mental perception, or thought seeing as distinct from seeing with the eye; [letting] one form of apprehension glide [into] the other."[9] Once her inner vision is filled with the image, *Vestigia* uses her fire wand to trace the greater invoking ritual of the Pentagram associated with fire. Only then does she sit down at a small table to contemplate the Symbol. She gazes at it until it begins to grow before her eyes, eventually filling the entire room. Then, as if flying through a vast triangle of flame, she springs through the image and discovers herself in a desert landscape surrounded by sand—harsh, dry, and hot.

Vestigia vibrates the word "Elohim" six times, once for each letter. As she vibrates the sounds, she envisions the white brilliance of the *sephira* Kether from the top of the Tree of Life, bringing it into her heart in Tiphareth, where



THE TATTVAS. ALL FIVE ELEMENTAL ENERGIES ACTUALLY EXIST WITHIN EACH ELEMENT. THE AKASHA OF TEJAS SHOWS THE AKASHA OR SPIRIT ASPECT WITHIN THE ELEMENT OF FIRE.

she sees the letters written in brilliant white light. Pronouncing the name silently in her heart, she sends it down to earth with a breath, formulates it again as she inhales, and then, powered by earth, quickly sends it up to her lungs, where she breathes forth the name strongly—filling up all space as though it were vibrating through the entire universe.

Simultaneously she creates images in her mind that go with each letter of the name, and then the magical image of Elohim itself. She vibrates the name so that it affects every molecule of every cell, all echoing in unison. If properly done, any lower astral forms or emotionally volatile feelings are denied entry.[10]

The Divine Name, now introduced into consciousness and formulated with sound, produces currents of spiritual force that harmonize with *Vestigia's* intention. She then proceeds by vibrating other angelic names that test the reality of the vision. Since her sensations intensify, she knows she is in the right place. The objects she sees are not reversed and appear three-dimensional, so she has succeeded in making an astral journey (whereas in simple clairvoyance, the images would have appeared reversed like those in a mirror).

Seeing a small pyramid in the distance, she wills herself to fly to it and, upon arrival, vibrates a series of names associated with Fire and Spirit—the qualities of the Tattva.

A warrior-like figure appears at one of the entrances to the pyramid. To be certain she is not deluded by her own memory or imagination, she visualizes and vibrates one of the seven Hebrew letters and titles corresponding to a planet. To drive out intellectual delusions, for instance, she draws the Hebrew letter *Beth* (Mercury) in the air before her.[11]

The warrior tells her the pyramid is a site for initiation rites, so she uses grade signs to test the level of occult knowledge available. Her every movement has symbolic meaning of which she is fully conscious. She knows that while manipulating an object in the physical plane, her God-form may be manipulating an entirely different force in the astral plane. If images arise that are not specific to her chosen environment and are not dispelled by her signs, she recognizes them as warnings to leave the working as quickly as possible.

Entering the pyramid, she sees kneeling figures and elementals of a Fiery nature. After she gives them the correct grade signs, the entities of this plane can answer her questions and teach her their secret workings. She signifies her understanding of what they tell her by tracing the fiery sign of Leo within a Pentagram.

When she has completed her investigation, *Vestigia* wills herself to return until she finally perceives her body in robes seated in the Second Order Vault.[12] She clears the environment of any psychic residue with a final, brief banishing ritual.

Using the Tattva for the Earthy part of Water ("Prithivi of Apas") *Vestigia* goes on to describe the kinds of information brought back from this second astral journey. She has discovered that this gateway is "beneficial to health generally, to give a feeling of well-being, and would also govern to some extent generation. Its tendency would be to accentuate sensuality and laziness." She found that it increases intuition in the intellectual man, helping to clothe ideas with form. It is, therefore, "the first vague development of form in the mind of the Artist." The Angelic Being is "feminine in type, draped in blue & white draperies and wears a crown formed of crescents. She holds in the left hand a curious cup, heavy, and with a squarish base, and in the right a wand with a symbol much like the positive element of water." *Vestigia* then asks the Angelic Being how it influences the planet. She receives an image of a ray falling right through the waters of the Earth, "as if its affinity lay with all land under water," and understands that it is called Lifter of Earth in the Waters.[13]

Florence Farr, despite her busy schedule of occult studies and theatrical rehearsals, saw Bernard Shaw at least eleven times in the month of January. He even described himself in his diary as "most faithful" to her. But their affair had a major flaw—Shaw wanted to be Florence's theatrical "taskmaster," and she resisted his interference. In a letter to her on January 28, he calls her a



FLORENCE FARR

"will-less girl" because she will not "pay the price for excellence" but must "justify [her] own self-neglect."[14]

Offered a part in the farce *A Breezy Morning*, which Florence had at first scorned, Shaw insisted she take it. "I wish to see you an accomplished actress," he wrote, offering to assist her. "When you get your part . . . I insist on your reading it over to me." Her success meant no critic could dispute his estimation of her. "I challenge any analyst to find one base ingredient in my regard for you; but I will not face the judgment bar at the end of my life with you if I am unable to meet the question, 'Why did you suffer her to do her work badly?'"[15]

John Todhunter, having developed a grand passion for Florence, now joined the Golden Dawn, apparently in order to be near her. If Florence truly had a

"Leporello list" as Shaw claimed, it would have included Todhunter—whose interest in Florence raised Shaw's ire as well as augmented his egotistic ardor. "Am I the noblest creature you have yet met in this wood of monkeys where I found you straying?" queried an obviously piqued Shaw in a letter to Florence.

> Some of them thought you a pretty female ape; others thought you a goddess: the first asked you to play with them; the second asked to be allowed to worship you: you could not say No to either. Then come I, the man, and make you my woman on your stopping me as I wandered lonely through the forest and asking me to look earnestly at you. For many years had I wandered alone, sufficient to myself: I will, at a word, wander on again alone. But what will you do—return to the monkeys? It is not possible: self-sufficient must you also become or else find no less a man than I to be your mate.[16]

To honor the hundredth anniversary of Percy Bysshe Shelley's birth, the Bedford Park Shelley Centennial asked Shaw to find a suitable Beatrice for Shelley's verse play *The Cenci.* When Alma Murray, his first choice, refused, he huffily went to "search for a makeshift Beatrice."[17] In the end he gave the part to Florence, but his lack of confidence in her acting accomplishments was apparent. Florence was the clear beneficiary of his dubious largesse, for she later wrote of the invaluable lesson she gained from acting this role: "Something about her voice struck her. She listened, it sounded different, a new beauty had come into it. She read on and on, wondering at the pathos of the tones she uttered, almost crying with sympathy. As she listened to the laments of Beatrice di Cenci, it seemed to her some inspired spirit had entered her body and was making use of her voice to reveal to her what life, and love, and divine sorrow meant."[18]

During the summer of 1892, when she wasn't involved with rehearsals for several comedy theatre roles or her magical studies, Florence spent most of her free time with Shaw, taking long walks through the parks and countryside.

Meanwhile, Annie still insisted that Moina must go to Paris to study and paint. Perhaps her faith in Mathers was flagging, or perhaps she simply felt that Moina's talent was being wasted decorating the Vault and presiding as MacGregor's occult Priestess. On January 28, Tabbie gave Bergie £25 for expenses in Paris and invited Bergie to join her in Venice for a holiday. On March 6 she sent a further £20, for clothes and the fare to Venice.[19]

Moina did not leave London until Sunday, April 3, when she went to Venice for the month, returning to London by May 10. When Moina then left for Paris on May 21, Mathers went with her.[20] Within the next month, Annie sent four checks totaling £59, about which she later remarked, "This was for

her, but he came and joined her in Paris." Tabbie had intended the money for Bergie alone, perhaps even to separate her from Mathers:

> She went to Paris and studied there; he joined her . . . and she honestly told me, prevented [her] from giving the best of herself to her work. . . . I remember that she came from London and returned there from Venice direct. They did not remain long in London but in about June [actually May] went to live in Paris. I find various sums [given] from May to June of that year; she was still painting in a studio, but at last told me it was no good at all. I was sorry as she promised to become a successful painter.[21]

Having arrived in Paris, Mathers publicly announced his spurious title of Count MacGregor of Glenstrae, and Moina became "the Countess." With the Golden Dawn rapidly expanding, it seems strange that they would choose to leave London. Mathers claimed that the Secret Masters wanted him in Paris, but he privately explained that it was also cheaper to live there. More importantly, Paris—the center of the modern ceremonial magic revival—was at that time in the midst of a Rosicrucian "War of the Roses" among the various sects and therefore ripe for a new influence.[22] Additionally, the Paris libraries held more of the ancient *grimoires* waiting to be translated than were available at the British Museum. Finally, Mathers was probably hoping for some assistance from Moina's brother, Henri Bergson, who held a comfortable job as a university lecturer and was as yet unmarried.

By the end of their first week in Paris the Matherses found lodgings on the Left Bank at 121 Boulevard St.-Michel. To protect Bergie from poverty, Annie offered a generous yearly stipend. "I arranged with them both to give them £200 a year so that they should be able to study and work for the Order. Mr. Mathers that very day began the 'MacGregor' foolishness and hired a flat for £40 a year which seemed expensive as I could not afford to give them much. Both of them assured me that in the future, perhaps in two years, they would earn enough money to keep themselves and that this arrangement was purely temporary."[23]

And yet a visitor reported them to be living in extreme poverty, so Mathers must have spent much of their stipend on Order affairs. Mathers was also involved in a political scheme to reinstate the heir of "bonny Prince Charlie" to the British throne, and he opened his home to Jacobite political refugees and dissidents.[24] Yeats suggested that John O'Leary refer any Paris-bound Irish nationalists to Mathers, for "Mathers is a specialist and might have given useful advice to anyone who thinks as you do."[25]

Moina and MacGregor returned regularly to London to officiate at ceremonies: for instance, the consecration of the new Vault at Clipstone Street, which included the all-important Fall Equinox ceremony.



THE STRENGTH CARD
FROM THE
TAROCCO ITALIANO

As a demonstration of her special relationship with Mathers, Annie was assigned the task of disciplining two unruly members of the Horus Temple at Bradford, which she righteously carried out as *Fortiter et Recte*. However, members of the Horus Temple were furious at being interfered with by a woman.[26]

Florence now had less time for Shaw, who was writing *Widowers' Houses*, his first play, in which she was to perform. She was doing rituals at the Vault on Clipstone Street, and she was writing various "Flying Rolls." (These papers served as lessons on subjects ranging from administrative details to suggestions for developing the Will and learning to astral travel. Most were written by the Matherses, Westcott, Farr, Horniman, Percy Bullock, and a Dr. Edward Berridge.) Florence's contribution as *S.S.D.D.* (the initials of her magical motto) was significant in that she stressed the experiential aspects of magic, using vivid and concrete language.

For instance, to create an image of the nature of the Will Force, *S.S.D.D.* drew on the Strength card in the Tarot (without mentioning it directly): "The Red Lion," she says in "Flying Roll No. II: Three Suggestions on Will Power," "was used as a symbol by the Alchemists to express the highest powers of the Adept. The whiteness of purity having been attained [the Maiden in the card], the heat must be violently increased, until the redness of *perfect strength* manifests itself [as the red Lion]" (my italics).[27] The following quotes come from this same paper.

In practicing the magical Will, *S.S.D.D.* found that "as long as we desire

light, and do all we know to obtain it, we are not likely to do ourselves permanent harm." But she warned against using such abilities recklessly, for once our will to influence another person is set in motion, it may become uncontrollable. That person is then linked to you, needing your energy and dependent on your will, functioning like the modern psychological concept of transference. From today's perspective, we would say that such use of the will is disempowering for both sides, requiring us to carry another's will along with our own—a pattern prevalent in codependent situations.

S.S.D.D. provided a safe method of using the will that we might today call "owning one's own power." She explained that "Mars, Geburah, Fire, Aries are all expressive of the will force on different planes, [and] are all red in color." In addition, according to the law of correspondence, blood, fever, and sharp objects also express the will force.

"The method I advise for cultivation of will," said *S.S.D.D.*, "is to imagine your head as centre of attraction with thought-like rays radiating out in a vast globe. To want or desire a thing is the first step in the exercise of Will; get a distinct image of the thing you desire placed, as it were, in your heart, concentrate all your wandering rays of thought upon this image until you feel it to be one glowing scarlet ball of compacted force. Then project this concentrated force on the subject you wish to effect."[28]

S.R.M.D. (Mathers) appended a note to Farr's teaching, clarifying further the esoteric procedure: "Before bringing the scarlet ray into such intense action in the Heart [as *S.S.D.D.* had described], the Adept should elevate his thought and idea to the contemplation of the Divine Light in Kether." *S.R.M.D.* said to think of Kether (the highest *sephira* on the Tree of Life) as the crown of the head and bring a ray of light from there into the heart (called Tiphareth on the Tree) through the path of Gimel [the High Priestess Tarot card]. Only then is it safe to send the scarlet ray into action. "The effect will be powerful and the process safer," he said. Otherwise, he warned, if done frequently "there is a risk to the heart, and a risk of fever [from too much Mars]."[29]

We can see from this that the Tree of Life represents a way of moving energy in precise sequences that keep the mind focused on the task and also serve to intensify the experience. On the Tree there are many ways to move energy from the mind (Kether) to the heart (Tiphareth), but most of these pass through a variety of states that can be helpful (like compassion) or problematic (like anger), which can confuse one's intent. The task is to keep the energy as focused and neutral as possible.

The magical work was beginning in earnest.

On November 10, *Sapientia* (Florence) and Elaine Simpson, known as Soror *Fidelis*, tried a Spirit Vision of the Empress Tarot card. Written down as "Fly-



THE EMPRESS CARD
FROM THE
TAROCCO ITALIANO

ing Roll No. IV," it was distributed as an example of an astral vision.[30]

To experience the teachings of the Tarot directly, said Florence, you should consider "all the symbolism of the Tarot Card, . . . then all that is implied by its letters, number, and situation, and the paths connected therewith. . . . The vision may begin by the concentration passing into a state of reverie . . . do not resist, let yourself go; and then the vision may pass over you."

After drawing the banishing sign of the Pentagram in the four directions for protection, and evoking Venus with the appropriate invoking Hexagram, they selected the Tarot trump called the Empress and spoke the Hebrew letter associated with it: *Daleth.* A vision began to form and the two women found themselves in a landscape like that of a medieval tapestry. Rising, they passed through clouds until they came to a pale green landscape (the color associated with the card), where they found "a Gothic temple of ghostly outlines marked with light," which became more concrete as they approached it. Giving the appropriate grade signs as keys to enter the spiritual dimensions, they received confirmatory images corresponding to Venus. Next they entered a garden filled with flowers and found there "a woman of heroic proportions, clothed in green with a jewelled girdle, a crown of stars on her head, in her hand a sceptre of gold, having at one apex a lustrously white closed lotus flower; in her left hand an orb bearing a cross."

"I am the mighty Mother Isis; most powerful of all the world," she told them. "I am she who fights not, but is always victorious, I am that Sleeping Beauty who men have sought, for all time; and the paths which lead to my

castle are beset with dangers and illusions. . . . I am the worlds' desire, but few there be who find me. When my secret is told, it is the secret of the Holy Grail."

Asking to learn her secret, she took them to the top of a tower, where they saw the sun shining on a cup emblazoned with a heart and filled with a ruby-colored liquid.

This woman (who they called "Lady Venus") explained the symbolism of the cup:

> This is love, I have plucked out my heart and have given it to the world; that is my strength. Love is the mother of the Man-God, giving the Quintessence of her life to save mankind from destruction, and to show forth the path to life eternal. Love is the mother of the Christ.
>
> Spirit, and this Christ is the highest love—Christ, is the heart of love, the heart of the Great Mother Isis—the Isis of Nature. He is the expression of her power—she is the Holy Grail, and He is the life blood of spirit, that is found in this cup.[31]

She told them that humanity's hope lay in following her example, and so they gave their hearts into the keeping of the Grail and "felt an influx of the highest courage and power," while knowing that their "own hearts were to be henceforth in touch with hers—the strongest force in the world." Thus they learned that "he who gives away his life, will gain it."

From this time on, the image of a cup with a heart was central to Florence as an image of her spiritual devotion.

Early in December, Florence acted in a lighthearted spoof at the Comedy Theatre, but on December 8 she opened as the moody, resentful, even violent, Blanche Sartorious in Shaw's *Widowers' Houses*.[32] This was Shaw's first produced play. Blanche's "white rages" and animal excitement were patterned on those of Jenny Patterson, Shaw's other lover, whom he continued to see. Did Jenny, seated in the audience, recognize herself being portrayed by her rival, Florence? Did Florence even know whom she was mimicking? The play, considered ghastly, showed for only two nights; Shaw judged Florence's performance "not quite bold enough."

That Christmas season, while his flat was being painted, Shaw became ill from the fumes and twisted his ankle. May Morris, now safely married to Harry Sparling, offered him lodging while he recuperated.[33]

"When I had quite recovered," explained Shaw, "and there was no longer any excuse for staying unless I proposed to do so permanently and parasitically, her legal marriage had dissolved as all illusions do; and the mystic marriage asserted itself irresistibly. I had to consummate it or vanish."[34] Although

May seemed willing, Shaw chose not to consummate it, for his relationship with Florence Farr drew him ever more strongly.

For Maud Gonne, who always turned to "doing things" to cover her sorrows, 1892 was a year of ceaseless activity and traveling. She rarely spent a month in the same place. That year, in the French press alone, two thousand articles about her speeches were published. As vice-president of the National Literary Society she organized a benefit concert in Dublin to stock the proposed libraries with donations of books. She lectured throughout France and in Luxembourg, toured Ireland, promoted Donegal tweed to Paris fashion houses, and argued with Willie over spending time with him instead of campaigning for nationalist parliamentary candidates.

On the one hand, Willie felt that the intimacy of their minds could not be greater, while on the other, he came to hate her politics, which he saw as his "one visible rival."[35] Maud later confessed, "Being young and hasty, I secretly felt action not books was needed. I did not then realise how the written word may lead to action and I drifted off to speak at other meetings held on wild hillsides."[36] It was on hillsides, and sleeping in the heather, that the voices of the wind spoke to her of the things she must do for Ireland. She echoed these cries in her speeches and articles:

> Ireland was heroic in her suffering. Whole families, when they had eaten their last crust, and understood that they had to die, looked once upon the sun and then closed up the doors of their cabins with stones, that no one might look on their last agony. Weeks afterwards men would find their skeletons gathered round the extinguished hearth. I do not exaggerate, gentlemen. I have added nothing to the mournful reality. If you come to my country, every stone will repeat to you this tragic history. It was only fifty years ago. It still lives in thousands of memories.... It has seemed to me at evening on those mountains of Ireland, so full of savage majesty when the wind sighed over the pits of the famine where the thousands of dead enrich the harvests of the future, it has seemed to me that I heard an avenging voice calling down on our oppressors the execration of men and the justice of God.[37]

That summer Maud gave up her rooms in Paris, intent on living in Dublin, but in the fall she had a sentimental reunion with Lucien Millevoye in Avergne, at the inn of *la belle menuniere*. Although Willie thought that politics was separating them, it may have been as much the influence of his unknown rival, Lucien.

Maud was still only in the lowest grades of the Outer Order of the Golden Dawn, but, needing political influence more than ever, she decided to test MacGregor's belief in the Egyptian Ka as a part of the personality that could

perform magic. She called up her Grey Lady—whom Moina had identified as her Ka—and astrally directed it to people she wanted to influence, despite knowing little about how to control magical forces.

"How far this was actual fact and how far imagination I do not know," explained Maud, "but certainly I was able to influence people's minds and get them to do things in an extraordinary way. [The Grey Lady] seemed happy doing these things for me and looked less sad."

But the Ka began to grow stronger each time it was invoked: "She seemed to develop an independent personality. She liked some people, disliked others. I loved children; she disliked them."[38]

Then one day when Maud and Willie attempted a trance with a friend of Maud's, the Grey Lady came through and described herself as a murderess of children. The friend screamed, finding herself "amid the fires of Hell," with the smell of sulphur all around. "But," Willie tried to explain, "the names I had used when the woman smelt the sulphur were divine archangel and angel names connected with the three highest of kabalist sephiroth."[39]

In other words, although the symbols had seemed evil to the friend, Willie was sure that the vision was actually offering Maud a chance to redeem herself. He did not recognize that he was projecting on Maud the tension he felt, between the vulnerability she showed him and her single-minded focus on the Irish cause.

"Perhaps there was also an actual contest between two troops of spirits for the control of her mind," he later pondered, "and those who were pushing toward God may [have] caused the others to take on a diabolic shape. . . . I believe now that Maud Gonne had a strong subconscious conviction that her soul was lost."[40]

Maud was convinced that the Grey Lady was evil and that Willie did not really know how to handle her. So she decided to get rid of the Grey Lady herself: "Resolutely I put on the blinkers and denied her existence."[41] Nevertheless, in the presence of certain psychically sensitive people, the Grey Lady still appeared, and Maud continued to struggle with the shadow of her repressed guilt.

By the end of 1892 all four women were practicing magicians, experimenting and honing their imaginative faculties and strength of will. But on the emotional plane, the level of instinct and desire, they knew that there was much work to be done.



Sounds of Hearts' Desire

1893

The planet Neptune formed a conjunction with Pluto at 7° to 9° of Gemini from 1891 to 1893—the most formative years of the Golden Dawn—signaling a major transformation in thinking that characterized *fin-de-siècle* mentality. Although the existence of Pluto was not known until 1930, its effects before that date are clearly apparent. Astrologer Jeff Green, in his book *Pluto,* theorizes that Neptune–Pluto contacts represent periods during which our collective unconscious is most attuned and receptive to evolutionary needs of the planet.[1] The 1891–1893 evolutionary change was focused in Gemini, the sign of intellectual curiosity. For instance, the mystical planet Neptune in the mental and mobile Gemini yields such appropriate manifestations as visualization and astral traveling. The Golden Dawn teaching papers, the "Flying Rolls," which contain instructions for developing these techniques, characterize the new thought evolving at that time. Members of the Golden Dawn were well aware that they were laying the cultural and political groundwork for world change.

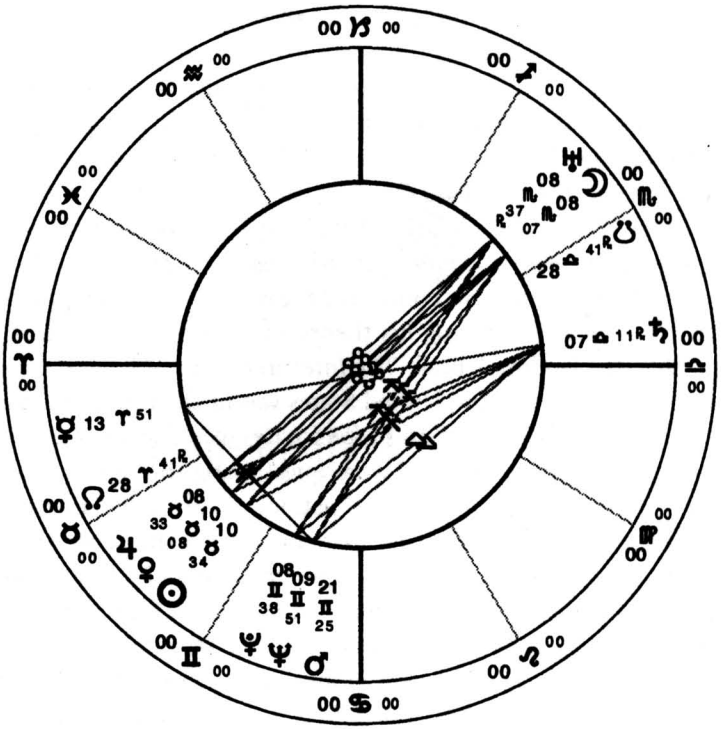
To understand the effects of Neptune conjunct Pluto in Gemini, we can examine what happened historically. The three years from 1891 to 1893 saw the emergence of all the technology needed for a complete revolution in communication and travel: Ford tested his first motor car; electric power was produced commercially; the first public telephones were connected; bicycles became commonplace; the wireless telegraph was invented, as was the motion picture—with the development of Thomas Edison's Kinetoscope. Old concepts of what was real and what was an illusion (Neptune) were breaking

down (Pluto) as communication (Gemini) through time and space burst all previous boundaries. Likewise, metaphysical time and space took on new meaning—the Society for Psychical Research became an important institution for investigating clairvoyance and telepathy. The old metaphysical order ended with the death of Madame Blavatsky in 1891, and the political order ended with the deaths of Ireland's Charles Stewart Parnell and France's General Boulanger. Philosophers William James and Henri Bergson were simultaneously developing new concepts of scientific relativity. Fundamental changes in religion and philosophy now connected the physical and metaphysical, and Sigmund Freud was researching his theory of the unconscious that would soon appear in the landmark book *The Interpretation of Dreams.* Anarchism was having its heyday, and the United States was in the midst of a major depression. France busily established protectorates in Indo-China and colonies in Africa, while advanced thinkers were questioning the right of colonialist powers to make subject the people and nations of Africa, India, and Ireland.

In April and May of 1893, other planets reached the sensitive 8 and 9 degree point: Uranus at 9 degrees of Scorpio (inconjunct Neptune and Pluto) was opposed by Jupiter in Taurus, signaling the height of transformation as it now collectively affected the individual consciousness, unleashing scientific breakthroughs and awareness of supraphysical dimensions of energy. Also, Saturn, at its optimum in Libra, trined Neptune and Pluto, emphasizing the need to establish new forms of and relationships to authority. People searched for a completely individual religious experience. The effects of Darwin's theory of evolution were felt everywhere. Eccentricity seemed almost the norm, and anybody and everybody was caught up in a collective tendency to wager heavy investments on idealistic schemes, resulting in an explosion of wild commercial speculation. Journals, novels, and the plays of Ibsen and Shaw, and research like that of Havelock Ellis, exposed repressed sexual attitudes and the grim, hidden realities of life in the slums. Soon everyone was talking about prostitution, sex and birth control, and alcoholism—and even women now addressed these issues from the podium. New Zealand became the first country to adopt women's suffrage. Advertising took on a new level of subtlety, and hypnotism and electrical therapies were hailed as medical miracles.

An intense need to communicate with and understand others, and a spiritual mission to bring a new and higher level of consciousness to humanity, manifested not only in the Golden Dawn but in the Theosophical Society, now under the direction of Annie Besant, and in the work of Bernard Shaw, beginning with his breakthrough play *Arms and the Man.*

As part of this metaphysical fervor, throughout 1892 and 1893 MacGregor and Moina Mathers focused their attention on developing the curriculum and refining the essential techniques of systematic magical practice, through



THE TRANSIT OF NEPTUNE CONJUNCT PLUTO ON APRIL 30, 1893

communication with beings they called their Secret Masters.[2] By the end of 1893 Mathers was preaching the imminence of great worldwide wars.

For those who had now attained the grade of the Zelator Adeptus Minor, MacGregor created additional levels to the 5°=6° grade rather than advancing members into higher grades. And so they would pass from Zelator Adeptus Minor (Z.A.M), to Theoricus Adeptus Minor (Th.A.M.), and, finally, to Practicus Adeptus Minor (P.A.M.), although not one of the original organization, other than Moina, Westcott, and MacGregor, ever managed the arduous requirements for even the third level of the 5°=6° grade. (A fourth level existed in theory but not practice.) Given that the 6°=5° grade which follows corresponds to the belligerent and destructive Mars, Mathers may have been trying to avoid catastrophe. By the end of 1893, all the rituals and techniques of the Golden Dawn and *R.R. et A.C.* were in place and functioning.[3]

Vestigia wrote *Fortiter* on New Year's Day 1893 from her new flat at 1 Avenue Duquesne, beginning "Dearest Tabbie" and signed "Bergie," the names they had used at the Slade. Most of the letter was concerned with

trivialities: *Vestigia*'s comments on some horoscopes, how Lily Yeats had sent her a Christmas card that looked like a talisman of the Sun, and musings about Willy (Yeats) having become a woman-hater for objecting to an Irishwoman's proposed initiation.

Then Bergie answered some complaint Tabbie had brought against the healing work of fellow member Dr. Edward Berridge, known as *Resurgam*. Dr. Berridge, one of the early members of the Golden Dawn, was a noted homeopathist, a proficient astrologer, and a disciple of Thomas Lake Harris's philosophy of sex and breath involving astral as well as physical partners. Annie found Berridge's theories personally repellent, but Moina seemed to think them soundly based.

> I think *Resurgam*'s [Berridge's] cures are done sooner than some you and others have tried, because he . . . seems to have tried cures on the astral body only, which is naturally much easier and safer, though in consequence of not going to the root of the affair is only temporary. . . . His cures to me seem more subtle than his ordinary medicinal ones, more within the range of a mortal. I have been thinking much lately that you and I sometimes try what can only be done by an adept.[4]

She herself, Moina continued, was regularly expected to perform miracles in Paris for people in England: "My tiresome relatives have been writing to us to discover a thief, and another person has written asking the same sort of thing. It is quite a different affair when it is for the development of character . . . that help is wanted."[5]

The Vault was the symbolic burying place of Christian Rosenkreutz, and it was the Chamber of Initiation for initiates who were received into the Order of the Red Rose and the Gold Cross (*R.R. et A.C.*). Visits to the Vault were usually for the consecration of talismans, sigils, and ceremonial implements like the magical wand; for skrying, invocations, Portal and 5°=6° ceremonies, Council meetings, and special yearly ceremonies. Florence Farr recorded being at the Vault seventy times that year, almost three times more often than Annie Horniman, but Wynn Westcott was there almost every day, as was twenty-four-year-old Percy Bullock (*Levavi Oculos*), a solicitor-in-training and student of alchemy.

Westcott was not pleased that many of the "lady members" wanted to use the Vault regularly. He tried to institute various prohibitions, but according to Golden Dawn historian Ellic Howe, from his perusal of the Vault diaries, the "Lady Students," such as Florence Farr, continued to go as usual (see "A Private Invocation").[6]

A PRIVATE INVOCATION

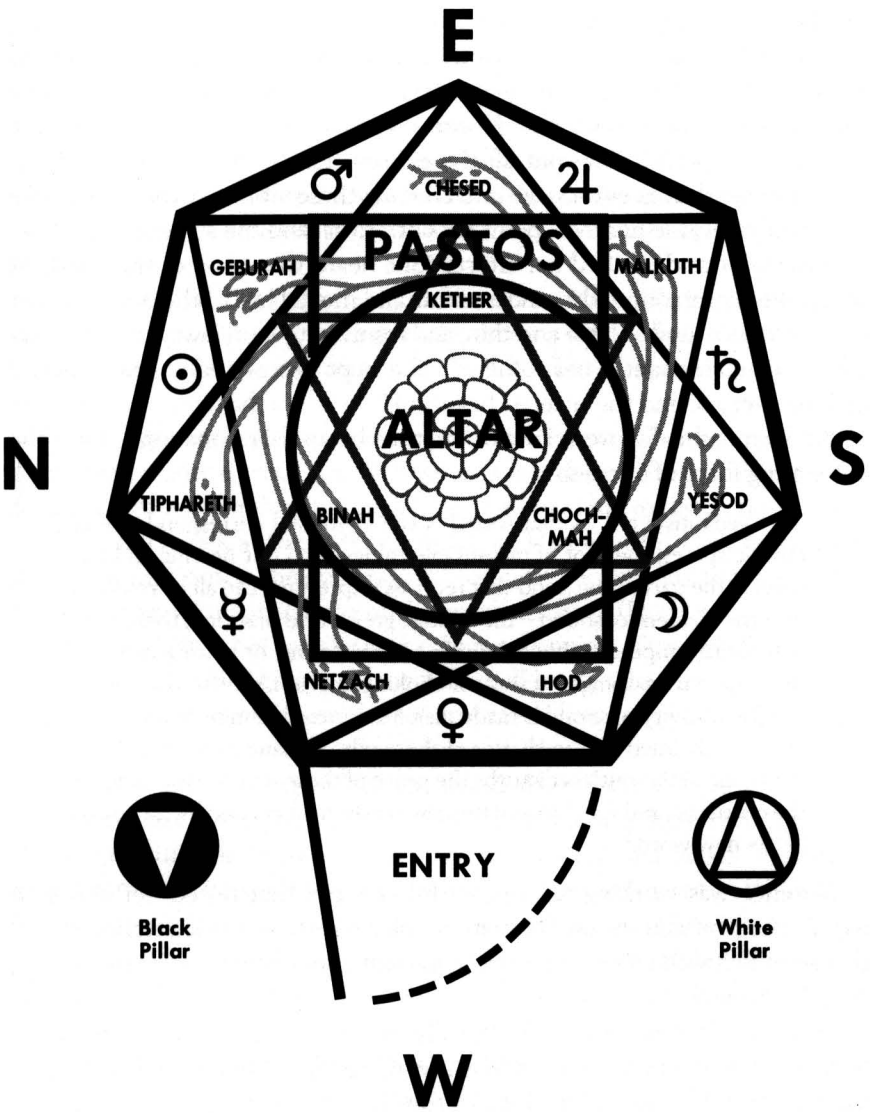
Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data *clothes herself in the white robe, yellow sash, yellow slippers, and yellow and white nemyss of the Adeptus Minor, leaving behind her outer-world concerns, and places the Rose Cross Lamen upon her breast.*

Clutching a Crook and a Scourge as did the Egyptian initiates, she enters the large room that contains the Vault itself. The Vault looms before her, occupying most of the available space. Passing between the black and white Pillars of Hermes she enters the Vault through a door in its westernmost wall, shutting it behind her. Now, in a seven-sided chamber, her first impression is of being inside a muted rainbow. To her right, the wall of the Moon is tinted the blue of a Florentine sky. Then circling counterclockwise, the wall of Saturn is indigo, the wall of Jupiter is amethyst, the wall of Mars is red, the wall of the Sun is poppy orange, the wall of Mercury is yellow, and the wall of Venus, through which she entered, is green. Each wall is five feet wide by eight feet high, with forty symbol-marked squares drawn upon it. Beneath Sapientia's *feet, on the black floor, spirals a great Red Dragon with seven heads, each reaching toward one of the seven intersections between the walls. Above, a translucent White Rose with twenty-two petals is outlined within a triangle centered in the white heptagonal ceiling. Light from the outer room gleams softly through the translucent glass of the Rose.* S.S.D.D. *circles the room until, back to the East, she faces the green wall of Venus and stands before a circular altar, equally between the Light above and the Darkness below.*

On the altar, surrounding the Hebrew letter Shin, *are pictures representing the four fixed signs of the zodiac: a green lion for Leo, a purple human head for Aquarius, an orange eagle for Scorpio, and a white ox for Taurus; also, a carved rose with twenty-five petals and a cross in its center, a red lamp, a cup of water, a dagger, and an incense censer.*

Sapientia *lights the red lamp and kindles some Tetragrammaton incense in the censer, filling the room with the heady scents of rich frankincense, bitter myrrh, the sharpness of camphor, and the sweet vanilla of benzoin. She crosses her hands upon her breast, breathes with a deep steady rhythm, and composes her mind, filling her senses with the effects of color, scent, silence, and light. Moving her arms to form the letters L, V, and then X, she brings down the Divine White Brilliance into the Vault and into herself. Then she sits and gives herself to meditation, tranquilly and without fear. Focusing on Mercury perhaps, she gazes at the forty symbol-marked squares on the wall of Mercury (all in a yellow tint). At the same time, she grips the Crook at a band of color representing the sephira Hod, and the Scourge on the Gemini band. She awaits with serene expectation for the inner message from the Higher Will to make itself known.*

Or she might draw aside the Altar, lift the lid of the coffin of Christian



THE VAULT OF THE ADEPTI

Rosenkreutz, called the Pastos, and lie down within it to contemplate the mortality of the flesh and the immortality of the spirit.

When she is done she makes the LVX sign and then, arms crossed upon her chest in the sign of Osiris Arisen, quits the Vault.[7]

In January, Florence gave her first lecture on the angelic Enochian language, after spending much of the previous year studying its intricacies.[8] Used in ritual, the vowels are sounded in a powerful way to sympathetically vibrate the ether on the astral plane. Florence's voice—especially low, resonant, trained—was perfect. She put all the energy that Shaw had lamented was lacking in her dialogues on stage into creating these vibratory tones. Speaking powerfully became her focal point for both ritual and the stage. In one of her novels, Florence described her efforts: "She heard that some of the words, as she spoke them, sounded round and full, and moved her to the depths of her heart; others sounded little and thin, and resolved to work away until she had got all alike resonantly beautiful. . . . She kept the one idea before her of making every sound she uttered beautiful."[9]

But sound, she discovered, was more than beautiful resonation—it was the detonating force of creation:

> The Vedantists tell us that sound is the elemental correspondence of etheric spaces, the root of measurable things. And our hearing and our speech, the part of the mind that receives impression, can all be resolved into the element of sound—the strange grey world of sound, flashing or detonating; imperceptibly subduing and mastering, or roaring maledictions upon us, gasping in ecstasy or choking in death, thousand-tongued.
>
> The mystery of sound is made manifest in words and in music . . . we are overwhelmed by the chatter of those who profane it, and the din of the traffic of the restless disturbs the peace of those who are listening for the old magic, and watching till the new creation is heralded by the sound of the new word.[10]

Florence was working with powerful energies that tested her ability to handle their reflections on the material plane. Perhaps the shattering events that soon followed were, for Florence, a result of her contact with the roaring Angels of Enoch.

Shaw and Florence were emotionally involved despite his continuing attentions to Jenny Patterson and May Morris Sparling. Shaw noted in his diary five days after Florence's Enochian lecture that they were both "very happy," as they spent their evenings reading Walt Whitman to each other. But this peaceful interlude was not to last.

On February 4, two months after being fiercely lampooned on stage in Shaw's *Widowers' Houses*, Jenny Patterson burst in upon Shaw and Florence at Florence's flat. In the opening scene of his play *The Philanderer*,[11] Shaw faithfully described what happened: "A lady and gentleman are making love to one another in the drawing room of a flat. . . . The lady, Grace Tranfield is about 32, slight of build, delicate of feature, and sensitive in expression. . . . Her well closed mouth, proudly set brows, firm chin, and elegant carriage shew

plenty of determination and self-respect." This describes Florence perfectly. Shaw himself is Leonard Charteris: "His amative enthusiasm, at which he is himself laughing, and his clever, imaginative, humorous ways, contrast strongly with the sincere tenderness and dignified quietness of the woman."

Charteris claims that this is the first affair in which he has been serious. However, there is one woman who has been serious about him—Julia Craven (Jenny Patterson), and she will not accept any of his attempts to break off their liaison.

"I've been kind; I've been frank; I've been everything that a good-natured man can be; but she only takes it as the making up of a lovers' quarrel. It is your mission to rescue me from Julia," he begs Grace, explaining that "it was nothing but a philander."

Grace responds that she hates his philandering, and Charteris, in the typical Shavian manner, grouches: "Whose fault is it that half the women I speak to fall in love with me? Not mine: I hate it: it bores me to distraction."

There is a knock at the outer entrance, and "a beautiful, dark, tragic looking woman appears at the door, raging." Instantly recognizing that more than a tête-à-tête is taking place, she hurls herself at Grace (Florence).

Charteris blocks her and she strikes him, screaming, "She shall not have my place with you—You belong to me. She shall know what you are, and how you have been in love with me: how it is not two days since you kissed me and told me that the future would be as happy as the past."

"With nonchalant disgust," Grace abandons the scene, leaving Charteris to remove Julia (Jenny) from her house. He taunts the hysterical Julia that she is not truly the "advanced woman" she has claimed to be: "Advanced people form charming friendships: conventional people marry.... We're intellectually incompatible.... You force me to despise you. How can a woman who behaves like a spoiled child and talks like a sentimental novel have the audacity to dream of being a companion for a man of any sort of sense or character?"

Quieting the real Jenny, Shaw took her home, remaining until three o'clock in the morning. The next day he insisted that Jenny write a letter of apology to Florence. He then took her to May Morris Sparling's house, where he had the impertinence to ask May to deliver the apology! He also spent the subsequent two nights at May's house, where they had an emotional conversation about old times.[12] Shaw soon terminated his relationship with Jenny but continued to spend most of his free time with May. Her husband, unable to handle Shaw's encroachment, temporarily left the country, leaving Shaw to frequent their flat.

Florence was so upset by the incident with Jenny (and probably by Shaw's response) that she didn't go to the Vault on Clipstone Street for a month. By

then it was March, when suddenly Wynn Westcott resigned his post as Praemonstrator. Although Annie Horniman had been Sub-Praemonstratrix under him for more than a year, Florence was appointed to replace him. Being the Praemonstratrix of the Isis-Urania Temple meant that she was in charge of all rituals, invocations, and teachings, as well as being Mathers's personal agent in England.[13]

In addition to her new duties, Florence was acting in the Eugene Scribe and Ernest Legouve play, *Adrienne Lecouvreur*,[14] at the Royalty—along with Janet Charrington, another of the married ladies with whom Shaw was carrying on a long-term emotional, though nonsexual, affair.

The intensity of Florence's life at this time was a personal embodiment of the greater transformative forces at work on the planet. The April–May transits of all the planets from Jupiter through Pluto were focusing their energies on Florence's intellectually ambitious Mercury (square Pluto), which was exactly conjunct her Leo Ascendant, creating a passionate desire to be recognized for her creative expression.

Damning the play and her with it, Shaw blasted Florence's acting via a letter dated April 27: "In the first scene you are insufferable. You wave your arms about like a fairy in a transformation scene.... If you decide at any time to do nothing, shut your mouth, and compose yourself, and *do* nothing.... As to the way you tighten your upper lip, and bunch up your back, and stiffen your neck, and hold on by your elbows, that is, I admit, necessary to prevent you falling forward on your nose." As usual, however, Shaw contradicted himself by adding, "The sooner the play disappears, the better.... But you rather score off it; and I advise you to make the most of it while it lasts."[15]

Meanwhile, Shaw had been reading Florence parts of his new play. She decided to retaliate by writing a novel about Shaw as a philanderer. In *The Dancing Faun* she lampooned Shaw's dictatorial attempts to "create" her as an actress and his ridiculous manner of taking credit for her merits but blaming her for her faults. Even the names of the characters in her novel and his play reflect each other: to Shaw, Florence is Grace Tranfield ("tranquil"), while she names herself Grace Lovell ("love-well"). Jenny Patterson is Julia Craven ("cowardly, recreant") to Shaw, and Lady Geraldine Fitzjustin ("child of justice") to Florence. Shaw chooses the name Leonard Charteris (the social activists of the 1850s were called Chartists) for himself, but to Florence he is George Travers (using Shaw's despised first name, George, coupled with Travers, probably a play on "traverse," meaning to move back and forth). Florence also gives Travers many of the traits of her ex-husband, Edward Emery.

By May, Florence was reading parts of the novel to Shaw. At the same time she delivered a lecture to the Second Order, now numbering close to thirty-six members, titled "Secrecy and Hermetic Love." These two creative projects,

written at the same time, intertwine so that the latter offers an interesting commentary on the former, as we shall see in a moment.

At the end of *The Philanderer*, Grace Tranfield (Florence) refuses to marry Charteris (Shaw) because he has acquiesced to a sentimental, morally degraded love with Julia (Jenny Patterson) who epitomizes the "womanly woman." In the final lines, Julia tells Charteris that she is actually a "worthless woman" because, she says, "I am not brave enough to kill you." However, Florence's character does not have this problem.

The Dancing Faun (published with a frontispiece by her friend Aubrey Beardsley) is about an adventurer named George Travers (an amalgam of Emery and Shaw), who, having to leave London for cheating at cards, returns ten years later. He impetuously marries a young actress, Grace Lovell (Florence), who now stands in the way of his reentering genteel society. He lures the wealthy young Lord Kirkdale with the charms of his innocent wife in hopes of blackmailing him. Discovering that she has a gift for melodious speech, Grace wants to renew her acting career. Meanwhile, Kirkdale's sheltered sister, Lady Geraldine Fitzjustin (Jenny Patterson), falls desperately in love with Travers even when he is again caught cheating at cards. Lady Geraldine offers Travers £800 a year if he will run away with her, but he believes he can make more money through Grace's acting in America. He wants Geraldine to finance his and Grace's escape. Lady Geraldine, realizing what a cad he truly is and that to be under his influence is to become morally contaminated herself, cannot bear to let him live. She kills him, arranging it to look like suicide.

At the funeral, Grace and Geraldine concur on George's depravity: "He would have sneaked and lied and shivered through life, taking men's and women's souls and bodies and tearing them to shreds, dragging them down until they could see nothing in life but a struggle for amusement, nothing beyond but a rest from torment."[16] (Ah, what an assessment of Shaw!) With George's death, the weight of his fascination and evil influence is now off their souls. Florence has symbolically rendered justice to the philanderer.

Shaw, in *The Philanderer*, has Julia Craven feel too "worthless" to kill him. Florence feels no such limitations; instead she acknowledges the sisterhood of those he has wronged. In the literature of the day, it was usual that an "advanced woman" be punished in the end for her views. In Florence's book, Geraldine not only gets away with murder, but, more shockingly, she gets away with her attitudes! The book was not especially well received, except by those who knew Shaw. And it featured a disclaimer: "Owing to circumstances which have arisen since this story was written in the summer of 1893, it seems necessary to state that it is purely a work of the imagination, and that none of the characters or events are taken from real life."[17]



AUBREY BEARDSLEY'S TITLE PAGE TO FLORENCE FARR'S NOVEL *THE DANCING FAUN*, 1894

In her Golden Dawn lecture on "Secrecy and Hermetic Love," written at the same time as *The Dancing Faun*, Florence dealt with the magical and inner themes that had become important to her in the face of Shaw's emotional manipulations and philandering. These themes complemented those of *The Dancing Faun:* Social reality is a lie, passion keeps one chained to one's instinctual animal nature, and serious life is found only in art and the intellect.

Passion, Florence claimed, "revolts her intellect, her imagination, her delicacy, her pride. To an intellectual person the whole business of love-making is ridiculous, and without dignity. . . . When love comes in at the door intellect flies out of the window or sleeps the sleep of the disgusted."[18]

"In real life," says Grace Lovell, "you get an emotion which masters you; in art, in acting, in all works of genius . . . you master an emotion."[19] Mastering her feelings about Shaw was essential if Florence's will were to contain her animal desires.

It was to the principles of "Secrecy and Hermetic Love" that Florence turned during this difficult time. In her lecture she suggested that when "upset by trivial material circumstances, we build within ourselves a fortress of strength [the Will] to which we can retire in time of need."[20]

Regarding Shaw's attempt to remake her in his own image, she held the belief that "the *Opinion* of others should receive the very smallest attention from the true student of Life.... The man or woman who would lead you this way or that, will not be there [at your day of reckoning] to take the responsibility off your shoulders."[21]

And if she applied these principles to Jenny Patterson? "Hermetic or Brotherly Love [is] the capacity of understanding another's motives and sympathizing with his weaknesses." Yet she would not condone Jenny's passionate jealousy: "Above all things conquer that terrible sting of love—jealousy.... To see human nature at its very worst you have only to listen to the ravings and threats of a person who considers [her] monopoly of some other person's affection is infringed. This kind of maniacal passion is the outcome of the egotism à deux, which has been so fostered by romance."[22]

Florence retreated into her "fortress of strength" from the "chaotic mass of contradictory forces" that charged the scene with Shaw and Jenny Patterson. "In silence," she sought "thoughts which are above human consciousness [that] clothe themselves with symbolism and present things to our imagination, which cannot be told in words." Perhaps her novel was conceived in such a state. But primarily, she realized "that the highest and best principle within us is the Divine Light which surrounds us, and which, in a more or less manifested condition is also in others. The vehicle may be disagreeable to us, the personality of another may be antipathetic, but latent light is there all the same, and it is that which makes us all brothers."

Therefore, she created Jenny Patterson as the sympathetic Lady Geraldine, although she left in her one great flaw—not the hubris of classical tragedy but her animal instincts: "To overcome the world and remain a slave to your own passions has been the ideal of all the splendid failures of history." To Florence, "God is identical with our highest genius and is manifested in a strong, wise will *freed from the rule of blind instinct*" (my italics).[23] For Florence this entire episode was a lesson in bringing one's Will "to a state of perfection, strength and wisdom."[24] She was more determined than ever to be worthy of her motto, demonstrating by her withdrawal from the "egotism à deux" of romance the very wisdom that would make her worthy of its gift. She focused on her work

as Praemonstratrix at the Vault on Clipstone Street during the spring of that year.

Meanwhile, Shaw escorted May Morris Sparling to see the latest Ibsen play, *Hedda Gabler,* on June 5. Yet when Florence returned from a month's vacation in the country in mid-July, Shaw was at the train station to greet her. They enjoyed a reconciliation of sorts, spending several weeks together attending concerts and walking in Regents Park. Then Shaw went to the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich, taking along May Sparling as his companion.[25] May's husband threatened divorce, with Shaw as corespondent. Upon his return, Shaw quickly renewed his devotions to Florence; by November he was beginning a new play—this time a romantic one—in which Florence would star.

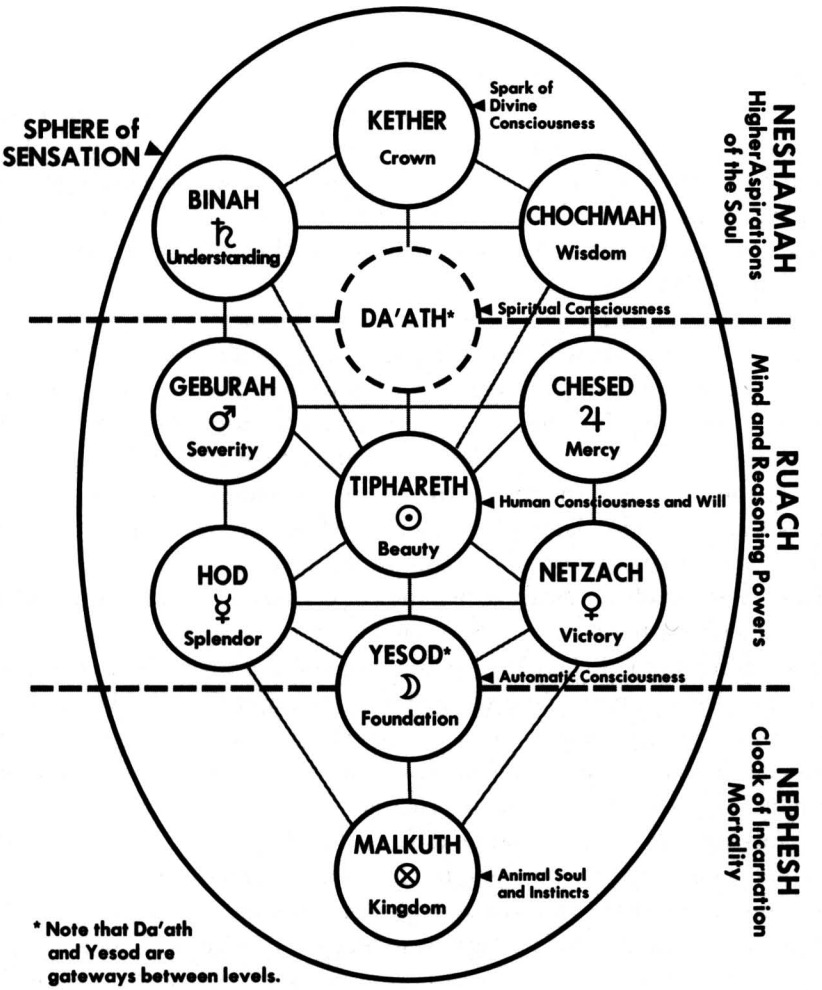
For the Fall Equinox ceremonies, Moina delivered a paper entitled "Know Thyself." She described the psychospiritual dynamics of the human being from a Kabbalistic perspective based on the Tree of Life. This psychological model related aspects of the self to levels of Divine consciousness and provided a way of determining the source of any thought or action, and a way to modify or balance it.

Moina describes the human being as a kingdom. The individual's kingdom is surrounded by her "Sphere of Sensation," similar to what we now call the "aura," pictured like an egg with reflecting surfaces. We exist within this Sphere of Sensation as ten energies—the ten *sephiroth* on the Tree of Life—representing, through planetary symbolism, our psychospiritual modes or subpersonalities.[26]

In addition, the Kingdom of the Individual consists of three levels: the *Neshamah,* or higher aspirations of the soul; the *Ruach,* or mental and reasoning powers; and the *Nephesh,* the mortal cloak of incarnation. Prophets or magicians, when inspired by the Divine, act from the *Neshamah.* Mostly we function from *Ruach*—our solar conscious self in "the King's Abode" of Tiphareth (in the heart)—where the major balancing of our personality (represented by Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury) takes place. "A student of Adeptship [must] learn to bring perfect order into the Sephiroth of his Ruach," charged Moina.[27]

Nephesh, ruled by the Moon of our automatic consciousness, includes our habits, memories, and physical senses. To act through *Nephesh* is to allow our Kingdom to be directed by animal instincts.

In the psychological shadows of the unconscious is a shadow kingdom with shadow *sephiroth* known as *qliphoth,* representing that which we have cast out of ourselves. Long before Carl Jung said "our shadow is our greatest teacher," Moina Mathers claimed that our psychological shadow can be a



THE KINGDOM OF MAN WITHIN THE SPHERE OF SENSATION

source of great strength once we have overcome the disorder it creates, by bringing it into the light of consciousness. Moina spoke of learning to ride the "Wild Beast" of the *qliphoth*, who would "become as a strong yet trained animal... this bringing added material strength unto the man."[28] One modern magician characterizes this thought as being "the equivalent of working with toxic wastes, dangerous animals, or high voltage wires."[29] With this in mind, Moina gave several warnings about the dangers of spiritual egotism that became strangely prophetic. In a later chapter we will return to what she had to say about this.

In June, Annie, while in Trondheim, Norway, where she had gone to see Ibsen's plays in the original, wrote a paper called "Progress in the Order." As Sub-Praemonstratrix, with duties relating to the lessons and examinations of the initiates, Annie saw that many of the Golden Dawn members were floundering over the sheer amounts of material to be learned. She had rigorously applied herself to these lessons and felt that each person could, if they wished to advance within the Order, do likewise. It was this attitude that later led to a major conflict with Florence Farr.

Annie's astrological chart (see Appendix A) indicates that her predominant element was Air, with her Sun in Libra and Gemini Rising, so she had an active, questing mind that thirsted for knowledge. She may have appeared rather unassuming, but she had forceful Mars at the top of her chart (M.C.) in Aquarius, and Uranus on her Gemini Ascendant trining her Sun, giving her revolutionary ideas with the assertive energy and independence necessary to carry them out. Her Taurus Moon and fixed-sign emphasis meant that she would stick with a decision once committed to it. While independence and change were vitally necessary to her, she also craved emotional security, which was difficult for her to obtain. She was an emotional extremist, with Venus conjuncting Jupiter in Leo, befriending people and giving to them generously and then feeling angry and estranged if she thought they had betrayed her (the Moon squaring both Venus and Jupiter). Her true emotions were deeply buried (Moon in the Twelfth House), and she needed to control relationships as indicated by willful Pluto inconjunct her Sun and trine her Saturn.

Working with Annie could be difficult. Her "Flying Roll" shows that she was enthusiastic and encouraging, but in her rigid egalitarianism she expected everyone to meet the impossibly high standards she set for herself. In her paper she repeatedly declares against indecision, caprice, and indolence, perhaps knowing them to be her own weaknesses; since she fought them with a fierce determination, she could not see why others were not equally determined to stamp them out of their own character.

"Not one of us has any time to lose," she wrote, although she was only thirty-three at the time. "Youth and strength do not last us very long, and the present opportunities may never arise again. Work done to please or gain approbation from another is not what we want, but that real enthusiasm which overcomes difficulties and grows the stronger because of them."[30] Nevertheless, Annie deeply craved approval and recognition from Moina and MacGregor Mathers, paradoxically the more so because she financially supported them.

The great Neptune–Pluto conjunction in Gemini that was then at its height occurred exactly on Annie's Ascendent. In 1893, transiting Uranus opposed

her Pluto while Jupiter conjuncted it, and Saturn transited directly over her Sun. These potent aspects awakened a sense of her own power and a determination to make her personal vision become reality. Her trip to Ibsen's Norway, to see for herself how the innovative and much-discussed Norwegian National Theatre was received and what kind of social changes it had brought in its wake, inspired her to imagine what she could do for theatre in her own country.

Annie's grandfather died on August 12, leaving a total estate of approximately U.S. $40 million by today's standards. Annie received a substantial legacy of £40,000 (roughly equivalent to several million dollars today); now she possessed the resources with which to materialize her ideas.

Annie had come to know Florence well during two years of practicing ceremonial magic together, and that fall she offered to finance a theatrical season of anything Florence wanted to produce. Annie believed that an original and literary British theatre would have to be subsidized, but it needed to be a critical success to show that it could be done. It was an excellent combination, for Annie had the vision and financial resources, while Florence had the theatrical know-how and professional connections.

Annie's father, already appalled by her unconventional lifestyle and disreputable friends, might have made an effort to keep her from "throwing her money away" on such a frivolous and impractical enterprise. Thus, by working through Soror *Sapientia,* with whom she shared the secrets of their magical work, she could maintain silence. It was a decade or more before the playwrights themselves discovered Annie's role in their first public performances.

Florence explained (in a letter to Shaw in 1905): "She was wonderful about the money really and just gave it to me to do anything I liked with the way of advertising myself. I might have played Lady Macbeth & Camille etc. etc., but of course I felt I must do something for the stage when I had the opportunity."[31] Florence immediately began looking for a theatre to rent and asked Shaw, Yeats, and Todhunter to write new plays for her to produce.

Shaw immediately told the actress Janet Achurch, "I have made a desperate attempt to begin a real romantic play for F.F. in the style of Victor Hugo."[32]

The year 1893 was difficult for Maud Gonne. In January, too ill to travel, she cancelled a speaking tour of Ireland. Confined to bed, she tried painting her visions, including one of the Grey Woman "in the dancing glory of life."[33] But by the end of February she was promoting the national libraries again, founding three of the seven branches proposed, and arranging that books be sent to them.

Willie wanted to spend all his time with Maud, although she explained she could only offer friendship. Then they had an intense quarrel. Willie, on the

committee to publish books by the National Literary Society, fought everyone over his belief that (literary) quality should take precedence over (patriotic) rhetoric. Maud didn't agree. She felt Irish history and pride must come first, even if poorly written. Their opposing goals rose again to keep them separated. Willie was passionately dedicated to creating a renaissance in Irish writing. Maud was just as passionately dedicated to promoting patriotism—of any kind.

Before the quarrel could be patched up, Maud developed a cold followed by lung congestion. Her doctor opposed Willie in the Literary Society battle and kept him from her presence, aided by a nurse who was either mentally ill with delusions or else filled with an insane hatred of Maud. Every evening Willie met with this woman in a public garden to receive news of Maud, which usually consisted of implausible, melodramatic tales. There were several men in France, it seems, who wished to duel over her, only Maud insisted they wait until she was present to witness the honor. But, claimed the nurse, Maud was expected to die at any moment. Desperate to know what was really going on, Willie used every occult technique he knew to gain information. One ploy involved placing his roommate into a trance state. The young man saw an open coffin but awoke before he could read the inscription. Willie cast Tarot cards, which also foretold disaster. Meanwhile, rumors circulated throughout Dublin that Willie was Maud's lover and that he had arranged an abortion at which he was present. Many of their acquaintances, jealous of Willie's literary success and resenting Maud's independence, were willing to believe anything they heard.

The sinister nurse who had originated these rumors now told Maud that the doctor had said she would die soon; then she sat staring at Maud for hours, waiting for the moment of passing. Maud wrote her cousin May Gonne, begging for help. May arrived and had her carried, too ill to stand, to the boat for France.[34]

Willie returned to London feeling so betrayed by his compatriots that he would not work directly for any Irish cause for the next four years. Tortured by his sexual desire for Maud, as he described it, he sublimated it all into Golden Dawn workings. Going to the Vault two to three times a week from mid June through mid September, he made and consecrated his magical weapons—surely filling them with all his frustrated passion.[35]

Maud found life in France almost as difficult as it had been in Ireland. Corruption, graft, and bribery around the Panama Canal project forced more than a hundred government deputies to resign, including Lucien Millevoye. Millevoye tried publishing forged documents to bring down the pro-English Clemenceau. He was discovered and ruined. Clemenceau then attempted to destroy Millevoye's relationship with Maud, since they constituted a danger-

ous alliance against England. A previously faithful servant became a spy, taking photographs of all Maud's letters, but this only served to strengthen her otherwise shaky relationship with Lucien. She encouraged him to take on the editorship of a new paper, *La Patrie*, and he began to make it into a success.[36]

The renewal of their romance rekindled the old hope that her child might be reborn to her. On All Hallow's Eve, when the veils between the world are thinnest, she convinced Millevoye to come with her to little Georges's grave at Samois. They made love in the vault under the memorial chapel, and before the end of the year she knew she was pregnant.[37]

At the Pagets' Christmas party in Bedford Park, Florence told Willie about her upcoming theatrical season. As Willie described it: "She asked me to write a one-act play that her niece, Miss Dorothy Paget, a girl of eight or nine, might make her first stage appearance, and I, with my Irish Theatre in mind, wrote *The Land of Heart's Desire* . . . for I knew an Irish woman whose unrest troubled me."[38]

His deeper purpose was to express his anguish over his loss of intimacy with Maud. By mythologizing her intentions, he could attempt to understand what drove her. If her abandonment was based on a heroic compulsion, then he could justify it without the implication that she was running away from him. In the first draft of his autobiography, Yeats said: "I began to write *The Land of Heart's Desire* . . . and put into it my own despair. I could not tell why Maud Gonne had turned from me unless she had done so from some vague desire for some impossible life, for some unwearying excitement like that of the heroine of my play."[39] In both the play and in a poem written at the same time called "The Host of the Air," a mortal woman leaves her husband to join the Sidhe (fairies). Willie wanted to believe that Maud had left him because she saw projected in the dreamy mists of Ireland a finer and more exciting life than any reality he could offer. Only such total idealism on her part could make his pain worthwhile.

Late in 1893 MacGregor "began to foresee changes in the world," and he announced "the imminence of immense wars."[40] Moina, in "Know Thyself," had said that "one of our aims should be the Regeneration of the Race of the Planet."[41] At first, the Golden Dawn members reacted with dedication to this prophecy, and it imposed a deepening sense of purpose and meaning to their rituals.



Crowned with Serpents

1894

I have just been informed that you have been accepted as a suitable candidate for our Order. Before actually joining it is well to know a little more about us. At first all the instruction given to you will be purely intellectual so as to make a firm foundation for spiritual knowledge—that will not be given you until you have proved yourself fit to receive it. No worldly or social considerations can be brought into the order; we leave all rank and position outside. Naturally the greatest courtesy and widest toleration are necessary amongst us. No one interferes that are likely to bring scandal amongst us. But we must be prepared to make sacrifices or else we are not fit for the enormous responsibility of occult knowledge and the extra temptations it brings with it. Even the simplest occult studies are dangerous for those who are not willing to lead pure and upright lives in any circumstances.

Yours truly,
A. E. F. Horniman[1]

Thus Annie Horniman wrote prospective candidates about the responsibilities arising from occult knowledge and the resulting temptations that could lead to scandal or worse. These very dangers would soon begin to erupt within the order.

In January, Annie went to Paris to see the Matherses and to consecrate the new Ahathoor Temple; after all, she had paid for it. Still, nourished by her love

of Wagner and the theatre, Annie was a powerful ritualist; otherwise MacGregor would not ask her to officiate at such an important ritual.

While she was in Paris, MacGregor and Moina took her to the Musée Guimet, where they were surprised to find that the Indian art "affected her nerves unpleasantly." According to MacGregor, she shuffled her feet and cried in an attack of hysterics, then asked them to promise solemnly to stop her, no matter how, if they thought she began to show any sign of hereditary mania.[2] It may well have been the explicit sexuality of Indian art that so affected her, but Annie was also troubled by what her family and others would think if they knew that the first thing she had done with her own money was to "throw it away" on a theatrical experiment.

In *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980,* Elaine Showalter writes that "the nervous women of the *fin de siècle* were ravenous for a fuller life than their society offered them, famished for the freedom to act and to make real choices. Their nervous disorders expressed the insoluble conflict between their desires to act as individuals and the internalized obligations to submit to the needs of the family, and to conform to the model of self-sacrificing 'womanly' behavior."[3] In 1894 feminist novelist "George Egerton" was writing: "When we shall have larger and freer lives, we shall be better balanced than we are now."[4]

"Hereditary mania" was a term for the belief that nervous women transmitted their disorders via their female organs to their daughters. Perhaps Annie's mother, about whom we know little, was one of those women who spent much of their lives "indisposed."

In February, Willie Yeats stayed with the Matherses in Paris during his first visit to their romantic city. He found MacGregor gay and companionable but noticed that their spirit evocations had created a strain. "One day a week he and his wife were shut up together evoking, trying to influence the politics of the world," he remembered. "I believe now, [that they were] rearranging nations according to his own grandiose phantasy, and on this day I noticed that he would spit blood."[5] But all in all it was a pleasant time: Yeats read from his new play and Moina's brother Henri came to call. Yeats thought Henri Bergson very courteous, but MacGregor complained impatiently: "I have shown him all that my magic can do and I have no effect upon him."[6] MacGregor, although knowledgeable about magic, was not a real scholar in Yeats' opinion: One morning he would be reading Horace and the next, James Macpherson's mostly fictional *The Poems of Ossian,* and he treated them with equal authority.[7]

In the evenings they played a kind of complex chess based upon movements of Enochian gods over a game board. Yeats and Moina were partners

against MacGregor and a spirit. "He would cover his eyes with his hands or gaze at the empty chair at the opposite corner of the board before moving his partner's piece," described Yeats.[8] MacGregor continued to prophesy vast changes in the world and brood on the imminence of immense wars.[9]

But, as always, Maud Gonne—also in Paris—was Yeats's chief concern. She was ill again. When he visited her, she did not allow him the same old intimacy but kept him at a reserved distance. "I remember going with her to call upon some friend and noting that she mounted the stairs slowly and with difficulty."[10] Unbeknown to him, she was almost four months pregnant and stressed by her relationship with Lucien. Yeats urged her to continue her Golden Dawn studies, reporting that MacGregor was also taken with her spirit and political activism; but she told him that she was repelled by the biblical symbolism she found there.

After seeing Maud in Paris, Yeats felt that on the eve of his attaining her, she had been stolen away from him by remorseless and soulless spirits. Her lagging gait and her pale look suggested to him a person who has been captured against her will. Her weakness, so unlike her previous fiery strength, led him to see her as the victim of an enchantment from which he could rescue her.

He put these feelings into the play *The Land of Heart's Desire*, expressing the loss he felt through Maud's summons to the spirit of Ireland as that of a husband who loses his wife to the fairies. The play is set during the pagan festival of *Beltaine*, or May Eve, when the *Sidhe* "may steal new-married brides / After the fall of twilight." A fairy child (to be played by Florence's niece), envoy of the *Sidhe*, takes possession of the spirit of a young bride, Mary Bruin, and carries her off.

Flush with Annie's inheritance money, Florence Farr was in London searching at short notice for an available theatre. She finally found the Avenue Theatre on the Embankment, which had an opening for just three months starting in March. John Todhunter, Florence's Irish doctor-poet-swain, had recently written a successful play, *Black Cat* (although one critic found it morbid). Florence had asked him for another play, to which he agreed. Shaw and Yeats were also hard at work on their plays for her, and she assigned a young artist friend to create a poster that would be sure to capture everyone's attention. Aubrey Beardsley agreed to do his first poster, and he made it a shocking one. Its "Japanee-Rossetti girl," according to Liam Miller in *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats*, symbolized "the attempt to break through the barriers of convention and at the same time reflected the romantic approach.... Recognized today as one of his finest works and a masterpiece in its genre—[it portrays] the figure of a girl emerging through diaphanous drapes, executed in the unlikely colour combination of a cerulean blue with a yellow-green."[11]



AUBREY BEARDSLEY'S POSTER FOR FLORENCE FARR'S SEASON OF PLAYS AT THE AVENUE THEATRE

The magazine *Punch* called the poster, which was displayed all over London, a "comedy of leers," and Annie Horniman declared, "Even the cab horses shied [at it]."

Shaw's play was not nearly finished, but since the theatre was only booked through May, Florence opened with the plays written by Todhunter and Yeats. So that no one would connect her with the production Annie left the country.

Florence's idea, to shock London with "life as it is," presenting literature instead of farce, did not find a sympathetic audience. When Todhunter's Ibsenite play about the New Woman, *The Comedy of Sighs,* opened on March 29 with Florence playing the lead role, Yeats noted that it failed completely:

> Florence Farr... brought the trouble upon herself. Always in revolt against her own poetical gift, which now seemed obsolete, and against her own Demeter-like face in the mirror, she had tried when interviewed by the Press to shock and startle.... For two hours and a half, pit and gallery drowned the voices of the players with boos and jeers... and then went home to spread their lying story that the actress had a fit of hysterics in her dressing room.[12]

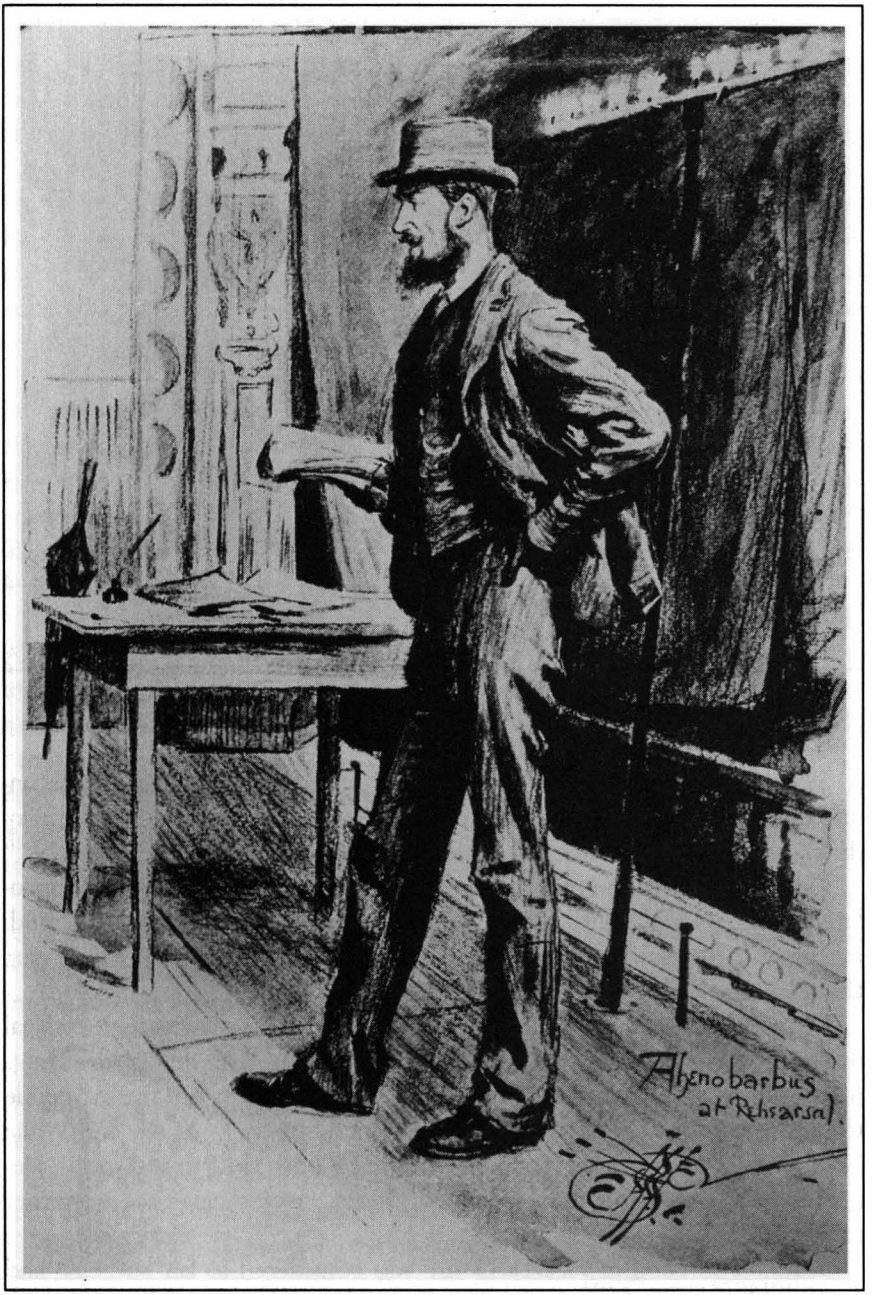
Florence, however—years later, in a letter to Shaw—adjudged that "poor Todhunter is the only person connected with the affair that appears as a ridiculous failure."[13]

As for Shaw, he asked his friend Elizabeth Robins, "Have you ever seen so horrible a portent on the stage as this transformation of an amiable, clever sort of woman into a nightmare, a Medusa, a cold, loathly, terrifying, grey, callous, sexless devil?"[14] In Florence's portrayal of the nineteenth-century female outcast, Shaw perceived a devouring monster hissing the wisdom of hell. But Florence offered a different view in the introduction she was just then writing to an eighteenth-century manuscript on the "Hermetic Art of Alchemy":

> We have all been taught to look with horror upon Medusa's head, with the serpents twisting round its face, the terror of which turned all to stone who gazed upon it. But we must [do this], if we would learn to long for a glance from those wonderful eyes, which will bestow upon us the gift of indifference to personal joys and sorrows... [and to] draw inspiration from the supernal light—that "Wisdom Goddess" [Athena] who wears the serpent crowned head upon her shield.[15]

Urging Todhunter to be bold with his lines, for once Florence had not been listless and "lacking certainty" but had called out to the New Woman in everyone. To Shaw, her indifferent joy and adamantine consciousness seemed terrifying and sexless: "Did you hear those damns and devils... did they not sound like the blasphemes of a fiend? Had she been able to give full effect to herself the audience would have torn her to pieces."[16] The words were too strident, the truth too cold for Shaw, much less for the critics and the public. The critics were so abusive, said Yeats, "that a reaction set in which brought a rather artistic public to the theatre," but it could not save Todhunter's play.[17]

Florence was shaken by the failure. She wired Shaw to come at once to the theatre with his new play, which Shaw hurriedly finished while sitting in the Embankment Garden. With only one week of rehearsals (and Florence acting in a supporting role, conceding the lead to the well-known Alma Murray), *Arms and the Man* opened on April 21. Satirizing romantic heroism and ideals, it astonished the audience and almost caused a riot on the first night. The acclaim was immediate.[18]



BERNARD SHAW IN REHEARSAL FOR *ARMS AND THE MAN* AT THE AVENUE THEATRE.
THE SKETCH, APRIL 1894; DRAWING BY J. BERNARD PARTRIDGE



FLORENCE FARR AS LOUKA IN *ARMS AND THE MAN*

Yeats described the scene: "Shaw . . . had planned an opening that would confound his enemies. For the first few minutes *Arms and the Man* is crude melodrama and then turns into excellent farce. . . . I stood aghast before its energy."[19]

Florence's role in the play, as the servant-girl Louka who wins the "chocolate creme soldier" in the end, is "a very fine, tragic, passionate, grand-mountain-girl character," Shaw claimed. He added that it was "the only part that plays itself."[20]

Florence walked home that evening with Yeats discussing their mutual dislike of Shaw's machine-like precision and mentality. Yeats described a nightmare of Shaw as a "sewing machine, that clicked and sown, but the incredible thing was that the machine smiled, smiled perpetually."[21] As she and Willie became closer, drawn together as they were by both theatre and magic, Florence and Shaw became more alienated. Florence would never act in another of Shaw's plays.

Yeats's *The Land of Heart's Desire* was considered a "fair success," and continued to run as the opener to *Arms and the Man*. Even so, the season was a financial failure.

Yeats predicted that the Avenue Theatre season of plays would make history as "the first contest between the old commercial school of theatrical folk

and the new artistic school."[22] It is now considered the beginning of the modern theatre movement in England. It is also an excellent example of the effects of Neptune conjuncting Pluto in Gemini—an illusion of finality that was actually the birth of a powerful new movement in the literary imagination. Annie herself always called it "a fruitful failure." Actors became established, the Beardsley cult began, and the actor-impressario Harley Granville-Barker had his professional beginnings as an understudy. These productions were the manifestation of a group of magicians whose "imagination developed into an act of will" and had created something new; however, their groundbreaking significance was not then evident.

Annie Horniman was in turmoil. Had she wasted her money? Was she a fool, a spendthrift? If her family found out, would it confirm their suspicions that she might be insane? Her inner tension was immense and emerged as interludes of shaking terror triggered by seemingly insignificant and unrelated matters. She refused to be present at the performances themselves, not just to hide her involvement (of which only Florence knew) but to hide her fear.

The expenses of the Avenue Theatre resulted in an overdraft at the bank. Annie subsequently withdrew, for the time being, from further excursions into theatrical production, and Florence's plans for creating a theatre of her own had to take a back seat to her occult involvements. Annie also rededicated herself to the work of the Order, and both applied their theatrical knowledge to Order rituals. Annie taught neophyte classes, and Florence the more advanced ones. Annie traveled again to Bayreuth for the Wagner Festival; Florence studied at the British Museum and wrote.

Now Shaw pressed Florence even harder to divorce Edward Emery. "I had some difficulty in persuading her to divorce him for desertion by pointing out that as long as their marriage remained undissolved, he might turn up at any moment with very serious legal claims on her."[23]

Finally, on July 30, Florence sued for divorce at court, claiming abandonment. Edward did not contest. She was shocked that the entire proceeding took only seven minutes. Although the experience was sordid, her complaint with the process was about the "inequality of the divorce laws for the sexes." English laws allowed a man to divorce his wife for any one of several reasons, such as adultery or abandonment, but a woman could only divorce when her husband had committed two or more of the "crimes" against marriage. Since "divorce is always brought about because of the weariness and boredom one human being causes another," Farr proposed that some simple application procedure followed by a six-month waiting period should be sufficient when both parties were in agreement.[24]

Throughout the summer, meetings between Shaw and Florence became

more and more infrequent as both parties were in and out of town. Shaw assiduously avoided May Morris, who was also obtaining a divorce.[25] It was the actress Janet Achurch, married but with an understanding husband, who was coming into ascendancy in his affections, and Florence must have been aware of this. Janet, who to Shaw resembled the Virgin of the Assumption, was now his muse, inspiring him on the plane of pure spirit. Ironically, she was an alcoholic and a drug addict. Shaw, however, hoped to substitute himself for her other stimulants. In Janet he saw a romantic opportunity, not just to create the perfect actress but to be her *raison d'être*. He even committed himself to celibacy as an idealization of this devotion, and he externalized his love for her in his new play, *Candida*.[26]

In June, Florence's book *The Dancing Faun* was released to scant notice except from those who enjoyed the parody of her affair with Shaw. At about the same time Florence published a commentary, "An Introduction to Alchemy and Notes by *S.S.D.D.*," for a book called *A Short Enquiry Concerning the Hermetic Art, by a Lover of Philalethes*. It is another example of Florence transforming within herself any essence of the green demon of bitterness and jealousy into the "green lion" of alchemy. "We have seen the *Green Lion* may be taken to mean a certain corrosive fluid concocted from sea salt." This was then exposed to the rays of Sol and Luna—much as her own salty tears were no doubt exposed during many corrosive days and nights with Shaw. Yet such tears are themselves a catalyst for transformation. Like alchemy, painful emotional change is "the mere ordinary process of subliming with heat, cohobating [redistilling] the separated parts, and subliming again until the body becomes spiritual, the spirit becomes corporified, the impure becomes pure, and nothing is wasted, but all is found in its right place, and the perfection or right proportion is attained."[27] None of Florence's life experiences were ever wasted—they were the source of "the secret fire that stirs up matter to action." They were the catalyst in the process of sublime metamorphosis.

"This place [Earth] is meant for a struggle; and the only way to get through it comfortably is to cultivate a taste for struggling.... The secret of all success is to discern the difference between the possible and the impossible. Turn your back on the impossible, and make steadily for the possible," she advised.[28]

On November 8 Shaw recorded the single word *Trennung* in his diary after an appointment at "Dalling"—his reference to Florence's current flat. *Trennung* is a German word meaning "parting" or "separation," and it is the title to a Brahms song that he regularly played on the piano. The song's lyrics make it clear that their affair was now over, probably at her insistence.

> Down there in the valley the waters are troubled, and I can't tell you how much I love you. You talk always of love, and of being true to me; but I

> think there is a little bit of falsehood in it. If I tell you ten times over that I love you and want you, and you still won't understand, then I must go away. For the time when you loved me, I thank you from the heart, and I hope it will go better for you elsewhere.[29]

Mathers, away in Paris, was himself struggling with the fear that the English lodges were escaping his control. He sought to divide Westcott's authority in the Second Order by naming four officers who were to report directly to him: Annie Horniman, Florence Farr, Percy Bullock, and Dr. Edward Berridge were given specific instructional tasks and the duties of enforcing Mathers's authority and handling internal disagreements.[30] Annie in particular took her responsibilities very seriously.

By now four or five members had achieved the second level, Theoricus Adeptus Minor (Th.A.M.), of the 5°=6° grade. The examination for this grade included the ability to skry with the Enochian squares that represented a blend of elemental, astrological, Tarot, and angelic forces.[31] A vision by Annie as *Fortiter et Recte* of the "'X' Square in the Watery Lesser Angle of the Fire Tablet" was used as an example in "Flying Roll No. XXXIII." Although it follows much the same format as *Vestigia*'s Tattva skrying, we can look at the information Annie brought back not as data from the astral world but as a reflection of her own issues—much like assuming that everything in a dream is a part of the dreamer.

The theme of *Fortiter*'s vision is "Change and purification through suffering," and its effect is restlessness leading eventually to some completed work. These characteristics were symbolized by a nervous, high-strung person whom Annie encountered on her journey. He was making a great effort to reach his goal, a pedestal from which he could ascend to "the Higher," but first he had to pass through fire and was hindered in this by clouds of steam. "The lesson seemed to me," she recorded, "that severe criticism, social difficulties, and heredity must all be overcome before we can reach the purifying fire of Initiation and, through that, the solid ground of spiritual knowledge."[32] She did not know that she herself was walking headfirst into criticism and difficulties with other members of the Golden Dawn.

On August 6 Maud Gonne gave birth to a daughter, naming her Iseult. Even as an old woman she would maintain the public fiction that Iseult was her "adopted niece," going so far as to claim in her autobiography that she spent the summer and fall of 1894 in the United States, although her first trip was not until 1897.[33] She remained with Iseult, eschewing the public limelight for more than a year except for a brief trip to London. Her relationship with Millevoye was over.

Suspecting that the Golden Dawn was esoteric Masonry in support of the British Empire, Maud met with Claude Lane, a prominent Mason in London, and gave him the password from her grade. Lane gave the correct response, and "looking at me with great astonishment, said, 'Is it possible you are a mason?'" When she replied correctly to a password he then gave her, he revealed that these passwords "belonged to the higher grades of Free Masonry." That same night she wrote, resigning her membership in the Golden Dawn.[34] Stemming from her political convictions, her resignation may have come about because she feared being manipulated for purposes she abhorred. Or, perhaps now that she had resurrected her child, she feared that further association with Golden Dawn powers might necessitate some psychic payment. She said she disliked elaborate ceremonies that held little personal meaning. On the other hand, she remained friends with the Matherses in Paris and continued to do trancework with Willie. Nor did she give up her magical life! As a magical woman she turned to practices and coworkers who were more in alignment with her own purposes and her direct experience with the spirit world.

The Neptune–Pluto conjunction culminated in 1894, accompanying a year of political upheaval in which political power shrugged off the populist dreams. William Gladstone's ministry ended and with it went hopes for Irish Home Rule. Hungary's parliamentary leader died and so did parliamentary rule. French president Marie-François-Sadi Carnot was assassinated by an Italian anarchist. Political Zionism was born as a wave of anti-Semitism swept Europe, fueled by the Alfred Dreyfus case, in which a Jewish French army captain was wrongfully convicted of treason. Russia's Czar Aleksandr died and the last czar, Nicholas II, came to the throne. The French, English, Belgians, and Germans battled politically over their growing protectorates in Africa, where gold and diamonds had recently been discovered. Hawaii became a republic and a U.S. protectorate as Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown. Korea and Japan declared war on China, and the Dutch East Indies rebelled against their queen.



Undreamed-of Harmonies

1895

On February 4 Florence Farr's divorce was finalized. Shaw wrote to his friend Janet Achurch about this event: "There will be a mail in tomorrow, I suppose: and if I hear nothing then, F. F. shall be Mrs. Bernard Shaw at the earliest date thereafter permitted by statute,"[1] but to Florence herself he said nothing of marriage. Perhaps he was only trying to make Janet jealous.

A month later Florence asked Bernard Shaw to meet her at Richmond Park. She must have wanted to see if there was anything left of their old feelings for each other. "We strolled about the park all the afternoon, from seat to seat (she being rather weak with influenza)," said Shaw in his report to Janet.

"I chatted and chatted and she laughed and laughed in her obliging way and we had something to eat at the Swiss cafe and went to her sister's in Bedford Park by tramtop and I told her all the news and she told me all the news, about her bicycling, and her literary doings, and the quarter million, which she confirmed with aggravating unconcern." Florence apparently believed that Annie Horniman would continue to fund theatrical productions under her management.

"Pleasanter company one could not desire—good humored, adaptable, no trouble, easily amused (frightfully easily), beautiful grey eyes and so on." Although Shaw stated that he and Florence didn't have "anything to say" to each other anymore, underneath was a man frightened by the knowledge that the woman he had been making love to was now free to marry. Suddenly, nervously, he searched for flaws: "What is there lacking in her.... Not brains: she is a clever woman. Not knowledge: it is impossible to mention anything she

does not know. Not affection: she would respond gratefully enough to any tenderness shewn her. Why, then the frightful vacuity, the levity, the shallowness, the vulgarity, the pointlessness."

"It must be that she has no religion," he decided. Religion, he told Janet, is a kind of discipline, an ability to do the impossible. And he was finding Florence to be hopelessly ineffectual, with "no religion at all." Janet, on the other hand (being safely married) had done the impossible—she had elevated his spirits, as he now informed her: "Janet *recreates* me with an emotion which lifts me high. . . . I become a saint."[2] Shaw had failed to commit himself to a relationship with Florence, and so, having successfully gotten her to divorce her husband, he blamed her faults and made sure of his retreat.[3]

During May, Florence was out of town in a theatre production of *Caste* on the isle of Jersey. Perhaps because she was now free of Shaw's critical interference, her acting received high praise.

Upon returning to London, she began a series of Thursday-night classes in ritual study and spent her days at the British Museum researching and writing two books: one on Egyptian magic and the second a commentary on the alchemical works of Thomas Vaughn. Struggling to make ends meet on £50 a year, an unsuccessful novel, and the occasional acting part, Florence gladly accepted an embroidery commission from Frederick Gardner, a relatively new but enthusiastic Golden Dawn member. He also commissioned her to paint a life-sized version of the four Egyptian figures that solemnized the Neophyte Ritual in the Temple. That fall she wrote a now-lost play called *Modern Woman,* but she was unable to sell it because of the deluge of plays that appeared that year on the New Woman.

Throughout, it was Egypt that was truly on her mind, and she delved ever deeper into the concepts and culture of its antique magic, wishing to interpret it afresh for the contemporary English mind. The deciphering of the Rosetta stone, beginning with Jean Champollion's work in 1821, had opened the world of Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, and scholars began to transcribe them at last. For example, in 1895 the "Papyrus of Ani"—one of the most noted versions of the *Book of the Dead,* which had belonged to the noble priestess Anhai—was translated by Sir A. E. Wallis Budge, Egyptian curator at the British Museum.[4]

Florence's book, *Egyptian Magic: Occult Mysteries in Ancient Egypt by S.S.D.D.,* resulted from Florence's readings of such newly available texts. It was the higher initiatic magic of the pharaohs, priests, and priestesses that interested her the most. She discovered convincing parallels to Golden Dawn magic, Hermetic and Kabbalistic beliefs, alchemy, and the Rosicrucian conception of death and rebirth. Her book, written primarily for her fellow ini-

tiates and others on the path, presents Golden Dawn beliefs in Egyptian terms. The Egyptian texts she included serve as models for ritual invocations, god characteristics, and sources of symbols.

Florence defined the Egyptian magician as one "who had by hard training gained supremacy over the Elements, from which his own body and the Manifested World were alike formed; one whose Will had risen Phoenix-like from the ashes of his desires; one whose Intuition, cleansed from the stains of material illusion, was a clear mirror in which he could perceive the Past, the Present and the Future."[5]

As *S.S.D.D.*, Florence's motto reminded her daily that "Wisdom is a gift given to the Wise." She considered herself part of a philosophical aristocracy like the magical School of Wisdom in ancient Egypt. Initiates were chosen not only for their wisdom but their ability to use it, and their magic supplied "precise practical details," because "spirit and matter are opposite faces of the self-same mystery."[6]

Florence paid special attention to the Egyptian descriptions of the ten "immaterial entities" or aspects of a human being, which she then related to the mind, soul, and spirit as they functioned in the Kabbalistic worlds of form, creation, and archetype.[7]

"The first necessity of the study of Magic among the Egyptians was the cultivation of all the faculties dormant in human nature," Florence concluded, referring to the ten aspects of Self. She described how they could be developed to form the Osirified or Perfected Being, "for they considered human power was only limited by weakness of will, and poverty of imagination." Like the Golden Dawn, "the Magic of the Egyptians was founded on an elaborate scheme of the universe, and the interaction of natural forces, [which] was most carefully observed and studied. . . . The priests gained power by the identification of themselves with the types of natural forces, known to us as gods."[8] Theorizing that this was the reason for the great stability of the Egyptian religion, Florence found it hopeful for the continuance of the Golden Dawn, which likewise relied on a set of fixed laws of correspondences.

She was discovering that the concepts taught to her by Mathers had their basis in magical traditions throughout human history, for "to accept a ready-made belief blindingly [sic] is to commit mental and moral suicide." She believed that each person must go back to the sources for him- or herself.

The other book she was working on, about alchemy, was published the following year as *Euphrates, or The Waters of the East by Eugenius Philalethes. 1655. With a Commentary by S.S.D.D.* Written in the seventeenth century by Thomas Vaughn under the pseudonym of Eugenius Philalethes, *Euphrates* consisted of Kabbalistic post-Reformation reflections on alchemy



THE LOVERS
FROM THE
GOLDEN DAWN
RITUAL TAROT

that Florence rendered into Golden Dawn terms. That she wrote it simultaneously with her Egyptian work is apparent from the many references to her Egyptian studies.

Euphrates is not a treatise on the transmutation of metals, she says, but a "study of the philosophy of nature and a guide to the attainment of perfection of mind and body—the achievement of Adeptship." She saw Vaughn as a rebel during a period when "Nature was degraded as the enemy of God much in the same way as Woman was looked upon as the temptress of Man." Florence was sensitive to the age-old controversy of Spirit versus Matter that still plagues seekers after Wisdom. She believed that unity with God occurs when one stands "between the finest ether and the coarsest matter," allowing Spirit to interpenetrate all.

Florence's syncretic abilities are evident as she relates Vaughn's concept of the Foundation of all nature, linking the Tree of Life *sephira* called Yesod (also known as Foundation) to the fourth river of Eden, the Euphrates, and to the Egyptian principle of *Khaibt*, which was the odor or aura of a person—a subtle emanation acting and reacting upon all creation. In Nature itself this same principle manifests as the essential oils of plants, and from the odor or essence of the Foundation all things are created. "We may gather that the essential oil, and comprehend with it the perfume or aura, was the physical basis of life in the eyes of the ancients." When released by death and putrefaction, this "perfume" can cause the regeneration of a particular body.

Throughout *S.S.D.D.*'s commentary we hear the echo of her own experi-

ence: "Life daily sounds undreamed of harmonies." This corresponds to that heightened state when everything in one's life appears synchronistic, when all events seem to reflect on one another. As she picked up each new work at the British Library she found her thoughts mirrored back to herself no matter what the angle. And as the harmonies became more subtle they were more acutely felt. She wanted others to discover this "living reality" of experience where everything connected with everything else. Therefore, she urged her readers to study and experiment for themselves, in order to "find the light that will make your particular life a living reality."

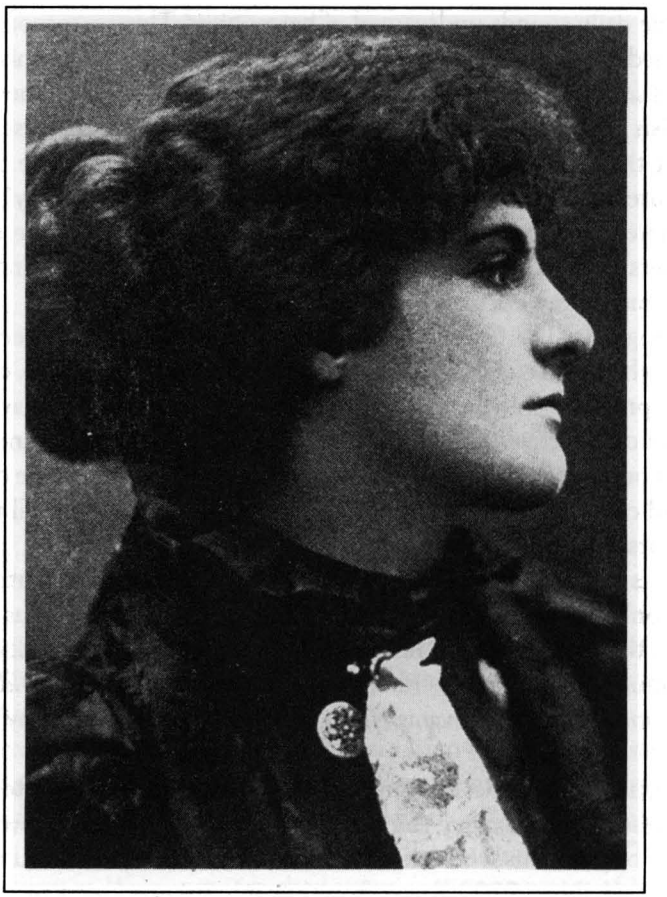
Drawing from the Golden Dawn image of the Lovers card (see previous page) in which Perseus slays a dragon to rescue Andromeda, who, chained to a rock, represents "spiritual consciousness," she says, "You must slay the delusions, the constrictive forces by which you find yourself surrounded when you start on your search for light. You must fight and conquer the dragons of habit and custom which stultify your spiritual consciousness; kill them and wash yourself in their blood, like the heroes of old."

"Here is the final lesson then," concludes Florence, with a truth that has become only more urgent in the intervening hundred years: "Let us recognise that only the merging of our human wills with the Universal Will can result in hastening the day of our perfection. *If we labour against the world's Will we shall fail, and our work will vanish from off the face of the earth*" (my italics).[9]

On February 14 Annie Horniman's mother, Rebekah, died after a three-week illness. Annie was then thirty-five. Another inheritance followed, and so she could be generous when the Matherses asked for additional funds. Annie now received about £700 a year from her inheritance investments, placing her income in the top 3 percent of the English populace. Her living situation had changed little from 1890. She still had her own apartments in her father's house on Forest Hill and traveled abroad once or twice a year. After his wife's death, however, Frederick Horniman opened his home and museum to the public three days a week. With her peace invaded and funds at hand, Annie leased her own flat in town, at 1 Montague Mansions, Portman Square, which was to be her home for the rest of her life.

On April 21 Annie constructed a horary chart for her friend Herbert Vivian concerning the success of his novel, *Boconnoc*. The chart, erected for the exact moment of asking the question and interpreted with a special set of divinatory rules, appeared as the frontispiece of the book.

Despite the fact that Annie foresaw great success (Jupiter trining Saturn), the novel sank quietly into obscurity. Still, her action demonstrates that Annie was using her Golden Dawn skills with friends outside the Golden Dawn circle, even if not always effectively.



OLIVIA SHAKESPEAR

Maud Gonne feared to leave her baby daughter, Iseult, and so remained in Paris for most of the year, uncharacteristically quiet and out of the limelight. Willie knew nothing about the existence of her child and, in the face of Maud's unresponsiveness to his overtures of devotion, fought overwhelming depression at the thought that his love for her would never be returned.

The previous year Yeats had met Olivia Shakespear, cousin to his friend Lionel Johnson, who now wrote to him: "After I saw your play [*The Land of Heart's Desire*] I made up my mind to write to you if [I] could not meet you otherwise." Willie found her to be cultured, gentle, and contemplative. In other words, she was the exact opposite of Maud Gonne. Deeply unhappy in her own marriage, Olivia hinted to Willie that she had led a wicked life. He introduced her to Florence Farr, who reported back that she was delighted

with Olivia.[10] Florence and Olivia found many mutual interests, including Egyptology, and soon became good friends.

Willie, thirty years old and still a virgin, hoped for an affair with an obviously willing Olivia. "Her beauty, dark and still, had the nobility of defeated things, and how could it help but wring my heart? . . . After all, if I could not get the woman I loved, it would be a comfort, even if for a little while to devote myself to another. No doubt my excited senses had their share in this argument but it was an unconscious one."[11] When Willie finally begged Olivia to live with him, he was surprised to learn that he would be her first lover (besides her husband), but she said they must wait until her mother, now quite ill, had died. In the meantime, they met chastely in railway carriages, picture galleries, and the British Library.

To prepare for his affair, Willie moved from his parents' house into rooms across from his friend Arthur Symons at Fountain Court. Then Willie and Olivia asked two friends to be their sponsors, keeping them to their temporarily chaste resolve. Florence Farr was, in all probability, Willie's sponsor.

One afternoon Florence chaperoned Olivia to a meeting at Fountain Court. Willie had gone to buy cakes for tea—thinking not of Olivia but of Maud the entire way. Upon returning, he discovered he had forgotten his key, and everyone had to wait outside. Eventually he hired someone to break in through the attic window, but by then it was too late for a meeting. Willie spent that night not caressing Olivia but telling Arthur Symons all about Maud Gonne.[12]

That same evening, about nine o'clock, Maud in Paris saw Yeats's "ghost" walk into the drawing room of her hotel. She mentally gave him a "rendezvous for midnight" and told him that when "sleep had set my soul free I would go with you where you liked."

That night at midnight, Maud continued in her letter to Yeats, "I got into [a] half-waking half-sleeping state then I saw you again and together we went down to the cliffs at Howth, but the sea birds were all asleep & it was dark & so cold, & the wind blew so horribly."[13] Maud's timing was impeccable! Although she consistently rejected Willie, they had opened a psychic channel that told her when he was straying. Personally, I do not doubt that they did, somehow, come together that night, one from London and the other from Paris, their astral forms transcending spatial matters and social mores. For Willie, "all of my old love had now come back to me. Years afterwards she told me that she had wished, during these days, to take me for her husband."[14]

Florence advised Willie to live with Olivia without further ado, but with Yeats emotionally dichotomized, it was almost six months before they could consummate their affair.

Maud had, through her repeated visions, discovered how to leave her body and travel in the astral realms. She would *imagine* taking chloroform (or an-

other drug) and visualize the Tattva of the earthy part of ether (Akasha) meeting the Tattva of fire. Thus, she imagined an indigo egg with a yellow square in the center, representing the physical body contained by spirit, merging into a red triangle. She couldn't always remember what happened on her astral journeys, but new ideas for her work would always be present in the morning.[15] Maud, a rogue, was combining advanced Golden Dawn techniques with her own discoveries to generate inspiration for her political work and to maintain her special connection with Willie.

She was still in touch with Moina and MacGregor, but she was ambivalent about her feelings toward them. Even she, a fanatic about the Irish cause, found MacGregor excessive and somewhat ridiculous in his politics. As she put it in her autobiography:

> Pretenders to thrones were as plentiful in Paris at that time as the blackberries in the fields of the Howth of my childhood. Even Willie Yeats' friend McGregor [*sic*], the famous occultist, I think had a throne-pretender for Scotland up his sleeve, though whether on the terrestrial or astral plane, I don't quite remember. Everybody laughed at them, but they all added interest and colour to the lives of charming but small groups of ladies and gentlemen who had leisure to occupy, and gave real thrills to American travellers lucky enough to get invitations to meet them.[16]

MacGregor was getting more and more embroiled in his political activities. The events of 1894 confirmed his belief that the entire world was in upheaval, so he prepared to take advantage of the civil wars and anarchism that would follow the collapse of the imperial system. His plans included returning a Jacobite king to the throne of Scotland once the British empire was defunct, notwithstanding that the final direct descendant of the Stuarts had died in 1807, and the last Scottish uprising under Bonnie Prince Charlie had been in 1746. He had Moina learn ambulance work so that they could join together in some fighting group, and he showed Yeats a recent saber wound on his wrist, explaining that "he and his wife had been in some student riot, hoping that general bloodshed had begun."[17]

According to his biographer, Ithell Colquhoun, in *Sword of Wisdom,* Mathers had involved himself with the lunatic fringe of right-wing politics, busying himself with "obscure royalist conspiracies and making friends with such human oddities as the Pretender to the throne of Byzantium."[18] Other than her ambulance skills, how directly Moina was involved in MacGregor's politics is unknown, but she accepted the title of Countess and was certainly on hand to feed and house the endless parade of exiled royalty they entertained. MacGregor had tremendously persuasive powers when speaking directly to people, and Moina eventually conformed to his way of thinking.

Yeats found that Mathers "gathered about him Frenchmen and Spaniards whose titles were more shadowy perhaps, an obscure claimant to the French throne among the rest, the most as poor as he and some less honest, and in that dream-court cracked innumerable mechanical jokes—to hide discouragement."[19] Yeats also noticed that Mathers seemed to be drinking excessively; Mathers insisted that it was merely a part of his political persona.

Annie, too, on her visits to Paris, had become aware that politics were taking up much more of MacGregor's time and money (actually *her* money) than were Order affairs, yet he was becoming more demanding and autocratic with the Order than when he had lived in London. "I noticed the beginning of the political and other [Mars] feeling and we often nearly quarrelled about it," she would explain later. "It was a great trouble to me but she [*Vestigia*] used to reassure me that in time I should feel it to be right and develop to her way of thinking. . . . The political talk was gradual in its growth. I never liked the continual glorification of the Mars forces but the drinking and growing rowdiness pained me at first. The money affairs eventually made me unable to express my opinions freely."[20] The Mars force so frequently mentioned in regard to MacGregor was a way of referring to his interest in martial matters and to the prominence of Mars in his astrological chart.[21]

In just the first five months of the year Annie had already given the Matherses £200, whereas the total subsidy in 1894 had been £280. She must have wondered when and if the monetary demands would cease. In June they wanted another £100 because important visitors were arriving. Annie sent what they asked, assuming this somehow involved their magical work. By August, when she arrived in Paris for a visit, nearly all the money was gone—and she found they had been entertaining a spurious duke and his entire claque. Worse yet, they had also moved to the fashionable Rue Mozart, near the Bois de Boulogne, in a flat costing £60 a year, equivalent to the entire salary of a middle-class employee. By the end of 1895 Annie had given the Matherses £420 for the year. But she was questioning the uses to which this money was put, for she wished to provide for Moina and the Order, not to finance political shenanigans or to subsidize pretenders to royalty.

By now, most of the Inner Order members had been in the Golden Dawn for five to six years and had been practicing their own magic for the last three years. Mathers had encouraged them to create their own rituals along Golden Dawn lines—and with Mathers away in Paris, members were acting more and more independently. Under Wynn Westcott, the officers ran Isis-Urania Temple, taught all the classes, made day-to-day decisions, and offered new initiates their expertise. They took seriously the responsibilities and decision-making required of them.

But a new issue now arose that was to test them all. Just before the end of the year, the Theorici, members who had attained Theoricus Adeptus Minor (Th.A.M.), the highest active level of the Temple (who by now numbered about a dozen), wrote to Mathers as a group to complain about *Resurgam* (Dr. Edward Berridge). One of the earliest members, Berridge had consistently held positions of responsibility and authority. Now the Theorici "suggested" that he was not a "fitting member to be an officer of the Order because he had issued a pamphlet and urged doctrines," *repeatedly*, that all the other Theorici thought "impure and mischievous to the young students to whom he offered them."[22] The offending pamphlet was called "Internal Respiration: Or, the Plenary Gift of the Holy Spirit," and the offending doctrines that it advocated were the teachings of Thomas Lake Harris.[23]

Harris (1823–1903), founder of utopian communities in New York and California called the Brotherhood of the New Life, believed in a dyadic deity, group marriage, and the search for the soul mate. He also developed "Karezza," a trance state induced by a kind of yogic breath-control during sexual intercourse in which the participants, sitting face to face, withheld both movement and physical orgasm.[24] Berridge probably met Harris in the 1870s while studying homeopathy in the United States.

The very concept of Karezza was unspeakably shocking to a genteel Victorian lady, and spinster Annie Horniman was especially sensitive. It was not unusual for a Victorian New Woman, even a societal outsider or freethinker, to be a rigorous moralist, in the hope of influencing men to behave with the same propriety and standards of rectitude that were expected of women. As Elaine Showalter points out in *Sexual Anarchy*, "Taking to heart Darwinian arguments about women's self-sacrifice for the good of the species, and sustained by the Victorian belief in women's passionlessness, many New Women envisioned themselves as chaste yet maternal heralds of a higher race."[25] This was in direct contradistinction to Harris's idea of how to achieve what he called the "New Life."

Helen Rand, also a Theoricus, drafted a letter to Mathers in which she stated that, "*Resurgam* after giving me instruction in astrology attempted to kiss me, and I was obliged literally to turn him out of the house."[26] Rand evidently cited this example to warn Mathers of Berridge's possible misbehavior with younger members and to confirm Annie's report of a similar experience. Annie by now was in a rage and was adamant that Berridge be prevented from influencing the Outer Order. She wrote Mathers two more letters demanding that something be done about *Resurgam*.[27]

Mathers himself had recently issued a teaching paper (no longer extant) concerning "an important dogma on the subject of the relation between men and Elementals, even for purposes of procreation for those who are much

higher in Occultism than we."[28] Although Mathers's paper was only for the eyes of those of the Theoricus grade, Berridge may have assumed that this licensed him to teach similar theories by Harris that were not covered under oath.

Annie was deeply disturbed by the new "Elemental" teachings, even though they were directed only to the highest level among the 5°=6°s. She wrote Mathers that she could not accept the propriety of the teachings nor contemplate making such alliances either on her own part or on the part of any of her friends and companions. Mathers had recommended that Mrs. Ann Carden, known as *Amore,* take part in an Elemental marriage, because she was "in *extreme* danger of invoking an incubus instead of a Fay, through want of self control." Annie expressed doubt about the wisdom of such teachings, implying that Mathers may have perverted them through some impurity of his own, or, even more shockingly, of *Vestigia*'s. She then gave Mathers an ultimatum, saying that she was suspending herself from the Order until Mathers "could be sufficiently awakened from [his] habitual lethargy, to act with energy and decision."[29] To a man who glorified the vigorous Mars force in himself, this could only be understood as a provocative insult.

The first response Annie received was a letter from Moina, addressed formally from *Vestigia* to *Fortiter,* in which she described something of the Elemental Theory, and, as this seems to be the only extant description of this theory, it is worth careful examination.

87 Rue Mozart, Paris
December 31st, 1895

My dear Fortiter,

Your letter has made me most unhappy. I promised once to tell you if I thought you were getting exaggerated or in any way tending to what you call a tendency to mania. Probably my advice and opinions are now worthless to you, as I thoroughly reverence all the teachings of the R.C. [Rosicrucian] Order.

But I will anyhow write to you what I think of your conduct in this matter and also about the Elemental Theory which has been the principal subject of the letters.

You say, or something to that effect, that you are asked to give up your self-respect. You know that you are not asked to change your mode of life in any way, or to teach another to do so. Knowing as yet only something of the composition of the human being (as a Theor[icus] Adept), you are really not in a position to give an opinion on these subjects; so that if one of these uncomfortable cases that have been discussed as to elemental or human sexual connection (which I think

with all other sexual connections are beastly*) came up you would have to refer the question to a member of a much higher grade than Theor. Adept [i.e., Mathers or Westcott].*

Any much *higher grade (one who understands the subject a little better) would be willing to take the responsibility. In your illogical letter you say that Elementals forming part of your composition has not a bearing on the subject—if Elementals form a considerable part of you, they are not so incongruous to the human as you imply, and this theory bears strongly on the subject for their connection between a human and elemental is not so far removed from the usual one.*

When I first heard of this theory it gave me a shock, but not such a horrible one as that which I had when I was young, about the human connection. Child or no, a natural thing should not upset one so. I remember that my horror of human beings for a while was so great that I could not look at my own mother without violent dislike—and loathing.

I have always chosen as well as "SRMD" [Mathers] to have nothing whatever to do with any sexual connection—we have both kept perfectly clean I know, as regards the human, the elemental, and any other thing whatever.

I have tried, and I think succeeded, never to allow myself to think of any subject in that direction, and I think having been pretty well tested, personally as well as from one's own position in Golden Dawn, we are competent to give an opinion. To return to the Elementals, the story of Melusina, Undine, and others you will know of all refer to marriages between human and elemental and you think them probably very charming stories, because they have a halo of poetry round them. As to exaggeration in you, you distinctly have a fad as regards sexual subjects, and you know it is a dangerous one to have.

I doubt if you have thought over all these things with an unbiased mind.

If you do divination, when nervous or excitable you are apt (but that you know) to obtain false results. If you divine about this, you should be careful to equilibriate yourself absolutely before commencing.

I cannot feel that those two last letters of yours are written with a sane cool mind. You will certainly be furious with me but this must be said.

Your last letter to "SRMD" distinctly implies insult to him, for it attacks his teaching as impure—considering the great knowledge you have received through him, you might have at least waited until you had received more knowledge on the subject before you became so violent.

Personally, there is no one in *or* out *of the GD [Golden Dawn] in whose presence I would less allow myself an impure thought or*

action—next to the Higher Chiefs I respect him more than any other being in the world—and it has hurt me so much that you should write as you have done.

Before I finish this I must tell you that while we thank you intensely for your great generosity and kind thoughtfulness in the past, we cannot of course accept anything more from you considering that you have charged us with immoral teachings. I think you know we only accepted your generous help because by so doing we could have the leisure to obtain for the Order some of the knowledge, which most admit is great knowledge—and both "SRMD," myself and you, have respected this more than money.

Of course we are saddled with this house until April—we have just given notice this moment when we received your letter and can leave soon. I might have to ask you for just enough to get clear of the house, as we must set to at once to work for a living.[30]

Celibacy was one of the disciplines demanded of Mathers by the Secret Chiefs. Ithell Colquhoun suggests that for Moina, "a sexless marriage such as hers must have seemed a privilege.... Some heavily-repressed incident in early childhood must have been responsible, probably a sex approach from an older male relation in contravention of the usual taboos," for the intensity of her revulsion.[31] Perhaps it arose from an intense dislike of her father, whom her brother Henri characterized as having a "rather gross sensibility," especially because she also had ambivalent feelings about her mother. If she hated or feared her father and adored her mother as the same saintly angel that her brother Henri perceived, her adoration could have been debased into loathing at the thought of purity submitting itself to uncleanliness. "We have both kept perfectly clean," she says of herself and Mathers, whereas, it seems obvious from her letter, she felt that her parents had not.

In any astrological chart, the Sun, Mars, and Saturn generally describe the father, and for a woman, the men in her life. Moina's Pisces Sun is isolated and unaspected except for a square to Mars, indicating she was unable to integrate her conflicting feelings about masculine passion and aggression with the rest of her consciousness, yet it perversely describes her attraction to a strong Mars-type man. In letting Mathers dominate her, she was, like the Sun in her chart, separated from the other aspects of her life: friendship, family, and art. Also, with parental Saturn opposite feminine Venus, inhibitions about her femininity might arise from fear of her father.

That same December, Florence Farr was contacted at the British Museum by an Egyptian Adept, possibly in the guise of a statue or mummy of a priestess. The Adept gave her information about ritual work to be done by a select

group of ceremonial magicians. Florence checked the Egyptian's initiatory level with magical signs and words, to which the Adept responded appropriately. The knowledge she demonstrated convinced Florence that she must be one of the Secret Masters, holding a degree equivalent to 8°=3° in their Order—higher than even Mathers himself.[32] This was the first time that a Secret Master among the English magical and Theosophical lodges had manifested as a woman, and therefore, for the first time teachings were available from a feminine source. Both Saturn and Jupiter were then making important aspects to planets and angles in Florence's chart. Philosophical Jupiter, especially, was transiting both her Ascendant and Mercury, helping her to coalesce and communicate a personal theory of magic.

On December 17 Grover Cleveland claimed before Congress an extension of the Monroe Doctrine that gave the United States the right to adjudicate British boundary disputes in South America. The British were furious and talk of war ensued. As soon as Yeats heard of this, he contacted Florence: "Has the magical armageddon begun at last? . . . The war would fulfil the prophets and especially a prophetic vision I had long ago with the Mathers's, and so far be for the glory of God but what a dusk of the nations it would be? for surely it would drag in half the world."

Unable to stand the suspense, he suggested, "Could you come and see me . . . and perhaps divine for armageddon?" Despite Willie's concern, both Annie Horniman and Maud Gonne disbelieved the imminence of world conflict. "I hardly think the war with America will come just yet," wrote Maud to Willie, adding that the Celts would go with America against Anglo-Saxon England.[33] And Annie also thought it would be "another year or two yet."[34]

The Egyptian Adept apparently gave Florence a vision of how to hold together the peace and harmony of the world nations. She began sharing this vision with a small group of Inner Order members at a Christmas dinner at the home of Percy Bullock, one of the original and most dedicated Golden Dawn initiates, and his wife, Pamela. Willie Yeats sent a turkey, as Pamela had been helping him extensively to clarify the techniques involved in consecrating his magical weapons. That evening they had much to discuss: the appearance of the Egyptian Adept, the concerns of the Theorici over the new Elemental Theory, Berridge's *New Life* ideas, and the frightening possibility of war.



A Love of Miracles and Moonshees

1896

In this year, Annie Horniman and MacGregor Mathers would part ways, and Moina would sacrifice both her friend and her art to support her husband's growing autocracy; Yeats would sacrifice his virginity on the altar of experience; Maud would continue to concentrate on the well-being of her baby daughter, and Florence would forge ever deeper into the mysteries of the gods.

Letters continued to exchange during January among Annie, the Matherses, and other Theorici concerning Berridge and his allegedly immoral teachings. Responding to Annie's insulting letters, Mathers retaliated with his own attack in which he explained the "error" in her occult work.

MacGregor wrote: "You have *every* right to your own opinion regarding *yourself* but what your companions do is a matter for *their* consideration and consciences." He explained that upon taking and using a magical name, Annie should be putting her worldly personality—which is only a mask—aside. He warned that she was operating through her own personality to the extent that she found herself relating to the personalities of her coworkers. This was dangerous, explained Mathers, because, "you will awake immediately the forces of your Evil Persona.... You would have an influx of the *exact opposite of the pure*, into your sphere [of sensation]." This Evil Persona would initially manifest in the form of obscene thoughts and doubt. He thought that her accusations of impurity against Berridge and, by implication, against her august chief and his wife, were ample proof of this. According to Mathers, a

seepage of the human personality into one's Self, or even perceiving the personality of one's coworkers while working magic, would give rise to the Evil Persona. "If, on the contrary," added Mathers, "you are not 'Miss Horniman' but *an initiate* striving after *Light*, the Evil Persona cannot arise."[1]

On the other hand, once a Force was awakened on the astral plane, it could work for good or ill, depending on the ability of the magician to keep the energy working at its most appropriate level. The Golden Dawn used the Kabbalistic concept of four worlds: *Assiah* (material), *Yetzirah* (intellectual), *Briah* (archetypal), and *Atziluth* (spiritual) to conceptualize these levels. The need to have signs for testing the environment and its inhabitants underlay much of the Golden Dawn memorization and training. This was at the root of Annie's second great error, which was to arise consistently in all that she did, for as Mathers pointed out, she relied so much on "correctness" at the expense of "spiritual effect."

"If... you trace a symbol too much in *Assiah* [the material world], and lay too much value on the mere mechanical correctness of the same... you will at once awake the Forces of Doubt, etc., in the Evil Persona," said Mathers.[2] The spiritual (*Atziluth*) effect had to be kept foremost in the mind, just as the divine identities of the magicians had to work unhampered by worldly personalities and concerns.[3]

In another letter written on January 14, Mathers let Annie know that he thought she had been "temporarily giving way to an unbalanced condition of mind which would be likely to ultimate in a condition favorable to the condition of mania." Annie's emphasis on mechanical correctness over spiritual effect was at the heart of this condition.

But now that it was all being straightened out—which they all wished to believe—"It would be foolish of me," said Mathers, "to refuse it [the monetary assistance] from you."[4]

Annie was not yet ready to relinquish her position as patron and benefactor to the Matherses and agreed to furnish them a stipend of £300 a year. Two days later, Moina wrote Annie that they would prefer the funds in quarterly payments but could not wait until the next payment in March, so could she send some money sooner?

Florence Farr, on her way to visit the Matherses in Paris, accidentally met Bernard Shaw after not having seen him for awhile, and they apparently had a somewhat emotional encounter. Shaw described it as having some "rare scenes with the poetess-dramatist before she left for France, mostly in operatic Italian." He was sure that his newly shorn head and red beard had worked a spell on her: "Even Florence, once callous, has strange awakenings and cries over me—positively cries." He concluded that she wanted him back but assured

Janet Achurch that he no longer had any use for his body, although he had "made tolerable love with it" in his time, perhaps intending to imply that his relationship with Florence had only been physical.[5] And then he and Florence went their separate ways.

Whether or not Florence cried over Shaw, she certainly had other things on her mind. She had written Mathers in January detailing her encounter in the British Museum with her Egyptian Adept, and she included a "charged" drawing of the Egyptian. She must have gone to Paris to discuss the situation personally. In a letter on January 27 Mathers agreed that because the Egyptian woman responded appropriately to signs that Florence showed her, she was indeed of the 8°=3° degree (making her one of the Secret Chiefs) and that Florence could begin a group within the Second Order to work with the Egyptian. He also said it was necessary to make offerings for all to be well.[6]

On March 1 Florence arranged for a small group of Theorici, including Wynn Westcott and Annie Horniman, to help her skry for information about the Egyptian Adept, who, it appears from the description, was represented for Florence by a statue or painting. Florence found or had made a wooden shrine box (19.5 inches wide by 11.5 inches high by 9 inches deep), and in it placed two pictures of ancient Egyptians that she had painted using watercolor and pastels.[7] The purpose of the skrying was to discover exactly what kind of offerings and treatment, as Mathers suggested, would be most salutary for Florence's relationship with these figures. Unfortunately, the original manuscript has disappeared from the Yorke Collection at the Warburgh Institute, and only a partial transcript of the session remains. The punctuation and capitalization have not been corrected.

Description of A Priestess of the Temple of Amon at Thebes as Seen Clairvoyantly by S.A. (Dr. Wynn Westcott), FORTITER (Miss Annie Horniman), SAPIENTIA (Mrs. Florence Farr Emery) and others. March 1, 1896.

The Chamber is a room measuring about 4 feet, walls white, a bed with Lions Heads at the Top, and Lions feet at the bottom ornamenting the posts a coverlet with stripes coloured White, Red & Green, the centre ornamented with a Double Phoenix Head elaborately worked up, a window at the left hand of the Chamber rather high up: it appears to be a cubicle opening out—into an Adytum without a roof opening into a court with water and a fountain playing, it is a Temple on the mainland and not on an Island. The place is very hot and the sun most powerful.

She is dressed in white with a Lamen under her dress which was apparently [undecipherable]. She was the keeper of Documents connected with the Mystic Order and was in a position of authority, so much so that

some of her enemies plotted for her death and downfall: but before they could kill her, she died of a plague or disease generated after a Battle had been fought, and thus was not killed by the plotting of her Enemies.

The Box in which I have placed her should be painted white, preferably with coloured designs from the Egyptian Temples of a suitable character, and a wand should be placed therein the height of the Box coloured white with a Blue Lotus Top, green petals outside and Blue in—she would prefer a Phoenix Wand, but a Lotus one is better for her.

She will not be of so much use to me in my mental Studies as in Magical Physical work.

She appeared to be lame in one of her legs having had an accident to her hip bone when young, and on account of that, her Parents gave her a golden anklet of a snake pattern to wear, this anklet had a proportion of Tin in it as a Physician had given instructions to have this done—so as to ease her of her complaint, which went a certain extent to accomplishing it.

In appearance she is Tall and Slender, born under Leo, with Black Hair and Eyes and Face, Almond Eyes and pointed chin dressed in white with a jewelled girdle round her waist and a jewelled Head Dress.

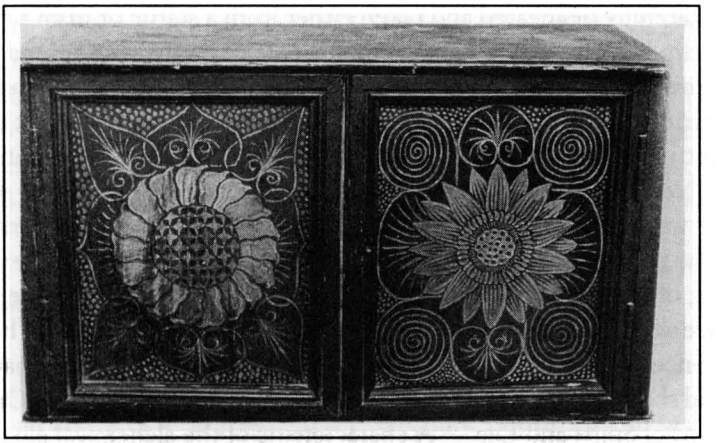
I should place a white water lily before her in her present position...

[End of transcript][8]

The box mentioned in the above text must certainly be the shrine Florence left with Dorothea Hunter, decorated with a solar sunflower and a lunar water lily by Edmund Hunter, craftsman and co-Golden Dawn initiate.

Warwick Gould, in an article in which he discusses Florence and her Adept, whom he calls Nemkheftka, quotes Yeats's re-creation of Florence's Egyptian experiences in the unfinished novel, *The Speckled Bird.* Maclagan (Mathers) wants Michael Hearne (a young Yeats) to meet a woman whom they find at the British Museum meditating "with her eyes half-closed on a seat close to the Mut-em-menu mummy case." She is not to be disturbed because "she is doubtless conversing with Mut-em-menu." This woman is later described as a "worshipper of devils" (meaning pagan gods), and as a "real incarnation of Mary Magdalen and Faustina."[9] But it seems that "her present life is most innocent... a wonderful thing considering her past incarnations, which Mut-em-menu has described to her."[10] Yeats had a copy of E. Wallis Budge's "Guide to the Egyptian Rooms," which described and illustrated the coffin and mummy of Mut-em-menu, "a lady of the College of the God Amen-Ra at Thebes."[11] Surely this is the same personage as the Priestess of the Temple of Amon at Thebes who Florence invoked in her skrying session.

Dorothea Hunter told Yeats's biographer Richard Ellman that Florence's individual theory, arising "from her own experience" was that "those old masters of wisdom still work through certain individuals [those akin to them] at the present time."[12] It is clear that Florence believed herself to be one of those



Florence Farr's Shrine of Nem-kheft-ka, 19.5" long x 9" wide x 11.5" high, decorated by Edmund Hunter



Portraits of Egyptian Deities by Florence Farr; the image on the right may be of her Ka

individuals. Warwick Gould speculates that Nemkheftka was Florence's Ka, or subtle body. It is likely that it was also the Ka of Mut-em-menu, whom Florence had been in a previous incarnation. Florence considered the Ka to be the celestial double of the material person, the "real Ego" (or real Self). Its task was to grow and develop through celestial evolution just as physical bodies must evolve in the material world.[13]

When one looks at the two portraits of the Egyptians painted by Florence and kept in her shrine, what first stands out is the difference in execution.

One is carefully delineated and taken either from a statue or from a painting on a coffin lid of a human person—not a god. The other is a muted sketch, vague, misty, dreamy, not fully materialized. Nevertheless the eyes, oddly different from the other, are sharply penetrating. It seems obvious that this second picture is the Ka of Mut-em-menu, perhaps called, as the Hunters suggested, Nemkheftka. It also differs from the first picture in that the ethereal figure is wearing the Egyptian headdress worn during Golden Dawn rituals to signal the presence of the gods.[14] The more precisely executed "materialized" painting of Mut-em-menu shows a certain resemblance to Florence herself. Florence's eyes, on the other hand, are those of the ethereal sketch of her Ka.[15]

Florence had become conscious not only of her Ka but of her many past lives, and she was therefore aware of her entire journey of becoming One with the "Lord of Spirit and Life."[16] A characteristic of the alchemical elixir of life was not that those who found it lived forever (for their bodies did not) but that their consciousness did not die; they remembered who they were from life to life and worked deliberately in each lifetime on their return to Unity. But, said Florence, the Ka, whose hieroglyph was both arms upraised to God, could only "grow and become potent through ardent and patient perseverance and struggle." Ultimately, Florence believed, one must sacrifice "self to self," meaning the material self to the celestial or spiritual self.[17] With the help of the Egyptian she could now, consciously, take on this task.

It was time for a major work of magic. Appropriate to her nature, Florence decided on an evocation of Thoth, the God of Wisdom and Magic. She approached Allan Bennett, who although only twenty-three had already been a 5°=6° for more than a year, and he agreed to work with her to create such a ritual. For the basic format they drew upon the classical Western Kabbalistic formulas found in the Key of Solomon, using a mixture of Hebrew and Greek terms. Thus they composed an evocation of Taphthartharath,[18] as Mercury was Kabbalistically known, but modified it with a text from the sixty-fourth chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, dating from about 3733 B.C.[19] The Egyptian initiate assumed the god-form of the Great God Thoth and thus was "made triumphant upon earth." As Florence explained in her book *Egyptian Magic*: "The most potent magical formula was the identification of the Ritualist with the God whose power he was invoking. So increasing himself to an immeasurable greatness he leapt beyond all bodies, and transcending time became eternity."[20]

The ritual begins and ends as a traditional evocation in the mode of Western Kabbalistic ceremonial magic, probably written by Bennett with Florence's insertion of the Egyptian text. The penultimate stage of the ritual involved threats of damnation and destruction should the spirit not appear. But Florence had discovered that, contrary to traditional Western rituals, not all magical traditions had need of such threats: The invocations of the Chaldean

magicians did not use them, for they "are addressed to the Gods alone," and although the Egyptians occasionally used threats, they did so "only towards the subordinate ministers of the Divine."[21] She hoped that by modifying the ritual to work directly through the gods rather than through blind, malleable, but often unevolved spirits, she could avoid any use of maledictions.

Thus it was, that on a day of Mercury: Wednesday, May 13, 1896, at the hour of Tafrac, 8:32 P.M., with Moon conjunct Mercury in Gemini, *S.S.D.D.* and *I.A.* (Allen Bennett) as Magi of Fire and Water, accompanied by *D.P.A.L.* (F. L. Gardner) and *A.A.* (Charles Rosher), began the ritual.[22]

The Evocation into Visible Appearance of the Spirit Taphthartharath

Upon the ground I.A. draws, in yellow-orange chalk, magical figures of Mercury and a triangle within a circle where the Spirit will appear. Then he traces over it all with his magical sword. All assemble.

The Mighty Magus of Art, S.S.D.D., enters clothed in the robes of Thoth: a red mantle over white robe with an indigo nemyss. Upon her breast is the magic seal of Mercury and a lamen of Taphthartharath. In her yellow sash is a dagger, and she carries an Ankh and an Ibis Wand.[23] Holding the Ibis Wand by its black band, she proclaims:

> Hekas! Hekas Este Bebeloi!—Fraters of the Order of the Rosy Cross: We are this day assembled together for the purpose of evoking into visible appearance the Spirit Taphthartharath. That is to say, we evoke a force of terrible and tremendous material power, not yet enlightened by the Divine Wisdom, and we propose to bring the blind force to that knowledge, and thereby create between ourselves, and the Great Thrice Crowned One of Occult Wisdom a lasting link to the Glory of his name, and the redemption of the said Blind Force to Wisdom and Light.

With banishing Lesser Pentagrams the ritualists seal the circle, then purify and consecrate the place of working and all materials with Fire, Water, Air, and Earth, and with Invoking Pentagrams.

> We invoke ye great Lords of the Watchtowers of the Universe: Grant ye our Magic Circle, let no evil or impure Spirit enter therein: strengthen and inspire us in this our operation of the Magic of Light.

Advancing to the center of the circle, the Magus invokes the Higher Forces:

> Majesty of the Godhead, wisdom crowned Thoth, Lord of the Gates of the Universe, Thee, Thee we invoke, Thou that manifest in the symbolic form as an Ibis headed one. Thee, Thee we invoke!

S.S.D.D. now takes on the god-form of Thoth, speaking in the first person.

> Behold I am yesterday, today, and the Brother of the Morrow.
> Mine is the unseen force which created the Gods.
> And giveth life unto the Dwellers in the Watchtower of the Universe.
> Mine is the Radiance in which Ptah floated over his firmament.
> Since I am Eternal, everything acts according to my designs.
> And everything obeys my Words.
> Therefore do Thou come forth unto Me from thine abode in the Silence: Thoth: Hermes: Mercury: Odin: by whatever name I call Thee, Thou are still Unnamed and Nameless for eternity: come Thou forth I say, and aid and guard me in this Work of Art.

The Magus takes the Sigil of Mercury and, picking up a black cord and a piece of black silk, says:

> I call forth the Spirit of Mercury, Taphthartharath, round whose magical sigil I now bind this triple cord of Bondage and shroud in the Black Covering of Darkness and in Death, so let the Magic Power of my will and words penetrate unto him and bind him that he cannot move but is forced to manifest here before us, without this circle of Art, in the Magical Triangle which I have provided for his apparition. Teach us how we may acquire the power to know all things that appertain unto the knowledge of Thoth who ruleth the occult Wisdom of Power, and with whom we desire to formulate a link through thee.

There follow multiple circumambulations, conjurations, and the mixing of a "broth" containing the symbolical elements of Thoth's body, which are stirred over the fire of the Magician's Will.

The Mighty Magus of Art invokes Taphthartharath by every known name carefully vibrated and commanded by force of Will—by Sword, by Wand, by Incense, in the North, the South, the East, and the West.

> O, Thou Great Potent Spirit Taphthartharath, I do command and very potently conjure Thee by the Majesty of Thoth, the Great God, Lord of Amenta, King and Lord Eternal of the Magic of Light—that thou teach unto us continually the

> Mysteries of the Arts of Magic: declaring unto us now, in what best manner may each of us progress towards the accomplishment of the Great Work.

Subsequent to a series of reverse circumambulations and the closing Rituals of Mercury, the Spirit is banished and the ritual completed.

The traditional lore of the Golden Dawn maintains that Taphthartharath actually did appear (probably to the astonishment of all involved) on this particular occasion. We have no details. But we can assume that Florence's description in *Egyptian Magic,* identifying the ritualist with the God, was what she herself may have experienced on this occasion:

> He leapt beyond all bodies and transcending time became eternity. He became higher than all height, lower than all depth. He knew himself part of the great chain of Creation at once unbegotten, young, old, dead. He felt within himself latent faculties unfolding, and he retained the memory of experience gained in time long past and dead. His feet today stood in the place that yesterday his eye could scarcely see, and beyond him in the Invisible was his next day's resting place.[24]

Maud appeared in public only occasionally this year. She was experiencing her Saturn Return, and with her natal Saturn in Scorpio, the sign of death and rebirth, all her old fears of death were certainly reawakened. This would lead to a new maturity involving her relationships with other people, her responsibilities, her self-discipline. When her daughter Iseult passed the age at which Georges had died, she began to breathe more easily.

On March 17 she spoke at the Saint Patrick's Day banquet for John O'Leary's Paris Association of Saint Patrick. Mathers, who also attended wearing the MacGregor tartan, wrote a report on her speech for the Edinburgh *Northern Chronicle.*[25] She attended an amnesty meeting in Glasgow, wrote articles for the French press, and went to Bayreuth for the first time to attend the Wagner Festival.

If she was aware that Willie and Olivia had finally begun their affair, which was to continue all that year, she at least did nothing to interfere.[26] And it was from Olivia, who was "powerfully affected by symbols," that Yeats first drew astral information for the "spiritualization of the Irish imagination."[27]

Annie Horniman was increasingly concerned about the negative influences of both Mathers's politics and Berridge's teachings of the Brotherhood of the New Life (B.N.L.).

One recently initiated member of the Golden Dawn, the artist W. T. Horton, was also enthusiastic about Harris and the B.N.L. In fact, he told Yeats that the Golden Dawn, by comparison, cultivated the Intellect alone, at the expense of "that that [William] Blake upheld—the Feminine or Feeling."[28] To Horton, Annie Horniman epitomized the "purely intellective" quality, although Yeats argued that her having "given away thousands to help certain artistic purposes which she loves most passionately" proved that she had a feeling side.[29]

It was largely because of Miss Horniman that Horton decided to quit the Golden Dawn: "Another cause of my leaving is Miss H. to whom I feel strangely and most virulently opposed and antagonistic. She is my bête noire. I hope you have not shown her any of Harris' books."[30] According to Horton, T. L. Harris, who was united in "counterpartal marriage to Queen Lily of the Conjugial [*sic*] Angels," taught that the way to one's Highest Self was through the "counterpartal path" of love for Christ as immanent in one of the opposite sex.[31] It was apparent to Horton, as to everyone else, that Annie would not countenance a literal marriage made between heaven and earth.

Horton then warned Yeats that Annie was in great danger. "Somehow I felt that she is not content to passively ignore Harris and the B.N.L.," Horton correctly surmised, "but she is actively engaged in opposing both him and all Powers that to her mind are not in harmony with NOUS and NOUS *alone*. She had better take care and beware."

Horton continued: "It is spiritually extremely dangerous to actively oppose Harris.... He is extremely forgiving and of himself thinks nothing, but of course he is in touch with extra-ordinary forces and these are the Arch-Natural beings."

He concluded: "The Arch Natural beings are not to be trifled with."[32]

MacGregor and Moina arrived in London to preside at the March 22 Equinox ritual. MacGregor informed Annie that while they had no time for repairs at the Vault at Oakley Square, they had "leisure for politics." Brodie-Innes and his wife, of the Edinburgh Temple, boasted to Annie of continual contact with Mathers on political rather than Order business. In June, when the Matherses failed to attend the Corpus Christi meeting—the one yearly meeting required of all members—because of politics, Annie fumed that it was "absence with insults."

"The feeling that my honour as an upright person was being injured by supporting a political movement of which I did not approve, grew too strong to be borne," she wrote in a letter to William Peck, telling him of the situation.[33] In July, Annie made a final payment of £75 to the Matherses, while informing them that their allowance from her was now terminated. They

responded with a letter to two other members of the Inner Order containing thirteen "charges against the Adepti," of which Annie felt that eleven were personal to her.

In September, Annie resigned from her office as Sub-Praemonstratrix of Isis-Urania Temple, although she planned to keep active within the Temple. Mathers accepted her resignation from office and, at the same time, censured her over a minor matter involving her Neophyte symbol, chastised her for attempting to lessen his authority, and expressed irritation that she had forbidden an Outer Order member to do translation work for him. They were now barely on speaking terms.

Money was scarce for the Matherses. Moina rarely sold a painting and had little time for her art anyway. Mathers tried to raise cash, as Ithell Colquhoun explains, by acting as "a kind of free-lance tipster selling 'inside information' about the stock-market to would-be investors."[34] Mathers sent tips to Frederick Gardner, an initiate who owned a stock brokerage, and even importuned him to invest in a scheme involving a sultan, a marquis of dubious lineage, Turkish Railway shares, and important political maneuvers.[35]

Frederick Leigh Gardner, *De Profundis Ad Lucem (D.P.A.L.)*, was born March 31, 1857. He developed an early interest in the occult through his parents, who were both spiritualists, joining Madame Blavatsky's Theosophical Society in 1884 and experimenting with automatic writing and recording séances. In 1886 he became a member of the Stock Exchange and later had his own small stockbrokering firm. A friend of the alchemist Reverend Ayton, he joined the Golden Dawn on March 20, 1894.[36] Because Gardner had ready access to financial resources, Mathers began cultivating a special acquaintanceship with him.

Mathers also began negotiations with his former publisher, Redway, to contract a translation he had begun of an occult manuscript in the Arsenal library in Paris. Mathers had discovered that summer "a very ancient and almost unknown manuscript," supposedly taken from a fifteenth-century Hebrew original. Called the *Abra-Melin* manuscript, after the Kabbalist who had transcribed it for his son, it described a lengthy magical process for realizing one's Highest Genius. Mathers asked £50 for an outright sale of the copyright because he needed "ready money now."[37] By October negotiations were stalling and Mathers was ready to accept an offer of £25—of which he received an advance of £10. Accustomed as he had become to Annie's generous sums, this must have been uncomfortably humbling.

Florence had seen little of Shaw that year; he had been busy with Janet Achurch and then with the Irish heiress Charlotte Payne-Townshend. He had met Charlotte in January, and she eventually offered to care for him in a

celibate and comfortable marital arrangement. In October, Shaw learned that Janet Achurch had been "faithless" to him—that is, she was pregnant—thus spoiling their celibate "religious ecstasy." After that, Miss Payne-Townshend also shocked Shaw by retreating to Ireland. Temporarily bereft of ladyfriends, he contacted Florence to arrange a meeting. It seems likely that he was seriously considering marrying Charlotte, but in his own peculiarly philandering way, with Charlotte gone, he needed to reassert himself in another's affections. He and Florence had, after all, sustained a passionate sexual relationship for almost four years, and Florence may have been his only carnal lover other than Jenny Patterson.

Florence failed to attend their meeting. Perhaps it was an emphatic way of stating that she was no longer interested in helping prove how irresistible he was. Perhaps her Egyptian interests had finally placed her beyond his reach. His letter of October 12, written on the evening of their missed date, shows how piqued he was. He maligned her, as usual—this time for her interest in Egyptian mysteries. "You would not believe in my doctrine of working at some reality every day," he wrote, "but you none the less worked every day at your unreality. And now you think to undo the work of all those years by a phrase and a shilling's work of exoteric Egyptology. As for me, I can wait no longer for you."[38] He told her that her brains and imagination were simply a means of self-deceit while she lacked the "faith, honor, heart, holiness" to save herself.

"I have the greatest regard for you," he claimed, "but now to be with you is to be in hell: you make me frightfully unhappy." Their lives, he asserted convincingly, were as diametrically opposed as the North and South poles.

Florence's reply (on the next day) is lost, but Shaw thought it a "nasty" letter. "A really sympathetic, original woman would have written a particularly nice one.... You are incorrigible.... Do you want me *for ever,* greedy one?"[39]

The day after that, on October 14, he renounced "spiritual intercourse" with her.

> I hereby warn mankind to beware of women with large eyes, and crescent eyebrows, and a smile, and a love of miracles and moonshees. I warn them against all who like intellectual pastimes; who prefer liberty, happiness and irresponsibility to care, suffering and life; who live for and in themselves instead of for and in the world; who reject the deep universal material of human relationship and select only the luxuries of love, friendship, and amusing conversation.[40]

For Florence, true passion lay in the Great Work of bringing the conscious self into the perpetual light of the Higher Genius. To Shaw, it did not qualify

as "religion," nor could he recognize its discipline, but Magic did not need his blessing to be worthy of her dedication.

"I declare before creation that you are an idiot," he raved, "and that there never has been, never can be, is not now, nor in any yet to be discovered fourth dimension of time ever shall be, so desperate and irreclaimable an idiot, or one whom Destiny has mocked with greater opportunities." That her destiny could lie elsewhere than as his dramatic creation and intellectual plaything was beyond the grasp of his ego-driven authoritarianism.

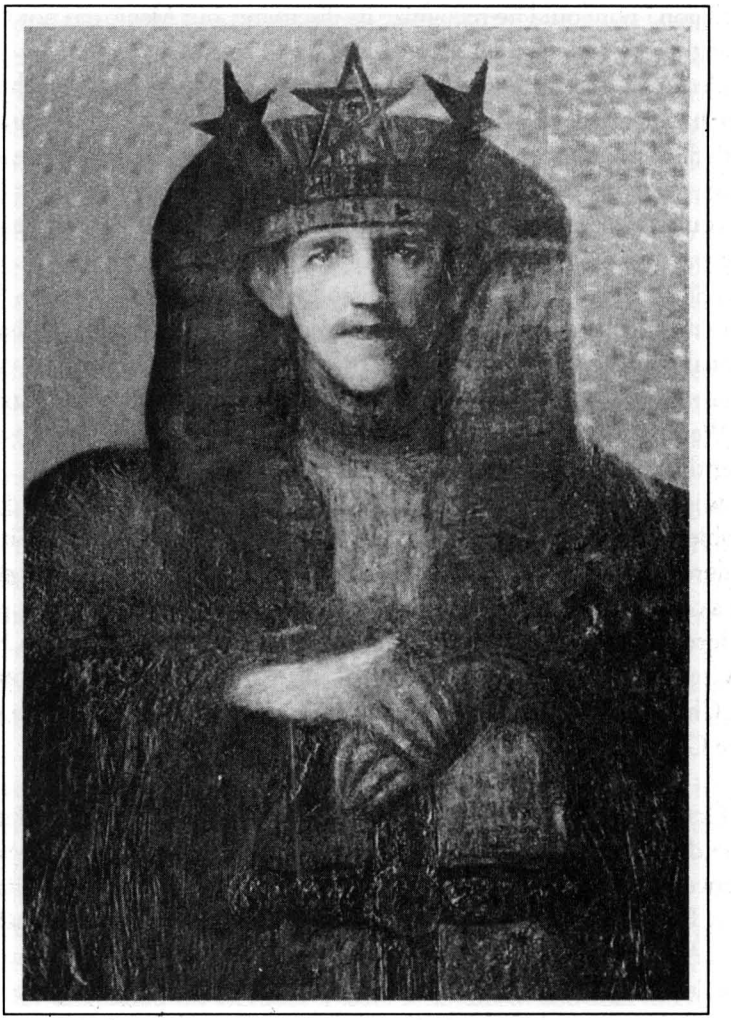
As Shaw remembered the final dissolution of their relationship: "I made desperate efforts to work up Florence's technique and capacity for hard professional work to the point needed for serious stage work; but her early life had been too easy. I failed, and had to give up worrying and discouraging her .... We detached ourselves from one another naturally and painlessly; and presently I got married."[41]

It was only three days after his third letter to Florence in as many days that he cabled Charlotte: ALL CLEAR NOW YES A THOUSAND TIMES.[42] Shaw had wondered if Florence's complex sexual hold over him would prove stronger than a celibate and uncomplicated marriage to Charlotte, but being rejected by Florence easily brought him to his answer. And thus, George Bernard Shaw, renouncing spiritual intercourse with Florence and sexual intercourse with Charlotte, relinquishes all but a minor place in the story of the women of the Golden Dawn.[43]

On October 29 Mathers issued what would become his famous "Manifesto" to the dozen or so initiates of the Theoricus grade that included Westcott, Florence, Annie, Percy and Pamela Bullock, Edward Berridge, Helen Rand, Dr. Pullen Burry, Colonel Webber Smith, and John Brodie-Innes. Mathers, as "Chief Adept & Ambassador of those Secret and Unknown Magi who are the concealed Rulers of the Wisdom of the True Rosicrucian Magic of Light," required that Second Order Initiates of the *R.R. et A.C.*, upon reaching the level of Theoricus Adeptus Minor (Th.A.M.), submit in all points regarding both the Inner and Outer orders to G.H. Frater[44] *Deo Duce Comite Ferro* (Mathers), and refrain from stirring up "any strife or schism." In other words, he was demanding unquestioning obedience.

In return, *D.D.C.F.* undertook to tell them "how that wonderful system of Occult Wisdom" was obtained.

Mathers stated that he was chosen to act as the link between the Secret Chiefs and the Order because he was "ready and willing to devote himself in every sense to a blind and unreasoning obedience to those Secret Chiefs." It was required that he possess an "Iron Will unable to be broken by any



MOINA MATHERS'S PORTRAIT OF HER HUSBAND, S. L. MACGREGOR MATHERS, AS CHIEF OF THE HERMETIC ORDER OF THE GOLDEN DAWN

unlooked for opposition that might arise in the carrying out" of his duties. Once he and *Vestigia* had left England, they were "allowed . . . to be the Recipients of the Knowledge [of Divine Wisdom] for transmission to the Order."

Acquiring this Wisdom, he explained, was a work of enormous strain and labor. He related that the obtaining of the Z (Zelator Adeptus Minor) Ritual might have killed him, *Vestigia*, or both of them—"the nerve prostration after each reception being terrible from the strain, and at times accompanied by profuse cold perspirations, and by severe loss of blood from the nose, mouth,

and occasionally ears," probably arising from the "almost constant strife with opposing Demonic Forces endeavouring to stop the delivery and reception of the Wisdom."[45] Mathers, who saw himself as a warrior, may have welcomed such strife as an opportunity to prove his worth. We can imagine Moina almost like a soldier's wife, who must serve her husband with the same unflinching determination and service that he shows his superiors. But she was more than a wife, for she was a Priestess, and while Mathers struggled to hold the demonic forces at bay, it was she who channeled the teachings and the rituals. Christina M. Stoddart, Chief of the Stella Matutina in the 1920s, claimed that "apart from the cypher MSS. and MSS. found in libraries by MacGregor Mathers, most of the early teaching ... was received clairvoyantly by Mrs. Mathers ... from the 'Hidden and Secret Chiefs of the Third Order.'" Also, "communication was given to him [Mathers via his wife as intermediary or etheric link] by clairvoyance, clairaudience, and impressional teaching, whereby the true interpretation of existing MSS. was given to him."[46]

Mathers addressed one demand particularly to Annie Horniman, as a warning to anyone who might try to follow her lead: "What I discountenance and will check and punish whenever I find it in the Order is any attempt to criticise and interfere with the *private life of Members of the Order;* neither will I give the Wisdom of the gods to those who endeavour to use it as a means of justifying intolerance, intermeddling, and malicious self conceit."[47]

Annie, who had gone to Florence, Italy, for the winter months, sent Mathers her statement of voluntary submission to his authority, although certainly with misgivings. Though placed under duress, she declined to resign from the Order to which she had given so much of herself (and her finances).

Mathers was not satisfied with her simple submission, and he wrote her on November 22 that he expected, in addition, written submission to the *working* and *administration* of the Order. He called her spiteful and hostile, saying she had injured him "by *every* means" in her power: by undermining his authority and reducing him to poverty in the Outer World. Furthermore, as a teacher, she treated instruction "from the point of view of *scholar* rather than of student."[48] Although he may have meant that she lacked humility, this assessment also implies, as did W. T. Horton's, that she possessed a mental and heartless outlook.[49] As a final touch of paranoia, Mathers added that he was also annoyed with *S.A.* (Westcott), who "has deliberately endeavoured to reduce me to the level of a puppet."

The increasingly persecuted tone of his letters makes it apparent that Mathers was buckling under the stress of his responsibilities and personal situation. We know that Moina and MacGregor undertook a huge load of correspondence, had numerous guests to house and feed almost constantly, and were now without any source of regular funds. They administrated the

Ahathöor Temple, participated in rituals, pursued their own occult studies and practices, did divinations and astrology charts for others, worked at translations, and schemed in political intrigues, and Moina still occasionally painted and exhibited. In addition, they had moved five times in the last seven years.

On the other hand, in "Flying Roll No. XXI," *Vestigia* described a king in his kingdom as wielding "the reins of government either as a great ruler inspired by his masters above, . . . or as the Ruler debased (inspired or, more accurately speaking, obsessed) . . . thereby permitting the usurpation of the Higher by the Lower."[50] Thus he is either ruled by his personal will, inspired by divine consciousness, or inspired by his survival instincts. Mathers was beginning to fear for his survival as absolute ruler of the Golden Dawn, and he began to elevate that before any other considerations.

Within the week, Annie received a rather humble and conciliatory letter from *Vestigia*: "I would not write this to you did I not feel desperate. . . . We feel that at any cost [the] Golden Dawn must be carried on (at least our share of it)."

She explained that she and *S.R.* (Mathers's other magical motto) were hard at work, he on his *Abra-Melin* translation and she doing drawings, "but there are twenty failures to one success." Having read the manifesto, *Vestigia* hoped that *Fortiter* now knew "how fearful the strain of one's life is apart from monetary or other bothers on the same plane."

"I knew that my painting could only be very third-rate," she confessed, "while I gave quite my best to assisting *S.R.* with the 5°=6° [rituals and instruction]." Such sacrifice, to which Annie was especially sensitive, going all the way back to their days at the Slade School of Art, pained them both.

"You must admit that he has been justified," *Vestigia* continued in defense of her husband, "for we know in the Order that you have not been loyal to him as representing your principal occult teacher."[51]

Vestigia, in marrying Mathers, may have found absolute, unquestioning loyalty the price for her being at once "paragon, priestess, and prisoner" (as the Victorian ideal has been characterized), but Annie had no intention of following in her footsteps. Barbara Bellow Watson, in her piercing account of Shaw's New Woman, *A Shavian Guide to the Intelligent Woman,* points out how women convinced themselves that their sacrifices were made willingly, as expressions of their pure nobility of spirit.

> When the prisoner is kept on a pedestal, when her eternal self-sacrifice is (still speaking ideally) not so much exacted from her as assumed to be her own wish, for the nobility of which she is praised and rewarded; when her guard pretends he is both her protector and her slave, all because of her irresistible charm; when to quell all doubts, the only livelihood open to her depends on pleasing one of these guards whose preferences are so

> obvious, and all the pleasures of life are in his gift, then it is not easy to persuade the prisoner to step down and put her pretty little feet on the ground.[52]

Mathers's autocracy and generalship were assuming the proportions of a "divine right rulership." He was patriarch and prophet to Secret Chiefs that only he could see. The only course for members was either to be for him or against him.

A cultural doorway had opened briefly to allow an organization offering equality among men and women, based on ideals of Hermetic Love, to spring into existence—but it was being taken over by an insidious tyranny modeled after the patriarchal gods of thunder and lightning striking from lofty male mountaintops. This malaise was spreading in the organization. Soon Westcott would find that his magical concentration was being stifled by the presence of women, and Amen Ra Temple would rise up against "petticoat leadership," to Mathers's recorded pleasure and delight. Paradise disgorged its serpent, not in Annie's moralistic insubordination, but in Mathers's own psychological projections of the Evil Influence of electing himself as sole prophet of a jealous, sacrifice-loving God—under whose blind obedience he was required to leave England and live a celibate life. Annie became merely another female scapegoat of an obsessed patriarch. Having perceived that something was rotten, she had to be banished in order to conceal the putrefaction from the community at large.

With a final incandescence of rebellion, Annie refused Mathers both her written submission and her money. Instead she wrote *Vestigia*, upholding her claim of injustice, and her part in the drama being unfolded.

Astrology provides us with an excellent tool for examining the dynamics between two people, while transits and progressions indicate those emotional factors being triggered at a particular time. In Annie's astrological chart her "alienation crisis" is described by a transit pattern showing liberation from both her past and from her dependency on authority. Relationships and restrictions had to be broken up—especially those depriving her of individuality and freedom. Transiting Saturn and Uranus were conjuncting in Scorpio, creating fears about new concepts of sexuality, opposing Annie's emotional roots indicated by her Moon, and squaring her Jupiter–Venus conjunction underlying her financial generosity. This formed a a fixed T-Square, challenging everything she thought reliable. In her progressed chart, Mars *exactly* squared her natal Moon. Thus she would fight for her vision and opinions, even at the cost of her security. With transiting Saturn squaring natal Jupiter, activities begun seven years earlier were being tested, and where lacking in strength, they were forced into change. Annie had joined the Golden Dawn exactly seven years before.

Meanwhile, in MacGregor's chart the transit of conjuncting Saturn and Uranus was exactly opposite his natal Saturn in Taurus—also marking the seven-year cycle begun with his marriage and with Annie's first financial assistance. With natal Saturn in his Second House (finances always creating limits), having restrictive Saturn *and* Uranus (sudden change) transiting his Eighth House (other people's money and values) meant that financial dealings with others would be completely unreliable and bring intolerable restrictions. Because MacGregor's Saturn (fear of losing what is valued most) conjuncted Annie's Moon—*this is their major chart connection*—MacGregor would be likely to deny (Saturn) Annie her need for emotional security (Moon). In turn, Annie's hypersensitive but hidden emotional needs threatened MacGregor's perception of his authority over "his" Order—an unconscious peril that emerged when triggered by the Saturn–Uranus transit.

On December 3, 1896, Mathers wrote Annie that he was removing her name from the Roll of the Order. She was expelled.

> I could not consider that the person whom I saw shuffling her feet and crying in a hysterical attack in the Musée Guimet because the style of Indian Art affected her nerves unpleasantly—and who on recovering from this attack, made *VNR* [*Vestigia*] and myself solemnly promise not only to warn *but to check her in every way, no matter how,* if at any future time we thought she was beginning to show any trace of development of hereditary mania—such a person, I say, would be utterly unfit to correct me in the extremely complex administration of such an Order as the Rosicrucian. This promise of checking you, *VNR* and I have fulfilled. [53]

Such restriction could only have fueled Annie's need for change. Mathers was charging her with insubordination, intense arrogance, narrowness of judgment, self-conceit, and possibly the beginnings of insanity. Yet it is obvious that it was he himself manifesting all of these qualities, as he lay claim to a divine-right rulership of the Golden Dawn through manic autocracy. Mathers's studies of generals and generalship, as Ithell Colquhoun points out, heightened tendencies toward arrogance in his own character and led to a mixture of contempt for and fear of his subordinates within the Order.[54]

Westcott, who only heard of Annie's expulsion secondhand, did nothing to check this, seemingly fearful of what Mathers might do if he tried. "It is a terrible reward for all her work and efforts," he acknowledged to Frederick Gardner years later, yet he had "no comfort to give."[55] Gardner, although not yet a Theoricus, had stepped into the fray and was writing letters to everyone trying to find a compromise.

On the day of Annie's expulsion, Mathers wrote to Gardner asking for a loan of £100. "I have no security worth the name to offer you . . . [but] there

are several paintings and drawings of Vestigia's, most of which have been exhibited."[56] Moina's work as an artist was just one more commodity to be used as Mathers saw fit.

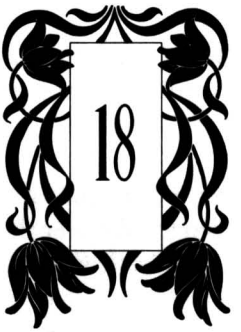
On December 6 Florence Farr, who might have made some effort to mediate the quarrel, was suddenly called to take over the small but fascinating role of the Rat Wife in Ibsen's latest play, *Little Eyolf.* The Rat Wife, who bewitches rats into following her and then rows out to sea until they are drowned, is followed by spellbound Little Eyolf, a crippled child, who also drowns. His parents were, as Shaw characterized it, "left bankrupt" in the face of their own egotism.

If only Florence had known to read the play as oracle,[57] recognizing its synchronicity with the growing bile beneath the surface of the Golden Dawn, she might have recognized the danger to the Order. Annie, crippled by her "mania about sexual things" and under the spell of the Arch-Natural forces (or her own "Evil Persona") was drowning in emotional waters: her own and others'. Mathers was much like the wife, Rita Allmers, who jealously wanted her husband (the Order) all to herself. When Allmers was left "bankrupt," as Mathers literally was when Annie withdrew her subsidy and isolated him (like the Allmers), a choice lay between breaking up the family (the Order) or realizing "that to save himself, he must save the race"; that is, said Shaw in his explication of the play, he must accept "a share in the life of the community."[58]

Mathers, like Rita Allmers, was both enthralled by ego and isolated. Moina warned initiates in her "Flying Roll: 'Know Thyself,'" that

> one of the reasons why we are told not to isolate ourselves is that isolation tends to make a man egotistical—it will become a habit to . . . pay too much attention to his own Microcosm, whereby he will neglect other Microcosms [the members of the Order] which together with his form part of the Macrocosm; and this Egotism of the Spirit . . . will yet be a far greater snare to him. . . . The self-righteous spirit . . . flatters its victim with the idea that he is rapidly attaining his proposed Goal . . . the Regeneration of the Race of the Planet.[59]

This isolation and egotism would ultimately betray and destroy the Golden Dawn. As in all true divinations, we are left not with the answer but with a choice. Annie, like the prophet Cassandra, was unheard, and Florence did not recognize the message in the oracle that was offered her.



Drawn into the Vortex

1897

Moina and MacGregor Mathers traveled to London in January to calm the Theorici who were protesting Annie Horniman's expulsion from the Order. Most had signed letters supporting her, but a few, like Allan Bennett and John Brodie-Innes, felt they had no right to challenge Mathers's authority. Others, like Henry Pullen Burry and Willie Yeats, who met with Mathers in Paris, were brought over to his perspective through persuasive reasoning.

The real cause of her expulsion, said *Fortiter* (Annie) to *Volo* (Mrs. Kennedy), was that Mathers was angry that she had terminated his financial support. Mrs. Kennedy then wrote F. L. Gardner: "I talked the matter out with *S.A.* [Westcott] on Sat. last, finding him resolved to put every question in abeyance to *S.R.M.D.'s* undoubted magical superiority.... Also it is *S.A.'s* opinion that the Order will be benefitted by our keeping our thoughts to ourselves as regards any of us tackling *S.R.M.D.* [Mathers]. He demands blind obedience and any attempt to bring him to book only infuriates him. We are now waiting for his next move which will no doubt show whether the pieces will be rearranged."[1] The Inner Order was abuzz with letters and meetings as each person tried to decide on their personal stand.

Vestigia (Moina) met with Annie's good friend *Vigilate* (Helen Rand) in London and related how distressed she was by *Fortiter's* expulsion. *Vestigia* explained that it had been ordered not by Mathers at all but rather by the Secret Chiefs, who felt that *Fortiter* put too much "personality" into her magical working, thus tainting and perverting it, so that she had to be stopped. Moreover, the Secret Chiefs had told Mathers to act as if it were a personal

order from himself so as to avoid demands that their existence be proved. *Vestigia* and *S.R.M.D.* had been receiving astral impressions all through 1896 that some members lacked faith in the Secret Chiefs and were spreading lies about Mathers's "drinking and lunacy, etc." It was the Secret Chiefs who had discovered that *Fortiter*'s Inner Order symbols were wrongly consecrated, but, for that matter, so were those of all the other Theorici.

Vestigia also contended that Annie had agreed it made no difference to money matters that Mathers "should do political work under the Chiefs and should also be mixed up with war and military matters."[2] It is highly unlikely that Annie ever agreed to support Mathers's politics; yet the use versus misuse of her money was to be a continuing dilemma for her. (Ten years later, she would find herself in exactly the same controversy.)

Further calamity awaited Annie. Having been divorced by her spiritual family and stripped of her authority and respect within the Order, she was now to be alienated from her blood family as well. In February, while still in Florence, Annie received a surprise invitation to her father's wedding. Mr. Horniman was sixty-one and his bride-to-be was an unknown beauty of twenty-one. Annie, despite having suffered grievously in moralistic combat, once again took her stand on the side of propriety. After all, her father had recently become a Liberal member of Parliament for Falmouth, and he had no business marrying someone sixteen years younger than Annie herself—young enough to be his granddaughter! Annie could not prevent the wedding, but she self-righteously refused to attend. More than that, she was so affronted that she never spoke to her father again, even when a new half-brother was born less than nine months later. And when her beloved brother Emslie supported their father's decision, Annie cut off ties with him too.

Thus, in a span of just three months, Annie's sense of moral rectitude resulted in the loss of her best friends, her magical environment, her father, and her brother. And after that, she even lost the home in which she grew up, for it was pulled down to make way for a public museum.

On May 6 Frederick Gardner heard from Order member H. C. Morris (*Cavendo Tutus*) that he had received a perturbing pamphlet signed by "*Respiro*," whom Morris claimed was the same person as *Resurgam*—Dr. Edward Berridge. In a footnote in his pamphlet, *Respiro* claimed that an occultist had tried to injure him "occultly, socially and professionally on account of my advocacy of the New Life," so he had "invoked the aid of arch-natural powers, and was informed that within twelve months the guilty would be punished." According to the pamphlet, a series of unspecified troubles from an occult source then fell on the guilty person and "even upon those who had allowed themselves to be drawn into the vortex . . . and the enemy was occultly crushed; this being followed in a few weeks by a great disaster on the

material plane." This was just as W. T. Horton had warned Yeats regarding those who ran afoul of the disciples of Thomas Lake Harris. Handwritten at the bottom of the pamphlet was a taunting verse:

Oh! F.E.R. you should not let
Your angry passions rise.
Your feline claws were never meant
To scratch a Frater's eyes.

F.E.R. referred, of course, to Annie Horniman as *Fortiter et Recte,* whose nickname was the feline "Tabbie." There could be no doubt that she was the "enemy." As *Cavendo Tutus* put it, Dr. Berridge was guilty of a "deliberate and exulting avowal of black magic."[3]

Annie had first complained to Mathers about Berridge's teachings in November and December of 1895. Exactly a year later, in December 1896, she was expelled from the Golden Dawn, and two months later she severed relations with both her father and her brother. The "arch-natural forces" seem to have been remarkably effective.

Gardner, who had befriended Annie, had been "drawn into the vortex" too. His involvement with Mathers was now personal. Six months earlier, Gardner loaned him £50, then fearing he would never be repaid, he bought out Mathers's previous publisher, Redway, with the intent of publishing the *Abra-Melin* manuscript himself. The loan became the purchase price of the manuscript—if it was ever completed.[4] Nonetheless, determined to help Annie, Gardner wrote to Berridge, threatening court action on Annie's behalf. But Berridge was unperturbed: Miss Horniman could never explain in a court who *F.E.R.* was—she was held by a sacred oath, and she dared not publicly claim an occult affiliation.

The advent of spring found Maud deeply involved in her new organization *L'Association Irlandaise,* whose purpose was to encourage French support for a free Ireland. She was also planning and preparing for two different types of political action: one was to interfere with Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration that summer of 1897 and the other was a commemoration to be known as the '98 Centennial, which would honor Wolfe Tone, who in 1798 as leader of the United Irishmen had tried to liberate Ireland in the spirit of the American and French revolutions. While Willie was in Paris, Maud and he founded a Paris branch of the Young Ireland Society, and they joined with the Matherses in skrying for information about the Celtic gods and their mysteries. May 1 saw the premier issue of Maud's newspaper, *L'Irlande Libre,* which was published monthly for more than a year to publicize and promote the centennial.

Maud wanted to do a lecture tour of America but was having difficulty obtaining financial backing; she also discovered she was suspected of spying for the English and Germans. Charles MacCarthy Tealing, a troublemaker expelled from the Young Ireland Society for throwing a chair at John O'Leary, was spreading rumors to discredit her. "I thought... that he was some narrow minded idiot who was scandalized at a woman leading an independent life," Maud confessed, but then she learned that he worked for the British Secret Service by stirring up trouble.[5]

Despite her demonstrated oratorical skills, Maud was intimidated by speaking in public, but she persisted in what she felt to be her "call." Her hands would shake with fright before she began to speak, but then she would rise and simply release her passion for Ireland and its people—and found that she could repeatedly stir the emotions of others. As did oracles in Greece, and shamans and priestesses in tribal societies, she often had no idea where her words came from and could not even remember what she said. She once explained to Willie the source of a series of proposals she made at a meeting: "A voice came to me this morning as I lay in bed and dictated that paper to me. I noticed afterwards that the clock stopped when it began to speak."[6] (Working in "dreamtime" instead of clock time is a common attribute of shamans and mystics.) Nor was Maud averse to assisting her visions with drug experimentation. In 1894 she and Willie smoked hashish to intensify their visions, and she had discovered that chloroform could help her "get out of her body," but she discontinued using it because the possibility of addiction was too great. In 1896 she added her public endorsement of Vin Mariani (wine infused with coca leaves) to that of Sarah Bernhardt and Loïe Fuller.[7] In 1897 Willie sent Maud a "dream drug" to try, which may have been mescaline.[8]

Always, Maud concerned herself with human suffering and with the bravery and strength of the people in holding fast to their land and customs. Her most fervent support went to those who acted for Ireland first, before any other cause. But along with being a political revolutionary, she wanted to liberate people from the constraints of social expectations, and she wanted to feel free herself. For Maud there was no personal sphere that was not also political, and the ups and downs of the political mirrored her own personal experiences.

Willie had been a frequent visitor during his winter trip to Paris, and as soon as she arrived in London at the end of February, Maud invited him to dine at her hotel.

"She certainly had no thought of the mischief she was doing," he wrote in his autobiography. "I dined with her & my trouble increased." It was his relationship with Olivia Shakespear that was affected most immediately. "At last one morning, instead of reading much love poetry as my way was to bring the



Maud Gonne in an endorsement for the coca-laced wine called Vin Mariani; her endorsement ran: "Your coca-wine [cocaine-laced] by fortifying my voice will allow me to make my beloved country better known."

right mood round I wrote letters. My friend [Olivia] found my mood did not answer hers & burst into tears—'There is some one else in your heart' she said. It was the breaking [of the liaison] between us for many years."[9]

At last June 22 came, the day of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and with it the culmination of more than a year of planning. Maud led a mock funeral procession through the streets of Dublin with a coffin for "the British Empire" surrounded by flags representing Irishmen who had been hanged for treason. A huge crowd followed her, ignoring Victoria's celebration. That evening, in Rutland Square, she had arranged for the coffin to lie beneath a magic lantern show that listed statistics of evictions and starvation deaths during Victoria's reign. While Maud was speaking at the Nationalist Club, the mass of people in the square swelled into a riot. Police charged in with swinging batons; the crowd fought back. Willie blocked the club exit, preventing Maud from joining in the melee, where she desperately wanted to be.

Afterward, when she learned that a woman was killed and two hundred people injured, Maud raged at Willie: "You made me do the only cowardly

thing of my life."[10] She wrote him a few days later: "Our friendship must indeed be strong for me not to hate you."

While Yeats had no desire to be mixed up in the "outer side of politics," Maud could think of nothing else—"I was born to be in the midst of a crowd." Perhaps at this instant she understood why she could never marry Willie, for "it is . . . impossible for us ever to do any work together where there is likely to be excitement or physical danger"—and that was where she belonged.[11] It was during this time that Maud's purpose became clear: "I have undertaken a great mission. . . . It is this aesthetic sense of beauty & dignity in life which takes the place of morals with me."[12]

In July, Willie, in torment over Maud, his health and nerves wrecked, went to the home of his patron Lady Augusta Gregory in Coole Park to write. In essence, he had a nervous breakdown. "It was a time of great personal strain and sorrow," explained Yeats. "Since my mistress [Olivia] had left me, no other woman had come into my life, and for nearly seven years none did. I was tortured by sexual desire and disappointed love. . . . When desire became an unendurable torture, I would masturbate, and that, no matter how moderate I was, would make me ill. It never occurred to me to seek another love. I would repeat to myself again and again the last confession of Lancelot, and indeed it was my greatest pride. 'I have loved a queen beyond measure and exceeding long.'"[13]

While at Coole Park he tried sending his soul to Maud Gonne in his dreams. When successful he would wake in a shower of precious stones. And sometimes Maud would report a corresponding dream from Paris, in which she always remembered more detail than he. But Maud only felt she truly existed when she was involved in her politics. "It seems when I have no work on hand, my mind goes to sleep & I am capable of nothing until the inspiration comes again. . . . I am galvanised by the great spiritual forces of Ireland for a certain work, & when they . . . withdraw from me I can do nothing." She came out of these periods of lethargy with "renewed energy & a clear vision of the special work to do."[14] Dreaming with Willie compared poorly to the ecstasy of work.

That March, Moina and MacGregor traveled to Scotland, their only visit to MacGregor's ancestral homeland. While there, through arrangements made by Brodie-Innes, they met with a Jacobite group called the White Rose Society.

They were interested in Celtic traditions for political purposes and as a source of magical power connected to the land. Willie was hoping to establish a Celtic Order, and to gain information the Matherses, upon their return from Scotland and London, began clairvoyant work with Willie and sometimes with Maud, focusing on Celtic mythology and symbolism.

Moina told Willie that the editor of a new magazine called *Isis* had shown

interest in his Celtic activities. "Perhaps I was indiscreet in telling him . . . of your account of the visions of Celtic 'Forms' 'seen' by some of your friends," wrote Moina. She was concerned that the editor might want to publicize the Celtic Order and externalize it before it was sufficiently developed from within. "Please, please! . . . say that we & you & all insist on getting at the absolutely correct symbolism before starting on the more external side of the question."

Yeats and the Matherses were aware that any such Celtic Order must be solidly based not only in Celtic myths but in their correspondences to the all-important symbols of evocation, and especially in the energy of the god-forms invoked.

"Nothing can be done until the most important part of the affair be accomplished—that of resurrecting the Gods, & the ceremonies, etc.—'SRMD' is going to work at this but as you know, it may be a long & difficult business, & not a thing to be hurried at all." She urged that the idea not be presented prematurely, to become only another metaphysical fad. "Anything of the mind got up without the solid basis of Truth we will not have to do with, neither will you, of course," cautioned Moina. "People like Bailly would start an Order at once & it would become a regular 'Sar Peladan' over again."[15]

Vestigia apologized to Yeats about Mathers being too occupied to write; he was in the midst of another crisis. Within days of Mathers having left London, Westcott had resigned all his offices in the Golden Dawn.

Westcott explained the situation to Gardner on March 17: "It had somehow become known to the State officers that I was a prominent official of a society in which I had been foolishly posturing as one possessed of magical powers—and if this became more public it would not do for a Coroner of the Crown to be made shame of in such a way. So I had no alternative. . . . It looks as if someone was trying to get me out of Golden Dawn office—eh?"[16]

The most obvious "someone" was, of course, Mathers. Ellic Howe in his book makes an excellent case that Mathers had both the opportunity and the motive for getting rid of the man he now perceived as a rival. According to Aleister Crowley, when Mathers departed from London on March 13, he deliberately left a manuscript of magical practices bearing Westcott's name and business address in a cab. By the time Scotland Yard returned the papers to Westcott's office, it had become an awkward situation that could not be ignored by officials.[17] With Wescott's resignation from all administrative and ritual offices, although not from the Order itself, there could no longer be any pretense that the Order was being overseen by anyone but Mathers as Supreme Governor.

And so on April 1, Florence Farr became Chief Adept in Charge in Anglia, supervising not only the Isis-Urania Temple but also the predominantly male Temples of Horus in Bradford, Osiris in Weston-super-Mare, and Amen Ra in

Edinburgh. Only MacGregor and Moina Mathers were of higher rank or authority. Florence taught classes and lectured, kept records of examinations and grade advancement, and was in charge of initiation ceremonies for the various grades.[18] She also instituted the right to have secret groups within the Inner Order for specialized work, by agreement with Mathers.

Historians of the occult such as Neville Drury and Colin Wilson have implied that Mathers appointed Florence because, as a woman, she would simply act as his puppet. This is more descriptive of their own biases than the actuality, for Florence was in fact the most appropriate person to succeed Westcott. She had worked with him closely for many years and had been present at all major consecrations and workings in the Vault along with Westcott, MacGregor, Moina, and usually Percy Bullock (*L.O.*). She was the most capable at creating rituals of profound beauty. Her deep resonant voice and precise movements bestowed power and authority to the invocations and charges. Also, in the three previous years, Florence had published three books on magic and alchemy. She taught the advanced classes in ceremonial and ritual techniques and had assumed many of Westcott's and Annie's responsibilities in these areas. And only she was in direct contact with an Egyptian Adept of high degree, who guided her secret but sanctioned ritual group within the Golden Dawn. Her pioneering studies of Egyptian magical writings gave her unique insight into the Egyptian symbolism used in the rituals and in applications to Golden Dawn magic.

Florence was no feeble figurehead but a creative and powerful Magus schooled and practiced in Golden Dawn work and techniques. She was not afraid to create policies she thought essential to magical work, such as changing the examinations. She wrote Gardner that examinations were to be "more a test of the candidates' power of using information than of remembering it .... I give the Examining Adept full powers to *tell the Candidate facts* that he does not remember.... I want especially to be able to judge of the synthesizing powers of the intuitive faculty of the 4°=7°s and if the facts are not put right before the inferences are made the whole scheme will be useless."[19] Even though Florence herself had learned the facts and passed the tests, she recognized that memorization was not necessarily the sign of a good ritualist. Facts could be looked up. The ability to focus the will, imaginatively use all the senses in ritual and clairvoyance, and understand the nature of magical forces could not be so easily taught or learned.

One curious aspect of Florence's situation was that Westcott insisted she never contact him directly; essential information was to be exchanged through Gardner or another male. Apparently Westcott wanted Mathers to have no cause to believe he was interfering with the new Chief Adept, even though he continued to correspond with Gardner.

Busy in her roles both as Chief-in-Anglia and as Praemonstratrix, Florence did almost no theatre work in 1897 and thus soon found herself in financial straits. Frederick Gardner commissioned some embroidery work, and she sold a bicycle that she had won in a contest. But when Gardner offered to solicit work for her from among other Golden Dawn members, she firmly said no. "I am not in actual want," she explained in a letter to Gardner. "I can get money from my father's trustees which would keep me for a year to come but naturally one does not like to spend all one's capital. If I could only get myself to work at something profitable as hard as I work at what is unprofitable I should soon be rich."[20] She prepared a booklet about Egypt, intending to sell it for sixpence per copy profit, which she sent for review to the Egyptologist Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie. He read it and responded that the British public would not "swallow" its "doses," and so she abandoned the project.[21]

But Florence knew that the Matherses were in even greater financial difficulties than she was, and were "worked to death." Although she wouldn't let Gardner solicit work for herself, she did raise £20 among the members to send to Paris, and she proposed raising the Outer Order entrance fee in order to subsidize the Matherses.

Meanwhile, MacGregor Mathers was far overdue in delivering his *Abra-Melin* manuscript to his new publisher, Gardner. Working on the manuscript was bringing bad luck. After several suspicious bicycle accidents while commuting to the Arsenal library where the manuscript was kept, he walked the five miles daily. Then, on April 5, on the train from Auteuil to the Gare du Nord, he lost his suitcase containing two notebooks and one hundred pages of manuscript. In this regard, Crowley later remarked that working magically with *Abra-Melin* versus the *Key of Solomon* (a previous manuscript translated by Mathers) was like the difference between dynamite and gunpowder.[22] Apparently, copying the magic squares and sigils was sufficient to awaken the elemental and god-force energies, but not to focus them. There was also the possibility that this could be the result of malefactions or curses—for Mathers had already antagonized several trained magicians. Could it have been Westcott getting even, for instance? Or, assuming that Mathers *had* schemed to force Wynn Westcott's resignation, his own problems could be the result of the magical law of "threefold return," which posits that you receive thrice what you bestow.

Mathers wrote Gardner with the news that he would have to begin the already delayed translation of *Abra-Melin* all over again, and he asked for more money to tide him over. By now, Moina and MacGregor were in serious financial difficulties. They needed £75 immediately or their possessions would be sold to pay debts. Gardner, whose patience was wearing thin, refused. The

Inner Order members, under Florence, met to raise what money they could.

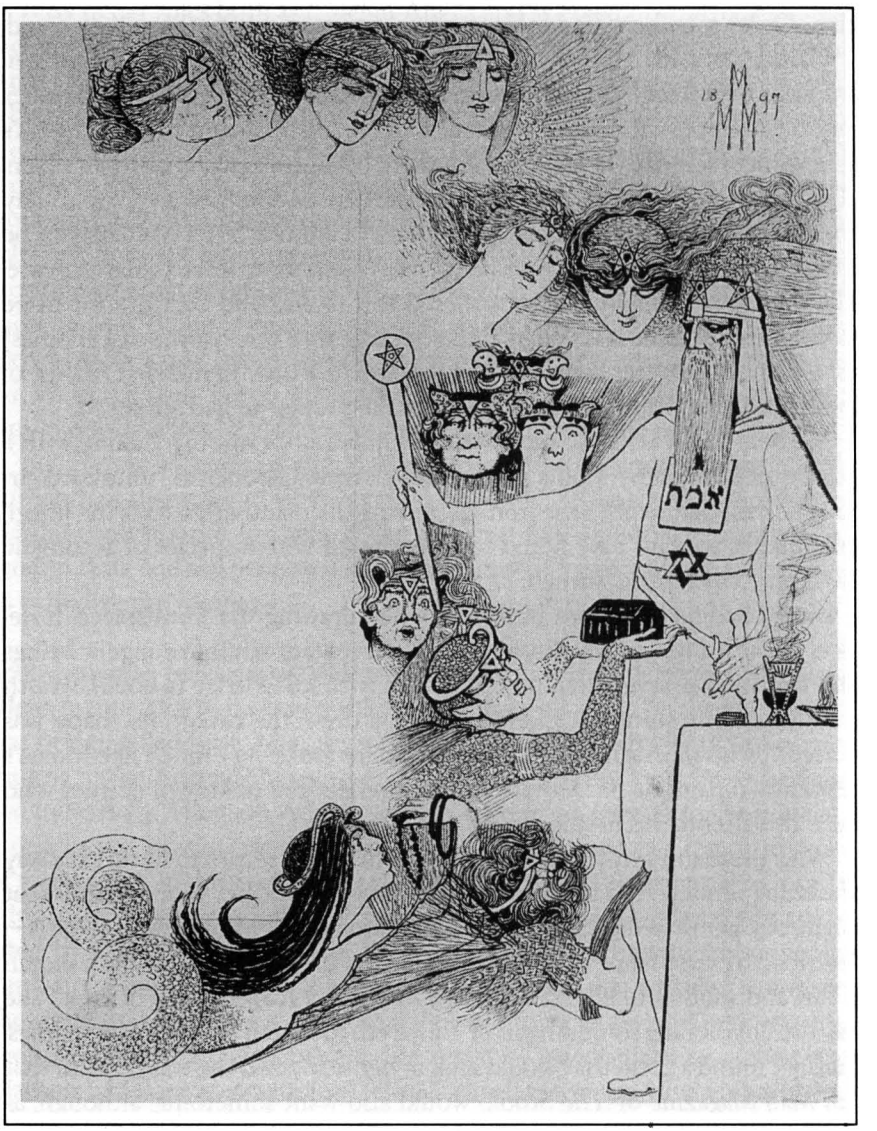
Gardner blamed Mathers for several errors in judgment that he, Gardner, proposed to correct.[23] One of these involved getting rid of Berridge, as Gardner was still in support of Annie Horniman's views, and he sought to use Mathers's obligation to remedy the situation. Mathers, of course, refused Gardner's plan: "The fact of my being in straitened circumstances does not give you or any one else the right to insult me." He added, "I am not *S.A.* [Westcott] to be coerced by threatenings."[24] Florence begged Gardner to leave things in peace. The only appeasement Mathers offered was to suspend Berridge for three months and to issue a General Order stating that the "works of [Thomas] Lake Harris are better avoided." Not satisfied, Gardner demanded receipt of the *Abra-Melin* manuscripts or return of the money he had advanced.

Mathers finally sent the reconstructed manuscript on July 2 along with a frontispiece drawn by Moina and a letter alerting Gardner to "untoward circumstances" that might arise from possessing the manuscript. "It is the [magical] *Squares* which I have found to be endowed with a species of automatic intelligent vitality," he warned.

Moina had had her own problems when drawing the frontispiece. It depicts a bearded Magus wearing a crown of three stars, while five angelic beings gaze from above; seven demons tempt him with knowledge (a book), wealth (jewels), and mystery (a casket). As Moina drew the casket, its shape was altered "by no mortal hand."[25] Since the Magus looks very much like Moina's best-known painting of Mathers, it might reflect the unknown entities who were also altering his destiny.

With the manuscript completed, Moina hoped to return to her art as a way of making money. And so she asked Gardner to refer her to magazines that might buy her drawings. She had an illustration of a "group of oriental girls—described by the psalm 'The King's daughter is all Glorious etc.,'" and a sketch of Pan, and another to illustrate a poem by Mathers called "Song of Eros." She was also envisioning some Angels of Tiphareth to sketch as Christmas themes. Gardner found a press that would look at her work, and she was hopeful that *Pall Mall Magazine* or *The Studio* would also want something, although, as usual, "I have not been able to attend . . . to any of my personal work for some days—having much occ[ult] work. . . . My work for the Order . . . must always take precedence before all things."[26] Since their correspondence soon ceased, Moina must not have found work through his leads.

Florence, as Chief Adept, found herself at the center of a situation filled with intrigue, rumors, and speculation—about Mathers and Westcott, Annie and Berridge, Gardner and the *Abra-Melin* manuscript. She wrote Gardner two undated notes that must have been from this period or soon after: "Tell



MOINA MATHERS'S SPIRIT DRAWING FOR *THE SACRED MAGIC OF ABRA-MELIN THE MAGE*, 1897

S.A. [Westcott] I am thinking of chucking the whole thing." Since she could only communicate with Westcott through Gardner or another male, it was difficult for her to get advice. The second note said: "When things are bad it is the moment for work not the moment for sitting idle. I have constantly been helping things occultly—But I do not work on G.D. [Golden Dawn] lines and

I am only keeping on until I have seen one or two more people through 5°=6°."[27] Florence found relief and a reason to continue in the Golden Dawn through the work of her group, which was now called "The Sphere."

Having worked successfully with Gardner in the Taphthartharath ritual, Florence assigned him to memorize the role of Kerux in the 2°=9° Theoricus Initiation Ritual and later appointed him to the office of Hegemon. At first she must have found him an able ritualist. Then, on August 22, just six weeks after Gardner's receipt of the troublesome *Abra-Melin* manuscript, Florence suddenly removed Gardner from officiating in rituals. She carefully explained that in rituals he was too boisterous and uncontrolled, rude to others, and acted like a "drill master in a boarding school." "You don't suppose that I can let my personal friends spoil the effect of ceremonies just because I get on well with them, do you?" she asked.[28] This was not a personal vendetta, as remarks by Mary Briggs, Dr. Pullen Burry, and others indicate that she was responding to the concerns of several members.

It seems obvious that Gardner was trying to exert more control over the Order, perhaps thinking that his contributions of money, his position as Mathers's publisher, and his various art commissions to Florence gave him special rights. Of course, neither Florence nor Mathers could be manipulated in this manner. Florence made several attempts to explain, writing on August 24,

> I don't deny for a moment that in attention you are kindly and generous to the majority of members. If you want to hear the opinion of others regarding your ritualistic gifts in detail you must make your own enquiries.
>
> I was put in authority in this matter a year ago and I fear you will find I am not to be bullied into doing what I don't think is for the general good.... I can assure you none of your "enemies" as you call them dislike you as a person, only as an officer.[29]

Mathers refused to intervene on Gardner's behalf, supporting Florence's right to make such decisions. Gardner threatened to resign. Since *Abra-Melin* was not yet published, Mathers could not afford to sever all connection with Gardner, so he offered him membership in another temple. From an occult perspective, these Golden Dawn disputes were the result of his possession of the *Abra-Melin* manuscript, Mathers reminded Gardner. "It is not my fault if you have neglected that warning."

That September, when a new Vault was installed and consecrated at 36 Blythe Road, Gardner was inadvertently not notified. It was the last straw; he resigned from Isis-Urania and joined Horus Temple.

Westcott, who had been gathering with a secret group of Second Order members including Annie Horniman, now wrote Gardner that he had had "a sort of astral Adept Visitor . . . who advises me that for the present *FER*

[Annie] and all other Sorors should not work with me occultly."[30]

It was becoming increasingly difficult to concentrate on advanced ritual work in the midst of politics and power struggles.

Writing from Paris in September, after a whirlwind trip to Ireland, Maud told Willie, who had experienced a vision of her undergoing some kind of initiation: "I am not conscious of any actual ceremony such as you describe but lately I seem to have made a step in advance on the spiritual plane. I seem now to be able to put my soul in communication with the souls of those great and strong heroes who lived only for their ideal."[31]

Later that fall Maud and Willie went on a lecture tour together through the English midlands and Scotland to raise money for the '98 Wolfe Tone Centennial, and in October she left on her first speaking tour of the United States, where despite continuing rumors of her espionage—and some boycotting of her speeches—she raised more than £1,000 for the Amnesty Organization and the Centennial.

While Maud was in the United States, Yeats in London concentrated, during December and January, on his Celtic Mysteries. In April 1895 he had picnicked at Castle Rock, a small island consisting entirely of an old castle in the middle of the Lough. He was captured by its haunting beauty and envisioned a place in which to establish the "mysteries like those of Eleusis and Samothrace"—it would be a "Castle of Heroes" and center of a new myth for Ireland, based on the lore of the Druids. Just as Eleusis had raised the moral tenor of Greece and become its religious center, so too could a mystical order be a rallying point for Irish pride and a kind of spiritual nationalism. Yeats's close friend, the Irish mystic George Russell (A.E.), wrote him of a vision in which "we were told that... a branch of the school of the revival of the ancient mysteries to teach real things would be formed here soon. Out of Ireland will arise a light to transform many ages and peoples."[32] Piece by piece Yeats began assembling the symbolism, mythic structure, and appearance and function of the god-forms he would need for his rituals.

With a group of two male and three female Golden Dawn members, including Florence Farr, Willie went on three information-gathering journeys into the Celtic mythos.[33] These visions share many of the characteristics of both traditional shamanic practices and modern visualizations. The description that follows combines elements from all of the journeys.

Yeats, Florence, Edmund and Harrietta Dorothea Hunter, Mary Briggs, and W. F. Kirby sat in a circle around a table on which were laid symbols of the four elements. Beginning with a banishing ritual, followed by his statement of intention, Yeats invoked an appropriate god, using words like those in this evocation of Midir, one of the Kings of Fairy:

Midir dweller at Bri Leath I invoke you.
Midir master of the fairies I invoke you.
Midir husband of Etain I invoke you.
Midir builder of the way in the bog I invoke you.
Midir the clearer away of the stone out of Meath I invoke you.
Midir master of the three cows I invoke you.[34]

Such an invocation built the thought-image and provided an astral form to move into; it clarified the precise forces whose presence was desired, and, through repetition of name and form, imitated the cadences of poetry—the language of the gods.

The skryers journeyed first to the ancient well of Connla, who was a Druid or Celtic Adept whom A.E. claimed was still alive. Connla's well was known as the Celtic Well of Knowledge located in the Land of Youth in Fairyland. To Yeats it contained the "waters of emotion and passion, in which all purified souls are entangled."[35]

"Leaning over the well on our left," wrote the scribe, Mary Briggs, "grew a mountain-ash tree laden with red berries that kept dropping, dropping into the water, so ripe that they seemed like drops of blood reddening the pool as they sank."[36]

Following a guide named Kusha, they descended through the well. "Being so directed we dived with one accord into the depths of the well. . . . We seemed to draw down with us through the cold dark water bright beams of light from the figure of Kusha, had we not done so we should have been overwhelmed and lost in the utter passivity of this watery element." Diving into the water signified diving into the astral realm of Yesod—the world of lunar images that could be illusionary and lead one astray if not tested carefully. The guide gave them protection through this realm where they might otherwise have gotten lost.

They emerged into a palace where they met Mananan Mac Lir, Lord of the Sea and one of the most important of the Celtic gods. "He gave unto our leader *D.E.D.I.* [Yeats] a wand made of the wood of the mountain ash. This, he told us, was to be used in all ceremonies & invocations of this kind & was the key by which we might pass him & enter the region beyond [known as Tir-nan-Og, the Land of the Young]." One of the major purposes of shamanic and occult journeys is to obtain gifts of objects or words that can be used as keys to deeper exploration, for healings, or for strength. The wand was such a gift.

The guide led them through a wood into a clearing, where yet another god of brilliant light sat upon a throne. Journeys through a forest or wood to a meadow or clearing are typical of visions and lead one deeper into the experience. They were now in the Land of Heroes, and one by one the Irish heroes

paraded before them as Mary Briggs took careful notes of their characteristics and actions: Emur, Deirdre, Conal the Victorious, Conchubar, Fergus, the prophetess Fedelhim, Angus MacLir.

"Then *S.S.D.D.* [Florence Farr] discovered that to place the two forefingers crossed (right over left) upon the lips, touching both lips had a strangely restorative effect & in fact this sign is the salutation & key to the World of Heroes. . . . That the placing of the crossed fingers on the lips increases the power of concentration & of vision & also gives more heat & light." This sign is a kind of combination of the sign of Silence given to the Golden Dawn Neophyte and the sign of Light, known as LVX; and in other traditions it is a hex sign—or a warding for protection.

Returning the way they came, *D.E.D.I.* (Yeats) used the Banishing Pentagram and the session was complete.[37]

And so 1897 came to an uneasy close, with the Golden Dawn at its new location at 36 Blythe Road; *Abra-Melin* about to be published; Moina attempting a career as a commercial artist; Florence struggling with finances and establishing her authority as Chief Adept in Anglia; Gardner angry and alienated; Annie, friendless and family-less, rootlessly travelling; and Maud also on the road, her political effectiveness hampered by lies and spite; while Willie sublimates his tortured desires for Maud into a quest for the Celtic gods.



Restoring the Mysteries

1898

At the end of 1897 Maud Gonne, influenced by Willie's enthusiasm, had a personal vision of a temple of heroes, which she believed could be a gathering place for those dedicated to the Irish cause. In January 1898 Willie wrote A.E. (George Russell) from London that he was hoping to get away "for a week or two perhaps to some country place in Ireland" with Maud. He was deep in skrying for his Celtic Mysticism, which was beginning to take specific form. He excitedly told A.E. that he and Maud wanted "to get as you do the forms of gods and spirits and to get sacred earth for our evocation."

"Maud Gonne," he continued, "has seen vision of a little temple of the heroes which she proposes to build somewhere in Ireland when '98 [the Wolfe Tone Centennial] is over and to make the centre of our mystical and literary movement."[1]

Willie Yeats believed he had discovered a way to draw Maud Gonne's soul from its entrapment by the Spirit of Ireland. In creating a religion out of those self-same Spirits he would be the priest and she the priestess. He could thus entice her back into his life by wooing her with the magic of a mythic journey in search of the Castle of Heroes—a place of power that would be the salvation of the land and the empowerment of the people.

But by February Maud had cooled toward Willie again. She didn't want to hear about his physical need of her: "If you find that an absolutely *platonic friendship* which is all I can or ever will be able to give, unsettles you & spoils your work then you must have the strength & courage at once to give up

meeting me. You *owe* your genius to Ireland."[2] Having told him several personal things about herself in moments of confidence, she was also afraid he would tell others as he had done in the past. Willie must have reassured her, for while they were both in Dublin that spring he managed a few short visions with her, but her attention was on her people's plight.

All that spring Maud Gonne traveled through Ireland trying to prevent the worst hardships of a famine that rivaled the disaster that devastated Ireland fifty years before. She was shocked beyond words at the misery she saw. In some parts of Ireland the people were too weak from starvation to bury their dead. She visited Mayo, Castlebar, and Ballina, telling peasant farmers that it was justified to steal to feed their families. These people called her the "Woman of the *Sidhe*" and the "Woman in Green," for it had been prophesied that a fairy woman would come preaching revolt during a famine and that after fighting, the English would be driven from the land. Maud also believed herself to be this woman, and she used the myth to gather support for an uprising she believed would be triggered by the Wolfe Tone Centennial.

Still, the practicalities of keeping people from starving came first; she wrote letters and articles appealing for help, and she organized women to cook and distribute the food she bought. In Belmullet she and a local priest drew up a list of demands for seed potatoes and other relief.

And she organized for the '98 Centennial. She went to Tralee to speak at the laying of a stone for a Wolfe Tone memorial. She promised help from the French, and many people believed she would bring French troops to fight for Irish freedom. They were disheartened by the handful of French well-wishers who graced the platform at her invitation. Still, enthusiastic men, to whom she represented the hope and possibility of their dreams for freedom, pulled her carriage through the streets. At the age of thirty-two she had reached the height of her public popularity. Even in England, at gatherings in Manchester and London, she spoke before crowds of thousands.

Maud returned to Paris in April, exhausted and ill with bronchitis. She had endured inadequate sleep, poor food, and excessive damp staying in the hovels of peasants while traveling from one speaking engagement to another. All she wanted was to stay in bed for days at a time reading novels or to visit with her daughter Iseult, now four years old, who boarded at a Carmelite convent in Laval.

Back in London, Frederick Gardner, now a member of Horus Temple, was busily stirring up trouble for Florence. He would see her rue the day she had removed him as an officer in the rituals. He sent copies of his letters from her as *S.S.D.D.* to T. H. Pattinson of the Horus Temple in Bradford, who wrote in response:

> They [the letters] have served my purpose splendidly; all the Horus fellows agree that they could not conform in any way to such treatment or pander to its dogmatic control. So we have asked Mathers to take over all the Second Order work in the Horus so that in future it will not be necessary for anyone to interfere with us but him. He seems to consider it a compliment. Henceforth we shall be detached from London altogether, our Head will be Mathers.
>
> Does this please you? No petticoat government will do for us in any way.[3]

Actually, Florence may have been glad to avoid further dealings with the "good old boys" of Horus Temple, whose attitudes were epitomized by Pattison's pride in the the Horus "fellows." Florence's "petticoat government" was soon withdrawn from the Amen Ra Temple in Edinburgh as well, where a power struggle was taking place between the Astronomer Royal, William Peck, and John Brodie-Innes for the office of Imperator.

Westcott wrote Gardner about the feud, mentioning that Mathers had expressed a "fear of assassination," which both *Fortiter* (Annie Horniman) and Brodie-Innes had disdained as "all flam and side." Brodie-Innes further claimed that he no longer countenanced "M's political [Jacobite] proceedings."

"There is some deep villainy on, I feel sure," commented Westcott mysteriously.[4]

To ease the situation in Edinburgh, Mathers temporarily took over the position of Imperator himself, until it became obvious to whom he should lend his support.

The *Abra-Melin* book was published at the end of February, after numerous printer's delays. Although Gardner had told Mathers he was only printing three hundred copies, one thousand were actually printed. Sales proved discouragingly slow, and it did not appear that it would be a successful book.

Moina's father, Michel Bergson, died in London on March 9, although his death is not mentioned by Moina or MacGregor among extant papers. Moina had just turned thirty-three. There is no indication that she returned to London for the funeral, nor that she was even communicating with her family.

Moina wrote Yeats that she had been receiving visions of Connla (the Guardian of the Well), without knowing that Yeats and his group had been "invoking him constantly."[5] MacGregor was also hard at work on the Celtic rituals, drawing up correspondences between the various heroes, gods, and their cycles of stories and actually creating the first initiation ritual for Yeats—as he explained in a letter. He also was convinced that the hazel tree that Yeats had attributed to the Tree of Life was really the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.[6]

How MacGregor came to this opinion is apparent from a manuscript in Moina's handwriting. These notes from a vision by Moina give us the only concrete example of how Moina and MacGregor worked together to create their rituals. The comments in italics indicate those that appeared in MacGregor's handwriting, and so we have a brief picture of their collaborative technique.

FROM CUTHULAIN CHAP. 26

The Sacred Hazel Tree

In the fairy garden in the heart of green Banba, the Tuatha De Danaan dwell. *Banba is one of three Goddesses, Fohla, Banba and Eire; see History, vol. 1 p. 173.*

In the Garden is an ever-spring fountain.

Seven hazel Tree round fountain (leaves ♍, berries ♓ colour.) The nuts are the nuts of Knowledge revealing Past, Present and Future; but the Tuatha Eirenn alone had access to that Garden, but eat not of the fruit being forbidden.

The Goddess Sheenan *Sinan* (Shannon) Granddaughter of Lear *Lir* the marine God attempted to eat of the fruit, but the Fountain rose, and swept her away, and the channel thus formed became the River Shannon.

Cathvah the Arch-Druid is said to have eaten of the Nuts, so had excelled in Wisdom.

At the time of the Shedding of the Nuts, the great Salmon the Yeo Feasa appears in the Fountain and devours the fruit, but for the rest of the year he roams the wide ocean and the Great Streams of Inis Fail—*This Salmon is larger and more beautiful than others glittering with crimson stars and bright hues.*

These seven Hazel Trees = the branches of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and evil—each Planet compounded of seven.

[End of manuscript][7]

"Leaves Virgo, berries Pisces colour" is typical of the colors designated in ritual and visioning notes. "Colours are forces and the signatures of forces," it says in the 5°=6° ritual. The colors of the tree are associated with a Golden Dawn color scale in which Virgo is yellow-green and Pisces deep purple. Yeats's Celtic Order would have been a direct child of the Golden Dawn, with Moina and MacGregor as participating grandparents.

In early April when MacGregor wrote thanking Yeats for sending him some books and noting incorrect parallels that historically had been drawn between Manaanan and Helios, the Celtic work was still a major focus.[8] When Yeats came to stay with them later in the month, he found MacGregor to be "a Celtic enthusiast who spends most of his day in highland costume to the wonder of his neighbours."[9] He wore several knives in his stocking and told

Yeats, "When I am dressed like this I feel like a walking flame."[10] Yeats concluded:

> Yet at heart, he was, I think, gentle, and perhaps even a little timid. He had some impediment in his nose that gave him a great deal of trouble, and it could have been removed had he not shrunk from the slight operation; and once when he was left in a mouse-infested flat with some live traps, he collected his captives into a large birdcage, and to avoid the necessity of their drowning, fed them there for a couple of weeks. Being an unscholarly, though learned man, he was bound to express the fundamental antithesis in the most crude form, and being arrogant, to prevent as far as possible that alternation between the two natures which is, it may be, necessary to sanity.[11]

Willie had been most anxious for the Matherses to meet the Celtic writer Fiona Macleod, whose novels and stories of the Celtic world they greatly admired. Because of their mutual Scots and Celtic interests, the Matherses felt especially close to the sentiments expressed in the writings of Miss Macleod. At the time no one knew that Fiona Macleod was an alter ego or channeled personality of the Scotsman William Sharp.[12] Time and again, however, their scheduled meetings with Fiona, arranged through Sharp, were cancelled at the last minute.

"One morning at breakfast," recollected Yeats, "MacGregor said to me, 'I saw a man standing in an archway last night, and he wore a kilt with the MacLeod and another tartan.'" That afternoon Yeats began to shiver at intervals for several hours, which he associated with MacGregor's vision of Sharp and Macleod.

"I told MacGregor and [he] made himself clairvoyant. Sharp was in need. 'It is madness', he said, 'but it is like the madness of a god.'"

"We were all under the shadow of the Fiona myth," explained Yeats when describing what happened next.

Mathers said, "It is my wife's business." So Yeats went into the inner room with Moina. As he passed through the door, Yeats found himself telling Moina, "It is strange, but my mind was full of Sharp and Fiona till this moment, but now it seems quite empty."

"I have used a formula," responded Moina, "to send your soul away."[13]

Moina successfully sent Yeats on an astral visit to Sharp, for Sharp wrote Yeats "an unbelievable letter from a seaside hotel about the beautiful Fiona and himself. He had been very ill, terrible mental suffering." Suddenly Yeats's soul had come in the form of a great white bird to heal him. Sharp had then "found" Fiona and told her that he was healed.

"I learned, however," said Yeats, "from Mrs. Sharp years afterwards that at the time of my experience he was certainly alone [there was no Fiona], but mad. He had gone away to struggle on with madness."[14]

This episode confirmed Moina's great psychic and healing ability as far as Yeats was concerned.

The weather in Paris that early spring was like summer, and the fruit trees were in bloom, an image that Yeats always associated with Maud. Although she looked ill and tired, he persuaded her to come see visions of the Celtic Mysteries with him and the Matherses, and she talked him into bringing his Tarot cards.[15]

Yeats, in his *Memoirs*, remembered not only how he fantasized winning Maud's love but also how the force of his concentration created illusions that could even be seen by others.

> I saw much now of Maud Gonne and my hope revived again. If I could go to her and prove by putting my hand into the fire till I had burned it badly, would not that make her understand that devotion like mine should [not] be lightly thrown away?... I wondered at moments if I was not really mad.
>
> Then one morning [I] began telling myself a different story, what I do not remember, but my arm suffered some other injury, was broken perhaps, for I pictured myself as carrying it in a sling. I had got up before breakfast to get a newspaper and when I returned found the MacGregors on the doorstep.
>
> "What has happened to your arm?" Mrs. MacGregor said; ". . . the *bonne* [maid] said it was in a sling."[16]

In other words, Willie had created an illusion perceptible to the servant. However, his power did not extend to Maud, who seemed oblivious to the increasing desperation in his attitude toward her.

By June she was back in Dublin speaking at more demonstrations. She and Willie planned to visit the five-thousand-year-old site of Newgrange to gather sacred earth for an evocation of the Tuatha de Danann. But their plans were delayed, first for her work and then when she fell from a carriage and fractured her arm. From London, Maud wrote Yeats of a vision she'd had: "I seemed to get a distinct order to go to New Grange & to take earth from the House of Dagda & water from the sacred Boyne & give some of each to you & to keep some myself. To look on this earth & water as something infinitely sacred, to carry them with us whenever we left Ireland & they would become to us most powerful talisman for the invoking of our Gods."[17]

August marked the major demonstrations for the '98 Centennial, and Maud was everywhere delivering speeches. But when the foundation stone was laid for Wolfe Tone in Dublin, she refused to appear on the platform together with the Unionist Lord Mayor of Dublin. Maud did nothing to disrupt the ceremonies but instead climbed down a ladder to the stone and quietly "promised for the Irish people that we would achieve Wolfe Tone's work,—an Inde-

pendent Irish Republic."[18] Despite the huge crowds, no great spirit had awakened to carry the day as Maud hoped, and so the commemoration ceremonies left her feeling depressed. She feared that nothing could shake the Irish people from their downtrodden lassitude nor raise the fervor needed to win independence from the English.

In September she finally made her pilgrimage without Willie, sending him a bottle of water from the holy well at Ballina, a box of earth from Newgrange, and a bottle of water from the Boyne: "I got it in the morning sunlight & the river shone like gold." She suggested he experiment with them, as she herself was doing: "Touch your lips your eyes & ears & breast before sleeping & I think they will give you dreams," she wrote.[19]

Bernard Shaw married the Irish heiress Charlotte Payne-Townshend at the West Strand Registry Office on June 1, 1898, at 11:30 A.M. Florence may have been too busy with Golden Dawn affairs to even notice. They had no contact at that time, for she did not work in the theatre that year, and Shaw was contemptuous of her magical interests. His marriage was supposedly never physically consummated, but it provided Shaw with the friendship and emotional support that he so desperately needed. At last he found the loving and nurturing mother he had never otherwise had. And Charlotte, who was terrified of childbirth, found a way to painlessly mother an admirable if irascible son.

Moina was translating Fiona Macleod's poem *Ulad* into French and designed a color cover for a musical score published in France as *Tristesse d'Ulad.* And in response to the French enthusiasm for the Celtic revival, she also planned to translate *The Land of Heart's Desire* and *The Countess Kathleen,* as well as Fiona's *The Awakening of Angus Ogue.*

Paris
31 October 1898

Dear Fra. Yeats,

Did you get my card asking where to send "Ulad"? I do not gather from your letter just received if you have— Anyhow I will forward four copies to you at Sligo—. & will you be so kind as to send three *to Fiona Macleod as she desired. Presently if you like I will send you more if you think they (music & sketch) will interest certain people— I wonder if "Nutt" could do anything with some copies, but probably you will know what to suggest. I will send the story of Tristesse d'Ulad, which is coming out in November as soon as it arrives here—to you.*



MOINA MATHERS'S DRAWING FOR THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF FIONA MACLEOD'S *LA TRISTESSE D'ULAD*, 1898

The colour sketch is well reproduced although done in rather a cheap process—. I was sad to see how much of the original "feeling" it had lost notwithstanding— I am trying various experiments with colour now which I will shew you presently, I hope—

As to the music of Ulad, as far as I have heard it, I like it much *but it is so difficult to play (& to understand from the* popular *point of view) that perhaps few will care for it— I think you will, & it is I am sure very true in its correspondence to the idea—of F.M. [Fiona Macleod]*

Bailly is very much interested in all you & the other "Celts" write,

& he wants me so much to go on translating & illustrating etc. with him. He tells me that your Rosa Alchemica is just translated— The thing I would like to try of yours is "Land of Heart's Desire" or "Countess Kathleen"—of the latter one might do fragments— Also I want to do if not yet done—"Awakening of Angus Ogue" of Fiona M's—but we will ask her when we send her "Ulad". There is no hurry—& she might then criticize the translation of the latter if she knows French well— I am much puzzled occasionally over some of the sentences.

We are working frantically. *Am so glad that you are working at the Celtic revival. With some Frenchmen, as I think I told you, we are endeavouring to restore The Mysteries (Egyptian). At last one sees the practibility & possibility of all the things that we have so desired— We have not seen Miss Gonne since you left, but I am writing to her today. E. Ellis & his wife come sometimes. I like him very much—*

Shall be glad to have my drawings but do not bother if they are not easily to be got at—

Yes! Is not Abramelin fine? There is any amount of real *magic in it. Very dangerous book however!— Mind what you are about (with its formulas).*

Every kind wish from us both—
M. Bergson M. MacGregor[20]

It was in 1898 that MacGregor and Moina began "restoring" the Egyptian Mysteries in Paris, having been "converted to the strange and passionate mysticism of the worship of Isis during their travels in Egypt," as they later told a journalist for the *Sunday Chronicle*.[21] These were to become their Rites of Isis, soon causing their interest in the Celtic Mysteries to fall by the wayside. The Louvre had a major collection of Egyptian antiquities, while "oriental dance" and artifacts were the latest fashion. Florence Farr, with her Egyptian Adept, may have even influenced them to work on Egyptian rituals similar to those she was devising.

Max Dauthendey, in his autobiographical *Gedankengut aus meinen Wanderjahren*, described meeting the Matherses in Paris at 87 Rue Mozart, Auteuil. He remembered Mathers as an Egyptologist and the last descendant of a Scottish king, living with his wife in a pretty villa surrounded by a garden. "On Sundays he entertained many visitors. I saw there the papyrus-rolls of *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* which he was translating from the hieroglyphics into English."[22]

The journalist Frederic Lees described the Sunday receptions as "the most interesting in Paris. You will find people attending them of nearly every shade of opinion and of profession; Isis worshippers, Alchemists, Protestants, Catho-

lics, scientists, doctors, lawyers, painters, and men and women of letters, besides persons of high rank."[23]

Dauthendey told how he accompanied the Matherses to see the Egyptian collections at the Louvre and learned "a good deal about the secret traditions of the occultists." He was impressed by Mathers's explanation of the Egyptian gods that appeared in animal shapes as merely wearing the masks of these animals:

> The Egyptians like to show their gods with animal-masks so as to indicate that animals and human beings possess similar emotions; that all beings living on the earth experience one and the same divine life; that the Unfathomable appears behind various earthly masks; and that the eternal feelings of the universe are summed up not only in the form of a human being but also in those of the animals.[24]

In their evolving service to the goddess Isis, Moina became the High Priestess Anari and MacGregor the Hierophant Rameses. Frederic Lees, in an interview with the Matherses published in Victoria Woodhull's New York magazine *The Humanitarian*, unearthed the origin of their revival of the Egyptian Mysteries.

> "It happened in this way," said the High Priestess Anari. "We made the acquaintance of M. Jules Bois, who being interested, as you know, in religions and religious revivals, asked us if we could give an Isiac ceremony at the Bodiniere Theatre. He had already lectured there on Buddhism, and arranged for a Buddhist mass, so he thought it would interest the public to know something about Isis. But we were very much disinclined to appear in public. We refused, therefore, and the matter would have dropped but for the intervention of the goddess Isis herself. One night she appeared to me in a dream, and sanctioned any efforts we might make in Paris, her ancient city. Our scruples were swept aside. That is how we came to appear at the Bodiniere, first, when M. Bois delivered a lecture on Egyptian magic, and introduced us to the public, again when we celebrated masses there."
>
> "During our studies of the Egyptian religion," continued the Hierophant Ramses, "we obtained certain lost truths, in possession of which we became converts to Isis. The revival, you see, was purely a private matter at first; we had not the slightest intention of making outer converts." He continued to explain how they went back "to a time when Isis worship was in its primitive form when it was not overlaid with growths as at later periods in the history of the world. Our Isis worship is Isis worship in its purest form."
>
> "We believe as our predecessors did, that divine force can be made to appear in statues. No, we are not monotheists. . . . We are pantheists; we believe that each force of the universe is regulated by a god. Gods are

> therefore, innumerable and infinite. . . . Our object is that it [the Isis religion] should be a moral guide to whoever adopts it. And this revival of a most ancient religion should be a great agency for good in the world."[25]

Maud Gonne went to the McGregors' one night in November for dinner where she saw Moina's painting for Fiona Macleod's poem *Ulad.* They discussed "Celtic things" and the restoration with Jules Bois of the Egyptian Mysteries.

Moina offered to look into forces that seemed to be attacking both Maud and Willie. As Maud described it, "I thought it must be some of the forces that work for England that were paralysing my will." In order to overcome them she used the sacred earth and water she had brought from Ireland. "I have been imagining Celtic things with the water of the west & the earth from New Grange & suddenly feel as if the stupefying weight has disappeared and I can be active & useful again."[26]

Annie was anxious to continue with her Golden Dawn practices, even though she had been expelled from the Order. Because Westcott now refused to work privately with women, Annie and the equally alienated Gardner conducted a series of visions on each of the planets beginning on September 10, 1898. They chose to explore the energies of the planets as if they were actual places to which they might travel, observing the inhabitants and social structures, so as to know when and how to use these planetary energies. Annie served as scribe, and Gardner kept the complete record of these journeys, which included Annie's drawings of several of the buildings.[27]

Like the explorers, *Fortiter* and *D.P.A.L.* wrote detailed descriptions of the geography, buildings, people, and social structures they found, which were much like the fantastic environments described by contemporary writers such as H. G. Wells and Edgar Rice Burroughs. These similarities demonstrate how myths and legends tend to arise simultaneously in a culture.

The first planet to which the two investigators traveled was Saturn, outermost of the planets that can be seen with the naked eye. They created a talisman showing the symbol for Saturn surrounded by a circle of indigo in a white ground. Annie did the Banishing Pentagram and the Lesser Invoking Hexagram of Saturn, followed by the 5°=6° sign and the Greater Hexagram of Saturn while facing the actual location of Saturn, which was then in Sagittarius in the East. Gardner vibrated the names of Saturn[28] and burned Saturnian incense such as Storax or Sulphur. They then passed through the Hexagram as if it were a doorway and into an indigo and white sky—indigo being the color of Saturn.

They landed first on a bare mountain made of rock "the colour of dark slate but the texture and substance like granite." Tracing the symbol for Saturn in

the sky, they vibrated its names once more, and their guide appeared: "a tall male form, pale face, dark hair and eyes, armour to the waist or a little below and then a light robe. He had a much dignified appearance . . . behind him spread great indigo wings."

They had come, it seems, to an "old & dying world . . . nearly all the inhabitants of Saturn have died out, or either evolved away." The inhabitants had a strange sensitivity to fear and were highly psychic and nervous, and their continual suspicion and fear prevented them from being happy. As they were easily frightened by strange sights, *Fortiter* and *D.P.A.L.* invoked the White Light so as to become invisible to them.

To determine the height of one of the inhabitants, Annie stood next to him so that *D.P.A.L.* could compare them. As in a lucid dream, whenever they wanted to see something, they simply made their request and would immediately find themselves in or able to fly to the appropriate location.

"I wished to see the Temple or place where worship was carried on," *Fortiter* wrote. "We passed up a long street and entered a large building, into a great square hall with a domed high roof." In the building, which she described in great detail, was a small flame on an altar, and *Fortiter* learned that this flame was smaller than it used to be. "As life died out [on the planet] so did the flame & it would grow less & less."

Upon their return they found that there was still too much Saturnian energy left in the room, so they invoked White Light and imagined themselves in a column of that Light. "[We] rose in it so far as we could & then brought it down with us & so purified the atmosphere & strengthened ourselves." This is one Golden Dawn technique that is still common in psychic work.

When they invoked Jupiter three weeks later, *Fortiter* and *D.P.A.L.* experienced difficulties caused by illusions. Jupiter in Gardner's chart was "cadent and weak," while Annie's Jupiter was strong, giving her a "feeling of security and firmness on this planet."[29] So she led the way.

"We tested continually with *Kaph* [the Hebrew letter associated with Jupiter] as I felt a strong atmosphere of illusion around us." *D.P.A.L.* was still having troubles: "We floated amongst many bright golden rays, again he was deceived, as some of them formed themselves into a mirage of a city."

All the inhabitants of this place were highly developed, with great wisdom, and were "large and handsome and majestic in bearing." *Fortiter* observed, "There is nothing that we on earth could call 'misery, disease or vice,' they have learned how to live too well for these sorrows to touch them. They did not thieve and ate only grain and fruit, and their climate provided just what they needed." Annie asked why it was so hard to get to Jupiter. The guide told her that "the illusions we had to pass through by our tests, keep people away;

they are a sort of barrier. If we had not been as careful we should have had visions in harmony with Jupiter but not have got to the planet."

Upon their return Annie noted, "Passing down into London the smell of the atmosphere was most unpleasant until we had got into our bodies thoroughly again." All the senses were therefore active in their visioning.

A week later they journeyed to Jupiter's Holy Mountain and a temple built into the rock. "In the old days when the temple was first built by much invention and prayer it had become a great receptacle of White Light which passed through the priest to the people." The inhabitants were now so advanced that no mediator was needed, so the temple became disused. "Those who had made the most progress shewed their greatness by self-sacrifice, giving up their own development for the sake of the most backward of the people. . . . When the right time came they were struck by . . . lightning and their bodies were dissolved into the elements immediately." They continued to reincarnate but remembered their other lives. "*D.P.A.L.* asked if the Jupiter people often came to look at our Earth. [The guide] said no, because to them it appears to be a sort of hell."

Mars, their next visionary stop, appeared as a high volcanic mountain. They began their journey on the lip of an active crater: the ground was hot, and smoke, sulfurous fumes, and even stones rose at intervals. Their guide had "red hair and small moustache, dark flashing eyes, a ruddy face, a red tunic & sparkling golden breast-plate; he was girt with a sword and carried a red spear." Everything was reddish in cast. "Men fought as the chief business in life and nothing else interested them." There were masters and slaves, and everyone drank a good deal of red wine. "There was something strangely magnetic & evil about the atmosphere, as if every person were absolutely ruled by the desire of the moment, without any reason or idea beyond self."

"They worshipped nothing except their own ideal of energy and courage but as they governed by fear so in turn they feared their priests," who had a strange hypnotic power.

Annie had been reading various solar theories, so when they visited the Sun a week later, *D.P.A.L.* went first to prevent her preconceived notions from affecting their vision. This was to prove their most powerful vision.

When they approached, an angel clothed in a robe like diamonds with orange color shining through "touched me on the palms of my hands & D.P.A.L. on his forehead," Annie wrote.

> We went through it into bright light, leaving much of our grosser astral bodies behind. As we rose it was as if we were passing through a crevice in impenetrable solid light. . . . My heart beat violently (a most unusual thing) and the light became almost unbearable. D.P.A.L. had never been

> on a Tiphareth plane [the central *sephira* of the Sacrificed God] so he did not expect what he next saw. Before us was a cross, stretching across the sky & on it a glorious form with a head whose beauty was beyond the power of words to express.... D.P.A.L. heard that we too must become crucified. Great crosses appeared on either side and we hung on them.... From each of us rose a flame of white light in which there was hardly any personality but only that essence which is far beyond and above what is called Self or individuality. Mine was in the form of a white cone & I could hardly speak or convey to my physical brain the sense of being away from & beyond even my most spiritual form.... The strain could not be borne for long; we reentered our forms on the crosses & then descended to our own bodies. The vision had been short but we could do no more from fatigue.

It was a month before they traveled to Venus, where first they had to penetrate the barrier of spiritual ease and joy to reach the true planet. It seemed a perfect world with "no houses, laws, nations, families, tribes nor government, but perfect peace and harmony."

The inhabitants were there to learn and to develop, but along purely spiritual lines. They attracted only harmonious atoms and attained the power of creation by wish. All beautiful mental and artistic ideas came from this place. "They fall to Earth and are there expressed, then the ideas return, making a leap as it were, and elevating the human minds through which they have passed." *Fortiter* and *D.P.A.L.* returned happy and replenished from Venus.

The final record was of a journey to Mercury on December 3. Their guide looked like the figure of Mercury in art, and *Fortiter* found the planet to be much like "Athens in its most intellectual days but without slaves."

The guide said that here "everyone was so intellectual & so learned in causes & results that... laws were obeyed from reason and not from fear." They even found fruits which they ate and found refreshing.[30]

The remainder of the record is missing, so we will never know the spiritual aspirations of the inhabitants of Mercury, which ruled Annie's Gemini Ascendant and would have reflected her own aspirations. However, we can clearly see Annie's belief that peace and spirituality are based on reason, and that sacrifice, like her ecstatic experience on the cross, was the most pure and noble of life's experiences. Thus she must have viewed her evolving pattern of being the scapegoat as a sacrifice to reason and justice.

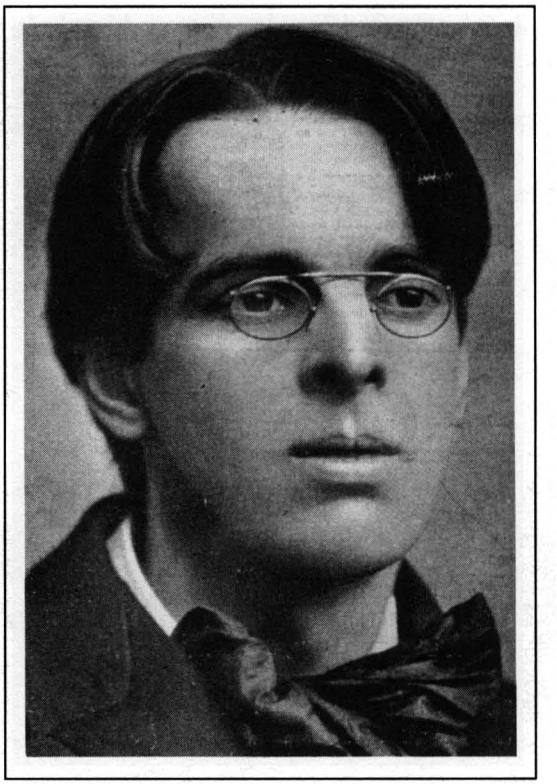
While these journeys describe Annie's own beliefs and prejudices, it is important to realize that such visions are not *just* projections of the unconscious. While the astral realm does not consist of what we might call "objective" experiences, on the other hand it is not merely personal but has its own kind of reality.



MAUD GONNE

It was on November 26, 1898, that Florence Farr oversaw the initiation of twenty-three-year-old Aleister Crowley as *Perdurabo* ("I will last through").[31] He had been introduced by his friend George Cecil Jones and soon became the roommate and student in magic of Allan Bennett. The only other person whose magical abilities he openly admired was Florence Farr. As he speedily advanced through the grades, it was apparent that Crowley had the potential to be a brilliant and powerful magician. But then rumors began reaching the Order concerning Crowley's unsavory personal practices.

Maud returned to Dublin that December and was with Willie constantly. Her renowned beauty was then in its full flowering, a beauty that her friend,



William Butler Yeats

the folklorist Ella Young, described as "like the sun when it leaps above the horizon. She is tall and like a queen out of a saga. Her hair is burnished gold and her eyes are gold, really gold." When she was with Yeats in public all eyes would fall on them, creating a stir in the surrounding crowds as people stopped and turned to stare: "It is Maud Gonne and the Poet. She has a radiance as of sunlight. Yeats, that leopard of the moon, holds back in a leash a huge lion-coloured Great Dane—Maud Gonne's dog, Dagda."[32]

On the morning of December 7, when Maud was staying at her hotel on Nassau Street in Dublin, Willie came, as usual, to see her. But on this day she asked him, "Had you a strange dream last night?"

"I dreamed this morning for the first time in my life that you kissed me," he replied. She then described her own dream to him: "When I fell asleep last night I saw standing at my bedside a great spirit. He took me to a great throng of spirits, and you were among them. My hand was put into yours and I was told we were married. After that I remember nothing."

Then, for the first time with "bodily mouth," Maud actually kissed him.[33]

Later Yeats would compile a horary horoscope for 1:30 A.M., December 7, 1898, the exact moment of their spiritual marriage. In a horary the "rulers" of the First and Seventh Houses are major indicators in a marriage chart. The rulers were the primary planets of sexual relationship: Venus (Libra Ascendant) and Mars (Aries Descendant); in addition, these planets were in close trine, indicating that they were flowing effortlessly together! Even more astonishing, the horary Mars was conjunct Yeats's natal Mars (in his Seventh House), and the Venus conjuncted Maud's natal Venus, mirroring the same sexual aspect that appeared between their own charts. Other major aspects (Saturn conjunct Sun opposite Neptune–Pluto in a T-square with the Moon) indicated fear and delusion and, in horary terms, described "the end of the matter." Five planets in the Third House indicated the centrality of communication, while several factors pointed to a deep spiritual significance.

In their mutual vision Maud saw herself wearing a white dress, while Willie saw her in a red dress with a skirt full of yellow flowers. Deirdre Toomey, in an article on their spiritual marriage, suggests that although Maud wanted to be a bride, Yeats subconsciously saw her as a "threatening erotic figure, her lap full of expanding flowers."[34]

The next day Willie found her sitting gloomily over the fire.

"I should not have spoken to you in that way," she said, "for I can never be your wife in reality."

"Do you love anyone else?" Willie asked.

"No." But she admitted that there was somebody else, a child, and that she had to be a "moral nature for two."

Then bit by bit, she began to tell him the true story of her life. Some of these things Willie had heard as rumors, twisted by scandal, and had chosen to disbelieve. Now he was learning the truth. As Willie remembered it:

> She had met in the South of France the French Boulangist deputy, Millevoye, while staying with a relative in her nineteenth year, and had at once and without any urging on his part fallen in love with him. She then returned to Dublin where her father had a military command. She had sat one night over the fire thinking over her future life, and chance discovery of some book on magic among her father's books had made her believe that the devil, if she prayed to him, might help her. . . . She asked the Devil to give her control of her own life and offered in return her soul. At that moment the clock struck twelve, and she felt of a sudden that the prayer had been heard and answered. Within a fortnight her father died suddenly, and she was stricken with remorse.[35]

Explaining how she had become Millevoye's mistress, Maud alleged that sexual love soon began to repel her, although she had still been deeply in love. She told Willie of her troubles with Millevoye and of the birth and death of

her son. "The idea came to her that the lost child might be reborn," wrote Yeats later, "and she had gone back to Millevoye, in the vault under the memorial chapel. A girl child was born."[36] As Yeats listened he felt his vision of Maud as pure, virgin goddess, haughty and untouched, crumble before the horrifying image of her spreading herself with wanton abandon in a tomb.

Willie's moment for action had arrived: Maud was temporarily vulnerable and in need of a strong force to carry her into her next phase of life.[37] The Wolfe Tone Centennial was over, and the awaited spirit who would sweep the people to revolution had failed to appear. This was Willie's chance to be the "man of action" she desired, who would rescue her from inertia with a proposal of marriage. But Willie did not take advantage that night; instead, he treated Maud like a sister. He told himself that if she was to come to him, it must not be from a "temporary passionate impulse, but with the approval of her conscience."[38] It is clear that much of Willie's attraction for Maud lay in her unattainability. Maud must have been severely disappointed in his reaction, for she had finally allowed herself to be vulnerable, having put herself and her secrets completely in his hands.

A few days later they undertook a silent trance, and both experienced a vision about which they agreed not to speak until it was over. Maud "thought herself a great stone statue through which passed flame." She was unmoving, enduring, perpetual, like the stone and earth of the country she loved, fired by the life force and passion of those who lived on the land.

Willie felt himself "becoming flame and mounting up through and looking out of the eyes of a great stone Minerva."[39] He embodied the creative spark of artistic genius that comes but rarely, but he needed a form around which to coalesce. This form was Maud, embodying the spirit of the land itself—of Ireland.

This trance experience confirmed that theirs was to be a "spiritual marriage," coming from "the beings which stand behind human life." It was how they were to receive the initiations for founding a Mystery School—not a marriage of the body but a sacred rite for linking the Bard and the Earth Mother.

Afterward, Maud became very emotional and kissed him tenderly. On the day before she left Ireland, he finally, belatedly, spoke of marriage. She responded that it was impossible, crying, "I have a horror and terror of physical love." Was she merely hoping that he would crush all her objections? And then she was gone.

Maud and Willie were actually reliving a tale recounted six months previously in a letter from Fiona Macleod to Willie. Fiona's story was about a man who accessed a far-reaching ancestral Celtic memory through "absolute mental and spiritual union with an impassioned and kindred nature." Although it

was an allegory about the alter egos of William Sharp and Fiona Macleod (two spirits sharing one body), the words must have reminded Willie of his own relationship to Maud. As the Fiona personality interpreted it: "His was the genius, the ancestral memory, the creative power, *she* was the flame—she, too, being also a visionary, and with unusual and all but lost old wisdom of the Gael.... With her, as a flame to his slumbering flame, he became what he was. ... When he knew the flame of the woman 'through whom he saw Beauty,'—his soul quickened.... He needed her vision to help his own."[40] And so Yeats needed Maud's ability to move "through the fire to the light," but he could not bear the reality of the flesh. Yeats found, as he had said prophetically in an 1892 story, "It was not you I loved, but the woman of the Shee [*Sidhe*]."[41]

In a black and gold journal, Yeats kept records of the skrying he did with Maud and with his uncle George Pollexfen that winter. They had explored the four "cities" of Celtic myth, which were the regions of the four elements: Falias (Earth), Murias (Water), Findrias (Air), and Gorias (Fire)—under their respective gods: the Dagda, Danu, Brigid, and Lugh—and the High Druids: Mórfios, Semias, Arias, and Erus.

During the first week in December, Willie had *P.I.A.L.* (as he still called Maud when doing their visions together) gaze at a talisman he had developed. She questioned the four Druids and learned that she and Yeats had received the initiation of the cauldron two years previously when they had seen the old Druid—who she now knew was the Druid of Murias [water]—on the mountain and was told at the time to bathe in the green fire. She had since received the initiation of the stone, which Yeats too had partially received.[42]

Maud told Yeats, "The powers of the wand were hovering about [him] because of [his] work. The initiation of the cauldron or of the cup is a purification, that of the stone power, that of the sword knowledge and subtlety, and that of the wands a supernatural inspiration."[43]

"Beyond these," wrote Yeats at Maud's direction, "was the initiation of a power symbolized by a white globe. The guardian of the cauldron is Danu, that of the stone the Dagda, that of the sword Bridget, that of the wand Lug [sic] ... that of the globe of Light Elathuan."[44]

Maud saw talismans (much like the Golden Dawn Tattvas), consisting of a circle on yellow, an upward pointing arrow on blue, a cross on red, a cup on purple, and a square on green. She was told that the Dagda gives the initiate his oath and that Lugh avenges its breach. Willie asked also about the four hounds of the opening of the gates: "The S[outh] hound was white, the W[est] hound dun, the north hound black & the E[ast] hound red. She was told that the elements had many colours, colour within colour. She saw the word as a sword of light."

Yeats had tried a different talisman on Maud in November, of which he

remembered little because he had failed to write it down at the time. In his notebook he recreated what he could remember:

> She says the west wind is dun because of the autumn mists. The E by N was specked because of the leaves & flowers of spring.
>
> She tried to get the trees of the cardinal points & saw an apple bough in the East. I am not sure [of] the others but I think the quicken was in the south & the oak in the North & hazel in the West.[45]

Maud clarified many years later the significance of the four talismans known as the jewels of the Tuatha de Danaan in an essay on Yeats:

> The Four Jewels, as Willie explained, are universal symbols appearing in debased form on the Tarot, the divining cards of the Egyptians and even on our own playing cards, and foreshadowed the Christian symbolism of the Saint Grail, whose legends Willie loved to trace to Ireland.
>
> The Lia Fail, the Stone of Destiny, he said, corresponded with the Altar, which, as Catholics know, even when made of wood should have a stone embedded in it;
>
> The Cauldron of the Dagda, the Good God, called also the Cauldron of Recompense, the Chalice, the Grail Cup;
>
> The Golden Spear of Victory of Lugh the Sun God, the Lance which pierced the side of Christ for the salvation of mankind;
>
> The Sword of Light, the Cross-handled sword of the Crusaders, or the Knights of the Grail.[46]

Back in Paris, Maud now experienced the third initiation: that of the Spear of Lugh the Sun God, which pierced the side of Christ. It becomes clear in this account that the only way that Maud could feel purified of her sins against her father, mother, dead son, and society was to dedicate herself totally to the Irish cause. The Lugh she describes is her inner lover, "very pure, very strong & very proud," scented with the classic odor of love, the rose, and for which she would search fruitlessly in the outer world. She yearned for the protection of one who could both lay his shield over her and demand total allegiance from her.

> Having been promised the initiation of the spear before going to sleep I went through the ceremonies of the cauldron [and] the stone. . . . I invoked Lug [*sic*] & [saw him] in his chariot. He touched me on the chest with the spear & I fell down on the ground & the fountain of fire played over me. Then he held out the spear over me & I grasped it & was raised to my feet through the fire fountain. I then got into the chariot & knelt there under Lug's great shield. The chariot rose to a great height & stopped at last on what seemed to be a sort of dazzling white platform on which stood a white altar & on it was inscribed a golden sun & a red rose lay on it, I was told that rose incense should be used for Lug's ceremonies. . . .
>
> By my side stood Mofessi [Mórfios], the red haired druid. He took

both my hands & gazed into my eyes. (I was told this was the way we should be able to know who were fit to take the initiation of the spear.) After a few moments Mofessi said, "She is not pure enough, is not strong enough, she is not silent enough."

Then I saw two dark shadow forms standing behind me. A voice on the right hand of the altar cried out, "We need her, purify her, strengthen her and seal her lips for the work."

After a few moments I felt the fire fountain rising within me.

It seemed to come through my chest like a flame and rose high above & played over me.

Then Lug, from the other side of the altar, held his great spear over mine & said "She is purified, she is strengthened and her lips are sealed for our service and woe to whoever turn back from the service of the Gods."

The spear & shield were put into my hands & a voice said "The spear is to fight the forces of Darkness, the spear is to fight the enemies of Eire, the shield is to protect from the attack of adversaries."

Then all faded & grew dim & I fell sinking down, down to earth.[47]

Again Maud had been taken, as her motto prophesied, "through the fire to the light," fighting always the forces of Darkness and depression that threatened to overwhelm her. Slowly the pieces of the Celtic Mysteries puzzle were coming together, plagued only by Willie's insistence on a physical relationship and their mutual uncertainty as to the significance of their spiritual marriage.

We come to the end of 1898: Florence having devoted herself entirely to running the Golden Dawn; Annie dividing herself between travels and private magical studies, first with Westcott and then Gardner; Moina channeling, translating, and painting scenes for the Celtic revival, but being drawn more and more to the Egyptian Mysteries and the worship of Isis; and Maud searching for a new light to enflame her now that the '98 Centennial had faded quietly away. As they now were experienced practitioners of magic, their spirit visions and astral journeys were proving fruitful.



Invoking Eternity

1899

When Maud returned to Paris, Willie struggled with whether he should follow her. She did not encourage him, for instead of sending letters of love, she wrote that a French informant had warned her that MacGregor worked for the English. "I think this [warning] sufficiently serious to make it quite impossible for me even in occultism to associate with MacGregor," she concluded. She was extremely wary of public scandal. "He must not be able to say that he has the confidence of Irish men or belongs even to an Irish order of occultism. It would damage the cause very much."[1] Considering how often Maud was slandered by other people and how Mathers had helped with the Celtic Order, her attitude seems rather petty, but she may have been using the situation to help create a breach between herself and Willie.

For his part, Willie cared more for his feelings about Maud than rumors about MacGregor. He begged his friends for advice. His uncle, George Pollexfen, counseled him with Tarot readings. Lady Gregory told him to go to Paris and not leave Maud's side until she agreed to marry him. Still he hesitated, anguishing over the disgust that her revelations of her sexuality and motherhood brought up in him.[2] His uncle even offered to lend him money for the wedding. Willie left for Paris, arriving at the end of January.

Maud granted audience to Willie, but she was more cold and distant than she had been a month earlier. His nervous strain had returned, and they fought about Ireland. Willie deplored her hatred of the English, which colored all her thoughts and actions. "She will never leave this life of hatred which a vision I made her see years ago told her was her deepest hell, and contrasted with the

life of labour from the divine love, which was her highest heaven," he wrote in sorrow to his friend Lady Gregory.[3] He begged Maud to choose to live by love instead of hate, for he felt she was warping her life by being suspicious of everyone who might impede her goal of nationalistic purification and salvation.

Depressed, Yeats wrote to Lady Gregory: "She has been almost cold with me, though she has made it easy for me to see her." The truth was that Maud craved action; she was weary of Willie's visions of the mind (decades later, in her eighties, she told Virginia Moore that she found skrying "much too fatiguing"). Yet she might have been surprised that her many letters to Willie during this time were mainly about her occult experiences, prophetic dreams, and visions.[4]

Willie took ill with a sudden and virulent flu. Maud couldn't see that it had anything to do with her, saying she thought it was the "work of a certain rival mystic, or of one of his attendant spirits"—most likely referring to Mathers, for she pointed out that Willie contracted the flu just after seeing him.[5] She was concerned about Willie's almost hopeless depression, but her energy was limited, and she was determined to direct all of it to her cause.

Stephen Mackenna, a friend of Maud's, characterized Yeats that winter as propelling himself through the streets of Paris, his slender form topped by high shoulders pressed against his head, giving the impression of a Jack-in-the-box that was about to spring. His long legs shot up and down in a rapid series of leaps that were ably matched by the leaps in his conversation. Women found his dark Spanish looks weird or uncanny, his mane of hair perpetually falling into dark dreaming eyes. Yet no one laughed at him because he carried the "conviction of his own special destiny," which he impressed not only on himself but on everyone else.[6]

Then Maud left Paris to return to Ireland to work with evicted tenants—and to the exhilaration of giving speeches on the run, as well as the frequent physical collapses caused by bad weather and sleepless nights. "I go to Colooney tomorrow then to Belfast where I distribute prizes at the Gaelic Feis on the 16th, I speak at an amnesty meeting on the 20th, return to Dublin on the 21st..."—even as she wrote this she was being constantly interrupted.[7]

She abandoned Willie's Celtic Mysteries because they were leading them both "into strange places, from which I, less daring in thought, if more daring in action, than Willie, drew back, lest it might lead me away and not into the heart of Ireland's hidden strength."[8] Maud had rediscovered her direction and reaffirmed her vision, shrugging off Willie's angry pronouncement that "hers has been in part the war of phantasy and of a blinded idealism against eternal law."[9]

"No I do not think I wear a mask," she wrote him, "& I do not think I am

lonely though I am a little *outside* of life—& I do not want to get back *into* life again. I never think whether I am lonely or not, I only think of my work."[10]

Yeats, remaining in Paris to visit with Moina and MacGregor Mathers, found that their flat on Rue Mozart in fashionable Passy had been renovated into a Temple of Isis. Her winged statue stood at the door to the temple room, with light, diffused by the shutters behind, forming an aureole around her. Flowers lay at her feet, their odor mingled with that of incense. Large drawings of Osiris, Nephthys, Horus, and Harpocrates flanked an altar to the left, upon which was a triangular-shaped Tibetan lamp of green stone with a flame that was never extinguished.[11]

In March the Matherses celebrated the Isis Mass numerous times on the stage of the Théâtre Bodinière on Rue Saint-Lazare, promoted by Jules Bois. As Frederic Lees described the astounding experience: "In the center of the stage was the figure of Isis, on each side of the statue were other figures of gods and goddesses, and in front was a little altar, upon which was an ever-burning green stone lamp." The Hierophant Rameses and High Priestess Anari appeared in long white priestly robes with bracelets on their arms and ankles, and each with a wide *uskh,* or collar, around the neck, representing "abundance of matter." Rameses, almost a head taller than his High Priestess, had a zodiacal belt around his waist and a leopard skin fastened over his shoulders. A sidelock of hair was attached over his left ear as an emblem of youth. The High Priestess Anari let her long flowing hair fall loose to express the "idea of rays of light radiating through the universe." Upon her head she wore a lotus flower "symbolic of purity and wisdom" and a cone "symbolical of the Divine Spirit." The Hierophant Rameses explained these: "The lotus springs up from the muddy waters of the Nile. The cone is the flame of life. The whole idea of the dress of the priestess is that the life of matter is purified and ruled by the divine spirit of life from above."

The Hierophant Rameses—holding in one hand the ritual rattle, known as the sistrum, which every now and then he shook, and in the other a spray of lotus—said the prayers before this altar, after which the High Priestess Anari invoked the goddess in penetrating and passionate tones. Then followed the "dance of the four elements" by a young Parisian lady: "The *danse des fleurs* symbolizing the homage of the earth to the Egyptian goddess; the *danse du miroir* representing waves of water; the *danse de la chevelure* symbolizing fire; and the *danse des parfums* for the air."[12]

A correspondent from the *Sunday Chronicle* had a shorter but similar description: "After the preliminary prayers, the High Priestess performed the ceremony of the 'unveiling of the gods,' and then she invoked Isis with such passion and force in both voice and gesture that she quite saved the situation



MACGREGOR MATHERS AS THE HIEROPHANT RAMSES, SISTRUM IN HAND, IN THE RITES OF ISIS

and assured the success of a performance which otherwise might have turned into the ridiculous." He spoke scathingly of Mathers's French pronunciation and complained that he looked more like a Yorkshireman than the "Hierophant Rameses."[13]

Involved with Isis, the Matherses had little time to spend helping Yeats with the Celtic Mysteries. They had a growing number of devotees, some of whom had offered money for the building of an Isis temple in Paris. So Mathers was busy researching his theory that the founders of Paris had worshiped Isis and named the city after her.

Yeats felt unable to continue building his dream. If he could not create an Irish mystical unity through magical rituals, he would do so through drama.[14] He wrote in *Explorations* that he "wanted to create for [him]self a popular theatre and an audience like a secret society where admission is by favour and never to many."[15] He sought a reconciliation of paganism (whose source was the physical world) with Christianity (whose source was spirit), and he recognized that such a marriage of opposites was traditionally expressed through

folktales. Maud remembered Willie saying: "Have not all races had their first unity from a polytheism that marries them to rock and hill?"[16] And so Yeats planned to tell these tales as Ireland's mystery plays—as an initiation for the spectators. Lucy Kalogera (in her doctoral study of Yeats's Castle of Heroes) said, "Yeats's dramas were to evoke eternal, ancient emotions, as contrasted with the momentary emotions of the modern theatre."[17] And Virginia Moore, who first examined Yeats's magical involvement, concluded: "The Irish theatre as conceived, led by and contributed to by William Butler Yeats was his Castle of Heroes transposed and transformed.... Play after play dealt with the spirit."[18]

Florence Farr played the part of the bard, Aleel, in the first of Yeats's Irish Mystery plays, *The Countess Cathleen,* in Dublin that May. The bard is in love with the countess and possesses the "sight" that allows him to peer into the spirit world and express it in poetry—just like Yeats himself. It was the inaugural production of the Irish Literary Theatre. In the play, inspired by and written for Maud Gonne, the wealthy countess sells her soul to the Devil in order to save the souls and feed the bodies of the peasants of Ireland. Although the narrative thread was based on a story he had written ten years previously, it is ironic that Maud had confessed to Willie only months before that she too had made a pact with the Devil. Maud was publicly honored that year for her "countess-like" efforts at obtaining the release from prison of Ireland's felony "traitors." If anyone sold their soul for the freedom and well-being of Ireland's people, it would have been Maud. In Willie's version of this ancient tale, the countess is saved from the Devil by warrior angels who recognize in her motive a deed worthy of Heaven. But, even with this triumphant ending, *The Countess* offended Irish Catholic morality by its implication that any Catholic, especially an Irish one, might have the temerity to make a deal with the Devil.

For Florence and Willie the play prophesied events that would shatter the Golden Dawn in the coming year: In its most dramatic scene at the death of the countess, Aleel (Florence) breaks a mirror saying, "I shatter you in fragments, for the face / That brimmed you up with beauty is no more."[19]

In March, Florence went with Willie to Dublin to find and coach the actresses who were to play the leading parts. She was general manager of the production and wrote the music and directed the chorus of peasants. Willie needed Florence, for few people understood the power and magical ability of sounds that could stir the spirit or call on the gods of old. He wanted to court not only the imagination but the souls of his audience.

Florence and Yeats grew closer than ever during this collaboration. They were often found together in the bun shop instead of the theatre, discussing their mutual interest and focus in the "speaking of verse."

George Moore, author and playwright, had agreed to help the Irish Literary Theatre with their first production. In his autobiography, *Ave*, he describes what he found when he arrived for a rehearsal.[20]

Yeats was explaining his method of speaking verse to the actors while a lady in a green cloak demonstrated it on a psaltery. Florence was that lady, seated on the ground, plucking the strings and muttering, "Cover it up with a lonely tune," while the actors paced, ready to begin the rehearsal.

Florence was in charge of the rehearsal. In Moore's version of the events:

> She put her psaltery aside and was going about with a reticule on her arm, rummaging in it from time to time for certain memoranda, which when found seemed only to deepen her difficulty. Her stage-management is all right in her notes, Yeats informed me. But she can't transfer it from paper on to the stage, he added, without appearing in the least to wish that the stage-management of his play should be taken from her. Would you like to see her notes? At that moment the voice of the experienced actress asking the poor lady how she was to get up the stage drew my attention from Yeats to the reticule, which was being searched for the notes. And the actress walked up the stage and stood there looking contemptuously at Miss Vernon [Florence Farr], who laid herself down on the floor and began speaking through the chinks. Her dramatic intention was so obscure that perforce I had to ask her what it was, and learnt from her that she was evoking hell.
>
> But the audience will think you are trying to catch cockroaches.
>
> Yeats whirled forward in his cloak with the suggestion that she stand on a chair and wave her hands.
>
> That will never do, Yeats; and the lady interrupted, asking me how hell should be evoked.[21]

Although Florence received one review that declared that "hers is the best delivery of verse that we have heard upon the modern stage," in general her unique elocution was misunderstood and not appreciated.[22]

Moina wrote Willie a letter in which she lamented the lack of time she could devote to her art, and Yeats noted, "She had to abandon any idea of an independent career in that direction, to be kept busy not only with the techniques of magic itself but with the techniques of art in magic's service." She was central to the Isis Ritual, which was the talk of Paris after their debut at the Théâtre Bodinière in March. Decorated temple furnishings were required for both Paris and London; magical regalia was to be designed and made; there was correspondence for the Order and the Isis religion. She organized and trained the devotees of Isis, spoke publicly and taught classes, and she continued to work on Celtic drawings containing symbolic attributes she had channeled.

In the following letter, Moina admits to feeling pain at being unable to really work at her art, but she is more confident and self-assured than in previous letters. She sounds like an active and dynamic manager at the height of her capabilities, doing work that she enjoys.

Paris
29 May 1899

Dear Fra Yeats,

*First of all, our sincere congratulations on your success [*The Countess Cathleen *was produced in Dublin on May 8]. Our report was from one or two persons—as we have seen no papers of late. Have you yet those lines for The Land of Hearts Desire?— Two girls (the daughters of Leon Cladel the novelist) are much interested, & would like to act it at the Bodiniere Theatre to begin with— I said I would ask you, & also for the added lines, but I am of opinion that after all this delay, it should not be acted until people return in the Autumn as the season ends at the finish of June (in Paris), & I doubt if the play could be ready before then. However, would you let me have the amendment, & one might have a rehearsal to see if the actors are of the right kind?*

I am so sorry it could not have been done when you were over here — Bailly was suddenly called away, & I was plunged in "Egypt"—am still for that matter. We have been much delighted to meet William Sharp, who was over here. It is impossible to say how much we liked him— We felt great sympathy— He is a very remarkable being I think—in every respect, & so strangely psychic— After leaving Connla for ages, I have redone him, & the maiden on Usna, as well as some other designs of a Celtic nature—but most are unfinished at present on account of the many distractions in other directions— I am praying for a day when I can really concentrate on some art work. It is terrible to have to do such, simply in odd moments.

With every good wish
Yours fraternally ever
Vestigia[23]

In Frederic Lees's article "Isis Worship in Paris," he tells of asking the Countess MacGregor if it was correct that she was in possession of certain lost powers, such as power over the atmosphere. She answered:

> Yes; we are possessed of certain traditional occult knowledge. We have many traditional truths which are unknown nowadays, except to a very few people. But this hidden knowledge we can only impart to those who

> consent to be initiated. As in the past, so in the present, we have sacred initiations. These embrace theological notions on a much higher plane than the dogmas taught to the ordinary worshipper; they embrace also a system of magic. The person initiated must, of course, swear to keep this knowledge secret.[24]

Except for titillating readers desiring to learn mystical secrets, Moina's statement itself says little. But Lees found in her "the glint of a singular mind," whose "thoughtful and dreamy nature" hid "something mystical, occult." "This mysticism[,] this tendency towards the occult," he wrote, "appears, moreover, in everything she undertakes. It is so in her speeches and in her writings, but more especially does it come to the surface in her paintings." He explained that the High Priestess Anari was an accomplished artist and former student at Colarossi's and other academies. She applied her training in her own way, creating an original style that followed only her own thoughts. "Her men and women, and the objects which surround them, are not of this world, but of the world of the imagination, where in her opinion true beauty is only to be found." He considered her portrait of her husband, which was displayed behind the dining-room door, to contain much of this idealistic spirit. "He is represented as a magian adept, a crown, surmounted by three stars, upon his head, and his hands clasped across the jewelled hilt of a sword, whence radiates a mysterious light."[25]

Moina then offered Lees her opinion on woman's role in religion:

> The idea of the priestess is at the root of all ancient beliefs. Only in our ephemeral time has it been neglected. Even in the Old Testament we find the Priestess Deborah, and the New Testament tells us of the Prophetess Anne. What do we find in the modern development of religion to replace the feminine idea, and consequently the Priestess? When a religion symbolises the universe by a Divine Being, is it not illogical to omit woman, who is the principle half of it, since she is the principal [*sic*] creator of the other half—that is, man? How can we hope that the world will become purer and less material when one excludes from the Divine, which is the highest ideal, that part of its nature which represents at one and the same time the faculty of receiving and that of giving—that is to say, love itself and its highest form—love the symbol of universal sympathy? That is where the magical power of woman is found. She finds her force in her alliance with the sympathetic energies of Nature. And what is Nature if it is not an assemblage of thought clothed with matter and ideas which seek to materialise themselves? What is this eternal attraction between ideas and matter? It is the secret of life. Have you ever realised that there does not exist a single flame without a special intelligence which animates it, or a single grain of sand to which an idea is not attached, the idea which formed it? It is these intelligent ideas which are



MOINA MATHERS AS THE HIGH PRIESTESS ANARI
IN THE RITES OF ISIS

> the elementals, or spirits of Nature. Woman is the magician born of Nature by reason of her great natural sensibility, and of her instructive sympathy with such subtle energies as these intelligent inhabitants of the air, the earth, fire, and water.

Moina told Lees that the followers of the goddess Isis already filled their little chapel, and because their number was increasing, a temple for the Egyptian ceremonies was being built in Paris.[26]

Maud wrote Willie at Coole Park, where he was at work on his most mystical play, *The Shadowy Waters,* that she was again able to invoke the gods. "It happened one night out on the hill at Samois during a curious night of Summer storm. . . . I went through the four invocations [to the Druids of the elements] & got a promise of help. The very next day I found the realisation of this promise in my work."[27] But she would not have time for occult work much longer.

On October 12 war was declared between Britain and the South African Afrikaners in the Transvaal over control of the gold fields. The Boer War had begun. For Maud it was an Irish opportunity—a fight was on against the British. Ireland needed her to encourage the Irish, French, and even Americans to take a stand against the British.

She and Lucien Millevoye were drawn into each other's company once more and their alliance reactivated. They shared the same political platforms, and he published her anti-British articles. But she was needed in Ireland far more than in France. She wrote for the separatist paper *The United Irishman* and worked for the Irish Transvaal Committee, where she discouraged recruitment in the British army. She urged Irishmen to join the Irish Brigade led by Major John MacBride that fought for the Boers. Maud followed MacBride's activities avidly and publicly congratulated him. She smuggled French passports into Ireland for those who joined the Irish Brigade, arranged for an ambulance to be sent to South Africa from France, and advocated a scheme to destroy British troopships with bombs made to look like coal. Ever since the failure of the Irish to revolt during the '98 Centennial, Maud was eager for immediate action—especially because the Boer War had greatly reduced the number of British troops garrisoned in Ireland. Maud saw herself as being just as much at war with England as were the Afrikaners. Frank Hugh O'Donnell was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, whose spiteful and malicious hatred of Maud caused him to spread rumors that she was a spy, even though it hurt the Irish cause. The British Secret Service stepped in, appropriated money she had raised, and warned her that she was courting treason. All in all, Maud finally had a battle in which she could involve herself, body and soul.

Almost nothing is known of Annie Horniman's activities during 1899, but she probably spent most or all of the year traveling—her favorite diversion. She had discovered that bicycle riding not only satisfied her need for physical activity but enabled her to visit places inaccessible by train or carriage, and on her own timetable. Judging women's bicycles to be dangerous (she called them "henroosts") and impractical (claiming the gears were placed too low), she bought a man's bicycle that she rode while wearing "bloomers"—a knee-length skirt over trousers.[28] On two different journeys she crossed the Alps from Italy to Munich, carrying her heavy bicycle in places too dangerous to ride or push. One day she arrived at a Munich hotel with her knees protruding from torn bloomers and a sun-blistered face, looking most unladylike. She was not allowed to register until she proved that she had prior reservations and that the luggage sent in advance was hers.[29] But it was in England that she had the most trouble, requiring police protection once when the sight of her

on a bicycle in bloomers almost caused a riot. Because her bicycle was not allowed in the lift at her lodgings, she carried all thirty-eight pounds of it up and down three flights of stairs each day. Even Bernard Shaw, advocate of the New Woman, felt that her bicycle antics were "monstrous and unheard of." When he first met her, she had a black eye from a recent fall, and as they rode on a bus together she was amused because the other passengers presumed Shaw had struck her in a marital quarrel.[30]

The image of Miss Horniman on her bicycle in bloomers shows just how far she had gone from the fine mansion atop Surrey Mount, graciously receiving visitors in the parlor with her mother. In her late thirties she was a developed athlete with a powerful physique. With her weather-beaten face and practical clothing (ranging from plain skirted trousers to elegant William Morris brocades cut into corsetless Pre-Raphaelite gowns), she must have looked the independent, determined individual she was, caring little about other people's attitudes and unafraid of breaking new ground.

Then, almost three years after her expulsion from the Golden Dawn, on October 18, 1899, Mathers sent her the most surprising letter. Riding perhaps on the success of the Isis Rituals, Mathers offered to reinstate Annie as an honorary member of the Ahathoor Temple in Paris. This would allow her to occasionally attend Temple Rituals, although she could not attend Second Order meetings. She would also get back her manuscripts and magical implements. He made it clear that his action was hardly sentimental:

> It is now about three years since I had to remove your name from the Roll of the G.D. [Golden Dawn] for serious insubordination aggravated still further by slander against myself. In that period of time (even with every conceivable odds against me) I have completely overthrown the opposition in the Order which you left no stone unturned to stimulate and you can now do me no further harm.[31]

With Westcott, Berridge, and Gardner no longer active, Mathers saw himself as having successfully overcome everyone who had questioned his actions or tried to limit his authority. To be reinstated, Annie had only to sign a document acknowledging Mathers's authority as "Supreme Chief of the Second Order." She responded with an immediate telegram:

"I AM AWAITING HONOURABLE MESSAGE FROM OUR CHIEFS!"

"YOU ARE CRUELLY DECEIVED," Mathers telegraphed back, "YOU HAVE NEVER KNOWN AS WESCOTT HAS NEVER KNOWN ANY CHIEF HIGHER THAN MYSELF I CAN PROVE THIS. DDCF."[32]

Annie then consulted with Westcott, who wrote her on October 21: "I have never claimed to be a more learned or advanced one than he—nor have I ever claimed to know or act under the Higher Chiefs he has referred to as



ALEISTER CROWLEY, CIRCA 1899, ROBED FOR A GOLDEN DAWN-STYLE RITUAL

now behind him. If you are anxious to regain your old position you must accept his terms—if not you can remain in abeyance. But I should advise you not to enter upon a quarrel with him in any case."[33]

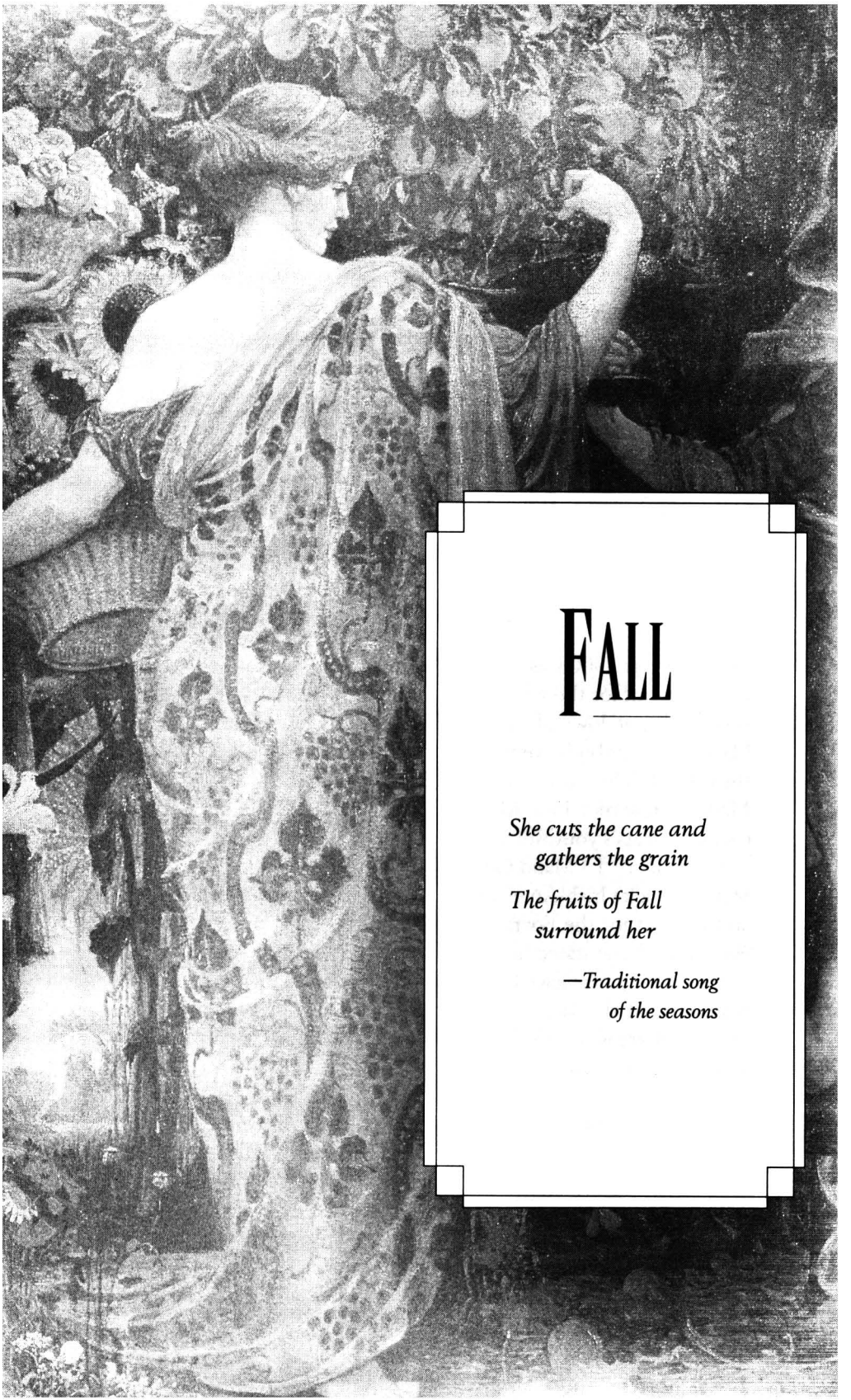
Annie decided not to sign the document.

Aleister Crowley advanced quickly through the elemental examinations and initiations of the Outer Order at a rate of one a month. When he reached the level of the Portal initiation (to begin studying for the Second Order), the rules then in effect required him to wait seven months. During this time he went to Scotland and began carrying out the Abra-Melin working described by Mathers. He also had a love affair with a married member of the Golden

Dawn, Elaine Simpson, whose magical name (ironically) was *Fidelis*. Florence Farr began to hear the rumors now circulating about Crowley's conduct and supposed perversions involving homosexuality. She probably also read his poetry and may have found his sentiments blasphemous. Finally, Yeats had taken a dislike to Crowley and found his morals objectionable. Therefore, despite his enthusiasm, knowledge, and magical talent, Florence denied Crowley's application for initiation into the Second Order.[34]

Meanwhile, Gardner was having more problems with Mathers, who still owed him money. He threatened to publish some manuscripts he had received from Mathers—principally one called the *Splendor Solis*. In response, on December 8, Mathers suspended Gardner from both the First and Second Orders.

The Order itself was continuing to expand. Florence had eased the academic requirements for the grade examinations, making many of them oral rather than written, and allowed the examiner to assist the initiate with details. Florence felt that magical understanding was more important than being able to commit myriad details to memory; furthermore, there were individuals whom she wanted working in her Sphere Group, which required that they be Inner Order initiates.



FALL

She cuts the cane and
gathers the grain
The fruits of Fall
surround her

—Traditional song
of the seasons



Revolt of the Adepti

1900

The year 1900 was a turning point, not just for the Golden Dawn and its members but for the world as they knew it. As Yeats wrote: "After 1900 . . . everybody got down off his stilts; henceforth nobody drank absinthe with his black coffee; nobody went mad; nobody committed suicide; nobody joined the Catholic church; or if they did, I have forgotten."[1] It was also the year that Maud Gonne met John MacBride, setting in motion events that would forever end Yeats's youthful dreams of marrying her.

On January 13 Maud Gonne left Paris for a speaking tour of the United States, to incite Irish-American feeling against the British and to solicit money and support for the Boers. In at least one speech (and she gave one almost every night), she stated her current belief that bloodshed would be required to free Ireland. She gave her war cry: "To Ireland I say that freedom is never won without the sacrifice of blood. Our chance is coming. The end of the British empire is at hand. Your motherland calls you. She has been the land of sorrow long enough."[2]

By the beginning of 1900 the Adepti Minores of the Second Order were increasingly dissatisfied with MacGregor Mathers's autocratic regime from afar. Florence Farr sensed an "astral jar" marked by disagreements among members of the temple as they divisively declared their loyalties. Aleister Crowley, whom she had refused to initiate into the Second Order, was creating his own platform of dissent as well. Florence spent more and more time working with Yeats (as stage manager and music director), rehearsing three

new plays for the Irish Literary Theatre. With Mathers distracted by his Isis religion, Florence distracted by the theatre, and the advent of a new century, the time was ripe for a revolt.

On January 12, at a meeting of the Second Order, Florence Farr mentioned some "private affairs" of the Matherses—perhaps a need for money or concern over his Jacobite activities. The officers of Isis-Urania Temple had expressed a lack of confidence in Mathers and, it is rumored, desired to resign en masse. Crowley was convinced that Mathers's political activities were causing the uproar and probably told him so. In his private journal Crowley wrote: "*S.S.D.D.* [Florence] cannot work longer with *S.R.* [Mathers] as she knows he is definitely working against England, and using other brethren of the Order for this end.... *D.D.C.F.* [Mathers] is told 'astral jar' in I.U.T. [Isis-Urania Temple]. This is a lie. Politics the real base."[3]

Mathers now accused Florence of attempting to create a schism in the Order, to work under Westcott. It seems Westcott had been asked by some of the Golden Dawn members to become their Chief, but he refused. "I am not in the humour to get mixed up again, as Mathers is so erratic," he responded.[4] As for Florence Farr, she answered Mathers by resigning her position as Chief.

Meanwhile, Aleister Crowley was involved in "Great Trouble": He and several of his Cambridge friends were accused of homosexual activities, and the police were looking for him. He hurriedly left London for Paris, where on January 16 MacGregor Mathers initiated him into the Second Order. An astrological reading by Mathers also reassured Crowley that the troubling matter would end well. Taking precautions to avoid the constabulary, Crowley therefore returned to London. George Cecil Jones reported to him that *S.S.D.D.* (Florence) wanted the Isis-Urania Temple closed and that *L.O.* (Percy Bullock) had confirmed it as a Second Order resolution.[5]

After doing rituals of protection, Crowley journeyed to his manor in Boleskine, Scotland, which he had purchased and equipped as the perfect place to perform the entire, complex Abra-Melin ritual. Upon arrival he wrote to the Second Order secretaries demanding copies of the rituals and teachings to which he was now entitled as a member of the Second Order.

Meanwhile, Florence and Yeats continued their full-time production efforts for the Irish Literary Theatre. She felt that the season of plays (by Edward Martyn, George Moore, and Alice Milligan) was "depressing her energy." In addition, J. M. Watkins was publishing her new booklet, called *The Way of Wisdom: Being an Investigation of the Meanings of the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet Considered as a Remnant of Chaldean Wisdom.*[6] Yeats was also busy, lecturing about drama and editing his new literary journal, *Beltaine*, the second volume of which appeared in February.



MADAME HOROS, AKA ANGEL ANNA, AKA PRINCESS EDITHA LOLETA MONTEZ, AKA SWAMI VIVA ANANDA, AKA MADAME HELENA, AKA THE HIGH PRIESTESS AND SWAMI SAPIENTIA DOCTORIBUS, NÉE EDITHA SALOMON

In Paris the Matherses were completely involved in their greatest public honor: MacGregor had been commissioned to design and erect an Egyptian Temple of Isis at the Paris Exhibition of 1900. It was the culmination of his personal vision of Paris as the city of Isis. John Brodie-Innes remembered that after seeing the exhibition temple, "an Egyptologist whose name is world-famous said 'MacGregor is a Pharaoh come back. All my life I have studied the dry bones; he has made them live.'"[7] A lengthy magazine article featured the Rites of Isis, and several wealthy individuals in Paris expressed interest in the Egyptian Mysteries revival. The Matherses seemed poised for success, all of their hard work about to be rewarded.

Then Mathers met the agents of his downfall in the form of an unusual and unexpected trio of visitors from America. They were Dr. Rose Adams, Theo Horos, and his wife, Madame Horos[8]—who astounded Mathers by introducing herself with the secret name of the woman who had originally authorized the Golden Dawn, Fräulein Anna Sprengel, *Sapiens Dominabitur Astris*. Ma-

dame Horos was a large, imposing woman, fat and tall, who looked about sixty years old but claimed to be forty-six. Her husband was small and looked about thirty-five.

As Mathers explained later: "They stated they had come to help us with our Isis movement here. The woman gave me the motto of 'Sapiens dominabitur astris'; and I have yet to learn where she got the knowledge of the Grades up to 5°=6° from, which she then had. She presented the other two to me and vouched for them as 4°=7° and 2°=9° in America."[9]

One of the several Americans whom Mathers had initiated in Paris had founded a temple in the United States, which probably explains how Mrs. Horos learned of *S.D.A.* But it was not the motto alone that convinced Mathers of her authenticity. We do not know whether, at first, he believed that she was actually Fräulein Sprengel, or, perhaps, a spirit "incarnation" of Sprengel and/or Blavatsky, but he did tell Crowley that she knew about a private incident between him and Blavatsky of which no one else could have knowledge. It was her awareness of the rituals and passwords of the higher grades that convinced him she possessed genuine occult knowledge that she wished to share.

On February 16 Mathers introduced Madame Horos to the membership of Ahathoor Lodge as *S.D.A.*, recording it in the Temple log. This was a public pronouncement to his initiates of his complete faith in her identity.

On the same day he wrote a letter to Florence Farr refusing her resignation and, in a statement that was to shatter forever the unity of the Golden Dawn, he accused Westcott of forging the original Sprengel letters on which the Golden Dawn was based. This historic letter is worth quoting in full:

> N.B.—Read this letter carefully before showing any part of it to anyone!
>
> *16 February 1900*
>
> C. *et V.H. Soror S.S.D.D.*
>
> *My time is just now so enormously occupied with the arrangements for the Buildings and Decorations of the Egyptian Temple of Isis in Paris, as well as other matters, that I* must *write as briefly as possible.*
>
> *(a) I have never wished to interfere in your private affairs, but if you choose to bring mine into a discussion in a Second Order Meeting, the matter concerns me as well as yourself.*
>
> *(b) As you did not date your letter to me, and as I received it on the 13th January, 1900 it was difficult for me to conceive that it had been written* after *instead of before the meeting on the twelfth. I possess a copy of the minutes of that meeting.*

(c) I refuse definitely *to close Isis-Urania Temple, and am prepared to receive the resignations from their offices of those chiefs who no longer wish to serve as such. I can understand in your case, that in addition to your somewhat heavy work in the Second Order, holding office in Isis has been an additional load.*

(d) *Now, with regard to the Second Order, it would be with the* very greatest regret *both from my personal regard for you, as well as from the occult standpoint that I should receive your Resignation as my Representative in the Second Order in London; but I cannot let you form a combination to make a schism therein with the idea of working secretly or avowedly under 'Aude' [Westcott], under the mistaken impression that he received an Epitome of Second Order work from G.H. Soror 'Sapiens Dominabitur Astris' [Fräulein Sprengel]. For this forces me to tell you plainly (and, understand me well, I can prove to the hilt every word which I here say and more, and were I confronted with S.A., I should say the same, though for the sake of the Order, and for the circumstance that it would mean so deadly a blow to S.A.'s reputation, I entreat you to keep this secret from the* Order, *from the present, at least, though you are at perfect liberty to show* him *this if you think fit,* after mature consideration*).*

(e) *He has NEVER been* at any time *either in personal or in written communication with the Secret Chiefs of the Order,*[10] *he having* either himself forged or procured to be forged *the professed correspondence between him and them, and my tongue having been tied all these years by a previous Oath of Secrecy to him, demanded by him, from me, before showing me what he had done or both.—You must comprehend from what little I say here, the* extreme gravity *of such a matter, and again I ask you, both for his sake and that of the Order, not to force me to go farther into the subject.*

I again reiterate that every atom *of the knowledge of the Order has come* through me alone *from 0°=0° to 5°=6° inclusive, and that it is I alone who have been and am in communication with the Secret Chiefs of the Order.*

I may further remark that 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' is now in Paris and aiding me with the Isis movement.

Lastly, I again ask you to consider well this letter, and not to put me in such a position that I shall be compelled to act publicly.

Yours in fraternity and sincerity,
Deo Duce Comite Ferro 7°=4°
Chief of the Second Order[11]

Florence was scheduled to leave immediately for Dublin for the Irish Literary Theatre productions. She hurriedly wrote Westcott, hoping that he would clear up the situation. He answered with a letter (marked "private," to assure she showed it to no one) stating that Mathers's allegations were untrue, but he could not prove it because the witnesses were deceased. Therefore he wished to remain neutral in the matter.[12] In effect, he refused to help her in any way. However, he claimed to possess the original letters and in 1898 had also obtained affidavits signed by employees who had translated the letters or made copies of them—perhaps in preparation for just such an eventuality.

Florence, filled with anxiety, left for Dublin and somehow managed to carry out her duties during the February 17 to 24 theatrical performances. At least she didn't have to face any members of the Second Order except Yeats, with whom she surely discussed her dilemma.

Upon her return, Florence immediately took a three-day retreat to the countryside near Bromley, where she was born, in order to think and decide what to do. The fate of the Order now lay with her.

Astrologically, Florence's progressed Moon was about to cross over her Ascendent (also conjuncting natal Mercury and progressed Jupiter) and approach her progressed Sun to form a New Moon. She was in a stage of completion and letting go, ready to abandon old forms but still without the light of a new beginning. Her progressed Sun was approaching Saturn—another indicator of death and release. Her natal Cancer Sun, indicative of strong ties to home, with almost no natal aspects and therefore unintegrated with the rest of her personality, now pulled her, while under stress, to seek peace in the town where she was born.

What probably decided her subsequent actions was the realization that she had been initiating people into a lie. As "Chief in Anglia" and Hierophant in the rituals, she had misled initiates into swearing solemn oaths and obligations to an Order founded on falsehood. Crowley noted that Mathers's letter "struck at the very heart of the moral basis" of Florence's conduct.[13] How could she ever trust Mathers again, when his self-asserted authority was based on letters he knew to be unauthentic all along?

On March 3 Florence formed a seven-member committee of Second Order members to investigate the matter. After reading his letter, the committee wrote to Mathers pointing out the seriousness of his allegation and asking for proof.

It took almost three weeks for Mathers to respond. On March 22 he refused to acknowledge the committee itself and unconditionally refused to substantiate anything, so the committee agreed to place the matter before the entire Second Order.

The following day Mathers dismissed Florence, and the day after that there

was a general meeting of the Second Order. The members were told that "the reason for making the matter known was that the whole constitution of the Society depended upon the authenticity of the documents he [Mathers] alleged to be forged." It was decided that the committee be empowered to act as temporary representative of the whole membership.

On March 25 Florence wrote Mathers from Bromley:

> I saw that if I kept silence I should become a party to a fraud.... We sent you repeated messages, couched in most respectful terms.... You refused to recognise this friendly Committee ... and neither I nor any one else have power to prevent the matter being carried to its legal conclusion.... Our oaths are covered by the written assurance that nothing contrary to our civil, moral or religious welfare is demanded from us.[14]

Florence's moral obligation to the initiates under her authority gave her the strength to stand up to Mathers when even Westcott refused to do so. And she may already have realized that the situation was, as she later explained, "arranged by the eternal powers [so] that we were freed from the load of dishonesty under which we had been struggling."[15] Florence, as always, gained strength from working under a higher guidance.

Just three days later there was another meeting of the committee. *L.O.* (Percy Bullock) reported having seen *S.A.* (Westcott), who gave his "honorable assurance" that he had no reason to suppose that *Sapiens Dominabitur Astris* (Sprengel) was not the person she had purported to be. He had communicated with her only by mail and possessed bona fide posted replies from her in Germany. However, and this is strangely unclear, Westcott either was not asked to produce these originals or refused to do so. Therefore, it was now solely Mathers's word against that of Westcott.

On April 2 Mathers annulled the committee and all its resolutions and threatened its members with "the punitive Current of Power" for breaking their vows of obedience. "Mathers had taken a large packet of dried peas and baptised each one by the magical name of one of the rebels. Then, by the formulae of the Great Enochian Tablet of Spirit, he evoked the forces of Beelzebub and Typhon-Set and, while shaking the peas in a sieve, called upon those mighty devils to fall upon his enemies so that they might fall upon and confound each other with quarrels and continual disturbance."[16]

On April 9 Aleister Crowley arrived in Paris. After conferring for four days, Mathers instructed and authorized him to appoint new chiefs for Isis-Urania, seize and reconsecrate the Vault of the Adepts, individually interview each Adept (whose identity would be hidden by mask), and obtain signed pledges of loyalty to Mathers.[17]

He was also charged to deal with Madame Horos (the false Anna Sprengel)

should she appear. By now Mathers realized that Madame Horos was a fraud. In retrospect he gauged Mrs. Horos to be "the most powerful medium living—although of a most unusual kind."

> At times she has been controlled by very great and high forces, but much more frequently by evil spirits. For she is frequently a shell without honour, truth, or morality. . . . I believe her and her accomplices to be emissaries of a *very powerful* secret Occult Order who have been trying for years to break up other Orders and especially my work, and the G.D. [Golden Dawn] as connected therewith.
>
> "I may tell you that on more than one occasion I conversed face to face with the *real* 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' [Fräulein Sprengel] in this woman; but on another occasion I detected a demoniac simulacrum of that transformation, as since I have detected also on one or two occasions, for the entity of Mrs. Horos has been like a battle between two Orders.[18]

The worst of it was that the woman had "borrowed" several manuscripts and rituals and had now absconded with them. He was afraid that Madame Horos would show up in London and convince others of her association with the Golden Dawn, for "the real H.P.B. [Blavatsky] and the real *S.D.A.*[Sprengel] can incarnate in her," he told Crowley and indicated that she had been working long against him, possibly with the Jesuits. Crowley was to have them arrested for stealing Mathers's traveling bags, which contained the precious manuscripts she had taken from him.

But once back in London, Crowley unaccountably began having his own difficulties. His hansom cab started afire, the fireplace in his room refused to burn, and he had a nightmare about the Horos couple invading his home looking for a manuscript. Additionally, according to Francis King, "His Rose Cross whitened, his rubber mackintosh burst into flames, and 'In the morning I was very badly obsessed and entirely lost my temper utterly without reason or justification. Five times at least horses have bolted at the sight of me.'"[19]

On April 17 Crowley went to 36 Blythe Road, where the Vault was housed, and tried to seize the property, but because the flat was leased in Florence Farr's name, Crowley had to leave without any papers.

Mathers had written for the members of the 5°=6° grade to come to personal and separate interviews at the Vault, but the following morning when Crowley arrived for this purpose, the landlord would not allow him to enter the premises. Yeats was present and called for a constable, who compelled Crowley to leave.

Yeats wrote to Lady Gregory about the episode:

> My dear Lady Gregory . . . I have had a bad time of it lately. I told you that I was putting MacGregor out of the Kabbala. Well last week he sent a mad

> person [Crowley]—whom we had refused to initiate—to take possession of the rooms and papers of the Society. This person seized the rooms and on being ejected attempted to retake possession wearing a black mask and in full highland costume and with a gilt dagger by his side. Having failed in this he has taken out a summons on the ground that he is Mathers' 'envoy,' and that there is nothing in the constitution of the Society to enable us to depose Mathers.... For a week I have been worried to death with meetings, law and watching to prevent a sudden attack on the rooms. For three nights I did not get more than 4½ hours sleep any night. The trouble is that my Kabbalists [meaning Farr especially] are hopelessly unbusinesslike and thus minutes and the like are in complete confusion. I have had to take the whole responsibility for everything, to decide on every step. I am hopeful of the result.... The envoy is really one Crowley, a quite unspeakable person. He is I believe seeking vengeance for our refusal to initiate him. We did not admit him because we did not think a mystical society was intended to be a reformatory.... Mathers like all despots must have a favourite and this is the lad.[20]

Maud returned to Paris from her trip to America in mid March, and she was in Dublin by April in time for publication of her article in the *United Irishman* portraying Queen Victoria as "The Famine Queen." All copies were immediately seized. When the editor of *Figaro*, to discredit her, claimed Maud was being paid a pension by the British, Maud's close friend Arthur Griffith of the *United Irishman* horsewhipped him—to the delight of most of Dublin.

On Easter Sunday, Maud with fourteen other women formed a committee to organize a "Patriotic Children's Treat" to be held that summer. They planned a parade and picnic for all those children who refused to attend the Queen's breakfast in Phoenix Park. It was a way of subtly yet effectively defying the influence of the English queen, but more important, the women realized it would always be remembered by the children, who were the future of Ireland.

In May, Willie wrote Maud that he was worried about her because he had received spiritual warnings that her adversaries (on both the physical and the astral planes) were seeking her destruction. Fiona Macleod also warned that she might disappear from sight and never be seen again. Maud responded by recounting a strange experience of the night before: As she began to fall asleep in her chair, she thought to gird herself for some spiritual combat and invoked the protection of Lugh and the spear and shield. She awoke exhausted and later heard a loud knock at the door. No one answered her call, but she felt hostile feelings in the moving shadows of the room. "Suddenly, my candle *was put out*," she wrote. She lit two more candles which burned strangely

although there was no draft. "I sat up & put a barrier between myself & who ever was there beyond the shapeless shadows—I saw nothing."[21]

She soon left Dublin, taking documents with her that proved the conspiracy of Frank Hugh O'Donnell against her. A spirit battle seems to have been fought, with Maud victorious.

On April 19 the committee of Isis-Urania, insulted by Crowley's outrageousness, passed a resolution suspending *D.D.C.F.* [Mathers] and his major supporters (although not mentioning Moina). Moina was curiously silent during the entire proceedings. Presumably Mathers had informed her of the forgeries long before, when he first began to threaten Westcott with them. There is also no information about what Moina thought of Madame Horos.

Events moved swiftly after that. On April 21 a new constitution was framed for the conduct of the Second Order. Florence Farr was named Moderator and Annie Horniman the Scribe, while Dr. Edmund Hunter became Warden of an Executive Council.[22] On April 26 Annie Horniman was officially reinstated in the Golden Dawn and MacGregor was expelled. On April 27 Yeats was named Imperator of the Outer Order of Isis-Urania Temple, with Helen Rand as Cancellaria.[23] And on the same day, Crowley's case against Florence "for unlawfully and without just cause detaining certain papers and other articles, the property of the Complainant," was heard in court, defended by one of London's most prestigious lawyers, hired by Annie. Florence won the case and Crowley had to pay £5 in court costs.

But the battle with Crowley was not yet over: "We found out that this unspeakable mad person had a victim, a lady who was his mistress and from whom he extorted large sums of money," reported Yeats to his friend A.E. The magicians decided that the situation required a magical solution. It was probably the Sphere Group that took on the task, because, as Yeats told A.E., they consulted their "master"—who could only have been the Sphere's Adept. It was probably also the Sphere Group that performed regular divinations about the state of the Order, counseling that they take action before Mathers did something "so outrageous that our waverers would waver no more." And so they evoked Crowley's lady on the astral plane and told her to leave him. Two days later she approached one of the members of the Golden Dawn and told him "a tale of perfectly mediaeval iniquity—of positive torture, and agreed to go to Scotland Yard and there have her evidence taken down." To Yeats this established "a clear proof of the value of systematic training in these subtle things."[24] The woman was probably Elaine Simpson (*Fidelis*), although Yeats attempted to disguise her identity in the telling.

Despite the occasional magical victory, Florence was tired of the constant quarreling and responsibilities of the last few years. She had threatened to

resign on several occasions and was probably more than glad to relinquish to Yeats as much of the administration as he could handle. She would not be as delighted with Annie's interference in the months to come.

Several members who had remained loyal to Mathers formed their own temple with the now-reconciled Dr. Edward Berridge as Sub-Imperator under Mathers.[25] In May, Annie Horniman was attacked by Berridge via a Mrs. Scott (Soror *Sub Silentio*) who had joined his loyalist group. Mrs. Scott threatened Annie: "Dr. Berridge said to me, that if you helped [Florence Farr] and others to fight [Mathers], he would tell your father you were dabbling in magic and he felt sure your father would have you shut up in an Asylum."[26]

In fact, an anonymous letter signed "A Constituent" was sent to Frederick Horniman, now the Liberal M.P. for Falmouth and Penryn. It said that his daughter belonged to "a Secret Order which has for its object practising so-called witchcraft of the Middle Ages." Annie then directed her solicitor to advise Dr. Berridge that "such libellous statements about me must stop. He would look very foolish when asked publicly to explain what 'magic' means."[27]

As Scribe, Annie now was responsible for all the logs, rosters, and examinations, and she was shocked by what she found. Florence had not enforced the system of examinations, and there were great irregularities in the records of admissions, examinations, and members. Unlike the conscientious Westcott, keeping records of the Golden Dawn's myriad daily details was simply not Florence's forte. But Annie saw the problem as an evasion of "laws and precedents," which she blamed on the existence of secret groups within the Order, especially the Sphere Group.

Annie had been waiting a long time to return to the Order. She had no other job, and in some ways she had been midwife to the Order's creation. When she "noticed great irregularities in the list of members and in the book of admissions and examinations, the most important record that we possess," she complained that "the Moderator [Florence] tried continually to act without consulting the Council." Yeats thought that anyone who caused as much irritation as Miss Horniman "could hardly be in the right." But after going "through all her papers carefully," he concluded that she must be supported.[28] This was the seed of what would burst forth as a bitter quarrel between Florence and Annie.[29]

One of Annie's first tasks was to have every member sign a letter acknowledging the authority of the Executive Council. A copy went to Moina, who wrote back indignantly that she acknowledged no authority save the Secret Chiefs represented by *D.D.C.F.* Moina then accused the rebels of stealing Order properties and manuscripts. "Either the knowledge is great and some recognition is due to the giver, or it is worthless. In the later case why steal the MSS and properties?"

Moina concluded with a warning: "Your evil Karma for which we have so long suffered, has departed from us with your action and the time of your expiation is at hand."[30] Even the signature on her letter—"Madame la Comtesse MacGregor de Glenstrae"—was a clear statement of her allegiance.

On June 6, after despairing of ever completing his magical novel *The Speckled Bird*, which had, of necessity, taken a new turn following the events of the schism, Yeats wrote Lady Gregory: "The new bits of the novel are really good and for the first time it is real novel writing and not essay writing or lyrical prose or speculative thought merely. It is now characterization. . . . Even the fact that MacGregor's masked man Crowley has been making wax images of us all and putting pins in them, has not made life interesting."[31]

And as for Crowley, he had gone back to Paris feeling at loose ends after failing as Mathers's henchman. At Mathers's flat he met two travelers who had just returned from Mexico, infecting him with wanderlust. By June he set sail for New York and thence to Mexico to climb mountains. Everyone sighed with relief that at least for the time being he had taken himself out of the picture.

On July 1 Maud was back in Dublin for the "Patriotic Children's Treat," for which thirty thousand children showed up, making it Dublin's largest peaceful demonstration to that date. She immediately returned to France where she discovered that Lucien Millevoye had a new mistress and protégée, a cabaret singer who was now working for *La Patrie* in Maud's place. Millevoye then implied to the Irish Republican Brotherhood that Maud had betrayed a French intelligence officer who had been removed from the embassy in London. The actual culprit had been Maud's longtime adversary, Frank Hugh O'Donnell. Maud and Willie both resigned from the I.R.B. in protest when the truth was discovered and O'Donnell was not removed from a position of responsibility. She thought O'Donnell should be shot, but being unable to shoot him personally, Maud would not let anyone else do so.[32]

Willie nervously watched her edge ever closer into unpredictable danger. She tried to explain: "As for the possible changes or dangers which you speak of for me. I am under the great shield of Lug [*sic*]; the day I am no longer protected, if that day comes, my work for Ireland will be over—I should not need, *I could not accept* protection from anyone, though I fully realize and understand the generous and unselfish thoughts that are in your heart and I love you for them. . . . I am in my whirlwind but in the midst of that whirlwind is dead quiet calm which is peace too."[33]

In July, Isis-Urania initiated the first new members of the Outer Order since November 1899. The two were Maud Gonne's sister, Kathleen Pilcher, taking as her magical name the Gonne family motto of *Ferando et Sperando*

("Carry On and Hope"), and Maud's beloved cousin May Gonne (listed as Mary K. Gonne).[34] They were inclined to join by Willie Yeats's strong beliefs in the efficacy of magic, and May especially wanted to help Maud and Willie with the Celtic Mysteries, for which she needed training in skrying and ritual. May was not completely satisfied with the Golden Dawn, since, like Maud, she objected to the Freemasonry and what they perceived as conspiracies of wealth and power with "Semitic" (meaning Kabbalistic) tendencies. Maud, nevertheless, thought the work would strengthen May in her own difficulties as well as enable her to help them.[35]

Yeats remembered saying to Miss Horniman as he prepared to leave for Ireland in July: "You will have a hard task, you will have to see that laws and precedents are observed, that everything is recorded." He cautioned her "that in every society or movement that succeeds there is some person that is built into it, as in old times a sacrificial victim was built alive into the foundations of a bridge."[36] But Annie was already familiar with the role of scapegoat, having played it many times in her life.

Florence described the events that followed: "All went well until September 1900 when I found everything I proposed was objected to, after a few weeks I discovered that my group which had been working quietly for three years was being violently attacked."[37] Annie objected to the Sphere Group's use of the Order rooms, so a compromise was arranged that allowed *any* members who signed up a week in advance to use the rooms on Mondays and Wednesdays. Then Florence was accused of using the Sphere Group to withhold information, but Florence stood her ground, declaring that her Egyptian formulae were only available to those who seriously wanted to work with them, while the Sphere symbol was fully explained in the Star Maps lecture. The situation was not to be so easily resolved. From this time on, Annie began "persecuting" the Sphere Group with constant missives, lectures, and comments to others—all aimed at proving that the group was a disintegrative force.

Florence was temporarily without residence. First she stayed with her good friend *Volo* [Florence Kennedy]. Then she went to the home of the alchemist the Reverend William Ayton to help him through a health crisis, possibly earning some sorely needed money. When she moved out unexpectedly after a few weeks, rumor spread that Gardner had convinced Ayton to discharge her. A series of accusatory letters flew back and forth: Gardner said that Mrs. Emery [Florence Farr] had created the rumor to injure him, Reena Fulham Hughes took the blame through a misapprehension, and Ayton mysteriously said only that, "Whether she left me of her own accord, or whether I wished her to go, I have never mentioned to any one, nor do I wish to do so now."[38] Then sometime before the end of the year Florence Kennedy died. It was not an easy time for Florence Farr.

Mathers took Gardner back into his fold in October, reinstating him as a Theoricus in the temple that continued under Berridge. In a letter to Gardner, Mathers complained that "I fully trusted Mrs. Emery . . . as a person who was not only a private friend, but, as I believed, one who wished to act honourably by all with whom she came in contact. . . . Her recent action, has however shewed one that she has few scruples where her own ambition or self-interest are concerned, and notably, the malignant hurry, with which she endeavoured to drag Dr. Westcott into an equivocal position."[39] He was disturbed and hurt by her "betrayal" and, in his egotistical blindness, could not comprehend that he had placed her in an untenable position regarding her honesty and honor with respect to her sorors and fraters.

Maud returned to Dublin in October, where she joined with the other women from the Patriotic Treat committee to form the *Inghinidhe na hEireann* (Daughters of Erin) with Maud as president. She took the name of "Maeve," after the warrior queen of the west, and at their first meeting gave an address on the goddess Brigid. Not since the disbanding of the Ladies' Land League had Irishwomen possessed their own organization. Women were traditionally barred from Irish nationalist organizations and even banned from having their own organizations—that is, except when all the men were imprisoned. (Even then, when the men were released, the women's organizations—which had always been surprisingly effective—were always disbanded.) Maud fought this policy time and again, but she now realized that by forming an organization that professed to work only through education and culture, and primarily with children, the women could make a political contribution that would not threaten the sensitive egos of the Irish male, thus serving not only the current situation but, especially, making an impact on the potential leaders of the next generation.

Maud also joined Ella Young's more private women's group called the *Fine*, meaning "fingers." According to Maud, "the object of the *Fine* was to draw together for the freeing of Ireland the wills of the living and of the dead in association with the earth and the elements which to her seemed living entities." They would go to sacred sites and light the Beltaine fire of the ancient Gaelic festival, and Ella would burn herbs gathered from different sacred sites—sending up a sweet scentlike incense—in order to unite all Ireland. Then they would invoke the ancient gods to help them bring back the *Lia Fail* (Stone of Kings), which had been taken from Ireland and placed in Westminster Abbey. Long before the Findhorn community of Scotland did so, Ella Young was communicating with the elementals to make plants flower out of season. "She said plants responded to human love," recounted Maud.[40]

Simultaneously, Maud was on the founding committee of the *Cumann na*

nGaedheal, a federation of all the nationalist societies, and, in a major breakthrough for women, became its secretary. Maud began a serious study of Gaelic with one of the other founders of the Daughters of Erin. She had finally begun to find friends among the women of Ireland.

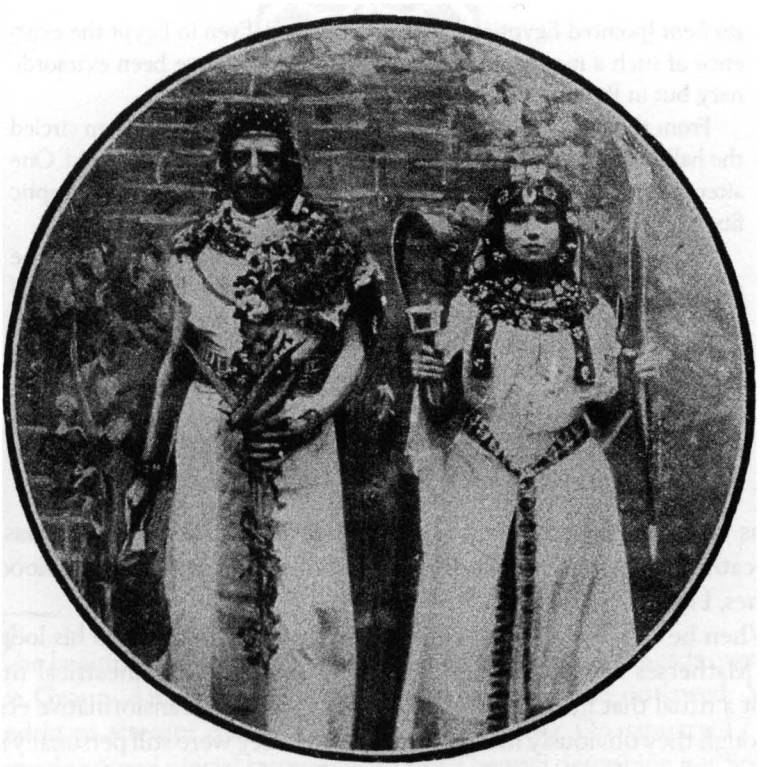
At the beginning of December, Maud made a quick trip to Paris for the arrival of John MacBride at the Gare de Lyon, direct from the fighting in the Transvaal. She found him to be a "wiry, soldierly-looking man, with red hair and skin burnt brick-red by the South African sun."[41] They had dinner together and talked on through the night. He was the first man of resolute action that she had met, and, as prophesied by an acquaintance, she was immediately at his mercy.[42]

She returned to Dublin full of MacBride's doings, having found in him the man of action that Willie was not. But MacBride left almost immediately to lecture and raise money in America.

At the beginning of October, Moina and MacGregor moved to 28 Rue Saint-Vincent in Montmartre, a house at the top of the hill with a large secluded garden that was perfect for sacred processionals. The journalist André Gaucher interviewed them there and learned the story of Isis and Osiris: how Osiris had warred with his brother-in-law Typhon, was slain, and his body pulled to bits and thrown into the waters of the Nile. And how Isis sailed around the world in her ship, gathering up the pieces of Osiris. When her son Horus finally captured Typhon and was about to kill him, Isis intervened because Typhon was her brother. "And so the struggle goes on between the God of Evil and the God of Justice and will go on until Isis intervenes and decides who is to be the winner," concluded Mathers. He then explained that Christian Rosenkreutz had been an initiate of these mysteries and that the coat of arms of the city of Paris pictured the boat of Isis. "Long before the Christian era ... one of the Pharaohs's daughters, the Queen *Scota*, brought to Scotland the altars of the Goddess," claimed Mathers, "and the tradition has been handed down until our time. I am the last link of this chain."[43] Mathers's claims seemed to be growing more and more grandiose.

Gaucher was later blindfolded and taken to a private Isis Ritual, which he described for the magazine *L'Écho du Merveilleux*. The ritual took place at a large country estate, in a hall filled with fresh flowers—even though it was November. On a stage at the rear towered a giant veiled statue.

> When the rite began the priest and priestess knelt at the foot of the statue to light a diffuser of perfume, and the sanctuary was filled with the scent of benzoin and incense. Then they sprinkled grains of wheat and flowers on the floor and on the worshippers.



THE HIEROPHANT RAMSES AND THE HIGH PRIESTESS ANARI
ROBED FOR THE RITES OF ISIS

The priest of Isis [Mathers], with a slight yet triumphant gesture, removed the mysterious veil from the statue. The goddess appeared, smiling; the worshippers fell to their knees, crying, "Isis! Isis! Isis!"

The priestess fell to her knees. The priest remained standing, his arms widespread, his head held high, ecstatic. Slowly, as if the floor beneath it were dropping away, the statue began to descend. The priest hastily covered it again with the veil. Then he gave out a terrible cry; the crowd answered with a mournful moan.

The white veils and garlands along the walls fell with an ominous shiver and the walls were revealed to be covered in black. At the same time the torches were extinguished, as if by an invisible wind. The drapes at the rear of the hall then tore apart with a sinister rustling. In the distance a shapeless, chaotic mass was slowly emerging from the blackness. The worshippers sat up, rigid, motionless, then cried out, three times: "Osiris! Osiris! Osiris!"

The enormous statue was in fact the Egyptian god, an enormous

> *pschent* [pointed Egyptian crown] on his head. Even in Egypt the existence of such a monumental granite statue would have been extraordinary, but in Paris it was totally incomprehensible.
>
> From the top of the statue a luminous, phosphorescent beam circled the hall, inexplicably, bathing the worshippers in the changing light. One after the other, in the eye of the god, they fell in ecstasy or in cataleptic fits.
>
> All around were sighs and convulsive cries. Bodies rolling on the ground, in the darkness, prey to terrible nervous spasms. Others stood up, straight and rigid, their faces drained of blood, their eyes haggard. A reddish glow lit the depths of the sanctuary with an infernal light, from behind the gigantic statue which seemed to be locked in a terrible grin. At the foot of the statue appeared a fantastic circle of superhuman beings: the hawk's head of the god Horus, the jackal's muzzle of Anubis, the bull's head of the god Thor.

"I was truly frightened," Gaucher admitted to his readers. "Yes, I was, and suffocating from the acrid vapors growing ever stronger from the blood-like torches, I lost consciousness."[44]

When he recovered, he was in a carriage on his way back to his lodgings. The Matherses had finally found in the magnificent and theatrical rites of Egypt a ritual that filled the participant with awe and transformative ecstasy. Although they obviously had wealthy patrons, they were still personally short of money, for only a month later Mathers had the gall to ask Westcott for a loan of £10.[45]

In early December the Horos couple resurfaced in London. Gardner wrote Mathers that "a gentleman with a Yankee accent about 5 ft. 1 inch, clean shaven, fair silky hair, half bald on top of head, dark eyes, and pale face with a fat corpulent lady who remained below in a carriage" came to see him. The woman used the name Swami Vive Ananda and the man called himself Mr. Cornish. Stating that they came from a Themis Temple in India, Mr. Cornish tried to pump Gardner about the Golden Dawn in England, but as he was unable to answer questions appropriate to his grade, Gardner refused to talk.

He exultantly added to his letter a bit of gossip about Florence. "Things have been going strong with Mrs. Emery lately, she got some plain English from me, and the sack from Mr. Ayton, and she and *Fortiter* [Annie] are having a grand old row."[46]

Mathers responded to the news about the Cornish/Horos couple saying, "I have every reason to believe them to be the emissaries of a powerful body who have for some years been trying occultly to injure other occult orders than their own.—They tried to break my Isis movement here but did not succeed.... They are persons to be ware of and the woman is a very wonderful medium & powerful in that way."[47]



Breaching the Sphere

1901

The beginning of 1901 saw Florence and Annie at loggerheads over the Sphere Group: Annie was determined that it should be outlawed; Yeats stepped in to attempt one compromise after another. On January 17 Florence made a "semi-official statement" to the Theorici describing her Sphere work, and a copy addressed to John Brodie-Innes survives. She reminded Brodie-Innes how she had encountered an Egyptian Adept in the British Museum in 1895 and that Mathers had approved of working with the Adept, although some members (Annie in particular) didn't like the Egyptian symbolism. Working initially with Allan Bennett, F. L. Gardner, and Charles Rosher in the evocation of Taphthartharath, she adapted a traditional Western ceremony to include Egyptian techniques from the *Book of the Dead.* Later (and it is not clear when) she formed a more formal group to work with suggestions from the Egyptian—but always "purely on Order lines."[1] Although the Egyptian work they did was both intensive and extensive, we know little about it, for no records remain.[2] The actual "sphere" work was different.

Florence described the sphere technique they used once a week: "We each simply invoke light upon the perfectly balanced symbol of the tree of life projected on a sphere." Its purpose was to call forth "the spirit of life and growth" so that "the great guardian wall of the sephiroth might shed its influence upon the planet and the Order." Essentially they saw themselves as a beneficial agency that made the energy of the Tree of Life safely available for transformative purposes. "This being done the Light was carefully concentrated upon the earth and upon the Sphere of the Order and upon our own

spheres."[3] The Golden Dawn called this Sphere the "Magical Mirror of the Universe." As Israel Regardie explained it, "This sphere surroundeth the physical body of a man as the Celestial Heavens do the body of a Star or a Planet, having their forces mirrored in its atmosphere."[4] See the "Sphere of Sensation" on the Kingdom of Man diagram and the accompanying description on pages 134–135.

While much of the Order work concentrated on clairvoyance, divination, and Hermetic symbolism, many members were attracted to Florence's ritual for creating peace and evolutionary wholeness on the planet, or to her use of Egyptian symbolism.

At the Order rooms on Blythe Road, Florence put up a notice showing that she was complying with one of Yeats's compromises with Annie by no longer allowing members below the grade of Theoricus in her group:[5]

> SSDD wishes to say that any Member of the Order who feels sympathy either for the study of the Egyptian Book of the Dead or for the symbolism of the Tree of Life projected on a Sphere will be very welcome to join her group on their attainment of the grade of Theoricus.[6]

Florence appealed to the council to make the Sphere Group official so that they could continue their work without harassment. The council met on February 1, and as the subsequent events are discussed in great detail in George Harper's *Yeats's Golden Dawn,* only a brief summary follows.

No minutes of the meeting survive, but Annie wrote a "Scribe's Account of the Executive Difficulty" telling her side of the story.[7] With *S.S.D.D.* as Moderator and *Fortiter* as Scribe, the meeting was to finalize plans for an election of new officers to the Executive Council. *Fortiter* made several proposals that *Ma Wahanu Thesi* (Marcus Blackden) questioned in such a way that she felt her honesty under attack, immediately creating an atmosphere of tension.

When the topic of "groups" came up, *Fortiter* said they were harmful to the Order and certain to bring suspicion and curiosity of an unpleasant kind and "every sort of ill-feeling amongst them." She claimed that a 5°=6° diagram (the *Minutum Mundum* that portrayed the structure of the Sphere) had been mutilated; she hinted that proper and safe procedures were not followed in the working; and she was suspicious of "irregularities" arranged in behalf of the group. Asking rhetorically, "Where did these suspicions come from?" someone answered, "They came from your own mind *Fortiter.*"

Annie saw herself as the champion of a righteous cause, forced to deal with unruly and destructive children. Members of the Sphere Group claimed she had called them evil. Her response was dramatic: "I stretched out my hands and said words like these 'I solemnly declare on my word of Honour that I

have never accused you of Evil, that I have never thought that you were working for Evil, and I have never even been tempted to think that your work was Evil but I cannot judge of your working except by its fruits such as I know them, they are Ignorance, Selfishness and Discourtesy.'" She ended her speech dramatically with one hand pointing to the Cross of Obligation and the other to her accuser, *Lucem Spero* (R. T. Palmer).

Informing the council that a Zelator (ZAM) had showed her a sphere diagram containing a "most serious omission," *Fortiter* pointed out that this made a "larger portion [of it] open to the Lower forces below . . . than to the Higher above." *Sapientia* replied that *Fortiter* should consider herself in the center (of the diagram), implying that this was a place of protection. *Fortiter* said that while in exile she had been asked to stand in the center of their sphere: "I refused because I was sufficiently grounded in our studies to comprehend the defect of the symbol and to object with reason to *Sapientia*'s choice of members for carrying out the scheme."

Furthermore, said *Fortiter,* in the British Museum several years previously, she had felt threatened by a force "coming from a small statue which I found to be that of their Adept. At that time it gave me a sense of ruthless destruction and a sweeping away of obstacles and a disregard of the weak and helpless."

Lucem Spero said he hoped "her ignorance would protect her from the terrible consequences of resistance against or objection to their workings." Annie saw this as a further example of the "horrible dangers for us all" and how they "would be helpless to even object to the most pernicious practices in our Tomb [the ceremonial Vault]."

A motion was made (described deprecatingly as an "oratory of freedom" by Yeats, who supported Annie) that "groups" were to be legalized, encouraged, and not overseen by anyone outside the groups themselves. Six voted for it with only the *Demon* and *Fortiter* against. They were the only two members of the Twelve Seniors in the Executive Council not in one group or another.

Both Annie and Florence were experiencing major inner change. Annie's progressed horoscope was full of activity: her progressed Venus was conjuncting her Sun in Libra, which indicates the formation of an intense emotional bond with someone—probably Yeats. Her progressed Mars was opposing her natal Venus (and Jupiter), intensifying all her emotions (but especially feelings of pride), while creating a struggle between those feelings and her will for independence. Conflicts concerning unusual and innovative thinking were emphasized by her progressed Mercury opposing Uranus in Gemini, which would also stress her nervous system. Her progressed Sun was exactly conjuncting her progressed Moon and opposing her natal Moon—

creating both a new and full moon atmosphere simultaneously—stimulating her to act emotionally rather than rationally. With the progressed Mars–Venus opposition forming a fixed Grand Cross (a configuration of tremendous tension), her frustrated needs and desires were liable to explode into destructive action. This pattern denotes an entire life change precipitated by crisis, conflict with others, breaking of old ties, and emotional turmoil. All the previous year, Uranus and Jupiter had been busily crossing her Descendant into her house of relationships, and Uranus was opposing itself (another sign of a deep life change)—such events can be extremely stressful on relationships of all kinds but can indicate the forging of a serious, although independent and unconventional, friendship between two people based on philosophical ideals and revolutionary dreams. The only candidate for this friendship was Yeats.

For Florence, transiting Jupiter and Saturn were building up to their conjunction (occurring approximately every twenty years) exactly opposite her Cancer Sun. At the same time, both her progressed Sun and Moon were conjuncting her natal Saturn. She was fully under Saturn's adversarial pressure, as epitomized by Annie's tactical opposition to her goals. Florence probably felt weary and discouraged, with all outlets for creative self-expression temporarily blocked, while Jupiter contributed a modicum of arrogant, self-righteous feelings about the importance of her beliefs.

The picture that emerges in Annie's report of the council meeting is of *Sapientia* sabotaging *Fortiter*'s carefully prepared agenda and overruling her. Whenever *Demon* came to *Fortiter*'s defense or "showed signs of his non-group mental attitude," *Sapientia* would call the room to order. She endorsed cross-examination of *Fortiter*, rather than stopping it. At one point *Sapientia* made her only speech, in which she energetically challenged *Demon* (*Fortiter*'s only supporter): "'Who and what are *you* in the Order?' or words to that effect." Yeats was, after all, only a Zelator in the Second Order and not yet a Theoricus. But from her astrological chart, we can see that Florence was experiencing a disheartened weariness rather than the fight that Annie was marshalling.

Annie and Florence had much in common: their interest in the occult and theatre and their involvement with Golden Dawn administration, teaching, and ritual. They should have been friends, and for a while they had worked closely together. A comparison of Annie's and Florence's charts shows a relationship based on professional security and status. But the theme of conflict between a sensitive Moon and restrictive but ambitious Saturn is prominent in their natal charts.[7] Their primary affinity lay in finding stability through organizational work and in their mutual interests in spiritual philosophy, literature, and original thinking—offering each other opportunities for becom-

ing more professional and self-expressive. Florence helped Annie with her artistic and professional goals; Annie assisted Florence in developing self-confidence and business proficiency. This aspect of their relationship is epitomized by the Avenue Theatre season of 1894.

But the conflicts in their charts were greater than the affinities. Annie saw Florence as emotional, self-indulgent, and hedonistic, while Florence saw Annie as aggressive, domineering, unsympathetic, and sanctimonious. Constantly prodding her to work harder, Annie pushed Florence to spiritual self-improvement but also criticized her lack of discipline and prudence. Florence was unresponsive to Annie's emotional moods and feelings, finding them burdensome. They tended to amplify each other's fears and emotional negativity and tried to control each other through guilt. The real incompatibility centered on Annie's establishmentarianism versus Florence's unconventionality. When in close proximity they couldn't help interfering with and resenting each other.

In a sense, and probably without being aware of its implications, Florence was transforming the Golden Dawn into something other than it had been under Westcott and Mathers. Neither Yeats nor Annie liked the direction she was taking, or more likely, that she was daring to chart new fields. Annie may also have been jealous of Florence's work with Yeats in his theatrical productions, for she had never told Yeats that she had financed the season at the Avenue Theatre. Yeats and Florence had a completely different relationship outside of the Golden Dawn. Florence, with her exquisite technique of musical recitation, was part of his vision of a literary, mythic, and ritualistic theatre; Yeats, on the other hand, after working diligently at his Celtic Mysteries for six years, still had no working rituals, while Florence had a loyal and enthusiastic following.

Soon after the council meeting, Yeats wrote a series of open letters to the "Adepti of R.R. et A.C. upon the Present Crisis."[9] Even in his first letter, he placed himself firmly in Annie's camp. Had Annie told him about the Avenue season after all and offered to finance his plays if he backed her?[10] "We have cast out the tyrannical rule of Frater S.R.M.D.," Yeats proclaimed, "and we must see to it, that a 'group' which originated from that tyranny does not bring the Order into a new subjection, which would be none the less evil because purely instinctive and unconscious." To Yeats the "groups" were a kind of foreign entity or psychic cancer that was destroying the organism: "[It was] a formal intrusion of an alien being into the conscious and the superconscious being of our Order." He urged them not to encourage groups having a separate obligation or magical personality.

When the members did not respond favorably to his proposition, Yeats wrote a second letter in which he "exposed" the inadequacies of the "organiser

of the groups"—Florence. The battle was in earnest! He claimed that Florence acted continually without properly consulting the council. She had changed ceremonies, diagrams, and lectures and had admitted candidates without going through proper channels.[11] "[These events] would have made a series of precedents," Yeats claimed, "that would have established an autocracy like that we have thrown off with so much difficulty."

Demon and *Fortiter* were, therefore, dismayed when the General Meeting of the Adepti resolved that all groups were declared not only legal but "admirable." Obviously members were deriving something of great meaning and personal significance from their groups—probably much more than they received from the Order as a whole. Even so, not once did anyone question the existing forms and teachings of the Order itself.

Annie didn't want members using Order rooms for other than Order business because she was afraid such secret workings might be improper. Yeats agreed with her that the Order could and should bar "any collective or individual practice of a distinctly mystical kind" and not give up "its right to any supervision over its rooms." He asserted that no one could be trusted, and so he saw the resolution to legalize the groups as coming from "powers that seek ends that are not the ends of this Order." He feared that the sphere of the Order had been breached by alien wills and powers, that "though not evil in themselves are evil in relation to this Order."[12] Distrust and dissension were rife.

What was never overtly acknowledged but consistently implied was that Florence's right to have her own "Chief" or Adept whom others might wish to follow was being challenged, and her judgment was on the line. As with many groups that lose their first charismatic leader, a power struggle erupted between those who wanted stasis and those who were open to continued development and change.

Yeats saw the Golden Dawn as an idealistic brother- and sisterhood of people who could work together with no barriers. Barriers constituted a flaw that would disrupt and eventually destroy the whole. On the other hand, Florence pragmatically found that barriers were needed to create a sacred space for serious work. The magical task of the Sphere Group met an unfulfilled need among many members for advanced and practical work. Annie wanted an Order ruled by clearly defined responsibilities and consequences. She also had a tremendous need to control those with whom she worked closely.

In March, Florence issued a set of instructions to Sphere Group members that was meant to clarify and accurately state their workings. She began by saying that the Sphere Group itself had no connection with any Egyptian Adept. According to Robert Felkin, in 1901 the Egyptian "was changing his place on the higher planes and could no longer work with us."[13] Florence now

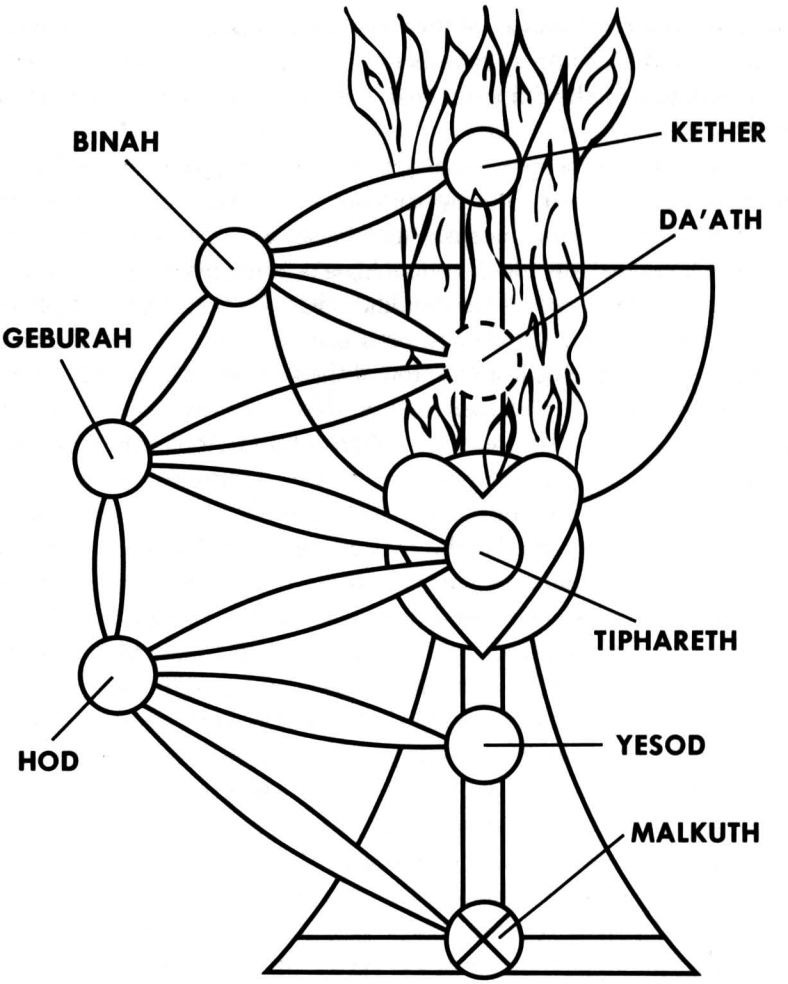
placed the Holy Grail instead of the Egyptian Adept on the central pillar.[14] The choice of the Grail may have been a direct development of Florence's 1892 meditation on the Empress card in which she committed herself to the Grail.[15]

There were twelve people in the "Sphere Working," evenly divided into six women and six men. Every Sunday from noon to 1 P.M., in their own separate homes but working simultaneously, they began by creating an image of the Cup of the Solistes (Holy Grail) containing a burning heart that represented Tiphareth. The *sephiroth* of the "middle pillar" (Kether, Daath, Tiphareth, Yesod, and Malkuth) were aligned on a central column, with Kether envisioned as a flame arising from the top of the Cup and Malkuth forming its base. The remaining six *sephiroth* were doubled (to form twelve) and arched toward the four directions, creating a sphere around Tiphareth. Each person took one of the twelve sphere positions, envisioning themselves not only as the corresponding *sephira* but as an entire Tree of Life within that *sephira*. They saw themselves clothed in the color of the planet, bathed in an aura the color of the *sephira*, and they consciously projected appropriately colored rays of light to the nearest *sephiroth* on the central column and to the *sephiroth* above and below them. This was a feat of tremendous concentration and visualization ability in itself, but the work was only beginning.

First they imagined that the *sephiroth* projected on the sphere were each approximately ten feet in diameter. This image was projected astrally over the Second Order headquarters at 36 Blythe Road. Then they imagined a larger sphere formed over all of London, with each *sephira* one mile in diameter. Next they formed an even larger sphere, 2,700 miles in diameter, over Europe. Fourth, they formed a sphere around the Earth, with Kether over the North Pole and Malkuth over the South Pole. In the fifth operation, the complete solar system (sun, moon, and planets) was placed in the center *sephira* of Tiphareth and the other *sephiroth*, each 900 miles in diameter, were placed in the starry universe and aligned with specific constellations.

Each individual then linked him- or herself from their own Kether to the sphere's Kether via a cord of diamond light through which they traveled to the flaming Crown at the top of the Grail. From Kether they all sent rays of light into the whole universe, the planet, the Order, and themselves. Each individual then returned to his or her own *sephira* and began the journey back to earth, deliberately treading underfoot the shadows known as *qliphoth* that could potentially generate evil. Thus they transmuted evil into good through the actions of the greater forces on the lesser.[16]

In April, Yeats made his last impassioned plea to his fraters and sorors, entitled "Is the Order of R.R. & A.C. to Remain a Magical Order?"[17] The only



THE CUP OF THE SOLISTES WITHIN THE SEPHIROTH AS PROJECTED ON A SPHERE—THE CENTRAL IMAGE FOR FLORENCE FARR'S SPHERE GROUP. SHOWN BRANCHING FROM THE CENTRAL PILLAR IS THE SEPHIROTH OF THE LEFT PILLAR. THIS IS JUST ONE OF FOUR PILLARS THAT CREATES A SPHERE AROUND THE CENTRAL SEPHIRA OF TIPHARETH. EACH SEPHIRA IS THE COLOR OF ITS PLANET; AND EACH RAY, CONNECTING IT TO THE OTHER SEPHIROTH, IS THE COLOR OF THE CORRESPONDING TAROT CARD.

way to keep the Order whole, he thought, was to absolutely honor the constituted laws, degrees, seniority, and examinations—or else they would break the Divine link that had been given them. Doctrines and practices kept secret from one another could only sow distrust and misunderstanding. He was afraid that groups would become political caucuses as well as create unhealthy

"astral unions." Florence demanded a postscript denying that she had created any kind of "astral union." Yeats countered that her "over-watchful individualism" had blinded her to this effect, because "symbols and formulae are powers, which act in their own right and with little consideration for our intentions." It looked as though this issue would never be resolved.

Back in early February, Maud Gonne had left for the United States to lecture with John MacBride.[18] The fund-raising was relatively successful, with Maud an effective speaker and MacBride modest and unassuming. While on tour, MacBride proposed to Maud, but she told him that she could not think of marriage "while there was a war on and there was always an Irish war on."[19]

It was not until June that Maud returned to England. She accompanied Willie to Westminster Abbey to see the *Lia Fail*—Ireland's Stone of Destiny—on which kings used to be crowned, and they discussed plans for its return to Ireland.

Willie asked her again to marry him, saying, "Give up this tragic struggle and live a peaceful life—among artists and writers who would understand you."

Could Willie ever understand that it was not what she wanted, nor what was good for him? "How often have I told you to thank the gods that I will not marry you. You would not be happy with me."

"I am not happy without you," he responded.

"Oh yes, you are because you make beautiful poetry out of what you call your unhappiness and you are happy in that. Marriage would be such a dull affair. Poets should never marry. The world should thank me for not marrying you."

Again she tried to tell him that her only true interest was in her work: "That is my life and I live—while so many people only exist."[20]

Maud retreated to the mountains of Switzerland with her daughter, Iseult. In August she returned to Dublin for the production of two plays by Alice Milligan, in honor of Lughnassa—the feast celebrating the marriage of Lugh, the Sun God, to the Royal Sovereignty of Ireland, produced by Maud's organization, the Daughters of Erin. Maud read the opening legend to the audience. "The raised curtain showed her, seated in an ancient carved chair, with an illuminated parchment book on her knee . . . [and] the quality of her beauty dulled the candle-flames."[21]

Stimulated perhaps by Milligan's legends of Irish heroes, Maud afterward visited a "haunted glen," where she had a profound vision that she described to Willie:

> I saw Semias [the Druid of the cauldron], he is still good to me but showed me several ways in which I have failed. He promised me I should acquire

> the power of healing. Then I followed him into the mountain by a long winding gallery & in a small round chamber was a table, at the end was a veiled figure. I could not see well. On the stone table was a cake of bread & a cup of water. I was invited to eat & drink & though I do not know who the veiled figure was or if I should have done so I ate and drank for I never err by caution. Then all disappeared. Standing by the stream I saw but very vaguely a great figure of a woman clad in dark shimmering purple & green with a veil that hid her face. I think she was Dana [Great Mother of the Tuatha de Danann in her Nature aspect]. Semias was with her.
>
> I went a long way up the stream till I stood by stones marked with 7 & with 9. There standing in the middle of the stream dressed in lily green was a beautiful girl. She stood still & presently sat down by a rock & a laughing baby child came also dressed in green & leant up against her. I don't know who they were. Once I heard the fairy music quite distinctly with physical ears, it came from out the mountain & was as if fiddlers were playing.[22]

It is possible that this vision, directed by the Druid of the cauldron initiation—representing love and nurturance—was announcing that she would be gifted with a child of the Tuatha de Danann—from the land of fairy. In accepting the offer of food and drink she had accepted their fairy gift.

By summer the Sphere Group was focusing on astral explorations of the Enochian alphabet. The surviving records are disappointing, the information gathered extremely vague: "Henoch walked with all the wise. To him was given much wisdom."[23] Florence attended only occasionally, as she found the proceedings disappointing. Writing for guidance in her journal, she asked, "Why does Miss O not get a correct key to the Enochian tablets?" The response was that Miss O was uninitiated and that neither Florence nor Humphries could properly consecrate her for the work.[24]

Rumors were rife within the Order: "Is it true that S.A. [Westcott] is working again with D.D.C.F. [Mathers]?" queried one member. "Some say S.S.D.D. has resigned! Others say she has not.... Some say MSS. have been found with more advanced teachings than we have. Some say that some are *still* in touch with the Third Order."[25] Most members were probably totally confused.

That summer Florence worked at her own skryings, spirit communications, and plans for two Egyptian plays she was writing with Olivia Shakespear, Willie's former mistress. In her journal, which is now in the private collection of R. A. Gilbert, she asked her guides about meditation and received a very Zen-like response:

> First regulate the breath then think of the breath as mind moving & still. Moving mind is uncertain mind. Certain mind sees all round in every

> direction without moving. It has not to seek. Desire is why seeking mind arises. The satisfied undesiring mind has attained[,] therefore there is no dissatisfaction. It reviews the changing world.[26]

As she worked with Egyptian concepts she asked to be guided as to their inner, spiritual significance and use. For instance, "What is the difference between the feather of Shu and the feathers of Maat?"

> The feather of Shu is the crown of light radiating thus . . . the palm tree aura. It is a victorious force springing from the dawn which is symbolised in the human body by the Eye. . . .
>
> The feathers of Truth [Maat] because of their lightness represent the air. . . . Sleep now and dream of the answer to your question.[27]

She would use this information in a lecture she gave the following month on "The Discipline of Kundalini," which she felt was the great force behind all "abnormal powers."[28]

Later that month she used the word *Yachad* as a password and invoked a serpent to lead her to the Adytum of Isis. When the snake appeared, she made it yawn. Entering its mouth, she went down some steps until she came to the Book of Thoth. She tipped up a stone to reveal revolving steps going farther down to a room with five alcoves. Each recess contained a different object: a rolled papyrus, a loaf of bread, liquids for drinking, garments to wear, and vessels of oil. She returned a second time, bringing offerings to the five shrines and received in return a ruby and the red wine of life. She could either let the wine "fall with generation" (ferment) or "be exalted into yellow flame of the intelligible life" (be distilled). She also received a secret name—with ineffable power over the material body—written on the papyrus role. The loaf of bread had an aureole around it "like soft white feathers gently buffeting the body—solidifying it." The garments included an Egyptian headdress called the *nemyss* with a Uraeus serpent and fifteen yards of kilted and twisted white robe. Finally she was given instruction about how to enter the sanctuary when she next returned.[29]

Florence might have used such visions in the Sphere Group, containing as they did specific ritual instructions and important symbols and techniques. But her group was under suspicion, and her "astral union" with her guides called evil. In September she asked about a diamond-patterned festival basket and was told that carrying products that varied with, and symbolized, the season ("in February almond blossom violets snowdrops young roots," etc.) could bring harmony, goodwill, and balance. For healing it was to be placed upon the gastric center.[30] Would bringing such an object to the Order meeting rooms be deemed as misconduct by Annie and Yeats and called harmful to the virtue of Golden Dawn members? It was time for her offerings to be



FLORENCE FARR WITH HER PSALTERY MADE BY ARNOLD DOLMETSCH IN 1901

distilled into pure flame rather than fall on those who did not want it, causing ferment. As Willie had done with his Celtic Mysteries, she could try offering her wisdom as theatre instead.

In the outer world, Florence was working hard with Yeats and the great musicologist Arnold Dolmetsch, developing their technique of chanting or "cantilating" verse—a kind of declamation using semi-musical notes. They

found that the chanting of a poem made it appear in a new light. Just because something read well did not mean that it could be chanted well. Yeats wanted Florence to chant one of Lady Gregory's folktales containing dialogues in verse, accompanied by a psaltery made by Dolmetsch with twelve strings, one for each note of her voice. The instrument was uniquely designed in a low register because Florence spoke an octave lower than she sang. The psaltery was ready in October, but it had cost Dolmetsch £10 to make, whereas Florence had expected to pay only £4. She decided to earn the difference by producing the Egyptian play she had been contemplating. Her first attempt resulted in "nice" performances of "a very amateurish Egyptian play," according to Willie. It may have been his suggestion that she work with Olivia Shakespear, who, as a successful novelist, could help Florence with the dialogue. Willie raised some more money by arranging a review and lecture on cantilating, with "illustrations" by Florence.[31] These new theatrical projects, coupled with Yeats's growing fame, could put her back "on the boards" after having almost totally given up theatre for the sake of the Golden Dawn.

That September the Horos couple were arrested in London—Theo for rape and Madame for aiding and abetting him. By placing marital advertisements in the papers, Theo and "his mother" enticed women into their home with promises of spiritual advancement, initiated them into "the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn" using the Neophyte ritual, and then told them that "the Spirit of Christ was in Theo and that the woman was to be his 'little wife.'" The sixteen-year-old victim, Daisy Adams (among others), had thus been initiated into their "Order." When Daisy eventually tried resisting Theo, "the Swami" (Madame Horos) held her head. Sometimes she would even lie in the bed with the couple. What emerged, as details from the court case were published, was an astounding tale of con-artistry featuring a sort of evil imitation of Blavatsky: Mrs. Horos had even used the name Madame Helena. Traveling from country to country—the United States, Australia, France, South Africa, and now England—Swami Vive Ananda (as she was also called) claimed to be the founder of an established spiritual order, and she built up a following through her mediumship and promises of healing or initiation. Then she would suddenly flee the country, leaving a trail of angry accusations and formal charges of thievery and fraud. The Horoses never seemed to learn from their mistakes. The couple had blatantly used the Golden Dawn rituals and manuscripts stolen from Mathers to create their latest escapade. In December, Mr. Horos was sentenced to fifteen years of penal servitude and Madame Horos to seven years in prison. The name of the Order and copies of its rituals appeared in all the newspapers, and the judge condemned the Neophyte obligation as "most blasphemous."[32] The Golden Dawn, as it had been, never

fully recovered from this final, public blow. Many members resigned or found themselves reluctant to acknowledge or recommend membership.

The year ended with Florence moving away from involvement with both the Sphere Group and the Golden Dawn as she developed her own techniques for working with spiritual guides. Yeats's offer of work for his new Literary Theatre, and her cantilations using the power of the human voice, were opening new doors and bringing her back to the excitement of theatre. Maud, involved as usual in politics and revolutionary plots, was initiated by the Druid of the cauldron and given the gift of healing and a fairy child. Annie was on a crusade to clear the Order of all evil entities, while Moina and MacGregor tried to hold their dream clear of the dirt flung at the Golden Dawn by those prosecuting the Horos couple.



Seeking the Old Forgotten Music

1902

In January the Isis-Urania Temple of the Golden Dawn changed its name to the "Hermetic Society of the Morgenrothe," and Florence Farr severed all association, never to return. So many council members had resigned that a temporary council was formed—but without Annie Horniman or Yeats, who had refused office. The constitution proposed by this council eliminated all examinations and teachings within the Second Order and even proposed to initiate people as 5°=6° who had not gone through the Outer Order. Both Annie Horniman and Robert Felkin claimed to have established links with their own Secret Chiefs. Felkin's were called the "Sun Masters," and Annie's was the "Purple Adept." Annie, now Senior Adept with a Secret Chief of her own, assumed she was the unrecognized but true Chief of the Order. Brodie-Innes declared that the Purple Adept seemed "a genuine astral personality—but just one of many of a certain small amount of power and knowledge on the astral," while he supported Felkin's claim that the Sun Masters were from the ruling Third Order.[1] Claimants to the chiefdom were gathering their forces. Annie and her *Demon* worked closely together rewriting the Golden Dawn rituals, beginning with the Neophyte obligation, and Annie took on much of Yeats's personal correspondence, as his handwriting was so obscure that few could read it.

Florence turned her back on ceremonial magic and commenced a journey along the path of mysticism. York Powell, having just seen Florence, wrote to Yeats's father: "She made some excellent coffee in a frying pan, just like the gypsy she is. She watches a fire like an old Tent-Dweller, and does not let time

interfere with her will. She plays with her life like a child with a toy, but she's a good pal and a brave woman."[2]

That January, Florence and Olivia Shakespear produced and acted in the revised versions of two short Egyptian plays, staged by "the Egyptian Society."[3] The one-acts were performed against a background of pale sienna hangings, creating the effect of "ancient frescoes or illuminated papyri." Egyptian temple walls were created by turning ordinary scenery "wrong way front," before which the actors posed, "looking really very like Egyptian wall paintings."[4] One reviewer found it the most bizarre performance of dramatic art he had ever seen. Yeats, in his review, now called them rituals "of a beautiful forgotten worship."[5] Although possibly inspired by Mathers's Rites of Isis, these plays were not intended to rival them; however, by combining dance, incense, chants, and religious fervor, they foreshadowed the temple performances of Ruth St. Denis a generation later.

The first play, a conflict between earthly love and divine wisdom, was called *The Beloved of Hathor.* It is set in 1500 B.C. on the eve of a deciding battle. The warrior-chief Aahmes, upon the completion of a great test, is to marry the Priestess of Hathor and become king. The young sorceress Nouferou, during his night of prayer in Hathor's Temple, tempts Aahmes with her charms, taunting, "Wisdom is immortal but love will destroy her works!" Because she succeeds in tempting him, Aahmes fails the spiritual test. The High Priestess, played by Florence, chastizes the youthful Nouferou: "Love must serve and wisdom rule; but you would put love above all! Your love would have put out the light that shines from the glory of Egypt."[6] If personal love does not serve spiritual devotion, says this play, it will ultimately destroy the very life it claims to offer.

The second play, *The Shrine of the Golden Hawk,* fascinating from a magical point of view, is Florence's own work, as notes for the play in her journal demonstrate.[7] It parallels and illustrates the state of her own inner journey. The time is 4000 B.C.; the place, the ancient Sinai.

The scene opens as Gebuel, magician-priest of Fire, invokes the god Heru into an amulet made in the form of a Golden Hawk. With this god-empowered amulet he hopes to overcome his enemy, King Zozer of Egypt, builder of the step-pyramid. Then he receives from his divinatory stones a dire but confusing portent: "One must be made desolate." A veiled seeker appears at the gate of the temple, saying she has been led there by a dream in which a Golden Hawk overcomes the serpents of wisdom. She wants to gaze on the face of this Heru, but Gebuel tells the seeker she will be destroyed without the proper rites and a vigil. She speaks the words of portent, "the light shines forth and leaves you desolate," frightening Gebuel, who leaves her to her vigil before the inner sanctuary.

Alone, the seeker, who is really Nectoris, daughter of Zozer, reminds her Ka (spirit-self) of her father's command: "If you, a woman wise with the serpent wisdom, should gain that sanctuary and bring back the amulet, I will give the throne of Egypt to you and to your daughters for ever, that honour may be paid to the woman of splendid courage. And no man shall reign over Egypt, in his own right, from that day." With the entire future of women in Egypt resting on her shoulders, Nectoris enters the sanctuary to steal the amulet.

The light of Heru pierces her. In *Egyptian Magic* Florence had described such an experience as "the primal entity" descending "upon the upstretched arms of the Ka in the form of the Hawk."[8] Nectoris cries out in words borrowed by Florence from among the earliest Egyptian texts, words which must have been at the heart of her own spiritual vision:

> Let my feet move now in triumph to the music of the worlds beyond space, where thy mighty heart beats out the rhythm, making the worlds to fall and rise in their order, and the star to follow in their courses! I am drunk with conquest, and I shake the sistrum [rattle] and dance with my naked feet unscathed upon thy golden floor! And the measures I dance are to me as the movement of a great army which has scaled the awful walls of thy majesty, and taken the fortress of thy wisdom.

Rather than being destroyed, Nectoris becomes one with Heru and the meaning of the portent is revealed: "Whoso is made one with the gods makes their holy places desolate, and himself becomes their sanctuary." She declares, "Heru has put his finger upon me and marked me for his own, and I am Egypt." Instead of entering into Gebuel's amulet, the god Heru has entered, and now lodges within, Nectoris. From this point forth, the divine lineage of Egyptian royality will pass through the women.

Nectoris invites Gebuel to come with her to Egypt and bring his shrine of precious stones, for "in chrysoprase [is] the secret of vision, in amethyst the inner fire of the soul, in chrysolyte the secret of seership, in lapis lazuli the hidden wisdom, and in cornelian the secret of ritual." Gebuel understands now that Heru resides within her and he must follow. "Is not the dwelling of Heru my dwelling?" he says. "I follow you . . . for you are the will of Heru made manifest."[9]

From *The Shrine of the Golden Hawk*, we can finally understand the change that came over Florence in relation to the Golden Dawn. The priest Gebuel (MacGregor Mathers) represents the followers of ceremonial magic—relying on talismans, sigils, stones of divination, and magical objects. But Nectoris, as the Egyptian mistress of the sacred, wise with the serpent mysteries, wraps herself in her higher genius (Ka) and invites the God to enter her

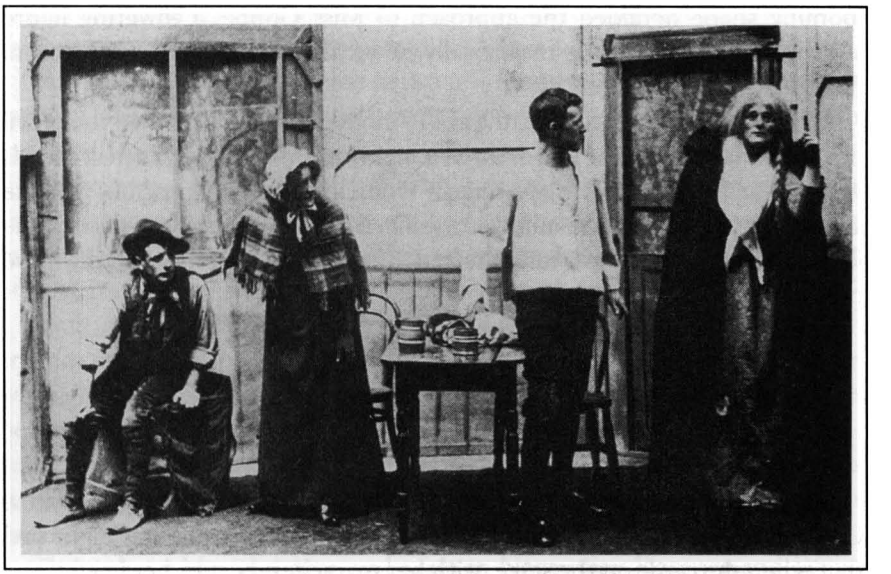
directly! This is the change that Florence first made in the Evocation of Taphthartharath in 1896 when she spoke *as* Thoth rather than *to* him, creating within herself a sanctuary, a living space for him to enter. In this play she makes clear, for all who choose to listen, that she strives to become the dwelling place for the gods and to dance only to their heartbeat. In the Golden Dawn, the magician invokes the gods to learn their wisdom yet is always fearful that he or she will be tricked by illusion or overtaken by adverse forces. The magician must then command and threaten, using pentagrams of protection, arising through hierarchies of power, relying on the tools of magic. One of Annie's charges against Florence was that she didn't use the proper invocations, signs, sigils, and tools of protection. While these may yet be necessary to the growth and understanding of some, represented by Gebuel, Florence forsakes them all (understanding them as mere symbol) for the direct experience of the God—what some call mysticism. Amulets, crystals, incenses, and implements are merely extensions of the magician: reminders and points of focus. They are our teachers, and once we have learned their lessons, we recognize that the knowledge and ability has lain within us all along. The play is thus an allegorical enactment of Florence's motto, "Wisdom is given as a gift to the Wise."

MacGregor Mathers was anxious to see Maud Gonne, but she wrote Yeats that she didn't even answer Mathers's letter. "I really can't afford to have Charlatans about—people don't understand."[10] Obviously the affair with the Horos couple was news in Paris as well as London, and many doors must have suddenly shut upon the Matherses.

Maud had agreed to take her first and only acting role in Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*,[11] produced as a fund-raiser by her organization, the Daughters of Erin. William Fay's amateur Irish National Dramatic Company would direct and act it, while Maud would play the title role of Cathleen.

Maud continued to have visions of the woman she had seen the previous year in the haunted glen: "I keep getting a vision of a beautiful grey shrouded figure holding a wonderful jewelled chalice, which I think at times contains fire, for I see flames sometimes rising from it. Through the grey veils one can see the glimmer of precious stones & jewels." Years earlier Maud had successfully banished the Grey Woman who frightened her, and she did not think this vision was related to that. "She is very calm & seems to be great & holy. Do you know what it means?"[12] It seems likely it was Cathleen ni Houlihan herself, otherwise known as Dana or Brigid, the Spirit of Ireland, who had come to prepare Maud for her role in Yeats's play.

A few days later Maud's old nurse, Bowie, whom she used to visit at Howth, died. Bowie was the closest thing to a mother she had known, and she had also



MAUD GONNE AS CATHLEEN NI HOULIHAN IN YEATS'S PLAY, APRIL 1902

raised Maud's half-sister, Eileen Wilson. Perhaps the Grey Woman had come to guide Bowie to the Celtic summerland.

As Maud had to remain in Paris for a series of lectures with Major MacBride, she would arrive in Dublin only two weeks before the performance, so "she learned her part by chanting it beside a stream."[13] She found her own costume: "a beautiful untidy grey wig, a torn grey flannel dress *exactly* like the old women wear in the west, bare feet & a big blue hooded cloak."[14] Only thirty-seven years old, she was determined to look sixty.

Cathleen ni Houlihan was presented April 2, 3, and 4 at Saint Theresa's Hall, where they turned away crowds at the door each night. An Irish Mystery play, it tells the story of a young man who, on the eve of his marriage, leaves his family and wife-to-be to follow an old woman—the mystical figure of Ireland—to his death. Yet, in the last moment, as she leads him away to "help her in her time of troubles," she is seen to be "a young girl . . . with the walk of a queen." It is this queen to whom Maud had dedicated her service as proclaimed in the title of her autobiography: *A Servant of the Queen.*

On opening night the stage had been set, the audience seated, and the actors assembled—all except for the principal player, for Maud Gonne was nowhere to be found. Florence Farr, having completed her job as choral director of the previous evening's entertainment, waited anxiously with Willie Yeats, while Annie Horniman smiled and satisfiedly bemoaned the dilettantism of an amateur production. At last, a rustle at the back of the room and a

looming shape heralded the approach of Miss Gonne, a towering figure swathed in black, striding majestically down the narrow aisle. Cathleen ni Houlihan took the stage.

One of Maud's close friends, the poet Anna Johnston,[15] had died the previous morning. And by the end of the year many more of Maud's dearest friends would also pass away. This awareness—conscious and unconscious—of the silent martyrs of Ireland manifested itself in Maud's performance, making the last four lines, chanted to a tune she had "heard by clairvoyance," all the more poignant.[16]

They shall be remembered for ever.
They shall be alive for ever;
They shall be speaking for ever;
The people shall hear them for ever.

As the writer Mary Colum (who married the Irish playwright Padriac Colum) described the opening: "Those who saw her on the first night said that when she came on the stage, with her marvelous beauty, her height, and the memories of her militant patriotism, people's hearts stopped beating, and many including Yeats himself, wept."[17]

Yeats thought Maud Gonne "played it magnificently, and with weird power."[18] To the young and admiring actress Maire Nic Shiubhlaigh, "watching her, one could readily understand the reputation she enjoyed as the most beautiful woman in Ireland, the inspiration of the whole revolutionary movement. She was the most exquisitely-fashioned creature I have ever seen. Her beauty was *startling*. . . . She was the very personification of the figure she portrayed on the stage."[19]

Soon afterward, Yeats wrote to the director William Fay saying that a wealthy friend had told him, "Work on as best you can for a year, let us say. . . . At the year's end do what Wagner did and write a 'Letter to my Friends' asking for the capital to carry out your idea."[20] Annie was this wealthy friend. She was more than interested in Yeats's dramatic projects, for she recognized his genius and saw her opportunity to create an experimental theatrical movement.

But it was Florence Farr who would work with Yeats at creating a "new art" of speaking verse. In his essay "Speaking to the Psaltery," in *Ideas of Good and Evil*, published in March 1902, Yeats described the effect of Florence's art: "I have just heard a poem spoken with so delicate a sense of its rhythm, with so perfect a respect for its meaning, that if I were a wise man and could persuade a few people to learn the art I would never open a book of verses again." He was convinced that, as with the bards of old, poetry should be heard and not

read in print, and his verse plays were an attempt to create that experience for the masses.

"A friend [Florence], who was here a few minutes ago," he explained, "has sat with a beautiful stringed instrument upon her knee . . . and has spoken to me some verses. . . . Wherever the rhythm was most delicate, and wherever the emotion was most ecstatic, her art was most beautiful, and yet, although she sometimes spoke to a little tune, it was never singing . . . never anything but speech . . . nor was it reciting, for she spoke to a notation as definite as that of song, using the instrument . . . to give her the changing notes."[21]

Yeats imagined an Order of Troubadours that could carry forth this "new art," for which he planned to write all his shorter poems. That Florence would be the first denizen of this Order was apparent. Yeats and Florence began by sponsoring evenings for poets, during which (sometimes accompanied by Arnold Dolmetsch), they would present their new art, hoping to interest others in writing poetry specifically with this oral technique in mind.

Throughout May and June and again in November, Florence and Willie gave a series of lectures and performances on "Poetry and the Living Voice" and on "Heroic and Folk Literature," for which Florence's recitations were examples of the ancient bardic mode.[22] As their friend A.E. expressed it, "We are seeking for the old, forgotten music once heard in the dunes of kings, which made the reveller grow silent, and great warriors to bow low their faces in their hands."[23]

About the third week in June, Florence joined the Theosophical Society. Two weeks later, after hearing G. R. S. Mead speak on Theosophyising Christianity, she questioned why that was even necessary. In her journal she asked her guides about the role of Christ among the Adepts and was told that that force worked through many beings and was currently working through a man called Ramanathan. Ponnambalam Ramanathan was a Ceylonese Hindu teacher who was visiting London, speaking to spiritual seekers introduced to him by his sons' tutor, Allan Bennett, Florence's comagician from the Golden Dawn, who had gone to the East. Florence was fascinated by Ramanathan's spiritual teachings and his educational plans for his country.

In her journal, Florence next wondered why there were different Adepts and was told that they work through different thoughts and colors. Her color was "green" but she most needed ruby pink. The color of Christ was blue and pink—"His message is not for you," she was told. She was then advised that the powers of the "Will Force" and that of Maya were constantly ebbing and flowing, with neither permanently conquering the other. If this was so, it only added to a sense of meaninglessness, a "worry of existence" that she was feeling.

"It is only folly that causes worry," she was told. "All you desire is yours the

instant that you consider that it is yours. . . . Remember the Ruby." She had been given the ruby during her Empress vision when it appeared in the center of the Grail, and then again in the sanctuary of the Adytum of Isis, but she no longer knew how to manifest that aim in the world.

"May I see my path clearly?" she asked.

"Think of nothing but the sentence

B♭		CD♭C		D♭	E♭		B♭	D♭E♭D♭		B♭	B♭C	B♭
I	am	the	one	Without	Motion;		giving	motion	to	all	things."	

She was instructed to repeat this mantra using only the tiniest of intervals.

This particular sequence of notes, with its use of quarter tones, is reminiscent of the hypnotic sounds used in snake charming. Imagining her voice an octave lower than that of most women, and remembering that she was trained in the art of vibration, we can appreciate how this chant would have reverberated through everything she did, and, like the snake rising, elevate her emotions.

On October 28 Maud Gonne played Cathleen ni Houlihan once again—and for the final time—for the first Samhain festival of the *Cumann na nGaedheal*. Florence Farr, who was the general stage manager, lectured with William Butler Yeats on their theories of cantilating, and they recited poetry along with the psaltery.

There was now a new constitution for the Golden Dawn. It vested authority for one year in three Chiefs: Percy Bullock, Dr. Robert Felkin, and John Brodie-Innes. MacGregor Mathers wrote them in a fury, threatening lawsuits and demanding the return of his properties, especially an Egyptian painting of Osiris by *Vestigia*, and claiming that one of the rebels had trained and sent Madame Horos to Paris as *S.D.A.* (Sprengel) in order to subvert his authority. He also made it evident that Westcott was in complete agreement with him.[24] This is one of the great mysteries of the Golden Dawn: What was Mathers's hold over Westcott that he could drive him from the Order, claim deceit on his part, and yet retain his unswerving loyalty?

Annie Horniman stepped forward claiming that her honesty had been questioned concerning election methods the previous year and that she should be vindicated by a "public" trial with three judges. Then she demanded the opportunity to perform a magical Ceremony of Banishment, in the presence of her colleagues, to rid them of an evil force left over from the Sphere Group that was still attacking her and the Order. "Her own view is that she, having attracted to herself an evil force, which was attacking the Order through the

Group, has been the means of saving the Order." Felkin felt that this force was real but that it had warped Annie's mind to the extent that she was now its agent, disintegrating the Order through her extraordinary attitude of suspicion. "This constant correspondence and irritation and fault-finding are unbearable," he said, protesting that he was one of her "pet aversions."

Brodie-Innes tried to calm Felkin: "Fortiter I think (like an irate whale) should be allowed to blow, but otherwise not heeded. She has a good knowledge of elementary clairvoyance and of the techniques of the Order, and is extremely valuable in this respect." With the falling away of so many core members of the Order, they needed her expertise in order to continue with the initiation rituals and with magical training. Instead of a trial, the Three Chiefs awarded Annie a "judgment" that was read before the members, which she grudgingly accepted.

As for the banishing ceremony, Annie first wrote a long statement giving "disciplinary" and "occult" reasons why the Sphere Group had been disruptive.[25] Among the disciplinary reasons was "spiritual vanity," which hindered legitimate Order study. The occult reasons were more extensive, such as the flaw in the central sphere symbol—being more open to the *qliphoth* than to Kether, it would draw evil forces from the astral plane. Moreover, "no member has any right to add to an Order symbol or ceremony a new and possibly alien influence or to alter or mutilate for any purpose whatever symbols handed down to us in the Order." Annie believed that their rules and agreements were written as in stone.

Because the astral shell of the Sphere Group was continuing to cripple and injure the Order through want of "perfect confidence amongst its members," it was necessary, she avowed, to "banish and disintegrate it forever," which she was perfectly willing to do. "The V.H. Soror[26] submits that having been invited astrally to the centre of the sphere she is the appropriate person to perform the banishing ceremony." The ritual was finally scheduled to be performed on December 11 before those members who wished to attend.[27]

The ritual may never have taken place, for at the end of November, Annie was in Paris lunching with Maud Gonne and discussing the progress of Yeats's latest play, *Where There Is Nothing*.[28] From there she probably went on to Florence, Italy, where she usually spent Christmas.



Swept by a Tumultuous Power

1903

Early in 1903 a major hurricane swept through the British Isles, toppling ancient trees and destroying homes; many a landscape was permanently changed. It came to be known as the Year of the Great Wind. And for several of the Golden Dawn members, the hurricane seemed to reflect a time of death and rebirth in which the landscape of their lives was drastically reordered. Each was swept by an overwhelming force into a new order. The tumultuous power of their desires and emotions required new forms to contain them.

It all began quietly enough. Following the production by William Fay and the Daughters of Erin of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, an amateur theatre group formed: the Irish National Theatre Society. Its purpose was to produce plays by Irish writers on Irish subjects, hoping to "discover and stimulate new work." Members of the group included William Butler Yeats, Maud Gonne, Lady Gregory, George Russell (A.E.), J. M. Synge, Padraic Colum, and the actors William and Frank Fay. The literary and historical nature of the resulting plays, and the daring usage of Irish-English and Gaelic in serious drama instead of stock comedy, would be so innovative (and even shocking) that the plays would not usually make enough money to cover expenses. The society would also be the focal point of Willie's Celtic Mysteries, which were now masquerading as plays.

From the beginning, the group was rife with controversy, with members threatening to resign whenever there was disagreement. For instance, Maud wrote Willie from Dublin in January that she was incensed that Willie Fay

would dare to change the admittedly inflammatory patriotic ending of Padraic Colum's *Saxon Shilling*. "I cannot remain vice president of an Association where I am told only the stage manager's opinion counts not only as to acting but as to altering cutting & choosing plays, & which may as in this case involve a question of principle."[1]

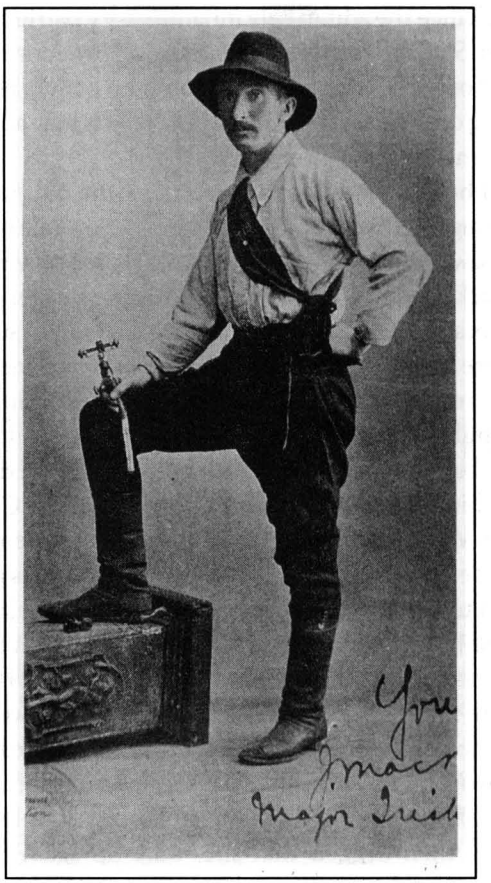
Maud found herself plodding through the same old patriotic articles and speeches. Although her work seemed to help the morale of the people, it was wearying. She saw John MacBride often in Paris, for he was now exiled from Ireland, homesick, bored, and penniless. Both were eager for revolution and spent long hours animatedly concocting plans that might succeed where arms and money were lacking. Occult visions seemed like mere fantasies in the presence of this restless man of action. They began working out a grand sacrificial act that could change the course of Irish history forever.

On her way back to Paris from Dublin, Maud stopped in London to see Willie—to tell him that she had decided to become a Catholic and marry John MacBride. Willie went nearly mad with despair. He wrote three letters trying to dissuade her. A remaining draft cries out with his personal pain, even though he tried to speak only of the good of Ireland. Their spiritual marriage of 1898, blessed by the god Lugh himself, had given him this right to speak, he declared. It was because she came from a superior class that she had accomplished so much. Through this marriage, he warned, she would lower her soul to the level of the people and thus rob them of their "great lady."

"It was our work to teach . . . that the soul was immortal & that one prospered hereafter *if one laid upon oneself* an heroic discipline in living," he reminded her and then begged that she "take up again the proud solitary haughty life which made [you] seem like one of the Golden Gods." He wrote this letter as if his very life depended upon it, concluding, "for [it] is not only the truth & your friends but your own soul that you are about to betray."[2]

Not only Willie but *everyone* tried to dissuade both Maud and MacBride from marriage, for it was obviously some sort of perverse Irish madness. Maud wrote her sister, "MacBride and I are interested in the same work and the Irish movement is a people's movement. . . . We have a vitality and joy in life which I used to have once, but which the hard life I have had wore out of me."[3] She could not see that her renewed vitality arose not from a fundamental attunement but from the excited anticipation of their planned political action.

Maud reassured Willie in her letters that she intended to keep her own name, to work as before, and that their friendship "need not suffer." She told her sister Kathleen, "I shall be just as independent and live my life as I always have and go on with my work in the same way. . . . My marriage won't change me now one bit."[4] She was able to convince herself of this because she saw MacBride not as a man but as a plan for Ireland.



MAJOR JOHN MACBRIDE WHEN FIGHTING THE BRITISH IN THE TRANSVAAL

In a sense it was a kind of lunacy, literally, as the astrological transits over Maud's chart indicate, for she had the classically worst aspects under which to make an important decision. Primarily, transiting Neptune, the planet of both spirit and illusion, was conjuncting her Moon (Luna-cy) and opposing her Sun. While stimulating her desire for spiritual experience, which manifested in her joining the Catholic church, it also made her confused and prone to misinterpret information from the unconscious. Self-delusion was unavoidable. Romantically intrigued by someone completely inappropriate for her, and fatalistically obsessed with the idea of a grandiose patriotic sacrifice for the homeland, she could see nothing else. Involvement in secret or devious schemes during a Neptune transit rarely work to one's advantage, mostly because of totally misplaced trust. Simultaneously, Uranus was beginning to conjunct her Sun and oppose her Moon, indicating the beginning of a period

of wild instability and chaos. Although it was time for her to break old habits and chart a new course, she couldn't afford to take any idealistic weaknesses or delusional patterns with her. They had to emerge, intensified, magnified, and unavoidable, for her to consciously release them from both her personality and her soul.

What their friends did not know was that Maud, as she settled her affairs, made her will, and arranged guardianship for Iseult, saw both herself and MacBride setting out on a mission of no return.

As always, words could not express what she felt inside: "I *know* that I am fulfilling a destiny & but for the sorrow I have in giving pain, I am at peace with myself."[5] When the outer planets such as Neptune and Uranus, known as transpersonal planets, are making contacts in one's chart, there is always a feeling of *destiny* about the resultant actions.

About becoming a Catholic, Maud told Willie she must look at "God or truth through the same prism as my country people."[6] In her autobiography she explained her belief that "every political movement on earth has its counterpart in the spirit world and the battles we fight here have perhaps been already fought out on another plane and great leaders draw their often unexplained power from this." Therefore she turned to the Catholic church as a "repository of spiritual knowledge," longing for its "protection and guidance."[7] This aspect of her spiritualizing Neptune transit would remain, although she always interpreted the Catholic mysteries in her own unique way, seeing little difference between saints and gods.

Willie warned her not to become simply one of the masses. For Maud, this was what she wanted, to join in the life of her people, which he could never understand: "Willie I have always told you I am the voice, the soul of the *crowd*." Willie, of course, wanted her to continue being elevated above him, like Helen walking the walls of Troy.

On February 18, at thirty-six years of age, Maud was baptized a Catholic, and during the conversion ceremony that required her to repudiate heresy, in her own inimitable way, she substituted a repudiation of "England and the Anglican Church."

On February 21 she married John MacBride.[8]

Another schism among the magicians that spring resulted in Felkin and Brodie-Innes forming the Stella Matutina, under direction of the Third Order Secret Chiefs contacted by Felkin, while A. E. Waite with M. W. Blackden formed the more mystical Outer Order of the Independent and Rectified Rite and its inner Fellowship of the Rosy Cross. Yeats would remain in the Stella Matutina until at least 1923, eventually completing the Theoricus grade and finally advancing to the 6°=5° and possibly even 7°=4° grades created by Felkin.

At the end of February, Annie Horniman, after three more years dedicated to the Golden Dawn, but finding no support for her own concerns or seniority status, resigned from what was now called the Hermetic Society of the M.R. It was a waste of time and effort to continue where she was not wanted. She was forty-two years old, and it was time to put her energies and expertise to real use in a place where they would be appreciated.

Annie spent part of every year touring Europe in order to attend theatrical performances, operas, and art gallery openings. She wanted to promote an artistic theatre in the English language so that young playwrights could develop their abilities through professional productions, while also offering quality performances from the classic repertoire. She recognized Yeats's budding literary genius and wished to make his dramatic vision available to the world. Although Annie volunteered her services to Yeats as a part-time secretary and organizer, helping him with his correspondence and periodically cleaning out his rooms, she ached to do something more creative.

At this point, Annie did a series of four Tarot readings that were to result in the birth of the modern English repertory theatre. Annie's original letters to Yeats recording these readings and her brief interpretations of them are kept among the Yeats papers at the National Library of Ireland.[9] All quotes are from these letters, unless otherwise indicated.

Theatre historian James Flannery in *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre* noted with amazement that the interpretation of all four of her Tarot readings presented the actual sequence of events that was about to happen:

> It is perhaps even more remarkable that some of the predictions themselves are extraordinarily accurate, particularly those concerning the new directions which Yeats was to take in his life and art, the conflicts with the Fay brothers which were to develop, and the final quarrel with Miss Horniman herself.[10]

Annie, being punctilious, followed precisely Mathers's directions for laying out the cards and reading them, as described in a series of teaching papers, Manuscripts N, O, and P of *Book "T"—The Tarot*. They therefore provide excellent examples of Golden Dawn Tarot divination methods as well as telling the story of the founding of the Abbey Theatre.[11] (All cards appearing in the four readings are identified in endnotes 14, 15, 23, 29, and 34 of this chapter. Only in the fourth and crucial reading, which appears later in the chapter, do I delineate the cards in detail and explain the entire method.)

The deck that Annie used for these readings can only be guessed at. It probably resembled that used by Yeats, which was a particularly rare and beautiful Italian deck and must have been purchased for him by Annie who

wintered every year in Italy.[12] She certainly would have obtained a similar one for herself.

On March 1, only days after resigning from the Golden Dawn and one week after Maud's sudden marriage, Annie first asked the Tarot for advice. "D. [*Demon*] and I spoke to-day of a current [of energy] and plans of working in it. The plans are to be the cutting, the cards of our significators Q and Prince S. [Queen and Prince of Swords] to tell the results."

The cards were divided into four stacks and the bottom card of each stack noted and interpreted. They indicated that Yeats's intellectual plans, being firm and solid, could earn success with effort, once he recovered from a loss.[13]

The second step involved spreading the cards from the stack that contained Annie's significator, the Queen of Swords, into a horseshoe shape and interpreting them in groupings of three determined by an elaborate counting technique described in endnote 35 of this chapter . These cards[14] told Annie that she was experiencing a complete change from Death to Life and that the passing away of a brown-haired woman was to bring a radical change in her hopes. This referred both to the death of her involvement in the Golden Dawn and to the passing away of Maud's involvement with Willie. Since Maud was out of the picture, Annie's influence with Yeats would be all the stronger. The cards also suggested that "work for love" had a divine sanction, although success could be earned only after overcoming some troubles, and her hopes would not be completely fulfilled. She wanted to play some part in Yeats's rapidly developing plans for a theatre of his own, and since the theatre was something that she truly loved, the future looked quite bright—if she overlooked the fact that she might not get everything she wanted.

She then read the third stack containing the Prince of Swords, Yeats's significator, with hope and trepidation.[15] Yeats, it seems, "would remain anxious about giving up Princess S" (Maud again), and there would be much anxiety in their friendship, especially over a painful acceptance by Maud of her new status. But as he learned the necessity of this and gained peace, he would experience a "great violence of a new energy bursting over" his life, removing obstacles and bringing "fresh energy and power."

It was all very positive. Both Annie and Yeats were about to begin an exciting and productive period.

Meanwhile, Maud was in Spain with her new husband, on a honeymoon that was part of a wild plot to assassinate King Edward VII on his visit to Gibraltar. With Maud as decoy, MacBride sneaked out one night to do the deed, but he returned drunk, deed undone, and he remained drunk through most of the remaining honeymoon. It was as if an enchantment had lifted, and

Maud opened her eyes to find herself attached to a husband who was conventional, jealous, alcoholic, and violent. Ironically, drunkenness (another expression of her spiritual Neptune transit) had always horrified her. Now she looked it in the face daily. Yet, this marital disaster came at a time when she herself was consumed with violent and destructive urges. Perhaps she confused the need to destroy and rebuild herself with the need to destroy the hated English. Her hate had become a mirror, which now reflected everything back at her. She suffered the same fate that she had wished on others. In a sense the bomb intended for the king exploded on her, in the form of an out-of-control husband.

George Russell wrote Willie in April that both his wife and Ella Young were having disturbing dreams of Maud dressed in grey and weeping in the darkness. In one of the dreams she could not go home because "he would find me there."[16] Her friends instinctively knew she was in trouble.

By the end of April, Maud confirmed Willie's fears, telling him that her husband was drinking heavily and she wanted to leave him; however, already pregnant with their child, it was too late to have the marriage annulled. She would have to resolve herself to being Mrs. MacBride as best she could.

She tried to forget herself in a renewed effort to build the Celtic rites. Willie had recently been reading Nietzsche and shared with Maud how impressed he was by Nietzsche's belief in the heroic greatness of the individual. Disturbed, Maud tried to convince him that this was contrary to Celtic thought, "*for Neiche* [*sic*] *is not Celtic.*"

On the other hand, she saw no conflict between her Catholicism and her involvement in pagan rituals:

> To me it seems the spear of the soldier piercing the side of Christ & letting the essence of God flow into the Graal [*sic*] cup is the same symbolism as the spear of Lug [*sic*] piercing the night & letting the essence of God the spark of fire of the soul flow down into the Cauldron of regeneration & rebirth, & the font of baptism & the holy water seem to me the same as the purifying Cauldron of Dana which begins initiation, or the deep well by the tree of knowledge.[17]

Back in Dublin she sought involvements that could carry her away, and she jumped into the midst of several exciting political frays. She was out for blood. One encounter, known as the Battle of the Rotunda, was sparked when she publicly and pointedly questioned the Lord Mayor about his plans to welcome King Edward to Dublin. The event erupted into a brawl, and even the Lord Mayor was seen throwing chairs into the assembly. On this same visit, she draped a black petticoat from her window as a sign of mourning for the death of the Pope. Soon there were dozens of black "flags" hanging all over the

city, marring the view of the red, white, and blue flags on the supposedly triumphal day of the English king's visit.

Florence was now living largely outside the public eye, deeply involved in soul-searching Eastern meditation and reading the Hindu sacred texts. She wrote in her journal for March 23: "May I see more clearly now? Oh how long is it that you will wander about with every wind that blows. Fixed meditation is *the* only way. All wisdom of the world is useless in words it must be known in its manifest. Go back to the root of being."[18] She meditated on pure colors, concentrating on the ruby that had been recommended, and was told to ask no advice of any human being concerning the sacred work she was doing. She did not speak of it, even to her dear friend Willie, with whom she continued to lecture on their method of recitation.

She may also have been consoling him, through the healing powers of sex, for his loss of Maud. To Florence the most important aspect of sex, other than for procreation, was as a sacred temple rite in which the woman becomes the guise of the goddess Astaroth and heals the soul by assuaging the needs of the body. What she later defined as the first and second stage of the imaginative woman was the ability to be sympathetic to a variety of needs and to actually transmute or regenerate human nature.[19] This was epitomized through friendship, but her commitment to experimentation meant that she may also have tried the effects of physical alchemy.[20]

In other words, if Florence had an affair with Yeats, as his wife George later claimed, then it may have started at this time. But "their brief love affair came to an end because 'she got bored,'" according to George.[21] Or perhaps because the healing work was accomplished, and it was time to move on to other things.

During the month of May, Florence and Willie gave a series of recitals and lectures at Clifford's Inn, Westminster, and for the Irish Literary Society, culminating in a lecture on the psaltery at Owens College in Manchester. Cantilating was, they explained, "the original art of the minstrels and the troubadours, the original art in which all love, religion, and history were once expressed."[22]

At the beginning of May, the Irish National Theatre Society (or the I.N.Th.S., as they referred to it) performed five one-act plays in London at Queen's Gate Hall, of which three were by Yeats. The day before the first performance, Annie Horniman spread the cards a second time, asking: "How will the result of to-morrow's performances of his plays affect the Prince of S[swords]"[23] The result indicated a "gain of authority about his dramatic affairs." He would profit swiftly and find success, with "Mercury [the Magician] governing all."

The outlook was indeed good, for the whisperings of his rare talents as a writer were spreading.

Annie was, of course, trying to encourage Yeats, and therefore, as with all the Tarot readings, she slanted her interpretation as she wanted to see it. For instance, one pair of cards that she interpreted as a "happy change brought by a journey" could as easily read "happy change which is unstable and untrustworthy." In this case, as with many contrary interpretations, both meanings applied.

The plays were an immediate success, the critics delighted, and the houses packed. The cards said Yeats nonetheless would have to face some antagonism toward his plans. This could possibly refer to the opposition of William Fay—for the two Willies were "not harmonious characters," although they would work together. (In the long run, Fay would be both blessing and bane of the theatre society.) Or it might refer to the fact that upon his return to Ireland, Yeats found other members of the society jealous of his London success.

The reading indicated that peace would be restored between Yeats and the Princess W (of Wands—as Maud appeared in this reading) and that he would receive a letter from her. That month, Maud wrote him several unusually affectionate letters that were preceded and followed by long silences. While Maud wanted to reassure Willie of her concern and continued involvement in his Celtic Mysteries, she would not write him again until September.

The end of May brought Florence her first real opportunity to use her cantilating techniques in a classical drama. Harley Granville-Barker, who had been a mere stagehand at the Avenue Theatre in 1894, was now directing Gilbert Murray's translation known as *The Hippolytus of Euripides.* He wanted Florence to compose the music and lead the chorus—which she did, very effectively. Her compositions were strikingly beautiful, and her voice rose notably in the solo passages.[24]

Encouraged by the response to her work, Florence had an idea that she tried out on Shaw. Someone had suggested that she write and produce a narrative version of the Hindu Rig Vedas for the general public. "If you want to write popular books, write them," Shaw advised. "If you want to write mystic gospels, write them," he continued. "But in the name of commonsense don't try to popularise your mysticism or to mystify your popular readers. If preachee, preachee: if floggee, floggee; but no preachee floggee too."[25] Apparently she took his advice, for nothing came of this project. From today's vantage, we can see that Florence was far ahead of her time.[26]

Annie wanted to help personally with the I.N.Th.S. production of Yeats's ambitious new historical play, *The King's Threshold.* It would necessitate more elaborate costumes than previous productions, and Annie now offered to



ANNIE HORNIMAN SEWING COSTUMES FOR YEATS'S PLAY
THE KING'S THRESHOLD, 1903; FROM A DRAWING BY JOHN B. YEATS

provide them. A month before the opening, as she researched period costumes and sewed beautiful brocades and velvets in her London flat, Annie dashed off a third, amazingly accurate reading on September 13, asking simply: "D's affairs in connection with theatre?"

The four initial stacks indicated that "all is now settled. But there are still the remains of an upset. His thoughts turn towards his friends. Material prospects very happy and good."[27]

The upset was bigger than it sounded. Some of the more staunch Irish Nationalists were distressed over the coming production of J. M. Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen,* portraying the Irish peasant, they thought, as blasphemous and obscene. Also, theatrical director William Fay, while refusing Nationalist plays, seemed to bow to British Unionist flatteries. On September 25 Maud resigned as vice-president of the society, stating her disappointment in how the society had betrayed its Nationalist ideals: "I understood it was formed to carry on National & propagandist work by combating the influence of the English stage."[28] She would only lend her support to a group that was outspokenly political.

As Annie continued the Tarot reading she found that "Ireland [the Hierophant] is between some wish & the Queen S [Annie herself]"—which could only mean the Irish Nationalists stood between Annie and what she wanted.[29]

"A fair young woman [Maud as Princess W] is very angry but prudently restrains herself—she makes some final decision which will alter the mind and work of Prince S [Yeats]"—Maud's resignation arrived ten days after the reading. Annie's interpretation—"fair woman and fair girl are acting together"—predicted the evening one month later when Maud would walk out on Synge's play, followed by one of the society's most promising young actresses, Maire Quinn. The crowning card Annie interpreted as "disappointment in friendship crowns all." This was Yeats's disappointment with the members of the society who rejected Synge's play (now considered one of the great plays in the English language).

But Princess S (Annie) "makes a final fateful decision, and Prince S [Yeats] is inspired in his efforts to new energy leading to fame and gain of Power."

Annie decided to buy a theatre for Yeats: "I sat alone here in my flat making the costumes for the Irish Players to wear in *The King's Threshold.* I was thinking about the hard conditions in which they were working, and the idea struck me that if and when enough money were to turn up, I would spend it on hiring or building a little hall where they could perform in fair comfort."[30] This was her dream, and with the most outspoken Nationalists (like Maud) now out of the way, the possibility lay clear before her.

Thus, Annie was delighted by the recent developments, while Maud fumed as she watched her notion of a *national* theatre disappear on the wind—but not before she had publicly declared her stand. She wrote the *United Irishman* that a national theatre must appeal to the masses, "and if the Irish people do not understand or care for an Irish play, I should feel very doubtful of its right to rank as national literature, though all the critics in England were loud in its praise and though I myself might see beauty in it." Knowing how interested Annie Horniman was in Yeats's theatre, she also warned: "Mr. Yeats asks for freedom for the Theatre, freedom even from patriotic captivity. I would ask for freedom for it from one thing more deadly than all else—freedom from the insidious and destructive tyranny of foreign influence."[31] But with Maud married, the field was open for Annie.

On October 8, only days after her forty-third birthday, *The King's Threshold* opened, with costumes by Annie Horniman. One critic found them "inspired by rare intelligence and a poetic imagination." They were "classic in the dignity and beauty of the lines . . . but the Celtic and romantic influence comes out in the elaborate detail of the rich ornament—the jewelled devices, the embroideries, the designs in precious stones."[32] Besides working like a

demon, Annie had spared no expense. Another reviewer described the costumes of King Guaire and his court as having "a richness almost barbaric. The cut and colour of each garment adjusted, I understand to a scheme marvellous in its emotional and symbolic value."[33] Annie's magical training was still at work.

On October 9 Annie did her fourth Tarot reading, asking the question, "What is the right thing for me to do in regard to the I.N.Th. now?" She sent the result to Yeats, writing him:

Oct. 9th/03

Dear Demon,

Read this Tarot please. I am so anxious to help effectually as best I may & it seems as if it were already ordained. I'll stay on here during next week to see what I am to do. Do you realize that you have now given me the right to call myself "artist"? How I thank you!

Despite her certificate from the Slade School of Art, and her years of generously supporting the artistic endeavors of others, it was only now that she felt herself becoming truly creative in her own eyes, fulfilling a deep need never before acknowledged to another person.

Excited by this fourth reading, and noting the fact that her Hudson Bay stocks had just doubled in value, Annie decided to purchase a building that would be the permanent home for a national dramatic movement in Ireland. Officially, she did not make her offer until the following year, but there is no doubt that the decision had been made when she sent Willie this reading.

Even now, a century after this Tarot spread was originally laid out, it still contains the power of that fateful moment, and its details contain secrets that are still being brought to light. This reading demonstrates both the timeless quality of the Tarot and the capability of Tarot spreads to illuminate the psychic fabric of complex events spanning many years.

Sitting in her room at the hotel, Annie shuffled her Tarot deck and cut it into four stacks. She interpreted the bottom card of each thus:

Yod/Fire = High Priestess: *Some change is directed by the Highest.*
He/Water = 7 of Swords: *Irresolution as to the course of action.*
Vau/Air = 10 of Wands: *Anger in the Mind.*
2nd *He*/Earth = Devil: *Most solid Materiality needed.*

Annie now took all the cards in the third stack, which contained her Queen of Swords significator, and placed them in a horseshoe from right to left beginning with the 10 of Wands.[34] Commencing with an overview of the spread,

she counted the cards in each suit. There were nineteen cards in all, which was considered a "bad" indicator, but this would have little substantive effect. Five Trumps (Major Arcana) meant that the reading was within her own Will. If there had been a majority of Trumps, then the situation would have been fated—outside her Will or control. Among the Minor Arcana cards, there was a majority of Wands, which she construed to mean "Energy must prevail." What she willed would come to pass!

Counting numbers on the cards that repeated, Annie found three 3s, which according to Mathers pointed to some kind of deceit. "I think something now which is not *fact*," she noted. She believed she could be an equal part of this creative enterprise, working harmoniously with Yeats and the others to build the theatre of their dreams. This was her greatest delusion.

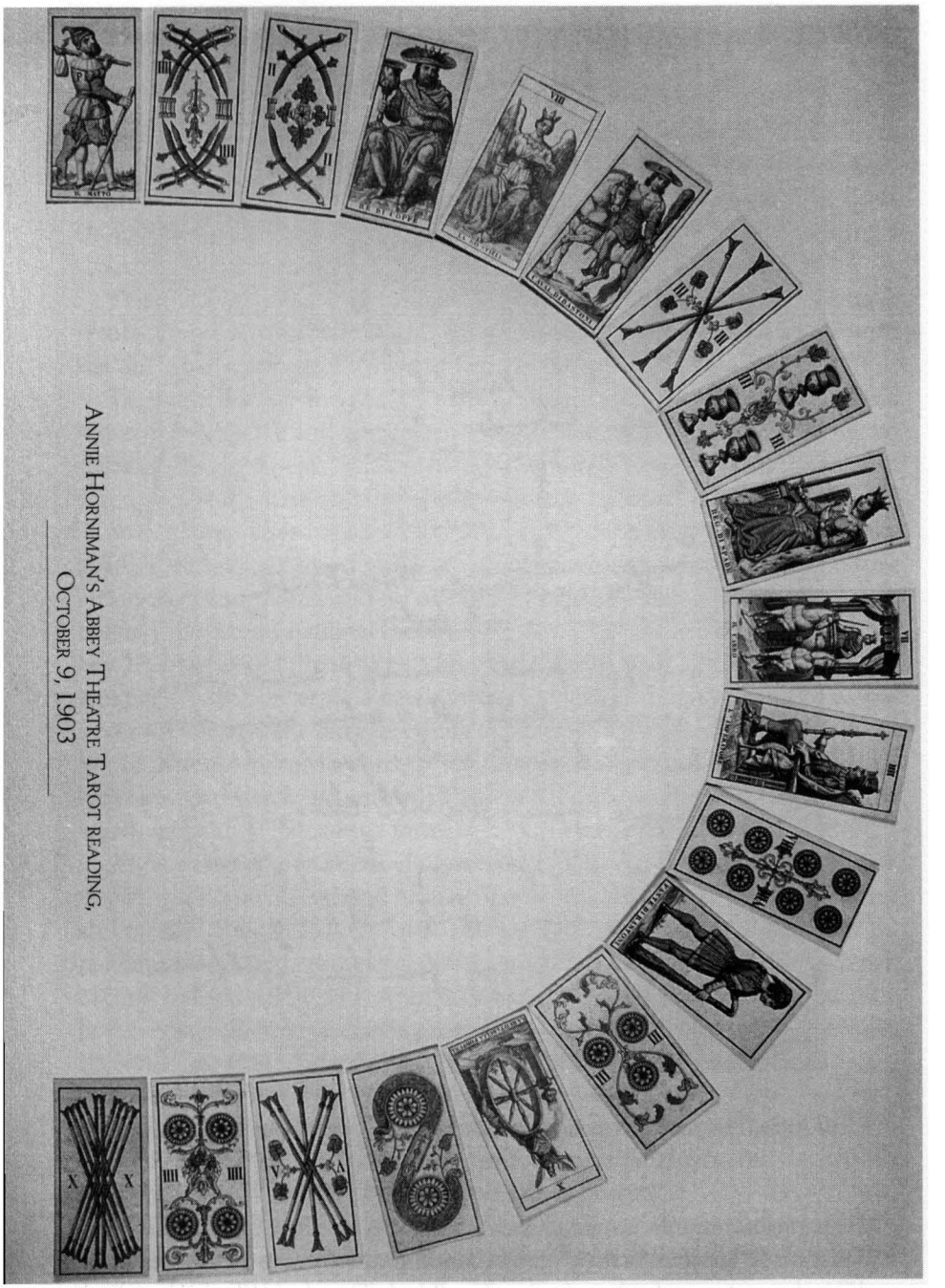
Next she read the cards in triadic groups. These triads were determined by a complex method of counting beginning with the significator (Queen of Swords) and counting in the direction the Queen faced.[35]

For her interpretation of the triads she wrote:

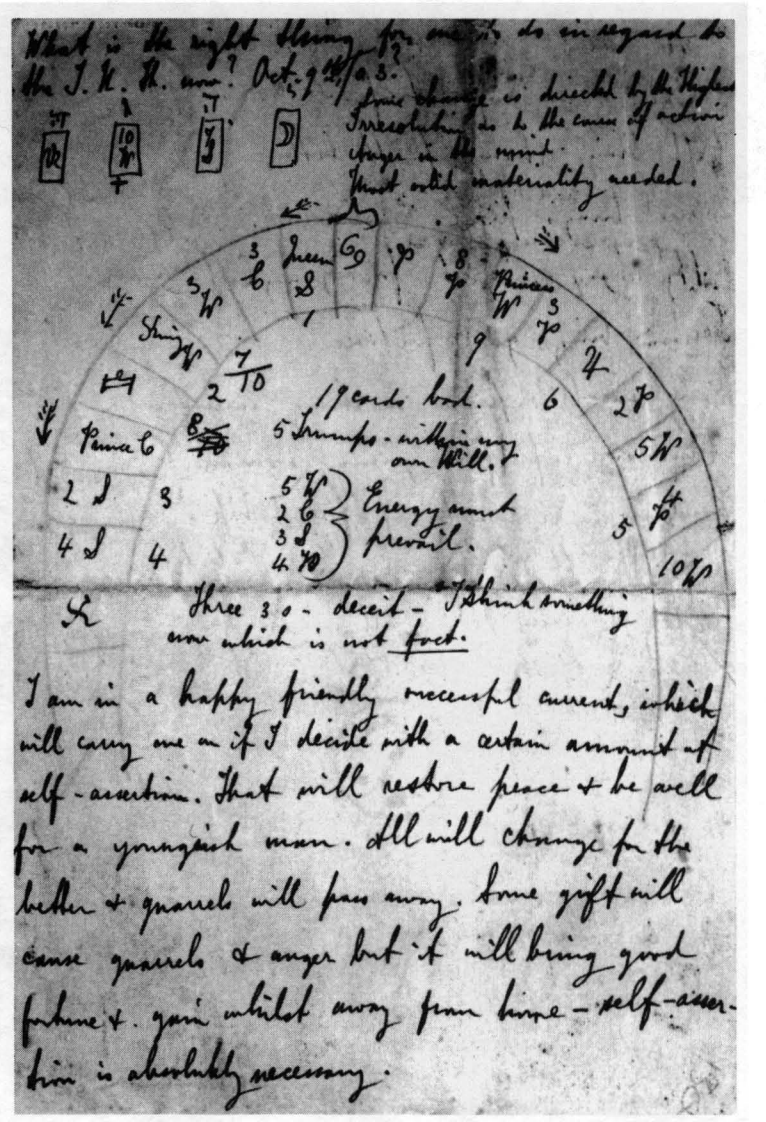
1. *I am in a happy friendly successful current* (Queen of Swords; 3 of Cups; Chariot)
2. *Which will carry me on if I decide with a certain amount of self-assertion* (King of Wands; Justice; 3 of Wands)
3. *That will restore peace & be well for a youngish man* (2 of Swords; 4 of Swords; Prince of Cups)
4. *All will change for the better & quarrels will pass away* (4 of Swords; Fool; 2 of Swords)
5. *Some gift will cause quarrels & anger* (4 of Pentacles; 5 of Wands; 10 of Wands)
6. *But it will bring good fortune & gain whilst away from home.* (Wheel of Fortune; 3 of Pentacles; 2 of Pentacles)
7. *Self-assertion is absolutely necessary* (3 of Wands; King of Wands; 3 of Cups)

For some reason she didn't comment on the last two triads, but she might have interpreted them thus:

8. *I am in a good current to make a [legal?] decision concerning a fair young man* (Justice; Prince of Cups; King of Wands)
9. *A fair young woman is moving away from prudence and toward a business transaction* (Princess of Wands; 8 of Pentacles; 3 of Pentacles)



ANNIE HORNIMAN'S ABBEY THEATRE TAROT READING,
OCTOBER 9, 1903



FROM ANNIE HORNIMAN'S LETTER TO W. B. YEATS DESCRIBING HER TAROT READING

Her interpretation was marvelously accurate. Annie (the Queen of Swords) had just made her first "artistic" contribution to the theatre by designing and making the costumes for Yeats's play, *The King's Threshold.* She foresaw such opportunities continuing if she asserted herself, and she did design costumes for two more plays.[36] Yeats was concerned whether the I.N.Th. could continue,

and so her assistance would bring him peace of mind. The quarrels mentioned in the fourth triad might have referred to disagreements about the Golden Dawn, to the uproar over J. M. Synge's plays, or possibly to Yeats's and Annie's disagreements over costumes: simplicity versus "historical correctness." Yeats wrote Frank Fay: "Miss Horniman has to learn her work . . . and must have freedom to experiment. I have told her that old stages permitted elaborate dress though not elaborate scenes, and this combined with the fact of its being a Court, misled her into overdoing colour and the like in certain parts."[37]

The gift that could cause quarrels definitely foreshadows the long-term result of her gift of the theatre building for the I.N.Th.S., for her alliance with the directors was to be choleric and end in bitterness.

The good fortune and gain that she achieved "away from home" in Ireland was the experience and reputation she attained, which would serve her so successfully elsewhere. "Self-assertion is absolutely necessary" implied that it was time to take action and go ahead with her decision.

So she turned her back on fiscal prudence, which even with an income of £700 a year was not easy for her to do. Few people chose to invest in culture rather than commerce, and no one in an English-speaking country had ever before subsidized a national theatre. Like her 1894 theatrical season, the Abbey Theatre would prove to be a financial disaster. By 1907, when she began looking in Manchester for a new theatre, she was sure that the Abbey would never survive, and she did everything in her power to convince Yeats to allow her to produce his plays abroad. Yet all her enterprises, backed as much by her innovative vision and enthusiasm as by her money, ultimately proved their worth as major events in the formation of the modern English theatre.

Annie's next step in the reading, according to instructions in *Book "T,"* was to pair cards from either end of the horseshoe, moving in toward the center, and then to interpret those pairs. The strength or weakness of each pair depended upon whether its elemental energies were congenial or not. Each pair of cards is listed below with Annie's interpretation. The marks following each line indicate whether, according to *Book "T,"* the cards are considered Weak (*), Moderate (**), Moderately Strong (***), or Very Strong (****).

Fool + 10W	=	*Passing away of strife***
4S + 4P	=	*Gift brings change for the better**
2S + 5W	=	*Quarrel brings peace****
Prince C + 2P	=	*Happy change or visit for youngish man****
Justice + Fortune	=	*Decision brings good fortune****
King W + 3P	=	*Many small expenses in strong current***
3W + Princess W	=	*Annoyance of fair young woman*****
3C + 8P	=	*Prudence in a matter of friendship****

Queen S + Emperor	=	*Queen S with Aries, a new beginning of life****
Chariot	=	*Victory and success crowns all* ("One card at the end of the pairing signifies the partial result of that particular part of the Divination," says *Book "T"*)

These final interpretations (rendered by Annie in their most positive light) round out the story. The Fool can act foolishly or represent the highest spiritual wisdom. Annie was moving directly into strife, like a fool, but guided by a Divine Intent. Annie's gift of the Abbey Theatre brought a good change but also introduced new problems, as the 4 of Swords, which can represent illness, should have told her. Quarrels with Annie often led to strange alliances among others, creating a suspension of animosities as they faced a common enemy in "that Englishwoman." Yeats (the Prince of Cups) left in November on his first trip to America—a sea voyage—as the 2 of Pentacles can signify, in addition to "happy change."

Annie's decision, as Justice and the Wheel of Fortune indicate, was truly a fortunate one, and, although she constantly dealt with "small expenses," these made her happy. Annie was a good businesswoman, and all her transactions were carried out through legal contracts or letters of intention. Although she made the Abbey the home of the I.N.Th., the building remained legally hers until 1910.

The 3 of Wands, interpreted as "annoyance" in relation to Princess W, showed that Maud Gonne (who had been the Princess of Wands in other readings) would be annoyed by Annie's decision. Or it could have referred to Lady Gregory.[38] Neither Maud nor Lady Gregory was pleased at having "their" theatre owned by an Englishwoman, yet neither had the resources or inclination to buy a theatre themselves. As for the relations between Annie and Lady Gregory, according to Maud Gonne:

> Miss Horniman had the money and was willing to spend it, but Lady Gregory had the brains.... They both liked Willie too well. Lady Gregory won the battle; Miss Horniman's money converted the old city morgue into the Abbey Theatre, but it was Lady Gregory's plays that were acted there. Miss Horniman brought back Italian plaques to decorate it but Lady Gregory carried off Willie to visit the Italian towns where they were made.[39]

Annie would have done well to be prudent not only in her friendship with Yeats but especially with Lady Gregory—in whose name the theatre was licensed as the only one formally "domiciled" in Ireland. As a result, Lady

Gregory came to claim that the Abbey was founded by herself, Yeats, and Synge.

Yet, despite all the problems—which Annie preferred to overlook—this opportunity did give her a much-needed "new beginning of life." She moved quickly to find and secure a theatre by the spring of the following year.

The concluding card was a singleton, indicating the final, although only partial, result of the question: the victory of the Chariot. Unfortunately, the Chariot is ultimately unstable in itself because it is essentially adolescent. In the long run, the Abbey Theatre was for Annie Horniman only a training ground. It was at her Gaiety Theatre in Manchester that she was able to build the art theatre of her dreams, establishing a reputation for both quality and daring, playing not only superb performances of the classics—from Greek drama to Shakespeare to English Restoration comedy to the finally lauded Ibsen—but also encouraging young playwrights to develop their talents. It was at Manchester that she would earn her title "founder of the modern English repertory movement." Thus, like the Charioteer, there would come a time when she would move on.

On Christmas day, John MacBride and a friend came home in an intoxicated condition. When the two men got into a fight, and MacBride drew his revolver, Maud tried to stop the fight. Although she was eight months pregnant, he kicked her several times. After that, the drinking intensified.



Combating Obstacles

1904–1906

Jean Seaghan (Sean) MacBride was born on January 26, 1904, when Maud was thirty-seven years old. Maud was ill again, but as soon as she was able—sometime later that year—she took Sean to Ireland for baptism.

In October she returned to Paris, to a situation that she ever after referred to as "the hideous [or horrid] crash." John and his friends, drunken and "indecent," had assaulted several of the women in her household. Worse than that, her eighteen-year-old half-sister Eileen had hurriedly married MacBride's forty-three-year-old brother after being raped or seduced by John. It is possible, as hinted by Maud, that he also assaulted ten-year-old Iseult.[1] Maud could not possibly remain in the marriage now that MacBride threatened the well-being of her children. At her breaking point, with the total ruination of her marriage, her attitude changed from that of victim to that of a lioness protecting her cubs. Digging deep, she courageously faced what fate was presenting her.

To astrologically determine an unknown birth time—a process called "rectification"—one needs the most significant dates in one's life. When Willie wanted to rectify Maud's chart, she gave him the date of the "hideous crash." She wrote:

> I think what you say about *fate* (Saturn in mid-Heaven) at the time of the discovery about MacBride should be correct, for months before it happened I was like one in a dream waiting for some event I knew not *what*, that would end my marriage. I waited quite calmly knowing only one thing that I must wait & be *quite still* & let fate work—It was one of the

> reasons I think that made me so reluctant to start divorce proceedings. I felt I ought to remain quite still & trust to fate,—even now I don't feel quite sure that I was passive enough at that time. MacBride had to disappear from my life because fate had ordered it—I need not have troubled about helping fate by going to law.[2]

Pluto, then not yet discovered, is the major planet signifying fate. Its square to Saturn in Maud's chart represents the need to eliminate anything that made her ineffective in controlling her own life (despite what she says about remaining passive), which Maud now set out to do with characteristic Plutonian thoroughness. Her progressed Moon was conjuncting natal Saturn, suggesting that her structures, indeed, her entire sense of security needed changing—while simultaneously bringing up tremendous guilt about not being a better mother. She struggled against a sense of being overwhelmed by forces larger and darker than herself. Her childhood fears and her Grey Lady forebodings had materialized in the form of a destructive husband who threatened her home, family, and public standing. Internally, she experienced a crisis of belief—both about Catholicism and in her notions about the "man of action." Although she claims that she acted passively, perhaps suppressing her deeply held rage, the astrological aspects indicate that she probably had an explosive confrontation with MacBride. Certainly, from that day forth, she unhesitatingly took actions that flew in the face of the prevailing Irish attitudes about morality and the norms of the Irish Catholic church.

Maud first attempted a peaceful settlement arranged by friends but found that mutual acquaintances either disbelieved her or winked at the situation—after all, they asked, had she not married an *Irishman*? But her Saturn aspects showed that she, above all, needed to be taken seriously. She proceeded to the courts, seeking formal justice and vindication to the world. She applied for a divorce, choosing the French courts partly because the rape evidence involving Eileen (and possibly Iseult) would be admitted *in camera* (that is, secretly) but also because in the Irish courts, drunkenness would be seen as an *excuse* for criminal behavior rather than a crime itself. Because of MacBride's alcoholism, and needing certainty that she would not lose Sean, she demanded complete custody until he was seven. Her husband fought her terms, but she would not compromise. She was forced to be explicit in describing MacBride's behavior, but most people disregarded her allegations about such a brave and famous patriot; indeed, they condemned her for bringing scandal to the Irish cause. As she later explained it, "They considered that a woman's life should not count, if by sacrificing it they could keep their hero, *their one fighting man* intact.... The only misfortune is that their hero is not a hero, that he has entered on the path of compromise.... *I know* him to be incapable of any strong action."[3] Yet she dared not hire a detective to obtain proof of his vile behavior

because surveillance and investigation might endanger his work for Ireland.

MacBride, distraught and apparently jealous, accused her of adultery with all her male friends, and he specifically threatened to kill Yeats. Maud asked Willie to stay away, not wanting him involved in this "miserable tragedy." She doggedly let no one help her. Several of the aforementioned astrological transits point to her need to rely on her own resources, avoiding closeness to mitigate a deep-seated fear of abandonment.

Maud's single-mindedness coupled with a militant arrogance—both indicated by expansive Jupiter squaring her protector-of-the-home, Mars in Cancer—enabled her to dedicate herself throughout all of 1905 to the legal nightmare of pursuing her divorce and gaining custody of her child.

The court case took a long time, and Maud, forced to remain in Paris, found that she could keep herself occupied with drawing lessons. This lifelong desire was now sparked by the imaginative and artistic Neptune transiting her individualistic Uranus. By becoming a painter, she at last moved in the direction of reclaiming her own creative talents, which she had previously projected almost entirely onto Yeats. In particular, she admired Gustave Moreau's innovative techniques, mythic subjects, and jewel-like colors. She developed skill quickly, crediting her own "untiring energy which has to find expression somewhere—[to] take me out of my personal life."[4]

Annie Horniman, in an offer that surprised Maud, went in April 1905 to Ireland to do a little private-detective work. She investigated the MacBride family's public house (pub) in Westport, County Mayo, and tried to get people to talk about the family.[5] She overheard the MacBride solicitors confess to having been in love with Maud, and she spied on John's older brother: "He does not look a nice sort of person or rather not a pleasant character."[6] But her yeoman efforts turned up nothing of real importance.

The divorce trial was complicated by the issue of whether Maud and John were Irish citizens. The *Cumann na nGaedhael*, the organization she helped found, claimed she was not of Irish descent and elected MacBride vice-president as a political statement of support. (Transits to her Nodes, denoting relations to cultural norms, indicated that Maud would be seen by others as an inconsiderate rebel.) In response, other organizations rushed to elect Maud as their president, despite her requests not to make this a political issue. Her concern, she said, lay with the safety of her children.

It was MacBride himself who broached in court the matter of Iseult (then ten years old), claiming that Maud had not mentioned her before because she was lying. But Maud did not want Iseult to testify because she had been ill for weeks after MacBride's attack.

The final judgment was rendered on August 8, 1906, at 12:10 P.M. (the time exactly noted by Maud so that Willie could calculate a chart). For Maud,



MAUD GONNE WITH SEAN AND ISEULT, CIRCA 1906

it was disappointing. She was granted legal separation but not divorce (because MacBride was deemed a resident of Ireland, which did not allow divorce) on the grounds of drunkenness but not immorality (because the latter was insufficiently proved). MacBride also won weekly visitation rights, and, after Sean attained the age of six, would have physical custody for one month a year. With the recent Liberal landslide in Parliament, MacBride was able to return to Ireland, but Maud stayed for a while longer, keeping Sean in France for fear that MacBride might take her son.

Maud finally felt free to resume her life. One night in October 1906, two months after the court decision, Mary Colum went to see a performance of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and Lady Gregory's play *The Gaol Gate*, and there she saw Yeats enter with a tall woman dressed in black, "one of the tallest women I had ever seen. Instantly a small group in the pit began to hiss loudly and to shout, 'Up, John MacBride!'"

> The woman stood and faced the hissers, her whole figure showing a lively emotion, and I saw the most beautiful, the most heroic-looking human being I have ever seen before or since. She was about six feet tall and of both romantic and commanding presence. Her height would have drawn attention anywhere, but it was her beauty that produced the most startling effect. It was startling in its greatness, its dignity, its strangeness. Supreme beauty is so rare that its first effect is a kind of shock. Yeats, standing beside her looked bewildered as the hissing went on; his face was set in lines of gloom, but she was smiling and unperturbed. Soon a counter-hissing set up, the first hissers being downed by another group, and then I realized who she was. Maud Gonne, heroine of the Irish revolutionary movement, the woman the French called the Irish Joan of Arc, whose beauty and personality had given a dream to all sorts and conditions of men, from royalty to peasants. She was a legend to us young persons in our teens.... For all her height there was something exquisitely delicate in all the lines of her.... She did not look very robust. And yet she was full of an electric, psychic life; she was alive to the last hair of her head.... She must have been at least forty years old, but she seemed ageless.[7]

Annie made her offer to establish a theatre in Dublin in April 1904.[8] The offer was accepted on May 11—marking the birth of the Abbey Theatre. "In my soul," she would write, "I felt that I was doing something in Ireland that had to be done by an outsider, by someone with no axe of her own to grind, something far wider than any artistic effort."[9]

She was resented from the beginning, and her good intentions suspected.[10] Rumors circulated that she had personal motives, whether religious or political, and even a plan to make a large fortune. "No one seems to guess the simple fact—that I care for dramatic Art," she retorted.[11] "All my pleasure in the scheme was destroyed before the building was first opened, but I was determined not to let my personal feelings stop my actions."[12]

On December 27, 1904, the Abbey Theatre opened its doors for the first time—although Annie did not attend. The play was Yeats's *On Baile's Strand*, with costumes by Annie Horniman and musical arrangements by Florence Farr. Yeats had railed at Annie's overly bright red-and-green "Father Christmas" cloaks, and probably for that reason, she never designed anything for the stage again. On the other hand, Annie let everyone know what she thought of Florence's "music of speech." "Mr. Yeats cannot hear tones," wrote Annie to the stage manager, William Fay. "I think it polite not to make him aware of the facts of the case.... Quarter tones are such extremely delicate things that no amateur is to be trusted with them except in very rare cases. If you do anything with notes, do them 'purely'; or else leave them alone altogether."[13] The last two years, since the time she had sought to exorcise

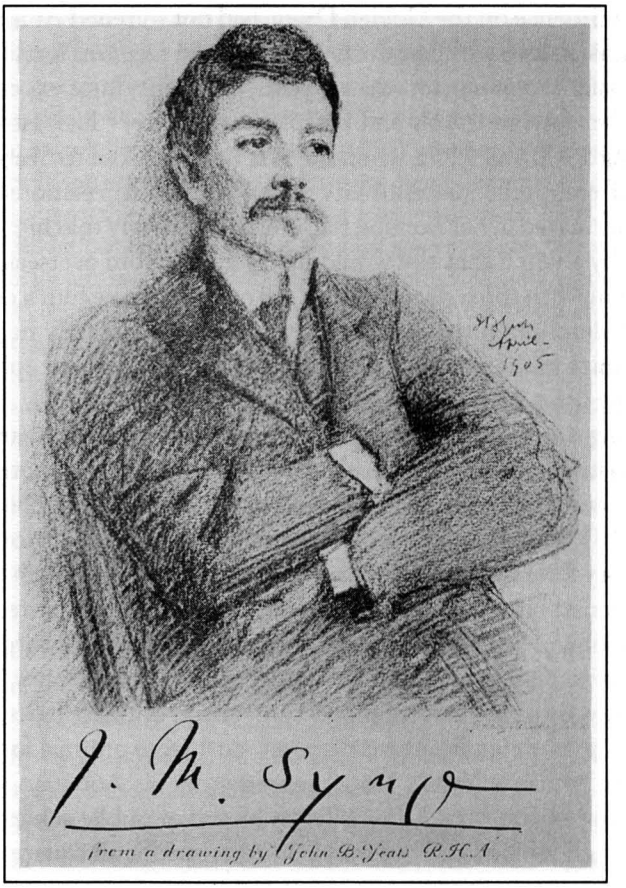
Florence's influence on the Golden Dawn, had not softened Annie's opinion.

Was Annie in love with her thirty-nine-year-old *Demon*, Yeats? She served as his unpaid secretary for many years, brought him expensive presents from her foreign travels and built him a theatre.[14] Her astrological aspects during 1900 and 1901, when she first became close to Yeats, indicated a period of emotional susceptibility and openness to relationship. When Yeats's father stayed in her London flat, Annie laughingly told him of a prediction made by a witch that she would marry a man from overseas, "tall, dark, and very thin, with some decorations . . . in order to make him a comfortable home."[15] A description that easily fit Yeats—who desperately needed someone to organize his life and pick up after him. Even though she told the story as a joke, she must have considered the possibility.

In the long run she became a far happier woman once he was out of her life. She had too many strong rivals in other women who provided both the image and the mystery that he needed and she lacked. According to Oliver St. John Gogarty, all Dublin gossiped about the battle between Miss Horniman and Lady Gregory for Yeats's favor.[16] Shall we call it then merely a ten-year infatuation that ended bitterly? Or shall we equate it with Yeats's unrequited love for Maud Gonne? Just as his progeny, via the illusive Maud, were his poems and plays, so Annie's issue, via the irascible Yeats, was the Abbey Theatre.

But what was their relationship? A comparison of their charts reveals the presence of myriad significant factors—yet most were optimal for a business relationship. Primarily, Yeats's Moon, representing his Aquarian idealization of women and poetry, is in Annie's Tenth House of public achievement, opposing her high-minded and optimistic Jupiter, in difficult square to her own hidden feelings symbolized by her Moon, but trining harmoniously her intellect, or Mercury. Thus Annie could provide Yeats with status and financial security and give him a base of operations. His Mercurial writings and ideas on her Ascendant directly affected her self-image and actions and trined her assertive Mars on her own achievement-oriented Mid-heaven (M.C.) so that she perceived him as a career objective. Without her support he might never have actualized his ideas for a national theatre so effectively. But her (largely unintegrated and unacknowledged) Saturn squared his Mercury, so that she was liable to respond caustically to him when her feelings were hurt: "I never imagined for a moment that you were practically exploiting me," she once wrote him in exasperation. "You are a great deal too stupid."[17]

Her Sun in his Eighth House ruling the occult and other people's money indicated not only their Golden Dawn connection but her financial support. With their Moons squared, each could never understand the other's feelings—hers possessive and his determinedly unattached. Willie's Neptune opposed Annie's Sun, indicating misunderstandings—he appeared evasive to her and



JOHN MILLINGTON SYNGE, FROM A DRAWING BY JOHN B. YEATS

she seemed authoritarian to him. Still, with her Venus in his Seventh House of relationships and trining his Jupiter, their mutual enjoyment of the arts and theatre was favored to become, at least temporarily, a successful business partnership—and it redefined modern culture.

Having committed herself to building a theatre, Annie examined as many of the astrological charts of members of the society as she could, so we know she compared her own chart with that of Yeats. Only one horoscope survives; it is also the only chart interpretation extant by a member of the Golden Dawn. Annie wrote to the playwright J. M. Synge asking for his birthdate and sent him a letter consisting of a brief interpretation of his natal chart.[18] Not knowing his time of birth, she used noon on April 16, 1871, Dublin.

Synge was born into a landed, Protestant, Anglo-Irish family. His mother was religious, one brother was a missionary, and another brother actively

evicted peasants from the family lands. Synge studied Irish antiquities and Gaelic, then violin and composition, and went to Paris to study languages and write literary reviews. In 1896 Yeats met him in Paris and advised that he visit the Aran Islands, where Irish Gaelic was still spoken, and write stories of his own country. His first play, *In the Shadow of the Glen*, staged with *The King's Threshold* on October 8, 1903, caused Maud Gonne and others to walk out in protest.

Annie began Synge's chart (see Appendix A) by interpreting his Mercury—representing his mind, learning, writings—in Taurus. With Mercury sextiling the Moon (emotions, public, roots, relationships to mother/women), she found that "your mental capacities cannot help being good and you should be able to learn languages pretty easily." Since he spoke Gaelic, German, and French fluently, this was on the mark. Mercury trining Saturn meant that "gloomy ideas attract you and tragic stories please you"; in fact, his plays were often about death.

Annie saw that with impulsive Uranus sextiling amorous Venus, "strange unexpected events would turn up in love affairs and spoil them," but she recognized this as one source of his "strong, gentle, mysterious sense of beauty." With Venus trining Mars, he was of a "very affectionate disposition." Women were attracted to him in a warm, caring way, and in all his travels he formed his closest ties with women. Although his family was shocked that he wanted to marry below his station, he became engaged to Molly Allgood, one of the actresses of the I.N.Th.S. Annie thought it unlikely he would marry, because Uranus trined the Moon, or if he did, the woman "would be eccentric."[19] He never did marry, dying at thirty-eight years of age, of Hodgkin's disease.

Annie saw problems with the church through his philosophical Jupiter squaring both egotistical Mars and emotional Moon (what is known as a T-square in mutable signs). He was irreligious himself, and Catholics found his plays especially objectionable. His Jupiter–Moon square also indicated that "ordinary people" would not appreciate him—he would seem too lofty. His genius was not truly recognized until after his death. Yet with Jupiter sextiling the Sun, Annie predicted some success—and he was to see several of his works published, as well as performed, before he died in 1909.

Moon opposition Mars was one of his strongest aspects, and Annie noted that his "imaginative faculty is of a disturbing nature to other people"—and to himself. With his Moon in Pisces sextiling Saturn, he had a strong imagination, drawn to the morbid.[20] While Annie saw it as an interest in the bizarre, it seems rather that Synge could see into the hidden images (the shadow) of the Celtic psyche.[21]

Given that Synge could significantly affect the future of her "dear *Demon*," Annie looked at the interaction between their two charts. Synge's Jupiter on

Yeats's Sun (both in Gemini) indicated mutual literary and intellectual interests that would benefit them both and probably bring success. Since Yeats's Sun was in the Fifth House (of entertainment, theatre, and gambling), Synge's beneficent Jupiter there would enhance prosperity for Yeats, who would, in turn, recognize Synge for his real talents. It was Yeats who, directing Synge to the Aran Islands, led him to the inspiration for his plays.

Finally, Annie liked the strong Venus and Mercury contacts between them: Each would like the other's mind and writings. In less than one page, Annie summed up what in retrospect were Synge's major life themes and experiences.[22]

Historians of the Abbey tend to describe Annie as a querulous old maid who interfered constantly in affairs that were none of her business. Those who knew her seemed to have more respect for her knowledge and her wit. She established firm business rules but left the day-to-day running of the Abbey to the theatre society, except when she acted as business manager on their foreign tours—which earned more money and prestige than performances at home. In 1905 Annie began subsidizing salaries and recommended a limited company. But the directorate of the National Theatre Society, Ltd., when formed, consisted only of Lady Gregory, Yeats, and Synge. Over and over again Annie begged Yeats to make Fay, Madame MacBride (Maud), George Russell, and the business manager Henderson "understand that I *matter*."[23] After all, she was spending half her yearly income to pay their bills. "As things stand now, I am in the position of having been told not to interfere in a matter which I am financing."[24]

On August 18, 1906, while in the midst of a European theatrical tour that included Prague, Dresden, and the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth, she wrote to a Miss Florence Darragh, an English actress who had been hired to bring a professional tenor to the I.N.Th.S. productions. In this letter she warns of the treatment an Englishwoman could expect from the theatre society. It is a rare and intimate view of her difficulties, expressed woman-to-woman. It also points up the competition she felt from other women such as Pixie Smith, artist and set designer and member of A. E. Waite's Golden Dawn faction (who was even then doing preliminary sketches for her revolutionary new Tarot deck), and Maud Gonne, whom she characterizes as "a beautiful woman screaming from a coal-cart."[25]

18 August 1906

Dear Miss Darragh,

. . . When you are trying to make any arrangements the reasons given you against them will seldom or never be the true ones. You will

doubtless combat these illusionary obstacles & then at the last moment find that the things are not done & that at the expense of time and temper you will have to make up some inadequate devise to carry things on. When you get a thing done to your liking you may rest assured that once your back is turned it will be "forgotten" or done in a slovenly manner.

Information to which you will have a right will be withheld from you & when you object you will be told either that you "don't matter" or that so & so had been instructed to inform you. . . . A lot of nonsense will be talked to you against the "commercial drama" . . . so as to give an excuse for slovenliness. If something inconvenient is done you will find that the doers don't in the very least mind denying it against the evidence of your eyes that they have done it. This renders one very helpless. . . . Pixie Smith three years ago made up some of the actors & her way of blackening Kathleen ni Houlihan is a holy tradition because she is an American. . . . The mass of patriots are too ignorant to care for any Art at all. . . . Political meetings have given so much excitement gratis that the audiences are demoralised. The greatest artist on a stage is helpless compared to a beautiful woman screaming from a coal-cart and deliberately arousing the most animal passions as well as calling on the men to hate those who are not like themselves. . . . I made the theatre for Art, not to pander to the desire of the Gaelic League [an Irish nationalist organization] to encourage "patriotism" which simply means hatred of everything good & refined.[26]

It is true that Annie let everyone, particularly Yeats, know whenever anything displeased her—which was often. She tried to explain this to Yeats.

> You often have said that I act "by the book" or "by a rule." . . . I only try honestly to act uprightly, partly because of my own feeling of self-respect. I don't care about money for itself but I have a great sense of responsibility & just because of that strong feeling I will not be really foolish even in regard to small sums. . . . Even mistakes do less harm when there is a reasoned plan behind them. . . . Do what I might, I always felt myself to be an outsider amongst you & it was a very painful position to be in.[27]

Fortiter et Recte was still the credo of Annie's moral life. She insisted on honesty, on acting uprightly (*recte*), responsibly, and reasonably. It oppressed her that these noble qualities should cause her to be an "outsider."

Miss Darragh entreated Yeats to understand Miss Horniman, for no matter what Annie said, what she really wanted was to be taken seriously. "The mistake has been, not to pay her more attention in the business point of view—answering her letters, consulting her etc. . . . She hates not being sent all the details of the Theatre, the rehearsals and dates of production etc. in short she wants to be treated as a sleeping manager & not a bank."[28]

But Yeats either could not or refused to understand. He complained to Florence Farr about having a bad time with Miss Horniman, as her "moon is always at the full of late."[29]

Annie's astrological chart indicates that she could not have felt other than she did. Unfortunately, the Abbey aggravated and forced a strained view of what would otherwise be staunch and worthy characteristics. Annie's need to be determinedly forthright and principled is a key characteristic of her Sun and Mercury in Libra, and with these planets on her Sixth House cusp she needed to serve others. "He [William Fay] looks on me as 'commercial' doubtless because I have self-respect," she told Yeats.[30] Her Mars at the Mid-heaven is the main indicator of how much she wanted the public to see the ideals for which she expended so much energy. "I have not got what you admire as 'Pride,'" she protested. "I have what is dearer to me[,] 'Self-respect.'"[31]

With most of her planets in fixed and mutable signs, she was not a self-starter but, once moving, would follow through with unswerving dedication and perseverance. "Nothing easy is really worth doing," she once wrote.[32] The best way to appeal to her was through her intellect. Money meant little, except as a means to an end or as a modus for her essentially generous and caring nature. Her greatest weakness lay in her hidden emotions, which were powerful but not easily expressed, as indicated by her Moon in possessive Taurus in the Twelfth House of secrets. The difficult squares of the Moon to expansive Jupiter and gracious Venus indicated that she was too trusting on one hand and suffered from elevated pride on the other. And with restrictive Saturn squaring both her Ascendant and Descendant, she found it difficult to relate to others. In a rare comment on her own chart she wrote to Yeats: "I see clearly that I have bad aspects but I cannot sit with folded hands waiting for good ones."[33]

Jupiter, with its long-ranging worldview conjuncting an aesthetic Venus in the Fourth House of home, indicated her love of travel and appreciation of beautiful things—and as these were in dramatic Leo, they allowed her to find a home in the theatre. With revolutionary Uranus on her Ascendant in mental Gemini trining the Sun of Self, she was unusually progressive and open to new ideas. Her extremely critical nature probably was her way of expressing the depth and dedication of her sense of mission, symbolized by Saturn in picky Virgo trining willful Pluto and squaring her Ascendant. A Manchester critic described her as affecting a "blasé pose," and turning most things "to charming ridicule." "She delights to snub the affected and conceited. She finds the respectabilities of life intensely disagreeable.... Above all she detests what is ordinary and commonplace in life and thought."[34]

Annie Horniman had a humanitarian vision (Mars in Aquarius on the Mid-heaven and Uranus on her Gemini Ascendant) that manifested through her

passion for the theatrical arts (Venus conjunct Jupiter in Leo). Powerfully driven to manifest that vision, she could be unbending and dictatorial (Pluto square Mars and Mid-heaven, Pluto trine Saturn; Mars inconjunct Saturn). St. John Ervine, who knew her during the second half of her life, pointed out that

> She was essentially a rebellious woman.... She had always rebelled against unreasonable authority, but never, be it particularly noticed, against authority that had reason. She rebelled against the restrictions her parents sought to impose upon her, and she rebelled even more heartily against those imposed on her sex by society.[35]

In December 1905 Bernard Shaw wrote Annie to verify a dream he had about her being the financial backer of the old Avenue Theatre. She was not pleased. He explained to Florence, "She was furious. I gather from Yeats that he also was pulverized for hinting at such a possibility." He had always assumed that "she was ... shy, frank, and original," but now her "tone is generally that of a woman pursuing a quarrell [*sic*] with a person she violently dislikes." He surmised that she may have been "shy about the Avenue business because it seemed at the time a ridiculous failure." He was sure that her recent success with the Independent Literary Theatre, and the knowledge that she had launched the "great G.B.S.," would make her feel differently about things. He reminded Florence that she could claim to have done very well for Annie.[36]

The Ahathoor Temple in Paris continued to operate and initiate new members, including several Americans who founded temples when they returned to the United States. In August 1904 Moina and MacGregor came to England for several months, staying with Moina's widowed mother, Kate Bergson, in Acton on the outskirts of London. MacGregor again spent his days at the British Museum Reading Room and Moina again was painting. Westcott reported to Gardner that they seemed in fair circumstances.[37] Upon their return to Paris, they moved to 4 Rue de la Source, Passy, only a few blocks from Maud Gonne.

The next we know anything of them is in June 1905, when Moina and MacGregor went to dine with Maud. Moina was concentrating on her art, still with hopes of eventual success, although she admitted to Maud that they had been "through awful trouble and difficulties" and were hoping that things were to get better. MacGregor was then lecturing on occultism and the Mysteries; Maud and her cousin May went to the first lecture but found it uninteresting.[38] Nevertheless, Maud respected Mathers, once telling Ella Young that although Willie was a magician, Mathers far outdistanced him as "a really great magician."[39]

One day in April 1904, Florence found a book in an old disused cupboard. A sentence jumped out at her: "I sit in the Hall of Being and Time is the Porter at my gates." This Hall became the setting for a play she would call *A Mystery of Time*, whose theme she summed up with the words: "I stood naked in a dark and bleak eternity and filled it with my exultation."[40] It reflected her struggles to find meaning in a world that had failed her.

She continued to meet with her spiritual teacher in her journal, where on May 15, 1904, this teacher noted: "There is no longer any necessity to divide yourself into Questioner and Answerer. It is best to keep United." She was given a "formula" for invoking her inner wisdom: "In my name of Narayana I declare that the way is entered and the goal is in sight." The union of man and God, her primary goal, would be reached by "remaining in the centre of all things" and focusing the light of Truth on the dark.[41]

At the end of May, Gilbert Murray's *Hippolytus* was revived for four performances at the Lyric Theatre, and classical archaeologist Jane Ellen Harrison reviewed it in the *Cambridge Review* with an interesting description of Florence:

> Miss Florence Farr led the chorus; she is an artist with a beautiful way of her own, strange sometimes, often very beautiful. Her voice is *saisissante* mesmeric. She monotones most of the lines, shifting her note now and again by simple intervals; occasionally she lapses rather than breaks into rather rudimentary tunes. Her voice, "is it speech half asleep or song half awake?" This leader was a revelation and a delight, but where she led, alas, the chorus could not follow; she dreams and wavers with lovely hesitations over the stage, they fumble and blunder in sheer ineptitude.[42]

Florence's genius for oral speaking would remain, in fact, a unique personal gift, because she never succeeded in fully transmitting it to others. "I think I can do something in the world—I've tried to get people to speak beautifully but not a soul does speak any the better for all my efforts—not a soul sees the truth any clearer for all I have said & written."[43]

In early November, while playing Meligraine in Maeterlinck's "curious, unreal and mystical" *Aglavaine and Selysette,* Florence met John Quinn, an Irish-American financier who supported the work of Irish artists and writers. He listened to her play the psaltery at her flat, and they had dinner at Willie's a week later. They became friends right from the beginning (although she found that he disturbed her life of "peace and meditation") and would carry on a lively correspondence for years afterward.

Meanwhile, it was to her journal that she took her struggles between the attraction of separateness and the knowledge of unity. Part of her wished to stamp herself "upon the age" as a feat of liberation, while another part knew that God-realization is the only true liberation: "Here & Now this inmost Seer

who perceives the wholeness in Itself is the unchangeable jewel we call God."[44]

Just as she earlier explored the nature of existence, Florence explored the nature of personal reality using the same ideas as would Jane Roberts's channeled entity Seth in the 1970s. "I never change but I appear & disappear. . . . When I pay attention to it [the universe] I become one with it." To make Florence's statements more modern, substitute Seth's word "belief" for Florence's word "law." "Illusion has its law and your root illusion has a law you call the law of your being . . . which gives you all your characteristic tastes." Seth's famous dictum: "You create your own reality," would not have been new to Florence; it was part of the wisdom of the ages which so absorbed her.[45] Only Florence wanted to move beyond beliefs: "Behind law is liberation & liberation implies your being has no law but desires nothing. Desire is law & binds more firmly than chains. Desire nothing & you are unbound." Throughout history, the essential messages coming from spiritual "channels" have been remarkable in their similarity, colored only by the cultural context of the recipient. "Will nothing & you are all things in the twinkling of an eye. Desire is always for what we are not, have not, or cannot do. If we can do all, have all, be all, we desire nothing."[46]

Florence longs to know how to communicate the truths she has worked so hard to obtain: "Half baked people like Yeats & Shaw have tremendous influence & yet they only tell half truths." They are thorough, she thinks, whereas she can see further than she can be thorough. She has versatility—but is this a "gift of the most advanced souls" or merely a "want of thoroughness?"[47]

Yeats well knew Florence's philosophical bent, describing her as the fourteenth phase of the Moon in his book *A Vision:*

> Here are born those women who are most touching in their beauty . . . elaborating a delicate personal discipline. . . . While seeming an image of softness and of quiet, she draws perpetually upon glass with a diamond. . . . If she fail in her own discipline she will not deceive herself, and for all the languor of her movements, and her indifference to the acts of others, her mind is never at peace. . . . The greater the peril the nearer has she approached to the final union . . . where she will desire nothing.[48]

Her intellectual curiosity enabled her to plunder the riches of the past, but she felt uneasy about how to use them. In her moments of weakness, she was "certain there is a horrible Devourer, an emptiness waiting far more awful than Death, which will whirl my wisdom into a thousand fragments, and drive me incoherently mad." In her moments of strength, she realized that

> when we feel that Devourer, we must face it, strip off its mask, and we shall see ourselves. . . . If we remember to say: "I and Thou, We are one";

> no shape of Heaven or Hell can hurt us then. Let the great depths devour us with gladness. Give ourselves willingly, and we shall learn from the initiation . . . the meaning of Unity. It is the key which unlocks all the mysteries of the mind, the sword which destroys all terrors.[49]

Florence Farr, with both her Sun and Moon in water signs, was predominantly emotional, psychic, dreamy, and vulnerable—yet with a Leo Ascendant and four planets in Leo, she was also outgoing, energetic, and dramatic, as well as determined to achieve her goals.

With her nurturing Cancer Sun (and three other planets) hidden away in the mystical Twelfth House, and her hypersensitive Pisces Moon in the Eighth House (of death, sex, and the occult), it is obvious why she was drawn to the Golden Dawn. Neptune—her strongest planet, ruler of her Moon and the Twelfth House—fueled her attraction to secret organizations, mystical studies, and meditation, and explains her tendency to hide thoughts and feelings. With Neptune in the Ninth House (of travels, philosophy, and learning), she studied and wrote about mystery teachings of the past; she traveled in her imagination because she found the spiritual realm more compelling than the physical one.

On the other hand, she embodied the dramatic flair of Leo, in which extravagant Jupiter and artistic Venus were tightly conjuncted and creatively trined to the imagination of Neptune. This yielded an entire range of artistic and mystical abilities, emphasizing music and drama enriched by a love of pageantry and ritual, in which she enjoyed playing the lead. Since her Mercury was also in Leo and on the ascendant, communication was of the essence; it mixed with her other traits to yield her unique "music of speech"—and made her a passionate intellectual and an unusual freethinker.

There is an astrological saying that "everyone has Saturn somewhere in their chart," meaning that no one is free of its restrictive influence. In Florence's case, it was in Leo in the First House—a natural for theatrical management but with implications of feeling undesirable and insecure and, therefore, trying too hard to win respect from others. Saturn also opposed her emotionally vulnerable Moon, suggesting that her parents were in basic conflict—possibly her father being harshly critical of her mother. This placement typically indicates a home atmosphere of surface graciousness with underlying depression and melancholy. We know only that Florence left home for school at thirteen, and at sixteen her mother died—the outer circumstances mirroring an inner sense of betrayal. Her father, influenced by Florence Nightingale, may have wanted Florence to have the education and intellect that he felt was lacking in his wife. This pattern would continue, making Florence struggle with discipline versus versatility and with being judged by critical males who demanded self-discipline and derided her feelings. Shaw, for one, fit the bill.

Liberated Uranus in conflicting square with her moody Moon meant that freedom in relationships was essential; because she had no model for working out her emotional disappointments, she would abruptly cut off her feelings and become distant. Sexuality presented a conflict, because with romantic Venus opposing sensual Mars in Capricorn, she could be sexually pragmatic, while idealizing love as sacred and untainted. This aspect at least allowed her to gain "experience," which she would use for self-knowledge and self-expression, especially in her writing.

Seemingly lazy and tranquil, Florence had a hidden compulsion to control things, somewhat mitigated by fear of success. Unbeknown to her, Pluto in her Tenth House meant she could be an occult leader but at the risk of alienation. Several aspects indicate ambition and self-importance, together with an ability to attract key people to help her. She could be aggressively competitive, willful, and rash. Ultimately, she was prophetic and in touch with the deeper realities of the universe, a visionary who could see which patterns and beliefs needed elimination but not always how to replace them. Her wisdom forged a philosophy that she sought to teach, and this gave meaning to her life's journey.

On January 17, 1905, Florence produced her "masque," an allegorical entertainment called *The Mystery of Time,* sandwiched between psaltery recitals. *The Mystery of Time* deals with what Florence called "the Art of Guiding the Mind."[50] Personifications of the aged Past and childlike Future try to dissuade the timeless Present from "melting into the state beyond Mind." Meanwhile, a woman portraying the cares of the World cries for help but really seeks only to seduce the Present.

The World repudiates the inspirations of the ancients, which "coil like serpents in our hearts," and discovers that "all my magic, my wisdom and my arts are nothing." The source of Eternity lies not in books of wisdom, nor in women, wine, and song, but in one's own heart. The gods themselves are temporal, laboring in the fields of Time, and Truth is ultimately burned up in Being. In the last scene, Past, Present, and Future are united at the place where there is no Fear—in the Peace of Eternity.

Whatever peace Florence found in this was soon dispelled, because just a month later, on February 20, the curtain rose on the first production of Shaw's *The Philanderer*—which immortalized that scene from her past in 1893 when Jenny Patterson had burst in upon Shaw and herself. Florence was the stage manager, but Shaw, complaining as much as ever, directed the play himself.[51]

Next, Florence directed the chorus for Gilbert Murray's *Trojan Women.* As usual, the critics were divided in their response to her method. Shaw begged her to "be very discreet about using modern fashionable discords" and chastised her for rambling up and down staircases of minor thirds as she had done

in *Hippolytus*. "The effect is modern, cheap and mechanical."[52] On the other hand, of the same play Yeats said that one of his most vivid memories was "a moment when . . . Florence Farr and her one pupil sang or spoke about 'the daughters of the sunset' with alternating voices" and he wondered, "Did the ancient world where the poets' 'I sing' seemed but literal truth, hear poetry[?]."[53] Florence herself found the play inadequate for the kind of grand effect required for such an "unmitigated tragedy."

After the *Trojan Women*, Florence went on to one of her more ambitious projects, the first English production of Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* for the New Stage Society.[54] It was an unqualified success.[55]

By spring of 1905 Florence moved to Kensington, living first at 107A Holland Road, an unattractive flat in an excellent neighborhood featuring a bookstore and teashop frequented by artists and writers. Her neighbors included her good friend Olivia Shakespear, G. R. S. Mead (the editor of the Theosophical-based journal *The Quest*), and eventually Ezra Pound, among many other poets and writers.[56]

By June she was deep in preparations for a Theosophical Society production of Yeats's most mystical play, *The Shadowy Waters*. She chose a young actor named Robert Farquaharson, who had played Herod in *Salomé*, for the role of Forgael, while she herself played Dectora. Whereas Florence was commended as a "delight," with "fine imaginative power," Yeats was displeased with just about everything and began rewriting the play immediately: "The performance has enabled me to see the play with a fresh eye."[57] Yeats, especially irritated at Farquaharson ("unendurable as Forgael"), was apparently jealous of his attention to Florence—and her responsiveness.[58]

"You are mistaken over Fargusson [*sic*]," Yeats wrote her. "I have been taken in . . . the same way more than once myself. When a young man has even a slight vulgar element—and it is not slight in Farguson—one thinks it will leave him as he grows older." Yeats never spelled his rival's name the same way twice—a subtle but heartfelt slur. "Mrs. Shakespear for instance thought his manner was personally very offensive to you off the stage," objected Yeats. "He is really impossible as an artist. I had to use the greatest self control over myself all through those rehearsals. Only my fear of making things difficult for you kept me quiet."[59] His annoyance with Farquaharson even affected the way he heard his own verse, "'The beautiful poetry' was whenever you [Florence] spoke and 'the irrelevant drama' whenever Farquisson did."[60]

A week or two later Yeats wrote that he had dreamed of Florence several times. "Last night you had a friend who, as you phraised [*sic*] it 'meddled a little with crime.' His name was 'Jehovah Cutthroat.'" The name and description has a remarkable resemblance to Farquaharson. "I distinctly remember being jealous," he continued, "and thinking it just like you."[61]

According to Florence's biographer, Josephine Johnson, the much younger Farquaharson wrote Florence plenty of "euphuisticly" gushing letters, but he made plain his romantic interest in a Miss Bradley.[62] Still, he served Florence well as a charming and amusing escort; she called him her "marionette." His so-called crude behavior expressed her own rebellion against conventions and satisfied her well-known enjoyment of "off-color" stories.

At the end of 1905, Florence moved again, to 21 Warwick Chambers, Pater Road, also in Kensington, and then took a December holiday to Bournemouth. Shaw wrote to her there, and in replying she must have alluded to her lost youth, for he answered, "I dont see why you should not reblossom and have a great period now that you are about forty." Actually she was 45 and old enough to appreciate his forgetfulness of five years. He remembered how she got on well with "old men and egotists" like Ibsen, Todhunter, and himself. "You were eaten up and preyed on," he exclaimed. "Now you can have your turn with the knife and fork whilst we, whitehaired and doddering, look on at you with watering mouths."[63] She still had the ability to entrance the men around her—as Yeats was well aware.

About the third week in January 1906, although in the thick of Abbey affairs, Yeats wrote to Florence saying that he wanted to come to London to see the latest Ibsen play, *Lady Inger,* at the Stage Society—and also to claim a little of her company. It was the letter of an impassioned man:

> I want to see you very much now and it will always be a great pleasure to be with you. . . . You cannot think what a pleasure it is to be fond of somebody to whom I can talk. To be moved and talkative, unrestrained, one's own self, and to be this not because one has created some absurd delusion that it all is wisdom, . . . but because one has found an equal, this is the best of life. All this means that I am looking forward to seeing you—that my spirits rise at the thought of it.[64]

"Do help me get over to the play," he begged, letting Florence know that he awaited only her confirmation. "I won't go if you are not kind."[65] It is as if Yeats had awakened to a newfound recognition of Florence's charms. Her recent public activity had reopened his eyes to her, and perhaps they even took the opportunity to be together in Bournemouth over the holidays.

In February, Yeats was writing, "I hope I shall be forgiven . . . my too great preoccupation with yourself." He was on his way to Coole Park to "spend a couple of weeks of most unwilling industry—" revising *On Baile's Strand,* urged on by Florence, "—so great is your power." Having made plans for a March–April lecture tour to include Leeds, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge, he spoke familiarly of "us": "*We* shall make *our* way by *our* faculty, not by *our* subjects, in fame" (my italics). He wonders at how they

have both changed: "I can move people by power.... I feel this change in all my work and that it has brought a change into the personal relations of life—even things seemingly beyond control answer strangely to what is within."

But Florence's devotion to her "life of the soul" threatened their relationship. "I think you have changed too," he adds playfully, although not entirely with pleasure. "Is it that those eastern meditations have fired you—made you free of all but the holy church [Theosophy?]." He is willing to try her kind of "eastern meditations"—perhaps to create a deeper link between them. His goal, he professes, is to access a dynamic force that moves down into life rather than up away from it.[66] Can he convince her that their work together is as important as the mystical urges that separate Florence from life? He signs the next letter, "Yours always, shall I say affectionately or would that arouse too much scorn."[67]

Following her recent string of successes on the stage, Florence joined with Sturge Moore and Charles Ricketts to form a new literary theatre. She began with a second production of Wilde's *Salomé* in February, in which she played the mother, Herodias, while Miss Darragh (soon to be connected with the Abbey Theatre) appeared as Salomé.

When Murray's *Hippolytus* was revived again that March, Florence appeared as the nurse—to Willie's displeasure—playing the character part with "all an old woman's infirmities and not as I would have it, with all a Sybil's majesty."[68] In April she then appeared as Phaedra in a Sturge Moore play, and Shaw criticized her unrelentingly, comparing her unflatteringly to the strengths of other actresses. "You did good bits, and then let the thing fall through until you felt interested enough to have another turn," he complained. Shaw addresses her as though she were a performing animal in a circus—with Shaw as ringmaster. "You want somebody with a whip to keep you up to the collar.... Murray asks whether you have not a mother with a large stick to keep you awake. Barker gives you up in tragi-comic despair, and declares that you positively *like* doing things feebly."[69]

Florence seemed to take his invective in stride, but she was certainly aware of it. In an article written several years later she explained exactly how he treated a *victim* (her word) of his criticism: "He seats her in a dentist's chair, puts a gag in her mouth, isolates a tooth as ruthlessly as any dentist and then takes her photograph."[70]

Florence continued to use Shaw as a sounding board for her ideas and for what he called "half-baked schemes." It seems that when she was sure of herself or a project, she ignored Shaw's disapproval; whereas she heeded his condemnations when she felt unsure of herself or apprehensive about a project.

She began a novel called *Life Among the Supermen*—most likely a spoof

on both Shaw and Yeats.[71] Although it was never published and probably never completed, her notes for an ending remain:

> "Work Wisdom & Devotion and the greatest of these three is devotion," said Mrs. Moffet rising, "We must all go our separate ways as I said the other day. I cannot close the eye of my mind so I must ~~wait~~ watch & Madeline must work & wait while you ~~rejoice~~ attain."
>
> "You see Devotion is like Charity. It covers a multitude of sins," he said as he held open the door.
>
> "Yes," she replied, "and Wisdom is a gift given to the wise."[72]

The final line repeats her magical motto, still serving as her guide. Enigmatic as these lines seem, Florence was playing with characterizations of three paths of the spirit: *work* in the world, *wisdom* gained from learning, and the mystical *devotion*, which, in other contexts, she called "Unity of Being." Mrs. Moffet, since she cannot stop her mind in meditation, watches in order to learn. Madeline works, while the unnamed "he" attains the greatest goal—devotion. A perhaps unconscious implication is that, like the Bible story of Martha and Mary, each offers their particular service, but as usual, it is the man who "attains." No matter how far the New Woman has come, it is the super*men*, just as Annie Horniman found, who are supported, recognized, and above all, taken seriously.

Her American philanthropist friend, John Quinn, urged Florence to come to the United States on a lecture tour. Although worried about her ability to meet expenses, she finally agreed to go the following year. Fresh from their joint lecture tour to the British cities of Leeds, Edinburgh, Cambridge, and Oxford, Yeats did not want to be parted from Florence. He proposed to Quinn that he accompany her on the U.S. tour. Quinn quickly demurred: "This is, after all a provincial people. . . . For you two to come would be too risky, too easily misunderstood."[73] It seems likely that at this time there was nothing to be misunderstood; Florence and Willie Yeats were in the midst of an affair.

That September an unusual piece of writing by Florence titled "A Dialogue of Vision" appeared in the *Theosophical Review*, possibly composed, as was her habit, during the summer's holiday.[74] It seems to be a pastiche of musings for principles underlying her book, *Life Among the Supermen*, for she explains the three passions of the incarnate soul that are personified in her novel: 1) love of the mystical sun, or Devotion; 2) passion for Wisdom; and 3) passion for action, or Work. Ultimately, she declares, these passions "strip the soul naked of its ignorance and illusions."

The piece is couched as a dialogue between a young seeker called Rebecca and a Widow (who is the Wisdom of her higher self). The Widow guides Rebecca through a series of metaphysical visions in which Rebecca discovers

five "modes of the soul" that correspond with five colors, five "moods of space" (the elements plus ether), and five Egyptian birds. Their world is guarded by seven great Beings (planets) and mixed from three alchemical natures: white, red, and black. "The greatest human power is in a mixing of the black, the red and the white natures. . . . In the sun is a cauldron where the black and white natures are melted," while the red are footprints of passion and sacrifice leading to the sun. Rebecca sees the universe as a web of lights: "I see consciousness as a great network—and each knot an ego—with stars and planets worked into it and the whole palpitates as waves of Breath pass through and through it, making it quicken and die alternatively. The source of this breath is what we call God. The antithesis is black, and out of the blackness the souls seem to pour." In her final paragraph she explains the five modes of the soul:

> I see the soul arranged in concentric layers round the ethereal starry part which is the innermost soul of joy, which sometimes gives a little beauty to an artist's work. Next to the innermost is the part that does what it thinks right, the sense of duty and sacrifice to an idea. The third part receives ideas, eats them as it were, the second digests them. All the time you are struggling to argue about pros and cons you are functioning in the outermost crust, which always wants to solidify changeable things; it is fundamentally perverse.

Debating the pros and cons of a trip to America or the wisdom of her affair with Willie would certainly have fallen into the category of perversity, for these things took her from communion with the "soul of joy."

Yeats and Florence's relationship was suffering from a lack of contact. Although he chafed at her meager correspondence, by the fall his letters no longer had an air of desperate longing. He saw her briefly in London early in October, and at the end of the month, he wrote, commenting on her "long" silence, and addressed her—for the only time in the surviving letters—as "My dear Friend," a salutation he used sparingly. He expressed concern about Florence being "seriously out of sorts." As he could rarely leave Dublin because of Abbey affairs, he wanted Florence to come to him. *Deirdre* was scheduled as the next major production, and he hinted that he wished her to play in it: "The first musician was written for you—I always saw your face as I wrote, very curiously your face even more than your voice and built the character out of that."[75]

Yeats hoped the other directors might accept Florence as a replacement for Miss Darragh, who had not proved satisfactory (as Annie had foreseen). Yeats convinced Lady Gregory that they should hire Florence to help produce his verse plays and new translations of the classics. Certainly neither their own staff nor Miss Darragh had the ability to handle the parts. "Both

Lady Gregory and I have been building castles in the air with you for one of their inhabitants," he encouraged Florence. "We mean to get you over to play for us presently."[76]

But Annie was the one who made the castle evaporate. She vehemently objected, complaining about Florence's "carelessness."[77] Her real objections lay in jealousy and personal dislike. And so the directors decided to "let the matter sleep until the new arrangements have been made if they are to be made."[78] Florence was leaving in January for her U.S. tour, so they could easily put things on hold.



Lives of Great Hidden Effort

1907–1909

During the winter of 1906–1907, Maud Gonne MacBride took her cousin May and friend Ella Young to visit her neighbors in Passy: Moina and MacGregor Mathers.[1] "You will like Macgregor, and his wife," Maud told Ella. "She is young and charming, an artist, and interested in Gaelic folklore." Moina was now about forty-two years old—almost two years older, in fact, than Maud—but she must have still been very beautiful.

As they walked, Maud explained how Moina and MacGregor had resurrected ritual dances from their studies of Egypt and their memories of past lives there. The romantic Iseult had previously told Ella extravagant sagas about MacGregor—"he is a righter of wrongs, a chastiser of evildoers, a champion of the oppressed!"

The two-story house, small and quaint, sat in the midst of a grassy plot, behind iron railings on a quiet side street.

As Ella Young tells it: "Macgregor Mathers greets us in the hallway, a tall square-shouldered man with a strong clean-cut face, dark hair, and strange steel-blue eyes. He gives the impression of power, efficiency, and a certain ruthlessness. We go at once to the studio where the countess has a half-finished picture on the easel, a picture of a child reading a book while a strange faery face peers in at a window. Maud Gonne bespeaks it as a picture that she wishes to give Iseult."

In the main room, filled with "an indefinable and potent atmosphere," is a mantelpiece display of "the richest collection of Egyptian treasures I have ever

seen outside a museum." These include a stone mask of Hathor from which Ella senses a powerful psychic force.

A small altar backed by curtains of Egyptian cloth cradles a flame burning before an image of Thoth, for, as Ella learns, it is the day and hour of Thoth. MacGregor and his wife honor each day and its most vital hours by chanting an invocation to the appropriate god, just as they believe it was done in Egypt. The visitors talk about Egyptian magic, agreeing "that it depends largely on the making of mental images and astral vehicles, and on will power. Finnish and Gaelic magic, on the other hand, aim at a comradeship with Nature and the Earth."

May expressed her fear of Apache Indians on the streets of Paris—who were in the city as part of a Wild West show—so MacGregor told "a series of wild fables" about his own encounters with them, while Moina tried to change the subject.

As they were about to leave, Ella noticed mosaic frescoes of Egyptian deities on the wall ascending the stairs, filling the entire space from paneling to ceiling.

"I see you are interested in these," said MacGregor. "I did them myself."

"Yes," chimed in Moina, "he was so excited about them that he couldn't stop! He did them all in one night."

The figures were made of thin colored papers, cut in long tiny pieces and fitted together "with utmost exactitude." When Ella said she couldn't believe he did them so quickly, Maud told her: "He can do things like that. One time he made up his mind that the Society should have Taro cards. At headquarters he took a packet of white cards, asked a member to mark them, went into an inner room for a little while, and came out with those marked cards. The Taro signs were painted on them. The cards used by the Society are copied from that pack." Ella had seen those cards and again found the feat hard to believe. "I begin to think that Iseult's account of Macgregor Mathers may not be so fabulous after all!" she confessed.[2]

Because so little is known about Moina or her personal relationship with her husband, we must look to her chart to learn more (see Appendix A). With her Sun in Pisces and her Moon in Aries, Moina had a basic conflict between a sensitive urge to submerge herself in unassuming and self-sacrificing tasks for the well-being of others, and an impetuous and forceful emotional nature. Her Moon in Aries insisted that her own needs be fulfilled. This conflict made her actions and mannerisms seem surprisingly unique. She had Sun, Moon, and Mars in difficult aspect to one another, while being completely detached from her other planets, which formed a highly integrated and harmonious complex indicating a great intellect and idealistic integrity. Interestingly, contacts with MacGregor's planets focused almost entirely on

the area of personal conflict; that is, where she had her greatest weaknesses and insecurities. We do not know Moina's time of birth, but Annie, an accomplished astrologer, who was also her closest friend, said she was a Taurus. Since Moina's Sun is clearly in Pisces (based on her birth record in Geneva), Annie must have been referring to Moina's Ascendant. If so, then Mathers's Sun was on her Mid-heaven (thus he was her highest ambition), and his Pluto was on her Ascendant, making them good partners in an occult enterprise, although he would try to control her.

With three planets in Aries, Moina was high-spirited, courageous, and spontaneous. She required attention and having things her own way but did not always know *what* she wanted. MacGregor, with eight planets in Earth signs, probably enjoyed paying attention and giving things to someone he valued so much; as in the Celtic myth of Edain and Angus, which meant a great deal to them, he saw her as a cherished butterfly in a glass house. In her work she began projects with an abundance of energy but was too impatient to finish them—she had so many more exciting things in mind. This is borne out in letters to Yeats, in which she is excited about plans for new drawings while confessing that other work is not yet complete. With mental Mercury in Aquarius and trine its ruler, rebellious Uranus, she was an independent, unconventional thinker who was ahead of her time, grasping new ideas quickly and extremely aware of subtle energy forces. This aspect also indicates platonic relationships.

Mercury was part of a dynamic pentacle of planets that included a highly idealistic and philosophic Jupiter; a reserved, diplomatic, and karmic Saturn; a restless and eccentric Uranus; and an artistically active Venus.[3] She needed a philosophical or spiritual purpose illuminating an idealistic future: However, she could become rigid and self-righteous. For good or ill, MacGregor's enduringly patient and hardworking Saturn (in Taurus) was in a stressful position to every one of these planets, providing discipline and focus for his own projects and, most likely, disapproval of her rather scattered and ungrounded, although high-minded, interests. This only compounded her childhood experiences of emotional frustration in which her talents were probably demeaned by her father. MacGregor's Mercury in Sagittarius reflected his prophetic insight and his ability to codify and structure the entire Golden Dawn system. It connects also with Moina's versatile aspect formation, so that she probably contributed a variety of insights from different perspectives, helping him make connections he would not have perceived on his own. He was more methodical, but she was quick to grasp the connections.

Her greatest unresolved tension is indicated by Mars in Gemini squaring the Sun in Pisces, probably epitomized by intuitive or unconscious actions and, when challenged, by angry reactions. Because this tendency was socially

repressed, it could turn inward into unaccountable irritability and the pursuit of unproductive activities. Although she worked hard, under stress she could be self-destructive. This square between Mars and the Sun can also indicate a strong sexual drive sublimated into mental and occult activities, as these planets are in metaphysical Pisces and mental Gemini. It is here that MacGregor most affected her life and personality. MacGregor—with his Moon conjuncting Uranus and his Venus conjuncting Neptune—had his two feminine personal planets (Moon and Venus) linked with transpersonal planets of transformation. He needed relationships that were almost mythical, containing turbulence and crises, dissolving and reforming, but always serving the growth of the psyche. He wanted something larger and deeper than mere compatibility. Mathers had a deep need to sacrifice himself to something much greater than himself, probably best described as the collective archetype of the Dark Mother—to be possessed, devoured, and transformed. Moina, with a chart emphasis in Fire and Air, was undoubtedly volatile. Several aspects indicate the possibility of power struggles in which she held the more powerful hand. MacGregor's mystical Neptune on Moina's Sun gave them a psychic link and increased their intuitive abilities, but with Moina being the stronger of the two. With her Mars squaring these (and squaring his Mars), he could be manipulative and deceitful while she was coercive. Sexual manipulation is one manifestation of this difficult aspect, as well as indulgence in drugs or, in their case, indulgence in intensive astral workings. These aspects may also have manifested as competition for power on the astral plane or in ritual work. MacGregor most likely claimed Moina's contributions as his own. Given the prevailing social standards, she may have felt helpless to counter this. More likely, if her Ascendant was Taurus, then her Moon, Venus, and Neptune in the reclusive Twelfth House, along with Sun in Pisces, would make her willing to be the "power behind the throne," perhaps even convincing herself that they were his abilities. Her aggressively emotional Moon in Aries was sextile to her fighting Mars, which probably activated when Mathers's status and position were challenged, turning her into a fierce warrior goddess defending her loved one.

With Neptune unaspected, Moina's tendency was to withdraw into her own mystical world of imagination and vision, her creative ideas often unmanifested because they had no connection to anything else in her experience.

Finally, MacGregor's Moon and Uranus were conjunct Moina's Pluto. This emphasized the more occult and ritualistic side of their work—the exploration of the frontiers of energy and consciousness. Moina could have overpowered MacGregor's emotional feelings but more likely the couple transformed this energy into their determination to revolutionize the occult world, and, perhaps, through the Jacobite cause, the political world as well.

By the winter of 1907 the Matherses had moved again, this time to the outskirts of Paris (at Aux Gressets, par La Celle-Saint-Cloud, Seine-et-Oise). In need of funds, Mathers wrote to Gardner asking about sales of the *Abra-Melin* book which were extremely slow.[4]

In January of 1909 the "MacGregors" came to dine with Maud again, as did George Sand's physician, Dr. Fauré, and Edmond Bailly, editor of the magazine *Isis Moderne*. They discussed Druidism and Rosicrucianism, and Fauré's views on occult currents and forces. Maud enjoyed the "fierce" talk, for she fancied that MacGregor was "on a different current from Dr. Fauré," so much so that she immediately invited them back for another evening of discussion.[5]

After several delays and much hesitation, Florence Farr sailed for New York on January 30, 1907. She planned to see Arnold Dolmetsch, creator of her psaltery, who was now living in Boston. John Quinn arranged her engagements, introducing her to others who generously passed her along. If she had hoped for a romance with Quinn, it was not to be, for he was suddenly busy with a national financial crisis.

In New York, Florence stayed at the Martha Washington Hotel, where a twenty-nine-year-old artist and theatrical designer named Pixie Smith showed her the ropes. Pamela Colman Smith was a good friend of Yeats and Ellen Terry and belonged to A. E. Waite's splinter Golden Dawn group. Over the next two years Pixie was to paint seventy-eight pictures that would become the world's most popular Tarot deck, the Rider-Waite Tarot, or, as is more correctly called by feminists today, the Smith-Waite deck.[6]

While in the United States, Florence lectured and read at Bryn Mawr, Barnard, and Harvard, and at homes and cultural centers in New York, Boston, Chicago, Buffalo, and Toronto; she dined with Mark Twain and Mrs. Astor, and she stayed with the Dolmetsches. After three months, having made more money than she expected, she sailed for London on May 8, 1907.

Immediately upon her return she began looking for work, hoping that Yeats would have a position for her. But Annie Horniman was firm that she would have nothing to do with "Mrs. Emery." "I do not wish to injure Mrs. Emery, yet on the other hand I would not be mixed up in any thing connected with her," Annie made perfectly clear to Yeats.[7] The tremendously successful actress Mrs. Patrick Campbell (who had played in several of Shaw's plays) invited Florence to tour with her that fall in the United States, but the plays were unexciting and Florence disliked supporting roles whose low pay meant having to lodge in cheap hotels. But the theatrical plums that had fallen into her lap for the previous two years were no longer available.

Yeats, still jealous of Farquaharson, actually mentioned his pique in a letter to Annie. She responded, "Mrs. Emery & I are at the age to like young admir-



PAMELA COLMAN SMITH, CIRCA 1912

ers & when elderly men give them rude nicknames & call them "Louthly" etc. we accept that as their natural annoyance. Why should she not have Farquarson in tow? It's a queer task though!"[8]

George Yeats always said that the love affair between Florence and Yeats ended because Florence got bored. The point was not so much that Florence got bored with men but that she became bored with herself when her whole

life was wrapped up in them. Sex as the source of all power gives us "every happiness we know on the condition that we never give way to it in our serious relations," she counseled.[9] By now both Annie and Florence were forty-seven years old, a time when men traditionally reach the height of their need for power and for proving their sexual prowess—why not a woman also, as Annie pointed out? And besides, Willie was always in Dublin, while Florence was suddenly flung into the midst of an exciting literary scene.

Shaw recommended Florence as a columnist for a new weekly newspaper, *The New Age: An Independent Socialist Review of Politics, Literature, and Art*, edited by A. R. Orage. A Theosophist, Orage would eventually bring Gurdjieff's teachings to the United States, so he was interested in Florence's spiritual perspectives on socialist concerns. According to Wallace Martin, historian of *The New Age*, "the magazine served as the centre of discussion for an intellectual circle that had outgrown the coffee house. [The articles] represented many of the formative tendencies of modern art and literature. . . . It was THE left-wing paper . . . a weekly debating society."[10]

Aside from an occasional parody of Shaw, Florence wrote about the "woman question." She was *against* marriage as a marketplace transaction in which a woman sold herself for the best settlement. Marriage, she asserted, was "a profession in which the amateur commands a higher price than a skilled artist." The problem was that men and women would never see eye to eye. "Women . . . lament because they cannot convince men their love is a great gift, and men . . . regret that women cannot learn that love is a burning torch to be put out as quickly as possible." A woman should, therefore, pick a man who would make the best father for her baby.[11] But not all offspring were children. "Mental and spiritual energies have a lineage independent of the mortal bodies of mankind," she claimed.[12] There were certain minds whose influences would be felt generation after generation. Their gifts were the offspring of the psychic ferment of their time and should be respected as much as real children. Neither she, nor Yeats, nor Shaw, nor Annie Horniman, nor Moina and MacGregor had children, and yet their issue had a genius whose influence would last.

Florence's most shocking proposal concerned prostitution: "Daughters of Joy should be brought up as dancers in the Temple of Kali dedicated to the Goddesses and kept healthy and beautiful in order that they may fulfill a purpose that they and their countrymen consider honorable and not degrading."[13] This spurred a mountain of correspondence, and sales of the magazine shot up. She declared that as "outcasts cannot speak for themselves," she would do so.[14] Florence, probably aware that many people would place her in that outcast community, took every opportunity to publicly point out the immense value of outsiders to the social structure. In a series of articles on Ibsen's

women, she created a metaphor of each one's relationship to the fruit of the Trees of Life and of Knowledge, declaring that Hedda Gabler's case made one "realize the futility of conventionality."[15] She agreed with Shaw that "the wasting of the modern woman's soul to gratify the imagination and stimulate the genius of the modern artist, poet, and philosopher" was disastrous.[16]

She was more quoted than any other contributor to *The New Age*, and Shaw requested reprints of her articles to send to his friends.[17] It seems like Florence's hard work (and radical ideas) were getting results, but there was one problem with *The New Age*—it didn't pay its contributors.

In January 1908, after rejecting the opportunity to return to the United States, Florence left for Mentone on the French Riviera, where she could live cheaply and comfortably during the winter months. She performed at cultural events, the local paper proclaiming:

> A new Troubadour has come chanting through Provence.... She is more splendid, more skilled, more subtle, more various, and far more expressive than were any of her predecessors of the Middle Ages.... Very few people can recite as Miss Farr recites. Her method predicates original power ... [and is] the outcome of a great intelligence.[18]

Willie, writing from London, found that he missed her terribly. "London is unendurable when you are not in it. I have no real friends—I have been too long away—and wander about without a soul to whom I can talk as if to myself."[19] He probably longed to confide in her about his rapidly intensifying relationship with Maud Gonne—for their spiritual marriage was reawakening.

Florence worked on several books: *The Music of Speech*, a work on symbols, and a novel called *All Sorts and Conditions of Love*—for which she had hopes of making a modest fortune. Occasionally she made the half-hour trip into Monte Carlo to look about and gamble. Meanwhile, she sent chapters from her book on symbols to the *Occult Review*, beginning with the February issue and continuing monthly through August. Although never published in a book as intended, the *Occult Review* articles represent the most mature statement of her understanding of the aim and purpose of humankind. It was her synthesis of the world's great magical traditions. (Some excerpts from *The Magic of Symbol* appear in Appendix D.)

Back in London, Florence's novel was repeatedly rejected by publishers. And she found that arranging recitals was hardly worth the effort. Although she attended a woman's suffrage demonstration in Hyde Park, she wasn't especially active in the ongoing feminist battle. She felt weary. Times were changing. The new ideas for which she and her peers had fought so hard were now taken for granted. She told John Quinn, "the middle class young and pretty all seem to be taking to free love on the sly."[20] The children of the Fabians and

New Lifers assumed that free love was their right to enjoy, not to be taken as a serious statement of principle.

From September through early December, Florence toured Scotland, Ireland, and England, again at the invitation of Mrs. Patrick Campbell, playing in Pinero's *The Thunderbolt,* in Arthur Symons's translation of von Hoffmansthal's *Phèdre,* and in Yeats's *Deirdre.* A young man who met her emerging from a performance described her as "a wonderful Egyptian- looking person, habited in purples and ambers and scarlets and great hats and veils.... She is very glamorous and vivid."[21] Again she decided not to continue when the company went on tour to the United States, this time because she had her own lecture tour scheduled. Having rejected several opportunities to return to America after her own tour, it also seems that she did not find the United States particularly agreeable.

In 1909 Florence's short book, *The Music of Speech: Containing the Words of Some Poets, Thinkers and Musicmakers Regarding the Practice of the Bardic Art, Together with Fragments of Verse Set to Its Own Melody by Florence Farr,* was published by Elkin Mathews. Florence now laid bare her belief in the magical power of sound: the ability to cast spells with its glamour, to set formative forces in motion, to open the soul to the truth of God here and now.

> [Tradition speaks] of the magic words that cast glamour, of "words of power" that opened doors, of the spoken spell of the witch, of the curse of the bard . . . and we can but wonder what compelling quality there should be about such sounds.... We may divine that there were many ways of uttering "words of power" in order to create moods of the soul or set in operation formative forces.
>
> In prayer it is the emotional part of the soul which should seek to annihilate itself before its ideal, and for this the sound of the intoned chant is efficacious. In the East, choirs of priests repeat for hours... phrases called *mantrams*... until the spell begins to work. Then their bodies sway to the rhythm and melody of the words, their souls melt under the breath of the inspiring spirit, the sound of the words enters their inmost beings. As in a dream, so they pass away from the life of actuality into the more real ideal, the life as they would have it be! Mayhap in this state they first catch a glimpse of the great truth that heaven and hell, and God, can be with us here and now.[22]

As an inaugural member of a literary group called the Succession Club, that spring of 1909 she met Ezra Pound.[23] With her spoken language technique, Florence was a central figure in their discussions of poetry. Wallace Martin recounts that her readings "for the poets that gathered at the homes of Yeats and Ernest Rhys, at Pound's flat in Kensington," and the theories they were based on, influenced the Pound-designated "forgotten school of 1909"

(which included the Succession Club) in the relationship between poetic rhythms and the spoken language.[24] Her readings of the troubadour poetry of Provence and the Hindu poetry of Tagore greatly impressed and influenced Pound.[25] His fascination with her stores of useless knowledge (the "versatility" she had bemoaned in her journal) and her fierce independence prompted him to capture her essence in a word portrait that remains one of his finest poems, "Portrait d'une femme."

Your mind and you are our Sargasso Sea,
London has swept about you this score years
And bright ships left you this or that in fee:
Ideas, old gossip, oddments of all things,
Strange spars of knowledge and dimmed wares of price.
Great minds have sought you—lacking someone else.
You have been second always. Tragical?
No. You preferred it to the usual thing:
One dull man, dulling and uxorious,
One average mind—with one thought less each year.
Oh, you are patient, I have seen you sit
Hours, where something might have floated up.
And now you pay one. Yes, you richly pay.
You are a person of some interest, one comes to you
And takes strange gain away:
Trophies fished up; some curious suggestion;
Fact that leads nowhere; and a tale or two,
Pregnant with mandrakes, or with something else
That might prove useful and yet never proves,
That never fits a corner or shows use,
Or finds its hour upon the loom of days:
The tarnished, gaudy, wonderful old work;
Idols and ambergris and rare inlays,
These are your riches, your great store; and yet
For all this sea-hoard of deciduous things,
Strange woods half-sodden, and new brighter stuff:
In the slow light of the differing light and deep,
No! there is nothing! In the whole and all,
Nothing that's quite your own.
Yet this is you.[26]

As with all the men in her life, she fascinated Pound with her far-ranging knowledge, her peaceful demeanor, her tales of magical adventure, but most of all, her strange unattachment to outcome, so that the world seemed to drift by her, catch briefly, and float on again.

Florence, almost fifty, was feeling the effects of her age. She complained to Shaw in August 1909 about problems with her eyes.

"Everybody's reading sight goes after forty," he responded. "Is it more serious than that?" He offered to pay for a pair of expensive "invisible glasses." She had also asked if he would suggest her for a part in his next play at the Abbey or recommend an agent. "The National Theatre is now in the hands of a paid organizer who provides his own staff; so I can do nothing there," he informed her, and agents, in his opinion, were of no use except for short and frequent bits of work for busy people.[27] Florence was finding it difficult to obtain work; middle-aged actresses were not in demand.

To John Quinn she had written in April of giving recitals and of joining the Eugenic Education Society, where she discovered she enjoyed reform work. Her real passion, she told Quinn, was to "stir up" people and "'revalue their values' for them a little."[28] But in October, Florence was still looking for ways to earn money, and she was anxious to get one of her books published. She was, at least, pleased with a recent diet—for along with other problems, she now struggled to keep her weight under control.

Annie, realizing that her dream of an art theatre of international reputation could never manifest through the Abbey, and fearing that Yeats's genius would be lost, tried to convince him to let her stage his plays elsewhere. The issue flared into controversy in January 1907. Lady Gregory was determined to end the alliance. "I don't think any compromise is possible with Miss Horniman," she wrote Synge.[29]

Annie, from her hotel in Tunis, wrote Willie, "It is useless to fight a radical Tarot—Miss Darragh and I have separately done our best to save your scheme."[30] The Tarot cards were advising her that it was time to let go.

Lady Gregory reminded Synge of the balance of power: "We always said she has theatre, Patent & money—we have the plays & players."[31] However, if Yeats gave Miss Horniman the plays, they would lose their advantage—and so Lady Gregory pleaded with Willie to renege on any promises, for otherwise: "You will have given Miss Horniman one of our strongest possessions or weapons. . . . Those plays were our own children."[32]

Annie sent Yeats a letter of reassurance: "Please let everyone know that there was no 'secret treaty'; merely a desire on my part to salvage that part of the cargo which is of real importance."[33]

Realizing that Yeats needed rest and peace, and hoping to salvage and re-

build their friendship, Annie had invited him to come with her to Tunis—"Camel Country" as she called it—but he made excuses. Instead, that April he accompanied Lady Gregory on his first trip to Italy. The lines had been drawn, and Yeats and Horniman were now on opposite sides. Yeats began to ignore her letters and deliberately concealed the decisions made at the Abbey.

When Ben Iden Payne, the young but competent general manager of the theatre, also found the resentment of the Irish too difficult to deal with, Annie approached him with her idea for a new theatre, outside Ireland. She began looking about for a locale that might welcome a theatre with a new idea: offering original plays and classics done in repertory—a different play every night—by a troupe of players working as an ensemble rather than as individual stars. "I want to teach these impossible people in Dublin that I have other fish to fry," declared Annie to Payne.[34]

Annie found her community in Manchester. Her father had died suddenly on March 5, 1906, leaving her £25,000. Since she had refused to speak to him for the last nine years of his life, she vowed not to use the money personally but to invest it in some theatrical enterprise. Annie could now integrate the shadow she had projected on her father (in fact, fatherly transiting Saturn opposed her natal Saturn the month her father died). If she was unable to do this consciously, she at least did it symbolically by parenting another institution of art and culture. The new company she was founding would last thirteen years, until her next Saturn Return.

Almost every month Annie wrote her *Demon* from a different city or country—Florence, Prague, Dresden, Bayreuth, Tours, Pont-Aven, Algiers, Tunis—with stories of soaking up the sun, drinking beer, and gossiping with peasants.[35] She took her friends on vacations with her and bicycled by herself from Edinburgh to London and over the Alps. She created her own personal style in clothing, buying drapery brocades from Liberty's of London to make into loose, flowing Pre-Raphaelite gowns. "She must have been aware of the amused interest her appearance excited," commented St. John Ervine, "but she was indifferent to what was said about her, going the way she wanted to go, despite all attempts to prevent or impede her.... But odd though her style of dress was, it was not ugly.... She was, I insist, a stylish woman, and she illuminated any place in which she appeared."[36]

She was also described as a "tall, maidenly lady dressed in a mediaeval green dress and wearing a gold chain with an opal dragon."[37] The cat-like dragon had little pointed ears, a whiskery ruff, and pointed claws. It measured five inches across, contained three hundred opal "scales," and glared at the observer through flashing ruby eyes. She claimed it was a likeness of herself, but it may have been her "witch's familiar," a kind of magical companion.[38] Another description rendered her as "tall and dark ... an interesting and artistic figure in

a rich robe of crimson clasped with a buckle, on which is enamelled a cluster of peacock's feathers."[39] Annie described herself not in terms of her apparel but as "a middle-aged, middle class, suburban, dissenting spinster," which was more in keeping with her fierce independence and the opal sprite she kept between her and the rest of the world.[40]

In June 1907 Annie tried again to persuade Yeats to let her produce his plays in Manchester. Lady Gregory reported that when Yeats refused her again, "She replied tragically that she had done her best to help him but in vain—'the vampire Kathleen ni Houlihan has touched you—you must act according to your conscience & allow me to act according to mine.'"[41] Kathleen ni Houlihan represented to Annie, as well as to the Irish, both Maud Gonne and Ireland itself.

Lady Gregory told Yeats, who told Florence Farr: "Miss Horniman is like a shilling in a tub of electrified water—everybody tries to get the shilling out."[42] Because Annie may have been experiencing the hot flashes of menopause, this image may have been more accurate than anyone realized. Yet menopause is often the most creative time in a woman's life, when, electrified by her transformation, she pulls out all the stops (and shillings) and reaches for what she really wants. Three weeks later, on July 11, 1907, Annie announced she would open a repertory theatre in Manchester.

Annie now urged Willie to join her in this new venture, leaving the Abbey:

> They sacrifice your work and keep you a bond-slave to them because you are "touched" by that vampire Kathleen ni Houlihan. . . . You are ceaselessly victimised by Lady Gregory. . . . You are being made a slave, your genius is put under a net in that precious "garden" & you are only let out when you are wanted to get something out of *me*. . . . All this "diplomacy" will eat into your soul and ruin your genius. That is a sacred thing.[43]

And she sweetened her invitation with a gift of £1,500 for an eight-volume edition of Yeats's *Collected Works* to be published by the Shakespeare Head Press.

In August, Annie expressed concern about Willie's chart aspects: "That transit of Saturn [in Pisces] in your first [house] won't be as bad as it would be if he were ill-dignified there but the square Jupiter & Sun look bad for your prosperity & fame.[44] You must be very determined not to take any fresh serious course of action under those aspects. I cannot help being anxious about you, you ought to be doing your greatest work now." She continued, "I want to see you again, *yourself & myself*, not two people worried to death about difficulties neither can remove even with the best will in the World."[45] She was longing for a return of their old friendship.

Willie was also watching Annie's chart, where he found that her progressed Moon, indicating her emotions and relationship with the public, was playing



ANNIE HORNIMAN WEARING HER FAMOUS DRAGON PENDANT CONSISTING OF OVER 300 OPALS

havoc with her natal planets. He wrote to Florence: "If this (and the transits are nearly as spirited) does not make hay with her Manchester theatre, Ananias was an astrologer and a planet and a star."[46]

In retrospect, it is difficult to understand Yeats's alienation from his patroness and erstwhile friend. His treatment of her was remarkably shabby in light of her generosity and continuing friendship. In the end, he wanted her money but not her ideas. He resented her interference in his artistic realms, and the others, such as Lady Gregory, resented the fact that she was not Irish. Whatever the background, Yeats was so angry at her artistic shift to Manchester that he began denouncing her on every possible occasion. For example, he warned Payne not to let her assert any authority because "She is a vulgarian." And he wrote Florence Farr, "She claims to have lots of plays—they must be pretty bad if she has."[47] He refused to realize that her emotional havoc was largely a result of his own actions.

In September, Annie and Ben Payne began a repertory season in Manches-

ter to ascertain the strength of local support for their scheme. Willie was still gloating about her astrological aspects: "I imagine that the stars are beginning to tell on Miss Horniman," he told Florence. "As since her first elated letter written the day after the start at Manchester I have not heard a word of how they are doing. I have put the date of some great disturbance concerning her to April, May or June."[48]

One week later, Annie wrote Yeats exultantly. She, too, had been studying her astrological transits and doing Tarot readings but with quite different results. "An unexpected helper has turned up, at least he is going to try to get me help & support such as would be shewn by Sun or Jupiter. I feel now that I am *in a vital and intellectual current* in which I am right to *work with vigour* but there is nothing mystic connected with it." (The italics are mine, indicating specific Tarot card meanings—she had been reading the cards again.) The Manchester project seemed fated to succeed; Annie was relying on her tools of divination, even as she distanced herself otherwise from her occult past:

> I feel no astral strain nor opposition; it is as if what I am doing belongs to the *mental* and *visible* world. If the occult life is to be mine again in this incarnation I shall be ready for it, but the summons will have to prove itself clearly as coming from a High Source. I will never accept anything which carries a doubt to my mind by the impurity of the channel; I've had enough of that.[49]

Early in January 1908 Annie made a final attempt to get permission from Willie to produce his plays in Manchester. At the same time, Maud wrote Willie about a vision of hers in which he had to make a choice in connection with his work "on which much depended." It was important that he "choose the higher," involving "great titan forms of light & immense energy."[50] These "titan forms" were the Celtic god forces. A draft of Willie's response to Annie hints at his recognition of the meaning of Maud's vision, for he wrote: "I shall write for my own people—whether in love or hate of them matters little."[51]

The completely refurbished Gaiety Theatre in Manchester opened its doors in September 1908. The working partnership between Annie and Ben Iden Payne was a good one. She read every play sent to her, writing comments and encouragement to new playwrights, but left the artistic direction to Payne. Their alliance came amiably to an end after he married the actress Mona Limerick, who renewed Annie's old problem with disrespectful associates.

In 1908 the Abbey began paying for itself, and Maud and Willie began to revive their previous spiritual relationship. Simultaneously, Annie's letters to Willie grew cooler and cooler. By the end of the year she was writing psychically, "I hope that Mrs. McBride [*sic*] is taking good care of you."[52] Then Yeats sold his *Deirdre* to Mrs. Patrick Campbell for her to play in England and

America; this could only have been a slap at Annie after all her repeated requests for some rights to his plays.

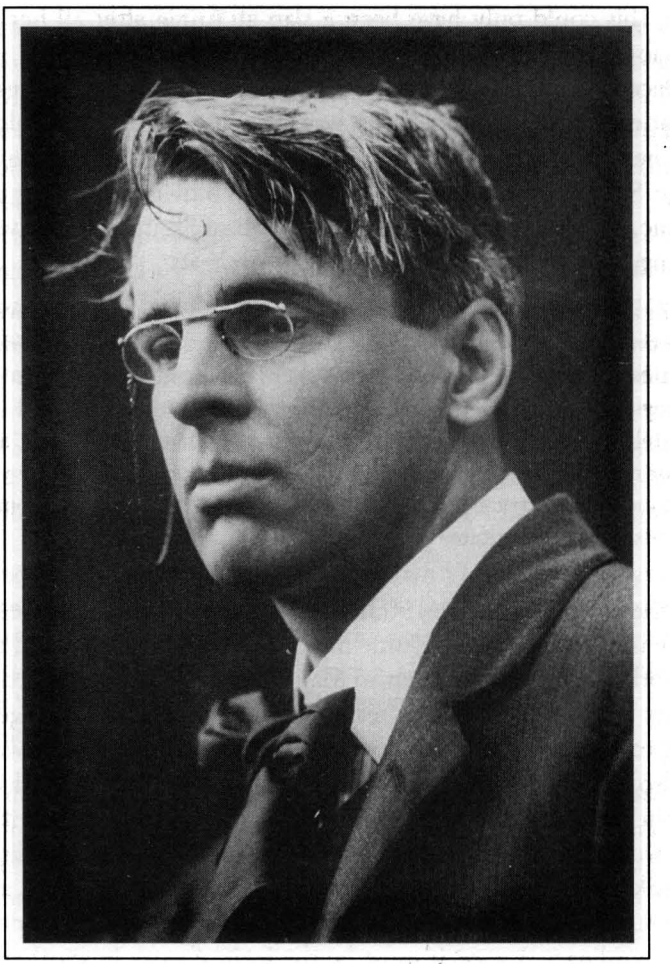
On December 25 and 26, 1909, ill with influenza, Annie reached the end of her patience. Her progressed Sun was changing signs, as it would do only twice in her life, and approaching a difficult square with Mars, the planet of fiery rage. Soon she would be fifty years old. In moving out of the depths of Scorpionic emotion and into the higher mind of Sagittarius, she was finally unleashing the last of her virulent invective on Yeats:

> Long ago I warned you that Supermen cannot prevent a revolt of slaves & the time has not yet come that the Supermen are completely paramount, or that revolt is impossible.... Even Super People cannot be expected to enjoy a revolt of slaves, but I have been driven to this. I suffered very acutely at first when you changed in your attitude towards me ... after your return from America. I fought against this by trying to ignore your unkindness but try as I might it grew & grew. I don't care for compliments, they only irritate.[53]

Since "the hideous crash" in 1903, Maud Gonne MacBride had been unable to invoke the gods. "For a long time my nerves were too shattered to do any occult work or see visions." Then, in May 1907, while she was relaxing at the spa at Aix les Bains, the visions returned and she received strange dreams, "seeming to foretell some hideous war in which England & France would take part." Also, as foretold in a vision with one of her Druids—and indicated strongly in her astrological chart[54]—"I have suddenly developed (without any effort or work or even wish on my part) a wonderful power of healing, which would make my fortune if I turned doctor. I never fail in taking away pain instantly & even curing coughs & other things.... I have this power of healing to an extraordinary degree. It must be the fruit of work in another life," she told Willie.[55]

When Yeats finally returned to Paris in June 1908, Maud greeted him with an intensity that she had held back in their previous relationship. "At Paris with *P.I.A.L.* on Saturday evening [June 20], she said something that blotted away the recent past and brought all back to the spiritual marriage of 1898. On Sunday we talked more plainly. She believes that this bond is to be recreative and to be the means of spiritual illumination between us. It is to be a bond of the spirit only and she lives from now on, she said, for that and for her children."[56]

Willie then had a dream about death lying at his feet, and Maud said she had been with him in it. "When he asked her for a blank book in which to record such visions, she said 'triumphantly,' 'I have already planned to give you that.'" And she handed him a white calf notebook in which to keep their visions.[57]



William Butler Yeats

She reminded Willie how so many of their visions had come "startling true," and how they must go through their vision notebook when they were old to note these down.[58] She wrote often now of having achieved a sense of proportion that only comes with a distance from one's work. "One gets caught in the wheels of work, & it is so hard to get out of them. It becomes a sort of tread mill one can't escape from. I got caught in it once before my marriage, the weariness of it made me lose all sense of proportion & all sense of life & I doubt if anything but the horrid crash in my affairs would have got me free of it."[59] She realized that for years she had worn blinkers so as to focus on her one end. "Now I have taken them off & find so much to look at."[60]

Although Maud still refused a physical relationship, Yeats managed, this time, to control his desire—because in London he was wooing a masseuse named Mabel Dickinson. He wrote Mabel, saying he wanted to see her as soon as he returned, because he could "only take pleasure in clear light, strong bodies."[61] But Maud and Willie met regularly on the astral plane during sleep, meditating first on an "old symbol" of two overlapping circles: a gold sun and a silver moon, for it brought various "visions of union."

When we examine a comparison of Maud's and Willie's charts, their complex personal dynamics become immediately apparent. The aspects between their charts are so numerous and multifaceted that I will simply list the major ones in an endnote rather than giving them in the text that follows.[62] First and foremost they were capable of great friendship and could be tremendously generous and supportive of each other. They shared a belief in intellectual, artistic, and cultural expression, and they actively encouraged each other's creative endeavors. Of equal importance was a strong psychic link and a mutual fascination with the occult and with mystical philosophy. Through their psychic rapport Willie was able to stimulate Maud's intuitive and imaginative life in a nonthreatening way. Certainly if Maud had not felt such an aversion to sex they might have had a very dynamic physical relationship, for they had powerful sexual, romantic, and magnetic connections. Instead they stimulated each other to exciting adventure, introduced each other to dynamic and powerful people, promoted both professional contacts and a positive public image for each other.

On the other hand there would always be a strong clash of wills. Willie rebelled against Maud's single-focused goals. She refused to be overpowered by his ego-led direction. She supported his unconventionality, even though this conflicted with his need to be honorable and constructive. Her ambitions and independence conflicted with his need to have his physical and emotional needs taken care of (as Lady Gregory and Annie Horniman were so willing to do). His poetic nature was such that she could easily project her own artistic and aesthetic abilities onto him, for she developed her own talents best when out of his presence. They cooperated in his poetic and imaginative writing, for she epitomized the essence of the combination of beauty and mystery that was at the heart of his work. At the same time, Maud gave Willie emotional warmth and affection without threatening his excessive need for independence (which matched her own). His sexual frustration manifested through his writing, while their romantic connection was expressed through the mental and visionary world they created together. He never realized that ambition was an excuse for her fear of sexuality, of losing her direction to uncertainty, and for fear of abandonment arising from the loss of both parents. Thus, all of her repressed sexuality was channeled into ambition and a power-

ful drive that was completely at odds with Willie's idealistic emotions. His image of himself found a match with Nietzsche's superman, yet Maud, uncomfortable with him when he was in his dictatorial and authoritative mode, could deflate him in a moment and thus discourage him.

When Willie would retreat and allow his physical and emotional self to seek fulfillment elsewhere, Maud would feel the pull and be compelled to draw him back. Maud then motivated Willie to impulsive and dynamic actions, but he would be shocked by what he perceived as her crude and insensitive attempts at political change. Maud found Willie overly concerned with fads and social conventions, making him politically ineffectual. In this they would always face each other from opposite sides of the fence—yearning for a spiritual union but unable to live with the effects of that same spirit on each other.

On June 26, 1908, Maud wrote Willie a letter of longing. He was with her so briefly in Paris, and there was too much to say and not enough time, although they stayed up until all hours. "A most wonderful thing has happened. . . . If we are only strong enough to hold the doors open I think we shall obtain knowledge & life we have never dreamed of. The meaning of things are becoming very clear to me."[63] The rest of the letter is missing, but they had obviously broken through to a new plane of experience. This began a period of about a year that Willie and Maud explored a form of astral sex magic to a degree that has never before been documented.

Soon after Maud's letter, knowing he would "pay the price for an inner integrity," Yeats evoked, as a symbol of sexuality, a vision of red and green globes mingling, thus blending together the physically volatile forces of Mars and Venus. He was rewarded with a vision of "two spirit forms, side by side, climbing to the top of Abiegnus."[64]

On July 25 Willie again evoked the globes and experienced a "great union with P.I.A.L." and "for the first time in weeks physical desire was arrested."[65] Knowing nothing of this, Maud wrote Willie about an experience of hers on the same night. She assumed a moth-like form with wings edged in gold—which was her own body traveling in the astral realm—and focused on the desire to go to Willie. He became a great serpent and together they went somewhere in space—"I was conscious of starlight & of hearing the sea below us." Then "I looked into your eyes (as I did the day in Paris you asked me what I was thinking of) & your lips touched mine. We melted into one another till we formed only *one being, a being greater than ourselves* who felt all & knew all with double intensity." When the clock struck eleven it broke the spell and "we separated . . . as if life was being drawn away from me through my chest with almost physical pain." Twice again she returned to the experience only to be awakened by a noise.

When she finally fell asleep, she dreamed of their being in Italy together where they discussed this vision, and he said that "it would tend to increase physical desire." Here Maud suddenly returned to the present, explaining, "there was nothing physical in that union—Material union is but a pale shadow compared to it."[66] It is as if Maud wanted him not to raise his hopes for a more complete union that could never be.

When Willie received this letter he went into the woods and imagined himself a great serpent: They became one, enfolded in a grey shroud where he found himself in a "dazzling dark" of green and red, which then changed into a pomegranate. He tried to become *P.I.A.L.* so that he could "understand what he meant to her, and saw a very yellow flame."[67]

Maud herself wrote in the Visions Notebook in October that *D.E.D.I.* "came to me and we became one being with an ecstasy I cannot describe. The intensity of the spiritual union prevents." She saw Yeats triumphant and then the Archangel Auriel; she heard voices that said: "You did not understand, so we took it from you and kept it safe in the heart of the hills, for it belongs to Ireland. When you were purified by suffering so you could understand, we gave it back to you. See that you guard it, holy, for from it great beauty may be born." They stood in the radiance of a globe of light, a bird flew up and a voice said, "It is the magic of Forgael's harp which nothing can destroy."[68]

During the month of December, which Willie spent in Paris, he led Maud in an ecstatic experience into golden light, after which she wrote:

> Beloved I am glad & proud beyond measure of your love, & that it is strong enough & high enough to accept the spiritual love & union I offer—
>
> I have prayed so hard to have all earthly desire taken from my love for you & dearest, loving you as I do, I have prayed & I am praying still that the bodily desire for me may be taken from you too. . . . I have not made these prayers without a terrible struggle a struggle that shook my life though I do not speak much of it & generally manage to laugh.
>
> That struggle is over & I have found peace. I think today I could let you marry another without losing it—for I know the spiritual union between us will outlive this life, even if we never see each other in this world again.[69]

Willie left Paris the next day in a blinding snowstorm and endured a rough channel crossing that mirrored his own turbulent emotions. It is likely that they had physically consummated their love, but now she was closing the door again. For Maud, at least, the physical question was now completely resolved.

At first they wrote almost daily and visited each other in nightly evoca-

tions. Then they both fell ill and thought that they were under some kind of occult attack by forces that were trying to separate them. Yeats had his horoscope read and was told that marriage would never be wise for him, but the astrologer described a woman with characteristics of both Maud and Lady Gregory, who would influence his life.

On January 21, 1909 Willie pessimistically noted in his journal that he and Maud were divided by her Catholicism, that she would never remarry, and that although she seemed to love "more than of old," the "old dread of physical love has awakened in her."[70] This dread seemed to him to have checked her "natural and instinctive selection . . . while she grows nobler under the touch of sorrow and denial." Without the commitment of marriage he was afraid that he would lose her. "I was never more deeply in love, but my desires must go elsewhere if I would escape their poison. . . . She made me and I her. She is my innocence and I her wisdom. Of old she was a phoenix and I feared her, but now she is my child more than my sweetheart."[71]

At the beginning of 1909, Lady Gregory became seriously ill, Willie's old friend Arthur Symons went mad, Willie had to raise money to buy out Annie Horniman at the Abbey, and J. M. Synge died. Combined with the stress of his physical desire for Maud, Willie had a kind of nervous breakdown. As he described it, "The feeling is always the same: a consciousness of energy, of certainty, and of transforming power stopped by a wall, by something one must either submit to or rage against helplessly. It often alarms me; is it the root of madness?"[72] He also dreamed of a narrow escape from an abyss that he longed to throw himself into.[73]

Meanwhile Maud had to reschedule plans to meet Willie in London several times. First a friend fell ill and needed nursing; then Maud herself was ill; and then there was the Easter family vacation. Maud had discovered that illnesses come "from moral more than physical causes—& can be cured also morally." Perhaps she was avoiding Willie and moral temptation.

After seeing Willie at last in London in May, Maud wrote him with an odd combination of passion and abnegation: "Beloved I will pray with my whole strength that suffering & temptation may be taken from you as they have from me & that we may gain spiritual union stronger than earthly union could ever be. . . . I have brought suffering to you so often and you never reproach me—Will I ever bring you happiness & peace to compensate? I pray to God that by holding our love pure it may be so."

She also expressed sorrow for having forgotten their spiritual marriage of 1898: "If we had obeyed [it] would have saved us both from the long weariness of separation." She took the full blame for all the "crushing sorrow" that befell her. Then in an ambiguous statement about their physical union, she declared: "My loved one I belong to you more in this renuncia-

tion than if I came to you in sin. Did you not say yourself that our love must be holy?"[74] Her goal was a noble renunciation. A "seer S" had told Willie that *P.I.A.L.* had six obstacles to cross, one being "the transvaluation of all bodily values."[75]

Willie worried about the prominence of Uranus in his chart, boding ill for any kind of permanent relationship, and called it "abstract intellect." He was especially concerned about the opposition of Maud's Sun in Sagittarius to his Uranus in Gemini, defining it as meaning that "her active being could be repelled by my intellectual side."[76] His "worst fault" was that Mars opposed his Moon, causing him to be "rude and accordingly miserable" when he heard in every word spoken by Maud "ancient enemies of vanity and sentimentality." His solution:

> I must watch myself carefully recording errors that I may become interested in their cure perhaps I ought [to] seek out people I dislike till I have conquered this petulant combativeness. It is always inexcusable to lose self-possession. It always comes from impatience from a kind of spiritual fright of someone who is here and now more powerful even if only from stupidity. I am never angry with those in my power. I fear strangers and I fear the representatives of the collective opinion and so rage stupidly and rudely exaggerating what I feel and think.[77]

With Maud's return to domestic affairs, her letters became distracted and unfocused; Willie had a vision of her as a "mystic victim."[78] In August, while she was at her summer home in Colleville, a series of strange experiences occurred. First, Iseult came running to her in fear when a painting of Maud in a long white dress changed its colors: "It seemed like a figure in stone with a green veil over the head." Then, while presiding at a tea party, Maud saw its eyes open and close. That night, May Gonne, Ella Young, and Maud invoked the presence within the painting. They all saw the picture move and change no matter how they placed the lamp. "It smiled a strange mocking smile & sometimes it looked very sad." Maud was sure it was her grey woman whose evil presence she had banished years before. This woman had been her Ka when she was an Egyptian priestess, but now the portrait was the closest she could get to Maud. One night the woman appeared to Ella Young, wringing her hands in grief just as the Grey Lady used to do. Water bottles fell over, doors locked, things appeared and disappeared.[79] The appearance of the Grey Lady always coincided with periods when Maud found herself afraid of losing touch with the real world.

Maud shared her trances and occult leanings with few people; it was a part of herself that she never quite trusted, for even she was not quite sure if she wasn't a little mad. In letters mentioning her visions she often apologized for

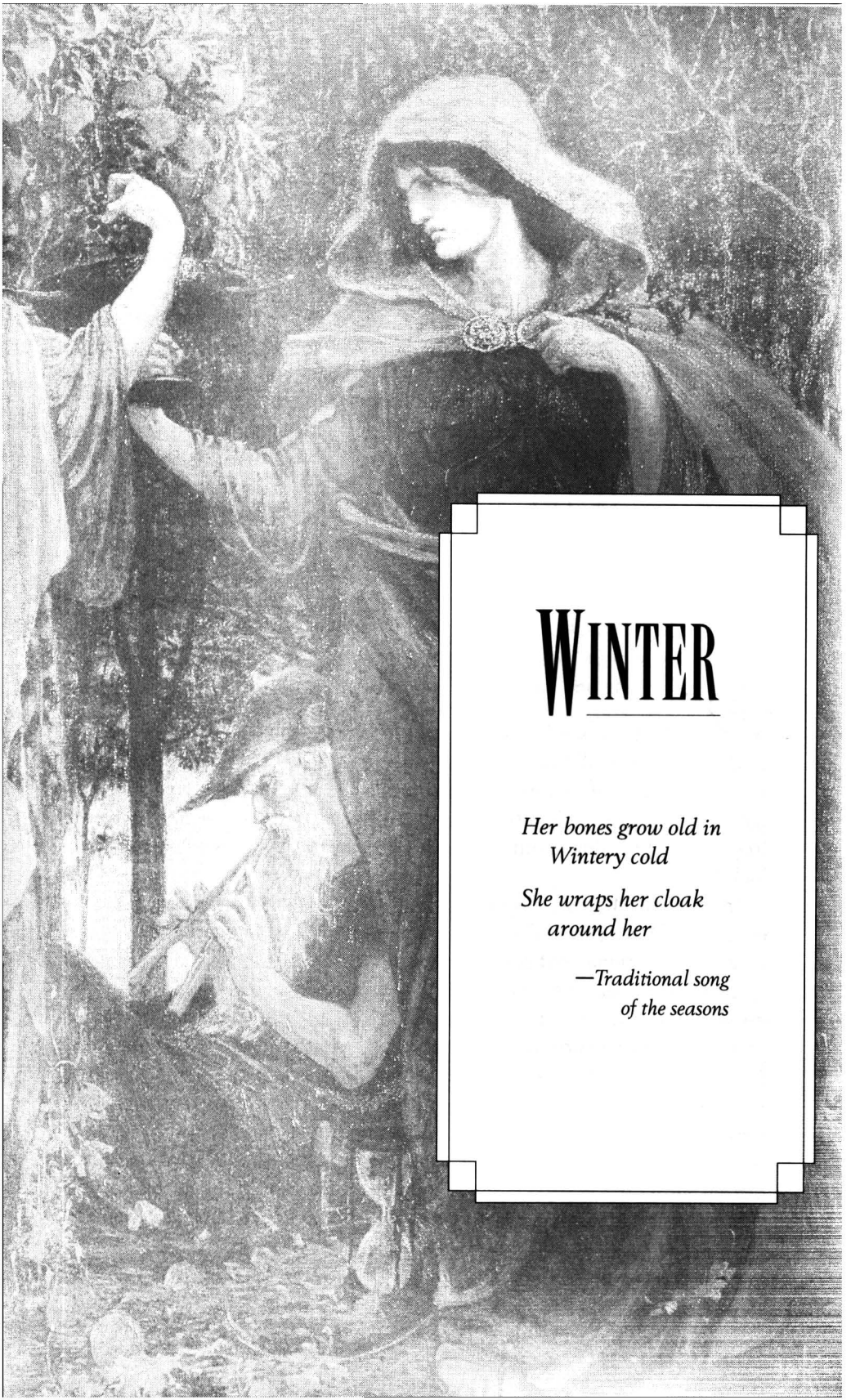
sounding as if she was going crazy. It was almost a refrain, and an acknowledgment that her astral interludes were a kind of madness. She could tell Yeats because he was a part of this madness, living, as he did, in the land of the *Sidhe*. Through Yeats, Maud had a direct connection into the fairy world, and with Yeats she could journey there. He was a projection of her dreamy Neptune, Venus–Mercury, and Jupiter complex that was at such odds with the social-activist part of herself.

Back in London, Willie was evoking Maud in his "rite of union," as he tried to assuage his craving to "put her on" like a mask.[80] But eventually he had to stop using his Venus–Mars symbol because it "caused a too painful absorption in her during the day."[81]

In November, Maud made another quick trip to Dublin and saw Willie briefly. Her subsequent letters temporarily reasserted the longing they felt for each other but which Maud held in check. She wrote that it was better that they see each other rarely until they became strong, for she knew that their physical denial was the right thing.

> The love whose physical realisation we deny here will unite us in another life—If we did the easy thing & yield to it now, very likely it would *part us here* & after. . . . You are quite right in saying we have never been nearer than now—The love you have given me is so wonderful so pure so unselfish I want to keep it always bright & shining as the Sidhe gave it back to me.[82]

Both Willie's poetry and Maud's devotion to Ireland emerged from emotional depths that few others would ever understand, and most would call madness. "Only those who make an effort to surpass themselves are interesting," concluded Maud, and "only lives of great hidden effort are worth looking at."[83]



WINTER

Her bones grow old in
Wintery cold

She wraps her cloak
around her

—Traditional song
of the seasons



In the Society of the Wise

FLORENCE FARR

1910–1917

In 1910 Florence Farr saw two of her books published: *A Calendar of Philosophy*—a small book of aphorisms—and *Modern Woman: Her Intentions*—a rewrite of material she had published in *The New Age*. Unfortunately the latter was already old news to a world that was openly discussing free love and reading about private sex lives from researchers such as Havelock Ellis.

In *Modern Woman*, Florence defines five ways in which women experience love: 1) as a physical act that enables them to become mothers, 2) as a means of emotional and sensual enjoyment, 3) as a scientific perception of mental clarity and critical discretion, 4) as a philosophical sympathy interested in different temperaments, and 5) as a transcendence of the limitations of incarnation. The first was epitomized by that paragon called "Woman the Mother"; the remainder required a "Woman of Imagination." The fifth, chaste stage, she called the "Coronation of the Virgin," in which the imaginative power of the life force transmutes human nature so that the soul may attain "perfection of culture." In transcending the limitations of incarnation, "nothing life shows her is good enough," and a woman can "bathe in the love between the fixed stars and comets rushing from the spaces beyond."[1] This was the state to which Florence now aspired.

Little is known about Florence's activities in 1911. She moved to a smaller

flat at 20 Glebe Place off King's Road. She wrote Quinn asking for news of her former husband, Edward Emery, and learned that he was in New York, still an actor. Ever in need of money, she persuaded Shaw to purchase her Beardsley drawing for £63, which she used to return to Mentone for the winter. There she completed *The Solemnization of Jacklin: Some Adventures on the Search for Reality* a reworking of her earlier book, *All Sorts and Conditions of Love.* It was published in 1912 by Fifield, a vanity press, and paid for by Shaw.[2]

Farr's biographer, Josephine Johnson, calls *The Solemnization of Jacklin* a "ghastly" novel. It is true that the novel is dated, and it is not "great literature," but Johnson's conclusion arises from her complete misunderstanding of the book, having erroneously decided that the heroine settles for the "hideousness of mutual charity" and the "ugly epitome of tolerance, dullness, and forgiving."[3] Nothing could be further from the truth. Examining the novel in combination with her other writings enables us to appreciate the full maturity, wisdom, and value of Florence's magical philosophy.

By combining alchemy, philosophy, mythology, and her social theory of the sexes, Florence expressed in novelistic form her essential beliefs as described in both the *Occult Review* articles and in her book *Modern Woman: Her Intentions.* Her character Jacklin Wood is "solemnized," that is, made sacred, when the latent part of her nature finds expression, and she is thus "transmuted from common life by the stone of the wise."[4] As a description of her own search for reality, Florence, in her novel, drew deeply from her own experiences and the dramatic tableau of Yeats, Maud Gonne, and John MacBride.

The plot revolves around a wealthy but passionless couple, Jacklin and John Wood. John is going through midlife crisis, and Jacklin, twenty-seven years old (the age of one's first Saturn Return), hungers for "experience." John has an affair with a scheming young woman, Jenny, while Jacklin develops a friendship with Dorus, a dreamy youth of sensitivity and imagination. John and Jacklin divorce, whereupon Jacklin, in an ecstasy of emotion, marries a philandering artist, Tim Callands (Dorus's cousin). They soon have a baby boy. Difficulties arise when the fairy-possessed child, Pat, comes to fear his father but likes both Dorus (whom he spiritually resembles) and John (Jacklin's former husband). This drives father Tim into a fury, during which he strikes Jacklin in front of the child.

Meanwhile, the former husband, John Wood, becomes engaged to the unemotional and cynical Susanne Hamilton, who is willing to sell herself in marriage in exchange for a generous financial settlement. Then Susanne meets Dorus, who, tormented by life's cruelties, rouses her healing sympathy. Recognizing in each other the mythic qualities of Dionysus and Artemis, Dorus and Susanne alchemically awaken into their highest selves through an initiation involving a chaste but ecstatic "kiss of Peace." When Jacklin discovers

Tim in the arms of a Spanish dancer, she awakens from the sensual passion that has possessed her and returns to her former husband John, with whom she finds "mutual charity" (i.e., respect) and friendship. He is, after all, her *solemnized* husband in the eyes of the church and, thus, the father of her child according to sacred, rather than civil, law. All ends well because, through their "experiences," they have shattered the false gods of desire and social conventions and have learned the "true good."

Dorus is, of course, Yeats. Jacklin, while undoubtedly Florence, is also drawn from Maud Gonne, especially in the scene where she turns from spiritual unity with Dorus to emotional slavery with Tim (John MacBride). Maud's son, Sean MacBride (eight years old when the book was published), learned to fear his physical father but idealized the spiritual father he found in Yeats. The relationship of Dorus and Susanne is based on the spiritual marriage and visions of Yeats and Maud (did Florence read their vision notebook?), and on Florence's own visions and idealization of a pure union of opposites. Dorus and Susanne thus fulfill the "dream," while Jacklin and John "awaken" to reality.

The female characters in the novel represent the five kinds of women's love that Florence defined in *Modern Woman: Her Intentions.* Its social situations—infidelity, divorce, prostitution, marriage as a market commodity, lack of paid work for women—are also straight from the pages of that work. Florence gives the spiritual and alchemical keys to the book in her preface, making every word dense with meaning. (I have italicized these key words.)

> To me the *work* of making the mind clear by first-hand *experience* is the holy *alchemy* of life. I call it *Solemnization,* but I recognise it also under the *mask* of *Levity.*

The word "work" refers to "the great work" of alchemy. "It is our *work* to bind the good and the evil together, so that they shall be one fruit and that the fruit of the tree of life," explains Dorus who acts as a guide for Jacklin. First it is necessary to make the "mind clear," because mind will always manifest "our identity or root conviction."[5] Florence claimed that when we see with our minds clearly, we partake in the play of the gods and have no need for possessions or desires.[6] Florence might, therefore, have defined alchemy as "making the mind clear through experience."

She wrote that "we are here in order that through *experience* we should learn to know ourselves."[7] It is only through "experience" that we as humans have the ability for comparison. In the beginning Jacklin thinks that it would be fun to make experiments. At the end she says, "I have gone through enough experience to know what is my good.... Now I know the difference between purity and impurity."[8]

"Alchemy" traces the "degrees of initiation through which man . . . must

pass before he realizes that his real self is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever." It consists mainly of the symbolism of distillation: "Consciousness of Being is the name we give to the white tincture which the adept distills from his human form in the alembic of the *mind*."[9] This white tincture represents, to Florence, the ability to be separate and, at the same time, to be aware of our physical self—represented by the blackened mass that remains after distillation. This consciousness of Being is then used to transmute the blackened mass and turn it into gold. The novel describes how Jacklin descends into her own darkness and turns it into gold.

The world *solemnization* has several meanings, but the ones used here have to do with its special significance to marriage, where it means to "sanctify" through ceremony. Its root means sole, or unity. Thus, in the process of this solemnization, two people become a single unity: solid, whole, and unbreakable. In the novel Jacklin fulfills the nuptial sanctification when she rejoins John—their unity now enhanced by their experiences.

Finally, Farr mentions the "mask of Levity." Eastern philosophers (and Shaw) saw "life as a farce to be acted with as much forbearance as possible . . . an exquisite farce."[10] In *Solemnization,* Dorus says: "I treat existence as a joke of my Creator; quite possible to bear as long as I remember it's a joke."[11] The mask may be hideous or beautiful; but it is always a delusion, a pretence, a joke—like the veil of Maya—yet necessary! It is donned to separate one from the true self—so as to be able to observe the other—to compare. As Yeats also believed, we wear the mask, the veil of Maya, to gather experience. This mask can be called levity, wit, laughter, or criticism. In her article, "Rosicrucianism and Alchemy," Florence explains that "the human faculty of self-conscious comparison [is] the origin of wit, laughter and criticism." Such comparison can come only from experience. And "the power of laughing at ourselves . . . is the germ of all wisdom and enlightenment."[12] The mask is a cup or container of wisdom, and since solemnization is what lies under the mask of levity, then solemnization must be the process of becoming wise. "Wisdom is also symbolically a serpent and tempts [one] to experiment," she explains in another article.[13] The characters (especially Jacklin) learn they must eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil before returning to the Tree of Life. From this we can see how Florence understood her magical motto: Wisdom (or solemnization) comes to those who consciously experience (i.e., "taste") the dualities of life. Alchemy is the process of refining that taste.

Thus this is a modern mystery play. Jacklin is Psyche (equated with Persephone-Proserpina) who descends from the world for the sake of Love but must earn the right to be with Eros through experience. As Dorus says, she is "a fairy goddess Proserpina and Demeter in one." Several events in the novel take place on May Eve. In goddess lore May Eve is the date of the solem-

nization of the yearly earth rituals and the return of Persephone from the underworld. In marrying Tim, Jacklin, like Persephone, enters into the underworld, where she is enslaved by emotion.[14] Tim is Pluto: sensuality bound by material possessions. He is also the selfish laws of patriarchy, dumb and blind before the fertile powers of Nature and the Goddess. It is while she is in this underworld that Jacklin conceives and gives birth to a sacred child— Pat— just as Persephone gives birth to Iachos. In the original myth, Iachos is Dionysus, reborn from the seeds of the pomegranate that was his heart.

At one point Jacklin even takes on kinship with Hecate (the third face of the triple goddess, Persephone-Demeter-Hecate) as Queen of the Underworld and goddess of the crossroads, who, Dorus says, he must always worship. Jacklin begins as a "woman of intellect" whose "heart is a piece of artifice," and thus represents qualities defined as Apollonian. She must become a whole woman, by blending within herself knowledge of the Dionysian. Eros is the blending.

Dorus is also called Artemidorus, meaning "gift of Artemis." He is a "worshiper of 'the goddesses of the crossways.'"[15] Florence describes his gifts as "understanding and wisdom"—the second and third *sephiroth* on the Tree of Life. He says: "If I *give* all I am to a woman she is transfigured and becomes the Symbol of the Beauty which is beyond all visible beauty." Beauty, the central *sephira* of Tiphareth on the Tree of Life, represents the heart. Susanne, who "belongs to herself" and therefore is virgin, is the recipient of his gifts, for Jacklin must remain earthbound. In a powerful vision of initiation, Susanne achieves the Coronation of the Virgin in which Malkuth (Earth) becomes Kether (Crown). Dorus is also alchemical Mercury, catalyst for Jacklin's transformation. He imagines himself as all of the sacrificed sons and lovers of the Goddess: Adonis, Endymion, Attis, seeking to learn from goddesses of the crossways: Aphrodite, Hekate, Artemis. He is a "real dancing faun"—immortal—and Jacklin's son is his spiritual child.

At a fairy tarn (pool) on Christmas Eve, the pregnant Jacklin receives the soul of her child from the rainbow-winged angel Gabriel: "Some alien nature was there entwined with her being."[16] And over the succeeding days "she thought more and more of the Tarn spirit," which overshadowed her being. The child is born more-than-human, an immortal. In her article, "The Egyptian Use of Symbols," Florence wrote: "The great [Egyptians] believed that they literally were the sons of gods, for their fathers had invoked the god and had performed rites and made meditations and imagined overshadowings of divine natures before they were conceived. Marriage was a sacrament of most momentous nature involving long purifications and the communion with the Divine Trinities of Mother, Father and Child."[17]

At its deepest, this novel is an *alchemical tale of personal transformation.* It is also a myth of the gods and goddesses being born into the physical world

where they must rediscover themselves and reexperience their mythic journeys in the midst of a materialist culture, paradoxically bound by, yet transforming, the social conventions of "a civilisation out of harmony with their greatest needs."[18] Florence's characters learn to give themselves to the gods for the transformative evolutionary purposes of all creation: "We are alive here to build bridges and roads that the everlasting may know moral life and that mortals may know their own infinitude," she writes.[19] "Give ourselves willingly, and we shall learn from the initiation . . . the meaning of Unity."[20]

Florence had a highly developed and complex view of the aims of creation, and this, her final book, not only expressed her philosophy but showed how one would live according to it. Here is a summing up of this philosophy:

We *are* the Creator, she says, and have chosen to manifest in the world of variety for our own pleasure. Pure Being is indivisible and unalterable motion. We stop the rush of Being and form the visible world by cutting Eternity up into Time and Space. The earth is the resulting succession of images, ideas, and pictures. "Earth we are, and unto Earth we shall return." Earth is a living creature, the winds are its breathing, fire its passion, the waves its emotion, the living creatures upon it its sense organs, their experiences its memories, its heart a fire that is the central consciousness experiencing everything. We are part of the Earth Will, not simply individuals of the human race. Through Love, we awaken to the ultimate state in which the earth and its consciousness are inseparable. Then we know how to penetrate into the consciousness of invisible natures. "We can attain a state of consciousness in which all our powers become supernatural . . . capable of transferring ideas from one to another, [training] consciously evoked imagination."[21] To Florence the achievement of cosmic consciousness was not an end but a beginning.

When we subordinate our human interests to some greater planetary interest, we give birth to works of genius. To be impregnated thus, Florence says we must "[meet] the gaze of the earth itself looking out from a monstrous eye straight into [our] hearts."[22] The Golden Dawn's offspring were poetry, plays, books, theatres, amnesty and food programs, the "alphabet of sound," and a great magical system. This was only the beginning: Florence dedicated her book "to the man that shall be."

This novel was Florence's last gift and farewell song. Only a few months later she left England forever. The spiritual teacher Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan (introduced to her by Allan Bennett), now an M.P. for Ceylon, was establishing Ceylon's first College for Girls and offered Florence the position of principal. In June 1912 she wrote to John Quinn: "I may be off to Ceylon the end of the year to end my days in the 'society of the wise' as the Vendantist books say one should."[23] And she told Shaw she "was off to Ceylon in August for 'five years certain.'"[24]

Yeats believed she wished to leave so that none of her friends would watch her grow old or ill.

On Florence Emery I call the next,
Who finding the first wrinkles on a face
Admired and beautiful,
And by foreknowledge of the future vexed;
Diminished beauty, multiplied commonplace;
Preferred to teach a school
Away from neighbour or friend,
Among dark skins, and there
Permit foul years to wear
Hidden from eyesight to the unnoticed end.[26]

But to herself, Florence was setting out to gather the experience necessary for her final alchemical transformation. She researched the latest teaching methods, including the new Montessori techniques. After giving her psaltery to Yeats, selling her books and possessions, leaving a box of letters from Yeats and Shaw to writer Clifford Bax (not to be opened until after her death), Florence left London on September 5, 1912. She spent two weeks in Cairo, and acclimatized in Colombo, where she met politicians and wealthy Europeans while she studied the Tamil language. The school in Jaffna opened at the end of January 1913, with Florence in her new role as the Lady Principal of more than eight hundred Tamil girls.

Learning of Mabel Beardsley's death, she wrote Yeats: "I am always glad to hear of someone making a brave end. I came here to make mine brave and I seem to have started another incarnation."[26] Did she come to Ceylon with a foreknowledge of death, finding instead a new joy in life?

She taught the girls to eat "so that each mouthful was dedicated to the service of God"—making the dining hall ever so much quieter.[27] She laid out a garden of twenty-five acres and took care of the children who were feverish, the children who stole, the children who were so naughty no one else could manage them. She heard evidence and rendered decisions. "It is exactly like being Queen Elizabeth," she declared.[28] She was loved and respected by the girls for her personal concern and interest in their traditions—they soon were calling her Mother. And no one knew that their Mrs. Emery was really Florence Farr of the London stage, although some wondered at her fine elocution.

Enchanted by the poetry, music, and ceremonies, she began translating Tamil verse. She provided Fabian journalist Beatrice Webb with descriptions of sex arrangements and women's "periodic indispositions," and of the death customs with which she was particularly fascinated. And she confessed to



Florence Farr at the Ramanathan College, Ceylon

Willie that the real meaning of karma was understanding the source of all our actions: "Karma our old friend . . . can only be escaped from by an elaborate process of detecting the various gods who inspire us at their work & attributing our apparent deed to the real doers."[29] Although she became a vegetarian, a teetotaler, and a nonsmoker, she took pride in always remembering to laugh.

World War I began in August 1914. During most of the war, Ceylon was out of the fighting, but at this time the first calls for Ceylon's independence from Britain were heard. In March 1916, for undefined reasons, Florence stepped down from her duties as principal of the school. She may have been weary or stressed, feeling the first strain of the illness that would claim her. She considered moving to San Francisco to "end her days" but decided to remain at the school, in the position of bursar, freed of her former responsibilities.

"I have spent all my years getting rid of many barriers between me and liberation—all my disagreeablenesses & the things I never noticed about myself as bonds have loosened. Also my secret horror of death. I mean the deathbed scene—I have been through with it once or twice & it's nothing after all," she wrote Shaw.[30]

Yeats remembered her saying: "If we could say to ourselves, with sincerity, 'This passing moment is as good as any I shall ever know,' we would die upon the instant, or be united to God. Desire would have ceased."[31]

In November 1916, Florence discovered a lump in her breast that was diagnosed as cancerous.



Drawing by Florence Farr of her fern-shaped scar, from a letter to W. B. Yeats, January 18, 1917

"This is galloping cancer with a vengeance," she wrote Shaw in December, but "when one after the other had confirmed the doom I felt less & less doomful & now I feel full of interest in the experience."[32] As always, she sought to "experience" all that life had to offer. The next day, after writing the letter, she had her operation.

In recovery, early in 1917, she wrote Yeats: "Last December I became an Amazon and my left breast & major pectoral muscle were removed. Now my left side is a beautiful slab of flesh adorned with a handsome fern pattern made by a cut & 30 stitches.... It is quite an experience for me as I have never been helpless in my life since I was a baby."[33]

She sent her last poem to Yeats. "The Earth and We" contained the same vision of an animated Earth that she described in *The Solemnization of Jacklin*, an Earth whose living creatures are its senses and their experiences its memories:

We are the eyes, the sense, the vision of Earth
And she is just a Kerub face that floats
Dancing and laughing round the sun. In mirth
She hides in cloaking masks of night and gloats
In shadows ov'r her aureol of beams
Like coloured feathers in St. Michael's wings.
When we are dead she makes thought of our dreams;
And if we are remembered then she sings
Her song to the sun; 'tis because our wild ghosts
Clamour within her, till she suddenly screams
Tragic notes—wakening tremendous strings
Reverberating, calling Fame's starry hosts.[34]

By March, Florence was back in the hospital. The cancer had returned and metastasized; it was too advanced to operate on. She died in the hospital at Colombo on April 29, 1917, almost fifty-seven years of age, and was cremated according to the Hindu rites. Six months later, William Butler Yeats married Georgie Hyde-Lees.

The South African feminist Olive Schreiner in 1892 wrote a story in which a woman very like Florence goes on a spiritual quest to India "to work bravely alone and then to die." Schreiner's narrator asks questions that we may ask about Florence: "Did she ever love anything absolutely? Did she ever need a love she could not have? Was she never obliged to unclasp her fingers from anything to which they clung? Was she really so strong as she looked? Did she never wake up in the night crying for that which she could not have?"[35]

As Florence once explained: "We can only go ahead and try to live in such a way that when we come to the end we may feel it has been worth while to learn what we have learned."[36] With Past and Future gone, the mystery of time was now hers; she knew that Unity awaited her behind the mask of the Devourer.

"I stood naked in a dark and bleak eternity and filled it with my exultation."[37]



No Traces in This Purgatorial World

MOINA MATHERS

1910–1928

Moina Mathers spent much of 1910 by herself in Paris, for MacGregor was in London. Aleister Crowley had been publishing his own versions of the Golden Dawn Outer Order rituals in his magazine, *The Equinox,* and now he proposed to publish the Adeptus Minor (5°=6°) ritual. MacGregor and Moina had received these rituals, amid blood and exhaustion, as a sacred trust from the Third Order Adepts. Mathers won an injunction against publication but lost on appeal.

One day in May 1913, Moina and MacGregor met Maud Gonne MacBride on the street and exchanged gossip. MacGregor had a sprained ankle, and Moina was "doing some really beautiful drawings." They claimed that they were very busy with Order work and that it was "going on very well."[1] According to Ithell Colquhoun, Maud last saw them around this time, when she watched MacGregor enter a Catholic church "for refuge." And according to one of the members of Moina's later Alpha et Omega Temple, Edward Garstin, they became Roman Catholics.[2] No doubt, like Maud, they found power in the Catholic ceremonies and had no difficulty relating to the sacred forces under whatever name one chose to use. "Regarding the distinction between monotheism, polytheism and pantheism," wrote Moina, "this distinction hardly exists for the Initiate."[3]

Within the next two years they moved twice, first to Saint-Cloud on the

edge of Paris and then to the Rue Ribera near MacGregor's favored haunt, the Bois de Boulogne.

Yeats heard that upon the outbreak of war, MacGregor opened a recruitment center at his home, where he enrolled several hundred Britons and Americans for service in the Foreign Legion, and that he then helped to train them.[4] Both MacGregor and Moina had learned first-aid and ambulance work many years before and probably served during at least some of the war in this capacity.

MacGregor Mathers died November 5, 1918, six days before the end of the war. He was an early victim of the "Spanish" influenza that was soon to sweep the world in a pandemic that would kill 22 million people—more than twice as many as died in the war. He was not yet sixty-five years old. Moina was fifty-three.

Moina wrote Yeats in 1924 (when he printed a description of her husband in *The Trembling of the Veil* to which she strenuously objected) that "S.R. only had one very serious illness all the years of our married life, and this was during the period of the war. This illness lasted about three months and during that time, he certainly was and looked terribly ill. But this illness in no way ever interfered with his superb mental work which reached its height on the day of his death in 1918."[5] She admitted in a subsequent letter that he had a "quixotic" element that "was especially in evidence during those very difficult early years of the Golden Dawn," but she hoped that Yeats could meet his more recent friends and pupils, because they would have described a much more stable and respected person.[6]

Moina returned to London sometime in 1919. She lived first at 3 Scarsdale Studios, Stratford Road, Kensington, and then at 266 King's Road, Chelsea, and, working with John Brodie-Innes (*Sub Spe*), established a temple called Alpha et Omega in London. This was associated with, but not the same as, Brodie-Innes's previously established A.O. Temple in Edinburgh. Gerard Heym, a friend of Moina's, told Ithell Colquhoun that "without her husband's direction she felt disoriented."[7] Moina felt alienated from many of the former Golden Dawn people. She told Gardner that Dr. Berridge's wife "hates me to such an extent, that I have not even sent her a letter of condolence. She has no sympathy whatever with the Order."[8]

Moina was more than ever short of money and tried—unsuccessfully—to support herself by portrait painting.[9] Ultimately it was an acquaintance, Isabel Morgan-Boyd, and possibly Annie Horniman, who helped support her.

Ithell Colquhoun, upon joining G. R. S. Mead's Quest Society, discovered that Moina, Helen Rand, and Annie Horniman had also been members. And so they must have practiced magic together again, a formidable threesome! Colquhoun relates:

> One-time Questers recall Moina as a wonderful personality: she looked like "a witch," "a gipsy," "an Egyptian priestess," "a Priestess of Isis," as variously recollected. (The sole dissenting voice describes her as "a dumpy little woman, not good-looking, and eccentric"). When occasionally she appeared at meetings, she spoke in a resonant voice that dominated the assembly so that one felt there was no gainsaying her knowledge. Matter-of-fact in her approach, she yet possessed a great calm which gave an impression of hidden power. She appeared taller than her actual height because of her upright carriage; the *art-nouveau* gowns and numerous necklaces had given place to "good" clothes, becoming but in no way exotic. Her hair had turned white.[10]

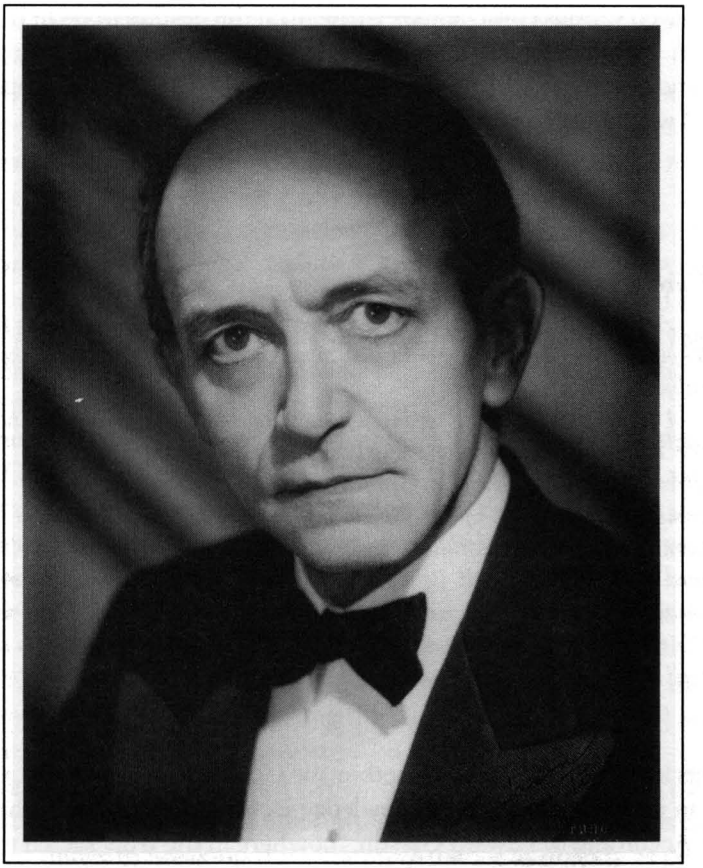
According to a Frater X, Moina held "occult seances" but would not try to contact her husband, believing she should focus in the present, aiming instead at "communication with spiritual forces emanating from the plane of Deity."[11] Gerard Heym thought Moina to be "the greatest clairvoyant of the century."[12] Frater X said that she lived in fear of occult attack.[13]

Dion Fortune[14] was initiated into the London Temple of the Alpha et Omega in 1919 under the leadership of Brodie-Innes. Her immediate teacher seems to have been Maiya Curtis-Webb, who later became Mrs. Tranchell-Hayes—a "walking encyclopaedia of occult knowledge."[15] But Fortune found the Golden Dawn seriously lacking:

> Practical teaching from official sources was conspicuous by its absence, and unless one was lucky enough to have a personal friend among its members with a gift of exposition, one was left high and dry. One was put through the ceremonies, given the bare bones of the system in the knowledge lectures and a few commentaries on them called side lectures, for the most part of a very inferior quality, and left to one's own devices. The glory had departed in the days when I knew the Order, for most of us its original members were dead or withdrawn; it had suffered severely during the war, and was manned mainly by widows and grey-bearded ancients and the widows of its founders [Moina] were somewhat in the position of the widow of a certain famous artist when she was asked if she meant to carry on her husband's business. The cloak of Elijah did not necessarily descend on Mrs. Elijah.
>
> Nevertheless, anyone with any psychic perceptions at all could not fail to realize that there was power in the ceremonies and formulae; and anyone who had made a study of them also speedily found out that in the system of correspondences taught in the GD they had got something of inestimable value.[16]

Dion Fortune was not the only one who was disappointed in the practical instruction. Trouble was brewing for Moina in America.

On April 26, 1920, Paul Foster Case was notified by Michael Witty of



Paul Foster Case

Thoth Hermes Temple No. 9 in New York that he had successfully passed his examinations for advancement to the 5°=6° grade and that his admission to the Second Order had been approved. Initiation to the Vault of the Adepts took place for Frater *Perseverantia*, as he was called, on Sunday, May 16. A natural ritualist, only three weeks later he became Third Adept at the annual Corpus Christi ceremony. He must have pursued his studies avidly, because—via his later organization, the Builders of the Adytum (B.O.T.A.)—he was to establish one of the most successful occult correspondence courses of all time, based on, but expanding upon, the Golden Dawn Tarot traditions.[17]

Before the year was done, Case had proved himself the most knowledgeable student of the occult in the New York Order and so was made Praemonstrator, in charge of classes and lectures. His rapid rise must have made some of his fellow magicians jealous, for on July 18, 1921, Moina—who

had received various complaints—wrote from the headquarters in London to question his teaching. As the letters which follow bear much on Moina's experiences and state of mind, as well as on the Order's teachings on sex magic, I will include quite a bit of the correspondence.[18]

18 July 1921

Care et V.H. Frater Perseverantia,

As I hear that the Sex Theory subject has been under discussion in Thoth Hermes Temple, I should like to say a few words to you on the subject.

I regret that anything on the Sex question should have entered into the Temple at this stage for we only begin to touch on sex matters directly, in quite the higher Grades. In fact, we only give a rather complete explanation of this subject in that Grade where the Adept has been proved to be so equilibrated and spiritualized that he is complete lord of his passional self. Believe me, this is not mere theory. I am not speaking to you from a merely theoretical point of view, but I have seen the results of this superficial sex teaching in several Occult Societies as well as in individual cases. I have never met with one happy result.

It has long been a question whether the Golden Dawn actually taught sex magic in its curriculum, as no knowledge lectures on the subject have been found. According to Edward Garstin, "nowhere in the truly sacred mysteries . . . was any teaching given involving any sex-practices."[19] But as most magicians agree, no single part of the person can be left out of the Great Work, including the sexual, without causing a great deal of trouble. This letter from Moina provides proof that a sexual theory was taught in the original Golden Dawn, although probably only a very few of the most advanced initiates were privileged to learn it.

Case admitted to Moina two references to an occult theory of sex in his teaching. First, that "*one* of the arcana known to Adepti relates to the control and direction of the nerve-force which ordinarily energizes the reproductive centres."[20] And second, "every function of man has its appointed use, and that the business of the occultist is to *control* himself on all planes."

It seems that one problem, at least in New York, lay with members of the Order who disapproved of a personal relationship they perceived to exist between Case and a certain Lilli Geise, whose magical name was, quite aptly, *Nunc et Semper* (Now and Always). "The Hierophantria and I were observed to exchange significant glances over the altar during the Mystic Repast," along

with other "servant hall gossip," admitted Case. His response to his critics was simple: "My conscience acquits me."[21]

About the necessity of resigning his post as Praemonstrator, he said: "I must beg you to believe that I have no desire to be a 'teacher and pioneer in this Purgatorial World.' . . . Guidance seems to have removed me from the high place to which I have never really aspired. The relief is great."

Case was disturbed by the reactionary stance not only of his Hermes Temple brethren but of Moina Mathers.[22] And it was apparent that American members of the A.O. were not receiving all the manuscripts required for their work, or the manuscripts were mislabeled and not given out with any system. People therefore argued over duties and how to perform them. The Order, rife with problems, received no explanations from England.

By January 1922 the disarray and possible deception were more than Case and Lilli Geise could take. They resigned from the A.O., but Moina, who had been told they were making spurious statements about Mathers, rushed to expel them first. "I will retain no Student in my Order who makes an attempt to dishonour the memory of our late Chief."

Lilli Geise replied with a sincere letter of disappointment in Moina and the A.O. "We believed in the claim [in Book A] that you were in touch with a 'Third Order' and 'Secret Fratres,' . . . [and] could easily use these methods [astral projection, etc.] of investigating the conditions here, [and to] see into our hearts. But we should not have ascribed such powers to you."

It was apparent that the "Third Order" had failed every test they put to it: "One mistake after another was committed, as if an unseen force was deliberately doing things to break-up the Order in America as quickly as possible," continued Geise.[23]

The Imperatrix of the Philadelphia Temple, Mrs. Elma Dame, also sent in her resignation, saying,

> Your maintenance of mail-order Rosicrucianism at $10 per capita, your removal of Mr. Brown for calling your attention to the dangers of this, your unwillingness to uphold the authority of the Chiefs in Philadelphia over a First Order member who might be the means of bringing in more initiation-fees if allowed to do things in his own way, all these policies have entirely destroyed any faith we had in your guidance of the Order.

She continued, "We were struck in your letters by your concern only for the Count's memory, not for the Truth. . . . We have been very devoted to the Order, and we love its teaching. . . . We *wanted* to believe in the Order." But where, she asked, were the real objects of the Order? "It has all been organization, without Principle; matter, without spirit."

She charged Moina with never showing them any concern for the "great

essential of growth in knowledge and attainment." The core problem, said Mrs. Dame, was the lack of a knowledgeable teacher. *"When you got rid of Mr. Case, you 'killed the goose that laid the golden egg.'"*

How could Moina have failed to listen to these outpourings of obvious love and grief from truly devoted students? What had happened to her heart? Did she actually want only an unquestioning and servile Order in the "colonies"—which were too distant to monitor personally?

Case, especially, was uncompromising and relentless in his response to Moina. If she had knowledge not available in a library, then why not give it? "What I maintain is that the essential teachings of the A.O. . . . are neither secret nor peculiarly Rosicrucian." Book A (which they had recently received from Brodie-Innes) stated that, as a 7°=4°, Mrs. Mathers should have had firsthand knowledge of the true events in America—which she obviously didn't. Case not only questioned, point by point, whether the A.O. was a channel of Rosicrucian teaching, but stated that Mathers himself "was either deceived, or else he was a deliberate impostor. My belief is that he was deceived," claimed Case.

Freed now from an allegiance to Moina and the A.O., Case was also free to search for the truth. "I fear no punitive current that you may attempt to invoke against me," he concluded. "You have no magic to combat me. You are impotent because you know that all I have said is true."[24] This was the beginning of the end of the A.O. in America, and it formed the seed of what would eventually grow to become Case's group, Builders of the Adytum (B.O.T.A.).

In the Robert Word Collection is an undated list of quotations from "Vestigia letter to Paul Case," which seems to be part of her original letter of July 18. In these quotations we finally find some surprisingly personal statements by Moina that give us a clue to her inner state.

"You evidently have reached a point in your mystical Way where there would appear to exist certain cross-roads," Moina wrote. "*The artist in you, which I recognize, and with whom I deeply sympathize*, would probably choose to learn the Truth through the joy and beauty of physical life." The italics are mine and point to Moina's essential dilemma. Her own artist's soul would choose physical experience, but her mystical soul could not. Moina's painting of "the child reading a book while a strange faery face peers in at a window" that Maud Gonne had so admired, showed one experience—that of motherhood—that was denied Moina. Like the fairy at the window, she could only look in through the glass and, therefore, felt herself cut off from the world of flesh and family.

Moina's letter included an enigmatic comment to Case: "You who have studied the Pantheons, do you know of that enchanting God, the Celtic Angus, the Ever Young. He who is sometimes called—Lord of the Land of Heart's

Desire?" Angus, the god of love and the sun, rescued Etain, the moon, who had been turned into a golden fly. But, Angus could only give her a body in the land of the mortals. Later she had to choose between bodily existence, or everlasting life with her immortal lover.[25]

"The artist [sensualist] in us may have lingered in that Land for a moment," Moina told Case (for Etain had begged for an additional year in which to give her gifts to mortals). "But you and I who would be teachers and pioneers in this Purgatorial World must be prepared before all the Gods to be the servants of the Greatest of them All. . . That is to say of the Osiris, the Christ, the God of the Sacrifice of the Self." Until united with immortal love at death, Moina's task was to uphold her vision of Osiris/MacGregor in this world. She had forgotten that the mortal Etain, without her spiritual lover, was, as Yeats noted, "Beauty without Spiritual Intelligence."[26]

"I am convinced," she told Case, "that great Truths may be learnt through the rhythm of Physical Beauty. But these are as nothing compared to the depths of those to be gained through *suffering and renunciation.*" Of what did her suffering consist? That her painting must continually be put aside for the "Great Work"? That she would never know the wonders of motherhood or the pleasure and unity of sex? That she must never for a second admit her own doubts about the veracity of Mathers's teachings?

Was there, perhaps, a deeper pain? An older suffering? The rejection of her family in every town they moved to and the spurning of her father's musical genius? The separation from her brother Henri when she was four? Did her "overly emotional" father take out some of his feelings of pain and inadequacy on her? Parental tyranny was likely in the disappointed man characterized by Henri Bergson as having a "gross sensibility." Did she justify the sacrifices of her family through her own choice to sacrifice herself? Was Mathers, like her father, an unacclaimed genius, whose consecrator she had become? Or had she renounced family, career, friendship, and her religion for a spiritual master who only brought her hardship and distress?

If Mathers was Osiris and Moina Isis, then her task was to put the pieces of his greatness back together. Case offered renewal, but she could not trust the Order to a new form; when all one knows is sacrifice, it is hard to find joy in re-creation.[27]

Moina did not get along with Dion Fortune either. Moina believed strongly in the necessity for secrecy. She feared that Fortune, in publishing occult articles for the public, would appropriate MacGregor's work for her own ends. With unquestioning loyalty, Moina wanted to keep the flame of her husband's memory bright and unsullied. She was uncomfortable with the questioning and need to revise that occurs when a new generation takes up an old idea.



Dion Fortune

Like children, Case and Fortune examined the Order, indeed were willing to take it apart to see how it operated, while Moina, horrified, snatched her precious charge away.

Moina had a defense mechanism involving warrior-like Mars in Gemini square her Sun, which was largely unconnected with the rest of her personality. Once turned on, it operated to rashly defend the Golden Dawn ideas with critical arguments and irritability. Moina's Mars opposed Dion Fortune's Sun in idealistic and philosophical Sagittarius and was in conflict with Fortune's Saturn in Virgo, the very factor that drove Fortune to work out for herself the principles that Moina thought she had stolen.[28]

The trouble all began when Dion Fortune wrote some articles (later com-

bined into a book called *The Esoteric Philosophy of Love and Marriage*). Moina accused Dion of betraying the inner teachings of the Order (again it involved the "sex theory") and wanted to expel her. However, it was pointed out that the young woman had not advanced far enough to have access to such information.[29] According to Fortune, Moina then "suspended me for some months for writing *Sane Occultism*, and finally turned me out because certain symbols had not appeared in my aura—a perfectly unanswerable charge."[30] In the *Occult Review*, Fortune said: "'The Fraternity of the Inner Light' was founded by me in agreement with Mrs. Mathers to be an Outer Court to the Golden Dawn system. All went well at first, and I was in high favour; but presently I fell from grace; why I never knew. No specific charges were levelled against me save that of not having the proper symbols in my aura. Finally I was turned out without reason assigned, save the ridiculous one above."[31] She transferred to another section of the Order, the Hermes Temple in Bristol, and continued her studies there at least through 1934.[32]

A few years later Dion Fortune wrote some essays for the *Occult Review* on abuse in the occult world. In them she linked two events, claiming that a friend, Netta Fornario, was killed by occult means and that she herself had been astrally attacked. As Fortune explained it: "Unpleasant as those experiences were, the fact remains that Mrs. Mathers' rejection of me did not close the gates of the Order to me on either the outer or the inner planes."[33] This is an implied accusation of Moina Mathers as the perpetrator of both attacks. However, Miss Fornario's death occurred almost eighteen months *after* Moina died.[34] (A description of the occult attack appears in Appendix G.)

In July 1926 Moina prepared a preface to a new edition of *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, in which she memorialized her "husband, comrade and teacher." She clearly looked to Mathers as "one of an unbroken chain" who "care for and help and guide humanity" and on whom she "lavished heartfelt reverence and devotion."[35]

It is unfortunate that so few records remain of the last years of Moina's life, because those that survive tend to depict her as a bitter, spiteful woman. Yet, people who knew her well are full of respect, appreciation, and a deep personal regard. A niece who remembered her from her childhood[36] said that in the family Moina was known as "Auntie Mouse," a nickname that suggests that any family disagreements from when she first married Mathers were long past and that she was a welcome part of the family. It is also interesting to speculate whether she was called mouse to Annie's "tabbie." Westcott wrote Gardner that he knew nothing against her except that she was "obsessed by Samuel Liddell M. [MacGregor]," which was "perhaps her greatest failing."[37] Moina, in dedicating herself selflessly to the well-being of her husband, was not only following society's dictates but was obeying a spiritual mandate to

be the skrying sibyl to MacGregor's mage. Priestess and Priest, they served the Goddess and their fellow humans by offering their unique gifts.

Toward the end of 1927, Moina's health began to fail and she refused to eat. As Yeats explained to Maud, Mrs. MacGregor had been "'seedy' for a couple of weeks, then suddenly collapsed."[38] On July 25, 1928—at sixty-three years of age—she died at Saint Mary Abbot's Hospital on Marloes Road in London. Her body was cremated.

She left her personal effects to her brother, Phillip Bergson, a publisher, an author (of a book about famous murders), and an actor (who used the stage name Phillip Beaufort Barry). He immigrated to the United States close to the time of World War II and lost contact with the English branch of the family.[39] I have been unable to trace him.

According to Ithell Colquhoun, around 1939 Moina's original A.O. furniture and all her remaining papers were burned by order of Mrs. Weir (Isabel Morgan-Boyd) following the instructions of the Secret Chiefs.[40] This event, which took place on the grounds of a country house in Hertfordshire, completely fulfilled the nature of Moina's magical name, *Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum*— "I leave no traces behind."[41]



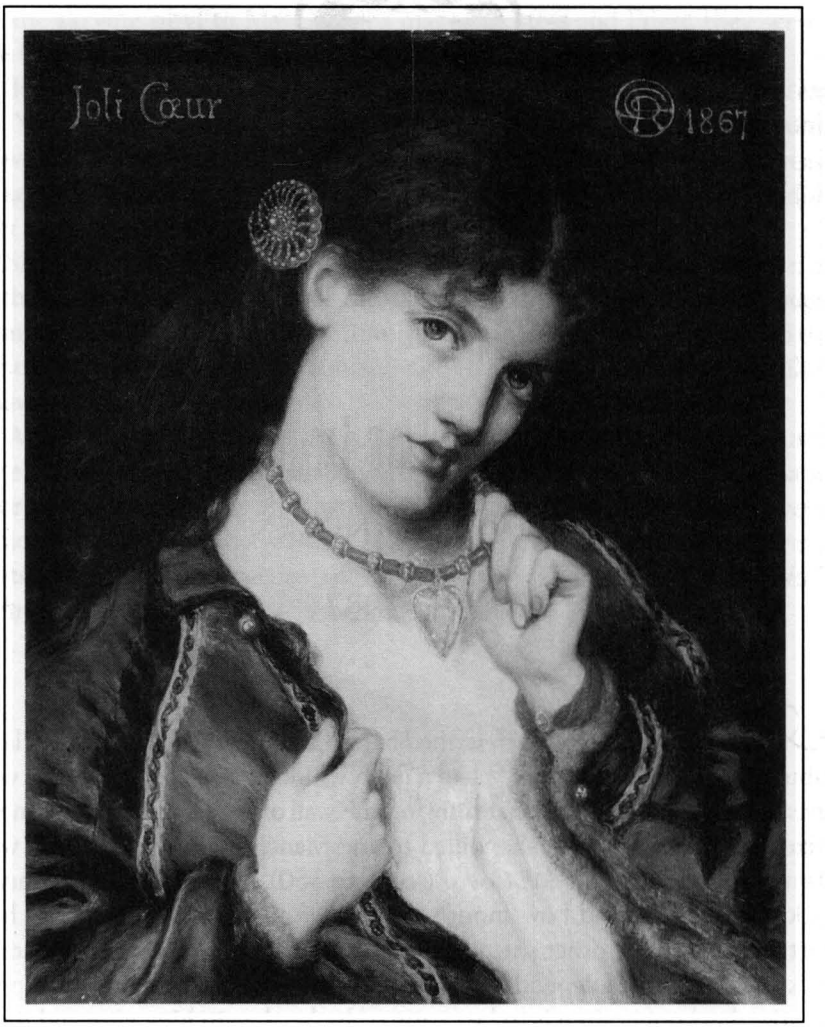
Contemplation of Immortality

ANNIE HORNIMAN

1910–1937

Annie Horniman, who described herself as a "middle-aged, middle class, suburban, dissenting spinster,"[1] had a deeply hidden side to herself that was revealed only by a painting that hung on the wall of her flat. One of her most prized possessions, which she willed to the Manchester Art Museum, was Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Joli Coeur* (see page 360). The woman, russet head cocked engagingly and bow mouth pursed, with one hand eases open her shirt, while with the other she offers the viewer a closer look at her red coral necklace from which depends a transparent crystal heart. To look at this provocative, beckoning siren is to be captured by her bewitching gaze and then plunged into the half-bare juncture of heart and flesh. She is the seductress that Annie could never be, but the painting is a key to Annie's shadow: her private and sultry passions, and her hidden longing for romance. This part of her self was to remain forever teasing, waiting, suspended, on the wall.

For Annie Horniman, the situation at the Abbey Theatre came to a head on May 7, 1910, the day King Edward VII died. The entire Commonwealth went into mourning, and all shops and theatres closed. Except for the Abbey. Its new and inexperienced manager, Lennox Robinson, because of a conflux of errors, failed to receive a telegram from Lady Gregory ordering its closure, and so the show went on. Miss Horniman took deep offense at this "affront" to the English by Irish "patriots" and declared that all previous agreements were



JOLI COEUR BY DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI, 1867

now voided. As she had told Willie in 1907, "It must be kept in mind that my original proviso, that I have the right to put a stop to everything & to close the theatre if it be used for political purposes or propaganda, must & will remain in force."[2] She refused to pay the final two subsidies to the theatre, although she eventually complied following arbitration.

"There would have been no Abbey at all if my condition as to 'no politics' had not been tacitly accepted by the Directors," she explained. "They broke the condition & I stopped the subsidy honourably. . . . Yet I had rather pay £400 than receive that sum dishonourably."[3]

She wrote her friend and architect of the theatre, Joseph Holloway, on December 1, 1910, "Courtesy from Dublin is so very rare.... My initial mistake was simple—it took me a long time to learn that there was no room for an educated middle-class woman who loves the Arts in Dublin."[4]

Willie Fay's nephew, Gerald Fay, acknowledges that the theatre was Annie's offspring but destined to be parented by others while she looked on from a distance: "The midwife was dismissed; the birth of the Abbey theatre was successfully completed. It came noisily into the world, had its childish illnesses but grew up sturdy."[5]

After this, a bitterness developed between Annie and all those involved in the Abbey. She lost her friendship with Yeats, and she felt that Lady Gregory claimed and received all the credit for making the Abbey Theatre.

From the entire body of Yeats's autobiographical writings, Annie's involvement in the Abbey is mentioned minimally: "I had come in front of the curtain and appealed to the hundred people of the audience for their support," he remembered. "When I came down from the stage an old friend, Miss Horniman, from whom I had been expecting a contribution of twenty pounds, said, 'I will find you a theatre.' She found and altered for our purpose what is now the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and gave us a small subsidy for a few years."[6]

Abbey historian James Flannery makes Annie's true contribution clear:

> The importance of the permanent home for the Irish National Theatre and especially the value of the subsidy which allowed for a professional company of actors and the staging of controversial, innovative works that were not greatly accepted by the public cannot be undervalued. Without Annie Horniman there would have been no Abbey Theatre, and possibly the works of Synge and Yeats would have seen but few performances before sinking to oblivion. Yeats said in 1908: "We are the first subsidized theatre in any English speaking country, the only theatre that is free for a certain number of years to play what it thinks worth playing, and to whistle at the timid.[7]

It was Annie's vision and determination, more than anyone else's, that created the necessary security and atmosphere for the existence of their artistic freedom.

From 1908, under Miss Horniman's direction, the Gaiety Theatre in Manchester developed into the first repertory theatre in England, with a particular devotion to the discovery of new playwrights. Among playwrights whose works first appeared under her auspices were Alan Monkhouse, Stanley Houghton, Harold Brighouse, and Nobel laureate John Galsworthy, while works by Bernard Shaw, Arnold Bennett, Harley Granville-Barker, and St. John Ervine were staged frequently. Her encouragement of new playwrights led to the foundation of the so-called Manchester school of realistic drama.

John Moorefield wrote to Miss Horniman after the production of his *Nan*



Annie Horniman

in May 1908: "I feel more and more, as I grow older that the theatre will be the church of the generations to come, and you have done more than any other person to make it that in this generation, and to give to writers who have been working to that end, the very rare and precious gift of encouragement."[8]

The move to Manchester was undoubtedly good for Annie. She worked well with Ben Iden Payne, finally had the ensemble company of which she had always dreamed, took part in the selection of plays, and encouraged new playwrights. She also had her seemingly prerequisite battle, but this time it was only the city council denying her a liquor license. She was recognized, honored, and asked to speak at all manner of public functions. To her surprise

she found she was a good orator and enjoyed it tremendously. She thus had the opportunity to explain her vision of the theatre, to identify herself as a successful businesswoman, and to proclaim her favorite causes: the right of women to vote and equal rights for women to use their proven managerial abilities. In 1912, touring in the United States with the Manchester Gaiety Company, Annie announced that her object in bringing the company to America was to "make money and fame and to show that an English woman has the courage to do what a New York business man tried to hire men to do."[9]

In *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, James W. Flannery sums up theatrical opinion: "In tracing the history of the modern repertory playhouse movement in England, Professor Allardyce Nicoll has given Miss Horniman credit for being the main motivating force behind the entire movement: 'The rise of the repertory theatres all ultimately take their inspiration from the devoted work of Annie Horniman at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin and at the Gaiety Theatre in Manchester.'"[10] And Gerald Fay concluded in his history of the Abbey Theatre that Miss Horniman was, "on the management side, the most important woman in the history of the theatre in Britain."[11]

Even so, Flannery devalues her significance by emphasizing her emotional outbursts, not acknowledging the hostility she faced—where people told her by their every action that her opinions were wrong and unwelcome, that her business sense was overbearing, and that she didn't belong—and the mental and emotional consequences of such acrimonious behavior. Flannery does, however, acknowledge her feminine quality of devotion to an ideal: "Cantankerous, stubborn, opinionated, even emotionally unstable as she doubtless was, no one can also doubt the incredible devotion that Miss Horniman gave to her ideals. Between 1904 and 1910 she spent over £10,000 on The Abbey Theatre, and her generosity is all the more astounding when one realises that she was by no means a wealthy woman."[12] Actually, she was wealthy, for her holdings were equivalent to several million dollars today—but the point is that instead of seeking to acquire more wealth or material possessions, she devoted her resources to singlehandedly founding and supporting two major theatres, and she created an entirely new understanding of what theatre can be. In her modest way, she was an enlightened philanthropist in the style of her contemporary Andrew Carnegie.

In 1910 Manchester University awarded Annie an honorary master of arts degree for her achievements in the theatre. She was so proud she had numerous pictures taken of her in cap and gown. Here finally was the official recognition she had always craved through so much frustration for so long a time.

Her last communication on theatre matters at the Abbey was a telegram to Yeats in January 1911, which read: "You have shewn me that I do not

matter in your eyes. The money is paid. Supermen cannot associate with slaves. May time reawaken your sense of honour then you may find your friend again but repentance must come first."[13]

In her *Who's Who* entry, Annie simply pointed out that in the fourteen years, 1907–1921, of the Manchester theatre, she presented two hundred plays—of which one hundred were new.[14] She launched an average of seven new plays a year from among the thousands she read, and many were among the most successful of the time. She "was ready with help and encouragement and was not dismayed by the probability that a play she thought worth producing was not likely to make profit!"[15]

In December 1912 Annie was struck by a car near her flat in London, and she spent several weeks in bed recovering. She was now fifty-two years old, and it was high time for her second brood of children to grow up and move out; the Gaiety was so successful that its best actors and playwrights were rapidly moving on to London, and the remaining actors were often away on tour. When, in August 1914, England declared war on Germany, no one wished to see anything except comedy, which Annie willingly provided. But her actors and playwrights were going off to war, and tools and materials were in short supply.

Finally, in June 1917, with the war still on and financial difficulties besetting them, the Gaiety Theatre Company disbanded, and Annie rented out the building to other companies. Four months later, Yeats, who knew from his astrological chart that it was essential to marry "now or never," did so on October 20, 1917. Annie kept the clipping announcing the marriage. She was entering her second Saturn Return, which she experienced through 1919 and her fifty-ninth year.[16] She was ready for cronehood—Saturn was releasing all the attachments she had made since her last Saturn opposition thirteen years before, when, with her father's death and the inheritance, she was able to finance the Gaiety. Although she had no direct contact with Yeats, she must have known that his first child, a daughter named Anne, was born on February 24, 1920. On December 30 of the same year, just after she turned sixty, Annie sold the theatre building. She left the past behind her and looked to the future.

In November 1921 Westcott wrote Gardner, "I saw Horniman just before I left London, she is still interested [copy breaks off here]."[17] Since 1906 Annie had been back in touch with Helen Rand, becoming fast friends again, although, at first, she tried to stay away from occult things and "treat her [Rand] just as if she had been out of the country for many years."

"I've done with transcendental minds and I am thankful," she said, wanting to forget her pain at leaving the Golden Dawn. "They may be on a higher plane, but I had rather a lower plane where a sense of humour and self-respect

find a home."[18] Still, she never denied her belief in the efficacy of astrology or Tarot. She didn't hesitate to use astrological symbolism on her writing paper or for the Manchester Theatre logo—which included the glyphs for Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, representing beauty, communication, and the public. Perhaps it was only after Moina Mathers returned to London, following the death of her husband, that Annie returned to the workings of a temple. According to Ithell Colquhoun, Annie worked again with Moina in the Alpha et Omega Lodge.

In 1923 she was asked to stand for Parliament as a Liberal but declined as she objected to "three-cornered fights"—but she cherished the honor of having been asked.[19]

In April 1924 Westcott wrote Gardner from South Africa that Dr. Pullen Burry had gone to the Klondike about 1891 and "left his wife and 2 daughters badly off. Miss Horniman helped them: they came to Natal and Mrs. P.B. died here 1½ years ago."[20] Annie had first met the daughter, Helen Pullen Burry, at an evening of astral exploration at Helen's family home in Hampshire. Annie arrived hot and dusty, having cycled there. When Helen later expressed regret that she could not repay Annie's generous assistance, Annie replied, "I am merely a custodian of the money I control. All I ask is that should you ever be in a position to help anyone, pass it on."[21] The Pullen Burrys were among many that Annie Horniman helped like this.

The years after 1920 were spent in travel, from Egypt to Madeira and Italy to Amsterdam and often Germany. She went with friends like Helen Rand and almost forgot that anyone had ever called her anything but Tabbie, signing her letters "Many purrs."[22] Rex Pogson noted that "references to cats abound in her letters and speeches, cats held the place of honour in her home and in her theatre, and in the last years of her life a rooted objection to visiting the new 'talkies' was overcome when a film was discovered in which cats took a prominent part."[23] She certainly played up the feline connection, cultivating cat-like behavior, meows and hisses, and purrful commentary in her letters to a young niece.

In 1932 she was made a Companion of Honour for her contributions to British drama and was presented at court with a ribbon badge. "I wonder who died to let me in?" she ruminated in a letter to her cousin.[24] Actually, it was her only brother, Emslie, who was to die that year. They had not been close since his marriage, and then their father's remarriage had driven them further apart, but he had been her closest friend in childhood and she had loved him dearly.

Annie still smoked heavily and experienced serious rheumatism, but she kept up her travels, now in search of relief for the pain. Then in 1937 Yeats came to visit her for the first time since she had severed her relationship with

the Abbey. Although she was bedridden, "her mind was lively and vigorous," and he wanted to see more of her, "there was so much that we and nobody else could talk about."[25] That summer of 1937 she went with Mrs. Hargreaves Heap (of Abbey Theatre days) to stay in Shere, Surrey, and she died there peacefully in her sleep on August 6.[26]

She left all her papers to Helen Rand.[27] Her Rossetti painting, *Joli Coeur*, went to the Manchester Art Gallery, and she left the greater portion of her money (£51,000) to Clement Oswald Skilbeck, an almost entirely unknown painter of the old-fashioned Pre-Raphaelite school. Her body was cremated "without incurring unnecessary expense," as directed, and her ashes cast to the winds.

"She did not do much to help potential biographers," said St. John Ervine wistfully. "Indeed, she took trouble to hamper them by destroying nearly all the letters she received, though many of them were from men and women of distinction and would now be of immeasurable value. Few people lived so publicly and so privately as she did. She frequented platforms and lecture societies for the benefit of her theatre, but the person who was seen there was not the whole woman. Was a large part of her hidden in some quiet place where her Quaker spirit could console her for the misunderstanding and mischances of her public existence by contemplation of immortality?"[28]



They Shall Be Remembered Forever

MAUD GONNE

1910–1953

In February 1910, the rivers Yonne, Marne, and Seine all overflowed their banks in a horrendous rainstorm, causing France's worst flooding in 170 years. "Half of Paris is crumbling.... The telegraph service is almost entirely stopped, the electric light has failed, the gas works are stopped, drains are bursting & houses threatening ruin. . . . It is all a horrible nightmare."[1] As if she were awakening from a long sleep, Maud MacBride threw herself into relief work and housed as many people as she could.

She began writing for a new journal published by the Daughters of Erin called *Bean na hEireann.* Its purpose was to encourage women to participate in Nationalist life at all levels, striving for freedom for the nation and "the complete removal of all disabilities to our sex." Knowing that Ireland had the highest infant mortality rate in the United Kingdom, Maud created a plan for feeding poor schoolchildren based on what she had learned from doing flood relief work. She realized that children's nutrition was an essential first step to national self-sufficiency.

That spring, Willie visited Maud at her summer home, Les Mouettes, in Colleville, by the sea. For the first time they seemed to have settled into the comfortable, calm, and platonic relationship that Maud had so desired.

By the end of October she was in Ireland to begin her fight against malnutrition, and she was clearly a force to reckon with. One young woman, on first

meeting the forty-four-year-old Maud, described her as "like a goddess, a creature from another planet, and when she spoke you thought she must speak in oracles."[2] By the end of the year, Maud had organized a daily hot lunch in one of Dublin's poorest parishes. For four years the women of *Inghinidhe na hEireann* pressed Parliament to extend the English free-lunch bill to Ireland. When it finally passed in 1914, not one of the women were allowed on the all-male overseers' committee.

Maud's time in Dublin was now severely curtailed by the needs of her children, and her relationship with Willie Yeats had finally mellowed. Maud, pleased with his new book of poetry, *The Green Helmet and Other Poems,* still railed against the Abbey Theatre for taking him away from his poetry—much of it inspired by her.

> Our children were your poems of which I was the Father sowing the unrest & storm which made them possible & you the mother who brought them forth in suffering & in the highest beauty & our children had wings—
>
> You & Lady Gregory have a child also *the theatre company* & Lady Gregory is the Father who holds you to your duty of motherhood in true marriage style. That child requires much feeding & looking after. I am sometimes jealous for my children.[3]

As Maud saw it, the poems, coming from their mutual parentage, enriched both Ireland and the entire world, while the theatre company only prevented their more numerous birthings.

Sean was often ill, and at the beginning of 1912 he was hospitalized with appendicitis. Then when he got better, Maud fell ill. The rest of the year was taken up with painting, chaperoning for the now eighteen-year-old Iseult, researching French and Belgian school canteens, and a long stay in Italy. In January 1913 Sean got the measles; then Maud got pneumonia and nearly died. She spent most of the year quietly recovering. A further blow came when her offer to help the Irish suffrage movement was rejected because it was felt that a woman of her notoriety could only hurt the cause.

By November, Maud was back in Dublin—where a crop failure, strikes, and then a company lockout of the Transport and General Workers Union had, with winter coming on, made living conditions bleak. Maud sold her last piece of valuable jewelry, a diamond necklace, to continue the children's lunches.[4]

One evening she "played planchette" (a kind of Ouija board) with Iseult, Helen Moloney, and a Miss Gifford—contacting an Irish sailor of 1691 who gave several predictions of war and battles at sea, including a line from the Bible, "Behold the people riseth up as a Lioness, as a lion doth lift himself up, He shall not lie down until he eat of her prey & drink the blood of the Slain."

Maud believed the message might be for her, because the contact mentioned a "Red 2nd number," which Maud indicated was her designation in "a secret mystical society which few people know of."[5]

Maud continued to paint, with increasing success, as her work was now exhibited, used in book illustrations, and sold commercially.

The year 1914 began quietly. Yeats, who had continued in the Stella Matutina headed by Dr. Felkin, became Imperator of the Amoun Temple when Felkin, the former Chief, moved permanently to New Zealand.[6] From April onward, Maud and her children traveled restlessly to Florence and then Assisi. Willie came to France and together they went, with the president of the Society of Psychical Research, to investigate claims of a bleeding picture of the Sacred Heart at Mirebeau. There the old abbé warned that the lady must leave France before certain "terrible events" occurred.[7]

Maud was vacationing with her children in Arrens in the Pyrenees when war broke out. "This war is an inconceivable madness which has taken hold of Europe— It has no great idea behind it," she railed. She felt that the only hope lay in women as "guardians of the race." "I always felt the wave of the woman's power was rising, the men are destroying themselves & we are looking on— Will it be in our power to end this war before European civilisation is swept away."[8]

Unable to obtain travel papers to return to Paris, she volunteered as a Red Cross nurse, with Iseult as assistant and Sean as a messenger. Every available building was turned into a hospital. She found the war painful and meaningless. "I can see nothing but misery in this present war—a wind of folly & fatality is driving Germany & France to their ruin."[9] Yet Maud spent six months working for ten hours a day in Pas de Calais within sound of the cannons: "One cannot remain idle when there is much suffering, but I would rather be working in Ireland."[10] Finally, toward the end of 1915, all she could think about was working for peace, but—"How to begin? What to do? I feel so bewildered & helpless."[11]

Lucien Millevoye's son was killed, as foreseen by Maud in a dream, and then her sister Kathleen's son was also killed. The war had increased her clairvoyance, but all she saw were battles and the souls leaving the dead. Then on October 31, the pagan holy day of Samhain, she was haunted by the rhythm of a dance reel like that she had once heard issue from the heart of the sacred mountain Slieve Gullion in Ireland. "Thousands of Irish soldiers who have been killed are being drawn together in this wild reel tune. . . . It is leading them back to the spiritual Ireland from which they have wandered. . . . They will not be separated from Ireland for as an entity she has followed the path of Sacrifice & has tasted of the Grail & the strength they will bring her is greater." She associated the rhythms with countries: Some had the colors of Ireland—

fresh, primitive, and green; a German one was a powerful red-purple, indicating conquest; and England's was a triumphant scarlet.[12]

In March 1916 Willie wrote her about his play *At the Hawk's Well,* and she replied, "I always knew ... that you & I are both connected with a hawk. It has been my symbol which I designated in a certain occult work." She remembered when they had tried to discover a past life together and were told that "we should find it at the *meeting of the winds.* The sword then became a fiery pyramid & at its apex was the meeting of the winds & there hovered a *great bird* like an eagle."[13]

On April 25, 1916, while Maud was writing a letter to Willie, the newspapers arrived in Colleville with news of "disturbances in Dublin & 12 people are killed." Her till-then casual letter suddenly became frantic for news of her friends. Patrick Pearse had declared an Irish republic on the steps of the General Post Office, and the Irish Republican Army had mounted an attack in what became known as the Easter Rising. The British shelled central Dublin from a fireboat, setting the Post Office on fire and destroying surrounding buildings. On April 29 Pearse and Connolly surrendered to save further bloodshed. Maud reminded Willie of a vision she had had at the beginning of the war in which she saw the wounded and dying lying on the quays by O'Connell Bridge near the post office.[14]

By May 4, seven leaders of the uprising had been tried and shot. The following day, John MacBride was executed—and there were seven more heroes' deaths yet to come. When a French newspaper printed an attack dishonoring MacBride, Maud responded swiftly, recalling all of the qualities that had drawn her to him in the first place. Maud sent Willie a statement that would represent her stand on MacBride for the rest of her life: "Major MacBride by his Death has left a name for Sean to be proud of. Those who die for Ireland are sacred."[15] She told John Quinn, "He made a fine heroic end which has atoned for all."[16]

Maud now found herself in straitened circumstances, with such greatly diminished income that she gave up her apartment and moved into the storage attic. The authorities informed her that she could not go to Ireland, and if she went to England, then she could not return to France. So she remained in Colleville and spent the summer of 1916 with the children, a parrot, a monkey, a goat, two dogs, a cat, seven rabbits, a bevy of birds, and Yeats, who joined them for a month. Now that she was a widow, Yeats asked her to marry him again. She refused, so he asked permission to marry Iseult—who had always expressed a great affection for him. Maud apparently did not mind, and Iseult was flattered, but she could not imagine marrying a fifty-year-old when she was only twenty-three.[17]

On April 27, 1917, Florence Farr died in faraway Ceylon, and that summer

in Colleville, Yeats renewed his wooing of Iseult. Maud was in a "joyous and self-forgetting condition of political hate the like of which I have not yet encountered," declared Yeats.[18] On the other hand, Maud no longer advocated violence as a way to achieve political ends. "The devastation and destruction . . . have changed me and I bow to every peace advocate."[19]

In mid September 1917, Maud, Iseult, Sean, and Willie Yeats finally took the boat for Southampton. Willie, under great strain, gave Iseult an ultimatum—either she would marry him or he would marry someone else. She asked for one more week before giving him her final answer.

Upon debarking, Maud was stopped, searched, and then served with a notice under the Defence of the Realm forbidding her to land in Ireland. She was considered more dangerous than all the prisoners from the Uprising who had been released and were back in Ireland. Yeats thought that in her fury she would "certainly do something wild."[20]

At the end of the week, Iseult declined Willie's proposal. A few days later, fifty-two-year-old William Butler Yeats and twenty-six-year-old Georgie Hyde-Lees published their banns for marriage.[21] Georgie Hyde-Lees was a friend of Olivia Shakespear's daughter Dorothy, who had married the young poet Ezra Pound. In 1910, when Pound was Yeats's secretary and they were all living at Stone Cottage, Yeats met Georgie. From that point on she had come to visit often, helping Willie with his psychic researches and joining first Rudolph Steiner's Anthroposophy group and then the Stella Matutina. Upon meeting Georgie, Maud wrote Willie a letter of approval, recognizing that Georgie would not harm their own friendship and could offer Willie the intense spiritual life he needed. "I think you have chosen well," she concluded.[22] Lady Gregory concurred. They were married on October 20, 1917, with Ezra Pound as best man.

Why all the rush? Elizabeth Heine, in an article on Yeats's astrology, presents an incontrovertible case that he obeyed a powerful astrological imperative to get married when he did.[23] He had examined his horoscope for years, searching for the possibility of marriage, and had finally found it. The transits and progressions for that weekend in October offered an opportunity that would never be more ideal. Independent Uranus, which seemed to always preclude his marriage, was conjuncting his homemaking Moon and trining Saturn—giving exactly the kind of stabilization he needed. Transiting Saturn was conjuncting his passionate Mars in the Seventh House of marriage, while trining both his Neptune and the transit of Venus, forming a Grand Trine in Fire. This most beneficent aspect pattern, which would give him discipline and inspiration for his poetry, was spiritually augmented by transiting Jupiter opposite the transit of Venus and sextiling his Mars and Neptune. In addition, transiting Mars was trining his Jupiter from the Seventh to the Eleventh

House, while the Moon conjuncted it, yielding not only desire in marriage but also a deep, philosophic, and nurturing friendship. Mercury, ruler of his Fifth House of children, was trining his fertile Moon and thereby sealing *that* important consideration. Finally, the Sun on that day was on his North Node, granting public acclaim of his creative endeavors through this marriage. The progressions were just as powerful. Mars, which at birth was squaring his Venus and therefore indicative of the troubles and stress brought on by his desire for women, had progressed to an exact trine with Venus—the masculine and feminine energies were temporarily in complete harmony. Progressed Sun was conjuncting Mars in the Seventh House, giving him a great desire to marry, while progressed Venus was conjuncting his troublesome Uranus—showing that an alignment with the feminine was now operative. Both predictive systems had given him the green light! Marriage at this time would bring him organization, stability, luck, acclaim, philosophical rapport, creative inspiration, and nurturance. He knew it was now or never.

The marriage got off to a rocky start, and Yeats panicked, thinking he had ruined several lives by his impulsiveness. Four days later, George, as he called her, tried some automatic writing and received the message: "We have come to give you metaphors for poetry."[24] Thus began a collaboration that would result in his great metaphysical work, *A Vision*.[25]

In January 1918, by disguising herself as a fat, bent old woman, Maud was able to return to Ireland with Sean. She bought a house at 73 Saint Stephen's Green. When the British imposed conscription on Ireland, it almost caused another uprising, so the British began to round up members of the Sinn Fein ("Ourselves Alone") Party. Leaving George Russell's house on a spring evening, Maud was arrested, with fourteen-year-old Sean running behind the police van as she was taken away. Without his mother to stop him, Sean promptly joined the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

Maud found herself back in England, in Holloway prison, charged with no offense, but in the company of Constance Markievicz and Kathleen Clarke, the widow of the executed Tom Clarke. They were allowed no visitors, and letters were restricted. Maud was "like a caged wild animal herself, like a tigress prowling endlessly up and down," said Kathleen Clarke.[26] Maud became ill, and then she learned of the death of Lucien Millevoye. She became seriously depressed. Finally, after almost six months in prison, suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, Maud was released into a nursing home. A month later, the armistice was signed.

Maud disguised herself again and returned to Ireland. She had rented her home in Saint Stephen's Green to Willie and the pregnant George (who was also ill with pneumonia). Arriving at the door, she was turned away by Willie, who feared being raided by the police. This breach took a long while to heal.

The war was over, and women over the age of thirty could finally vote and run as candidates for office.[27] Maud no longer tried to find a place for herself in the political movements of the day. The violence of the war had left her reluctant to advocate the use of force, but she was outraged by the legal injustices that were perpetrated on individuals. She turned her attention to publicizing conditions in jail and obtaining relief for the wives and children of political prisoners. In 1920 alone, there were 48,474 raids by the British on private homes in Ireland. Even British organizations were condemning official policy in Ireland, where the British Army's "Black and Tans" regularly destroyed homes and businesses.

In April 1920 Iseult, now twenty-six, married an eighteen-year-old poet, Francis Stuart. Maud viewed the marriage as a tragedy and proclaimed the family curse "working with terrible violence in Iseult's case," for Francis was severely abusing her.[28] Like Demeter, Maud grieved for her daughter and determined to bring her back from the underworld, especially when she discovered Iseult was pregnant. Willie, now the father of his own baby girl, came to the rescue and placed Iseult in a nursing home, as she was malnourished, but within a few months she had returned to her husband.

Iseult's husband, in his autobiographical novel, *Black List/Section H*, described Maud as one "who fastened on causes as an outlet for passions which weren't fulfilled through their senses."[29] He wanted Iseult to see "that having failed in her relationship to her three men [Yeats, Millevoye, and MacBride] her mother found in nationalist passion an emotion to fill the void."[30] He did not consider that perhaps the men had failed to live up to her image of the "man of action" who would serve Ireland even before herself.

In 1921, Maud discovered that Sean was a member of the IRA, and having published accounts of boys tortured in the prisons, she knew exactly what could happen to him if he were caught. She was then on the executive board of the Irish White Cross, which dispensed relief to one hundred thousand people and fed ten thousand children in one year alone, and she served as a judge in the Sinn Fein parish courts. She remained free of other major obligations so that she could work where most needed, relying on her instinct for where she could be of greatest service.

Maud's first granddaughter was born to Iseult at Saint Stephen's Green, but four and a half months later the baby died of meningitis. Willie's second child, a son, Michael, was born one month later.

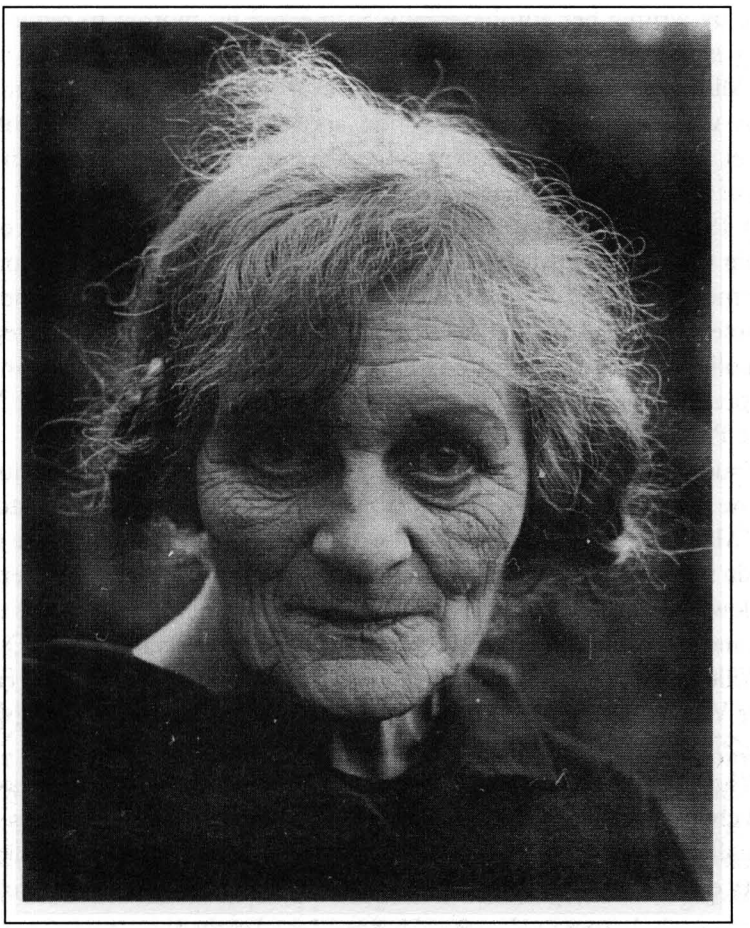
On December 6, 1921, Britain signed a treaty with Ireland that proposed giving twenty-six counties self-dominion as a Free State but keeping the six northern counties of Ulster as part of Britain. Internal violence broke out, with the country divided over whether to accept the treaty (Free Staters) or fight for an undivided republic (Republicans). Even Maud and Sean disagreed,

for Maud was ready to accept the treaty. Republicans and Free Staters began fighting at the Four Courts in Dublin. One hundred eighty Republicans surrendered and were taken prisoner, including Sean, whose prison cellmate was one of four men shot out of hand. Maud founded the Women's Prisoners' Defence League, an organization of mothers seeking to free their children from the hell of prisons. Every Sunday she led "The Mothers" in a procession protesting the imprisonment of Republicans. On one occasion, Free State troops fired into the crowd, wounding fourteen. Maud's home was repeatedly raided and her possessions stolen or burned, including all of Yeats's letters. Sean managed to escape from prison in November 1923 and made his way to the Continent.

The Free State treaty was approved on January 7, 1922, and Ireland was made an independent state within the British Commonwealth. In December, Yeats was made a senator of the Irish Free State, and a year later, in November 1923, he won the Nobel Prize for literature. But in January 1923 Maud was arrested and soon Iseult too was in prison. The day before her arrest Maud had written Willie to say that if he did not denounce the government she would renounce his society for ever.[31] She was arrested again in April and joined in a hunger strike. When she was released after twenty days, she had to be carried out on a stretcher. With the coming of a major flu epidemic, the government began releasing prisoners *en masse*, but most found no jobs to return to, so Maud and her friend Charlotte Despard created cottage industries like a jam factory and a company that made art nouveau ornaments of shells.

Sean MacBride, now a senior IRA member, was wrongfully arrested in 1927 for the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins, the Minister of Justice. When Yeats offered to help, Maud railed against him for taking part in the Senate. "We will never change each other's politics. They are too deeply rooted in our characters."[32] They each accused the other of the sin of hatred, and then, as Willie fell ill, they reconciled. Maud, now sixty-two, wrote: "Oh how you hate old age—well so do I, I see no redeeming features in it, but I, who am more a rebel against man than you, rebel less against nature, & accept the inevitable & go with it gently into the unknown . . . out of that rest I believe the Great Mother will refashion beauty & life again."[33] It was not the Virgin Mary that Maud was referring to but the Creatress of all things, for Maud knew that life came from women's bodies and that it was woman who was "guardian of the soul." Willie notified Maud later that summer of 1928 that "Mrs. MacGregor" had died.

The government banned the Women's Prisoners' Defence League—which then simply changed its name. Francis MacManus described hearing Maud speak at one of their protests: "It was a voice no man forgets. . . . She appeared



MAUD GONNE

to be a tall woman, dressed from head to foot in wispy, lacey black.... She held herself erect; her pace was stately; her wispy black clothes fluttered." And her speech, "fluent, stern and even slightly theatrical," had "an effect of intense feminine vitality and of great hope."[34] Her face had become sharp, cheekbones and chin jutting out; all six feet of her were thin as a whippet; and in one picture, head and back bent as she shovels the earth, she looks like a vulture—symbol in India and Egypt of Mother Nature returning spirits to their source.

Eamon De Valera came to power as Prime Minister of Ireland in 1932, which renewed hope as he released all political prisoners, but his ministry soon brought disenchantment, and then arrests. So Maud went back to work in the prisoners' defense. With money tighter than ever, she thought to raise

some by writing her autobiography. Sean asked his mother to refrain from being explicit about her past relationships, but she told several of her friends that Millevoye was the only man she had ever loved. She ended her autobiography with her marriage to MacBride, and although she tried to write the sequel, to be titled *The Tower of Age*, she could never face recounting the pain of the breakup of their marriage.[35]

In 1937 the Irish Free State declared itself the sovereign nation of Eire within the Commonwealth, and then finally in 1949 it withdrew from the Commonwealth and declared itself the independent Republic of Ireland. Sean became a lawyer, defending members of the IRA, and formed a new republican political party. He was made Minister for External Affairs and became the first president of Amnesty International—for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1974.

Maud saw Willie one last time in 1938, at his home at Riversdale just before he left to spend the winter in France. As they said goodbye, he stopped her: "Maud, we should have gone on with our Castle of the Heroes, we might still do it." She stood speechless and realized "that Willie and I still 'bent low and low and kissed the quiet feet' and worshipped Her, who is 'purer than a tall candle before the Holy Rood.'"[36] They were still "servants of the Queen."

William Butler Yeats died on January 28, 1939, in Roquebrune, France. After Willie's death, Maud wrote: "I am a prisoner of old age waiting for release."[37]

When near her own death, Maud asked a friend to place the booties of her dead child, Georges—having kept them with her through all the years—into her coffin before it was closed.[38] On April 27, 1953, Maud Gonne died. At eighty-eight years of age, all her companions gone before her, she was released at last.

These words, said by Maud of Willie Yeats, are also her own epitaph:

> *Those through whom the spirit has once spoken are immortal*
> *and "shall be remembered forever."*[39]

And Yeats's response:

> *But we have hidden in our hearts the flame out of the eyes*
> *Of Cathleen, the daughter of Houlihan.*[40]



Conclusion

In the sharing of stories women can come to form a community—a spiritual community.

—Maxine Harris

We know so little about the daily affairs of the Golden Dawn women—only the essence of their lives survives. Yet, as Maxine Harris points out in her excellent book *Sisters of the Shadow*, "as stories are told and retold, the inessential details fade, and women are left with images that carry a mythological or transcendent message . . . [and] perhaps in the hearing . . . we will gain access to parts of ourselves that we have kept hidden for a long period of time."[1] The essential images left by Moina, Annie, Maud, and Florence serve, as we have seen, as models of four aspects of everywoman's journey toward wholeness, symbolizing the transformative magic that all women possess. In reading their stories we have had the opportunity to open to our own deeply hidden selves.

But we must remember that these stories are not just personal; they are also political. Gerda Lerner suggests in *The Creation of Patriarchy*, "It is only through the discovery and acknowledgement of their roots, their past, their history, that women, like other groups, become enabled to project an alternate future. The new vision of women demands that women be placed at the center, not only of events, where we have always been, but of the thinking work of the world."[2] The story of the Golden Dawn and its women has been preserved primarily by men. I have made a deliberate effort to look for and present ideas and events from the women's point of view. This shift has led to new perspectives, new possibilities, that are both personal and political.

The Feminine Shadow

Society casts a collective shadow containing those elements that are collectively disowned or disallowed. As discussed in the Introduction, Nina Auerbach suggests that the pre–World War I feminine shadow took the forms of the unearthly Angel in the House, the superfluous Old Maid, the destructive Demon, and the Fallen Woman. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the feminine shadow has manifested, according to Maxine Harris, as the Victim, the Exile, the Predator, and the Rebel (see chart on pages 8–9). The four women of the Golden Dawn modeled these four modern aspects of the feminine shadow just as much as they did Nina Auerbach's parallel Victorian ones. But, they also integrated and transformed them, emerging as women of power. And, therefore, they have something to teach us today.

It is important that we "understand the process by which certain women come to carry the shadow for all of us," says Harris.[3] For it is "only when we take the shadow elements of the self and the public elements of the self and combine them or integrate them that we have a picture of a total, fully formed person."[4] Just as our personal task is to integrate our own shadow, so our societal task is to recognize, integrate, and value our cultural shadow—in this case, woman's shadow. This is political work. We must see personal stories as political stories and find ones that demonstrate how to transform both ourselves and society.

The shadow is really about magic: It contains the ability to live the kind of life that is the stuff of dreams—or nightmares. Carriers of the shadow are of two kinds, conscious and unconscious, says Harris: those who consciously accept the collective projection because its content resonates with their inner sense of self, and those who are so confused and vulnerable that they accept any definition of self, however harmful.[5] Harris writes about twentieth-century bag ladies in Washington, D.C., who manifest the unconscious shadow—the women we don't want to look at, we don't want to see. On the other hand, the women of the Golden Dawn epitomize the conscious type, and the projections they accepted were the strengths, abilities, and power that were not acknowledged as being of value in women except in myths.

"When the archetype," says Harris (for "archetype," try reading "goddess"), "and the individual clearly have an impact on one another, the relationship might best be described as one of mutual influence or reciprocity rather than cause and effect."[6] Thus, the shadow is often romanticized and seen as "more magical, more powerful, more creative, and more artistic than the everyday routine expressions of our conscious lives."[7] Unfortunately, rather than its being romanticized, the more likely reality is that carriers of the shadow become disenfranchised and ostracized; succumb to nerves, illness, or suicide; allow their creativity to be interrupted or paralyzed; endure sacrifice and make

compromises; fail to be taken seriously; or become rigid and bitter. Ruth Brandon, writing about the New Woman, found that late-nineteenth-century women's "lives were notable for the enormous compromises they put up with in the cause of the ideal."[8] Yet some few do emerge as "more magical, more powerful, more creative, and more artistic" than other women and men.

What makes the difference? It is not that magical women don't experience the problems of others, for they do, but, as we've seen, they are neither overwhelmed nor stopped by them. In this concluding chapter we will examine how the stories of Florence, Annie, Moina, and Maud give us a model for women's liberation, a sense of women's powers, and possibilities for their use. The solutions found by these women have the potential to form paradigms or models for our own relationship to the shadow self and to whatever cultural shadows we might carry.

FORGING PATHWAYS TO EMPOWERMENT

Carolyn Heilbrun, in *Writing a Woman's Life,* has suggested we look for "stories that will affect other stories," for a "narrative that will take the women past their moment of revelation and support their bid for freedom from the assigned script."[9] In examining the decisions, choices, joys, and pains of the women of the Golden Dawn, we find that they made a bid for freedom that affected others and can continue to do so. By *naming* themselves, they forged pathways to healing and empowerment. As we name their techniques and strategies, and as we recognize these abilities in ourselves, we evoke the unique emotional energy that empowers us to compose our own lives and actualize our principles, even when it means that we must live *outside* the expectations of those around us. Their *self* consciousness has made possible for us a *social* consciousness. They who seemed, at first, merely companions along the way, become, upon our acknowledging them as our roots and our history, a sisterhood. Where they created techniques, we can define strategies.

RIDING THE DRAGON, HARNESSING ITS STRENGTHS

The four types of modern female outcasts defined by Maxine Harris in the quotes that follow, correspond to other fourfold typologies (as demonstrated in the Introduction). Such quaternities allow us to see the Golden Dawn women as collective archetypes. We can see how they took on the projected shadow and then at how they integrated and transformed those shadow elements within themselves. As the Golden Dawn taught: The evil persona becomes a strong yet trained animal, on which a person rides, giving one great added strength. Although each woman exemplifies one of four types, it is important to remember that she also contains, to a greater or lesser degree, aspects of the other three.

Moina Mathers epitomizes the Victim (Auerbach's Angel in the House). She has an inner monster who is the dogmatic widow. We do not want to be reminded of the Victim's vulnerability—how she appears weak and fragile within a hierarchical relationship in which her quiescence signifies her "service"—in Moina's case it was service to MacGregor and the Golden Dawn. "The reality is that each of us is a potential victim and each of us contains some element . . . that might well be exploited by a more dominant other."[10] Such a woman is usually isolated from her friends and family as Moina was by her move to Paris. Even Aleister Crowley perceived Moina in 1905 as victimized by Mathers, although we need not believe his specific allegations: "Vestigia had been our ideal of refinement, purity, spirituality and the rest [the Angel]. . . . I learnt later that Mathers, falling upon evil times, had forced his wife to pose naked in one of the Montmartre shows . . . and that even that was not the worst of it."[11] Moina abhorred sex and felt disgust at the thought of her mother's complicity—suggesting that Moina also may have been the victim of an abusive father. Harris notes: "The shame that many women experience at being victims . . . is often so great that they retreat into silence."[12] Moina, about whom we know practically nothing, vowed in her motto to "leave no traces behind."

The principle that Moina upheld was dedication. She challenged the world to judge—not herself, but the work for which she was willing, as Priestess, to sacrifice herself—the rituals and teachings of the Golden Dawn. The Victim is the woman who needs to be in relationship to survive. And, as Ruth Brandon points out in *The New Woman and the Old Men*, "It is remarkable how few . . . brilliant, forceful, ambitious women . . . managed to avoid living their lives on the terms of their male lover or husband. . . . None of them managed to live their lives as they would have done if they had been entirely free agents."[13]

Annie Horniman typifies the Exile (Auerbach's Old Maid). Her inner monster is spiteful femininity. She never quite fits; her personal rhythm, as Elie Wiesel described the type, "is out of synch with the rhythm of the society in which he or she must live."[14] The Exile often acts as the scapegoat; through banishment she takes away the evil and unwanted sins of the community. Annie was exiled from her family, from the Golden Dawn, from the Abbey Theatre; she even spent much of each year outside of her country, because, as Harris points out, "constant movement is an attempt to deny attachment, to deny dependency." Annie preferred independence; she would be "isolated and alone by choice, rather than the lost sheep, fearful and vulnerable, yet unable to get back home."[15] She willingly faced ostracism from the community in order to stay true to herself.

Maud Gonne exemplifies the Predator (Auerbach's Demon), whose inner monster is the devourer. Her response to alienation is anger and vindic-

tiveness. "The predator is that part of the self that is capable of victimizing, destroying or manipulating.... Put quite simply, predators kill."[16] We channel these predatory instincts by confining them to well-defined areas or noble causes, as in Maud's case. Harris suggests that female violence requires some form of necessity and the need to rid ourselves of rage. Maud was unable to contain her rage at being abandoned by her parents, and so, rather than turning it upon herself, she aimed it at English authority. "Such psychological unloading not only lessens the pain they feel at being wounded, but also allows them to gain some revenge without having to attack directly the powerful parent who committed the original offense. Victims thus find other victims with whom they can act out the prey/predator drama."[17] Thus we find not only Maud's hatred for England but her revenge through abandonment of Yeats, Millevoye, MacBride, and even her own children. She used her devotion to Ireland to explain all the failures of her own life. "Such a woman seems plagued by inner turmoil and may feel as if there is a constant war going on inside her."[18] Maud's Grey Woman was the inner monster with whom she waged war—it was the Grey Woman who hated and killed children, not Maud, for she protected her own children with all the fierceness of a lioness. Ultimately Maud concentrated all her power and strength behind what needed defending: freedom and life.

Florence Farr personifies the Rebel (the Victorian Fallen Woman), the promiscuous woman her inner monster. She defies, opposes, or resists any conventions that bar her path. Florence chose to seek wisdom through "experience." In becoming an actress, she accepted the Victorian shadow. She divorced her husband; she found and let go of lovers as she pleased. She defied established order and authority and rejected formal education. Female rebels are believed to be destructive, neurotic, foolish, or out of control, because they refuse to live as expected. Florence, for instance, "never fit," as she was too "scattered" and only "quasi-professional."[19] If they are sexually assertive they are called nymphomanics. Even when portrayed as heroic they must ultimately be punished. They give birth to monsters, are banished, and must die. But Florence was the kind of rebel who valued her independence and defended a unique and essential part of herself. Simone de Beauvoir contends, "It takes a self-aware individual to affirm positive values in the act of rebellion.... Only when one perceives, however tentatively, the existence of an autonomous self, can one assume the position of a rebel."[20] Florence was the kind of rebel who "took risks in order to be true to her own beliefs."[21]

Florence explained that society's judgment of superior mortals (read New Women and Supermen) is always based on false premises, and therefore the superior mortal is thrust outside society. "A human being that has overcome common human needs and desires is never regarded as superior in morals, the

public only give him credit for their own proclivities . . . our apparent decency is looked upon as a cloak of all kinds of monstrous vice."[22]

FINDING THE ELIXIR

Examining these women's history involves looking at their successes—but we must not avoid their disappointments. We have to acknowledge their feelings of pain and their lost and battered dreams. It required bravery for them to take on collective projections and to emerge healthy and transformed. We need images of such strong, powerful women who can dig deep to access the creative life force despite the restrictions of their surroundings. We need to tell their stories if we are to see how to hold positive self-images in the face of bitter blows and how to achieve creative transformation. We must learn from both their pitfalls and their strengths.

How did these women avoid becoming dysfunctional? What secret allowed them to carry the shadow, with its power to terrify and alienate, yet use it for improving their own lives and the lives of their loved ones and their society? As previously mentioned, a great many outcast women, especially in the Victorian era, succumbed to crippling and painful nervous disorders. In *Sexual Anarchy*, Elaine Showalter describes two such women: Eleanor Marx, the daughter of Karl Marx and a leader in the Socialist League; and Olive Schreiner, the South African novelist. Both were "examples of the idealistic New Woman who tried to live by the rationalist rhetoric of socialist feminism and the free union, [but] often found themselves in positions of extraordinary personal risk, overwhelmed by feelings of loss, betrayal, jealousy, or possessiveness they had denied or judged irrational."[23] Eleanor Marx finally committed suicide. Olive Schreiner experienced agonizing depressions that blocked any writing after her first great success. To Showalter, the heroic New Woman "sometimes derived energy and inspiration from the struggle with her contradictory identities, but more often they interrupted or even paralyzed her creative drives."[24] Perhaps it is magic rather than socialism that offers a *modus operandi* for conscious creative change. As Ruth Brandon in *The New Woman and the Old Men* discovered: "What the New Women in their moments of success learned was . . . that the world will always give you what you claim as your right."[25]

How can we discover the positive power of the shadow? What is the magic elixir, the alchemical stone that we may ourselves obtain and use? What experiences present the most conclusive and believable evidence of our rights? I have defined twelve resources these women shared in common in their personal histories of liberation: twelve conditions that name their powers and describe the factors working for them.

TWELVE RESOURCES FOR EMPOWERMENT

1. From a sociological perspective, *they had enough money for independent living:* what Virginia Woolf identified as a need for "a room of one's own." That is, a material "space" or material advantage that would allow enough distance from society in which to "breathe." In the case of our magical women, they had enough money to buy at least some time and space for their own pursuits. Moina was subsidized—by scholarships, then by Annie and other disciples of magic; Annie and Maud were moderately wealthy heiresses; and Florence had a small stipend by inheritance that met her basic needs, as well as a flexible career. Except for Moina, for whom this was a constant issue, they were not financially dependent on others.
2. *They found outcast communities and acquired outsider philosophies that supported beliefs in personal power.* These included groups such as the Golden Dawn, the Daughters of Erin, and the *Finé;* quests such as the Celtic Mysteries; artistic ideals like those of Bedford Park; and the literary theatre, which avowed the "advanced" principles of Ibsen, Shaw, and the New Woman.
3. *They all learned and practiced some form of artistic expression that they used for themselves and others:* Moina painted, channeled, and enacted the role of Priestess; Annie painted, designed clothes, traveled, and artfully gave away money; Maud orated, painted, and wrote; Florence acted, embroidered, cantilated, and wrote poetry, plays, novels, and texts. Art allows one to consciously channel what could be potentially destructive or creative forces from the subliminal mind.
4. *They operated in a metaphoric universe in which they perceived everything as connected.* They understood that every thought affected everything else and that there was a message in each experience that, if understood, could enhance the quality of life. Through metaphor, in both ritual and in their theatre of ideas, they could try out a new idea or model of behavior before actualizing it. The Golden Dawn system of correspondences, mythology, and poetry gave them a working basis for making meaningful connections.
5. *They believed they could influence events.* Such a belief arose from numerous factors: acting outside the limited sphere of home; working as equals with the "privileged" gender—men; but, most importantly, accessing and controlling (by using metaphor and correspondences) etheric equivalents of the physical plane in vision and ritual that resulted in predictable physical manifestations.

6. *They crafted a creative direction for themselves by naming their most valued characteristics—as their own sources of power.* In identifying and magically embodying cherished values in their magical names, they empowered themselves to achieve goals richly imbued with paradox and metaphor. Additionally, they regularly assumed these characteristics whenever they acted under their magical names. Dion Fortune theorizes that through the magical name we extend consciousness into realms usually occupied by subconsciousness and awaken deep memories of how to function on the astral plane.[26]
7. *They said yes and no; they made choices. They affirmed and they set boundaries.* They chose a definite direction to pursue as part of their rebellion. To do so, they said "no" to conventional responsibilities and the expectations of society and family. Yet even in their rebellions they chose certain essential life-affirming boundaries, so that they acted mostly within the law.
8. *They acted at moments of decision or crisis, facing problems as creative challenges, allowing for paradox, and creating "uniquely fitting situations."* They faced and overcame personal as well as social problems and obstacles. Moina helped shape the Golden Dawn; Annie redefined modern drama and her role in it; Maud showed Irish women, children, and prisoners what they could accomplish together; while Florence demonstrated how to make the transition from old woman to new.
9. *They were self-conscious and self-reflecting*—using tools such as the Tarot, astrology, the Tree of Life, and writing to further their process. Their self-reflective goals were to perceive the diversity and interrelationships of their own personality characteristics; to discern choices and options; to clarify their objectives and paths; to evaluate their previous experience; and to perceive truths—in other words, to learn.
10. *They understood the diversity* of personality characteristics within themselves, and so were able to *integrate or reject negative projections from others.* Studies and rituals that advanced them through the four elements required that they acknowledge and learn to integrate strengths, weaknesses, and opposing forces from within. Techniques of psychic protection gave them a means to sidestep projections or return them to the sender.
11. *They all used "centering" experiences that renewed their sense of their own divinity.* These included rituals of renewal and advancement—initiation, the seasons, consecration of implements, and Rising on the Planes[27]—which gave them transcendent experiences of knowing themselves as part of the One, existing beyond time and space. They opened

themselves regularly to that inner strength and contentment characterized by contact with the spark of Divine Consciousness.

12. Last, *they practiced magic—fusing will, imagination, and desire to transcend the limits of normal experience.* The practice of magic required the combination of all the foregoing factors in order to participate in the etheric world and to mediate between the material and astral realms. Specifically, the techniques harnessed a highly developed imagination and absolutely focused will, powered by pure, impersonal desire to predictably influence consciousness and events. Their techniques included: *protection,* such as banishing, and use of the sphere of sensation; *invoking,* using numerous means (hexagrams, talismans, names, etc.); and information-gathering methods such as *divination* (ring and disk, Tarot, astrology, geomancy), *skrying,* and *astral traveling.* Florence defined magic as "unlimiting experience." She taught that we "can attain a state of consciousness in which all our powers become supernatural . . . capable of transferring ideas from one to another [realm], [training] consciously evoked imagination."[28]

    The Magician's Dictionary explains, "Every magician's tricks are his own to help him with his own special problems, to get himself over his own inner obstacles. Our individual tasks are to learn and overcome our own obstacles. That's why the study of great men and women is so very instructional and worthwhile. Not because they teach us to be like them, but because *they show us how they became themselves.*"[29]

WISDOM IS A GIFT GIVEN TO THE WISE

Each of these women of the Golden Dawn was able to transform her life so that, to borrow from Carolyn Heilbrun's *Writing a Woman's Life,* its "fitful, rudderless, and self-doubting first half was alchemized into gold" in the second half.[30] Heilbrun suggests that each outcast, early in life, makes an unconscious decision that places her outside the bounds of society's restraints and ready-made narratives. Each has an unconscious "fall"—against the weight of societal expectations—into a condition that permits her to lead lives and vocations previously considered impossible. Each choice represents an irrevocable point of no return.[31]

Moina chose, in 1890, to marry a totally unsuitable man outside her religion and to become the celibate Priestess of a magical Order. Annie chose, in 1889 and 1894, to "foolishly" risk her money in support of magicians and

playwrights. Maud chose, in 1886, to ally herself "mind, body, and soul" with a married man and become a revolutionary firebrand against the British Empire. Florence divorced her husband in 1889, choosing instead the life of an actress and everything that implied.

Furthermore, Heilbrun points out, such women usually make some kind of conscious choice in middle age that brings a radical shift in their lives. Moina, after long devotion and service to her husband in Paris, returned to London after his death to continue with the work of the Order. Annie moved to Manchester, leaving those in Ireland who had rejected her, so as to be with people who would take her "seriously." Maud moved back to Ireland, eschewing violence and becoming an advocate for peace. And Florence moved to Ceylon in search of the society of the wise.

Highly creative individuals, says Charles Hampden-Turner in *Maps of the Mind*, "deliberately challenge, shake, unstabilize, frustrate and disintegrate themselves in order to reassemble the parts better."[32] "High creatives" (as he calls them) are inherently dualistic. For instance, they are both logical and emotional, flexible and ordered. They enjoy imbalance and asymmetry, but they also enjoy finding balance. They passionately search for symbolic meaning while retaining a judicious skepticism. They can simultaneously deal with paradoxical concepts of unity and diversity (for example, working with multitudes of crosscultural gods and goddesses while seeking Oneness). "The creative mind is not a hierarchy but a heterarchy of ever-shifting emphases, a Dionysian dance of information circuits. . . . We may say that creative minds disorder themselves to create new order from disorder."[33] And they use metaphor to do so. Metaphor, one of the favorite tools of the creative person, implicitly underlies magic as a fundamental precept called the "law of correspondences." On the magical plane, the language and images of metaphor are used as literal equivalents of energy transformations.

The Legacy

From this we see that magic is not a goal but a way. Feminist shaman Vicki Noble explains that "the trance state, in its most profound sense, provides an opportunity for the ego-personality to get out of the way, make itself available to a higher power, and enter states of consciousness in which there can be an acknowledgement of other forces coexisting with us here in the world."[34] It is these states that the members of the Golden Dawn were using a hundred years ago. They established, moreover, myriad techniques and procedures to facilitate the accomplishment of their objectives. Yes, these techniques can be rediscovered through trial and error, or through teachings received in the trances themselves, but let us also learn from the heritage that our magical

foremothers bequeathed to us—their meditations, inventions, explorations, rituals, arts, and writings—and the creation of a women's tradition that we can proudly follow.

Drinking the elixir of magic does not make one perfect. More interesting than that, it opens the door between the worlds. First it allows a descent to the demons of one's own mind—the "monsters from the id." Then one can begin the ascent, assisted by conscious memory of past lives. Within the imperfections, shadows, projections, and failures, we find our knowledge.

From the Sumerian myth of Inanna, Maxine Harris extrapolated five necessary stages that I would like to reiterate here:

1. Recognition of two opposing personalities—one of lightness, one of darkness. In the Golden Dawn, one must know both the *sephiroth* and the *qliphoth*.
2. Descent marked by a series of necessary losses. We have noted the early "fall" of each woman.
3. Painful confrontation between the two forces. Moina experienced the conflict between art and devotion, Annie between generosity and self-respect, Maud between love and country, and Florence between unity and experience.
4. Repair or restoration through compassion and love. In the Golden Dawn, this was deemed coming "out of the Darkness and into the Light." The previously noted midlife shifts mark each woman's transition into a new, more balanced order.
5. Creation of a New Woman who symbolizes the union of the two opposites. This is a continual process, not an end. It is something that each woman takes over from those who have gone before and bequeaths to those who come after.

"This new woman is not only whole and centered within herself, but she is in harmony with the rhythms of the universe and the psychological processes of others as well," says Harris.[35] Inanna, Ibsen, Jung, and the Golden Dawn insisted that we look at and integrate the shadow within. The stories of Florence, Annie, Moina, and Maud demonstrate four ways to accomplish this.

WE ARE WOMEN OF POWER

I urge both men and women to draw from the knowledge of generations of magical women and partake fully of the power of womanhood. By accessing this feminine strength, we can put an end to abuse and victimization and yet meet the needs of our human tribe. There is goddess power in realizing that our own feminine core is of the utmost worth and value. Women of magic are powerful—potentially dangerous and potentially beatific. The magical women

of the Golden Dawn lived courageous lives that embodied archetypes of empowerment for all men and women. This book is offered as a means of honoring and learning from them.

Taking their twelve techniques and resources into our own hearts—may we discover also the ability to

1. Be independent.
2. Find community.
3. Express ourselves artistically.
4. Try out ideas metaphorically.
5. Influence events.
6. Name ourselves and our goals.
7. Affirm yet set limits.
8. Respond to problems as creative challenges.
9. Be self-conscious and self-reflecting.
10. Allow for inner diversity.
11. Periodically center and renew our connection with Spirit.
12. Unlimit experience.

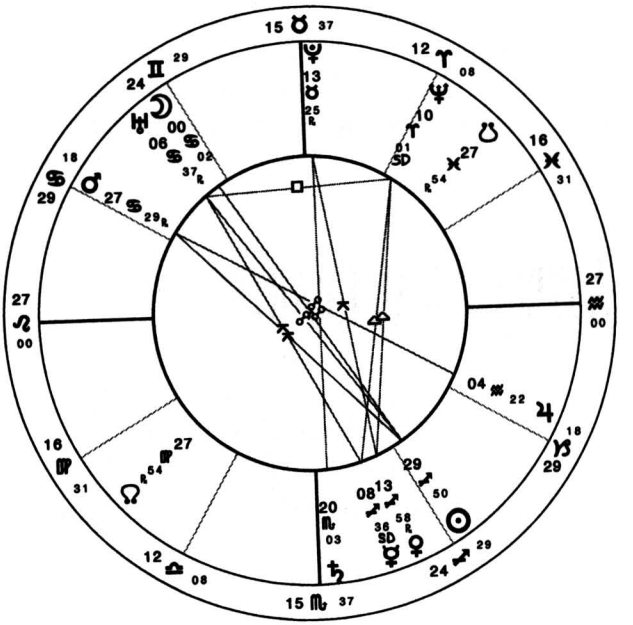
In each generation . . . Spirit chooses its instrument of expression from among the people, and when it speaks through them, their words and acts have extraordinary significance and extraordinary power.

—Maud Gonne, Scattering Branches

Moina Bergson Mathers, Annie Horniman, Maud Gonne, Florence Farr, we thank you for your presence, for your wisdom, for your stories. We ask for your blessings as you depart. Hail and farewell!

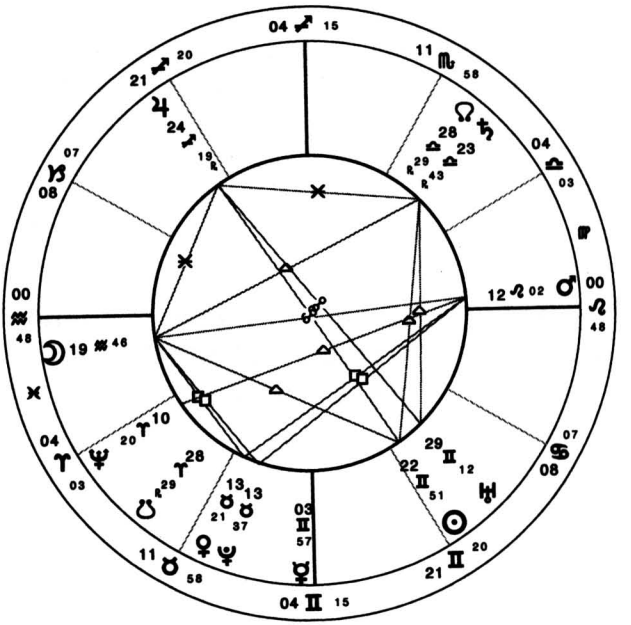
APPENDIX A

Astrological Charts



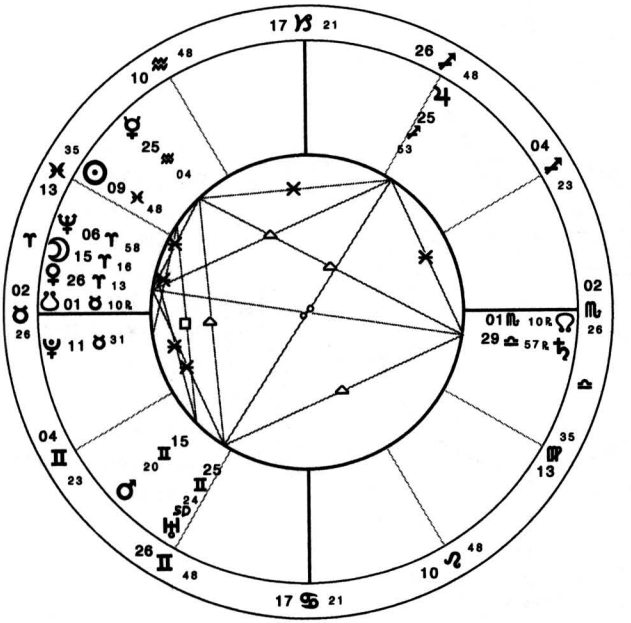
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Placidus
True Node
Time: Rectified as Leo Rising by J. R. Wallace for W. B. Yeats

MAUD GONNE



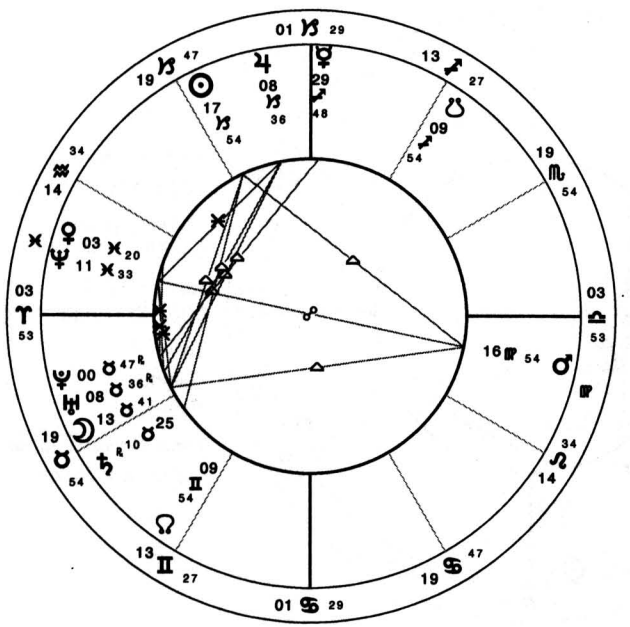
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Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: As noted by Yeats family

WILLIAM B. YEATS



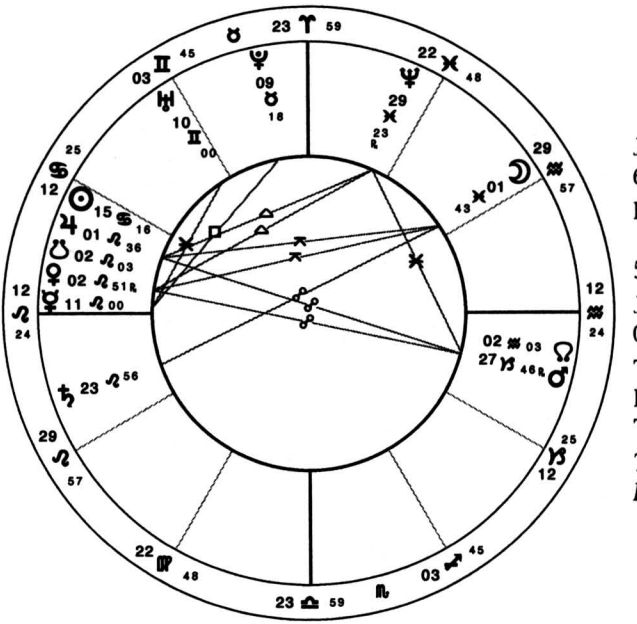
MOINA BERGSON MATHERS

Feb. 28, 1865
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Geneva, Switzerland
42N12 06E09
Feb. 28, 1865
08:18:00 GMT
Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: Rectified, as per Annie Horniman: "She was a Taurean"



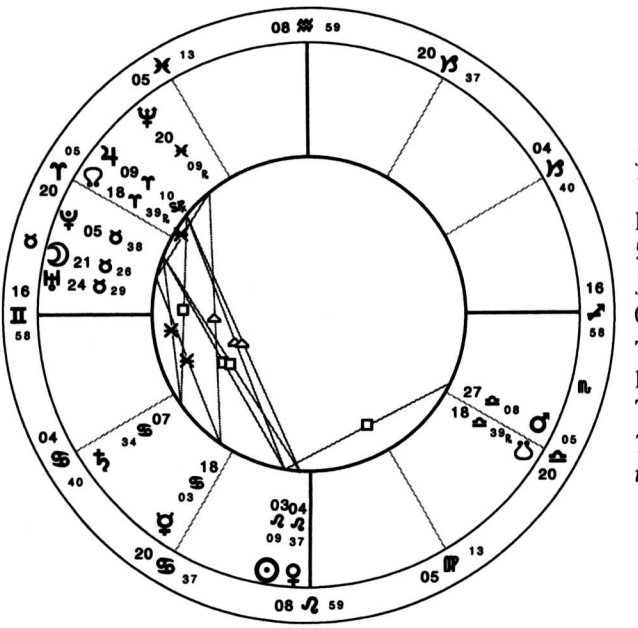
MACGREGOR MATHERS

Jan. 8, 1854
10:56 A.M. GMT
Hackney, Middlesex, England
51N33 0W03
Jan. 8, 1854
10:56:00 GMT
Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: Gerald Yorke scrapbook, Warburgh Institute



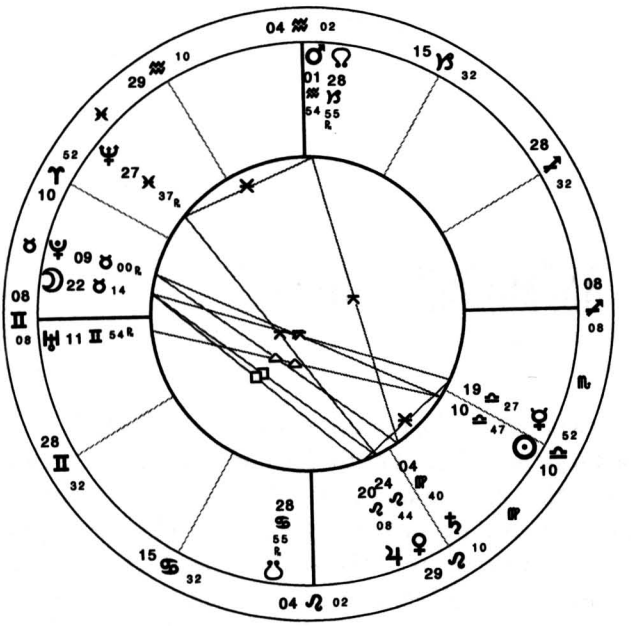
July 7, 1860
6:27 A.M. GMT
Bromley, Kent, England
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July 7, 1860
06:27:00 GMT
Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: From Florence Farr's own chart

FLORENCE FARR



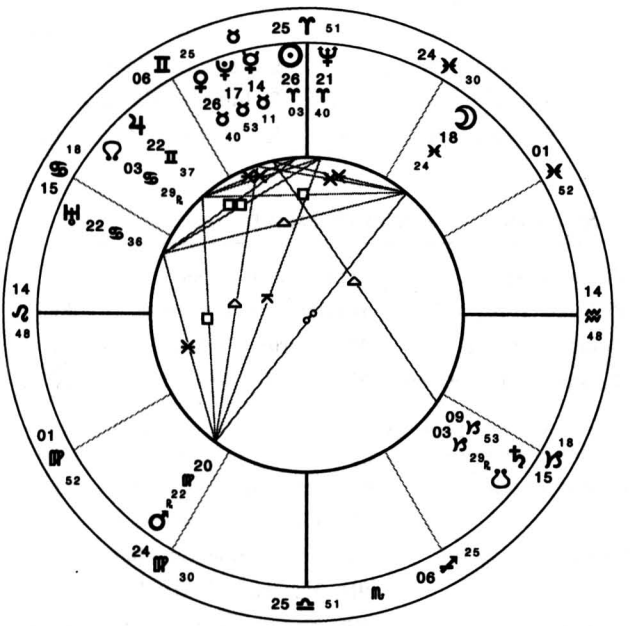
July 26, 1856
12:55 A.M. GMT
Dublin, Ireland
53N20 6W14
July26, 1856
00:55:00 GMT
Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: Bernard Shaw to Florence Farr

G. BERNARD SHAW



Oct. 3, 1860
7:35 P.M. GMT
London, England
51N31 0W06
Oct. 3, 1860
19:35:00 GMT
Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: According to Annie Horniman (inscribed on a photo)

ANNIE E. F. HORNIMAN



April 16, 1871
12:24 P.M. GMT
Dublin, Ireland
53N20 6W14
April 16, 1871
12:24:00 GMT
Tropical
Placidus
True Node
Time: J. M. Synge to Annie Horniman

JOHN M. SYNGE

APPENDIX B

ASTROLOGICAL BASICS

The astrological chart is a picture of the position of the planets (including Sun and Moon) at the exact time and place of birth. They are placed on a circle of 360° that shows the path that the Sun appears to follow through the heavens in the course of a year. This path has been symbolically divided into twelve equal segments of 30° called the *signs of the zodiac.* The chart also shows twelve numbered *houses,* or unequal segments, determined by, and following, the zodiac sign on the eastern horizon at the moment of birth—which is known as the *rising sign,* or Ascendant.

PLANETS

☉ Sun—Individuality	☽ Moon—Feeling	☿ Mercury—Mind
♀ Venus—Love/Beauty	♂ Mars—Desire/Action	♃ Jupiter—Expansion
♄ Saturn—Discipline	♅ Uranus—Liberation	♆ Neptune—Imagination
♇ Pluto—Regeneration		

SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC/ELEMENT

♈ Aries "I am"	♌ Leo "I express"	♐ Sagittarius "I seek"	= FIRE
♉ Taurus "I have"	♍ Virgo "I analyze"	♑ Capricorn "I organize"	= EARTH
♊ Gemini "I think"	♎ Libra "I relate"	♒ Aquarius "I reform"	= AIR
♋ Cancer "I nurture"	♏ Scorpio "I transform"	♓ Pisces "I believe"	= WATER

HOUSES

1st: Appearance, Early environment	**7th:** Relationships, Open enemies
2nd: Possessions, Values	**8th:** Death, Sex, Shared resources
3rd: Siblings, Communications, Learning	**9th:** Travel, Religion, Higher mind
4th: Home, Roots	**10th:** Vocation, Status, Reputation
5th: Children, Creative pleasures	**11th:** Friends, Groups, Social vision
6th: Work, Health, Service	**12th:** Self-undoing, Spiritual values

The point of change from one house to another is called the *cusp* and is very sensitive. The most important cusps are those that mark the Ascendant and Descendent (First and Seventh houses) and the Mid-heaven and Nadir (Tenth and Fourth houses).

Thus, the astrologer deals with ten planets (nine before Pluto was discovered in 1930), twelve signs, and twelve houses. These demonstrate energies (planets) expressed through characteristics (signs) in specific areas of life (houses), or: what, how, and where. For instance, the *Sun in Gemini in the Tenth House* would indicate that one's *self-conscious energy* (Sun) is *expressed through learning and communication* (Gemini) in the *area of vocation and authority* (Tenth House). The natal chart (or horoscope) primarily describes character.

ELEMENTS AND MODES

Characteristics of the signs are partly determined by a combination of qualities known as *elements* and *modes*. The four elements of Fire, Earth, Air, and Water combined with the three modes of Cardinal, Fixed, and Mutable yield twelve possibilities. Gemini, for example, is made up of Mutable Air. These characteristics help determine how well the planets in the signs relate to each other.

ASPECTS

Planetary relationships are called *aspects* and are based on the angular relationship (the number of degrees) from one planet to another. The hard or stressful aspects are the *opposition* (180°, or half a circle between two planets) and the *square* (90°), as well as, to a lesser extent, the *quincunx* (150°). The soft or harmonious aspects are the *trine* (120°) and the *sextile* (60°). The *conjunction* is formed when two planets are within about 0–6° of each other. There are other, less used aspects. Trines are formed between planets of the same element; for example, Moon in Aquarius (Fixed Air) and Sun in Gemini (Mutable Air) are generally in trine aspect depending on their specific degrees. Squares are formed between planets of the same mode, for example, Venus in Scorpio (Fixed Water) and Mars in Leo (Fixed Fire) might square each other depending on their specific degrees.

ASPECT PATTERNS

There are also important aspect formations which indicate psychological complexes that are usually repeated as major patterns in a person's life. You may read about the *T-square* (two planets in opposition with a third squaring both), the *Grand Cross* (which adds a fourth planet to the T-square opposing the

third planet), the *Grand Trine* (three planets trining each other from different signs) and its expansion into a *Kite*, and the *Yod* (two planets sextile [60°] each other, and each quincunx [150°] a third, forming a Y). These are the basic building blocks of chart interpretation.

PREDICTION

In addition to the natal chart, which describes character, there are several ways to do "predictions," which emphasize timing. According to Yeats, "It was never . . . the 'influence' of this or that star that mattered but always date and place. The stars were figures on a clock-face."[1] The two basic predictive techniques are called *transits* and *secondary progressions.*

Transits

Transits are the new planetary positions for any particular day and time. For instance, the Moon enters a new sign every two and a half days. These positions are then compared with the natal chart. If someone was born with Saturn at 15° of Aries, it is significant when Saturn (which takes 27 to 29 years to move through all the signs of the zodiac) returns to 15° Aries. (As a matter of fact, this important developmental period of about a year's duration is known as the Saturn Return and is noted for several of the individuals in this book.) When a major event occurs—like a marriage, a first theatrical production, the death of a child, and so forth—the reader of the chart can often determine important lessons to be learned and challenges or opportunities to be met from such a situation.

Progressions

A progression (in this case a secondary progression, or direction) is a purely symbolic system that assumes that the movement of each of the planets in one day is equal to one year of life. So, to determine the progression for someone aged forty-five, you look up the position of the planets forty-five days after birth. The new positions are related by aspect to each other and back to the natal chart. This technique shows the development of personality as it takes on new characteristics and can help to pinpoint the events that precipitate deep change.

RETROGRADE

Planets do not always appear to move forward but, at times, seem to "retrograde" back over the path they've just come (marked *R* in a chart). This can make the planet's energy operate more subtly and inwardly. When transiting Mercury is retrograde (which it often is), for example, people sometimes find that outer communications tend to go astray or be misinterpreted. The mo-

ment of change from direct to retrograde or vice versa is especially strong, and several of the Golden Dawn people have planets that make an extra impact because they are "stationary direct" or "stationary retrograde" (marked *SD* or *SR*) at birth.

OTHER FACTORS

This is of necessity a brief overview of key astrological definitions. There are other important elements in a chart such as nodes, the asteroids and Chiron, and Arabic parts. The strength of any factor in a chart depends on a multitude of characteristics not mentioned, including: rulerships, decanates, polarity, chart patterns, applying or separating relationships, midpoints, interceptions, closeness of degree, and closeness to angles and cusps. No computer program yet has even begun to weigh all these factors effectively, nor interpret competently on a particular theme, although it can efficiently supply all the necessary data. A thorough chart reading, involving complex skills of evaluation and synthesis, is an intuitive art of the highest order. It can be a major tool for the biographer, whether or not the subject herself used astrology.

APPENDIX C

LETTER

ANNIE HORNIMAN TO F. L. GARDNER

In 1896 Frederick Gardner, who took over Annie's classes while she was in Florence, wrote asking her about her methods of teaching visualization. Annie's response radiates her love and care for her magical work, as well as her generosity of spirit, and it gives us some idea of the what she offered students in her classes.

November 23, 1896

Care "Daffodil,"[1]

I was so really sorry about the misfortune with the papers. You never spare yourself, I know, and always try so hard that it is a real pity that they are lost. But on no account be discouraged—do them over again at once—it will seem easier this time and this six months' added experience ought to make you do ever better. Time is not really lost when one is studying even on other subjects. I will look out for the book you mention in the little accompanying paper. Naturally I am glad that I am "missed"—it shows that I was useful—but I must assure you for the 100th time that you now know far more that I did when I began to teach.

For Tarot Cards, etc. I can only tell you what I have found out for myself by experience and practice. I take the High Priestess the Moon in my hand and look at the figure and imagine it as a stately woman in golden mitre in red gold-bordered robes on a throne with a book in her hand. I make the Lunar Hexagram saying Shaddai El Chai, Gabriel, Malka, Chasmodai, Gimel and pass through the figure I have made, as we do through a Tattva symbol (I do this as I write). I seem to stand before a solid figure, similar to what I have built up but large and brilliant against a pale bluish atmosphere—her face is pale and rather round and very peaceful and calm with blue eyes. I repeat



HIGH PRIESTESS FROM THE TAROCCO ITALIANO; THIS IS PROBABLY FROM A DECK VERY SIMILAR TO ANNIE'S, AS THE COLORS MATCH HER DESCRIPTION

Hexagram and Names and make LVX signs and she bows gravely and asks what I want. I ask if this be the right way to pass into the domain of the High Priestess? She bows, raises her right hand and uplifts a small silver rod or sceptre with a crescent on top. I test it and it becomes the source of white brilliancy and she points upwards with it. I thank her and salute and return.— Of course that is only just the starting point of a "journey."

For the Altar take water for instance. Build over the "He" circle a blue round in a white circle with the Eagle in orange and the "H" in White Light. Make the Pentagram of water, say the Names and make the Grade Sign. Pass through and explore the watery region if you like. Then rise straight up until you find the Eagle which I have generally found floating up in the sky and so large as to almost stretch from horizon to horizon. Make LVX and Water signs. Pass higher and higher into a more rarefied atmosphere until you reach (generally coming up through the floor) into a great circular temple. The walls decorated with orange coloured symbolical eagles and in the centre there will be a very tall circular pedestal (also surrounded by orange eagles or eagle-heads). Rise so as to see the Figure thereon.

It is a rather severe strain for quite beginners. I have found this Water Figure to be that of a very large solidly built woman with a scroll on her lap, she sits meditating on what she has read and I was told it was the reflective and spiritually reviving power which she symbolises.

I hope that Cavendo Tutus wont become less interested in his work—he may at first but it will be a great pity if he does not go on. Give him my good wishes please. I hope he will be happy in the change of his outer life. Vigilate tells me that a group of men are to take their Portals this week so there will be plenty of beginners soon for you to teach. As soon as you are Theoricus mind you learn up the Ch[ief] Ad[ept]'s part in the Pastos so as not to upset a candidate. I am glad that I was not present on the occasion when C R had to be prompted!

What a time of it you must give S.S.D.D. She wants me to study Egyptian too, but I find one new language enough at a time and am hard at work at Italian. I am very comfortable and happy in this charming city—I know it quite well. I shall be here at least two months longer and have plenty of time in the evening to answer letters.

How to go to the planes of the Paths on the Tree of Life is familiar to you—to visit Gimel and the High Priestess you might stop after leaving Tiphareth and there invoke with the Hexagram and Names as I told you in the beginning of this letter and show the guardians of the barrier the Tarot Card astrally with the LVX signs if they wish to stop you. I hope that I have been able to give you the explanations required—if I am not quite clear, please let me know which are . . . [remainder of letter missing].[2]

APPENDIX D

FROM "THE MAGIC OF A SYMBOL"

BY FLORENCE FARR

Intended as a book, these articles were serialized in issues of the *Occult Review* through 1908 and are the key to Florence's magical development. As the material is not currently available, it is worth quoting. Upon reading through these sentences, abstracted by me as aphorisms, her themes and her wisdom can be readily perceived.

FROM "THE MAGIC OF A SYMBOL"

If we focus the attention on a symbol we can recall the whole train of imagination and ideas that arise from the symbolic root.

If we focus the attention consecutively on two different symbols we can compare our moods under the different stimuli.

We alone are responsible for what we are.

When we accept the responsibility, wisdom will come, for it is given as a gift to the wise.

Magic power only implies a power not limited by common experience.

The creative soul of a god is Maya, the cup of wisdom.

The soul who creates a man enters into his creation, is deluded as it were by his own handiwork, and in this way separates himself by pride from wisdom and enters into ignorance.

In the center of the earth which is the mystical omphalos, man has become united with nature and woven himself into the web of her various existences. He has found the symbol of the stone of the wise and realized its power in his own person.

FROM "EGYPTIAN USE OF SYMBOLS"

[Egypt was] a nation that believed in the immortality of the soul, and acted up to its belief.

Death was the consummation of initiation.

FROM "ON THE KABALAH"

The Tree of Life is the key to the rhythm of physical and mental states.

I do not think the Kabalistic system works. . . . It is a kind of revel of the mind, of no interest to any one who has not become obsessed by the idea of construction.

Theurgy is dangerous to the student because, although we are safe in endeavouring to attain to the being of God, strange terrors beset us on every side the moment we try to understand the supernatural powers of the ministers of God.

[On the other hand] the fool who is forbidden to use the practices of Theurgy is the fool who stands apart from life, himself an isolated spectator of its panorama; this is the ignorance which is death. Under the law, sin is folly and folly is sin, and the fool is battered and tortured until he learn[s] wisdom.

FROM "THE ROSICRUCIANS AND ALCHEMISTS"

The Rose is fivefold in its structure and is a well-known symbol of silence.

Consciousness, thought, reasoning, will, and the sense of individuality are five of its powers.

The Rose and Cross symbolize a man able to unite himself to the great powers of Nature.

Democracy wishes to do and to have; aristocracy is sufficient unto itself.

In alchemical symbolism we can trace the exact degrees of initiation through which man . . . must pass before he realizes that his real self is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever.

Alchemical symbolism is mainly the symbolism of distillation.

Consciousness of Being is the name we give to the white tincture which the adept distills from his human form in the alembic of the mind.

The human faculty of self-conscious comparison [is] the origin of wit, laughter and criticism.

Humanity . . . can seem one thing and know at the same time that it is another. It is nothing more than the power of laughing at ourselves; and yet it is the great redeeming quality, for it is the germ of all wisdom and enlightenment.

The dream of the sage is a consciously guided dream. Like an author, he writes his own dramas and delights in the joys and tragedies of his creations.

FROM "THE PHILOSOPHY CALLED VEDANTA"

The greatest of [Eastern] philosophers have looked upon life as a farce to be acted with as much forbearance as possible . . . an exquisite farce.

I am here to overcome the magician who has bewildered me.

Your dying thought will carry you into some other body.

From "The Magic of a Symbol" by Florence Farr

The questioning attitude, like the prayerful attitude is efficacious. It is the right way to work the mind.

Ask the question and listen to the answer which comes in the form of an idea without apparent process of thought or logic. After the idea has come, the logical faculty delights to play with it.

Logic is the plaything of the mind and slowly goes over the ground that the radiant mind traversed in the millionth of a second.

From "The Tetrad, or the Structure of the Mind"

The tetrad, or a pyramid of three equilateral triangles, is the symbolic root of relative existence, or, in other words, nature.

[A single point's] relations with one other point is said to manifest not as creation but as wisdom, an enlightening sympathy, barren but resplendent, the aim of all philosophers.

Wisdom is symbolically a serpent, and tempts [one] to experiment.

The tetrad is made up of four points: 1) the subjective (sense of self), 2) the objective (desire to compare or relate), 3) the act of criticism, 4) an opinion or conviction.

Mind, then, is the manifestation of what we call our identity or root conviction.

Mind cannot . . . discover its own origin . . . until it has gained the power of comparison from experience.

We are here in order that through experience we should learn to know ourselves.

By the power of our imaginations all experiences are within us.

The essential mind and the Stone of the Philosophers are the same, and its simplest form is the tetrad.

From "On the Play of the Image-Maker"

Our life is in reality a series of illusions. The practical way of controlling [them] . . . is by a kind of hypocritical pretence of believing what reason tells us is untrue.

There is nothing in the world you cannot do as long as you do not care whether it is done or not.

Calmness is a great power and desire a great weakness.

The absolute watches the relative, and it is his sport and play to do so.

We need not wait till the whole world is fire and dew to know Dionysus and Apollo and Eros . . . for they are the names we have given to states of the imagination and that which is beyond the making of images.

If our minds are great, then we shed a great blessing, for we no longer want anything which is limited . . . and do not need possession and desire. When we see this clearly we partake dimly in the play of the gods. Only the eternal Watcher remains. . . . He is God, and He is man when man has learnt to know who he is.

APPENDIX E

MEMOIRS OF MACGREGOR MATHERS

Elsa Barker, who was Soror *Chesed* of the Thoth Hermes Temple in New York, was initiated by Mathers in Paris and wrote his obituary for the American journal *Azoth*.

She, as well as others, described with amazement the mixed company that met at his home on Sundays. The lengthy visiting list included people from "the army, the church, the ancient aristocracy of France, the world of art . . . scholarship and letters," many of whom had no idea of "the depth of his erudition," while "for prigs and pedants he had a special aversion." In summer, at gatherings in his garden, Mathers, in his kilt, looking twenty years younger than his age and full of laughter, would tell simplified versions of the great myths to the children, "whose deeper meanings he would patiently reveal to children of a larger growth." He had students around the world "who hold his name in loving reverence," and "was never too busy or too weary to elucidate the mysteries of the Cabala, and the tangled genealogies and offices of ancient gods."[1]

John Brodie-Innes, who had become reconciled with Mathers in 1917, wrote his own reminiscences for the *Occult Review*. "MacGregor had all the Celtic fiery temper and pride of race. He would pick a quarrel on a point of punctilio, a real, or even a fancied, slight to his clan or nation, and fight it out with the keen zest of a mediaeval knight, but always at a disadvantage, for he was above all a chivalrous Highland gentleman, and in all his nature was not one grain of malice. . . . Vanity doubtless he had, but it was the harmless vanity of a child. Credulous too, and liable sometimes to be taken in by an impudent impostor, for he who hated deceit was slow to suspect it in another; but unsparing in his denunciation when he found it." Brodie-Innes especially acknowledged MacGregor's astrological knowledge, his remarkably developed "second-sight," and his ability to make occult teachings "clear-cut and luminous." "Seldom, I suppose, has a man inspired such love and devotion, and such deadly animosity."[2]

APPENDIX F

PAMELA COLMAN SMITH AND THE TAROT

One of the great mysteries of the Tarot is who helped Pamela Colman Smith create the Ace through Ten suit-cards of the Minor Arcana, which, when they were published in 1909 were, for the first time in Tarot history, completely illustrated with scenes portraying the meanings of the cards. Pixie Smith's only recorded comment about the deck (known as the Rider-Waite Tarot, after A. E. Waite and the Rider publishing house) survives in a letter to her friend and mentor, the photographer Alfred Stieglitz, "I just finished a big job for very little cash!"[1] Although she claimed to be "goddaughter to a witch and sister to a fairy," it is not known if this included an interest in fortune-telling. Some taroists feel that William Butler Yeats or Florence Farr, or both, worked on this project along with Smith and the man who commissioned and conceptualized the deck, Arthur Edward Waite. Evidence is scanty. The Yorke Collection of the Warburgh Institute contains a transcript of a paper entitled "A Gipsy Method of Divination by Cards" by F. L. Gardner, which he notes is a "Non Order method."[2] It is, in fact, the spread popularized by Waite as the well-known "Celtic Cross Spread," and if known to Gardner was probably used by Florence Farr for Tarot readings with non-Order friends. This is confirmed in an article on the Tarot written by John Brodie-Innes in 1919, in which he says that the method Waite proposed for laying out the cards "was sometimes used by others and by Mrs. Florence Farr Emery." Annie Horniman, we know, followed the Golden Dawn techniques precisely, and the few recorded Tarot readings by Yeats also employ the Order method.

In fact, Brodie-Innes claims he learned how to interpret the cards from an Epping Forest gypsy, only to find that "what she told me of the Tarot was well known to another friend of mine, the late Mrs. Florence Farr Emery, who herself claimed Romani descent, and had a great store of strange learning. She it was who first pointed out to me the correspondence of the interpretations of the pip cards with the Pythagorean system." But he was not so sure of

Florence's Egyptian correspondences for the cards. "She was a diligent student of Egyptology, though perhaps not quite as much of an authority as her friends claimed, and with natural enthusiasm was apt to see ancient Egypt everywhere."[3]

Pixie Smith and Florence Farr first met in New York in February 1907 at the Martha Washington Hotel.[4] It is therefore likely that they continued their friendship when both returned to London and that they discussed the Tarot project.

Pamela Colman Smith, as another of the magical women of the Golden Dawn, left an important legacy to all magicians through her Tarot deck, especially in her forty number-cards of the Minor Arcana—whether assisted by Florence or not. Whereas the Major Arcana either follow tradition or clearly break from it in places to immortalize Waite's personal vision, the Minor Arcana number-cards are original works that were only loosely imagined by Waite *if at all.*[5]

Corinne Pamela Colman Smith was born in Pimlico, Middlesex, England on February 16, 1878, to Corinne Colman Smith. She was descended on her mother's side from two American families, the Colmans and the Chandlers, who combined interests in mysticism, art, publishing, and folklore. Her father, Charles E. Smith, worked as an auditor, and the family traveled between New York, the West Indies, and London. After her mother died, when Pamela was quite young, she was taken in by the actress Ellen Terry and traveled with the Lyceum group of Henry Irving, doing set and costume design. It was Ellen Terry who gave her the very apt name of Pixie. She often said that she learned everything about characters and setting from her experience of the stage, and this can be clearly seen in her Tarot cards.

From her years in Jamaica she learned folktales and legends that she told in a manner called "lilting," described by her biographer Melinda Parsons as "a rhythmic, almost musical kind of chanting."[6] It must have fascinated Farr and Yeats, who were working on their own "music of speech." She studied illustration at the Pratt Institute in New York prior to moving back to London in 1899, where she soon met the Yeats family. John Butler Yeats described her as looking Japanese: she was small and dark and her eyes slanted impishly.

"She will go far," the elder Yeats wrote, "because she believes in all her ideas. . . . She has the simplicity and naivete of an old dry as dust savant [but] with a child's heart."[7]

When Arthur Ransome, who later wrote a book on Bohemian London, first attended one of her evening entertainments, he saw

> a little round woman, scarcely more than a girl . . . [who] looked as if she had been the same age all her life. . . . She was dressed in an orange-coloured coat that hung loose over a green skirt, with black tassels sewn all over

> the orange silk.... She welcomed us with a most uncanny little shriek, half laugh, half exclamation.... She was very dark ... with a smile that was peculiarly infectious [and] the eyes of a joyous, excited child meeting the guests of a birthday party.

When she told stories, she would wrap her black hair in bright scarves and feathers and wear ropes of coral beads. She lived in a "mad room out of a fairy tale," rather like a curiosity shop.

> The walls were dark green, and covered with brilliant-colored drawings, etchings, and pastel sketches. A large round table stood near the window, spread with bottles of painting inks with differently tinted stoppers, china toys, paperweights of odd designs, ashtrays, cigarette boxes, and books; it was lit up by a silver lamp, and there was an urn in the middle of it, in which incense was burning.[8]

Florence Farr was evidently one of her guests on occasion, for Ransome remembered, "There I heard poetry read as if the ghost of some old minstrel had descended on the reader, and shown how the words should be chanted aloud."[9] Others commented how they went to hear Yeats read poems and plays or stories yet unwritten. But Pixie's stories had their own magic, coming as they did "through the quaint personality of a Jamaican nurse, whose own peculiarities of utterance are reproduced with infinite humor and charm."

> It is not difficult to think of the monstrous leaves of a hot forest close behind her.... [The stories] have "the heart of darkness" in them. You can forget it until there comes into one of them a little snatch of song, and then you hear a kind of rhythmic throb like a stamp of bare feet on the ground, and melancholy little falling cadences.[10]

Introduced by Yeats, Pixie joined the Golden Dawn, probably in November 1901, taking as her magical motto, *Quod Tibi id Aliis* ("To yourself as to others"). By November 1903, when Waite created his Independent and Rectified Order, she followed him as a 1°=10°, which means that she had taken only one exam and initiation since her 0°=0° initiation two years previously—but she stayed on at least through 1909. Obviously ceremonial magic was not her first love (both their rituals and those of the Catholic church she seemed to feel were "great fun"). The arts that expressed her true passions were painting, storytelling, and staging plays on miniature theatres that she built herself.

As Melinda Boyd Parsons points out, towers are the most frequently appearing image in both her Tarot cards and in her paintings. She tried to explain them in a manuscript, for even to herself, they represented the paradoxes of fearful isolation versus welcomed sanctuary, purity versus frigidity, elevation versus heaviness, and materialism versus spirituality.

> I often see towers white and tall standing against the darkening sky. Those tall white towers that one sees afar topping the mountain crests like crowns of snow. Their silence hangs so heavy in the air that thoughts are stifled. The watchers' hands are lifted up to warn those wayfarers who wander idly. But he who knows the way, but gives the sign and enters in towards that sacred way.[11]

Like the ruined Tower card in the Tarot, she feared that the search for truth could lead one to destruction.

Pixie had an incredible and rare talent of being able to "see" music. Called *synaesthesia*, it is well documented as the ability to experience one sense through another, for instance, to see colors with one's fingers. She first experienced this mixing of the senses in 1900 while listening to Gordon Craig (Ellen Terry's son) play Bach on the piano. Like the opening of the shutter on a camera she saw through the magic window of her mind a scene in clear, vivid colors of a forest in which frolicked elfin people, the wind blowing their hair and clothes as they danced through a blue mist enshrouding the trees. She drew only an outline on the edge of a newspaper before the shutter clicked shut.[12] Friends and acquaintances believed she had a special talent for perceiving directly the spirit world that lay beyond the physical senses. She was often unaware of what she was drawing until afterward, and when she tried to change the drawing from what she saw, the scene would immediately dissolve. The drawings were, she tried to explain, "thoughts loosened and set free by the spell of sound. . . . Subconscious energy lives in them all."[13] Her friends, the musician Claude Debussy, the playwright Maurice Maeterlinck, and the artist James Whistler all admired her special gift, and Debussy said that her drawings were his "dreams made visible."[14] In Ireland she found that she could see the fairy folk and was thus drawn to the Celtic traditions.

Smith also worked with the brother of W. B. Yeats, the artist Jack Yeats, on a variety of magazine projects. From 1903 to 1904 she published her own magazine called *The Green Sheaf*, which included works from Yeats, Lady Gregory, John Synge, A.E., and Ellen Terry. Although she had some small successes, especially through exhibits at Alfred Stieglitz's gallery in New York from 1907 to 1911, she always struggled to make ends meet.

In June 1904 the Stage Society in London, directed by Harley Granville-Barker, produced Yeats's only attempt at a popular play, *Where There Is Nothing*. The set was designed by Pamela Smith and Edith Craig, daughter of Ellen Terry. Pixie had sketched furiously as Yeats described what he wanted.[15] Later when the Abbey was scheduled to open, he despaired of getting a design he liked for Synge's play. He wrote Lady Gregory: "I shall get Pixie Smith, who alone seems to understand what I want, to make a design."[16]

Pixie Smith converted to Catholicism in 1911. She was active in the

women's suffrage movement, designing feminist political posters.[17] With the coming of World War I, she volunteered her artistic services to the Red Cross, creating posters and holding bazaars for which she made toys. After the war she moved to The Lizard, an isolated town in Cornwall, where she leased a home with a chapel and ran a vacation retreat for priests.

She died on September 18, 1951, at Bude, Cornwall. She left all her possessions to her friend and companion, Nora Lake, but these had to be sold to pay her debts, and so Nora was left with nothing. The whereabouts of the original Tarot paintings is unknown, although Pixie once asked Stieglitz to sell them for her. While each picture may have been sold as an individual artwork, this seems unlikely, since not a single one has come to light from Stieglitz's own extensive collection of her work. The original printing plates for the deck were destroyed when the print shop was bombed in World War II.

Although at least twenty different modern Tarot decks explicitly follow Pixie Smith's designs, it becomes apparent to anyone who uses them that there are special qualities to Smith's deck that cannot be mimicked. One of these is the wonderful (and undoubtedly deliberate) ambiguity of expression on the faces of the figures. This allows the reader and consultee to interpret each card according to what they project onto it at the moment. In readings emphasizing psychological states, evoked memories, and personal associations, this is a tremendous strength generally ignored by other artists.

As Stuart Kaplan, an assiduous collector of her work, notes in *The Encyclopedia of the Tarot*, Pixie Smith might have been forgotten but for her Tarot deck—which millions of people around the world have enjoyed for more than eighty years.[18]

APPENDIX G

PSYCHIC SELF-DEFENCE

THE DION FORTUNE BATTLES

Dion Fortune's story of the psychic attack upon her, following the publication of articles containing Golden Dawn "secrets," presents a detailed account of what it is like to fight a psychic battle. Although Fortune wanted people to believe that Mrs. Mathers was responsible, it is highly questionable whether Moina Mathers or Annie Horniman was actually involved.[1] Taken from Fortune's book *Psychic Self-Defence*, a greatly condensed version of the events appears here in Fortune's own words:[2]

> My first intimation of the astral attack was a sense of uneasiness and restlessness. Next came a feeling as if the barriers between the Seen and the Unseen were full of rifts and I kept on getting glimpses of the Astral mingling with my waking consciousness. The general sense of vague uneasiness gradually matured into a definite sense of menace and antagonism, and presently I began to see demon faces in flashes.
>
> I was quite unsuspicious of any particular individual, though I realised that my articles had probably stirred somebody up pretty thoroughly; what was my surprise, then, to receive from a person whom I looked upon as a friend and for whom I had the greatest respect, a letter which left me in no doubt whatever as to the source of the attack and what I might expect if any more articles were published. I determined to stick to my guns to see the matter through, and so left the articles in question to run their course.
>
> Very soon curious things began to happen. We became most desperately afflicted with black cats. The caretaker next door was engaged in pushing bunches of black cats off doorstep and window-sill with a broom, and declared he had never in his life seen so many, or such dreadful specimens. The whole house was filled with the horrible stench of the brutes.
>
> Coming upstairs after breakfast one morning, I suddenly saw, coming down the stairs towards me, a gigantic tabby cat, twice the size of a tiger.

It appeared absolutely solid and tangible. I stared at it petrified for a second, and then it vanished. I instantly realised that it was a simulacrum, or thought-form that was being projected by someone with occult powers.

I rose up, gathered together my paraphernalia, and did an exorcism then and there. At the end we looked out of the window again. There was not a cat in sight, and we never saw them again.

The Vernal Equinox was now upon us, and I was obliged to make an astral journey at this season—my attacker knew this as well as I did. My journeys always begin with a curtain of the symbolic colour through whose folds I pass. No sooner was I through the curtain on this occasion than I saw my enemy waiting for me. She appeared in the full robes of her grade, which were very magnificent, and barred my entry, telling me that by virtue of her authority she forbade me to make use of these astral pathways. I replied that I did not admit her right to close the astral paths to me, and that I appealed to the Inner Chiefs, to whom both she and I were responsible. Then ensued a battle of wills in which I experienced the sensation of being whirled through the air and falling from a great height and found myself back in my body. But my body was not where I had left it, but in a heap in the far corner of the room, which looked as if it had been bombed.

I recognised that I had had the worst of it and had been effectually ejected from the astral paths; but I also realised that if I accepted this defeat my occult career was at an end. I invoked the Inner Chiefs, and went out once more. This time there was a short sharp struggle, and I was through. I had the Vision of the Inner Chiefs, and returned. The Fight was over. I have never had any trouble since.

But when I took off my clothes in order to go to bed I found that from neck to waist I was scored with scratches as if I had been clawed by a gigantic cat.

I told this story to some friends of mine, experienced occultists, who at one time had been closely associated with the person with whom I had had this trouble, and they told me that she was well-known for these astral attacks, and that a friend of theirs after a quarrel with her had had an exactly similar experience, and she too had been covered with claw-marks. In her case, however, she had been ill for six months and had never touched occultism again.

There is a curious epilogue to this story which may or may not have any bearing upon it. I have already told the story of the mysterious death [of Netta Fornario] that took place on Iona. How the body of this unfortunate girl was found lying naked on a cross cut out of the turf. No cause of death could be found, and the verdict was that she died of exposure. But if she were lost, how did she come to lie down to die in this ritual manner, instead of wandering about? Why had she taken off all her clothes before leaving her house, covering herself only with a black cloak? And

why did she take with her the large knife with which she cut the cross in the turf? I do not know her later history, for I had lost sight of her during the last two or three years of her life, but at the time I knew her she was associated with the woman I have referred to. The only marks found upon her dead body were scratches.[3]

APPENDIX H

THE GOLDEN DAWN TODAY

The following are organizations that offer Golden Dawn training, although their practices may differ significantly from those described in this book. Only some of these organizations have a direct lineage to the original Golden Dawn; some require rather steep annual fees or payment for initiation, while others do not. Please obtain as much information as you can about any organization you are considering joining. If you feel it is important, ask about their lineage and association with other groups. You may want to ask how long they have been offering their training, if they can provide any references, and if they have a complete list of their fees (including miscellaneous charges for robes, teaching papers, insignia, etc.). Several of these groups have correspondence courses. When requesting information, please send a donation of $2.00 or more to help defray mailing costs.

August Order of the Mystic Rose, P.O. Box 71, Mt. View, CA 94042

Builders of the Adytum (B.O.T.A.), 5105 North Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, CA 90042

Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, P.O. Box 1757, Elfers, FL 34680-1757 (offers referrals to other groups around the United States)

Hermetic Order of the Eternal Golden Dawn, 14050 Cherry Avenue, Suite R159, Fontana, CA 92337 (has a quarterly journal)

Hermetic Society of the Golden Dawn, Ra Horakhty Temple, 900 Meridian E., #19-402, Puyallup, WA 98371-1242 (offers referrals to groups in other countries; has a quarterly journal)

Hermetic Temple and Order of the Golden Dawn, 1739 East Broadway Road, Suite 1-277, Tempe, AZ 85822

O.H.A.D., 26 rue François Bonvin, 75015 Paris, France

Servants of Light (S.O.L.), P.O. Box 215, St. Helier, Jersey, Channel Islands, U.K. (workshops and seminars available in the United States and Mexico)

Society of the Inner Light, 38 Steele's Road, London NW3 4RG, England

JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

Send a stamped, self-addressed envelope for subscription or single-copy information.

Cauda Pavonis: Studies in Hermeticism, Department of English, Washington State University, Pullman, WA 99164-5020

Gnosis, P.O. Box 14217, San Francisco, CA 94114-0217

Green Egg, P.O. Box 1542, Ukiah, CA 95482 (primarily pagan)

Llewellyn's New Worlds of Mind and Spirit, P.O. Box 64383, St. Paul, MN 55164-0383 (contains reviews of and excerpts from the many Golden Dawn books published by Llewellyn)

Magical Blend, P.O. Box 11303, San Francisco, CA 94010-0050

Mezlim, P.O. Box 19566, Cincinnati, OH 45219

Tools and Rites of Transformation (TAROT) Newsletter, Mary K. Greer, Editor, P.O. Box 720, Nevada City, CA 95959

PAGAN NETWORKS

Some members may use Golden Dawn traditions as part of a practice that emphasizes nature and goddess spirituality. Send a stamped, self-addressed envelope (or international reply coupon) for information on referrals and networking guides.

The Pagan Federation (Europe), BM Box 5896, London WC1N 3XX, England

Circle Network News and Circle Guide to Pagan Groups (United States), P.O. Box 219, Mt. Horeb, WI 53572

Covenant of the Goddess (United States), P.O. Box 1226, Berkeley, CA 94704

Of a Like Mind (United States, Wimmin's Source Book), P.O. Box 6021, Madison, WI 53716

Pan Pacific Pagan Alliance (Australia and New Zealand), P.O. Box A486, Sydney South, NSW 2000, Australia

Also check computer bulletin boards.

ENDNOTES

Frequently used works are abbreviated as indicated in the list immediately following. Complete titles for all other books are given only with the first reference and are abbreviated thereafter. Following the first reference, biographical works appear with author's last name and subject's initials only, for instance, Johnson, *FF*. See Bibliography for publishing information for all works.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

CORRESPONDENCE AND BOOK TITLES

AE: George Russell	**AH:** Annie Horniman	**BS:** Bernard Shaw
FF: Florence Farr	**FG:** Frederick Gardner	**GD:** Golden Dawn
LG: Lady Gregory	**MG:** Maud Gonne	**MM:** Moina Mathers
McM: MacGregor Mathers	**WW:** Wynn Westcott	**WBY:** William Butler Yeats

MANUSCRIPTS

Gilbert Collection	R. A. Gilbert private collection of Golden Dawn papers (includes papers formerly belonging to Ellic Howe).
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
Word Collection	Robert Word private archive for the August Order of the Mystic Rose.
Yorke Collection	Gerald Yorke Collection, Warburgh Institute, University of London.

FREQUENTLY USED WORKS
(THIS LIST SERVES AS FIRST REFERENCE)

Bax	Clifford Bax, ed., *Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw, and W.B. Yeats.*
Colquhoun	Ithell Colquhoun, *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and the Golden Dawn.*
Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*	Richard J. Finneran, George Mills Harper, and William M. Murphy, eds., *Letters to W. B. Yeats.*
"FR#———:'___'"	"Flying Roll No.———: '_____," in *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic, and Alchemy: Golden Dawn Material by S. L. MacGregor Mathers and Others,* edited by Francis King.

Howe	Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order, 1887–1923.*
MacBride, *SQ*	Maud Gonne MacBride, *A Servant of the Queen: Reminiscences.*
Shaw in Bax	G. B. Shaw, "An Explanatory Word from Shaw" in Bax.
Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*	Allan Wade, ed., *The Letters of W. B. Yeats.*
White, *G–Y Ltrs*	Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares, eds., *The Gonne–Yeats Letters, 1893–1938: Always Your Friend.*
YA No.9	Deirdre Toomey, ed., *Yeats Annual No. 9: Yeats and Women.*
Yeats, *Autobiography*	W. B. Yeats, *The Autobiography of William Butler Yeats.*
George Yeats in Bax	George Yeats (Mrs. WBY), "A Foreword to the Letters of W. B. Yeats," in Bax.

INTRODUCTION

1. The founders were William Wynn Westcott, S. L. MacGregor Mathers, and W. R. Woodman. Woodman played almost no active role and died in 1891.

Women were rarely admitted to the practice of ceremonial magic prior to the Golden Dawn. Gerald Osgood in an Australian magazine, *Web of Wyrd,* has pointed out the centrality of the "feminine current" within the Golden Dawn. Initiations took place within a vault, representing the womb of the Universe. In the original manuscripts, the initiate is called "she." The first English temple was named Isis-Urania, and repeatedly it is the Great Goddess Isis who is invoked in rituals to give power and life, and the female Shekinah who is the "One Spirit" of the gods. Their Tarot replaces the Page with Princesses to balance male and female energies in the Court Cards. Moreover, the Cauldron, Grail, Lotus Wand of Isis, Rose and twin pillars (representing the vaginal opening) are among symbols of the Great Mother used in GD rituals. Peregrin (Gerald Osgood), "The Feminine Current in the Golden Dawn," *Web of Wyrd* 5 (1992): 48–53.

2. Well-known men who belonged to the Golden Dawn include John Brodie-Innes, Aleister Crowley, Arthur Machen, S. L. MacGregor Mathers, A. E. Waite, and William Butler Yeats. See the Bibliography, especially Howe, Gilbert, Regardie, King, Colquhoun, Harper, Cicero, and Zalewski for more information on the Golden Dawn itself.

3. Mrs. W. B. Yeats, *Explorations,* p. 397.

4. Moina Mathers, "Preface" in S. L. MacGregor Mathers, *The Kabbalah Unveiled,* p. viii. Carl Jung noted that secret organizations (the Golden Dawn was one) provide one with a sense of collective identity but that the individual ultimately must differentiate him- or herself from the collective (Jung, *Memories, Dreams, and Reflections,* p. 342). The poet William Butler Yeats understood that the development all of civilization must begin with communities of individuated people, and William Irwin Thompson has suggested that such communities of individuals "look around and recognize that what is unique to them is part of a universal transfomation in which cultural evolution is becoming conscious." Quoted in James W. Flannery, *W. B. Yeats and the Idea of a Theatre: The Early Abbey*

Theatre in Theory and Practice, p. 64. The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, during the twelve years from 1888 to 1900, was such a community of individuals that were consciously a part of the tremendous cultural evolution that took place at the *fin de siècle*.

5. Phyllis Rose, *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages*, p. 140.

6. Regardie in Christopher S. Hyatt, ed., *An Interview with Israel Regardie: His Final Thoughts and Views*, pp. 27–28.

7. Quoted in Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life*, p. 33.

8. Florence Farr, "An Introduction to Alchemy and Notes by S.S.D.D." in *A Short Enquiry Concerning the Hermetic Art by a Lover of Philalethes, London, 1714*, p. 49.

9. Melita Denning, "Ceremonial Magick," *Gnostica* 7, no. 1 (1979):c2–7. Denning is coauthor with Osborne Phillips of the "Mysteria Magica" series from Llewellyn and is a Grand Master of the Aurum Solis Order.

10. Irene Claremont de Castillejo, *Knowing Woman: A Feminine Psychology*, pp. 64–69.

11. "Hetaira" originally comes from a word meaning "companion," as in "an equal," and is related to words meaning "individual, unique, one's own self." It implies expressing one's uniqueness in companionship with other unique individuals. Eventually its meaning was denigrated into concepts such as "concubine," "courtesan," or "prostitute," implying a woman of lesser status who was bought and used by another.

12. Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*. These concepts are discussed in some depth in Chapter 1.

13. Maxine Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*. These concepts are further developed in Chapter 31.

14. Demetra George, *The Asteriod Goddesses*. The asteriods were not used in the astrologial interpretations included in this book but would prove rewarding. As a symbol system they show a direct parallel to the other classifications above.

15. See Stephen R. Covey, *Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*, for a discussion of developing character and principle in a modern context.

16. Regardie in Hyatt, *An Interview with Israel Regardie*, p. 31. The image of the powerful beast upon which we can ride was the basis for the Crowley–Harris Lust (Strength) card in the Tarot.

17. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 283 (MG to WBY: Nov. 12, 1909).

CHAPTER 1: VICTORIAN WOMANHOOD

1. Quoted from *Principles of Education, Drawn from Nature and Revelation, and Applied to Female Education in the Upper Classes* in Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 35.

2. Quoted in Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood*, pp. 35–36.

3. Samuel Levenson, *Maud Gonne: A Biography of Yeats' Beloved*, pp. 419–420.

4. George Eliot, *Amos Barton: Scenes of Clerical Life*, p. 101.

5. Quoted in Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century*, p. 195.

6. Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, p. x.

7. Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon*, p. 153.

8. Quoted in Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood*, p. 185.

9. Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon*, p. 8.

10. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, p. 265.

11. Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still*, p. xiv.

12. Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, pp. 324–325.
13. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood*, p. 61.
14. Levenson, *MG*.
15. Adrian Frazier, *Behind the Scenes: Yeats, Horniman, and the Struggle for the Abbey Theatre*, p. 201.
16. Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon*, p. 74.
17. Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*, p. 45.
18. Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon*, p. 64.
19. Ibid., pp. 90–94.
20. Ibid., p. 106.
21. Ibid., p. 108.
22. Ibid., p. 109.
23. Ibid., p. 124.
24. Ibid., p. 122.
25. Ibid., p. 131.
26. Ibid., p. 154.
27. Ibid., p. 153.
28. Ibid., p. 162.
29. Florence Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 120.
30. Ibid., p. 122.
31. Florence Farr, *Modern Woman: Her Intentions*, p. 35.
32. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, p. 56.
33. Quoted in Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon*, p. 188.

CHAPTER 2: FLORENCE FARR

1. Shaw in Bax, p. v.
2. Myra Stark, "Introduction," in Florence Nightingale, *Cassandra*, pp. 2–17.
3. Nightingale, *Cassandra*, p. 29.
4. Josephine Johnson, *Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's "New Woman,"* p. 6. Much of the information about Florence Farr and her family is from this work.
5. Farr, *New Age* (Oct. 31, 1907), in Johnson, *FF*, p. 12.
6. Nightingale, *Cassandra*, p. 37.
7. Ibid., p. 41.
8. Elizabeth Robins, *Theatre and Friendship*, pp. 33–34.
9. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 34.
10. Margot Peters, *Bernard Shaw and the Actresses*, p. xii.
11. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 74.
12. Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon*, p. 205.
13. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, pp. 37–38.
14. Farr, *Modern Woman*, p. 33.
15. Ibid., p. 28.
16. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 51.
17. Ibid., p. 34.

CHAPTER 3: ANNIE HORNIMAN

1. Sheila Gooddie, *Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre*, p. 11. Most of the details of Annie's childhood, unless otherwise acknowledged, come from Gooddie and from Rex Pogson.
2. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, p. 5. She quotes from *The Habits of Good Society* (1859).
3. Rex Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester*, p. 6.
4. Nightingale, *Cassandra*, pp. 32–35.

CHAPTER 4: MAUD GONNE

1. See MacBride, *SQ*.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Ibid., p. 14.
4. Conrad A. Balliett, "The Lives–And Lies–of Maud Gonne," *Eire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies* 14, no. 3 (1979): 22.
5. Nancy Cardozo, *Maud Gonne: Lucky Eyes and a High Heart*, p. 38.
6. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 41–42.
7. William Butler Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 133.
8. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 43–44.
9. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 62.
10. Balliett, "Lives—And Lies," p. 23.
11. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 14–16.

12. Ibid., p. 59. *Heartsease* was a translation of the French drama *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, by Eugène Scribe, about the tragic love between an actress and a count. Florence Farr played the leading role in another translation of this play six years later.
13. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 62–65.
14. Balliett points out that Maud told Yeats in the winter of 1898–1899 that she originally met Millevoye in her nineteenth year (1885) and then returned to live with her father in Dublin. Balliett, "Lives—And Lies," p. 24. Deirdre Toomey concurs and suggests that when Maud made a pact with the Devil for her freedom, it was to return to Millevoye. See Deirdre Toomey, "Labyrinths: Yeats and Maud Gonne," in *YA No.9* , pp. 120–121.

CHAPTER 5: MINA BERGSON

1. What little is known of Mina's childhood and family was researched by Louis Greenberg and published in "Bergson and Durkheim As Sons and Assimilators: The Early Years," *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 4 (1976):619–634.
2. *Encyclopaedia Judaica.*
3. *The Jewish Encyclopedia.*
4. Greenberg, "Bergson," p. 621.
5. Ibid., p. 620.
6. Ibid., p. 620.
7. *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 6, 1941.
8. Tyler Wasson, ed., *Nobel Prize Winners: An A. H. Wilson Biographical Dictionary*, p. 90.
9. Ibid., p. 91.
10. Greenberg, "Bergson," p. 631. Michel and Kate Bergson had seven children: Juliette, born in 1858, who married a Theodor Cohn in 1883 and had at least one son, Paul Cohn; Henri, born 1859; Joseph Maurice, born 1862; Mina; Rachel Elizabeth (possibly known as Auntie Renee to her nieces), born in 1867 (died Feb. 18, 1949); John Leslie; and Phillip, dates of birth unknown.
11. Personal correspondence with Olive Rowland-Jones and Barbara King-Morgan, daughters of John Leslie Bergson.
12. Quoted in Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, p. 220.
13. Colquhoun, p. 49.

CHAPTER 6: ANSWERING THE CRY

1. Papus, *The Tarot of the Bohemians*, p. 2.
2. See R. A. Gilbert, "Provenance Unknown: A Tentative Solution to the Riddle of the Cipher Manuscript of the Golden Dawn," in *Wege und Abwege: Beiträge zur europäischen Geistesgeschichte der Neuzeit*, edited by Albrecht Götz von Olenhusen.
3. There are other possible sources for either the cipher manuscript or the ideas upon which it was based. One is an eighteenth-century organization called *Chabrah Zereh aur bokher* ("Society of the Shining Light of Dawn"), headed from 1810 by the Kabbalist Johann Friedrich Falk, also known as Rabbi de Falk. Another is a Jewish Masonic lodge in Frankfort called the *Zur aufgehenden Morgenröte* ("Toward the Rising Dawn")—related to a French lodge called *Aurore naissante* ("Rising Dawn") that may be that into which the novelist Lord Bulwer-Lytton was initiated in the mid-1800s. One theory holds that Bulwer-Lytton's papers were passed to a Frederick Hockley, who, with his interest in the Enochian language of John Dee, could have added the Enochian calls and encoded the entirety. Hockley's papers were inherited by a Reverend Woodford who then gave them to Westcott. Another story has the manuscript being found by Reverend Woodford in a bookstall. These possibilities and others are discussed in detail in R. A. Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*; R. A. Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Companion*; Gilbert, "Provenance Un-

known"; Ellic Howe; and Ron Heisler, "Precursors of the Golden Dawn," *Cauda Pavonis: Studies in Hermeticism* 8, no.1 (1989):1–4. My thanks also to James Gerald Koch for personal correspondence. A transcript of the cipher manuscript is reproduced in Patrick J. Zalewski, *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn.*

4. For a description of "grades" within the GD see pages 58–59.

5. Fräulein Sprengel claimed that the cipher manuscript had originally belonged to the French mage Eliphas Levi (who died in 1875), although Levi did not speak the English into which it translated; also that there were now three "Golden Dawn" temples: Temple No. 1 was her own *Licht Liebe Leben* Temple ("Light, Love, Life" Temple) in Germany; No. 2 was the Hermanubis Temple from which the cipher manuscript had come; No. 3 was to be the new Isis-Urania Temple.

6. Howe, p. 12 (WW to McM: Oct. 4, 1887).

7. Mathers, "Preface" to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, p. viii.

8. Colquhoun gives a birth time of 2:10 A.M., in *Sword of Wisdom*, p. 65. She implies that the chart was "rectified"—that is, the time was retrodetermined by observation of personality and events. The time I have used is from an astrological chart for Mathers appearing in a scrapbook in the Yorke Collection, New Folder 101. Mathers was known to "adjust" both his and his wife's birth data to accord with whatever impression he wanted to give people at the time. Unless otherwise stated, most of the biographical information comes from Colquhoun and Howe.

9. Mathers claimed that his name was anglicized from Mo Athair ("the posthumous one")—after the infant son of Alaistair MacGregor of Glenstrae, who, being born after the murder of his father in 1603, was installed as Chief of Glenstrae.

10. Mathers, "Preface" to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, p. xiii. An identical account is given by J. W. Brodie-Innes in "MacGregor Mathers: Some Personal Reminiscences," *Occult Review* 39, no. 5 (May 1919): 284–286.

11. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 112.

12. Ibid., p. 223.

13. At this time, his progressed Venus turned retrograde in the Twelfth House, meaning that his outer expression or need for love changed to an inner, spiritualized, or even mystical expression or need. Progressed Venus retrograded to its natal position in the year he died.

14. Mackenzie noted in his diary on November 20, 1885: "Br. Liddell Mathers was here last evening—he is a highly intelligent and earnest seeker into our favorite studies. I hope to see more of him." Howe, p. 39.

15. A. E. Waite, included in Ralph Shirley, "Notes of the Month (Death of Mathers)," *Occult Review* 29, no. 4 (1919):196–199.

16. Yeats, *Autobiography*, pp. 112–113.

17. Most of the biographical information on Anna Kingsford comes from Edward Maitland, *Anna Kingsford: Her Life, Letters, Diary, and Work*, 2 vols.

18. Ibid., p. 392.

19. Ibid., p. 291.

20. Ibid., p. 374.

21. These lectures were presented on June 3 and July 8, 1886, respectively.

22. Colquhoun, p. 76.

23. Ibid., p.77. Mathers was described by Blavatsky as "a very good Kabbalist, only one who loses too much his head with ceremonial magic which I detest." She explained, "Geometrical diagrams and figures especially have a power in them of... awakening to activity the half blind and brain-

less creatures of the elements. . . . [We] know the power certain circles and diagrams have on the Elements. This is why I believe in but hate and *dread* ceremonial magic." Blavatsky to Ralston Skinner, quoted in Sylvia Cranston, *HPB: The Extraordinary Life and Influence of Helena Blavatsky, Founder of the Modern Theosophical Movement*, p. 367.

24. Colquhoun, p. 64.

25. The timing was significant because on November 13, 1887, demonstrators massed at Trafalgar Square for the right of labor to present its complaints. Troops were called, resulting in two deaths and many arrests; it was known as "Bloody Sunday." This period saw great unrest; many feared (or hoped for) revolution.

26. Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Bernard Shaw: The Diaries, 1885–1897*, vol. 1, p. 303.

27. This book has been reprinted as *The Tarot: Its Occult Signification, Use in Fortune-Telling, and Method of Play, Etc.* Eliphas Levi, Court de Gebelin, and Paul Christian are clearly Mathers's sources for much of the Tarot material. He recommends Italian decks and discusses several Gnostic symbols that appear on the cards (such as the lion-headed caduceus on the Two of Cups as the Chnuphis Serpent of the Gnostics). Tarot associations appearing in the cipher manuscript are not mentioned: For these see Zalewski, *Secret Inner Order Rituals of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 31–57. Kenneth Mackenzie, who befriended Mathers upon his arrival in London, wrote a book circa 1879 called *The Game of Tarot, Archaeologically and Symbolically Considered.* This book, which would have antedated French Tarot authors Papus and Oswald Wirth by ten years, was never published, although Mackenzie did discuss it with Wynn Westcott. Howe, pp. 54–55. It may have been among the papers Westcott obtained from Mackenzie's wife. See also Gilbert, "Provenance Unknown."

28. Caitlin and John Matthews, *The Western Way: A Practical Guide to the Western Mystery Tradition*, vol. 2, *The Hermetic Tradition*, p. 46.

CHAPTER 7: QUIT THE NIGHT AND SEEK THE DAY

1. See W. Wynn Westcott, "FR#XIX: 'The Aims and Means of Adeptship,'" pp. 115–121.

2. Mathers, "Preface" to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, p. viii.

3. Many books detail the history of the Western Magical Tradition, which includes the mystery teachings of Hermes Trismegistus, Greeks, Gnostics, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Rosicrucians, and Masons as well as the study of Kabbalah, alchemy, astrology, and angelology. For more information on the people, books, and traditions mentioned in the Time Line, see especially Manly Palmer Hall, *The Secret Teachings of All Ages: An Encyclopedic Outline of Masonic, Hermetic, Qabbalistic, and Rosicrucian Symbolical Philosophy;* Francis King, *Magic: The Western Tradition;* Matthews and Matthews, *The Western Way*, vol. 2, *The Hermetic Tradition;* Francis A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition;* and Frances A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age.*

4. Westcott, "FR#XIX: 'Aims and Means,'" pp. 115–121.

5. June G. Bletzer, *The Donning International Encyclopedic Psychic Dictionary*, p. 626.

6. Tanya M. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England*, p. 61

7. Ibid., p. 57.

8. Ibid.

9. Dion Fortune, *Sane Occultism*, p. 192.

10. Mathers, "Preface" to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, p. ix.

11. Ibid., p. xii.

12. Dion Fortune, "Ceremonial Magic: What It Really Is," *RMT America* (1990): 3–5.

13. Francis King, ed., *Ritual Magic, and Alchemy: Golden Dawn Material by S. L. MacGregor Mathers and Others, Astral Projection*, p. 33.

14. William Butler Yeats, "Magic," in *Essays and Introductions*, p. 33.

15. A most amusing and confused description of the Golden Dawn appears in a "scholarly" text that is primarily a vitriolic diatribe against Annie Horniman. Male members of the GD are called "warlocks," while the Order was said to serve the "function of an experience of heightened eroticism under the cloak of communication with the sublime.... The meetings in darkened chambers of numbers of female adepts with a few powerful mages, where participants underwent rites ... with considerable blindfolding of the women, while male mystagogues sometimes evoked images of fire and spear, cups and water, were an exquisite theatre of the erotic." While there is a case for the underlying sexuality of all experience, including magic, this author searches for perversity, while betraying his ignorance. See Frazier, *Behind the Scenes*, pp. 158–159.

CHAPTER 8: UPRIGHTEEOUS FORTITUDE

1. Quoted in Howe, p. 65 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898).

2. Carl Jones, "Richard Wagner: High Priest of Bayreuth," *Gnostica* 7, no. 1 (1979): 46–55.

3. Her progressed Moon was setting off her Grand Air Trine consisting of Mars, Ascendant, Sun, and Uranus, sparking a sense of personal purpose as an intellectual revolutionary.

4. Annie had the Sun and Moon quincunx each other, which at the time was a little-used aspect. Sun in Libra is known for its aesthetic appreciation, especially of rhythm and balance, while Moon exalted in Taurus has practical stamina.

5. Probably intimating that the young man had a mind–heart conflict. His emotionally unstable (fickle) need for relationship and his intellectual self-concept were demanding two different things.

6. William H. O'Donnell, ed., *"The Speckled Bird" by William Butler Yeats*, pp. 198–199.

7. Annie Horniman, "FR # XVIII: 'Progress in the Order,'" p. 114.

8. Quoted in Howe, p. 66 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898).

9. Horniman, "FR # XVIII: 'Progress,'" p. 111.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 113.

12. Ibid., pp. 113–114.

13. Israel Regardie, *The Complete Gol-den Dawn System of Magic*, p. 5.

14. Howe, p. 65 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898).

CHAPTER 9: NEVER TO RETRACE MY STEPS

1. Colquhoun, p. 52.

2. Ellic Howe, ed., *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: The Letters of the Revd. W. A. Ayton to F. L. Gardner and Others, 1886–1905*, p. 76 (Ayton to FG: April 3, 1894).

3. Ibid., p. 57 (Ayton to FG: June 21, 1890).

4. The pentagram in her chart (made up of two aspect formations known as a Mystic Rectangle plus a Grand Air Trine) consisted of Jupiter, Uranus, Mercury, Venus–South Node, and Saturn–North Node; it was activated by transiting Uranus conjuncting her Saturn in Libra (trining Mercury and Uranus, and opposing Venus),

and by transiting Saturn opposing Mercury, and trining Venus and Jupiter. The Saturn–Uranus transits helped her give form to her revolutionary and idealistic impulses, by upsetting old structures and establishing new ones.

5. Yorke Collection; and Howe, p. 64 (WW to FG: Oct. 25, 1924).

6. Yeats, "Magic," p. 28.

7. The following remembrance is adapted from Yeats's essay, "Ideas of Good and Evil," in *Essays and Introductions*, pp. 28–36.

8. Ibid., p. 36.

9. Ibid.

10. Gilbert, *The GD*, p. 98.

CHAPTER 10: WISDOM GIVEN TO THE WISE

1. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 37.

2. Shaw in Bax, p. vi.

3. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 104.

4. Ibid., p. 23.

5. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 40.

6. Edward Emery remained permanently in the United States, eventually remarrying. He had one child, a son John, who also became a stage and movie actor and was briefly married to film actress Tallulah Bankhead. John died childless in 1964, ending a continuous line of more than 200 years of Emerys on the stage.

7. Farr, *Modern Woman*, pp. 84–85.

8. May's mother, the Pre-Raphaelite "stunner" Jane Burden Morris, whom artist Dante Gabriel Rossetti immortalized in his paintings, and her father, William Morris, had almost single-handedly revived the art of embroidery in England. May designed needlework patterns, taught classes, and oversaw production for the Morris & Co. embroidery studios.

9 Quoted in Margaret Jones Bolsterli, *The Early Community at Bedford Park: "Corporate Happiness" in the First Garden Suburb*, p. 77.

10. Ibid., p. 90.

11. Ibid., pp. 97–99.

12. Ibid., p. 116.

13. Quoted from the *Boston Pilot* in Horace Reynolds, ed., *Letters to the New Island by William Butler Yeats*, p. 105.

14. John Todhunter, *A Sicilian Idyll: A Pastoral Play in Two Scenes*, p. 15.

15. Ibid., p. 17.

16. Ibid., p. 30.

17. Quoted in Reynolds, *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 104, 118.

18. S. Weintraub, *BS* vol. 1, p. 614.

19. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 75.

20. George Yeats in Bax, p. 42.

21. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 81.

22. R. A. Gilbert, "Magical Manuscripts: An Introduction to the Archives of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn," in *Yeats Annual No. 5*, edited by Warwick Gould, p. 176.

23. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 82.

24. Ibid., pp. 113–114.

25. A typical diary entry of Shaw's in 1886 shows what a busy life he led trying to keep several women enthralled at once: "Mrs. Bland came to Museum. Walked with her to Charing Cross and bought two toads on the way.... Saw May Morris in the window of the Socialist League and went in for a few minutes. JP here when I returned. Hurried off to Mrs. Besant's." Quoted in Peters, *BS*, p. 40.

26. Jan Marsh, *Jane and May Morris: A Biographical Story, 1839–1938*, p. 226.

27. Peters, *BS*, p. 61.

28. Ibid., p. 68.

29. Timothy d'Arch Smith, "Introduction," in Florence Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, pp. xi–xii.

30. Shaw in Bax, p. viii. Leporello was Don Giovanni's valet in Mozart's opera about the unconscionable rake Don Juan. He kept a list of his master's conquests: "In Italy 700 mistresses, in Germany 800, in Turkey and France 91, in Spain 1,003." Shaw used the Don Juan theme in his play *Man and Superman* (1903), turning it around so that man is pursued and woman the pursuer. In his dedicatory preface to the play, Shaw says: "By the time the polite critics of the XIX century ... were confronted with ... [Ibsen and Tolstoy], Don Juan had changed his sex and become Doña Juana, breaking out of the Doll's House and asserting herself as an individual instead of a mere item in a moral pageant." G. B. Shaw, *Seven Plays*, p. 491.

31. Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, p. 100.

32. Francis King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic*, p. 202.

33. Michael Holroyd, *Bernard Shaw*, vol. 1, *1856–1898: The Search for Love*, p. 250. I can find no source for this assumption on his part.

34. "I did not write any letters to Florence Farr. I saw her too often." Pearson, *BS*, p. 100.

35. Marsh, *Jane and May Morris*, p. 170.

36. S. Weintraub, *BS*, vol. 1., p. 657.

37. These quotes from Shaw appear in Pearson, *BS*, pp. 120–121, and in Charles Garfield Lott Du Cann, *The Loves of George Bernard Shaw*, p. 85.

CHAPTER 11: THROUGH FIRE TO LIGHT

1. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 90.

2. Ibid., p. 96.

3. Ibid., pp. 115–116.

4. Quoted in Margaret Ward, *Maud Gonne: Ireland's Joan of Arc*, p. 24.

5. He himself was never sure of his ascendant. One of the characteristics of Capricorn Rising is the ability to look younger the older you get, which is apparent in his photographs.

6. Virginia Moore, *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality*, p. 25.

7. Ibid., p. 27. See also the last event at the end of 1889 in Yeats' Esoteric Journal in the N.L.I.

8. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 40.

9. Maud Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," in *Scattering Branches: Tributes to the Memory of W. B. Yeats*, edited by Stephen Gwynn, p. 17.

10. Ward, *MG*, p. 75.

11. Ibid., p. 25.

12. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 106 (WBY to Katherine Tynan: Jan. 31, 1889).

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., p. 110 (WBY to Ellen O'Leary: Feb. 3, 1889).

15. Yeats, *Memoirs*, pp. 41–42.

16 Ibid.

17. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 108 (WBY to John O'Leary: Feb. 1, 1889).

18. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 40. Astrologically, Willie was hit by lightning, for transiting Uranus, the planet of sudden change and the key to his chart, was trining both his Sun and Moon—giving him, like an electrical shock (or the vibrations of a gong), a whole new sense of himself. Both his progressed Moon (the trigger of his emotional development) and the expansive transiting Jupiter were opposing his natal Uranus, directly along the line of Maud's natal Sun and Moon opposition, thus opening him emotionally and philosophically to what she had to offer. The new Moon opposing Saturn, from the night of his first dinner in Maud's rooms, activated Willie's T-square consisting of Moon opposite Mars squaring Venus (which he personally considered

to be the bane of his existence and the source of all his uncontrollable passions). The most significant event for Maud, astrologically speaking, was Jupiter transiting her Sun–Moon opposition as it did every three and a half years, signaling a period of self-indulgent optimism and offering her the opportunity to broaden her perspectives through travel and new ideas. It was not nearly the shock wave that hit Willie.

19. William Butler Yeats, ed., *Irish Folk Stories and Fairy Tales*, pp. 213–216.
20. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 117.
21. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 42.
22. Ibid., p. 34.
23. Moore, *The Unicorn*, pp. 287–288. This is supported by a fragment of a poem in which Yeats says his footsteps are confused with those of his "daimon," because they are on the "selfsame spot, his toes where my heels fell." He concludes, "He and I face opposite ways, my future being his past." N.L.I., MS 30,434. See also Neil Mann, "'Images': Unpublished Tableaux of Opposition," in *YA No. 9*, p. 314. His intent is best depicted by Eliphas Levi's famous drawing of "The Great Symbol of Solomon." Richard Ellman, translates Yeats's motto as "a demon is an inverted god." Richard Ellmann, *Yeats: The Man and the Masks*, p. 96.
24. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 27.
25. Ibid., p. 27. That is, "up to his fortieth year." After his marriage, his wife, George, began to channel materials that became the major influence on his later life. Even then, however, they did not abandon their Golden Dawn work.
26. Ibid., p. 28.
27. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 134.
28. Ibid., p. 120.
29. Ibid., p. 122.
30. Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," p. 20.
31. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 124.
32. Ibid., p. 130.
33. Ibid., p. 257.
34. Ibid., p. 143.

CHAPTER 12:
I DREAMED THAT ONE HAD DIED

1. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 44.
2. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 148.
3. G. B. Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, p.147.
4. Bax, p. 1 (BS to FF: Jan. 5, 1991).
5. Ibid., p. 2.
6. Ibid., p. 3.
7. Ibid., p. 5 (BS to FF: May 4, 1891).
8. Reynolds, *Letters to the New Island*, p. 137.
9. Johnson, *FF*, p. 51.
10. Bax, p. 7 (BS to FF: August 20, 1991).
11. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 94.
12. Colquhoun, p. 82.
13. Howe, p. 75.
14. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 45.
15. The dream intimates the roles they would be playing for each other—a Jungian-like "journey of the twins" seeking to integrate the opposites within the self. To Willie, traveling through the desert would bring to mind the Hebrew letter *Gimel*, representing a camel, suggesting the High Priestess card in the Tarot, the seat of memories carried from one incarnation to another. See Paul Foster Case, *The Tarot: A Key to the Wisdom of the Ages*, p. 49.
16. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 46.
17. Her loss of language communication could be indicated by the transit of Pluto, planet of death and hidden affairs, opposing her natal Mercury, the planet of communication. Living a lie was taking her voice from her, but Pluto offered her the chance for regeneration and new verbal power if she could learn from the communications

that would soon come to her from her "Grey Lady."

18. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 175.

19. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 48.

20. Ibid., p. 49.

21. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 184 (WBY to AE: Nov. 1891).

22. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 255.

23. Ibid., p. 254.

24. Ibid., pp. 257–258.

25. See "Timeline of Western Magic," pages 60–61.

26. Yeats, *Memoirs*, pp. 49–50.

27. In London it was called the Irish Literary Society.

28. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 58.

29. *R.R. et A.C.* stood for "Rose of Red and Cross of Gold."

30. Howe, p. 91 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898)

31. Ibid., p. 93.

CHAPTER 13: SKRYING IN THE SPIRIT VISION

1. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 75.

2. Howe, p. 109; and Francis King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic*, p. 127 (one of many references).

3. Personal correspondence. See also Vicki Noble, *Shakti Woman: Feeling Our Fire, Healing Our World—The New Female Shamanism.*

4. MacGregor Mathers, "FR#XI: 'Clairvoyance,'" pp. 75–76.

5. The techniques are given in full detail in Mathers, "FR#XI: 'Clairvoyance,'" pp. 75–83; and in Regardie, *Complete GD*, 5:99ff.

6. Regardie, 5:101.

7. MacGregor Mathers, "FR#XXX: 'Tattva Cards and Tattvic Clairvoyance and Hierophant Rising 0°=0° Signs,'" p. 92.

8. For a short explanation and color version of the Tattvas, see King, *Magic*, illus. 54. For the Golden Dawn lectures, see Regardie, *Complete GD*, 2:35ff. Backgrounds formed of the color complementing the major elemental symbol are called "flashing" colors. When you close your eyes after staring at the Tattva, the colors suddenly reverse and thrust you into the astral environment.

9. Mathers, "FR#XI: 'Clairvoyance,'" p. 78.

10. See Regardie, *Complete GD*, 5:53–57 for a full description of "Vibrating the Divine Names."

11. Mathers, "FR#XI: 'Clairvoyance,'" p. 81.

12. This description of an astral journey is based on one by Moina Mathers in Mathers, "FR#XI: 'Clairvoyance,'" pp. 82–83.

13. Regardie, *Complete GD*, 5:104, and in the Yorke Collection, New Folder 58. Sixteen of the twenty-five Tattvas correspond with the sixteen Court Cards of the Tarot, and therefore the information gathered also relates to the corresponding Court Card. The Earthy part of Water, for instance, corresponds to the Princess (or Page) of Cups.

14. Bax, pp. 8–9 (BS to FF: Jan. 28, 1892).

15. Ibid., pp. 9–10.

16. Ibid., p. 8.

17. Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters 1874–1897*, p. 333 (BS to Alma Murray: Feb. 15, 1892).

18. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 53.

19. Howe, pp. 91–92 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898).

20. Two *R.R. et A.C.* diary entries record their departure from London. Friday, May 20, 1892: "Vestigia's and S.R.M.D.'s address for 1 week will be 79 rue Miromesnil, Paris." Saturday, May 21, 1892: "S.R.M.D. called as he was going to Paris in the evening and would be away for some time. Wrote to Bullock telling him to fix his own time for meeting and enclosed Pledge form of Praeger's. Corrected exam papers [for

5°=6° grade] of Yeats, Theobald, Hamilton and Dum Spiro Spero. All passed. Left on nail rt. hand side of mantel GD keys, key of door and ditto of outer door of Thavies Inn." Howe, p. 92.

21. Howe, p. 92 (AH Memorandum).

22. See King, *Magic*, and Christopher McIntosh, *Eliphas Levi and the French Occult Revival*, for descriptions of the Rosicrucian "War of the Roses" and the history of French occultism.

23. Howe, p. 110 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898). The amount of £200 was roughly equivalent to a 1990 income of US $20,000.

24. Colquhoun, p. 83.

25. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 210 (WBY to John O'Leary: July 23, 1892). Yeats was probably referring here both to Mathers's interest in military strategy and his anti-English Jacobite leanings.

26. See Howe, p. 110.

27. Florence Farr, "FR#II, Part III: 'Three Suggestions on Will Power,'" p. 59.

28. Ibid., pp. 59–60.

29. MacGregor Mathers, "FR#VI: 'Concerning FR#II,'" p. 61.

30. See Florence Farr and Elaine Simpson, "FR#IV: 'An Example of Mode of Attaining to Spirit vision and What Was Seen by Two Adepti,'" pp. 71–73.

31. Ibid. p. 73.

32. G. B. Shaw, *Plays Unpleasant*.

33. Shaw had declared a "Mystic Betrothal" with May Morris soon after meeting her in 1885, yet it did not occur to him that this "need interfere with the ordinary course of my relations with other women." May married Sparling to spite Shaw, and seemed content in her marriage until Shaw's reappearance. See Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, pp. 223–227.

34. Quoted in Marsh, *Jane and May Morris*, p. 227.

35. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 63. Despite his despair he publicized Maud's political efforts, writing for the *Boston Pilot* in July 1892: "Thousands who come to see this new wonder—a beautiful woman who makes speeches—remain to listen with delight to her sincere and simple eloquence. Last week at Bordeaux, an audience of twelve hundred persons rose to its feet, when she had finished, to applaud her with wild enthusiasm. . . . Miss Gonne is the first who has spoken on the platform wholly and undisguisedly out of a woman's heart." Quoted in Reynolds, *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 150–151.

36. Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," p. 19.

37. Quoted in Reynolds, *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 151–152.

38. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 254–255. From a magical point of view, the Ka was feeding on Maud's emotions to build up a stronger astral presence.

39. Yeats, *Memoirs*, pp. 62–63.

40. Ibid.

41. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 255.

CHAPTER 14:
SOUNDS OF HEARTS' DESIRE

1. Jeff Green, *Pluto: The Evolutionary Journey of the Soul*, p. 303.

2. The transit of secretive Neptune and Pluto in communicative Gemini was squaring Moina's psychically sensitive Pisces Sun, exactly on MacGregor's karmic North Node while squaring his Venus–Neptune in Pisces, which made him especially open to either delusive fantasies or visions of great spiritual power.

3. In 1893 alone, sixteen of the total thirty-six Flying Rolls were issued to members of the *R.R. et A.C.* Along with the essential Z documents that explained the symbolism of the rituals in great depth, these particular Flying Rolls encompassed the bulk of

the magical teachings necessary for a practicing magician.

4. Howe, p. 113 (MM to AH: Jan. 1, 1893).

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 102.

7. Based on Regardie, *Complete GD*, 8:28–38 and 7:54–60.

8. Enochian consists mainly of a series of vocal calls evoking particular angels, in the "language of Enoch," given to John Dee via his medium Edward Kelley during the reign of Elizabeth I. The use of talismans, consisting of squares containing numbers and symbols corresponding to each angel, intensifies the magical effects.

9. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, pp. 53–54.

10. Florence Farr, *The Music of Speech*, p. 21.

11. Shaw, *Plays Unpleasant. The Philanderer* was so disturbing that it could not be produced for fourteen years.

12. S. Weintraub, *BS*, vol. 2., pp. 902–904.

13. Select members of the Second Order were appointed as Three Chiefs who administered the Outer Order: the *Imperator*, who was to command; the *Praemonstrator*, who was to instruct, superintend the working of the Outer Order, and issue instructions concerning the ritual; and the *Cancellarius*, who was to keep records and circulate communications. In addition, there were seven Officers (named after functionaries of the Eleusinian Mysteries) who served in the rituals: Hierophant, Hiereus, Hegemon, Kerux, Stolistes, Dadouchos, Sentinel. See Gilbert, *GD Companion*, pp. 79–82.

14. This was the same play, in a different translation, in which Maud Gonne was to have made her theatrical debut but was forced to default.

15. Bax, pp. 10–13 (BS to FF: April 27, 1893).

16. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 143.

17. Ibid., front matter.

18. Ibid., pp. 49–50.

19. Ibid., p. 146.

20. Florence Farr, "FR#XIII: 'Secrecy and Hermetic Love,'" p. 163.

21. Ibid., p. 164.

22. Ibid., pp. 165–166.

23. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 123.

24. All quotes are from Farr, "FR#XIII: 'Secrecy.'"

25. See Marsh, *Jane and May Morris.*

26. The concept of the Sphere of Sensation was a vital part of Golden Dawn philosophy. On this Sphere, known as the "akashic envelope" or aura, everything in the universe was reflected or pictured. If one could access all these reflections, it would be possible to know everything in the Cosmos. Much of the Golden Dawn clairvoyant work involved mapping this Sphere. If you imagine the Microcosm of yourself as the ten *sephiroth* of the Tree of Life, projected in a three-dimensional form onto the concave inner surface of the Sphere as if that surface were a mirror, you could then map the Sphere and travel upon it using the paths between the *sephiroth*. On its convex side, the Sphere is simultaneously reflecting all *corresponding* images from the Macrocosm, thus giving access to both inner and outer, Microcosm and Macrocosm.

27. Moina Mathers, "FR#XXI: 'Know Thyself,'" p. 154.

28. Ibid. This is the occult meaning of the Tarot card Strength, which was made clear in the Crowley-Harris equivalent card called Lust.

29. E. E. Rehmus, *The Magician's Dictionary: An Apocalyptic Cyclopaedia of Advanced Magic(k)al Arts and Alternate Meanings* p. 209.

30. Horniman, "FR#XVIII: 'Progress in the Order,'" pp. 112–113.

31. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 63 (FF to BS: Dec. 5, 1905).
32. Quoted in Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, p. 299.
33. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 50 (MG to WBY: Jan. or Feb. 1893).
34. Yeats, *Memoirs*, pp. 66–68.
35. Howe, p. 102.
36. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 204–211.
37. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 133.
38. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 167.
39. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 73.
40. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 202.
41. Moina Mathers, "FR#XXI: 'Know Thyself,'" p. 155.

CHAPTER 15: CROWNED WITH SERPENTS

1. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (AH to FG: Feb. 28, 1894).
2. Howe, p. 136 (McM to AH: Dec. 3, 1896).
3. Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980*, p. 144.
4. Quoted in Showalter, p. 144.
5. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 73.
6. Ibid., p. 73.
7. Yeats knew that Macpherson's supposed translations (1765) of the legendary Gaelic bard Ossian had been found by scholars to be mostly composed by himself. However inauthentic, Macpherson's supernaturalism was popular and influenced many writers including Yeats himself.
8. Yeats, *Memoirs*, pp. 73–74.
9. Yeats, *Autobiography*, pp. 202–203.
10. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 73.
11. Liam Miller, *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats*, p. 14.
12. Yeats, *Autobiography*, pp. 167–168.
13. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 63 (FF to BS: Dec. 5, 1905).
14. Quoted in Peters, *BS*, p. 126.
15. Farr, "Introduction and Notes" to *A Short Enquiry*.
16. Quoted in Peters, *BS*, p. 126.
17. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 231 (WBY to John O'Leary: April 15, 1894).
18. Shaw had written his play in heroic dribbles: on the train, in parks, during intermissions at performances, while visiting with friends. Realizing he needed a real war for his *Alps and Balkans*, as the play was first called, fellow Fabian Sidney Webb suggested the Serbo-Bulgarian war. Shaw thus made everything Serbian. But after he met with a former admiral of the Bulgarian fleet on March 17 (who read his play), he "had to shift the scene from Servia [sic] to Bulgaria, and to make the most absurd alterations in detail for the sake of local color, which, however, is amusing & will intensify the extravagance of the play & will give it realism at the same time." Quoted in Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, p. 300.
19. Yeats, *Autobiography*, pp. 167–168.
20. Quoted in Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, p. 302.
21. Ibid., p. 168.
22. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 231 (WBY to John O'Leary: April 15, 1894).
23. Shaw in Bax, p. vi.
24. Farr, *Modern Woman*, p. 44.
25. By May 1894 it was clear that May Morris Sparling's marriage was over. "May's married life has come to an end," wrote May's mother Jane Morris to her lover Wilfrid Blunt. "The blow is no less heavy now it has come. . . . May's position is this, she has been seeing a good deal of a former lover [Shaw], and made her husband's life a burden to him. He refuses to bear it any longer." See Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888–1914*. When the couple formally separated in June, Shaw suddenly found it impolitic to be seen at the house of a single

woman. But the real reason was that she was now too truly available. He wrote in his journal, "May and I disconcert one another extremely, carefully avoiding the subject we are both thinking of.... I mount my bike and fly." Quoted in Marsh, *Jane and May Morris*, p. 228. May seems to have hoped or been led to believe that he was simply being socially discreet until her divorce was finalized.

26. Peters, *BS*, p. 138. *Candida* was completed in early December 1894.

27. Farr, "Introduction and Notes," to *A Short Enquiry*, p. 48.

28. Farr, *The Dancing Faun*, p. 119.

29. S. Weintraub, *BS*, vol. 2, p. 1048.

30. Their titles taken from the Egyptian pantheon were, respectively, Nephthys, Isis, Horus, and Aroueris. See MacGregor Mathers, "FR#XXIX: 'On Lieutenants,'" pp. 281–282. Mathers felt confident that in taking on the form of the God or Goddess they could judge the question "apart from the ordinary human personality." Howe, p. 116 (McM, Theoricus Adeptus Notice: Nov. 1, 1894).

31. See "FR#XXXIII: 'Visions of Squares in the Enochian Tablets,'" in King, *Astral Travel*, pp. 95–101; Regardie, *Complete GD*, vol. 10; and Pat Zalewski, *Golden Dawn Enochian Magic* for more information on the Enochian squares and pyramids.

32. Annie Horniman, in "FR#XXXIII: 'Visions,'" pp. 96–98.

33. See Balliett, "Lives—And Lies," pp. 17–69.

34. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 259.

CHAPTER 16: UNDREAMED-OF HARMONIES

1. Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, p. 308.

2. Laurence, *BS*, pp. 504–506 (BS to Janet Achurch: March 23, 1895).

3. In a letter to his Swedish translator, Shaw apparently describes himself: "A philanderer is a man who is strongly attracted by women. He flirts with them, falls half in love with them, makes them fall in love with him, but will not commit himself to any permanent relation with them, and often retreats at the last moment if his suit is successful—loves them but loves himself more—is too cautious, too fastidious, ever to give himself away." Quoted in Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, p. 288.

4. Wallis Budge, master thief of most of the Egyptian antiquities housed in the British Museum (having brought them from Egypt under dubious circumstances), was rumored to have assisted in several G.D. activities, including sponsoring a temple within the British Museum itself.

5. Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 1.

6. Ibid., p. 2.

7. Ibid., p. 3. Florence defined the ten parts of a human being as: *Khat* (physical body), *Sahu* (astral body), *Tet* (spiritual body), *Khaibt* (aura or odor), *Hati* (heredity and instinct), *Ab* (heart and will), *Ka* (the Ego), *Ba* (higher mind), *Khou* (magicial self), and *Hammemit* (unborn soul emanating from the Sun).

8. Ibid., p. 84.

9. All quotations on pages 145–147 are from Florence Farr, ed., *Euphrates, or The Waters of the East by Eugenius Philalethes. 1655. With a Commentary by S.S.D.D.*

10. Olivia Tucker, born on March 17, 1863, at 11:00 A.M. near Niton on the Isle of Wight, was two years younger than Yeats. She married Henry Hope Shakespear in 1885 and gave birth to her only child, Dorothy, nine months later. Although her husband "ceased to pay court to her," she was unwilling to hurt her family or her child by divorce. Instead she wrote a series of novels that repeatedly cried out against the tragedy of a woman trapped in a loveless mar-

riage. See John Harwood, *Olivia Shakespear and W. B. Yeats.*

11. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 85.

12. Ibid., p. 87.

13. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 53 (MG to WBY: Nov., 1895).

14. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 87. These words were crossed out in his original manuscript.

15. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 53.

16. MacBride, *SQ*, pp. 172–173.

17. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 106.

18. Colquhoun, p. 88.

19. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 203.

20. Howe, p. 112 (AH Memorandum: July 14, 1898).

21. Mars, as ruler of Mathers's Ascendant, indicated that he was rash and headstrong; in a Grand Earth Trine with his Sun and Moon it pointed to his administrative and leadership ability, and unswerving belief in success; opposite Neptune it explained his involvement in secret organizations and his gullibility.

22. Howe, p. 120 (Rand to McM: Jan. 2, 1895).

23. Ibid., p. 174.

24. Colquhoun, pp. 292–293. See also H. W. Schneider and George Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim* (1942). Harris may have developed *Karezza*, a form of Western Tantrism, from Emmanuel Swedenborg's similar ideas on spiritual sexuality as published in *Conjugal Love.*

25. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, p. 45.

26. Howe, p. 121 (Rand to McM: Jan. 2, 1895).

27. Ibid., p. 124 (McM to AH: Jan. 14, 1895).

28. Ibid., p. 120.

29. Ibid., p. 124.

30. Ibid., pp. 117–119.

31. Colquhoun, p. 54.

32. George Mills Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn: The Influence of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on the Life and Art of W. B. Yeats*, p. 221.

33. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 56 (MG to WBY: Christmas 1895).

34. Ibid., p. 57 (MG to WBY: Jan. 14, 1896).

CHAPTER 17:
A LOVE OF MIRACLES AND MOONSHEES

1. Howe, pp. 122–123 (McM to AH: Jan. 8, 1896).

2. Ibid., p. 123.

3. Yeats was further to develop Mathers's concept of the Mask: "To influence events or one's own mind, one had to draw the attention of that dark portion, to turn it, as it were, into a new direction." Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 223.

4. Howe, p. 125 (McM to AH: Jan. 14, 1896).

5. Laurence, *BS*, p. 591 (BS to Janet Achurch: Jan. 1896).

6. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, p. 221.

7. When Florence Farr went to Ceylon some fifteen years later, she left this shrine with Dorothea Hunter, who later enjoined her heir to either treat these objects with the greatest respect or burn them. It is the Hunter family tradition that the portraits are representations of Nemkheftka (portrayed in a limestone statue from circa 2400 B.C. held at the British Museum) and his wife. Told by John Hunter to Warwick Gould, "'The Music of Heaven': Dorothea Hunter," in *YA No.9*, p. 167.

8. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 8.

9. Faustina (second century A.D.), mother and daughter, were wives of Rome's emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. History records them as evil and profligate, although they were honored and beloved by their husbands.

10. O'Donnell, *"The Speckled Bird" by WBY*, p. 223. Quoted also in Gould, "Music of Heaven," p. 169. Florence's past lives may have included ones in which she served as hetaira in a temple, for she would later write

about the sacred role of the prostitute.

11. Quoted in Gould, "Music of Heaven," p. 186. Gould notes that since 1902 this mummy has been believed to be that of a man.

12. From two versions of a November 15, 1946, letter to Richard Ellmann. Quoted in Gould, "Music of Heaven," pp. 168, 186.

13. Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 5.

14. The nemyss is a pharaonic headdress of folded (and usually striped) cloth, symbolizing divinity.

15. Florence rarely allowed herself to be photographed directly from the front. I believe she was self-conscious because her eyes were dissimilar (as are those of the Ka).

16. Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 5.

17. Ibid.

18. Four copies of this ritual of Taphthartharath were transcribed by hand. Gardner's copy survives in the Yorke Collection, New Folder 62, and Crowley, who became the roommate and student of Allan Bennett, printed a different version in *The Equinox* 1, no. 3, where he said: "Soror *S.S.D.D.* altered from Fra *I.A.*'s ritual, making the operation to form a link between Thoth and the Magus. This is absurd. The correct way is as here given [in *The Equinox*] in which the link is formed between the Spirit and the Magus." Crowley's way depended upon the spirit responding with fear to threats and maledictions.

19. Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 13.

20. Ibid., p. 12. More specifically, "The *Ka* of the Ritualist . . . [acted] upon its counterpart the concave germ in the *Ab* (heart) or vessel of conscious desire; this reacts upon the *Hati* (instinctive habit) or unconscious executant. . . . Then, being in a state of theurgic excitation, the *Baie* (spirit) descended and the whole being became a luminous *Khou* or Shining Body of superhuman potency. . . . When this condition was brought about, a man became in the eyes of the Egyptians, Osirified." Ibid., p. 11.

21. Ibid., p. 35.

22. Yorke Collection, New Folder No. 62. From the version in the notebooks of F. L. Gardner. The account given here is highly edited, as the original is a ritual requiring an hour or more.

23. Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 12.

24. Ibid.

25. Howe, p. 125.

26. "At last she came to me," Yeats remembered in his memoirs. "And I was impotent from nervous excitement. The next day we met at the British Museum—we were studying together—and I wondered that there seemed no change in me or in her. A week later she came to me again, and my nervous excitement was so painful that it seemed best but to sit over our tea and talk." Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 88. His nervousness did not return again, and they had "a year of happiness," although he had to "struggle to earn a living and was often preoccupied" when she came to see him.

27. See Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 88ff for Yeats's description of his relationship with Olivia Shakespear at this time.

28. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 20 (Horton to WBY: May 1, 1896).

29. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 262–263 (WBY to Horton: May 5, 1896).

30. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 23 (Horton to WBY: May 6, 1896).

31. Ibid., p. 19 (Horton to WBY: May 1, 1896).

32. Ibid., p. 23 (Horton to WBY: May 6, 1896).

33. Howe, p. 126 (AH to Peck: Dec. 25, 1896).

34. Colquhoun, p. 88.

35. Howe, pp. 162–163 (McM to FG: Dec. 26, 1896).

36. Gardner would eventually leave all his Golden Dawn materials to Gerald Yorke, who donated them as a special collection to the Warburgh Institute of the University of London.

37. Howe, p. 160 (McM to Redway: late September, 1896).

38. Bax, p. 13 (BS to FF: Oct. 12, 1896).

39. Ibid., pp. 14–15 (BS to FF: Oct. 13, 1896).

40. Ibid., p. 15. (BS to FF: Oct. 14, 1896). "Now as to all my love affairs," he wrote Ellen Terry. "One is just perishing under a bad attack of the Wandering Jew." Complaining that Florence hadn't shown up for their appointment ("a day of reckoning comes for both love and friendship"), he concluded, "All my love affairs end tragically because the women *can't* use me. They lie low and let me imagine things about them; but in the end a frightful unhappiness, an unspeakable weariness comes; and the Wandering Jew must go on in search of someone who can use him to the utmost of his capacity." Laurence, *BS*, p. 676 (BS to Ellen Terry: Oct. 12, 1986).

41. Shaw in Bax, pp. ix–x.

42. Shaw's biographer, Michael Holroyd, believes this cable to be an assent to a "muted sexuality" that spared Charlotte any risk of motherhood. Holroyd, *BS*, vol. 1, p. 438. It would seem that his former relationship with Florence was all that stood in the way of his finally committing himself to a celibate marriage.

43. Two women who knew Shaw well should have the last word concerning his treatment of women. The artist Bertha Newcomb, whose portrait of him "expressed his mockery at her deep-rooted affection," explained that Shaw was devoid of passion though he admitted its power and pleasure. "[He] has not a gift of sympathetic penetration into a woman's nature. He employs his clever detective power on weaknesses and faults which confirm his preconceived ideas. He imagines he understands." Quoted in Janet Dunbar, *Mrs. G.B.S.: A Portrait*, pp. 117–118. Fellow Fabian Beatrice Webb found that "he idealises them [women] for a few days, weeks or years—imagines them to be something utterly different from their true selves—then has a revulsion of feeling and discovers them to be unutterably vulgar, second-rate, rapscallion, or insipidly well-bred. He never fathoms their real worth, nor rightly sees their limitations." Ibid., p. 123.

44. Members of the Golden Dawn referred to each other as G.H. or V.H. Frater or Soror, meaning Greatly Honored or Very Honored Brother or Sister.

45. Howe, pp. 127–131.

46. C. M. Stoddart, *Light-bearers of Darkness*, pp. 84–85. Christina Mary Stoddart, who identified herself as a former "Ruling Chief of the Mother Temple of the Stella Matutina and R.R. et A.C." (from 1916 to circa 1923), turned against magic and wrote an exposé of secret organizations that she felt were trying to destroy Christian Europe. As a rabid fascist she had paranoid delusions about the hidden intentions of "Secret Chiefs," who might be using well-meaning dupes (members of the Theosophical Society, Golden Dawn, and even Hitler's chiefs of staff) for their own nefarious ends. Under the pseudonym "Inquire Within," she published many details about the Golden Dawn and the Stella Matutina.

47. Howe, p. 132.

48. Ibid., p. 134 (McM to AH: Nov. 22, 1896).

49. It is not true that Annie was "intellect lacking in feeling"; it is true that she found it difficult to show her feelings to others, especially when her judgments overrode those feelings. See Appendix C for a letter from Annie that reveals some of the more

gentle, caring side of her personality.

50. Moina Mathers, "FR#XXI: 'Know Thyself,'" p. 153. See my discussion on the "Kingdom of Man" in Chapter 14. The "masters above" refers to inspiration from Kether on the Tree of Life, meaning he can be led astray from rulership in Tiphareth through being obsessed by the instinctual rulership of Yesod (and the *Nephesh*).

51. Howe, pp. 134–135 (MM to AH: Nov. 27, 1896).

52. Barbara Bellow Watson, *A Shavian Guide to the Intelligent Woman*, pp. 40–41.

53. Howe, p. 136 (McM to AH: Dec. 3, 1896).

54. Colquhoun, p. 51.

55. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (WW to FG: Dec. 1896).

56. Ibid. (McM to FG: Dec. 3, 1896).

57. One theory of divination states that all our experiences carry messages from the Divine; we need special tools only to help us formulate the question, focus, and then interpret the response through an established symbolic language.

58. Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, p. 130.

59. Moina Mathers, "FR#XXI: 'Know Thyself,'" p. 155.

CHAPTER 18: DRAWN INTO THE VORTEX

1. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (Kennedy to FG: Jan. 6, 1897).

2. Howe, pp. 140–141 (Rand to AH: Jan. 29, 1897).

3. Ibid., p. 174 (Morris to FG: May 6, 1897).

4. See Howe, pp. 159–161.

5. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 67.

6. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 111.

7. Cynthia Palmer and Michael Horowitz, eds., *Shaman Woman, Mainline Lady: Women's Writings on the Drug Experience*, pp. 96–97.

8. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 70–71; 466. It seems that Havelock Ellis experimented with mescaline on both Yeats and Arthur Symons, but Yeats found that it stressed his heart and breathing.

9. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 89. Yeats wrote of Olivia Shakespear, "It will always be a grief to me that I could not give the love that was her beauty's right, but she was too near my soul, too salutary and wholesome to my inmost being. All our lives long, as Da Vinci says we long, thinking it is but the moon that we love, for our destruction, and how when we meet in the shape of a most fair woman can we do less, then leave all others for her. Do we not seek our dissolution upon her lips." Ibid., p. 88.

10. Ibid., p. 113.

11. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 72–73 (MG to WBY: June 1897).

12. Ibid., p. 7. (MG to WBY: July 24, 1897).

13. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 125.

14. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 75–76 (MG to WBY: Aug. 1897).

15. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, pp. 29–30. (MM to WBY: March 16, 1897). Edmund Bailly was the editor of *Isis Moderne*, and Moina feared his journalistic approach would be superficial. Josephin Peladan was cofounder in 1888 with the Marquis Stanislas de Guaita of the French Kabbalistic Order of the Rose-Cross. His writings include several references to the Tarot. In the mid 1890s, Bailly, Peladan, and others had been involved in a Rosicrucian "War of the Roses" among rival lodges. See Francis King and Isabel Sutherland, *The Rebirth of Magic*.

16. Howe, pp. 165–166 (WW to FG: March 17, 1897).

17. Ibid., p. 167.

18. A typical day for initiation ceremonies included the ceremony of the Portal begin-

ning at 4 P.M., that of the 3°=8° grade at 5:30, the 1°=10° grade at 7, and the 0°=0° grade at 8. Four rituals in one (efficiently designed) day permitted many people to advance through the grades with the least trouble. From an official summons sent to F. L. Gardner held in the Yorke Collection.

19. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (FF to FG: n.d. [May 1897?]).

20. Ibid.

21. Johnson, *FF*, p. 82.

22. John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, eds., *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography*, p. 169.

23. Howe, p. 176 (FG to McM: May 7, 1897). He sent Mathers a list of terms for *assisting* him: Gardner would house the Matherses with his mother in London at no cost, MacGregor was to complete the manuscript as soon as possible—with Moina already in London (as hostage?). Mathers would act as Registrar of the Order and abstain from politics, Annie would be reinstated, and *Resurgam* expelled for Black Magic. In addition, Gardner would guarantee them an income of £52, which he felt to be an entirely adequate amount on which to live.

24. Ibid., p. 176 (McM to FG: May 9, 1897).

25. Ibid., p. 180 (McM to FG: July 2, 1897).

26. Yorke Collection, New Folder 73 (MM to FG: July 8, 1897).

27. Ibid., New Springback Folder 9 (FF to FG: n.d. [mid 1897?]).

28. Ibid. (FF to FG: Aug. 22, 1897).

29. Ibid. (FF to FG: Aug. 24, 1897).

30. Howe, pp. 182–183 (WW to FG: Sept. 2, 1897).

31. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 77 (MG to WBY: Sept. 6, 1897).

32. In the same letter A.E. wrote inspiringly: "The gods have returned to Erin and have centered themselves in the sacred mountains and blow the fires through the country. They have been seen by several in vision, they will awaken the magical instinct everywhere, and the universal heart of the people will turn to the old druidic beliefs. I note through the country the increased faith in faery things. The bells are heard from the mounds and sounding in the hollows of the mountains. A purple sheen in the inner air, perceptible at times in the light of day, spreads itself over the mountains." Quoted in Frank Tuohy, *Yeats*, pp. 87–88.

33. The scribe, known as *P.M.A.A.* or *Per Mare Ad Astra* ("From Sea to Star"), who has been wrongly identified by some authors as Annie Horniman, was actually a talented psychic and Second Order member named Mary Briggs.

34. N.L.I. Also available and transcribed in Lucy Shepard Kalogera, "Yeats's Celtic Mysteries," pp. 248–249.

35. Ibid., pp. 116–118.

36. As Yeats was to discover on his way home that night, "The souls of ordinary people remain after death in the waters and these waters become an organized world if you gather up the flames that come from the waters of the well when the berries fall upon it, and make them into a flaming heart, and explore the waters with this as a lamp." Ibid., p. 117.

37. Ibid., pp. 115–133.

CHAPTER 19: RESTORING THE MYSTERIES

1. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 295 (WBY to AE: Jan. 22, 1898).

2. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 85 (MG to WBY: Feb. 22, 1898).

3. Yorke Collection (Pattinson to FG: Feb. 16, 1898).

4. Howe, p. 191 (WW to FG: July 21, 1898).

5. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 297 (mentioned in a letter from WBY to AE: March 27, 1898).

6. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 34. (McM to WBY: March 28, 1898).

7. Colquhoun, p. 56. The manuscript was given to Ithell Colquhoun by Moina's Golden Dawn successor, Isabel Morgan-Boyd (called "Mrs. Weir" by Colquhoun).

8. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 35 (McM to WBY: April 6, 1898).

9. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 298 (WBY to LG: April 25, 1898).

10. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 204. See also O'Donnell, *"The Speckled Bird" by WBY*, p. 64.

11. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 204.

12. Fiona Macleod was the feminine alter ego of William Sharp (1856?–1905), a Scots promoter of the Celtic revival who wrote a number of novels, plays, and poems based on Celtic mythology and tales. The two personalities kept entirely separate correspondences and identities.

13. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 105.

14. Ibid., p. 105.

15. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 90 (MG to WBY: May 7, 1898).

16. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 105.

17. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 91 (MG to WBY: June, 1898). The Boyne is a river named for Dagda's wife.

18. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 285.

19. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 94 (MG to WBY: Sept. 6, 1898).

20. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, pp. 42–43 (MM to WBY: Oct. 31, 1898).

21. *Sunday Chronicle*, March 19, 1899.

22. Colquhoun, pp. 85–87.

23. Frederic Lees, "Isis Worship in Paris: Conversations with the Hierophant Rameses and the High Priestess Anari," *The Humanitarian* 16, no. 2 (1900).

24. Colquhoun, pp. 85–87. Almost every shamanic tradition involves the ability to assume an animal form in order to perceive reality from that perspective, and the G.D. evolved its own technique for doing so. Yeats had seen "Macgregor Mathers paint little pictures combining the forms of men, animals, and birds, according to a role which provided a combination for every possible mental condition." Mathers explained "that citizens of ancient Egypt assumed, when in contemplation, the images of their gods," probably by assuming the form of the corresponding animal. To achieve the Practicus Adeptus grade of 5°=6° one had to learn "the Egyptian Art of the formation of a combined series of Images of Gods or Forces, so as to have the effect of a continuous Prayer or Invocation for the Power desired." Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 181. Ithell Colquhoun unearthed an unverified G.D. tradition that soon after coming to Paris the Matherses traveled to Egypt, probably with all expenses paid by Annie Horniman, where they came in touch with the Isis-current of that country's ancient magic. Colquhoun, p. 86.

25. Lees, "Isis Worship in Paris."

26. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 96 (MG to WBY: Nov. 1898).

27. The following material is from the Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 11.

28. The names used to invoke Saturn might have included the Hebrew Shabbathai, or the Angelic and Spirit names: Tzaphqiel, Cassiel, Ariel, Zazel, or Arathron.

29. Jupiter rules not only the sign Aquarius but also Pisces, which is characterized by illusion and deception.

30. The complete text of these planetary visions is found in the New Springback Folder 11 of the Yorke collection.

31. Aleister Crowley was raised by his wealthy parents as a member of the Plymouth Brethren, a strict puritanical sect—although his father was a brewer. He went to Cambridge and became a record-holding mountain climber and a good chess player. Like Mathers, he claimed a bogus Scottish title. Eventually he would become a world traveler, form his own magical order based on the G.D., and publish many of their rituals. The central text of his Order, *The Book of the Law*, was channeled by his wife Rose in 1904 while in Egypt. He saw himself as the prophesied "Great Beast—666" of Revelations. Between 1938 and 1943, with Lady Frieda Harris, he created the now-popular Thoth Tarot deck, named after the Egyptian god of magic and writing. During World War II his exploits were featured by the press, who labeled him "the wickedest man on earth." There are many books on Crowley, but see, especially, his autobiography: Symonds and Grant, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*.

32. Ella Young, *Flowering Dusk: Things Remembered Accurately and Inaccurately*, pp. 53–54.

33. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 132.

34. Toomey, "Labyrinths," p. 98.

35. Yeats, *Memoirs*, pp. 132–133.

36. Ibid., p. 133.

37. Deirdre Toomey offers an excellent case that Maud's approaches to Willie were the result of the cessation of her thirteen-year "alliance" with Millevoye and that she had spent October and November in a state of lethargy—a breakdown. See Toomey, "Labyrinths," pp. 120–122.

38. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 133.

39. Ibid., p. 134. Minerva was a virgin Moon and warrior goddess, the Roman equivalent of the Greek Athena.

40. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 39 (Macleod to WBY: June 28, 1898).

41. From Yeats, "Red Hanrahan and the Book of the Great Dhoul," pointed out and quoted in Toomey, "Labyrinths," p. 101.

42. The elemental initiations of Cauldron, Stone, Wand, and Sword formed the foundation of the planned Celtic Mysteries rites.

43. Maud noted that A.E. (George Russell) said that the stone initiation was the coming of the occult energy driving out all impurity.

44. They saw Aengus as a possible counterpart of Lugh (or Lug), and Elathuan was comparable to the king of Hades, associated with the powers of speech and wisdom.

45. N.L.I; transcribed in Kalogera, "Yeats's Celtic Mysteries," pp. 144–146.

46. Maud Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," pp. 23–24. Jesse Weston in *From Ritual to Romance* describes how the Tarot suits relate to the Grail implements. She learned these associations from Yeats.

47. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 99–100. From the Visions Notebook, N.L.I.

CHAPTER 20: INVOKING ETERNITY

1. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 101 (MG to WBY: Jan. 7, 1899).

2. As Deirdre Toomey points out, he wrote no new poetry at all for more than eighteen months, and no love poem for more than two years. Toomey, "Labyrinths," p. 103. Florence Farr told Henry Nevinson of Yeats's feelings of disgust. See *Yeats Annual No. 7*, p. 113, quoted in Toomey, p. 129.

3. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 311–312 (WBY to LG: Feb. 4, 1899).

4. Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 71.

5. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 313 (WBY to LG: Feb. 10, 1899).

6. StephenMackenna, in *The Gael* (1899). Mackenna was a close friend of Synge and Maud Gonne.

7. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 104 (MG to WBY: March 13, 1899).

8. Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," p. 23.

9. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 313.

10. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 104–105 (MG to WBY: March 22, 1899).

11. Lees, "Isis Worship in Paris."

12. Ibid.

13. *Sunday Chronicle*, March 19, 1899. See also Colquhoun, p. 86.

14. It may have been at this time that Yeats, in his novel *The Speckled Bird*, depicted the conflict between magic and art through his characters Maclagen [Mathers] and Hearne [Yeats]. Maclagen had "come to recognise that Hearne was not a magician, but some kind of an artist, and that the *summum bonum* itself, the potable gold of our masters, [was] less to . . . [Hearne] than some charm of colour, or some charm of words." O'Donnell, *"The Speckled Bird" by WBY*, p. 55.

15. Quoted in Kalogera, "Yeats's Celtic Mysteries," p. 292.

16. Quoted in Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," p. 21.

17. Kalogera, "Yeats's Celtic Mysteries," p. 292.

18. Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 82.

19. William Butler Yeats, *The Collected Plays of W. B. Yeats*, p. 30.

20. George Moore, *Hail and Farewell: Ave-Salve-Vale*, pp. 81–83.

21. Ibid., pp. 81–83.

22. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 104.

23. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, pp. 50–51. Yeats tells in his autobiography of how William Sharp met Mathers in the Louvre, and said, "No doubt considering your studies you live upon milk and fruit." Mathers replied, "No, not exactly milk and fruit, but very nearly so." When Sharp went to lunch with Mathers he was "given nothing but brandy and radishes. . . . I notice that Macgregor Mathers considers William Sharp vague and sentimental," commented Yeats, "while Sharp is repelled by Mathers's hardness and arrogance." Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 209.

24. Lees, "Isis Worship in Paris."

25. Ithell Colquhoun, in *Sword of Wisdom*, tells the story of how she came to own Mathers's portrait. Upon Colquhoun's death in the late 1980s, the portrait was purchased by an anonymous collector.

26. Lees, "Isis Worship in Paris."

27. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 109 (MG to WBY: July 15, 1899).

28. Bloomers were popularized in 1851 by the American journalist Amelia Jenks Bloomer, but by the 1880s were considered a forgotten and misbegotten fad that was only revived as a convenience for bicycle riding.

29. Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. 8.

30. Ibid.

31. Howe, p. 197 (McM to AH: Oct. 18, 1899).

32. Ibid., p. 198.

33. Ibid.

34. *Preseverantia* (Mrs. Simpson's mother) informed Crowley the following April that the real charge against him was "'sex-intemperance' on the [Thomas] Lake Harris lines in order to gain magical power—both sexes are here connoted," he noted in his journal. Yorke Collection, Crowley's Journal for 1900.

CHAPTER 21: REVOLT OF THE ADEPTI

1. William Butler Yeats, "Introduction" to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse, 1892–1935*, p. xi.

2. Quoted in Ward, *MG*, p. 60.

3. Yorke Collection, Crowley's Journal for 1900.

4. Howe, p. 211 (WW to FG: Feb. 20, 1900).

5. Yorke Collection, Crowley's Journal.

6. Florence Farr in *The Way of Wisdom* gives English meanings for the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet based on original meanings and on their roles as mother, double, and simple letters related to Buddhist and Theosophical concepts of the numbers 3, 7, and 12. She saw the Hebrew alphabet as "a discourse on the method of manifestation or formation."

7. Brodie-Innes, "MacGregor Mathers."

8. Madame Horos was born Editha Salomon on February 9, 1849, in Harrodsburg, Kentucky. At the age of twenty-one, as a seasoned confidence artist who claimed to be the daughter of Lola Montez and Ludwig I of Bavaria, she attempted to defraud stockbrokers Victoria Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin (who later married Maud Gonne's uncle, Francis Cook). As Angel Anna she became a professional medium, producing "spirit-pictures." At least two husbands and a lover died in "mysterious circumstances." In 1888 she was tried and found guilty of fraud, although even the journalists were struck by her hypnotic eyes: "bright as crystals" that "say whatever she pleases." In 1898, at age fifty, she married thirty-two-year-old Frank Jackson (aka Theo Horos) in New Orleans, where they ran the Order of the Crystal Star until imprisoned as swindlers (with rumors of sexual misconduct). They then left for London and Paris where they swindled Mathers of his G.D. papers. By April 1900 they were in South Africa, where Editha called herself Swami Viva Ananda or Madame Helena of the College of Occult Science. They left precipitously before the end of the year, returning to London. See Eric John Dingwall, *Some Human Oddities: Studies in the Queer, the Uncanny, and the Fanatical*, pp. 129–159, 194–198.

9. Howe, p. 203 (McM to WBY: Jan. 21, 1901).

10. G.D. scholar Nicolas Tereshchenko has pointed out to me that Mathers is not actually claiming forgery of the Fräulein Sprengel letters, but says rather that Westcott has never communicated with *the Secret Chiefs*—which is quite a different matter.

11. Howe, pp. 209–211 (McM to FF: Feb. 16, 1900).

12. Gilbert, *The GD Companion*, p. 74.

13. Symonds and Grant, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, p. 188.

14. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, p. 209.

15. Ibid., p. 222.

16. King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic*, pp. 71–72.

17. Ibid., pp. 70–71.

18. Howe, p. 204 (McM to WBY: Jan. 21, 1901).

19. King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic*, p. 71.

20. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 338–339 (WBY to LG: April 10, 1900).

21. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 126 (MG to WBY: May 1900).

22. *Demon Est Deus Inversus* (Yeats) was elected to the post of Instructor in Mystical Philosophy. He was among seven new council members called Adepti Litterati (or instructors). In addition, three Chiefs were named to the Outer Order of the Isis-Urania Temple, along with three principal officers of the rituals (Hierophant, Hiereus, and Hegemon).

23. This is the evidence that many observers have cited when they say that Yeats was Chief of the London Temple in the clash with Mathers and Crowley and during the events that followed. The facts are that Florence Farr was Chief in Anglia under Mathers of the *R.R. et A.C.*, and then Moderator of the Ruling Council of the Second Order. As Imperator of Isis-Urania, Yeats

could not even openly refer to the existence of the more advanced and secret *R.R. et A.C.*, who were really making all the decisions.

24. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 343–344 (WBY to AE: May 1900). Israel Regardie tells the story quite differently: that Crowley, wanting Allan Bennett to go to India for his health and spiritual development, evoked a spirit in a ritual, and Elaine Simpson responded with £200. The money was then reported as stolen, but "the woman refused to prosecute." Israel Regardie, *The Eye in the Triangle: An Interpretation of Aleister Crowley*, pp. 198–202. See also Symonds and Grant, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, pp. 174–175.

25. These members included Berridge, Crowley's mistress Elaine Simpson, her mother Alice Simpson, Allen Bennett, George Cecil Jones, Colonel Webber, and Crowley.

26. Howe, p. 234 (Mrs. Scott to AH: May 10, 1900).

27. Howe, p. 234.

28. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 53–54.

29. Both Florence and Annie were experiencing the opposition of transiting Uranus, the planet of sudden change and revolution, to their natal Uranuses in Gemini through all of 1900—for Annie it was in the Ninth House in tight trine with her Sun, meaning a change in her travel and philosophy; for Florence it was in the Eleventh House of organizations, sextile Mercury on her Ascendant, reflecting the revolt in the Order.

30. Howe, p. 235 (MM to AH: June 15, 1900).

31. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 345–346 (WBY to LG: June 6, 1900).

32. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 313.

33. Quoted in Cardozo, *MG*, p. 161. See also White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 129–130.

34. Gilbert, *GD Companion*, pp. 160–161.

35. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 134 (MG to WBY: Sept. 1900). Maud may have temporarily renewed her membership in the G.D., since she is listed as a 3°=8° in the Hermetic Society of the Morgenröthe in 1902. Neither Kathleen nor May is listed. See Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 288–289.

36. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 242–243.

37. Ibid., p. 222 (FF to Brodie-Innes: Jan. 17, 1901).

38. Howe, *The Alchemist of the GD*, p. 94 (Ayton to FG: Nov. 6, 1900).

39. Yorke Collection, New Folder 73 (McM to FG: Oct. 6, 1900).

40. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 266.

41. Ibid., p. 319.

42. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 29.

43. André Gaucher, "Isis à Montmartre," *L'Écho du Merveilleux* (1900):446–449.

44. Ibid., pp. 470–472.

45. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (WW to FG: n.d.).

46. Ibid. (FG to McM: Dec. 4, 1900).

47. Ibid. (McM to FG: Dec. 5, 1900).

CHAPTER 22: BREACHING THE SPHERE

1. According to Robert Felkin, the original Sphere Group included Ada Waters, Cecilia Macrae, Marcus Worsley Blackden, Helen Rand, Harrietta Dorothea Butler (later Mrs. Hunter) and Edmund Hunter, Fanny Beatrice Hunter, Florence Kennedy, Farr's sister Henrietta Paget, Robert Palmer Thomas, and Robert W. Felkin. Howe, p. 251. But this group would continue to grow and change.

2. M. W. Blackden (*Ma Wahanu Thesi*) wrote a monograph called *Ritual of the Mystery of the Judgment of the Soul*, based on the *Book of the Dead*, which may have been used in Florence's group.

3. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 221–222.

4. Regardie, *Complete GD*, 3:36.

5. Florence had been admitting Zelators, which George Mills Harper erroneously identified as the 1°=10° grade of the Outer Order. This is absurd, as the practice of magic necessitated at least the basic 5°=6° grade, which was also called Zelator; i.e., Zelator Adeptus Minor (ZAM), which came before Theoricus Adeptus Minor (ThAM). I stress this point because the same mistake has been perpetuated by other writers concerning the Sphere Group.

6. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, p. 34.

7. The text can be found in Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 227–234.

8. Florence's Moon opposing Annie's Saturn; Florence's Saturn squaring Annie's Moon and conjuncting Annie's Jupiter–Venus; Annie's Mars opposing Florence's Jupiter–Venus; Annie's Sun squaring Florence's Sun.

9. See the entire text in Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 237–240.

10. Yeats also wrote Florence a letter after the meeting, dictating it to Annie. He vaguely threatened Florence that if she did not compromise in this matter, he might not allow her to work on a promising project with him: "We can make a great movement in more than magical things, but I assure you that if... you make it difficult for us to rely upon one another perfectly you make everything impossible." N.L.I., MS 30, p. 916. He said farewell to Irish theatre in his last issue of *Samhain* and planned a new Literary Theatre (consisting chiefly of Farr, Moore, and Lawrence Binyon). Frazier, *Behind the Scenes*, p. 45. Having rediscovered Florence's gift for speaking verse, he now intended to exploit it fully in his own works and in presentations of the classics.

11. The candidate was probably Princess Aribert of Anhalt, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria, who sought admission but had to be sure no one would know of her involvement. Johnson, *FF*, pp. 87–88.

12. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 246–249.

13. Howe, p. 251. The reconstituted group now included Maud Cracknell, Reena Fulham-Hughes, M. E. Colvile, Colonel Webber, Marcus Worsley Blackden, Helen Rand, Edmund Hunter, Robert Palmer Thomas, Robert W. Felkin, Henrietta Paget, and Harrietta Dorothea Hunter, and possibly H. S. Colvile, Ada Waters, Cecilia Macrae, and Fanny Beatrice Hunter. From papers in the Gilbert Collection.

14. Howe, p. 251.

15. See pages 117–119. This was an unconscious foreshadowing of the magician Dion Fortune's own group workings, during World War II, for world harmony based on the image of the Grail.

16. Gilbert Collection. Among the implied symbologies in this working was that of the Bow of Qesheth. Qesheth is the Hebrew name for Sagittarius, the Archer, which in the Tarot is Temperance, and is the path from Yesod to Tiphareth. The bow of the archer is the rainbow and represents all the colored rays of light in the above working, while the arrow is the central column. In the Portal Ceremony is said: "Therefore, by the straight and narrow path of Samekh, let the Philosophus advance like the arrow from the Bow of Qesheth. Now Qesheth the Bow is the Rainbow of Promise stretched above the earth." Regardie, *Complete GD*, 3:31. Ritual U, known as the Microcosm Lecture, gives more description of the technique and intent of such astral work. See also Regardie, 3:44–45, and Gilbert, *The GD*, pp. 130–131. For the Tree of Life as projected on a Solid Sphere, see Regardie, 9:60ff. Temperance (called Art by Crowley) is the preeminent card of the alchemist. The rainbow archer was an especially important symbol for Yeats:

see Yeats, *Autobiography*, pp. 247–250; 389–392.

17. See text in Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 259–268.

18. They were opposed by members of the United Irish Parliamentary Party, who worked with Parnell and Michael Davitt in the belief that more good could come, for the time being, from working within the English Parliament and by framing English laws in their favor. It was an essential difference of opinion that split the Irish Nationalists.

19. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 342.

20. Ibid., p. 330.

21. Young, *Flowering Dusk*, p. 58.

22. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 144–145 (MG to WBY: Sept. 1901).

23. Yorke Collection, New Folder 100. The notebooks belonged to W. E. H. Humphries, at whose home the visions took place in July and August 1901.

24. Gilbert Collection (FF journal: April 16, 1901). Her guide explained that the Enochian Tables were the conglomeration of a man with some "outside" Kabbalistic knowledge who lived during the reign of Henry VII. "The letters are a cypher of a secret society which he got hold of illegally & adapted them to the Tablets which were founded on the Kabbalistic Tetragrammaton [in the] form of [ChNWK=Henoch].... [These Tablets] represent the days of the Lunar month—the 21 letters represent 19 years of [the nodal] period + the two letters representing head & tail of dragon, which must be united with each letter to show its 2 aspects: at the time the degree of zodiac represented by the letter is in conjunction with [North and South Node]."

25. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9.

26. Gilbert Collection (FF journal: Summer 1901).

27. Ibid. (July 2, 1901, at 3 A.M.).

28. Ibid. (Aug. 3, 1901).

29. Ibid. (Aug. 1901).

30. Ibid. (Sept. 27, 1901).

31. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 359 (WBY to LG: Nov. 19, 1901).

32. For more on Madame Horos, aka "Angel Anna," see Dingwall, *Some Human Oddities*; King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic*, pp. 79–93; and Chapter 21, note 8.

CHAPTER 23: SEEKING THE OLD FORGOTTEN MUSIC

1. Howe, p. 242.

2. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, pp. 91–92 (Powell to JBY: Jan. 4, 1902).

3. These plays were revived on August 21, 1993, by Caroline Wise at the Rudolf Steiner Theatre in London, as the result of a seance during which Florence Farr asked that they be performed again with all profits going to a breast cancer charity.

4. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 372 (WBY to Fay: April 21, 1902).

5. Johnson, *FF*, p. 91.

6. Florence Farr and Olivia Shakespear, *The Beloved of Hathor and the Shrine of the Golden Hawk*.

7. Gilbert Collection.

8. Farr, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 7.

9. Farr and Shakespear, *The Beloved of Hathor and the Shrine of the Golden Hawk*.

10. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 148 (MG to WBY: Feb. 1902).

11. Yeats spelled the play several ways so that either *Cathleen* or *Kathleen* is correct.

12. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 148–149. (MG to WBY: Feb. 1902).

13. Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 40.

14. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 151 (MG to WBY: March 1902).

15. Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 40. Anna Johnston wrote under the name Ethna

Carberry and was the most widely read poet of her day. Her poetry reflected the experience of the people: mothers who had a child in America, and young girls sighing for romantic love. She died suddenly while still young, after having been married to the writer Seamas MacManus for only a year. She was mourned throughout the country.

16. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 415 (WBY to LG: December 1903).

17. Mary Colum, *Life and the Dream*, p. 112.

18. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 368 (WBY to LG: April 3, 1902). This letter was written in Annie's hand to Yeats's dictation.

19. Maire Nic Shiubhlaigh, *The Splendid Years: Recollections of Maire Nic Shiubhlaigh: As Told to Edward Kenny*, p. 19.

20. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 371 (WBY to Fay: April 21, 1902).

21. William Butler Yeats, "Speaking to the Psaltery," in *Essays and Introductions*, p. 13. The musicologist Arnold Dolmetsch theorized that variations of quarter tones and less, although creating discords to Western ears, were the mark of speech as distinct from singing, yielding a rather Arabic or Tibetan sound. The modern psaltery that Dolmetsch created for Farr was tuned to these quarter tones. The effect emphasized rhythm and could easily be monotonous unless one listened carefully to the subtleties of expression. See also Farr, *The Music of Speech*.

22. To Bernard Shaw, "cantilation" was nothing more than what curates, toastmasters, and public speakers "who have nothing to say" do. "It is no use for Yeats to try to make a distinction," disparaged Shaw in a letter to Farr. "There is no distinction, no novelty, no nothing but nonsense." Still trying to remake her, Shaw pointed out: "I have never been able to knock enough articulation into you, though you are much better than you were. You still think of how you are doing your recitations instead of what you are saying.... At which moment I feel moved to throw things at you." Bax, pp. 19–21 (BS to FF: June 6, 1902). Even Yeats could be "extremely cross" with her. He complained that when he invited some friends of Ellen Terry to hear her, "out of sheer laziness she gave the worst performance on the Psaltery I have ever heard.... There are times when she makes me despair of the whole thing." Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 394 (WBY to LG: Jan. 6, 1903).

23. Quoted in Farr, *The Music of Speech*, p. 22.

24. Howe, pp. 243–244 (McM to the Morgenröthe: July 3, 1902).

25. Ibid., pp. 247–249 for complete text.

26. V.H. Soror refers to "Very Honored Sister."

27. Howe, pp. 249–250 (from formal charges against the Sphere Group made by Annie Horniman on Nov. 22, 1902).

28. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 159 (MG to WBY: Nov. 26, 1902). *Where There Is Nothing* was written in collaboration with Lady Gregory and Douglas Hyde.

CHAPTER 24: SWEPT BY A TUMULTUOUS POWER

1. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 163 (MG to WBY: January 1903).

2. Ibid., pp. 164–166 (WBY to MG: January 1903).

3. Quoted in Balliett, "Lives—And Lies," pp. 31–32 (MG to Kathleen).

4. Ibid., p. 32.

5. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 166 (MG to WBY: Feb. 10, 1903).

6. Ibid.

7. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 267.

8. From an astrological perspective this was a significant time for Willie. Melancholy Saturn was conjuncting his Ascendant, signaling that he must eliminate anything no longer necessary to fulfilling his goals. Tra-

ditionally, difficult relationships are the first to go. Transiting Uranus was conjuncting Willie's Uranus in the last (Karmic) degree of Gemini, focusing his energy (and Saturnian sense of responsibility) on new groups—like the Irish National Theatre Society. His First House natal Moon was part of a Grand Trine with transiting Mars and Pluto (from the Fourth and Eighth houses), signifying that his deep feelings for another must be totally uprooted. Transiting Uranus was conjuncting his Jupiter in the Eleventh House in Sagittarius, bringing sudden notoriety to his productions. Transiting Venus formed an emotionally difficult T-square with his Sun–Jupiter opposition. Although this happens once a year, Venus was in *exact* square to his Sun on the night of February 22 when he learned of Maud's marriage. His desire to find happiness seemed forever out of reach.

9. N.L.I., MS 18,312.

10. J. W. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 8.

11. See Manuscripts N, O, and P of *Book "T"—The Tarot* as published in Robert Wang, *An Introduction to the Golden Dawn Tarot*; and also in Regardie, *Complete GD*, vol. 9. It is essential that the cards are understood within Mathers's interpretative guidelines. Contemporary meanings, though often related, do not necessarily apply.

12. See Kathleen Raine, *Yeats, the Tarot, and the Golden Dawn* for photographs of the Tarot deck Yeats used. A similar deck was reprinted in 1985 as a limited edition facsimile called *The Tarocco Italiano Made by Dotti, Milano, 1845*, published by Menegazzi, in Italy.

13. These cards, representing the four letters of the Tetragrammaton, were: *Yod* = Princess of Cups (antagonism of Water and Fire); *He* = 6 of Swords; *Vau* = Prince of Swords (Yeats); second *He* = 10 of Pentacles.

14. From right to left the cards were: 6 of Swords; 2 of Cups; 3 of Pentacles; Devil (7); Empress; Queen of Cups (looking sun-wise); 8 of Swords; 4 of Wands; 7 of Pentacles (6); Hierophant (4/8); 2 of Wands (3); Star; Fool (2); Death; 4 of Pentacles; Queen of Swords (1) (looking sun-wise); Wheel of Fortune (4); 4 of Cups. (The numbers in parentheses indicate the results of the count.)

15. These cards were (from right to left): Prince of Swords (1) (looking sun-wise); 9 of Pentacles (9); 3 of Cups; Queen of Wands (no indicator); High Priestess; Strength; Tower; Moon (4); Emperor; 9 of Wands (8); 6 of Wands (center singleton when pairing); Hermit; King of Pentacles (7) (looking sun-wise); Magician; 8 of Wands (3/10); King of Wands (6) (looking deosil); 7 of Swords; Hanged Man (5); 5 of Pentacles (2); Princess of Swords (looking deosil); King of Cups (looking sun-wise). (The numbers in parentheses indicate the results of the count.)

16. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 168–169 (AE to WBY: April 28, 1903).

17. Ibid., pp. 169–170 (MG to WBY: May 7, 1903).

18. Gilbert Collection; quoted in Johnson, *FF*, pp. 93–94.

19. Farr, *Modern Woman*, p. 80.

20. Ibid., Chapters 8 and 9.

21. George Yeats in Bax, p. 43.

22. Farr, *The Music of Speech*, p. 13.

23. The cards for the four elements were: *Yod*/Fire = 6 of Pentacles; *He*/Water = 7 of Wands; *Vau*/Air = 10 of Wands; second *He*/Earth = Empress. The cards taken from the second stack were, from right to left: 7 of Wands; Prince of Pentacles (2) (looking sun-wise); 3 of Swords; 2 of Wands; 8 of Wands (3); World (7); Ace of Pentacles; 3 of Cups; Chariot; 7 of Swords; Magician; 2 of Pentacles (4); King of Cups (5) (looking sun-wise); 2 of Cups (8); 2 of Swords (9); Lovers (6/10); Princess of Wands; Fool; 7 of Cups;

Prince of Swords (1) (looking deosil); and Temperance. (The numbers in parentheses indicate the results of the count.)

24. Johnson, *FF*, pp. 111–112.

25. Bax, pp. 22–23 (BS to FF: Sept. 15, 1903).

26. It is interesting that Lady Frieda Harris, the artist of Crowley's Golden Dawn–inspired Thoth Tarot deck, in the 1950s designed the sets and costumes for one of the first London productions of the Indian Vedas. Yorke Collection, New Folder 75.

27. *Yod*/Fire = 4 of Wands; *He*/Water = Ace of Wands; *Vau*/Air = 3 of Cups; second *He*/Earth = 10 of Cups.

28. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 178 (MG to AE, copy sent to WBY: Sept. 25, 1903).

29. The cards from right to left were: 4 of Wands; Queen of Swords (looking sunwise); Hierophant (3); 6 of Cups; 8 of Swords; Princess of Swords (looking sunwise); World; Emperor; 7 of Swords; Queen of Wands (looking sunwise); Devil; 5 of Cups (singleton in pairing); 8 of Pentacles; Princess of Wands (4) (looking deosil); 10 of Wands; Sun; Lovers; Judgment (5); 6 of Swords; Prince of Swords (1) (looking deosil); Moon; 5 of Pentacles; and King of Pentacles (2) (looking deosil). (The numbers in parentheses indicate the results of the count.)

30. Annie Horniman, "The Origin of the Abbey Theatre," in *The Abbey Theatre: Interviews and Recollections*, edited by E. H. Mikhail, p. 28.

31. Gerard Fay, *The Abbey Theatre: Cradle of Genius*, p. 65.

32. Quoted in Gooddie, *AH*, pp. 54–55.

33. Quoted in Miller, *The Noble Drama of WBY*, p. 92.

34. The cards in this reading were, from right to left: 10 of Wands; 4 of Pentacles (5); 5 of Wands; 2 of Pentacles; Wheel of Fortune (6); 3 of Pentacles; Princess of Wands (9) (facing sun-wise); 8 of Pentacles; Emperor; Chariot; Queen of Swords (1) (looking deosil); 3 of Cups; 3 of Wands (7/10); King of Wands (2) (looking deosil), Justice (8), Prince of Cups (looking deosil); 2 of Swords (3); 4 of Swords (4); and Fool. (The numbers in parentheses indicate the results of the count.)

35. Beginning with the significator, count (in the direction it is facing): 5 for every Ace, 7 for every Princess, 4 for any other Court Card, 3 for every Trump corresponding to an Element, 12 for every Trump corresponding to a sign of the zodiac, 9 for every Trump corresponding to a planet, and for every Minor card the number of its pips. The triad consists of every card that is the result of a count and the cards to either side. Begin counting again from that card until arriving at a card previously landed on, which ends the count. The direction each Court Card faces indicates the "coming or going of a matter." Note: the Trump cards (Major Arcana) were written down by Annie using their corresponding sign, planet or element notation; i.e., the Emperor was indicated by the symbol for Aries.

36. She stopped contributing directly to productions following several arguments with Yeats over artistic vision.

37. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 425–426 (WBY to Frank Fay: Jan. 20, 1904).

38. Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory (1852–1932) was one of the founding directors of the Irish National Theatre Society and was credited with being a founder of the Abbey Theatre. From 1897 Yeats spent most summers at her house, Coole Park, and collaborated with her on folklore and plays. She was Annie's greatest rival for the patronage of Yeats.

39. MacBride, *SQ*, p. 333.

CHAPTER 25:
COMBATING OBSTACLES

1. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 203 (MG to WBY: April 1905), p. 216 (MG to WBY: Nov. 1905).

2. Ibid., p. 248 (MG to WBY: Sept./Oct. 1907).

3. Ibid., p. 240 (MG to WBY: May 7, 1907). She was probably referring to his inability to carry out the planned assassination in Spain of King Edward VII.

4. Ibid., p. 200 (MG to WBY: April 1905). Here Uranus is transiting her Sun.

5. Ibid., pp. 198–199 (MG to WBY: April 1905).

6. Quoted in Cardozo, *MG*, pp. 248–249 (AH to LG: April 10, 1905).

7. Colum, *Life and the Dream*, pp. 142–143.

8. "I have great sympathy with the artistic and dramatic aims of the Irish National Theatre Company, as publicly explained by you on various occasions. I am glad to be able to offer you my assistance in your endeavours to establish a theatre in Dublin." Quoted in J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 12. Also N.L.I., MS 18,312.

9. Quoted in Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. 14.

10. "Some of us felt harassed by Miss Horniman who had come over to Dublin and annoyed some of us by her repeated declarations that the Gaelic League was out for her blood." Colum, *Life and the Dream*, pp. 11–17.

11. N.L.I., MS 13,267(10) (AH to Mr. Holloway: Sept. 28, 1904).

12. Ibid., (AH to Mr. Holloway: May 5, 1911).

13. Quoted in Fay, *The Abbey Theatre*, pp. 70–71.

14. Yeats told Oliver St. John Gogarty: "Miss Horniman writes all my letters now—I leave them for a week and then we answer them all in an afternoon." Miss Horniman added, "Do you know, Mr. Gogarty, that sometimes we have to go out to ask how to spell a word?" Ulick O'Connor, *Oliver St. John Gogarty: A Poet and His Times*, pp. 100–101.

15. Quoted in Gooddie, *Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre*, p. 63.

16. O'Connor, *Gogarty*, pp. 100–101.

17. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 194 (AH to WBY: Feb. 27, 1908).

18. From the Synge Collection, Trinity College Library (AH to Synge: May 26, 1904). Thanks to Sheila Gooddie for bringing this to my attention.

19. Although Annie didn't mention it, his strong Uranus (in Cancer, square Sun, trine Moon, and at the midpoint of his Venus–Mars trine) embodied the image of the "vagrant." "For Synge," wrote his biographer, "the vagrant is the personification of a romantic element in Irish life and an antidote to the devouring concern for land that has dominated Irish life for centuries." David H. Greene and Edward M. Stephens, *J. M. Synge: 1871–1909*, p. 91. Synge himself said: "It often happens that . . . some incident of tramp life gives a local human intensity to the shadow of one's own mood." Ibid., p. 92. He signed himself "Your Old Tramp" in his letters to Molly Allgood.

20. It would also show fear or restriction coming from his relationship with his mother, as Synge's biographer surmised: "The intense preoccupation with death that is characteristic of his work, cannot be attributed . . . to the fact that he was ill. His morbidity had its source in something deeper. . . . Synge's description of the fear of death planted in him as a child by his mother's religious teaching, which he recoiled from as soon as he was old enough, is a better explanation for his persistent morbidity." Greene and Stephens, *Synge*, p. 70.

21. What Annie couldn't have known, since Pluto was not yet discovered, was that Synge's Pluto had a prominent place in an aspect pattern including Uranus, Mars, Moon, and Venus which gave him a depth of feeling, intensity of purpose, and ability to radically expose deeply hidden mass emotions that were apparent in the extreme reactions of outrage expressed by the Irish public to his plays.

22. Synge, not wanting to appear too gullible, wrote a friend that Annie's horoscope of him was bizarre, vague, and interesting but not convincing. Greene and Stephens, *Synge*, p. 164.

23. N.L.I., MS 13,068(6) (AH to WBY: July 13, 1906).

24. Quoted in J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 20.

25. Maud had recently won her legal separation from John MacBride, although she remained in France with their son. Annie must have sensed, at least unconsciously, that Yeats and Maud were again attempting to reach each other by meditation and thought transference, which may explain some of her invective against Maud's ability to arouse men's passions.

26. N.L.I., MS 13,068(6) (AH to F. Darragh: Aug. 18, 1906).

27. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, pp. 169–170 (AH to WBY: Sept. 22, 1906).

28. Ibid., p. 171 (F. Darragh to WBY: Sept. 22, 1906).

29. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 479; and Bax, p. 56 (WBY to FF: Sept. 30, 1906).

30. N.L.I., MS 13,068(6) (AH to WBY: June 12, 1906).

31. Ibid. (AH to WBY: July 16, 1906).

32. Quoted in Gooddie, *Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre*, p. 114.

33. N.L.I., MS 13,068(7) (AH to WBY: Oct. 10, 1907).

34. Quoted in Gooddie, *Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre*, p. 64.

35. Sir John Ervine in Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. vi.

36. Bax, pp. 29–30 (BS to FF: Dec. 2, 1905).

37. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (WW to FG: Sept. 23, 1904).

38. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 205 (MG to WBY: June 1, 1905).

39. Young, *Flowering Dusk*, p. 103.

40. Florence Farr, "The Mystery of Time: A Masque," *The Theosophical Review* 36, no. 211 (1905):9–19.

41. Gilbert Collection; quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 94.

42. Quoted in Farr, *The Music of Speech*, p. 15.

43. Gilbert Collection; quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 96.

44. This and the following journal entries are in the Gilbert Collection, and quoted in Johnson, *FF*, pp. 96–97.

45. The central Seth book that discusses the nature of beliefs and how one creates one's own reality is Jane Roberts, *The Nature of Personal Reality: A Seth Book*.

46. Gilbert Collection; quoted in Johnson, *FF*, pp. 96–97.

47. Ibid.

48. William Butler Yeats, *A Vision*, p. 132.

49. Farr, "The Mystery of Time," p. 223.

50. This and the following quotes are from Farr, "The Mystery of Time."

51. Bax, p. 25 (BS to FF: Feb. 8, 1905).

52. Bax, p. 26 (BS to FF: March 5, 1905).

53. William Butler Yeats, *The King of the Great Clock Tower: Commentaries and Poems*, p. 17.

54. Oscar Wilde wrote *Salomé* specifically for Sarah Bernhardt. It was banned in England and hitherto only produced in translation in France. Wilde died in 1901.

55. Farr was thinking of taking *Salomé*

touring to Germany, along with Shaw's *Candida*. Shaw squelched her plans, telling her it was for her own good: "Whose money is to be in it? if yours, then NO. I will not be an accomplice in your ruin." Bax, pp. 27–28 (BS to FF: July 31, 1905).

56. Noel Stock, *The Life of Ezra Pound*, p. 110.

57. Bax, p. 48 (WBY to FF: July 15, 1905).

58. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 459 (WBY to Arthur Symons: Aug. 3, 1905).

59. Bax, p. 50 (WBY to FF: July 1905).

60. Ibid., p. 52 (WBY to FF: July or Aug. 1905).

61. Ibid., p. 54. (WBY to FF: early Aug. 1905).

62. Johnson, *FF*, p. 118.

63. Bax, pp. 30–32 (BS to FF: Dec. 27, 1905).

64. Ibid., pp. 66–68 (WBY to FF: Jan. 1906). Many years later he confessed to his wife: "She was the only person to whom I could tell *everything*." Quoted by George Yeats in Bax, p. 43.

65. Bax, pp. 66–68 (WBY to FF: Jan. 1906).

66. Ibid., pp. 68–70 (WBY to FF: Feb. 1906).

67. Ibid., p. 72 (WBY to FF: Feb. 1906).

68. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 81.

69. Bax, pp. 33–34 (BS to FF: April 4, 1906).

70. Farr, *New Age* (Aug. 19, 1907), in Johnson, *FF*, p. 142.

71. Yeats came back from America in 1903 filled with Nietzsche and an elevated sense of himself caused by the adulation of the American literati. He now saw himself as a "superman." Shaw welcomed what he called Nietzsche's "transvaluation of values" in modern morals. Pearson, *BS*, p. 195.

72. Gilbert Collection; quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 119.

73. Quoted in B. L. Reid, *The Man from New York: John Quinn and His Friends*, p. 45 (Quinn to WBY: July 13, 1906).

74. The quotes that follow are from Florence Farr, "A Dialogue of Vision," *The Theosophical Review* 39, no. 229 (1906):77–84.

75. Bax, pp. 59–60 (WBY to FF: Oct. 1906).

76. Ibid. (WBY to FF: Oct. 1906). Lady Gregory suggested to Synge (now that she, Synge, and Yeats made up the controlling triumvirate) that Mrs. Emery help Yeats stage his verse plays as he desired. Synge agreed to it as an experiment. "At the same time I think he is possibly mistaken in looking on the English stage for the people that are needed," wrote Synge to Lady Gregory. Quoted in Ann Saddlemyer, ed., *Theatre Business: The Correspondence of the First Abbey Theatre Directors William Butler Yeats, Lady Gregory, and J.M. Synge*, p. 179 (Dec. 13, 1906).

77. Quoted in J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 283. (LG to Synge: Dec. 1906).

78. Quoted in Saddlemyer, *Theatre Business*, p. 183 (Dec. 23, 1906).

CHAPTER 26:
LIVES OF GREAT HIDDEN EFFORT

1. Ella Young tells this story in her autobiography *Flowering Dusk*, pp. 104–107.

2. All quotes are from Young, *Flowering Dusk*, pp. 104–107. Christina Stoddart claims that the original Golden Dawn Tarot deck was created by Moina, while notebooks belonging to Mathers—photographed in Raine, *Yeats, the Tarot, and the GD*—feature drawings of several Tarot cards that appear to be in Moina's hand. Colquhoun claims that Moina created paper-collage images of the deities. Did Mathers on occasion claim his wife's accomplishments as his own?

3. Moina had an amazing pentagram of five planets linked by sextiles, four of them at 25°–26° and one at 29°. Making up this pentagram was a Grand Air Trine of Mercury, Saturn, and Uranus, linked to a "mystic rectangle" consisting of Jupiter in Sagittarius

opposite Uranus in Gemini and trine Venus in Aires, while Saturn in Libra was opposite Venus and trine Uranus.

4. Yorke Collection, New Folder 73 (McM to FG: Dec. 31, 1907).

5. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, pp. 262–263 (MG to WBY: Jan 1909).

6. For details of Smith's life and speculations on the creation of the Waite-Smith Tarot, see Appendix F.

7. N.L.I., MS 13,068(7) (AH to WBY: July 2, 1907).

8. Ibid. (AH to WBY: Sept. 27, 1907).

9. Florence Farr, *The Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 78.

10. Wallace Martin, *The New Age Under Orage: Chapters in English Cultural History*, pp. 4–8.

11. Farr, *New Age* (May 23, 1907) in Johnson, *FF*, pp. 142–143.

12. *NA* (Aug. 19, 1907), in Johnson, *FF*, p. 144.

13. Ibid., p. 145.

14. *NA* (Sept. 5, 1907), in Johnson, *FF*, p. 146. Florence listed her astrological progressions for this period, which included a reference to being "attacked by *Spectator*," for her "Rites of Astorath." Gilbert Collection.

15. Martin, *The New Age*, p. 68.

16. Quoted in Watson, *A Shavian Guide*, p. 26.

17. Johnson, *FF*, p. 149.

18. Farr, *The Music of Speech*.

19. Bax, p. 83 (WBY to FF: April 21, 1908).

20. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 165.

21. Quoted from W. Dixon Scott in Ian Fletcher, *W. B. Yeats and His Contemporaries*, p. 69.

22. Farr, *Modern Woman*, p. 18.

23. Pound would soon marry Dorothy Shakespear, the daughter of Florence's and Willie Yeats's friend Olivia Shakespear.

24. Martin, *The New Age*, p. 161.

25. Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913.

26. Ezra Pound, *Selected Poems*, pp. 16–17. Thanks to Josephine Johnson for making this connection.

27. Bax, pp. 38–39 (BS to FF: Aug. 14, 1909).

28. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 171 (FF to Quinn: April 5, 1909).

29. Saddlemyer, *Theatre Business*, p. 197 (LG to Synge: Jan. 5, 1907).

30. Ibid., p. 198 (AH to WBY: Jan. 12, 1907); and N.L.I., MS 13,068(6).

31. Saddlemyer, *Theatre Business*, p. 202 (LG to Synge: Jan. 10, 1907).

32. Ibid. (LG to WBY: Jan. 1907).

33. Ibid., p. 203 (AH to WBY: Jan. 17, 1907); and N.L.I., MS 13,068(6).

34. Payne quoted in George Rowell and Anthony Jackson, *The Repertory Movement: A History of Regional Theatre in Britain*, p. 36.

35. She bought Willie presents from each country—such as a three-branched candle stick, a chrysoprase and gun-metal cigarette case, and an old French ring bearing the motto "all is lost save honour."

36. Ervine in Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. viii.

37. Quoted in Rowell and Jackson, *The Repertory Movement*, p. 37.

38. A. Norman Jeffares, *W. B. Yeats: A New Biography*, p. 141.

39. Fay, *The Abbey Theatre*, p. 93.

40. Quoted in J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 11.

41. Saddlemyer, *Theatre Business*, p. 224 (LG to Synge: June 20, 1907).

42. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 490 (WBY to FF: July 1907).

43. N.L.I., MS 13,068(7) (AH to WBY: July 24, 1907).

44. Saturn was forming a mutable T-square

to Yeats's Jupiter opposite Sun. Saturn would restrict his self-expression and make him work harder for recognition or advancement; it would also create a tendency toward pessimism and worry. Yeats wrote Florence: "A man with Saturn entering his second house by transit has to look out for bad times. Astrology grows more and more wonderful every day." Saturn now required Yeats to learn what he really valued. Bax, p. 74 (WBY to FF: Oct. 7, 1907).

45. N.L.I., MS 13,068(7) (AH to WBY: Aug. 27, 1907).

46. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 493 (WBY to FF: Sept. 25, 1907). In the Bible, the name Ananias appears as three different people. One of them was a liar rebuked by Peter.

47. Ibid., p. 490 (WBY to FF: July, 1907).

48. Ibid., pp. 499–500 (WBY to FF: Oct. 7, 1907).

49. N.L.I., MS 13,068(7) (AH to WBY: Oct. 18, 1907).

50. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 192 (MG to WBY: Jan. 8, 1908).

51. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 501 (Draft, WBY to AH: early 1908).

52. N.L.I., MS 18,068(8) (AH to WBY: Dec. 14, 1908).

53. Ibid. (AH to WBY: Dec. 25 and 26, 1909). See note on Yeats's belief in Nietzsche's "superman" in Chapter 25, note 71.

54. Transiting Jupiter in Cancer was triggering her natal "finger of fate" formation consisting of Uranus (and possibly Moon) in Cancer inconjunct both Jupiter in Aquarius and Mercury in Sagittarius, which were already sensitized by the transit of Neptune through Cancer. This augmented a natural ability to feel and even "take on" the suffering of others, which was usually focused more on mass consciousness than on the needs of individuals.

55. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 239 (MG to WBY: May 7, 1907).

56. Quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 197.

57. Ibid., p. 198.

58. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 237 (MG to WBY: early 1907).

59. Ibid., p. 244 (MG to WBY: July 6, 1907).

60. Ibid., p. 246 (MG to WBY: Sept. 28, 1907).

61. Quoted in Cardozo, *MG*, p. 261 (WBY to Mabel Dickinson: June 20, 1908).

62. Maud's (M's) Sun conjunct Willie's (W's) Jupiter and opposite his Sun and Uranus and in his Eleventh House of friends. M's Moon conjunct W's Sun and Uranus (in his Fifth House of romance) and opposite his strong Jupiter in Sagittarius. M's Mercury and Venus conjunct W's Midheaven and forming a grand trine with both their Neptunes and W's Mars. M's Jupiter conjunct W's Ascendant. M's Moon conjunct W's Uranus and opposite his Jupiter. M's Mars conjunct W's Descendant. M's Venus–Mercury inconjunct W's Venus–Pluto. M's Saturn square W's Moon and inconjunct his Sun.

63. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 256 (MG to WBY: June 26, 1908).

64. Abiegnus was the mystical mountain of God in the center of the Universe.

65. From the Visions Notebook, quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 199.

66. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 257 (MG to WBY: July 26, 1908).

67. From the Visions Notebook, quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 200.

68. Ibid., p. 201.

69. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 258 (MG to WBY: Dec. 28, 1908).

70. Quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 202.

71. Ibid.; and in White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 35.

72. Yeats, *Memoirs*, p. 157.

73. Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 203.

74. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 272 (MG to WBY: late May, 1909).

75. Quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 203.
76. Ibid.
77. Quoted in Jeffares, *WBY*, p. 325.
78. Quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 204.
79. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 282 (MG to WBY: Sept. 27, 1909).
80. Quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 204.
81. From the Visions Notebook, quoted in Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 199.
82. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 283 (MG to WBY: Nov. 12, 1909).
83. Ibid.

CHAPTER 27:
IN THE SOCIETY OF THE WISE

1. Farr, *Modern Woman*, pp. 78–81.
2. There were probably a very small number of copies published, as I could find no copy in the United States through Interlibrary Loan. My thanks to Josephine Johnson for the loan of her copy.
3. Johnson, *FF*, p. 177.
4. Farr, *The Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 32.
5. Florence Farr, "The Tetrad, or the Structure of the Mind," *Occult Review* 8, no. 1 (1908):34–40.
6. Florence Farr, "On the Play of the Image-Maker," *Occult Review* 8, no. 2 (1908):87–91.
7. Farr, "Tetrad."
8. Farr, *Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 247.
9. Florence Farr, "The Rosicrucians and Alchemists," *Occult Review* 7, no. 5 (1908):259–264.
10. Florence Farr, "The Philosophy Called Vedanta," *Occult Review* 7, no. 6 (1908):333–338.
11. Farr, *Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 127.
12. Farr, "Rosicrucians and Alchemists."
13. Farr, "Tetrad."
14. Farr, *Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 241.
15. Ibid., p. 40.
16. Ibid., p. 141.
17. Florence Farr, "Egyptian Use of Symbols," *Occult Review* 7, no. 3 (1908): 146–149. Additionally, this description of a birth of a "magical child" lends more credence to the belief that the Golden Dawn did teach some form of sexual magic to the higher initiates. Aleister Crowley reveals a similar process in his novel *Moonchild*.
18. Farr, *Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 92.
19. Ibid., p. 133.
20. Ibid., p. 223.
21. Ibid., p. 157.
22. Ibid., p. 139.
23. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 181.
24. Ibid., p. 182.
25. From "All Soul's Night" in Richard J. Finneran, ed., *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, pp. 228–229.
26. Quoted by George Yeats in Bax, p. 44 (FF to WBY: n.d.). Mabel Beardsley was the beloved sister of the artist Aubrey Beardsley and close friend of Yeats and Farr.
27. Johnson, *FF*, p. 191.
28. George Yeats in Bax, pp. 43–44.
29. Quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 207 (FF to BS: April 7, 1916).
30. Ibid.
31. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 349.
32. Johnson, *FF*, p. 209 (FF to BS: Dec. 7, 1916).
33. Ibid., pp. 34–35 (FF to WBY: Jan. 18, 1917).
34. Farr's poem is quoted in Johnson, *FF*, p. 210.
35. Quoted in Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, pp. 57–58.
36. Farr, *Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 246.
37. Farr, "Mystery of Time."

CHAPTER 28:
NO TRACES IN THIS PURGATORIAL WORLD

1. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 320 (MG to WBY: May 8, 1913).
2. Colquhoun, p. 93.

3. Mathers, "Preface" to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, p. x.

4. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 203.

5. Finneran, *Ltrs to WBY*, p. 448 (MM to WBY: Jan. 12, 1924).

6. Ibid., p. 451 (MM to WBY: Feb. 4, 1924).

7. Colquhoun, p. 57.

8. Yorke Collection, New Folder 73 (MM to FG: May 17, 1920).

9. Colquhoun, p. 58.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 57.

12. Ibid., p. 59.

13. Ibid., p. 57.

14. Dion Fortune was born Violet Mary Firth on December 6, 1890, near Bryn y Bia Llandudno, Wales. For the story of her life, see Alan Richardson, *The Magical Life of Dion Fortune: Priestess of the 20th Century;* and Charles Fielding and Carr Collins, *The Story of Dion Fortune.* She adapted her Golden Dawn magical motto, *Deo, non Fortuna*, meaning "God, not luck," into a new name, reversing the meaning so as to claim the goddess of destiny, *Fortuna*, as her guide. She studied for a while with a Dr. Moriarity, whom she immortalized as Dr. Taverner in a series of short occult mystery stories. Joining Brodie-Innes's Alpha et Omega Temple, she soon transferred to Moina's section and then to the Hermes Temple with which she maintained a lifelong connection. She also joined the Christian Mystic Lodge of the Theosophical Society, which she quickly took over and then left, and eventually started her own Fraternity of the Inner Light. Her excellent books (both fiction and nonfiction) are essential reading for any student of magic.

15. Richardson, *The Magical Life of Dion Fortune*, p. 111.

16. Dion Fortune, "Ceremonial Magic Unveiled," *Occult Review* (Jan. 1933):20.

17. Case, a professional musician, was born on October 3, 1884, so he was already a mature man of thirty-five when he was initiated, and was not altogether unfamiliar with metaphysical teachings, having written a small book on the Tarot in 1918.

18. Word Collection. Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from correspondence throughout this chapter are from the private archives of Robert Word and are used with his permission. In releasing these documents to me, Robert Word feels that: 1) since these events took place seventy years ago and the participants are now deceased, there can be no objection to revealing the truth; and 2) it is imperative to correct the faulty information and misguided rumors that are currently in print.

19. Colquhoun, p. 285.

20. The Tarot arcanum that Case refers to is the Strength card, about which he says in *The Book of Tokens*: "It is the Kundalini of the Yogis." He then says that the Kundalini, or nerve force, energizes the chakras "by means of exercises in which counting is essential, because they include rhythmic breathing," and adds that Strength's path on the Tree of Life is called the "secret of all spiritual activities." Paul Foster Case, *The Book of Tokens: Twenty-two Meditations on the Ageless Wisdom*, p. 95.

21. Case explained discreetly, "I *do* know that this is no sordid affair of the senses.... What has been done has been done through principle, not for the mere satisfaction of an ephemeral desire. The situation in which we find ourselves is extremely difficult, and involves renunciations and deprivations ... [and] the correct solution of a difficult ethical problem.... My conscience acquits me.... Our relation to each other we submit to no other Judge than that Lord of Love and Justice whom we all adore." Either Case or Geise may have

had a personal situation that precluded marriage at that time; if so, its nature is unknown.

22. Case wrote to former Golden Dawn member Dr. Pullen Burry (who moved first to the Klondike and then to Portland, Oregon). Only part of one intriguing letter is in the archive: Pullen Burry speaks of how Mathers, "because he was unbalanced," was allowed to "misunderstand the nature of the work he had in hand"—which involved the coming of the Aquarian Age. "The new wine of Aquarius must be put into Aquarian bottles.... The New Age wine is always too strong for the old vehicles." He recognized that the Piscean conservative reactionaries feared "to break from the corpse when the spirit has fled." When Pullen Burry heard that Case had "received 'definite directions' concerning the bringing of the light of the old R.C. [Rosicrucian] teachings," he agreed that Case was the one to do so, for Case could illuminate the Ageless Wisdom in light of the new Aquarian consciousness. Word Collection.

23. Geise also told Moina that members from other temples were flocking to Case for teaching, although he had done nothing to promote it. "I am convinced that no Order can claim the 'private ownership' of ways to perform magic," wrote Geise. "Apparent disappointments have turned out to be blessings in disguise and now our freedom from an old alliance is another step towards realizing what we now consider our life's work."

24. True to his own search for knowledge, Paul Foster Case never let go of his pursuit of the Rosicrucians, the results of which he published in *The True and Invisible Rosicrucian Order.*

25. See "The Golden Fly" in Ella Young, *Celtic Wonder Tales.*

26. From the Initiation of the Sword, transcribed in Kalogera, "Yeats's Celtic Mysteries," p. 187.

27. The A.O. in America continued until the Depression, when economic conditions depleted the energy and resources of the organization. Paul Foster Case's first group also died out at this time, and he moved to California where he started the B.O.T.A. Lillian Geise and Case did marry, although Lilli died not many years later. She was known as a psychic and spiritual woman who had a special affinity for nature and to whom wild animals were drawn, becoming seemingly tame in her presence. (Robert Word's personal communication with the author.)

28. Saturn in Virgo is traditionally considered the preeminent sign of the ceremonial magician.

29. See Fielding and Collins, *The Story of Dion Fortune*, pp. 40–41 for more details.

30. Fortune, "Ceremonial Magic Unveiled," p. 22.

31. Ibid., p. 23. According to Edward Garstin, Moina read the draft of Fortune's book *The Cosmic Doctrine* and said that it did not accord with G.D. teaching. She then gave her the ultimatum of putting these ideas aside to continue as her student or to leave her temple immediately. Dion chose to follow her own path. Quoted in Richardson, *The Magical Life of Dion Fortune*, p. 117.

32. Alan Richardson and Geoff Hughes, *Ancient Magicks for a New Age*, p. 28. In 1924 Dion Fortune joined a section of the Theosophical Society called the Christian Mystic Lodge and almost immediately claimed to be in direct contact with the Master Jesus. She was soon appointed President but quarreled with Theosophical leaders until she left to form her Community [Fraternity] of the Inner Light in early 1928.

33. Fortune, "Ceremonial Magic Unveiled," p. 23.

34. Alan Richardson suggests that because of the feline aspects of the events, the attack may have been Annie Horniman's—protecting, as it were, Moina's interests. Richardson, *The Magical Life of Dion Fortune*, p. 120. Considering that Annie was called Tabbie, that she had a passion for cats, and that she affected cat-like mannerisms, it is possible that Dion Fortune was implicating Annie and not Moina. But Dion Fortune, especially in the early days, *always* seemed to be persecuted by, and under attack from, nefarious occultists—Moina, Annie, the Theosophists Charles Leadbeater and B. P. Wadia, or whomever. Part of her claim to fame was her righteous ability to overcome evil forces through her own occult abilities. She created an image of herself as a reluctant but capable occult warrior on the astral plane, doing battle in the name of the Light. One wonders how much she was actually battling her own dark side.

35. Mathers, "Preface" to *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, p. xi.

36. Personal correspondence with Barbara King-Morgan, Moina's niece.

37. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (WW to FG: Oct. 25, 1924).

38. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 446 (WBY to MG: Aug. 7, 1928).

39. Personal correspondence with Barbara King-Morgan, Moina's niece.

40. Colquhoun, p. 46.

41. Colquhoun managed to salvage only Moina's portrait of MacGregor, which is now in a private collection.

CHAPTER 29: CONTEMPLATION OF IMMORTALITY

1. J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 11.

2. N.L.I., MS 13,068(7) (AH to WBY: June 21, 1907).

3. Ibid., MS 13,267(10) (AH to WBY: May 3, 1911).

4. Ibid. (AH to Holloway: Dec. 1, 1910).

5. Fay, *The Abbey Theatre*, pp. 141–142.

6. Yeats, *Autobiography*, p. 384.

7. J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 34.

8. Ibid., p. 35.

9. Ibid., p. 10.

10. Ibid., p. 35.

11. Fay, *The Abbey Theatre*, pp. 141–142.

12. J. Flannery, *Miss Annie F. Horniman and the Abbey Theatre*, p. 35.

13. N.L.I., MS 13,068 (AH to WBY: Jan. 11, 1911).

14. Fay, *The Abbey Theatre*, p. 157.

15. Ervine in Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. ix.

16. Her final Saturn Return contact was on May 10, 1920. Saturn can take from twenty-seven to twenty-nine years to return to its natal position, and the effects may last from several months to three years depending on the speed of its pass.

17. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (WW to FG: Nov. 12, 1921).

18. N.L.I., MS 13,068(6) (AH to WBY: Sept. 26, 1906).

19. Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. 176.

20. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9 (WW to FG: April 17, 1924).

21. Quoted in Gooddie, *Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre*, p. 79.

22. Ibid., p. 188.

23. Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. 6.

24. Ibid., p. 178.

25. Quoted in Gooddie, *Annie Horniman: A Pioneer in the Theatre*, p. 192.

26. Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, p. 180.

27. According to a letter from Carnegie Dickson to Yeats, Helen Rand died before Annie, in 1929. Harper, *Yeats's GD*, p. 155. If this is true, the papers—which have not been found—would have gone to Rand's husband, who also received money in Annie's will and may have emigrated.

28. Ervine in Pogson, *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre*, pp. v–vi.

CHAPTER 30:
THEY SHALL BE REMEMBERED FOREVER

1. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 287 (MG to WBY: Feb. 1910).

2. Sydney Gifford quoted in Ward, *MG*, p. 98.

3. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 302 (MG to WBY: Sept. 15, 1911).

4. Ibid., p. 326 (MG to WBY: Nov. 1913).

5. Ibid., pp. 328–329 (MG to WBY: Nov. 1913). This is not a reference to the G.D., indicating that Maud may have been involved in another secret society—of which nothing is known.

6. In 1912 he had attained the second level of 5°=6°, Theoricus Adeptus Minor, and in October 1914 he was advanced to the Adeptus Major degree of 6°=4° "in a new ritual which involved his lying down in the coffin in the Vault and hearing the ringing of thirty-six bells." Jeffares, *WBY*, p. 192.

7. Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 233.

8. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 348 (MG to WBY: Aug. 26, 1914).

9. Ibid., p. 352 (MG to WBY: Dec. 25, 1914).

10. Ibid., p. 354 (MG to WBY: Jan. 3, 1915).

11. Ibid., p. 359 (MG to WBY: Oct. 1, 1915).

12. Ibid., p. 363 (MG to WBY: Nov. 7, 1915).

13. Ibid., p. 370 (MG to WBY: March 21, 1916).

14. Ibid., p. 373 (MG to WBY: May 1916); and Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 613 (WBY to LG: May 11, 1916).

15. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 375 (MG to WBY: May 11, 1916).

16. Ward, *MG*, p. 111 (MG to Quinn: May 11, 1916).

17. Iseult wrote her cousin Thora about the proposal: "Thirty years difference is all the same a little too much, so of course I said *No* and it didn't seem to affect him much . . . so I came to the conviction that he had merely done it to follow a code of politeness which he has made for himself." Quoted in Balliett, "Lives—And Lies," p. 43.

18. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, p. 631 (WBY to LG: Sept. 8, 1917).

19. Ward, *MG*, p. 115 (MG to Quinn: July 30, 1917).

20. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 632–633 (WBY to LG: Sept. 19, 1917).

21. Ibid.

22. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 393 (MG to WBY: Oct. 1917).

23. Elizabeth Heine, "W. B. Yeats' Map in His Own Hand," *Biography* 1, no. 3 (1978):37–50.

24. Quoted in Jeffares, *WBY*, p. 224.

25. Willie was soon writing Lady Gregory: "My wife is a perfect wife, kind, wise, and unselfish. . . . She has made my life serene and full of order." Quoted in White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 392.

26. Quoted in Ward, *MG*, p. 119.

27. Constance Markievicz, still in prison, was elected the first female member of the English Parliament. With the Sinn Fein winning close to three-quarters of the Irish seats, they set up their own assembly, Dail Eireann. At their second session in March 1919, Eamon De Valera was elected President and Constance Markievicz, Minister of Labour. Ward, *MG*, p. 120.

28. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 404 (MG to WBY: July 21, 1920).

29. Francis Stuart, *Black List, Section H*, p. 15.

30. Ibid., p. 30.
31. Ward, *MG*, p. 138 (WBY to Olivia Shakespear: Jan. 5, 1923).
32. White, *G–Y Ltrs*, p. 439 (WBY to MG: Oct. 7, 1927).
33. Ibid., p. 445 (MG to WBY: June 16, 1928).
34. Quoted in Ward, *MG*, p. 154.
35. Ibid., p. 178.
36. Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," p. 25.
37. Ibid., pp. 25–26.
38. Personal account in Balliett, "Lives—And Lies," p. 28.
39. Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," p. 33.
40. From "Hanrahan and Cathleen, the Daughter of Houlihan," *Stories of Red Hanrahan,* in William Butler Yeats, *Mythologies*, p. 237.

CHAPTER 31: CONCLUSION

1. Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, pp. 11–12.
2. Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, p. 243.
3. Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, p. 58.
4. Ibid., pp. 36–37.
5. Ibid., p. 58.
6. Ibid., p. 60.
7. Ibid., p. 63.
8. Ruth Brandon, *The New Woman and the Old Men: Love, Sex, and the Woman Question*, p. 250.
9. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life*, p. 42.
10. Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, p. 74.
11. Symonds and Grant, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, p. 390.
12. Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, p. 85.
13. Brandon, *The New Woman*, p. 249.
14. Quoted in Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, p. 99.
15. Ibid., p. 123.
16. Ibid., p. 127.
17. Ibid., p. 132.
18. Ibid., p. 151.
19. According to Pound, Yeats, and biographer Josephine Johnson, respectively.
20. Quoted in Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, p. 159
21. Ibid., p. 175.
22. Farr, *The Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 97.
23. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, p. 53.
24. Ibid., p. 58.
25. Brandon, *The New Woman*, p. 261.
26. Dion Fortune, *Applied Magic*, p. 56.
27. See Chapter 13, "Skrying in the Spirit Vision."
28. Farr, *The Solemnization of Jacklin*, p. 157.
29. Rehmus, *The Magician's Dictionary*, p. 141.
30. Quote from Auerbach in Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life*, p. 48.
31. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life*, pp. 52–59.
32. Charles Hampden-Turner, *Maps of the Mind: Charts and Concepts of the Mind and Its Labyrinths*, p. 112. His description sounds remarkably like the alchemical process.
33. Ibid., p. 112.
34. Personal correspondence with Vicki Noble, author of *Shakti Woman* and *Motherpeace: A Way to the Goddess Through Myth, Art, and Tarot.*
35. Harris, *Sisters of the Shadow*, p. 224.

APPENDIX B

1. Ursula Bridge, ed., *W. B. Yeats and T. Sturge Moore: Their Correspondence 1901–1937*, p. 117.

APPENDIX C

1. This was a pet version of Gardner's motto initials, *D.P.A.L.*
2. Yorke Collection, New Springback Folder 9. Also in Harper, *Yeats's GD*, pp. 224–226.

APPENDIX E

1. Elsa Barker, "Mathers Obituary," *Azoth* (February 1919):68.

2. Brodie-Innes, "MacGregor Mathers."

APPENDIX F

1. Stuart R. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of the Tarot*, vol. 3, p. 33. Most of the facts about Pamela Colman Smith come from the original research of Tarot publisher and collector Stuart Kaplan (see his profusely illustrated article about Smith in the above volume); and from art historian Melinda Boyd Parsons: see "Mysticism in London: The 'Golden Dawn,' Synaesthesia, and 'Psychic Automatism' in the Art of Pamela Colman Smith," in *The Spiritual Image in Modern Art*, edited by Kathleen J. Regier; and the exhibition catalog *To All Believers: The Art of Pamela Colman Smith*. Stuart and Parsons are coauthoring a complete biography.

2. Yorke Collection.

3. J. W. Brodie-Innes, "The Tarot Cards," *Occult Review* 29, no. 2 (1919):158–166.

4. Johnson, *FF*, p. 129.

5. A few cards show a probable influence from the late-fifteenth-century Sola-Busca Tarot, of which there was a photographic copy in the British Museum. The Sola-Busca deck differed from other decks previous to 1909 in that there were pictures on several of the Minor Arcana cards. The pictures on the 3 of Swords and 10 of Wands, for instance, were obviously used by Smith. See Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of the Tarot*, pp. 1–45, for comparisons of Smith's deck and the Sola-Busca Tarot, and sources for her art, poems, and stories. As Rachel Pollack has pointed out in the second volume of *Seventy-Eight Degrees of Wisdom*, many of Smith's cards do not follow the descriptions given in Waite's book on the Tarot.

6. Parsons, "Mysticism in London," p. 76.

7. Quoted in Parsons, "Mysticism in London," p. 78.

8. Arthur Ransome, *Bohemia in London*, pp. 56–57.

9. Ibid., pp. 64–65.

10. From a brochure: "Folk Stories from Jamaica, West Indies, told by Pamela Colman Smith," N.L.I., MS 31,098.

11. Quoted in Parsons, "Mysticism in London," p. 87.

12. Ibid., p. 81.

13. Ibid., p. 83.

14. Ibid., p. 99.

15. Wade, *Ltrs of WBY*, pp. 385–386 (WBY to LG: Dec. 4, 1902).

16. Ibid., p. 444 (WBY to LG: Nov. 24, 1904).

17. Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907–14*, pp. 247–248; quoted in Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, "At the Feet of the Goddess: Yeats's Love Poetry and the Feminist Occult" in *YA No.9*, p. 47.

18. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of the Tarot*, p. 45.

APPENDIX G

1. See Chapter 28; and Chapter 28, note 34.

2. Dion Fortune, *Psychic Self-Defence*, pp. 152–156.

3. Francis King gives a much more detailed account of the death of Netta Fornario, concluding from the evidence that Fortune certainly believed herself to be under a magical attack, although he thinks its source may have been her own schizophrenia. King, *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic*, pp. 149–151.

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INDEX

Abbreviations used: AH: Annie Horniman, FF: Florence Farr, GD: Golden Dawn, McM: MacGregor Mathers, MG: Maud Gonne, MM: Moina Mathers, WBY: William Butler Yeats.
Illustrations are in bold italic.
Endnotes appear as chapter number : note number.
The Index does not include entries for the Chronology (pp. xv–xxi) and *Timeline of Western Magic* (pp. 60–61). For specific Tarot cards, astrological planets, or signs from readings see special listings under Abbey Theatre Tarot Readings, Astrology, Scryings, Visions and Dreams.

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A NOTE ON THE COVER PAINTING

A MASQUE OF THE FOUR SEASONS

I wanted for the cover of this book a Pre-Raphaelite painting depicting four women showing both grace and power. I had been searching for a long time when I happened upon a postcard of *A Masque of the Four Seasons* on a street rack in London. The image was just what I had been hoping to find. The women even looked like my women of the Golden Dawn, and the bearded piper had an uncanny resemblance to Bernard Shaw.

I researched the artist, Walter Crane, an English book illustrator, but could find no mention of this painting except that it was in a German museum mentioned on the back of the postcard. Then I came across a rare copy of John Todhunter's play *A Sicilian Idyll* and discovered a frontispiece by Walter Crane of Florence Farr as the priestess Amaryllis! Subsequently I learned that Crane (1845–1916) was a Fabian socialist and worked closely with Bernard Shaw designing political cartoons and posters. He founded the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, through which Florence exhibited her embroidery, and was a major influence on the art of Pamela Colman Smith, especially in his use of Japanese style color-printing consisting of black outlines filled with solid, bright colors—the technique Smith used for her Tarot deck. Clearly this accidental discovery of Crane's *Masque* was meant to be.

A Masque of the Four Seasons presents a classical parade of women through the seasons of their lives. Each passes on her gifts to the next. So too, in this book, each woman picks up the tale from the one before and passes it to those after her. A major element of the performance of masques, I discovered, is that the normal boundaries between actors and spectators do not exist. At some point the actors move among the spectators, bringing them into the dance. I now invite you to take up the dance, to take over from those who have gone before, and bequeath the dance to those who come after. The seasons turn and we turn with them. The circle is open but unbroken. Merry meet and merry part and merry meet again.

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Mary Katherine Greer is the author of *The Essence of Magic* and three books on Tarot, including *Tarot for Your Self: A Workbook for Personal Transformation.* She leads workshops in women's mystery traditions, aromatherapy, writing, and Tarot throughout the United States and Europe. She lives in Nevada City, California.

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